

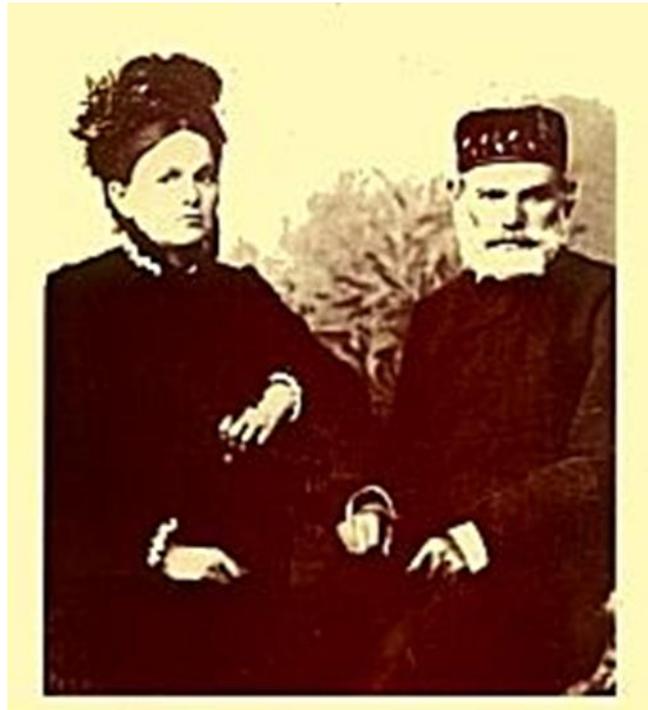
## Family models in Munk and Goldzieher families

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My lecture focuses on the family models of the Munk and Goldzieher families settling down in Hungary.

### *1. Munk and Goldzieher family*

a) Adolf Munk (Meir Avraham) and Sara Stein – IV. generation

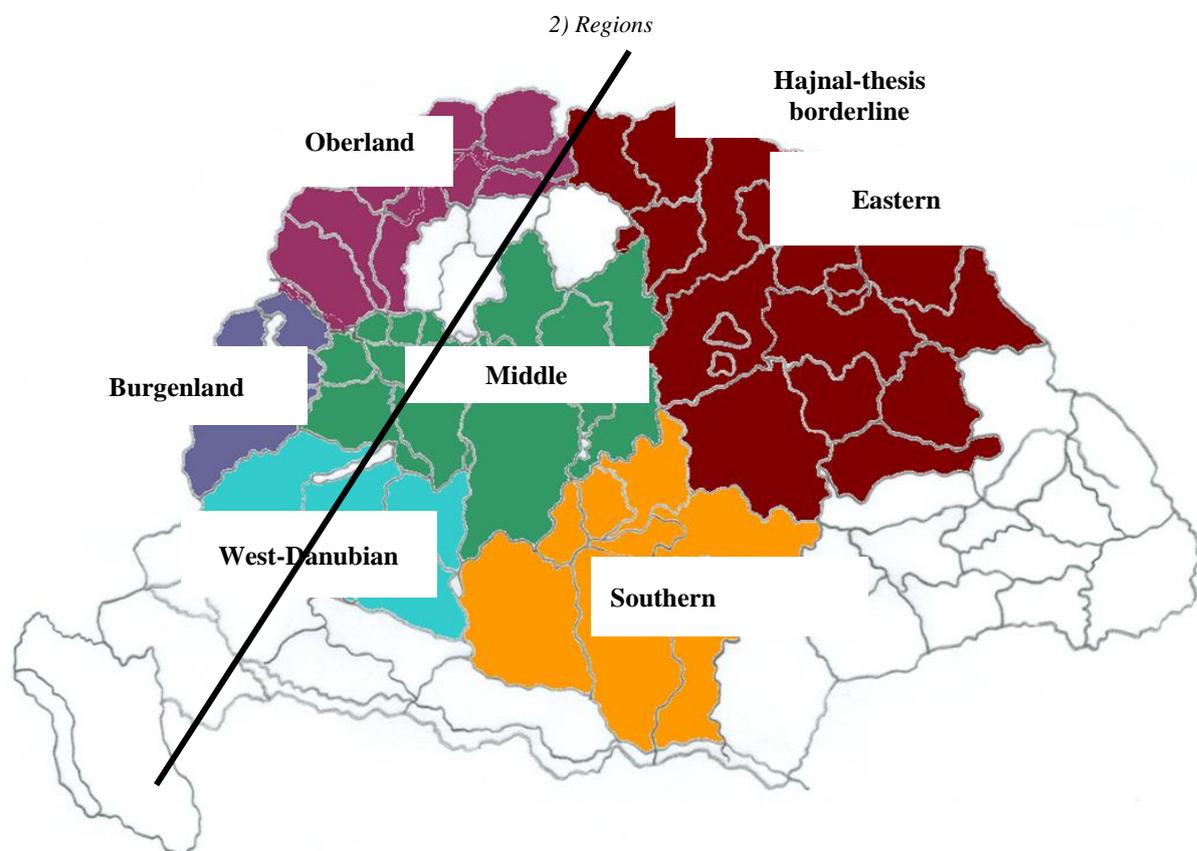


b) Vitus Goldzieher (III. generation)



