

PRZESZŁOŚĆ DEMOGRAFICZNA POLSKI
POLAND'S DEMOGRAPHIC PAST

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Spis treści / Table of Contents

<i>Słowo od redakcji</i> [A Word from the Editor]	7
---	---

ARTYKUŁY / ARTICLES

Dawid Dziuba

The Issue of Infant Mortality in Polish Historical Research [Problematyka umieralności niemowląt w polskich badaniach historycznych]	9
---	---

Cezary Kukło

Did the Abolition of Serfdom Affect the Life Cycle of Peasants in the Western Part of the Grodno Governorate in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries? [Czy uwłaszczenie wpłynęło na cykl życiowy chłopów w zachodniej części guberni grodzieńskiej w XIX i początkach XX wieku?]	37
---	----

Iwona Janicka

The Register of the Dead from Cholera in Vilnius Pohulanka Hospital in 1831 as a Source for Demographic and Social Studies [Księga metryczna umarłych na cholera w szpitalu na wileńskiej Pohulance w 1831 roku jako źródło do badań społeczno-demograficznych]	75
--	----

Grażyna Liczbińska, Agnieszka Sobkowiak

Did the Sex Ratio at Birth Reflect Social and Economic Inequalities? A Pilot Study of the Province of Poznań, 1875–1913 [Czy wskaźnik proporcji płci przy urodzeniu odzwierciedlał nierówności społeczne i ekonomiczne? Pilotażowe badania prowincji poznańskiej, 1875–1913]	95
--	----

Józef Pocięcha

The Process of Demographic Transition in Lands of the Former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Other Areas with Polish-Speaking Populations, 1865–1912 [Przebieg procesu przejścia demograficznego na ziemiach dawnego państwa polsko-litewskiego oraz na innych obszarach z polskojęzyczną ludnością w latach 1865–1912]	123
---	-----

Hanna Kurowska

Population of Gubin District in the Context of Situational
and Statistical Reports in the Years 1945–1949

[Ludność powiatu gubińskiego w świetle sprawozdań sytuacyjno-
-statystycznych z lat 1945–1949] 147

Radosław Gaziński

Parish Registers in the Archival Fonds of the State Archives in Szczecin

[Księgi metrykalne w zasobie Archiwum Państwowego w Szczecinie] 177

KOMUNIKATY / MESSAGES

Krzysztof Narojczyk

Interaktywny Atlas statystyczno-demograficzny Królestwa Polskiego –
projekt badawczy

[An Interactive Statistical and Demographic Atlas of the Kingdom of Poland –
Research Project] 199

SPRAWOZDANIA / REPORTS

Piotr Rachwał

Sprawozdanie z posiedzeń Zespołu Demografii Historycznej
Komitetu Nauk Demograficznych PAN w 2018 roku

[2018 Report on the Meetings of the Historical Demography Group
in the Committee on Demographic Studies at the Polish Academy of Sciences].. 205

Słowo od redakcji

A Word from the Editor

Czas pandemii COVID-19, choroby wywołanej przez koronawirusa SARS-CoV-2, skłania do postawienia wielu pytań związanych z kondycją życia ludzkiego, skokiem technologicznym, zachowaniami społecznymi czy skutecznością wdrażanych rozwiązań mających na celu zahamowanie rozwoju choroby. Dla demografów historycznych czasy pandemii i różnego rodzaju epidemii trawiących dawne społeczności siłą rzeczy nie są nowością. Można nawet powiedzieć, że skala ich występowania budzi w naszym środowisku badawczym respekt i podziw dla sił życiowych historycznych populacji, które po poniesieniu ogromnych strat, posiadając znikomą (lub żadną) wiedzę o „niewidzialnym wrogu”, potrafiły odradzać się niczym Feniks z popiołów. Dysponujemy ciekawymi studiami na temat dżumy siejącej największe spustoszenia i strach, jej następczyni – cholery – która, mimo że stała się na szczęście chorobą endemiczną, zadomowiła się na trwale w naszym języku za sprawą wywoływanych przez nią cierpień oraz niebywałej skuteczności w pozbawianiu życia, wreszcie mamy gruźlicę, zwaną dawniej „białą dżumą” z racji tego, że zabijała swoje ofiary powoli i masowo (była to nawet co dziesiąta przyczyna śmierci). Czas pandemii m.in. przypomina nam, by ponownie zwrócić uwagę na choroby zakaźne i pasożytnicze, poszerzyć spektrum obserwacji o badania nad grypą hiszpanką sprzed 100 lat. Dostarcza też dowodów na potwierdzenie słuszności założeń teorii przejścia epidemiologicznego Abdela Omrana w odniesieniu do wyłaniającej się epoki chorób związanych z podeszłym wiekiem, a ponadto pozwala pełniej pojąć sens i znaczenie słów starej modlitwy: „Od nagłej a niespodziewanej śmierci zachowaj nas Panie”.

Dariusz K. Chojecki
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The Issue of Infant Mortality in Polish Historical Research

Problematyka umieralności niemowląt w polskich badaniach historycznych

Abstract

The article presents infant mortality in Polish historical research and points towards more important works focusing on the above issue. The author analyses approximately seventy academic works in order to answer the fundamental question as to what extent they deal with the issue of deaths in children under the age of one. The research shows that, in particular groups of research papers, infant mortality is most often presented in a general and formulaic manner. A dozen or so papers present this problem as a side issue in their research and only a few Polish studies have infant mortality as their main issue and discuss it in a multi-faceted and broader context.

Abstrakt

Celem artykułu jest przedstawienie problematyki umieralności niemowląt w polskich badaniach historycznych oraz scharakteryzowanie ważniejszych prac skupiających się na powyższym zagadnieniu. Autor poddaje analizie około siedemdziesiąt pozycji naukowych, aby odpowiedzieć na zasadnicze pytanie, w jakim zakresie poruszana jest w nich tematyka dotycząca zgonów dzieci, które nie ukończyły pierwszego roku życia. Z przeprowadzonych badań wynika, że w poszczególnych grupach prac badawczych umieralność niemowląt jest najczęściej przedstawiana w sposób ogólny oraz schematyczny. Kilkanaście prac przedstawia rzeczony problem w pobocznym nurcie zainteresowania badawczego, a tylko kilka polskich publikacji traktuje umieralność najmłodszych dzieci jako główny

nurt badania i omawia zagadnienie wieloaspektowo i w szerszym kontekście.

Keywords

infant mortality, deaths, historical demography, social history, population history, review article, Poland

Słowa kluczowe

umieralność niemowląt, zgony, demografia historyczna, historia społeczna, artykuł przeglądowy, Polska

Introduction

The demographic changes that started to take place in the second half of the nineteenth century were characterized by a gradual decrease in the intensity of deaths (and, over time, births) in all age groups of the population and, above all, in the infant group. These changes are described by the theory of the first demographic transition.¹ According to Marek Okólski, this theory refers to changes in the technical and economic, socio-cultural, political and personal spheres. In Poland, until the end of the nineteenth century, the share of infant mortality in the total number of deaths was as high as 50%. A reduction in infant mortality came about as the result of changes in medicine and an improvement in the quality of treatment given to adults and children, along with preventative measures in young children (improvements in the biological standard of living).² Equally important were changes of mentality and social situation in mothers (parents), who consequently started to take better care of their youngest children.

The high infant mortality rate has encouraged both Polish and international researchers to study and try to explain this phenomenon and its demographic and social consequences. The article does not aim to dispute the academic achievements of individual researchers, as such an intention would require reviewing and analyzing much more research work, both Polish and international; its main purpose is to review exclusively Polish historical research on infant mortality.

¹ For more on the demographic transition, see Marek Okólski, ed., *Teoria przejścia demograficznego* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Ekonomiczne, 1990); Matteo Cervellati, Uwe Sunde, eds., *Demographic Change and Long-Run Development* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2017). See also Bartosz Ogórek, "Transformacja demograficzna ludności Krakowa w latach 1859–2010," *Małopolska. Regiony – Regionalizmy – Małe Ojczyzny* 15 (2013): 105–127; Sabina Rejman, "Zgony i ich uwarunkowania w parafii farnej w Rzeszowie w latach 1876–1913 w kontekście pierwszego przejścia demograficznego," *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 40 (2018): 245–272.

² Bartosz Ogórek, "Wybrane miary zdrowia przeszłych pokoleń, jako element badań nad biologicznym standardem życia," *Historyka. Studia Metodologiczne* 48 (2018): 33–50.

The literature analyzed in the article refers to the period following 1945, as it is since then that most works on the subject have been written. The leitmotif of the article will be to show the features represented by individual papers (articles and chapters as well as monographs) and to indicate their similarities and differences in the discussion of the phenomenon we are interested in. First of all, it is important to answer the following questions: what is the specific focus of particular authors in their works; whether they return in their other works to the topics they have undertaken; whether they present a different point of view, etc.; what types of sources have the authors based their work on; is it rich literature on the subject (parish registers, registry office files, processed statistical data); what time frame do these works cover; when they were written and what historical period they relate to; how do the authors approach the presentation of the issue of infant mortality (is it a leitmotif, a side issue, or is this issue omitted for some reason)?

However, before we start analyzing Polish publications on infant mortality, it is necessary to outline the historical background which led to the development of research on this subject. The beginnings of interest in this issue date back to 1662, when the English statistician John Graunt, in his work *Natural and Political Observations on the London Bills of Mortality*, drew attention to the high share of infant deaths in the overall population mortality. Much broader interest in the subject of the deaths of the youngest children is expressed only in the second half of the 19th century, when, with the development of social history and demography, the problem of high infant mortality began to be noticed in statistical studies. Contemporary researchers considered this phenomenon as an obstacle to the rapid growth of the population.³

In order to eliminate the problem of high infant mortality at the beginning of the twentieth century, European countries began introducing programs aimed at improving hygiene in society and providing state aid for mothers bringing up their smallest children (benefits, development of institutions to help mothers, etc.). The effectiveness of these measures resulted, by 1918, and in most European countries, in a decrease in infant mortality from 250–300 deaths per 1,000 live births to 100–150 deaths per 1,000 live births.⁴ In the Second Republic of Poland, infant mortality was at a level of approx. 115–145 deaths per 1,000 births

³ Lucia Pozzi, Diego Ramiro Fariñas, “Infant and Child Mortality in the Past,” *Annales de démographie historique* 129 (2015), 1: 56–58.

⁴ Massimo Livi Bacci, *Europa und seine Menschen. Eine Bevölkerungsgeschichte* (München: C.H. Beck Verlag, 1999), 160–184; Arthur Erwin Imhof, “Unterschiedliche Säuglingssterblichkeit in Deutschland 18. bis 20. Jahrhundert – Warum?,” *Zeitschrift für Bevölkerungswissenschaft* 7 (1981), 3: 343–382.

depending on the region.⁵ The problem of mortality in the youngest children was noticed in Polish studies and in the statistics of the interwar period; however, it was discussed as part of the wider phenomenon which was the mortality of the whole population.⁶

As a result of the victory of the USSR in World War II and the inclusion of Poland within the Soviet zone of influence, Polish academia was forced into the Marxist-Stalinist model, which excluded any academic contact with the West. In the Bierut period of communist Poland, researchers publishing works that did not conform to the party line were persecuted, and in extreme cases expelled from universities or imprisoned. This situation was mild in comparison to the Stalinist Soviet Union, where researchers were sentenced to death if they wrote works that were not in line with the rulers' ideas, even if they were true in terms of facts. An example is the fate of researchers and demographers from Kyiv, who were shot or sent to the Gulag during the Stalinist purges for showing in statistical studies that collectivization (1930–1937) and the subsequent Great Famine (1932–1933) caused a significant decline in the population of Ukraine.⁷ However, with the deaths of Stalin (1953) and Bierut (1956) and the events known as the “Polish October”, Polish academia gradually opened up to its western counterparts in the late 1950s. It was then that the transformations which had taken place in the historiography developed by the French *Annales* school began to reach Poland. This attaches more importance to the analysis of social and economic history and demography than to the political history which had prevailed throughout the first half of the 20th century.⁸ These events led to the development of academic institutions and centers of a demographic and social character (e.g., the International Commission for Historical Demography or the Historical Demography Group in the Committee on Demographic Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences) and to the creation of academic journals on this subject, such as the *Przeszość Demograficzna Polski* (PDP) (Poland's Demographic Past) (1967). In his article for the

⁵ Mieczysław Kędelski, “Ludność. Struktura demograficzna miasta,” in: *Dzieje Poznania*, vol. 2: *W latach 1793–1945*, part 2: *1918–1945*, eds. Jerzy Topolski, Lech Trzeciakowski (Warszawa–Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1998), 266–267.

