ON THE OCCASION OF THE 155TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF THE "TITAN" OF ROMANIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY AND CULTURE AND THE 250TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

"In the name of the sacred principles of its founding, the great Republic of the New World feels called to give humanity its future laws"
– Nicolae Iorga

Stoica LASCU, PhD
Ovidius University, Constanța, Romania
lascust@gmail.com

Abstract

In many of his works, dedicated to the whole of Universal History, general or thematic, in historical journalism, in daily records (notes, comments, obituaries, portraits), in public conferences and university lectures, N. Iorga will insist, depending on the circumstances, on the beginnings and characteristics of the history of the state born on July 4, 1776, on the role of institutions and political and cultural personalities.
Long before the dominant vision in historical writings of his time – which minimized the place of the natives (not to mention the excesses of today's "political correctness" in the re/writing of the early history of the American nation) –, the great Romanian historian amends the fact that the history of the U.S.A. was shown to begin only in 1776:

"The houses of the Indians of the South, very curious, made of clay or of sun-dried, unbaked bricks", multi-storeyed, have correspondence in the massive buildings of New York and Chicago, which when made better, that is, one row retreating from the other, do nothing but imitate the clay buildings of the Indians. What a pity that this civilization, with such beginnings, was cut off suddenly! What could not have come out of the hands of the Indian!"

On another occasion, he argues in favor of knowing and writing a history in which local populations are integrated, with their elements of civilization and culture, into the evolution as such of the space of the future North American state (and not just from the moment of the establishment of the first European colonies):

"Before the appearance of the Europeans, there was a whole Indian world here; is that of no interest? We can reconstruct this history to some extent, and therefore this chapter cannot be missing when you talk about the history of America... The poor Indians were expropriated from everything (emphasis added): **from their forest, from the control of the rivers, from their land**, but it is not right to expropriate them from their history, because they created that country, with its roads, with the beginning of agriculture (...) a chapter of Indian ethno-history should be placed at the beginning of the life of the United States"

The polyhistorian Nicolae Iorga – whose birth marks 155 years this summer – was no stranger to the historical processes that defined the so-called movement of the worlds in various eras, from Antiquity to his own time. For the "Titan" of Romanian Historiography[i], the history of the Contemporary World did not begin (as was accredited in the scholarly and popular circles of his time) with the year 1789, the beginning of the Great French Revolution, but with the American Revolution, symbolized by the Declaration of Independence of July 4, 1776, the first relying, in fact – as he would write in his fundamental work, in 4 volumes, from 1928, *Essai de synthèse de l'histoire de l'humanité*[ii] – on the one triggered in the 13 British North American colonies (*IV: Époque Contemporaine,– Chapitre premier*: pp. 1-10 –, begins with *Les nouvelles autonomies américaines*).

It is, therefore, 250 years since the founding of the United States of America...

It was shown a number of years ago, in a documentary material with a more restricted circulation[iii], that in the multitude of Iorga's preoccupations, from a journalistic perspective, there could not be missing references, appreciated as such by North American historians[iv], to America, namely the United States[v] – the "Great Republic", which he visited in 1930, for almost two months (January 27-March 20)[vi] – and Americans[vii], or Romanian-American relations.[viii]

There were Iorga's attestations excerpted, almost entirely, from "Neamul românesc" (the newspaper founded by N. Iorga in 1906), alongside which were inserted several of the articles published by the great scholar in one of the Romanian-American newspapers - "America". There were Iorga's attestations excerpted, almost entirely, from "Neamul românesc" (the newspaper founded by N. Iorga in 1906), alongside which were inserted several of the articles published by the great scholar in one of the Romanian-American newspapers[ix] - "America"[x].

"...a chapter of Indian ethno-history should be placed at the beginning of the life of the United States"

In many of his works, dedicated to the whole of universal history, general or thematic, in historical journalism, in daily records (notes, comments, obituaries, portraits), in public conferences and university lectures, N. Iorga will dwell, depending on the circumstances, on the beginnings and characteristics of the history of the state born on July 4, 1776, on the role of institutions and political and cultural personalities.

Long before the dominant vision in historical writings of his time – which minimized the place of the natives (not to mention the excesses of today's "political correctness" in the re/writing of the early history of the American nation) –, the great Romanian historian amends the fact that the history of the U.S.A. it was shown to begin only in 1776: "The houses of the Indians of the South, very curious, made of clay or of sun-dried, unbaked bricks", multi-storeyed, have a correspondence, our great scholar notices, in the massive buildings of New York and Chicago, "which when made better, that is, one row retreating from the other, do nothing but imitate the clay buildings of the Indians. What a pity that this civilization, with such beginnings, was cut off suddenly! What could not have come out of the hands of the Indian!"

On another occasion, he argues in favor of knowing and writing a history in which local populations are integrated, with the elements of their civilization and culture, into the evolution as such of the space of the future North American state (and not just from the moment of the establishment of the first European colonies):

"Before the appearance of the Europeans, there was an entire Indian world here; is that not interesting? We can reconstruct this history to some extent and, therefore, this chapter cannot be missing when talking about the history of America..."

"The poor Indians were expropriated from everything (emphasis added): from their forest, from the control of the rivers, from their land, but it is not right to expropriate them from the field of history, because they created the country, with its roads, with the beginning of agriculture (…) a chapter of Indian ethno-history should be placed at the beginning of the life of the United States".

"(…) let us salute the noble and dignified figure of Washington, who was neither an emperor nor a great politician, but only a general"

In journalism, most of the time N. Iorga approaches a historical subject mainly out of the need to reveal possible connections or roots of contemporary facts and acts. An example in this regard is an article from February 1918, when – following the speech in the American Congress, on January 8, 1918, President Woodrow Wilson made public his 14-Point Program regarding the post-war organization of the World – he summarizes the motivations of the revolt against the all-powerful Metropolis of London, at the head of which he was – writes N. Iorga in Amintirea lui Washington (published in "Neamul românesc") – "a man who until forty years old meant nothing"; respectively, George Washington, the future first president of the United States – until then, a "country boyar", in whose house “no banker with any wealth would live. What did he read? The Bible and a few books. His library? "There was nothing like that" - it was described as follows: "Modest origin, education as for those circumstances: no classical bass, no foreign languages, no literature, no sciences – English grammar and spelling; some mathematics. Some role in the border battles with the French neighbors. Colonel of the irregular troops with whom easy successes were achieved. Nothing brilliant about him: no promise in speech, in eyes, in gesture. At the moment of the "Declaration of Rights"" in the name of unorganized territories, in the name of people who had only the consciousness, but full, that they were people, that was all as far as leadership was concerned. As a decision in case of defeat, "retreat to the Alleghany Mountains", death by starvation. And when the Americans see what has come of their desperate efforts under his leadership, have they not the right, the hundred million tireless workers for culture in the name of freedom, to extend to the whole world the new "Declaration of Rights"? (The 14 Points – n.n.).

And are we not allowed, even at the hour when the triumph of the German organization roars louder, to believe that these "rights" will nevertheless triumph and to salute the noble and dignified figure of Washington, who was not an emperor, nor a great politician, but only a general?

" (…)**Liberal idealism is the dominant note of a Washington, a Jefferson, an Abraham Lincoln**"

Likewise, in the years 1917-1920, especially – but also in the interwar period –, the same connections, typical of George's broad vision of the

unfolding of historical processes. Thus, for example, on July 15, 1918, he wrote with references to specificities of the history of the young – even in his time – North American state, as well as to some personalities (most references being made to Abraham Lincoln):

"Such was also the case when the question of the freedom of the oppressed arose within the very heart of the Republic. Were there to be, or not, Black slaves in the United States? Had the American people judged the matter from the perspective of that political economy which was imposed upon Americans as a guiding principle, but which in fact today suffocates the `white Negroes` of a large part of Europe, they would have calculated the advantages of slavery in the Southern states and would have passed on to other concerns. America, however, chose instead to halt all internal productive activity for years (a reference to the Civil War/War of Secession, 1861–1865 — ed. note), to forfeit markets previously secured worldwide, to sacrifice so many lives and to lose so much material wealth, solely in order that within the bounds of the country there should exist only free human beings (emphasis in the original). `Better that the country itself should perish,` Lincoln believed, `than that it be unfaithful to its principle of life, which is also its title of honor.` And in judging thus, he achieved his aim, without the country—however afflicted it may have been at certain moments—being truly threatened in its existence or in its development."