The case study is premised on the genealogical database of the families and presents the existing family models from one generation to another throughout about 200 years. All these allow the introduction of factors that shaped the family models and their comparison with the processes forming the Jewish society on a national level and also the description of differences between the decisions and opportunities of family members in these two large families.

The analysis is based on two hypotheses: on one hand, in modern times Hungarian contemporaries presented Jewish families to be large and extended: Terézia Pulszky reported on families with a lot of children in her diary. On the other hand, according to John Hajnal's thesis, two kinds of family models existed in Europe before the industrial revolution: the western and the eastern European ones. The characteristic features of the western-European family model were the following: partners got married relatively late (women after the age of 24; whereas men after 26) and the number of children remained low. On the contrary, the eastern-European family model featured younger marriage age (women before the age of 24; men before 26) and families had several children. The geographical situation of Hungary was special, as the borderline from Helsinki to Trieste defined by John Hajnal crossed the country.



The thesis held that two types of family models existed in the country simultaneously: the western-European family model in the western and the eastern-European one in the eastern region of the country.

The reliability of the thesis is examined among the Jews settling down in Modern Times. Does it hold true of the families settling from the area of Western-European countries to the western region of Hungary? Did changes occur following the settlement of these families in other regions of the country, due to migration or marriages?

Briefly about the places of origin for the two families:

The Goldzieher family came from Hamburg and settled down at the beginning of the XVIII. Century in Köpcsény, which was the primary destination for immigrants in the Burgerland region, supported by the landowner. At first, the family members worked as traders and tanners.

### 3) Population

#### 3.a. Goldzieher family

Gen./ Family members	Hungary	Abroad	Total
I. (1730- )	2		2
II. (1760- )	5		5
III. (1790- )	18		18
IV. (1820- )	27	5	32
V. (1850- )	68	5	73
VI. (1870- )	115	14	129
VII. (1900- )	138	17	155
VIII. (1920-)	99	48	147

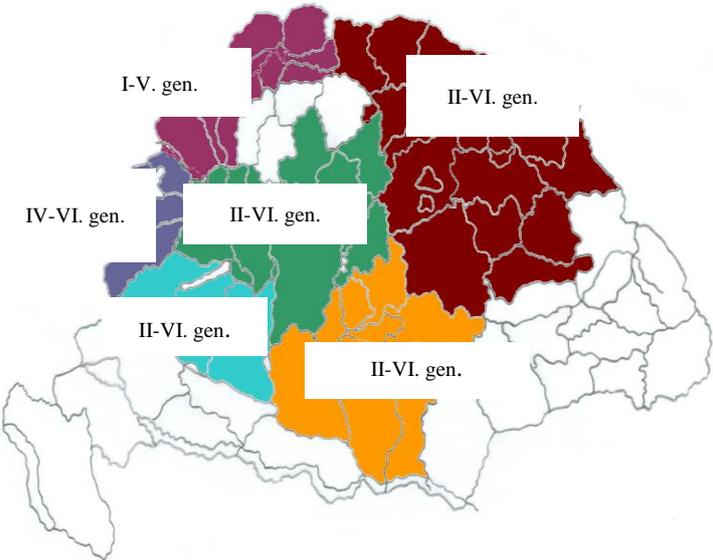
#### 3.b. Munk family

Gen./ Family members	Hungary	Abroad	Total
I. (1770- )	18		18
II. (1800- )	121	13	134
III. (1830- )	472	28	500
IV. (1860- )	859	90	944
V. (1880- )	580	88	668
VI. (1910- )	239	23	263

