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Content

Editors Preface

This volume is the second part of the proceedings of the international Conference "CENTRAL EUROPE POPULATION HISTORY DURING THE FIRST DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION", held by the Romanian Academy, the Center for Transylvanian Studies Center for Population Studies at "Babes-Bolyai" University, GAFP (Graz Austrian Fertility Project) at Karl-Franzens University Graz and CEPHn (Central Europe Population History network) in Cluj-Napoca in April 2011. Analogous to the contributions in the first volume the primary aim was, to deal with a variety of societal, economic and cultural patterns in the area of Central Europe and to link them to also strongly varying demographic issues. The overall target of course was, to embed this area in a wider, European perspective. Main topics addressed in this volume are the fields of religion, and denomination, modernization and migration, as connected to demographic issues.

Wolfgang Göderle explores the internal migration within the south-eastern parts of the Austrian part of Habsburg monarchy, covering the Crown lands from Lower Austria down to the Adriatic Sea with the help of the 1869 census. The author discusses the huge problems of the data gathered referring to a stringent calculation of internal migration. He found out, that re-migration and stage migration were common phenomena, but cannot be really captured by the data due to their lacks. The big cities showed remarkable in-migration, but also the smaller cities grew due that factor. The lowest in-migration – measured by the portions of born residents – we can find in the non-German speaking parts in the South (Slovenia, Gorizia and Istria). These areas were dominated by agrarian smallholders, exhibiting traditional kinds of migration (marriages, farmhands and day-laborers, local tradesmen etc.) on the one hand, but often going out temporarily as peddlers on the other hand, hardly being grasped by the data resp. variables gathered and constructed by the census. As a consequence, regional internal migration is to be seen as a complex field, we have to differentiate between a traditional migration, following old socio-economic-cultural patterns and a new migration, due to industrialization and urbanization. The aggregated data do not allow us, to make final, definitive and distinctive conclusions.

Lumír Dokoupil, Ludmila Nesládková, Radek Lipovski (University of Ostrava, Centre for Economic and Social History, CZ) are centering on regional (Political districts) demographic differences among agrarian and industrially engaged people in the Ostrava area during the period of 1st Demographic transition, lasting from the 1880s to the 1930s. The authors' main conclusions confirm the results of many other researchers referring to the question, how far demographic behavior was influenced by socio-economic factors on the one and more "cultural" issues on the other hand, favoring the first ones. There was a strong non-parametric correlation (-.665*, incl. the towns) between the portions of German Austrians in a region and the crude birth rate and no correlations with the crude marriage or death rates.

The German Austrians dominated two towns (Opava and Bilsko), and a part of the agrarian regions also, both showing a significantly lower crude birth rate than the other regions, predominantly populated by Slavic people. Thus the ethnical factor partially interfered the socio-economic layer. The authors did not find any specific denominational patterns, but the numerous Jewish population showed a specific, adapted behaviour, resulting in a sharp decline from very high to very low birth rates. This may have been an urban effect also and can be observed in many other Austrian cities also, like Vienna etc. Thus socio-economic effects (industrialization and urbanization) were strong factors, triggering a decline in fertility, but ethnical effects also did exist.

Marianne Nagy (University of Pécs, Faculty of Humanities, Department of History, HU) deals with differences in demographic behaviour among various denominations in the Hungarian kingdom in the very last years before WW I. Her findings are striking. The multi-denominational area showed distinctive variations among the dominant denominations, namely the Catholics (Roman and Greek), the Orthodox (Romanian, Serbian and Greek), Calvinists and Lutherans and finally the Jews (Israelites), which accounted for about a million people in the early 20th century. Yet the author emphasizes, that not all demographic variables showed differences and that socio-economic factors (industrialization, modernization) had a strong impact. Illegitimacy, natural increase and general fertility were not correlated with socio-economic issues and dependent on denominational variations obviously, whereas the portions of married women below the age of 20, crude birth and death rates and infant mortality were the lower, the higher the grade of modernization was pronounced in the different denominations. Paradoxically fertility was positively associated with the level of modernization, which contrasts our overall experiences. The explanation is, that a lack in modernization caused a higher mortality among women during their fertile years, followed by a lower fertility. This constellation was most important among the predominant mass of poor agrarians, no matter to which denomination they belonged. Nevertheless, perhaps the author should change the perspective: fertility should not be considered among completed fertile biographies only, but per single years lived. Then I guess we will find a high fertility among the agrarians again. Concerning infant mortality it is striking, that in Croatia it was generally lower, possibly due to a widespread breast-feeding, but the Lutherans and Calvinists were exceptional.

Valeria Soroştineanu ("Lucian Blaga" University of Sibiu, Faculty of History and Patrimony), proposed an analyze of *Discourse on marriage, concubinage and illegitimate children in the Transylvanian Orthodox ecclesiastical environment after 1894*. The paper aims to be a brief presentation of some of the compartments in the study of complex phenomena, such as the possible determinations of civil and religious marriage, the statistic dynamics of concubinage, also called illegitimate cohabitation and illegitimate children, the dynamics of motivation which led to their emergence and resistance in some areas.

The study signed by Monica Mureşan ("Babeş-Bolyai" University, Faculty of History and Philosophy) intend to be an analyses of the phenomenon of consanguineous marriages at Greek-Catholics in some specific areas of Transylvania. After examining the archive documents, from a quantitative and comparative point of view, the author conclude that, compared with Romanian Orthodox communities from Transylvania, Greek-Catholics developed and preserved a specific demographic behaviour and mentality in what matrimonial problems in general were concerned. The same attitudes were noticed in what consanguineous matrimonies, as a particular matter, are concerned.

Mircea Brie and Istvan Polgar (*University of Oradea, Faculty of History, Geography and International Relations)* explores *Infantile Mortality and Life Expectancy: Vulnerability Indicators in North-Western Transylvanian Communities (second half of the 19th century – beginning of the 20th century)*. By analysing the number of deceased children under 1 out of the total number of deaths in the counties of Bihor and Satmar and in several localities, the authors demonstrates that at the time infantile mortality rate was steady at a high level. They assumed the ideea that life expectancy at birth or middle age was tightly connected to mortality structure. Mortality rate in the region as well as in Transylvania and Hungary greatly decreased, thus leading to the demographic pattern specific in Central and Western Europe at the time.

Şarolta Solcan (University of Bucureşti, Faculty of History,) is focused on Child mortality in Bucureşti during the first years of the 19th century), using as main source the work of Constantin Caracaş, a phisician who claimed that the child mortality was very high in this period. Using different document coming from the age - as censuses – the author analyses this claim and found it plausible.

Mihaela Grancea and Cornel Moşneag (University "Lucian Blaga" of Sibiu) are interesting in *the issue of the war victims in the Romanian ecclesiastical press of Transylvania (1919 – 1929)*. In the pages of their press both Churches - Orthodox and Greek-Catholic and adressed the issue of war orphans, war widows and war disabled, trying to emphasize charity and Christian love asking for donations and financial aid for their orphanages, but also criticizing authorities for abuses and asking for better laws. The authors conclude that both Churches proved to be important institutions during the inter-war period for the sheltering and protection of those in need.

The last article, *Some findings regarding intergenerational exchanges and volunteering in the Romanian family. A synthesis* (Petru Iluţ, Laura Nistor and Cristina Tîrhaş - ("Babeş-Bolyai" University, Faculty of Sociology and Social Work) summarizes the results of a set of exploratory research with the aim to reveal, both theoretically and empirically, the intergenerational exchanges within the Romanian family and the connections between social capital and volunteering, both understood as phenomena which are intermediated by the extended family and kinship relations. The study is focused on the role of intergenerational solidarity in kinship and other informal social networks (friends, neighbours, community) in orienting people towards several forms of participation, social engagement and volunteering.

Internal Migration in the Habsburg Monarchy between 1869 and 1918. The 1869 Census and First Results of Quantitative analysis

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Abstract: In this paper I will deal with the first results of quantitative analysis proceeded in the framework of the Graz Austrian Fertility Project (further GAFP) in terms of migration. Therefore I will employ migration data from the 1869 census on the level of political district and map them in a GIS(geographical information system). GAFP focuses primarily on the provinces of Carniola, Istria, Gorizia and Gradisca, Trieste, Carinthia, Styria and Lower Austria. The paper analyses the proportion of migrants in the present population of each political district in the above named provinces and asks for possible explanations for the featured differences. Due to the texture of the available source data I give attention to in-migration levels in order to identify those areas which were most attractive to migrants. The resulting pattern basically mirrors the existence of a Hajnal-line in terms of migration behaviour and opens the space for further reflections. As GAFP has produced a large database of all census contents which relate to the level of political district, correlations can be examined not only between migration and other demographic key parameters such as mortality, fertility, and nuptiality, but also with so-called structure data: employment, religion, language of use, education (levels of illiteracy) etc. Nevertheless it is necessary to raise awareness toward the limitations of the source material used: The "cultural and linguistic borderline" turns out quite likely to be a "watershed" between different migration systems.

Keywords: Habsburg, migration, Hajnal, quantitative analysis, census, Austria-Hungary, Austria, Cisleithania, mobility

The collapse of the Habsburg Monarchy in 1918 led to the disintegration of the analytical entity of Central Europe in terms of historical and social research. A number of national historiographers began to reconstruct narratives and aspects of the respective countries histories, fragmenting the common heritage by concentrating mainly on those processes and sources relevant for the particular nation. The retrospective writing of national histories eroded the historical knowledge and consciousness of the region, leaving behind a blank space on the map.

Among the well researched aspects of internal migration in the Habsburg Monarchy in the 19th and 20th centuries are particularly the Bohemian and Moravian migration to Vienna and some aspects of Jewish migration. Many other facets of this phenomenon have been neglected for several reasons, whose first and most prominent might be the circumstance that any other migration must have appeared negligible in dimension compared to the massive migration (and re-migration) from the surroundings (Bohemia, Moravia, Lower Austria) to (and from) Vienna. The interests of historical demography as a discipline in the German-speaking academic world further added to the neglect of the variable migration. Migration was in fact among the four key quantities of historical demography besides fertility, mortality and nuptiality but it never attained as much attention as the other three processes. It was seen as the reason why the number of a population in place did never match the number of the population expected to be in place (which is former population in place plus people born since last census minus people died since last census). The difference between these two numbers is generally referred to as *net migration,* which remained for considerable time the only quantitative measure of migration. When neighbouring disciplines such as history, sociology and anthropology developed an interest in migration, the old perspectives slowly began to break up. New questions arose under the theoretical and methodological input from non-demographers, and stereotypes as well as persistent older opinions on the reasons for and the character of migration began to erode (Ehmer 2004:74). Census data are still the main source for most studies in migration concerning the 19th and early 20th centuries based on quantitative evidence. This applies as well to Central Europe. In the Habsburg Monarchy, two administrations on state level came into existence after the Compromise of 1867: the Vienna-based administration of *Cisleithania* and the Budapest-based administration of *Transleithania*. Both administrations carried out censuses basically in the same way. From 1869 onwards every ten years different key figures were collected.[1] Neither the Austrian nor the Hungarian part of the empire tried to measure migration directly as it had been the case in Germany, where a reporting obligation (Meldepflicht) existed, which still provides scholars with a large quantity of useful data.

The literature on quantitative aspects in migration in the late Habsburg Monarchy focuses mainly on provincial level, proceeding on the assumption that the mass of internal migration took place between the two parts, crown-

[1]Censuses were carried out already earlier, from the middle of the 18th century onwards. The 1869 census is the first to cover the whole territory and the whole (present) population.

lands and larger regions. Migration processes are still often seen as unidirectional, determined by push- and pull-factors. Recent studies for the situation in Germany and elsewhere have shown instead that a large proportion of the migrants in the period of investigation moved inside the crown-lands and smaller regions, between regions and only to a considerable smaller extent over long distances, crown-land or state borders. Further it has been shown that temporary migration and re-migration seem to have had a much greater importance than formerly assumed. A further deficit of quantitative migration research in terms of the Habsburg Monarchy is that most of the studies focus exclusively on areas covered by one of the later successor states, instead of looking at the whole territory (Moch 2003, Hochstadt 1999).

In my work I shift the focus on the level of the political district and I am covering the area of the whole Habsburg Empire. Therefore large parts of the 130 volumes corpus of the official statistics of the Austrian part of the Habsburg state from 1869 until 1913 have been completely digitalized. Those parts of the Hungarian official statistics relevant for the analysis of migration are about to follow. The raw data are integrated into a SPSS-database which serves as a starting point for quantitative processing. Though it is not possible to study migration in similar detail as in Germany due to the fact that the body of source material does not provide any reportage data (Meldedaten), we can still have a very close look upon movements on the level of the political district. In the following I will present the first results of my work. I will focus on the Kronländer (Crown-lands) of Niederösterreich (Lower Austria) including Vienna, Steiermark (Styria), Kärnten (Carinthia), Krain (Carniola), Trieste, Istrien (Istria) and Görz und Gradiska (Gorizia and Gradisca).

"Heimatberechtigung" and resulting limitations

The data employed for the first analysis relates to the so-called Heimatberechtigung (right of domicile) and from 1890 onwards to the Gebürtigkeit (nativity). These tables are among the most important in the investigation of migration in the Austrian part of the Habsburg state. Every census from 1869 onward contains the complete information on the present population in each district with regard to its right of domicile:Migrants basically become identifiable (though with limitations, as can be seen later). Due to an amendment of law on the 3rd of December 1863 (Reichsgesetzblatt Nr. 105) the right of domicile was practically not granted to migrants any more. The consequence is that every migrant stays a migrant in terms of bureaucracy, regardless of the length of his stay. This status as a person who

belongs to somewhere else is even passed on to wife and children, who have the same right of domicile as their husband or father, regardless of their place of birth. In other words, even people born in Vienna and spending their whole lives there do not appear as domestic population ("Einheimische") in the census statistics but as foreigners ("Fremde"), if their father is born somewhere else (and this is the case with a considerable number of children in the cities). This problem applies to most of the statistical data relating to the right of residence in the second half of the 19th century, but the administration identifies this error by itself as it detects the rapidly rising numbers of "foreigners" in the censuses. Yet the law from 3rd December 1863 was not corrected until 5th of December 1896 (Reichsgesetzblatt Nr. 222) and the amendment did not become effective until 1st of January 1901. We can therefore not assume that the effects of the 38 years of the rule of the restrictive law No. 105 regulating the grant of right of residence had been fully reversed in the scarcely ten years between 1901 and the last census of the monarchy in 1910. Hence I proceed on the assumption that the right of residence tables as issued for the 1910 census do not indicate the real proportion of migrants.

The negative effects of this legislation are limited though. From 1890 onwards the nativity of the population native in each district is indicated in the same way as the right of domicile in the censuses. The main problem concerns the 1880 census: For the 1869 census we can assume roughly similar values for right of domicile (which we do have) and nativity (which are not available) since only six years have passed since the coming into effect of the law No. 105. Only a limited number of in-migrants would have received the right of residence in these six years. Nevertheless, the acquisition of right of domicile through marriage (women obtained their husbands right of domicile upon marriage) induces a bias that has not been corrected here. However, the aim of analysis is basically to provide an overview and for a such the quality of the data is sufficient. For 1880 the situation is more complex: We have clear evidence that some forms of migration were gathering speed in the decade after 1870. At the same time, the discontinuation of right of domicile grants leads to a widening gap between those migrants who have really migrated (changed their location) and those who have not, but are still considered migrants as they received their fathers right of domicile from somewhere else.

Since we can assume the values for nativity for 1869 (roughly right of domicile) have them and for 1890 onwards, we could of course assume a linear function and interpolate its graph for 1880. This paper focuses on the census

of 1869. In the following Table 1 the respective districts population according to its right of domicile is presented:

Table 1. Right of domicile in the 1869 Austrian census

Kronland/crown-land Bezirk/political district	**Right of domicile in place of residence (%)**	**Right of domicile in the same crown-land but not in place of residence (%)**	**Right of domicile in another crown-land (%)**	**Right of domicile abroad (%)**
NÖ Wien (Stadt/town)	44.59	12.54	39.21	3.66
NÖ Wiener Neustadt (Stadt/town)	40.86	24.83	32.8	1.51
NÖ Waidhofen an der Ybbs (Stadt/town)	51.79	27.74	19.39	1.09
NÖ Amstetten	64.46	24.67	10.7	0.16
NÖ Baden	53.06	21.76	23.95	1.23
NÖ Bruck an der Leitha	53.34	20.51	24.79	1.36
NÖ Ober-Hollabrunn	80.82	13.46	5.65	0.07
NÖ Horn	73.38	19.34	7.18	0.1
NÖ Korneuburg	65.07	20.44	13.73	0.76
NÖ Krems	73.83	20.72	5.26	0.19
NÖ Lilienfeld	61.47	28.47	9.65	0.41
NÖ Mistelbach	81.28	10.9	7.59	0.24
NÖ Neunkirchen	64.35	22.53	12.63	0.49
NÖ St.Pölten (Stadt/town + Umgebung/area)	62.75	30.68	6.2	0.37
NÖ Scheibbs	62.94	32.35	4.57	0.15
NÖ Waidhofen an der Thaya	74.4	17.94	7.58	0.08
NÖ Wiener Neustadt (Umgebung/area)	62.54	17.67	19.06	0.73
NÖ Zwettl	79.2	17.06	3.69	0.05
NÖ Groß-Enzersdorf	70.99	16.79	11.75	0.47
NÖ Hernals	28.17	38.16	31.57	2.1
NÖ Sechshaus	19.86	38.21	39.52	2.41
St Graz (Stadt/town)	42.68	32.1	23.44	1.78
St Cilli (Stadt/town)	38.61	46.12	14.13	1.14
St Marburg (Stadt/town)	31.35	46.99	20.07	1.58
St Bruck an der Mur	60.57	26.89	12.06	0.48

St Cilli (Umgebung/area)	85.5	11.73	2.59	0.18
St Deutschlandsberg	71.6	26.42	1.74	0.24
St Feldbach	76.13	20.59	3.21	0.06
St Graz (Umgebung/area)	63.46	30.85	5.28	0.41
St Hartberg	78.55	16.28	5.13	0.04
St Judenburg	52.76	32.97	13.49	0.78
St Leibnitz	73.25	25.11	1.54	0.09
St Leoben	48.01	35.42	16.05	0.52
St Liezen	68.88	23.41	7.17	0.55
St Luttenberg	84.2	14.61	1.17	0.02
St Marburg (Umgebung/area)	70.68	27.79	1.41	0.12
St Murau	64.35	26.15	9.25	0.25
St Pettau	87.68	10.6	1.65	0.07
St Radkersburg	71.03	26.52	2.33	0.12
St Rann	92.73	5.47	1.78	0.02
St Weiz	73.42	24.78	1.74	0.06
St Windischgraz	81.68	15.88	2.33	0.11
K Klagenfurt (Stadt/town)	43.66	40.47	14.18	1.68
K Hermagor	91.08	7.55	0.89	0.48
K Klagenfurt (Umgebung/area)	71.84	25.12	2.81	0.23
K St.Veit	61.2	33.15	5.25	0.4
K Spittal an der Drau	83.79	13.94	1.78	0.48
K Villach (Stadt/town + Umgebung/area)	77.06	18.67	3.44	0.83
K Völkermarkt	74.64	16.66	8.36	0.34
K Wolfsberg	68.64	25.76	5.2	0.41
Kr Laibach (Stadt/town)	45.61	39.14	13.7	1.55
Kr Adelsberg	95.2	3.66	0.82	0.32
Kr Gottschee	95.49	4.07	0.41	0.03
Kr Gurkfeld	92.87	5.61	1.45	0.08
Kr Krainburg	92.12	6.99	0.77	0.13
Kr Laibach (Umgebung/area)	88.6	10.3	0.99	0.11
Kr Littai	87.99	10.28	1.65	0.08
Kr Loitsch	93.04	5.78	1.12	0.07
Kr Radmannsdorf	86.27	8.14	4.45	1.14

Kr Rudolfswerth	93.67	5.63	0.61	0.09
Kr Stein	89.88	9.45	0.62	0.05
Kr Tschernembl	94.26	4.76	0.91	0.06
GG Görz (Stadt/town)	73.59	16.64	6.21	3.55
GG Görz (Umgebung/area)	95.86	3.43	0.42	0.29
GG Gradisca	92.15	5.3	0.68	1.88
GG Sesana	93.91	3.2	2.21	0.69
GG Tolmein	98.17	1.5	0.22	0.1
T Triest (Stadt/town)	50.53	15.81	15.9	17.75
T Triest (Gebiet)	63.55	16.51	11.49	8.45
I Capo d'Istria	93.71	3.54	1.71	1.04
I Lussin	96.2	1.59	1.37	0.84
I Pisino-Mitterburg	96.46	2.59	0.63	0.32
I Parenzo	96.25	3.11	0.26	0.38
I Pola	78.07	12.47	5.61	3.84
I Volosca	97.47	1.39	1.05	0.09

The bold letters preceding the names of the political districts indicate the provinces/crown-lands: NÖ stands for Lower Austria, S for Styria, K for Carinthia, Kr for Carniola, GG for Gorizia and Gradisca, T for Trieste and I for Istria. The basic data given in the first column are displayed as well in Map 1. In the map we can see also that Hernals and Sechshaus actually belong to Vienna (they become part of Vienna later but must be regarded as suburban areas in terms of social-historical analysis much earlier). Figures in the table shaded in light grey indicate that less than 50% of the residents have the right of domicile in the place of their current residence and dark grey shaded figures indicate that more than 80% of the residents posses the right of domicile in their respective places of residence. Thus we can easily identify centres of in-migration and places which do not attract a large number of migrants (see Map 1). The first column cannot make any indication as to where immigrants do come from but it displays very well the dissimilar levels of population mobility in the different regions of this part of the monarchy.

Local and regional migration

The second column specifies the proportion of residents of the respective district with right of domicile in the province of residence though not in the place of residence. We can see this as an indicator for local and/or regional migration (depending on the size of the province). The numbers show quite

clearly that provincial and industrial small towns feature the highest values in this category. Lower Austria has consistently relatively high figures in this category though only four out of 21 districts show higher values than 30% (light-grey shaded) and district ranges below the 10% level. It might irritate that only 12.54% of Vienna's inhabitants (thus featuring one of the three lowest levels in Lower Austria in this category) are from the surrounding province, but one must keep in mind that these are relative numbers. In absolute numbers, Vienna attracted a far larger share of the local and regional migrants from Lower Austria than any other Lower Austrian district: more than 76,000 regional and local migrants which is a fair 19% of the total of the province lived in Vienna. Parts of the rest of Lower Austria comprised early centres of industrialization, in particular the southern districts, situated between Vienna and the northern Styrian border. These regions attracted considerable numbers of migrants from neighbouring districts, belonging also to neighbouring provinces. In general, the levels for local and regional migration are quite high for Lower Austria, especially when compared with the values of the very southern crown-lands Carniola, Gorizia and Gradisca and Istria. But each of these latters' features at least one centre of local and regional in-migration which becomes visible on the map as well. The capital of Carniola, Laibach, features a figure of almost 40% in this category, which underlines its important role as a semi-urban centre for regional in-migration. The same role is played by the town of Görz in Goriza and Gradisca. Also the southern-most parts (Cilli and Marburg) of Styria most obviously followed this pattern, though the northern and central parts of Styria both fall into another category. The industrialized districts of Leoben and Judenburg (mining and heavy metal) show similar characteristics in terms of regional and local migration as the most industrialized parts of southern and central Lower Austria do. Regional and local migration in Carinthia focuses on Klagenfurt and Sankt Veit, though the level of local and regional mobility is generally considerably higher than in Carniola, Gorizia and Gradisca and Istria (plus the southern parts of Styria). I will come back to possible explanations of these disparities later.

Inter-regional migration

The third column in Table 1 refers to inter-regional migration. This category features clearly lower levels almost everywhere though three districts are outstanding, displaying values next to 40%: Vienna with its suburban neighbourhood Sechshaus and Hernals. A considerable number of districts lie well beyond 20%, in some cases even beyond 10%. Most of these districts are

border regions, thus in-migration from another province can be seen (at least partly) as regional, sometimes even local, migration. Districts along the Carinthian-Carniolan and the Styrian-Carniolan border might match this category in the majority of cases. The reason was the bilingualism of the region in the south of Carinthia and Styria. Few non-border districts display high levels of inter-regional migration. Industrialisation led the way, Leoben, Judenburg, Wiener Neustadt and Vienna were all quickly developing industrial and/or urban centres. In particular, Vienna (and its suburban districts Sechshaus and Hernals) features impressive numbers of inter-regional migration which have to be traced back predominantly to the larger numbers of Bohemian and Moravian migrants.

International migration

International migration, as indicated in the fourth column of Table 1, contributes to the resident population only to a very small extent. Vienna's 3.66% are surpassed by Trieste's impressive 17.75% but also by the 3.84% of Pula, which have to be traced back to the town of Rovigno, then still not a district of its own. As the foreigner's proportion in the rural parts of Pula might have been considerably below those of urban Rovigno, we may assume that the proportion of foreigners in the resident population of Rovigno was even higher. In both towns along the Istrian coast, in Trieste and in Rovigno, lived many Italians, though the Istrian hinterland's population consisted mainly of Croat-, partially Slovene-speaking people.

Prospect

The data employed in this paper do represent a very small proportion of the raw data digitalized and processed so far by the GAFP-team at the Department of Economic History at the Karl-Franzens-University of Graz. Analysis of migration in the Habsburg Monarchy in the context of this project has just started. In general it must be said that the analysis of low aggregated data with regard to the Habsburg Monarchy opens new and vast insights, as very few such studies have been done so far. The available corpus of data is huge and basically of good quality. Recent studies in neighbouring fields based on qualitative methods provide a good basis for a comprehensive description of socio-economic structures and contexts. What are the limits however?

A short look on the map confronts us with problems like the one which has been described above, when the entire district of Pula featured elevated (though not outstanding) values in the category of international in-migration due to the the town of Rovigno lying in its borders and 'pulling-up'

the overall districts value. Of course international in-migration took place mainly in the urban Rovigno rather than in the rural hinterland, nevertheless the average value lies between these two extremes and blurs the outcome. This happens in many places. In short we could call this a problem of heterogeneity. It arises when a district contains starkly different forms of settlement or groups of migrants. Villach in Carinthia, for instance, as a political district comprises the rural area around Villach with the second largest town of Carinthia to a single statistical entity. A similar situation applies to Leoben (town and political district) etc. The values for the respective districts consequently speak neither for the one nor for the other predominant form of settlement or social group. Many political districts were altering their borders in the decades between 1869 and 1918, which improved things in many cases (when town districts are separated from rural districts) so that some of these problems are resolved, though it makes analysis more difficult in other cases.

Though the quality of data related to migration issues improves continuously from census to census, a central problem concerns the ten years intervals. This time span is rather long when analysing medium term temporary migration, lets alone short term or seasonal migration. Therefore we cannot provide any estimation neither concerning the quantitative dimension of such processes nor their directions or routes.

A similar problem occurs in the case of re-migration. Recent studies have shown that re-migration might have been drastically underestimated in older inquiries and meanwhile it is assumed that the growth of the cities in Central Europe at the turn of the 19th century was less due to massive in-migration (as out-migration was in most cases almost as high) but to a greater degree to imported fertility (Ehmer 2004:83). Quantitative evidence for the Habsburg Monarchy cannot be yielded, at least not from census data.

Network analysis is possible and will be achieved for the years 1900 and 1910 (to a limited extent for 1890 as well).

Finally, migration is not a phenomenon of industrialization. It took place under pre-industrial and pre-modern conditions as well. The statistical data available focus on forms of migration that occur predominantly in an industrializing setting, other forms of migration are neglected and partly blinded out. This is the case with many practises of temporary and seasonal migrations that do not appear in the census data, due to several reasons: The declaration day of the census (31st of December) is almost precisely the negative peak of agricultural seasonal migration. Temporary migrants were recognized as such only when they were in place less than one month but the winter season might have forced many among them to take a longer winter

break. This leads to a blur in the statistical representation that cannot be corrected in terms of numbers. The way in which migrants were identified tells us of course a lot about the image of the migrant in the perspective of the administration and, to a certain extent, which practises of migration were desirable and which were not. An inquiry into migration in the late Habsburg Empire must take into consideration also those migrants who do not appear in the statistics, also when it is based on statistical sources.

Economic structure

The overwhelming majority of migration processes take place on a local and regional level. Migration is nothing unusual, as the proportions of in-migrants in the resident populations show. The mean value for the column showing the with right of domicile residents in Table 1 is 73.59%, so – turned around – 26.4% of the population in each district has a migration background. Though cities are indisputably centres in migration activities, many rural areas display quite high levels of spatial mobility among their populations as well.

Vienna is the only metropolis and most probably it is the only place which is able to attract noteworthy long distance in-migration. Vienna is a centre in many regards such as politics, administration, culture, education, commerce, and particularly industry and manufactures. I do not want to overemphasise the importance of the latter's: Incontestably employment (and in particular industrial employment) opportunities opened a vast field of options to migrants. But other aspects must not be neglected. Table 2 shows occupational data for the Habsburg Monarchy in 1869:

Table 2. Sectoral occupational composition

	Agriculture & Forestry (%)	Mining & Industry (%)	Transport & Commerce (%)	Else (%)
Stadt Wien	1,00	48,03	13,17	37,80
Wiener Neustadt (Stadt)	9,07	39,02	5,68	46,23
Waidhofen an der Ybbs (Stadt)	2,44	51,07	7,45	39,05
Amstetten	69,79	14,78	1,73	13,70
Baden	31,51	37,69	4,57	26,23
Bruck a d Leitha	36,98	37,41	3,68	21,94
Gross-Enzersdorf	69,00	12,53	5,51	12,97
Hernals	16,24	51,25	9,47	23,04
Horn	67,16	15,26	2,34	15,24
Korneuburg	64,58	18,69	5,44	11,29

Krems	68,83	14,75	2,32	14,09
Lilienfeld	59,26	29,67	1,38	9,70
Mistelbach	76,40	12,23	2,39	8,98
Neunkirchen	58,60	24,92	2,07	14,41
Oberhollabrunn	69,72	9,56	2,08	18,64
St Pölten	58,06	17,29	2,82	21,83
Scheibbs	65,34	15,31	1,38	17,97
Sechshaus	8,31	57,05	11,18	23,47
Waidhofen a d Thaya	46,36	37,78	2,41	13,45
Wiener Neustadt (Umgebung)	47,19	32,72	1,51	18,57
Zwettl	66,58	15,90	1,30	16,22
Stadt Gratz	4,76	36,95	6,10	52,19
Stadt Marburg	9,36	43,55	11,49	35,60
Cilli (Stadt)	5,72	34,23	8,72	51,33
Bruck	57,31	23,64	2,52	16,53
Cilli (Umgebung)	77,11	8,71	0,63	13,55
Feldbach	82,19	8,11	0,57	9,13
Gratz (Umgebung)	76,16	13,86	2,68	7,31
Hartberg	83,72	9,51	0,49	6,28
Judenburg	64,93	22,71	2,00	10,36
Deutsch-Landsberg	80,67	10,45	0,44	8,44
Leibnitz	77,74	7,55	0,76	13,95
Leoben	41,93	34,03	3,94	20,10
Lietzen	68,38	15,35	1,41	14,87
Luttenberg	86,88	5,62	0,32	7,18
Marburg (Umgebung)	86,11	7,14	0,67	6,08
Murau	75,49	10,34	1,16	13,01
Pettau	84,89	5,13	0,75	9,23
Radkersburg	79,79	10,14	0,85	9,22
Rann	90,30	4,59	0,62	4,49
Weiz	81,71	8,85	0,53	8,90
Windischgraz	80,78	9,38	1,03	8,81
Stadt Klagenfurt	5,41	32,45	8,98	53,15
Hermagor	78,16	11,00	0,54	10,30
Klagenfurt (Umgebung)	75,94	13,21	0,99	9,87

Spittal	74,32	10,62	0,91	14,15
St Veit	69,42	15,88	1,02	13,68
Villach	65,54	16,62	1,87	15,97
Völkermarkt	75,49	15,71	1,02	7,78
Wolfsberg	72,75	12,64	0,57	14,03
Stadt Laibach	11,79	29,84	11,75	46,63
Adelsberg	75,82	5,87	0,95	17,36
Gottschee	80,48	6,01	0,66	12,84
Gurkfeld	92,70	3,77	0,99	2,55
Krainburg	57,95	15,55	0,74	25,76
Laibach (Umgebung)	71,77	11,07	1,23	15,93
Littai	79,34	8,43	0,54	11,70
Loitsch	72,40	13,78	1,48	12,33
Radmannsdorf	57,96	24,97	0,80	16,27
Rudolfswerth	79,32	5,06	0,34	15,28
Stein	72,45	9,56	0,87	17,12
Tschernembl	91,17	3,06	0,40	5,37
Stadt Triest	0,49	34,01	30,94	34,55
Umgebung Triest	20,72	37,11	20,42	21,76
Stadt Görz	10,89	31,84	9,33	47,94
Görz (Umgebung)	80,12	7,37	0,57	11,94
Gradisca	62,05	18,21	3,95	15,80
Sessana	85,67	5,84	1,61	6,88
Tolmein	88,59	7,28	0,46	3,67
Capo d'Istria	68,00	8,34	3,24	20,42
Lussin	55,02	5,51	7,36	32,11
Parenzo	80,52	7,07	2,16	10,25
Pisino	78,09	6,30	1,88	13,74
Pola	33,32	17,90	5,16	43,62
Volosca	70,19	6,35	2,47	21,00

The fourth category/column in Table 2 comprises very different professions such as civil servants, members of the so-called liberal professions, hospital staff, teachers, retired persons and pensioners, domestics, landlords and "persons without occupation" which constitute a wide and heterogeneous group. Again, grey numbers in the first category are those numbers above a level of 65%; in

the second category they indicate values above 30%, and those higher than 10% in the third category grey as well.

Further, Table 2 shows the still overwhelming agricultural character of this part of the Habsburg Empire. The degree of industrialisation should not be overestimated: Even the industrial districts of Leoben, Judenburg and Wiener Neustadt (Umgebung) hardly exceed 30% in the column for mining and industry. Agriculture and forestry are still very strong in these regions. Vienna and its suburban districts Hernals and Sechshaus display the highest values for industry; all three are slightly above or below the 50% level. Yet these numbers are exceptional and can be interpreted in terms of an early urban development. Indisputably this developing labour market attracted immigrants. But the situation is different in the countryside. Basically the median value for the first column features 69% and only 14% for the second column. Transport and commerce generally play a minor role, even in many towns values do not exceed 10%. Vienna's 13.17% are only slightly above the comparatively exceptional numbers of the small towns Marburg and Ljubljana. The great exception is Trieste which displays 30.94% in this category. Certainly the harbour plays a decisive role, though mainly it is the trade and not the transport section which is responsible for the strong position of the town. Trieste is in 1869 the commercial window of the Habsburg State, thus it might be seen as an explanatory approach for the high numbers of international migrants there as well.

Though the shift from an agricultural society to an industrial society is clearly reflected by the mobility of population as indicated in the map, this does not mean, that pre-industrial societies were immobile. On the opposite, there is no reason to believe that people started to migrate in greater numbers only on the break of industrialization: Industrialization shaped new patterns of migration, and it are these 'new' migrations that become predominantly visible in the census, which tends to cut out more 'traditional' forms of migration, as for instance all forms of circular and temporary migrations which started at earliest in February and finished at latest by December. Migrants participating in these old agricultural migration systems do of course not show up in these data. In spite of the incompleteness of the census there are some disparities which deserve attention and which clearly demonstrate that there are non-economically based factors as well, which have an impact on migration. Cilli (Umgebung), Feldbach, Graz (Umgebung) and Hartberg for instance display similar values in terms of their occupational and economic structure, but their in-migration rates are much different. Gradisca shows similar values for its population with right of domicile in place of residence as its neighbouring districts, though its economic structure is deviant. Hence regional and partly even local cultural and social patterns influence

migration behaviour. The migrant's family plays a role and further individual factors which are hard to quantify, as for instance the availability or access to network resources. Migration does require financing and, in particular, reliable information, too.

As for family there is evidence that the inheritance law put into practice in different regions might have had an influence on migration as well.

Conclusion

As for now, the general patterns seem to track the following trends: Vienna is the most important destination for migrants from all over the Monarchy and is the only place to attract a considerable number of international migrants, next to Triest. Economic (not only industrial) development and structural change generates new in-migration and migration systems. Small towns grow fast and show high and very high local and regional migration rates, though limited attraction for long-distance migrants. In literature, this has been explained with stage migration, which is plausible. In general towns feature high and very high migration rates, as they offer occupation possibilities and are important road and rail junctions. The low migration territories in the south might correlate with Slovene, respectively Croatian and Italian-speaking territories which in this case would suggest a migration behaviour deviant from that of the German-speaking population further north. However, I have good reason to assume that especially people from the 'margins' of the Austrian Empire (seen from Viennese perspective) participated in other migration systems which were 'invisible' to the statistical authorities, due to its structures, rhythms and participants (out-migration and temporary out-migration cannot be measured on the basis of the census, respectively measurement failed). Migration was not unusual for people who were considerably mobile and had to secure their livelihood under rapidly changing conditions, who were often forced to adapt to new conditions, especially when living in the countryside. Although its dimension cannot be measured from the data it is certain that re-migration (Hochstadt 1999: 136) and stage-migration were common phenomena.

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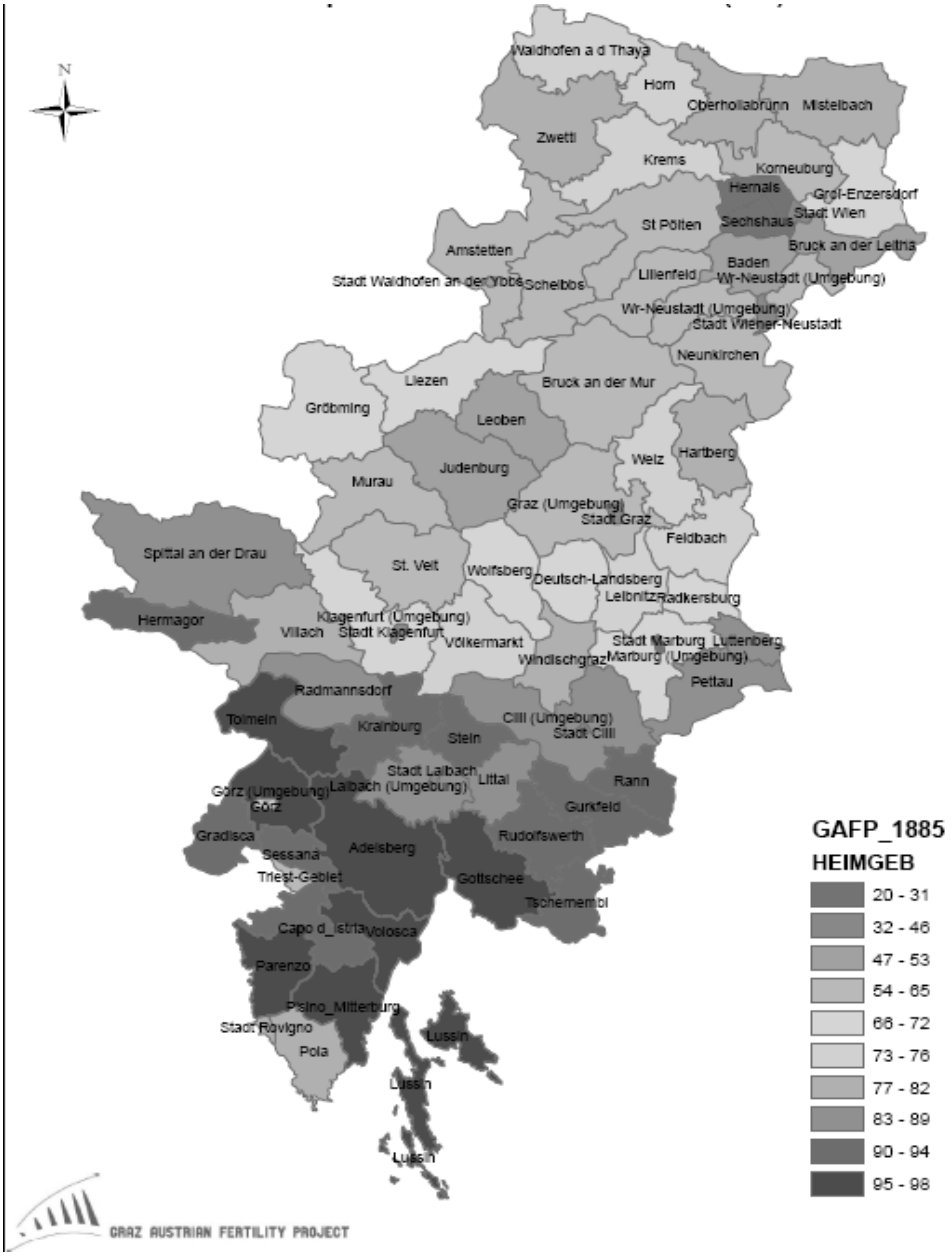
Map 1. People with right of domicile in place of residence (%)



The Difference in Natural Reproduction between Industrial and Agricultural Regions during the First Demographic Transition: 1881-1913 (the case of the Ostrava agglomeration)[1]

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Abstract: The period 1881-1913 in the Czech lands was characterized by the First Demographic Transition. Data from this period exist for the numbers of births, marriages and deaths in Cisleithania on the level of political districts and statutory towns/cities; this data forms the basis of the present study. The authors calculated the crude birth, marriage and death rates for the population of the political districts and statutory towns/cities of Austrian Silesia and north-eastern Moravia. The chosen territory represents the wider industrial area of the Ostrava-Karviná (Fryštát) coalfield. The authors compared the crude rates and attempted to explain local differences with regard to economic, social and cultural factors.

