

# Civic Activism in Rural Transylvania: The Case of Folk Gazettes (*gazete poporale*), 1867–1914

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SORIN RADU

“Lucian Blaga” University of Sibiu, Romania  
sorin.radu@ulbsibiu.ro

ALEXANDRU NICOLAESCU

Institute of Social Sciences and Humanities Sibiu, Romania  
alex\_nicolaescu@yahoo.com

**ABSTRACT** | The political assimilation of peasants within the framework of nation-states, alongside the politicization of rural societies, has garnered increasing attention from historians, sociologists, and anthropologists, resulting in a diverse array of studies. This article shows that the press and the genre dedicated explicitly to peasants in particular, known as “gazete poporale” (folk gazettes, gazettes aimed at the people), played a pivotal role in fostering civic consciousness among Romanian peasants in Transylvania between 1867 and 1914. These folk newspapers, also dubbed “people’s papers,” represented a distinct form of journalism, which was characterized by a simplified discourse tailored to the literacy levels of Transylvanian Romanian peasants. Their aim was to furnish essential information for their social, economic, and cultural advancement while also politically mobilizing the peasants in alignment with the ethos of the national movement.

**KEYWORDS** | Austro-Hungarian Empire, discourse, peasantry, political activism, press

## Peasants and Their Civic and Political Mobilization

A topic often sidelined in Romanian and Central and Southeast European historiography is the political assimilation of peasants into the governing frameworks of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and emerging nation-states. The establishment of party infrastructures, village-level associations, and civic and political mobilization are still relatively unexplored. Researchers tend to focus on exploring political projects regarding the peasantry, reforms aimed at transforming rural life—education and electoral and agrarian reforms—and, in the case of the newly established nation-states of the mid-nineteenth century, on the portrayal of the peasant as a symbol of national identity and Orthodoxy; the village as a guardian of enduring traditions, an idyllic setting, and a wellspring of inspiration, especially for artists, etc.

In recent years, there has been a surge in interest among historians, sociologists, and anthropologists regarding the political integration of peasants into national structures and the increasing politicization of rural life, with the publications on the topic becoming quite diverse.<sup>1</sup> The French context has provided models for analyzing the politicization of rural life and the involvement of peasants in public affairs; in fact, French historians lead the charge in this field.<sup>2</sup> Similar studies can be found in other West European nations, including the Nordic countries.<sup>3</sup> For historians in Central and South-eastern Europe, the theme is still relatively new, but it enjoys steady scholarly interest.<sup>4</sup> In this geographical context, the political integration of peasants into the national state is analyzed in the broader context of institutional, cultural, social, and economic modernization, as part of an overarching process involving various institutions—central and local state authorities, schools, the military, various associations, the church; different participants/actors—intellectuals, teachers, local notables, priests representing local authority; and phenomena—the press, communications, industrialization, elections, secularization, labor migration, etc.<sup>5</sup>

In Romania, state elites aimed to assimilate peasants into the country's political landscape as voters, taxpayers, and recruits. However, this perspective is largely a functionalist one, which treats peasants primarily as tools of political manipulation. When examining rural life, many historians continue to uphold this view and focus on external power structures and the institutions imposed on village communities, with studies on rural society often overlooking peasants as active political agents and

failing to address crucial related questions: How did peasants respond to significant reforms? What was their reaction to the messages and pledges of political parties? To what extent were they incorporated into political parties? What factors shaped political dynamics at the village level? Peasants should be liberated from this interpretive framework, which reduces them to mere instruments of state agendas and party rhetoric, and instead, historians should approach them with a focus on their internal complexities. In addition to analyzing the impact of state-driven reforms in rural areas in terms of education, suffrage, and land ownership, it is essential to examine how modernity was shaped within rural communities and the roles played by other pivotal institutions of Romanian society, such as the church and the military. Furthermore, historical studies must consider the influence of taxation and other socioeconomic factors such as different forms of association and cooperation, as well as the divergent perspectives of major political parties on the portrayal of rural life and peasants, which often translated into distinct policy approaches.<sup>6</sup> In a recent analysis, Milan Řepa concluded that the politicization of rural communities was a crucial aspect of the broader transformation triggered by state modernization. Řepa defines “politicization” as the growing involvement of rural populations in public affairs, aligning themselves with specific political ideologies, parties, or influential figures.<sup>7</sup> This process was notably more intricate in Central and Eastern European countries during the latter half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century compared to France and other Western nations due to factors such as the Austro-Hungarian Empire’s ethnic diversity and the difficulties of the societies in the region in forming stable national states administratively.<sup>8</sup> The intensification of civic spirit among the Romanians of Transylvania can be quantified after the Revolution of 1848, which brought the Romanian peasantry in the Habsburg Empire to the forefront of political action for the first time, a process that was further emphasized during the period of Austrian liberalism (1860–1867). In this context, the contribution of the Orthodox Church to the development of Romanians’ civic spirit and activism should not be neglected, particularly after 1868, when the introduction of the Organic State by Metropolitan Andrei Saguna encouraged peasants to get involved in the election of church leadership structures (parish committees, members of diocesan assemblies, etc.).<sup>9</sup>

Within the Empire, efforts were made to modernize rural regions through public involvement and different socialization mechanisms. They included the establishment of local self-governance structures (with

certain limitations), which served as a genuine political learning ground for peasants; cooperative, professional, and cultural associations; mandatory military service; and the dissemination of the press, and newspapers for peasants in particular, known as “gazete poporale.”<sup>10</sup> Simultaneously, revisions to electoral laws expanded voting rights, either directly or indirectly, for certain categories of peasants.<sup>11</sup> These developments set the stage for the rise of agrarian factions and political parties.

The politicization of rural communities unfolded amid the complex backdrop of burgeoning national consciousness and escalating national movements. Gary Cohen and Pieter Judson reject the notion that the Austro-Hungarian Empire was a “prison of peoples,” instead portraying it as a blossoming civil and political society, particularly after 1860.<sup>12</sup> Cohen underscores that national movements were not a response to state suppression but rather indicative of a robust civil society and public sphere.<sup>13</sup> Building on this perspective, Kai Struve contends that the post-1860 political developments within the Habsburg Empire witnessed heightened peasant political mobilization, albeit with frail organizational and communication structures. National activists played a pivotal role in bridging the gap between rural intelligentsia and peasants, melding national aspirations with efforts to ameliorate village conditions, secure genuine civic equality for peasants, and advance their economic interests.<sup>14</sup> In his examination of Galicia, Struve, using the concept of “national indifference,” proposes that the increase in societal nationalization was not motivated by a robust national identity but rather by the division of civil society along national boundaries, evidenced by the fragmentation of associations, cooperatives, political parties, and other organizations.<sup>15</sup> This pattern was influenced by the national context guiding the efforts of the intelligentsia in rural communities.<sup>16</sup> Pavel Kladiwa notes that nationalist zeal and civic involvement spread from urban areas to rural regions and was primarily fueled by the actions of the intelligentsia. Local initiatives, on the other hand, had minimal impact.<sup>17</sup>

In the present article, the proposed thesis is that the press, particularly the genre dedicated to peasants, known as “gazete poporale,” played a crucial role in fostering civic engagement among Romanian peasants in Transylvania, a region of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, between 1867 and 1914.<sup>18</sup> These newspapers, also referred to as “gazete poporale,” emerged in the mid-nineteenth century and covered a wide array of topics relevant to Transylvanian peasants. The leaders of the Romanian national movement in Transylvania, centered around the Romanian National Party (PNR),

mobilized the predominantly rural population politically and civically through these papers. Their aim was not only to bolster civic participation but also to educate peasants about activism and social involvement, thereby strengthening the Romanian identity in the face of political subjugation within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In Romania or other provinces inhabited by Romanians such as Bessarabia and Bukovina, these “gazete poporale” were nonexistent.<sup>19</sup>

The present article is divided into two sections. In the first one, a theoretical and critical analysis of civic activism in rural areas is resorted to. In the second one, it is analyzed as to how the Romanian intelligentsia identified in the popular gazettes the right way to develop the civic spirit and activism in the rural world. For this purpose, the discourse of the ruling elites based on the articles published in the most representative folk gazettes of the Romanians in Transylvania will be analyzed. From the methodological point of view, it is stressed that the analysis is qualitative, mentioning that the quantitative method was also used in researching the themes published by the analyzed gazettes on civic activism.

