

Labour after education
Vocational schools, graduates and economic growth in modern Romania
(1878-1914)

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The present study explores the formation of a Romanian qualified working class through vocational trade schools, established at the end of 19th century in order to create a connexion between the village as a human resource and the cities. Through the legislation and official interventions we can observe the levers through which the State encouraged the formation of a qualified personal. The socio-economic profile of the graduates and their employment history represents the path we choose to see the difference between norm and practice and also the economic shifts from one generation to another.

Keywords: Romania, education, vocational schools, professions, working class.

Modern Romania emerges as a national state in 19th century after a long Ottoman domination and a Russian protectorate. Its independence (1878) comes in a time when the Balkan states were looking for a place on the map of Europe in an age of nationalism and industrialization. These countries as well as the three empires (Ottoman, Austrian and Russian) that shaped their history were agrarian in their character, with predominance of domestic industry and with little impact of mechanization. Ljuben Berov stated that the term industrial revolution was rather improper for the Balkans and, moreover, the process was still going on when World War I ended.¹ Michael Palairet explains that the progress was not outstanding; contrarily, these areas were more prosperous during the Ottoman dominance.² Historian Bogdan Murgescu follows the same direction pointing out that although it is right to consider the age of the 19th century as a period of economic growth, there are many aspects to be detailed, and the approach must not exceed the limits of a positivist history that talks about achievements without reporting to the sensitive points or the failures of the problem. Besides, the economic growth also resulted into more obvious disparities of this type between states, regions and areas of Europe.³ One of the first effects after adopting the Western European model was a brake on traditional handicraft

¹ Berov, "The Industrial Revolution" p. 309.

² Palairet, *The Balkan Economies*, 1997.

³ Murgescu, *România și Europa*, pp. 107-111.

production.⁴ The decline of the guilds, the absent labour legislation, as well as a non-targeted demographic increase, affected the situation against which the Romanian elite acted belatedly. Contemporaries and historians alike tackled the lack of institutional background and tradition.⁵ Constantin Schifirneț developed even the concept of “tendential modernity” which refers to “ideas and actions aimed at modernization, which remain partial and are not finalized.”⁶

Child labour appears to be an economic feature that starts from this difference with its Western counterpart in order to attract others and highlight its specificity in South-Eastern Europe. Agriculture and small-scale industry were the ones that most employed children in the West⁷ and the rural environment was the trigger that put pressure and pushed the individuals towards the city.⁸ Textile and domestic industries developed in certain districts with the use of craft schools founded by local communities. By mid-nineteenth century the child employment in rural environment was significant in rural industries and for them, the communities introduced craft schools where children went from a tender age making these institutions a rival to primary schools.⁹ Their life was divided between agricultural occupations, domestic service and rural crafts, but by the end of 19th century, child employment in the West became limited due to education and labour legislation and the large use of machinery.¹⁰

This is the moment when in the other part of Europe really begins the industrialization and the discussion about children as a social group. Before the Treaty of Berlin, in 1875, the Ottoman Empire had only a small number of factories in its main cities as the lack of capital discouraged mechanization of production.¹¹ After 1878 the same countries struggle to nationalize their economies through protectionist laws, but for the moment they are interested in developing an infrastructure, a social control policy and to educate the masses. In this plan for the modern state, the education transforms itself as an alternative to work and, furthermore, it

⁴ Ibid., p. 114; Hitchins, *Romania*, p. 169.

⁵ Schifirneț, *Forme fără fond*, 2007.

⁶ Schifirneț, “Spiru Haret, education reform”, p.13-14. The concept was discussed in Schifirneț, “Tendential Modernity”, pp. 22-51.

⁷ Heywood, *Childhood in Nineteenth-Century France*, p.7.

⁸ Ibid., p. 13.

⁹ Horn, *Victorian country child*, pp. 111-132.

¹⁰ Horn, *Victorian country child*, p. 82.

¹¹ Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*, p. 134-135 giving as examples the cities of Istanbul, western Anatolia, Bursa, Lebanon and the port cities.

becomes a path towards to educate work for specialized and qualified personnel.¹² In an Austrian debate between these two options for children, the involved parties realize the importance of their choice which represents “the border line between western and eastern Europe”.¹³

Recent historiography on child labour emphasized this idea of school slowly replacing unqualified work, although there are some nuances that need to be highlighted. Due to high costs, children were not sent to school by their parents and only when attendance became free, things changed.¹⁴ For countries situated in the other part of Europe or at its margins like Turkey, Russia and Romania the system of peasant schools has their root in mid-nineteenth century and because of their agrarian character the competition was felt not with work in factory and industry in general, but with work in agriculture. This economic sector, the use of apprenticeship and family network,¹⁵ a lack of industry and official data explains why child labour is “invisible” until the end of 19th century. All children complete domestic tasks at home, a work unmeasurable by the authorities and child labour below of the age of 10 years must be seen as „a survival strategy of the poor”.¹⁶

Vocational schools gradually replace apprenticeship at elementary level offering the double benefit of learning a craft at low costs and improving a social status. This is a State intervention towards the working class with the long-time objective to shape it in accordance to its national ideals. Our study will focus on this subject and the major objective is to observe the levers through which the working class was formed, with an emphasis on the system of professional education, the graduates’ socio-economic background and employment history.

II. Methodology and sources.

In order to fulfil these objectives and create an outline of the qualified employee/worker, we have to bear in mind some important issues. First, the 1860-1890 period will be discussed from the viewpoint of the information provided by the existing trade schools. Second, the reference point for the 1900-1914 period will be the increasingly rich data supplied by the annuals of the

¹² Maksudyan, “Orphans, cities”, p. 499-501.

¹³ Papathanassiou, “Protected from work?”, p.148.

¹⁴ Kirby, *Child labour in Britain*, p. 112; Humphries, *Childhood and Child Labour*, p.10, 310, 316-322.

¹⁵ Wall, “Economic collaboration”, pp. 93-98; Leunig, Minnis, Wallis, “Networks”, pp. 423-427.

¹⁶ Mayhew, *London labour and the London poor*, pp. 298-305; Kirby, *Child labour in Britain*, p. 131; Humphries in *Childhood and Child Labour*, p. 9 and for an earlier period see Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth*, pp. 40-42.

vocational schools, statistical bulletins, and surveys in the field. Examples of the latter category are *The Industrial Survey of 1901-1902*,¹⁷ and the report drawn up by trade schools inspector George Mazu, who summarised the situation for the years 1900-1908.¹⁸ All these sources represent official published information, which we have processed statistically.

Statistics appears in the modern period as a way of controlling people from the fiscal point of view, after which it is taken up and used in all areas of the State, from education and administration, to delinquency and criminality. The Romanian space of former principalities Wallachia and Moldavia, had a first control of its population as follows: in 1838 (Wallachia), in 1859/1860 (Wallachia, Moldavia), in 1899 and, before the war, in 1912. First attempt at census in accordance with the European standards is tested at the end of the century, but the one that manages to adopt them definitively finishes off in 1912. Leonida Colescu (1872-1940), the statistician who has initiated and directed these two sources admits their problem: it is not known for sure the area of the municipalities, the data being approximate. Sabin Manuilă (1894-1964), adds that in 1899 there was a lack of stability in the structure of the places at the national level; and from here, the failure to observe the numerical development for every village/municipality/city.¹⁹ This fact transposes the political instability at territorial level, the borders being always in change. However, between 1899 and 1912, a demographic increase of 22% may be observed.²⁰ Ground surveys are another feature of the 19th century, through which the State seeks to learn more about the population in terms of the standard of living, the level of economic progress, culture and education. The first economic inquiries are done in Germany, France and Belgium and they are used as a model by the Romanian State in achieving its first industrial survey in 1901-1902, initiated by the same Leonida Colescu.²¹ The Romanian statistician points out the difference between these countries and the Romanian situation in terms of industrial establishments, workers and population involved in industry:

| | | |
|---------|-------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Germany | 2 146 972 industrial establishments | 8 000 503 workers |
| France | 784 240 industrial establishments | 4 364 069 workers |

¹⁷ *Ancheta industrială din 1901-1902*, 2 vols., 1903-1904.