Keywords: historical demography, First Demographic Transition, natural reproduction, birth rate, death rate, marriage rate, natural increase, Ostrava, Silesia, Moravia

1. Introduction

In the 1880s, the Czech lands witnessed the beginning of a new stage of economic and technological development, as heavy industry started to grow rapidly. Characteristic features of this territory included a complex domestic market, modern consumer goods industries, agriculture using relatively advanced machinery, a dense railway network, sufficient sources of coal, and high-quality handicrafts and schools. A process of the concentration of production began, during which the earlier small-scale industries and handicrafts were liquidated (Kárníková 1965: 191-192). A number of new features appeared in the last two decades of the 19th century. The galloping

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crises occurring in this period had a strong impact on all levels and structures of the system of civilisation; at the same time, they significantly stimulated the rationalisation and modernisation of the economy. The Czech economy was in the phase of transition from extensive to intensive forms of development: factory production prevailed in the main branches of non-agricultural production. The development of the Czech lands was positively affected by the exceedingly rapid development of Germany after its unification; towards the end of the 19th century, Germany became the second fastest developing country in the world after the USA. Two centres of the German economy – Saxony and Upper Silesia – played an especially significant role in this process due to their geographic closeness, making them expedient for transport, which enabled numerous contacts – especially between Saxony and Bohemia, as well as between Upper Silesia and the Ostrava-Fryštát (Karviná) region and its coalfields. One of the negative features of this situation was the growing dependence of the Czech economy on the German economy, its ever more intense competition – which was very difficult to control – and the almost exclusive orientation of Czech exports to the German market (up to 52% in the years 1898-1900). Compared with other countries, the speed of modernisation in the Austrian Empire was slowing down, and Austria was assuming an inferior position among the world powers. Some of the causes of this situation included the still-existing relics of the feudal system – connected with the strong position of the entrepreneurial nobility both in agriculture and industry, and also with the powerful influence of conservative noblemen on the government, which made itself felt not only in economic and fiscal policy, but also in customs policies and foreign trade. The progress of the Empire was also retarded by its dualistic character, the close cooperation between the Catholic Church and the state, the leading role played by the monarchy in the political and economic sphere, the disunity among the nations within the Empire – which gave rise to struggles between the ruling elites of Cisleithania and Transleithania – as well as the nationally motivated competition within the emerging social class that was assuming a leading position within the individual nations of the monarchy (Lacina 1990: 8-10). From the point of view of the whole Europe, the Austro-Hungarian Empire belonged to a transitional zone: the eastern part of the Empire was on Europe's periphery, while the Czech lands and a larger part of Austria can rather be classed as belonging to the margin of the nuclear area, yet slipping to the periphery (Fialová, Horská, Kučera, Maur, Musil, Stloukal 1996: 274).

Urbanisation – a significant and complex modernising process – also took place in a specific way in the Czech lands. First of all, no really large cities

were emerging, with the exception of Prague, though even this city was only of regional importance. A unique type of industrialisation combined with urbanisation was being formed. However, the relatively low concentration of industry in large towns and the non-existence of really large industrial agglomerations and cities prevented the creation of large slum areas such as those that were springing up in Western industrial conurbations and cities (Fialová, Horská, Kučera, Maur, Musil, Stloukal 1996: 278-279). This period was characterised by the migration of rural populations to mid-sized and "large" towns with more than 10,000 inhabitants. The population decreased in rural areas and in small country towns, especially in Bohemia; the so-called "flight from the country" began. "The highest (16%) annual increase in urban inhabitants in modern Czech history ... occurred in the years 1891-1900." (Lacina 1990: 26) In the mid-18th century, only one tenth of the total population lived in towns; by the mid-19th century, it was every fifth person, rising to almost every second person at the end of the 19th century (Fialová, Horská, Kučera, Maur, Musil, Stloukal 1996: 148). Constant economic – and consequently also territorial – differentiation was underway: while some traditional industrial centres were declining, new industrial centres based on heavy industry were growing. At the end of the century, Prague had the first highest number of inhabitants in the Czech lands; Brno was in second place, while Liberec, originally the third most populous town, had been outpaced by Moravian Ostrava (Lacina 1990: 27).

The concentration of people in largish and large towns led to the formation of a new urban lifestyle, which not only differed from the rural one, but was also far removed from urban life in the late medieval and the early modern periods. It was marked by the building of a new type of multi-storey apartment blocks; by growing numbers of people living in one flat, which was caused by the housing shortage; by the existence of flats in basements and lofts; by the construction of new water supply and sewage systems; by the redesigning of streets and public areas newly equipped with modern lighting (squares, parks, public lavatories etc.); and also by the introduction of municipal transport etc. The planning and building of the so-called "colonies" (workers' settlements) was another typical feature of the fast-growing industrial agglomerations. In these newly urbanised towns, time and space were perceived differently, and life on working days and free days also differed.

The process of differentiation among economic regions was intensified; in some places it was accompanied by a rise in population, in others by depopulation. The alternation of crises and economic booms gave rise to feelings of increasing social insecurity and fears of unemployment, but it also

indisputably led to a rise in the average living and cultural standards of all strata of the population. Women's emancipation, which took various forms and had various aims, was also connected with the rising cultural standards. At the beginning of the 19th century, national struggles were becoming ever fiercer, and fears of potential military conflict were growing.

The development of the population of the Czech lands, especially the rise in population, was changing very little when viewed from outside. Its average annual growth was about 6.8 ‰ throughout the entire 19th century. Yet this growth was below average when compared with the rest of Europe. This was influenced both by the continuing high levels of emigration, which was motivated economically, and by the mass limitation of fertility, which began to be applied at the end of the 1870s. The differences between agricultural and industrial regions began to deepen significantly in the 1880s (Fialová, Horská, Kučera, Maur, Musil, Stloukal 1996: 142,227, Kárníková 1965: 194).

The examined territory of the Czech lands includes the whole of Austrian Silesia and the north-eastern part of Moravia.[2] This area greatly varied geographically, economically and in terms of population. At first, modern textile industries developed in the towns that had long been traditional centres of textile production, and which were often the administrative centres of political districts – Bílovec, Jeseník, Bruntál, Frýdek, Místek and Nový Jičín. Later on, mining and iron industries started to develop rapidly in the Ostrava and Fryštát areas. While the textile centres were growing slowly, heavy industry brought dynamic, even explosive growth to a number of settlements – many of which were originally completely insignificant villages. In the 1830s, the development of population started to become differentiated in connection with the formation of the industrial agglomeration of Ostrava, which later radically affected the population structure of the entire region. The territorially small court district of Moravian Ostrava, which became a political district in

[2] The analysed territory comprises the political districts of Jeseník, Bruntál, Krnov, Opava, Bílovec, Nový Jičín, Místek, Moravian Ostrava, Frýdek, Těšín, Fryštát, Bílsko and the statutory towns of Frýdek, Opava and Bílsko. In the course of the period under investigation the following administrative changes occurred: In 1896, the political district of Bílovec was separated from the political district of Opava; the new district included the court district of Klimkovice and Bílovec. In 1990, the political district of Moravian Ostrava was formed, having been taken out of the political district of Místek. It was identical with the former court district of Moravian Ostrava. The statutory town of Frýdek came into existence in 1870. The political district of Frýdek, which included the court district of Frýdek without the town of Frýdek itself, was formed in 1901. This court district was separated from the political district of Těšín. In 1904, the court district of Polish Ostrava, newly formed by removing 7 villages from the court district of Bohumín, was added to it. The court district of Bohumín remained part of the political district of Fryštát.

1900, was in the vanguard of this development. The concentration of population connected with urbanisation was at its most intensive in Moravian Ostrava; this helped a number of villages in this district (Vítkovice, Přívoz, Mariánské Hory) to acquire town status at the beginning of the 20th century (cf. Dokoupil, Nesládková, Lipovski 2009: 193-197). These settlements underwent a rapid, even precipitate transformation into towns, including all basic attributes of urban settlements. In professional literature, this is sometimes described as the "American-style" growth of towns (Vybíral 2003: 9). A typical feature of these changes was an explosive increase in population, resulting both from intensive migration and from natural increase.

From the point of view of the economic territorial divisions created by L. Kárníková for the needs of demographic research, the territory of Austrian Silesia and north-eastern Moravia can be divided into two different entities: the large group of old textile areas, many of which were transformed from the proto-industrial stage into regions with modern textile industries; and the category of new-type industrial centres that arose in areas where there had been no previous industrial activity. The political districts of Bruntál, Jeseník and Krnov in the mountainous Jeseníky area belonged to the first group, as well as the neighbouring lowland districts of Opava and Nový Jičín. On the other hand, the northern part of the district of Místek (from which an independent district of Moravian Ostrava was formed in 1900), and essentially the entire district of Fryštát and the northern part of Frýdek (this northern part was added to the district as late as 1904), in the Ostrava coal basin, belonged among the new type of industrial centres (Kárníková 1965: 317, 319). However, the southern part of the district of Frýdek lay in the Beskydy mountains, which stretched through the southern parts of the districts of Místek, Frýdek, Těšín and Bílsko. These districts were mostly agricultural and their inhabitants migrated to the nearby industrial region of Ostrava. This agricultural region was culturally different from the districts in the Jeseníky Mountains. While the people living in the Jeseníky area mostly spoke German, the Beskydy region was inhabited by people using mostly Czech or Polish dialects (see Map 1). An exception was the town of Bílsko in the easternmost part of the examined area, whose inhabitants mostly spoke German. The category of "colloquial speech" (language of everyday use) in the population census carried out in Cisleithania is not without shortcomings, and it does not provide a truthful picture of the real national (or linguistic) composition of the population; instead it indicates different cultural regions. Simply expressed, if the population census of 1900 recorded 99.1% of German-speaking people in the district of Bruntál, this did not necessarily mean that all of them were

German by origin. It is, however, essential for our research that – culturally – this was a German area. It lay in the vicinity of the German border and demonstrated a specific course of development; German-speaking people prevailed in the local population, and further special characteristics spread to the area from Germany due to the linguistic affinity. Obviously, economic and linguistic aspects greatly affected the demographic development of the examined region. They gave rise to different patterns of behaviour, which had an effect on the reproduction process. From the religious point of view, the reproductive behaviour of Jewish inhabitants was completely different from that of all other groups; moreover, there were differences even within this cultural group. Their presence was perhaps most noticeable in the development of individual demographic indicators in the town of Bílsko, where Jews formed 14.8% of the population in 1900 (Oesterreichische Statistik 1903). No differences were observed between Protestants and Catholics. Catholics dominated in the majority of the districts as a result of the long-lasting re-Catholicisation of the inhabitants of the Czech lands. The only exceptions were the easternmost districts of Těšín (42.6% of Protestants in 1900), Bílsko (35% of Protestants) and the statutory town of Bílsko (28.1% of Protestants) (Oesterreichische Statistik 1903), in which Lutheranism was tolerated thanks to the Altrandstädt Convention of 1707. It seems, however, that in this region, Protestantism did not cause any specific reproduction phenomena; the local Lutherans did not greatly differ from Catholics either socially or culturally. This was a backward region situated in the foothills of the mountains, and it was economically, culturally and demographically close to neighbouring Galicia. The only exception was again the town of Bílsko, a centre of the modern textile industry, in which there were various religious communities and where German inhabitants prevailed, while German-speaking people would probably be found even among the several hundred foreigners residing in the town.

Modern social stratification and mentality were being formed in town centres in a highly complex way; groups of immigrants with different cultural backgrounds, traditions and life experience, as well as reproduction habits, family and household types, were mixing especially in the Ostrava and Fryštát areas (Dokoupil, Nesládková, Lipovski 2009: 198-204). This was a period in which the concept of family planning was increasingly gaining acceptance.

2. Birth rate and fertility

Our starting point will be to analyse the birth rate in order to determine how this phenomenon enables researchers to monitor Austrian statistics recording

natural change in population, where a relatively large and insufficiently homogenous political district was used as the basic territorial unit. We will reconstruct the crude birth rates.[3] However, even these rates, which only provide a general idea of the real situation, offer highly differentiated values. We trace these rates both for political districts and for urban populations in three statutory towns (Opava, Frýdek, Bílsko), while also bearing in mind that, at that time, the indicator had not yet been adversely affected by age composition, which was still progressive. In comparison with the average value for the Czech lands, which was basically identical for Moravia and Silesia in the 1880s (at around 36-37.6‰), very different values can be found in the analysed territory – ranging from 27 to 46.5‰. On the one hand this reflects the standards of the traditional urban population of Opava, with very few manual workers but numerous representatives of the middle and upper-middle classes, who had already started to consciously limit their fertility; and on the other hand it reflects the working population of the Fryštát area, who were migrating from rural environments in the Beskydy region, other parts of Moravia and Silesia, and many of them also from Galicia. Within Cisleithania, Galicia had the highest birth rate of any province, both in large and small towns and in rural areas. The district of Fryštát became a centre of heavy industry in the

[3] The analysis is based on data published in Oesterreichische Statistik (ÖS), Bewegung der Bevölkerung der im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreiche und Länder... Band V, Heft 1, Wien 1884; ÖS VIII, 2, Wien 1885; ÖS XII, 2, Wien 1886; ÖS XIII, 4, Wien 1887; ÖS XVIII, 1, Wien 1888; ÖS XXI, 3, Wien 1889; ÖS XXV, 1, Wien 1890; ÖS XXVIII, 1, Wien 1891; ÖS XXXI, 3, Wien 1892; ÖS XXXVII, 1, Wien 1893; ÖS XXXVIII, 3, Wien 1895; ÖS XLVI, 2, Wien 1896; ÖS XLIX, 2, Wien 1898; ÖS LII, 2, Wien 1899; ÖS LIV, 1, Wien 1900; ÖS LV, 3, Wien 1902; ÖS LXII, 3, Wien 1902; ÖS LXVII, 1, Wien 1902; ÖS LXXII, 1, Wien 1904; ÖS LXXIII, 3, Wien 1906; ÖS LXXIX, 1, Wien 1906; ÖS LXXXIV, 1, Wien 1908; ÖS LXXXIV, 3, Wien 1908; ÖS LXXXVI, 1, Wien 1908; ÖS LXXXVIII, 1, Wien 1910; ÖS LXXXVIII, 3, Wien 1911; ÖS XCII, 1, Wien 1912; ÖS Neue Folge 8, 1, Wien 1913; ÖS Neue Folge 8, 3, Wien 1915; ÖS Neue Folge, 14, 1, Wien 1918. The calculation of crude birth, marriage and death rates was always carried out in ÖS for the duration of one decade, and the data obtained by initial censuses carried out in the years 1880, 1890 and 1900 were used. This practice caused a significant misinterpretation, especially in political districts with a dynamic increase in population: e.g. in the political district of Fryštát the population rate was calculated as 76.93 ‰, the marriage rate as 14.38 ‰ and the death rate as 45.24 ‰ for the year 1899, the calculation being based on the number of inhabitants ascertained in the 1890 census; in the following year, the results of the 1900 census were used, and the resulting figures were 53.56, 9.01 and 25.01 ‰. The balancing procedure, in which annual increases (and decreases) in the natural change were added to the data recording the number of inhabitants ascertained in the year when the census was carried out, was not used until 1909 for political districts. This is the reason why this study employs data calculated from the published results concerning the numbers of births, marriages and deaths calculated using the method of interpolation on the basis of the 1880, 1890, 1900 and 1910 censuses.

mid-19th century, with mining, coking plants and iron mills. These new economic activities caused not only the rapid devastation of the environment, but also brought an exponential growth of settlements. In the emerging industrialised centres of heavy industry, even the new immigrants from the country and agricultural labourers could become suitable workers – miners, workers in coking plants, ironworkers, workers in the chemical industry, railway workers etc.; new recruits could be trained quite quickly for all of these jobs. It was these people, with a rural mentality, who were given a new chance and a new perspective in life in this emerging industrialised milieu. They often lived in hastily constructed workers' settlements close to collieries and industrial plants, and their birth rate was high. The ever-growing need for labourers led to intensive immigration of young people. Due to the favourable economic conditions, they concluded marriages at an early age, and as they had come from rural areas or from small country towns, where fertility was not yet subject to limitations, they had large families (Bajger 1979: 3-4). The birth rate was highest in the Fryštát area at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, when the crude rate reached more than 50‰ (Table 1). Similar values can be found in other parts of the burgeoning Ostrava industrial agglomeration – most of all in Ostrava and its closest environs. This area was still part of the political district of Místek, where the birth rate was over 40‰ at the end of the 19th century, but immediately after the independent district of Moravian Ostrava was formed, the rate in the Místek district dropped below this level. However, a rate of nearly 44‰ was ascertained in the new district of Moravian Ostrava in the first five years of the 20th century.

Likewise, the district of Frýdek, except for the statutory town of Frýdek, displayed demographic features typical of industrial (especially mining) populations, whose birth rate was higher than Silesian averages by 6-7‰; this happened after the formation of this district, or more precisely after the court district of Bohumín (with the mining region around Silesian Ostrava) became part of the district in 1904. By 1910, the crude birth rate had grown above 40‰; it reached 45.3‰ in 1904 and culminated in 1906 at 45.4‰. Silesian (Polish) Ostrava was part of the settlement structure of this district. The unprecedented economic and population growth of this municipality was connected with the opening of a number of collieries within its boundaries (Kulturněhistorická 2005: 79-80, Jiřík et al. 1993: 183). This Silesian micro-region of Fryštát and Frýdek, together with Moravian Ostrava and its environs, was the epicentre of modernising changes; this micro-region could also be considered to include the political district of Bílovec, which was removed from the district of Opava in 1896. This was originally a region whose profile was

determined by the textile production centred in Bílovec itself, where engineering was also developing. Likewise, the district of Těšín, where the birth rate remained around 40‰ for a long time, could to some extent be considered part of the industrial agglomeration of Ostrava. It is not, however, quite clear whether this high birth rate was caused by the development of heavy industry in this district (the Třinec ironworks) or rather by the large agrarian population that behaved in a traditional way. The gradual decrease in birth rate would indicate the second variant, in which case the reproductive behaviour of the population in this area would become similar to that in the neighbouring district of Bílsko, where the traditional behaviour of the community was also the cause of the high birth rate typical of the surviving old demographic regime. In Bílsko the birth rate began to decrease earlier than in industrial districts, and it decreased slowly.

Districts with a high number of German inhabitants, including the districts of Opava and Nový Jičín, were of a completely different type. In the 1880s, the birth rate in the district of Nový Jičín started to decrease, always by 3-6‰ in comparison with the average in Moravia as a whole, and this situation lasted for a long time. Similarly, the districts of Krnov, Bruntál and Jeseník were inhabited by a population whose birth rate remained permanently below the Silesian level, in some years by up to 8‰. Though the birth rates in Silesia tended to increase towards the end of the century, a contrary trend was asserting itself in the above-mentioned districts; in the Krnov area at the beginning of the 20th century, for example, the birth rate fell to below 30‰, which also happened in the districts of Bruntál, Jeseník and Nový Jičín immediately before the outbreak of the First World War. It was only the district of Opava, a low-lying agricultural region, in which the birth rates were permanently higher than elsewhere – but this was also the area with the lowest number of German-speaking inhabitants. The birth rate corresponds in an interesting way with the percentage of inhabitants belonging to the German cultural community (compare Maps 1 and 2). In fact, this was also true of the town of Bílsko, which was situated on the opposite side of the analysed territory, on the border between Silesia and Galicia, i.e. in the cultural area marked by traditional reproductive behaviour; however, it was in the town of Bílsko itself that the lowest crude birth rates in the entire set were calculated. Here, the situation was similar to that in the main centre of Silesia – in Opava: in both towns there were numerous middle and upper-middle class inhabitants who had accepted the new reproductive behaviour earlier; there was also considerable economic development and a high ratio of German and Jewish inhabitants, which also played a certain role.

The long process of the gradual emancipation of Jews was completed in the Austrian Empire in the second half of the 19th century. This originally highly religious community, in which faith – and the observation of numerous rituals connected with faith – formed one of the pillars of everyday life, was being transformed into a community of secularised people who were gradually casting off the burdens of ancient tradition (Pěkný 2001: 21-23).

Demographically, Jews belonged to specific layers of population; especially in the sphere of reproduction, they displayed numerous unique features that had been taking shape ever since the era of the Jewish Diaspora. The religious (basically cultural) "dictate" set by their tribal god ("Go forth and multiply") lay at the heart of their reproductive behaviour; therefore, it was their uppermost religious duty to marry and have offspring. The only people exempt from this commandment were the (physically and mentally) ill, who were eliminated from the reproduction process. All others took part in it as Orthodox Jews; the social system of Jewish communities expected and relied on this, and, over the course of centuries, had developed tools dealing with these situations in a more or less standard way. Wealthy members of the community helped poor ones; being poor or rich was not considered improper among Jews. For example, an unmarried man or woman aged 20-40 can hardly be found in the age composition of the Jewish population of Moravia in 1754. 94.4% of men and 96.0% of women were married (Nesládková 2003a: 198-199).

After 1849, the separation of Jews in ghettoes was abolished in Cisleithania, as a result of which Jewish settlements, and regions with a high concentration of these settlements, were restructured. The old settlements in towns and townships owned by noblemen in Moravia began to depopulate, and streams of emigrants headed either out of the Empire, or to Vienna, or to centres of economic growth, i.e. the industrial agglomerations of the so-called new type: Brno and its environs, Olomouc, and especially the Ostrava area, where they later mostly congregated in Moravian Ostrava (Nesládková 2006: 147-156).

The Jews' birth rate, which was sharply increasing in the centres to which young people immigrated, closely corresponded with these transformations of the settlement framework. It became fully comparable with the high birth rate as reconstructed for the majority population; however, in Jewish families which had long been part of urban society (and, in the era of modernisation, even to big-city society) and which displayed a specific professional and social composition, the transfer to family planning was faster; i.e. there was a marked decrease in the number of children (Vobecká 2007). Towards the end of the 19th century, this trend was clear both in big-city

populations, including Jewish immigrants, and in the inhabitants of small towns. For example, J. Heřman calculated that the Moravian Jews' crude birth rate was merely 27.5‰ in 1895; the following year, it dropped to 19.7‰ according to his calculation (Heřman 1971: Table VIII – Natality and fertility of Bohemian and Moravian Jews). This trend, which began in the latter half of the 19th century, continued to deepen significantly until the eventual collapse of the Empire; as a result, a sharp gap was opening up between the birth rate curves of the whole population (including Jews) and of the Jewish population in Moravia.

The transition to the new demographic regime at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries manifested itself in the decrease of the crude birth rates. This trend, however, took a different course in different regions. In the economically stagnating Jeseník area, it had a sedate pace from the beginning of the examined period; in the Těšín and Bílsko areas, which had a traditional character, the birth rate began to decrease from high values in the course of the examined period, while in the industrial regions of new type the birth rate increased sharply at first, only to decrease with the same intensity at the beginning of the 20th century. Ludmila Fialová, who examined the female fertility rate, drew attention to this phenomenon in Ostrava and its surroundings in her study published in the early 1990s. She attempted to determine the level of female fertility on the basis of the calculation of indices of fertility according to an English demographer, A.J. Coale (Fialová 1991: 70). Figure 1 was created according to the data from the tables that appear in her study. It clearly shows the different course of the development of fertility (and birth rate as well) in the examined region.

3. Marriage rate

Generally, the marriage rate in Moravia was higher than in Bohemia and the one in Silesia was higher than in Moravia throughout the whole period. Viewing this phenomenon at the level of political districts and statutory towns, we can find similar features both in marriage and birth rates. The marriage rate was high in the districts industrialised within the framework of the growing agglomeration of Ostrava; the lowest values in the given set can be found in textile districts (Krnov, Bruntál, Jeseník); the Nový Jičín area underwent a more complex development, which was unique among statutory towns (Table 2).

Relatively high values above the average ascertained for the whole Silesia appeared in the population of the industrialised district of Fryštát as early as the 1880s. A trend towards a decrease began to be apparent at the beginning of the new century; between 1903 and 1913, the crude marriage rate

dropped below 8‰. The marriage rate in the political district of Frýdek was slightly higher in comparison with that in Silesia after 1901; after 1910, it dropped below the average ascertained for the whole province. At the beginning, the high marriage rate was also typical of the population of the political district of Moravian Ostrava: in 1900 and 1901 it was 9.4 and 10.3‰ respectively. In the 1890s, the marriage rate within the district of Místek moved above 8‰; from the second decade of the 20th century there was a decrease, which stabilised at over 7‰. The marriage rate was higher in the Místek area in comparison with the data valid for the whole of Moravia, but lower in comparison with the Fryštát area. How can this development be explained? The Místek district consisted not only of the highly industrialised court district of Moravian Ostrava, but also of the court district of Místek, where the textile industry prevailed, and of the district of Frenštát lying in the foothills of the Beskydy Mountains, which was only sparsely industrialised. From the point of view of the secondary sector, the Místek area was more agricultural, and more trades could be found there than in the Fryštát area, which was dominated by heavy industry. Moreover, the two entities were inhabited by populations that differed both ethnically and nationally. While Czechs prevailed in the Místek area, a large concentration and prevalence of Poles (with many Galicians among them) emerged in the Fryštát area as a result of migrations. The Galicians had brought their cultural customs and habits, living according to their own patterns and mentality, and these patterns included early marriages and large families. The marriage rate also began to grow in the Místek area in the 1890s, which was connected with a new wave of migrations, especially from Galicia, heading to industrial communities, mostly directly to Moravian Ostrava (Dokoupil, Nesládková 1995: 286-287).

High marriage rates also appeared in the districts of Těšín and Bílsko, but the rates there were more stable in comparison with the industrial districts, and the decrease typical of the 20th century was not so clear-cut. In some years the marriage rate in Těšín and Bílsko reached 8‰, even in the years preceding the First World War. In these districts, the local population again behaved rather more traditionally as far as reproduction is concerned.

The district of Nový Jičín was marked by a fluctuating crude marriage rate: starting from the year 1885, it was lower than in the rest of the province, then it became slightly higher. At the beginning of the 20th century there was a significant rise in marriages and the reconstructed values reached a level comparable with the data valid for the most highly industrialised districts of Moravian Ostrava and Fryštát (e.g. in 1901 – 9.3‰). After 1904 the rate began to decrease, which led to long-term lower levels in comparison with Moravia.

In the large political district of Opava (5 court districts), the marriage rate remained at low levels. After the area of Bílovec was taken out of this district, the marriage rate began to show a permanent decrease. By contrast, the newly established political district of Bílovec displayed high marriage rates (above those ascertained for the whole Silesia) until the end of the 1890s; after this date, the rate was only slightly above the average. The data in the political districts of Krnov, Bruntál and Jeseník were also below the level elsewhere. The curve of the marriage rate was slightly rising only in the Krnov area, and it had started at low values (around 7‰). It grew slightly in the Jeseník area at the beginning of the 20th century, but then it decreased until the outbreak of the First World War. The situation was similar in the Bruntál area, the only difference being that the decrease in values was replaced by a sharp rise in the 20th century, in the years immediately preceding the First World War.

The statutory towns of Opava, Frýdek and Bílsko had a unique position. They experienced a growth in the marriage rate until the beginning of the 20th century, then registered a decrease. Their values differed from other places as they were exceptionally high in some years, close to the limit of 10‰. Marriages of people from both the closer and more distant surroundings, perhaps even from outlying places, seem to have been concluded there. The marriage rate in Bílsko did not fall below 8‰ for the whole examined period, which obviously reflected the economic development of this town. The development of the marriage rate in the town of Bílsko corresponds with that in the political district of Bílsko. This agricultural district, whose development lagged behind that of other districts, did not offer as suitable economic conditions as the town of Bílsko, a centre of the textile industry, but its population adhered to traditional patterns of behaviour.

The marriage rate of the Jewish population also displayed specific features. In old communities living in large and small towns formerly possessed by noblemen, which did not undergo more dynamic economic development, a stage of fast and mass emigration began; this resulted in the worsening of the age composition of the Jewish population, as the ratio of young people decreased and, consequently, the number of marriages fell. By contrast, in large towns and big cities, which were frequent destinations for migrants, there was a sharp rise in the Jewish population, especially in numbers of young people, and therefore also in the marriage rate. It is extremely difficult to record and describe this irregular development. The only possible method is by studying Jewish registers of births, marriages and deaths; a large

part of these are unfortunately not at our disposal.[4] Those registers kept in the Ostrava agglomeration during the examined period have not been preserved. Yet, at a hypothetical level at least, we can presume that the marriage rate of the Jews living in the Ostrava and Fryštát areas was high, especially if we take into consideration the fact that many Galician Jews had moved there, mostly in the 1890s. The age compositions known to us thanks to Austrian censuses testify to this unambiguously (the progressive structure with a high number of children and young people of reproductive age and a high ratio of married people in Moravian Ostrava) (Nesládková 2003b: 109-110). Austrian statistics for Moravia and Silesia (recorded together) testify to decreasing crude marriage rates in the Jewish population: from 8.85‰ around 1869 to 7.80‰ around 1880 and 7.01‰ around 1890 (Heřman 1971: Table VII). Until the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, most Jewish families had typically consisted of Israelites, i.e. mixed marriages were exceptional. Similarly, divorces were rare in Jewish families until the First World War: old rules and principles of married life were still valid in the Jewish communities, and secularisation had made itself felt in other spheres, not in family life. According to Heřman, there were around 0.3 – 0.4 cases per 1,000 Jews in the years 1884-1909 (Heřman 1971: 24).

4. Death rate

The 1890s brought a new stage marked by a lasting decrease in the general death rate in the Czech lands; however, this trend was not the same everywhere, as it could differ considerably among individual regions (Vávra 1962: 67-69). If we compare the development of birth, marriage and death rates at the level of the examined political districts and statutory towns, we can conclude that the death rate had the lowest dispersion of data. The only exceptions are the death rates in the statutory towns of Opava and Bílsko (Table 3). Starting from 1905, a sharp rise in the given values can be ascertained in Opava. The death rates there were in essence constantly the highest, often over 30‰; in 1886, the crude rate soared to 35.5‰. This situation reflects the functioning of new health care facilities that had been opened within the town. Before 1850 Opava had three hospitals, including isolation wards, whose patients died most frequently. The Silesian Provincial Hospital in Opava headed the development of these facilities in Silesia. After 1900, it moved to a new building with a larger number of beds (263) (Kulturněhistorická 2005: 435), which could be another reason for the new rise

[4] During the Second World War, the Nazis first collected all Jewish registers from the whole Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia in Prague; in May 1945 they burned them in Modřany, on the outskirts of Prague. Only duplicates of some of them have been preserved.

in the death rate. By contrast, in the town of Bílsko the crude death rate was very low, and moreover displayed a declining tendency. The death rate stagnated in the 1890s, which was probably also due to the existence of the hospital founded in 1893. At the beginning of the 20th century it was further enlarged, when the "Seuchenpavillon" (1901), "Röntgenabteilung" and "chirurgischer Pavillon" (1912) were added (Kuhn 1981: 318).

Relatively high values (over 30‰) were recorded in the districts of Bílsko, Těšín and Místek at the end of the 19th century, which could be further proof of the correctness of the theory of the dying-away of the old demographic regime in these areas with the highest proportion of Slavic inhabitants dependent on agriculture. From about the 1890s there were relatively balanced values in the other districts, which can be puzzling in view of the different birth rates. The death rate was unexpectedly low in industrial districts with high birth rates, where moreover the death rate curves were falling faster; as a result, the death rate was lowest in the districts of Fryštát and Moravian Ostrava towards the end of the examined period. The favourable composition of their population, in which the ratio of young people of productive age was high, was not the only cause of this situation. In spite of the high birth rate, there were some of the lowest infant mortality rates in these districts (Dokoupil, Nesládková, Lipovski 2010b: 268-269).

The districts in the Jeseník area were turning into an emigration region with a stagnating textile industry. This made itself felt in the worsening age composition of its population, in which the ratio of elderly and old people was growing; this, in turn, resulted in an increase in the death rate (Kárníková 1965: 249). At the same time, the infant mortality rate was reaching a high level in these districts (Dokoupil, Nesládková, Lipovski 2010b: 269). It is true that the overall death rate were not extremely high (26-29‰), but the figures can hardly be considered favourable in view of the low birth rate there. This was also true of the neighbouring districts of Opava and Nový Jičín, even if the death rate was perhaps the most favourable in the Nový Jičín area.

Jews, whose death rate displayed a number of specific features, formed part of the population of the examined territory. As Jewish registers were preserved only partially, we only have at our disposal data from Austrian statistics and crude death rates based on them, which were unsystematically reconstructed by Heřman. Generally, it is possible to claim that the Jewish population's death rate was lower than that of the majority population. Heřman calculated the first figure for Moravia and Silesia (together) for the year 1900, when it was 14.8‰, and 13.3‰ for the year 1910 (Heřman 1971).

The Jewish population also had the lowest infant and child mortality rates, which we are not able to reconstruct either (Nesládková 2003b: 98-116).

5. Natural increase in population

Natural increase in population is the most appropriate indicator for showing the differences between the death and birth rates. From the point of view of its level, old textile areas would be on one side of this imaginary field, with highly industrialised areas of the Moravian and Silesian parts of the Ostrava-Fryštát industrial agglomeration on the other side (Table 4). In this respect, the district of Fryštát, where the natural increase in population was roughly twice as high as that in Silesia, was unchallenged as the holder of the leading position. The rate continued to rise from the beginning of the 1880s, and this tendency culminated in 1902, when the crude rate soared to the unbelievable level of 31.7‰. In the same year, the average in Silesia was 16‰. In the following years, until the outbreak of the war, this trend began to change: the rate began to fall, though it was still the highest (twice as high) in comparison with the average in the whole province. In the beginning, high increases in population also appeared in the districts of Moravian Ostrava, Bílovec and Frýdek. In the district of Moravian Ostrava, the natural increase in population reached roughly double the level for the whole of Moravia. It was over 20‰ at the beginning of the 20th century; a decrease began after 1904, so it was only 9.7‰ in 1913, which was quite similar to that in the whole of Moravia (9.5‰). The natural increase in population in the district of Frýdek rose dynamically until 1906, when it reached 21.6‰; then it fell until the outbreak of the war, yet its values were still much higher than the data ascertained for the whole Silesia.

The district of Opava, whose natural increase in population – characterised by slightly rising levels – was very similar to the curve for the whole of Silesia, represents a transition between the districts with high natural increase and those whose data were lower. The areas of Krnov, Bruntál and Jeseník belonged to the regions whose natural increase was the lowest. The natural increase in the district of Nový Jičín was also very low initially, but from the mid-1890s it already oscillated around 9‰. In the districts of Bílsko, Těšín, and essentially also in the district of Místek, the rise in natural increase rates was similar, but sharper. A slight decrease in the death rate was ascertained there, connected with the development of modern medicine in those populations with higher birth rates that were otherwise behaving traditionally.

The natural change in the most important urban part of Opava remained in negative values for the whole examined period. The decrease,

which was around -5‰ at the beginning of the 1880s, fell continually until the beginning of the 20th century; the fall continued in the new century until it reached -8‰ shortly before the outbreak of World War I. This indicator gradually reached negative values even in the Bílsko area. In both cases, the existence of hospital facilities in those towns was an obvious cause of this situation. There was no hospital in Frýdek, and in this town the natural increase in population continued for the whole period, even though it was not very high.

In view of the character and validity of information about Jewish reproduction at our disposal, the evaluation of its natural change will be so inaccurate that it will rather be a hypothesis. At least in Moravia and Silesia from the mid-19th century until 1918, when the Austrian Empire collapsed, every increase in population resulted from the natural change, its values depending on the type of each community. The values of natural increase were falling in individual provinces; in Moravia there is no doubt that the rate fell from the 1890s onwards (Heřman 1971: 29). High natural increases can be inferred for the city of Moravian Ostrava, especially in the 1890s, when Galician Jews had settled there: their immigration to the Ostrava area was culminating at that time. It is, however, impossible to determine unequivocally whether the increase in Jewish population was higher in comparison with the majority population, or what its trend was like. It can be presumed according to the development of the age composition of Jewish population at our disposal that it was falling towards the end of the 19th century.

6. Conclusion

The research carried out so far into the crude data and birth, marriage and death rates indicated several tendencies towards different routes to a new demographic regime. According to the results of this research, the examined area can roughly be divided into four sub-areas. The districts that formed the region of the Jeseníky mountains – those of Bruntál, Krnov and Jeseník (the first sub-area) – had low marriage and birth rates, average death rates and the trend towards the decrease in crude birth and death rates was slow from the beginning of the examined period. That was the reason why natural increases in population in these districts did not reach high values (only 6-8‰). The districts in the second sub-area – those of Opava and Nový Jičín, where the increases in population were almost 10‰ (in the district of Opava, they were even over 10‰ in some periods of five years, but the town of Opava was not included!) – formed a kind of transitional territory. All those districts, perhaps with the exception of Nový Jičín, struggled with economic problems. In the

first half of the 19th century, domestic textile production had developed to an unprecedented extent in the mountain districts, but it nearly disappeared owing to the crisis in the production of linen in the 1830s and 1840s and due to the development of factory production. Small homesteads typical of the foothills remained, but were unable to support larger families who had lost their income from weaving. The average acreage of a homestead was less than 1 hectare in the Jeseník area at the end of the 19th century; it was around 1 hectare in the Opava area, while e.g. in the Těšín area it was about 2.3 hectares (Rodan 2008: 183). It is true that the textile industry was developing, but it could offer only a limited number of jobs, especially to women. Poor economic conditions resulted in the emigration of young people (especially men); consequently, there was a high proportion of old people in the structure of the population, while women, for whom it was difficult to find a partner, prevailed in the productive category. The marriage rate was decreasing, and as a result, so was the birth rate in married couples. However, some demographers surmise that the conscious lowering of fertility in these districts, i.e. the earlier limitation of fertility as a new type of reproductive behaviour, affected the decrease in the birth rate. As a matter of fact, this area was culturally German, and new patterns of behaviour spread there earlier than elsewhere. L. Fialová provided proof for this theory in her research into fertility (Fialová 1991: 62-63).

The third sub-area consisted of the districts in the Ostrava industrial region, and the fourth sub-area consisted of those in the so-called historical Duchy of Teschen (excluding the Fryštát area). These districts had high birth rates, partially also marriage rates; but a lower death rate was recorded in the third (industrial) sub-area than in the fourth one, and the development of individual reproduction phenomena also differed. In the districts of Fryštát and Moravian Ostrava, the high levels of immigration by young people, the progressive composition of the population, and favourable economic conditions of the inhabitants affected the high marriage and birth rates. The initial traditional reproductive behaviour contributed to the unprecedented rise in the birth rate in these districts; at the same time, the new demographic regime was asserting itself very rapidly and the birth rate was already falling sharply before the First World War. The favourable structure of the population, high migration and perhaps also better hygienic conditions resulted in low death rates – and therefore also very high natural increases in population – in these districts.

The other districts of the historical Duchy of Teschen (Bílsko, Těšín, Frýdek; Místek can also be included here) differed from the centres of heavy industry to a certain extent. Their relatively high marriage and birth rates

obviously resulted from better agricultural conditions. It was mentioned above that homesteads in the Těšín area were twice as large as those in the Jeseník and Opava areas. These homesteads gave higher agricultural yields; consequently, the farmers were not forced to look for subsidiary income. These circumstances may have caused the continuing traditional reproductive behaviour of the people living there, i.e. high birth and death rates. The majority of the inhabitants of these districts spoke Czech or Polish, and this cultural aspect may have had an impact on the demographic development. The reproductive behaviour in these districts was similar to the typical behaviour in neighbouring Galicia, and the further east one went, the more noticeable this similarity was.

The town of Bílsko was an exception. It is true that it was situated on the border with Galicia, but from the beginning of the examined period its population behaved in a way that was compatible with the new demographic regime as far as reproduction is concerned. In largish towns, this trend made itself felt quite soon, independently of the surrounding areas. After all, the environs of Opava and Frýdek were predominantly agricultural, although certain differences between the examined towns were undoubtedly apparent. In the case of Bílsko, Jews, who made up a large proportion of the population, also played a certain role in the acceptance of new reproduction trends. A characteristic feature of urban populations was a rather high death rate, which, together with the low birth rate, resulted in a low increase in population, or even a natural decrease in population. The main reason was, to a great extent, the existence of hospitals and similar facilities. The case of Bílsko reveals that the death rate could be effectively lowered in towns, but if a hospital was opened, the data began increasing and no longer corresponded with the real situation in the town.