On other occasions, emphasizing the "liberal idealism that constitutes the dominant trait of a Washington ('Everything in America that is idealism and virtue derives first and foremost from him—George Washington'), of a Jefferson, of an Abraham Lincoln," N. Iorga records one of the beneficial specificities of the civilization of the American state, born on 4 July 1776:

"Complete equality; the ceremonial gestures of Europe are unknown here. People are courteous and ready to be of service, but they do not wish to waste time on foolish formalities. At the palace of President Lincoln, there is neither doorkeeper nor lackeys. The Secretary of State, the most powerful man in the Republic, comes in his working clothes to receive a prince and speaks with him just as freely as he would with any other distinguished person. The President himself, the great Abraham Lincoln, an awkward giant, ignores the most elementary rules of savoir-vivre according to our etiquette, centuries old. Straight to the point, and quickly, for time is precious!"

As has already been noted, Nicolae Iorga did not produce a work specifically devoted to the history of the United States of America; however, its historical development, civilization, and culture, as well as its place in the contemporary world, are reflected in various thematic volumes, in lectures, travel notes, and in an abundant body of journalistic writings. On the occasion of the 250th anniversary of the founding of the United States, we offer to our

"readers"—to use the term and orthography favored by the Apostle of Vălenii—a selection of excerpts from articles published by N. Iorga in his newspaper Neamul românesc, as well as in the periodical America (published in Cleveland by Romanian Americans) during the 1920s and 1930s (drawn from the aforementioned documentary source).

Nicolae Iorga does not have, as we have shown, a special work on the history of the United States of America, but its evolution, its civilization and culture, its place in the contemporary world are found in various thematic volumes, in conferences, travel notes, as well as in an abundant journalistic production.

We offer to the "citizens", as the Apostle from Văleni named them, on the 250th anniversary of the birth of the United States, some fragments of the articles published by N. Iorga in his newspaper "Neamul românesc", as well as in the newspaper "America" (published in Cleveland by Romanian Americans) in the 1920s-1930s of the last century (extracts from the aforementioned documentary).

Notes about America

Beyond the Great Ocean lies a new world, a world founded—rightly so—upon justice and freedom of conscience by those who, in past centuries, fled the tyrannies of Europe.

It grew gradually until it reached immense proportions. The United States Republic is not merely a country; it is a world. And it has always claimed that it is a new world not only by virtue of the moment of its discovery.

For a long time, we Europeans did not acknowledge this right of the Americans. We recognized only their technical innovation. Dealers in oil, iron, cotton, lard—that was all we saw in them. And, in fact, this was so. Yet beneath this surface turmoil for money, something was taking shape, through the mingling of races and the accumulation of wealth. What was being prepared was the modern form of the consciousness of rights from which the earliest creative colonization had once departed (December 1915).

America

America has spoken once again. It has spoken in an American manner: precise, concise, with that confidence which is the hallmark of its politics. It cannot accept that the Allies be struck through the drowning of women and children, through the destruction of forms of wealth that cannot be subjected to the cruel laws of war. Recalling that within its borders stand churches crowned with crosses and schools where it is taught that society must be founded upon

morality, it demands that combatants refrain from attacking those who are not combatants and cannot be regarded as such. It has nothing to add, nothing to retract. It is not willing to enter negotiations. It brings forth a principle and demands that it be accepted immediately and respected forever.

With a sense of consolation, the entire world—except for the fanatics of vengeance—looks upon this act, which awakens in the minds of all ideas that too many had believed abandoned in some corner of the past. And thinkers will have reflected upon how much the natural development of events can wrest even from the most selfish acts committed by humankind.

Four hundred years ago, Europe's thirst for wealth violently seized the new continent discovered by a visionary. The most dreadful tyranny destroyed an entire race within a few decades. Over the ruins of an ancient and precious civilization spread the furious labor of profit-seekers from all corners of the world. We laughed at the literature and science, at the philosophy and law of the empire of iron, oil, and pork fat.

Yet every human labor produces, alongside its material outcome, something else as well: a moral product (May 1916).

Has America's time come?

There are people who cannot wait. For them, America's declaration meant the immediate, spectacular, and decisive fulfillment of all that we can only dream of. The millions of the great Republic would have risen as one, animated by hatred against Prussian tyranny and the criminal infamy of submarine warfare, to hurl themselves onto the battlefields of Europe, where Victory would have awaited them from the very moment of their appearance. Edison's genius would instantly have created new means of combat before which German technology—obsolete—would have been forced to lower its flag. And afterward, once the American, the great craftsman of the world, the tireless inventor, had fully expended the measure of his powers, what would remain if not the banquet of victory, at which it would be wise for each of us to reserve the best possible seat, preferably without payment?

How could that world have judged otherwise, with the same light-minded thinking that once expected the end of the world war from the appearance of the Romanian infantryman on the Carpathian ridges, without foreseeing the trials and dreadful sufferings through which we would have to pass before paying even the contribution demanded in exchange for recognition of our rights, so that Romania—so long desired—might be created upon their foundation?

And because America delays, many have already forgotten the acclamations that accompanied its declaration of war some two months earlier. Some would even be inclined to side with the Germans, who shrugged with near contempt at the news that, alongside enemies armed to the teeth and trained through the most costly experience in the newest methods of warfare, there would join the English-speaking Republic of all nations, with all their divergent sentiments and tendencies—one that would require so much time merely to prepare itself, even in artillery, aviation, and submarines, that by then the war would surely be over (June 1917).

The Mission of America

American envoys have visited us—envoys we never expected to see among us—envoys in uniform, hands on their swords, ready for battle, assuring us that they would stand with us "to the very end," granting every people its elementary right to freedom. These are men who believe in this right, and who—unlike others who also profess belief—turn belief into action, and whose action signifies inevitable, unwavering victory.

Listening to those few firm words spoken somewhat at a distance, the very role of America became clearer to me than ever.

No human soul, wherever it may be, is alien to the thirst and need for freedom. Even the stranglers in Berlin speak at least of the freedom to expand, and there is a kind of brutal sincerity in this narrow and aggressive conception of liberty. Countless immortal hymns have been sung to freedom, and so much blood—whose fruits we still reap today—has been shed for it. Yet until the creation and consolidation of America, there had been no political society founded by people who, at the far end of the world, across the waters of the ocean, sought land on which to establish a homeland that was not a conquest of freedom, nor even a foundation of it, but freedom itself.

Yes, everything that can be seen there—from that immense farmland, which without such an addition would have remained forest, from those cities which only through such influence replaced Indian villages and empty clearings, to all that joyful labor, vigorous thought, and generous sentiment produced by the same free spirit—everything is the embodiment, in enduring and beautiful forms, of Liberty itself.

America is no older than Liberty. It arose solely to give Liberty form among states with different origins and tendencies. Everything that followed—the unparalleled flourishing of human labor, the immense material prosperity, the satisfaction accompanying earnings gained through toil—all of this arose naturally. Mills give pleasure and yield sustenance for humankind, yet they did

not bloom for pleasure nor bear fruit for profit. Their mission lies within themselves. There must be flowers in the world—and there are. There must be freedom in human life; and however much merchandise may be produced and sold because of it, Washington, Franklin, and Abraham Lincoln did not live for merchandise, but because freedom must exist in human life (June 1917).

