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Economy and Society in Central and Eastern Europe

Territory, Population, Consumption

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Daniel Dumitran, Valer Moga



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The city of Alba Iulia: image from the early twentieth century (Collection of "National Museum of Union," Alba Iulia).

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FROM GENERATION TO GENERATION: DEMOGRAPHIC REPRODUCTION IN RURAL SZEKLERLAND, FROM THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND TO THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

LEVENTE PAKOT

Introduction

Reproduction of a population is the outcome of a complex process (demographic, biological, historical, social-economic etc.). Due to the complexity of this process, the particular areas often serve as a meeting point for the different fields of science. Family historians approach population reproduction studying how wealth and land is passed from generation to generation. In these analyses, the relationship among subsequent generations living on the same land is surveyed. In quantitative population history the experiments mixing historical demography and genetics are highlighted. In order to trace the process by which the population of a parish reproduce themselves from one generation to the next French historical demographers Alain Bideau and Guy Brunet and their Canadian colleagues applied the notion of "effective" child, term used in population genetics. According to these researchers the individuals whose descendants survived in the focused area play a very significant role in the population reproduction. An individual is considered as "effective child" if he or she grew up to adulthood, got married and had children within the framework of the local community. The notion of "effective child" comprises multiple demographic parameters. It summarizes the result of complex interaction of different factors: fertility of parental generation, infant and child mortality, inheritance, nuptiality and migration.

Alain Bideau and his colleagues provide a relatively plain schema of analyzing population reproduction (Fig. 1). The most important element of their schema is the first – the founding – generation. The criterion for defining the founding generation is concluding marriage within a well defined period. Children and grandchildren of the first generation represent the second and third generations, respectively. Assessing the number of children realizing demographic reproduction and grouping by parental generation require the processing of demographic events covering at least three generations.

This paper has been prepared by incorporating the above approach. We want to trace the process by which the populations of two Transylvanian parishes, Szentegyházasfalva (Vlăhiţa) and Kápolnásfalva (Căpâlniţa) reproduce themselves from one generation to the next in the period between second half of the 19th century and first half of the 20th cen-

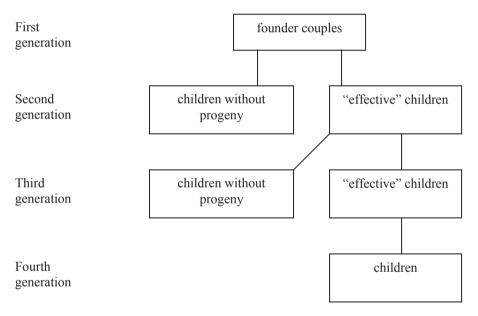
¹ Alain Bideau and Guy Brunet, "Stay or Leave? Individual Choise and Family Logic: The Destinations of Children Born in the Valserine Valley (French Jura) in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *The History of the Family: An International Quarterly* 1, 2 (n.d.): 159-168; Alain Bideau et al., "La reproduction de la population aux XVII^e et XIX^e siècles. Exemples Français et Québécois," *Annales de Démographie Historique* (1995): 137-148.

tury. For this reason we study the "effective" progeny of couples to determine how many of them produce children (heirs) who continue to live in these villages.

The communities under study

Szentegyházasfalva (Vlăhiţa) and Kápolnásfalva (Căpâlniţa) are neighbouring settlements. They are located along the southern skirts of Harghita Mountains, in the eastern part of Inner Transylvania, present-day Romania, at about 860 metres above sea level (see Fig. 2). The villages lay on the frontier, far from the economic centres of Transylvania. Their total population reached 4,000 in the 1900s. The majority of their inhabitants belonged to the Roman Catholic Church. Due to their geographical proximity (2 km) and the joint privileges received from the Princes of Transylvania, the history of the two villages was closely interlocked: they formed one parish until 1838 and one administrative unit until 1876.²

Fig. 1: Schema of analysis of the relation between generations.