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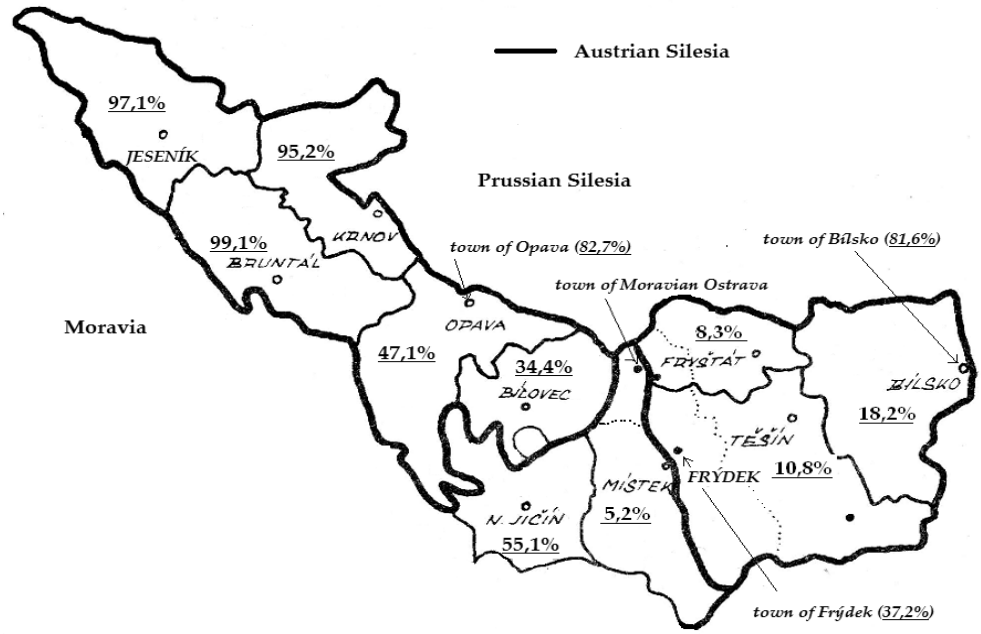
Annexes

Map 1. The percentage of German speaking population in political districts of Austrian Silesia and north-east Moravia in 1900



Map 2. The crude birth rate in political districts of Austrian Silesia and north-east Moravia in 1901-1905

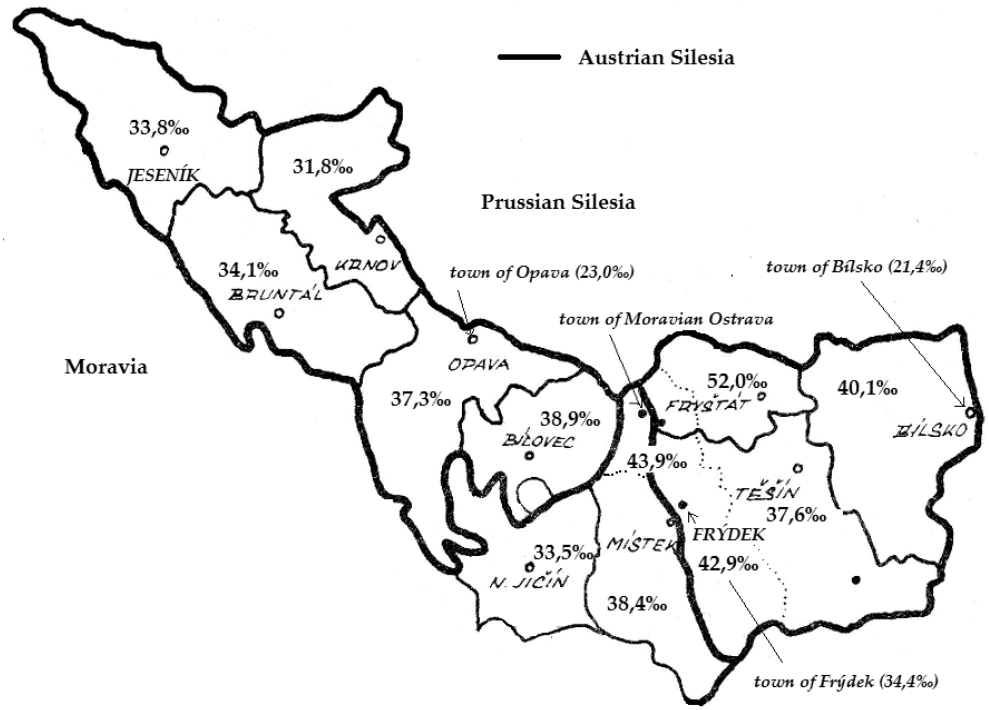
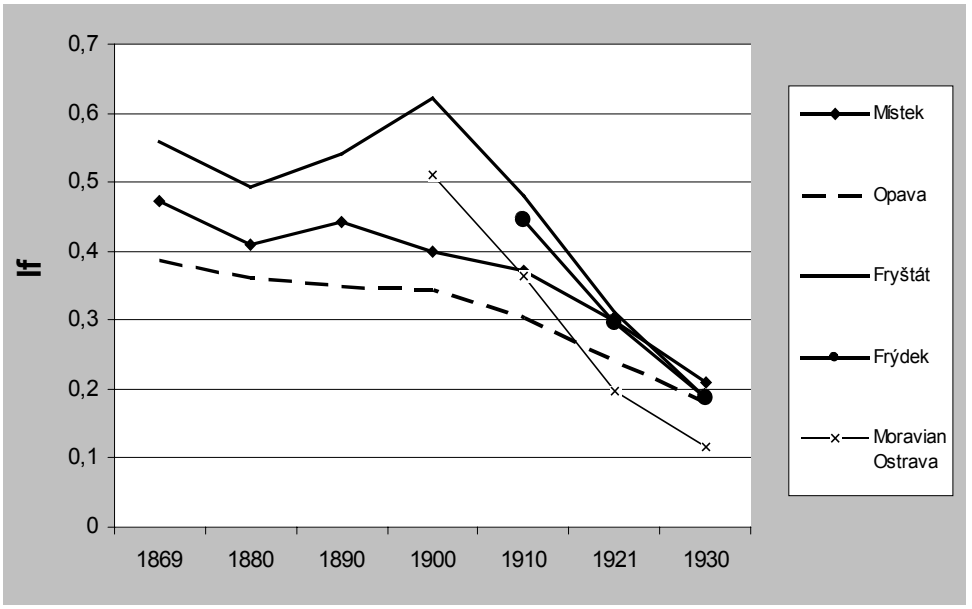


Table 1. The crude birth rates

	1881-1885	1886-1890	1891-1895	1896-1900	1901-1905	1906-1910	1911-1913
Political districts							
Bílsko (Bielitz)	38,4	42,6	43,5	42,7	40,1	38,2	35,7
Frýdek (Friedek)	.	.	.	.	42,9	43,3	36,5
Těšín (Teschen)	37,5	39,9	39,8	39,7	37,6	34,8	32,4
Fryštát (Freistadt)	43,8	46,5	48,4	50,3	52,0	44,0	39,7
Moravská Ostrava (Mähr. Ostrau)	.	.	.	.	43,9	36,1	30,1
Místek (Mistek)	38,4	40,6	41,8	42,6	38,4	36,2	32,8

Nový Jičín (Neutitschein)	32,7	33,2	34,3	34,4	33,5	31,8	29,0
Bílovec (Wagstadt)	.	.	.	40,4	38,9	36,7	33,3
Opava-venkov (Troppau – Land)	36,5	36,6	37,9	38,2	37,3	34,4	31,7
Krnov (Jägerndorf)	34,6	34,9	33,5	32,7	31,8	28,7	26,7
Bruntál (Freudenthal)	34,4	34,8	35,1	35,5	34,1	31,0	29,3
Jeseník (Freiwaldau)	34,2	34,0	33,6	34,3	33,8	31,4	29,2
Towns							
Frýdek (Friedek)	31,4	30,6	30,4	34,2	34,4	26,7	23,7
Opava (Troppau)	25,3	25,3	24,3	24,2	23,0	20,8	19,2
Bílsko (Bielitz)	29,4	27,4	26,1	24,9	21,4	19,5	17,8
Lands							
Morava (Mähren)	37,4	36,3	35,9	36,1	34,9	32,8	29,9
Slezsko (Schlesien)	36,9	37,8	38,4	39,3	39,0	35,7	32,6

Figure 1. Index of fertility (If) in the selected political districts ()



Source: Fialová 1991

Table 2. The crude marriage rate

	1881-1885	1886-1890	1891-1895	1896-1900	1901-1905	1906-1910	1911-1913
Political districts							
Bílsko (Bielitz)	8,7	9,2	8,3	8,5	7,8	7,8	7,1
Frýdek (Friedek)	.	.	.	.	8,3	8,0	7,4
Těšín (Teschen)	8,7	8,3	8,8	8,9	8,5	8,0	7,7
Fryštát (Freistadt)	8,9	8,9	9,3	9,0	8,3	7,6	7,6
Moravská Ostrava (Mähr. Ostrau)	.	.	.	.	8,7	8,2	7,6
Místek (Mistek)	8,1	8,3	8,4	8,9	8,1	7,9	7,7
Nový Jičín (Neutitschein)	7,6	7,7	8,0	8,1	7,9	7,6	7,1
Bílovec (Wagstadt)	.	.	.	8,9	7,9	8,0	7,6
Opava-venkov (Troppau – Land)	7,5	7,5	7,8	8,1	7,6	7,0	6,9
Krnov (Jägerndorf)	7,1	7,2	7,2	7,4	7,6	7,6	7,5
Bruntál (Freudenthal)	7,0	7,1	7,5	7,7	7,2	7,1	7,7
Jeseník (Freiwaldau)	7,1	6,8	7,4	8,0	8,1	7,7	7,7
Towns							
Frýdek (Friedek)	6,8	8,7	8,3	9,9	8,5	7,7	7,4
Opava (Troppau)	6,7	7,8	7,4	8,1	7,3	7,5	6,9
Bílsko (Bielitz)	8,4	8,2	9,8	9,5	9,3	8,4	8,0
Lands							
Morava (Mähren)	7,8	7,2	7,6	7,9	7,6	7,5	7,1
Slezsko (Schlesien)	7,9	7,9	8,2	8,5	8,0	7,7	7,5

Table 3. The crude death rates

	1881-1885	1886-1890	1891-1895	1896-1900	1901-1905	1906-1910	1911-1913
Political districts							
Bílsko (Bielitz)	33,1	33,6	29,1	28,4	26,1	23,4	21,7
Frýdek (Friedek)	.	.	.	.	28,2	24,5	20,9
Těšín (Teschen)	29,9	31,2	28,9	28,6	27,0	25,1	23,4
Fryštát (Freistadt)	28,7	29,2	26,5	25,1	23,2	21,4	18,6
Moravská Ostrava (Mähr. Ostrau)	.	.	.	.	23,2	21,0	18,8
Místek (Mistek)	30,4	30,4	27,0	27,0	27,2	25,0	23,4
Nový Jičín (Neutitschein)	27,5	26,4	26,4	25,0	23,7	22,5	20,2
Bílovec (Wagstadt)	.	.	.	25,5	24,2	22,6	21,2
Opava-venkov (Troppau – Land)	28,3	27,9	28,9	27,0	25,4	23,1	22,1
Krnov (Jägerndorf)	27,8	28,2	28,0	24,7	24,2	21,3	21,1
Bruntál (Freudenthal)	27,2	28,6	29,9	28,7	27,6	24,5	23,4
Jeseník (Freiwaldau)	27,4	26,5	27,2	26,6	26,2	23,0	22,2
Towns							
Frýdek (Friedek)	31,0	28,7	24,9	26,8	26,0	23,4	19,5
Opava (Troppau)	30,8	28,8	27,4	25,7	24,2	27,0	27,2
Bílsko (Bielitz)	24,0	22,7	20,0	20,4	20,7	19,8	21,1
Lands							
Morava (Mähren)	29,6	28,4	27,1	25,0	23,9	21,8	20,5
Slezsko (Schlesien)	28,9	29,1	27,9	26,7	25,4	23,3	21,6

Table 4. The crude natural increase

	1881-1885	**1886-1890**	**1891-1895**	**1896-1900**	**1901-1905**	**1906-1910**	**1911-1913**
Political districts							
Bílsko (Bielitz)	5,4	9,0	14,4	14,3	14,0	14,8	14,0
Frýdek (Friedek)	.	.	.	.	14,7	18,7	15,6
Těšín (Teschen)	9,5	8,8	10,9	11,1	10,7	9,7	9,0
Fryštát (Freistadt)	15,1	17,3	21,9	25,2	28,8	22,6	21,0
Moravská Ostrava (Mähr. Ostrau)	.	.	.	.	20,7	15,1	11,3
Místek (Mistek)	8,1	10,2	14,7	15,6	11,2	11,2	9,4
Nový Jičín (Neutitschein)	5,2	6,9	7,9	9,4	9,8	9,3	8,7
Bílovec (Wagstadt)	.	.	.	15,0	14,7	14,1	12,1
Opava-venkov (Troppau – Land)	8,3	8,6	9,0	11,1	11,9	11,3	9,5
Krnov (Jägerndorf)	6,8	6,7	5,6	8,1	7,7	7,4	5,6
Bruntál (Freudenthal)	7,2	6,2	5,2	6,8	6,5	6,5	5,9
Jeseník (Freiwaldau)	6,7	7,5	6,4	7,7	7,6	8,3	7,0
Towns							
Frýdek (Friedek)	0,4	1,9	5,5	7,4	8,4	3,3	4,2
Opava (Troppau)	-5,5	-3,5	-3,2	-1,5	-1,2	-6,2	-8,0
Bílsko (Bielitz)	5,4	4,7	6,1	4,5	0,7	-0,3	-3,3
Lands							
Morava (Mähren)	7,9	8,0	8,8	11,1	10,9	11,0	9,4
Slezsko (Schlesien)	8,0	8,7	10,5	12,6	13,6	12,4	10,9

Demographic Characteristics of Religions in the Lands of the Hungarian Crown (Hungary and Croatia) before World War I

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Abstract: The aim of this study is to examine the relationship between the level of modernization and the most important demographic indicators of religions. Correlation analyses, which helped us to draw the conclusion, were produced by Statistica for Windows. Our study is based on statistical publications on national level. Hungary was one of the most diversified countries in terms of religions before World War I. Croatia was different from Hungary in terms of religious diversity, as the majority of its population was Roman Catholic and 25% Orthodox. First, we examine the relationship between religion and mother tongue. Then we analyse the demographic indicators of each religion. What immediately attracts our attention is the great difference in all indicators, like crude birth, death, natural increase and marriage rates. But more sophisticated indicators behave in similar manner. There was considerable difference in fertility, in rate of infant and child mortality. In addition, seasonality of marriages, marital age and the rates of religiously mixed marriages vary greatly from denomination to denomination. Moreover, there was considerable difference in the demographic indicators of the same religions between Hungary and Croatia. However, following this study it will be important to have a micro level investigation, as well.

Keywords: denomination, interfaith and interethnic marriages, age at marriage, crude birth and death rate, infant mortality, fertility, level of modernization

1. Introduction

Hungary was one of the most diversified countries in terms of religions before the World War I. Five religious communities exceeded one million (Latin and Greek Catholics, Orthodox, Lutherans and Calvinists). However, the Jewish community was also significant and their number grew very quickly, coming close to one million by the beginning of the 20th century.

Croatia was different from Hungary in terms of religious diversity, as the majority (72 %) of its population was Roman Catholic and 25 % Orthodox.

Less than 3 % of the population belonged to Lutheran, Calvinist, or were Israelites (Table 1).

There is a strong relationship between religion and mother tongue both in Hungary and Croatia; however, the latter is less ethnically diverse: Croats and Serbs were dominant (87 %), while scarcely more than 10 % belonged to others.

In Hungary about 60 % of the population belonged to the Roman Catholic Church. Nearly two-thirds of Latin Catholics were Magyars and the rest were German, Slovak and Croat. More than half of the Greek Catholics were Romanians; the others were Ruthenes, Slovaks and Magyars. About two-thirds of the Orthodox were Romanians, whereas the rest were Serbian. Lutherans (7.2 % of the total population) were divided almost equally among Germans, Slovaks and Magyars. Calvinists and Unitarians were nearly all Magyars. 75 % of the Israelites declared themselves Magyar-speaking (Table 2).

About two-thirds of the Magyars and Germans and 72% of Slovaks were Latin Catholics, while 98 % of Ruthenes, 38 % of Romanians and 4 % of Slovaks were Greek Catholics. Fairly large number of people belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church: 98% of the Serbs and 61 % of the Romanians. The distribution of the religious denominations by nationalities in Croatia was less diversified. The Croats were Catholics, the total Serbian population was orthodox. The majority of Magyars and Germans was Latin Catholic, the rest was Protestant or Israelites (Table 3).

2. Demographic indicators by denominations

It is conspiciuous that are remarkable differences in all demographic indicators, both crude and sophisticated are significantly different by denominations (Tables 5–7). Furthermore, there is discrepancy in demographic variables of the same religions between Hungary and Croatia. Our aim is to find out the reasons behind this contrast. In our study we would like to present some of the results of analysing these indicators on national level. However, following this study it will be important to have a micro level investigation, as well.

My assumption was that the differences in demographic variables are correlated with the modernization level and cultural development of societies by denominations. The statistical variables representing cultural development and modernization are literacy, schooling and urban-dwelling (Table 8). I also added some social variables, like proportion of people working in the agrarian and non-agrarian sectors of the economy, or people's employment status (self-employed, clerk, skilled and unskilled worker) (Tables 9 and 10). The results of the correlation analysis are shown in Table 11.

2.1. Marriages

As far as marriages are concerned there were more interfaith than interethnic marriages in Hungary, while in Croatia it was the opposite. How can we explain this phenomenon? Croats and Serbs – who were separated from each other as a result of their religions – constituted 87% of Croatia and, as a consequence, fairly rarely married with each other. Furthermore, the two nations traditionally contradicted each other. Table 4 shows that it was the Unitarians who had the most interfaith marriages both in percentage of the total marriages in Hungary and in percentage of number of people. They were followed by Calvinists, Lutherans and Greek Catholics. The least number of mixed marriages were among Latin Catholics, Orthodox and Israelites (Table 4). Among Latin Catholics and Calvinists 7,780 marriages were carried out on the average of 4 years from 1909 to 1912. It was twice as many as the second highest, among Latin Catholics and Lutherans. Greek Catholic and orthodox Romanians married with each other quite often, too.

The marrying age of females was lower in Croatia than in Hungary. While 76.1 % of women under age 24 got married in Hungary, it was 78.3 % in Croatia. In Hungary 40.3 % got married under 20, whereas in Croatia 44.6 %. In Hungary 45.9 % of Orthodox females married under 20, followed by Lutherans (43.2 %), Greek Catholics (42.5 %), Calvinists (40.0 %), Latin Catholics (39.8 %). The significant difference is between the former group of denominations and the following two religions: Unitarians and Israelites. 31.3% of Unitarian females married under 20, while among Israelite women the proportion was only 17.0 % (Table 5). To explore the reasons for this phenomenon, analyses show very strong negative correlation between young marrying age of females and schooling (completion of at least 4 grades in secondary schools), urban dwelling and employment in the modern sectors. Nearly all those, constituting Unitarians and Israelites, were the most modernized, urbanized and educated citizens in Hungary, thus marrying the latest. At the same time, Orthodox and Greek Catholics were far under-represented among urban citizens, intellectuals, in the modern sectors of the economy and among educated people. Figure 1, for example, shows how Israelites, Unitarians and Lutherans exceeded the national average both in Hungary and Croatia concerning secondary school graduates.

In Croatia, the number of women of all denominations marrying under age 20 and on the average as well, is considerably higher than in Hungary. Orthodox women are exceptions, because while 46 % of them married under age 20 in Hungary, 37 % did so in Croatia. Their proportion is extremely low in the western counties of Croatia (Lika-Krbava, Modruš-Rijeka and Zagreb),

where Latin Catholic women married quite late, too. These three counties – Lika, the major part of Rijeka and the southern part of Zagreb – used to belong to the Military Frontiers, where the population was divided between Orthodox and Latin Catholics. In the 1850s it was prohibited for men of military age to get married before they got out of service. During the First World War it is read in one of the volumes of the Hungarian demographic statistics that "the number of allowances for marriages in the last years was growing"[1] and finally the prohibition was suspended in 1912. The Croatian Military Frontiers were under military governance until 1881, where the authorities insisted on prohibiting marriages more strictly than in the civil counties. This was the reason why on the territories of the Military Frontiers late marriages became common and did not change after the withdrawal of the military governance either. This might be the explanation for the low proportion of Orthodox women marrying under 20 in Croatia.

2.2. Deaths

On the subject of crude death rates relating to modernization and schooling, the analyses resulted in strong negative correlation: the higher proportion of people of a denomination is employed in the modern sectors, for example, the lower their mortality rate is. Thus, among the Israelites the number of deaths per thousand persons is the lowest. Strangely enough, the mortality rate of Greek Catholics and Calvinists in Hungary is significantly higher than in Croatia (Table 5). Greek Catholics in Hungary were Ruthenes and Romanians, whose indicators of literacy, schooling, urbanization and modernization were the lowest. In contrast, the cultural and modernization indicators among Greek Catholics in Croatia were much higher than in Hungary. Partly, it was due to the fact that more than half of the Greek Catholics in Croatia were Croats. Furthermore, Ruthenes – moved into Slavonia – lived in much better circumstances than those in the north-east of Hungary. Hungarian Calvinists – moved to Slavonia – had also more acceptable life there than in the villages they left in Hungary. While in Croatia 67% of the Calvinists working in the agriculture were landowners, in Hungary their proportion was only 58%. Additionally, there were more craftsmen among Calvinists in Croatia than in Hungary. Quite many Calvinist military and non-commissioned officers – who were German speaking, mainly from the Czech lands – stayed in Croatia.

Figure 2 gives us an interesting picture of infant mortality rates in 1909-1912. First of all, the national average in Hungary was higher than in Croatia. Except for Calvinists and Lutherans, for all other denominations the

[1] Ungarische Statistische Mitteilungen. Neue Serie. 50. Budapest 1916: 5*

number of children deceased under one year per thousand live-born was higher in Hungary than in Croatia (Table 5). This positive image of the infant mortality in Croatia is still to be examined. What we can point out in our study is that as early as in the 1850s and 1860s the figures of infant mortality in Croatia and in the Military Frontiers were somewhat lower than in Hungary, where infant mortality was high, especially among smallholder labourers and agricultural workers. Moreover, the proportion of agricultural workers in Croatia was considerably lower than in Hungary. At the same time, mothers in Croatia probably breastfed their children longer than those in Hungary.

2.3. Births and fertility

Births and fertility are registered most thoroughly by the Hungarian Statistical Office. At that time illegitimate births were also listed. Interestingly enough, they were the highest among Orthodox (15.8%) and Unitarians (14%), but there were quite many among Israelites, too (10.6 %). The Lutherans had the least number of illegitimate births. In Croatia there were less illegitimate births than in Hungary among each denomination (Table 5). Even though the proportion of illegitimate births differed from religion to religion, correlation analyses do not find relationship between illegitimacy and any other variables.

While crude birth rates are the highest among Greek and Latin Catholics (39.2 and 36.1‰), they are the lowest among Israelites (27.4‰) in Hungary in 1910/11 (Table 5). In both Hungary and Croatia there is a decrease (as part of the third phase of the demographic transition) in crude birth rates between 1900/01 and 1910/11. Nevertheless, in Croatia the crude birth rate among Lutherans was the highest (46.4‰) and it even grew during that 10 years (47.2‰). The second highest was among Orthodox (42.6‰). Our interpretation is that the majority of these two denominations lived in villages. The crude birth rate among Latin and Greek Catholics, Calvinists and Israelites was lower in Croatia than in Hungary.

We have two types of data for fertility. On the one hand, each census from 1890 on registered the number of births per thousand women (married and non-married). This dataset is correlated only with the birthrates. In Hungary this fertility indicator was the highest among Latin Catholics (232), who were followed by Greek Catholics (227), Israelites (208), Lutherans (200) and Calvinists (197). Orthodox women were the least fertile, because 191 births were registered per thousand married women. By 1910/11 the fertility among Israelites greatly decreased (to 163), among Latin Catholics a bit less, from 232 to 213, while among Lutherans from 200 to 182, or among Orthodox from 191 to 179 (Table 6).

On the other hand, from 1903 on, after the death of each woman, a detailed questionnaire was to be filled out. This resulted in a dataset of children born in marriages ceased through death of woman. These data, however, are strongly correlated with urban living, schooling (secondary school) and employment in modern sectors. In addition, it is the Israelites whose fertility is the highest. The average number of children born out of 100 marriages ceased through death of women in 1909-12 among Israelites was 467, whereas among Latin Catholics it was 429, and was lower than 400 among all other denominations. In Croatia, this fertility indicator was higher among half of the denominations, but among Latin Catholics, Calvinists and Israelites was lower than in Hungary (Table 7).

3. Conclusions

Natural increase, illegitimate births and first fertility indicator (number of births per 1,000 women) are not correlated with any of the independent variables. Four out of the other demographic indicators (married women below age 20, crude birth rates, crude death rates, infant mortality rates) are negatively correlated with the variables of modernization: the higher the rate of the modernization variable of a denomination is, the lower the rate of the demographic indicator is . However, the demographic indicators are correlated positively with those employed in the traditional agrarian sector. The second fertility indicator (the average number of children born of marriages ceased through death of women) is an exception among demographic indicators, because it correlates positively with variables of modernization, but negatively with the proportion of people working in the agrarian sector. This is to say – contrasting our assumption (the level of modernization should negatively correlate with fertility) – the lower the modernization and cultural level of a denomination is, the lower their fertility is. The reasonable explanation for this phenomenon is in the mortality of women belonging to different denominations. The more developed a society was, the longer the women lived and the more children they had (birth control was not widespread). On the contrary, in an underdeveloped, traditional and poor agrarian society with a great number of landless agricultural workers, the mortality of mothers was fairly high. This was the reason why these women were not able to have as many children as women living in developed modern societies.

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Annexes

Table 1. Religious affiliation by native language in lands of the Hungarian crown in 1910 (thousands)

Hungary	Latin Catholic	Greek Catholic	Calvinist	Lutheran	Orthodox	Unitarian	Jews	Other	Hungary
Magyar	5,837	304	2,562	417	41	73	701	10	9,945
German	1,268	2	23	411	2	0.2	197	1	1,903
Slovak	1,398	79	10	452	1	0.1	6	1	1,946
Romanian	8	1,134	1	2	1,799	1	1	3	2,948
Ruthenian	5	426	0.1	0.1	1	0.0	3	0.0	434
Croat	193	0.4	0.1	0.1	1	0.0	1	0.0	195
Serb	4	2	0.0	0.1	454	0.0	0.1	1	462
Other	298	31	7	25	36	0.2	3	1	401
Hungary	9,010	1,978	2,603	1,306	2,334	74	911	17	18,235
Croatia	Latin Catholic	Greek Catholic	Calvinist	Lutheran	Orthodox	Unitarian	Jews	Other	Croatia
Magyar	88	0.3	11	1	0.3	0.02	5	0.0	106
German	104	0.1	4	19	0.3		6	0.0	134
Slovak	9	0.2	1	12	0.0		0.1		22
Romanian	0	0.2	0.0	0.0	1		0.0	0.0	1
Ruthenian	1	8	0.0	0.0	0		0.0		8
Croat	1,618	9	1	1		0.00	10	0.3	1,638
Serb					645				645
Other	59	0.3	1	0.4	7		0.4	0.1	68
Croatia	1,878	18	18	34	653	0.02	21	0.4	2,622

Source: Ungarisches Statitisches Jahrbuch. 1914. Budapest 1916: 20.

Table 2. Native language of members of the various religious denominations (%)

Hungary	Latin Catholic	Greek Catholic	Calvinist	Lutheran	Orthodox	Unitarian	Jews	Other	Hungary
Hungarian	64.78	15.39	98.42	31.92	1.74	98.62	76.91	56.09	54.54
German	14.07	0.09	0.87	31.44	0.09	0.23	21.62	5.70	10.44
Slovak	15.51	4.00	0.39	34.58	0.03	0.09	0.63	7.43	10.67
Romanian	0.09	57.31	0.05	0.12	77.06	0.75	0.11	17.68	16.17
Ruthenian	0.05	21.54	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.01	0.30	0.14	2.38
Croat	2.14	0.02	0.00	0.01	0.04	0.01	0.06	0.09	1.07
Serb	0.04	0.10	0.00	0.01	19.47	0.03	0.01	5.84	2.53
Other	3.31	1.56	0.26	1.92	1.53	0.28	0.36	7.03	2.20
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Croatia	Latin Catholic	Greek Catholic	Calvinist	Lutheran	Orthodox	Unitarian	Jews	Other	Croatia
Magyar	4.68	1.43	63.08	4.23	0.04	90.48	22.11	7.51	4.04
German	5.54	0.29	24.56	56.35	0.04		29.50	8.03	5.11
Slovak	0.46	1.06	3.12	36.15	0.00		0.24	0.00	0.82
Romanian	0.00	0.90	0.02	0.01	0.09		0.01	0.78	0.03
Ruthenian	0.03	43.07	0.01	0.01	0.02		0.01	0.00	0.32
Croat	86.14	51.64	5.45	1.94	0.00	9.52	46.15	67.62	62.49
Serb	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	98.74		0.00	0.00	24.60
Other	3.15	1.61	3.77	1.30	1.06		1.97	16.06	2.59
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Ungarisches Statitisches Jahrbuch. 1914. Budapest 1916: 20.

Table 3. The religious affiliations of the various ethnic groups (%)

Hungary	Magyar	German	Slovak	Romanian	Ruthenian	Croat	Serb	Other	Hungary
Latin Catholic	58.69	66.62	71.81	0.29	1.05	98.93	0.84	74.30	49.41
Greek Catholic	3.06	0.09	4.07	38.45	98.10	0.22	0.41	7.68	10.85
Calvinist	25.77	1.19	0.52	0.05	0.01	0.03	0.01	1.70	14.28

Lutheran	4.19	21.58	23.21	0.05	0.01	0.07	0.03	6.25	7.16
Orthodox	0.41	0.12	0.03	61.01	0.20	0.44	98.46	8.89	12.80
Unitarian	0.74	0.01	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.05	0.41
Jews	7.05	10.35	0.30	0.03	0.62	0.30	0.02	0.83	5.00
Other	0.10	0.05	0.07	0.10	0.01	0.01	0.22	0.30	0.09
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Croatia	Magyar	German	Slovak	Romanian	Ruthenian	Croat	Serb	Other	Croatia
Latin Catholic	83.00	77.57	39.72	10.52	6.83	98.73		87.07	71.62
Greek Catholic	0.24	0.04	0.86	18.79	91.10	0.55		0.42	0.67
Calvinist	10.69	3.29	2.59	0.35	0.02	0.06		1.00	0.68
Lutheran	1.35	14.19	56.47	0.47	0.05	0.04		0.65	1.29
Orthodox	0.25	0.22	0.12	69.27	1.96	0.00	100.00	10.17	24.91
Unitarian	0.02					0.00			0.00
Jews	4.43	4.67	0.24	0.24	0.04	0.60		0.62	0.81
Other	0.03	0.02		0.35		0.02		0.09	0.01
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Ungarisches Statitisches Jahrbuch. 1914. Budapest 1916: 20.

Table 4. Frequency of mixed marriages in Hungary, 1909-1912 (in percentage of the total marriages/number of people of denominations)

	% of the total marriages	% of number of people
Unitarian	63.1	0.89
Calvinist	37.8	0.42
Lutheran	35.9	0.38
Greek Catholic	29.6	0.33
Latin Catholic	18.2	0.17
Orthodox	16.3	0.17
Jews	9.7	0.08

Source: Ungarische Statistische Mitteilungen. Neue Serie. 50. Budapest 1916: 42-73.

Table 5. Important demographic indicators of religions, 1909-1912

Hungary	Latin Catholic	Greek Catholic	Calvinist	Lutheran	Orthodox	Unitarian	Jews	Hungary
Married females under 20	39.8	42.5	40.0	43.2	45.9	31.3	17.0	40.3
Birth rates 1910/11,‰	36.1	39.2	33.3	31.3	34.8	33.2	27.4	35.1
Death rates 1910/11,‰	23.7	27.4	23.6	21.9	28.0	21.7	14.9	24.1
Natural increase 1910/11, ‰	12.4	11.8	9.7	9.4	6.8	11.5	12.5	11.0
Infant mortality rates	207.3	198.5	197.0	171.8	218.8	170.3	125.0	201.0
Illegitimate births %	8.6	8.7	9.2	5.8	15.7	14.3	10.6	9.5
Croatia	Latin Catholic	Greek Catholic	Calvinist	Lutheran	Orthodox	Unitarian	Jews	Croatia
Married females under 20	47.0	66.1	50.8	57.2	37.1		25.9	44.6
Birth rates 1910/11, ‰	35.9	35.0	24.8	47.2	40.2		19.5	36.9
Death rates 1910/11,‰	24.5	23.9	18.1	27.7	29.2		13.7	25.6
Natural increase 1910/11, ‰	11.4	11.1	6.7	19.5	11.0		5.8	11.3
Infant mortality rates	193.0	189.0	203.0	211.5	193.8		99.8	193.0
Illegitimate births %	6.6	4.0	8.4	6.4	10.8		2.4	7.6

Source: Ungarische Statistische Mitteilungen. Neue Serie. 50. Budapest 1916: 100*, 103*, 112*

Table 6. Fertility indicators (1): legitimate, illegitimate and total live births (per thousand 15-49 year old married, not-married and total women)

	1900-1901			1910-1911		
	Legitimate	Illegitimate	Total	Legitimate	Illegitimate	Total
Hungary						
Latin Catholic	232	40	162	213	35	149
Greek Catholic	227	44	171	222	42	161
Calvinist	197	35	146	190	37	138
Lutheran	200	29	144	182	24	130
Orthodox	161	70	152	179	69	143

Unitarian	191	56	146	189	52	138
Jews	208	26	131	163	27	106
Hungary	217	43	156	201	39	144
Croatia						
Latin Catholic	219	30	155	203	28	144
Greek Catholic	228	17	165	197	18	144
Calvinist	147	18	111	142	28	111
Lutheran	250	47	192	257	48	202
Orthodox	245	48	181	223	52	166
Jews	157	6	98	115	3	71
Croatia	225	33	160	207	34	149

Source: Ungarische Statistische Mitteilungen. Neue Serie. 50. Budapest 1916: 103*

Table 7. Fertility indicators (2): average number of children born in marriages ended by death of the woman in 1909-1912

Hungary	Magyars	Non-Magyars	Total
Latin Catholic	4.27	4.32	4.29
Greek Catholic	4.18	3.92	3.95
Calvinist	3.82	4.10	3.82
Lutheran	3.98	3.86	3.90
Orthodox	4.07	3.74	3.74
Unitarian	3.76		3.76
Jews	4.52	5.02	4.67
Hungary	4.13	4.02	4.08
Croatia	Magyars	Non-Magyars	Total
Latin Catholic	4.58	3.91	3.93
Greek Catholic		4.80	4.80
Calvinist	3.41	4.50	3.80
Lutheran		4.90	4.89
Orthodox		4.08	4.08
Jews	4.37	4.65	4.60
Croatia	4.40	3.98	3.99

Source: Ungarische Statistische Mitteilungen. Neue Serie. 50. Budapest 1916: 842-843.

Table 8. Modernization and cultural variables of religions

Hungary	Latin Catholic	Greek Catholic	Calvinist	Lutheran	Orthodox	Unitarian	Jews	Hungary
Town-dwellers, %	23.16	6.19	24.34	16.78	7.82	17.24	50.85	20.40
Literacy over 6, %	80.2	39.0	83.6	88.9	50.2	80.1	90.1	73.4
Educational attainment: at least 4 grades of secondary school completed								
Males, %	4.3	1.4	4.2	5.7	1.4	7.0	21.8	4.6
Females, %	2.2	0.5	2.1	3.2	0.6	2.5	14.7	2.8
Croatia	Latin Catholic	Greek Catholic	Calvinist	Lutheran	Orthodox	Unitarian	Jews	Croatia
Town-dwellers, %	10.2	9.0	16.1	6.8	4.2		51.3	9.0
Literacy over 6, %	64.0	63.3	81.3	82.0	50.5		96.4	61.2
Educational attainment: at least 4 grades of secondary school completed								
Males, %	2.3	2.6	4.1	2.9	1.6		29.2	2.4
Females, %	1.4	1.0	1.8	1.7	0.7		18.2	1.3

Source: Ungarische Statistische Mitteilungen. Neue Serie. 64. Budapest 1920: 104-111., 178-179, 181-183.

Table 9. Active population of Hungary by major groups of occupation in 1910 (in %)

	Latin Catholic	Greek Catholic	Calvinist	Lutheran	Orthodox	Unitarian	Jews	Hungary
Agriculture and forestry	53.38	80.85	64.13	61.16	80.67	62.89	6.49	60.06
Mining, manufacturíng	22.61	7.58	15.27	19.16	8.55	13.21	36.51	18.37
Trade	2.44	0.52	1.81	2.49	1.37	1.44	36.98	3.55
Transport, post	2.98	0.92	2.99	1.99	0.77	2.81	3.19	2.40
Public service, liberal professions	3.48	1.47	3.72	3.59	1.43	5.28	7.98	3.24
Armed forces	1.77	1.28	1.59	1.46	1.30	2.03	1.04	1.58
Day-workers	3.05	2.32	2.17	2.37	2.33	1.77	1.46	2.62
Pensioners, fundholders	3.03	0.97	2.09	3.07	1.49	2.50	3.53	2.49
Domestics	5.93	3.61	5.36	4.20	1.71	7.35	1.78	4.73
Other, unknown	1.32	0.47	0.86	0.50	0.39	0.72	1.04	0.96

Total active earners	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Status in employment								
Self-employed	37.91	53.75	43.60	51.88	59.34	48.26	41.07	44.53
Officials	6.96	2.24	5.59	7.64	2.73	7.77	23.61	6.49
Other auxiliary personnel (workers)	55.13	44.00	50.81	40.48	37.94	43.97	35.31	48.98
Employment in modern sector	31.52	10.49	23.79	27.23	12.12	22.74	84.66	27.56
Employment in agricultural sector	56.43	83.17	66.31	63.53	83.00	64.66	7.95	62.68

Source: Ungarische Statistische Mitteilungen. Neue Serie. 56. Budapest 1915: 306-313.

Table 10. Active population of Croatia by major groups of occupation in 1910 (in %)

	Latin Catholic	Greek Catholic	Calvinist	Lutheran	Orthodox	Jews	Croatia
Agriculture and forestry	76.45	79.17	56.88	70.24	87.01	3.75	78.36
Mining, manufacturing	11.08	8.22	15.63	15.43	4.66	26.05	9.65
Trade	1.54	1.23	1.76	1.44	1.36	48.63	1.84
Transport, post	1.33	0.72	6.18	1.71	0.51	4.12	1.18
Public service, liberal professions	2.04	1.84	1.58	1.70	1.64	6.46	1.96
Armed forces	1.62	2.44	10.86	2.03	1.23	2.45	1.61
Day-workers	1.82	2.48	3.39	3.57	1.83	0.29	1.85
Pensioners, fundholders	1.14	0.75	0.69	0.83	0.73	6.47	1.07
Domestics	2.46	2.91	2.50	2.81	0.77	0.85	2.03
Other, unknown	0.51	0.25	0.52	0.26	0.27	0.92	0.45
Total active earners	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Employment in modern sector	15.99	12.01	25.15	20.27	8.17	85.26	14.63
Employment in agricultural sector	78.28	81.64	60.28	73.80	88.83	4.04	80.21

Source: Ungarische Statistische Mitteilungen. Neue Serie. 56. Budapest 1915: 315-321.

Table 11. Correlation coefficients of the demographic indicators of religions with their social, occupational and cultural variables in Hungary in 1910

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Marrying females under 20	-0.89	-0.77	-0.94	0.88	0.85	0.75	-0.90	0.91	-0.52	-0.95	-0.91	-0.88
Crude birth rates	-0.79	-0.74	-0.83	0.70	0.90	0.65	-0.81	0.81	-0.77	-0.84	-0.83	-0.81
Crude death rates	-0.88	-0.89	-0.93	0.90	0.93	0.62	-0.93	0.95	-0.79	-0.95	-0.92	-0.92
Infant mortality rates	-0.85	-0.73	-0.91	0.76	0.91	0.77	-0.85	0.86	-0.60	-0.93	-0.89	-0.79
Fertility indicators (2)	0.86	0.89	0.83	-0.91	-0.75	-0.19	0.89	-0.88	0.39	0.80	0.84	0.84

Note:

1 Self-employed craftsmen, merchants and transporters
2 Industrial, commercial and transport workers
3 Officials
4 Landowners
5 Agricultural workers
6 Day labourers
7 Employment in modern sector
8 Employment in agricultural sector
9 Literacy
10 Educational attainment, males
11 Educational attainment, females
12 Percentage of town-dwellers

Figure 1 a) Educational attainment in Hungary in 1910; at least 4 grades of secondary school completed

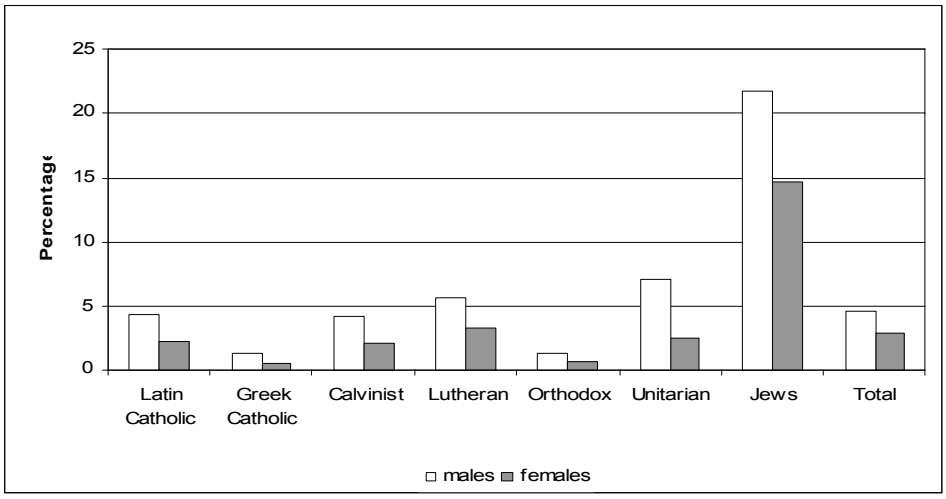


Figure 1 b) Educational attainment in Croatia in 1910; at least 4 grades of secondary school completed

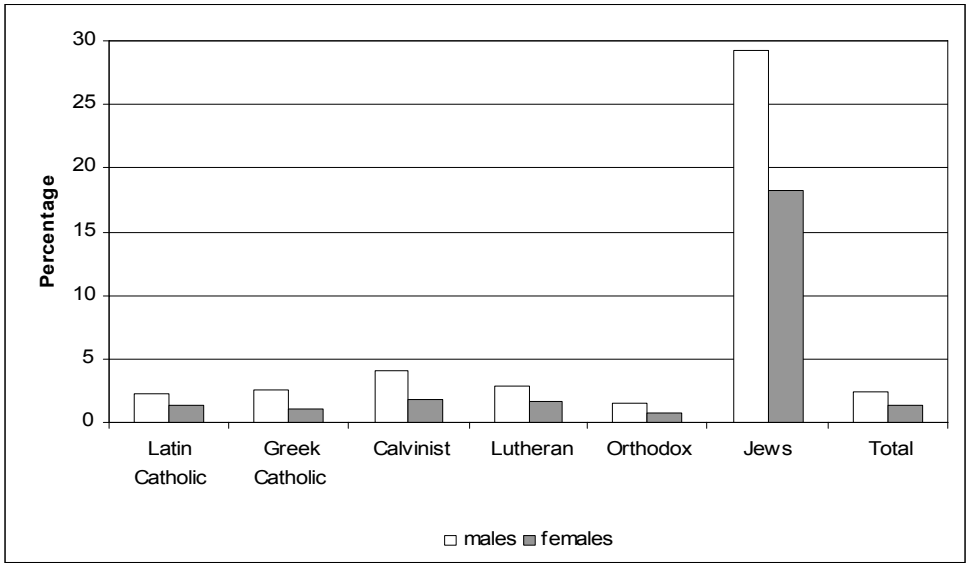
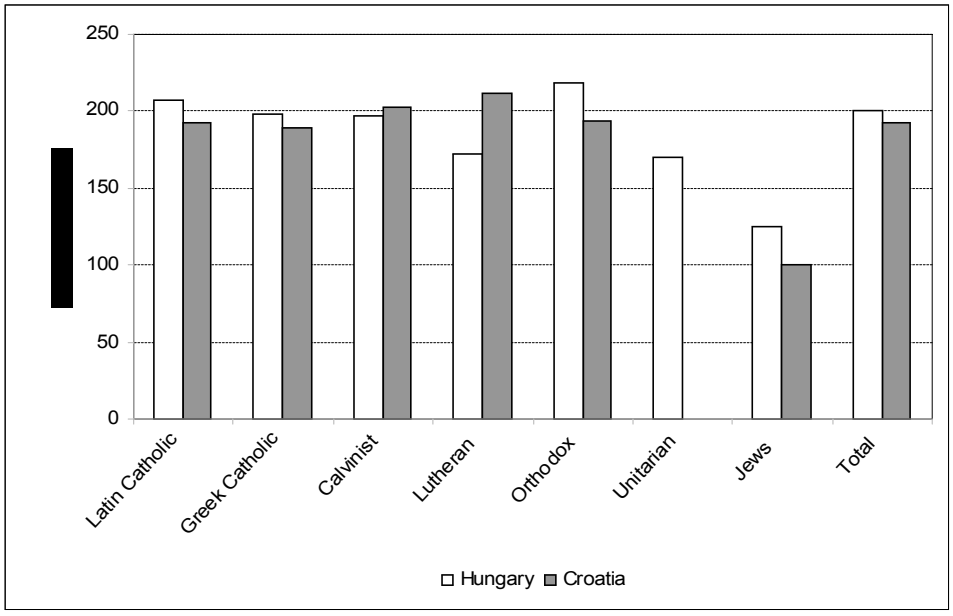


Figure 2. Infant mortality rates in 1909-1912. Number of children deceased under one year per 1000 live-born



The Discourse on Marriage, Concubinage and Illegitimate Children in the Transylvanian Orthodox Ecclesiastical Environment after 1894

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Abstract: Although in the second half of the nineteenth century, Metropolitan Andrei Şaguna clearly expressed his point of view according to which the state must only deal with the "physical form of marriage, while the moral and spiritual aspect could not belong indubitably to anyone but the church", the secular offensive of the Dualist State continued to be more than obvious. Consequent to the passing of legislation in this case, the Law no. XXXI of 1894, which confiscated the exclusive right of the church to celebrate marriage, the Orthodox ecclesiastical circles environment intensified the efforts to enhance the accuracy of statistics on the number of marriages per year, their type, on concubinages, on the number of illegitimate children. Through the data obtained, the Church sought to evaluate weather or not the new State legislation had a major impact on religious marriage, which it did not, the number of civil marriages is very small compared to religious marriages.