⁶ Research works on the demography of the Republic of Poland in the interwar period is highlighted by, among others, Maria Nietyksza in the work *Ludność Warszawy na przełomie XIX i XX wieku* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1971) and Konrad Wnęk, Lidia Zyblikiewicz in *Ludność nowoczesnego Lwowa w latach 1857–1938* (Kraków: Towarzystwo Naukowe Societas Vistulana, 2006). See also Bożena Łazowska “Główny Urząd Statystyczny w latach 1918–1939,” *Wiadomości Statystyczne* 7 (2013): 1–21.

⁷ Igor Serdiuk, Yuriy Voloshyn, “Historical Demography in Ukraine: From ‘Political Arithmetic’ to Non-Political History,” *Przeszość Demograficzna Polski* 41 (2019): 9–32.

⁸ Cezary Kukło, “Problematyka badawcza i środowiska naukowe demografii historycznej na łamach *Przeszości Demograficznej Polski* 1967–2016,” *Przeszość Demograficzna Polski* 39 (2016): 11–29.

40th anniversary of PDP, Cezary Kuklo noted that the more than 400 academic papers published in the journal have focused on fourteen different research areas. Among these, he distinguishes “mortality and life expectancy”, which together represents fewer than 4% of the works (16 works before 2017), which, in his opinion, is a rather meager score.⁹ A literature search shows that it is in the works on mortality and life expectancy that the deaths of children under the first year of life are the most frequently addressed.

The beginning of a significant increase in interest in the subject of infant mortality, often related to the mortality and life expectancy of the population, came at the turn of the current century. This period includes a significant number of the academic papers analyzed for the purposes of the article. This was related to the intensive development of the Polish historian-demographer community. After the fall of communism and the disappearance of administrative barriers, they began to establish broad personal and institutional contacts, which led to the exchange of mutual views and research results. These activities resulted in a significant increase in the number of works dealing with the history of the population, natural movement and mortality in the past. The literature analysis carried out for the purposes of this work shows that works in which infant mortality is discussed in detail are mainly created in the following academic centers: Białystok (Piotr Guzowski, Cezary Kuklo, Marzena Liedke), Poznań (Stanisław Borowski, Mieczysław Kędelski, Grażyna Liczbińska), Toruń (Krzysztof Mikulski, Agnieszka Zielińska), Wrocław (Edmund Piasecki), Kraków (Bartosz Ogórek, Konrad Wnęk), Lublin (Piotr Rachwał) and Szczecin (Dariusz Chojcecki).¹⁰

The Specific Nature of the Literature

The vastness of the Polish literature in relation to deaths, their causes and consequences lies in the fact that around the seventy most important items have been selected in this article. The result of the selection was the identification of various types of academic items to be examined more closely. The multitude and specificity of the literature in question made it necessary to differentiate the materials analyzed in terms of their content into several groups of research papers.

The first are articles and chapters that usually focus on selected issues related to the population of a given parish, town or region.¹¹ The authors of this type

⁹ Ibidem, 14–18.

¹⁰ Ibidem, 19–25.

¹¹ Robert Benewiat, Zdzisław Budzyński, “Ludność wsi Hoczew obrządku łacińskiego w latach 1867–1918 (w świetle ewidencji metrykalnej),” in: *Studia i materiały z dziejów społecznych Polski Południowo-Wschodniej*, vol. 1, ed. Zdzisław Budzyński (Rzeszów: Uniwersytet

of publication attach greater importance to the presentation and analysis of the types of sources (parish registers, USC (Civil Registry Office) files or aggregated statistical data) and to the presentation of their general demographic and social values. Most often, they focus on the evolution of the number of births and deaths in a given community, usually discussing them by given social groups or strata (e.g., townspeople, workers, clerks, the military, etc.). Most of them also focus on the feminization or masculinization of births and deaths in a given area in specific time intervals. This is important because it allows us to draw conclusions about the occurrence of abnormalities (the assumed correct masculinization coefficient should be 105–107 boys born per 100 girls). A significant number of the articles also devote space to describing the parish registers, the discussion of the average age of spinsters and bachelors, and the issue of marital and extramarital births, while also addressing the fate of legitimate and illegitimate children.

Rzeszowski, 2003), 197–219; Tomasz Bzukała, “Przyczyny śmiertelności mieszkańców parafii bolechowickiej w latach 1821–1841 w świetle parafialnych ksiąg zmarłych,” *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne* 134 (2007): 65–80; Leszek Dziedzic, “Ludność Kielc 1864–1914: przemiany demograficzne,” *Studia Muzealno-Historyczne* 1 (2009): 77–97; Anna Kokoszyńska, “Mieszkańcy Inowrocławia w świetle ksiąg metrykalnych parafii św. Mikołaja z lat 1760–1773,” *Ziemia Kujawska* 13 (1998): 87–108; Hanna Kosiorek, “Przemiany demograficzne ludności Gubina w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku w świetle księgi metrykalnej,” *Studia Zachodnie* 6 (2002): 121–133; Cezary Kukło, “Struktury demograficzne społeczeństwa nowożytnej Polski,” in: *Polska na tle Europy XVI–XVII wieku*, ed. Jerzy Brodacki (Warszawa: Muzeum Historii Polski, 2007), 62–75; Hanna Kurowska, “Struktura demograficzna gubińskiej rodziny w pierwszej połowie XIX wieku,” in: *Rodzina i gospodarstwo domowe na ziemiach polskich w XV–XX wieku. Struktury demograficzne, społeczne i gospodarcze*, ed. Cezary Kukło (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2008), 429–445; Grażyna Liczbińska, “Płodność kobiet i struktura rodziny w ewangelickich populacjach wiejskich. Parafia Trzebosz, druga połowa XIX i początek XX wieku,” *Przegląd Historyczny* 103 (2012), 1: 107–120; Tadeusz Ładogórski, “Rozwój ludności na ziemiach polskich w erze niekontrolowanej umieralności na tle porównawczym,” *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 36 (1988), 1: 95–114; Arkadiusz Maślach, “Ludność wsi Zarzecze w powiecie niżańskim w latach 1828–1864,” *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 27 (2006): 39–68; Anna Mioduszevska, “Kondycja demograficzna rodziny parafian choroskich w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku i na początku XIX wieku,” in: *Rodzina i gospodarstwo domowe na ziemiach polskich w XV–XX wieku. Struktury demograficzne, społeczne i gospodarcze*, ed. Cezary Kukło (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2008), 409–429; Bartosz Ogórek, “Transformacja,” 105–127; Piotr Rachwał, “Ludność wsi Iskrzynia w powiecie krośnieńskim w XIX wieku,” *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 27 (2006): 69–86; Franciszek Rożnowski, “Badania zmienności długości trwania życia ludzkiego na terenie Pomorza Zachodniego (do XVIII wieku),” *Koszalińskie Zeszyty Muzealne* 2 (1972): 162–177; Krzysztof Wiśniewski, “Ludność parafii Szwelice (pow. makowiecki) na przełomie XIX i XX stulecia w świetle ksiąg metrykalnych,” *Rocznik Lubelskiego Towarzystwa Genealogicznego* 1 (2009): 90–106; Agnieszka Zielińska, “Umieralność w Toruniu w XIX wieku w świetle ksiąg metrykalnych,” in: *Kondycja zdrowotna i demograficzna społeczeństwa polskiego na przestrzeni wieków*, eds. Krzysztof Mikulski, Agnieszka Zielińska, Katarzyna Pękacka-Falkowska (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Grado, 2011), 161–176; eadem, “Struktura demograficzna i socjotopograficzna wśród toruńskich katolików w XIX wieku,” in: *Przemiany demograficzne Europy Środkowej w czasach nowożytnych*, ed. Hanna Kurowska (Zielona Góra: Oficyna Wydawnicza Uniwersytetu Zielonogórskiego, 2010), 285–303.

A considerable amount of space in articles and chapters is devoted to discussing the causes of death. Most authors usually give the information that the death registers were not properly maintained and there are problems with the reliability of the data. The authors give information on the age groups in which the highest frequency of deaths was observed. They try to explain the level of the latter by various factors, drawing attention to the high mortality rate in the child group. The intensity of infant deaths is treated quite generally; most often only information on the percentage of infants in the total number of deaths is given (up to 50%). Infant deaths are part of a wider issue, i.e., child mortality. In most cases, if the source allows, the authors specify the most frequent causes of infant death, e.g., a lack of vital forces, diseases of the digestive system, etc., discussing which diseases were the most frequent in a given period and why. Nevertheless, it is important that the authors present articles on the seasonality of deaths in given spatial aggregation units and in different groups or social strata. All the authors pay attention to this issue, distinguishing two periods in which the mortality of children (including infants) was highest. They show that in rural parishes, small villages or towns, most children died in winter and the preharvest period from a lack of food, or from respiratory diseases. In terms of urban parishes or towns, attention is paid to the increased mortality of children in the summer, which was mainly caused by digestive diseases and poor living conditions. Some of the publications also mention the issue of the number of stillbirths and perinatal mortality, if the source gives it.

The articles and chapters discussed above have common and differentiating features. The first include their volume, usually several pages, which has more to do with editorial limitations. Another common feature is the historical period to which the works relate, and the territorial scope, which covers the area of contemporary Poland. Almost all of the articles and chapters refer to the period from the end of the 18th century to the end of the 19th century, sometimes extending into the first half of the 20th century. The analysis of these time periods is possible thanks to the relatively good preservation of the parish registers. The last common element connecting these publications is the geographical criterion of data aggregation; the vast majority of the research refers to the area of a city, parish or village. Most often, a series of data on infant deaths cover a period of several years or decades. However, an element that distinguishes individual publications is the way they are discussed. Some authors focus on infant mortality,¹² while

¹² Bzukała, "Przyczyny," 65–80; Kokoszyńska, "Mieszkańcy," 87–108; Kosiorek, "Przemiany," 121–133; Mioduszevska, "Kondycja," 409–429; Wiśniewski, "Ludność," 90–106; Zielińska, "Struktura," 285–303; Zielińska, "Umieralność," 161–176.

others write about the issue on an occasional basis.¹³ It is not always possible to find threads about infants in studies on mortality. An example Tadeusz Ładogórski's work with the promising title: "Population Development in Polish Lands in an Era of Uncontrolled Mortality Against a Comparative Background."¹⁴

The second group of research papers are monographs dealing with social history or the history of the population of a given city or region, and which focus on specific issues.¹⁵ Naturally, these monographs are similar in terms of volume. Their chronological range is narrower than that of the articles; most often it covers the 19th and 20th centuries¹⁶ (a large number of preserved parish registers, allowing for extensive analysis and interpretation of data). In fact, only a few works focus on the 17th and 18th centuries.¹⁷ Most of the works discuss the development of the number of births, marriages and deaths. Issues related to the latter are usually presented in a formulaic way, usually concerning mortality in particular groups or social strata and the causes of death, births, as well as the masculinization and feminization of demographic events and their structures. The differences between these papers often come down to the fact that some authors attach more

¹³ Benewiat, Budzyński, "Ludność," 197–219; Dziedzic, "Ludność," 77–97; Kukło, "Struktury," 62–75; Kurowska, "Struktura," 429–445; Liczbińska, "Płodność," 107–120; Maślach, "Ludność," 39–68; Ogórek, "Transformacja," 105–127; Rachwał, "Ludność," 69–86; Rożnowski, "Badania," 162–177.

¹⁴ Ładogórski, "Rozwój," 95–114.

