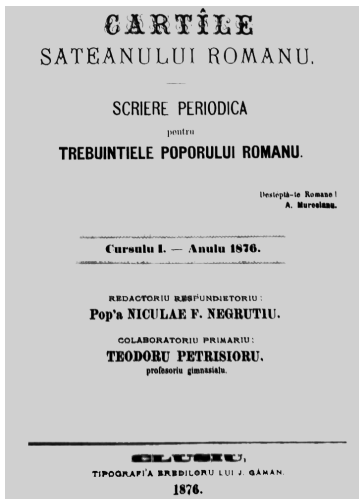

P A R A D I G M S

The Romanian Newspapers Published for Transylvanian Peasants in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century A Theoretical and Thematic Approach

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Introduction

THE NEWSPAPERS published for peasants (*gazetele populare*, in Romanian), the people's sheets (*foile populare*, in Romanian) as they called themselves, were a special type of press dedicated to Transylvanian peasants in the second half of the nineteenth century, addressing a diverse range of topics, as we will detail below.

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In the present research, we have chosen to refer to the press that featured topics dedicated to the Romanian peasants from Transylvania¹ in the second half of the nineteenth century, which can reveal both the important themes of the period for the rural environment and the concerns of the elites for the cultural and economic development, as well as the social or political situation of the vast majority of Transylvanian Romanians. We believe this research is useful because, in the specialized literature, the topics supported by the newspapers published for peasants² are not clearly defined, which is why we chose to examine the most representative periodicals dedicated to the Romanian Transylvanian rural environment in the second half of the nineteenth century.

We chose to focus our analysis on the periodicals *Șezătoarea* (The social soiree) (1875–1882) and *Cărțile săteanului român* (The books of the Romanian peasant) (1876–1886) because they enjoyed a constant and relatively long publication, of eight respectively eleven years, which is why they resonated in the Transylvanian Romanian village world, especially if we take into account that a periodical disappears mainly due to the lack of readers/subscribers. We also took into account other periodicals dedicated to the villagers, which appeared only for short periods, such as *Opinca* (Sandals) (1885) and *Gazeta economului* (The peasant's gazette) (1892), but which approached topics representative for the type of analyzed publications. Another reason for choosing to research these four gazettes was related to the fact that they covered the entire geographical space inhabited by Romanians in Dual Hungary. Regarding the editorial headquarters of the researched periodicals, they were as follows: *Șezătoarea*—Budapest (1875–1880) and Oradea (Großwardein, Nagyvárad) (1880–1882), *Cărțile săteanului român*—Gherla (Neuschloss, Szamosújvár) (1876–1885), Blaj (Blasendorf, Balázsfalva) and Rodna (Rodenau, Radna) (1886), *Opinca*—Reșița (Reschitz, Resicabánya) (1885) and *Gazeta economului*—Șiria (Hellburg, Világos) (1892).

We did not want to make an inventory of all Romanian newspapers published for the Transylvanian peasants, a topic that may be the subject of separate research, out of the desire to deal with the general issue of the analyzed periodicals. Also, the analysis of the discourse is not part of our concerns, as we only wanted to present the topics in order to be able to identify the similarities and differences concerning the published subjects.

Analyzing Romanian historiography, we noticed that it had not been preoccupied enough with the analysis of the newspapers published for peasants.³ In some syntheses dedicated to the history of the Romanian press, the previously mentioned periodicals or the typology of the newspapers published for peasants were not treated,⁴ even if there are some exceptions.⁵ The works dedicated to the peasant environment in the Austro-Hungarian Empire do not deal with the

newspapers published for peasants,⁶ except for the work of Vasile Dobrescu, who approached the concept of the press dedicated to the peasants, only mentioning the *Cărțile săteanului roman* newspaper, which he considered a “mixed publication, socio-economic and cultural, of local interest.”⁷ The syntheses dedicated to the history of the Romanians⁸ or the history of Transylvania⁹ also do not approach the abovementioned topics.

Even if some historians of the press consider that the first newspaper published for peasants was *Foaia poporului* (People’s paper) of Sibiu (Hermannstadt, Nagyszeben), published between 1893 and 1916,¹⁰ Romanian historiography admitted that the first such gazette was *Învățătorul poporului* (The teacher of the people) (1848).¹¹ We emphasize that this type of periodical was not the prerogative of the Romanian press in Transylvania. The Saxons and the Hungarians also had such publications, even older than the Romanian ones.¹² Also, in Transylvania, the newspapers dedicated to the rural world, like the other types of press, influenced each other in terms of the physical and the editorial format.¹³ The peasant press appeared in Europe and the USA in the first part of the nineteenth century, extending to the east of the European continent in the second half of the century of nationalities.¹⁴

Periodicals dedicated to peasants were also published in the Kingdom of Romania. N. Iorga, in his work dedicated to the Romanian press, stated that the newspaper *Gazeta Țăranilor* (The peasants’ gazette), published by Constantin Dobrescu-Argeș in November 1892 in the village of Mușetești, Argeș County, had an impact on the villages from the neighboring counties: Muscel, Olt, Vâlcea, etc. Also, the gazette “did more for the political development of the rural populations than all the other newspapers from the cities, no matter how big their circulation.”¹⁵ Other gazettes published for peasants, with influence in Romania at the end of the nineteenth century, were *Amicul Poporului* (The friend of the people) (1898–1899, 1901–1902, 1904–1905), *Șezătoarea Săteanului* (The villager’s social soirée) (1898–1905) and *Lumina Satelor* (The light of the villages) (1899–1900).¹⁶

From a methodological point of view, we based our research on the investigation of the articles published by the most representative periodicals dedicated to the Transylvanian villagers of the second half of the nineteenth century: *Șezătoarea* and *Cărțile săteanului român*. We did not avoid, as indicated earlier, those with a short appearance, such as *Opinca* or *Gazeta economului*, but which put a strong emphasis on attracting peasant readers by publishing topics of interest to them. Following, in particular, the four periodicals listed, we wanted to identify the main topics covered by the newspapers published for peasants in the second half of the nineteenth century, referring to their editorial mission statements but also to the studies they published throughout their exis-

tence. The identification of common topics was one of the main aims of the research, without overlooking the special topics approached by each of them and which are symptomatic for the description of the Romanian rural world in Transylvania in the second half of the century of nationalities. We also followed other Romanian periodicals that aimed to publish articles dedicated to the village public, such as Astra Association's magazine, *Transilvania* (Transylvania) (1868–1919),¹⁷ or *Familia* (The family) (1865–1906),¹⁸ which had, at certain moments, the characteristics of popular publications. We mention that one of the selection criteria for the researched gazettes was their self-definition as being dedicated to the peasants, information taken from their subtitle or editorial mission statement.¹⁹ We have dealt only tangentially with the newspapers published for peasants that appeared in the last years of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century, such as *Foaia poporului* (1893–1916), *Libertatea* (Freedom) (1902–1918), *Țara noastră* (Our country) (1907), *Solia satelor* (The village deputation) (1912–1913), etc. because several studies have been written about them.²⁰

As for the term *gazetă poporală* (newspaper published for peasants), it seems to have been widely adopted after its introduction by Sebastian Bornemisa.²¹ At the time of publication, the usual name was *foaie* (sheet), *foiță* (tissue paper) or “periodical writing for the people.” We identified the first article that used the term “newspapers published for peasants,” published in 1914 by *Luceafărul* (The evening star), and which briefly analyzed two periodicals that had this typology, *Solia satelor* of Cluj and *Libertatea* of Orăștie.²² In the recent historiography, the study by historian Sorin Radu²³ is among the few that used the term “newspapers published for peasants” and which analyzed several periodicals of this kind.