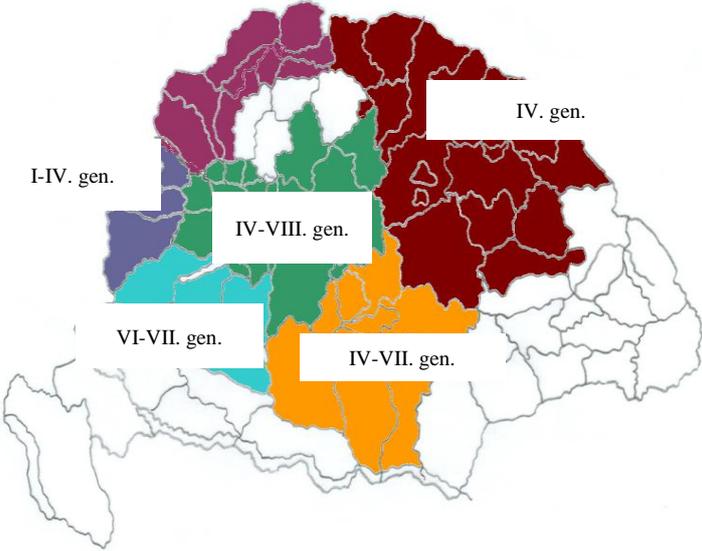
The members of the Munk family arrived much later, at about 1770 from Moravia and Bohemia at the primary immigration destination of Nyitra (settlement) in the Oberland region. Their former residence was under the jurisdiction of the Hapsburg rulers, similarly to Hungary. However, the Familiant Law, applying to the Jewish population with the long-term effect of reducing the number of children, was introduced in 1726/27 in Moravia and Bohemia, this law did not come into force in Hungary. Migration was a dominant phenomenon in both families: the Goldzieher family settled down mostly in the southern and middle regions, whereas the Munk family in almost all the regions of the country.

4. Migration

4.a. Munk Family



4.b. Goldzieher family



The Hajnal-thesis identifies the difference between the two family models in their marriage age.

The tables shows the date of marriages in the Munk and Goldzieher families broken down by certain generations and regions:

5. Marriage age – Men

5.a. Munk family

Region/ Generation	II. gen.	III. gen.	IV. gen.	V. gen.	VI. gen.
<b>Oberland</b>	26.2	28.6	28.2	29.6	
<b>Burgenland</b>		28	27	27	
<b>West-Danubian</b>		27	28		
<b>Middle</b>	30.1	28	30.6	30.2	26.6
<b>Eastern</b>	22	29.1	26.6	29.2	27
<b>Southern</b>	26.6	26.5	28.1	29.3	33
<b>Average</b>	<b>26.2</b>	<b>27.8</b>	<b>28.1</b>	<b>29.1</b>	<b>28.8</b>

5.b. Goldzieher family

Region/ Generation	II. gen.	III. gen.	IV. gen.	V. gen.	VI. gen.	VII. gen.	VIII. gen.
<b>Oberland</b>							
<b>Burgenland</b>	32		28.5				
<b>West-Danubian</b>							
<b>Middle</b>				31.21	28	28.2	25
<b>Eastern</b>							
<b>Southern</b>				32.3	27	28	26
<b>Average</b>	<b>32</b>		<b>28.5</b>	<b>31.4</b>	<b>27.5</b>	<b>28.1</b>	<b>25.5</b>

As for men: in both families, men got married following the age of 26. Certain regions also failed to reveal significant differences: men living in eastern areas and marrying into the families also did not get married young. It means that the development of marriage age was not the consequence of certain prevailing norms from their former residences. Adolf Munk, the member of the IV. generation in the Munk family mentioned in his work entitled “My Life’s Stories” that at 29 years old, he realized that he was not young any longer and that he should get married. His words made it clear that the disapproval of his environment urged him to get married. Adolf Munk was born in Nyitra, he learned in jeshivas, later he worked as a

family tutor and as a crop trader in Nagyvárád. He regarded himself to be the adamant devotee of orthodoxy, but he was rather the representative of the neo-orthodox trend in the period. Under the influence of his environment he decided to start a family and he engaged the daughter of a wealthy trader. The date of the proposed marriage was delayed by the fact that he did not attend a state school, therefore he could not attest it to the state. Moreover, he did not have his documents of acquittal from military service either. He attempted to acquire these documents by illegal ways, but his engagement failed to stand the test of time. Later he married Sára Stein, the poor collateral relative of the influential Kurländer family, whom he earlier refused for her poverty. The marriage later turned out to be based on mutual feelings. Men's marriage age could have been influenced and delayed by several factors: migration, settlement into towns - as 80 and higher percentage of the Munk family and 80 and higher percentage of the Goldzieher family lived in towns.

