

## DEMOGRAPHIC ASPECTS OF THE 2nd ROMANIAN FRONTIER GUARD REGIMENT (19 th century)

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The present stage of historical demographic research regarding 19 th century Transylvania necessarily requires an intermediate stage in order to elaborate a later synthesis : the study of more restricted geographical areas, so as to reveal the local situation and the characteristics of the demographic evolution in this area.

The present study is therefore, an attempt at examining, by means of the existing statistical sources, the evolution of the population in the 44 localities belonging to the 2nd frontier guard regiment, during the 19th century. Our study is also extended to the period following the dissolving of the regiment, namely 1851—1910 ; the demographic evolution of this stage was seriously influenced by its previous status. The free man status of the frontier guard, the income, as well as other favourable material conditions, had positive consequences upon the population's development in the area, both during the existence of the military frontier and after its disbandment, in the decades before 1851<sup>1</sup>. The evolution of the population in the Năsăud frontier guard district, was influenced, during the period of over 100 years under study, by the political, military, economical, social events that occurred in Transylvania or, on larger scale, in the monarchy, but also on a local, regional level.

Table 1 enables the reconstitution of the total population according to different records :

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<sup>1</sup> L. Gyémánt, *Mișcarea națională a românilor din Transilvania între anii 1790 și 1848*, București, 1986, p. 420 ; Valeriu Șotropa, „Unele aspecte ale dezvoltării agriculturii și ale relațiilor agrare în districtul grăniceresc năsăudean”, în vol. *Terra nostra*, II, București, 1971, p. 381—394.

Table 1 : the evolution of the district's population, 1803—1910

Year	1803 <sup>2</sup>	1813 <sup>3</sup>	1830 <sup>4</sup>	1850 <sup>5</sup>	1857 <sup>6</sup>	
Population	29404	29693	34875	39092	42849	
Percentage Increase	—	0,9 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	17,4 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	12,2 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	9,6 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	
Yearly increase	—	0,09 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	1,02 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	0,60 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	1,37 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	
	1869 <sup>7</sup>	1880 <sup>8</sup>	1890 <sup>9</sup>	1900 <sup>10</sup>	1910 <sup>11</sup>	
Year						Difference 1803 1910
Population	52056	52487	58799	67480	74820	45416
Percentage Increase	21,5 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	0,8 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	12 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	14,7 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	10,9 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	154,4 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
Yearly increase	1,79 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	0,07 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	1,20 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	1,47 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	10,9 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	1,5 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>

Consequently, the first remark would be that, between 1803—1910, the population of this district was gradually increasing, even if it didn't constantly reach very high values (see also annex 1). The increase of population between 1803—1910, was of 45416 new inhabitant meaning 154,4% respectively 1,5% yearly. A delimitation of the demographic evolution of the area up to 1851 and then up to World War I is absolutely necessary. Thus, between 1803—1850, the population increased from 29404 to 39082 inhabitants, that is 9688 new inhabitants, meaning 32,9% for the whole period, and 0,7% yearly. Between 1850—1910, after the disbandment of the military frontier, the population of the 44 localities increased from 39092 to 74820 inhabitants, namely 35728 new inhabitants, meaning 91,4% respectively 1,5% yearly. Besides other objective reasons, one of the major causes that influenced the ascending evolution of the population in the investigated district was the disbandment of the frontier guards, at the beginning of 1851. Therefore, the two main stages require a more complex approach of the population's dynamics, with a view to estimate the positive or negative

<sup>2</sup> J.H. Benigni von Mildenberg, *Statistische Skizze der Siebenbürgischen Militär-Gränze*, Hermannstadt, 1834, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> I.I.Adam, I. Pușcaș, *Izvoare de demografie istorică*, vol. II Sec. al XIX-lea — 1914. *Transilvania*, București, 1987, p. 46.

<sup>4</sup> J. H. Benigni von Mildenberg, *Statistische Skizze...*, p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> *Buletinul guvernului provizoriu pentru marele principat Transilvania*, Cursul anului 1854, secțiunea II, mănunchiul IV, 1854.

<sup>6</sup> *Tabele statistice despre starea populației al Marelui Principat Transilvania...*, 1857.

<sup>7</sup> *Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények. Új Sorozat*, I kötet, Budapest, 1902. (MstK. Us).

<sup>8</sup> *Az 1881 év elején végrehajtott népszámlálás főbb eredményei megyék és községek szerint részletesnek*, Budapest, 1882.

<sup>9</sup> *MStK. Us*, I kötet, 1902.

<sup>10</sup> *A Magyar Korons országainak 1990. Évi népszámlálása 1980. Évi népszámlálása, első rész*, in *MStK. Us*, I kötet, 1902.

<sup>11</sup> *A Magyar Korona országainak 1910. Évi népszámlálása, első rész*, *MStK. Us*, 42 kötet, Budapest, 1912.

consequences of different factors implied in the populations status, at a certain moment.

Thus, between 1803—1813, the population's increase was not significant, because of the Habsburg Empire's wars against France. The blood tribute paid by the Romanian frontier guards on the European battlefields, the decay of the district's economy, as a result of the great number of men who were fighting in these wars, as well as the low efficiency of the field work done by women, old people, children, invalids, greatly contributed to the stagnation of the population<sup>12</sup>. During the next period, 1813—1830, the district population increased by 5182 new inhabitants, that is 17,40% (1,02% yearly). According to the information we've had up to now, a real increase of the population could have taken place only after 1820, because the influence of Napoleon's wars was to be felt till then. The years 1815—1817 were characterized by floods, drought, poor harvest and, naturally, starvation (all over Transylvania); such circumstances led to the degradation of the living conditions and the stagnation of the population<sup>13</sup>. As a result of the difficult economic situation of the district, at the beginning of 1818, the regiment's command ordered the distribution of leafter on house work, domestic animal breeding, the cultivation of plants depending on the season; all these measures were meant to improve the economic development of these districts, and, implicitly, the increase of population<sup>14</sup>. The natural movement of the population from the village of Gledin between 1811—1830 is a proof of the populations substantial increase, during the 30's.: the natural growth was of 131 inhabitants between 1821—1830, as compared to 13, between 1811—1820<sup>15</sup>. The same natural growth between 1821—1830 had reached higher evels in the village of Șanț<sup>16</sup>.

The population of the regiment increased only by 12,10% (0,60% yearly), between 1830—1850, namely 4217 new inhabitants, while Transylvania's population increased between 1831—1850 only by 7,6%, i.e. 0,40% every year<sup>17</sup>. Besides the natural growth of the population, at that time, there was also a deeper concern for better living conditions, that were supposed to lead to a greater number of men for the military. In this respect, the cooperation between the military authorities and the church was a real „demographic policy“<sup>18</sup>. However there were

<sup>12</sup> Virgil Șotropa, „Un act memorabil“, în *Arhiva Someșană*, 12, 1930, p. 152; P. Grapini, *Monografia comunei mari Rodna-nouă 1773—1903*, Bistrița, 1903, p. 96.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 96; A. Cservény, *Cronica calamităților și epidemiilor din Ardeal, Banat și teritoriile mărginașe de la 1007—1872 (Din izvoare ungurești)*, Cluj, 1934, p. 21...

<sup>14</sup> I. Pop, „Calendarul muncilor gospodărești la grănicerii năsăudeni“ în *File de istorie*, IV, 1976, p. 313—326.

<sup>15</sup> Arhivele Statului Bistrița, *Colecția registrelor de stare civilă*, Gledin, nr. nr. 477—482. (ASB, CRSC).

<sup>16</sup> R. Cressin, *Monografia comunei Șanț. Materiale privitoare la statistica demografică și economică a comunei.*, în *Sociologic românească*, I, 1936, nr. 5, p. 21.

<sup>17</sup> M. Miklós, „Lélekszámadok a történeti magyarországra vonatkozóan az 1772—1869 évekből, în *Történeti statisztikai közlemények*, 1, 1957, p. 40—42.