Octavian C. Tăslăuanu was of the opinion that one of the successes of the Romanian elite in Transylvania for the development of the rural environment was the support offered to the “people's sheets.”²⁴ However, not all periodicals dedicated to peasants were considered to have fulfilled their desideratum, but some were praised for their efforts, such as the *Solia satelor*, edited by the writer Alexandru Lupeanu Melin. Despite the praise, the *Solia satelor* gazette quickly ceased publication after only one year.²⁵

Before moving on to the main analysis, we want to briefly refer to what we mean by the term *gazetă poporală* (newspaper published for peasants), applicable to the studied period. In an attempt to define it, we could say that the newspapers published for peasants in the second half of the nineteenth century were those periodicals that did not focus on political events, focusing on topics likely to bring about economic, social and educational development. They featured articles written in an easy-to-understand language, quite short, but with a striking message and which addressed the current problems of the peasants, such as

agriculture, hygiene, housing, economy, alcoholism, tips for managing a successful household, but also some related to morals, clothing and good relations with one's neighbors. The low price is another determining factor for defining the character of the newspapers published for peasants. The Anglo-Saxon and German historiography individualizes the periodicals dedicated to a certain sector of the population (peasants, workers, lawyers, etc.) also through the accessibility given by price, which makes us believe that the price, correlated with addressability, is a major factor in the description of this type of publication.²⁶ We also point out that the prices of periodicals increased towards the end of the nineteenth century due to the economic evolution of Transylvania,²⁷ which caused an increase in the annual subscriptions for the newspapers published for peasants, as we shall indicate below.

It should be noted that there are some differences between the Romanian newspapers published for peasants in Transylvania during the second half of the nineteenth century and the other types of Romanian periodicals circulating in the intra-Carpathian province. The newspapers dedicated to the peasants were individualized by the way the information was presented, usually in a single column, by the language used, the construction of the articles, the clarity of the message and their length.²⁸ The language of the newspapers published for peasants was adequate for a poorly educated public, but there were also scientific approaches, most of them dedicated to the agricultural and medical field, in which the authors nevertheless tried to employ an easily accessible register. The articles were not very extensive, the editors preferring to segment them into several issues, thus creating the idea that they were not long.²⁹

Also, the newspapers published for peasants differ from those dedicated to farmers. If in the latter, scientific articles are properly presented,³⁰ in the former, the articles are presented in the form of dialogue, advice/exhortations of the elderly or people "with education." Even though they deal with similar topics, the features and the presentation are different. We emphasize that in the gazettes dedicated to the agricultural field, the focus was on the publication of scientific contributions dedicated to the field they supported, the segment dedicated to literature, jokes, news, etc. being almost non-existent. The editorial format of the Romanian newspapers for peasants in the second half of the nineteenth century is close to that of popular magazines and brochures, not having the appearance of a conventional newspaper. We found that the editorial format was smaller, usually, with dimensions between 24×16 cm and a maximum of 37×26 cm.³¹ Towards the end of the nineteenth century and in the first part of the twentieth century, the typographic format of some gazettes dedicated to the peasants became close to that of conventional newspapers.³²

Editorial Format and Mission Statements

IN THE following, we will refer to some aspects related to the editorial format and mission statements of the gazettes dedicated to peasants. Following the evolution of the Romanian newspapers published for peasants in Transylvania, we found that some of their characteristics changed over time. Regarding the editorial format, we noticed that towards the end of the nineteenth century, the format of presenting information on two or several columns per page began to be used (*Opinca*, *Gazeta economului*,³³ *Foiaia poporului*, *Libertatea*, *Solia satelor*), replacing the feature of the single column (*Șezătoarea*,³⁴ *Cărțile săteanului român* and *Țara noastră*). This fact can be attributed to the editors' awareness that their audience had developed from an educational point of view, especially if we take into account the advancement of education in Transylvania at the end of the nineteenth century.

Regarding the periodicity, we found that, in the second part of the nineteenth century, the mode of appearance was, as a rule, monthly; even if there were attempts to publish them weekly, they were not long-lasting. Unfortunately, we do not have, at this stage of the research, information related to the circulation or the number of subscriptions to the analyzed periodicals. The number of pages fluctuated between 4 and a maximum of 20 pages.

The price of the subscriptions varied, depending on the periodical and the editorial stage of each one. Following the evolution of the subscription prices for those analyzed by us, we found that for *Șezătoarea* and *Cărțile săteanului român*, it evolved between 1 florin and maximum 2 fl. The two appeared in about the same chronological period, thus explaining the similarity in price, while for others such, as *Opinca* (which had a subscription of 4 fl. in 1885) and *Gazeta economului* (5 fl. per year for 1892), the weekly periodicity generated the higher price.

We have little information regarding the number of subscriptions contracted due to the lack of archival collections of the researched periodicals. However, for *Șezătoarea*, Iosif Vulcan stated that in 1877 it had reached over 1,800 subscribers, which made it “the most subscribed Romanian sheet from beyond the Carpathians,” according to his statement.³⁵

Most of the time, at the end of the editorial years, calls were made for new subscriptions. From the information transmitted, it results that the first issue of an editorial year was sent to those who had been subscribers in the previous year, in the hope that they would extend their subscriptions, but also with the mention that if they did not proceed accordingly, the following issues would no longer be sent to them. Those who did not want to remain subscribers were asked to send back the issues received free of charge. Also, at the end of the year, those in arrears were asked to pay the value of the subscriptions.³⁶ The analysis

of the correspondence sections show that most copies of the researched gazette circulated throughout Transylvania but could also be found in the Kingdom of Romania, being read and subscribed especially by teachers and priests from rural areas, but also by literary associations and clubs. The dissemination of information was not strictly related to the number of subscriptions sold because the information transmitted was also used for dissemination “from the mouth to the ear.” The method consisted in bringing a book expert that would read the content in front of an audience of illiterate people.³⁷ Based on this dissemination system employed for the newspapers published for peasants, it is undoubtedly difficult to follow and describe the impact of the themes on Transylvania inhabitants. The constancy and the number of years in which they were published indicate the fact that they had some success among readers, a conclusive example being the long publication runs of *Șezătoarea* (1875–1882) and *Cărțile sateanului român* (1876–1886), these being the most representative newspapers published for peasants in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The topics favored in the second half of the nineteenth century by the Romanian newspapers meant for the Transylvanian peasants were quite diverse, and they did not focus on political issues, as it happened with those that appeared in the first part of the twentieth century,³⁸ focusing instead on topics of interest to the rural population. In the explanatory manifesto, the periodical *Șezătoarea*, edited by Iosif Vulcan initially in Budapest (1875–1880) and then in Oradea (1880–1882), emphasized that the publication would not contain political articles, focusing instead on ballads, folklore music (*doina* and *hora*), stories, events, teachings, anecdotes, maxims, etc. The goal was “to be disseminated as much as possible among the people to develop their taste for reading.” For this reason, he asked all priests, teachers and notaries to promote the new publication. He believed that there were many villages where “the ploughmen knew how to read and wanted to read,” while the purpose of the publication was to assist in “the cultural advancement of the Romanian people.”³⁹ Coming back to the program of his popular gazette, Iosif Vulcan was of the opinion that “awakening, enlightening and elevating” the rural population could only be achieved by disseminating the written pieces, trying to convey such information in the form of stories and jokes “so as not to seem arid,” because only in this way a gazette dedicated to the Romanian ploughmen in Transylvania could be written.⁴⁰ We notice the preoccupation of Iosif Vulcan to bend to the requirements and specificities of the rural world, which proves a good knowledge of the realities of the time.