¹⁸ Mazu, *Școalele de meserii*, 1909.

¹⁹ Colescu, *Analiza rezultatelor*, p.4.

²⁰ Colescu, *Populațiunea românească din Ungaria*, p.2.

²¹ He mentions the German, French and Belgian models as he knew them from: *Die berufliche und sociale Gliederung des Deutschen Volks* (1899), *Gewerbe und Handel in Deutschen Reich* (1899), *Resultats statistiques de recensement des industries et professions*, Paris (1901) and *Recensement général des industries et des métiers* (1902). For an unsuccessful Romanian attempt in 1893-1896 see Robin & Staicovici, *Statistica română*, p. 103.

| | | |
|---------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Belgium | 330 000 industrial establishments | 1 130 000 workers |
| Romania | 62 188 industrial establishments | 169 198 workers ²² |

The scale of industrial development cannot be reached even though Colescu recognises that there might be an “invisible” number of apprentices in the rural area. His team was not able to register all of them and their relation with the master (son/brother/wife/sister) because of the evasive responses. But their work is not constant and from the precise information the team did get, there were 5284 masters helped by their families from a total of 31 070 (17%), while in the cities their number reaches 4005 from a total of 22517 (17,8%).²³ At the same time, the Ministry of Education conducted two surveys at the level of primary and secondary schools (in 1906), while the yearly statistical directories had offered data at the national level since 1878, becoming increasingly more detailed as time went on. The reports of the county administration authorities as well as those of the school inspectors contributed significantly to complete an image that had been being built quantitatively in terms of professional education and industrialization since the early '90s of the 19th century. Thus, even if the territory remains questionable, the population becomes visible through all its activities. In an analysis of the formation of working class from professional point of view, a deeper observation is important in order to see the dynamics inside of this class, the options and the degree of adaptability to the rules and directions of the State. That it is why we have turned to the archives of the national vocational schools and we have compared them with data provided by George Mazu’s report, the general inspector of the schools for the period 1900-1908. The collected information refers to: preparing the graduate (specialization, promotion), his educational progress and achievements (finding a job, the job place, and employment mobility).

III. A Romanian context.

After the unification of the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia and during the reign of Alexandru Ioan Cuza (1859-66), the rate of literacy and the number of qualified workers was still low. The law of 1864, which stipulated compulsory, free and universal education, particularly at the primary level, aimed to change the situation. Nevertheless, there were limitations to this principle, because it stipulated compulsory schooling only within a radius of three kilometres

²² Colescu, “Analisa rezultatelor generale”, p. 8.

²³ Ibid.

from schools.²⁴ If we take into account the lack of infrastructure and opposition on the part of the peasantry, who preferred to put their children to work in the farmyard or fields, then it is easy to understand why the impact was not very great. Legislatively, after Romania gained independence (1878) and became a kingdom (1881), another step was taken and subsystems of education diversified, with vocational and special schools being introduced alongside pre-school, primary, secondary and higher education.

The first vocational education law was passed in 1899 and at that moment there were higher schools (Agriculture, Trades, Commerce), but no elementary ones. The private schools that did exist were uneven in their organisation and syllabi, as well as poorly administered, in part. The elementary schools were regarded as an outlet for those pupils who were unable to get into gymnasium school, but in his laying out of the motives for the draft law, Minister Spiru Haret went further and drew a connection between this situation and Romania's economic backwardness.

“Our vocational education has begun to be built from top to bottom, the opposite of what is ordinarily done. Things have taken place as if primary in primary and secondary education gymnasiums and lyceums were to be established before primary schools. In our opinion this is the main accusation that can be made and the most significant reason why the effectiveness of this education has had such a small impact on the economic progress of the country.”²⁵

In the draft as well as in the law, Minister Spiru Haret envisaged the creation of a vocational schools structure that would take into account the following fundamental aspects: 1) the specifics of each setting (rural, urban); 2) local financial means and Ministry investment; 3) the realisation of levers of employment for school leavers. He acknowledged the existence of a number of schools in the urban setting and the “anomaly” of the development of elementary vocational schools first of all for girls, to the detriment of those for boys. The vocational schools were divided into four categories: agricultural, trades, forestry, and commercial. The agricultural schools were to be created in agricultural areas of Romania and receive pupils who had completed primary schooling, aged between twelve and fifteen. The timetable for establishment, taking account of the problems that might arise, was to be at least one school in every county within three years and at least four within twelve years. With regard to the trades schools, the timetable was the same, but with the recommendation that there be at least three

²⁴ *Antologia legilor*, 2004; Retegan, “Contribuții” p. 371.

²⁵ *Operele lui Spiru C. Haret*, vol. IV, p. 177.

schools in the rural communes, the aim being to reduce the import of small items that the peasants themselves could make using cheap and simple tools. Craftsmen would be brought from other regions of the country (the national schools and higher schools) or from abroad, with preference being given to teachers from Transylvania and Bukovina, who were more likely to speak Romanian and therefore to be able to communicate more easily with the pupils.

Article 32 stipulated the establishment of trades schools alongside state-run workshops, a measure Haret believed would achieve “immediate employment of those finishing these schools.”²⁶ The workshops envisaged were the Bucharest and Iași tobacco factories, the match factory, the Turnu-Severin building site on the Danube the army and navy arsenal, the army ordnance and gunpowder factories in Lăculețe and Dudești, the army and navy uniforms workshop, the Bucovăț tannery, the state printing press, the Post Office and Telegraph repairs workshop, and the Romanian Railways workshops in Bucharest and Iași.

The law put forward by Haret was passed in the form he wished, but it was not implemented until 1901, due to the change of regime. George Mazu, the inspector of these schools, said that within just eight years of the law being passed, the number of crafts schools increased from five to 78.²⁷ Each school had its own purpose:

"The main aim of the elementary crafts schools is to disseminate the cottage industries and home crafts among the peasantry. (...) The lower crafts schools make up the middle level of industrial education. They are primarily aimed at the populace of the towns and their purpose is to train craftsmen in various branches of trade for which a demand is felt in the places in question.”²⁸

The workshop-schools, established either at the end of the 19th century or at the beginning of the 20th century, are located within the major enterprises supported by the State, but they occur gradually. The Industrial Survey of 1901-1902 shows that in urban areas the training is done mostly in the workshop and less in vocational school, the ratio being of 93% to 7%. But this figure is just a reference point for a year because at that time, the professional education was growing and in a continual evolution, transforming the workshop in an annex. Thus, institutional development as part of a field in an incessant dynamics such as the professional education makes it relative and hard to quantify the number of graduates for the period 1900-1914. The

²⁶ Ibid., p. 187.

²⁷ Mazu, *Școalele de meserii*, p. 4

²⁸ Ibid., p. 5, 12, 18.

opinion is valid for all levels of vocational schools (elementary, lower, upper), schools of apprentices, school workshops set up by individuals or establishments belonging to the State through various ministries. We give as an example, the army's arsenal, which created in 1881 a workshop school for its students, training armourer foremen or help foremen. Other significant examples are the four schools within the Romanian Railways Schools, as follows: movement special school (1880), school of mechanic students (1891), school of maintenance (1893) and handling (1893). They were not taken into account by the industrial survey in 1901-1902, but they trained in 1880-1900, a number of 1,427 graduates, of which 1,181 working in the field of training.²⁹ Also in 1903-1904, there were taken a series of actions intended to develop the oil industry, still in developing phase: the country's geological prospections for the oil areas, the creation of an infrastructure enabling the Black Sea transportation, the pipelines in Constanța harbour area etc. In an official report presented in 1904, the specialists drew attention to the connection between the development of the industry and the overall progress of Romania, recommending the creation of a national organization.³⁰ Part of this program was the establishment of schools which were meant to train specialists in oil exploitation and processing. Immediately after the submission of the report, in 1904, in Câmpina, there is founded the School of Foremen for Drilling and Refining (FOREMEN), the courses covering a period of 22 months, assimilated quickly and gradually: 10 months of theory in school, 6 months of practical education and 6 months for completion of all assimilated knowledge both theoretical and practical. In 1906, we have the first premium promotion of this type of schools at the European level, with only 56 graduates (foremen, drillers and distillers), which will rise up till 1914.³¹ In fact, from that moment the State began to pursue separately the increase in the number of workers in the industry, with specific reference to the oil industry and the number of workers in small and medium-sized industry. During this stormy evolution of the proletariat, the graduate trained for a profession (either in a vocational school or in the workshop) seems to be difficult when numerically placed in employment, the information being lacunose and not collected yet.