<sup>18</sup> The military authorities (central and local) issued several orders and instructions in order to maintain health and cleanliness; the ecclesiastical authorities permitted that during fasting meat and other prohibited food (due to the

many impediments: We only mention the cholera epidemics of 1830, 1831, 1836 and 1848; as a result, the death rate was above the average of the previous years (see also annexes 2, 3, 4).

Table 2 : death rate between 1830—1850 <sup>19</sup>

Locality	1830	1831	1832	1833	1834	1835	1836	1837
Susenii Bîrgăului	15	15	13	13	26	11	28	17
Mijlocenii Bîrgăului	27	18	16	23	17	15	32	12
Gledin	26	17	22	12	16	9	22	24

Locality	1841	1842	...	1847	1848	1849	1850	...
Susenii Bîrgăului	37	12	—	13	35	47	19	—
Mijlocenii Bîrgăului	48	12	—	18	40	35	25	—
Gledin	17	16	—	19	38	30	18	—

The epidemics (the most serious one was considered that of 1848 <sup>20</sup>), did not affect the whole district equally: the more isolated villages had but few cholera cases, while their number was greater in other villages. There were also several serious chicken pox epidemics in 1841, in the villages of Susenii and Mijlocenii Bîrgăului, where the deceased were mostly under 5 years old. At the same time, the military events during the 1848—1849 revolution, changed the demographic equilibrium, because of the human victims and the material damages caused by the

church decree) may be eaten (during the cholera epidemic in 1836 it had been found that many countrymen ate unripe fruit, so that the organic resistance diminished. There were also common actions in order to limit abortion and infanticide. On 12 March 1840, in a memorandum of the vicar-general of Năsăud, Ioan Marian, it was shown that „in the region there is plenty of space for ten times more of people“. See St. Buzilă, „*Documente bisericești*“, în *Arhiva Someșană*, 18, 1936, p. 407—409; *Ibidem* în 17, 1933, p. 248; St. Imreh, „*Directive și ordonanțe sanitare consemnate în vechile protocoale sătești din Transilvania*“, în vol. *Momente din trecutul medicinei. Studii, note și documente*, edited by dr. G. Brătescu, București, 1983, p. 209—216.

<sup>19</sup> ASB, CRSC: Susenii Bîrgăului, nr. 1215—1218; Mijlocenii Bîrgăului, nr. 686, 687; Gledin, nr. 489—494.

<sup>20</sup> *Gazeta de Transilvania*, XI, 1848, nr. 70, p. 291; E. Dăianu, *Cronica anului 1848*, Sibiu, 1898, p. 119.

battles in the area<sup>21</sup>. Death rate was also very high in other Transylvanian areas, between 1848—1849, as a logical consequence of the political military events of 1848—1849<sup>22</sup>.

After the regiment's disbandment (at the beginning of 1851), till the first World War, the population of those 44 localities increased rapidly, except for the eighties (see annex 1 and table 1). The population of the district reached 74820 inhabitants in 1910. from 39092 in 1850 that is 35728 new inhabitants ; the percentage between 1850—1910 was 91,4% (1,5% yearly). This ascending evolution may also be associated with the changing dimensions of the 44 localities, during the period between 1850—1910.

Table 3 : village dimensions

		0—500	500—1000	1000—2000	Over 2000
1850	Nr. %	9 20,45%	21 47,72%	12 27,27%	2 4,63%
1910	Nr. %	1 2,27%	13 29,54%	18 40,91%	12 27,28%

The number of small and medium villages decreased in 1910, in favour of the big settlements, which represented at that time, 68%. The increasing number of the latter was entirely due to the military frontier's dissolution. On the other hand, the causes of the demographic evolution being more complex they require a separate investigation for each stage (see table 1). Between 1850—1857, the population increased by 3797 new inhabitants, i.e.: 9,6% and 1,37% yearly, much more than Transylvania's population growth rate between the two censuses<sup>23</sup>. This process was significantly influenced by the 1850 law, according to which the feudal character of the frontier guard's possession over the land, was changed to pure property<sup>24</sup> implying beneficial psychological effects, because the military frontier guard's obligations were abolished. Still, the normal growth rate of the population, underwent

<sup>21</sup> On 28 February 1849 28 civilians were shot by the Hungarian troops only in Monor and other there man were arrested and executed in Cluj. The war tax of 1. 333 fl., payed by the country men was added., also the share of grains, potatoes etc. See I. Pop, L. Moldovan, *Frământări sociale în Monor după desființarea graniței militare*, in *File de istorie*, III, 1974, p. 251 ; I. Bureacă, „Cîteva aspecte particulare specifice evenimentelor din anii 1848—1849 în județul Bistrița-Năsăud”, in *Idem*, IV, 1976, p. 342—345 ; ASE, *Fond Regimentul II românesc de graniță*, dosar 84/1850, f. 1—84 și *Fond Iulian Martian*, nr. XXIII/58.

<sup>22</sup> Natalia Giurgiu, *Populația Transilvaniei la sfîrșitul sec. al XVIII-lea și începutul sec. al XIX-lea*, in *Populație și societate*, vol. I, edited by St. Pascu, Cluj, 1972, p. 117—118.

<sup>23</sup> T. Morariu, *Entwicklung der bevölkerungsdichtigkeit Siebenbürgens während der Jahre 1840—1930*, București, 1940, p. 28.

<sup>24</sup> Valeriu Șotropa, *Districtul grănicersc năsăudean și locul său în lupta pentru progres social și libertate națională a românilor din Transilvania*, Cluj-Napoca, 1975, p. 257.

some negative influences; thus, during the Crimean war, with all its economic, military and political implications Transylvania's population decreased by 0,26%<sup>25</sup>, between 1853—1856. The next period, between the censuses in 1857 and 1869, proved to be extremely favourable for the demographic evolution. The number of 9207 new inhabitants, i.e. 21,5% and 1,79% yearly, was the greatest growth rate between two successive censuses, up to the first World War. The growth rate in the Năsăud district was far above that in other Transylvanian areas; for example in the district of Cluj, the growth rate was 16,5%<sup>26</sup>.

The demographic evolution of the frontier guard district was due to general causes, objective reasons, as well as to special, local ones; among the latter, we only mention the post-revolution era, which meant a transition from feudal to capitalist economic structures in Transylvania<sup>27</sup>. As a result of the 1848—1849 revolution, the feudal type relationships were abolished, industrial and forestry investments were extended, and an important immigration movement towards mountainous regions took place (there had been a similar movement previously, but of a more reduced amplitude). Many of the former places of the regiment were situated in such areas, and it was towards these places that the population moved to, looking for work<sup>28</sup>. Between 1861—1876, the Romanian autonomous district of Năsăud was, from a politic and administrative point of view, a proper framework for the demographic evolution of the Romanian population which represented the majority. The eighties meant a demographic stagnation, for almost all the localities of the district (see also annexes 1, 8). Between 1869—1880, there were only 431 new inhabitants in the 44 localities, i.e. 0,8%, or 0,07% yearly, while Transylvania's population was decreasing by 3,2%<sup>29</sup>. One of the causes of this decrease was the cholera epidemics in 1872—1873; therefore, the death rate was above the average (see annexes 2, 3, 4). For example, in Mijlocenii Bârgăului, out of the 52 deaths in 1873, 41 were due to the cholera; in Feldru, there were 102 deceased because of cholera (out of 154 deaths), while in Susenii Bîrgăului, there were only 11 victims (out of 41, in 1873), and in Gledin, just 2 (out of 41 deceased)<sup>30</sup>. The district of Năsăud was among those with the lowest mortality rate in 1873, as compared to other regions from Transylvania or Hungary, because of its more isolated villages and a

<sup>25</sup> I. I. Adam, I. Pușcaș, *Izvoare de demografie...*, p. 211.