America—an "Illusion"?

Those who wish to "finish more quickly," merely to recover their former comfort in some homeland—regardless of its future or of how much honor it might receive, and from whom—habitually speak with great contempt of what America can do, and especially of what it wishes to do, of what it truly intends to give to a cause that is still our own.

In their judgment, the prolonged delays—months upon months, nine months in all—of the powerful Republic could be likened to the delays of Japan, shrouded in such secrecy and capable of so many interpretations. The United States, they say, would endlessly exhort others, deliver captivating speeches of the noblest philosophy, present humanity with an ideal it would never attain, since it was never destined to do so. They would manufacture tirelessly with whatever raw materials they possess, with all available labor, with the full energy of the industrious American soul; they would circulate capital accumulated through immense economic activity, lending to everyone as much as desired, as much as requested, as much as deemed necessary. But beyond these rhetorical exhortations, these industrial aids, this support of gold, these "practical men" would not wish to go.

America's citizens—of so many races, of so many distinct psychologies—possess idealism enough, for they truly need a great deal of it in order to live and work together, when so many immediate realities, memories, and habits separate them. Their labor itself differs from European labor, one of them recently remarked, in that the worker is not mechanized, reduced to the role of an inanimate tool of production; rather, at every moment something spiritual, personal, and ardent sustains even the humblest auxiliary of this immense industry: the thought that he can rise, that he can conquer and prevail through the all-conquering power of the energy he expends and the initiative he proves capable of. And what is this belief in the ultimate result of every honest labor, of every active intelligence, if not, on the one hand, the finest creed of idealism, and on the other, the proof of the most essential virtue of a soldier?

Can it then be admitted that America would allow Germany to triumph, drawing to itself what remains of the wealth of nations that would thus never be able to repay their debts to their lender of unprecedented sums?

I truly do not know what powers of calculation those attribute to themselves who believe that the world's most astute calculators could commit such crude errors.

No! America is engaged in the war with all that it has, all that it can, all that it wills. It is the surest guarantee of the efforts it owes to the cause and to itself. And the fact that it does not act as though embarking on an adventure promises precisely the magnitude of the blow it will strike at the moment—now approaching—when the forces it is accumulating are unleashed (December 1917).

*

The Memory of Washington

Telegrams report that Washington's birthday, a national holiday in the United States, was celebrated in Paris with a special ceremony, during which a speech was delivered by Mr. Pichon, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic, praising the deed accomplished nearly one hundred and fifty years ago by the first president America ever had.

It is natural that such importance should today be attached to a day which otherwise would have passed unnoticed anywhere except in America itself. The immediate intervention of the troops that the United States is preparing for the Entente has become increasingly necessary, and the world asks itself whether this intervention will go beyond the task of a strengthened defense and finally take the form of the victorious offensive so painfully awaited by all those who still believe in justice—if only because justice is the permanent necessity of things, whereas injustice has never been more than an accidental and transient disturbance of them.

We do not know how many Americans are at present on French soil, but their cooperation—although the Germans have even displayed in illustrated newspapers groups of prisoners taken from among them—has not so far had any particular importance; in any case, it has not yet been that of an army which, by its own organization, would impart its distinct character to the Great War. Somewhat less is said—perhaps only because of our scarcity of information—about those vast technical preparations that once inspired such great hopes, and for a date earlier than the spring of 1918, which for Westerners is already considered near, as we are approaching March. The

Germans, for their part, believe they can speak of shortcomings in this preparation and of appeals allegedly made—and still being made—by the Americans to their European Allies.

By nothing does America indicate any doubt as to the possibility of fulfilling the great mission it has reserved for itself and for the successful completion of which it is gathering and disciplining all its forces.

This confidence is sustained, no doubt, by the awareness of the immense powers latent within it and by the sight of the gigantic movement set in motion a year ago, into which all national life has been drawn—life previously absorbed in the frenzy of material gain. But it is sustained above all by the very example of its foundation and development: its uncertain and modest beginnings and its magnificent growth up to the present day, when, in the name of the sacred principles of its founding, the great Republic of the New World feels called upon to give humanity its future laws.

The very circumstances of Washington's deed—he who is now celebrated in Paris as a liberating hero, comparable to another simple and humble figure, so weak and yet victorious, Joan of Arc—testify not only to the possibility of such a victory of moral force, but to its necessity, which nothing can prevent.

Confronted with the powerful England of the eighteenth century, which had come to determine European politics in its entirety, serving the economic expansion of its nascent factories; confronted with that proud England which held the entire Germanic world in its power and would defy Napoleon until bringing the colossus to his knees—there stood only a few distant, poor, unknown provinces, without support, seemingly destined to eternal exploitation by the Metropolis, which thought of them solely in these terms, sending them ships laden with Indian tea and collectors of illegal taxes.

In their revolt against this perpetual exaction—without even considering the equal human quality of those from whom profit was extracted—who was there to know them, to value them, and to be ready to support these people, a mixture of Englishmen, peaceful Dutchmen, and a few Frenchmen, who had embarked upon a rebellion without any prospects according to the political calculators and prophets of the time? What could be expected of this association, which one historian has called a "strange mixture of fugitives, speculators, enthusiasts, bandits, and aristocrats," united only by labor side by side? Barely a million people against a great kingdom possessing an immense colonial empire and inexhaustible financial reserves.

At their head stood a man who, until the age of forty, had meant nothing.

Of modest origin, educated as circumstances allowed: no classical foundation, no foreign languages, no literature, no sciences—only English grammar and orthography, and some mathematics. A limited role in frontier conflicts with the neighboring French. Colonel of irregular troops, with whom some easy successes were obtained. Nothing brilliant about him: no promise in speech, in gaze, or in gesture. At the moment of the "Declaration of Rights," he spoke in the name of unorganized territories, in the name of men who possessed only one thing—but fully so—the consciousness that they were men. As for leadership, the decision in case of defeat was "withdrawal into the Allegheny Mountains"—death by starvation.

And when Americans see what emerged from the desperate efforts of those people under his leadership, do they not have the right—one hundred million tireless workers for culture in the name of liberty—to extend to the entire world a new "Declaration of Rights"?

And are we not permitted—even at a moment when the triumph of German organization resounds most loudly—to believe that these "rights" will nevertheless prevail, and to salute the noble and dignified figure of Washington, who was neither an emperor nor a great politician, but merely a general? (February 1918)

The Formation of a Spirit

How Today's America Came into Being

I have previously shown what historical and military traditions the citizens of the United States bring into this struggle, in which, from the very first trial, they proved themselves worthy both of the bravery of friends and of the methodical tenacity of enemies.

Half a century ago, they experienced at home a war of secession. The North rose against the South in the power of the principle of liberty, which demands that one human being shall not enslave another, shall not treat him as a mere beast of labor and sustenance. The South rose in retaliation against the North not only because, according to the conception of its people, "economic necessities" demanded that thousands of Black people perform plantation labor from which whites recoiled, but also because, to the principle of liberty invoked by their adversary brothers, they believed they could oppose another principle of liberty: that of individual states, which—even within the Union—are entitled to do as they wish at home, according to their own needs and ideas.

And today, what do the descendants of those of 1863 see—sometimes encouraged at their departure by the last representatives of the generation that fought then and does not regret it even now—if not yet another war of secession, this time in Europe? Once again, it is a question of the right to liberty of every human being, of the moral impossibility of sacrificing it to any economic consideration, and, on the opposing side, of the right of each nation to conduct its life—even against its neighbors—according to necessities others do not understand, because they lack both those necessities and the national temperament from which they arise.

Complete equality; the ceremonial gestures of Europe are unknown. People are courteous and ready to oblige, but unwilling to waste time on foolish formalities. At President Lincoln's palace there is neither doorkeeper nor lackeys. The Secretary of State, the most powerful man in the Republic, comes in his working clothes to receive a prince and speaks with him as freely as with any other notable person. The President himself, the great Abraham Lincoln—an awkward giant—ignores the most elementary rules of *savoir-vivre* according to our centuries-old etiquette. Straight to the point, and quickly, for time is precious.