The present article focuses on those articles published in six prominent folk gazettes, chosen for their consistent quality and publication period: *Sezătoarea* [The Evening Sitting] (1875–1882), *Cărțile Săteanului Român* [The Romanian Peasant’s Papers] (1876–1886), *Foaia Poporului* [The People’s Paper] (1893–1914), *Libertatea* [The Liberty] (1902–1918), *Tara Noastră* [Our Country] (1907), and *Solia Satelor* [The Message of the Villages] (1912–1913). Additionally, other periodicals dedicated to villagers are examined, such as *Progresul* [The Progress] (1866), *Opinca* [The Peasant Sandal] (1885), and *Gazeta Economului* [The Economic Gazette] (1892), which though short-lived, share thematic similarities with the above-mentioned papers.<sup>20</sup> These newspapers resonated within the rural communities of Transylvania, and with literate peasants in particular. Furthermore, the geographic coverage of the selected newspapers aligns with the demographic spread of Romanians in dualist Hungary.

### What Are “gazete poporale”?

The authors of the present article have already critically analyzed the historiography dedicated to the folk gazettes, so they will not return to the subject as they have nothing to add.<sup>21</sup> The definition of “gazetă poporala” has also been dealt with in detail, and for space reasons, the authors do not intend to repeat the analysis.<sup>22</sup> In the following, the authors will only

present some theoretical aspects of the “poporă” press and its evolution in the study period to highlight its specificity.

Newspapers aimed at the peasantry, known as “gazete poporale,” were a peculiarity of the Romanian press in late nineteenth-century Transylvania. They appeared out of the need to engage and inform plowmen about the Transylvanian Romanians’ ongoing national struggle, as well as other significant events both domestically, i.e., in Romania, and internationally. Authored by journalists well versed in the Romanian rural milieu, they employed a straightforward, “folksy” language to gather large numbers of peasants around the “banner” raised by the activists of the national movement. With their direct approach, almost like speaking “peasant to peasant” folk newspapers quickly gained popularity, with peasants eagerly anticipating Sundays, when they could gather to read them. Following the Great War and the Union, folk newspapers, like the wider Transylvanian press, faced a crisis, with many transitioning into party newspapers while still preserving their peasant target audience through the diverse range of topics they covered.<sup>23</sup>

This genre of newspaper had a profound impact on peasant voters. A distinct form of journalism, late nineteenth and early twentieth-century folk newspapers focused on topics aimed at fostering the economic, social, and political development of readers in the Romanian rural landscape. They featured articles written in a clear, concise language, addressing pressing issues encountered by peasants, including agriculture, hygiene, housing, the economy, alcoholism, household management, as well as topics related to customs, clothing, neighborly relations, and political education. The affordability of these newspapers also played a pivotal role in defining their peasant-oriented character. Anglophone historical studies consider pricing when classifying periodicals as targeting specific demographic segments such as peasants, workers, and legal professionals, and this approach implies that a similar criterion can be employed in the present research.<sup>24</sup>

When tracking the evolution of Romanian folk newspapers in Transylvania, changes in certain characteristics can be noted over time. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, there was a shift toward formatting information in two or more columns per page as evident from *Opinca*, *Gazeta Economului*, *Foaia Poporului*, *Libertatea*, and *Solia Satelor*, departing from the traditional single-column layout as seen in *Şezătoarea*, *Cărțile Săteanului Român*, and *Tara Noastră*.<sup>25</sup> This transition reflects the editors’ recognition of their audience’s increasing level of education, evidenced by

rising literacy rates in late nineteenth-century Transylvania.<sup>26</sup> In terms of frequency, these newspapers were typically released monthly during the latter half of the nineteenth century, with occasional attempts at publishing weekly. However, in the early twentieth century, newspapers shifted to a weekly frequency. In terms of page count, it should be noted that the newspapers vary between a minimum of 4 and a maximum of 20 pages. Unfortunately, concrete data regarding their print run and the number of subscriptions is not yet available.

Upon analyzing the sections devoted to the correspondence with readers/subscribers, it was noted that the majority of the studied newspapers circulated widely across Transylvania, Banat, Bukovina, and Bessarabia, with occasional distribution in Romania. These papers were particularly popular among rural elites and notables such as teachers, priests, and notaries, as well as among peasants. They were also made available to interested readers through literary associations and clubs. In some cases, instructions on how to read these folk gazettes were provided, especially on Sundays or holidays, and during the winter when agricultural activities were less demanding. However, Romanian leaders had to devise means to distribute these papers, both in regions where “national sentiment was dulled” and in areas with a stronger sense of national identity. To keep prices low, it was crucial to secure as many subscriptions as possible. In this endeavor, editors sought assistance in distribution from priests, teachers, and political figures.<sup>27</sup>

The journalists behind folk newspapers and the leaders who supported them stressed the importance of peasant readership, arguing that “merely tending to the plow” was no longer sufficient, as changing social conditions necessitated peasants to stay informed in order to implement agricultural advancements. Hence, it was promoted that every peasant household should have access to a newspaper for leisure reading on holidays, Sundays, or during periods of rest. Compared to “major publications,” the affordability of these newspapers facilitated accessibility.<sup>28</sup>

### The Mission Statements of the Folk Gazettes

The analysis of the mission statements of the above-mentioned “gazete poporale”/folk gazettes suggests there were two distinct editorial approaches. The first centered on a cultural editorial policy, steering clear of political activism and focusing instead on topics such as agriculture, medicine, economy, education, and culture—*Progresul*, *Şezătoarea*, *Cărțile*

*Săteanului Român, Opinca, Gazeta Economului, Țara Noastră, Solia Satelor*, seen as crucial for Romanian peasants in Transylvania. However, even within this context, some political matters were addressed, mostly revolving around election processes, candidate biographies, or legislation in the eastern part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Transleithania). The second type of approach prioritized political engagement, actively supporting the political activism of Romanians in Transylvania, who until 1905 had remained politically passive due to the Austro-Hungarian agreement.<sup>29</sup> This category includes periodicals such as *Foaia Poporului* and *Libertatea*, positioned midway between a folk gazette and a generalist political periodical, which is evident from the programmatic ideas they espoused over time.<sup>30</sup> The authors of the present article included them in their analysis because they not only feature numerous articles characteristic of what they understand by “gazete poporale,” but also because they contributed to the peasants’ political education. Notably, between 1893 and 1898, *Foaia Poporului* had a section offering agricultural insights in a language accessible to peasants.<sup>31</sup>