<sup>26</sup> A. Egyed, „Situția demografică a județului Cluj între anii 1857—1910”, în vol. *Civilizație medievală și modernă românească. Studii istorice*, edited by N. Edroiu, A. Răduțiu, P. Teodor, Cluj-Napoca, 1985, p. 176.

<sup>27</sup> Idem, „Transformări în structura societății din Transilvania în primele două decenii de după revoluția de la 1848”, în *Anuarul Institutului de istorie și arheologie din Cluj, XXIX*, 1989, p. 187—200.

<sup>28</sup> P. Boca, „Aspecte privind demografia istorică din județul Bistrița-Năsăud între anii 1720 și 1977”, în *Populație și societate*, vol. IV, sub red. Șt. Pascu, Cluj-Napoca, 1980, p. 114. R. Cressin, *Monografia comunei Șant...*, p. 22 sg.

<sup>29</sup> A. Egyed, „Situția demografică a județului Cluj...”, p. 177.

<sup>30</sup> ASB, CRSC, Mijlocenii Bîrgăului, nr. 686, 687; Feldru, nr. 438—440; Susenii Bîrăului, nr. 1215—1218, Gledin, nr. 489—494.

better sanitary organization<sup>31</sup>. The demographic depression of the eighties, had also some objective causes, such as : the financial and industrial crisis of the monarchy (1873—1876), the successive poor harvest up to 1879<sup>32</sup>. On such a background, local epidemics (diphtheria, whooping cough, small pox) in 1874, 1876, 1877, 1879 led to a higher mortality rate, especially among young people<sup>33</sup>. The human potential of the area recovered only after 1880 ; till the 1890 census, the population of the 44 localities increased with 6312 new inhabitants, 12% and 1,20% yearly. Between 1890—1900 the number of the inhabitants was 8681, namely 14,7% and 1,47% yearly. The improvement of the economic conditions after 1880, the new timber stations, the efficiency of anti-epidemic measures contributed to the population's increase<sup>34</sup>. The „demographic revolution“ in Transylvania, as well as in other extra-Carpathians regions, was a process in full development, at the end of the 19th century ;<sup>35</sup> this process was proved by the low mortality rate, after 1880 and the high birth rate (see annexes 5, 6). However, there were some exceptions, in the district of Năsăud (see annex 7). The period of time between 1900—1910 was still characterized by a lower growth rate, as compared to the previous epoch, 1880—1900. In the 44 localities, the number of new inhabitants was 7340, representing 10,9% and 1,09% yearly. This increase was diminished by the drastically growing number of emigrations, after 1900 all over Transylvania (for example, in the village Sanț from the Năsăud district, the number of emigrants represented 17%, between 1901—1910)<sup>36</sup>.

The study of the evolution of the Năsăud district population between the 1848 revolution and the first World War reveals several local, natural, social or economic characteristics. Thus, we can point out between 1850—1910 certain places with a spectacular increase of population, as a combined result of the natural growth and of the immigration

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<sup>31</sup> L. Mádai, „Les crises de mortalité en Europe dans la deuxième moitié du XIX siècle“, in vol. *Historisch-demographische Mitteilungen*, edited by I. Kovacsics, Budapest, 1976, p. 102 ; T. Ghițan, O. Filipoiu, „Organizarea sanitară a districtului autonom românesc al Năsăudului între anii 1861—1876“, in vol. *Momente din trecutul medicinei...*, p. 411—413.

<sup>32</sup> *Istoria României*, vol. IV, București, 1964, p. 651 ; A. Egyed, „Situția demografică a județului Cluj...“, p. 178 ; D. F. Good, *The Economic Rise of the Habsburg Empire 1750—1914*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1984, p. 86.

<sup>33</sup> ASB, CRSC, Mijlocenii Birgăului, nr. 1215—1218 ; Feldru nr. 438—440 ; P. Boca, I. Moldovan, „Populația județului Bistrița-Năsăud între anii 1870—1970“, in *File de istorie*, 3, 1974, p. 287.

<sup>34</sup> Ion Enescu, Iuliu Enescu, Ardealul, Banatul, Crișana și Maramureșul din punct de vedere agricol, cultural și economic, București, 1916, p. 29 ; C. Todea, „Contribuții la cunoașterea demografiei istorice a Transilvaniei“, in „*Revista de statistică*“, 22, 1973, nr. 6, p. 83.

<sup>35</sup> A. Egyed, „Situția demografică a județului Cluj...“, p. 179 ; E. Mesaroș, „Cu privire la revoluția demografică în România (sec. XIX—XX)“, in „*Revista de statistică*“, 22, 1973, nr. 8, p. 41—46.

<sup>36</sup> R. Cressin, *Monografia comunei Șant...*, p. 23 ; A. Egyed, „Emigration of Transylvanian peasants at the Beginning of the 20 Century“, in *Nouvelles études d'histoire*, vol. 5, București, 1975, p. 251—258 ; I.I. Adam, *Considération sur l'exode de la population de Transylvanie entre 1899 et 1913, basées sur la statistique officielle des émigrations*, in *Populație și societate*, vol. 4, Cluj-Napoca, 1980, p. 202—210.

from villages situated in the plain (Poieni, Găureni, Suplai, Coşbuc, Telciu, etc) where the percentage was over 100<sup>0/0</sup>). Meanwhile, there were slight changes within the natural growth (Mijlocenii and Susenii Birgăului, Zagra, Runc, etc, where the increase was only between 25<sup>0/0</sup>—100<sup>0/0</sup>). Finally, there were a few places with continous fluctuations and, some times, even a stagnation or a demographic regres (Gledin, Mărişelu Sieuţ, etc.). This evolution is wholly reflected in table 4.

Table 4 : birth and mortality rate, natural growth, between 1851—1910 (1000 inhabitants)

Period	Mijlocenii Birgăului			Susenii Birgăului		
	Born	Deceased	Natural Growth	Born	Deceased	Natural Growth
1851—1857	36	23,1	12,9	34,2	31,2	3
1858—1869	36,9	20,5	16,4	43	27,6	15,4
1870—1880	29	32	—3	33,9	38,2	—4,3
1881—1890	44,3	35,3	6	39,1	28,9	10,2
1891—1900	39,7	26,1	13,6	38,5	29,2	9,3
1901—1910	36,9	23	13,9	37,9	22,3	15,6
1851—1910	37,1	26,7	10,4	37,8	29,6	8,2

Period	Gledin		
	Born	Deceased	Natural Growth
1851—1857	29,4	22	7,4
1858—1869	34	22,4	11,6
1870—1880	25,3	29,7	—4,4
1881—1890	32,2	32,2	—
1891—1900	28,3	25,7	3,1
1901—1910	21,4	18,3	3,1
1851—1910	28,5	25,1	3,4

Therefore, the birth rate was high enough (Mijlocenii and Susenii Birgăului 37,1<sup>0/0</sup> and respectively 37,8<sup>0/0</sup>) as compared to other continental areas (for example Enland, where the birth rate was about 32<sup>0/0</sup> for France with 24<sup>0/0</sup>)<sup>37</sup>. Among the small number of exceptions, we could mention the village of Gledin, with a birth rate of only 28,5<sup>0/0</sup>. On the other hand, there were several villages in the same Năsăud district, where the mortality rate was quite high (between 25—30<sup>0/0</sup>), as compared to Western Europe (20—21<sup>0/0</sup>)<sup>38</sup>. The living conditions in the country, the poor medical assistance (at the beginning of the 20th century, in Transilvania there was only one medical doctor for 4824 inhabitants, only one midwife for 1435 inhabitants and 9467 inhabitants to one chemist's shop)<sup>39</sup>, the existence of prejudice and of ancient folk practices

<sup>37</sup> P. Guillaume, J. P. Pousson, *Démographie historique*, Armand Colin, Paris, 1970, p. 273.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 269.