American society continually evolves in this direction. The conservative Tories gave way after Washington to Jefferson's Whigs—liberal and bourgeois; these in turn to Jackson's Democrats; and they themselves were defeated in the most recent elections by Lincoln's Republicans.

The war is not felt, but it is fought—unlike in other countries where it is felt but not fought. The country works cheerfully, on both sides. Victory and defeat do not decide everything: an army of defeated fugitives is received in triumph, with flowers, in Washington. But the decision is taken. In vain are foreigners told that the North no longer wishes to hear of the slave question, "entirely artificial." It is a national decision, and it will be carried through.

When merchants come in delegation to Lincoln to tell him that the country is being economically ruined, he shakes their hands affectionately, asks after their health, and personally escorts them to the door—which he then closes. Perhaps rumors about "indifference" toward principles may be partly true; but the essential matter is different: something has begun, and whether on the battlefield, in the factory, in the fields, or in the mines, it must be carried through to the end. And it must be carried through by all, shoulder to shoulder, as elsewhere, where only the solidarity of companions in enterprise can bring success (July 1918).

American Conceptions

President Wilson put an end—more swiftly than an impatient world had expected—to the doubt weighing upon his determination. In the calmest manner, disdaining rhetoric and without saying a word about what the United States represents in the great conflict, about the decisive contribution of American armies or the victories won with their help, he set forth—before offering his allies a mediation that was requested of him, without conditions—the following points, arranged in logical order:

First, in whose name does the new Chancellor speak? That is, does he speak in the name of a new direction now emerging from the democratic states he claims to represent, in the name of a parliamentary regime whose installation is announced even in that Germany still so deeply marked by its Prussian past? Or does he speak in the name of others: those who began and waged the war, the former officialdom from top to bottom; those who, until the completion of Prussian electoral reform, exercised such powerful influence over the political life of the most important state of the confederation; those political thinkers who, with a Count Westarp, even today refuse to abandon an ideal of universal domination inherited directly from the Roman Empire of German nation and global mission, because it was "Roman"? Does he speak in the name of the German people in all their constituted classes? And, clearly, does he possess the necessary power to speak in the name of all?

Second, Wilson asks—through his Secretary of State, Lansing, to whom peace offers from the German-Austrian-Turkish side were also addressed—whether American principles, sufficiently clear, are accepted as a basis in the sense that only details would remain to be discussed, or in another, unacceptable sense, namely that from a starting point negotiations could begin to reduce or transform them.

Third, he rightly asks whether he could intervene with the Allies, amid the rapid advance of their troops, to set the tone for the opening of negotiations at a moment when foreign armies are still present on their territories.

We know Germany’s response, which we shall summarize below. For the moment, let us consider the American note alone.

In both style and guiding ideas, it is foreign to all the convolutions of old European diplomacy, to which so many misfortunes are owed. It also has nothing in common with the declarations of the new Bolshevik Russian regime, in which sound ideas coexist with impossible postulates added by entirely

undisciplined minds. Not to mention the very significant fact that, in one sense or another, neither Europe's old-school "bourgeois" diplomats nor the gun-wielding destroyers of the "bourgeoisie" offer guarantees for declarations whose meaning circumstances subsequently alter.

In the American note, however, there is absolute frankness, a sincerity evident in every line, and, alongside this element of radiant moral truth, the guarantee of a great nation capable of acting.

From how many waves of emigration this America of the United States has been formed, with all the peoples it contains—peoples who, when fundamental purposes are at stake, when the supreme mission and moral legitimacy of their new homeland are concerned, feel themselves in so admirable a manner a single being in ideal, determination, and struggle!

As always happens in any normal formation of a society, those who arrived later may bring energy, ingenuity, diligence, a desire for gain, love of material goods, and pride in having acquired them and readiness to increase them. But from the first founders alone comes the dominant principle, which sweeps aside all interests piled upon it; and in moments when a people measures itself, the creative principle appears and acts alone.

This America was found two hundred years ago as a place of fraternal labor by the most fanatical believers in Christian ideas, by those most devoted to their truth, by those least able to endure political tyrannies against free thought and dynastic violations of eternal right. For a long time, the new society concerned itself only with its consolidation, enrichment, and empowerment. It could be believed—and most of us believed it—that this was all it wished to do and that this alone justified its place in the world.

But when foundations have been laid so deeply for so great a power, capable of changing the very course of civilization, *it now rises to remind—and to impose where necessary—the faith for which the old English Puritans left their homeland, so that beyond the Ocean they might profess their unshakable belief in superior moral truths.*

No one has the right to dispose of peoples, no one has the right to take away their land – these are the two great things that America has said since the beginning of the war and that it repeats so resolutely today.

And in Wilson's declarations let no one see a foreign voice: it is that of the best of old Europe heard from the mouths of their powerful descendants – (October 1918).

╬ Theodore Roosevelt

America has suffered a great loss, which it now shares with all of humanity. One of the greatest energies the world had has died out, and once again human consciousness can ask itself why such great powers are left to the earth for such a short time.

A man who has put himself through the harsh school of life, he has gone through it all without false shame or false pride, thus becoming a man capable of measuring himself at any time, in anything, with another man.

And, as soon as this invincible force was created that sought the fight to bring any adversary to its knees, fortunately it was devoted only to the noblest purposes.

This was seen in the moment that decided how future centuries would live. If America went ahead, it is also because Roosevelt wanted it that way.

And today, at the moment of victory, which must surround the remains of the triumphant, all the colors of the flags sprinkled with their redeeming blood seem to mingle – (December 1918).

The Generous Hand of America

In this time, the Samaritan work, which is urgently and desperately demanded by the unheard-of misery of the poor population of the forgotten population of the villages, undermined by diseases that no longer fit in the cemeteries and there are no more priests, free from the plague, to make the church forms, is done by foreigners, coming from very far away, who have here neither the graves of their ancestors, nor their ancestral home, nor their property, nor the places of their culture, nor relatives, nor friends and who are attracted by an immense compassion for people, a holy Christian feeling, of which we, in our home, for our brothers, in view of our future, are not capable.

Without any payment, from place to place, seeking misery in the very place where it yearns and lies, Americans, men and women, people who have a purpose in their homeland, slip through the midst of anarchy, social debauchery, insolent luxury and unbearable noise to the place of pain where the noblest duty that a human heart can recognize and impose on itself calls them.

An immense acclamation should rise in gratitude for this great, merciful America, which, if it does not give us all that is demanded in terms of territory

at public meetings, and is demanded justly, if not with all the propriety required, gives us something more precious than that: human power, without which everything would collapse in the destruction of the race itself – (June 1919).

The Dismemberment of the United States

An extremely serious event occurred in Washington a few days ago. The United States, which from the beginning had been considered, in its special situation and with the extraordinary, endless means at its disposal, to be the factor that would decide the great war, declares, for the time being, only in the form of a manifestation of opposition, that it is right to break away from a partnership, established, in truth, by a diplomatic act, but in which they claim that certain guiding principles were not respected.

This is the opinion of Lodge and other members of the American Senate, left aside, ignored, and who now, when the result achieved in Europe by President Wilson and the young men with whom he surrounded himself is brought forward, refuse to accept, not because the clauses of the treaties just concluded would affect specifically American interests, but because of something that seems to them more important and more serious: because they do not recognize in these acts of state the American spirit.

This spirit was formed slowly from the very conditions in which the Republic of the United States was formed and developed, from the liberal idealism that is the dominant note of a Washington, a Jefferson, an Abraham Lincoln. It was formed from the powerful mixture of any political thought there as a certain Christian spirit, which is the protests of individual conscience, of the reserve of one's own opinion. It was formed from the powerful reality of an economic life in which, despite all the languages that are spoken, in the immense American workshop there is only one language: that of work.