The most illustrative mission statement regarding civic education and political activism is *Libertatea*’s. More specifically, the editorial team expressed their commitment to improving the political landscape for Romanians in Transylvania and preventing mistakes similar to those that they had made in the past. Their objectives included (1) educating Romanians about their rights and duties as citizens and taxpayers; (2) advocating for the organization of PNR’s local and regional clubs; and (3) enlightening the public about the parliamentary process and voting rights. Through their newspaper, they aimed to shift from passiveness to activism, both among political leaders and voters, while remaining aligned with the “national program of the party.”<sup>32</sup>

While *Foaia Poporului* did not publish a clear mission statement, its editorial direction is clear from the articles it published, which sought to “enlighten” peasants across economic, social, cultural, and political spheres, a principle that resonated in the agendas of most of the analyzed folk gazettes but was particularly emphasized in the pages of the newspaper published in Sibiu at the close of the nineteenth century. Journalists at *Foaia Poporului* aimed to raise awareness of citizens’ rights, strengthen “national spirit,” and impart “knowledge regarding the century” they lived in.<sup>33</sup> To effectively reach rural audiences, the publication’s editors believed in the importance of expertise in this specialized field of journalism.<sup>34</sup> In the case of both their mission statements and stances on various issues,

folk gazettes sought support from priests and teachers in rural areas in their attempt to “enlighten” villagers. They organized lectures and literacy schools, leveraging newspaper content to disseminate information throughout rural communities.

### Topics Pertaining to Civic and Political Education Discussed in Folk Gazettes

The folk gazettes in Transylvania were founded and backed by figures from the cultural and political elite, who were part of the Romanian national movement and PNR. The aim of these newspapers was to educate Romanian peasants on cultural, political, and civic matters in a nationalistic spirit, which would, in turn, contribute to their social, economic, and political progress. The topics covered were wide-ranging, including explanations of Hungarian laws, advice in various areas, history, biographical sketches of prominent figures (especially of PNR leaders), efforts to dispel superstitions and popular beliefs, discussions regarding the condition of women, advocacy for education, debates on the social ills of the period, and political education.<sup>35</sup>

Special articles were devoted to the role of the Romanian peasant in society. While their life was depicted as challenging, peasants were portrayed as custodians of ancient traditions and beliefs despite their precarious socioeconomic condition.<sup>36</sup> In parallel to the narratives prevalent in Romanian newspapers and articles disseminated across Europe, folk gazettes propagated stereotypes regarding the national virtues of peasants, portraying them as an indispensable element of Romanian society, with some journalists even contending that their “cabin,” “a temple of Romanianism,” played a crucial role in ensuring “the nation’s survival.”<sup>37</sup> The peasantry, “a pillar of the nation,” also served as the cradle of the Transylvanian Romanian aristocracy.<sup>38</sup>

In contrast to the positive portrayal of Romanian peasants, the political figures of that time were depicted in contrasting lights. Some were portrayed as illustrious representatives of the nation who had risen from the ranks of the peasantry, while others were criticized as disconnected leaders driven solely by personal interests, as privileged individuals who received salaries without fulfilling their duties, or as engaging in activities deemed unhelpful to those they represented. This led Transylvanian Romanians to often choose “the lesser of two evils.”<sup>39</sup> Calls were systematically made in folk newspapers for Romanian deputies to focus more on

the pressing issues facing peasants or “the common people,” as they call them, rather than prioritize “state affairs.”<sup>40</sup>

Another set of articles sought to clarify specific state laws in a manner that was easy for peasants to understand. Journalists provided simple examples and adapted complex legal concepts to language accessible to the rural residents.<sup>41</sup> The topics they covered included army law, emphasizing the Romanian contribution to recruitment, new tax laws, inheritance and testament regulations, coupled with explanations as to why they matter, the anti-usury law, and bills of exchange.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, the readers were provided with explanations of the nation’s constitution and civil code.<sup>43</sup>

Special attention was given to the agricultural law adopted in 1894 (Law XII).<sup>44</sup> The descriptions and explanations delved into various aspects of the law such as the regulations concerning agricultural labor and the default risk facing peasants.<sup>45</sup> Other analyses centered on topics ranging from agricultural land, orchard management, grazing rights, and husbandry to access roads to properties, the establishment of pomiculture schools, and more.<sup>46</sup>

An in-depth examination was dedicated to explaining communal law, focusing on its provisions regarding the organization of local administrative leadership.<sup>47</sup> Building on this informative effort and referencing legal guidelines, articles were written to clarify to peasants the importance of administrative-territorial units, how they were classified, the process of forming notarial circles and then counties from various localities, and the duties of smaller units called “townships.” This included their relationship with the state and their responsibilities in resolving residents’ concerns. Detailed accounts of local-level institutions such as the township assembly and the mayor’s office were supplemented with information about their civil servants and the criteria for their election. The taxation of peasant incomes received special focus as well, discussing different tax categories, the authorities in charge of overseeing their imposition, and the categories of peasants who were exempt from payment.<sup>48</sup> Other articles reported on ongoing rural events, including debates on administrative organization and electoral campaigns, especially those pertinent to local elections.

Another series of articles took on the task of explaining the Electoral Law of 1874. They examined aspects such as the right to vote and run for office, the functions of the “central committee,” the compilation of electoral rolls, procedures for challenging these rolls, the conduct of elections, and the authorities responsible for overseeing the elections, and other

provisions of the law.<sup>49</sup> In the early twentieth century, *Foaia Poporului* revisited this electoral law, shedding light on how voter lists were compiled annually in March and April, drawing from the previous year's data and adjusting for changes in eligibility. Romanian peasants were strongly urged to ensure their registration on these lists, with detailed instructions provided for those who found themselves absent from the initial drafts and guiding them on how to appeal for inclusion. Romanian priests and teachers were called upon to guarantee correct registration. The articles also provided detailed explanations regarding the voting process, how elections were conducted, the different phases of electoral cycles, how long the voting lasted, the roles of voting commissions, election results, and any potential challenges that could arise.<sup>50</sup> Despite the passive political stance of the Romanian elite at the time when the analyzed articles were published, the examined newspapers continued to campaign for Romanians with voting rights to register on electoral rolls and encourage them to exercise their electoral rights. These appeals were particularly emphasized during local elections.

*Foaia Poporului* simplified the functions of the parliamentary system, explaining the role of “deputies” as “representatives of the people” and “national representation” as the diet or the legislative body where deputies gathered to vote on laws.<sup>51</sup> They clarified the process of passing a law, explaining how it is initially discussed in the Assembly of Deputies and then in “upper house” or the House of Magnates, comprising “the country's boyars,” otherwise known as “grófs and barons,” “priests, supreme committees, and others.” If a bill cleared the House of Magnates, it went to the King for approval, which was known as “sanctioning.” The examples provided in this regard show that the process had three stages, requiring approval on the part of the deputies, the magnates, and then the monarch. Following adoption, laws were implemented by ministers, acting as the ruler's aides. The author of one such article explains to the peasants that “the country had 10 ministers”: (1) the President Minister, who ranked highest; (2) the Minister of the Interior; (3) the Minister of Justice, who was the head of the judges; (4) the Minister of Finance, who headed over the treasury or the country's finances; (5) the Minister of Religions, who ruled over schools and churches; (6) the Minister of War, who oversaw the soldiers and captains; (7) the Minister of Communications, in charge of roads, posts, etc.; (8) the Minister of Economy, Industry, and Commerce, who headed over economy, crafts, and trade; (9) the Minister for Croatia and Slavonia, which were part of Hungary; and (10) the Minister

for Liaison with the King. The latter had headquarters in Vienna, while the others had their residence in Budapest. All the ministers formed the government, who oversaw the country.<sup>52</sup> The manner in which information was conveyed in folk gazettes is noteworthy, as journalists appear to have made evident efforts to elucidate the operational mechanisms of state power to the peasants using accessible language.