<sup>39</sup> Ion Enescu, Iuliu Enescu, *Ardealul, Banatul...*, p. 15.



concerning medical care, led to a high mortality rate. The widely-spread as well as local epidemics had also weakened the villages' demographic equilibrium. The general characteristics of the demographic evolution during the previous decades was the continuous alternation of demographic increase and decrease, the possibility of short term recovery<sup>40</sup>. In this respect, in the village of Feldru, the mortality rate in 1873 and 1877 was 2—3 times higher than in other years, because of cholera and whooping cough epidemics. At the same time, the double number of marriages determined the high birth rate (between 1874 and 1878)<sup>41</sup>. The study of the population natural movement, from the villages of Mijlocenii Birgăului, Susenii Birgăului and Gledin reveals the demographic self-adjustment throughout the 19th century.

The next problem of the present study concerns the family as an institution in the district of Năsăud, in the 19th century. The military authorities and the ecclesiastic institutions had marriages under their control till 1851, owing to the juridical consequences, like the residence place, the unification or division of the land. The husband's access to his wife's land had to be approved by the general command in Sibiu, while, in the case of the wife's access to her husband's land the marriage was approved by the regiment's command<sup>42</sup>. The military authorities expressed their approval only if there were enough men left on that land, so as to provide the frontier guard's obligations. As a result of the Napoleonean wars, the masculine population of the regiment diminished significantly. Under the circumstances, the number of husbands from Susenii Birgăului, who left their family land and went to that of their wife's was very small till 1830; whereas there was a great number of wives who moved to their husband's land. After 1830, the proportions changed, the number of exogamous marriages was prevailing<sup>43</sup>. In this respect, the military authorities asked that the young people who were getting married should be from the same village, so that the frontier guards shouldn't have outward economic interests<sup>44</sup>. That's why the number of the exogamous marriages increased only after 1851, in Susenii Birgăului, as well as in other places of the district<sup>45</sup>. The co-operation between the military and ecclesiastic authorities, concerning marriages, was meant to assure the economic, cultural, moral and sanitary conditions of the frontier guard district. To obtain a marriage licence, the bridegroom had to have planted a certain number of fruit trees; the future couple was questioned about field work and housework<sup>46</sup>. The ordonance of 1766 didn't stipulate the house communion; such a form of organization was established by the military authorities only

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<sup>40</sup> F. Braudel, *Structurile cotidianului: posibilul și imposibilul*, vol. I, București, 1984, p. 98; Gh. Brătescu, *Epidemiile și consecințele lor demografice*, in *Revista de istorie*, 37, 1984, nr. 5, p. 434.

<sup>41</sup> ASB, CRSC, Feldru, nr. 428—440.

<sup>42</sup> Valeriu Șotropa, *Districul grăniceresc năsăudean...*, p. 203 sg.

<sup>43</sup> ASB, CRSC, Susenii Birgăului, nr. 1221—1213.

<sup>44</sup> Valeriu Șotropa, *Districul grăniceresc năsăudean...*, p. 204.

<sup>45</sup> ASB, CRSC, Susenii Birgăului, nr. 1211—1213; Feldru, nr. 43—47; Gledin, 484—487.

<sup>46</sup> Valeriu Șotropa, *Districul grăniceresc năsăudean I...* p. 205; Ștefan Buzilă, *Documente bisericești*, in *Arhiva Someșană*, 18, 1936, p. 425.

in the first half of the 19th century, in all Transylvanian regiments<sup>47</sup>. Thus, in the Năsăud regiment there were 4473 families, with 29693 inhabitants, in 1813; that meant about 6,6 members/family. Such a family represented a „house communion“, that is it had all the public obligations in common<sup>48</sup>. The authorities tried to extend this communion; thus, in 1830, there were 4229 families, 6344 married couples, 34875 inhabitants (8,2 members/family), within the regiment<sup>49</sup>. Between the two world wars we may also mention the existence of the so-called „double house“ (mostly in the village Şanţ), where two related families used to live. This type of house was probably established in the first half of the 19th century<sup>50</sup>. The native people were constantly criticizing this form of communion, as there hadn't been any tradition in this respect in the area. In the official report of the regiment's economic commission, of 20 April 1840, the representatives of the localities expressed their disapproval. They considered that „forcing people to live in common, was a great fault“, because of the continuous rivalry and quarrels, and they asked for a return to the small Saxon-type families like those in the Bistriţa district<sup>51</sup>. After 1851, the small family system was rapidly established, so that at the 1857 census, there were 4,5 inhabitants / family, and this lasted till the beginning of the First World War<sup>52</sup>.

Table 5 : population's structure according to sex (1803—1910).

Year	Men	Women
1803	14321 43,3%	15173 51,6%
Year	Men	Women
1813	Number 14191 Percentage 47,8%	15502 52,2%
1900	Number 35287 Percentage 52,3%	32193 47,7%
1910	Number 38699 Percentage 51,7%	36121 48,4%

The above table reveals the gradually lower percentage of men, between 1804—1813 (from 48,4% to 47,8%), as an immediate consequence of the Napoleonean wars. However, the equilibrium between sexes was re-established till the end of the 19th century, owing to the immigrations from the plain regions (naturally, most of the immigrants were men, who found work in forestry). Still, because of this massive immigration,

<sup>47</sup> Nicolae Bocşan, *Contribuţii la istoria iluminismului românesc*, Timişoara 1986, p. 107; St. Imreh, *Conscripţia grănicerilor transilvăneni din anul 1810*, în vol. *Suţ semnul lui Clio. Omagiu acad. prof. Ştefan Pascu*, Cluj, 1974, p. 93 sg.

<sup>48</sup> I.I. Adam, I. Puşcaş, *Izvoare de demografie...*, p. 46.

<sup>49</sup> J. H. Benigni von Mildenberg, *Statistische skizze...*, p. 17.

<sup>50</sup> Valeriu Şotropa, *Districtul grăniceresc năsăudean...*, p. 212.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 214; Virgil Sotropa, „Un act memorabil“, în *Arhiva Someşană*, 12, 1930, p. 152 seg.

<sup>52</sup> *Bevölkerung und Viehstand von Siebenbürgen nach der Zählung vom 31 October 1857*, Wien, 1859, p. 2—5.

at the beginning of the 20 th century, the number of men decreased, although the percentage was in their favour in 1910 (51,7<sup>0</sup>%)<sup>53</sup>.

Table 6 : Population structure according to legal status (1830—1910).

Year		Married	Unmarried	Widowers	Divorced
1830	Number	13688	21187		
	%	39,25 <sup>0</sup> %	60,75 <sup>0</sup> %		
1900	Number	28548	35114	3765	53
	%	42,30 <sup>0</sup> %	52,04 <sup>0</sup> %	5,58 <sup>0</sup> %	0,08 <sup>0</sup> %
1910	Number	31356	39137	4198	129
	%	41,90 <sup>0</sup> %	52,30 <sup>0</sup> %	5,62 <sup>0</sup> %	0,18 <sup>0</sup> %

Therefore, it can be noticed that the increasing number of married people between 1830 and 1900 is a natural consequence of the improved living conditions. After 1900, the number of marriages decreased, partially because most emigrants were young (newly married or unmarried), who hoped to be able to buy land when coming back. The percentage of unmarried men and widowers did not change significantly but between 1900—1910, the number of divorces doubled. Unfortunately, we do not have any information about the population's structure according to age in the 44 localities during the 19 th century.