#### 6. Urban population

##### 6.a. Munk family

Gen./ Family members	Town	Oppidum	Total	%
I. (1770- )		15	18	83%
II. (1800- )	21	83	121	86%
III. (1830- )	143	245	472	82%
IV. (1860- )	327	427	859	87%
V. (1880- )	205	291	580	85%
VI. (1910- )	198		239	83%

##### 6.b. Goldzieher family

Gen./ Family members	Town	Oppidum	Total	%
I. (1730- )		2	2	100%
II. (1760- )		5	5	100%
III. (1790- )		18	18	100%
IV. (1820- )	11	14	27	92%
V. (1850- )	44	20	68	88%
VI. (1870- )	93	14	115	93%
VII. (1900- )	112	1	138	81%
VIII. (1920- )	79		99	79%

In addition, the financial situation of the engaged person was the following influential factor, as it was the prerequisite of starting a family. However, there is an opposite example: in certain cases, as a result of the realization of religious ideals, the husband dedicated his life to Talmud Study and his wife proved to be successful in business life: such as Sámuel Gärtner and Rebeka Munk in the early 19. Century. The effect of participation in secondary and tertiary state education was conspicuous from the IV. and V. generations of the Munk and Goldzieher families. Participation in state education was a result of a slow rate transformation in the Munk family. In the Goldzieher family participation in state education occurred a generation earlier. The family members turned to jobs that required university degrees: lawyers, doctors, and teachers.

#### 7. Employment structure - Men

##### 7.a. Munk family

Men/Gen.	I. gen.	II. gen.	III. gen.	IV. gen.	V.gen.	VI. gen.
Merchant	3	11	73	96	37	7
Artisan	1	5	13	30	10	3
Lessee	2	3	3			
Industrialist			8	6	5	2
Free Professions	2	7	10	44	71	15
Communal Official	4	4	12	10	5	1
Bank		1	2	2	4	
Agriculture		3	13	14	7	4
Office attendants			4	24	16	
Sundry			2	4		1
<b>Total</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>230</b>	<b>155</b>	<b>33</b>

##### 7.b. Goldzieher family

Man/Gen.	I. gen.	II. gen.	III. gen.	IV. gen.	V.gen.	VI. gen.	VII. gen.	VIII. gen.
Merchant	1	2	5	5	9	6	10	1
Artisan						2		2
Lessee								
Industrialist					2	2	4	2
Free Professions				3	9	15	15	9
Communal Official				3	3	4		
Bank					1	2	2	
Agriculture /Landowner				1		3	6	1
Office attendants						2		1
Mining								1
Sundry							2	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>19</b>

The difference in the employment structure of the two families and the fact that the members of the Goldzieher family took up jobs requiring university degrees and a family branch acquired noblemen's rights, failed to result significant differences in marriage ages in the two studied families.

As for female family members, marriage age was between 21-25 in both families.

8. Marriage ages- Women

8.a. Munk family

Region/ Generation	II. gen.	III. gen.	IV. gen.	V. gen.	VI. gen.
Oberland	25.5	22.5	25.5	24.2	
Burgenland			21	23	
West- Danubian		31.5	21.5	21	
Middle	20.1	21.4	24.4	22.4	22.2
Eastern	21	22.5	20.8	22	20.4
Southern	25.6	26.2	21.6	23.5	
Average	23	24.8	22.5	22.8	21.3

8.b. Goldzieher family

Region/ Generation	II. gen.	III. gen.	IV. gen.	V. gen.	VI. gen.	VII. gen.	VIII. gen.
Oberland							
Burgenland	25		22				
West- Danubian							
Middle				22.4	21.5	23.3	22.4
Eastern							
Southern				26.3	21.5	22.5	24.5
Average	25		22	24	21.5	22.8	23.9

The analysis of data shows a slight difference between certain regions; however, of a continuously changing character: the female members of the II. generation of the Munk family living in Oberland usually got married later than in the eastern regions – this might support the Hajnal–thesis. On the other hand, the average age of engaged partners in the southern region was also higher – this fact contradicts the theory. For women, marriage proved to be the most significant event in their lives, as the rate of their participation in tertiary education remained very low. This fact might have influenced their marriages in the XX. Century: Ignaz Goldzieher in the Goldzieher family was delighted that his son married the educated daughter of a prestigious, scholarly family. Marriage time for women was

primarily influenced by family values and the family's financial status. Chaile Felsenburg wanted to marry a person who was learned. However, her parents' restricted means foiled this kind of marriage. Chaile could get married to an impecunious trader, Beer Bernát Munk at the age of 21. The Hajnal-thesis asserts that women's marriage age could verify a uniform Eastern-European model; however, young but not too young marriage ages revealed a norm accepted by the relevant period.

The Hajnal thesis regards the decrease of the number of children to be the linear consequence of the delay of marriage age. The next point of the study will examine the development of the number of children.

On a national level, prior to the industrialization differences concerning the Jews could not be detected among certain regions in Hungary.