Emphasis must also be made for the following reason: the Orthodox Church did not recognize civil marriages, unless it was followed by religious marriage, children born in a civil marriage were likely to be considered illegitimate and the parents treated as if they lived in concubinage. Due to this, the ecclesiastical bodies argued, fact revealed in many circulars that, despite material or family difficulties, by granting exemptions or tax cuts, marriages should also have the endorsement of the Church.

The situation of illegitimate children was very complicated, upon them their parents mistake transposed more drastically, before a traditional society, still unprepared to understand the individual's own reasons in entering a marriage, other than the reasons of the family he left, or the reasons of the rural community in general. Their only chance came from the outside, and it implied was the legalization of the parents relationship, which was easier in the case of cohabitation, but more difficult for parents accused of adultery. Even in such cases concluded happily, parish registers for baptisms or for marriages, even if they become documents for internal use, did not forget to mention, especially in the case of baptism, the "nature "of it.

Concubinages were regarded as the most important reason for the existence of illegitimate children. The Orthodox Church, thus, tried to act in a much broader context, by eradicating the causes that led to such unfortunate situations. In turn, the State tried, through legislation, regarded by the Church as parallel and secularizing, to clarify on a mostly judicial level the situation of these children, to clarify the rights they could eventually enjoy through the recognition in state courts. Ecclesiastical bodies have not been able to circumvent the major role assumed by the priest in the parish community, namely the moral role in building and developing the community. Neither can be exclude the moral support, which the priest was obliged to offer to those who, for themselves or their children, chose to return and wait to be accepted back into the community, if not them, at least their descendants.

Keywords: Orthodox Church, Romanian nation, marriage, concubinages, illegitimate children, society, rural background, women, State legislation, family, Transylvania.

Although, at the time, Metropolitan Şaguna clearly expressed his point of view, according to which the state was only supposed to deal with "the physical form of marriage, while the moral and spiritual aspects should undoubtedly belong to the church", the secular offensive of the dualist state continued to be more than evident. As a result, the three law paragraphs from 1894, no. XXXI – on civil marriage, XXXII – on the religious denomination of the children resulted from mixed marriages and XXXIII-on introducing the civil transcripts seized, including for both Romanian Churches, their unique right to officiate marriage, thus making the official relations with them more difficult than ever. The motivation was that, although at first sight the civil marriage appeared to be widespread due to this, having been introduced in the Austrian part of the Empire in 1867, the balance between the Hungarian nation and the other nationalities being far from reality, criticisms emerged more often than appreciation. Thus, a new victory of the "the false liberalism of the secular state" was recorded (Mârza 2002: 211-220).

In the Instruction given for establishing the procedures that the priests should apply under the new conditions, the National Congress of the Metropolitan Orthodox Church decided how the Church was forced to accept the law, as, from its point of view, civil marriage was accepted in extremis, only the religious marriage remaining valid; even though out of the three announcing calls of marriage only one was left, no fee was paid to the archpriest anymore (his most secure income), while the divorce still maintained a religious aspect and parish registers were still held, although their official

character was lost. As law had to be obeyed, at least chronologically, no religious marriage could be officiated before the civil one, except in the event of serious illness, evidenced by a civil certificate.

The law paragraph referring to the religious denomination of children from mixed marriages did not bring any major differences from previous legislation – paragraph LIII from 1868. This issue could be established before the wedding, in a declaration witnessed by a notary, and children between 7 and 18 years could change their denomination, even if one parent had adopted the other's denomination, but only after consulting a so-called orphan authority. In the case of illegitimate children this was even more important, although it remained valid that these children be of the same denomination with the mother, except for the male children, who, if officially recognized by the father and not older than 7, the father was allowed to require during a period of six months that those children have the same denomination as his.

Naturally, upon analysing the paragraph, the Orthodox priests were advised to resolutely support the Orthodox denomination, especially for children of the same sex with the Orthodox parent.

The transcripts, the subject of paragraph XXXIII, were going to be respected in the same context, and, in any case, they would be doubled by the emergence of the state's civil transcripts, also becoming an important reference point before and after October the 1st 1895, when the above mentioned law paragraphs started to be functional. In terms of the church transcripts, the new compulsory data which occurred pertained to the requirement to record the number of the civil marriage certificate and that of the burial license, issued by the civil officiate, or the communal antistia, in exceptional cases.

Stress was placed upon choosing baptism names that could not be easily transformed into Hungarian names, and that could remain the same in the civil transcripts as in the parish birth records (The Romanian Telegraph 1895:389).

The previous year, in 1894, when it seemed that the law project, already in debate, would not be applied, there appeared many articles in "Telegraful Român" ("The Romanian Telegraph") expressing surprise that one of the Church sacraments came to be replaced or equated with a manifestation at the town hall, where the municipal clerk would also give sales documents for horses, pigs, cattle and sheep (The Romanian Telegraph 1894: 129).

Many articles published between 1894-1895 showed bitter criticism towards the Transylvanian secular elite, regardless of denomination, who, despite the promises made to the national Churches, had not been able to oppose, but instead played along the government. Thus, in Transylvania, while

the attitude of the two metropolitans in Sibiu and Blaj from the Magnate House was praised, the Saxon deputies were accused for their contextual alliance with Budapest, made in hope that "they will get something more from the ruins of Troy", as a very expressive article put it (The Romanian Telegraph 1894:129).

In order to clarify the new legislation in the Transylvanian Orthodox area, the Orthodox Archdiocese of Sibiu initiated a series of meetings at the archbishopric, which resulted in the conviction of priests, that, beyond the desire expressed in the official newspaper of the government, "Pesti Naplo", to circumvent any possible conflict between citizens of different denominations in the country, on a national level, the law aimed at breaking the connection between the priest and the people (The Romanian Telegraph 1896:281).

In fact, this was the basic expression of the opinion of the clergy, Orthodox as well as others, that civil marriage was nothing but an empty form, which made one's identity be lost.(Mârza 2002: 211-220).

The present paper aims to be a brief presentation of some of the compartments in the study of complex phenomena, such as, especially, the possible determinations of civil and religious marriage, the statistic dynamics of concubinage, also called illegitimate cohabitation and illegitimate children, the dynamics of motivation which led to their emergence and resistance in some areas.

The analysis area is provided by Orthodox Archdiocese of Sibiu, which was composed of 34 archbishoprics, bordered to the north, towards Maramureş, by the Dej archbishopric, to the east, between the Székely areas, by the archbishoprics of Bistriţa and Trei-Scaune, to the south, by the archbishoprics of Sibiu, Braşov and Bran and to the west by the archbishopric of Solnoc, Zarand and Câmpeni. During this whole period, the estimated population was at least one million inhabitants – men, women and children.

We have tried to extract a number of considerations based on two coordinates: the debates and decisions included in the Protocols of Archdiocese Synods during 1895-1918, as well as the statistical data provided within this context. We could further add the analysis of the most important and consistent surveys on the subject published in the official newspaper of the Metropolitan of Sibiu.

In terms of the aspects surveyed and analyzed, we have attempted to disseminate methods of analysis and control of concubinage, or of the cases of illegitimate children.

Based on the archive and field research conducted, the historiography of the issue could only confirm the complexity of the quantitative and

qualitative factors that come into such a complex discussion, and the awareness of the parts involved, related to the deed itself, their self-image and the mitigating circumstances which could be invoked. However, any debate on concubinage, its emergence and evolution, highlights a variety of reasons: administrative changes, changes in the attitude towards sex, an obvious sign of liberalization (Dumănescu 2006: 155).

The upturn of concubinage was however regarded as a general basis, permanently fuelled by the ongoing rural collective mind, mostly related to marriage, simply because in many cases it was only concluded for economic reasons, many parents trying to ensure a better future for their daughters, at least from a material point of view. In this context, on a community level, eloping from home and marrying the loved one could be considered a form of protest but also a reason for the spread of concubinage. Similarly, despite some information provided by the Archdiocesan Consistory of Sibiu, in the first years after 1894 or 1895 there could not be determined how many civil marriages were concluded and whether they were included in the overall number of marriages.The most intimate parts of marriage were transmitted through generations as a "must do" in terms of marriages in the rural areas: manifestations of the mental or physical power upon the wife.

According to Eugenia Bârlea, upon a traditional background, the future wife passed from under the authority of her father to that of her husband, who did not at all have a different behaviour. The society's stringent need for support, including the important basic structure of the family, could only annihilate any actions of individuals who dared to protest against a predefined template. (Bârlea 2004: 128)

The rift was possible especially due to the lack of personal self-knowledge and self-censorship of the individual (Bârlea 2004: 128).

The city is seen as a source of social evil and, therefore, as its explanation, at the same time, when, at the end of the 19th century, within rural nuclear families, especially girls entered the domestic service, leading to what was called the "temporary migration of the labour force" and the increasing number of those involved in domestic service (Bolovan et al. 2009: 31, Dumănescu 2006: 157).

Further on certain social categories will be studied, young girls entering the service as maids, as well as boys younger than 22 who were not allowed to marry according to the military law. An offence to the community is taxable, and, depending upon the context of its revealing, the duration and possible consequences of the illegal liaison, although there were many cases of "bad

girls" saved by marriage, and of fallen married women forgiven by the village opinion (Dumănescu 2006: 155).

Young people below the age of 22 living in concubinage, as well as the military service status, especially those who came from poor backgrounds, were much better understood by the community and, tacitly, also by the priest, in the hope of concluding a rapid religious marriage. The cases of concubinage emerging in widows / widowers over 40 years of age may also be explained by the fear of the children from their first marriage of losing a part of the inheritance, in the event of a new husband or wife entering their life (Brie 2008: 348).

References to the legitimacy and illegitimacy of children was much more dealt with within the civil law, which, also according to the Church, had to punish this type of behaviour, harmful to family and society in general, just like concubinage. The church tried to also solve the problem of illegitimate children by fighting concubinage, but found could not find any concerned and efficient support with the state authorities. According to civil law, these children were not allowed to bear the name or emblem of their father, but the latter was obliged to provide material support for them. The child wore the mother's name until the age of seven and, if the father could not provide for him, he would remain in the care of the mother. Further on, a court authority could also interfere, and it was empowered to assign the child a guardian, after the age mentioned by the Austrian General Civil Code from 1853, paragraphs 165-167. In terms of general coordinates, rural communities considered illegitimate children outside society, condemned by the Church, without any exception, more often than they would the cases of concubinage (Bolovan et al. 2009: 382-383).

All the research and surveys referring to this topic stressed the increasing number of such children, gradually but steadily between the Revolution of 1848 and World War I (Bolovan and Bolovan 2006: 224).

Romanian society, based on a deeply traditionalist structure, explained the existence of illegitimate children through the same causes as concubinage, such as: traditions, the occupational character, subject to economic changes, the evil influences of the city, the civil law, the "false liberalism of the state", etc. The collective memory of the village did not easily overpass concubinage, even if later legalized, or the existence of such children, sidelined by at least a part of the community. In most of the cases, regardless of the sentence of a religious or secular matrimonial court, the woman was guilty in both cases, thus, in the parish registers, children were stigmatised, even if it was stated – "legitimate by the subsequent marriage of parents". Furthermore, in the

baptism transcript of the parish the mother's name appeared with the mention "bad girl" and the father's name was mandatory, bringing to him "full responsibility for their perdition"(Dumănescu 2006:157).

The desire for fairness and in lack of a better term, as Mircea Brie pointed out, also led to using the formula "born of a wicked bed" in the deceased register (Brie 2008: 387).

Further on, we have tried to capture the discourse of the Orthodox Church in Transylvania by analyzing the following compartments: their statistics and their analyses within the Synods of the Orthodox Archdiocese of Sibiu, between 1880 and 1918.

On the level of the Annual Synods of the Archdiocese of Transylvania, until the initial validation of official civil marriage on January 10th 1895, the number of marriage processes and, implicitly, religious divorces had become a concern. In a statistical data analysis of the church in 1883, the following causes for the so-called "outlawed marriage" were mentioned: "diminishing morality of the population everywhere, delayed marriage caused by the obligatory military service, girls who go to the city because of parent's poverty"(The Protocol of the Archdiocesan Synod 1883: 162-163).

There had always been high concerns because, as, although the situation was generally under control, and the circulars of the Metropolitans, the efforts of archbishops and priests were beneficial, the synods debated upon the truthfulness of the data coming from parishes, "information may be regarded as fairly authentic" and administrative authorities were not interested in paying attention to requests coming from any Orthodox priest in a given parish. In this light, we understand statements such as that the state does not grant access to statistical data and is not interested "in what we call discipline and morality in family life" (The Protocol ...1883: 162-163).

The statistics for 1886 elaborated comparative figures on the archbishopric level, and some of them were disturbing: in the Târnava bishopric 50 marriages had been completed and 69 concubinages were discovered, whereas in the Bran archbishopric, the statistics were made in a manner that there was only one case of concubinage in 100 legitimate families, therefore only 14 concubinage situations in a number of 5931 families (The Protocol...1886: 118).

Another statistic referred to the Archbishoprics with the highest numbers of concubinage cases, and it is a fact that the list was not always the same, but, for example, in the above mentioned year, among the first were: Haţeg, Câmpeni, Cluj and Ilia. Another finding was related to the link between concubinage and the numbers of divorce processes – for example, in 1891, it

was indicated that 41 divorces happened due to adultery and 30, clearly, to concubinage (The Protocol ...1891: 124).

The statistic data become more complex once the law paragraphs XXXI, XXXII and XXXIII became functional. Much more data was now required, as the Church representatives probably wished much more complex data to meet the state's offensive and respond in a proper way to the partial confiscation of their role in carrying out the sacraments, such as marriage, by keeping records that supplied statistical information, creating a mirrored image of those belonging to the state.

Thus, while we do not have this type of data for 1894 and 1895, the situation being explained also through the necessary break that the church authorities used for the natural adaptation, although criticized and undesirable in the context of the new reality. For 1895, the following data was available: 3576 concubinage cases and 26,976 illegitimate children (The Protocol of the Archdiocesan Synod 1896: 115).

The most common criticism of the state after 1895 refers in particular to the new position of civil registration clerk, accused of not mentioning any religious importance of marriage, moreover he insisted that marriage was "legal even without the Church's blessing". The explanation was later found in the fact that many civil registration clerks, being of different denomination and foreign, had no interest in doing that (The Protocol ... 1898:88).

Based on the collected data, the most important cautions were implemented in the late 19th and the beginning of the following century. Not at all surprising, therefore that the ministers were mobilized in order to establish the most important ways to reduce the number of illegal cohabitation by increasing their influence in the parish and by becoming moral models. The Metropolitan gradually insisted upon the clergy acting appropriately, preferably on an individual basis. A series of moral exhortations were elaborated, but in a short time their reports showed that without the coercive intervention of the state they would not have succeed so soon (The Protocol... 1898: 97).

In their turn, the Archdiocesan Consistory, the Council of the Archdiocese of Sibiu had developed a few handouts, upon the urge of the bishop and Metropolitan Ioan Meţianu, based on which the number of concubinage cases was required to decrease, including by preparing accurate and detailed statistics for each archbishopric (The Protocol... 1902: 73).

In addition, they did not overlook a series of flaws that the state authorities had signalled either – related to the many petitions on the part of ministers regarding the fact that many couples preferred to live in concubinage

for a shorter or longer period, due to the high taxes demanded by the priests for officiating marriage or divorce (The Protocol... 1902:73).

From then on, the Consistory sent yearly urges to priests asking them to establish correct fees for marriage, or, if the newlyweds were very poor, ask for nothing, and make efforts to eliminate the two mischiefs. In addition, priests were advised that if no change was observed, the intervention of the parish committee was required, adding the social pressure of the communities to the clergy attempts. On a parish level, from an administrative point of view, sporadic interventions on the part of the state were also recorded (The Protocol... 1904: 76, The Protocol... 1905: 54).

Since 1907, the reports of the Archdiocesan Consistory brought again into question the causes of "unlawful cohabitation", which had remained largely the same: poverty, high wedding expenses (the new clothes, the wedding and especially the banquet, strongly connected to the family's social status in the village hierarchy), the degrees of kinship, the questionable morals of the city, and even a cause impossible to avoid: the development of the means of communication (The Protocol ... 1908: 100).

The statistics drawn by the Archdiocese of Sibiu for the period 1880-1918 led to a number of conclusions:

1. Religious marriages were significantly more numerous than civil marriages, the most numerous being reported in 1911-7998, i.e. 279 civil marriages in 1912;
2. All the necessary rubrics were gradually introduced, the same as data on: civil marriages, number of concubinages, and the number of illegitimate children or divorces;
3. Only one single case was reported when the number of legal marriages, meaning religious, was lower than the concubinage figure, in 1917 – 1787 religious marriages opposed to 2729 concubinage situations, but that could be explained as a consequence of the war;
4. However, the clergy's concerns were justified, because the number of concubinages was still high, although in many cases the situation would remedy after a certain period of time.

As a general conclusion, the only one possible for such a vast and delicate topic, for any community, we wish to summarize the views expressed by Father Gavriil Hango, published in a large survey in the Romanian Telegraph during the year 1901. It was his opinion that the difficulty in resolving the conflict started from the dualism between the Church and the State and their requirements. Concubinage had been blamed by then in the Organic Statute of Metropolitan Şaguna or in the Decision of the Metropolitan Orthodox

Congress in 1891. The state partially dealt with the illegitimate child's status, deciding that the father had to temporarily provide them with material support until the age of 7, but later these children were left adrift in a society that already had difficulties in accepting them. (Hango Gavriil 1901: 45).

As a priest, he offered his colleagues a sort of handbook regarding the means for solving these problems. Their target group had to be the youth who were more vulnerable also due to military service; they were going to undergo what Hango called the "intensive administration of the penance sacrament (Hango Gavriil 1901:117).

The lost sheep needed to be brought back into the fold, with help from the priest and the family; otherwise "intensive disciplinary measures" were applied to the guilty ones. Concubinage was often a common fault of the parish, so the effort to solve also had to be common. The severity of the canons had to take into account the behaviour of the guilty. Regarding causes, he added a few to those already mentioned: 1 year mourning period, the clandestine marriages of the military and the reservists, tacitly accepted by the families and concluded by priests from other parishes, the difficulty of widows in materially supporting another family, "unleashing the sexual sensualism", especially in the case of the young, singles and widowers, or parents' material interests (Hango Gavriil 1901: 87).

The priest's moral model was again essential, as he required the clergy that the celibate priests, however very few, and those widowed, quite numerous, be in no doubt. They were advised not to hire women as maids, who could be considered as infringing upon the "chastity of their lives"(Hango Gavriil 1901: 113).

On a canonical level, concubinage or illegitimate cohabitation was similar to adultery most often, and according to the Enchiridion by Metropolitan Saguna, the clergy was punishable by losing their priesthood and laity with harsh repent for several years, from 7 to 18, being banned from the Eucharist sacrament and risking, if no improvement was observed, and if those responsible were members of different religious corporations they were immediately excluded.

In practice, from the author's point of view, there appeared some difficulties and there were only few cases when these harsh measures were implemented: the first step of confessing the sin, the confession was not common for many believers, therefore the priest along with the family or relatives of the guilty one were supposed to persuade take this step. The confession was followed by a penitence canon, the priests had to be careful not to give too many canons, including of material nature, that believers could not

follow and this be a serious reason for the penitents not to come for confession, or, the other way around, they could have been too easily persuaded by the penitent's remorse, that they would do anything to receive forgiveness. (Hango Gavriil 1901: 145).

Severity had to be a continuous effort until the religious marriage of the penitents, thus they had to confess separately, especially before Easter, also they were not admitted to Holy Unction, the Blessing of Water, they could not receive Eucharist with the holy wine and bread from Easter, could not be anointed and could not be godparents at weddings or baptisms, those who contributed to the concubinage would be criticized and the partners' names were made public in the church.

Certainly positive results were recorded, but it was far from a decisive victory, just as poverty, the military service law, the influence of the city, the pressures on the part of parents upon children did not disappear as well. Another general cause of this semi-failure was identified by Gavriil Hango in the fact that the clergy was unable to apply the decisions in a common effort. Some of the priests were discouraged and convinced that they could not eliminate the appearance of this type of living, they feared the reaction of the community or at least a part of it, some of those responsible were wealthy members of the parish councils, important figures in their community or relatives of the guilty, to which was added including the fear of injury or even possible personal and family considerations (Hango Gavriil 1901: 71, 145).

A whole serial was dedicated to illegitimate children, the ones who suffered the most, even in the happy position of being recognized. Growing up in what Hango called "houses of prostitution", they were excluded from society and their social reactions could become dangerous in time. Many would follow their parents' way of life, and others, more sensitive, left town or even committed suicide. According to the statistics of the time, a large percentage of these children became thieves, beggars and many of them ended in prison. Hango could refer to this matter simply because he was the Orthodox confessor of the prisoners from Gherla and made great efforts so that at least some of them were given a chance to reintegrate into society. Some of the "sinners released from prison" went back home, where, unfortunately, were again rejected by society, despised and distrusted, and found their families recently scattered due to material difficulties. Thus, the wife's illness forced boys to steal and become astray and girls to become "the cheekiest prostitutes". The bitter conclusion was that the return of the guilty could not save a family with many children from dissolution (Hango Gavriil 1901: 45).

Another limit situation, which was mentioned here, was World War I, which disrupted the Romanian rural society in Transylvania, the enrolled going away from home, the violent death of many of them, the difficulties of those left behind the front could not lead to a positively linear evolution.

Although there were no direct references to this issue, through sermons and position taking, there also appeared observations, such as "women try to forget about their troubles through keeping bad company and easily forget about the men who bleed in the terrible fights (Hango Gavriil 1917: 327).

The terrifying threat of the battlefield, the immediate reality of death also changed the Church people's perception giving those who went to the front the Saint Eucharist, even if they were known to be living in concubinage, especially because of "danger of death which threatened them upon the solemn promise to make amends. "Some did so during their permissions and there were weddings even during the fasting period (Bârlea 2004: 129).

Everything that happened on the front and behind the front forced them into a kind of "moral relaxation of soldiers" and women who stayed home, though the new realities could also be explained by the need for security and survival of women left at home with numerous families, in most cases. It is seen from the statistics that the above-mentioned years were the most difficult and problematic in all chapters, including the legitimate and illegitimate birth rate (Bolovan and Bolovan 2007: 82).

Thus in 1914 there were 4983 religious marriages to 4293 concubinages, which says it all; probably many of those living in concubinage, surprised by the war, were unable to legalize their relationship, following years of not knowing what awaited them; believers concluded fewer marriages, hence the discrepancy: in 1915 there were 1580 legal marriages to 3633 concubinages; in 1917, the raport stayed the same, although the number of concubinages decreases, 1587 to 2729, and for the years 1918 and 1919 there appeared only the number of divorces: in 1918 – 82, and in 1919 - 316.

Of course, these are just some of the possible directions to follow in order to analyze an extremely complex phenomenon, in terms of involvement, space and time (The Protocol 1919: 345,1920: 447).

Beyond the critical approach of the Orthodox ecclesiastic environment to the civil legislation of the state, we should not overlook the fact that thus, in the respective areas, they intensified the efforts to enhance the accuracy of statistics on the number of marriages per year, their type, concubinages, and number of illegitimate children. Through the data obtained we could observe the degree to which the new legislation of the state had a major or lesser

impact on religious marriages, finally revealing that the number of civil marriages was lower in comparison with the religious ones.

Concubinages were considered as the most important reason for the existence of illegitimate children. The Orthodox Church thus tried to act in a much broader context, by eradicating the causes, and also tried to approach certain sensitive issues of the believers. Beyond punishment, the priest had to maintain the cohesion of a community, that is he had to be more malleable than the community itself and be the first to be wary of what the priest Gavriil Hango mentioned in the study published in the Romanian Telegraph, referring to the motivation for antisocial acts of some illegitimate children: "They love no one because no one loved them"(Hango Gavriil 1901: 103).

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Consanguineous Marriages within Greek-Catholic Communities from Transylvania: Demographic Behaviour and Specific Mentalities during the Second Half of the 19th Century *

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Abstract: During the second half of the 19th century Romanian communities in Transylvania adopted the same demographic regime which was specific to Eastern and South-Eastern European regions. These particular demographic practices were mainly influenced by customary law provisions observed in the area. Social and economic conditions led to the multiplication of certain atypical marital practices such as consanguineous marriages, as revealed by archive documents called "marriage licences". The current study aims at analysing the way in which these consanguineous marriages produced specific behaviour and mentalities. After examining the above mentioned archive documents, from a quantitative and comparative point of view, one can draw a few very interesting conclusions. In this period, in comparison with Romanian Orthodox communities from Transylvania, Greek-Catholics developed and preserved a specific demographic behaviour and mentality in what matrimonial problems in general were concerned. The same attitudes were noticed in what consanguineous matrimonies, as a particular matter, are concerned. This meant a more rigorous respect of ecclesiastical canons and a more peremptory attitude towards deviance from norms. From this point of view, consanguineous marriages were the most frequent exception from the rule. Nonetheless, they were tolerated on account of the system of inheritance.

Keywords: marriage, consanguinity, marriage licences, inheritance, property rights, system of inheritance.

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1. Introduction

Marriage was an important social practice in which all social categories were involved at a certain point. It was conditioned and structured by marital practices and patrimonial strategies, customs, and clerical norms. Moreover, marriage became an instrument used by peasants and boyars, merchants and townsfolk who tried to consolidate their social position, increase their fortune or simply extend a business (Vintilă-Ghiţulescu, 2007: 95). Numerous scholars analyzed the connections between marital arrangements and the advantages aimed at by those who initiated these settlements, between marriage and systems of succession (e.g. Claverie and Lamaison, 1982; Collomp, 1983; Erikson, 1990: 21-29; Klapisch-Zuber, 1990; Rogers, 1999: 19-35; Lynch and Viazzo, 2002: 423-452).

Throughout the 19th century, the demographic attitudes of Romanian communities in Transylvania were marked by a particular behaviour partly originating from the marital strategies practiced during the above mentioned period. Among these practices and strategies one can mention the *de facto* acknowledgement of consanguineous marriages which deeply marked the mentality of the Greek-Catholic denomination. Although the legal framework provided by canonical laws was extremely strict and information about negative consequences of consanguineous relationships (*inbreeding*) were very well-known and largely disseminated within masses, most people actually displayed a rather tolerant attitude towards such types of marriage arrangements. This manner of perceiving things, which was rather closer to the real needs of the individual, was practically adapted to the social and economic realities of that time. Demographic and social factors actually conditioned marriage alliances which were very often consanguineous. It happened in the past, as well as in the present (Lagido, 2009: 75). The problem of consanguineous marriages within Greek-Catholic communities in Transylvania cannot be fully understood without placing it into a wider context comprising a specific demographic behaviour and a certain mentality of the masses towards marriage as a social phenomenon. The Spanish historian Camilo Fernandez Cortizo considered that the predilection for consanguineous marriage was actually motivated by a restricted matrimonial market (Lagido, 2009: 93).

2. General considerations

The new European demographic regime developed during the 19th century meant the relaxation of morals and the lengthening of life expectancy. The old model of Western marriage, considered by Pierre Chaunu as "exclusive, unparalleled and without corollary" (Chaunu, 1989: 316) was created by Latin

Christianity during the 14th century. This was the moment when the Western Christian community was separated from the rest of the world. It then created a demographic system which was actually an instrument of civilisation with an architecture based on the relationship between couples. On the other hand, in Eastern Europe, people adopted the model of traditional marriage which was based on a smaller rate of celibacy and early female marriage, thus tending to exploit individuals' reproductive biological capacities to the maximum.

In 19th century there was a gap between the marriage model of Western and Northern European countries and the one adopted by the Eastern and South-eastern countries, on the other hand. One of the most obvious differences between the two patterns was the marrying age. One can observe the tendency of concluding relatively late marriages, around 25–30 years of age, both for men and women in the Western World, while people living in Eastern and South-eastern Europe were contracting marriages at a younger age: 23–25 years of age for men and 20–24 years for women, which means the latter actually entered adulthood once they got married. We must say the above mentioned marrying age is still considered to be a relatively young age, even compared to current customs (Bolovan, 2002: 124). Such demographic behaviour and attitudes towards marriage were triggered by a series of circumstances. First of all, marriage was a family business and was contracted by the young couple's parents, sometimes years before the event itself. In most cases, the new couple did not leave the husband's household after marriage, but joined his family instead and made up a larger community of individuals. By doing so, they were spared from starting from scratch and make a life on their own. It would have been practically impossible at such an early age, since the two partners lacked both the experience and resources for such an engagement. Other associated reasons for such attitudes and demographic behaviour are related to social and political conditions. Therefore, in most cases, young unmarried men contracted marriages at such an early age for fear of being enrolled in the imperial army by means of coercion. On the other hand, those who started to live on their own and managed to establish a separate household, apart from their parents' home, were subject to a series of taxations which would have been difficult to take up (Nicoară, 2001: 154-155). Throughout the whole European area, including Transylvania, the marrying age was enforced by clerical norms, by the existing compulsory military service, as well as by the mentality of the community. Nevertheless, both in Western and Eastern Europe, throughout the Modern Age, one can notice the phenomenon of forbidden marriages which required the issuing of marriage licences (when one or both members of the couple was/were younger than

legally admitted for marriage). Only strictness of laws and the name of the competent authority who issued marriage licences varied with each case.

Another major difference between the two European marital patterns originated from the nature of customary law. One must also mention that throughout the entire Modern Age, the Western European law system provided practices and customs which prevented the fragmentation of large estates as a result of consecutive marriages of family descendants by establishing the right of primogeniture. At the same time, in most Eastern and Southern European regions, children of both sexes got an equal share of the family assets (Vlad, 1997: 125). In time, such practices led to an excessive fragmentation of properties which were however reduced in comparison with those in other regions, and caused most rural communities to sink into poverty. The so-called "trousseau" girls got after marriage mainly consisted of "movable" goods (animals, agricultural or household items). Therefore, the "gift" they received was yet another way to diminish family property. The Romanian peasantry was poorly "equipped" economically and depended on external resources in order to sustain the functioning of a household. Peasants were also burdened with taxes imposed by the Habsburgs. Moreover, the continuous disintegration of land and of financial assets through division, selling or mortgage was yet another social and economic pressure they had to cope with. All these aspects required a permanent effort to survive and overtake difficult life conditions which negatively affected the behaviour of individuals and their entire life (Retegan, 1985: 167). On a local level, the need of restoring one's inheritance by means of matrimony became a daily reality, as the dynamics of traditional Romanian families was continuously affected by the fragmentation of assets through new marriages. The present study aims at drawing up a social study of consanguinity. We could thus be able to explain and understand the economic, spatial and social reasons which led to choosing a partner from within one's own enlarged family. At the same time, the whole procedure of issuing marriage licences acknowledging the degree of kinship, consanguinity and affinity between closely related individuals, reveals the essential role played by the Church in the process. The set of prohibitions initially imposed by the Church against such practices clearly shows the hope of the clergy to hinder or at least reduce the phenomenon of endogamy. In rural families where most of the members of the community made a living from agriculture, one can notice a high degree of endogamy, while the "offer" on the marriage market was scarce (Lagido, 2009: 79). There were, nevertheless, social and religious interdictions which banned marriage between related individuals up to a certain degree of kinship. The conflict between the

Church and the rural society originated from the demands of the clergy who wanted to extend the social and religious prohibitions against consanguineous marriages and the expectations of the peasantry who, on the contrary, hoped to get rid of such banns and interdictions. Facing the inefficiency of prohibiting consanguineous marriages due to the economical need of restoring the patrimony of rural communities, the Church was eventually forced to give in (Şişeşteanu, 1993: 451). In time, a series of extreme situations occurred within the rural society and triggered the public opprobrium from civil and church authorities, as well as from the community itself. Take, for instance, the case of consanguineous marriages which superposed on a compelling reality like the one described above.

3. Consanguineous marriages

Throughout the 19th century, Romanian Greek-Catholic communities in Transylvania witnessed an increasingly high number of consanguineous marriages, due to a series of circumstantial factors. Among these, one can mention the traditional marital pattern adopted by most Eastern and South-eastern European societies, as well as the relatively small size of Romanian rural localities combined with the practice of endogamy. In addition, we have to take into account the egalitarian system of inheritance and the threat represented by the excessive fragmentation of the property. One must also consider other aspects like the menace of lawsuits, in some cases, as well as the easiness in getting a marriage licence. Marriage licences were sometimes acquired as a result of blackmail: some of the complainers threatened with converting themselves to another "more tolerant" or "permissive" religion or giving up the religious marriage ceremony in favour of the civil marriage. The latter has been introduced by the Civil Code in 1894, but for the Church and the clergy, civil marriage (only) was assimilated to cohabitation. Add various traditional prejudices and local marriage-related customs and you'll catch a glimpse of what consanguineous marriages in 19th century Transylvania must have been like. Last but not least, we must take into consideration various mutual influences between religions and nationalities living together in Transylvania. All these aspects combined made it easier for the church authorities to be more indulgent with respect to consanguineous relationships as exceptions from the rule. In time, these exceptions actually became current practice. They got to be tolerated even by the most conservative members of the community, as well as by the public opinion. In this context, marriage between related individuals is seen as a well-defined strategy rather than as a simple quest for a marrying partner (Lagido, 2009: 89). For instance, Gérard

Delille considers that marriage between relatives became a general phenomenon in Europe during Early Modern Period. It has been particularly noticed mainly in three large areas, like Southern Italy and Sicily, the Southern area of the Iberian Peninsula and North-western France (Delille, 1994: 323).

Given the situation, the Church and the clergy were forced to adopt a strategy which had to be adapted to the social and economic needs of the community. The strategy of *de facto* accepting and tolerating consanguineous marriages also represented a sort of defensive tactics on behalf of the Church, as it tried to keep the faithful within its spiritual boundaries. It was mostly the case of those who threatened to convert to a "more tolerant" religion which would permit such an unnatural union. As a result, consanguineous marriages were perceived as a compromise, hence the understanding and tolerant attitude ultimately shown also by the Greek-Catholic Church authorities, in spite of being far more strict and severe than the Orthodox clergy in what observing Church rules and canons was concerned. Moreover, the same tolerant position can be noticed within other traditional and conservative communities. Finding the genuine reasons which determined people to request marriage licences was not an easy task for us, mainly because of the great number of stereotypical assertions systematically used in clerical documents. Among these one can mention the lack of suitable people with whom to wed, poverty, lack of a "trousseau" women were supposed to receive when getting married, the fact that the woman was over 24 years of age (that is to say, no one would have married her, since she was too old) etc.(Lagido, 2009: 92). Moral values within Romanian Greek-Catholic communities values were very clearly hierarchically placed, according to custom: all members of the community knew the difference between right and wrong, they knew what honesty and fairness meant, what was proper and what was not (László, 1984: 93). Modern Age contemporary people were perfectly aware of the risks such matrimonial unions were exposed to. They also knew their choice was banned from the start and reproved both by ethics and by the Church. Nevertheless, daily struggle for survival would eventually prevail. Therefore, ignorance of Romanian peasantry with respect to the restrictions which limited their freedom in choosing a life partner cannot be taken into consideration as an issue in this case. We could rather assert they consciously contracted consanguineous marriages, by assuming, at the same time, the risks of calling forth public disapproval and the opposition of the Church. The issue was brought forward as the Church accepted the marriage of cousins of first degree by issuing a special marriage licence. Nonetheless, the strategy was initially rejected on a community mentality level. Due to everlasting

negotiations between communities and authorities on issues concerning consanguineous marriages, a breach was created and individuals knew how to take advantage of it. By means of manipulation they took advantage of the goodwill of the clergy and got marriage licences for degrees of kinship apparently impossible to cross. As the well-known proverb says: "Give him an inch and he'll take a mile", Romanian communities successfully used this strategy in the view of forcing the Church's hand and obtained licences for consanguineous marriages between individuals related in the highest degree of kinship[1]. In 19th century Transylvania, the Greek Catholic Church issued even marriage licences for first-degree cousins. This option was, however, very little exploited (Şişeşteanu, 1993: 452). Although marriage between first and second degree blood relatives fell under the category of incest, licences have been issued in a few exceptional cases.

Although Greek-Catholic canonical laws stipulated the interdiction for individuals who were related up to the VIIIth degree of kinship to marry, in practice, numerous exceptions were made in cases where individuals were related up to the Vth, IVth or even IIIrd degree of kinship. As a practical observation, we must mention that the VIIIth degree of kinship in Romanian Greek-Catholic canonical provisions is the equivalent of the IVth degree of kinship in the Western system. In fact, the largest number of marriage licences issued for reasons of consanguinity was noticed within these few degrees of kinship[2]. This peculiar situation has logic of its own: on the one hand, such degrees of kinships were distant enough to prevent the appearance of any genetic disorders. On the other hand, they are close enough to avoid the fragmentation of the family inheritance.

4. Evidence from archives

In order to illustrate the importance of the phenomenon of consanguinity at a macro level, we have mainly used the ecclesiastical records from the District Archives of Cluj County, as a primary source showing the number and frequency of issuing marriage licences in the case of consanguineous relationships. Marriage licences legalizing such "forbidden" marriages represent an extremely important primary source, both for a quantitative and a

[1]Nevertheless, it is extremely interesting that we have not found the word "incest" in the vocabulary of 19th century archives.

2 In order to understand the system of kinship used by the Transylvanian Greek-Catholic canonical laws during the 19th century, we shall exemplify a few more frequent situations, as follows: the second degree of kinship is established between siblings, the IVth degree between first cousins, the VIth degree of kinship between second cousins and the VIIIth degree of kinship is settled between third cousins.

qualitative analysis. The great number of marriage licences is actually an indicator of a reality which surmounts all legal obstacles. However, other cases of consanguineous marriages discovered in various ethnic and cultural groups reflect certain mentalities and structures within the Romanian rural society. They are determined by objective causes such as a low density of population, high infant mortality rates or a certain distribution of the population within the community, according to age groups (Bolovan and Bolovan, 1996: 215).

Issuing documents legalizing marriages between consanguineous partners seems to be justified by a few important "material" reasons: the small number of families living in rural communities associated with a low rate of exogamy, the possibility of avoiding lawsuits motivated by alienation of property. Another motivation is considered keeping the dowry received by female widowers marrying a relative of their deceased spouses, within the family, as a strategy of protecting their inheritance. In fact, there is a variety of concrete situations in which land played an important role. Among these, unification of neighbour lands, dispersion of land that formed a single unit in the past, the number and quality of small parcels received or given away by families contracting the marriage (Retegan, 2009: 189). The following section of the present study aims at illustrating each situation with a few examples extracted from the archives of the Greek-Catholic community and thoroughly analysed. Most marriage licences which legalized unions between consanguineous couples were issued because of objective reasons, beyond the will of individuals.

These reasons actually originated from local, geographical or social and professional circumstances which virtually conditioned the marital model adopted with predilection, that is to say: endogamy. Family sociologists discovered that marriages overall tended to be statistically homogamous. In other words, people of same age or sharing similar sociological or educational backgrounds, similar statuses, ethnicity, religious belief or simply close in age intermarried more often.

On the other hand, heterogamy, meaning the marriage between individuals of different social and demographic statuses was statistically less prevalent (Iluț, 2005: 102). All individuals were basically interested in contracting a "good marriage". To them, any marriage arrangement was a way of maximizing the economic and symbolic profits associated when creating a new relationship (Bourdieu, 1980: 250).

Given the numerous constraints and prejudices, in Transylvanian rural society about two thirds of the total number of marriage alliances was contracted between couples living within the same community. Hence the large

number of requests for issuing licences which would allow individuals to marry a relative (Nicoară, 2001: 155-156). Personal interest and various prejudices frequently intervened. As a result, almost all outsiders arriving to a new village were rejected from the very beginning. In such conditions, one can easily understand why social and professional endogamy as a dominant marital model continued to prevail for a long period of time. The high rate of marriage licences issued to consanguineous couples was mainly due to the narrow, almost autarchic nature of reasons marriages were based on (Bolovan and Bolovan, 1988-1989: 847). A "standard" Romanian village comprised a relatively small number of families - up to 50 or 60 - that is to say, about 300 inhabitants in average. Consequently, except for marriages concluded with individuals outside the community, there would have been a smaller number of families from which one could choose a life partner. As a result, over two thirds of marriages were contracted between members of the same community. On the other hand, in only one third of the cases one of the partner came from a neighbouring community, while marriages with partners from distant country areas were extremely rare (Mureşan, 2002: 142).