Thus, the Americans who remain Americans do not accept historical rights, they do not abide by pacts concluded without their knowledge and before their participation, they do not admit geographical necessities, natural borders, economic solidarities (emphasis added). With great difficulty they come to understand what national law can mean for a people who have remained at their hearth, rooted in their furrows, gathered around their altars. The plebiscite would seem to them the only means of recognition, although their practical sense has sufficiently shown them the value of plebiscites, both spontaneous ones and, above all, prepared and rigged ones.

Thus economic reasons will bring back America that flees for political reasons. But until then – and, in any case, the old illusions of close collaboration, based on an understanding of souls, on the unison of consciences, will not return – Europe, deprived of the political competition of America, which saved it from the German danger, has a duty: to organize itself for a just peace and for a lasting peace.

If diplomats and politicians do not know how to give it, well let others impose it – (December 1919).

Without America

The American delegates to the Peace Conference have departed. Their farewell missive is very beautiful, full of noble ideas and even tender passages in form; it tends to show that nothing has changed in the ties, but especially in the former feelings towards the European Allies, that no present difficulties, no party intrigues in the United States itself will ever be able to make one forget the common efforts, the sacrifices mixed in the same devoted enthusiasm and the great work accomplished for the benefit of the peoples chained or torn apart and who, today, can finally live.

However, it is no less true that, in view of the power of the opponents of the policy of intervention in Europe, who dominate the Senate in Washington, as well as in view of the physical condition of the man who destroyed himself in the fight for his conceptions, some of which were so beneficent and capable of preserving his name among the most glorious in universal history, there is little hope that we could return to what was before things like those of Fiume, of Dalmatia, and before overwork crushed the energetic president of the American Republic.

And then, in the most natural way, the question arises: what is possible without America? Contemporary history shows, however, in the Crimean War, waged against a Russia united with Prussia and assured by Austrian neutrality, what the Western Powers were able to do, even at a time when the place of today's great Italy was occupied by the small Piedmont of Cavour.

The same interests, the same military systems will be strengthened by the same political conceptions.

And if America will support them only when they are hers, she will not always be absent and, in any case, will not sit next to the losers of 1918 – (December 1919).

America, the conscience of the whole world

One by one, in the history of the world, special nations have embraced within themselves the conscience of the world about the rights and duties of each country and each people. They have not always been the greatest nations, but those who have known how to separate in their judgment their own interests from the interests of humanity and to think in great moments only of the latter.

Today, after the eyes of men have looked elsewhere to see how each one presents itself in an impartial and unerring calculation, they are aiming at America, the country where you, brothers, are and are honestly receiving the reward of your honest labors. Of course, the United States of America also had days when it worked for goals that were only its own, and then, instead of judging others, it was judged by others.

Yesterday, however, the American participation in the great war started from the purest motives; the earth should not belong to one person alone who should hold others **under the bloody heel of his unjust victory** (emphasis added). And, at the hour when the hope of the strongest in faith began to waver, world freedom was saved by the American soldier – what shall I say? – the American citizen, *because the fighter was not a fabrication of the barracks, but a free man facing death so that other free men would not become slaves.*

After the victory, everyone took what was theirs. The United States wanted nothing, asked for nothing, received nothing.

The Washington Conference is viewed by the peoples who, even if they won, suffer like the defeated, as Christendom once viewed the ecumenical councils from which the will of God was to be chosen. Will a new Creed emerge from there? We await it – (January 1922).

A visit from the Americans

After I don't know what exhortations from the Romanian Minister of Finance, several envoys of the American capitalists are in the country as I write these lines.

It is a more sensible thing than all the written questions, all the dishonest and irresponsible newspaper clippings, all the rummaging around by people who have only an interest in lowering us in the eyes of everyone.

As it is, with how many shortcomings it endures, with how many sins it suffers, Romania deserves to be known. And it is a duty not to condemn it until you have investigated it yourself. I don't know where the minister's agents are taking them. Certainly **to our riches, which are great and unsearched**. This is so that those capitalists understand that money invested in such a country is not lost (emphasis added).

But it would be a shame if they were not shown something else.

Here there are not only gold mines, oil wells, mineral deposits, methane gas, fertile fields and endless forests; there are also people.

Visitors should get to know these people. Namely the many and good ones, who often have neither name nor position, but who hold on their shoulders everything that is within the borders of this country. From their sight alone, Americans will be able to convince themselves that, whatever the government, this is a country of work and, at the same time, at a time when so many nations are going crazy every day, a country of wisdom.

And there can be no better guarantee for an investment of capital than this – (September 1923).

Wilson

The man has died through whose ideas – entered the circle of vision of diplomats at the end of the war, imposed by the value of American intervention and maintained as an unwavering energy – we live today within the borders of the almost complete national State, founded on the very will of the great majority of its inhabitants (emphasis added).

And, if his ideas had been sincerely adopted to the end, today the League of Nations would not too often be reduced to expressing desires, but in its connection, accepted with true conviction, would be resolved all the problems still open and which will probably remain so until new bloodshed.

He who succeeded in establishing such a blessed reality and in beginning the fulfillment of an even more daring program, played such a role, unique in the history of mankind, through two circumstances that cannot be sufficiently appreciated. He spoke on behalf of a country as large as the world, which was in full agreement, at least as regards the sacred principle of the liberation of peoples through their right to self-determination, with its official leader.

Then to establish, after the satisfaction of those who are in the council that he wanted and knew why he wanted it, and those of the worker who works

at what he chose and knowing that he helps something other than the often anonymous capitalist's gain, to place the social problem as well as the political one on the basis of human conscience, this would crown Wilson's work.

Whoever will do it someday, so long after the death of the initiator, will not forget all that is due to him – (February 1924).

An American Disillusion?

Among those who relied on the technical omnipotence of the United States for the joint struggle against German hegemony in Europe and beyond Europe, a feeling resembling disillusion arose after the vote of the House in Washington.

Thus, hopes for the supply of munitions, at least from across the Ocean, proved vain. And for reasons of popularity, did the American President retreat from his decisions?

Those who judge in this manner fail to understand sufficiently either the position of the House in relation to the Senate, or the role of a president who is too easily placed, in terms of initiative, on the same level as the presidents of the French Republic or the Swiss Confederation. Above all, however, **they do not understand what the will of the American people itself means** (emphasis in the original).

This will appears unexpectedly and spontaneously. It transcends legal situations and even bonds of race, as was seen during the Great War, when German Americans were called upon to fight against Germany. In the United States there are millions of honest, good, and just people who judge the justice of international acts. And whoever fights on behalf of that justice—in which a part of Europe openly declares it no longer believes—will certainly have them on his side (August 1929).

What America Is

America, say the books of superficial European writers eager for effect, is an immense chaos of savage labor from which emerge only goods—material products and nothing but material products.

Thus European "idealism" may look with contempt upon the Great Worker. This is a profound error. A few days suffice to realize that it is something else. It is, first of all, anything one wishes: from rural idyll to the roar of streets where buildings rise sixty stories high—yet one does not feel them

unless one looks at them, and when one does, they appear so well supported that they inspire no fear. It is anything one wishes, but governed by a single system.

Labor perfectly calculated, avoiding everything that in our societies amounts to effort without result and to dissatisfaction.

And in order to preserve this admirable rhythm, an unparalleled moral force is required (14 February 1930).

American Revolutions

For some time, much has been said about the revolution in the small state with a great economic mission: Panama.

And many may have believed that the revolution in Panama was the affair of the people of Panama, concerning matters that pertain solely to Panama.

In reality, it is something else.

Even the most peaceful power in the world cannot refrain from gaining ground wherever its vitality—naturally expansive—can extend. Nowhere, however, is vitality stronger or more urgent than in the great republic of North America.