*9. Average number of children per family by region in Hungary*

<b>Region</b>	<b>1782</b>	<b>1818</b>	<b>1848</b>
<b>Oberland</b>	2.15	2.38	2.86
<b>Burgenland</b>	2.25	2.23	2.61
<b>West-Danubian</b>	2.02	2.38	3.14
<b>Middle</b>	1.94	2.58	2.75
<b>Eastern</b>	2.08	2.04	2.73
<b>Southern</b>	1.87	2.53	3.43
<b>Total</b>	<b>2.08</b>	<b>2.42</b>	<b>2.92</b>

This fact might be outstandingly exciting if we are aware that immigrants arrived in Hungary from two directions: from the west, mostly from Moravia and Bohemia and also from the east from the direction of Poland and Galicia. The number of children remained low in the families at all times, i.e. it might seem as if the enforced regulation also prevailed in Hungary as a kind of accepted norm and the immigrants from eastern areas had fewer children. However, registry data should be studied with scepticism. The surveys were conducted to facilitate taxation and not to assess the exact number of habitants, therefore they only presented a momentary picture of the families, ignoring the number of dead children or those

yet to be born and also children living in other households. It means that the family case studies might vary the resulting picture:

As for data on the tables, the average number of children was higher than that of the national average, although not outstandingly.

*10. Average number of children per family by region in Hungary*

10.a. Munk family

Region/gen.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.
<b>Oberland</b>	8	3.6	5	2.6	2.3	
<b>Burgenland</b>				2.3	4.5	2
<b>West-Danubian</b>		1	3	2	3	
<b>Middle</b>		4.3	3.8	2.4	2	1.5
<b>Eastern</b>		4.7	4.5	3	2.2	1.8
<b>Southern</b>		4.3	3.5	2.9	1.9	2
<b>Average</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4.2</b>	<b>2.7</b>	<b>2.1</b>	<b>1.7</b>

10.b. Goldzieher family

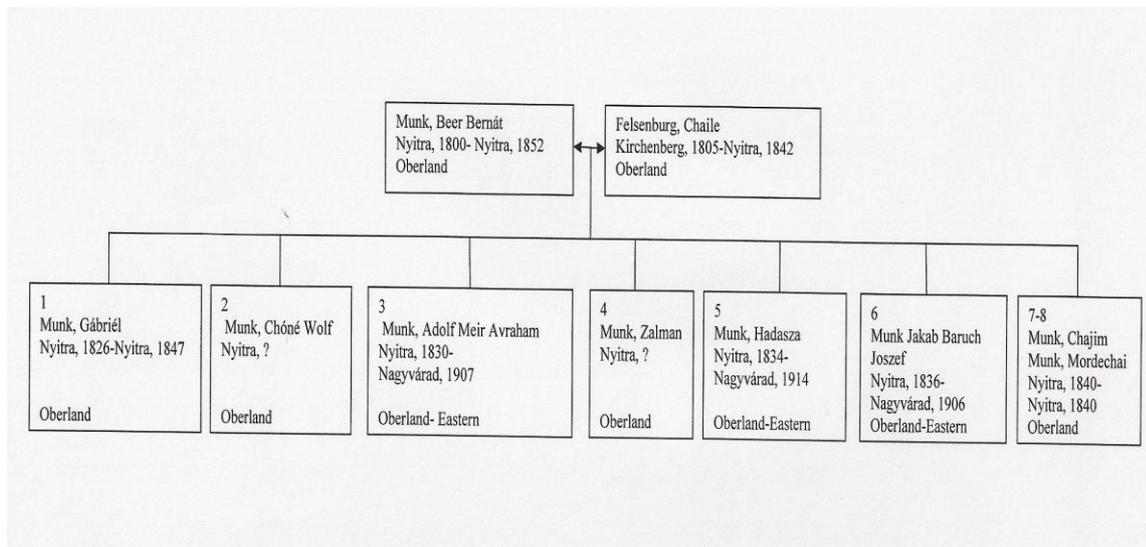
Region/gen.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.
<b>Oberland</b>								
<b>Burgenland</b>	3	6	3	3.2				
<b>West-Danubian</b>						1	4	
<b>Middle</b>				4	2.7	3	2.9	2.7
<b>Eastern</b>					1			
<b>Southern</b>				6	4	1.3	1.5	
<b>Average</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4.1</b>	<b>2.9</b>	<b>2.9</b>	<b>2.8</b>	<b>1.7</b>

Until the middle of the XIX. Century the number of children was higher: 8 and then 4 children in the Munk family; 3, 6 and then 4 children in the Goldzieher family. In the period of the demographical transition and the industrialization the average number of children per family declined.