Source: Bideau and Brunet, "Stay or Leave," 140.

² For a history of the privileges of the communities, see Gusztáv Mihály Hermann, "Az Udvarhelyszéki Havasalja kiváltságos települései: a két Oláhfalu és Zetelaka" [The Privilegious Settlements in Havasalja, Udvarhelyszék District], in *Emlékkönyv Imreh István nyolcvanadik születésnapjára* [István Imreh Memorial Volume in Honour of His 80th Birthday], ed. András Kiss, Gyöngy Kovács Kiss, and Ferenc Pozsony (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, 1999), 138-198. For a detailed account of public administration changes and the process of losing the privileges in the 1870s, see Judit Pál, *Városfejlődés a Székelyföldön 1750-1914* [Urbanization in Szeklerland 1750-1914] (Csíkszereda: Pro-Print, 2003).

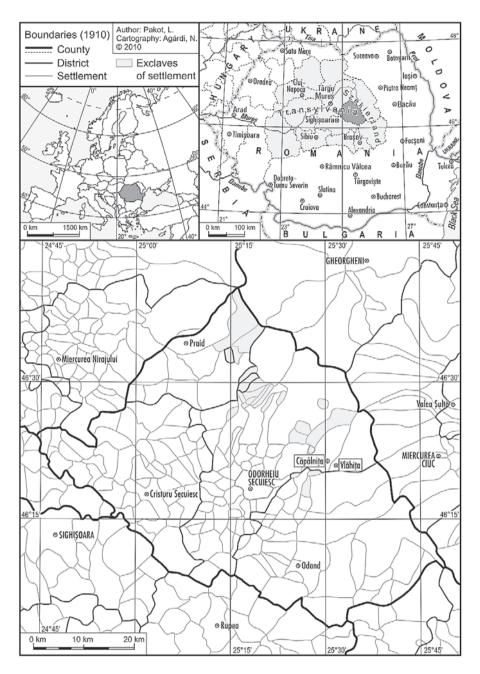


Fig. 2: The area under study

The discovery of iron ore sites close to the villages and the opening of mines were important events in the 19th century history of the two settlements. An industrial plant, Szentkeresztbánya was founded a few kilometres away from the villages in the 1850s, which provided the opportunity for the locals to secure some extra income. Due to

contemporary financial and infrastructural conditions, mining remained a small-scale enterprise.

The majority of villagers were smallholders, and their living was provided by lumbering and woodwork in the communally owned woods and extensive animal husbandry (Table 1). Timbering and woodwork was carried out within a cottage industrial framework that required the close cooperation of related families. The number of water-driven sawmills operated by siblings or close relatives reached 100 according to the cadastre of 1909.³ The economic development of Inner Transylvania raised the demand for woodenware. Timber used in construction and agriculture was transported in carriages by male family members towards the agriculturally more developed and more urbanised Southern Transylvanian regions.

A process of impoverishment due to growing population and fragmentation of landholdings started already at the end of the 19th century and covered the interwar period. According to Table 2 the proportion of smallholders – day-labourers with landholding below 5 cads. acres had become three times higher in 1941 than in 1910, while the landholding "middle class" almost disappeared.

An increase of population size and young age structure characterized these populations (Table 3). According to decennial census data population increase reached 55 percent between 1850 and 1941. Census data and the parish registers data on population movement shows that the main source of the population growth laid in the natural increase. Mortality reduced the value of natural growth, but migration has proven to be an affective brake of population growth also.

Data and methods

We reconstructed the demographic behaviour of the examined settlements from parish register data. An electronic database was compiled from 19th and 20th century parish registers. Based on the principles of the family reconstitution method set by Louis Henry and Michel Fleury, ⁴ and making use of available computerised database management facilities, we were able to reconstitute the most important demographic events of families and individuals. We divided the family sheets in our study into different categories as defined by Fleury and Henry. ⁵ But we used only the family sheets where the exact date of a couple's marriage was available.