²⁹ They are grouped in accordance with the school they attended: the school of movement had 768 graduate of whom 579 became workers; the school of mechanic students had 236 students of whom 206 were on-duty; the school of maintenance had 174, of whom 158 stay in the field, and that of handling 249 students, of whom only 238 are active part in their field.

³⁰ Buzatu, *A History of Romanian Oil*, p. 88-89; 90-95. See also *Lucrările Comisiunii*.

³¹ Rizea, "Repere", p. 274-275.

IV. The vocational schools and their alumni/graduate profile

Demographic growth after 1859 was combined with migration from villages to the developing urban centres (Jassy, Bucharest, Ploiești, Craiova, Galați, Brăila).³² This affected social structure,³³ and the working class increased significantly, reaching more than 10% of the working population by the outbreak of the World War I.³⁴ Conservative and Liberal Parties had somewhat different views on education, even though a strong category of public functionaries emerged, encouraged by the state.³⁵ From the legislative point of view, the liberal elite, supported by Minister Haret, moved to create qualified personnel through the vocational education laws of 1899/ 1901, continuously reinforced. But what impact did the laws have? To what extent is it possible to speak of a connection between course graduates and the above mentioned 10% around the year 1914?

To answer these questions we will analyse the graduate promotions of the Romanian vocational schools for the period of 1900-1908. The data was gathered from the report of vocational school inspector Gheorghe Mazu and from the school registers, in the local archives. The State's interest with respect to them as future workers is important and we should analyse this as well. In the nineteenth century the outline of the course graduate and that of the employee developed along lines of gender, nationality, age, and training. In the 1870s and 80s, the Romanian state added to these constants that of the parents' social status, and in the school registers preserved in the archives there are also records of former pupils' progress after finishing school. Taken together, they speak of changes of generation, individual options, state policy, and urban demographic growth among the working class.

IV. The state's working constants

1. Gender. Vocational schools in Romania emerged along two lines, depending on gender. The schools for boys were a state initiative, while those for girls emerged thanks to initiatives on the part of private individuals and the local authorities.

³² Hitchins, *Romania*, p. 164, who, based on data in *Buletinul statistic general al României*, 12/36-37, 1915, estimates that around 300.000 people made the transition from village to town.

³³ Klein, Ogilvie, "Occupational structure", p. 493, 500.

³⁴ Hitchins, *Romania*, p. 169, who sets out from the research of Constantinescu, *Din istoricul formării*, 1959.

³⁵ Caramelia, "În spatele zidurilor...", pp. 193-197; Axenciuc, *Formarea sistemului industrial*, p. 218.

All these schools either disappeared or were gradually taken over by the state, a situation that was made final through the vocational education law of 1899. When they were founded by private individuals, the schools were aimed at poor and orphaned girls, who posed a social danger and had to be made respectable, lest they succumb to delinquency. Orphaned and abandoned girls should be guided towards the vocational schools only if they were gifted with a talent for a given trade, otherwise they could become servants and nurses or look after children.³⁶ These shows a differentiation according to gender, which was to be compounded by another constant: the parents' occupation. Whereas for the state, vocational training was aimed at poor children and orphans, but in the case of girls, society privileged those children who enjoyed a certain amount of resources and familial supervision. The orphaned girls were marginalised in terms of social care. Thus, as a specific feature, the girls' schools acquired a social dimension complementary to the economic one.

Moreover, the girls' careers subsequent to their finishing school were not monitored as closely by the state, and the only existing data are preserved in their school annuals and in the administrative correspondence. They were not of interest in the official statistics, perhaps also because in the eyes of the authorities they did not represent a potential agent of economic impact. For Iași, in the years immediately after the founding of the vocational school for girls, the spread of graduates to the small towns of Moldavia is recorded. They worked as teachers in the newly founded state schools of Botoșani, Bîrlad, Huși, Vaslui, Focșani, Tecuci, Roman and Tîrgu Neamț. It was not until the end of the century that there were grounds to include them among the working class, and the school took on the role of "providing the pupils with the knowledge needful in order for them to industrialise their labour to the highest degree."³⁷ In Pitești, up until 1921, 161 pupils had graduated, of which only three had opened workshops with a loan, while another five had done so using their own means. All the workshops were opened before the World War I, and the explanation provided by the headmistress in her report is that the girls embraced "careers as functionaries, where they found wide-open doors and an easier means of earning money than a trade." We discover that the young girls preferred to take

³⁶ *Ancheta învățământului*, p. 1025.

³⁷ *Anuarul Școalei Profesionale de Fete "Elena Gh. Mârzescu"*, p. 12.

the following path: to train to become tradeswomen, assistants, secretaries, primary teachers, or functionaries in the Post Office, telegraph and telephone service or railways.³⁸

Thus, paradoxically, although there were more female than male graduates, their economic impact was significantly lower. Marriage, family life, and requalification as functionaries reduced their contribution to society and thus the schools fulfilled a social rather than an economic function.³⁹

IV.2.Nationality. As early as the mid-nineteenth century, the state became interested in the number of foreigners and particularly Jews, a community with a negative image, associated with usury and economic abuses. The explanations for this interest were nationalism, a desire to promote the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia as a unified state, and the development of the economy thanks to the rise of capitalism.⁴⁰ In the Romanian economy an overwhelming role was played by the Jews who arrived in the eighteenth century from countries with restrictive measures against them, such as Russia, Prussia, Poland and Austria. These Jews settled mainly in the cities and towns of Moldavia. The Treaty of Shistov (1791) played an important role in encouraging this migration. Through the treaty, foreign consulates obtained freedoms and privileges for traders and merchants under their protection. The number of traders grew steadily until the mid-nineteenth century, and they were encouraged to settle in towns.⁴¹ From 1866, via the new constitution anti-Semitism insinuated itself at the level of the state, and successive governments legislatively prevented the Jews from holding production and even executive positions in the economy.⁴² Political rights for Jews had already been granted in Austria-Hungary (1867), France (1790), Belgium (1830), and Germany (1811-71), but this did not bring any improvements to the situation. After the Russo-Turkish War of 1878-79, the Berlin Congress made it a condition for the recognition of Romania's independence that it modify article 7 of the constitution,⁴³ and the "Jewish question" thus became an international issue. Discriminatory laws touched even education. The number of Jewish pupils in schooling grew proportionally with the demographic expansion of the Jewish population, and in the recently

³⁸ *Anuarul Școalei Profesionale de Fete "Teiuleanu" din Pitești*, p. 6-7.

³⁹ For Bucharest's girls theoretical high schools see Caramelia, pp. 210-213.

⁴⁰ Iancu, *Evreii din România*, pp. 19-20, but argues that anti-Semitism had existed previously, even before Russia had a presence in the Principalities as a neighbouring, protective power.

⁴¹ Furnică, *Industria*, pp. 52-66; Berindei, "Evreii din Moldova", p. 23. Paul Stahl, "Evreii din Iași", pp. 39-42.

⁴² Iancu, *Evreii din România*, p.22.