¹⁵ Jan Baszanowski, *Przemiany demograficzne w Gdańsku w latach 1601–1846* (Gdańsk: Uniwersytet Gdański, 1995); Jan Fijałek, "Stosunki demograficzne (XIX–XX w.)," in: *Radom. Dzieje miasta w XIX i XX w.*, ed. Stefan Witkowski (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1985); Dariusz K. Chojecki, *Od społeczeństwa tradycyjnego do nowoczesnego. Demografia i zdrowotność głównych ośrodków miejskich Pomorza Zachodniego w dobie przyspieszonej industrializacji i urbanizacji w Niemczech (1871–1913)* (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 2014); Julian K. Janczak, "Ludność. Struktura ludności," in: *Łódź. Dzieje miasta*, vol. 1: *Do 1918 r.*, ed. Bohdan Baranowski, Jan Fijałek (Warszawa–Łódź: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1988); Kędelski, "Ludność"; Grażyna Liczbińska, *Umieralność i jej uwarunkowania wśród katolickiej i ewangelickiej ludności historycznego Poznania* (Poznań: Biblioteka Telgte, 2009); Hanna Kurowska, *Gubin i jego mieszkańcy. Studium demograficzne XVII–XIX wiek* (Zielona Góra: Oficyna Wydawnicza Uniwersytetu Zielonogórskiego, 2010); Nietyksza, *Ludność*; Mieczysław Kędelski, *Rozwój demograficzny Poznania w XVIII i na początku XIX wieku* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Akademii Ekonomicznej w Poznaniu, 1992); Sabina Rejman *Ludność podmiejska Rzeszowa w latach 1784–1880. Studium demograficzno-historyczne* (Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, 2006); Hosoda Shinsuke, *Położenie socjalne robotników w górnictwie węglowym w dobrach książąt pszczyńskich na obszarze Górnego Śląska 1847–1870* (Wrocław: Uniwersytet Wrocławski, 1997), 49–61; Wnęć, Zyblikiewicz, *Ludność*; Agnieszka Zielińska, *Przemiany struktur demograficznych w Toruniu w XIX i na początku XX wieku* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2012).

¹⁶ Fijałek, "Stosunki"; Kędelski, "Ludność"; Kędelski, *Rozwój*; Nietyksza, *Ludność*; Rejman, *Ludność*; Wnęć, Zyblikiewicz, *Ludność*; Zielińska, *Przemiany*.

¹⁷ Baszanowski, *Przemiany*; Kukło, *Rodzina*; Kukło, *Demografia Rzeczypospolitej przedrozbiorowej* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2009); Kurowska, *Gubin*.

importance to discussing the issues related to mortality by social groups,¹⁸ others focus on age groups,¹⁹ and a significant proportion of the authors studied both of these elements.²⁰

The sources and literature used in these works are more extensive and allow a wider discussion of the given phenomenon or issue. The authors also develop many more threads, including illegitimate children, stillbirths, the seasonality of births and deaths, or changes in the population among particular age groups, distinguishing between children, adults and the elderly. Much attention is also paid to a description of the causes of death (if the source allows it), what diseases affected the population most and what steps were taken to remedy them. Some authors draw attention to the frequency of first names and their significance in a given community.²¹

The phenomenon of infant mortality is discussed in a different way in research work on the social and demographic history of the population. These studies usually focus on specific issues such as illegitimate children, the phenomenon of infant mortality in a given community or registers.²² The chosen works are

¹⁸ Baszanowski, *Przemiany*; Shinsuke, *Położenie*; Katarzyna Sierakowska, *Rodzice, dzieci, dziadkowie. Wielkomijska rodzina inteligencka w Polsce 1918–1939* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DIG, 2003); Nietyksza, *Ludność*.

¹⁹ Fijałek, “Stosunki”; Janczak, *Łódź*; Kędelski, *Rozwój*.

²⁰ Agnieszka Fihel, *Płeć a trwanie życia. Analiza demograficzna* (Warszawa: Uniwersytet Warszawski, Wydział Nauk Ekonomicznych, 2011); Kędelski, “Ludność”; Kurowska, *Gubin*; Liczbińska, *Umieralność*; Rejman, *Ludność*; Wnęć, *Zybkiewicz, Ludność*; Kukło, *Demografia*; Zielińska, *Przemiany*.

²¹ Kurowska, *Gubin*; Zielińska, *Przemiany*.

²² Edyta Białowąs, Zdzisław Budzyński, “Ludność Sanoka obrządku łacińskiego w epoce przedautonomicznej (w świetle ewidencji metrykalnej),” in: *Studia i materiały z dziejów społecznych Polski Południowo-Wschodniej*, vol. 1, ed. Zdzisław Budzyński (Rzeszów: Uniwersytet Rzeszowski, 2003): 219–239; Stanisław Borowski, “Zgony i wiek zmarłych w Wielkopolsce w latach 1806–1914,” *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 1 (1964): 111–130; Janusz Hochleitner, “Warmińskie nowożytnie księgi chrztów jako źródło historyczne,” *Echa Przeszłości* 2 (2001): 139–152; Adam Czabański, “Urodzenia pozamałżeńskie w Poznaniu w latach 1912–1937. Analiza zjawiska w świetle współczesnych trendów ogólnopolskich i ogólnoeuropejskich,” *Poznańskie Zeszyty Humanistyczne* 1 (2003): 59–71; Mieczysław Kędelski, “Próba rekonstrukcji porządku wymierania w Wielkopolsce w okresie rewolucji demograficznej,” *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 12 (1980): 47–64; idem, *Umieralność i trwanie życia ludności Wielkopolski w XIX wieku* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Akademii Ekonomicznej w Poznaniu, 1992); idem, “Umieralność i trwanie życia w Wielkopolsce w latach 1816–1875,” *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 16 (1985): 109–138; Zbigniew Klotzke, “Ludność obwodu urzędu stanu cywilnego Luzino w latach 1874–1918,” *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 12, (1981): 65–104; Grażyna Liczbińska, Alicja Budnik, Anna Sosinko, “Charakterystyka zjawiska umieralności w XIX-wiecznym Poznaniu na podstawie metrykalnych ksiąg zgonów,” *Archiwariusz* 2 (2006): 33–50; Krzysztof Mikulski, “Kondycja demograficzna rodziny mieszczańskiej w Toruniu w XVI–XVII wieku (na przykładzie genealogii Neisserów),” in: *Kobieta i rodzina w średniowieczu i na progu czasów nowożytnych*, eds. Zenon H. Nowak, Andrzej Radziwiński (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 1998), 115–142; Anna Mioduszevska, “Umieralność w Polsce północno-wschodniej w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku

dominated by such themes as the mortality of children and adults in cities or regions,²³ descriptions of the population on the basis of baptism and death registers (mainly in towns, villages and parishes),²⁴ works related to the fate of illegitimate children (births and deaths)²⁵ and issues related to migratory flows.²⁶ All these monographs, chapters and articles cover a chronological range from several decades to a maximum of one century, mainly from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries.

The Issue of Infant Mortality as a Side Interest

While the conclusions given earlier with regard to the specificity of the academic publications concern a significant number of them, they do not apply to all the works. Several of them have a more detailed discussion on and broader analysis of infant mortality. It is worth taking a closer look at these publications. Let us start with the work of Cezary Kukło, who introduces us to interesting issues not

i pierwszej połowie XIX wieku,” in: *Choroba i śmierć w perspektywie społecznej w XIII–XX wieku*, eds. Dariusz K. Chojecki, Edward Włodarczyk (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2010), 170–186; Bartosz Ogórek, *Niezatarte piętno? Wpływ I wojny światowej na ludność miasta Krakowa* (Kraków: Universitas, 2018); Dariusz Prucnal, “Dzieci nieślubne w Lublinie w latach 1612–1638 (w świetle ksiąg chrztów parafii pw. Michała Archanioła),” in: *Rodzina i gospodarstwo domowe na ziemiach polskich w XV–XX wieku. Struktury demograficzne, społeczne i gospodarcze*, ed. Cezary Kukło (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2008), 295–314; Rejman, “Zgony,” 245–272; Sabina Rejman, “Demograficzne fakty śmierci w księgach metrykalnych z lat 1784–1880 z podmiejskich okolic Rzeszowa,” in: *Choroba i śmierć w perspektywie społecznej w XIII–XX wieku*, eds. Dariusz K. Chojecki, Edward Włodarczyk (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2010), 187–203; Konrad Wnęk, “Nierówność społeczna wobec śmierci we Lwowie w końcu XIX i na początku XX wieku,” in: *Choroba i śmierć w perspektywie społecznej w XIII–XX wieku*, eds. Dariusz K. Chojecki, Edward Włodarczyk (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2010), 230–250; Mateusz Wyżga, “Urodzenia pozamałżeńskie w podkrakowskiej parafii Raciborowice w XVII–XVIII wieku w świetle ksiąg metrykalnych,” *Przeszość Demograficzna Polski* 29 (2010): 157–171; Grzegorz Zamoyski, “Ruch naturalny ludności w Żydowskim okręgu metrykalnym w Sokołowie w latach 1877–1939,” in: *Studia i materiały z dziejów społecznych Polski południowo-wschodniej*, vol. 1, ed. Zbigniew Budzyński (Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, 2003), 239–258; Agnieszka Zielińska, “Zgony wśród toruńskich katolików według struktury społeczno-zawodowej w latach 1793–1910,” in: *Choroba i śmierć w perspektywie społecznej w XIII–XX wieku*, eds. Dariusz K. Chojecki, Edward Włodarczyk (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2010), 204–219; Czabański, “Urodzenia”; Zygmunt Sułowski, “Księgi zgonów parafii Kijany i Bystrzyca za drugiej połowy XVIII w.,” *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* 67 (1997): 271–299.

²³ Borowski, “Zgony”; Kędelski, “Próba”; Kędelski, “Umieralność”; Liczbińska, Budnik, Sosinko, “Charakterystyka”; Mioduszevska, “Umieralność”; Rejman, “Zgony”; Rejman, “Demograficzne fakty”; Wnęk, “Nierówność”; Zielińska, “Zgony.”

²⁴ Białowąs, Budzyński, “Ludność”; Klotzke, “Ludność”; Hochleitner, “Warmińskie nowożytnie księgi chrztów”; Mikulski, “Kondycja”; Sułowski, “Księgi zgonów”; Ogórek, *Niezatarte piętno?*

²⁵ Czabański, “Urodzenia”; Prucnal, “Dzieci”; Wyżga, “Urodzenia.”

²⁶ Zamoyski, “Ruch.”

only in the Old Polish period, but also up to the first half of the 19th century.²⁷ For someone interested in issues related to infant mortality, this work is important as an introduction to the study of many demographic areas, including the development of infant mortality rates. The author explains in a clear way the differences between a newborn and an infant, calculation methods, including those of infant mortality rates, and the development of infant mortality rates in the European comparative context. It should be noted that Kukło's work is synthetic in nature, since his intention was to show, in the light of the available research results, what the demography of pre-partition Poland looked like.

In his work on the demography of pre-partition Poland, he often refers to his monograph on the 18th-century family in Warsaw. This important work for Polish historical demography focuses on an analysis of the parish registers. It devotes much space to a description of infants and their fates, especially in terms of child mortality, broken down into parishes, the seasonality of deaths, hygiene issues, childcare and the masculinization and feminization of demographic events.²⁸ There are two claims in the publication worth noting: the first is that when checking the completeness of the records, three tests should be carried out: calculating the birth rate for deaths (B/D, assumed standard is 1), births for marriages (B/M, assumed standard is 5), and masculinization of newborns (assumed standard is 105–107 boys per 100 girls). From Kukło's studies on the family in 18th-century Warsaw, the B/M ratio in the Warsaw parish of the Holy Cross was 3–3.5, which means poor registration in baptismal registers. This state of affairs persisted in this parish until the 1880s. There was an equally poor situation in terms of registering children (including infants) in the death records, as the deficiencies were as high as 30%, thus distorting the correct B/D ratio. Secondly, Kukło notes that the longer interval between the birth and the baptism of a child indicates that some infants died without having been christened and therefore there was no relevant entry in the parish documentation. In addition to Kukło, Dariusz Chojecki addresses infant mortality in his work on cities in Western Pomerania during the Second Reich (1871–1913). He uses the rich literature on the subject and processed statistical data.²⁹ He focuses on highlighting the social and territorial aspect of the phenomenon in order to demonstrate social and demographic differences in the area. It is also worth noting the work of Elżbieta Kościk who, in a similar way,

²⁷ Kukło, *Rodzina*.

²⁸ Kukło, *Demografia*. See also: Chojecki, *Od społeczeństwa tradycyjnego*; Sierakowska, *Rodzice*; Liczbińska, *Umieralność*; Kędelski, "Ludność."