We distinguish between generations. The first generation of the study is the couples

³ Lajos Sándor, "Fűrészek, malmok, ványolók jegyzéke az 1909-es kataszteri telekkönyv és telekkönyvi rajzok alapján" [Saws, Mills and Fullers According to the Cadastre of 1909], in *Népélet a Kis-Homoród mentén* [Village Life in Kis-Homoród Region], ed. József Kardalus (Szentegyháza, 1998), 112-116; István Molnár, "Adatok a Hargita népi erdőgazdálkodásához" [Data on Sylviculture in Harghita County], in *A Székelykeresztúri Múzeum Emlékkönyve* [Memorial Volume of the Cristuru-Secuiesc Museum], ed. István Molnár and Nicolae Bucur (Csíkszereda, 1974), 307-325.

 ⁴ Louis Henry and Alain Blum, *Techniques d'analyse en démographie historique*, 3rd ed. (Paris: INED, 1988).
 ⁵ Michel Fleury and Louis Henry, *Nouveau Manuel de Dépouillement et d'exploitation de l'état civil ancien* (Paris: INED, 1965).

marrying between 1838 and 1855. The second generation and third is the children and grandchildren of the founding generation. We attempt to trace the life course outcomes of the second and third generations in order to know to what extent the descendants of particular families contributed – by marriage and child bearing in the local community – to the birth of the subsequent generation. Moreover, by focusing on the parents of those realizing reproduction, we investigate that what ratio this latter group represents among couples belonging to parental generation.

Following the method presented by Alain Bideau and Guy Brunet⁶ we identified five different groups of children: 1) Type A: Children known to have died before their fifteenth birthday; 2) Type B: Children known to have died after their fifteenth birthday, but for whom it is not known whether they were married; 3) Type C: Children who left the parishes, and whose age at the date of departure is not known, and neither is their destination; 4) Type D: Children who married in the parishes, but who did not produce any children of their own who stayed in the parishes; and 5) Type E: Children who married and produced at least one child of their own who stayed in the parishes ("effective" children).

The second generation

The first generation of the study is the couples marrying between January 1, 1838 and December 31, 1854. A total of 383 first marriages were concluded in this period. Date of the end of the marriage (generally the date of death of the first spouse to die) was available in 91% of marriages, which shows that the majority of couples lived in the studied settlements after their marriages.

1,797 children were born within the marriage of the founding generation. The descendants can be related to 310 couples, which is 81% of the reconstructed marriages. In 13% of marriages no child was born and the remaining 6% left the settlements. The latter supposedly continued their lives elsewhere upon getting married. Considering fertile couples, the average is 5,8 children for one couple.

Table 4 presents the life course outcomes of children of founding couples. According to data, 40% of the children born in the second half of the 19th century contributed to the next generation. Statistical distribution of children belonging to groups A, B, C and D highlights an important issue. The high ratio of type A refers to severe infant and child mortality. 42% of the children died before reaching 15 years of age. Further characteristic feature of the second generation is outmigration. 8-9% of the children born here left the settlement before the date of their marriage. This value is considered as low in international comparison. The seems that the second generation in the second half of the

⁶ Bideau and Brunet, "Stay or Leave," 162.

⁷ In the Valserine Valley in France, 36% of the descendants of the married cohort of 1760-1774 left the settlement (Ibid., 163). This ratio was one third in Jussy in Switzerland (Alfred Perrenoud, "Mobilité et reproduction à l'échelle d'une communauté rurale," in *Mesurer et Comprendre. Mélanges Offerts à Jacques Dupâquier* (Paris: P.U.F., 1993), 449-461).

19th century had a possibility to establish a family in a village. We may suppose this may be due to the relative abundance of the land, the high mortality in adulthood (ex. cholera epidemic in 1873) which created the opportunity for children in marriageable ages to establish locally etc.

Table 4 demonstrates population reproduction from children aspect. However, the average values of children by family may hide the differences deriving from the different situation of families. Henceforward our question is, what was the ratio of parents of children realizing demographic reproduction among the founding couples.