⁴³ *Monitorul Oficial* no. 142/1 June 1866: "Romanian citizenship is acquired, conserved and lost according to the rules laid down by the civil laws. Only foreigners of the Christian religion can be naturalised."

established girls' vocational schools there were 34 Jewish pupils in 1879 and 75 by 1883. After the adoption of protectionist measures and the law to encourage national industry (May 12/24, 1887), discriminatory school stipulations increased. The 1893 law for primary education speaks of free and compulsory schooling for Romanians, whereas foreigners could only take up vacant places and even then only after paying a tax (15 lei in the villages and 30 lei in the towns).⁴⁴ In the arts and crafts schools and the trade schools, Jews were admitted only if they did not exceed in numbers a fifth of the total pupils and if they paid a fee. Desiring a native economy, with Romanian capital and personnel, the state also extended the premise stipulated in the law for the encouragement of industry, whereby two thirds of the workers had to be Romanian. Jews were excluded from every state monopoly, from the stock markets, from ambulatory commerce, and from levying customs taxes etc. The 1902 law for organisation of the trades was the apogee: article 4 stipulated that a foreigner who wished to ply a trade in Romania had to prove that his country of origin provided the same rights to Romanians. In 1912 it was amended so that all those not under foreign protection were exempt from having to provide proof; nevertheless, naturalisation became obligatory if they wished to set up and run industrial workshops. At the time, 80% of the Jewish population made a living from trade and crafts, and this discriminatory legislation hit them hard. The industrial survey of 1901-02 demonstrates that before the passing of the trades' law, 19.5% of the existing enterprises were owned by Jews, 19.6% of the craftsmen were also Jews, while from of all traders, 21.2% . Drawing a comparison with the statistics for craftsmen in 1908, historian Carol Iancu is of the opinion that the number of traders fell, while the number of craftsmen increased both in the countryside and in the towns. At the end of the century emigration of Jewish craftsmen to countries such as the United States, Canada, France and England intensified.⁴⁵

VI.3. Parents' Occupations

Every school in the country, regardless of its profile or standards, was asked to present to the county inspectorate an annual report that provided the total number of parents, arranged into

⁴⁴ The stipulation was also kept in the education laws of 1896, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1903 and 1904. It is discussed critically in Iancu, *Evreii din România*, pp. 219-223.

⁴⁵ Iancu, *Evreii din România*, p. 296-7, uses the statistics of the Israelite Alliance, an international organisation, for the period 1899-1909, based on passports issued, from which it emerges that 41,754 Jews emigrated, of which 9,288 were craftsmen; over a shorter period (1900-02), the report of the British Consulate in Romania is useful, which speaks of 31,615 Jews emigrating to America (New York, Philadelphia), Argentina, Egypt, London, and Paris. See also Iancu, *Evreii din Hârlău*, p. 73.

the following categories: 1) villagers; 2) industrialists; 3) craftspeople; 4) traders; 5) proprietors; 6) civil servants; 7) landlords; 8) priests and clergymen; 9) self-employed; 10) deceased (orphaned children); 11) teaching professions, and 12) other professions. An analysis of such information can highlight key issues affecting social mobility and people's interest in vocational school as a training body. We could state that, as a general rule, parents want social and economic betterment for their children. Parents direct them towards jobs that will either strengthen or raise their current status. At present there is no database containing the details of all school graduates, only one that records their situation after having left school. This is important because, although it is useful, the data is lacking in the sense that we have no parent profile (home town, age etc.) to help us understand the measure of socio-economic change between generations of a family. But this may be undertaken in the future by the inclusion of such data for each year, from every school, in every county of Romania. Although incomplete, the information in question is itself a window on the implementation of the vocational education law of 1899, and becomes important when contextualised by other data supplied by the censuses of 1899 and 1912. To this end, and taking into account these factors, we created samples from two years of students (1899-1900; 1909-1910) from all types of vocational schools (elementary, lower and higher-level crafts, elementary and lower agriculture; housekeeping and home economics) belonging to the four regions of the Old Kingdom (Muntenia, Oltenia, Dobrogea and Moldova). We have excluded commercial schools because they trained individuals for activities not related to labour and production (generally of the working class), but to management and linked to the so-called, "bourgeoisie."⁴⁶ Also, we looked at and interpreted separately the situation in the two capital cities of the former principalities: Iasi and Bucharest. They are urban centres that have not only significant populations of their own but also attract human resources from the surrounding communities and even from other counties. As their school populations can easily double or even triple that of a county's, one cannot speak of a comparison between the cities of Iasi and Bucharest and other provincial cities. A valuable comparison can only be drawn between these two urban centres. The cities bring such an increase to the statistics of the respective counties (Iași and Ilfov) and regions (Moldavia and Wallachia), that it is best that we consider the regional and county statistics separately.

We take into account the rural or urban backgrounds of the enrolled students. Thus, it

⁴⁶ Manoilescu, *Rostul și destinul*, p. 115.

was noted that for the 1899-1900 school year, most students in vocational schools for boys were from rural areas at a rate of more than double that of boys from urban areas. With girls, the urban/rural split is the inverse. How can we explain this inconsistency, given that the village is considered a human resource for the city? The easy conclusion is that the village represents a traditional community wherein women's roles remain confined to that of wife and mother, attached to the home and hearth. The ranks of craftsmen, workers and servants were enlarged with orphans. For girls of this category, a whole system of assistance focused on their education was developed. Women's empowerment occurred through the work of members of the bourgeoisie who established schools and campaigned for gender equality. Basically, we are witnessing emancipation through education. However, they did not talk of a special category of countrywoman or city woman, but of women in general. Literacy in particular is an issue, on the two occasions in which the number of those incapable of reading was recorded in Romania (1909, 1912), it was revealed that, regardless of the environment (rural or urban), women were twice as likely to be illiterate.⁴⁷ These three elements (the role of the village and women in society, women's empowerment and literacy) converge to anticipate that girls attending vocational schools would come from the category of orphans or from the ranks of the middle classes. In the table no... we can see how this hypothesis came true for students' parents: 28% were civil servants; 14% traders; 9% deceased (orphans); 7%, 8% craftsmen and small farmers. This was the situation in the country in 1899-1900 and it didn't change over the next decade. However, the share of self-employed and villager parents choosing to send their girls to learn a trade increased. Sample data for vocational students in 1909-1910 shows us the following: 32% parents were civil servants; 14% were traders/business people; 11% belonged to the professions; 11% were deceased (orphans); 9% were villagers; and 9% were craftsmen. Unfortunately, the state information relating to vocational school for girls is extremely patchy, and the records of such institutions do not fill those gaps in the archives. Still, if we take the example of the vocational school for girls in Turnu Severin we can see the same situation: the inclusion of people from village among the important categories of parents (table no.)

With regard to boys, all samples seem to point to a preponderance of villagers and civil servants among those parents who sent their children to school. Traders and those in the professions follow in third as the category of parents that invested in training their children. The

⁴⁷ *Statistica anuală*, 3 (1913-1914), p. 24. See also *Recensământul general*, 1910 and *Statistica științurilor*, 1947.

difference between the two genders is to be expected given the fact that the village was a human resource for the training of craftsmen, and at the same time a place where boys were taught how to work the land and produce handicrafts. In contrast, the city was the only place where a woman could change her traditional role as a wife and mother, and become economically independent.

V. Profile of the craftsman, profile of the employee

In the years 1900-1914, Romanian vocational schools produced a significant number of graduates for the labour market. But there is a difference between what the State seeks, what the individual wants, and what the market reality is. So, what happens to them? How many of the graduates fulfilled the state's ideal of creating a well-trained working class? To answer this question, we analysed the path taken by graduates from trade schools, as recorded in the official report⁴⁸ (covering 1900-1908) made by inspector Mazu and in school registers from the local archives. The data set contains information on what happened in the professional lives of some 1957 graduates.

We intend to understand how the vocational education law was implemented, especially after 1903, when such schools were being established. The number of successful graduates is larger in schools that are older: most come from upper school in the capital (established since the nineteenth century); followed by the counties created in the '80s of the same century, around when the law to encourage domestic industry was introduced (May 12, 1887) and, finally; the schools that emerged in response to the vocational education law of 1899.

According to the type of industry to which they belong, the graduates were trained in the following specializations: metallurgical industry (1003 people); wood industry (772 people); footwear industry (52 people); ceramic industry (52 people); textile and accessories industries (41 people); domestic industry (knitting and rope making) (37 people). As one can note, a combination of activities of large industry (which implies working continuously with industrial-type machines), as well as of small and medium ones, prevails in the Romanian agricultural society. The research data shows 4 possibilities of reaction in connection with features of the

⁴⁸ In the case of Iași, owing to the vast archive there, we could include information from a further period of 8 years (1897-1900; 1909-1914). See *ANR-JI*, files 1/1896, ff. 2-31; 2/1908, ff.1-101v.

society, each displaying its own branches, specificity and explanations: 1. employment according to the education profile; 2. the involvement in the educational process; 3. getting a job out of the training field and 4. neutral or irrelevant category in the sense that there is no information about the individual who either dies or is unemployed.