Another article, aimed at elucidating the organization and operation of the state, takes a different approach, employing a question-and-answer format. More specifically, it stresses the pivotal role of laws in shaping the state's structure, bringing an end to disorder. To the question "who makes up our country?" the answer provided by the article mentions that it comprises "all inhabitants residing within the realm governed by our lord." Additionally, the article delves into the roles of deputies and their formation of the country's diet, as well as the responsibilities of both the diet and the ministers. It also clarifies that ministers were not lawmakers, as villagers mistakenly assumed, but rather "the highest officials tasked with upholding the law."<sup>53</sup> The article then proceeds to offer a comprehensive portrayal of the diet, the legislative process, how the government comprises different ministries, the organization of the county and its officials, the role and duties of state officials, citizen obligations, what taxes or "contributions" are, and why they must be paid.<sup>54</sup>

Folk gazettes also touched upon protests against political or religious issues, or against the conduct of officials from their communities.<sup>55</sup> Toward the late nineteenth century, such actions usually accompanied discussions regarding the implementation of a law mandating the Magyarization of locality names in Transylvania.<sup>56</sup> These instances underscore the presence of civic engagement among Romanian peasants in Transylvania. While these protests may appear spontaneous and unpremeditated, the press played a crucial role in disseminating the information that catalyzed their organization and bolstered participation.

In the authors' analysis of the articles, they found numerous debates and presentations detailing Parliament's legislative work on various laws.<sup>57</sup> During election periods, there was a noticeable increase in reports regarding election procedures, voter registration, and guidance on exercising voting rights.<sup>58</sup> The extensive coverage of electoral laws and voting rights in these articles, along with the consistent revisit of this topic by folk gazettes, indicates that journalists were not mere vehicles of propaganda. Instead, they clearly prioritized educating peasants about civic and political issues.

One topic that generated significant discussion was the expansion of male suffrage. As debates emerged about the possibility of implementing universal suffrage in Hungary, speculation arose regarding potential restrictions.<sup>59</sup> Articles were published debating this electoral bill, emphasizing how authorities aimed to limit voting rights and favor the Hungarian candidates by adjusting electoral circles in accordance with the population's ethnic makeup yet in opposition with the region's administrative boundaries. Another point of contention revolved around limiting ballot access for those fluent in Hungarian, the appointment of deputies by right, oral voting, and more. According to *Foaia Poporului*, Emperor Franz Joseph's rejection of the 1908 version of the bill can be attributed first and foremost to pressure from socialists and unions.<sup>60</sup>

Folk gazettes also covered the electoral law adopted in the Austrian half of the Monarchy, which introduced universal male suffrage when discussions were underway about a similar law for the Hungarian part.<sup>61</sup> On a different occasion, they described the English electoral system, explaining the voting process, the roles of elected representatives, and the associated costs.<sup>62</sup> The authors' analysis of various early twentieth-century articles published in folk newspapers indicates a consensus that widening suffrage would significantly advantage the Romanian population in Transylvania and strengthen the political endeavors of the national movement.<sup>63</sup>

Similarly, the folk press extensively discussed PNR's initiative to advocate for electoral reform and widen suffrage. In 1913, for instance, *Foaia Poporului* explored PNR's proposal concerning universal suffrage thoroughly, while advocating for the enfranchisement of all citizens, regardless of gender, commencing from the age of 24. However, certain demographic segments, such as law enforcement, individuals afflicted with illnesses, notably alcoholism, or those with prior criminal convictions, were exempted from eligibility. Additional stipulations encompassed the establishment of a minimum age threshold of 30 for parliamentary candidacy and a revision of electoral rolls every five years. The author of the article in *Foaia Poporului* notes divergent opinions on PNR's initiative, with accolades from Vienna juxtaposed against criticism from Hungarians and Transylvanian Saxons. Despite prevailing skepticism regarding the feasibility of universal suffrage, the author expressed optimism regarding its eventual realization, urging every Romanian, irrespective of social standing, to align with PNR's cause and exercise their vote in favor of candidates championing their collective interests.<sup>64</sup> The adoption of the law, as anticipated by the author, came swiftly, being ratified in early

1913. In the aftermath, newspapers explored voter registration protocols, underscoring the imperative for supplementary legislative measures to effectuate the law.<sup>65</sup> After the electoral law had come into effect, articles spotlighting perceived injustices against Romanians started to be published. Consequently, PNR convened numerous popular assemblies in Transylvania to express their discontentment with those prejudices.<sup>66</sup>

Explaining electoral regulations is a common topic in folk gazettes throughout the period under study. What is especially intriguing, however, is how these newspapers rallied villagers to get involved in the electoral process, even organizing campaigns to help them understand literacy exams required by Hungarian authorities for voting rights. The law dictated that only those with diplomas from secondary or middle school could vote. Others, such as those without primary school diplomas or those who could read and write without completing school, had to prove their literacy through examination. These tests, conducted by three-member subcommittees at electoral centers, were scheduled for May 1914. Voters could demonstrate literacy in any language spoken in Transylvania and, if successful, received a certificate valid across the Empire.<sup>67</sup> Ensuring as many peasants as possible could vote was crucial for the Romanian national movement. To this end, folk gazettes consistently encouraged local elites and notables to support the cause. Interestingly, the authorities ignored the project and amendments formulated by PNR deputies when passing the 1913 Electoral Law, which led to the organization of PNR popular assemblies in early 1914.

“Gazetele poporale” devoted intense coverage to voting qualification exams, seeing them as opportunities for civic and national education. Sometimes, priests and rural teachers would encourage villagers to participate, but not always. Some peasants failed the exams, while others did not show up, citing work commitments or sending their wives instead. The absentees were reminded that electing deputies directly impacted their lives, as laws affecting them were decided by those they elected. Unfortunately, authorities often used literacy tests to limit Romanian voters, although many folk gazettes reported on cases where peasants could not pass minimal exams.<sup>68</sup>

Another key focus of folk gazettes was rallying Romanian peasants to support the endeavors of PNR, the sole Romanian political organization to conduct actions aligned with Romanian national interests. After shifting from passivism to political activism in 1905, these newspapers educated peasants about PNR’s role in representing the Romanian nation.

After shifting away from passivism and embracing political activism in 1905, folk gazettes crafted a narrative aimed at educating peasants about the structure, leadership, parliamentary group organization, activities, and the deputies of PNR.<sup>69</sup> The key message conveyed to peasants was that the party embodies the entire Romanian nation and that they are a fundamental element of the national movement.