In the Munk family, immigrants from their former residences were released from earlier regulations – so the number of children per family was supposedly very high. This fact contradicts the Hajnal-thesis, as the residence of the Munk family was found in the western

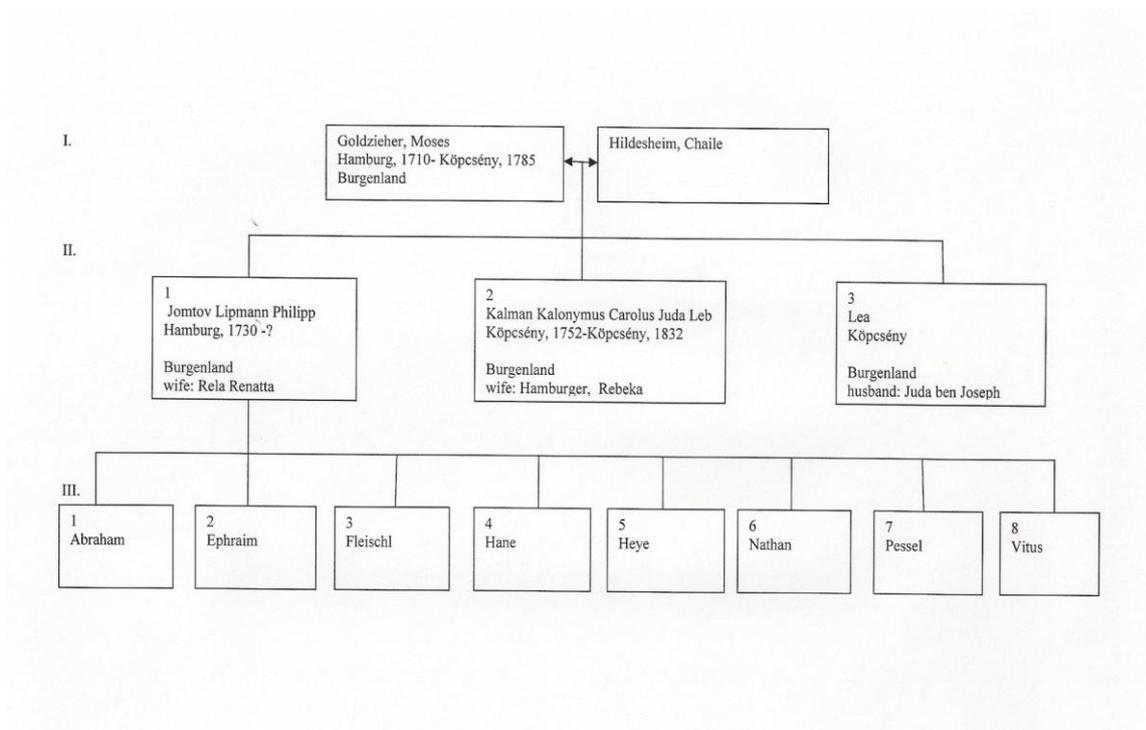
part of the country, in Oberland region. Chaile Felsenburg and Beer Bernát Munk got married relatively early, they had 8 children.

11. Descendants of Beer Bernát Munk



As well as compliance with religious commandments, high infant mortality also motivated parents to have several children. Of the 8 children in the family only 3 lived to become adults. The first generations of the Goldzieher family did not wander in the country and it seemed to promote the formation of larger families.

12. Descendants of Moses Goldzieher



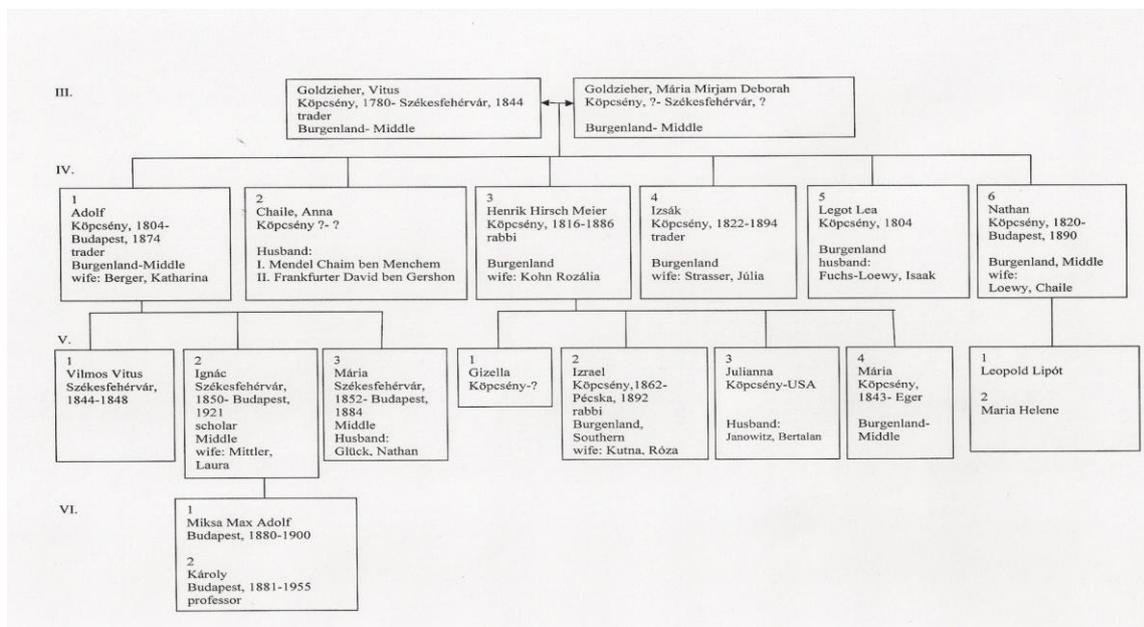
Parallel with the enhancement of migration and urban lifestyle, an opposite process took place in the family.