V.1. Employment according to the education profile, presents us with 2 possibilities: a) as a worker in a workshop owned by somebody else; b) setting up an own business (workshop) together with other graduate, family members or other people. Of the 1957 graduates, the percentage of those working in the profile fields mentioned above represents the timber industry, and also the small and medium ones, the metallurgical specializations showing a lower capacity of integration. That conclusion should however be approached from two different points of view: individual's material and the capacity of the industrial companies to withstand, for a long time, the Romanian economy. To build a proper workshop, no matter what the industry may be, a consistent equity should be taken into account to cover all the expenses for tools, equipment and labour force, including both manufacturing and service delivery. We can observe a preponderance of those working in: footwear industry (50%), domestic (30%) and wood (24%), metallurgy placing in last place (8%). Even if there are fewer people trained for the first two industrial branches, there is a significant compensation thanks to the significant number of those belonging to the third branch.

Some features of these associations deserve to be mentioned to show the dynamics of the social networks at the professional level. First, nearly all graduates start a fellowship for such a move at the end of their studies, considering the fact that they follow the same directions in accordance with their specialization. They also choose as the headquarters to be in an urban centre, close to their area, preferably where the school is located. It happened so in 1906, city of Brăila, with the graduates of the woodwork vocational schools, Cicerone Vasiliu and Pavel Măciucă, who set up their workshop in the same urban centre. And there are many examples. Secondly, if there are associations between the graduates with different specializations, we notice then a tendency to open a shop in another town, or in the house of one of them or in a totally different place, much further. In fact, economic migration comprises itself the aspiration of initiating an action that benefits from the professional background in order to achieve financial well-being in a broader framework, which implies greater competition and marketplace. If we consider the same county, Brăila, in 1908, the graduates of the vocational

schools from Viziru village, Dumitru C. Cucu și Radu S. Burlacu, each of them with different skills (blacksmith, respectively woodcutter), chose to open an workshop in Victoria, a village in the same county. Three years before, in 1905, 4 graduates from Iași (Vanghelie Mișicu, cartwright; Gh. Buracu, goldsmith; Gh. Păpăna, tinsmith; Cuțitaru, wheelwright), set for Macedonia, where they open an workshop in the town of Salonica and name it simply “Labour”. Mișicu Vanghelie gave up, came back to Romania and got a job as an engineer at the docks of Constanța harbour. Thirdly, the return to a family business, is an option that also implies to practice agriculture besides the main job. In 1906, 1908 and 1909, Podul Turcului village, county of Tecuci, there were cases when the elementary school graduates such as Gh. Botrogoș, Dumitru I. Vlad, Vasile St. Tâslăoanu, Vasilache Gh. Iorgu, Vasile D. Velică, Gheorghe Gh. Boghiu and Gheorghe St. Spiridon, were all trained as shoemakers. In such a context, the house was transformed in a workshop, a part of them declaring piece work jobs, as follows: Constantin R. Marinescu and Alexandru Iane, tailors from Brăila in 1908, Ion Florescu, blacksmith and locksmith in Potcoava village, the county of Olt, graduate of Slatina school, in 1909. Ion Gh. Popescu and Pavel Andrițoiu, potters of 1905 -1906 promotion, vocational school of Tg. Jiu, county of Gorj, stated the same things.

The State encouraged both the individual and villagers to associate by entering the cooperative property law which was enforced and supported by the Minister of the Public Instruction, Spiru Haret. The law on the popular rural banks issued in 1903⁴⁹ complied with the savings and loan associations set up in 1871 that provided support to the villagers in order to get a better profit for their products, and unlike usual banks, offered more affordable loans. This because:

“Everywhere, the main purpose of education is to enable the worker to have his/her own direction, initiative as well as to develop his/her taste and imagination”.⁵⁰

However, what happens with the graduates of the vocational schools, full of dreams fuelled by the official discourse? How are they supported? There are things done in this direction, particularly for the young women, who are more vulnerable economically and are perceived as lacking in opportunities. The female graduates of the vocational schools are not included in our analysis because there are no records from the part of the authorities. However, they were

⁴⁹ The law on the rural popular banks and their headquarters, published in Official Journal no. 288/29 March 1903.

⁵⁰ ‘Revista Generală a Învățământului’, 1905, 1st year, no.5, 1 December, p. 315.

subject to the law since the end of the 19th century. For instance, the 1898 ministerial decision on the distribution of financial aids female graduates who wanted to open their own workshops (two young women, with the best marks). The subsidy had to be divided thus: 3 quarters for tools and one-quarter for paying the rent of the premises or to obtain material.⁵¹ But, in 1901-1902, when we have the first industrial survey, before enforcing the labour law (1902) and the popular bank law (1903), the effect is too weak. Association means trust, collaboration, equitable investment and assumed risks, but we cannot discuss about it in the rural area, while in town, it is only 2%. In a few years, in 1910, the cooperative workshop subsidized by the State budget and is meant to support the young graduates. It is regarded as an economic bridge between the village and the town.⁵² The workshop is also a way in which women can earn an income for three years, saving a percentage of earnings for the time when they withdraw or intend to create their own workshops. A powerful impetus is admitted and maintained by sending some forewomen in rural areas and by setting up rural workshops of which final products are exhibited on the domestic market, under the label of national brand. In 1911 and 1912, an official report reveals the existence of various workshops such as handicrafts, carpets and traditional outfits in the counties of Prahova, Valcea, Râmnicu Sărat and Muscel, managed either by female graduates or individuals, with the support of the first ones. In addition, a growing interest is noted due to the fact that more and more primary school female teachers from the rural area benefited from the needlework classes and obtained a second specialization.⁵³

Gheorghe Zane shows that in Romania there was confusion between the concepts of family industry, household industry and that of job. Firstly, the production for a range of customers, which, in their majority, Romanians thought they could do it even at home. From Zane's point of view, during the period 1850-1900, there were two directions of work, depending on the region: 1. people from the hills and mountain developed a wooden household industry, textiles and weaving, which later on they turned it into a job itself, creating

⁵¹ *Operele lui Spiru Haret*, vol. I, p. 380.

⁵² 'Revista Generală a Învățăământului', 1910, February, p. 542.

⁵³ 'Revista Generală a Învățăământului', 1912, October, p. 134-135. For more details regarding the development of the handicraft industry see Mihalache, *Școala și artizanatul*, 2007.

manufacturing and factory, and 2. people from the hills who moved towards house building, as specialization.⁵⁴

In such a context, there were more and more tendencies of industrialization and people began to perceive their handicraft as a professional occupation practiced exclusively and not as an accessory or in common with other, which can be seen in figures reported by the 1901-1902 industrial survey as follows: 91% in urban area and 41% in rural area. The rest of people remained loyal to the old tradition. The difference is significant, but at the same time optimistic for the future of the villagers. Obviously, this is not the only way to measure the process of industrialization in Romania; other factors should also be envisaged: possession of machines or technological tools,⁵⁵ creating a legal working rhythm, mode of distribution of the finished product, and profit.

V.2. The involvement in the educational process, either as a foreman within the vocational schools or as a student in profile high schools, locally or abroad. The graduates who chose to continue their studies on the industry of metallurgy, wood and ceramics. Carl A. Ion (1900) and Dumitrache Gh. (1902) who attended the vocational schools of woodwork and wheelwright and went to the school of architecture in Liège while the ceramist Theodor Burcă choses to attend the ceramics school of Znaim, Austria. The other schools from abroad which young people choose to attend are: the school of sculpture and fine arts of Venice, the technical school of Berlin and German pottery courses. V. Mera, a welder, got a scholarship with the Romanian Academy (1902) while, in 1906, Constantin Popescu, a woodcutter, was sent by the State to specialize in the manufacture of toys, in Thuringia. All these graduates, once they have come back in their home country, are integrated in the Romanian education system and/or become masters in workshops. The most eloquent example is that of specialisation in wooden toys, a department created by the Minister of Public Education, Spiru Haret, within the school of crafts of Novaci (Gorj county) in 1902. The graduate sent to Germany, in Thuringia, returned and joined a workshop in the other part of the country, in the village of Oancea (Galați County), a workshop with 12 students, specialised in selling products at various exhibitions. In Bucharest, in

⁵⁴ Zane, *Industria din Romania*, p. 9-12.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 19. Zane also mentions the state initiative in 1883 to encourage the acquisition of new weaving looms, such as the distribution of 50 items. The order is too small considering the number of villages and the material resources of the villagers: the earnings of a poor family would often reach 170 lei, while such a device used to cost 168 lei. See also Colescu, *Statistica agricolă*, pp. 70-75.