The actions of PNR deputies, including those carried out during parliamentary recesses, underscored their uninterrupted political engagement. Rather than taking a hiatus during parliamentary downtime, they would convene popular assemblies with voters, where they would outline their parliamentary activities and steer constituents toward future political endeavors. Beginning in 1908, these popular assemblies proliferated, with their message being that they served as platforms for civic and national education rather than electoral propaganda. The reality, however, lay somewhere in between. Articles detailing the organization of popular assemblies in 1908 persisted, emphasizing their festive nature, with Romanians welcoming their elected representatives with pomp and ceremony. Descriptions homed in on how the events unfolded, the discussions they participate, and attendance figures, also noting the participation of Transylvanian Saxons and the Banat Swabians in certain locales with mixed populations.<sup>70</sup> These political gatherings, indirectly critiquing the electoral law under discussion at the time, were also orchestrated by Slovaks, Swabians, or even Hungarians. Over time, informational meetings transitioned into protests against the proposed legislation, with Romanian deputies, political leaders, cultural figures, and local dignitaries joining in. Demonstrations were not confined to Sundays and holidays but extended to the villagers' workdays. The authors of the articles argued that Romanian leaders had the responsibility to elucidate the law's purpose and effects to voters during these gatherings, and in some areas, authorities banned the assemblies.<sup>71</sup> Speeches by Romanian politicians at these demonstrations, such as Iuliu Maniu's in Alba Iulia, were also covered in the press. Maniu, a prominent leader of the Romanians, stressed that until that moment, Romanians had only borne duties to the state, but from then on, they had to assert their rights, demanding universal, equal, and secret suffrage, as, he believed, even the emperor desired. Maniu argued, based on the electoral law and the newly elected officials, that the entire legislative framework needed revision to ensure equality before the law for all the Empire's inhabitants. With universal suffrage

granted, the different ethnic groups would enjoy better representation, potentially influencing internal state politics.<sup>72</sup>

In the years that followed, folk gazettes continued detailing the electoral meetings arranged by PNR members or parliamentarians with the voters.<sup>73</sup> During these gatherings, local priests and educators and peasants took the stage, engaging in discussions with their political representatives and the articles highlighting the warm reception they received from villagers. The interference of Hungarian authorities, often leading to the disruption of these meetings, was duly noted.<sup>74</sup> Several speeches made by peasants were published, revealing a recurring theme of unity and support for PNR candidates.<sup>75</sup> These gatherings, which brought together Romanian political figures and rural communities, persisted until the outbreak of the Great War, with discussions primarily focusing on issues such as universal suffrage and the citizenship rights of Romanians. Popular assemblies were consistently depicted as initiatives aimed at nurturing civic engagement and rallying peasants around the notion that PNR was not merely a political entity but the essence of the Romanian national movement.<sup>76</sup> Even if it supported the appearance of the *Foaia Poporului*, PNR did not turn it into a mouthpiece in attracting the peasants, mainly due to the passivist policy that rejected Romanians' political involvement. After implementing the activist tactic, all the Romanian folk gazettes in Transylvania rallied to support the party's actions, even if it did not explicitly finance or support through its leaders the periodicals dedicated to the villagers.

At the turn of the twentieth century, folk gazettes also covered protest assemblies where Romanians voiced their opposition to the adoption and enforcement of the education law advocated by Minister Albert Apponyi. The articles stressed the significance of these protests as manifestations showcasing Romanian culture, language, unity, and position concerning the recently proposed education legislation.<sup>77</sup> Consistent with the coverage of popular assemblies, the reporting provided accounts concerning the size of the protesting crowd, the logistical arrangements of the gatherings, interventions by authorities leading to disruptions, and the resolutions adopted by the demonstrators.

## Conclusions

Between 1867 and 1914, Romanian cultural and political elites pioneered the development of two distinct genres of folk newspapers tailored to peasant audiences. One category was devoted to disseminating cultural

and educational content relevant to rural communities, exemplified by publications such as *Progresul*, *Şezătoarea*, *Cărțile Săteanului Român*, *Gazeta Economului*, *Opinca*, *Tara Noastră*, and *Solia Satelor*. Conversely, the other genre, typified by *Foaia Poporului* and *Libertatea*, prioritized political discourse and current affairs discussions. While the former emerged predominantly toward the late nineteenth century, with a few exceptions such as *Tara Noastră* and *Solia Satelor*, the latter advocating political activism surfaced in the early twentieth century. Characterized by an uncomplicated journalistic style tailored for readers with limited literacy levels, folk gazettes were nonetheless read by local dignitaries such as clergymen, educators, and notaries, who played a pivotal role in molding civic and political consciousness among the peasantry. Despite their reluctance to openly endorse the political activism championed by PNR from 1905 onward, late nineteenth-century gazettes significantly contributed to peasant mobilization and their civic education. The authors noticed the lack of articles that should have linked or presented the political activism of the rural inhabitants of the Kingdom of Romania. This can be explained by the fact that the gazettes of the Transylvanian Romanians were channeled to the situation in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and also to avoid possible press trials, which would have made it quite difficult to deal with the topics dedicated to the political activism of the Romanians in Transylvania.

The analyses of articles dedicated to civic and political education revealed that *Foaia Poporului* was the most actively involved “gazetă poporala” in this endeavor. Its consistent attention to and the importance of the topics discussed placed it at the forefront of fostering civic and political consciousness among Romanian peasants in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Transylvania. Despite its brief existence, *Solia Satelor* also demonstrated a concern for these matters. A special case is represented by *Libertatea*, whose mission statement articulates a dedication to engaging in civic initiatives and providing political education for Romanians residing in the intra-Carpathian province. However, upon studying the list of the articles published between 1902 and 1914, it became apparent that *Libertatea* veered from this commitment, instead focusing on disseminating daily news updates and articles pertaining to contemporary political affairs, which it approached in an elitist manner. As for folk gazettes explicitly expressing a reluctance to engage with political themes, such as *Progresul*, *Şezătoarea*, *Cărțile Săteanului Român*, *Gazeta Economului*, *Opinca*, and *Tara Noastră*, the decision to either release or

avoid publishing articles supporting civic and political activism varied. They were included in this present analysis to highlight the extent to which Transylvanian Romanian folk gazettes during the dualist period aligned with the initiatives under scrutiny, and show that despite assertions of detachment from political discourse, a few contributions on the topic were made nonetheless.

The involvement of folk newspapers in civic and political activism is exemplified by their support for civic actions, which carried inherent political implications. Notable instances include the protests staged in 1907 against the enactment of the education law proposed by Minister Apponyi, the opposition to the electoral bill of 1908, and the resistance to the finalized version of the law in 1913. Furthermore, the electoral gatherings orchestrated by PNR between 1908 and 1914, and the organization of popular assemblies in the first half of 1914 in particular, were facilitated and endorsed by folk gazettes. Although the quantifiable impact of articles on political education within PNR's political campaign cannot be definitively evaluated at present, the authors posit that folk newspapers played a substantive role in fostering awareness among rural readers regarding the significance of their political and civic engagement.

*Sorin Radu* is a professor at the “Lucian Blaga” University of Sibiu, Faculty of Social and Human Sciences and editor-in-chief of the journal *Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis. Series Historica*. He is the author and coordinator of several volumes on the history of Romania in the twentieth century, namely, *The Romanian Electorate in the Years of Parliamentary Democracy (1919–1937)* (Iași: European Institute, 2004); *The Countryside and Communism in Eastern Europe: Perceptions, Attitudes, Propaganda* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2016) (with Cosmin Budeancă); *Politics and Peasants in Interwar Romania: Perceptions, Mentalities, Propaganda* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017) (with Oliver Jens Schmitt); and *România interbelică: modernizare politico-instituțională și discurs național* (Iași: Polirom, 2023) (with Oliver Jens Schmitt).