²⁹ Chojecki, *Od społeczeństwa tradycyjnego*, 160–232.

discusses infant mortality in the Opole district in the second half of the 19th century.³⁰

The work of Cezary Kukło, who certainly pays great attention to statistical and demographic calculations, is contrasted with that of Katarzyna Sierakowska. This is because, in showing the interesting social and moral transformations of the intelligentsia family in Poland of the interwar period, she discusses children and infants, not focusing on demographic issues. In comparison with other monographs, we can see that Sierakowska devotes much space to discussing aspects of child and infant nutrition, upbringing, care, hygiene and the role of the mother in the family. Her monograph stands out from other works, because many of the items analyzed for the purposes of the article lack a deeper discussion of the social thread of infant mortality.³¹

The next two works refer to the demographic situation in Poznań; however, they raise issues of interest to us from different perspectives: anthropological and historical. The first work, by Grażyna Liczbińska, deserves attention because it deals with the mortality of the population in Poznań, taking into account the religious division of children and adults (Catholic and Protestant). She analyses, among other things, the intensity of infant deaths, neonatal, postnatal and prenatal mortality, using the model of stagnant and stabilized population when studying life expectancy. She also evaluates the qualitative and quantitative development of the number of deaths over time in the context of the socio-occupational structure of the population.³² Her research shows that the openness of Protestants to medical innovation and the use of technical facilities contributed to a faster decrease in mortality from infectious diseases than in the Catholic community. Liczbińska also shows that infants in Poznań most often suffered from “neurological diseases” (mainly cramps and convulsions), infectious diseases (less frequent in newborns), consumption (TB) and dental diseases (diseases and infections accompanying teething). The second work related to the history of Poznań is a chapter by the economist, Mieczysław Kędelski.³³ It should be emphasized that this is the only article in the collective work to devote a relatively large amount of space to infant mortality and discusses it for the times preceding World War I and also during the Second Polish Republic. Kędelski focuses on the causes and consequences of infant mortality, birth masculinization, stillbirths, mortality outside of marriage, and sanitary conditions. The issue of infant mortality also appears in

³⁰ Elżbieta Kościak, *Przemiany w strukturze społeczno-zawodowej i demograficznej ludności Opola w drugiej połowie XIX i na początku XX wieku na podstawie ksiąg parafialnych i akt USC* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1993), 111–138.

³¹ Sierakowska, *Rodzice*, 47–49, 109–133.

³² Liczbińska, *Umieralność*, 14–15.

³³ Kędelski, “Ludność,” 252–270.

collective works on Łódź and Radom.³⁴ However, it is only woven into the general description of population mortality.

Edmund Piasecki's publication stands out among the works often quoted by Polish researchers, giving as it does a detailed account of the population of Bejsce parish in the period from the 18th to the 20th century. The author puts great emphasis on examining the parish records and civil records, while paying attention to aspects of infant mortality. First of all, he states that on the basis of the sources he analyzed, it is difficult to determine the level of neonatal mortality, because the ratio in the group of mothers under 24 years of age was relatively low. Secondly, Piasecki proves that infant mortality in the nineteenth century was associated with insufficient childcare, because its level was higher in fourth- or later-born children. The author pays great attention to the seasonality of births, claiming that it is conditioned biologically, socio-legally, and economically. He also explains that the weakening of the seasonality of births at the turn of the 20th century is a result of the weakening of factors connected with the natural environment, which in turn was accompanied by a strengthening in the role of cultural and socio-economic factors. The issues raised are described by the author in the broad comparative context of Polish and international research results.³⁵

It should be noted that Piasecki, similarly to Liczbińska, presents an anthropological approach to the issue of infant mortality in the past, while the socio-spatial aspects are the axis of Chojecki's considerations. In his monograph on the changes in natural and migratory movements of the population in Pomerania in the years 1914–1939, Chojecki emphasizes infant mortality. He states in his reflections that before World War I, every third death in the province of Pomerania was that of an infant (of 1,000 children in their first year of life, around 200 died). The research was conducted on the basis of official statistics and a wealth of literature on the subject. These described the births and deaths of infants, divided into villages and towns, paying special attention to the living conditions of the population. The then-valid administrative division of West Pomerania was used.³⁶ In a similar way to Chojecki, Piotr Rachwał, a historian from Lublin, addresses the phenomenon of infant mortality. In his work on the natural movement of the Roman Catholic population in the Lublin region, he describes the infant mortality of the youngest children as part of a wider phenomenon, which is population

³⁴ Janczak, "Łódź"; Fijałek "Stosunki."

³⁵ Edmund Piasecki, *Ludność parafii bejskiej (woj. kieleckie) w świetle ksiąg metrykalnych z XVIII–XX w. Studium demograficzne* (Warszawa–Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1990), 272–292.

³⁶ Dariusz K. Chojecki (Szudra), *Ludność pruskiej prowincji Pomorze: przemiany w ruchu naturalnym i migracyjnym w latach 1914–1939* (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 2005), 64–98, 118–158, 188–235.

mortality. However, he does so in a much wider time frame than Chojecki, since he is able to use the rich literature on the subject and individual data (records) and aggregated data (statistics) from the 16th to the 20th centuries.³⁷

The works of Chojecki and Bartosz Ogórek contain common elements. The latter focuses on discussing the population of Kraków before and during WWI and during the interwar period. Ogórek shows the number of births and deaths in Kraków, attempting to arrange their development in the context of the theory of demographic transition, believing that the beginning of the transformation process for Kraków dates back to the 1890s. He concludes that the greatest decrease in the mortality rate of children under the age of one was at the beginning of the 20th century and during the interwar period, mainly due to the improved hygiene and financial situations. It is worth adding that in the 1870s, infant mortality in Kraków was 350 per mille; after World War I, its level had dropped by half.

An alternative account of infant mortality is given by the Poznań economist, Mieczysław Kędelski, who deals with life expectancy in Greater Poland during the demographic revolution. The author uses a fairly mathematical approach to show changes in mortality (including infants). The reader may feel somewhat unsatisfied by the fact that the work lacks a broader interpretation of the results. However, it should be emphasized that Kędelski is one of only a few researchers to describe the issue of infant mortality on the basis of life expectancy tables, in which he divides the population by sex, age and religion. The tables drawn up by him show that among children in the 0–1 and 1–5 age brackets, both boys and girls had the highest probability of death, while about 25% of children did not live to see their first birthdays. This article is of inestimable value for people who want to learn about the use of more sophisticated research methods in research on the history of the population.³⁸

Another work by Kędelski worth investigating is on the mortality and life expectancy of the Wielkopolska population in the 19th century. The author focused on an analysis of population mortality, paying attention to aspects related to infant deaths. Among the issues he raised was the high mortality of infants and older children (in the strict sense of the term used here). He also considered the whole aspect in relation to the then social strata and age groups, explaining at the same time how mortality was influenced by endogenous and exogenous factors. Moreover, he noted that when registering infant deaths, there were cases of entering deceased children under the age of one into the 1–4 age bracket. This

³⁷ Piotr Rachwał, *Ruch naturalny ludności rzymskokatolickiej w Lubelskiem w świetle rejestracji metrykalnej z lat 1582–1900* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2019), 189–292.

³⁸ Kędelski, “Próba,” 47–64.

situation led to a distortion of the masculinization coefficient in both age groups of deceased children.³⁹

An interesting approach to the study of infant mortality in past centuries was provided by Krzysztof Mikulski, who undertook to highlight the demographic condition of burgher families in Toruń in the 16th and 17th centuries. Undoubtedly, his work is interesting because, unlike other researchers, he chose as his primary research source the genealogy⁴⁰ of three families: the Koyens, the Neissers and the Vogt-Eckerts. He also used parish registers to supplement the information on the three families. According to Mikulski, this type of source has its advantages because it allows us to define economic links and is valuable iconographic material. However, according to the author, in the case of the Koyens, genealogical data can be troublesome because of the brief nature of the information, including a lack of birth and death dates. The term “newborns” is used in the paper, which may suggest that genealogical sources do not present specific information on infants. Interestingly, since the seventeenth century, a larger number of children for whom only the date of birth is provided appear in genealogical sources in Toruń. According to Mikulski, this fact can be combined with an increase in the number of children who died in early childhood in Toruń bourgeois families (a symptom of demographic crisis).⁴¹

Academic Publications Strictly Devoted to Infant Mortality

The Polish literature on the subject includes a few works that focus solely on infant mortality. Works by Dariusz Chojecki deserve attention when it comes to the detail and scope of the issue. These include a two-part article on the socio-spatial differentiation of infant mortality in Szczecin at the turn of the 20th century.⁴² It presents the causes of infant mortality in the context of the model proposed by Jörg Vögele (socio-cultural, economic, institutional and ecological aspects). Chojecki's conclusions are based on the interpretation of aggregated statistical data (state and municipal). The work additionally touches upon political aspects,

³⁹ Kędelski, *Umieralność*, 29–49, 78–145; Kędelski, “Umieralność.”

⁴⁰ An interesting work based on genealogical sources in the field of historical demography has recently been published: see Marzena Liedke, *Rodzina magnacka w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w XVI–XVIII wieku. Studium demograficzno-społeczne* (Białystok: Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy, 2016), 125–138. The author (like K. Mikulski) highlighted the complete failure to include prematurely deceased children in genealogical sources.

⁴¹ Mikulski, “Kondycja,” 115–130.

⁴² Dariusz K. Chojecki, “Jedno miasto, dwa (różne) światy. Społeczno-przestrzenne zróżnicowanie umieralności niemowląt w Szczecinie w latach 1876–1913,” part 1, *Zapiski Historyczne* 75 (2010), 1: 65–96; part 2, *Zapiski Historyczne* 75 (2010), 2: 103–150.

presenting the activities of the state and local authorities aimed at reducing the high level of infant mortality. The broad approach to the issues was possible due to the fact that at the beginning of the 20th century the authorities in Szczecin were probably the first in Europe to commission a survey on the alarmingly high infant mortality rate in the city. The issues related to births and infant mortality in the context of married and unmarried couples are also widely discussed here. The paper makes the “strong” supposition that the exceptionally high mortality rate in infants from the groups of so-called married and unmarried parents at the end of the 19th century was caused by an increased influx of people from outside Szczecin. When discussing the causes of infant mortality, nutritional issues were brought to the fore, indicating the importance of breastfeeding.

While his earlier study focuses on emphasizing the social aspect of infant mortality, the subsequent work pays more attention to discussing the political discourse on infant mortality that took place at the beginning of the 20th century in German politics. In his work, Chojecki discusses the opinions of politicians with different world views on the problem of natural and artificial infant nutrition (discourse in the context of the so-called return to nature). He pays particular attention here to the demands of social democrats and conservatives who presented different approaches to the problem. The former wanted to put emphasis on a greater social policy financed from state sources, while the latter emphasized an information campaign and grassroots initiatives.⁴³

The last of Chojecki’s works mentioned here focuses on infant mortality in the eastern provinces of the German state at the beginning of the 20th century. The title uses the term “Polish districts” because our subject of interest is discussed in relation to areas with a large Polish population.⁴⁴ As in the study on infant mortality in Szczecin, the author emphasizes the territorial element, highlighting the ethnic aspect. An important conclusion from this extensive article is that, on average, the infant mortality rate was lower among Polish children compared to German children, which Chojecki explains indirectly by the practice of breastfeeding. As in his other works, Chojecki uses official statistical data for the areas under analysis, aggregated at the level of districts and regions.

Among the few works strictly on infant mortality, we should mention that of the Poznań sociologist Adam Czabański, who uses the rich literature on the subject and statistical data for the city of Poznań. By discussing infant mortality in the city in a quite general way, he signals the social significance of the

⁴³ Dariusz K. Chojecki, “Niemiecki dyskurs polityczny wokół ‘powrotu do natury’ w kontekście umieralności niemowląt (początek XX wieku),” *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 37 (2015), 4: 125–140.