Table 5 demonstrates the distribution of founding families by number of all births and number of "effective" children. This distribution is rather uneven. 310 (81%) out of 383 couples had children in the parishes. However, due to the high infant and child mortality and the migration of survived children, ratio of couples with "effective" children has been decreased. According to our results, 71 couples managed to raise 1, 50 couples 2, 60 couples 3 and 74 couples 4 or more "effective" children. The 74 couples of the two parishes producing at least 4 effective children gave birth to 375 children, that is, 52% of descendants can be related to them. 19% couples provided the 52% of "effective" children.

The third generation

Family reconstruction data made the experience of the third generation available. Members of the second generation concluded 667 marriages. 13% of them were childless marriages. A total of 3,679 children were born, therefore there was an average 6.3 children to a fertile couple.

Life course outcome of children born in the fertile marriages of the second generation is included in Table 6. The most important tendency here is the decrease in numbers of effective children. While 40% of parental generation concluded marriage and had children in any of the two settlements, only 25% of the second generation did the same. Decrease in number of effective children can be related with two factors. One the one hand, infant and child mortality increased among the members of the third generation: 10% increase of mortality among children between age 0-15. On the other hand, migration increased by 7% among children compared to their parents.

The results of the distribution of couples by number of births and number of "effective" children are very similar to that of the first generation (Table 7). Again, the role in the production of the next generation is unevenly distributed. There was a small group of couples in this generation that contributed to the birth of the next generation in a great extent. However, an alignment process may be observed. Number of families with 4 or more effective children dropped from 19% to 8% compared to the first generation. Furthermore, "successful" descendants of this latter group provided 28% of the total effective children, whereas this figure is 52% regarding the older generation.

The study of sibships

Raising higher number of effective children is obviously in correlation with the stability and fertility of the marriage. Moreover, it is worth raising the question whether the differentiated infant and child mortality or the migration is the core reason for the differences in effective children in stable marriages with many children.

To answer the above question, we have examined the sibling groups of 4 and 7 among the second and third generation. Table 8 and Table 9 include their life course outcome. Based on the results, differences among sibling groups are mostly due to infant and child mortality. Here, outmigration plays less significant role than infant and child mortality. In general, the more children survived until adulthood, the more chance they had for successful reproduction. This correlation chiefly characterizes the descendants of the first generation. As for the members of the second generation, migration played a significant role in families without "effective" children or in families with only 1 or 2 "effective" children. However, its impact was less plausible than the effect of infant and child mortality. In families where at least three children realized reproduction, migration was of no importance.

Conclusion

In this paper we analyzed the process of demographic reproduction of two parishes in Transylvania in the period from the second part of the 19th century to the first part of the 20th century. By introducing the term of "effective" children – children contributing to the next generation within the framework of the local community –, population reproduction was highlighted from a specific aspect. Using the method applied by French and Canadian historical demographers and geneticist we studied to what extent the descendants of particular families contributed – by marriage and child bearing in the local community – to the birth of the subsequent generation. Moreover, by focusing on the parents of those realizing reproduction, we investigated that what ratio this latter group represented among couples belonging to parent generation.

Our results emphasize the demographic continuity and stability of the two settlements. Majority of those surviving infant and child mortality managed to establish family and bear children in the local community. Descendants of the generation establishing family in the 1840's and 1850's were less impacted by epidemics causing infant mortality. Descendants of the second generation were, however, influenced by increased infant and child mortality and increased outmigration. Nevertheless, majority of descendants of this generation remained in the settlement where they had been born. It seems that business opportunities of families did not impede their children to establish family in the two villages. Phenomenon observed in Western Europe – local marriage and reproduction on the one hand and permanent celibacy and migration on the other hand – at this time we did not observe here. However, from another aspect, it can be stated that the high infant mortality rate helped "solving" the competition between siblings.