The certain regions featured insignificant differences in the formation of the number of children. Data might suggest that Hungary failed to have two kinds of family models, it rather witnessed a shift towards a uniform family model with fewer children.

Independently of the thesis, a new question emerges: to what extent did the challenges of modernization commencing in the XIX. Century play a part in the formation of the number of children? How pertinent is the conclusion in the given era that all these were the results of conscious efforts from the parents to ensure economic and social progress for their children?

If we study the certain branches of the families, we might receive surprising results. Jomtov Goldzieher, who settled down in Köpcsény, had eight children (this fact contradicts the Hajnal-thesis). Of his sons Vítus, who was also a trader, moved from Köpcsény to Székesfehérvár in the middle region.

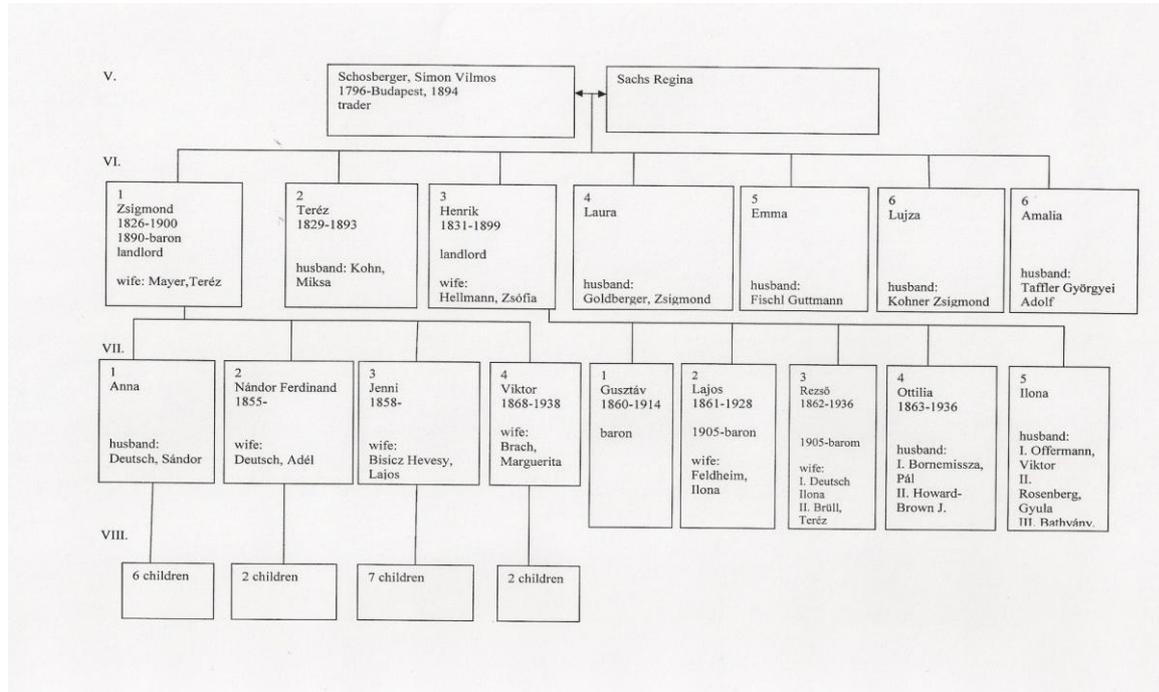
### 13. Descendants of Vitus Goldzieher



Despite the migration he had six children. One of his sons, Adolf moved from Székesfehérvár to Budapest due to his unsuccessful business activities. He was the faithful follower of orthodox principles but had only three children. His son, Ignác, who lived in Budapest, had a university degree and he was a father of two children. The other son of Vítus, Henrik stayed in Köpcsény and he acted there as a rabbi. He had four children. The third son of Vítus, Náthán was a tradesman, married Chana Löwy, moved to Budapest and had two children. This branch of the family shared traditional values. The number of children was affected by several factors: migration, economic success or failure, the extension of education time and conscious maternity.