Given the circumstances, one can easily understand why social and professional endogamy continued to prevail as the dominant marital model, for a very long time. The marriage licences issued within Greek-Catholic communities clearly show the validity of all previous observations, since they all frequently mention endogamy as an essential way of preserving the land and the symbolic inheritance of Romanian families living in isolated and small communities. For instance, Afimia Manu and Georgiu Rontra, a couple within the fourth degree of consanguinity living in Vama, based their request for a marriage licence by "*the limitations of their land, for these fellow-inhabitants are mixed within the highest degree through previous marriages and in spite of their goodwill, they are not able to contract a marriage with outlanders*" (ANDJC, FEGCG doc. 466/1864: f. 3r.). Other similar documents mention that the couple's choice is strongly influenced by the fact that marriage arrangements within the same parish would have been possible only with an even closer relative. In addition, they absolutely rejected the idea of marrying outlanders. In other cases, endogamy seems to be generated by various geographical factors. It was the case of the village Teure where "*due to non-existent flowing waters or mills in this village, people from other country areas do not wish to live here*" (ANDJC, FEGCG, doc. 6360/1884, f. 1r). Geographical considerations such as the above mentioned were also recalled when contracting consanguineous marriages in the village of Parva, "*placed between mountains, without any neighbouring villages, insufficient land and*

comprising only six houses. Therefore, all people living here are related to each other" (ANDJC, FEGCG, doc. 7198/1883: f. 2r.).

Consanguineous marriages concluded in isolated mountain regions lacking access is not a singular phenomenon. Moreover, it is not specific only to Romanian rural areas or to Greek-Catholic communities. It can be also found in various communities living in other regions. Indications show that it has been also mentioned in France. In the region of Mousienne, for instance, due to the low number of mountain dwellers, marriages between related individuals increased from 47.7% to 55.2% during a period of thirty years before World War I (Bolovan and Bolovan, 1988-1989: 847). As we have previously shown, communities were deeply rooted within a Romanian traditional society which gave a great deal of importance to rites of passage. The autarchic nature of some communities, their geographical isolation from the influence of urban mentality favoured the perpetuation of many traditions and prejudices related to marriage (Bolovan and Bolovan, 1988-1989: 849). This particular mentality was remarkably depicted by the priest of a parish where most members of the community were Greek-Catholic devotees: "*Here in Urminiș, we have a custom which provides that since almost the entire community has been ennobled and most marriages were traditionally concluded only within the parish, people are constrained to conclude consanguineous marriages or marriages by affinity. Therefore, only rarely is a bride brought from another village*" (ANDJC, FEGCG, doc. 1204/1884).

The small changes identifiable in the collective mentality towards the end of the 19th century were, however, far from deeply affecting the mindset and attitudes within communities (Ghitta, 1984: 79). This phenomenon clearly demonstrates that we are dealing with people living in a world built around extremely stable patterns, deeply cherishing solid family values. Moreover, in most cases, individuals living in such environments refused to deliberately break away from their native land (Retegan, 1985: 167). Age was also considered as an important argument when issuing marriage licences, especially in women's cases. People were assuming from the start that single women older than 24 years of age would encounter great difficulties in finding a husband and that they would be more exposed to "temptations". When using the age argument, the petitioners asking for marriage licences were implying that the woman in question had not yet met a man she could marry. Therefore, she had to marry a relative or a man who was not her peer. After performing a more accurate analysis of the archives, we came to the conclusion that age is, however, not a valid argument (Lagido, 2009: 89).

By concluding consanguineous marriages, one could avoid the frequent property lawsuits between relatives. It was the case of a young couple from Moiseni: "*the conflict between these families in what dividing some old parcels of land is concerned would cease once the couple is married. In addition, they would become the wealthiest newly-weds* (ANDJC, FEGCG doc. 939/1883: f.1r). The case of young Ileana Chindreşiu and Ioane Ivasco from Apsa de Jos reveales a similar scenario. Documents say "*their parcels are placed side by side. Would they marry, the conflicts and lawsuits between their families would come to an end*" (ANDJC, FEGCG doc. 3150/1873: f.1r). In other cases, "*eliminating conflicts over material assets*" was an essential condition for a good relationship between relatives. Most conflicts occurring between individuals related by blood or by affinity were mainly determined by material assets. To a certain degree, such tensions can be explained by these so-called "*matrimonial strategies*" which were meant to satisfy certain interests (Vintilă-Ghiţulescu, 2007: 104).

Archival records also reveal a very intriguing behaviour within Romanian traditional communities, in the case of widows or widowers who remarried. Such marriages were predominantly concluded between close relatives. For instance, a widower could marry a niece of his deceased wife. This opportunistic tactic was convenient for both parties. Widowers were no longer bound to return their deceased wife's dowry and on the other hand, families of young girls marrying widowers were exempted from offering a dowry to their children. For young women in Modern Romanian society, getting married was conditioned by a dowry which actually enhanced their chances of finding a suitable partner. The value and content of each dowry differed from one social category to another. With an economy were cash was scarce, the marriage dowry was almost in all cases turned into real estate (Vintilă-Ghiţulescu, 2007: 101, 105). Even when no dowry was at stake, a more compassionate relative would take the orphans under his/her wings who would thus benefit from attention, comfort and care, plus other compensations usually offered as a sort of mutual help between families.

Niculai Bogszanu, for instance, a "*faithful boyar*" from Firizia also resorted to such a scheme when he wished to marry only his former sister-in-law, in order to avoid alienating his fortune (ANDJC, FEGCG doc. 6694/1883: f.3r). As stated before, tensions within relationships were mostly determined by material possessions. In order to solve these differences, a misalliance had to be concluded. For instance, Elena Popescu from Cristolţelu, after being a widow for four months, had to marry her brother-in-law, also a widower, because of consecutive disputes with her stepchildren: "*her late husband had three sons from another marriage. Therefore, she was perceived as a stepmother by those children who are now*

treating her very badly. Given the circumstances, she can no longer live in their house and is forced to move from a house to another" (ANDJC, FEGCG doc. 6460/1883: f.3r).

In fact, a consanguineous marriage was meant to preserve family inheritance, since it was in jeopardy of being divided with each new marriage concluded by inheritors. Another representative example is the case of Ioanu Satmarcu from Chinteşti who wished to marry his cousin for the very reason of "*keeping their real estate property undivided*" (ANDJC, FEGCG doc. 3712/1883: f.1r). Consecutive divisions of the inheritance (land or other forms of real estate) would diminish it to such a degree that it could no longer sustain a new family and household. It happened to some young people from Negreşti who "*would receive an equal share of inheritance from their parents, but each parcel was too small to help them support their families' needs*" (ANDJC, FEGCG doc. 1204/1883: f.2 r).

Ioanu Lătişiu and Catarina Petrehuşiu, third cousins from Cufoia, also intended to marry each other, in spite of being close relatives. Which were their reasons? Only through marriage would they be able "*to keep the real estate undiminished and avoid dividing their common inheritance"* (ANDJC, FEGCG doc. 1562/1883: f.1r). The larger the fortune in question and the longer has it been owned by a family, the greater the desire to "*keep the fortune accumulated through generations complete and prevent it from being divided with other families*" (ANDJC, FEGCG doc. 1403/1883: f.1r). Noble families in peril of vanishing genetically because of lack in male inheritors desperately tried to preserve their fortunes and contracted consanguineous marriages, with the express purpose of "*perpetuating an illustrious family*" (ANDJC, FEGCG doc. 6694/1883: f.3v). It seems like maintaining such a demographic behaviour, at the extreme boundaries of law and morality was mainly determined by the need of finding surviving strategies, such as the unification of two family inheritance assets through marriage. In Transylvania, fortune was slowly accumulated, through generations and it required a great amount of work from all family members. Most of them had a life of sacrifice which could be improved, however, by concluding what was called "a good marriage". Fortune in marriage could favour or, on the contrary, disfavour social position.

Moreover, what had been gathered with significant efforts during the lifetime of generations was divided between the descendants, including young women, or could be very easily squandered (Retegan, 1993: 8). Things couldn't have been different, as during this period concluding a marriage represented in most of the cases the foundation of a household, able to assure the living of the newly married, the marriage was nothing less than the main way to pass along the family patrimony from generation to generation, whereas each marriage turned into a new imposable unity (Retegan, 2009: 185). Nevertheless,

the widely spread idea that in traditional societies marriages were imposed by the family must be abandoned, mainly if we speak about marriages in the lower classes. The issue has been approached from a false perspective, since the poor had no inheritance – and therefore no interest in preserving or increasing it –, thus the freedom of choice seems to have been more frequent, parents intervening most often to forbid a union than to impose one.

5. Qualitative analysis

All these material aspects negatively impacted upon the morals of individuals who were deprived of the right to freely choose a life partner. On a long term, most people developed fatalistic behaviour and attitudes and a narrow-minded mentality in what their faith as individuals was concerned. Frequent interference of parents and close relatives in young people's relationships and marriage arrangements is to be blamed, irrespective of the circumstances and reasons determining it. Parents might have perceived their interference as an approach which would eventually ensure the survival of their family, but in fact, it was a violation of personal freedom. Some scholars consider it a major fault and the most difficult to eradicate (Retegan, 2009: 192-193). The end of the 19th century brought a visible change in the mentality of individuals, who started resisting and revolting themselves against collective authority, be it embodied either by parents, relatives or the entire community. On the other hand, this period was marked by the weakening of clerical authority and, consequently, by the relaxation of canonical strictness. On a demographic level, young people's tendency to disobedience was eventually translated into a high mobility, with the purpose of contracting exogamous marriages. In spite of legal provisions, marriage impediments could be easily surmounted. In addition, moral regulations, as well as the Church and communities' intolerance towards deviations from Christian ethics become more lenient. In consequence, one can safely assume that towards the end of the 19th century, Transylvanian society witnessed an evident loosening of morals, visible on the level of the critical and moralizing spirit towards deviations, which gradually diminished.

Consanguineous marriages contracted between individuals related within different degrees of kinship, either biologically or by affinity, were exceptional marital strategies specific to traditional societies practicing an egalitarian inheritance system. This form of union was, therefore, far from being an exclusive feature of Orthodox or Greek-Catholic Transylvanian communities. We have to mention that the egalitarian inheritance system actually originated from the model and structure of peasants' families where

men exerted absolute paternal authority and women had an inferior status, both within the family, and the community. However, throughout 19th century, in comparison with Romanian Orthodox communities in Transylvania, Greek-Catholics developed and preserved specific demographic behaviour and mentalities regarding matrimonial problems in general and consanguineous marriages as a particular matter. As stated in one of the previous sections, Greek-Catholic communities seem to have observed religious canons more rigorously and displayed a more severe attitude with respect to deviance from norms. From this point of view, consanguineous marriages were the most frequent exception from the rule and they were tolerated on account of the inheritance system in force at that time. At the same time, consanguineous marriages were the expression of a particular demographic behaviour adopted at a local level and adapted to the realities of each community.

6. Quantitative analysis of the phenomenon

After thoroughly analysing specific archival documents, we can confidently assert that a reduced rate of exogamy seems to be one of the major features of Romanian Greek-Catholic communities in what their demographic behaviour is concerned As an evidence, we are able to indicate that out of 180 marriages concluded in Apahida (rural locality near Cluj) between 1850 and 1870, in only 31 cases (17.2%) one of the partners was not a native. Only 20 men and 11 women were not native locals, but came to Apahida after marriage. Nonetheless, even these exceptions seem to originate from the neighbouring rural areas such as Cojocna, Juc, Dezmir, Someşeni, Bonţida. Similar situations have been recorded in Iclod, where the percentage of marriages with exogamous partners is slightly higher, that is to say 45 marriages (25.1%) out of 179, between 1859 and1880. In 41 cases out of 45 exogamous marriages, the husband comes from other rural areas and only 4 wifes are not Iclod natives. On the other hand, in Bălan, out of 26 marriages contracted between 1866 and 1870, only 2 husbands and 1 wife come from the neighbouring rural areas (Chendrea, Chechiş).

We can thus observe that men seem to be more "mobile" geographically speaking and have a higher degree of freedom in what choosing a life partner is concerned. Young women, on the other hand, due to limited domestic occupations and interests, are less exposed to exogamous marriage. One of the negative consequences of this situation is the high degree of marriage unions concluded between (closely) related individuals. This fact is proven by a considerable number of licences issued by civil authorities or by the clergy. The Greek-Catholic Diocese of Gherla comprised 487 parishes and

another 365 subordinate communities. From a demographic point of view, 102 of these communities were inhabited by 50 individuals and 263 had over 50 inhabitants.

Throughout the period we have focused on, this confessional space seems to have developed within a compact territory with quasi-homogenous ethnic and religious membership. The mentalities and demographic behaviour of these communities have also developed accordingly. In what small parishes are concerned, it is rather difficult to perform a comparative analysis of matrimonial unions benefiting from marriage licences, compared to the total number of marriages and inhabitants. The above mentioned phenomenon is determined by certain discrepancies one can detect when attempting to match data provided by parish archives with figures resulting from census files. Census recordings have been made for the first time in 1858. Therefore, one cannot compare these figures with data provided as a result of the census organized in 1857. From 1910 onwards, records can no longer be consulted, due to law no. 16/1996 regulating access to archives and protecting personal data from documents issued during the last 100 years. If we also take into consideration the human factor, that is to say, the degree of thoroughness of each priest recording personal data in a Parish Register, one can notice their files lack in accuracy. Therefore, it is not a surprise to observe significant differences between data entries from parish registers, varying with each village or county in question. Given the circumstances, we could only use data provided by the censuses organized in 1880 and 1900. We have subsequently attempted to perform a short comparative analysis using data provided by five parish registers.

Table 1. The proportion between the number of marriages concluded and the number of marriage licences issued by authorities

	Aşchileu Mare		Luna de Jos		Iara		Sic		Ţaga
	1880	1900	1880	1900	1880	1900	1880	1900	1880
Number of inhabitants	762	978	1151	1394	1451	1727	2759	3386	981
Greek-Catholics	691	877	1093	1296	488	609	344	472	784
Number of marriages	13	7	10	1	11	15	2	1	5
Number of licences	1	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	1

Source: Parish registers from the above mentioned villages and the census organized in Transylvania in 1880 and 1900.

The findings of the analysis show an obvious disproportion between the total number of inhabitants and the number of marriages. This fact is actually due to the heterogeneous structure of the population analyzed, both from an ethnical and from a confessional point of view. On the other hand, the disproportion noticed is due to a particular demographic behaviour. Nevertheless, it seems like an extremely large number of marriage licences have been issued within the diocese comprising the five villages in question, during the second half of the 19th century. The same conclusion is drawn when calculating the percentage of licences issued to individuals related within a certain degree of kinship, in relation to the total number of marriage licences issued within a year:

-in 1863, out of 87 licences requested, 80 were marriage licences issued for cases of consanguinity (91.95%);

-in 1864, from 46 marriage licences, 42 were issued for cases of consanguinity (91.30%);

-in 1873, out of 75 marriage licences, 61 were requested by individuals related within a certain degree of kinship (81.33%);

-in 1874, out of 140 marriage licences, 121 (86.42%) were also issued for couples who intended to conclude consanguineous matrimonial unions;

-in 1883, out of 195 licences, 156 (80%) were issued for cases of consanguinity;

-in 1884, out of 177 marriage licences, 150 (84.74%) were issued by the authorities entitled, for individuals related within a certain degree of kinship;

-out of 48 licences issued in 1893, 39 (81.25%) were also destined to couples who contracted consanguineous marriages;

-out of 139 marriage licences issued in 1894, 98 (70.50%) were issued for individuals related within a certain degree of kinship;

-in 1903, 103 marriage licences out of an yearly amount of 144 were issued for cases of consanguineous matrimonial unions;

-in 1904, out of 186 marriage licences, 155 (83.33%) were requested by couples who intended to conclude consanguineous marriages.

In spite of the impediments provided by law, the number of marriage licences issued to (closely) related individuals continued to be high in percentage (between 70% and 90% out of the total amount of marriage licences). Nevertheless, they tend to decrease towards the end of the 19th century and particularly after the civil marriage were introduced. The overwhelming information in the primary source which has been investigated must not surprise us. A simple arithmetic equation would reveal the reality behind figures: if we divide the total number of marriage licences to sixty

years, the period covered by the present research, we get a total of 171.81 licences issued per year. The outcome of dividing this number with 487, the number of parishes in the diocese, is 0.35, that is to say, less than 1 marriage licences per year! In broad lines, this calculation has nothing to do with the real figures. It can, however, confirm the results obtained from summing up the number of marriage licences.

According to the Evidence Registries of the Greek-Catholic Diocese of Gherla, 10.307 marriage licences have been issued between 1856 and 1915. Out of this total amount, we have analysed a series of 1.237 licences covering 10 years. That is to say, two consecutive, fully investigated years for each decade. Given the types of marriage impediments mentioned in the documents issued by the authorities, most marriage licences issued in the Greek-Catholic Diocese of Gherla are meant to legalize consanguineous matrimonial unions or marriages between individuals related by affinity. This situation is further explained in the following table which aims at indicating the most frequent types of matrimonial impediments. Marriage licences issued in case of unions between related individuals (within VIIth degree of kinship, that is to say, for second degree cousins) clearly dominate the ranking, with a percentage of 22.87 out of the total. They are followed by marriage licences issued in order to legalize matrimonial unions between individuals related within IVth degree of kinship (primary cousins), with a percentage of 9.33.

Marriage licences legalizing unions between individuals related within IIIrd degree of kinship, combined with a IVth degree of kinship end the ranking line with 9.05% of the total amount of licences issued by the authorities in order to legalize consanguineous matrimonial unions. Taken overall, marriage licences released to individuals related within the Vth (4.36%), the VIIth (4.12%), and the IInd combined with IIIrd degree of kinship (3.39%) also cover a significant percentage of the total marriage licences legalizing consanguineous marriages. For marriages by affinity, the most frequent impediment mentioned is the VIth degree of affinity, IInd order (6.06%), followed by a IVth degree of affinity, IInd order (3.39%) and last, but not least, a IInd degree of affinity with 3.31% out of the total amount of marriage licences. Anyway, the percentage of marriage licences released in order to legalize consanguineous matrimonial unions during the entire period we have focused upon (10 fully investigated years) is more than indicative.

Table 2. Types of marriage impediments. Yearly distribution[3]

Types of impediments		Year									
		1863	**1864**	**1873**	**1874**	**1883**	**1884**	**1893**	**1894**	**1903**	**1904**
Minority		-	-	-	1	7	12	-	15	10	12
Mourning period		1	2	3	1	3	3	-	-	-	-
Different religion		-	1	1	-	-	-	2	4	9	3
Time of fasting		2	1	3	6	12	10	2	4	11	9
Marriage announcements	One	1	-	2	1	3	-	2	2	-	1
	Two	-	-	-	1	3	-	1	4	1	1
	Three	-	-	5	6	1	2	2	2	2	4
Consanguinity	Ist degree	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	IInd degree	-	1	2	-	1	-	-	1	1	4
	IInd+IIIrd degree	1	1	1	3	8	4	1	2	3	18
	IInd+IVth degree	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
	IIIrd degree	8	5	3	16	24	17	5	12	12	10
	IIIrd+IVth degree	9	3	-	10	17	12	5	9	4	7
	IVth degree	4	5	5	6	16	10	1	3	4	12
	IVth+Vth degree	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Vth degree	1	2	3	8	5	9	-	9	15	2
	Vth+ VIth degree	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	VIth degree	20	7	13	26	39	34	15	41	46	42
	VIIth degree	8	1	2	2	2	8	6	7	6	9
	VIIIth degree	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Affinity	1st degree	-	-	4	1	2	3	-	-	-	7
	2nd degree	1	2	6	2	5	10	-	2	2	11
	1st+2nd degree	-	-	3	2	2	1	-	-	-	1
	3rd degree, IInd order	1	1	1	3	3	2	-	1	1	2
	3rd degree, IInd order	-	1	2	1	2	1	-	-	2	-
	3rd degree, IIIrd order	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

3Combined impediments, marked with "*" are not taken into account when summing up, because the main impediment for which marriage licences are issued is predominant. This type of impediment is mainly observed in cases when couples are related within various degrees of kinship. As additional impediments, one can add either age, times of fasting and prayer, or the number of marriage announcements in the curch. All these aspects would eventually be mentioned within the same marriage licence inquiry.

	4th degree, Ist order	-	-	-	4	5	2	-	5	1	4
	4th degree, IInd order	3	4	3	6	5	5	1	4	2	9
	4th degree, IIIrd order	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
	5th degree, Ist order	-	1	-	-	1	3	2	1	-	-
	5th degree, IInd order	8	4	2	7	4	9	-	2	4	3
	5th degree, IIIrd order	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	6th degree, Ist order	1	1	1	1	4	2	1	3	2	2
	6th degree, IInd order	14	2	5	16	17	12	2	3	1	3
	7th degree	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
Spiritual cognition	1stdegree	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
	2nd degree	1	1	4	4	2	5	-	-	1	7
	3rd degree	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	2	-
	4th degree	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Remarriage	2nd	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3rd	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Occult Impediment		-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Civil Impediment		-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Mixed Impediment		*0	*1	*7	*7	*10	*12	*0	*6	*20	*12
Total licences/year		**87**	**46**	**75**	**140**	**195**	**177**	**48**	**139**	**144**	**186**

Sources: The Registries of Evidence of the Greek-Catholic Diocese of Gherla. Author's calculations

7. Conclusions

Far from being a moral weakness specific to Transylvanian rural society during the second half of the 19th century, consanguineous marriages were not exceptional or rare phenomena. Consanguineous couples were often formed in extremely ordinary or common circumstances. Precisely this particular "easiness" of concluding such marriages worried the Church, the clergy and the civil authorities and made them all insistently interfere in the way couples were constituted. Similarly to societies which adopted the equal inheritance system, the Romanian society in general and the Greek-Catholic community in particular adopted and applied the strategy of marrying a close relative thus enabling families to preserve their inheritance intact. Nevertheless, the above mentioned system was applied according to several geographic features and in function of the structure, form and typology of the rural area in question (Şişeşteanu, 1993: 452).

Throughout the 19th century, Romanian Greek-Catholic communities in Transylvania witnessed an increasingly high number of consanguineous marriages, due to a series of circumstantial factors. Among these factors, one

can mention the traditional marital pattern adopted by most Eastern and South-eastern European societies, as well as the relatively small size of Romanian rural localities combined with the practice of endogamy. In addition, we have to take into account the egalitarian system of inheritance and the threat represented by the excessive fragmentation of the property. One must also consider other aspects like the menace of lawsuits, in some cases, as well as the easiness in getting a marriage licence and abscond from canon laws and provisions. Marriage licences were sometimes acquired as a result of blackmail: some of the complainers threatened with converting themselves to another "more tolerant" or "permissive" religion or giving up the religious marriage ceremony in favour of the civil marriage. The latter has been introduced by the Civil Code in 1894, but for the Church and the clergy, civil marriage (only) was assimilated to cohabitation. Add various traditional prejudices and local marriage-related customs and you'll catch a glimpse of what consanguineous marriages in 19th-century Transylvania must have been like.

Last but not least, we must take into consideration various mutual influences between the religions and nationalities living together in Transylvania. All these aspects combined made it easier for the church authorities to be more indulgent with respect to consanguineous relationships as exceptions from the rule. In time, these exceptions actually became current practice. They got to be tolerated even by the most conservative members of the community, as well as by the public opinion. Such unions did not originate solely from individual strategy and reactions to severe impediments provided by canonical laws.

Marrying a close relative must have been perceived rather as a family strategy. It was developed around the vital needs and urges of preserving family inheritance and continuing the family line, re-establishing the connections between family members (closer or distant relatives) and preventing the set-up of separate households or isolated groups. For most young couples, following family "directives" meant focusing on marriage arrangements almost exclusively for inheritance considerations. The group strategy, on the other hand, was to guide individuals towards obtaining land and extending the size of the family assets. On the other hand, these actions were actually restricting their ability to take economic decisions. Matrimonial unions were designed from the start as a foundation for the gender division of work, thus trying to make rural households economically viable units (Lagido, 2009: 96-97).

These are significant challenges, given the private nature of marriage and of couples' issues, but need to be, however, fulfilled by any scholar or

researcher who aims at reconstructing social life during certain times in the past (Horga and Brie, 2000: 83). It seems like the complex nature of any types of marriage unions, naturally generated by the existence of an elaborated network of prejudices and social norms, determined specific attitudes towards shaping and organizing family functions, within each community. The interaction between prejudices, community mentalities and material interests places the small universe of peasants' family life between two main determining factors: pragmatism and affection (Muntean, 1995: 139). For Romanian communities living in Transylvania during the second half of the 19th century, marriage was ultimately a transaction between families. In addition, partners' minority (most of the times of women) did not allow long term acquaintance and friendship beforehand (Nicoară, 2001: 158). Thus, matrimonial unions were mainly contracted in order to enable families in cultivating the land more efficiently. On the other hand, the transfer of inheritance shares was also at stake when concluding marriage alliances. These financial considerations made the feelings of the future couple seem of little or no importance at all (Szekely, 1997: 86). In very few cases was family cohesion based on affectionate relationships or equal statuses. Most families were united by inheritance considerations, namely by land (Bolovan and Bolovan, 1988-1989: 528). Marriage was perceived as an economical requirement, rather than a social or psychological desideratum. Consanguineous marriages were in fact meant to diminish fragmentation of the inheritance.

The analysis of rural social structures at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century brings forward the changes submitted by the society. We are talking about a polarization of the rural communities and their progressive passage from a feudal hierarchy to a strictly economic organization. Archival documents show these changes are also perceptible when priests perform marriage ceremonies during those particular times. At the top of the new economically-based hierarchy one can find a minority of wealthy, financially independent families which highly identified themselves with the norms and values of the community. At the bottom of the scale, there was a category of poor and humble people, with few influence or participation in the life of the community. In between, we have identified the compact majority of the so-called "middle-class peasants" marked by a permanent economical instability and a feeble percentage of circulation of assets achieved through marriages or inheritance. Land property and inheritance can be considered, therefore, essential elements which ultimately shaped the structure of Transylvanian rural society during the 19th century.

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Infantile Mortality and Life Expectancy: Vulnerability Indicators in North-Western Transylvanian Communities (second half of the 19th century – beginning of the 20th century)

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Abstract: Life expectancy at birth or middle age was tightly connected to mortality structure. Major mortality crises in certain years greatly reduced life expectancy in the area. High mortality rate influencing all age groups led to a considerable decrease of average age. From the point of view of life expectancy in the whole region, there was a genuine positive revolution. Mortality rate in the region as well as in Transylvania and Hungary greatly decreased, thus leading to the demographic pattern specific in Central and Western Europe at the time. The number of children dying before reaching the age of 1 and infantile mortality together with the high mortality rate at children aged 1 to 5 show that "young age group was dominant" in mortality analysis. Children were the most exposed to pressure of internal and external factors leading to death. Children were the most vulnerable in front of "death claws" in all seasons and all communities. It was a reality in all Transylvania.

In spite of obvious developments as compared to 1860-1880, in 1910, there still was a high mortality rate amongst children. In Bihor, the percentage of deceased children under 5 out of the total number of children was 34.2%, and of those under 7 was 36.3%. In the Sătmar County, mortality amongst children was even higher, which has been proved by the great number of deceased children in Ghenci: out of the total number of children, 36.3% were children deceased before reaching 5, while 38.4% were under 7 in 1910. In 1900-1910, the average number of newborns was 17,547 in Bihor and 9,655 in Sătmar. In the same period, the annual average of deceased children in Bihor was 4,094 and in Sătmar was 2,198. From the average of deceased children under 1 and the average number of newborns in 1900-1910, the average infantile mortality rate was 232.95‰ in Bihor and 227.65‰ in Sătmar. Thus, there was a very high infantile mortality rate in the two counties. It was above the rate in Transylvania, where average infantile mortality rate was 206.24‰. Despite the high infantile mortality rate, there were counties where infantile mortality rate index was even higher; for instance, in Arad infantile mortality rate was 245.56‰. In the two county seats, average infantile

mortality rate for 1900-1910 was lower as compared to the whole of the counties. In Oradea, infantile mortality rate was 213.25‰ and in Satu Mare it was 219.98‰.

This was a world where many were born and many died. Children were the most exposed to social, economic and meteorological hardships. Throughout the second half of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, there was a high infantile mortality rate. Moreover, as seen in the Principality of Transylvania, infantile mortality rate was even increasing in some regions. There were several complex causes of high infantile mortality. They originated in the precarious living conditions, lack of, or inappropriate, food, lack of hygiene and qualified medical staff, inappropriate housing for newborns, lack of special care for small children; last but not least, the attempt of applying traditional adult medical "treatment" to children, etc. As parish registers show, many children died at birth or immediately after. The lack of qualified and specialised midwives to assist the mother in childbirth to provide some medical assistance to the child was another important cause of infantile mortality. Last but not least, the high infantile mortality originated in a harmful collective mentality of the people concerning physicians and sanitary system.

Keywords: vulnerability, life expectancy, mortality rate, infantile mortality, death crisis

Vulnerability of communities in North-Western Transylvania is shown by several indicators, such as demographics phenomena. Out of these, we will stress the following: infantile death rate and life expectancy. The approach can be bound to both a direct and an indirect formula:

- *The direct approach*: the premise is that a community with a high infantile death rate and a low life expectancy is more vulnerable than a community with reversed values as compared to the former (low infantile death rate and high life expectancy).
- *The indirect approach*: a community where the impact of socio-economic crises, epidemics, etc., is higher due to an increasing infantile death rate and a decreasing life expectancy respectively is more vulnerable and exposed to negative effects.

1. Infantile death and community vulnerability

Defined as newborn mortality less than 1 year old (Pădurean, 2003: 191), infantile mortality is calculated (infantile mortality rate index!) as a ratio between the number of deceased people under the age of 1 and the number of newborns in a year. In order to get a picture of the phenomenon, we suggest using the *average infantile mortality rate* as an indicator. The rate is the result of

ratio between all deceased children less than 1 out of the total number of newborns at a given time.

By analysing the number of deceased children under 1 out of the total number of deaths in the counties of Bihor and Satmar and in several localities, we can see that at the time infantile mortality rate was steady at a high level. Despite some obvious developments in the medical and socio-economic field, children and particularly newborn age group was the most vulnerable category in front of several wants and epidemics of the time. According to mathematic calculations, towards the end of the period there was a decreasing mortality rate in general and infantile mortality rate in particular. In spite of obvious developments as compared to 1860-1880, in 1910, there still was a high mortality rate amongst children. In Bihor, the percentage of deceased children under 5 out of the total number of children was 34.2%, and of those under 7 was 36.3% (Adam and Puşcaş, 1987: 645)[1]. In the Satmar County, mortality among children was even higher, which has been proved by the great number of deceased children in Ghenci: out of the total number of children, 36.3% were children deceased before reaching 5, while 38.4% were under 7 in 1910 (Adam and Puşcaş, 1987: 645)[2].

In 1900-1910, the average number of newborns was 17,547 in Bihor and 9,655 in Satmar (Adam and Puşcaş, 1987: 656-659; *Magyar Statisztikai*, 1913: 280-459). In the same period, the annual average of deceased children in Bihor was 4,094 and in Satmar it was 2,198. From the average of deceased children under 1 and the average number of newborns in 1900-1910, the average infantile mortality rate was 232.95‰ in Bihor and 227.65‰ in Satmar. Thus, there was a very high infantile mortality rate in the two counties. It was above the rate in Transylvania, where average infantile mortality rate was

[1] Somehow paradoxically, death rate in the case of children under 5 (36.1% of total newborns) and 7 (37.3% of total newborns) was even higher in Oradea the same year. At a first glance, the high mortality rate amongst children in the city is quite surprising (considering that there were the first signs of economic development in the city resulting in a higher standard of living. There was also a more present and efficient medical system. This proved that in the city infantile death rate was lower than in the rest of the county – only 36.7% out of the total number of people deceased in Oradea were under 5. In the county, the percentage reached 51.6%). Yet in the city there were other factors relating mostly to the social context and economy of the city despite development. High density of people in one place could increase the negative effects of local epidemic and generally trigger high mortality peaks. In this situation, if our hypothesis proves true, mortality rate amongst children in the city was more fluctuating from one year to another (depending on presence and force of influence factors) and from one city to another.

[2] In this county (in 1910!), child death rate was higher in the countryside. In Satu Mare, 34.5% of the total newborns were children under 5 (46.7% of the total number of deceases) and 35.7% were children under 7 (35.7% out of the total number of deceases).

206.24‰ (Adam and Puşcaş, 1987: 660-661)[3]. Despite the high infantile mortality rate, there were counties where infantile mortality rate index was even higher; for instance, in Arad infantile mortality rate was 245.56‰ (Adam and Puşcaş, 1987: 656-657)[4]. In the two county seats, average infantile mortality rate for 1900-1910 was lower as compared to the whole of the counties[5]. In Oradea, infantile mortality rate was 213.25‰ and in Satu Mare it was 219.98‰ (Adam and Puşcaş, 1987: 656-659)[6].

A high infantile mortality rate was discovered due to the analysis of parish registers. An analysis of villages is surprising due to infantile mortality rate variation from case to case, as well as to the fact that the rate in some villages was much lower than county average or county seats. Were children better looked after in those villages? Were villages relatively isolated and more protected against devastating effects of diseases touching mostly children? We can find possible explanations in socio-economic particularities of the villages and in local cultural and traditional features.

According to the parish register in 1860-1880, in the *Abramut Greek-Caholic parish*, 25.41% (93 cases) out of the total number of 366 deceased were children aged less than 1 (*CRSC BH*, file 7: 37-55). Thus, 93 of 339 children born in the parish (*CRSC BH*, file 7: 6-22) died before turning 1. Average infantile mortality rate index was 274.33‰ (which was over the average of the county). In the same period, in the *Auseu Greek-Catholic parish*, there was a lower mortality rate for children less than 1 (20.92% - 68 cases) (*CRSC BH*, file 71: 40-51). Considering that 472 children were born at the time (*CRSC BH*, file 71: 40-51), the average infantile mortality rate was 144.06‰. Somehow surprising, in the *Beius Greek-Catholic parish*, there was a higher death rate in the case of children aged less than 1 (24.16%) (*CRSC BH*, file 94: 25-49). Out of the 480 children born in 1860-1880 (*CRSC BH*, file 91: 25-45), 144 died before turning

[3] We have considered all localities in Transylvania belonging to current Romania, including Banat, Crisana and Maramures, where the average number of births was 177,980 children in 1900-1910 and 36,707 died before turning 1.

[4] High infantile mortality rate in the county was higher than the average in Transylvania and Hungary. It was noticed in Prof. Pădurean's analysis on population in the county. According to his survey, the infantile mortality rate for children aged less than 5 was 475.6‰ in 1893 (Pădurean, 2003: 192).

[5] This explains the high variation from one year to another as compared to the rates in 1910 (see the abovementioned reference) and vulnerability of children in cities, particularly in poor neighbourhoods.

[6] The high infantile mortality rate in Satu Mare (as compared to Oradea) was accompanied by a high birth rate. Thus, we consider that there was a tight connection between death rate and birth rate in a community. Numerous deaths naturally led to families' reaction favouring high birth rate.

1, which means an average infantile mortality rate (300‰) much over the rate in Bihor. In the *Borod Greek-Catholic parish*, we can notice the same vulnerability of age groups under 5 particularly newborns aged less than 1. Out of the 1,012 deaths, 219 were children aged less than 1 (21.64% out of the total number of deceases) (*CRSC BH*, file 144: 160-164; file 146: 1-47). Compared to the number of 849 children born in the parish (*CRSC BH*, file 144: 49-99), the average infantile mortality rate was 257.95‰ for the period 1860-1880. Shocking through age group distribution of deaths showing an excessively high mortality amongst children is the cruel reality seen in *Ghenci* (*CRSC SM*, file 655-657 passim; Chereji, 2000: 49-53). In 1863-1910, 36.42% of the deceased Greek-Catholics died before turning 1 (33.87% of the total number of deceased Protestants were children under 1). As compared to the number of newborns (839 in Greek-Catholic families and 1,546 in Protestant families), the average infantile mortality rate was 223.48‰ (262.21‰ in the Greek-Catholic parish and 202.45‰ in the Protestant parish). In the 185 families celebrated by the Greek-Catholic vicar in *Suncuius de Beius* in 1860-1910, 679 children were born. At least 46 children died before turning 1 (we mention that the information is not complete – it is according to the notes of the priest[7]). Average infantile mortality rate rose to 67.64‰[8]. Many babies died at an early age, most of them did not reach adulthood. In 1860-1910, the Greek-Catholic vicar in *Ghenetea* celebrated 82 marriages (*CRSC BH* file 461: 64-75; file 463: 1-21). These families had 416 children (*CRSC BH* file 461: 32-50, 64-75; file 462: 4-101; file 463: 1-21; file 464: 1-90). Infantile mortality in these families was very high: 63 children died before turning 1 (15.14% of the total living newborn). Thus, the average infantile mortality was 151.4‰. In 1872-1908, in the *Vascau Orthodox parish*, 657 children were born (17.7 children/year) (*CRSC BH*, file 1407: 53-54; 1408: 1-94). Out of them, 162 died in the first year. The average infantile mortality rate was 246.57‰.

This was a world where many were born and many died. Children were the most exposed to social, economic and meteorological hardships. Throughout the second half of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, there was a high infantile mortality rate. Moreover, as seen in the

[7] The column referring to children's death and age in those families was not always filled in. Consequently, we cannot accurately say how many children aged less than 1 died; 46 were recorded. (CRSC BH, file 1197: 25-33; file 1200: 1-14 - Marriage register; file 1197: 11-24; file 1198: 1-99; file 1199: 1-46 - Baptism register; file 1197: 40-52; file 1201: 1-72 - Death register.

[8] We have to point out that in this parish were only included cases of children born to families married in 1860-1910 (thus preserving the methodology used in reconstructing families in the parish when analysing marriage and birth in those families) without including children born in families married before 1860.

Principality of Transylvania[9], the infantile mortality rate was even increasing in some regions. There were several complex causes of high infantile mortality. They originated in the precarious living conditions, lack of or inappropriate, food, lack of hygiene and qualified medical staff, inappropriate housing for newborns, lack of special care for small children; last but not least, the attempt of applying traditional adult medical "treatment" to children, etc. As parish registers show, many children died at birth or immediately after. The lack of qualified and specialised midwives to assist the mother in childbirth to provide some medical assistance to the child was another important cause of infantile mortality. The want for midwives was noticed even at the time. In 1876, the vice-comis of Arad asked the eparchy Consistory to educate people pointing out that "disproportional pause of newborns is caused of harmful use, as the people use unspecialised and unqualified midwives" (Pădurean, 2003: 194). Last but not least, the high infantile mortality originated in a harmful collective mentality of the people concerning physicians and sanitary system.

Causes of infantile death rate originate in: precarious living conditions, insufficient and improper food, lack of hygiene and qualified medical staff, improper living conditions for newborns, lack of special care provided to children at that age, applying traditional adult medical "healing treatments" to children, etc. Many children die in childbirth or immediately after, as we can see in the civil records.

2. Life expectancy, death rate crises and vulnerability

Life expectancy at birth or middle age was tightly connected to mortality structure. Major mortality crises in certain years greatly reduced life expectancy in the area. High mortality rate influencing all age groups led to a considerable decrease of average age. Despite all remainders of the former demographic system, the positive evolution in the past two decades of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century contributed to strengthening progresses in this sense. From the point of view of life expectancy in the whole region, there was a genuine positive revolution. As we have noticed before, mortality rate in the region as well as in Transylvania and Hungary greatly decreased, thus leading to the demographic pattern specific in Central and Western Europe at the time. If in the '70s, under the effect of a deep economic crisis in the region and the devastating cholera epidemic in 1872-1873 and their negative effects until 1880, life expectancy in Transylvania was of only 27 (Bolovan, 2000: 169). Towards the end of the 19th century, under the positive effect of a decreasing

[9] Infantile mortality rate in Transylvania (without including Banat, Crisana and Maramures) was 178.3‰ in 1865 and reached 193‰ in the first decade of the 20th century. Bolovan, 2000: 156.

mortality rate, average life expectancy in Transylvania and Hungary reached 38.2. At the same time, in Romania, according to mortality tables in 1899-1901 as calculated by M. Sanielevici, life expectancy was 36.4 (Apud Mureşan, 1999: 75). During all that time, in Western European developed countries, life expectancy reached 48-54 (Bolovan, 2000: 149). Deep economic crises in the '70s throughout the monarchy and epidemics (we particularly mention the cholera epidemic in 1872-1873 and its duration) were a great demographic pressure. Cholera epidemic in 1872-1873 had catastrophic effects: in the Bihor County, 30,447 people were sick and 10,980 of them died (1,096 only in Oradea), which was 2.28% of the county inhabitants; in Satmar, 17,330 people were sick and 5,268 of them died, which was 2.13% of the county inhabitants (Adam and Puşcaş, 1987: 243-244). The period with great mortality rate in the region was followed by a short time of rest. The trends on a regional level were often contradicted by case studies on localities or micro-regions. The analysis of parish registers identified a period (different from trends expressed on a regional level) when mortality rate was very high. Certain years, diphtheria, smallpox, malaria and other epidemics haunted several villages and their effects were even worse than the cholera in 1872-1873. That reality highlights the precarious situation of medical assistance in the countryside (Bolovan, 2000: 143).

A special relevance in establishing life expectancy in the region has *death distribution by age group*. Age at death was quite unsteady from case to case. Instead, a research on all inhabitants in a community may lead to identifying an average death age, that is, what most analysts call life expectancy.

In order to settle distribution by age group, we will refer to the same case studies mentioned above. Right from the beginning of our survey, we can notice the shocking distribution by age group not only in few parishes, but in all six of them (although there are significant differences between structure of deaths by age from case to case). As we can see in the tables below, the highest death rate was amongst children. The number of children dying before reaching the age of 1 and infantile mortality (calculated as a ratio between the number of deceased children aged less than 1 and the number of living newborns in a year) together with the high mortality rate at children aged 1 to 5 show that "young age group was dominant" in mortality analysis (Dumănescu, 2006: 139). Children were the most exposed to pressure of internal and external factors leading to death. Children were the most vulnerable in front of "death claws" in all seasons and all communities. It was a reality in all Transylvania (Deteşan, 2005: 89-122). In 1865, 40.8% of deaths was represented by children under 5, while in 1885 the percentage was 47.3% and

in 1895, 46.6%[10]. The high mortality rate amongst children made some researchers speak of a "huge dose of hazard" conditioning the survival of children "at least until generalised developments in medicine and mental blockage hostile to them began to crack" (Dumănescu, 2006: 85).