Regarding the programmatic aims of the *Cărțile sateanului român* gazette, they were detailed in the second editorial year, when the topics that were to be published during the year were presented. We note that the editor, Nicolae

Fekete Negruțiu, also wanted to publish topics related to: a) the history of the Romanians; b) economic, medical information, etc.; c) moralizing and social short stories; d) poems; e) anecdotes, proverbs and famous quotes, and on the cover, information from all over the world.⁴¹ Other such editorial mission statements were published in the following years, and the topics listed above remained a constant presence, accompanied by the desire to publish biographies of personalities, current political information, popular literature, or advice from the agricultural domain.⁴² We can see that the topics addressed were closely related to the lives of the Transylvanian peasants.

In its editorial mission statement, *Opinca*, like *Șezătoarea*, indicated its desire to awaken “the taste for reading in our peasant, in the Romanian ‘sandal’.” Also, the editor stated that he had to pay attention to what he published, being of the opinion that it was not necessary to include novels and stories because they were deprived of interest and too demanding for the Romanian peasants, instead having to develop “feelings of courage, virtue, love of the country and nation,” “reminding him of his glorious descent and the deeds of our ancestors,” without forgetting the *doinas* and folk tales. Regarding the economic field, he wanted to present all the innovations in the agricultural and industrial fields useful for the Romanian peasant, the prices of food, cattle and other produce of the peasants, helping them sell their wares at the best prices. The editor was of the opinion that all these ideas would make the Romanian peasant support the gazette’s enterprise. The name of the periodical came from the iconic footwear of the Romanian peasant, thus justifying its addressability. As in the case of other popular periodicals, *Opinca* also appealed to priests and teachers for support and to secure subscriptions among the Romanian peasants.⁴³

In the editorial mission statement of *Gazeta economului*, the motivation of the publication was related to the fact that it was necessary to publish a periodical for “the development of the economic and social culture of our fellow Romanians in the villages.” Continuing to justify the publication of the gazette, the editor stated that there were other “political, economic and literary journals,” but they did not address the issue of “our peasants.” Among the topics he wanted to address were the literature specific to their occupations, as well as agricultural, economic, medical and cultural information.⁴⁴ Another feature was the desire for the active participation of readers in the debates launched on its pages, within a special section created for this purpose. After only four issues, noting the small number of subscriptions, it was announced that future issues would not be published until the minimum number of subscribers was reached, given the printing costs.⁴⁵ The publication was never resumed.

The program of the abovementioned periodicals shows that their concerns were similar. We must emphasize that even the most influential and long-lasting Romanian magazines in Transylvania, *Familia*⁴⁶ and *Transilvania*,⁴⁷ approached topics or published columns dedicated to rural areas. Even if they did not have the general character of popular periodicals, they pursued the education and development of the Romanians from the rural area of Transylvania.

The Topics of the Newspapers Published for Peasants

NEXT, WE will deal with some of the most common topics approached by the analyzed periodicals. The Romanian newspapers published for the Transylvanian peasants featured, during their existence, several contributions that can be included in the category of articles that wanted to help develop the educational level of the Transylvanian Romanian peasants. Within this group, we included articles on historical subjects, biographies, contributions that tried to combat superstitions or popular beliefs, discussions about women's condition, supporting education, combating the social problems of the period, etc. In what follows, we will present a few illustrative examples.

The newspapers published for peasants included a series of historical contributions written in a style accessible to the rural inhabitants. The major topics they approached were dedicated to the history of the Romanians,⁴⁸ special attention being paid to the memory of important personalities such as Mircea the Elder of Wallachia, Alexander I of Moldavia,⁴⁹ Stephen the Great of Moldavia,⁵⁰ Michael the Brave of Wallachia,⁵¹ Horia, Avram Iancu,⁵² Tudor Vladimirescu,⁵³ etc.

Among the programmatic points of the Romanian newspapers intended for peasants was the publication of the biographies of famous Transylvanian Romanian personalities, such as Ioan Barac,⁵⁴ Vasile Aaron,⁵⁵ Dimitrie Țichindeal,⁵⁶ Andrei Mureșanu,⁵⁷ Samuil Micu Klein,⁵⁸ Gheorghe Șincai,⁵⁹ Petru Maior,⁶⁰ Timotei Cipariu,⁶¹ Dimitrie Bolintineanu,⁶² David Baron Urs de Margina,⁶³ Alexandru Papiu Ilarian,⁶⁴ Andrei Șaguna,⁶⁵ George Barițiu,⁶⁶ August Treboniu Laurian,⁶⁷ Vasile Ladislau Pop,⁶⁸ Andrei Mocioni,⁶⁹ Samuil Vulcan,⁷⁰ but also of people like Vasile Alecsandri,⁷¹ Anton Pann,⁷² Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu,⁷³ or of personalities of world culture such as Victor Hugo.⁷⁴ The political personalities of the Kingdom of Romania were not absent, Carol I of Romania⁷⁵ and Ion C. Brătianu⁷⁶ being the most frequently mentioned. The biographies were not only focused on the life and activity of the protagonists but also featured passages from their works. In addition to the previous contributions came the

obituaries of several personalities.⁷⁷ The biographies were accompanied by the image of those presented, so that the readers would know them, but also to create an image of the cultural and political personalities of the Romanians.

A constant and important issue for the gazettes dedicated to the rural environment was represented by the fight against popular beliefs and superstitions,⁷⁸ such as those about ghosts, werewolves, witches, magic, the interpretation of dreams, etc.⁷⁹ All were combated through scholarly presentations.⁸⁰

The social situation of women⁸¹ was described by analyzing the behavior of Romanians towards the girls of the family. The contributions highlighted that Romanian women, more than men, carried on “the Romanian spirit and beliefs in Transylvania.” Even if there were some flaws in the way they performed their household chores, it was considered that the mistakes came from the lack of role models and the non-involvement of village elites (priests and teachers) in their education.

A sizable part of the published articles discussed some socio-economic problems of the Romanian Transylvanian peasants because, in the authors’ opinion, they were closely related to their level of social development. Among them, the problems related to the causes of poverty among Transylvanian Romanians,⁸² laziness⁸³ and alcoholism,⁸⁴ were highlighted.