Our focus on parental generation modified the above result chiefly by highlighting the inequalities of family reproduction. The main characteristic feature of population reproduction from one generation to the next is that the majority of subsequent generations establishing family and bearing children was brought up by a relatively small portion of the parental generation. Moreover, the analysis reflected on the fact that the most differentiating factor of reproduction was the infant and child mortality. Therefore, reproduction success of parent generations was due to different impact of the infant and child mortality. The results also showed that the role of out-migration was minor in contrast with the findings of French and Canadian studies, but the role played by out-migration became more and more important over time.

Our analysis is still a preliminary analysis. There is a need for more comparative micro analysis in order to understand the population processes in nineteenth and twentieth century Transylvania.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Census 1857: *Erdély 1857. évi népszámlálása* [The Census 1857 in Transylvania] (Budapest: KSH, 1992).
- Census 1881: A Magyar Korona Országaiban az 1881. év elején végrehajtott népszámlálás eredményei némely hasznos házi állatok kimutatásával együtt [The Results of the Census 1881 in Hungarian Kingdom] (Budapest, 1882).
- Census 1900: A Magyar Korona Országainak 1900. évi népszámlálása. II. A népesség foglal-kozása községenkint [The Results of the Census 1900 in Hungarian Kingdom. II. Occupational Distribution of the Population by Settlements] (Budapest, 1904).
- Census 1910 Manuscript tables: Népszámlálási feldolgozási táblák. 1910. évi népszámlálás. Foglalkozási adatok községenként [Manuscript Tables of Census 1910. Occupational Distribution of the Population by Settlements], National Archives of Hungary, Budapest, XXXII-23-h, 883
- Census 1910 The results: *A Magyar Szent Korona Országainak 1910. évi népszámlálása*. II. *A népesség foglalkozása és a nagyipari vállalatok községenkint* [The Results of the Census 1910. II. Occupational Distribution of the Population and Industrial Firms by Settlements] (Budapest, 1913)
- Census 1941: Népszámlálási feldolgozási táblák. 1941. évi népszámlálás. Foglalkozási adatok községenként [Manuscript Tables of Census 1941. Occupational Distribution of the Population by Settlements], National Archives of Hungary, Budapest, XXXII-23-h, 486.
- National Archives of Romania, branch Harghita, F 47: Arhivele Naţionale ale României. Direcţia Judeţeană Harghita, Miercurea Ciuc, Fund 47: *Colecţia registrelor de stare civilă*, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 728, 729, 730, 731.
- Roman Catholic Parish Archive, Căpâlnița: Kápolnásfalva Római Katolikus Egyházközség Levéltára, Fund *Roman Catholic parish registers 1776-1941*, vol. I-V.
- Roman Catholic Parish Archive, Vlăhiţa: Szentegyházasfalvi Római Katolikus Plébánia Levéltára, Fund *Roman Catholic parish registers* 1776-1941, vol. II-X.
- Varga, Erdély statisztikája: Varga, Árpád E., Erdély etnikai és felekezeti statisztikája. I. Kovászna, Hargita és Maros megye. Népszámlálási adatok 1850-1992 között [Ethnic and Denominational Statistics of Transylvania: Covasna, Harghita and Mureş Counties. Data of Censuses 1850-1992] (Csíkszereda: Pro-Print, 1998).

Table 1: Distribution of bread-winners by broad occupational groups in the two parishes, 1857-1941.

			Vlăhiţa				Căpâlniţa					
	1857	1880	1900	1910	1941	1857	1880	1900	1910	1941		
Agriculture	75.7	86.1	78.1	82.7	76.0	91.1	93.6	93.6	88.0	93.8		
Mining	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	14.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0		
Industry	5.7	2.4	5.7	5.5	3.5	0.7	1.6	3.6	5.7	2.8		
Commerce	0.0	0.4	1.3	1.8	0.8	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.8	1.0		
Trafic	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.3	0.1		
Civil service, lib. prof.	1.5	0.4	1.6	1.2	2.0	1.0	0.3	0.1	1.2	1.1		
Soldiers	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0		
Day-labourers	17.1	6.9	10.7	4.8	0.0	7.2	4.0	1.1	2.0	0.0		
Domestics	0.0	3.8	1.6	1.4	1.6	0.0	0.3	1.0	0.4	1.0		
Others	0.0	0.0	0.6	2.1	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.1	1.3	0.2		
N	263	1320	1032	1038	1417	304	985	732	719	922		

Sources: Censuses 1857, 1881, 1900, 1910 – The Results, 1941.