1910, Palve-Rovinari, this time a graduate of the pottery school from Tg. Jiu began to realize dolls in traditional outfits within "Păpușa" national workshop. Both workshops were open by owners with their own contribution, and the young people arriving from the German training courses, were employed as foremen.⁵⁶

In the first half of 19th century, the foreign teachers and trainers were accepted, while the second part is characterized by the reverse process: the Romanian worker is trained and sent abroad with scholarship and financial aid, to study the Western model, and, subsequently implements it according to local specifics. The school regulation provides for this possibility, as statistics confirm, and the testimonies of various articles, reports or memos detail it. In 1908, Romulus Ionașcu (1863-1917), Professor at the Academy of High Commercial and Industrial Studies of Bucharest, discussed about the recruiting teachers and didactic materials needed in the commercial and vocational education pinpointing, among other things that teachers needed to visit similar schools abroad. His experience from 1895, when he met with teachers from the Netherlands or Russia, had had a revealing and innovator impact, because it gave him the opportunity to put himself up to date with the latest news from his speciality, to improve the method of teaching and to open up to a model of progress, adopted by Romania. He states that the students should not limit themselves by visiting the domestic factories, but rather go and see those from abroad⁵⁷.

The aspirations of the individual did not coincide with those of the State and the political elite, which looked at western society, but encouraged a German, Austrian or northern model, due to the fact that these countries had the double advantage of being heavily industrialised and having created a system to educate masses of individuals at a higher rate than France or England.⁵⁸

V.3. Getting a job out of the training field addresses a category of people who comprises all those who: a) join the army; b) practice their job as a second option, additional to the main one, agriculture; c) get retrained (become either clerks, or choose other fields of interest, or start to

⁵⁶ 'Revista Generală a Învățământului', October, 1912, p. 138.

⁵⁷ 'Revista Generală a Învățământului', 1908, January. See also Ionașcu, *Învățământul profesional în străinătate*, 1911 and *Învățământul profesional în România*, 1913. For the Ottoman Empire see Maksudyan, *Orphans and Destitute*, pp. 97-102.

⁵⁸ Schifirneț, 'Spiru Haret, education, reform', p. 11. Caramelea, "În spatele zidurilor...", pp. 40-41.

practice agriculture). Paradoxically, in comparison with the above situation, we note that of 1957 people, graduates of domestic (38%), apparel (32%) and footwear (29%) industries get employed in a great percentage, in other fields. We should draw attention to both a risk and an opportunity at the same time: transforming the qualification in an occupation which is located on a second or even third level towards the newly adopted job. This kind of things happens because the industries, from which these large percentages come, are industries that can be practiced at home. Virgil Madgearu (1887-1940), economist, sociologist and theoretician of the National Party shows that industry at home has factories as its main competitors. The use of machineries generated the marginalization or conversion of some handicrafts, just as it happened with the manufacture of furniture, according to Madgearu. Carpentry and turnery were involved in this process, but the first disappeared gradually because the wood was processed in factory by the means of machineries. Gheorghe Zane extends the example in the field of clothing and footwear showing that social shifts such as Westernization of the outfits affected the realization of certain products: slippers, shalwars, gowns etc. All these little specializations that at the beginning of the 19th century represented a craft itself in the two industries, merged into one (tailor/shoemaker). The measures taken by the authorities had the same effects, namely the disappearance of chandlers or the wood pavers.⁵⁹ The graduates who were qualified in the domestic, clothing and footwear industries inclined to work at home with a well targeted clientele. In the urban space, Virgil Madgearu notes the example of the ready-made garments shops from the capital which overtaking the western patterns of some items, gave them to the craftspeople to work at home with a tight deadline.⁶⁰

The wages thus become per piece, not per day. At the opposite pole, Gheorghe Zane discusses the situation in the village, where there are performed certain trades (boot making, smithy, carpentry, furrier's trade, wheelwright and tailoring), the industrial centres being replacing the former crafts centres with the support of the State. And if in the rural area there were between 1-4 practitioners of the same trades, the concept of individual work order was often used. The evolution opened ways to a new type of trade and industrial future as long as the two types of trades (at request and lot production) could be interchangeable. Subsequently, an important step is taken towards industrialization.⁶¹ We should look at the outcome of our

⁵⁹ Madgearu, *În cheștiunea meseriașilor*, p. 15-17. Zane, *Industria în România*, p. 58-59.

⁶⁰ Madgearu, *În cheștiunea meseriașilor*, p. 16.

⁶¹ Zane, *Industria în România*, pp. 47-49.

analysis pinpointing the possibility that the profession for which the qualification was obtained should be practiced at home, a part from the one that brings a regular payroll.

The increased number of administrative staff is felt by those who support handicraftsmen and the formation of a strong working class, considering that the State creates more facilities for the latter one. Nicolae Moisescu (1866-1924), former secondary school teacher, shows that although the State “had opened the gates of schools” there were graduates who chose to become clerks and, in such a context, there was unfair competition. The problem that he noticed was that schools and apprenticeship workshops were just a few and, in general, supported by the new corporations, which recently had replaced the guilds (1902). To be a public clerk was more attractive due to the salary, a responsibility less demanding physically and the insurance of a pension.⁶² During this time, the labour legislation occurred with delay, the relations between employers and workers were getting worse, generating street revolts and strikes, and the workers were forced to join the self-help associations. In 1901, following the amendment of the vocational education law, the graduates of the schools of arts and crafts founded, within their own General Organization, the evening industrial apprenticeship courses. Later, the Ministry of Agriculture establishes an agricultural apprenticeship school (1902) and an industrial apprenticeship school was set up additional to the workshops within the higher schools of arts and crafts in the capital (1904).⁶³

V.4. Neutral or irrelevant category in the sense that there is no information about the individual who either dies or is unemployed. The lack of information about a certain person should be linked to two aspects: mobility and possible passage of that in another sector of labour, therefore, we have a disappearance in the area of contact. At the same time, the unemployment was a phenomenon of which the authorities had gradually become aware and appeared as a secondary concern, after labour legislation. In addition, being a worker implied to work on a contract that was covering a long period of time, to be a day labourer or to piece work. The statement “unemployed” refers to that period of time when a good part of those who could be called workers, would work for a period and/ or- as we have already seen — having

⁶² Berindei, *Societatea românească*, pp. 261-262. The pension law of 1868 stipulated that 50% of the monthly salary in the last five years should be the monthly pension for those who had worked 20 years; the percentage went up to 75% for those who had worked 30 years.

⁶³ *Școala industrială*, 1904; Moisescu, *Scoalele de ucenici*, pp. 14-17; there is mentioned the school of the Romanian Builders Union (1874) for apprentices and workers, such as masons, carpenters and joiners. And also the one from Pitești (1900).

another occupation. The mobility of some of the graduates is so extremely high that they can have up to 4 jobs during 5-6 years. In 1903, Varliu Andrei, a graduate of locksmith's trade school, got a job as a fitter with the Romanian Railways workshops from Frumoasa, then moved to Bucharest, working for the same company. For a while, he worked as a locksmith foreman at the vocational school, in Pitești, but before the war, he returned to Moldova, where he worked as agricultural mechanic in Roman.⁶⁴

VI. Conclusions The formation of the working class starts with the apprentice, whom is joined by the student of the vocational school, the future foreman-owner of the workshop. It is the private stakeholders and then the State, those who create the industrial framework in a mainly agricultural society that aspires to become industrial. Generations of skilled labourers are born and trained at the same time with development of the national industry, coexisting on the market with the low-skilled ones. Their percentage increases, while that of the employed children decreases. From a gender perspective, women gain access to a variety of professions, all of them in connexion with domestic industry, although there is a tendency to become public functionary. Compulsory and free primary education, stated by the law on education of 1864, is re-enacted with every law of this level, fighting against the parents' mentality and absenteeism, especially in the rural environment.