On several occasions, the authors of the articles contended that the Romanian peasants needed to save as much as possible and give up archaic practices in the economic field.⁸⁵ Issues such as the excessive purchase of useless items to the detriment of the tools needed in the household and loans for non-urgent or profit-generating activities were addressed.⁸⁶ The economic articles aimed to educate the peasants regarding bank loans⁸⁷ and combat the Romanian reluctance to contract loans, which were deemed “disgraceful,” as children were educated to do the same and live off what they owned without the risk of loans.

The newspapers published for peasants campaigned for literacy and for the benefits it brought.⁸⁸ The peasant practice of supporting the eldest son in his studies, and keeping the younger ones in agricultural work, was fully highlighted.⁸⁹ A whole series of articles presented the enrolment and support of peasant children in vocational and industrial schools, contending that only in this way could agriculture be saved from fragmentation and the family from poverty. In the analyses, an attempt was made to combat the mentality according to which children who learned trades became servants.⁹⁰ Within this thematic segment, we can also include mobilizing articles that urged the peasants to financially support the schools in their localities, following the example of their Saxon and Hungarian neighbors.⁹¹ The role of teachers in society was also addressed; the non-involvement of some of them in the development of the communities in which they worked was justified by the fact that they were poorly paid, and

ensuring their own existence was, therefore, their main concern.⁹² Combating illiteracy at any age⁹³ but also lifelong learning by way of popular libraries, which were to be set up, especially by priests and teachers,⁹⁴ were passionately advocated by the newspapers published for peasants.

The issues addressed in the articles presented above described, on the one hand, the world of the Transylvanian Romanian peasants in the second part of the nineteenth century and, on the other hand, the concerns of the elites to correct and help overcome educational, economic and social problems.

The articles dedicated to agriculture could not be absent from periodicals that defined themselves as meant for the Romanian peasant. Many issues were addressed in them, most of which referred to the need to purchase land, to move beyond the level of subsistence agriculture through mechanization, the organization of a cooperative system and education with an agricultural profile.⁹⁵ Another segment of the articles addressed topics such as crop rationalization, modern ways to prepare the land for cultivation,⁹⁶ the use of deep-shovel plows,⁹⁷ the use of natural fertilizers and their proper storage,⁹⁸ seeding wheat, barley and oats by autumn, drawing on the European researchers' studies in the field,⁹⁹ methods of growing corn,¹⁰⁰ the diseases that attacked wheat and the measures against them,¹⁰¹ the introduction of new crops¹⁰² and the need to develop gardening.¹⁰³ There were also urges to insure crops against natural weather phenomena such as hail.¹⁰⁴

The information concerning animal husbandry covered topics related to the diseases that affected the livestock,¹⁰⁵ the selection of the best animals for breeding,¹⁰⁶ proper feedings,¹⁰⁷ the gestation time of the domestic animals and the number of days needed to incubate the eggs.¹⁰⁸ An interesting approach was related to the role of natural light,¹⁰⁹ of birds and forests in agriculture.¹¹⁰

Pomiculture was not overlooked the articles of this kind started with a theoretical part in which the branches of the domain were presented,¹¹¹ followed by information about planting trees, the type of fertilizers used,¹¹² care, grafting, but also indications regarding the storage of fruits during the winter.¹¹³ Concerns also focused on the care of the grapevine, the diseases that attacked it and the remedies used in other European countries.¹¹⁴

The contributions to beekeeping were quite numerous, with information about the care and feeding of bees and the sustenance and restoration of lost hives.¹¹⁵

The researched gazettes approached, in special articles, the issue of the Romanian peasant in society. The Romanian peasant from Transylvania was described as leading less than enviable life.¹¹⁶ In contrast to his socio-economic situation, he was considered the keeper of ancient traditions and beliefs, believing that through his "hut" he had managed to "keep the Romanian people

alive.” The peasant’s house was seen as “a temple of Romanian culture.”¹¹⁷ He was described as the “pillar of the nation” because the Romanian Transylvanian aristocracy had also emerged from the peasantry.¹¹⁸

Even if they presented, in particular, information related to agricultural activities, we dealt separately with the sections that provided useful advice to peasants¹¹⁹ and which were featured in all the studied gazettes, their characteristic being that they were rather succinct. They provided agricultural advice, mainly related to household activities. Among the most common were those related to the maintenance, care and use of domestic animals, the need for and usage of agricultural tools, food, the need to tend the gardens, but also information about the selling prices of agricultural products, mostly concerning wheat, rye, barley, corn, etc.

Numerous medical and hygienic pieces of information were provided in the advice sections,¹²⁰ which referred to the care of newborns, remedies and the prevention of diseases, the use of medicines to treat diseases, bandaging and disinfecting wounds, sanitizing homes, using milk in order to get rid of intoxications, etc. The advice was given in the form of directions, stories or dialogue.

Nutrition was not neglected either, with general information being given about the benefits of consuming fresh water, fruits and vegetables, but also about how to prepare food. Other useful tips dealt with clothing, the need to observe resting periods to ensure proper ventilation, sanitation and home partitioning, the disposal of garbage away from home and the regular sanitation of toilets.¹²¹

Concerning the popularization articles analysis presented above, which also had an obvious educational message, we have to emphasize that some pieces of advice were repeated. The repetition of the advice and its transmission through the gazette indicates that it was necessary and had to be known by the Romanian peasants, even if it seemed redundant. We have chosen to present these pieces of advice in the form of enumerations precisely out of the desire to emphasize the usefulness of their transmission to the reading public in the second half of the nineteenth century.

An efficient method of highlighting and solving social problems was the recourse to literary, popular or religious works, such as sketches, short stories or parts of certain novels. We noticed that the poems, stories, short stories or literary fragments were related to the village world, presenting conclusive examples of superstitions, customs or unlikely love stories between the poor and the rich. It should be emphasized that the vast majority of published stories, as well as the poems, had moralizing messages. Most of them praised hard work and the fight against poverty and demanded equal opportunities between the rich and the poor in the village. We also note the large number of authors from the Old Kingdom of Romania, which demonstrates the connection between the Roma-

nians on both sides of the Carpathians, as the examples described in their works were considered symptomatic for the Transylvanian Romanians as well. Education was another recurrent topic, encouraging peasants to let their children study. The themes that touched upon national feelings¹²² or the presentation of information regarding some Romanian leaders are also to be highlighted.

Popular teachings, famous quotes, riddles, humorous contributions, as well as jokes, stories and hilarious images, were published in almost every issue of the studied gazettes.¹²³ Through them, an attempt was made to sensitize the minds of the peasants, using a language as close as possible to the one they understood and used. Also, the information transmitted with the help of this method was based on the presentation of the daily life of the Romanian peasants from Transylvania, but also on the transmission of mobilizing advice.

In the pages of *Șezătoarea*, more than in the other periodicals analyzed, we identified articles that tried to raise the educational and technological level of the Transylvanian Romanians, with contributions that depict progress by describing some new technologies of the time, such as trains, the telegraph or electricity, and the need for Romanians to adopt them because otherwise, they could not achieve economic and social progress.¹²⁴

An educational article addressed the shape of the Earth, and its movement around the sun, accompanied by a physical explanation of the succession of days and nights and the seasons, presenting data on the total area of land, water, the equator, etc. We note here that the author employed a popular language, using common words which were understood by the inhabitants of the rural area.¹²⁵ The article was followed by a description of the sun and the moon, which displayed the characteristics of the previous one, as the author referred to dimensions and distances using a language familiar to the rural environment.¹²⁶ The description of the atmosphere and the effects it produces on the human body and animals was addressed in a much more technical article, as compared to the two abovementioned ones,¹²⁷ but which is also worth mentioning. We also have to mention the geographical description of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, with data about the neighbors, area, inhabitants, government, the place occupied in Europe, etc.¹²⁸ This category of articles is symptomatic for the description of the concept of education through the press, a process that made full use of the newspapers published for peasants.