The boundary of the United States is one thing; the boundary of North American industry, commerce, and finance is another. It extends far beyond, and no small neighboring political entity can escape their influence.Therefore, neighbors must be what suits these overwhelming economic interests.

And when conditions there are not as they should be—then people make a revolution, for others (17 February 1931).

George Washington

Radio Address Delivered on the Occasion of His Commemoration

There are very few historical figures before whom all humanity bows without reservation.

Among them, George Washington occupies a foremost place.

He lived at a time when, for all, the hero was the ancient citizen of old Hellas or of ancient Rome. The figure to be imitated was drawn from Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*. There, human pride, the impulse to struggle against men and circumstances, dignity in all situations, and unrestrained will were presented in the rhetorical form given by the teacher from Chaeronea: orators with noble

phrases on their lips, living statues frozen in white marble, creators of illusions and seekers of effect. Many sought and succeeded in being such figures. George Washington was not—and did not wish to be—such a man. Every attempt to place him on display failed; every appeal to awaken ambition in him proved futile. He remained simple in the face of glorification and calm in the face of attacks that scarcely dared to be directed against him.

He was a nobleman without prejudice, a farmer without greed, a fighter without cruelty, a popular man without demagogy. Through all circumstances, he carried the same spirit, unchanged in its absolute purity.

His life thus possessed perfect unity. Just as his modest house—whose threshold is today crossed with religious reverence by pilgrims from all over the world—remained the same, so too did his life remain one of apostolic moderation, without the ostentation of a public ascetic. His ambition remained the same, the sole ambition: to be a good and complete man among men whom he loved equally and valued only according to their deeds.

He did not create a tradition; he left a model. Traditions may be corrupted by subsequent interests and by passions that assail them. Models, however, remain intact.

Today, when democracy tends to become standardized and anonymous, the revival of a memory such as that of George Washington draws public opinion back toward those lofty heights where heroes stand, unmoved by the winds of time.

Everything in America that is idealism and virtue derives first and foremost from him.

For Romanian youth, he may be presented as the most perfect image of the human being and the citizen (March 1932).

America and Europe

The candidate in the presidential elections—again a candidate, having tried his fortune some years earlier—Mr. Al Smith declared that America has the duty to assist Europe with its financial resources, Europe from which both people and ideas departed to found the New World, splendid in its technology and prosperous even in moments of crisis, such as those from which few countries on our continent are spared.

At the same time, the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States travels to Paris to discuss European difficulties.

Is this to be a beginning—a fortunate beginning—of a change in the attitude of America's political and financial circles?

It may be determined by the idealism that lies at the depth of the American soul, but also by the consciousness—finally emerging—that although an immense ocean lies between them, the same civilization exists on both shores of the Atlantic, and that however brilliant America's schools, museums, and libraries may be, certain ideas from Europe are nevertheless needed from time to time.

And these ideas cannot exist if we all sink into misery, the mother of ignorance (19 April 1932).

The American School
From the Lectures of Prof. N. Iorga at the University

The American school corresponds not to a model borrowed from abroad and servilely adopted without discernment, but to the needs—constantly examined and taken into account—of an entire society.

To understand it, one must therefore follow the entire development of that society.

Groups of scattered colonists arrive on the American shore: some seeking refuge from the threats of an established religion in England, others benefiting from territorial privileges granted to them by the English king as leading nobles. There are significant differences between what each group finds in these distant lands; yet initially there can be no question of cities, nor even of villages in the European sense, and still less in our Romanian sense. They are dispersed farmers, with their homes and holdings spread over vast territories.

In this phase, no form of education other than domestic, patriarchal instruction—from parents to children—can be envisaged.

From time immemorial, very small and sparsely populated markets were founded, up to the time of Franklin, when the war of development of these English colonies began. In these modest centers, some of which date back to the beginning of the 17th century, elementary schools similar to those in the old homeland, England, were founded, the so-called "grammar schools".

In them, of course, great emphasis was placed on matters related to faith, to which these wanderers of Puritanism continued to hold so dear. If higher knowledge was a question, individuals founded establishments of a higher character, the "Academies" of the Latin language.

Only after the War of Independence and after political stabilization did the Americans think of a reorganization of their education and proceeded, in 1821, to the foundation, in Boston, of a "High School".

The program is eminently practical: "that the first habits of industry and perseverance, which are essential to lead to a future life of virtue as usefulness..., suitable for setting in motion the powers of life, to prepare the youth to cover with usefulness and dignity many of these societies, both public and private, into which he may be placed...: an education which will make him fit for active life and serve as a foundation for distinguishing himself in his profession, whether merchant or mechanical (industrial)".

This being the aim, it is understood that in the second, secondary education, nothing will come of the ruthless formalistic rigidity of the corresponding establishments in Europe. Whatever individuality can manifest itself, whatever attempt can be made, however daring.

The principles that dominate are two. On the one hand, especially since the beginning of the great European immigration and the beginning of an immense industrial activity, the creation of the American citizen, whatever his national origins, the famous melting-pot, the "melting pot" of ethnic differences. On the other hand, the incitement to the free manifestation of the means given by nature, not without allowing the development of individual qualities.

So the basis is on the English language, on mathematics, on the history of the United States, on the sciences. Of these subjects, the universities, however varied their composition, demand a quantity of studies in a secondary education supported by 45 minutes, which give thirty-six weeks per year and are integrated into "units", of which four are required per year, namely: three of English, two of mathematics, history, sciences. The rest of the subjects of study, including Latin, Greek, rhetoric, philosophy – universities require another six years – are chosen by the schoolchildren themselves, who also have the opportunity to enter special classes, to take orientation research courses, which last six weeks, to enroll in optional courses, to conclude "contracts" of studies.

For a while, the eight-grade primary school gives up two years to the "High School," which thus becomes the gymnasium, as I understood it in my recent reform. But this sometimes gives, as in California, also two years of what is now the "course of the oldest (Junior High School)" in order to transform itself into a preparation for the University. Junior College, which becomes what in the same reform I understood as the high school, a function it fulfills together with the "College" – (May 6, 1933).

America and the Parables It Offers Us
From the lessons of Prof. N. Iorga at the Academy of Commerce

The large part that both Americas have has not yet been integrated into universal history. A few pages due mainly to the editors' desire to catch as many buyers, North and South Americans, cannot be considered as honestly beginning this operation, so necessary to understand the general course and the current common state of nations and states.

Americans are sufficient unto themselves. They do not feel the need to know or to present the history of other continents, or to have their broad map set against a universal background. Europeans, for their part—who, in general, do not harbor feelings of hatred or contempt—do not find in American history what is familiar to them in their own continental homelands: wars, peace treaties altering borders defended with the utmost tenacity to the very end, victorious generals, triumphal arches; sovereigns endowed with genuine biographies; a diplomacy in constant activity. Nor are they drawn to cultural developments that do not resemble their own.

In fact, North America, after clarifying its identity only after 1820—Europe having remained closed to it during the era of the Revolution and of Napoleon—sought to appropriate European civilization in the Romantic period. Thus Longfellow became a disciple of German historical and political Romanticism, attempting to create American poems of the same type, such as *The Song of Hiawatha*. Washington Irving, for his part, developed an interest in the Moors of Granada, in Muhammad, and in Columbus, allowing his American irony free rein only in the famous *Sketch Book*. It was scarcely Emerson who, in accordance with the noble, daring religious idealism of America, succeeded in giving, through his *Poems* as well as *Representative Men* and *The Conduct of Life*, a tone that was truly local, genuinely *national.*

Moreover, America exists economically only after the Congress of Vienna. It was then that problems of economic and financial organization, long left unresolved, were finally addressed; then that a form of production capable of confronting and risking everything began; then that English-speaking America appeared on the market of the entire world, which it would later attempt to dominate. It was also then that it completed its map, acquiring, in addition to the old nucleus along the Atlantic coast: Alaska from Russia; California, New Mexico, and Texas from Mexico; vast Louisiana from

Napoleon I; and Florida from the Spaniards—all without bloodshed, solely through careful financial negotiations.