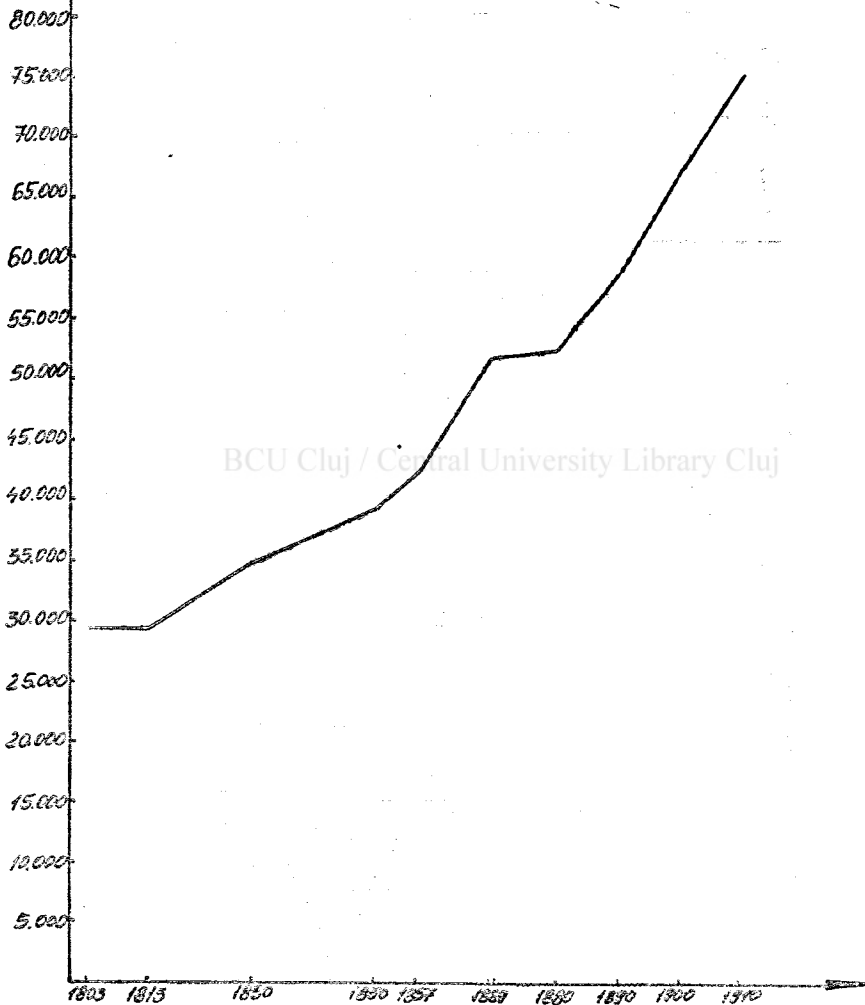
Table 7 : Population structure according to age (1900—1910).

Year		0—14 years	15—60 years	over 60 years
1900	Number	23653	38080	5747
	%	35,05 <sup>0</sup> %	56,43 <sup>0</sup> %	8,51 <sup>0</sup> %
1910	Number	2505	42577	6678
	%	34,16 <sup>0</sup> %	56,90 <sup>0</sup> %	8,92 <sup>0</sup> %

From the above data we may still come to some conclusions : between 1900—1910, the youth population percentage decreased from 35,05<sup>0</sup>% to 34,16<sup>0</sup>% ; at the same time the percentage of people over 60 slightly increased from 8,51<sup>0</sup>% to 8,92<sup>0</sup>%. However, the population of the 44 localities was younger than of other Transylvanian areas, even the Bistrița-Năsăud district.

<sup>53</sup> To be seen *A Magyar Korona országainak 1910. Évi népszámlálása*, első rész, in *MStK. Ús*, 42 kötet, Budapest, 1912.

Anexo 1 Evolution of the population from the 44 places

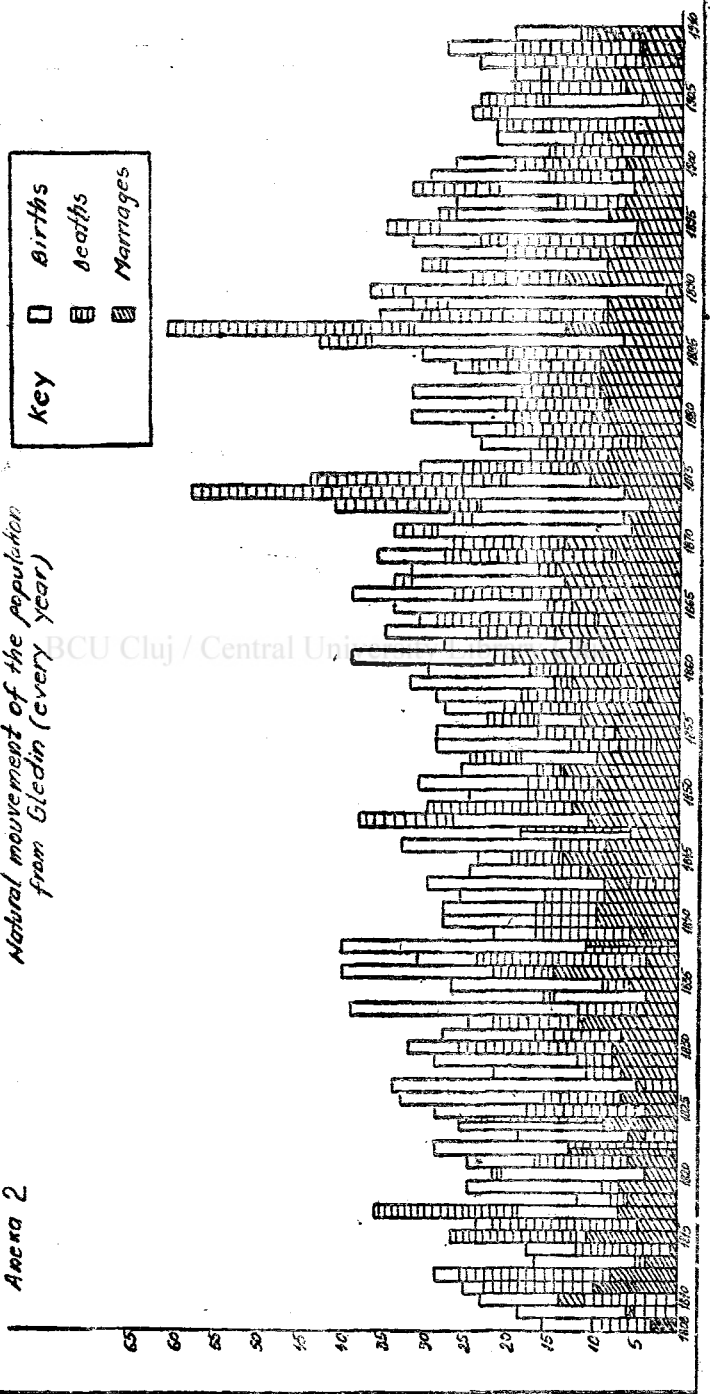


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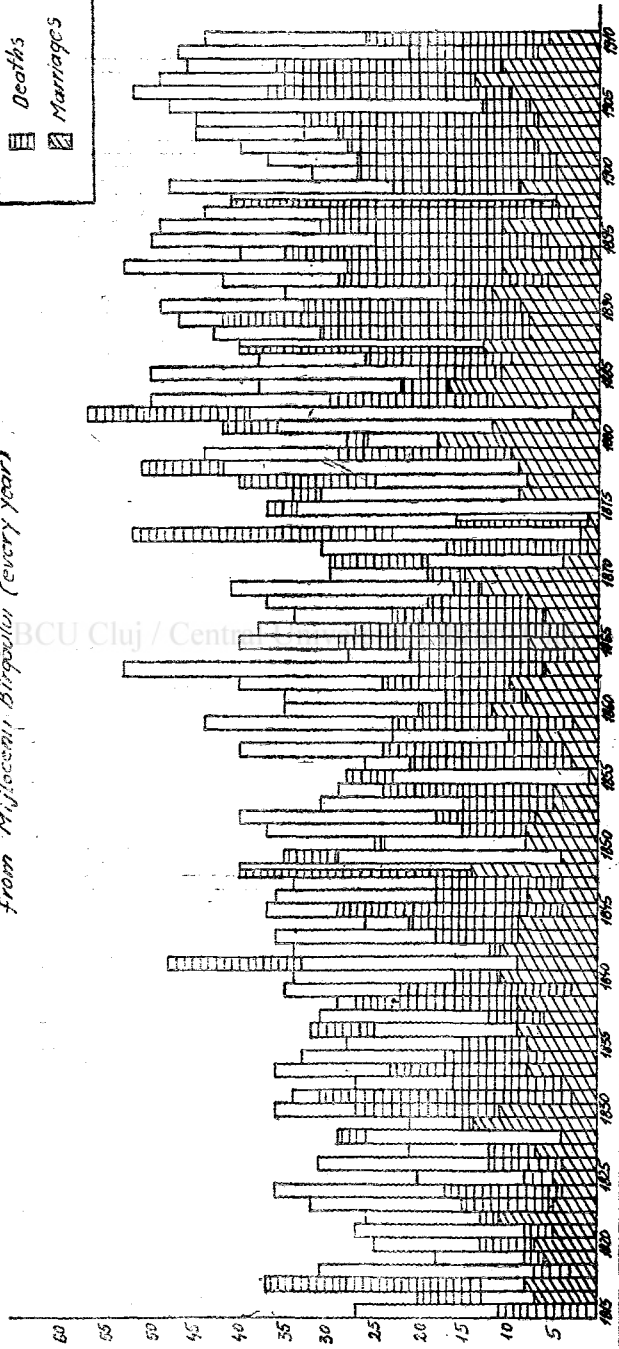
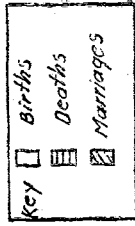
Annex 2