In 1908, taking into account a review of the situation in the oil industry, there were recorded 15 workshops for refinery combustion plants.⁶⁵ Official yearly statistics recorded these figures starting with 1911 when 46 280 workers (37122 men and 9158 women) worked in heavy industry and 7496, in the oil industry.⁶⁶ This fact affects the situation of the proletariat as a social class because the absorption of the staff was not constant. The stabilization occurs during 1901-1912, a decade in which the law on education and then, on the labour are finished off. Having a set of 1957 alumni for the period 1900-1908, we have tried to comment on their professional trajectory in the same way in which Brian Jackson and Dennis Marsden approached the situation of the graduates from Huddersfield, England, after World War II.⁶⁷ However, they look at a contingent of 90 students who were passing from the working class to the bourgeoisie, into an English national pattern, dominated by the middle-class culture. Our approach refers to

⁶⁴ ANR Iași, *Școala de Arte și Meserii*, 1/1898-1908, f.80.

⁶⁵ *Industria petrolului*, p. 178-179.

⁶⁶ *Statistica anuală*, 1 (1911), p. 22.

⁶⁷ Jackson, Marsden, *Education and the working class*, p. 4

another period and territory: graduates from rural areas or peripheral urban becoming workers in an agrarian country which was in a process of artificially industrialization. The qualified workers showed their availability to meet the ideal requirements traced by State: employment in the workshops and factories recently set up, as well as the fore people entry in system of the vocational education with the purpose of developing new businesses. Their options are also options of the State economy: household industry, work at home industry and rarely heavy industry. Colin Heywood asserted that the 19th century turns from a century of labour into a century of the education,⁶⁸ but the break-up of the two fields is still unclear. The school attracts children - that decrease as number of workers in addition to parents and even as apprentices - to prepare the qualified worker.

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⁶⁸ Heywood, "Children's work in countryside and city", p. 125.

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Tables

| PARENTS' OCCUPATION | Muntenia | | Oltenia | | Moldova | | Dobrogea | | București | | Iași | | Romania (national) | | Schools (boys) | | Schools (girls) | |
|--|----------|-----|---------|-----|---------|-----|----------|-----|-----------|-----|------|-----|--------------------|-----|----------------|-----|-----------------|-----|
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Workers in agriculture | 522 | 17% | 134 | 16% | 354 | 13% | 7 | 4% | 49 | 4% | 60 | 13% | 1126 | 13% | 878 | 23% | 248 | 5% |
| Peasants | 634 | 21% | 297 | 35% | 496 | 19% | 48 | 24% | 72 | 5% | 56 | 12% | 1603 | 19% | 1245 | 33% | 358 | 7% |
| Farmers | 32 | 1% | 2 | 0% | 23 | 1% | 0 | 0% | 34 | 2% | 1 | 0% | 92 | 1% | 56 | 1% | 36 | 1% |
| Industrialists | 21 | 1% | 4 | 0% | 15 | 1% | 1 | 1% | 18 | 1% | 14 | 3% | 73 | 1% | 14 | 0% | 59 | 1% |
| Artisans | 231 | 8% | 65 | 8% | 234 | 9% | 18 | 9% | 76 | 6% | 23 | 5% | 647 | 8% | 262 | 7% | 385 | 8% |
| Merchants | 348 | 11% | 58 | 7% | 234 | 9% | 28 | 14% | 154 | 11% | 22 | 5% | 844 | 10% | 190 | 5% | 654 | 14% |
| Household and land owners | 50 | 2% | 26 | 3% | 62 | 2% | 0 | 0% | 58 | 4% | 12 | 3% | 208 | 2% | 47 | 1% | 161 | 3% |
| Public clerks | 552 | 18% | 126 | 15% | 580 | 22% | 49 | 25% | 368 | 27% | 140 | 31% | 1815 | 21% | 495 | 13% | 1320 | 28% |
| Commercial clerks | 57 | 2% | 4 | 0% | 24 | 1% | 0 | 0% | 22 | 2% | 0 | 0% | 107 | 1% | 25 | 1% | 82 | 2% |
| Stockholders | 8 | 0% | 11 | 1% | 34 | 1% | 0 | 0% | 37 | 3% | 0 | 0% | 90 | 1% | 33 | 1% | 57 | 1% |
| Priests and ecclesiastical professions | 125 | 4% | 16 | 2% | 155 | 6% | 7 | 4% | 49 | 4% | 34 | 8% | 386 | 5% | 127 | 3% | 259 | 5% |
| Teachers and education | 95 | 3% | 14 | 2% | 82 | 3% | 0 | 0% | 48 | 3% | 22 | 5% | 261 | 3% | 54 | 1% | 207 | 4% |
| Officers | 29 | 1% | 12 | 1% | 38 | 1% | 3 | 2% | 42 | 3% | 19 | 4% | 143 | 2% | 19 | 1% | 124 | 3% |
| Liberal professions | 216 | 7% | 8 | 1% | 157 | 6% | 2 | 1% | 89 | 6% | 45 | 10% | 517 | 6% | 240 | 6% | 277 | 6% |
| Other professions | 58 | 2% | 33 | 4% | 29 | 1% | 16 | 8% | 88 | 6% | 2 | 0% | 226 | 3% | 92 | 2% | 134 | 3% |
| Orphans | 52 | 2% | 50 | 6% | 130 | 5% | 20 | 10% | 175 | 13% | 0 | 0% | 427 | 5% | 12 | 0% | 415 | 9% |

Parents' occupation for the graduates from the year 1899-1900 for boys and girls, on geographical regions

Source: *Statistica învățământului*, vol. I (1899-1900).

| 1909-1910 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|----------|-----|---------|-----|---------|-----|----------|-----|-----------|-----|------|-----|--------------------|-----|----------------|-----|-----------------|-----|
| PARENTS' OCCUPATION | Muntenia | | Oltenia | | Moldova | | Dobrogea | | București | | Iași | | Romania (national) | | Schools (boys) | | Schools (girls) | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Farmers and peasants | 804 | 30% | 494 | 45% | 766 | 30% | 74 | 47% | 40 | 4% | 34 | 8% | 2214 | 28% | 1811 | 53% | 401 | 9% |
| Industrialists | 35 | 1% | 8 | 1% | 8 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 11 | 1% | 0 | 0% | 62.03 | 1% | 21 | 1% | 41 | 1% |
| Artisans | 232 | 9% | 81 | 7% | 225 | 9% | 13 | 8% | 57 | 5% | 29 | 7% | 637.4 | 8% | 245 | 7% | 392 | 9% |
| Merchants | 340 | 13% | 106 | 10% | 240 | 9% | 12 | 8% | 123 | 12% | 41 | 9% | 862.5 | 11% | 202 | 6% | 660 | 14% |
| Household and land owners | 58 | 2% | 42 | 4% | 95 | 4% | 2 | 1% | 44 | 4% | 9 | 2% | 250.2 | 3% | 40 | 1% | 210 | 5% |
| Clerks | 553 | 20% | 165 | 15% | 606 | 24% | 24 | 15% | 362 | 35% | 214 | 48% | 1925 | 24% | 454 | 13% | 1470 | 32% |
| Stockholders | 12 | 0% | 9 | 1% | 6 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 8 | 1% | 1 | 0% | 36.02 | 0% | 5 | 0% | 31 | 1% |
| Priests and ecclesiastical professions | 132 | 5% | 26 | 2% | 159 | 6% | 1 | 1% | 37 | 4% | 29 | 7% | 384.2 | 5% | 133 | 4% | 251 | 5% |
| Officers | 20 | 1% | 13 | 1% | 23 | 1% | 0 | 0% | 23 | 2% | 20 | 5% | 99.05 | 1% | 8 | 0% | 91 | 2% |
| Liberal professions | 374 | 14% | 101 | 9% | 249 | 10% | 27 | 17% | 99 | 10% | 47 | 11% | 897.6 | 11% | 379 | 11% | 518 | 11% |
| Orphans | 134 | 5% | 41 | 4% | 183 | 7% | 3 | 2% | 229 | 22% | 17 | 4% | 607.4 | 8% | 117 | 3% | 490 | 11% |
| Other professions | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 0 | 0% |
| Teachers and education | 18 | 1% | 7 | 1% | 10 | 0% | 0 | 0% | 6 | 1% | 2 | 0% | 43.02 | 1% | 17 | 0% | 26 | 1% |