An interesting article debated the number of Romanian holidays, which was considered quite large, as out of 365 days, only 286 were days when work was allowed. The discussion referred, in particular, to the popular holidays that were not included in the church calendar and which amounted to 52 days. The author of the article campaigned for the observance of religious holidays and the elimination of popular ones, which could be achieved by the church and the school.¹²⁹

Also, this segment included articles that campaigned for work, condemning the complacent mentality of the Romanians¹³⁰ and suggesting that they should set aside the ideas of living “as their fathers and forefathers before them.”¹³¹

The political articles, even if they did not occupy a large space in the analyzed newspapers published for peasants, featured the most important mobilizing ideas.¹³² If, in the beginning, the exhortations were veiled, as time went by, they began to be expressed without hesitation. Of the four periodicals studied, *Cărțile săteanului român* published the largest number of articles on political subjects. Even if they did not appear constantly, the political information sent a strong message, given the vehemence and frankness of the positions expressed therein.

In the researched periodicals, the news sections¹³³ presented various pieces of information, most of which can be classified as curiosities of the time. The information included the description of current events, fires, floods, the domestic and international political situation, cases of extreme longevity, debates in the parliaments of Budapest or Bucharest, the Universal Exhibitions of the period, the evolution of the Balkan Crisis of 1875–1878 with an important emphasis on the Romanian War of Independence, the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina after the takeover of the province by the Austro-Hungarian Empire, information on government changes and the lives of leaders in Europe, Asia or America, murders, assassination attempts, suicides, the situation of crops in Europe, economic crises, famine, epidemics, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, accidents (involving trains, barges, wagon carts), etc. The diversity of the news and the described curiosities testify to the editors’ attempt to present various pieces of information within the editorial specificity of the period in which they appeared. In other countries, such news was very popular in the second half of the nineteenth century.¹³⁴ The columns dedicated to the news were featured on the last pages of the newspapers published for peasants.

Conclusions

BEFORE MOVING ON to the actual conclusions, we want to present the typical format of an issue of the Romanian newspapers published for Transylvanian peasants in the second half of the nineteenth century. Usually, it was as follows: on the first page, a poem was published, followed by an article with an educational message (a story/sketch/literary fragment), followed by the biography of a personality, agricultural and practical advice, while the last pages were reserved for political or general news.

The analysis of the editorial mission statements showed that all four studied periodicals sought to develop the reading taste of Transylvanian peasants in order to bring about their economic, social and cultural development. The goals were pursued through a wide range of published articles, as shown in the present study. The common feature of the analyzed gazettes was their preference for historical articles, biographies, combating popular beliefs/superstitions, describing social problems such as laziness or alcoholism, promoting literacy and the education of young generations, without forgetting the older, economic and agricultural topics, the peasant's status in society, useful advice, fragments from literary works, popular teachings, famous quotes, riddles, comic contributions, articles about science, politics and news columns. All these define the typology of the newspapers published for peasants, as we pointed out in the introduction to our paper. The characteristics listed above are symptomatic of the typology of the newspapers published for peasants in the second half of the nineteenth century, but they subsequently changed, and political issues gained precedence over the issues described above.

A feature of the newspapers published for peasants is the fact that scientific articles were also featured, mainly in the form of dialogues or stories. This approach reflected the desire to communicate as required by the mentality, beliefs and values of the peasant world of that period. Even if they were written in an easy-to-understand language, the analysis of the published articles reveals the authors' professionalism and connection to the new consciousness of the time, as well as their desire to keep the readers informed on the latest scientific debates. Through this approach, the authors took into consideration the development of the villagers' educational level, being very careful to employ a language easily understood by the intended recipients.

We emphasize that in the newspapers published for peasants, we did not identify the description of specific political concepts, as in the interwar period, when the magazine *Țărănismul* (Peasantism)¹³⁵ explained certain political terms for the understanding of the rural inhabitants. The approach can be explained by the fact that in the interwar period, the peasants had secured their political rights, while in the second half of the nineteenth century, they were still in the discussion stage, and the topics of interest, as we pointed out above, referred to development in the agricultural, economic and educational fields which, in the view of the elites, were symptomatic of the rural environment.

Even if we cannot undertake a sociological research similar to those carried out recently, extrapolating the ideas gathered in the last 50 years about the role and influence of the press,¹³⁶ we believe that the Romanian newspapers published for the Transylvanian peasants had a big impact on the behavior of rural residents.

The studied periodicals also had individual characteristics. For example, we noticed that the two that had a longer period of appearance, *Șezătoarea* and *Cărțile săteanului român*, were differentiated by certain editorial approaches. While the former was much more concerned with supporting literary, moralizing, scientific topics and put more emphasis on daily news, the latter focused on articles about agriculture and useful advice (hygiene, medicine, habitat, etc.), just like *Opinca* and *Gazeta economului*. Furthermore, the gazette edited by Iosif Vulcan, *Șezătoarea*, took over some characteristics of the other magazine edited by him, *Familia*, especially in the last three years of existence, but transmitted the information in a language accessible to the rural population and focused on topics of interest to them.

Finally, we want to emphasize that by describing the issues addressed by the Romanian newspapers published for Transylvanian peasants in the second part of the nineteenth century, we can identify the concerns of the Romanian elites in the intra-Carpathian province, which sought to ensure the social, economic, political and cultural development of the rural inhabitants. To the same extent, the approached topics create a fresco of the Romanian peasant world from the second half of the nineteenth century, which was experiencing significant changes on multiple levels.



Notes

1. We mention that by the term “Transylvania” we understand the whole geographical space that united with Romania in 1918; therefore, we include not only the lands of the former Grand Principality of Transylvania but also Banat, Crișana and Maramureș, using the geographical delimitation from the volume *The History of Transylvania*, vol. 3 (*from 1711 to 1918*), edited by Ioan-Aurel Pop, Thomas Năgler, and András Magyari (Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Academy, Center for Transylvanian Studies, 2010), 387.
2. The definition of *gazetă populară* is not very well established, which is why we tried to characterize them. We mention that in English, we used the translation “newspapers published for peasants,” which we consider the closest to our definition.
3. From the scholarship on the newspapers published for peasants, we highlight: Sebastian Bornemisa, “Gazetele populare din Transilvania și Banat,” in *Fraților Alexandru și Ion I. Lăpădatu la împlinirea vârstei de 60 de ani* (Bucharest: M.O., Imprimeria Națională, 1936), 133–148; Sorin Radu, “Considerații privind gazetele populare din Transilvania apărute înainte de Primul Război Mondial,” *Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane Sibiu* 3 (1996): 209–219. On this occasion, we mention that we did not intend to carry out an exhaustive historiographical analysis, and we followed only the research that referred to the topic we approached.