⁴⁴ Dariusz K. Chojecki, “Umieralność niemowląt w ‘polskich’ rejencjach Prus na początku XX wieku,” *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 37 (2015), 3: 147–189.

problem. His research shows that the intensity of deaths in the youngest children improved in comparison with the Prussian period only at the turn of the 1930s. Nevertheless, in comparison with other large cities of the Second Polish Republic, the situation in Poznań was exceptionally favorable (around 120 babies per 1,000 live births died), in which, according to the author, the improvement of sanitary conditions played an important role. Czabański also raises the issue of infant mortality in extramarital couples and briefly describes the medical causes of deaths, indicating their seasonality.⁴⁵

At this point we should recall the anthropologist, Edmund Piasecki, who, in an article published in *Przeszość Demograficzna Polski* (Poland's Demographic Past), was the first Polish researcher to give an extensive account of infant mortality, using the example of the parish of Bejsce. Despite the passing of time, his study has lost none of its relevance. He approaches the discussion of the phenomenon in a multithreaded way, richly documenting his findings, which include the role of endogenous and exogenous factors in infant mortality, whether neonatal (first month of life) or post neonatal (1st to 12th months of life). These issues are presented in relation to the age of the mothers and the deceased infants. An important point made by the author is that between 1790 and 1839, more newborn babies died in the parish of Bejsce, while babies between the first and fifth month of life and over the fifth month were more likely to survive. In turn, from 1840 to 1889, the opposite phenomenon took place, which the author explains as being due to flaws in the source.⁴⁶

Conclusion

To conclude our considerations, we would like to draw attention to purely technical issues, namely the measurement of infant death intensity on which the adequacy of the results depends. An examination of the literature on the subject shows that in the description of this phenomenon, the vast majority of researchers use the simple infant death rate, i.e., the ratio of the number of deaths to the number of births during the same year. Although this measure is nowadays recommended by the United Nations,⁴⁷ it must be remembered that it is susceptible to significant changes in the number of births or deaths over time. This problem

⁴⁵ Adam Czabański, "Śmiertelność niemowląt w Poznaniu w perspektywie długookresowej," *Poznańskie Zeszyty Humanistyczne* 1 (2003): 49–57.

⁴⁶ Edmund Piasecki, "Umieralność niemowląt w parafii bejskiej w XIX i pierwszej połowie XX w.," *Przeszość Demograficzna Polski* 11 (1979): 23–67.

⁴⁷ Marek Okólski, Agnieszka Fihel, *Demografia. Współczesne zjawiska i teorie* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, 2012).

is eliminated by the use of Julius Rath's coefficient⁴⁸ which, without going into details, takes into account the proportion of the number of births of year $t - 1$ when relativizing the number of infant deaths in year t . In domestic historical studies this measure is used extremely rarely.⁴⁹ From the point of view of historical demography, of great importance is the Jean Bourgeois-Pichat model, the use of which was highlighted by B. Ogórek,⁵⁰ who also demonstrated how to calculate it. The model allows us to distinguish endogenous mortality caused by congenital defects and underdevelopment, and exogenous mortality resulting from other causes (mainly infectious diseases and food poisoning). Moreover, it allows the quality of infant death registration to be assessed and the average length of breastfeeding to be estimated. The application of this model is most visible in the works of, among others, B. Ogórek and E. Piasecki.⁵¹

Reading Polish publications on infant mortality encourages some reflection. It seems that future Polish historical research should pay more attention to the fate of not only children over one year of age, but also infants, including newborns (of course, if the sources allow it), bearing in mind the importance of demographic changes in this age group. The analysis of the literature shows that the vast majority of works only discuss the issue of infant mortality in general terms, making it quite formulaic. There is a significant lack of academic articles in Polish research that would detail specific causes of infant mortality (e.g., endogenous and exogenous diseases or causes related to food quality). It is true that the subject of considerations in this article did not include international literature, and the approach used by Western researchers should serve as a certain example for their Polish peers. They put more emphasis on discussing and explaining the specific causes of infant mortality related to milk quality, sanitation, migration, religious, psychological, socio-economic and other factors,⁵² and to the steps taken to tackle

⁴⁸ Jerzy Holzer, *Demografia* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Ekonomiczne, 1980), 211–213; Roland Pressat, *Słownik demograficzny*, compiled by Ewa Frątczak and Aneta Ptak Chmielewska (Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza SGH, 2015).

⁴⁹ Chojecki (Szudra), *Ludność*; Kukło, *Rodzina*.

⁵⁰ Bartosz Ogórek, "Model Bourgeois-Pichata w badaniach demograficzno-historycznych," *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 38 (2016), 4: 135–136; Holzer, *Demografia*, 213–214; Mieczysław Kędelski, "Umieralność i trwanie życia", in: Mieczysław Kędelski, Jan Paradyś, *Demografia* (Poznań, 2006): 110–111.

⁵¹ Kukło, *Rodzina*; Ogórek, *Niezatarte piętno?*

⁵² Some examples of works dealing with specific causes of infant deaths: Angus H. Ferguson, Laurence I. Weaver, Malcolm Nicolson, "The Glasgow Corporation Milk Depot 1904–1910 and Its Role in Infant Welfare. An End or a Means?" *Social History of Medicine* 19 (2006), 3: 443–460; Susan M. Smith, "Who You Are or Where You Are? Determinants of Infant Mortality in Fulham 1876–1888," *Family & Community History* 6 (2003), 2: 113–120; Michael R. Haines, "Socio-Economic Differentials in Infant and Child Mortality during Mortality Decline England and Wales, 1890–1911," *Population Studies* 49 (1995): 297–315; Nicky Hart, "Beyond Infant Mortality. Gender and Stillbirth in Reproductive Mortality before the Twentieth Century," *Population*

high infant mortality. They often do this by analyzing a given town or area based on the available statistical or record data. In the Polish literature that was the subject of the analysis, in a group of over seventy works, a detailed discussion of specific issues related to the deaths of the youngest children found its place in only a few items. The works of D. Chojecki, C. Kukło, M. Kędeliski, G. Liczbińska, B. Ogórek and E. Piasecki should be mentioned here.⁵³

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Studies 52 (1998): 215–229; Naomi Williams, Chris Galley, “Urban-rural Differentials in Infant Mortality in Victorian England,” *Population Studies* 49 (1995): 401–420; Tommy Bengtsson, Christer Lundh, “Child and Infant Mortality in the Nordic Countries Prior to 1900,” *Population Economics* 66 (1999): 1–26. See also: David Reher, “Marked from the Outset: Season of Birth and Health during Early Life in Spain during the Demographic Transition,” *Continuity and Change* 21 (2006), 1: 107–129; Abdel R. Omran, “The Epidemiologic Transition. A Theory of the Epidemiology of Population Change,” *The Milbank Quarterly* 83 (2005), 4: 731–757; Edward A. Wrigley, Roger S. Schofield, “English Population History from Family Reconstitution: Summary Results, 1600–1799,” *Population Studies* 37 (1983), 2: 157–184.

⁵³ Chojecki (Szudra), *Ludność*; Kukło, *Rodzina*; Liczbińska, *Umieralność*; Ogórek, *Niezatarte piętno?*; Piasecki, *Ludność*; Kędeliski, *Umieralność i trwanie życia*.

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The Issue of Infant Mortality in Polish Historical Research

Summary

The article presents the issue of infant mortality in Polish historical research. The primary goal was to analyze around seventy academic articles of various types dealing with population demography and social history, and to check to what extent these works deal with the issue of mortality of children in their first year of life. Due to the large number of works examined, it was necessary to focus on the specific nature of the publications. The author made an attempt to distinguish particular groups of research works, such as articles and chapters, monographs, academic works focusing on specific issues (e.g., illegitimate children) and discussing them. A separate place is devoted to publications in which infant mortality is discussed over a wide range of aspects, and special attention is paid to academic dissertations in which infant mortality itself is the topic of discussion.

The author notes that in the group of articles and chapters, some researchers discuss infant mortality in a general manner, while others mention it sporadically. The authors of this type of publication attach greater importance to the presentation and analysis of the sources (birth records, Civil Registry Office files or aggregated statistical data) and to presenting their general demographic and social values. If the birth record sources allow it, researchers give the causes of death of the youngest children, taking into account seasonality, division into age groups and social categories.

In most of the monographs on social and demographic history, researchers approach infant mortality slightly differently than in articles and chapters because they discuss this issue in more detail, with more emphasis on the infant mortality rate in different social groups and strata. The issues of the causes of deaths, fertility, and the masculinization and feminization of demographic events and their structures are also not overlooked.

Another separate group of papers dealing with infant mortality are those that focus on specific issues. They deal with problems such as the issue of illegitimate children, stillbirths, or the seasonality of births and deaths broken down by age groups and social strata. The author of this article describes a few selected works in which the approach to the mortality of the youngest children is more comprehensive. He notes that in the works of, among others, C. Kukło, G. Liczbińska, D. Chojecki, K. Mikulski, K. Sierakowska or M. Kędelki, the mortality of children who have not reached their first birthday is discussed in more detail than in most of the research works analyzed. The examination of the literature also shows that there are only a few works in Polish academia in which the issue of infant mortality is the leading subject. The works of Dariusz Chojecki, Adam Czabański and Edmund Piasecki were analyzed.

At the end of the article, attention was drawn to the fact that most scientific publications used a simple infant death rate, i.e., the ratio of deaths to births in the same year. Several studies used more advanced statistical methods such as the Julius Rath's coefficient and the Jean Bourgeois-Pichat model. In addition, the author of the article postulates that in future research studies, more emphasis should be placed on discussing the mortality not only of children over one year of age, but also of infants, including newborns, drawing from the academic experience of the rich Anglo-Saxon literature on the subject.

Problematyka umieralności niemowląt w polskich badaniach historycznych

Streszczenie

W artykule przedstawiono problematykę umieralności niemowląt w polskich badaniach historycznych. Celem podstawowym było przeanalizowanie około siedemdziesięciu pozycji naukowych różnego typu traktujących o demografii ludności i historii społecznej oraz sprawdzenie, w jakim stopniu porusza się w tych pracach zagadnienie umieralności dzieci, które nie ukończyły pierwszego roku życia. Ze względu na dużą liczbę prac poddanych analizie, niezbędne było zwrócenie uwagi na specyfikę omawianych publikacji. Autor podjął się próby rozróżnienia poszczególnych grup prac badawczych, takich jak: artykuły i rozdziały, monografie, prace naukowe koncentrujące się na określonych zagadnieniach (np. dzieci nieślubne) oraz ich omówienia. Osobne miejsce poświęcono publikacjom, w których umieralność niemowląt potraktowana jest wieloaspektowo, oraz zwrócono szczególną uwagę na dysertacje naukowe, w których omawia się ściśle umieralność niemowląt.

Przedstawiając specyfikę omawianej literatury, autor zwraca uwagę, że w grupie artykułów i rozdziałów część badaczy przedstawia umieralność niemowląt w sposób ogólny, zaś inni wspominają o tym zjawisku sporadycznie. Autorzy tego typu publikacji większą wagę przykładają do przedstawienia i analizy omawianego rodzaju źródeł (ksiąg metrykalnych, akt USC czy zagregowanych danych statystycznych) oraz przedstawienia

ich ogólnych walorów demograficzno-społecznych. Jeżeli źródła metrykalne to umożliwiają, badacze przedstawiają przyczyny zgonów najmłodszych dzieci, uwzględniając przy tym sezonowość, podział na grupy wiekowe i kategorie społeczne.

W znacznej części badanych monografii dotyczących historii społecznej i demograficznej badacze podchodzą do ukazania umieralności niemowląt nieco inaczej niż w artykułach i rozdziałach, ponieważ omawiają ten temat bardziej szczegółowo, większą wagę przykładając do omówienia intensywności zgonów niemowląt w poszczególnych grupach i warstwach społecznych. Nie pomijają się także kwestii przyczyn zgonów, rodności, a także maskulinizacji i feminizacji zdarzeń demograficznych i ich struktur.

Inną wyodrębnioną grupą prac naukowych traktujących o umieralności niemowląt są te, które koncentrują się na określonych zagadnieniach. Porusza się w nich takie kwestie, jak: sprawa dzieci nieślubnych, urodzenia martwe, sezonowość urodzeń i zgonów w podziale na grupy wiekowe oraz warstwy społeczne.

Autor niniejszego artykułu charakteryzuje kilka wybranych prac, w których bardziej wszechstronnie podchodzi się do umieralności najmłodszych dzieci. Zwrócił on uwagę, że w pracach między innymi C. Kukli, G. Liczbińskiej, D. Chojeckiego, K. Mikulskiego, K. Sierakowskiej czy M. Kędelskiego umieralność dzieci, które nie ukończyły pierwszego roku życia, jest omówiona w sposób bardziej szczegółowy niż w większości analizowanych prac badawczych. Z przeprowadzonej kwerendy wynika również, że w polskiej literaturze naukowej jest tylko kilka prac, w których temat umieralności niemowląt jest wiodący. Analizie poddano prace Dariusza Chojeckiego, Adama Czabańskiego i Edmunda Piaseckiego.