*Alexandru Nicolaescu* is researcher at the Institute of Social Sciences and Humanities, Sibiu, Romanian Academy. He has a PhD in history from 2015, with the thesis entitled *Revista Transilvania: program editorial, conținut istoriografic și bibliologic (1868–1919) [Transylvania Magazine: Standing Order, Historiographic and Bibliologic Content (1868–1919)]*. The main topics of interest are the press and cultural history of Transylvania in the nineteenth-twentieth centuries, the political history of the interwar period, and the history of political elites. He has published two books, is a single author, and has over 40 articles and studies in various journals and collective works.

## NOTES

1. Liesbeth van de Grift and Amalia Ribi Forclaz, "Preface," in *Governing the Rural in Interwar Europe*, eds. Liesbeth van de Grift and Amalia Ribi Forclaz (New York and London: Routledge, 2018), XI–XVIII, here XI. In the preface of the book, the editors highlight that this research topic is marginalized in Europe. See, also, Laurent Brassart, Corinne Marache, Juan Pan-Montójo, and Leen van Molle (eds.), *Making Politics in the European Countryside 1780s–1930s* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2022); Ágoston Berecz, "How to Study Early Popular Engagement with Nationalism? Sources, Strategies, Research Traditions," *Hungarian Historical Review* 12, no. 1 (2023): 3–36; Harald Heppner, Christian Promitzer, and Ionela Zaharia (Hrg.), *Die ländliche Gesellschaft im Zeitalter des Ersten Weltkrieges. Herausforderungen und ihre emotionalen Folgen* (Berlin, Bruxelles, Chennai, Lausanne, New York, and Oxford: Peter Lang Verlag, 2024).

2. Maurice Agulhon, *La république au village. Les populations du Var de la Révolution à la IIe république* (Paris: Plon, 1970); Alain Corbin, *Archäisme et modernité en Limousin au XIXe siècle 1845–1880* (Paris: M. Rivière, 1975); Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen. The Modernisation of Rural France 1870–1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976); Gilles Pécourt, "La Politisation des paysans au XIXe siècle. Réflexions sur l'histoire politique des campagnes français," *Histoire et Sociétés Rurales* 2, no. 2 (1994): 91–125; Louis Hincker, "La politisation des milieux populaires en France au XIXe siècle: constructions d'historiens. Esquisse d'un bilan (1948–1997)," *Revue d'Histoire du XIXe siècle* 14, no. 1 (1997): 89–105.

3. Milan Řepa, "Introduction. The Politisation of Rural Areas: The Case of East Central Europe," in *Peasants into Citizens: The Politicisation of Rural Areas in Central Europe (1861–1914)*, ed. Milan Řepa (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2020), 1–9, here 8–9.

4. Sorin Radu, "Statul național și integrarea politică a țăranilor: o temă de cercetare deschisă," in *România interbelică: modernizare politico-instituțională și discurs național*, eds. Sorin Radu and Oliver-Jens Schmitt (Iași: Polirom, 2023), 104–33; Sorin Radu and Oliver Jens Schmitt (eds.), *Politics and Peasants in Inter-war Romania: Perceptions, Mentalities, Propaganda* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017).

5. Radu, "Statul național," 108–9; Řepa, "Introduction," 3; Kai Struve, "Civil Society, Peasants, and Nationalism in Austria Galicia from the 1860s until 1914," in *Peasants into Citizens: The Politicisation of Rural Areas in Central Europe (1861–1914)*, ed. Milan Řepa (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2020), 11–38, here 17; Liviu Maior, *Habsburgi și Români: de la loialitate dinastică la identitate națională* (București: Editura Enciclopedică, 2006), 206–9; Vlad Popovici, "Officiers et société civile roumaine en Transylvanie (1790–1867)," *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 58 (2019): 35–52; Ioan Bolovan and Adina Cornea, "Serfs into Romanians. The Road from Blaj to Alba Iulia (1848–1918)," *Philobiblon. Transylvanian Journal of Multidisciplinary Research in the Humanities* 27, no. 1 (2022): 5–26.

6. Simion Retegan, *Conștiință și acțiune națională în satul românesc din Transilvania la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea (1860–1867)* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1983), 5–31; Liviu Maior, *Asociaționism și nationalism la români din Transilvania* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Școala Ardeleană, 2022), 11–32, 99–140; Radu, "Statul național," 133.

7. Řepa, "Introduction," 1.
8. Although in France, too, the process of internal colonization of rural areas and the transformation of peasants into French citizens was quite complicated and sometimes violent, as shown in Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*.
9. Simion Retegan, "Structura socială a elitei românești din Transilvania între 1849-1867," in *Realități sociale și implicare politică în Transilvania între 1849-1867. Studii*, eds. Dumitru Suciu (București: Editura Academiei Române, 2011), 1-41; Dumitru Suciu, "Evoluții programatice și alternative tactice ale mișcării naționale românești din Transilvania între 1849-1867," in *Realități sociale și implicare politică în Transilvania între 1849-1867. Studii*, ed. Dumitru Suciu (București: Editura Academiei Române, 2011), 43-165; Retegan, *Conștiință și acțiune*, 5-31; Kinga-Koreta Sata, "The People Incorporated. Constructions of the Nation in Transylvanian Romanian Liberalism, 1838-1848," in We, *the People Politics of National Peculiarity in Southeastern Europe*, ed. Diana Mishkova (Sofia: Centre for Advanced Study Sofia, 2011), 3-24.
10. "poporala" (from the Romanian *popor*, "people").
11. See Judith Páll and Vlad Popovici (eds.), *Elites and Politics in Central and Eastern Europe (1948-1918)* (Frankfurt am Main/Berlin: Peter Lang Verlag, 2014).
12. Gary B. Cohen, "Nationalist Politics and Dynamics of State and Civil Society in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1867-1914," *Central European History* 40 (2007): 241-78; Pieter M. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire. A New History* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2016).
13. Cohen, "Nationalist Politics," 264-8.
14. Struve, "Civil Society," 21.
15. Further developed by Tara Zahra, "Imagined Noncommunities: National Indifference as a Category of Analysis," *Slavic Review* 69, no. 1 (2010): 93-119.
16. Struve, "Civil Society," 32.
17. Pavel Kladiwa, "The Countryside between the state, Nation and Civil Society: External Impulses and Local Initiatives," in *Peasants into Citizens: The Politicisation of Rural Areas in Central Europe (1861-1914)*, ed. Milan Řepa (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2020), 79-94, here 79.
18. By "Transylvania," we understand the entire geographical area united in 1918 with Romania. This includes not only the territories of the former Grand Principality of Transylvania but also Banat, Crișana, and Maramureș. Our delineation is based on the geographical framework outlined in Ioan-Aurel Pop, Thomas Nagler, and Magyari András (eds.), *The History of Transylvania (from 1711 to 1918)*, III (Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Academy, Center for Transylvanian Studies, 2010), 387.
19. For details on the gazettes dedicated to the peasants published in Romania, although they did not have the character of the Transylvanian folk gazettes, see Alexandru Nicolaescu, "The Romanian Newspapers Published for Peasants from Transylvania in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century: A Theoretical and Thematic Approach," *Transylvanian Review/Revue de Transylvanie* 31, no. 4 (2022): 3-28, here 5.
20. For detailed insights into the editorial evolution of these nine newspapers, in please refer to the following works: Sorin Radu, "Considerații privind gazetele

poporale din Transilvania apărute înainte de Primul Război Mondial,” *Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane Sibiu* 3 (1996): 209–19; Nicolaescu, “The Romanian Newspapers,” 3–28.