4. N. Iorga, *Istoria presei românești. De la primele începuturi până la 1916* (Bucharest: Atelierele Societății Anonime “Adeverul,” 1922); Constantin Antip, *Contribuții la istoria presei române* (Bucharest: Uniunea Ziaristilor din Republica Populară Română, 1964); id., *Istoria presei române* (Bucharest: Academia “Ștefan Gheorghiu,” Facultatea de Ziaristică, 1979); Victor Vișinescu, *O istorie a presei românești*, foreword by Dan Berindei (Bucharest: Victor, 2000); Vasile Pasailă, *Presa în istoria modernă a românilor* (Bucharest: Editura Fundației Pro, 2004); Marin Badea, *Scurtă istorie a presei românești* (Bucharest: Editura Economică, 2004); Pamfil Șeicaru, *Istoria presei*, edited by George Stanca (Pitești: Paralela 45, 2007); Ilie Rad, *Incursiuni în istoria presei românești* (Cluj-Napoca: Accent, 2008).
5. Maria Berényi, *Românii din Ungaria de azi în presa română din Transilvania și Ungaria secolului al XIX-lea (1821–1918): Documente*, edited by Vasile Voia (Giula: “NOI,” 1991), with mentions of *Șezătoarea* (p. 11) and *Cărțile săteanului român* (p. 12); Mircea Popa and Valentin Tașcu, *Istoria presei românești din Transilvania de la începuturi până în 1918* (Bucharest: Tritonic, 2003), 244. The volume reminds of the “press dedicated to the villages,” listing the periodicals *Țara noastră*, *Șezătoarea* and *Cărțile săteanului român*. The volume presents information about *Șezătoarea* (pp. 180–181) and *Cărțile săteanului român* (pp. 181–184), treated in terms of literary contributions; *Cărțile săteanului român* is also presented in Mircea Popa, *Incursiuni în presa românească* (Cluj-Napoca: Eikon, 2009), 67–72; Ioan David, *Presa românească din Banat în secolul al XIX-lea și începutul celui de-al XX-lea: Repere publicistice și filologice* (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea, 2013), 127–128. The author also mentions the press dedicated to the rural environment without identifying it with “the newspapers published for peasants,” and at the end of the volume we find synthetic charts, among which the ones for *Opinca* (p. 317) and *Șezătoarea* (pp. 324–325).
6. Analyzing the evolution of the Romanian peasants in Transylvania, Katherine Verdery does not deal with the press dedicated to them, focusing on economic, social and political transformations without following to what extent the press had an effect on the developments of the nineteenth century. Katherine Verdery, *Transylvanian Villagers: Three Centuries of Political, Economic, and Ethnic Change* (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London: University of California Press, 1983), 181–229. Dealing with the information related to the problem of agricultural education in Transylvania in the second half of the nineteenth century, the study by I. Kovács, A. Ardos, and M. Mirel, “Din istoria învățământului agricol în Transilvania (1849–1900),” *Acta Musei Napocensis* 7 (1970): 287–308, did not address the concerns of the newspapers published for peasants related to the subject.
7. Vasile Dobrescu, *Elita românească în lumea satului transilvan 1867–1918*, foreword by Grigore Ploșteanu (Târgu Mureș: Editura Universității “Petru Maior” din Târgu Mureș, 1996), 86.
8. *Istoria românilor*, vol. 7, tome 2, *De la independență la Marea Unire (1878–1918)*, edited by Gheorghe Platon (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2003), 556. In the Romanian history treatise, they did not mention the newspapers published for peasants or the press dedicated to the peasants, only acknowledging the existence of *Țara*

noastră. In fact, quite a few details are given about the Romanian press in Transylvania for 1878–1918, referring, as in other cases, only to the major periodicals.

9. Keith Hitchins, *A Nation Affirmed: The Romanian National Movement in Transylvania, 1860–1914* (Bucharest: The Encyclopaedic Publishing House, 1999); Liviu Maior, *In the Empire: Habsburgs and Romanians: From Dynastic Loyalty to National Identity*, translated by Bogdan Aldea (Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Academy, Center for Transylvanian Studies, 2008); *The History of Transylvania*, vol. 3. Even if the last volume addresses the issue and typology of the press, it does not include in the analysis any information about the newspapers published for peasants (pp. 579–581).
10. Popa and Tașcu, 352.
11. Sorin Mitu, *Transylvania mea: Istorie, mentalități, identități* (Iași: Polirom, 2013), 220, 226. For brief information on the evolution of the gazette *Învățătorul poporului*, 220–232; Radu, 212.
12. Mitu, 226; Radu, 212; Popa and Tașcu, 95–96; Borbála Zsuzsanna Török, *Exploring Transylvania: Geographies of Knowledge and Entangled Histories in a Multiethnic Province, 1790–1918* (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2016), 64, 87, 92–94.
13. Mitu, 224–225.
14. Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism: A History of Newspapers in the United States Through 250 Years, 1690–1940* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1947), 321–322; Wm. David Sloan, ed., *The Media in America: A History*, 5th edition (Northport, AL: Vision Press, 2002), 183–184.
15. Iorga, 186–187.
16. “Lumina Satelor,” *Familia* (Oradea Mare) 35, 35 (1899): 419.
17. See Alexandru Nicolaescu, *Revista Transilvania: Program editorial și conținut istoriografic (1868–1919)* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2018), 59–136.
18. Bornemisa, 135.
19. For this reason, we did not include in our analysis the periodical *Economul* (The peasant), which was published in Blaj between 1873 and 1880, but also because from its analysis, we found that it was rather a periodical with agricultural and economic concerns, being somewhere halfway between a newspaper published for peasants and an agricultural magazine. The rather high price of the yearly subscription, 4 and later 5 fl., indicated to us that they did not want to be a cheap periodical, read by the great majority of the inhabitants of the villages, as their economic situation was not to be envied.
20. Here are just a few examples: Radu, 209–219; Maria Magdalena Jude, “‘Solia Satelor’ – ziar destinat publicului sătesc,” *Acta Mvsei Napocensis* 12 (1975): 387–391; Anca Goția, “Profilul folcloric al revistei sibiene ‘Foaia poporului,’” *Studii și comunicări: Etnologie* (Sibiu), new ser., 6 (1992): 93–99; Aurel David, “‘Libertatea’ Onăștie (1901–1915): Aspecte cultural-literare” (Royal Palm Beach, FL: Freamătul Publishing House, 2008); Claudia Magda Barabas, “Alexandru Lupeanu Melin, redactor la ‘Solia Satelor’ din Cluj,” *Caiete de antropologie istorică* 15, 1 (30)(2017): 255–266; Alexandru Nicolaescu, “The Evolution of the *Our Country* Peasants’ Magazine As an Official Press of Astra (1907),” *Brvkenthal Acta Mvsei* 12, 1 (2017): 135–144.