W zakończeniu artykułu zwrócono uwagę na fakt, że w większości publikacji naukowych stosowano prosty współczynnik zgonów niemowląt, czyli stosunek liczby zgonów do liczby urodzeń w okresie tego samego roku. W kilku pracach wykorzystano bardziej zaawansowane metody statystyczne, takie jak współczynnik Juliusa Rathsa oraz model Jeana Bourgeoisa-Pichata. Ponadto autor artykułu postuluje, aby w przyszłych pracach badawczych położyć większy nacisk na omówienie umieralności nie tylko dzieci powyżej pierwszego roku życia, ale także niemowląt, w tym noworodków, czerpiąc z doświadczeń naukowych bogatej anglosaskiej literatury przedmiotu.



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Did the Abolition of Serfdom Affect the Life Cycle of Peasants in the Western Part of the Grodno Governorate in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries?*

Czy uwłaszczenie wpłynęło na cykl życiowy chłopów w zachodniej części guberni grodzieńskiej w XIX i początkach XX wieku?

Abstract

The objective of the article is an attempt to find the answer to whether the agrarian reforms of the 1860s carried out in Russia affected the individual's life cycle in peasant Catholic families in Podlasie which, after 1807, was included in the Grodno Governorate. In Polish historiography the subject of the individual and the family's life cycle in the 19th century has not yet been adequately researched; hence these studies are intended to fill this gap, at least in part. In this paper a cross-section

Abstrakt

Celem artykułu jest próba odpowiedzi na pytanie, czy reformy agrarne lat 60. XIX wieku przeprowadzone w Rosji wpłynęły na cykl życia jednostki w rodzinach katolickich chłopów na Podlasiu, które po 1807 roku zostało włączone w skład guberni grodzieńskiej. W polskiej historiografii temat cyklu życia jednostki i rodziny w XIX wieku jest nieopracowany, zatem niniejsze badania mają wspomnianą lukę choć w części wypełnić. W pracy posłużono się przekrojową analizą zjawisk

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analysis of demographic phenomena was employed, which is based on three lists of the inhabitants of the large Podlasie parish of Trzcianne, drawn up in the years 1843–1910. The research value of the lists was evaluated with the help of three indexes: Whipple's index, the total modified Whipple's index (W_{tot}) and ABCC. The application of the cross-section method aimed at illustrating the dependence between the age and the status of the individual (children, household servants, householders, independent female heads of households, relatives and lodgers) in the household. The article devotes more attention to the pace of children's leaving family homes, as well as the status of old people, i.e., 65 years old and above, always including their sex.

Keywords

life cycle, peasants, status in the household, lists of parishioners, Grodno Governorate, Podlasie

demograficznych, opartą na trzech spisach mieszkańców dużej parafii podlaskiej Trzcianne, sporządzonych w latach 1843–1910. Wartość badawczą spisów oceniono, stosując trzy indeksy: Whipple'a, zmodyfikowany Whipple'a (W_{tot}) oraz ABCC. Zastosowanie metody przekrojowej miało na celu zobrazowanie zależności między wiekiem a pozycją jednostki (dzieci, służba domowa, gospodarze, samodzielne kierowniczki gospodarstw, krewni i kątacy) w gospodarstwie domowym. W artykule w większym stopniu zwrócono uwagę na tempo opuszczania przez dzieci chłopskie domu rodzinnego oraz na pozycję ludzi starych, to jest w wieku 65 i więcej lat, zawsze z uwzględnieniem ich płci.

Słowa kluczowe

cykl życia, chłopci, pozycja w gospodarstwie domowym, spisy wiernych, Gubernia Grodzieńska, Podlasie

Introduction

Even though the emancipation of peasants in Polish-speaking lands in the 19th century took different courses, more favorable for land owners in Prussia and Russia, while more favorable for peasants in the Habsburg monarchy and in the Congress Kingdom of Poland,¹ as Stefan Kieniewicz, the outstanding Polish historian noted, "The emancipation reform opened the way for a free game of capitalist forces."² It is also worth observing that even in the Kingdom of Poland

¹ Elżbieta Kaczyńska, Kazimierz Piesowicz, *Wykłady z powszechnej historii gospodarczej (od schyłku średniowiecza do I wojny światowej)* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1977), 324–330; Andrejs Plakans, "Agrarian Reform and the Family in Eastern Europe," in: *Family Life in the Long Nineteenth Century 1789–1913*, eds. David I. Kertzer, Marzio Barbagli (New Haven–London: Yale University Press, 2002), 85–89.

² Stefan Kieniewicz, *Historia Polski 1795–1918* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1970), 285.

and Russia, the agriculture of which in the first 25 years after the emancipation remained in its traditional forms, the peasants found themselves in a new legal, economic and social situation. New factors, previously unknown, began to affect the peasant economy in the second half of the 19th century.³ Demographic pressure was the most important. Malthusian mechanisms of population control (famines, epidemics) were gradually reduced, which resulted in an increase in the pace of natural growth and thereby in the progressing overpopulation of the countryside. The market effect was of no less significance, for the tsar's *ukase* issued in 1863 prescribed an immediate and obligatory buyout of the land by the peasants, on the basis thereof all obligated to do so passed to the category of "peasant-owners". In 1867, the emancipation reform in the Western governorates of the Tsardom also covered peasants in state estates. They received the land they had previously cultivated. Simultaneously, land was to be granted to the landless, soldiers on leave and veterans, *bobyly* or gardeners in order to complement the areas of farms.⁴ The top-down and compulsory emancipation of peasants resulted in their becoming involved in the market, since it became necessary for them to seek various sources of income (from odd jobs to permanent), which would allow them to buy out the land they cultivated, not mentioning the taxes paid to the state or to the Church. Thus, there was fiscal pressure from the state. On the other hand, the subdivision of smaller *folwarks* (manor farms) resulting from the agrarian crisis of the 1880s enabled more ambitious individuals to buy more folwark land or to take over the farms (or their parts) of their neighbors who were struggling in the new economic situation. The ties of the peasant's farm and the market were strengthened with the course of time through purchasing better tools produced by industry (later on also artificial fertilizers), which enabled them to intensify cultivation and breeding.

In this situation of limited land resources, the fast growth of the farming population, despite its migration to cities, also forced different inheritance customs: estates were increasingly divided among the children of both sexes. This

³ The whole sphere of issues regarding peasants' perception of the civilizational changes in the rural environment of their inclusion into national culture exceed our considerations. For information, see Maria Krisań, *Chłopi wobec zmian cywilizacyjnych w Królestwie Polskim w drugiej połowie XIX – na początku XX wieku* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo: NERITON, 2008); eadem, "Świadomość narodowa polskich chłopów w XIX w. widziana przez historiografię polską po drugiej wojnie światowej," *Historyka* 34 (2004): 123–141; Nikodem Bończa-Tomaszewski, "Polskojęzyczni chłopci? Podstawowe problemy nowoczesnej historii chłopów polskich," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 112 (2005), 2: 91–111 and Włodzimierz Mędrzecki, Szymon Rudnicki, Janusz Żarnowski, *Spółczesność polskie w XX wieku* (Warszawa: Instytut Historii PAN, 2003), 120–121.

⁴ Jerzy Szumski, "Uwłaszczenie chłopów w obwodzie białostockim oraz w północno-wschodniej części Królestwa Polskiego," in: *Wieś i rolnictwo ziem północno-wschodniej Polski w II połowie XIX i początkach XX w.*, ed. Adam Dobroński (Białystok: Dział Wydawnictw Filii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego w Białymstoku, 1984), 43.

was a fundamental change in comparison with the declining phase of the feudal system, when the dowry of a peasant's daughter given away in marriage almost never included real estate, and children were not bequeathed an inheritance via a written will but through an oral promise in front of witnesses. It is worth adding that in 19th-century Russia, in reference to the rural population, even after the abolition of serfdom in 1861 there were no written legal regulations on inheriting property. Therefore, peasants referred to local customs, which said that married sons remaining on their father's farm after his death divided the inherited property into equal parts. In turn, with the moment of marriage and moving to another farm, daughters lost the right to inherit from their parents.⁵

Even though Jacek Kochanowicz defines the post-traditional peasant farm as still semi-natural, geared towards only supplying enough food to survive, "Money plays [...] an incomparably greater role than in the traditional farm."⁶ In this context, it is difficult not to pose two important research questions. Did involving the peasant farm into the market as a result of emancipation in any way affect the size and structure of the household, determining the workforce, and did it result in transformations in the demographic life cycle of peasants in the Podlasie village in the late 19th century and early 20th century? The answer to the first of the research questions, due to its size, will be set aside for a separate paper, whereas below we will try to answer the second question, which concerns the life cycle of the individual in the Podlasie village, which administratively belonged to the Grodno Governorate of the Russian Empire.

The subject of this work refers in a way to the research of Polish sociologists specializing in rural issues, which have had a long tradition in Poland going back to before World War II. As early as then, Florian Znaniecki and Józef Chałasiński noted the enormous importance of the family as the only organized social group in the rural environment, which embraced particular peasants⁷. It is the peasant family and its household functioning at the end of the period of serfdom, as well as after the abolition of serfdom and enfranchisement in Polish-speaking lands incorporated into Russia, which is the main subject of our analyses. Sharing the

⁵ S. Muzykant, "Włościańskie prawo spadkowe w województwie poleskim i 5 wschodnich powiatach wojew. białostockiego," in: Adam Bobkowski, S. Muzykant, Kazimierz Petrusiewicz, Witold Sienkiewicz, *Zwyczaje spadkowe włościan w Polsce*, cz. IV: *Zwyczaje spadkowe włościan w czterech województwach kresowych* (Warszawa: Nakładem Państw. Instytutu Naukowego Gosp. Wiejsk. w Puławach, 1929), 213–229.

⁶ Jacek Kochanowicz, *Spór o teorię gospodarki chłopskiej. Gospodarstwo chłopskie w teorii ekonomii i w historii gospodarczej* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1992), 196.

⁷ William I. Thomas, Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, vol. 1 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927), 140; Józef Chałasiński, *Młode pokolenie chłopów. Procesy i zagadnienia kształtowania się warstwy chłopskiej w Polsce* (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Kultury Wsi, 1938), 133–135.

view of many rural sociologists, primarily Danuta Markowska, on the family as a fundamental component of the rural organization of social life and not the human individual, at least by the beginning of the 20th century,⁸ we want to scrutinize more closely the individual life of a peasant considered through the prism of his place in the family community. Sociologists underscore the impact of enfranchisement in eliminating the basis of the previous isolation of peasant communities, in breaking local barriers and introducing peasant households into the orbit of increasingly stronger connections with market and money circulation.⁹ In the new reality, where a great number of families were forced to strive for earnings, where the traditional model of the division of household chores ascribed to gender, age and place in the family structure, was of increasingly lower relevance,¹⁰ it seems reasonable to also try to observe a typical individual life cycle within the framework of the family community.

Aims of the article and research area

In the face of the modernization of the peasant economy located on the peripheries, we pose the hypothesis that the civilizational challenges of the center, including the need for money, changed peasants' behavior as regards attitudes towards the family, visible in the founding and duration of their households. We shall test the hypothesis through applying the cross-section method for the examined cohort of Podlasie peasants, i.e., the age declared by particular individuals at a determined moment in time, which we shall be synchronizing with individual life stages of the peasants in the family. This will allow us to follow dynamically the life cycles or life courses of the inhabitants of Podlasie villages. This approach, resulting from the sociological theory of the family development cycle,¹¹ is broadly applicable in the world demography of the past¹² and considerably

⁸ Danuta Markowska, *Rodzina w społeczności wiejskiej – ciągłość i zmiana* (Warszawa: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1976), 44; Ludwik Stomma, *Antropologia kultury wsi polskiej XIX wieku oraz wybrane eseje* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Piotr Dopierało, 2002), 253–254.