Yet even this English-speaking America now stood before a new and exceedingly difficult question. In reality, within the borders of the Confederation there was not a single country, but two: the North, composed of businessmen and emerging industrialists, continuously nourished by increasing immigration of elements released by Europe's long peace, and thus influenced by all contemporary European tendencies and dominated by the same biblical religiosity previously noted; and the South, composed of cotton planters, employing enslaved Africans inherited from the French and Spanish for a vast and extractive agrarian economy, over which no guiding idea presided and against which no ideal arose. It would require the long and destructive War of Secession between these two worlds for the entire North American continent to be animated by the spirit of Boston (7 May 1933).

American Education
From the lessons of Prof. N. Iorga at the University

The English higher school was first founded by private founders, like Harvard in 1636, according to the English model, with some modifications imposed by the needs arising from the new environment.

Indeed, the English College, which was borrowed by the colonists, is the form in which one lives at the University, which is in fact nothing more than the sum of several colleges erected one next to the other. Its main purpose is to maintain the supremacy of a proud aristocracy, to cultivate the traditions of an education with a classical, Latin and Greek base, and to give the state a number of men of brilliant qualities, who can uphold its dignity.

The Americans, however, did not have such strong traditions of their own, they were not so closely linked to the culture of the Renaissance and, especially, they could not have as their purpose the formation of such a class, their purpose being that of farmers, industrialists, future merchants and financiers, no matter how great the role played in the revolution by a country gentleman like George Washington. However, as a school of literary subjects, primarily classical, they founded those colleges, in which even today, in addition to English, the fundamental, and the modern languages most useful to them, such as French, German and, in the Southern states, Spanish, at least the cult of the Latin language is preserved.

This is how things went in American higher education until that era, between 1820 and 1840, when young people who had left the New Continent came into close contact, eager to reach the same level, with the culture of romantic Europe. It is the time when Longfellow receives the influence of German lyricism, when historical and picturesque subjects, like Parisian blag, captivate Washington Irving, and from German philosophy Emerson draws the urge towards his high mysticism.

Then, in 1847, the University of Michigan was founded, with scientific goals that had never been pursued before, and others followed, until almost every state had its own university foundation, their number soon rising to about fifty. The greatest difficulty was to find the possibility of collaboration between this imported university and the old colleges, which, as private foundations, could not be abolished, as in our country the state is the master to transform all education as it wants, from one end to the other.

With or without that Junior College, still sporadic, the college took the place of a preparation, which was nevertheless seen as necessary for abstract university studies, of an increasingly pronounced scientific character for those who wanted to go all the way, many who needed only a university atmosphere, stopping after the first semesters. The modern languages mentioned above were introduced into the program, not so much from the point of view of philological research, but so that they could be written and spoken in everyday life, then art, pedagogy – but teachers usually come from four-year normal schools, which one enters only with a high school certificate – and, as an annex, psychology, then abstract sciences, natural sciences, physics and chemistry, social sciences (political economy, sociology and "business science"). With fifteen lessons per week, eight full semesters had to be completed, in thirty-six weeks per year, so that, having the certificate of the prescribed gymnastics lessons, one could reach the baccalaureate.

For some time now, the student – because the young man from college is no longer considered a student, and upon graduation he can get a chair in secondary education – can choose a professor (major), to whom he can dedicate most of the hours he is required to, with a few remaining at his disposal according to his inclination and taste. After four years, the baccalaureate is taken and the university studies proper are started, carried out not only by professors (assistant, associate and permanent), but also by more advanced students, the so-called instructors. Here, one finds not only wonderful libraries, wide and lovingly open, but also student societies and clubs, in which one practices not only sports intended to maintain health and

give a stronger vitality. Sacrifices are made so that a student's thesis, a professor's book, has the richest information: it is an honor for everyone. At the end, there is the "master's degree" and the doctorate.

Today, no one can say that the American university is inferior, in any respect, to the best in Europe[xi] – (May 9, 1933).

*

A Lesson

America, the country that sold the largest quantities of grain, has been struck by a devastating drought, beside which the water shortage that alarmed us appears merely a trifle—almost a lesson meant to teach us to rise earlier and attend more diligently to agricultural labor. In certain regions there was no rain at all, and the land has been scorched by a relentless sun. Thereafter came violent winds, overturning everything in their path.

Not only will American grain be absent from markets this year, but such a calamity may also have consequences extending into future years. Thus, the price of our own products, which had fallen so sharply, is now rising, and there are signs that it will continue to rise. If only we had something to sell—given how hesitant and distrustful we have been.

Yet another lesson emerges from this situation. For years, a number of self-satisfied individuals—paper agronomists trained abroad and so-called “economists” of the same sort—have insisted that wheat should not be planted, claiming it is unprofitable. By repeating this claim incessantly, they persuaded the public, and today fallow land stretches freely across the countryside.

But now comes the American disaster, and circumstances change. If only we had produce to sell, as it is said the Hungarians do.

This signifies one thing: do what you know must be done, without heeding facile advice, and in time the moment of reward will follow (*Neamul românesc pentru popor*, 16 June 1934).

The American Message

In Italy, the message of the President of the United States was received with a certain measure of satisfaction. And yet it offered no assurances regarding the supply of oil upon which so much depends—not so much the

operations in Abyssinia, which appear destined to extend beyond all expectations, but rather the normal functioning of domestic life. America wishes to promise nothing.

Moreover, it remains firmly attached to its democratic sentiments and prejudices and feels obliged, even on this occasion, to demonstrate its distaste for the Italian dictatorship—although, at home, every president, and Mr. Roosevelt more than many others, exercises an indisputable form of dictatorship.

Nevertheless, within this message there is something that does not align with the stance of the sanctionist powers in Europe, compelled by their obligations and interests to follow Britain's offensive advance. Italy is not designated an aggressor; instead—astonishing as it may be—Italians are placed on the same level as the grotesque figures from Addis Ababa. At least, unlike others, no distinction is made that grants angelic whiteness to Mr. Haile Selassie while portraying Mr. Mussolini as the darkest villain imaginable.

In the midst of general ingratitude and injustice, Italy must content itself even with this (15 January 1936).

American Education

I have received a notice from an American university which offers—both to us, who need heroism and often do not know where to find it, and to this Europe so profoundly hystericized by ambitions, illusions, and fantasies—a lesson in what the cultivation and formation of heroes ought to mean.

This lofty institution of learning, devoid of deans who listen at doors and rectors who crack the whip, as well as of students who presume to instruct their professors on patriotism and nationhood, is dedicated to a genuine hero: Abraham Lincoln. He was a hero by virtue of having risen from humble origins through labor, earning every step of his life; a hero through absolute selflessness; a hero through his acceptance of all risks when it came to his belief in liberty and human dignity; and finally, a hero through the death he endured.

Yet those bearing moral responsibility within the university wish to transform it into a *panheroion*, a temple of all heroes. They gather images of men from all countries who labored and sacrificed themselves for their own people, with thought for humanity at large—for that great and pure ideal, akin to the divine, which any human being, anywhere, known or unknown, may

embody. Each figure is accompanied by a written thought, expressing what lived in that individual's soul and work.

What would it be if we too were to dedicate our profaned—and now enslaved—universities to such heroism? (14 March 1937).

Romanian Achievement in America

Wherever we are left to our own devices, without state support and without the accursed influence of party politics—whatever name such parties bear or however they disguise themselves, with the ambitions of their leaders—this people of householders creates, builds, and raises institutions. It does so with a modesty and diligence unattainable by undertakings marked by publicity and the interests of a single group.