21. Nicolaescu, “The Romanian Newspapers,” 4–5; Radu, “Considerații,” 209–11; Alexandru Nicolaescu, “Evoluția tematică a gazetei poporale *Cărțile Săteanului Român* (1876–1886),” *Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane Sibiu* 28 (2021): 5–36, here 7–9; Alexandru Nicolaescu, “Implicitarea presei în modernizarea lumii rurale. Studiu de caz: gazeta poporala *Şezațoarea* (1875–1882),” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie «G. Barițiu». Series Historica* 61, no. 2 Supplement (2022): 115–28, here 116–17.

22. Nicolaescu, “The Romanian Newspapers,” 6–7; Radu, “Considerații,” 210; Nicolaescu, “Evoluția tematică,” 9.

23. Radu, “Considerații,” 209–19; Nicolaescu, “The Romanian Newspapers,” 3–28. For example, see the evolution of *Libertatea* after the Union of 1918: Marian Pătru, “The ‘Poporala’ Paper, *Libertatea*, and the Shaping of the Antisemitic and Extreme Right Peasant Mind in Greater Romania (1919–1925),” *Slavonic & East European Review* 101, no. 1 (2023): 91–113.

24. Borbála Zsuzsanna Török, *Exploring Transylvania: Geographies of Knowledge and Entangled Histories in a Multiethnic Province, 1790–1918* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2016), 64, 87; Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism: A History of Newspapers in the United States through 250 Years, 1690–1940* (New York: Macmillan, 1947), 320–2.

25. Out of the four editions of *Gazeta Economului*, the first one was formatted in two columns, with subsequent editions adopting a three-column layout per page. Despite its brief run of just four editions, its themes and approach hold significance for folk gazettes; Since 1880, *Şezațoarea* has been printed in a two-column editorial format.

26. “După 20 de ani de muncă,” *Foaia Poporului* 21, no. 1 (1913): 1–2, here 1.

27. “Pentru foile poporale,” *Foaia Poporului* XIX, no. 41 (1911): 1.

28. Nicolae Hamsea, “Inteligența să se apropie de popor,” *Foaia Poporului* XIII, no. 12 (1905): 141–2; Nicolae Hamsea, “Inteligența să se apropie de popor,” *Foaia Poporului* 13, no. 17 (1905): 212. If folk gazettes ranged in price from 1 to 4 florins—with 1 florin equating to 2 krones, the last currency introduced into circulation after 1892, the cost of the most important periodicals among the Romanians in Transylvania fluctuated between 10 and 12 florins by the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century.

29. For more details about the political passivism of Romanians in Transylvania during the dualist period, see Keith Hitchins, *A Nation Affirmed: The Romanian National Movement in Transylvania, 1860–1914* (Bucharest: The Encyclopaedic Publishing House, 1999), 122–58.

30. Even one of the initiators and editors of *Libertatea* emphasized that the periodical was conceived as a political newspaper, which, in the meantime, has had accents and supplements explicitly dedicated to the villagers, with the mention that the editorial course of the periodical does not support the last statement: Ion Moța, *42 de ani de gazetărie. Contribuții la istoria gazetăriei poporale din Ardeal și Banat* (Orăștie: Tipografia Astra S.A., 1935), 19–42.

31. "Ceitorilor nostri," *Foaia Poporului* 3, no. 1 (1895): 1.

32. "Cuvântul nostru program," *Libertatea* 1, no. 1 (1902): 1.

33. "Cetiți și sprințini foile," *Foaia Poporului* 4, no. 49 (1896): 387.

34. "Pentru gazetari," *Foaia Poporului* 18, no. 30 (1910): 1.

35. For more details on the topics, see Radu, "Considerații," 209–19; Nicolaescu, "Evoluția tematică," 5–36; Nicolaescu, "Implicarea presei," 115–28; Nicolaescu, "The Romanian Newspapers," 3–28.

36. C.A. Rosetti, "Catră împăratului Săteanului romanu!," *Cartile Săteanului Român* 2, no. 2 (1877): 31–32.

37. D.O.L., "Colib'a tieranului," *Cartile Săteanului Român* 7, no. 8 (1882): 80–83; D.O.L., "Colib'a tieranului," *Opinca* 1, no. 20 (1885): unpaged.

38. "Tieranulu roamnu în venitoriu," *Cartile Săteanului Român* 1, no. 3 (1876): 43–48; Radu, "Considerații," 210.

39. Niculiti'a Sucutardénulu, "Cioroboru. Domnului Redactoriu dela *Cartile Steanului Romanu*," *Cartile Săteanului Român* 4, no. 1 (1879): 16–18.

40. "Se fimu cu mai multa grige pentru inavutirea poporului," *Progresul* 1, no. 1 (1866): 9–17.

41. Octavian Rusu, "Spicuri prin legile țării," *Solia Satelor* 1, no. 47 (1912): 2.

42. "Legiuirea țării noastre," *Solia Satelor* 1, no. 29 (1912): 2–3; I.M., "Noua lege militară," *Foaia Poporului* 21, no. 3 (1913): 5; "Legiuirea țării noastre," *Solia Satelor* 1, no. 46 (1912): 5; Valeriu Moldovan, "Legiuirea țării noastre," *Solia Satelor* 2, no. 1 (1913): 6; "Despre testamente," *Foaia Poporului* 1, no. 19 (1893): 183–4; Valer Moldovan, "Despre testament," *Foaia Poporului* 8, no. 48 (1900): 568; Valer Moldovan, "Despre testament," *Foaia Poporului* 8, no. 49 (1900): 579; Valer Moldovan, "Despre testament," *Foaia Poporului* 8, no. 51 (1900): 603; Valer Moldovan, "Despre testament," *Foaia Poporului* 8, no. 52 (1900): 615–16; Valer Moldovan, "Despre testament," *Foaia Poporului* 11, no. 33 (1903): 391–2; Virgil Rusu, "Cum să ne scăpăm de cămătari," *Solia Satelor* 2, no. 24 (1913): 3; Virgil Rusu, "Spicuri din legea cambială," *Solia Satelor* 2, no. 33 (1913): 5–6.

43. "Ceva despre constituțunea patriei," *Foaia Poporului* 1, no. 19 (1893): 182–3; "Căsătoria civilă," *Foaia Poporului* 1, no. 50 (1893): 554–6.

44. Eugen Brote, "Noua lege agricolă," *Foaia Poporului* 3, no. 3 supplement (1895): 9.

45. "Legea muncitorilor agricoli," *Foaia Poporului* 6, no. 18 (1898): 210–11; "Noua lege de execuție," *Foaia Poporului* 16, no. 30 (1908): 326–7.

46. "Din legile noastre," *Foaia Poporului* 3, no. 2 (1895): 11–12, here 11; "Din legile noastre," *Foaia Poporului* 3, no. 4 (1895): 28; Ioan Popu-Câmpianu, "Tâlcuirea legii despre economia câmpului," *Solia Satelor* 2, no. 21 (1913): 1–2; Ioan Popu-Câmpianu, "Tâlcuirea legii despre economia câmpului," *Solia Satelor* 2, no. 22 (1913): 3; Ioan Popu-Câmpianu, "Tâlcuirea legii despre economia câmpului," *Solia Satelor* 2, no. 24 (1913): 3; Ioan Popu-Câmpianu, "Tâlcuirea legii despre economia câmpului," *Solia Satelor* 2, no. 25 (1913): 4; Ioan Popu-Câmpianu, "Tâlcuirea legii despre economia câmpului," *Solia Satelor* 2, no. 26 (1913): 6.