In the ***Greek-Catholic parish of Abramut***, the parish registers of 1860-1880, as seen in the table below, confirm the fact that the number and percentage of deceased children was extremely high. 25.41% (93 cases) out of the 366 deaths were children aged less than 1 (*CRSC BH*, file 7: 37-55). At the same time, the level of deceased children aged 1 to 5 was 22.4% out of the total. Comparatively, the two age groups were followed by other two groups (21 to 30 and 31 to 40) cumulating almost 20%. The great number of deaths from these groups after the "accidents" during the first years (that might turn into a rule or normality through its high number) makes us believe that it was the usual death age at persons surviving childhood. Only eight people managed to live over 70 years. Instead, nobody in the parish lived over 80 years[11].

Table 1. Distribution of deaths by age group in the Greek-Catholic parish of Abramut (1860-1880)

Age at death	Number of cases	Percent (%)	Cumulated percent (%)
Less than 1	93	25.41	25.41
1-5 years old	82	22.40	47.81
6-10 years old	26	7.10	54.92
11-20 years old	13	3.55	58.47
21-30 years old	37	10.11	68.58
31-40 years old	34	9.29	77.87
41-50 years old	26	7.10	84.97
51-60 years old	32	8.74	93.72
61-70 years old	15	4.10	97.81
71-80 years old	8	2.19	100.00
Over 81 years old	0	0.00	100.00
Total	**366**	**100**	

Source: CRSC BH, file 7: 37-55

[10] In Cluj-Manastur, 57.5% of the deceased people were children under 5 and infantile mortality rate for 1855-1904 was 354.2‰, which was much higher than the average in Transylvania (193‰) for the first decade of the 20th century. Dumănescu, 2006: 136-137.

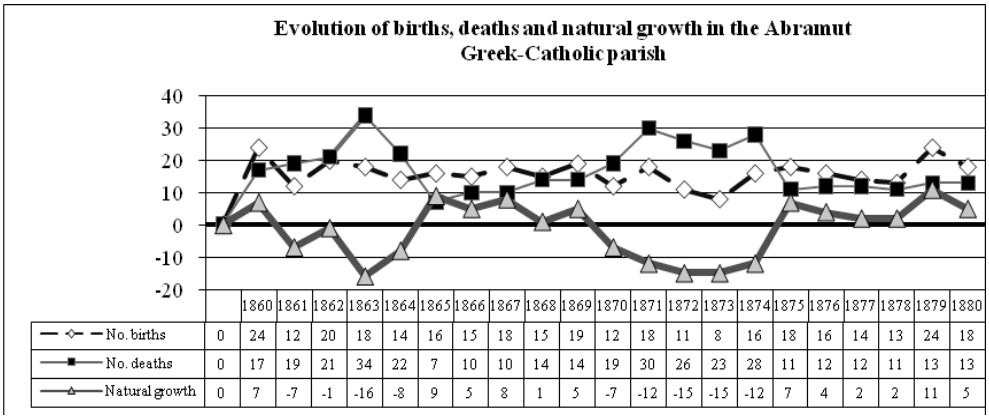
[11] If we continue the comparison with the Protestant parish, we point out that 17.01% (25) out of the 147 deceased people at the time were children under 1. At the same time, 21.09% of the total number of deceased people were children under 5. Comparatively, the two age groups were followed by other two groups (41-50 and 51-60) reaching 25%. Thus, there was a significant difference between the two parishes.

Life expectancy, or average age at death, in the parish was 20.24 in 1860-1880. At the same time, median age (when 50% of people died) was 6.5. Practically, as seen in the table above, 47.81% died before reaching the age of 5. Such distribution of average age at death (life expectancy) and of median age undoubtedly diminished by mortality crises hitting mostly children (whose body was less enduring to whims of the time) placed the parish under the average figures in rural settlements in Crisana. Yet there is a shocking comparison with the Protestant parish in the village. In the case of that parish, life expectancy was 27.87 in the same period. At the same time, median age (when 50% of people died) was 25 (*CRSC BH*, file 11: 17-33). What are the explanations for such great difference? Why did Greek-Catholic children die in such a great number? The existence of local epidemics seems to be confirmed by the fact that both communities were afflicted by high mortality rate. Yet the phenomenon was much greater in the case of Greek-Catholic communities, which makes us think that the Greek-Catholic parish was still very traditional by structure and nature of deaths and less receptive to positive changes of modernity at the time. Moreover, provided negative influences of socio-economic pressures and epidemics haunting the region, we are tempted to believe that Greek-Catholic parishioners were vulnerable (possibly they were poorer, less educated and their children less looked after – a subsequent survey will explain the matter).

The vulnerability and the strong influence of mortality crisis can be traced in the chart below. The major effect of high mortality (except for the birth rate that remains high) on the natural increase can be easily seen, especially that the analyzed period surprised some mortality crises whose effects were absolutely devastating.

The ***Greek-Catholic parish of Abramut***, during 1860-1880, records a negative population growth (the population who died was by 27 greater than the those who were born). The negative growth was not characteristic to the entire period; the main characteristic was the effect of mortality crises captured by us during the death rate investigation of this parish. Thus we can identify two periods with negative levels of natural increase: 1. 1861-1864, when the low natural surplus was due to both lower birth rates and increased mortality, 2. 1870-1874, characterized by major crises of mortality caused by numerous epidemics whose effects were peaked during the cholera epidemic during 1872-1873.

Figure 1. Evolution of births, deaths and natural growth in the Abramut Greek-Catholic parish



	1860	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876	1877	1878	1879	1880
No. births	0	24	12	20	18	14	16	15	18	15	19	12	18	11	8	16	18	16	14	13	24	18
No. deaths	0	17	19	21	34	22	7	10	10	14	14	19	30	26	23	28	11	12	12	11	13	13
Natural growth	0	7	-7	-1	-16	-8	9	5	8	1	5	-7	-12	-15	-15	-12	7	4	2	2	11	5

Source: *CRSC BH*, file 7: 6-22, 37-55

In the ***Greek-Catholic parish of Auseu***, the percentage of deceased children aged less than 1 out of the total number of deceased was even higher (20.92% - 68 cases). Instead the percentage of deceased children aged 1 to 5 was lower (16.62%) (*CRSC BH*, file 71: 40-51).

The distribution of the deceased by age group identifies two age intervals (after adolescence characterised by fewer deaths) with higher percentage of deaths. The intervals were 21 to 30 and 31 to 40 just like in Abramut. 23.39% out of the 325 deceased belonged to the two intervals. A great percentage of people dying within this interval corroborated with the high death percentage amongst children make us think that life expectancy was very low in the village.

Average age at death, that is, life expectancy, of Greek-Catholic parishioners was 24.22. This much lower life expectancy than in Transylvania or Hungary was due to local realities resulting in high mortality particularly amongst children. Median age was much lower than in other places, too; it barely reached 18. Practically, only half of the deceased in the parish were older than 18.

The distribution of the two indicators and the high infantile mortality rate confirm the traditional demographic patter with a genuine demographic "waste": many children were born and many died. We can afford to launch a working hypothesis in our survey, that is: knowing that they would lose many children, or actually losing them, families had even more children to assure natural descendancy.

Table 2. Distribution of deaths by age groups in the Greek-Catholic parish of Auseu (1865-1880)

Age at death	Number	Percent (%)	Cumulated percent (%)
Less than 1	68	20.92	20.92
1-5 years	54	16.62	37.54
6-10 years	26	8.00	45.54
11-20 years	21	6.46	52.00
21-30 years	41	12.62	64.62
31-40 years	35	10.77	75.38
41-50 years	25	7.69	83.08
51-60 years	19	5.85	88.92
61-70 years	18	5.54	94.46
71-80 years	12	3.69	98.15
Over 81	6	1.85	100.00
Total	**325**	**100**	

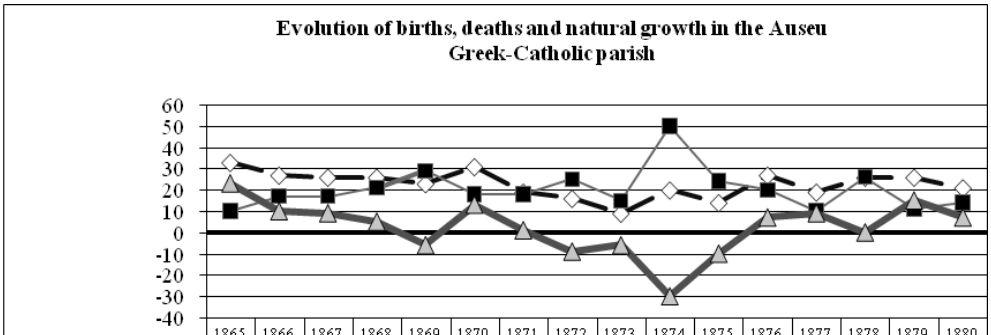
Source: *CRSC BH*, file 71: 40-51

Thus, natural growth resulted from *people's wish to defeat death* (through more births than deaths) and less from defeating death itself (by diminishing mortality). Renewal and survival of family was provided by an extraordinary waste of lives. The reality can be seen in the fact that few people reached old age (although we do not doubt that old age was different than as considered nowadays). Only 1.85% (6 people) exceeded 80 years old; at the same time, only 11% exceeded 60 years old (*CRSC BH*, file 71: 40-51).

In the ***Greek-Catholic parish of Auşeu***, during 1865-1880, the population growth was positive: the number of births was 363, the deceased was only 325 (there is therefore a natural surplus of 38 people). Not even this settlement showed constant evolution of natural growth. The mortality crises of the years 1866-1869 (during these years, the crisis of mortality was associated with a decrease in the number of births) and of 1872-1875 led to negative natural increases for these years in this parish.

Somehow surprisingly, in the ***Beius Greek-Catholic parish***, there was an even higher death rate amongst children before reaching the age of 1 (24.16%). Together with the percentage of children dying at 1 to 5, the percentage of children dying under the age of 6 raised to 38.93% out of the total number of deaths in the parish in 1860-1880.

Graph 2. Evolution of birth, deaths and natural growth in the Auseu Greek-Catholic parish



	1865	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876	1877	1878	1879	1880
No. births	33	27	26	26	23	31	19	16	9	20	14	27	19	26	26	21
No. deaths	10	17	17	21	29	18	18	25	15	50	24	20	10	26	11	14
Natural growth	23	10	9	5	-6	13	1	-9	-6	-30	-10	7	9	0	15	7

Source: CRSC BH, file 71: 6-22, 40-51

The pre-urban character of the place associated with a significant increase of non-agricultural activities and standard of living did not result in a diminishing mortality rate. Moreover, the infantile death rate index was still very high. Following the same trend, we can also notice that only one person out of the 596 dying at the time (whose age could be reconstructed) was over 80 years old (*CRSC BH*, file 94: 25-49).

The reality can be seized in point of life expectancy in the community (only 25.42). Moreover, median age was only 18. Thus, only 50% of the deceased managed to live more than 18 years. From the point of view of the two indexes, we can see that despite economic development much higher than in other places, the level of expectancy was not confirmed. Most of the Greek-Catholic community was far from those beneficial changes.

In the Greek-Catholic community of Beius, the population died during 1860-1880 with 117 people more than the number of people who were born. Despite social and economic progress (which most often we would tend to associate with better existence, later on translate into lower mortality), the Greek-Catholic parish of Beius always had in this period more people dying than being born.

Table 3. Distribution of deaths in the Beius Greek-Catholic parish by age group (1860-1880)[12]

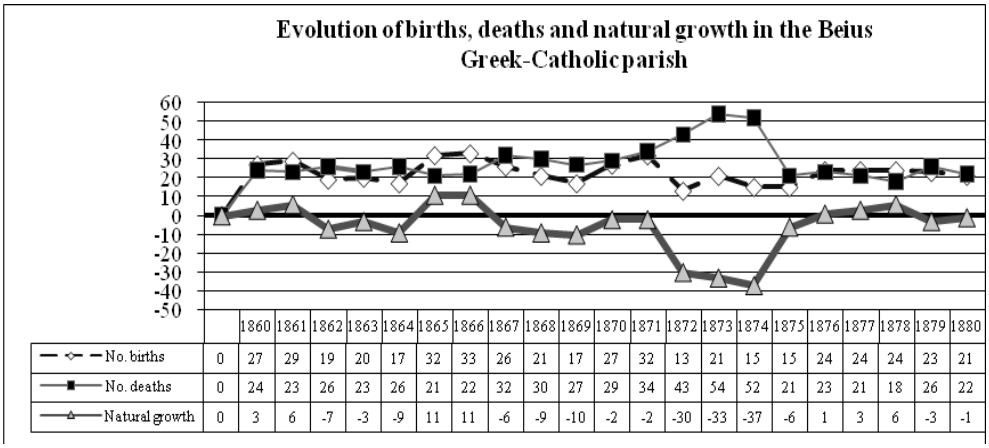
Age at death	Number	Percentage (%)	Cumulate percentage (%)
Less than 1 year old	144	24.16	24.16
1-5 years old	88	14.77	38.93
6-10 years old	27	4.53	43.46
11-20 years old	48	8.05	51.51
21-30 years old	50	8.39	59.90
31-40 years old	54	9.06	68.96
41-50 years old	66	11.07	80.03
51-60 years old	56	9.40	89.43
61-70 years old	39	6.54	95.97
71-80 years old	23	3.86	99.83
Over 81 years old	1	0.17	100.00
Total	**596**	**100**	

Source: CRSC BH, file, 94: 25-49

In the ***Greek-Catholic parish of Borod*** there was the same vulnerability of the age group under 5 in front of death, particularly newborns under 1. Poor food, lack of efficient medical system, traditionalism and conservatism in treating children's illnesses, lack of hygiene education, etc., were but a few of the causes of a high death rate amongst children (Pădurean, 2003: 194). Out of 1,012 deaths, 219 were children aged less than 1 (21.64% out of the total number of deceased), while 159 were children aged 1 to 5 (15.71% out of the total number of deceased) (*CRSC BH*, file 144: 160-164).

[12] The Greek-Catholic parish priest did not record the age at death for one person (CRSC BH, file 94: 25-49).

Graph 3. Evolution of births, deaths and natural growth in the Beiuș Greek-Caholic parish



	1860	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876	1877	1878	1879	1880
No. births	0	27	29	19	20	17	32	33	26	21	17	27	32	13	21	15	15	24	24	24	23	21
No. deaths	0	24	23	26	23	26	21	22	32	30	27	29	34	43	54	52	21	23	21	18	26	22
Natural growth	0	3	6	-7	-3	-9	11	11	-6	-9	-10	-2	-2	-30	-33	-37	-6	1	3	6	-3	-1

Source: CRSC BH, file 94: 25-49

Table 4. Distribution of deaths by age groups in the Borod Greek-Catholic parish (1860-1880)

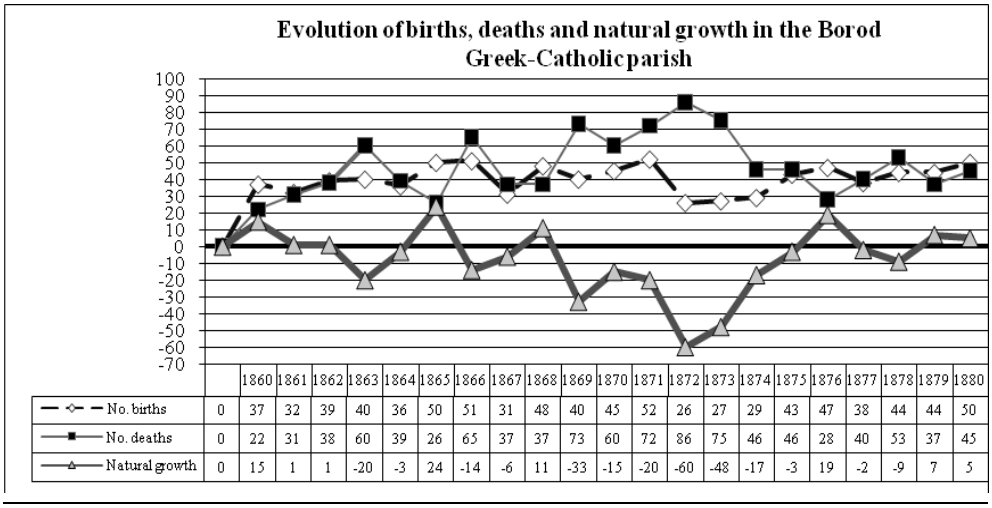
Age at death	Number	Percentage (%)	Cumulated percentage (%)
under 1 year old	219	21,64	21,64
1-5 years old	159	15,71	37,35
6-10 years old	42	4,15	41,50
11-20 years old	57	5,63	47,13
21-30 years old	88	8,70	55,83
31-40 years old	101	9,98	65,81
41-50 years old	91	8,99	74,80
51-60 years old	97	9,58	84,39
61-70 years old	91	8,99	93,38
71-80 years old	47	4,64	98,02
over 81 years old	20	1,98	100,00
Total	**1.012**	**100**	

Source: CRSC BH, file 144: 160-164; file 146: 1-47

The Greek-Catholic population life expectancy in Borod was much higher than other parishes. Thus, average age at death, or average life expectancy, was 28.53, which is much higher than average life expectancy in Transylvania. In

fact, if we analyse death by age groups, we can notice that 158 people representing 15.61% of the deceased were over 60 years old. Out of them, 20 were even over 80 years old (*CRSC BH* , file 144: 160-164; file 146: 1-47). Despite several cases of people dying at an early age, the high life expectancy was facilitated by the numerous cases of people dying at an old age. Marcu Teodoru's widow, Floare, died of "womb pain" at 110, while Moga Omutiu's widow died at the age of 115 on the 29th of November 1863; her name was not recorded by the priest (*CRSC BH* , file 146: 3).The median age (25) was much higher than elsewhere, too: half of the deceased in the parish were over 25. Provided the situation unlike other places where over half of the newborns did not reach adolescence, in the Borod parish we can say that life expectancy for over half of the population was over 25.

Graph 4. Evolution of births, deaths and natural growth in the Borod Greek-Caholic parish



	1860	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876	1877	1878	1879	1880
No. births	0	37	32	39	40	36	50	51	31	48	40	45	52	26	27	29	43	47	38	44	44	50
No. deaths	0	22	31	38	60	39	26	65	37	37	73	60	72	86	75	46	46	28	40	53	37	45
Natural growth	0	15	1	1	-20	-3	24	-14	-6	11	-33	-15	-20	-60	-48	-17	-3	19	-2	-9	7	5

Source: *CRSC BH*, file 144: 49-99, 160-164; file 146: 1-47

During the period analysed (known for deep demographic crisis), in the Greek-Catholic parish of Borod 278 more people died than those who were born. The recorded negative natural increase was due not only to "accidents", but it was the effect of very high mortality throughout the 21 years span (only 8 years recorded positive values of natural increase). The deepest crisis of mortality in this village was recorded in 1869 and affected this community until 1873. The causes of high mortality (in the 4 years no less than 366 people died – when the entire Greek-Catholic community of this town did not exceed 1,000 people) are multiple and complex. In fact, no stranger to this black period in

the history of the city, people from other settlements will find it easy to relocate here, including the colonization of Slovaks communities (the number of Slovaks increased from 178 people recorded in 1880 to 959 in 1900).

The distribution of deaths by age groups shows an excessively high mortality amongst children in ***Ghenci***, in the Satu Mare County (*CRSC SM*, file 655-657 passim; Chereji, 2000: 50-53). There, the median age was merely 4 in the case of Greek-Catholic community and a little higher, we may say, in the case of the Protestant community (7). How was it possible that half of the people dying in the Greek-Catholic parish did not reach the age 5? How was it possible that only half of the 604 Greek-Catholics dying in 1863-1910 reached the age of 4? Although a little better, the situation of the Protestant parish highlights the same cruel reality: only few children managed to get over 10 years old. Out of the total number of deceased people, only 38.58% Greek-Catholics and 46% Protestants lived over 11 years.

The terrible reality and the fact that 36.42% of the deceased Greek-Catholics died before reaching the age of 1 (in the case of the Protestants, 33.87% of the deceased people were children) was undoubtedly due to great mortality amongst children. Many years, even towards the period analysed by us, out of the total number of deaths in the Greek-Catholic parish, over half of the children were less than 1. In 1896, out of the total number of 27 deceased persons, 15 were children under 1. The following year, in 1897, 8 were children under 1 out of the 9 persons deceased. In 1900, 11 people died, out of which 9 were under 1. It was the same situation in 1902, 1905, 1909 and 1910 when at least half of the deceased people were children less than 1. The situation was almost similar in the Protestant parish, where the percentage was a little lower.

Traditionalism and strong influence of the former demographic regime was highlighted by the life expectancy recorded: 20.52 in the case of Greek-Catholic parish and 23.52 in the case of the Protestant parish. The situation we noticed in the analysis of death was less painful in the case of the Greek-Catholic community where some changes of the demographic pattern could be seen at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. Basic changes were significant, that is, mortality rate diminished at all age groups (and so the cases of deceased children). However, there was also the great number of deceased children amongst the deceased. The conclusion is that, despite obvious development in diminishing mortality rate, there were several years when there were critical mortality crises with multiplying vulnerability

Table 5. Distribution of deaths by age groups in Ghenci (1863-1910)

Age at death	Greek-Catholic parish			Protestant parish		
	Number	Percentage (%)	Cumulated percentage (%)	Number	Percentage (%)	Cumulated percentage (%)
Less than 1	220	36.42	36.42	313	33.87	33.87
1-5 years	114	18.87	55.30	125	13.53	47.40
6-10 years	37	6.13	61.42	61	6.60	54.00
11-20 years	24	3.97	65.40	58	6.28	60.28
21-30 years	30	4.97	70.36	62	6.71	66.99
31-40 years	25	4.14	74.50	54	5.84	72.84
41-50 years	35	5.79	80.30	49	5.30	78.14
51-60 years	29	4.80	85.10	73	7.90	86.04
61-70 years	52	8.61	93.71	43	4.65	90.69
71-80 years	30	4.97	98.68	51	5.52	96.21
Over 81	8	1.32	100.00	35	3.79	100.00
Total	**604**	**100**		**924**	**100**	

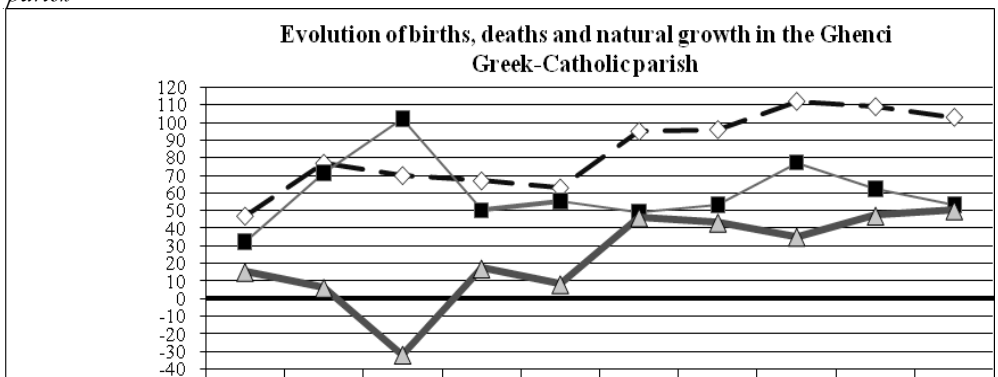
Sources: CRSC SM, file 655-657 passim; Chereji, 2000: 50-53

effects on the community. The unsteady development in the number of deaths from one year to another is a proof in point.

Despite the high mortality of both parishes, the natural increase values are generally positive. Only in the period of 1871-1875, when the effects of the cholera epidemic of 1872-1873 were fully felt, the natural surplus was below zero.

By comparison, as it was stated when analyzing birth and death rates, and when the analyzing the mortality of this town, the Greek-Catholic parish is remarkable, in terms of population, by its own traditionalist character. It requires, however, a specification: the evolution of this parish demographic indicators identifies a very high mortality in the early period (but which knows a remarkable decrease process) and a birth rate that ensures an increase in births, also consistent, until towards the late nineteenth century.

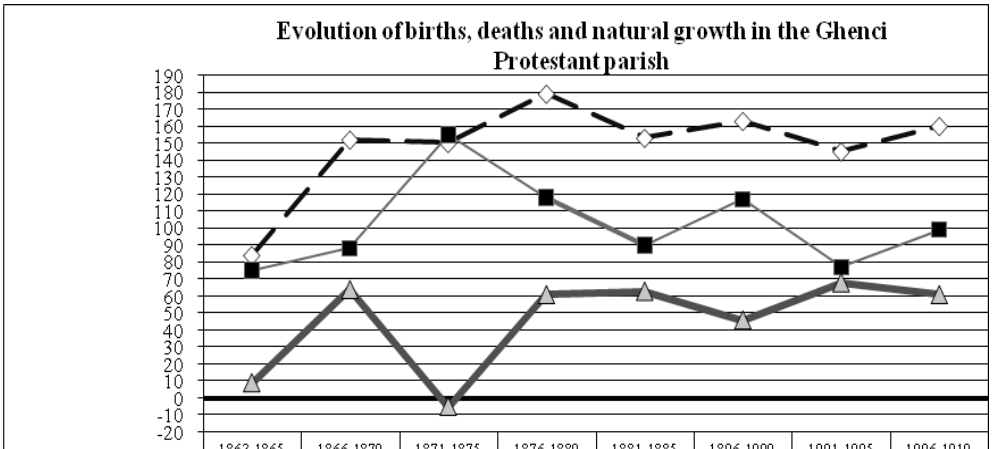
Graph 5. Evolution of births, deaths and natural growth in the Ghenci Greek-Catholic parish



	1863-1865	1866-1870	1871-1875	1876-1880	1881-1885	1886-1890	1891-1895	1896-1900	1901-1905	1906-1910
No. births	47	77	70	67	63	95	96	112	109	103
No. deaths	32	71	102	50	55	49	53	77	62	53
Natural growth	15	6	-32	17	8	46	43	35	47	50

Sources: *CRSC SM*, file 655-657 passim; Chereji, 2000: 46-52

Graph 6. Evolution of births, deaths and natural growth in the Ghenci Protestant parish



	1863-1865	1866-1870	1871-1875	1876-1880	1881-1885	1896-1900	1901-1905	1906-1910
No. births	84	152	150	179	153	163	145	160
No. deaths	75	88	155	118	90	117	77	99
Natural growth	9	64	-5	61	63	46	68	61

Sources: A.N-D.J. SM, *Colection Registers of Civil Staus*, files nos. 655-657 passim; Camelia Chereji, *op. cit.*, p. 46-52

Also the Reformed Church records positive natural growth. An important contribution in this direction and was keeping a significant difference found between the preservation of the births and of the deaths (especially after 1875).

In terms of distribution of demographic phenomena, this town and families here in spite, of strong demographic remnants of the old system characterized inter alia by a very high value of birth, go slightly to the demographic transition model. The constant decrease in mortality (it nevertheless maintains at very high values as seen from running an analysis on mortality) as well as maintaining high birth rates (thus ensuring an increase in the value of natural increase) are strong arguments showing the transition to modern demographic model (characterized by low values of the two demographic indicators).

Conclusions

Life expectancy and infantile death rate varies according to localities, within localities, and from one ethno-religious community to another. Socio-economic crises greatly influence the level of infantile death rate and life expectancy. In certain places, we can notice a higher vulnerability. Rising death rates during epidemics (such as the 1872-1873 cholera epidemic) have a great influence in certain places that are more vulnerable (in this case, the fact that they are integrated to a socio-economic circuit stresses their vulnerability!). The level of infantile death rate has a descendent trend towards the beginning of the 20th century at the same time with an increasing life expectancy. This happens against the background of increasing beneficial effects of modernity in more and more places. Consequently, there is a decreasing vulnerability in these places.

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Child Mortality in Bucureşti During the First Years of the 19th Century

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Abstract: At the beginning of the 19th Century, Bucureşti was a city in which modernity met old cultural traditions. Everyday life was shaken by several convulsions, each with an impact upon the demographic situation: the war of 1806-1812, the economic crisis of 1810-1812 and one of the worst epidemics, "Caragea's plague" (1813-1814).

In these conditions, the health of children in Bucureşti was often in danger – a fact noted by contemporary observers. Among these observers, a most remarkable personality was the physician Constantin Caracaş, author of the "Topography of Wallachia". Caracaş estimated that the child mortality was very high. Using the work of Caracaş and other documents, we analyze this claim, relying on qualitative data, because quantitative data are missing.

Bucureşti was a city with stark social contrasts between elites and ordinary or even marginalized city dwellers. Elite children had better opportunities. The children of ordinary town dwellers were subjected to more risks: at birth, because of ignorant midwives and later because of the life in small houses and bad food. The children of nannies, prostitutes, the abandoned infants faced even greater risks.

The destiny of the children from Bucureşti, at the beginning of the 19th Century, had the mark of social and economic gaps. During infancy, it was also under the sign of the traditionalism and ignorance of their parents.

There were, however, elements of convergence in the destiny of both groups. They had their roots in the traditionalism of uneducated mothers from the elite. Thus infant mortality was as pressing a problem for elite families as it was for ordinary families.

Famine and plague deepened the gap between the dwellers. Among the children of ordinary dwellers, the impact of the economic crisis and of one of the most terrible plague epidemics certainly took a higher toll. The elites prevented access to their families or sent them far away, while ordinary people had to stay in the town. The sources have no special rubrics for children, but we meet them where the disease strikes: on the streets, in hospitals, among the dead. The government sees them as a vehicle of the epidemic. No special protection is mentioned for the children. There were thousands of victims. No one knows how

many were children. Their number had to be high because of their exposure to unhealthy persons and their fragility.

The analysis of the available data, the mentalities and the historical circumstances leads to the conclusion that doctor Caracaş's claim is plausible.

Keywords: Romania, Bucureşti, 19th Century, Child mortality, plague, Caragea

The aim of this paper is to investigate the causes of infant and juvenile mortality in Bucureşti at the beginning of the 19th Century. We use mainly an old sanitary monograph written by the physician Constantin Caracaş; Constantin Caracaş was a remarkable personality of the epoch and he had a notable interest in child mortality. He estimated that the child mortality was very high. In his opinion, "*out of a family with ten or twelve children only three or four survive. Three quarters die, victims of poor care, arising from the ignorance and prejudices of parents and the total lack of medical help"* (Samarian, 1937, 85). In another context, he returned to this topic and called the attention upon the upbringing in the villages, where out of peasants' children, "*because of ignorance, prejudices and wise women barely a third escaped from death"* (Samarian 1937, 94). Are such estimates plausible? In this paper, we analyze qualitative data concerning the population, mentalities and historical circumstances, in order to evaluate Caracaş's claim.

The lack of statistical sources is the main obstacle that the historian has to overcome in the attempt to estimate infant and juvenile mortality in Wallachia at the beginning of the nineteenth century. According to the physician C. Caracaş, the censuses that were made during that period "*lacked a careful approach and were incomplete and many classes of people were absent from them because their sole purpose was to assist taxation"* (Samarian 1937, 79). From these population censuses made for tax assessments the children were also absent and we must emphasize this aspect, given the aim of the present research. Even during the plague epidemic of 1813-1814, the records mentioned the contaminated houses, the sick, the deceased, but they specified no age or gender.

The Transylvanian physician Andreas Wolf, who had a good knowledge of the situation of the Romanian Lands, especially of Moldavia in the 18th century, corroborated the opinion that it is impossible to follow the evolution of births and deaths because "*there are no records of births and deaths and the tax lists are kept secret. There are considerable variations of the mortality due to plague and epidemics, to the lack of doctors and pharmacies..."* (Cernovodeanu & Holban 2001, 1256).

We also try to find out the correlation between social inequalities at the moment of birth and the destiny of the children. There was an apparent social inequality. Edward Daniel Clarke noted, in 1802, in Wallachia, the existence of

"*two classes of inhabitants, the one rich and the other poor (without any middle class) ...*" (Cernovodeanu 2004, 61).

The explanation of the fate of the children has multiple aspects: some of the answers were given by doctor Caracaş himself, who studied the evolution of their health. Other answers pertain to the legal realm, the policies of the authorities and the measures taken by them in the context of disasters. Looking into what the physician Caracaş has written, we note the distinction which can be made between the children of the elite families and the children of the ordinary families, the children of nurses, the abandoned children. We will analyze the peculiar traits of these categories and their impact upon mortality rates at birth.

The children of the elites (boyars or the wealthy inhabitants of Bucureşti) came into the world assisted by physicians, a fact that greatly reduced the risk of death at birth: "*Most of their mothers, when the time comes, bring in doctors and are examined by them; thus births are so easy and fast and rarely lead to failures*" (Samarian 1937, 95).

In the case of common people, women giving birth got their help from midwives. Doctor Caracaş had a low opinion about these midwives: "*the midwives of the peasants... are just ignorant old women, whose mere presence is more a nuisance than an aid; their so-called technical help is always misplaced and against nature, with tragic consequences for both women and children"* (Samarian 1937, 90). Grounding his argument, doctor Caracaş describes in detail some of the procedures used by midwives for "facilitating" birth and helping the child in his first moments of life. These were harsh methods, exhausting the women (Samarian 1937, 90). In his turn, the child got his share of harsh procedures and dangerous treatments. The midwives were so ignorant that they even left the newborn to die, because they did not want to disturb the mother with the resuscitation procedures.

Unfortunately, in a country in which there were a few doctors and a large number of people in need of medical help, most cases ended up in the hands of midwives, old women from the villages and the peripheral neighborhoods of the larger or smaller towns. This situation had a dramatic impact upon the mortality among the newborn from ordinary families, as well as any infants.

The people from that age took notice of these shortcomings and the observations of the physician Caracaş corroborate this when he points to the fact that "*when we look for the death causes, the sloth, ignorance, bad habits and prejudices of parents and midwives are the reason for more children' death than epidemic diseases*" (Samarian 1937, 90). These were the observations of medical practitioners who were unable, due to the low number of physicians and the poverty, to help the majority of the population.

The child, even after overcoming the difficult moments of his/her birth, had to confront other dangers for human life in a city, which according to its descriptions in the works of the travelers, had many shabby houses. The travelers paint a grim picture. For example, Luigi Mayer saw in the Bucureşti of 1794 "*houses of a special construction, but in most places dwellings look petty and wretched, being build largely underground and covered by straw and tree bark; those of a better condition are built of stone and covered with shingles"* (Cernovodeanu & Holban 2001, 1226).

In this context, it is easy to understand why the hygiene of the houses worried the doctors: "*the air necessary to life, the air their infants breathe is not clean, because their houses are small, hidden, resembling more to huts than to houses; there they wash and dry their clothes during winter, there they cook, there they gather piglets, hens and livestock and anyone who is not accustomed with this medium cannot bare the smell*" (Samarian 1937, 93). To all this you must add personal hygiene. And we also must add the problem of the diapers made out of old clothes and changed only once a day.

For the child, the flow of months and years meant the occurrence of other hazards. In the Europe of doctor Caracaş, as it is well-known, enterocolitis killed many infants and small children (Chaunu 1989, 237). Caracaş pointed to the errors of the adults, who contributed to the unleashing of these scourges. A first problem is connected "*to one of the worst and most dangerous habits of mothers and nurses who give to infants any kind of food, chewed in their mouths, a cause of diarrhea and ill digestion for many children*" (Samarian 1937, 93). When they grew up, the nutrition was poor and inadequate to their age: "*After weaning, the regular food for children is polenta, that they mollify in boiled water until it becomes a thick gravy, soft paste they use for feeding children; they also give children what their parents use to consume, including wine, sometimes brandy, even when they are still breast-fed"* (Samarian 1937, 93).

The water used for drinking must have also been a cause of many diseases since it was the cloudy water from rivulets or other dubious sources. According to doctor Caracaş, "*the simple and ignorant people drink even the water of ponds and standing puddles, that is stenchful, hot and greasy in summer and brings them a lot of trouble; that's why the inhabitants of these places often suffer from diarrhea, bloody flux and choleric fevers"* (Samarian 1937, 104).

The doctor stated a dramatic truth. After a few years, in 1831, cholera struck the population of Wallachia (Brătescu & Cernovodeanu 2004).

Children could meet with an accident since an early age. Doctor Caracaş pointed to a common type of accident: "*small children sleep in a kind of long shallow trough, but often they are put beside their mother and it happens that some of them are crushed by their mothers and thus many children die every year"* (Samarian 1937, 91). The fact that babies slept in the same bed with their parents is noted, after

several years, by Ion Ghica. Traveling to Moldavia during the forties, Ghica was, over night, the guest of the captain from Moviliţa. In the captain's house, "*on a sofa-bed, slept, aligned the stove to the window, the captain's wife with a baby at the breast, along the captain's sleeping place"* (Ghica 1940, 208).

When children grow "*and begin to walk or to crawl, because mothers are negligent and do not pay attention to them, they fall prey to a lot of dangers"*: they are left near the fire and they fall into it. Thus annually "*a lot of children are burnt and die"*. In the yards, on the narrow streets, "*many are bitten by dogs, pigs or crushed by cattle and carriages"* (Samarian 1937, 94).

Parents had the habit to take children with them to drinking parties or at work in the fields. There, they often forget to look after them "*and they stay all day long in the heat of the sun with bare heads"* or they are kept out in the cold. Thus they suffer from another series of diseases: in the summer, they have intermittent fevers, their skulls or their eyes are inflamed and, in the winter, they catch a cold or get a pneumonia (Samarian 1937, 94).

Cases in which whole families perished were not that rare. Carbon monoxide - sometimes called "*carbonic acid"* - poisoned whole families; the carbon monoxide was released by the coal used for heating small, unhealthy houses, with no fresh air: "*when, out of negligence, they use an insufficiently controlled coal fire and several persons inhabit the same room, they all end up poisoned with carbonic acid, something which often happens in this town"* (Samarian 1937, 175).

Statistical data concerning child mortality are missing, but physicians and travelers from the beginning of the 19th Century left us qualitative descriptions of numerous relevant experiences. On their basis, we may conclude that child mortality must have been very high among ordinary people, because of inferior food, poor hygiene, precarious living conditions and negligent protection of the children.

Even the children from noble families or the town elites were not in an absolutely safe position; they had to face many of the dangers that threatened the lives of ordinary children. The roads of the two categories of children converged because of the mentalities of the elites of the Romanian Lands. The elites used nurses for their children and the nurses were from the lower classes or even the slaves. For "treating" their children the elites resorted to the services of witch-doctors and wise-women. This was a society in which the quality of the medical act was often very low. At the end of the 18th century, L.P.B. von Campenhausen, commenting the way in which medical personnel tried to save their patients, noted that "*doctors are so ignorant ... Doctors are Jews, Greeks and women. They are called when the priest is not able to help anyway"* (Cernovodeanu & Holban 2001, 887).

These circumstances favored the continual resort to traditional medical treatments. Doctor Caracaş was disturbed by the fact that mothers from the elite paid attention to the councils of wise women. These women, among other things, "*prescribed medicines and purgatives for children without any need, thus harming them a lot, because they are so frail. A prejudice that is equally harming is that mothers, when their children are a bit indisposed, rush to receive the councils of wise women; these women scratch the back of the children with a razor (and put cupping glasses) with no knowledge and no need; ... it happens that when they scratch their backs the children are caught by spasms, even epilepsy and death occurring because of such treatments; and all this has its cause in the ignorance of the wise women, who cut not only through the ordinary skin, but the muscles"* (Samarian 1937, 95). Another "*treatment"* encountered by the Bucureşti physician at the beginning of the 19th century "*was applied when children, unable to suck well, had their mouth burnt or were cut under the tongue, thus, because of the food, making them unable to suck at all and killing them"* (Samarian 1937, 95).

The method was used both for the children of ordinary people and the children of the rich people, following these steps: "*they burn their mouth palate with a needle or other sharp thin iron instrument, turned red in fire, or they use a burnt basil branch"* (Samarian 1937, 92).

When the people around a newborn saw that its face was pale, they immediately were afraid of jaundice. The phenomenon was frequent in the case of brunette children and the treatment was applied indiscriminately; they proceeded as follows: "*they used a lot of bad and dangerous drugs, among which the most innocent and useful, even in case of jaundice, is the gall of an ox; but in this way they kill a lot of children"* (Samarian 1937, 92).

Whatever the disease, the wise women and the midwives did undertake a treatment; besides spells and massages, they used all kinds of drugs, "*making things worse in the case of such frail children, they put all kinds of medicines for internal use in wine or spirits of wine, even when the disease is most virulent; thus many children, even before returning home, are the victims of such killing prejudices"*. (Samarian, 1937, p.92).

Despite the death of many infants after such treatments, these which doctors enjoyed "*the unbelievable trust that stupid women, even those from prominent circles, placed in these wise women ..."* (Samarian 1937, 92).

In a society in which medieval and modern mentalities vied against each other, the lack of education often favored the traditional ways of doing things, even in the case of the elites. For the newborns among the elites this meant that they fell victims of the situation. The mothers, the women from these families, who were less educated and fearful of superstitions and traditional beliefs, bore the guilt in the eyes of their families. After the cure that midwives developed for the infants, against the advice of the doctors who

consulted and assisted the mothers, the next stage followed, in which the baby was entrusted to "*a nurse, stupid and ignorant"*, as doctor Caracaş put it.

How these nurses looked like? It is interesting to draw their portrait in order to learn more about the fate of the children from the elite during the period when they were in their hands. According to doctor Caracaş, the nurses were "*ordinary women"* (Samarian 1937, p.88) "*dishonest, degraded women, unworthy of the name of mother; paying no attention to consciousness or feelings, they discarded their own children and, for low wages, took care of the babies of others"* (Samarian 1937, 87).

Thus the morals of the nurses was dubious, because they abandoned their own children; how could they "*defend the children in the dangerous circumstances to which are exposed the frail infants"*? (Samarian 1937, 89). Beside that, they also were the source of infections, because "*of their lack of morals they are prone to spreading infections"* (Samarian 1937, 89). From these women - despite being chosen "*with all the care that parents have for finding a healthy nurse"* - the children catch "*dangerous diseases, whose effect is bad breath, chronic wounds, atrophies and, finally, death and, if they escaped from all this, all their life will be painful and miserable"* (Samarian 1937, 89). Among the most common diseases of the infants raised by nurses were various infections from "*tuberculosis to ricketiness and chronic asthma and many other sufferings"* (Samarian 1937, 89).

Now, despite the fact that a nurse, because of her education, her way of life and her health, could endanger the baby's life, the parents had the habit to change these women. This habit made things worse for small children. These changes must have been quite frequent since they caught the attention of doctor Caracaş (Samarian 1937, 89). Even in the years to come, the families did not pay much attention to the health, hygiene and education of their children. The place of the nurses was taken by a series of personages from the boyars' courts. Doctor Caracaş painted their portrait: "*after weaning, the families entrust the care of babies to ignoble and lazy child rearing nurses or other poor women, whose morals are not recommendable ... Worse than all, they leave their children to live with maids, some even with gypsies, in a single bed, in the worst back chamber, where and the sun barely shines. There, because of so many bodies dirty exhalations, because of the wet steam that is formed when drying clothes and other infect sources, a malodorous and putrid atmosphere is formed, especially during winter, which influences both those children and women, who catch colds, chronic cough and others diseases"* (Samarian 1937, 96).