Table 2: Distribution of bread winners in agriculture in 1910 and 1941.

	Vlă	hiţa	Căpâ	ilniţa
	1910	1941	1910	1941
Landowners, 100-200 cad. acres	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0
Landowners, 50-100 cad. acres	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0
Smallholders, 20-50 cad. acres	17.3	0.9	14.2	0.7
Smallholders, 10-20 cad. acres	35.9	8.7	31.3	12.7
Smallholders – day-labourers, 5–10 cad. acres	22.1	20.5	26.3	32.4
Smallholders – day-labourers 1–5 cad. acres	13.2	45.9	12.2	40.7
Smallholders – day-labourers <1 cad. acres	0.0	4.8	0.2	6.9
Office holders, farm hands	5.4	1.5	1.9	1.3
Labourers	6.0	17.8	13.3	5.5
N	846	1071	632	861

Sources: Censuses 1910 – Manuscript tables, 1941.

Table 3: Natural movement and estimated balance of migration by decade, 1850-1941.

		Б. Л	Natural in	ncrease	Intercensa increase			
Period	Births	Deaths	number	yearly	number	yearly	number	yearly
				average		average		average
1850-1856	978	870	108	15	51	7	-57	-8
1857-1869	2119	1266	853	66	462	36	-391	-30
1870-1879	2092	1663	429	43	111	11	-318	-32
1880-1889	2145	1899	246	25	121	12	-125	-13
1890-1899	2014	1343	671	67	249	25	-422	-42
1900-1909	1980	1340	640	64	168	17	-472	-47
1910-1919	1708	1296	412	41	114	11	-298	-30
1920-1929	2064	1296	768	77	377	38	-391	-39
1930-1941	2271	1363	908	76	994	90	86	8
1850-1941	17371	12336	5035	55	2647	29	-2388	26

Sources: Varga, *Erdély statisztikája*; National Archives of Romania, branch Harghita, F 47: 81-85, 728-731; Roman Catholic Parish registers of Căpâlniţa, vol. I-V; Roman Catholic Parish registers of Vlăhiţa, vol. II-X.

Table 4: Life-course characteristics of the second generation.

Life-course characteristics	В	oys	C	irls	Chil	ldren
Life-course characteristics	N	%	N	%	N	%
A: Died <15 years	389	42.5	357	40.5	746	41.5
B: Died >15 years	45	4.9	35	4.0	80	4.5
C: Outmigrated	80	8.7	75	8.5	155	8.6
D: Married, without progeny	47	5.1	43	4.9	90	5.0
E: "Effective" children	355	38.8	371	42.1	726	40.4
A+B+C+D+E	916	100.0	881	100.0	1797	100.0

Sources: Roman Catholic Parish registers of Căpâlniţa, vol. I-V; Roman Catholic Parish registers of Vlăhiţa, vol. II-X.

Table 5: Distribution of couples in the first generation by number of children and number of "effective" children.

Number of births	N	Jum	ber o	r of "effective" children						Total	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
0	73										73
1	18	12									30
2	12	4	5								21
3	8	10	7	2							27
4	8	14	8	9	1						40
5	2	4	8	10	3						27
6	2	6	6	9	2	5					30
7	1	10	9	13	6	7	1				47
8	2	7	4	5	2		4		1		25
9	2	2		6	4	6	4				24
10		2		3	4	4	1	4			18
11			2	1	2	3	5				13
12			1	2	1						4
13						1	1	1			3
14							1				1
Total	128	71	50	60	25	26	17	5	1	0	383

Sources: Roman Catholic Parish registers of Căpâlniţa, vol. I-V; Roman Catholic Parish registers of Vlăhiţa, vol. II-X.