⁹ Chałasiński, *Młode pokolenie*, 138–139; Danuta Markowska, *Rodzina wiejska na Podlasiu 1864–1964* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1970), 85, 196; Bohdan Baranowski, *Życie codzienne wsi między Wartą a Pilicą* (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1969), 18; see also Stanisław Borowski, *Rozwarstwienie wsi Wielkopolskiej w latach 1807–1914. Studium statystyczne nad społecznymi i ekonomicznymi następstwami włączenia wsi w orbitę rynku* (Poznań: Rada Naukowo-Ekonomiczna przy Prezydium WRN w Poznaniu, 1962), 21, 82.

¹⁰ Markowska, *Rodzina w społeczności wiejskiej*, 131.

¹¹ Ewa Frątczak, *Modelowanie cyklu życia jednostki i rodziny. Teoria i praktyka* (Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza SGH, 1999), 39–87.

¹² See collected works in the volumes *The Family Life Cycle in European Societies*, ed. Jean Cuisenier, (Hague: Mouton de Gruyter, 1977); *Transitions. The Family and the Life Course in Historical Perspective*, ed. Tamara K. Hareven, (New York–San Sebastian–London: Academic

rarer in Polish historiography. In previous, infrequent, analyses of family forms in Polish-speaking lands from the end of the 18th century, peasants' life cycles have been observed only by Michał Kopczyński¹³ and Mikołaj Szołtysek,¹⁴ and in reference to a work on burghers by Cezary Kuklo.¹⁵ Polish literature still lacks attempts at demonstrating the typical life cycle of the individual in the village in the post-emancipation period, in the second half of the 19th century and the early 20th century.

The study covered the years 1843–1910. The start point and the basis for further comparisons is the year 1843, which will show the characteristic qualities of the Podlasie peasant's life cycle in the Grodno Governorate at the end of the late feudal period, which means before the agrarian reforms in Russia of 1861–1867.¹⁶ The upper cut-off point is 1910, which enables us to learn about the issue in the community of peasants living and working for nearly half a century in a legal and socio-economic environment which was different from that of their grandfathers and fathers. We are positive that this chronological perspective of nearly seven decades is sufficient for a detailed reconstruction of family development cycles observed in reference to individuals. However, striving to better track changes in time, we decided to observe, in a somewhat controlled manner, still another time interval, namely the year 1882.

In-depth studies covered the cohorts of peasants residing in the Roman-Catholic parish of Trzcianne, one of the most populated in Podlasie.¹⁷ The parish, with origins dating from the end of the 15th century, encompassed vast lands situated

Press, 1978); *Land, Kinship and Life-Cycle*, ed. Richard M. Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) and Richard Wall, "Leaving Home and the Process of Household Formation in Pre-Industrial England," *Continuity and Change* 2 (1987), 1: 77–101. For information on the achievements of the research perspectives of the developmental approach to the family structure, see Mikołaj Szołtysek, "Demografia historyczna i co dalej? Nowe perspektywy w badaniach nad historią rodziny XVI–XIX wieku," *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych* 62 (2003): 132–137.

¹³ Michał Kopczyński, "Cykl życia jednostki na wsi polskiej u schyłku XVIII wieku," *Studia Demograficzne* 127 (1997): 97–115; idem, *Studia nad rodziną chłopską w Koronie w XVII–XVIII wieku* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Krupski i S-ka, 1998), 115–167; idem, "Life Cycle of Individuals in the Country of Poland at the End of the 18th Century," *Polish Population Review* 10 (1997): 228–247; idem, "Life Cycle in the Polish Countryside in the Late 18th Century," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 97 (2008): 75–94.

¹⁴ Mikołaj Szołtysek, *Rethinking East-Central Europe: Family Systems and Co-Residence in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth*, vol. 1 (Bern: Peter Lang, 2015).

¹⁵ Cezary Kuklo, "Społeczno-demograficzny cykl życia człowieka w mieście staropolskim u schyłku XVIII wieku," *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych* 62 (2002): 85–105.

¹⁶ Similarly, Matti Polla, "Family Systems in Central Russia in the 1830 and 1890s," *The History of the Family* 11 (2006), 1: 28, who considers the functioning of the household system in the periods 1808–1834 and 1877–1897 and emphasizes the major change in peasants' business activity after their emancipation.

¹⁷ The small nobility group remains outside the scope of our research.

in the arch of two rivers, the Biebrza and the Narew.¹⁸ In the mid-19th century it included 55 villages and 10 manors of more affluent nobility.¹⁹ The majority of the 55 parish settlements in the 1840s consisted of 32 (58%) small villages of a maximum 10 houses, 20% of all the villages being settlements of fewer than 4 houses.²⁰ The latter were located far from the parish center, on the outskirts of woods and the Biebrza marshes. There were also, however, densely populated villages, since every fourth village had over 21 residential houses. Before the emancipation, peasants in the parish under scrutiny were legally situated in the group of private and state-owned peasants.

Within the church administration structure, the Parish of Trzcianne belonged to Białystok Deanery in the Diocese of Vilnius, and in the state administrative structure it was part of Białystok District in Białystok Oblast, which in 1842, by decree of Tsar Nicholas I, was included into the Grodno Governorate,²¹ one of the 9 western governorates of the empire.²²

Podlasie, the borderland between the Polish Crown and Lithuania, both in the Old Polish era, as well as in the later years of the Romanov empire, was a typically agricultural land, poor in natural resources. Even after emancipation, the standard of cultivation on peasant farms was still primitive, for the traditional three-field system dominated, although over the course of time it was replaced by the fallowless three-field system. In the Białystok district, in the territory of which the village community in this study lived, approximately two thirds of all the farmland belonged to peasants. In the nearest neighborhood, not far from the parish center (c. 30 km) were three small towns: Knyszyn, Tykocin and Goniądz, which at the end of the 19th century had c. 3,400–3,700 inhabitants each. A little farther, c. 50 km away, was the dynamically developing Białystok with its 62,000 residents in 1897. At that time, it constituted a considerable industrial center, since

¹⁸ Tomasz Jaszczółt, "Fundacje kościelne na Podlasiu do końca XV wieku," In: *Kościół a państwo na pograniczu polsko-litewsko-białoruskim. Źródła i stan badań*, eds. Marek Kietliński, Krzysztof Sychowicz, Wojciech Śleszyński (Białystok: Wydawnictwo Prymat Mariusz Śliwowski, 2005), 47; Wiesława Wernerowa, "Opisy parafii dekanatu augustowskiego z roku 1784," *Studia Podlaskie* 4 (1993): 222–224.

¹⁹ *Executorium Decretum De Limitibus Dioecesis Vilmensis Latum ab Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Domino Matropolitano Ignatio Hołowiński* (Vilnae, 1854), 80–81.

²⁰ Cezary Kukło, "Ludność parafii Trzcianne w świetle spisu wiernych z 1843 roku," *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 38 (2016), 3: 83–84, 95.

²¹ Adam Dobroński, ed., *Historia województwa podlaskiego* (Białystok: Instytut Wydawniczy Kreator, 2010), 141.

²² Russia created 9 governorates on the territories taken from Poland in the three partitions, which happened towards the end of the 18th century, over a surface area of 469,400 sq. km (including the Białystok Oblast taken from Prussia in 1807): 3 Lithuanian (Grodno, Vilnius and Kaunas), 3 Belorussian (Minsk, Mogilev and Vitebsk), and 3 Ukrainian (Volhynia, Podolia and Kiev). According to the first estimation for this area made in 1846, the population was 9.8 million, and in 1870, 12 million.

48% of its active population worked in industry and 14% in commerce. From 1873 onwards, the peasants of the Trzcianne parish began using, alongside the old ways and roads, the new railroad between Brest-Litovsk and Grajewo. The Brest–Grajewo railroad connected the direct rail traffic from Odessa via Kiev, Brest-Litovsk, Bielsk and Białystok to the frontier town of Grajewo and farther to Lyck and Königsberg, Prussia. One of the stations on the Brest–Grajewo Railroad was in Mońki, a place about 11 km from the parish center.

Sources. Data value

Adopting the family development cycle theory in this study required the analysis to be based on censuses. However, there are no such materials for the determined chronological period in the Grodno Governorate, and the only common census in the Romanov empire of 1897 did not include the information we need; detailed analyses were based on 3 parish population name lists compiled by the Catholic clergymen of the parish under scrutiny.²³ All three lists of parishioners for the years 1843, 1882 and 1910 were drawn up by the parish parsons who, when recording the parish residents, also used the work of their subordinates, vicars. At the moment the list was prepared, each of them had over a dozen years' work experience in the parish, and we may assume that they knew the parish very well. The name lists used here were prepared in subsequent villages and their homes. In the course of the operation to register the faithful, clergymen reached even small settlements, often of two or three cottages, located on the peripheries of the parish. It is important to underscore that the basic record unit in the registers, regardless of the time of their preparation, was always a single household. The first person named in the household was treated, both by those who recorded it, and hence also by us in these studies, as head of the household. Besides the personal data of particular residents with their age and marital status, they identified their position in the household. When enumerating the composition of the household, a particular hierarchy was preserved: the owners (husband, wife), their children, grandparents, servants, and lodgers. Then, in a similar hierarchy, the members of lodger families were noted. The children were classed by age order, first sons, and then daughters. The sources also identify the owners' parents and parents-in-law.

The form used to prepare the lists was modeled directly on *libri status animarum*, introduced into the Catholic Church in the first half of the 17th century, although it was not until the second half of the 18th century that they were commonly applied in parishes in the lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

²³ Archdiocese Archives in Białystok, Archives of the Roman Catholic parish in Trzcianne, List of parishioners from 1843; List of parishioners from 1882; List of parishioners from 1910.

Like many other sources, the parish name lists were not drawn up for the purposes of academic studies, hence the need for an evaluation of their research value. In the case of the pre-statistic material, an important issue remains establishing the size of the age concentration resulting from determining it roughly, commonly occurring, although at different intensity, among the population of low intellectual abilities, who did not know their precise age (see Table 1). When assessing the material, it is also important to determine the regularity in the share in the population of the youngest cohort of 0–14 years of age, more influenced by biological factors (the commonly established domination of boys among newborns and the higher mortality of men²⁴) than social, such as their share in the migration processes, as well as the share of the population of the old, 60 years of age and older. In the older age groups, besides the impact of the surroundings themselves, it was the migration movement that would shape the relationships between the two sexes. In this matter it is helpful to use the masculinity ratio, i.e., the proportion of men to 100 women (see Table 2).

Table 1. Values of Whipple's indexes, total modified Whipple's index (W_{tot}) and ABCC for peasants by sex in Trzcianne parish, 1843–1910

Sex	Indexes			Number
	Whipple's	Whipple's (W_{tot})	ABCC	
		1843		
Male	334	8.43	41.5	590
Female	343	8.57	39.4	651
Total	338	8.45	40.4	1,241
		1882		
Male	156	5.50	85.9	850
Female	165	5.83	83.8	917
Total	161	5.66	84.8	1,767
		1910		
Male	81	2.87	105	1,083
Female	107	2.89	100	1,205
Total	95	2.83	101	2,288

Source: Cezary Kuklo's data bank – List of Trzcianne parishioners from 1843; List of Trzcianne parishioners from 1882; List of Trzcianne parishioners from 1910.

²⁴ Jerzy Z. Holzer, *Demografia* (Warszawa: Polskie Wydawnictwo Ekonomiczne, 1999), 141; see also Alfred Perrenoud, "Le recul de la mortalité 'ordinaire,'" in: *Histoire des populations de l'Europe*, vol. 1: *La révolution démographique 1750–1914*, eds. Jean-Pierre Bardet, Jacques Dupâquier (Paris: Fayard, 1998), 57–62; Massimo Livi Bacci, *La population dans l'histoire de l'Europe* (Paris: Éditions du SEUIL, 1999), 229–234.

Table 2. Peasants' age structure with the masculinity ratio in Trzcianne parish, 1843–1910

Age	1843		1882		1910	
	%	M/100 F	%	M/100 F	%	M/100 F
0–14	36.4	95.2	37.3	101.0	37.6	95.4
15–59	58.6	86.3	56.1	96.8	55.5	89.8
60+	5.0	106.8	6.6	114.6	6.9	119.6
Total	100.0	90.4	100.0	99.4	100.0	93.7
Number	3,037	×	4,290	×	6,015	×

Source: Cezary Kuklo's data bank – List of Trzcianne parishioners from 1843; List of Trzcianne parishioners from 1882; List of Trzcianne parishioners from 1910.