47. "Legea comunală," *Foaia Poporului* 3, no. 34 (1895): 267; "Legea comunală," *Foaia Poporului* 3, no. 35 (1895): 276; "Legea comunală," *Foaia Poporului* 3, no. 38 (1895): 299–300;

“Legea comunală,” *Foaia Poporului* 3, no. 40 (1895): 317; “Legea comunală,” *Foaia Poporului* 3, no. 43 (1895): 340.

48. Victor Onișor, “Despre comune,” *Foaia Poporului* 5, no. 44 (1897): 520; Victor Onișor, “Despre comune,” *Foaia Poporului* 5, no. 46 (1897): 544; *Foaia Poporului* 6, no. 1 (1898): 5; no. 2 (1898): 17; no. 12 (1898): 136; no. 15 (1898): 172–3.

49. “Dreptul de alegător,” *Foaia Poporului* 4, no. 2 (1896): 12; “Dreptul de alegător,” *Foaia Poporului* 4, no. 3 (1896): 20–21; “Dreptul de alegător,” *Foaia Poporului* 4, no. 4 (1896): 27; “Dreptul de alegător,” *Foaia Poporului* 4, no. 5 (1896): 35–36; “Dreptul de alegător,” *Foaia Poporului* 4, no. 7 (1896): 50–51; “Dreptul de alegător,” *Foaia Poporului* 4, no. 8 (1896): 58–59; “Dreptul de alegător,” *Foaia Poporului* 4, no. 9 (1896): 68; “Dreptul de alegător,” *Foaia Poporului* 4, no. 10 (1896): 74–75; “Dreptul de alegător,” *Foaia Poporului* 4, no. 11 (1896): 84; “Dreptul de alegător,” *Foaia Poporului* 4, no. 12 (1896): 91–92; “Dreptul de alegător,” *Foaia Poporului* 4, no. 13 (1896): 99–100; “Dreptul de alegător,” *Foaia Poporului* 4, no. 14 (1896): 107; “Dreptul de alegător,” *Foaia Poporului* 4, no. 15 (1896): 116.

50. Victor Onișor, “Despre comune,” *Foaia Poporului* 5, no. 52 (1897): 617; “Dreptul de alegător,” *Foaia Poporului* X, no. 14 (1902): 157.

51. “Se fîmu cu mai multă grige pentru inavutirea poporului,” *Progresul* 1, no. 1 (1866): 9–17.

52. “Legile,” *Foaia Poporului* 1, no. 1 (1893): 5–6.

53. a.g., “Legiul ţării noastre,” *Solia Satelor* 1, no. 38 (1912): 5.

54. a.g., “Legiul ţării noastre,” *Solia Satelor* 1, no. 39 (1912): 5–6.

55. “Adunări de protestare,” *Foaia Poporului* 1, no. 20 (1893): 198.

56. “Adunare de protestare la Sibiu!,” *Foaia Poporului* 5, no. 49 (1897): 577–8, here 578.

57. “Dieta,” *Foaia Poporului* 11, no. 9 (1903): 97.

58. “Deschideți lupta în comitate!,” *Foaia Poporului* 3, no. 40 (1895): 313; “În fața alegerilor dietale,” *Foaia Poporului* 4, no. 30 (1896): 234–5.

59. “Noua lege electorală,” *Foaia Poporului* 14, no. 44 (1906): 600.

60. “Proiectul novei legi de alegere,” *Foaia Poporului* 16, no. 3 (1908): 24–25; “Împărtirea cercurilor,” *Foaia Poporului* 16, no. 9 (1908): 90; “Afacerea votului universal,” *Foaia Poporului* 16, no. 22 (1908): 238; no. 23 (1908): 250; “Votul universal,” *Foaia Poporului* 16, no. 30 (1908): 326; “Împărtirea cercurilor de alegere,” *Foaia Poporului* 16, no. 37 (1908): 396; no. 38 (1908): 406.

61. “Noua lege electorală în Austria,” *Foaia Poporului* 14, no. 51 (1906): 703–4.

62. “Alegeri în Anglia,” *Foaia Poporului* 18, no. 2 (1910): 20.

63. “Iară votul universal,” *Foaia Poporului* 19, no. 39 (1911): 1; “Adunarea poporala dela Belinț,” *Foaia Poporului* 19, no. 42 (1911): 3; “Noul proiect de lege,” *Foaia Poporului* 20, no. 51 (1912): 5; “Proiect de lege electorală,” *Foaia Poporului* 21, no. 1 (1913): 2–3.

64. “Lupta pentru noua lege electorală,” *Foaia Poporului* 21, no. 4 (1913): 1–2; “Proiectul legei electorale și partidul nostru național,” *Foaia Poporului* 21, no. 10 (1913): 2.

65. “Liste de alegători,” *Foaia Poporului* 21, no. 15 (1913): 2–3.

66. “Conferența națională sau Adunare poporala?,” *Foaia Poporului* 21, no. 39 (1913): 3.

67. „Instrucțiune pentru concrierea alegătorilor,” *Foaia Poporului* 22, no. 15 (1914): 7–8.

68. „Examenele pentru dreptul de vot,” *Foaia Poporului* 22, no. 21 (1914): 2–3; „Examenele pentru dreptul de vot,” *Foaia Poporului* 23, no. 23 (1914): 4.

69. Silvestru Moldovan, „Organizarea partidului nostru,” *Foaia Poporului* 16, no. 4 (1908): 36.

70. „Adunările poporale,” *Foaia Poporului* 16, no. 32 (1908): 346; „Adunările poporale,” *Foaia Poporului* 16, no. 41 (1908): 440; „Adunările poporale,” *Foaia Poporului* 16, no. 42 (1908): 452–3.

71. Silvestru Moldovan, „Adunări poporale,” *Foaia Poporului* 16, no. 43 (1908): 464–6; Silvestru Moldovan, „Adunări poporale,” *Foaia Poporului* 16, no. 44 (1908): 478–9.

72. „Dela adunarea noastră poporală,” *Foaia Poporului* 16, no. 46 (1908): 506; „Dela adunarea noastră poporală,” *Foaia Poporului* 16, no. 47 (1908): 518.

73. „Adunări poporale,” *Foaia Poporului* 17, no. 33 (1909): 371; „Mișcările noastre pentru alegeri,” *Foaia Poporului* 18, no. 14 (1910): 3–4.

74. „Mișcările noastre pentru alegeri,” *Foaia Poporului* 18, no. 15 (1910): 3–4.

75. G.I.V., „Scrisori dela sate,” *Foaia Poporului* 18, no. 15 (1910): 4; „Scrisori dela sate,” *Foaia Poporului* 18, no. 18 (1910): 4.

76. „Adunări poporale,” *Foaia Poporului* 19, no. 43 (1911): 2–3; „Adunare poporală în Banat-Comlos,” *Foaia Poporului* 19, no. 44 (1911): 3.

77. „Proteste și adunări poporale,” *Foaia Poporului* 15, no. 15 (1907): 171–2; „Scrisoare către alegători,” *Foaia Poporului* 15, no. 18 (1907): 217.