In the fortunate cases where we are able to demonstrate our true capacities, we seek attachment to what is permanent: the Church, the cultural society, the academy. Thus have the Romanians of America acted—at least those who remain faithful to the old Church.

What Bishop Policarp Moruşca has accomplished there is remarkable: a peasant's son from beyond the mountains, closely bound to his people at home and working in accordance with their traditions. In a peasant-like spirit, he conceived the idea of an ancestral estate and built upon it. At the boundary of three states, on the shore of a great lake, rise walls that enclose labor, good cheer, and faith—the great and powerful faith from which the other two spring.

On that distant and foreign soil now stands a citadel—a strong and proud citadel of the nation—and, as in the old Blaj of the other Church, the Bishop resides there, far from the city's clamor. While awaiting his own printing press, calendars are published elsewhere, in which our compatriots find everything that shapes their labor and pride.

It is an example rich in instruction for those who, here in our own country, have yet to understand this secret of success (28 January 1938).

The Conversion of the "American Observer"

Just as the waters of the ocean surge between America—absorbed in its continuous, wealth-generating labor—and our poor Europe, great only in hatreds and passions, the governments of the United States, though decisive in shaping the outcome of the Great War, had displayed and maintained a

policy of detachment, sending merely "observers" to countless fruitless conferences.

Today, this doctrine has been abandoned. Americans now participate in the process unfolding daily, one that threatens a catastrophic outcome. They recall Virgil's words to Ucalegon: *"Your own interests are at stake when your neighbor's house is on fire."* The notion of human solidarity—lost on a Hitler and a Mussolini—imposes itself upon the man in Washington.

He speaks, necessarily, of his democracy. Who could believe that it corresponds to the "popular fronts" of Europe, which represent precisely the rupture of social harmony upon which American labor rests?

At the same time, these declarations reveal a profound hatred of war—both of war as an event, which under present conditions would constitute the crime of a madman, and of war as a means of blackmail. And the blackmailers of war appear to have understood how heavily American public opinion weighs in the balance (15 July 1938).

NOTES

[i] Dan Berindei, N. Iorga: "Titan" of historiography, in "History Files", VI, no. 6 (58), 2001, pp. 2-6; Ioan Scurtu, Nicolae Iorga – a prominent personality of Romanian and universal science and culture, in "Pro Saeculum", XIV, 2015, no. 7-8 (107-108), September 15-December 1, 2015, pp. 162-165. In the capital on the banks of the Bac River, a well-known national-cultural magazine dedicated, on its 150th anniversary, an entire issue, in its entirety, to the Iorghian Jubilee – "Romanian Language". Science and Culture Magazine [Chişinău], XXXI, No. 3 (263), May-June 2021 [On copy. I: Nicolae IORGA – 150. Special edition] /270 pp./; among the 123 signatories – Ioan-Aurel Pop (Nicolae Iorga – the national and universal creator), Victor Spinei (The Perpetuity of Nicolae Iorga's Work), Ioan Scurtu (Historian Nicolae Iorga), Ioan Opriș (Nicolae Iorga on the Sources of History).

[ii] N. Iorga, *Essai de synthèse de l'histoire de l'humanité*, par... Professeur à l'Université de Bucarest. Agréé à la Sorbonne. Membre de l'Acadèmie Roumaine. Correspondant de l'Institut, I-IV, Librairie Universitaire J. Gamber, Éditeur, Paris, 1926-1928 (X+ 390+570+528+490 pp.).

[iii] Nicolae Iorga and America. Journalistic milestones (1915-1939), in Constantin Buşe, Constantin Găucan (coord.), Nicolae Iorga 1871-1940. Studies and documents, VIII, University of Bucharest Publishing House, Bucharest, 2009, pp. 353-454.

[iv] Cornelia Bodea, "The Old Man of Roumania". N. Iorga seen by American historians, in "Memoirs of the Section of Historical and Archaeological Sciences of the Romanian Academy", XXI, 1996, pp. 71-94; see also – Nicholas M. Nagy-Talavera, Homage to an American Historian, in "History Files", VI, no. 6, 2001, pp. 55-57.

[v] See – Lucian Boia, Nicolae Iorga and the United States of America, in "Revista de istorie", XXIX, no. 8, 1976, pp. 1153-1173; Gh. Buzatu, Nicolae Iorga and America, in "Hierasus", III, 1980, pp. 13-18 (Ibidem, in "Yearbook of the Institute of History and

Archaeology "A.D. Xenopol" in Iaşi", 1981, pp. 451-455); Gheorghe I. Florescu, N. Iorga and America, in "Zargidava", XII, 2013, pp. 137-169.

[vi] Nicolae Dascălu, **Nicolae Iorga's Visit to the United States of America**, in *Revue roumaine d'histoire*, vol. XXII, no. 2, 1983, pp. 115–127; Gelu Neamţu, **Nicolae Iorga and the Romanians in the United States of America (1917–1918)**, in *Studia Universitatis "Babeş-Bolyai". Historia*, vol. XXXV, no. 2, 1990, pp. 70–77; Petre Ţurlea, **Nicolae Iorga and Romanian Americans**, in *Tomis*, vol. IX, no. 8, 2004, pp. 60–62; Victor Crăciun, **Nicolae Iorga in America and on America**, in *The Permanence of Nicolae Iorga. On the Occasion of the 65th Anniversary of the Odious Assassination (27 November 1940) and the 135th Anniversary of His Birth (5 June 1871)*, commemorative volume edited and with an introductory study by Victor Crăciun and Cezar Dobre, with a Foreword by Florin Constantiniu, corresponding member of the Romanian Academy, Cultural League for the Unity of Romanians Everywhere, n.p., Bucharest, 2006, pp. 339–356; Constantin Buşe, **In the Footsteps of N. Iorga in the United States**, in Constantin Buşe and Constantin Găucan (eds.), *Nicolae Iorga (1871–1940). Studies and Documents*, vol. III, University of Bucharest Press, Bucharest, 2007, pp. 59–72; Gheorghe Zbuchea, **The American World: a "Precious Experience" in the Life of N. Iorga**, in *Ibidem*, pp. 593–601.

[vii] N. Iorga, America and the Romanians in America. Travel and conference notes, Typografia "Datina românească", Vălenii de Munte, 1930 /238 pp./; the conferences held during the trip were published – see My American lectures. Collected and arranged by Norman L. Forter. Preface John L. Gerig, "State Printing Office", Bucharest, 1932 (194 pp. + 16 pl.).

[viii] Oana Panait, Nicolae Iorga's contribution to the development of Romanian-American cultural relations in the interwar period, in "Annals of Spiru Haret University. History", XV, 2012, pp. 71-82.

[ix] See also – Gheorghe I. Ioniţă, Problems of contemporary history of Romania, addressed by Nicolae Iorga in the columns of the newspaper "Romania" from Cleveland (USA) in the years 1921-1924, in "Annals of the University of Bucharest. History", XXII, no. 2, 1973, pp. 95-103.

[x] N. Iorga, Letters to the Romanians in America. 1921-1924, Printing House of the newspaper "America", Cleveland-Ohio, U.S.A., f.a. [1924] /144 pp./ (on the title page: 1922-1923; the correct date is the one inscribed on the cover). On the back of the title page, the publisher reproduces the author's facsimile letter: "The goodwill of those who believed that they could find in me a sincere and unreserved informant for the affairs of the distant country of birth makes my articles of a year – news, guidance and advice – appear in this little book. I wish them to be read in the state of mind in which I myself wrote them".

[xi] For a clear, contemporary image of the complexity of North American higher education, which confirms, in essence, the organization also revealed by N. Iorga – see T.W. Haartle /first vice-president of the American Council on Education/, The Current State of Higher Education in the U.S.A., in "Ziua", XV, no. 4481, March 9, 2009, pp. 3-4; it is an instructive radiography of the respective field, revealed, in the form of a report, to the participants at the 91st /annual/ meeting of the American Council on Education (ACE).