Table 6: Life-course characteristics of the third generation.

Life-course characteristics	В	oys	G	irls	Chil	ldren
Life-course characteristics	N	%	N	%	N	%
A: Died <15 years	1013	52.9	884	50.1	1897	51.6
B: Died >15 years	113	5.9	54	3.1	167	4.5
C: Outmigrated	229	12.0	250	14.2	479	13.0
D: Married, without progeny	124	6.5	96	5.4	220	6.0
E: "Effective" children	437	22.8	479	27.2	916	24.9
A+B+C+D+E	1916	100.0	1763	100.0	3679	100.0

Sources: Roman Catholic Parish registers of Căpâlnița, vol. I-V; Roman Catholic Parish registers of Vlăhița, vol. II-X.

Table 7: Distribution of couples in the second generation by number of children and number of "effective" children

Niversham of himtha]	Numb	er of	"eff	ectiv	e" c	hil	dre	n		Total
Number of births	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total
0	87										87
1	42	7									49
2	22	9	5								36
3	30	15	10	3							58
4	10	22	3	5	1						41
5	11	17	15	6							49
6	17	12	15	8	1	2					55
7	16	15	20	17	4	2					74
8	7	13	15	3	7	2	1				48
9	4	15	22	12	8	3					64
10	3	7	10	15	6	1		1			43
11	2	7	6	11	4	5	1				36
12	1	4	5	3	2	1	1		1		18
13		1	2	1		2					6
14				1							1
15											0
16				1							1
17				1							1
Total	252	144	128	87	33	18	3	1	1	0	667

Sources: Roman Catholic Parish registers of Căpâlniţa, vol. I-V; Roman Catholic Parish registers of Vlăhiţa, vol. II-X.

Table 8: Destination of children in sibship of four and seven children by number of "effective" children. First generation.

Life-course	Nun	Number of "effective" children													
characteristics	0	1	2	3	4	Total	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
Died <15 years	19	25	11	8	0	63	5	51	29	33	15	8	0	0	141
Died >15 years	1	5	2	0	0	8	0	3	5	6	1	1	0	0	16
Celibate	9	6	2	0	0	17	1	3	9	6	1	4	1	0	25
Emigrated	3	6	1	1	0	11	1	3	2	7	1	1	0	0	15
"Effective"	0	14	16	27	1	58	0	10	18	39	24	35	6	0	132
Total children	32	56	32	36	1	157	7	70	63	91	42	49	7	0	329
Total sibships	8	14	8	9	1	40	1	10	9	13	6	7	1	0	47

Sources: Roman Catholic Parish registers of Căpâlniţa, vol. I-V; Roman Catholic Parish registers of Vlăhiţa, vol. II-X.

Table 9: Destination of children in sibship of four and seven children by number of "effective" children. Second generation.

Life-course characteristics -	Number of "effective" children							Number of "effective" children								
	0	1	2	3	4	Total	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total	
Died <15 y.	28	41	5	4	0	78	69	50	79	43	11	2	0	0	254	
Died >15 y.	0	5	0	0	0	5	10	8	5	5	0	1	0	0	29	
Celibate	7	12	1	1	0	21	27	26	14	12	1	1	0	0	81	
Emigrated	5	8	0	0	0	13	6	6	2	8	0	0	0	0	22	
"Effective"	0	22	6	15	1	44	0	15	40	51	16	10	0	0	132	
Total children	40	88	12	20	1	161	112	105	140	119	28	14	0	0	518	
Total sibships	10	22	3	5	1	41	16	15	20	17	4	2	0	0	74	

Sources: Roman Catholic Parish registers of Căpâlnița, vol. I-V; Roman Catholic Parish registers of Vlăhița, vol. II-X.