Natural movement of the population from Gledin (every year)



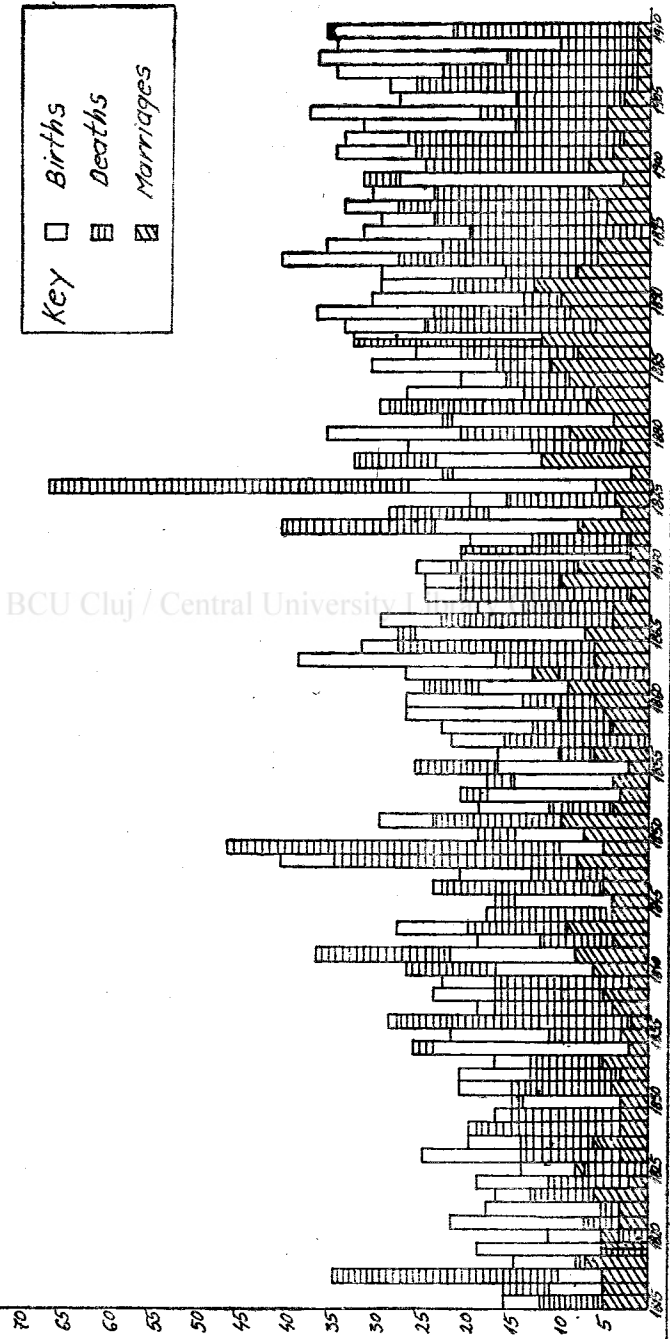
Annexa 3

Natural movement of the population  
from Mijlocaeni, Birgoului (every year)



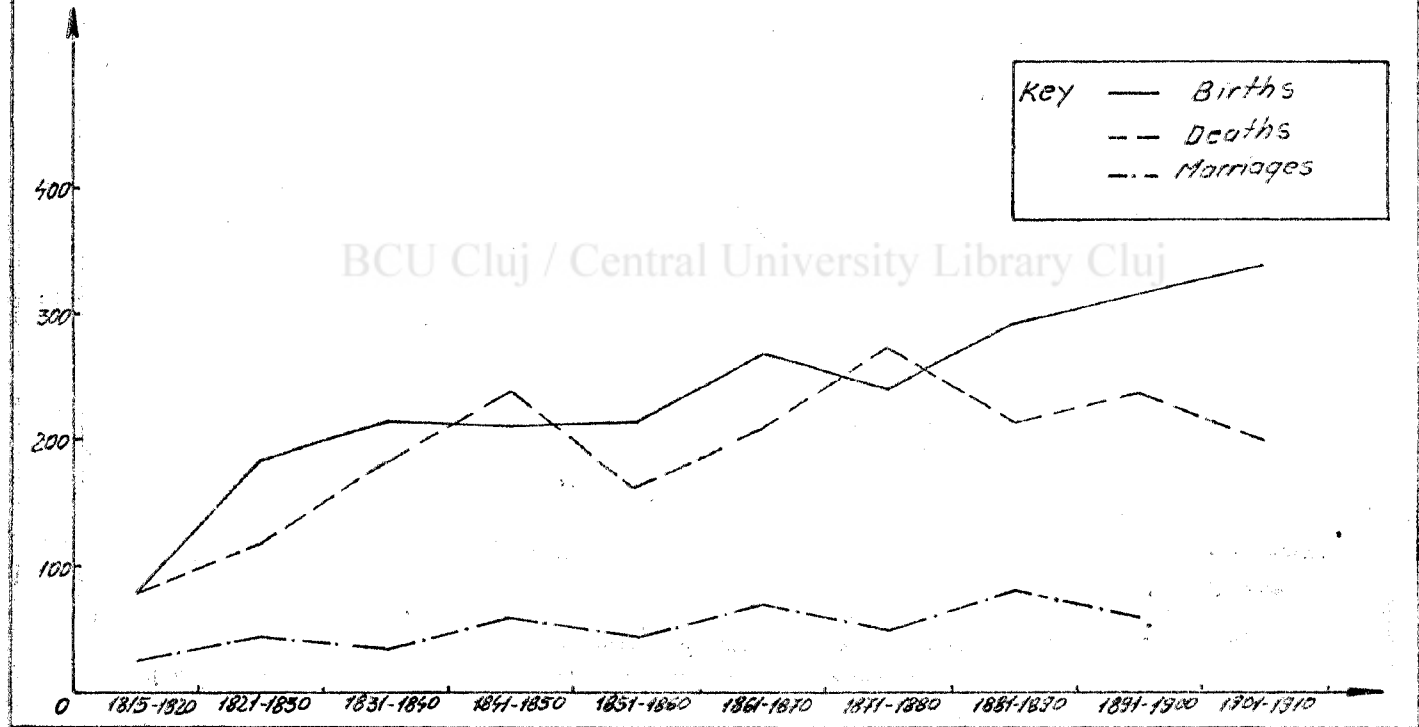
*Natural movement of the population  
from Suseni, Birgoului (every year)*