Parents' occupation for the graduates from the year 1909-1910 for boys and girls, on geographical regions

Source: *Statistica învățământului*, vol. II (1909-1910), pp. 41-49; 63-68.

| Parental Occupation | 1899-1900 | 1901-1902 | 1902-1903 | 1903-1904 | 1907-1908 | 1908-1909 | 1909-1910 | 1913-1914 |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Villagers | 2 | 7 | 1 | 1 | 14 | 11 | 6 | 21 |
| Industrialists and Manufacturers | 1 | | | 2 | 8 | | 8 | |
| Workers | | | | | | | | 25 |
| Craftspeople | 12 | 14 | 9 | 8 | 13 | 22 | 15 | 8 |
| Businessmen | 7 | 11 | 12 | 22 | 17 | 13 | 15 | 12 |
| Proprietors and Landowners | 4 | 14 | 9 | 12 | 8 | 4 | 5 | 1 |
| Civil Servants | 36 | 29 | 37 | 50 | 25 | 27 | 25 | 43 |
| Landlords | | | | 3 | | | | |
| Other | | | | | | | 7 | |
| Priests and clerics | 2 | 6 | 10 | 9 | 1 | 5 | 3 | 3 |
| Pensioners | | | | | | 2 | 5 | 5 |
| Military | | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | | | 5 |
| Teachers | | | | | | | 5 | |
| Independent Teachers | 11 | 14 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 6 | 6 |
| Deceased (of Orphans) | 6 | 3 | 25 | 30 | 5 | 24 | 13 | 26 |
| Total | 82 | 99 | 110 | 139 | 108 | 113 | 107 | |

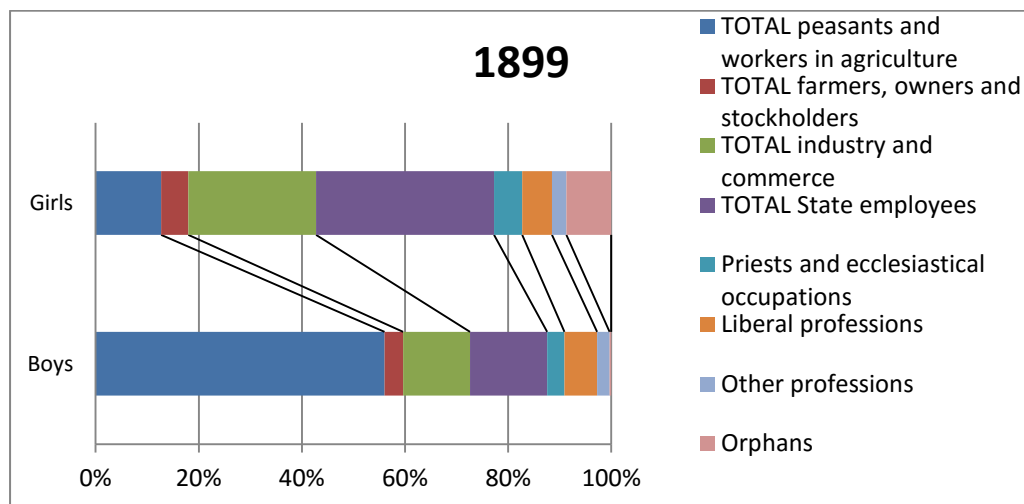
Source: ANR-JM, files 2/1902-1904, 12, 26-26v., 52, 82, 109, 138-138v.; 2/1903-1905, f. 76-83v., 9-9v.; 5/1907, f.163-163v.; 2/1909-1911, f. 141-142v.; 2/1912-1914, f. 19, 90-91v.

| Job after graduation | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|-------------|-------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|----------------|-----------------------|---------------|---------------|---|--------------|--------------|
| INDUSTRY | Agriculture | Army | His own workshop | Deceased | Vocational training | Student | No information | No job | Worker | His specialization together with agriculture | Clerk | Other |
| Metallurgy | 0% | 8% | 6% | 1% | 4% | 1% | 27% | 1% | 47% | 0% | 1% | 3% |
| Wood | 1% | 9% | 24% | 2% | 7% | 2% | 6% | 1% | 39% | 3% | 2% | 3% |
| Textiles and accessories | 0% | 27% | 12% | 0% | 0% | 2% | 2% | 0% | 51% | 0% | 2% | 2% |
| Footwear | 4% | 8% | 50% | 4% | 0% | 0% | 2% | 0% | 15% | 0% | 12% | 6% |
| Pottery | 0% | 6% | 21% | 8% | 4% | 8% | 6% | 0% | 38% | 0% | 0% | 10% |
| Domestic | 0% | 14% | 30% | 0% | 5% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 27% | 22% | 3% | 0% |

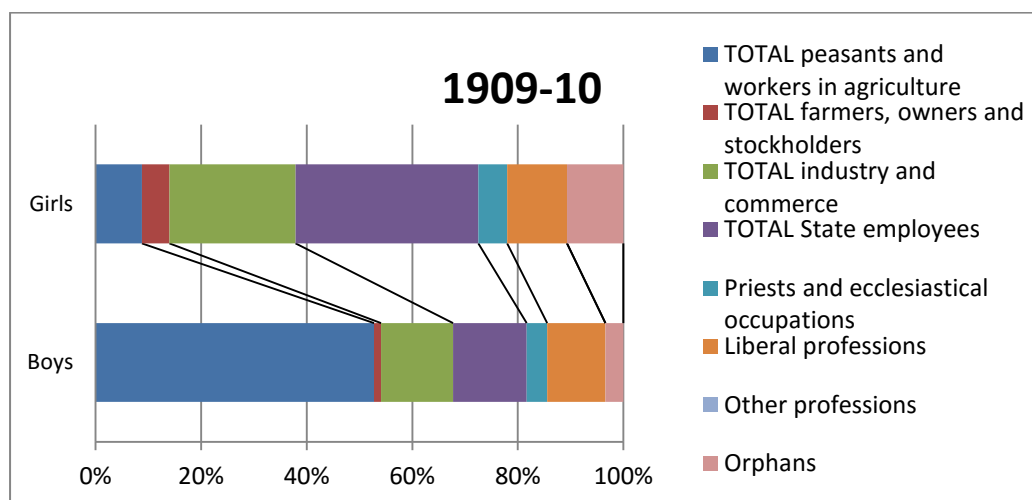
| General situation after graduation | | | | | |
|---|--|---|--|----------------|---------------------|
| Industry | Employment according to the education profile | Employment out of the training field | Vocational education (as a teacher/student) | Neutral | Their number |
| Metallurgy | 53% | 13% | 5% | 29% | 1003 |
| Wood | 64% | 18% | 9% | 9% | 772 |
| Textiles and accessories | 63% | 32% | 2% | 2% | 41 |
| Footwear | 65% | 29% | 0% | 6% | 52 |
| Pottery | 60% | 15% | 12% | 13% | 52 |
| Domestic | 57% | 38% | 5% | 0% | 37 |

Source: Mazu, *Școalele de meserii*, pp. 32-133; ANR.JI, 1/1896-1908, ff. 1-200; 2/1908, ff. 1-100.

Figures



Parents' occupation for the graduates from the year 1899-1900 for boys and girls (general situation)
 Source: *Statistica învățământului*, vol. I (1899-1900).



Parents' occupation for the graduates from the year 1909-1910 for boys and girls (general situation)
 Source: *Statistica învățământului*, vol. II (1909-1910), pp. 41-49; 63-68.