21. Bornemisa, 133–148.
22. “Însemnări,” *Luceafărul* (Sibiu) 13, 1 (1914): 31.
23. Radu, 209–219.
24. Oct. C. Tăslăuanu, “Cărți pentru popor,” *Luceafărul* 10, 2 (1911): 25–27.
25. “Solia Satelor,” *Luceafărul* 11, 31 (1912): 712; “Însemnări,” *Luceafărul* 13, 1 (1914): 31.
26. Török, 64, 87; Mott, 320–322.
27. Iosif Marin Balog, “Tendențe și procese în evoluția prețurilor și a salariilor în contextul schimbărilor economice și al urbanizării din Transilvania în a doua jumătate a secolului al 19-lea (1850–1900),” in *Relația rural-urban: Ipostaze ale tradiției și modernizării*, edited by Iosif Marin Balog, Rudolf Gräf, and Ioan Lumperdean (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2010), 229–265; id., “Prices, Wages and Consumption in Transylvania between 1850–1914: Tendencies and Developments in Rural and Urban Areas,” *Romanian Journal of Population Studies* 5, suppl. (2011): 49–85.
28. “Literatură și arte,” *Familia* 22, 4 (1886): 46. Iosif Vulcan criticized the change of *Cărțile săteanului român*’s format under the editorship of Ioan Pop Reteganul, who published the first issue of 1886 in a two-column editorial format, believing that it was not appropriate for a periodical that was designed for the people but rather for a specialized public. Eventually, the format of *Cărțile săteanului român* returned to a single column with the second issue of 1886. However, we emphasize the fact that Iosif Vulcan, in the popular periodical that he edited, *Șezătoarea*, had used since 1880 the procedure of transmitting information in two columns.
29. For exemplification, see the issues published by *Șezătoarea*, *Cărțile săteanului român*, *Opinca* and *Gazeta economului*.
30. See, for example, the magazines *Economia* (The economy) (1905–1909) and *Economia rurală* (The rural economy) (1876–1877, 1881–1884).
31. *Publicațiunile periodice românești (ziare, gazete, reviste): Descriere bibliografică de Nerva Hodoș și Al. Sadi Ionescu cu o Introducere de Ioan Bianu*, tome 1, *Catalog alfabetic 1820–1906* (Bucharest: Librăriile Socec & Comp. & C. Sfetea; Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz; Vienna: Gerold & Comp., 1915), 121, 129; *Publicațiunile periodice românești (ziare, gazete, reviste)*, tome 2, *Catalog alfabetic 1907–1918; Supliment: 1790–1906*, bibliographical description by George Baiculescu, Georgeta Răduică, and Neonila Onofrei (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1969), 681.
32. For example: *Foaia poporului* (43×28 cm) (*Publicațiunile periodice românești*, 1: 262) and *Libertatea* (54×42 cm) (*Publicațiunile periodice românești*, 2: 363) had a format close to *Gazeta de Transilvania* (50×34 cm) (*Publicațiunile periodice românești*, 2: 293) and *Tribuna* from Sibiu (1884–1903) (49×26 cm) (*Publicațiunile periodice românești*, 1: 739), while *Familia* magazine had a format of 29×22 cm (1: 248) and *Transilvania* 23×15 cm (1: 737).
33. Of the four issues belonging to *Gazeta economului*, the first appeared in two columns and the next in three columns per page. Even though it appeared in only four issues, the theme and approach were significant for the newspapers published for peasants.

34. Since 1880, *Șezătoarea* has been published using the two-column editorial format.
35. Iosifu Vulcanu, “Catra cetitorii ‘Ședietórei,’” *Ședietórea* 3, 12 (1877): 97.
36. *Cărțile săteanului român* (hereafter cited as *CSR*) 2, 12 (1877), back cover 4; *CSR* 5, 5 (1880), back cover 4; *CSR* 11, 4 (1886): 64; Administrațiunea, “Cătră On. cetitori ai diarului nostru,” *Gazeta economului* 1, 1 (1892): 4.
37. Mitu, 231–232; Radu, 211–212; Laura Spinney, *Pale Rider: The Spanish Flu of 1918 and How It Changed the World* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2017).
38. For more details related to the thematic typology of the Romanian newspapers published for the Transylvanian peasants in the twentieth century, which included a lot of political information, see Bornemisa, 136–146.
39. Iosifu Vulcanu, “La carturarii poporului romanu,” *Familia* 10, 46 (1874): 558.
40. Iosifu Vulcanu, “Catra carturarii poporului romanu,” *Ședietórea* 1, 12 (1875): 96; Iosifu Vulcanu, “Catra cetitorii acestei foi,” *Ședietórea* 2, 12 (1876): 93–94; Redactorul, “Fraților de la sate!,” *Siedietórea* 6, 24 (1880): 185.
41. “Prenumeráti,” *CSR* 2, 1 (1877), back cover 4.
42. “Prenumeratiunile pre anulu 1878,” *CSR* 3, 1 (1878), back cover; “Abonamentu nou pre anulul 1885,” *CSR* 9, 12 (1884): 139–140; “Rogare,” *CSR* 11, 1 (1886): 1–2.
43. Redactiunea, “Sa ne intielegem!,” *Opinca* 1, 1 (1885).
44. Redactiunea, “Programă și învitare la prenumerațiune,” *Gazeta economului* 1, 1 (1892): 1.
45. Redactiunea și Administratiunea, “Un cuvânt cătră On. cetitori,” *Gazeta economului* 1, 4 (1892): 1.
46. Bornemisa, 135.
47. About the concerns of Astra’s magazine, *Transilvania*, related to its transformation into a periodical dedicated to the peasants, but also about the special articles published for them, we have already expressed our opinion, and we will not repeat it here; it can be consulted in Alexandru Nicolaescu, “The Daily Life of Transylvanian Romanians in ASTRA’s Preoccupations. Case Study: *Transilvania* Magazine (1868–1914),” *Acta Musei Napocensis: Historica* 57, 2 (2020): 205–216.
48. Teodoru Petrisioru, “Inceputulu si istori’a Romaniloru (Tractatu pentru poporulu nostru in forma de dialogu),” *CSR* 1,1 (1876): 4–12. The series appeared almost continuously until 1878; *CSR* 3, 8 (1878): 134–137.
49. N. Scurtescu, “Mircea Basarabu—Alexandru celu Bunu,” *Ședietórea* 4, 11 (1878): 82–83.
50. Georgiu Simu, “Unele lupte a Domniloru romani: Stefanu celu mare si Michaiu vitézulu,” *CSR* 8, 5 (1883): 55–60; 8, 11–12 (1883): 109–110; “Desvalirea statuei lui Stefanu celu mare la Iasi,” *CSR* 8, 7–8 (1883): 78–89; N. Scurtescu, “Stefanu celu Mare,” *Ședietórea* 4, 12 (1878): 89–91.
51. “Români: Mari in fapte si puternici in cuvinte,” *CSR* 4, 1 (1879): 4–6; 4, 2 (1879): 26–31; 4, 3 (1879): 45–50; 4, 4 (1879): 58–64; 4, 5 (1879): 74–75; 4, 6 (1879): 88–90; 4, 7 (1879): 94–95; 4, 8 (1879): 102–105; 4, 9 (1879): 111–114; “Batalia de la Calugareni—Dupa Nicolae Balcescu,” *Siedietórea* 6, 15 (1880): 113–115; 6, 16 (1880): 121–122; 6, 17 (1880): 129–130; 6, 18 (1880): 137–139; 6, 19 (1880):