Anexa 4



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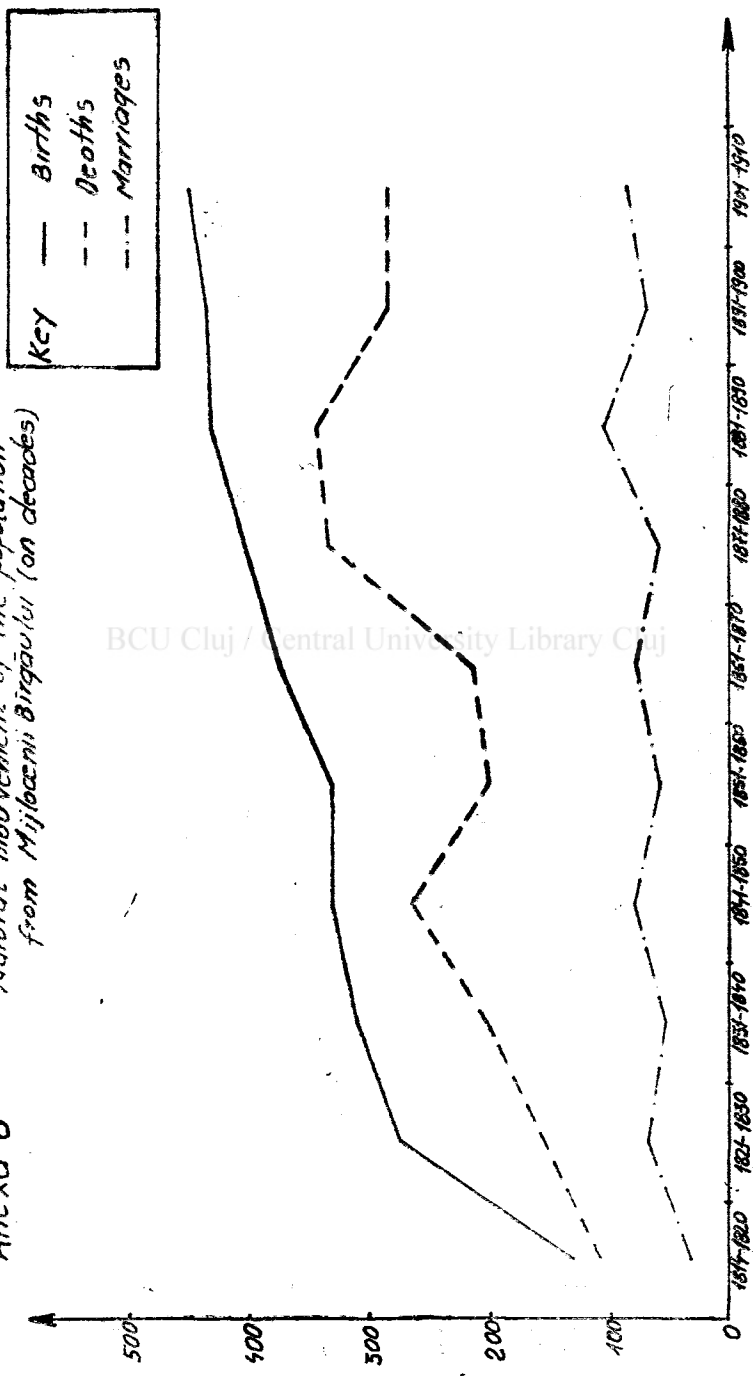
Anexa 5 Natural movement of the population  
from Susenii Birgăului (on decades)





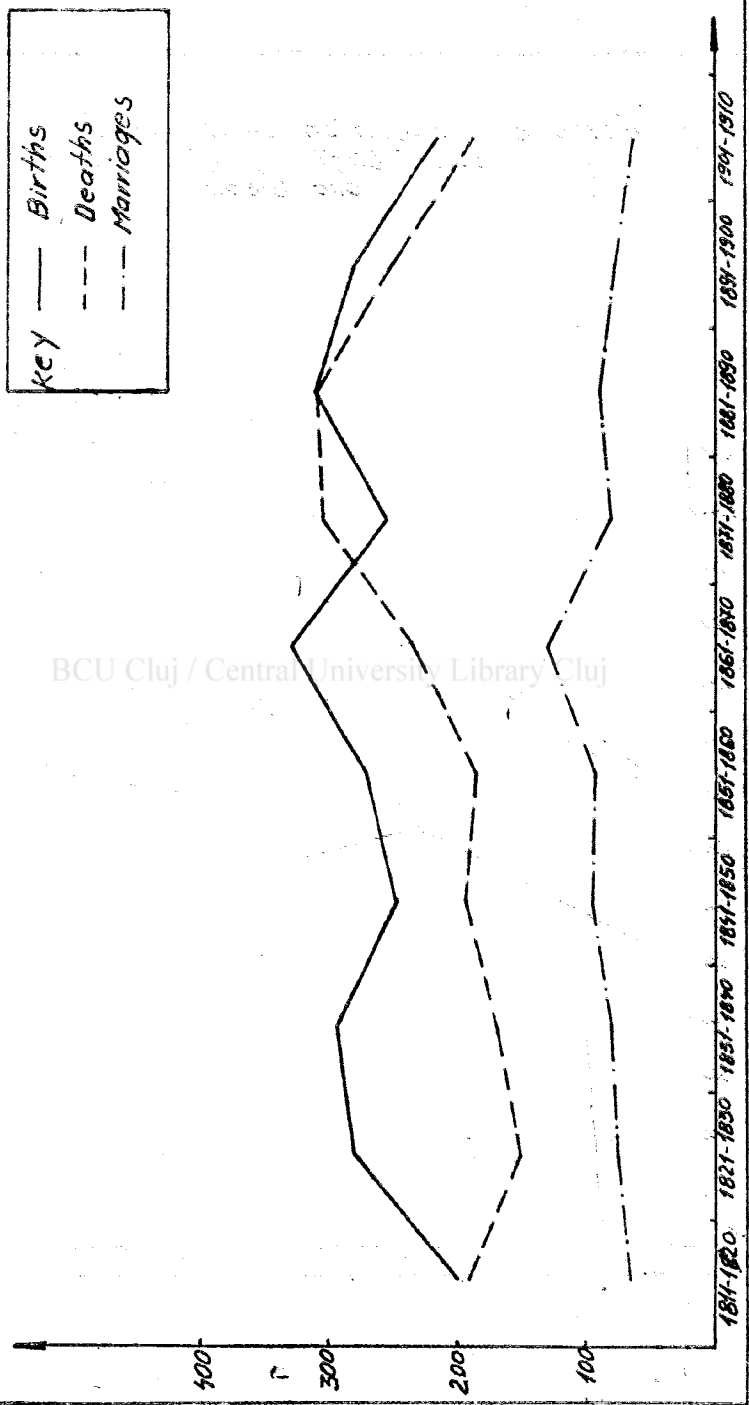
# Anexa 6

Natural movement of the population  
from Mijloceni Birgaului (on decades)



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Anexa 7 Natural movement of the population  
from Gledin (on decades)



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Anexa 8 Evolution of the population from  
Susenii Birgăului, Mijlocenii Birgăului  
and Gledin