The noble branch of the Goldzieher family highlighted the dominance of individual decision-making in childbearing. The Schossberger family was regarded to have outstanding economic prestige in Hungary in the 19. Century.

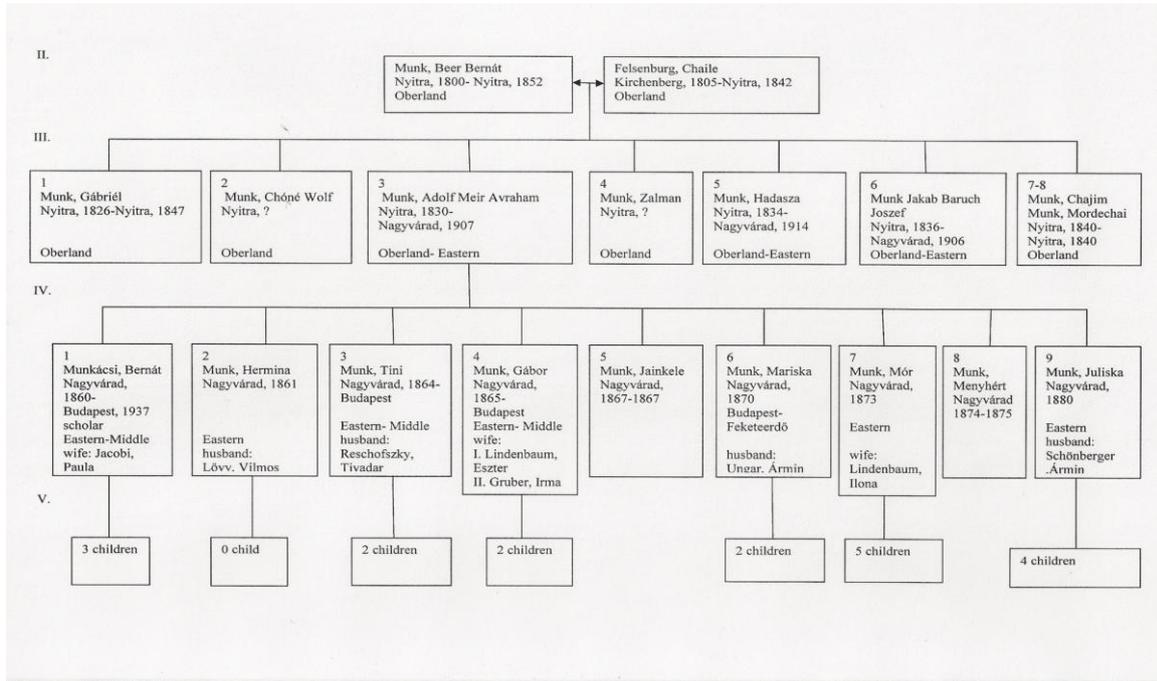
14. Descendants of Simon Vilmos Schosberger (Schossberger)



Vilmos Schossberger had seven children. One of his sons, Henrik, was a landowner, married Zsófia Hellmann and they had five children. His other son, Zsigmond married Teréz Mayer, the daughter of a financial aristocrat and they had four children. In his sons' marriages one and two children were born. In his daughters' marriages six and even children were born. In the big family, in contrast with the shift towards small families, which already started in the middle of the 19. Century, in families endowed with noble ranks the number of children remained high until the beginning of the XX. Century. All these clearly reflect their economic successes and individual decisions.

The branch of the Munk family which moved to Nyitra: 11 children were born in the marriage of Elhanan Munk and Júlia Benét– this contradicts the Hajnal-thesis. Beer Bernát Munk, who dedicated his life to orthodox principles, had 8 children but the family lived in poverty. His son, Adolf Munk, who moved to Nagyvárad, in the eastern region of the country, similarly dedicated his life to orthodox religiousness: he had 9 children. His memoirs revealed that as well as his financial success, his great love for his wife was important in having a great number of children.

### 15. Descendants of Beer Bernát Munk



His son, Bernát Munkácsi moved to Budapest, worked as the school inspector of the neolog religious community and had three children. His son, Ernő Munkácsi had two children.

The other son of Bernát Munk Beer, Josef Baruch married Rozália Robitsek and they had six children. His son, Béla Munk, worked as a doctor in Nagyvárad and became a neolog, he had four children.

The above mentioned examples confirmed that religious trends, settlement in certain types of locations and financial situations exerted a crucial influence on the number of children. We cannot claim that the number of children was high merely among orthodox followers or wealthier families.

The two large families did not reveal the existence of the two family models. Migration, religious and financial situation, education time and conscious decisions all influenced the number of children among family members.