The same surrounding conditions were described by Andreas Wolf: "*Children (of the boyars) usually spend their first years in the middle of the Gypsies ... In one room one can find: nurses, gypsies, infants and small children, brought up under the supervision of a stupid old woman, grizzled and sharing the most egregious prejudices ..."* (Cernovodeanu & Holban 2001, 1264).

The analysis of the writings left by physicians from the beginning of the Nineteenth Century points to their fight with traditions as the main challenge. The reduced number of physicians, the high fees they charged for their services made them unavailable for ordinary people. While families from the society's elites often called them, even these families, out of ignorance and fear, stuck to traditions. Thus their infants were condemned to a life which resembled in many ways the life of ordinary children; this brought hazards and high mortality even for these infants.

Summing up, for the noble, elite children, at birth, the presence of the doctor made a difference, but, after this, care, living conditions, the use of wise women, nannies and "rearing nurses" made their life similar to that of ordinary children. Hence the reporting of similar diseases in both cases and a risk of infant mortality almost as high for the children of elites as for the children of ordinary people.

The chaotic nutrition of the children, a result of the erroneous understanding of what means to care for them, was another factor that made them fall ill and die. The medical practitioners pointed out these shortcomings. For example, doctor Caracaş warned that "*even though they feed them in excess during the periods of abstention from meat and the periods with meat dishes, in fact they worsen the situation, because, in order to prevent crying, they feed the babies irregularly, several times a day, causing often their fall into dyspepsia, diarrhea, constipation of the stomach and atrophies as a result of polyphagia. Most of the children get used to drink coffee, and this several times a day, and, what is worse, they drink wine ... Brandy causes greater health damage; many parents having an addiction to brandy, give it to their children, when they are still in their infancy, before meals and after ... On top of that, in order to spoil them, pamper them with various dishes, often unripe fruits, sweets, cakes, pies, without taking into account the quantity and quality, so that many times, because of this imprudence, children get various gastric disorders, dyspepsia, vomiting, spasms and epilepsy"* (Samarian 1937, 97).

The effort of the physicians was hopeless. The result of this kind of diet, this time over-feeding, was still diarrhea, constipation, gastrointestinal upsets, disorders caused by alcohol and aggravated by drinking coffee.

The health and existence of children from all walks of life, as mirrored by the historical sources, were in danger. Even the society's elites did not take seriously the endeavors and knowledge of the doctors; but the appeal to traditions, which created a common ground for the living conditions of the children at the beginning, generated, during the time, a gap between the ordinary children and those of the elites, who were more and more integrated into the way of life, nutrition and fashions of their parents. The common framework consisted in unhealthy ways of feeding and clothing as causes for

sensitivity and common diseases at all children, as enteritis, pneumonia, diarrhea; these diseases were responsible for the death of many children, both of humble origin and noble origin. This was not a peculiar phenomenon in Bucureşti. Doctor Andreas Wolf, basing his observations on experiences in Moldavia, corroborates these conclusions when he mentioned the main diseases that had children as victims: smallpox - "*Smallpox epidemics (variola), which occur, time and again, every 3-4 years ... kill an incredible many number of children ...*" - rickets - "*Almost any house of nobles is hit at least three or four times by this disease and most of the children develop a Racchitis completa form*". Other diseases with an overall impact on the people, including children, were "*gastric fevers*" - most common after periods of abstention from eating meat - and "*inflammation of the lungs*", in February and March (Cernovodeanu & Holban 2001, 1267). In a similar vein, at 1889, Ioan P. Licherdopol mentioned among the diseases that could be encountered in Bucureşti: smallpox, pneumonia, tuberculosis, diphtheria, scarlet fever, septicemia (Licherdopol 2008, 428).

Besides the children mentioned above, somewhere on the fringes of society were the children most in need: the children of nurses, abandoned children and children of women with loose morals (prostitutes).

For the sake of money, nursemaids took to their breast the children of women from wealthy families, giving their children away to be nursed by poorer women. The fate of these children was grim as poor women, who accepted them "*as it is natural, give preference to their own children and care more for their children than for the children of others; being immoral, they treat them so ruthlessly that almost all, in a very short time, fall into atrophy, constipation in the stomach and diarrhea, that are hard to heal and very rarely - as we have seen - escape death*" (Samarian 1937, 89).

In the case of abandoned children, the state did pay some attention to them (Livadă-Cadeschi 2001, 207-242). Alexander Ypsilanti created "*a shelter in a church, named All Saints, where each child is housed and fed by a nurse, who is given food, wages and some clothes*". (Samarian 1937, 162) With the outbreak of war, however, the orphanage is closed and the charity institutions were reorganized in 1792, when Alexander Moruzi "*decided that the orphans should be entrusted to nurses and raised by them in their own homes*" (Samarian 1937, 162).

The result was, as doctor Caracaş noted, that: "*Out of 200-250 children taken to be cared for, excepting those who were fortunate enough to be adopted by compassionate Christians without children, all the other ended up as unfortunate victims of neglect and insensitivity of mercilessly and rapacious trustees, especially because no doctor controlled their situation. Thus these children die frequently because the state officials did not trouble to choose honest and conscientious nurses and did not control how they raised these children*" (Samarian 1937, 163).

The nourishment provided by nurses, that often led to infant death due to diarrhea was: instead of breast milk cow milk or a juice called "papară ('panada') *composed of water and bread or polenta and, very rarely, cleaned rice or barley or other such grains. Many used to mix bread with children food or even give them their adult kind of food. This food is not suitable for these poor creatures and it is fatal..."* causing "*incurable diarrhea"* (Samarian 1937, 163).

Despite their age, these small children were often placed in a position to face cold, hunger or, when abandoned, the indifference for their health of their nurses. Doctor Caracaş described how they had to live in cold places, dirty, without any care "*and lacking needful clothing and cleanliness, because nurses do not provide them with adequate clothes, putting aside the sum of seven lei per month destined to this purpose, and children die of cold, especially since their homes are damp and miserable. Many fall ill within days of birth, because their barbaric mothers abandon them in churches or at crossroads, where they lie many hours, exposed to the elements. They cry for hours and, if there is no merciful soul around to receive them, they are taken to the asylum, but until they find a nurse, many of them eat nothing all day long and remain frozen and full of filth"* (Samarian 1937, 163).

Even after they were taken by nurses, they continue to be victims of the cumbersome bureaucracy. After two months, the nurses, in order to receive the due sum of money from "*the unconscientious officials"* must come with the children; but they were kept for hours, even days, waiting "*and the poor children, even those with a healthy constitution, naturally fell ill and became victims of the lack of conscienciousness and neglect of these barbarians* [the officials – a/n]" (Samarian 1937, 164).

Another danger to children were the venereal diseases of their mothers and nurses. The children of prostitutes must be mentioned among the most disadvantaged persons. Commenting on this topic, doctor Caracaş wrote: "*It was noted that death takes its toll among those born of public or dishonest women infected by venereal diseases. Many die even if they had been born uninfected; they take these diseases from sick nurses"* (Samarian 1937, 163). The doctor expected to meet frequently such cases, since a few decades earlier, C.G. Ludlof could note: "*The main diseases that haunt usually Wallachia and especially Bucureşti, its capital, are fever, caused by emanations from swamps and standing water, ... scurvy and venereal disease"* (Cernovodeanu & Holban 2000, 445).

The reconstruction of the situation of the children from Bucureşti at the beginning of the 19th Century reveals the fact that most of them belonged to poor families, with a mentality rooted in tradition. The medical practitioners of that age pointed out that, among these inhabitants, who were poorly nourished, had deficient ideas about hygiene and brought in midwives, who applied traditional medicine, infant mortality was very high. The state did not

feel concerned by the destiny of the children, not even in the case of the abandoned children or of destitute children from the marginal categories of the society. The institutions that had to protect them fell prey to war and bureaucracy.

The elites of the society, because of a deficient education and a sense of fear for the life of their offspring, resorted to midwives, nurses, servants, exposing to dangers the life of their descendants. In these circumstances, we see in the Bucureşti of the beginning of the Nineteenth Century the bitter struggle of a few doctors, who wanted to modernize the medical assistance for children, against those people who stuck to tradition. Unfortunately, tradition was the dominant force, making plausible the estimation of doctor Caracaş, who thought that one third of the children reached maturity, two thirds dying in the meantime.

The war of 1806-1812 and, above all, a terrible plague added to the hazards of the way of life of the first part of the Nineteenth Century, leaving the population of Bucureşti and Wallachia decimated. The plague epidemic of 1813-1814 was one of the worst disasters of the 19th Century in Wallachia, with many casualties in the capital.

The epidemic was preceded by a long economic crisis, during 1810-1812, that amplified the shortages caused by the war that took place in the region.(Nicoară, 2006, p.531-532) Ioan Dobrescu, in his diary, pointed out: "*Let it be known that in this year of 1811 there was a great famine in Wallachia. The price of bread got to 22 dimes per three pounds, 32 dimes for three pounds of white bread, 20 dimes for three pounds of corn, 2 lei and 20 dimes for three pounds of codfish, 60 dimes for three pounds of carp, the small one at 40 dimes, five thalers for three pounds of oil, 8 lei the turkey, the chicken 3 lei, an egg 5 dimes, fifteen hundred pounds of wheat 125 lei, 12 lei for a wagon of timber, and other prices of the same sort... The Christians fared very badly this year* [1811 – a/n]. *The famine started in 1810, at the new wheat crop and lasted until 1812, again at the new wheat crop. Food could still be found, but the Russian army brought a lot of people from the Turkish lands and a lot of soldiers, making food scarce for everyone. And I had such a hard year, as for the others, God knows, but there was no year like this one".* (Corfus 1966, 336).

Naturally, the shortages and the high prices of basic foodstuffs and firewood were felt by ordinary people, the city dwellers who bought them from the market. The disease that erupted in December 1812 and quickly spread was favored by the existence of a weakened population and struck the most vulnerable categories: poor town people and their children, who wandered everywhere to seek their living.

There are no quantitative data about contagion and mortality, especially among children, but the documents mention the countless families who fell ill and those who fled from the disease. The reigning prince, however, saw that children were often located in the contaminated areas and urged doctors to consult them. He was also motivated by the fear that children might spread plague; thus he issued a written order in 1813 for their surveillance.

In the spring of 1813, the ruling prince noted this phenomenon when he wrote, in a letter dated 6 May 1813, to his doctor: "*I have seen myself many of the children and people standing on bridges, sick, some having on their body several sores; and I command to investigate the disposition of such people, in order to see what diseases they are suffering from and what are those bumps, and to make a report to us"* (Samarian 1932, 263).

It was a highly contagious disease which spread rapidly. Ion Ghica wrote: "*Contagion was so dangerous that the shortest interaction with an infected house brought death for an entire family and violence was so great that a man hit by plague was a dead man*"(Ghica 1940, 55).

In these circumstances, the ruling prince issued a new order, on 18 August 1813, limiting the circulation and contacts of people, in order to avoid contagion. This is an important document, revealing the mentality of the officials and elites confronted with an epidemic. This order, among other things, contained the following provisions: 1/ when people meet, they have to avoid getting close to each other; 2/ "*Let no one dare to enter into any infected house, or touch anything from that house or hang around it"*; 4/ the seller "*must stay away from the buyer and the buyer must avoid contact, staying at the three steps from the seller"* and all purchased items are to be taken with pliers in a bowl and left untouched for a while, the money for payment being put in a "*bowl of vinegar"*; 9/ "*everybody has to keep in their homes large pots of water, changing it often, and smoke of garbage, in order to wash and deodorize all things that will be brought into their homes ..."*; 10/ the householder was obliged to announce the magistrate and the priest, if someone in the family got sick. Until the "*investigation"*, this patient must be put "*in a place away from the house, without letting anyone of the house meet or touch that person or the belongings of the sick person..."*.

Article 7 was devoted to the issue of children: "*Those who have young children in their homes, or even grown-up children who are still unable to judge soundly and distinguish right from wrong must keep them inside the household, in the house or the backyard and not let them outside of the yard or house, as they do not know whom they meet and how they must meet other people"* (Samarian 1932, 285).

Elites and ordinary people had different ways of defending themselves against the disease. Contemporaries described the way in which nobles and

urban elites tried to isolate themselves. Ion Ghica reported that "*Above the city rises a sour and yellow smoke, the smoke of burned dung in the courts of noblemen... At each gate was a booth, a kind of kiosk, which housed one servant, put there as* pazarghidan *(commissioner shopping for bread, meat and vegetables). Nothing entered the yard until it ran through the smoke and was purified in the water container or in a bowl with vinegar*" (Ghica 1940, 56; Samarian 1932, 300).

In the eighteenth century and early in the nineteenth century still the surest way to escape the plague was to run away from the contaminated town. From this point of view, the political elites have acted in their own way, quickly taking their families and moving them out of the town, far away from the points of epidemic outbreaks. Thus, in Bucureşti, in July 1813, "*the chosen few began to take out of the town their families".* (Corfus 1966, 340) Ordinary residents were able to remove from the contaminated town their wives and children only after 2 August 1813, when the plague had already spread, sowing panic (Samarian 1932, 280).

For ordinary people, the flight meant increasing deprivations and an expansion of the epidemic. Thus, at 6 October 1813, in an order from the reigning prince one could read: "*... many Bucureşti residents have hidden out in the outskirts of Bucureşti, in small forests, in corn fields and pastures and have built shanty houses there ... but they keep coming back continually to Bucureşti and contaminate the people"* (Samarian 1932, 295).

Ioan Dobrescu wrote that "*the terrible death made havoc from August until January. Then from January it diminished its force, but even well-to-do families did not escape from its grip, excepting the most noble boyars who remained secluded in their courts, under heavy security"* (Corfus 1966, 341).

Many have fled to the surrounding villages. Ioan Dobrescu remembered: "*The city is empty and everyone fled as far as they could. The neighborhoods are void.*"(Corfus 1966, 340). Living conditions, hygiene have favored the spread of the disease, because according to the descriptions of L. Spallanzani (1786), "*peasant homes around Bucureşti are shabby huts of twigs, where they often live not only with the entire family, but with the few pigs or sheep, which they happen to have"* (Cernovodeanu & Holban 2000, 766).

Soon the epidemic took its toll in the counties of Ialomiţa, Prahova, Buzău, Argeş, Muscel, especially in the cities of Ploieşti, Câmpina, Târgovişte, Piteşti (Nistor 1945, 368).

The fate of many fugitives was cruel: "*Out of the town, in the villages* [dead people – a/n]*, both those who fled and the peasants, were eaten by dogs, because there was nobody around to bury them"* (Corfus 1966, 341).

The information from the craftsman's diary was confirmed by the ruling prince himself, who, on 9 October 1813, among other things, ordered: "*And where will happen to be dead people, under no circumstances may they remain unburied, but strict commands must be given in the villages not to let them unburied, in the fields or on the roads, even for an hour, but digging pits to pull them with hooks into the grave and throw over them earth"* (Samarian 1932, 296).

In Bucureşti, the survival chances were minimal if someone got sick around you. Doctors examined patients from a distance, as it was recommended that "*patient examination to be made with a small rod".*(Samarian 1932, 293) The doctors' caution is explained by the fear of being taken away together with the patients and placed outside the capital in the fields for plague-stricken people. This fear was manifested by a doctor who visited Bucureşti during the epidemic of 1792: "*I have not been able to exercise my medical profession with courage, because these people are so brutal that, if in any house where the doctor stepped in someone is going to die, everyone from that house together with the doctor are put in a cart and taken away on a field for plague-stricken, at an hour distance out of the city and forced to stay there for seven weeks. That week, just in this way, an Italian doctor was taken ... and he died there"* (Cernovodeanu, & Holban 2001, 1086).

Years have passed, but habits remained the same. At 1813-1814, houses where somebody had been ill were closed, isolated and even burnt and gravedigger took both dead and alive people outside Bucureşti on the plains of Dudeşti. From Ion Ghica remained the following description: "*Mothers left their children and husbands their wives in the hands of gravediggers, men without conscience and without fear of God... People ran away from them as if they were death itself, because they took the sick or dead on the back and slammed them into the wagon, as an indistinct heap filling the wagon, and took them to Dudeşti or Cioplea, where there were the camps for plague-stricken ... Frequently the people who got ill did not reach the field alive. They were often hit with a club in the head and, in a moment, it happened what the disease would have done in two or three days! And maybe those killed in this way were less miserable than those alive and left on the field without sheet or blankets and without cover, on wet and frozen land. From a distance of half an hour one could hear the screaming and wails of the outcasts from the camp of Dudeşti..."* (Ghica 1940, 55).

The same Ion Ghica quoted a report stating: "*Today we collected fifteen dead, but we could bury only fourteen, because one ran away and we could not catch him"* (Ghica 1940, 56).

Despite the strong measures taken by authorities, the historical sources talk about tens of thousands of deaths: Caragea, the reigning prince, appreciated that there must have been 24,000 deaths in the country, probably on the basis of official data from medical reports (Zilot Românul 1996, 357).

In other sources, the figures are much higher: Ignati Iakovenko wrote that, in 1813, "*the plague broke out with its full destructive power*" in Wallachia and the deaths were over 60,000.(Cernovodeanu 2004, 827) Ion Ghica, in his turn, noted in one of his letters: "*There died up to three hundred people a day and it seems that the death toll, in the whole country, was over 90,000"* (Ghica 1940, 55).

Doctor C. Caracaş, by comparing census data from 1809, when 960,000 people were registered, without taking into account landowners and the inhabitants of Bucureşti and Craiova, and 1814-1815, when "the overall number" has been 944,120, although in the years 1810-1812 took place the immigration of 20,000 Bulgarians and, as it would have been natural, a normal increase of the population also took place, reaches the conclusion that the victims of the plague of 1813-1814 had to be 74,000 ("*thus the difference between the total number mentioned above and the increase generated by the Bulgarians fell victim to the plague then, to whom we must add those who have died in Bucureşti, approximately 40,000; it results that the number of those who perished in the country at the time of that terrible epidemic was beyond 74,000"*). (Samarian 1937, 79) Dimitrie Berindei, in his study of 1861, also estimated that there were 70,000 deaths, a figure that is accepted by contemporary historiography (Berindei 2008, 383; Cernovodeanu 2002, 496).

Tens of thousands died in Bucureşti: 40,000 according to Doctor Caracaş, around 24,000 according to the appreciation of the traveler F.G.Laurençon (Cernovodeanu 2005, 35), "more than a fifth of the inhabitants", according to the information provided by Kosmeli (Cernovodeanu 2004, 787).

Therefore, at least half of the victims were recorded in the capital. The death toll in Bucureşti was huge compared to the number of city residents. Bucureşti's population was estimated in 1789 by Nicolae Lazăr at 88,000 (Giurescu 1979, 218). In 1790, General Alexandre de Langeron estimated it to 60,000 inhabitants (Cernovodeanu & Holban 2001, 933). Batthyány, in 1801, gave a number of 80,000 inhabitants. On the other hand, the Russian military administration census of 1810 gave 10,103 homes. (Giurescu 1979, 219) In 1835, according to the erudite professor Iosif Genilie, Bucureşti had 80,000 residents, grouped in 14,000 families and living in 12,000 houses (Genilie 2008, 145).

How many of the plague victims were children and young people it is hard to say exactly, but it must have been quite a large number. We reach this conclusion analyzing the historical sources, which despite the discreet, casual mentions, gave however a picture in which they are always among the refugees, the sick and the deceased. Thus the reigning prince saw them among the first who bore the signs of the disease; in his orders, children were a risk factor.

Families sometimes abandoned their children in the midst of the contaminated crowd. Others went to the plague-stricken camp "*with crying babies"* (Corfus 1966, 340). Many were probably among those who sought refuge with their parents outside the city. Among those who died, Ioan Dobrescu mentioned children: "*in the hospital they made heaps out of a hundred naked bodies, young boys, virgin girls, children, elderly, rich, poor... Then they dug pits and throw them one over another*" (Corfus 1966, 341).

The plague epidemic of 1813-1814 was another chapter in the history of child mortality in early nineteenth century Bucureşti. Once again, the officialdom, by the measures they have taken, widened the gap between different categories of people. The measures taken in order to limit the expansion of the plague often condemned to death whole families. These families, in addition to adults, had three, four or more children.

Data analysis confirms the existence of a polarized society. This had an impact on the differentiated children survival chances. Conditions at birth, financial status, opportunities to flee or take refuge in a city besieged by plague increased the survival chances of the children of the elites.

On the other hand, the cultural traditionalism of the elites generated a similar pattern in the treatment of children early in life with that of poor families. Raised by nurses and subjects from the nobility's courts, these elite children had often their health, morality and lives impaired. But a series of excesses led to the outbreak of diseases similar to those among ordinary children (enteritis, diarrhea, pneumonia), that could unbalance the advantages of a noble birth.

In these circumstances, knowledgeable people, such as the physician Caracaş, talk about a high mortality among the children of the elites, not only among the children of ordinary people. Their claim is very plausible.

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The Issue of the War Victims in the Romanian Ecclesiastical Press of Transylvania (1919 – 1929)

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Abstract: After the First World War multiple and dramatic social-demographic events affected the population of the World. In Transylvania the Orthodox Church and the Greek-Catholic Church, both traditionally Romanian Churches competed with each other even when dealing with serious problems such as caring for the victims of war. In the pages of their press both Churches addressed the issue of war orphans, war widows and war disabled, trying to emphasize charity and Christian love asking for donations and financial aid for their orphanages, but also criticizing authorities for abuses and asking for better laws. Both Churches proved to be important institutions during the inter-war period for the sheltering and protection of those in need.

Keywords: orphan, widow, disabled, war, Greek-Catholic, Orthodox, Church, orphanages, press, Christmas

During the First World War human and material losses were terrific for all the combatants. Statistics at the end of the Great War estimate that Germany had lost 1.850.000 people and Austro-Hungary 1.540.000 while France had lost 1.325.000 people, Great Britain 744.000, Russia 1.700.000, Serbia 1.325.000, **Romania 250.000**, the United States of America 125.000 and Italy 750.000 (Olaru 1999: 185). To these we should add the deaths of civilians in areas occupied by enemy troops or where battles took place. During and after the war, Europe struggled with a high mortality rate (including infant mortality) due to bad hygiene and diseases, such as typhus and the so-called *Spanish flu* of 1918 which killed hundreds of thousands (100.000 dead in France, 270.000 in Italy, approximately 200.000 in Germany). 60-65% of those dead during this time were agricultural laborers, young active males, 25 to 35 years old. This was also the case of Romania (Berstein and Milza 1998: 30, 31). Areas where battles took place were devastated; bridges, factories, farmlands, as well as urban infrastructure were damaged or destroyed. North-Eastern France, Belgium, the

Netherlands, North-Eastern Italy, Serbia, Romania and Western Russia were particularly affected. The geographer Albert Demageon notes that Europe had "*a zone of death, 500 kilometers long and 10 to 25 kilometers broad, following the battle front, in which good land has been transformed into a desert, a wide steppe*"; it would take 16 years to repair what was damaged in the 4 years of conflict (Milza and Bernstein 1998: 105).

On a long-term the consequences of these human loses were terrible. The decrease in male population, "the marriage crisis", population aging, the financial difficulties (tax increase implied by the social integration of the disabled, the widows and the orphans) as well as the reconstruction phenomenon, the social pessimism and the rising of political and social radical movement were some of the social-economic factors that in turn led to an even higher infant mortality, an unbalanced labor structure and a continuous drop in birth-rate. For the Romanians the war continued even into 1919, with the anti-Bolshevik campaign in Hungary. The Transylvanian press, including the ecclesiastical news-papers, therefore continued to publish accounts of human casualties produced after the signing of the official ceasefire. Through official statements the situation on both fronts was exposed to the readers, the Statement on June 25th 1919 informed the public that the war did not end neither on the Eastern Front (the Dniester Line), nor on the Western Front, the number of victims as well as the names of fallen officers were proof of the ongoing hostilities (Unirea 1919(57): 2).

Against this dramatic background Romania looked unprepared, lacking a solid social insurance system and, most of all, lacking a legal background for those affected by the war – the war orphans, the disabled and the war widows. Besides, for a decade, until 1929, these situations were discussed only in regard to the land reform, the pension system and the social assistance programs, while emergency ordinances were emitted by cabinets and Western style institutions were created. Only by the 1931 *Law regarding the structuring of social aid* the basis of one of the most advanced social aid system in Europe was set. The Monarchy and traditional Churches committed themselves, even before the end of the war, in the process of institutionalizing aid for the victims of war, especially for children. Regardless of its religious background, the ecclesiastical press conceptualized and signaled the abuses of the local authorities, as well as the legal errors evident especially in the case of aid distribution for the war widows. Also, except in the, more or less political, daily newspapers of the time we did not encounter any account of abuse towards war orphans especially the non-institutionalized ones. We assume that the number of abuses was high since the painter N. Tonitza, published, in *Cuvântul*

Liber (1920), a drawing of a man beating a miserable looking child with a rod while telling him: "A war orphan and you are begging? Don't you know your quality, you idiot!" (Lumina Satelor 1927(22): 1; Lumina Satelor 1927(45): 4). In the light of those above, telling a story in the tradition of popular newspapers was aimed at developing empathy, civism, *romanianism*, orthodox religiosity. Such a tale is that of the 7 orphans from Bucharest who, during winter, are visiting their relatives in Iaşi; a few of them died on the road (Lumina Satelor 1928(52): 5). This was a highly popular story after the war becoming an urban legend; editors use it to indirectly tell that the issue of the war orphans is far from resolved, and that the public opinion was indifferent.
The orthodox papers show the most critical reactions to the abuses on war victims, especially orphans. Such attitudes are possible due to Romania's legal background which favored the Orthodox Church, considering it the dominant Church and representative for the national identity, as well as to the affirming of the orthodox hierarchy on the political scene. The institutional chaos and the passing of the Disabled, Orphans and Widows (DOW) Society from the Ministry of War to the Ministry of Public Healthcare were the object of most criticism. Other articles discussed the values of the pensions for those "handicapped by war", a pension of 100-200 Lei a month was considered „a shame, a national sin", at least half of the DOW funds were consumed by bureaucracy. According to statistics an orphan received only 1 Leu a day. The newspaper observes that the DOW Law, discussed with enthusiasm in the Parliament cannot be applied due to lack of funding. It was anticipated that pensions could only be paid starting January 1st 1928 (Lumina Satelor 1927(22): 1; Lumina Satelor 1927(45): 4).

The same ecclesiastical press popularized the first actions towards the institutionalizing of social protection for orphans reminding the commitment of Queen Marie (Unirea Poporului 1919(81): 5), that of female elites (notably Princess Cantactuzino, Zoe Râmniceanu, Olga Sturza who through the Women of New Romania Reunion and through the Society for the Sheltering of War Orphans organized aiding programs for orphans in Moldova, even before the end of the war) (Telegraful Român 1922(50): 1, 2), that of the traditional Churches, concerned for the low birth rates, the sheltering of orphans and the education of future mothers (Telegraful Român 1919(57)).

All statistics concerning war orphans agree on their high number. This number is often reminded by the press. The Greek-Catholics offer the first accounts, considering the well-being of orphans as a complex social issue, which regards Romania's national interest, in the near and distant future. The status of orphans was given to the victims of aggressions in Oltenia, Muntenia,

Dobrogea, Moldova (between 1916 and 1918), in Transylvania (especially during 1918-1919). A census of the number of war orphans per region revealed that: „Iaşi region had 60.694; Bucharest: 113.857; Craiova: 39.345; Chişinău: 23.720; Cernăuţi: 24.417; Sibiu: 30.086; Constanţa: 12.542; Timişoara: 25.072; Cluj region: 38.621. **The total number of orphans was 359.520**" (Cultura Creştina 1919(9-10): 40). Regarding these children left without family support, the press notes that "their number exceeds the imagination, the children lost their father or mother even after or without taking part in the war" and for their sheltering some new orphanages were created.

During 1918 and 1919 the ecclesiastical papers considered the sheltering of orphans to be a civic responsibility, a moral obligation to those who sacrificed themselves for the future of their children and countryman who now live in a united country, a pressing social issue because those children could grow to become the positive side of the future generation or the negative one, the criminals. This type of discourse develops in the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic press starting with 1919 (Unirea 1919(171): 2). Thus, the institutionalized sheltering of war orphans takes a civic and social purpose. It is affirmed that: "the number of charitable institutions is a measurement of civilizations" (Cultura Creştina 1919(9-10): 40). In May 1921, a national congress for orphans was held in Gherla. In this context the number of war orphans was set to over 200.000 children out of which only a quarter were institutionalized. The income of the DOW Society consisted of 37 million lei with which to maintain 81 orphanages, sheltering only 7.500 orphans, while the rest of 42.000 were being „cared for at home". The War Orphans' Society had its headquarter in Iaşi and regional comities, the society's funds in the first year after the war were small: the total sum consisted of 15 million Lei; Transylvania received 3 million Lei, less than Moldova and Walachia (Unirea 1919(25): 4). To be able to shelter all the orphans the society required 73 million lei (Unirea 1921(21): 2).

The exact number of orphans would be accurately known only after the return of war prisoners and the war-orphan would have a legal status (as the infant of a dead soldier, of a family who died during the war even if they hold the status of collateral casualties, of a family who died of typhus during the war or of those who during the war or after November 1918 became the victims of enemy oppression). Thus it was concluded that Romania had 359.629 war orphans and the number of orphanages was insufficient (only in the region of Cluj there were 38.621 orphans, while in Bucharest there were 113.857) (Telegraful Roman 1923(92): 4).

The forms of charity promoted by the traditional Church were explicit, visible (almost ostentatious) and they belonged to the festive culture of the religious and identitary tradition. Thus, especially during the Winter Holydays particular celebrations, like that of the Christmas Tree or the Eve of the birth of Jesus, were held and at the same time the Church was appealing to the generosity or Christian compassion of the Romanian people. The parishioners' participation to such events, through packages and donations, was considered a manifestation of patriotism as well as spiritual exercise. Usually, such festivities were held inside the orphanages supported by the Churches (we followed the most well known institutions: the Orthodox Orphanage in Sibiu, the Greek-Catholic Orphanage in Blaj and the Greek-Catholic Orphanage in Obreja). They were organized by the administration of the institution and enjoyed the assistance of the local administrative (prefect, sub-prefect, mayor), political and military authorities (in the case of Sibiu, where during the interwar period an important garrison functioned), the representatives of local cultural elite, women's reunions (this is a sign that during the interwar period, associations were more efficient, more active, even militant on other social issues than in previous times), as well as the assistance of students recruited from other institutions. For many years the ecclesiastical press has presented short-sized articles on the preliminary preparation of the festivities as well as summaries of the celebration and lists with the names of donators (Lumina satelor 1942(1): 2). In general the scenario for such festivities followed a pattern – a hybrid type that brought together Christian tradition and school celebration, a cultural patriotic manifestation imposed in the life of Transylvanian Romanians by Astra (The Transylvanian Association for Romanian Literature and the Culture of the Romanian People). When the problem of war orphans was discussed in the ecclesiastical press, the discourse was molded in such a way to emphasize the sentiment of collective responsibility and the promotion of empathy and charity as fundamental Christian virtues. Orphans and especially war orphans were considered "the images of Christ", "seeds of the future" (Unirea 1919(29): 1), "the nations orphans" (Telegraful Roman 1919(7): 1). During the festivities a very important part held the artistic moment prepared by the children, they would recite poems for those invited, sing Christmas carols and traditional songs.

In our opinion the most representative Christmas celebrations for orphans were organized in the first years after the war. In 1919, in the context of religious tension between the two Romanian traditional churches, the orthodox ecclesiastical press, in particular *Telegraful Român* and *Lumina Satelor* tried to prove the dominance of the Orthodox Church in aiding orphans. The

ecclesiastical press writes that the Orthodox Church expressed its intention to build an orphanage in Sibiu as early as 1915. The article presents in detail the list of donors; among them the list mentions Al. Lepădat, Vasile Goldiş, Ioan Lupaş, the villagers from Sălişte, and the cultural elites from Braşov (Telegraful Roman 1919(17)). Although the project was only finished after the war, in 1922 the orphanage was sheltering only 60 children. A less politicized, but more interesting event, unusual for Christmas Tree Celebrations, was organized for the children sheltered at the greek-catholic Orphanage in Blaj. The Women's Reunion organized a festive meal at the Romanian Club. „Demetru Radu, the Bishop of Oradea, dr. Vasile Suciu, the diocesan administrator, F. Negreţiu, the orphanage's manager, and representatives of the Women's Reunion attended the celebration held for the 40 orphans, children of soldier who died in the war" (Unirea Poporului 1919(20): 4). Among the celebrations organized in the orthodox orphanages the most important are those in the first five years after the war. Thus, at the arch-metropolitan orphanage the manager, Iosif Trifa, organized a "beautiful celebration" for the children. Metropolitan Nicolae, members of the clergy, general Găvănescu and a "generous sponsor" organized the celebration of the Christmas Tree in 1924 (Telegraful Roman 1924(1-2): 4.). The last grandiose celebration dedicated to the orphans sheltered by the Orthodox Church was the one organized in 1925. The Sibiu press informed "all the friends of the orphans" about the preparations, and the program, the children would sing carols and recite poems (Lumina Satelor 1925(52): 11).

After the first years of civic enthusiasm, the people's response, except for some priests, practitioners and wealthy citizens, dropped significantly. The reason for this could be found in the economic difficulties of the 1930s. Not incidentally the articles announcing these events, although short, became dramatic, even pathetic. Thus, the orthodox papers published in Sibiu called for donations (clothing, money, food, Christmas tree decorations) for the Orthodox Orphanage in Sibiu, where 70 orphans were raised without any aid from the state. They pleaded "for a warm and beautiful Christmas"; donations could be made at the Editorial office (Lumina Statelor 1928(51): 7). The Christmas Tree celebration was considered an opportunity to show philanthropy, and Christian love. Articles stated that similar celebrations took place in other schools and orphanages, an example being the Orphanage in Orlat (Telegraful Român 1928(1-2): 2).

Edifying for the good intentions of the Church and for the shallowness of the system are the events regarding the "DOW of War Congress" (1927) and the public and parliamentary debate surrounding the bill on the status of

the disabled, the orphan and the widow of war. In the pages of the ecclesiastical press the event was narrated as a beneficial major manifestation which was brutally oppressed by the authorities. The National Congress of the war-disabled, war-orphans and war-widows begun in a solemn manner by celebrating the heroes of war. This took place in the Patriarchal Cathedral, followed by a visit to the statue of Michael the Brave, but the gendarmes stopped the march, using even their gunstock to hit the participants. Those present in the Congress asked the authorities to take an active part in aiding the victims of war and stop abuses ("if there would be no more thefts of public funds"); a disabled captain, officer Beleuţă, condemned the gendarmes' brutality accusing them of destroying national flags, while, during elections (probably those of 1926) they permitted Hungarian flags during ethnic Magyar manifestations. After these an orphan gave "a sorrowful" speech, he recited some verses saying that no one and nothing can replace paternal affection. The press insisted on the decisions of the Congress because these were a form of pressure on politicians. They asked for: increased pensions, the DOW society should be administered by the Ministry of War, all the disabled, orphans and widows of war should receive 60.000 square meters of land in rural areas and properties in towns. They also asked for the creation of a Credit Bank for the victims of war, and for the right to sell those goods over which the state had monopoly (tobacco, salt, matches, etc.), as well as train station shops and newspaper stands; transport companies should offer 75% tax reduction, and for those who required assistance the trip should be free of charge both for them and the person assisting them; they asked that only victims of war should be eligible for recruitment in the DOW Society's administration apparatus (Lumina Satelor 1927(7): 2).

Other specific forms of collective and individual charity in the first years after the war were the charity balls, the donations from wedding gifts (of the so-called bride's dance; a practice encountered in Greek-Catholic communities). The press mentions the generosity of the newlyweds Simion Câmpeanu and Silvia Costea, from Pănade, and that of those who took part in their wedding; they donated a great sum of money for the Blaj orphanage (Unirea Poporului 1919(48): 3); another example of generosity was noted at the wedding of Tit Măhăra and Ana Miclea from Ighiu who donated money for the Orphans' House in Blaj (Unirea Poporului 1919(66): 6). Contributions were also received from abroad (Telegraful Român 1920(58-59)). Specific for the first category, remains the Sânmărtin Philanthropic Ball (Unirea 1919(35): 3), an event that took place in the palace of the Târnava Mică Prefecture, under the protection of the political authorities; otherwise, the ball mixed together

political, nationalist, elitist and philanthropic traits (the event is widely described in the pages of the press insisting on the Romanian flags, and the traditional Romanian cuisine).

In our opinion, however, the most significant events are those of establishing or equipping church orphanages and the examples that underline the self-abandonment of clerics, monks or laymen (for this type of devotion see the profile of Vasile Rusu, from Dâmbul de Câmpie, who after losing his son in the war donated his wealth to the Orphanage and dedicated his life to taking care of the children sheltered in the Orphan's House in Blaj, children of the dead soldiers (Unirea Poporului 1919(54): 2-3)) regarding the sheltering and education of orphans through donations or packages. Many church memorandums pleaded for donations, the priests were asked to "go from door to door and ask for donations" and at the same time make lists with the names of donors (Unirea 1922(4): 3).

The most important Greek-Catholic charitable organizations were: the Blaj Orphanage, the Obreja Orphanage, the Blaj Retirement Home and the Blaj Asylum for deficient Priests. We noted, that unlike the Orthodox press, the Greek-Catholic publications were more involved in describing the daily life of the orphans sheltered by the Church, as well as in promoting these institutions by regularly publishing information on the events and the atmosphere inside the Blaj Orphanage (the Orphan's House in Blaj, „a small, white house, with a big yard…shelters both pre-school children, and gymnasium students" situated in front of the monastery, not far from the Metropolitan Palace (Unirea poporului 1919(243):2)), and on the life of the children sheltered in the Obreja Orphanage. Immediately after the war, the Greek-Catholic newspaper, *The Union*, evoked the pressure of the epoch, the long tradition Blaj held and its need to retain the title of Romanian Oxford. The intention of constructing a grand building for the orphanage was part of this project; the idea belonged to the Archbishop who wanted to establish the greatest institution of this type in Romania. Begun in 1916 the construction of the two buildings, one for boys and the other for girls, had to be finished by the autumn of 1919 and already be able by 1920 to shelter 300 orphans; however the war will delay these efforts (Unirea 1919(158): 1). They wanted to follow the example of St. Mary's Orphanage of Chicago, which sheltered 1000 orphans by benefiting from huge funds resulted mainly from the diocese income (Unirea 1919(143): 1). The article describing the opening of the Orphanage in Blaj was written with the purpose of showing the pre-eminence of the Greek-Catholic Church in such undertakings, mentioning that the orphanage was inaugurated on October 1st 1918 (Unirea 1918(61): 1). Although

inaugurated in 1918 the Orphanage functioned mostly as a military hospital, only 50 orphans were sheltered there at that moment, the rest, however, were housed by the community. (An event from the 20th of June 1916 is recounted, on that day intellectuals from Blaj met in the Romanian Club and decided to organize a Church orphanage. While in June 1922 the base of the workshop, in which the children sheltered at the Obreja orphanage would learn different trades, was consecrated) (Unirea 1922(39)).

The Obreja Orphanage was considered the glory of the small town, it enjoyed wide attention from the press, as well as the support of the community; therefore even 5 years after the war, monetary donations as well as cloth, towels or shirts were collected with enthusiasm (Unirea 1922(39)). The Greek-Catholic papers often recorded the actions of the Congregation of nuns who managed the orphanage. The Congregation of the Mother of God was created in Blaj, on February 2nd 1921 by Metropolitan dr. Vasile Suciu who, by the 506/1921 decree declared the founding of the first women's congregation of the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church. Sister Febronia Mureşan, daughter of a greek-catholic priest, formed in the Franciscan Congregation was the first leader of the nucleus that formed the Congregation of the Mother of God and the first Superior General. Their first assignment was taking care of the children sheltered at the Blaj orphanage, opened in 1918. The building which served as the orphanage was unfitted and inadequate, thus in the autumn of 1921, the Metropolitan decide to transfer it alongside the sisters of the Congregation to Obreja. The mansion would become the cradle of the Congregation of the Mother of God. The congregation grew, spreading in whole Transylvania. In 1925 the first subsidiary opened in Aiud, at the Tuberculosis Sanatorium. During 1926 and 1928 other subsidiaries opened at Geoagiul de Jos, Arad, Craiova, with the purpose of caring for the sick. In 1927 the sisters open, in Cluj, the first home for female students, shortly after; they open the first School of Housework, known as the „Saint Theresa" Institute. In August 1927, when the Acknowledgment Institute's Building was finished the sisters moved from Obreja back to Blaj to manage the girl's dorm.
The legislation regarding the status of the disabled, the orphan and the widow was discussed publicly more often after the 1926 legal framework was set. The legal background regarding social protection will become increasingly explicit during the next years. In *Monitorul Oficial* nr. 68 the *Law no. 73 for the structuring of the Ministry of health and Social protection and for the changing of some articles regarding the health law, of the national DOW office and social assistance, from June 29th 1929* was published, article 156 enjoins: „The Ministry of Labor, Health and Social Protection […] organizes and controls social aid and protection for mothers

and children, disabled, orphans, widows of war, physical and mental handicaps". In this context, between 1926 and 1929 passionate and sometimes confusing articles were written on the crisis of the system, on the parliamentary debates and on the necessity of improving the social-economic status of the victims of war. In general, such clamming attitudes manifested themselves as a preamble to any legislative approach. The schools supported by the Church fulfilled some of the requests regarding war orphans, for several years already. The Orthodox and Greek-Catholic ecclesiastical press was filled with articles on the way in which file contests were held to fill the vacancies in the religious boarding schools (Unirea 1919(158): 2, 3; Unirea 1919(163): 1; Unirea 1919(173): 2; Telegraful Roman 1926(52): 1). Some politicians integrated the DOW Society's demands into their political agenda, the most important of demands were: moving the DOW Society under the protection of the Ministry of War; price reductions for railroad transport (12 free travels per year for the war victim and their companion); merchandise on credit offered by the State Monopoly Administration, to those who offer solid guarantees; exception of school fees for war orphans and the children of the disabled; the children of the disabled or war widows who for some reasons were not put into possession of land as well as war orphans would receive scholarships in all public schools; DOWs who were not put into possession of land although had the right, would receive a quantity of fire wood from the forest districts; the wives and the children of the disabled were considered widows and orphans of war once the disabled died (Lumina Satelor 1927(10): 5). It should be pointed out the insistence with which the clarifying and extending of the DOWs statutes in accordance to the new realities of the time was tried. It was considered that other categories of victims and their descendents (such as those who fought as volunteers in the legions for the unification, prisoners of war, the descendants of those executed, those implicated in the auxiliary services and who were injured and disabled and those who were tortured in occupied territory) should also benefit from the DOW status (Lumina Satelor 1927(10): 6). A new legal background for the DOW Society was considered a crucial act, a necessary act in an epoch in which the Ministry of War was still trying to find, years after the conflagration, cases of disabled "left unaided or helpless" while funds for the construction of orphanages or for the daughters of the war disabled and war widows were insufficient (Lumina Satelor 1927(11): 8).