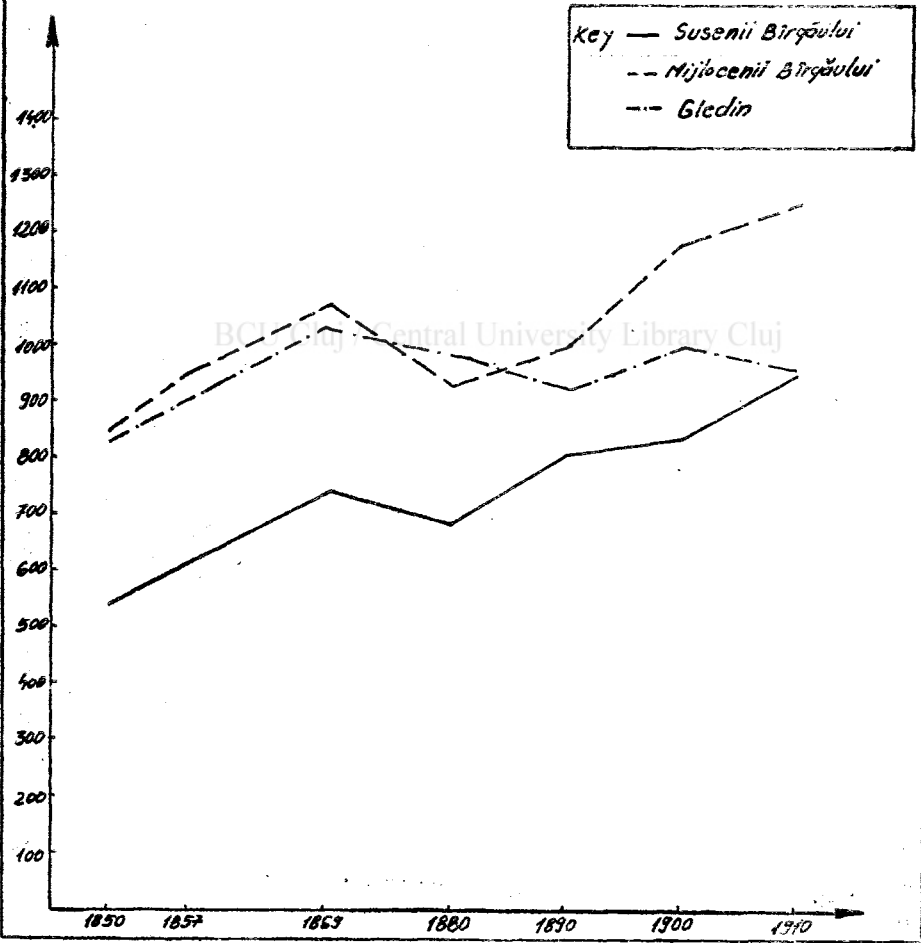


Table 8 : Population ethnic and religious structure (1830—1910)

Year		Romanians	Hungarians	Germans	Other nationalities	Orthodoxes
1830	Number	34328	72	206	269	5810
	%	98,43%	0,2%	0,6%	0,77%	16,66%
1880	Number	47287	869	1536	2795	6879
	%	90,10%	1,65%	2,92%	5,53%	13,10%
1910	Number	66617	3953	3351	899	9126
	%	89%	5,3%	4,5%	1,20%	12,20%

Year		Greek-catholic	Roman-catholic	Evangelic Lutheran	Evangelic Protestant	Mosaic	Others
1830	Number	28748	202		115		
	%	82,43%	0,58%		0,33%		
1880	Number	42686	1217	187	153	1316	49
	%	81,33%	2,32%	0,35%	0,30%	2,50%	0,10%
1910	Number	58119	2632	321	575	4016	31
	%	77,67%	3,52%	0,43%	0,77%	5,37%	0,04%

Important conclusions can be drawn from the study of the ethnic structure of the Năsăud district population between 1830—1910. First of all, the percentage of Romanians decreased from 98,43% in 1830, to 89% in 1910, though almost all the sources of that time recognize the Romanians were much more prolific, as compared to other nationalities<sup>55</sup>. The higher percentage of Hungarians and Germans might be explained by the Habsburg and Hungarian authorities' policy after 1867 (colonization of foreign workers, economic support for the middle classes, etc<sup>56</sup>). The ethnic structure of the district's population changed in the second half of the 19th century, because of the great number of Jews who settled here (mostly immigrants from Galicia who accepted the German language and culture, while others accepted the Hungarian language and culture)<sup>57</sup>. However, the Romanians represented the major part of the district's population; the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic confessions (both of them belonging to the Romanians), represented the highest percentage throughout the 19th century.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>55</sup> T. Morariu, *Entwicklung der...*, p. 28.

<sup>56</sup> I. Russu-Şirianu, *România din Statul ungar (statistică, etnografie)*, 1904, p. 165; V. Jinga, „Prefaceri și orientări ale burgheziei române”, în *Conferințele extensiunii academice*, vol. III, 1937—1938, Cluj, 1938, p. 97; *Histoire de la Hongrie des origines à nos jours*, publié sous la direction de Erwin Pámlényi, Editions Horváth, Budapest, 1974, p. 387.

<sup>57</sup> G. Zikeli, *Bistritz zwischen 1880 und 1950. Erinnerungen eines Puchdruckers*, Verlag Südostdeutsches Kulturwerk, München, 1989, p. 84; V. Jinga, „Prefaceri și orientări“..., p. 96.

In the end, we may certainly say that the population of the frontier guard district from Năsăud had its own characteristic evolution during the 19th century, up to 1851. After the disbandment of the military frontier, the population continually increased, except in the eighties. Growth rate was higher than in other Transylvanian areas, in spite of all the difficulties (wars, epidemics, hunger). The end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th are characterized by slight changes in the dynamics and structure of the population and the demographic behavior of individuals. One of the disturbing elements of the normal evolution was the house communion. Despite the authorities' demographic policy, the Romanians were the majority that influenced the demographic evolution of the area during the 19th century, till the First World War.

## ASPECTE DEMOGRAFICE ÎN REGIMENTUL II GRĂNICERESC ROMÂN ÎN SEC. XIX

(Rezumat)

Existența graniței militare austriece a avut multiple consecințe asupra societății transilvănene, inclusiv în plan demografic. Studiul de față își propune să analizeze câteva aspecte demografice referitoare la cele 44 de localități care au compus regimentul grăniceresc năsăudean. Investigația se bazează atât pe izvoarele statistice publicate în cursul sec. al XIX-lea, cât și pe registrele parohiale de stare civilă care completează informația statistică cu probleme inedite privind mișcarea naturală a populației.

Studiul abordează și perioada ulterioară desființării regimului grăniceresc, urmărind evoluția demografică până la izbucnirea primului război mondial, deoarece întreaga zonă a avut o fizionomie distinctă, marcată de existența în prima jumătate a sec. al XIX-lea a statutului militar.

Până la 1850, dinamica demografică a celor 44 de localități a cunoscut o creștere modestă, mai ales la începutul perioadei, ca urmare a participării grănicerilor năsăudeni la războaiele napoleoniene, ca rezultat al unor ani cu recolte proaste, epidemii de ciumă sau holeră și evident, ca urmare a distrugerilor materiale și umane din timpul revoluției de la 1848—1849. Registrele parohiale de stare civilă pun în lumină alternanța continuă între nașteri și decese, refacerea destul de rapidă a potențialului uman al zonei la sfârșitul războaielor sau la încetarea epidemiilor.

După desființarea regimentelor de graniță, în a doua jumătate a sec. al XIX-lea, dinamica demografică a celor 44 de localități a cunoscut un curs ascendent, întrerupt doar temporar în deceniul opt. Desființarea relațiilor feudale după revoluția de la 1848—1849 a avut o importanță deosebită și pentru foștii grăniceri năsăudeni, deveniți proprietari deplin pe loturile lor de pământ. De asemenea, începutul exploatărilor forestiere din zonă a însemnat crearea unor noi locuri de muncă, atragerea unui surplus de populație din mediu rural învecinat în satele foste grănicerești, aflate într-o perioadă de profunde prefaceri economice. Absența unor războaie lungi și epuizante, relativa prosperitate economică, organizarea mai eficientă a luptei antiepidemice etc.

au contribuit la o creștere demografică a celor 44 de localități între 1850—1910 cu mult peste media întregii Transilvanii.

Din punct de vedere al structurii etnice, zona a fost aproape exclusiv românească. În a doua jumătate a sec. al XIX-lea, dar mai ales după încheierea dualismului, autoritățile au recurs la diverse măsuri administrative care să diminueze proporția elementului românesc. În ciuda acestor eforturi, până la izbucnirea primului război mondial nu au fost obținute rezultatele scontate de autorități, românii continuând să reprezinte peste 80% din ansamblul populației zonei.