- 145–147; 6, 20 (1880): 153–154; Georgiu Simu, “Din viéti’a lui Mihaiu Vitézulu,” *CSR* 10, 2 (1885): 19–27; 10, 8 (1885): 117–120; 10, 12 (1885): 161–165.
52. “Avram Jancu,” *Siedietórea* 6, 17 (1880): 132–134; P. Brosteanu, “Avram Jancu,” *Opinca* 1, 4 (1885); “Testamentul lui Avram Jancu,” *Opinca* 1, 25 (1885).
53. N. Scurtescu, “Tudor Vladimirescu,” *Şedietórea* 4, 13 (1878): 97–98.
54. J. P. R., “Joanu Baracu sî opurile lui (1772–1848),” *CSR* 11, 2 (1886): 17–26.
55. Ioanu Popu Reteganulu, “Vasilii Aronu sî operele sale (1770–1882),” *CSR* 11, 3 (1886): 33–42.
56. “Demetriu Cichidealu,” *CSR* 11, 4 (1886): 49–51.
57. J. P. R., “Andrei Muresianu (1816–1863),” *CSR* 11, 5 (1886): 65–73.
58. J. P. R., “Trei uriasi,” *CSR* 11, 6 (1886): 81–84.
59. J. P. R., “Trei uriasi,” *CSR* 11, 7 (1886): 97–102.
60. J. P. R., “Trei uriasi,” *CSR* 11, 8 (1886): 113–118.
61. “Timotei Cipariu,” *Şedetórea* 8, 7 (1882): 105; J. P. Reteganulu, “Timotei Cipariu,” *CSR* 11, 10 (1886): 145–149.
62. J. P. R., “Dimitrie Bolinteanu (1826–1872),” *CSR* 11, 12 (1886): 177–184.
63. “Davidu baron Urs de Margineni,” *Şedietórea* 5, 4 (1879): 25–26.
64. “Alesandru Papiu Ilarianu,” *Şedietórea* 5, 10 (1879): 73–74.
65. “Mitropolitul Siaguna,” *Şedietórea* 5, 12 (1879): 89–90.
66. “George Bariþiu,” *Şedietórea* 5, 19 (1879): 145–146; “Georgiu Bariþiu,” *Şedetórea* 8, 8 (1882): 116–118.
67. “A. Tr. Laurianu,” *Şedietórea* 5, 20 (1879): 153–154.
68. “Baronul L.V. Popu,” *Siedietórea* 6, 2 (1880): 12–13.
69. “Andrieu Mocioni,” *Siedietórea* 6, 19 (1880): 149–150.
70. P. R., “Samuil Vulcan,” *Şedetórea* 8, 6 (1882): 89–90.
71. Ioanu Popu Reteganulu, “Vasile Alecsandri (1821–),” *CSR* 11, 9 (1886): 129–133.
72. “Antonu Panu (1797–1854),” *CSR* 11, 1 (1886): 4.
73. “B. P. Haşdeu,” *Şedietórea* 5, 16 (1879): 121–122.
74. “Victor Hugo,” *Şedietórea* 5, 17 (1879): 129–130.
75. “Carol I Domnitorul României,” *Şedietórea* 5, 1 (1879): 1.
76. “Ionu Brătianu,” *Şedietórea* 5, 3 (1879): 17; “Ion Brătianu,” *Şedetórea* 8, 9 (1882): 134–135.
77. “Viéti’a lui Constantinu A. Rosetti,” *CSR* 10, 6 (1885): 82–86.
78. T. P., “Despre Superstitiuni,” *CSR* 1, 10 (1876): 153–159; Demetriu Barbu, “Óme-nii si norocul,” *Şedietórea* 5, 13 (1879): 100–101; Ioanu Popu Reteganulu, “Onor. Redactiune ‘Opinca!’,” *Opinca* 1, 8 (1885).
79. These practices were not specific to Romanians. For example, the Italians had a similar perception in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; see Spinney. The popular beliefs and superstitions of the Romanians are similar to those in the Balkans, as they appear described by Mark Mazower, *The Balkans: From the End of Byzantium to the Present Day* (London: Phoenix Press, 2002); I. Dragosiu, “O vragitoare—ca tóte,” *Şedietórea* 1, 6 (1875): 44–46; Stefanu Bota, “Strigoiuulu,” *Şedietórea* 2, 1 (1876): 3–4; Pavelu Ursu, “Credintiele desierte,” *Şedietórea* 2, 9

- (1876): 70–72; T. Bodegeanu, “Sunt ore strigoi séu ba?,” *Şedietórea* 5, 6 (1879): 42–43; I. S. Rădăcină, “Credința deșertă,” *Şedietórea* 8, 8 (1882): 123–126.
80. Elia Popu, “Nu credeti in vragitoare, babele descântătoare!,” *Şedietórea* 3, 10 (1877): 84–85; “Cunoscinti’a timpului,” *CSR* 5, 3 (1880): 27–34.
81. Dr. At. M. Marienescu, “Femeia economului român,” *CSR* 2, 11 (1877): 176–179.
82. “Despre cauzele seraciei poporului romanescu, urmarile ei si incercarea de a le delaturá,” *CSR* 1, I (1876): 12–16; *CSR* 2, 2 (1876): 25–30.
83. “Maiestri’a de a te inavuti,” *CSR* 1, 12 (1876): 188–191; “Pe ravasiu,” *CSR* 10, 6 (1885): 94–96; 10, 7 (1885): 106–108; 10, 9 (1885): 130–131; 10, 11 (1885): 159–160; “Maestri’a de a te inavuti,” *Opinca* 1, 7 (1885); “Lenea este inceputul reutatilor,” *Opinca* 1, 24 (1885); Fulger, “Munca—basa fericirei,” *Gazeta economului* 1, 2 (1892): 1.
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87. Petra-Petrescu, “Despre politie,” *CSR* 8, 11–12 (1883): 111–123.
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128. Teodor Ceantea, “Austro-Ungari’a,” *Siedietórea* 6, 20 (1880): 156–156.
129. Elia Popu, “Sé nu tînemu atâtea serbatori!” *Şedietórea* 4, 5 (1878): 35–36.
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131. Demetriu Barbu, “Obiceiurile si naravurile unor ómeni din clas’a muncitóre,” *Siedietórea* 6, 2 (1880): 10.
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134. Mott, 411–609; Sloan, 199–248.
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Abstract

The Romanian Newspapers Published for Transylvanian Peasants in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century: A Theoretical and Thematic Approach

In the present study, we aim to highlight the main characteristics of the Romanian newspapers published for the Transylvanian peasants in the second half of the nineteenth century. These newspapers were a special type of press dedicated to the rural world, in which various issues were debated, from agriculture, food, and medical care to political and daily news. In the first part of the paper, we analyzed the editorial mission statements of the most important gazettes of the second part of the nineteenth century, such as *Şezătoarea* and *Cărţile sáteanului român*, which appeared for long periods, but also two examples, *Opinca* and *Gazeta economului*, which, despite their transient appearance, fully reflected the message and characteristics of this type of press. In the second part we looked at the main common themes, trying to highlight the major subjects that the Transylvanian Romanian elites wanted to raise in the rural areas. The research capitalized on the articles published in the researched periodicals but also on the specialized literature.

Keywords

press, Transylvania, *Şezătoarea*, *Cărţile sáteanului român*, *Opinca*, *Gazeta economului*