In conclusion we noted that during the interwar period the traditional Romanian Churches, the most influential institutions in a still widely rural society, understood and took their social role very serious. Although engaged

in a fierce conflict they found the time and space in the pages of their publications to attend one of the most important issues of the time.

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Some Findings Regarding Intergenerational Exchanges and Volunteering in the Romanian Family. A Synthesis

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Abstract: The present study summarizes the results of a set of exploratory research with the aim to reveal, both theoretically and empirically, the intergenerational exchanges within the Romanian family and the connections between social capital and volunteering, both understood as phenomena which are intermediated by the extended family and kinship relations. Drawing on the results of our previous empirical findings and using the theoretical background of intergenerational and family studies, the conceptual framework of the article builds on two hypotheses: 1) the role of the vicious circle of social capital and 2) the role of the virtuous circle of social capital in mediating volunteering and involvement in connections with the bonding social capital assumptions. In this sense, in the study we are focused on the role of intergenerational solidarity in kinship and other informal social networks (friends, neighbors, community) in orienting people towards several forms of participation, social engagement and volunteering. The researchers made use of a qualitative and quantitative methods mix, in which qualitative analysis prevailed.

Keywords: informal social capital, intergenerational support/exchanges, participation, trust, solidarity, virtuous/vicious circle of informal social capital, kinship, community, volunteering.

1. Family as root for intergenerational support, community ties and participation in volunteering. Some theoretical and empirical findings

Although both *intergenerational and family studies* use the term 'cross-generational interaction' when refer to intergenerational linkages, there are also broader definitions of intergenerational relationships. Specifically, family studies include here parent-child relationships and other kin relationships, while intergenerational studies focus on both non-kin relationships and family relationships that transcend a generation. Intergenerational simply means 'between generations' and thus the inclusion of studies on parent-child inter-

action is considered important here. Because the family is constituted by a complex of cross-generational linkages, intergenerational relationships have a particularly salient role in contemporary family networks. Family life (structures and processes) is multigenerational in nature and cross-generational linkages have a central role for both personal and family connectedness and continuity.

The academic study of families is not new, since it has started as an interdisciplinary area of inquiry in the early 20th century. Having the coherent body of family theories and research, scholarly journals have focused since then on family issues from a variety of established disciplinary perspectives (e.g., home economics, sociology, social psychology, anthropology, human geography). The connections between family studies and intergenerational studies are most obvious in the life span developmental perspective which is evident in each of the above mentioned disciplinary fields (see VanderVen 2004). According to this approach, in later life, parents place a high value on caring and sharing ties with their children. They continue to be interested in the activities and welfare of their children and subsequent generations'. Despite popular myths and despite the growth in modern housing arrangements and individualistic values in contemporary developed societies, these studies reveal that individuals remain committed to the reciprocal care and support of kinship (Harper 2004). Parents continue to provide help and attention to other family members, as well as to receive support. The reciprocal interactions that occur across all the generations are a sign of family well-being (see Davey, Savla and Belliston 2003, Harper 2004, Logan and Spitze 1996, Rossi and Rossi 1990). Besides revealing major tendencies of intergenerational linkages, such studies have always had a strong applied emphasis and in some cases, programming efforts have been more prominent than the articulation of theory or research (see VanderVen 1999, quoted by Hanks and Ponzetti Jr. 2004).

The American literature, which is the most significant in the area, has reviewed some developments related with intergenerational studies. Table 1 summarizes, from a historical perspective, the review of literature based on the National Council of Family Relations (NCFR - USA) and includes also a review from other landmark sources regarding different kinds of approaches concerning the relation between family issues and intergenerational relationships.

Table 1. Review of literature based on NCFR studies and other landmark sources

Research on intergenerational relationships from family studies perspective: Decade review of the 1960s (Broderick 1971)
•Kinship: family structure; parent child; in-law; frequency of contact; generational conflicts; strength of ties
•Inheritance: application of exchange theory; transmission of wealth; sharing of resources
•Care-giving: availability/residential propinquity; gendered work; economic differences
•Grand parenting: transmission of values; meaning of role for grandparents; impact of interaction on child development
Research on intergenerational relationships from family studies perspective: Decade review of the 1970s (Berardo 1980)
•Parent-child relationships: bi-directional influences in the relationship
•Advocacy: 'government intrusion into the parent-child relationship' (Walters and Walters 1980)
•Kin networks in African American families
•Bureaucratic linkages: organizations assume nurturing roles of family
•Non-traditional family norms
•Isolation of the nuclear family: Gary Lee (1980) observed that isolation becomes 'a variable, not a condition'.
•Kin availability and intergenerational economic interdependence
Research on intergenerational relationships from family studies perspective: Decade review of the 1980s (Booth 1990)
•Policy: growing individualism; lessening civil engagement
•African American families: racial socialization; black women in extended kin networks; 'early' grand parenting; church as informal support network
•Later life families: adult children and their parents; grand-parenting; family care-giving; gender differences
•Adolescence: parent/peer influences; youth culture
•Marital and family enrichment programs: evaluation research encouraged
Research on intergenerational relationships from family studies perspective: Decade review of the 1990s (Milardo 2000)
•Family structure in multicultural perspective
•Grandparents' involvement: grandparents raising grandchildren
•Neighbourhood and peer influences: acculturation and intergenerational conflict in immigrant families
•Comparison of friendship and kin networks
•Application of theories to intergenerational relations: life course; feminist; socio-emotional selectivity; family solidarity
•Methodological issues: qualitative and quantitative

Intergenerational relationships reviewed in the *Handbook of Marriage and the Family* (first edition), (Sussman and Steinmetz 1987)
•Historical research on family structure: persistence of nuclear family; aid in extended kin networks; fluidity of household structure over the life span
•Life course perspective: mid-life transitions; gender differences
•Parent and child socialization: bi-directional influence
•Family solidarity
Intergenerational relationships reviewed in the *Handbook of Marriage and the Family* (second edition), (Sussman, Steinmetz and Peterson 1991)
•Parent-child relationship continues to interest family scholars
•Focus on adulthood, i.e. the middle generation
Intergenerational relationships reviewed within the families: *Intergenerational and Generational Connections* (eds. Pfeifer and Sussman 1991)
•Process of modernization and emergence of bureaucratic organization: viability of intergenerational connections in the face of residential distance between generations (Sussman)
•Intergenerational solidarity – refinements in operational definitions and methodologies (Roberts, Richards and Bengtson)
•Application of life course perspective – focus on 'the middle ground' (George and Gold)
•'Differential pull' of family and non-family intergenerational relationships as basis for obligation (Hanks)
•Convoys of social support (Antonucci and Akiyama)
•Policy and generational conflict (Hirshorn)
•Role timing and meaning (Kivett)

Source: adaptation from Hanks and Ponzetti Jr. 2004: 10-11, 14

Especially in the case of developed countries, a common model across the life course refers to the increasing of equal exchanges of support and aid or role reversal as parents are advancing in age. Overall, the empirical evidence strongly suggests that most adult children and their parents remain involved with one another throughout the life course (see Rossi and Rossi 2000).

The Romanian family has been passed through the traditional extended family model to a kind of pseudo-modernization: the rural-urban migration of labour force during the communist decades conducted to different patterns of attitudes and behaviour compared to Western countries. In the recent years, the massive migration of labour force in other countries under the economic pressure and democratic challenges affects the families in many aspects, starting with increased involvement of the relatives (especially grandparents) in children's care, and finishing with the re-distribution of labour

by gender in households and at the workplace. Along with other trends (demographic and familial behaviours as divorce and cohabitation), these recent tendencies have an impact on family exchanges and on values and attitudes toward the sense of interpersonal ties. However the importance of the extended family is still high in the mentality of the Romanian citizens (especially in rural communities), its foundations and principles are more and more dispersed and forced to be reconsidered through rational constraints/functional reasons (see Iluț 2005).

Our previous studies regarding *the manifestations and the structure of the intergenerational exchanges as a form of informal social capital* (see Tîrhaş 2011) have verified the main assumption that wealthier and more educated is the social category the more frequently it is involved in the symbolic exchange and the more consistent the material transfer to close relatives from them is (parents or grandparents). This study has re-confirmed a number of findings obtained in similar studies in the USA and France, that is in the case of poor, socially marginal categories which have also weak communitarian linkages, intergenerational exchanges tend to be inconsistent. In the case of lower educated people this tendency is even more accentuated (see Achenbaum 2004, Bengtson et al. 2000). As explanations, we can quote the role of socio-cultural variables (e.g. the norms of reciprocity, the value of altruism, the norm of familial responsibility, etc.) which are all important components of the exchange and in some cases overcome in their manifestation the role of utilitarianism and the classical postulates of the social capital perspective[1]. But, based on our results, the altruistic and custom based models (moral duty, familial responsibility, intergenerational solidarity) are less frequent than the 'functional' models (norms of reciprocity, contextual utilitarianism) and the ambivalent models. We compared in this regard the years 2003 and 2010 and found that *differences between urban and rural* are going to be not so evident towards the end of the period and this aspect indicates the homogenization of the support capacity in these two environments, probably due to the emigration which constitutes, in the case of both settings, a typical phenomenon (see Tîrhaş 2011). Concerning the subject of *density of the social-communitarian network*, we noticed differences in the functioning of the exchange, depending on the social cohesion of the groups. We observed the positive effect of the communitarian and familial cohesion on exchange practices, especially in terms of its practical variants (service and help

[1] The strongest way of intergenerational exchanges takes the forms of the transmission of goods, services and support behaviors. As explanations we can cite the *utilitarian (functionalist)* point of view, the *functional nature of intergenerational solidarity* and also the *altruism based* approaches (see Tîrhaş 2011).

transfers). This intra-familial practice seems, however, to have a detrimental role on formal social capital and in some extent also on the informal social capital other than the bonding family and kinship networks (see Iluţ and Tîrhaş 2010, Nistor et al. 2011).

Volunteering as a mainly formal act of support and help (compared to the less formal help between family members and neighbours) constitutes one of the most frequent form of pro-social behaviour. Volunteering is positively associated with good health and psychological well-being, personal development and rich social capital (see McCullough and Tabak 2010). These authors show that 26% of the American citizens have been involved at least once in volunteering during the period of 2007 and 2008 (appreciatively 62 millions of individuals). This is, no doubt, a major fraction, compared to the Romanian situation, where in 2007 only 6% of the citizens have been involved in volunteering (Barometrul de Opinie Publică, CFDSC). In 2008 we can see a growth in formal volunteering in Romania, since in this year the percent of volunteers doubles to 13% (European Values Survey 2008).

However, as the authors of the Country Report Romania (Study of Volunteering in the European Union, GHK 2011) mention, such data have to be regarded with caution, due to methodological reasons (self-reported implication which implies a high degree of social desirability; the absence from the sample of the citizens aged below 18 years, a fraction which is usually active in volunteering).

2. Objectives and methodology

The major objective of our study[2] was to identify several aspects and functions of the informal social capital within the family, in connection with the research projects' main objectives: 1) to circumscribe an epistemic and conceptual frame regarding the functional linkages between formal and informal social capital; 2) the investigation of two basic hypothesis (models) in connection with social capital: the model of the vicious spiral and that of the virtuous spiral. According to the former we should expect alienation, departure from formal social structures and the transfer of various forms of support and exchange on kinship and family level (see Lin 2001, Pichler and Wallace 2007, Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993, Putnam 2000). The latter approach assumes that confidence in kinship can have a positive impact on general trust which, in turn, may enhance the chance of involvement in other networks, among these

[2] The article was prepared within the framework of the research grant "Models of interactions between informal and formal social capital. Investigation of the role of support and mediator of the enlarged family (kinship)" – see acknowledgment for the project's identification.

formal associations and activities, e.g. volunteering (Bourdieu 1993, Coleman 1990, Letki 2004).

We assumed that besides studying these theoretical issues, the investigation of the topic of social capital can bring benefits also in terms of better understanding the role of support networks in the context of economical crisis, during which such networks become usually more salient, especially through the changing level of trust attached to them (see also Nistor et al. 2011) but also through the restructuring of participation and volunteering (e.g. more frequent involvement in family networks).

In this study, besides briefly presenting our previous conclusions (see Iluţ and Tîrhaş 2010, Nistor et al. 2011, Tîrhaş 2011), we are going to explore other dimensions of the studied object as well. We should however underline that the research is mainly exploratory and the article is synthetically composed and we intend to complete the picture regarding the relationship between the two, formal and informal, forms of social capital. In the sense of this exploratory view, the major aims of the study are: 1) to explore the evolution of the goods and services based exchanges within the enlarged family in Romania (particularly, Transylvania) during the last years, especially with accents on elements of intra-familial solidarity; 2) to explore the interactions of family based social capital (e.g. solidarity) with volunteering and to see 3) how Romania is situated in terms of attitudes towards intra-familial transfers compared to other European countries.

Our methodological strategy consisted in: 1) a survey based on a theoretical sampling (see Rotariu and Ilut 2006) and a questionnaire aiming to identify intergenerational familial relationships and ways of exchange within the family and community and participation in formal association and volunteering; 2) a semi-structured interview guide applied to subjects with various socio-demographic backgrounds and centred around the same topic as the above mentioned questionnaire, completed by family-monographs. In order to analyse the data from this, in the second part of the research we used the Atlas.ti software; 3) a secondary analysis of data concerning the attitude towards intra-familial transfers in Europe, based on the data of Flash Eurobarometer no. 269 on Intergenerational Solidarity (European Commission 2009). All in all, our data and their analysis have an accentuated qualitative nature.

3. Analysis and interpretation of the results[3]

We interviewed 124 families from Transylvania (both from rural and urban settings), between July and September 2011. The aim of the interviews was to identify some patterns of interactions between informal and formal social capital, respectively to appreciate the role of support and mediator of the enlarged family in connection with these forms of social capital. Table 2 presents the socio-demographic data of the interviewed subjects.

Table 2. Socio-demographic structure of the sample

Socio-demographic background	Categories	Frequency
Family background (type of family)	Nuclear	107
	Extended	16
	One person in the household	1
Level of education	Primary school	1
	Gymnasium	4
	High school	74
	Superior (university degree)	45
Type of residence	Urban	89
	Rural	35
Income monthly level of the family (below 1500 RON/ - low; between 1500-5000 - medium; more than 5000 - upper	Low	16
	Medium	89
	Upper	19
Total	124	

The qualitative analysis of 52 family-monographs done in the same period of July-September 2011 in different zones of Transylvania (rural and urban) has concentrated, in the interpretation of data, on the verification of the hypothesis concerning the vicious spiral (e.g. Putnam 2000, Brisson and Usher 2007). In accordance with our previous research undertook within the framework of the same research project (see Iluţ and Tîrhaş 2010, Tîrhaş 2011) this phenomenon, i.e. the transfer of trust and participation from formal associations towards kinship, occurs especially in rural environments and in

[3] Field operators were the students from the Sociology Department of Babeş-Bolyai University, and from the Social Science Departments of the Sapientia University. The statistical analyses and a significant part of interpretation were realized by PhD candidate researcher Mihai Rusu and PhD researcher Viorel Cioflică (see Rusu and Cioflică 2012).

small towns, respectively in the case of older individuals from large cities and can be traced back to a more traditional way of life of these people.

3.1. Intra-familial relations

Our data revealed that the majority of the families (94 families) have traditional values and attitudes, in terms of gender roles and intra-familial work share and only 21 of the families can be considered as being egalitarian in this respect. This situation is reflected also in the distribution of the administration of the family budgets across genders: in the case of 58 families, husbands are the administrators of the money, in 35 families, wives, and in other 24 families we could reveal financial partnerships. Regarding *intra-familial help* (in the form of goods and services) and the case of neighbours and community based helping we revealed that more than half of the sample (78 families) tend to give and receive help preponderantly to and from the nuclear family, followed by neighbours. Here, the most important element which structures help-giving and receiving is *solidarity,* in strong connection with the history of the family. Thus, in families from the rural environment, where the income of the family is generated mostly by agricultural activities, children are involved from their early period of childhood in family labour.

> *"I have been involved in work beginning from my childhood. And the same is the case of my brothers'. They were going mostly with my father, I stayed in the house with my mother and tried to help her. We grew up like this. We knew which was our place and duty. We had to behave correctly and to help each other when we were asked to, even if we were not very happy about this. And I taught my children in the same way. Each of them must to know what he/she has to do, they have to help each other in accordance with their ability and power".* (G.I., female, 47 years old)

This historically rooted model of intra-familial support does not lose its intensity even after children reach maturity and depart towards other localities (including cities). In these cases, forms of support begin to have a preponderantly economic nature:

> *"Children grew up and they went to school in the city. And then, they remained there. Now, all of them have their families but we still help each other, we contact each other as often as we can. We give them what we can from here, from the village, and they help us with money, when we are in need, and how they can, because we all lack money."* (I. M., male, 67 years old)

In urban environment as well, no matter which is the educational level of the respondents, family history determines the solidarity and trust among members. In the urban environments, families are more egalitarian, the budget of the family is not dependent on children's labour, so that confidence and cohesion are built on other considerations than pragmatic, budget oriented calculus. The education of children here is regarded as a key-factor and it is considered by the parents as a factor which enhances children's civic sensibility and responsibility. In families where adults give attention to the importance of civic spirit there exists a more accentuated tendency of involvement in voluntary activities:

> *"I grew up without problems, my parents were attentive to protect me from disputes and other ugly things. Probably they've argued as well, but I never knew about such events. Until I went to studies, we done many things together. We travelled together, they took me to the hospital, where they worked. There was a time when I done some voluntary activities there".* (C.S., female, 28 years old)

A typical part of intra-familial and inter-generational solidarity stays in service providing from the part of grandparents towards their children in the form of caring for grandchildren. This so-called 'babushka nanny[4] phenomenon is a very salient way of inter-generational transfer in the case of the studied families as well. Not surprisingly, this practice is more common in the case of extended families, in which case three generations of the same family live together, within the same household. The explanation for the existence of this practice is no-far-to-seek: it is connected to spatial proximity and occupational availability of the grandmother. However, this phenomenon is not only reachable on the level of the extended families. It exists also in the cases of nuclear families, however in this cases, caring for children from the part of grandparents implies additional costs as well, especially in the form of travel costs. In accordance with the norm of reciprocity (Gouldner 1960), which stays on the basis of the social exchange approach developed by G. Homans (1958) and later by P. Blau (1964), caring as a form of help constitutes, in fact, a social investment which is honoured by other services, so that finally, members of this exchange process tend to reach a perceived equity. These assumptions were empirically verified: reciprocal help is more frequent in families in which grandmother 'invests' in caring for grandchildren. The social role of nanny, played by the grandmother is, however, well structured by

[4] The term originates from '*babushka deficit*' which illustrates the situation of the Russian society (Goode 1993), in the sense that there is a lowering number of available, non-formally employed grandmothers.

the economical condition of the family. More precisely, factors which obstruct the phenomenon of babushka nanny are: spatial distance, occupational unavailability (in the sense that the grandmother is still an employed person), economical well-being (i.e. economically better-off families can afford the services of professional nannies), etc. In accordance with the theory of social exchange, our data confirm the conclusion of such theories: the services of the grandmother are always honoured with other types of services which equilibrate the efforts spent by her in caring activities (see Rusu and Cioflică 2012).

All in all, compared to 2003, in 2010 and 2011 grandparents receive more consistent *financial transfers from the part of* their *children* working abroad. Both in urban and rural settlements, the most frequent way of reciprocity from the part of the grandparents are service providing, especially in terms of helping in the caring of the grandchildren or in taking care or administrating the properties of the parents in cases when they are working abroad (see Tîrhaş 2011).

3.2. Attitudes towards the importance of financial transfers. Romania in European context

An important research topic in connection with intergenerational exchanges is the case of *financial support from the part of parents towards their adult children,* especially in the case of buying a house or an apartment. In the following we present the results of an analysis based on the Flash Eurobarometer no. 269 (European Commission 2009) in connection with the question whether the financial help of (grand)parents is important for young adults who establish their households (Table 3).

The analysis of variance has demonstrated a significant general difference between the country means ($F_{26,26674}$=105.33; $p<0.001$). The Scheffé method of interval analysis has demonstrated no significant differences between the means of the following countries ($p>0.05$): Romania, Italy, Greece, Cyprus, Estonia, Poland, Hungary and Lithuania (named as *first group* in the followings). On the other hand, these countries have significantly higher means ($p<0.001$) than that of the following countries: France, Belgium, The Netherlands, Germany, Luxembourg, Denmark, Ireland, UK, Spain, Finland, Sweden, Austria, Czech Republic, Latvia, Malta, Slovakia and Bulgaria (at $p<0.05$). Finally, all countries are significantly lower than Portugal ($p<0.05$), the most committed country to the importance of financial help from parents to children.

Table 3. Descriptive results for the 27 EU member states in terms of mean scores on the question whether the financial help of (grand)parents is important for young adults who establish their households

	Countries	Mean	Standard deviation
EU 15 countries	Austria	3.47	0.791
	Belgium	3.31	0.836
	Denmark	2.66	1.115
	Finland	3.30	0.822
	France	3.36	0.790
	Germany	3.41	0.826
	Greece	3.72	0.684
	Ireland	3.39	0.885
	Italy	3.53	0.650
	Luxembourg	3.36	0.783
	Netherlands	2.76	1.038
	Portugal	3.77	0.552
	Spain	3.37	0.773
	Sweden	3.03	0.995
	UK	3.39	0.813
EU 10 countries	Cyprus	3.73	0.596
	Czech Republic	3.21	0.958
	Estonia	3.55	0.730
	Hungary	3.62	0.609
	Latvia	3.46	0.814
	Lithuania	3.65	0.668
	Malta	3.37	0.796
	Poland	3.55	0.708
	Slovakia	3.32	0.739
	Slovenia	3.50	0.709
The 2007 joiners	Bulgaria	3.48	0.872
	Romania	**3.63**	**0.672**

Source: Flash Eurobarometer no. 269, authors' calculations

The analysis demonstrated that the Netherlands', Denmark's and Sweden's mean (*second group* in the followings) are not significantly different ($p>0.05$), however these countries' means are significantly lower than all the other remaining countries'.

A mixed group of countries with no significant inter-country differences and showing intermediary scores are then represented by France, Belgium, Germany, Luxembourg, Ireland, UK, Spain, Finland, Austria, Czech

Republic, Latvia, Malta, Slovakia, Slovenia and Bulgaria (*third group in the followings*).

As a consequence, the following major country groups can be revealed: Northern countries (except Finland), which are less committed to the importance of parental transfers; an intermediary group of countries composed of mostly Western European nations which are more or less committed to the importance of financial help from parents to children; and a mix of Southern, East-Central and Baltic states which consider these transfers in important terms. Finally, Portugal constitutes the most committed country to the importance of these transfers.

In the followings, we relied on regression analysis in order to reveal the role of some individual level background variables in shaping the attitude towards the importance of parental transfers on the level of the above mentioned country groups. The response variable of the regression analysis was the variable measuring the extent to which respondents agree or disagree with the question that financial help of grand(parents) is important for children who establish their households. As already mentioned the response variants are in the form of a 4-step Likert scale (1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=agree; 4=strongly agree). Given the fact that ordinal logistic regression is the most common method of analysing Likert type responses, we relied on this technique.

The dataset on which our study is based contained only a few socio-demographical variables, among which we selected as explanatory variables the age of the respondents (categorical variable), gender (categorical), education in years (categorical), type of residence (categorical variable). As expected, through these variables we succeeded to explain, in the case of each three country-groups, only a small amount of the variance of the dependent variable.

In spite of this limited situation in terms of available explanatory variables, we appreciate that our data do signal some interesting inter-regional differences. These can be summarized as follows. In the case of the Northern European countries, except gender, none of the independent variables differentiates significantly between respondents expressing different degrees of agreement with the dependent variable; in the case of the dominantly Western European country group which holds and intermediary position in terms of agreement with the dependent variable, it seems that age is an important explanatory variable, in the sense that, compared to the oldest group of respondents, younger respondents are significantly less in favour of the role of these kinds of transfers. The same situation occurs in the case of the dominantly East-Central and Southern European country group expressing the

most favourable attitudes towards the role of parental transfers; in this group, besides age, residence is also a significant determinant, so that compared to rural residents, those respondents who live in large urban settings are less likely in favour of these transfers.

Table 4. The results of the ordinal logistic regression analysis on the level of the three country groups. Standardized B coefficients.

	First group of countries (mostly post-communist countries)	Second group of countries (mostly Northern European countries)	Third group of countries (very mixed group, with predominantly Western nations)
Age			
Reference: 55+			
15-24	-0.498***	0.006	-0.319***
15-39	-0.339***	-0.106	-0.344***
40-54	-0.248***	-0.062	-0.226***
Gender			
Reference: female			
Male	-0.013	0.233*	-0.012
Education (in years)			
Reference: 20+			
Lover than 15 years	-0.376*	0.014	-0.272
16-20 years	-0.085	0.050	0.030
Residence			
Reference: rural			
Towns	-0.082	-0.057	0.062
Large cities	-0.121*	-0.053	0.095
Nagelkerke R^2	0.008	0.016	0.007
Goodness of fit (final)	Chi^2=58.18; p<0.001	Chi^2=42.55; p<0.001	Chi^2=89.45; p<0.001

Note: ***p<0.001; *p<0.05

As it appears from these data, an apparently contradictory finding (in terms of utilitarianism/functionalism) is that the less educated respondents do agree less with the importance of such transfers. This finding goes however hand in hand with the conclusions of other Western studies (see Achenbaum 2004, Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993), but also with that of our studies concerning Romania and particularly Transylvania (see Iluţ and Tîrhaş 2010, Tîrhaş 2011). Our previous studies have confirmed that one significant difference regarding

the importance of such transfers occurs on the basis of the educational level of the respondents, but only in situations when education is associated with the economical status of the respondents. Comparing our results obtained in 2003 and 2010, respectively, it is observable that those who live in *marginal rural settlements* usually show a reduced exchange regarding each type of exchanges, except services (usually in form of help in agricultural activities). *Economically poor* – those with low wages, pensions, unemployed, those who are employed in the black market, families with many children, etc. – are also very weakly involved in the process of intergenerational exchanges. In the case of this category of respondents the most frequent type of exchange consists in services. Money and goods based exchanges and the exchange of symbolic support are extremely reduced or absent in the case of this category. By the contrary, those who are *socio-economically better-off* are the most involved group in finance and goods-based exchanges (they give/receive apartments, long term usable goods, money) but they are also very active in service and advice-based exchanges (see Tîrhaş 2011).

3.3. The relationship between families and neighbours/community and participation in voluntary activities

Regarding the reciprocal help of the neighbours, in the case of the urban environment we can reveal the phenomenon of the 'density paradox': the higher the social density is, the lower the level of reciprocal help is. Our interviews revealed that in urban environments and especially in the context of blocks of flats, the relationships between neighbours are quite superficial (75 of 124 families have declared this), individuals declaring that they usually limit their relationship with their neighbours on greetings. On the contrary, in rural environments, where social density is lower, the rates of reciprocal help are usually higher. In the case of rural families, a very common practice of help is represented by forms of help in the case of agricultural activities, strongly linked to the universal norm of reciprocity. Here, families are more stable and members of the family guide their behaviours in accordance with traditional customs and rules, the solidarity between members of the family is more intense and such aspects usually go beyond the family towards neighbourhood and community level interaction. Of course, in the case of the Romanian rural environments, formal associations are nearly absent, so our subjects considered as volunteering not only the activities within NGOs, but every kind of labour which is not financially remunerated, the most frequently mentioned form of 'volunteering' being the care providing activity towards helpless members of families and communities (e.g. old or sick, disabled people):

> *"We are neighbours and we help ourselves as between kins.* If *I need some help for a labour, here comes my neighbour and helps me. And I do the same when they are in need. From other neighbours I ask for other types of help, like helping me with their tractors in the case of plough, etc.".* (P.M., male, 43 years old)

Generally speaking, in the rural environment community level volunteering is usually performed in connection with church based activities:

> *"When we need something we collect for the church. Money or construction materials, wood, etc. One of us brings these materials from home, others are working with them. Each of us helps as he can because we all know that the church is ours and we are very proud about it."* (A.M., female, 52 years old)

The urban environment which is characterized by high social density (and which thus, theoretically, should facilitate the social interaction, due to physical proximity) can be regarded as a zone of civil inattention (Goffman 1972). The city, as a place of anonymity, imposes the communicative code of interpersonal inattention, which refers to the fact that individuals notice the presence of others, however without the effective intention of entering in interaction with these others. Such paradox of density can be explained through the situation that while in rural environment a non-monetary economy of life is still present, based on reciprocity and help, in the urban environment life is dominated and structured by the economy based on money. Thus, one of the variables which is more salient in the case of the urban environment is represented by financial capital and money based exchanges. Studies have revealed, among the psychological consequences of money (e.g. Vohs, Mead and Goode 2006), the fact that the possession of money activates a kind of 'self-sufficient attitude' in accordance with which individuals prefer to remain autonomous rather than involved with people who depend on them or live in their proximity.

3.4. The case of volunteering

Regarding the effective *volunteering,* our data can be grouped as follows: out of the 124 interviewed families, in 26 cases members have been involved in several forms of formal volunteering, while in 21 cases members were active in church-related, ecclesiastic organizations like chorus. Besides these crude numbers, which are however in accordance with the statistics concerning the volunteering on the level of the whole Romanian society, the intensive interviews succeeded to extract some of the attitudes towards volunteering and

NGOs, the motivations of the volunteers as well as the major judgements in connection with the absenteeism from voluntary activities.

In the urban environment we can find the practice of volunteering in the case of members of families with a better economical background, respectively in families in which parents sustain and encourage the involvement of their children in various forms of volunteering, considering that such activities can have an educative outcome. However, involvement in volunteering can be well traced back to a kind of personal sensibility or altruism:

> *"We do not have time to involve in volunteering, however we make donations from time to time. Our children are members of the Romanian scout association. We encouraged them to become members because we think they can learn in this way good things about other people and about the environment. They go frequently on trips, they clean up the park, etc".* (E.S., male, 55 years old)

In the cities, participation in voluntary activities is strongly linked to the available free time. Respondents tend to be involved in associations from which they can learn new abilities, but among the main motivations we can find also the need of socializing with other people:

> *"I am the member of a humanitarian association. I can well try to make money in my free time, but I prefer to help other people. At the beginning, I just wanted to know other people and to learn something about first-aid. But later on, I learned much more. I see serious cases and I succeeded to understand better the meaning of the life".* (A.C., female, 32 years old)

Thus, we succeeded to verify the hypothesis of the virtuous spiral. Trust as a value cultivated by families, no matter they are from rural or urban settings, determines the extension of the confidence outside the family. Families with more trusting members declared more openness towards activities and voluntary works beyond their familial environment.

The complex of attitudes towards volunteering and NGOs activities has a bi-polarized nature, in the sense that the attitudes which are situated at the basis of the expressed opinions are grouped around two poles of a continuum: according to the first pole, people who are involved in volunteering, and their families as well, express favourable opinions towards the idea of volunteering, and they understand this practice as a form of helping behaviour. They are positive also towards the NGOs, whose existence and social implication is usually admired by these respondents; on the other hand,

we have a set of negative attitudes especially in terms of NGO-activities which are seen as 'money-laundering machines', 'bedbugs', 'exploitations', 'phantom organizations', 'unclean business', etc. Such keywords are very suggestive in order to express the critical attitudes of the respondents towards the role and function of the NGOs. Besides these two poles of extremities we can find the existence of a third cluster as well, which includes a set of attitudes characterized by realist ignorance towards the phenomenon of volunteering. As it was expectable, especially residents of the rural environment appear as uninterested towards volunteering. The lack of volunteering opportunities in this environment, coupled with the financial difficulties with which the majority of the respondents from the rural are confronting, determine the fact that volunteering appears as an abstract reality in the eyes of the rural citizens.

Among *the motivational factors which encourage volunteering* we can also find a bi-polar structure, similarly to the case of attitudes towards NGOs' activities. More precisely, here we can find two Weberian ideal types of motivations: 1) idealistic and 2) instrumental. Persons who are volunteering based on idealistic motivations see volunteering as a value *per se* and appreciate the helping behaviours from an idealist-moral perspective. On the other hand, the so-called 'instrumental volunteering' is based on egoistic motivations, in terms that people who engage in volunteering are guided not by the imperative of producing a collective good, but by the idea that in this way they can enhance their chances of accessing a better job. Persons who are guided by such kinds of egoistic motivations understand volunteering as a time and effort investing activity which, however, brings a number of benefits later on, on people's professional life. In accordance with this approach, volunteering is considered as having the function of professional formation and learning and it is considered a process of initiation in one or another professional activity. In spite of its egoistic foundation, we must note that the result of instrumental volunteering is, after all, beneficial, since both the community and the individuals who are performing the volunteering can be regarded as winners. Our analysis revealed that individuals who have such kind of instrumentalist view on volunteering usually are from economically better-off families and are interested in the reproduction of their social status. Thus, instrumental volunteering can be regarded as a conversion of economical capital into professional capital.

The study of the *justifications regarding the absenteeism from volunteering* constituted another topic of our research. As the national data indicate, the majority of Romanian citizens are uninvolved in volunteering. Since volunteering constitutes a socially desirable activity, we could advance the

hypothesis that people who are not involved in volunteering experience a kind of cognitive dissonance. Rationally, a way of escape from this cognitive dissonance would be the involvement in volunteering. This is, however, a very costly solution and, consequently, there remains a more facile solution: developing justifications, rationalizations, i.e. cognitions aiming to 'explain' why the individual is not involved in volunteering. One of the factors mentioned by the majority of absentees from volunteering was the lack of time. Time is considered a limited resource which can be converted in socio-economic capital. When a person does not have a satisfactory level of economical capital, the resource of time must be invested in remunerated work and, consequently, there remains only a limited available time for pro-social activities like volunteering.

4. Conclusions and discussions

The structures and processes of family life are multigenerational in nature, and cross-generational linkages have central role for both personal and family connectedness and continuity. Our previous studies regarding *the manifestations and the structure of the intergenerational exchanges as a form of informal social capital* have verified our main assumption, based on the literature, according to which the wealthier and more educated is the social category the more involved in the flow of material transfers (money, goods) towards close relatives (adult parents or grandparents). We obtained the same results in this synthetically constructed article as well, which combines qualitative and quantitative methods and practically closes a research project.

Concerning the subject of intergenerational support within the family by *density of the social-communitarian networks*, we noticed differences in the functioning of the exchange depending on the social cohesion of the groups. We observed the positive effect of the communitarian and familial cohesion on exchange practices, especially in terms of its practical variants (service and help transfers). This intra-familial practice seems, however, to have a detrimental role on formal social capital and, in some extent, also on the informal social capital, on bonding social capital other than the family and kinship network. Compared to the results obtained in our previous studies concerning intergenerational support in the family, focused on the interval of 2003 - 2010 (see Iluţ and Tîrhaş 2010, Nistor et al. 2011, Tîrhaş 2011), and in which we were able to report the obvious maintenance of the *differences between urban and rural* areas from Transylvania, our 2011 results, presented in this article, signal that the distance is not so accentuated. This finding indicates the homogenization of the support capacity in these two environments, probably

due to the emigrational phenomenon which constitutes, in the case of both settings, a salient phenomenon of nowadays.

It is obvious that the study of the topic of the social capital has numerous benefits not only in terms of optimizing social relations, but also in terms of community well-being. In the case of Romania, the direct and indirect effects of the economical crisis are perceived also on the level of the social networks. Thus, the analysis of the phenomena existing behind trust, included here the investigation of the participation in formal and informal helping activities.

Among other findings, concerning especially the forms of intergenerational transfers, we revealed that the relationships with neighbours can be considered in terms of a functionalist-utilitarian approach (neighbours-level helping being performed, especially in the rural environment, based on practical reasons) and reflect also the so-called 'paradox of density', respectively the role of the modern values and individualism, which are more frequent in urban settings and have a negative impact on neighbourhood-level social capital.

However, there is a great distance between opinions about volunteering and the effective performing of this activity in Romania. Our study succeeded to partially verify the hypothesis of the virtuous spiral: intra-familial trust can determine the extension of confidence well beyond the family and thus, intra-familial trust can enhance the participation in formal volunteering activities. The analysis of the attitudes referring on volunteering resulted in two kinds of major motivations, called idealistic, respectively instrumental. As impediments of volunteering, our subjects mentioned elements of distrust towards NGOs' activities and the limited resource of time. In spite of the fact that instrumental motivations are rooted in volunteers' egoistic calculus, we should mention that after all, both types of motivations can produce social good.

All in all, our synthesis aimed to outline some ways in which we can better understand the linkages between various forms of social capital, as well as the role of family as a mediator between these forms of capital.

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Call for Papers

Intermarriage throughout History
5-8 June 2013, Cluj-Napoca
Romania

Hosts:
- International Commission of Historical Demography
- Centre for Population Studies at "Babeş-Bolyai" University Cluj
- Center for Transylvanian Studies at Romanian Academy Cluj
- Romanian Society of Historical Demography
- CEPHn – Central Europe Population History network

Intermarriages (or mixed marriages) have taken place since the beginning of time. As people explored and traveled, both men and women would fall in love with natives and either stay or take the partners back home with them. The term mixed marriage also describe the marriage of a couple who has different cultural, ethnic, religious or national heritages or backgrounds.

The research of mixed marriages was inspired by the idea that diversity of customs and cultures has been, for centuries, one of the world's assets. The ethnic and religious tolerance and peaceful cohabitation have been, at least for the last decades, the guarantee for an open society and consideration for cultural diversity. On the other hand, there are many examples in Europe where the application of this generous principle was confronted with serious difficulties, such as the integration of migrants coming from areas culturally opposed to those of the host-country. It is also (as) true that in areas such as former Yugoslavia or Northern Ireland the high ratio of mixed marriages did not prevent civil wars.

Different cultures endure vastly diverse moral, ethical and value foundations that influence their perceptions of individual, family and societal lifestyle. Mixed marriages do not connect only two individuals, but also the groups to which they belong. Mixed marriages act as a connecting element within a society and their existence has the potential to reduce the probability of violent conflicts among different ethnic groups and to increase the social cohesion of the society. When among the members of different groups there are many marital relations, there are also other social contacts among them: children from different groups have the opportunity to meet each other in school, in the neighbourhood, in leisure activities.
Mixed marriages form a link between these groups and often connect the social networks of the two spouses, and new contacts and interpersonal relationships could appear, passing the group boundaries. It would be interesting and useful, in this context, to find an answer to the question whether intermarriage lowers the salience of cultural distinctions for new generations, and to find out if the descendents of such marriages identify themselves with only one group, or with both of them.

Another challenging question researchers are invited to answer is whether through mixed marriage people might lose their negative attitudes they have toward other groups. Although personal interactions can sometimes lead to conflicts, accentuating the economic and cultural differences, when the relationship is intimate, the interaction might give people the possibility to understand individual variety among members of a group, and, by doing this, they might reduce their prejudices and stereotypes.

Panels

The panels and the papers of the conference could take into consideration topics as follows, regarding various times and places:

- **The impact of various historical events on the evolution of mixed marriages**; This would cover the influences of the major ideologies on mixed marriages;

Organizer: Prof. dr. Ioan Bolovan, bolovani@yahoo.com

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- ***The analysis of mixed marriage in the collective mentality*** (reflected in the newspapers, literature, memoirs and ethnographic sources)

Organizers: Dr. Daniela Mârza, Dr. Marius Eppel,
daniela_marza@yahoo.com; mariuseppel@yahoo.fr

- ***The quantitative dimension of the mixed marriages***; finding explanations for the different levels of the extent of mixed marriages.

Organizers: Dr. Mihaela Hărăguş, Dr. Bogdan Crăciun,
mihaela_c2@yahoo.com, bogdanacademia@yahoo.com

- ***The explicative mechanisms of mixed marriages***; This would cover the different factors (social, economic, cultural, family background) involved in a mixed marriage and their balance.

Organizer: Prof. dr. Traian Rotariu, trotariu@socasis.ubbcluj.ro

- ***The demographic behavior of mixed couples*** (prenuptial pregnancies, fertility, infant mortality). Do they follow the patterns of the father's group, of the mother's group or do they reflect a more individualistic lifestyle, precisely because the couple already has put itself outside group mechanisms? Organizer: Prof. dr. Jan Kok, j.kok@let.ru.nl

- **Jews and Christians – marital exchanges and anti-Semitism in 19th century Europe**.

Organizer: Prof. dr. Peter Teibenbacher, peter.teibenbacher@uni-graz.at

•***Mixed families without marriage***. This would cover "families" of servants (when not able to marry or not even allowed for legal reasons) and families of slaves under colonial regimes, and also of couples in a union which is not recognized by the state (or the official Church) or the community. This topic is related to "illegitimacy" and has consequences on family transmission system, since children born in these unions have to face a lot of problems.

Organizer: Prof. dr. Antoinette Fauve Chamoux, achamoux@yahoo.com

•***Inside mixed marriages. The problems of children.*** The state, the Churches and the families had different aproaches concerning childrens born inside mixed marriages. This panel aims to analyze the lives of these children, the mixture of elements coming from outside family and their impact on the children's life.

Organizer: Dr. Luminita Dumănescu, luminita_dumanescu@yahoo.com

Any other topic you might consider appropriate will be welcomed. We welcome proposals for papers and panels coming from young and established scholars working in history, sociology, anthropology, political science, psychology, law or religious studies. You are also invited to propose panels on such topics.

Paper proposals should include the title of the presentation, a brief abstract of up to 500 words, a short C.V. and the contact information of the presenter. Please send your proposal both to the panel organizers and at the csp_cluj@yahoo.com.

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Dates and deadlines

1 May 2012	Start of panel proposals submission
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