Among the most often used statistical instruments in examining age concentration are three indexes: Whipple's index, the modified Whipple's index (W_{tot}) and the ABCC index. The first of these, somewhat classic now, since it was devised over half a century ago, measures concentrations around an age rounded to 0 or 5 and concerns cohorts from 23 to 62 years of age. A list is said to be high precision when the index values are below 105, whereas values above 175 indicate a very high age concentration and prove thereby low precision; such data are frequently described as “very primitive”.²⁵ Whipple's index, now already a classic, like many other statistical measures is far from being perfect, because younger (0–22 years) and older groups (63+ years) are not included. It also fails to detect possible concentrations on other figures, such as 2 or 6.²⁶ In recent years new interesting methodological proposals have emerged which, according to the authors, aim at a better approach to the scale of distortions of declared age. One of these was put forward by the American demographer, Thomas Spoorenberg, in *Population* (2007), calling the proposed measure the total modified Whipple's index Whipple's modified index (W_{tot}). It detects the power of cluster tendencies around each of the ten digits and may serve as a more accurate synthetic measurement of the quality of age declaration for the whole population, from the youngest to the oldest.²⁷ However, its interpretation is not very simple. Basically, the result may oscillate in a scale of 0–16. The lower the scale of distortions resulting from the cluster of declared age, the closer to 0 the result of the (W_{tot}) index.

²⁵ Mieczysław Kędzelski, Jan Paradysz, *Demografia* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Akademii Ekonomicznej w Poznaniu, 2006), 155–160.

²⁶ Certain researchers of the preindustrial population, e.g., Michał Kopczyński, illustrating the scale of distortions caused by the age concentration for the peasants of Kuyavia at the end of the 18th century, employ Meyers' index. See Kopczyński, *Studia*, 72–74.

²⁷ Tomas Spoorenberg, “La qualité des déclarations par âge extension et application de l'indice de Whipple modifié,” *Population* 62 (2007), 4: 847–859.

Two years later, yet another form of Whipple's transformed index was proposed by three scholars, Brian A'Hearn, Jörg Baten and Dorothee Crayen, the values of which fit the range of 0 to 100 and basically give information on the percentage of people giving their age, without rounding.²⁸ Their interesting proposal assumes that there is a strong correlation between the degree of the registered person's ignorance of their own age and their literacy and numeracy, indicating their limited contact with numbers.

Table 1 gives the Whipple's index, total modified Whipple's (W_{tot}) and ABCC values for the examined cohort of Trzcianne peasants, including their sex, in the years 1843–1910. The high Whipple's index values for the population of peasants of 1843 described here, 338, significantly exceed the upper limit of the 5-grade scale and prove their poor knowledge of their own age at the end of serfdom, although with a slight difference in favor of men.²⁹ The results of the modified Whipple's index (W_{tot}) confirm the observations made earlier, and the differences between the sexes turn out to be insignificant, which indicates a similar, very poor level of numeracy in the Trzcianne peasants. The visible convergence of both indexes, Whipple's and modified Whipple's (W_{tot}), is a consequence of the fact that peasants rounded their age primarily to years ending in 0 and 5. Twenty years before emancipation, nearly 60% of adult peasants in the cohort under scrutiny had a very poor knowledge of their actual age and therefore provided it rounded for the list.³⁰

Almost 40 years later, the peasants knew their age considerably better than their parents' generation, which is indicated by lower Whipple's index values

²⁸ Brian A'Hearn, Jörg Baten, Dorothee Crayen, "Quantifying Quantitative Literacy. Age Heaping and the History of Human Capital," *Journal of Economic History* 69 (2009), 3: 783–808. Its usefulness in Polish studies was first noticed by Radosław Poniak: "Starość ludzi luźnych. Aspekty demograficzne i ekonomiczne," in: *Ludzie starzy i starość na ziemiach polskich od XVIII do XXI wieku (na tle porównawczym)* vol. 1: *Metodologia, demografia, instytucje opieki*, eds. Agnieszka Janiak-Jasińska, Katarzyna Sierakowska, Andrzej Szwarz (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2016), 137.

²⁹ For example, not so distant in time, carried out just 20 years later, the census in Wielkopolska (Greater Poland, i.e., Poznań Province) of 1864 was characterized by a more accurate Whipple's index, at the level of 115.4; see Kędelski and Paradysz, *Demografia*, 159. Ewa Kaźmierczyk, "Spisy Komisji Porządkowej Cywilno-Wojskowej Województwa Krakowskiego jako źródło do badań demograficznych – przykład powiatu proszowickiego," *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 38 (2016), 2: 86–89, points to a considerable differentiation in the Whipple's index values in the parochial list of population drawn up in the years 1791–1792, independently of the size of the parish.

³⁰ There are opinions in the most recent literature which recognize the age concentration intensity as one of the indicators of social development of an old population; see Dorothee Crayen and Jörg Baten, "New Evidence and New Methods to Measure Human Capital Inequality before and During the Industrial Revolution. France and the US in the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries," *Economic History Review* 63 (2010), 2: 452–478. In the light of the ABCC index values calculated for the Trzcianne parish, we should consider its inhabitants as largely illiterate and devoid of wider contact with numbers, which does not seem entirely plausible.

of 161. Also, the clear fall in W_{tot} Whipple's index values confirms this: from 8.45 to 5.66. As late as the early 1880s, over 16% of women and over 14% of men rounded their ages up or down.

In comparison with the two earlier statistical examinations of Trzcianne's population, the list of the faithful compiled in 1910 stood out with its precision in the recorded age of the residents, since the Whipple's index value for the whole population was 95. In the five-grade scale its level indicates that the rate of error in age precision remains above 5%. It is also important to observe that it was still less precisely registered for women (107) than men (81). A clear improvement in the precision of registering the peasants' age is indicated by the falling values of Whipple's indexes (W_{tot}); by half in comparison with the previous cross-section, from 5.66 to 2.83. The exemplary values of ABCC indexes at level 101 indicate the progress which had been made over nearly 70 years in the age awareness between the generations of grandparents and their grandchildren. The latter were generally well aware of their age, in contrast to their fathers, not to mention their grandfathers. This phenomenon may be recognized as one of the first signs of the social modernization which was taking place at the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries.³¹

The data in Table 2 referring to the percentage of children and young people aged 0–14 in the individual parish lists, rising from 36.4 in 1843 to 37.6 in 1910, are fairly accurate, for with the high birth rate of that time, its value should oscillate at the level of c. 40% of the whole population. The slightly lowered percentage of children and adolescents was a result of the incomplete registration of the youngest and slightly older boys, especially in 1843 and 1910, which is indicated by an unnatural domination of girls over boys in the age group 0–14. The official population registry, while not free from defects and faults, but of better quality than church statistics, confirms, however, that in the 19th century there was a slightly higher number of boys than girls in the under-15 age group.³² This was by no means specific to the inhabitants of Polish-speaking lands; a similar dominance of boys in the analogous age group also characterized, for example, the population of France during the First and the Second Empires.³³

³¹ It is important to remember, however, that although the Whipple's index (W_{tot}) values for 1910 were far lower than the values of the same index for the census in Morocco in 1971 and in India in 1971–2001, they are also far from its values for the census in Switzerland in 1860 (0.40 for men and 0.48 for women), not to mention the census of 1900 (0.13 and 0.20 respectively), see Spoorenberg, "La qualité," 879.

³² Irena Gieysztorowa, *Wstęp do demografii staropolskiej* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1976), 103 – data for the Duchy of Warsaw in 1810 and the population of Polish-speaking lands around 1900; Kędzelski, Paradysz, *Demografia*, 156–157.

³³ Louis Henry and Yves Blayo, "La population de la France de 1740 à 1860," *Population* 30 (1975), 1: 92–93. See Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux, Sölvi Sogner, eds., *Socio-Economic*

In the same period, at the opposite end of the scale, the share of the population of 60 and over grew systematically, from 5% in 1843 to 6.9% in 1910. This indicator does not seem high. However, the dominance of men in this group, increasingly visible in subsequent lists (from c. 107 to 120 men to 100 women), raises the question whether the authors of the parish lists listed all the old women. The largest share of children and adolescents (37.6%) in the list of 1910 on the one hand, and on the other, the elderly population of over 60 year-olds (6.9%), even counting for errors in registration, may provide evidence that, at the turn of the 20th century, the Trzciannie peasants were going through the second phase of demographic transition (a decrease in mortality while the birth rate remained at the traditional, very high level, resulting also in a lengthening of the average life expectancy to 45).³⁴

The individual's life cycle 1843–1910

Before emancipation

During the decline of serfdom, the most numerous groups of residents in the Podlasie villages located in the western part of the Grodno Governorate were children, who constituted 42.2% of the whole population (see Table 3). It is worth adding that the date refers to children and grandchildren who had not yet started their own families and were still living in their family home, since married children were treated as relatives. The visible reduction in the percentage of children in the 10–14 age group, both boys and girls, in very similar proportions (73.5–75.3%), demonstrates that for around a quarter of them, the period of childhood was gradually coming to an end. In every subsequent age group, the share of single children is increasingly lower. By the age of 35 they had all started their own families, which may prove the enormous importance of the institution of marriage and the family issuing from it among serfs.³⁵ In those days, the phenomenon of permanent celibacy among Trzciannie peasants was almost entirely absent (this concerned 1 man and 2 women over 50)³⁶.

Along with the decrease in the proportion of children, the growth in the percentage of home servants is noticeable. In the villages in the western part of the

Consequences of Sex-Ratios in Historical perspective, 1500–1900 (Milano: Università Bocconi, 1994).

³⁴ Holzer, *Demografia*, 19.

³⁵ Markowska, *Rodzina wiejska*, 129.

³⁶ Old bachelors and old manhood were rare in the villages of serfdom – see Baranowski, *Życie*, 125; Andrzej Woźniak, *Kultura mazowieckiej wsi pańszczyźnianej XVIII i początku XIX wieku* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1987), 87.

Grodno Governorate, a job as a servant was not a rare phenomenon and engaged 11.8% of men and 8.8% of women. This small difference in number resulted from

Table 3. Peasants by their status in the household in Trzciannie parish, 1843 (%)

Age	Status in the household					Total	Number
	Male						
	chil- dren	servants	heads of household	relatives	lodgers		
0–4	100.0	–	–	–	–	100	194
5–9	95.8	0.6	–	3.0	0.6	100	167
10–14	75.3	12.6	–	10.3	1.7	100	174
15–19	48.2	29.2	1.8	19.0	1.8	100	168
20–24	24.7	29.9	26.0	17.5	1.9	100	154
25–29	6.4	17.3	50.0	24.5	1.8	100	110
30–34	2.7	9.1	71.8	15.5	0.9	100	110
35–39	–	9.1	81.8	9.1	0.0	100	34
40–44	–	5.2	90.5	1.7	2.6	100	116
45–49	–	12.1	87.9	–	–	100	33
50–54	–	4.9	90.2	3.7	1.2	100	82
55–59	–	7.1	85.7	7.1	–	100	14
60–64	–	7.7	79.5	5.1	7.7	100	39
65+	–	2.7	66.7	16.7	13.9	100	36
Total	42.9	11.8	33.5	10.0	1.7	100	×
Number	614	169	479	143	25		1,430
Female							
	chil- dren	servants	household- ers' wives	independent heads of households	relatives	lodgers	
0–4	100.0	–	–	–	–	–	100 193
5–9	96.9	–	–	–	2.1	1.0	100 192
10–14	73.5	12.4	–	–	11.2	2.9	100 170
15–19	49.3	24.0	5.5	0.5	16.1	4.6	100 217
20–24	17.8	18.9	29.4	2.2	26.1	5.6	100 180
25–29	6.3	5.4	60.4	5.4	22.5	–	100 111
30–34	2.0	11.5	66.9	8.1	7.4	4.1	100 148
35–39	–	2.4	80.5	9.8	7.3	–	100 41
40–44	1.1	4.3	68.1	17.0	4.3	5.3	100 94
45–49	–	2.4	63.4	14.6	19.5	–	100 41
50–54	–	2.7	46.8	18.9	26.1	5.4	100 111
55–59	–	–	36.4	9.1	18.2	36.4	100 11
60–64	–	–	29.4	11.8	52.9	5.9	100 34
65+	–	–	20.0	11.4	51.5	17.1	100 35
Total	41.4	8.8	27.1	5.0	14.1	3.5	100 ×
Number	654	139	427	79	223	56	× 1,578

Source: Cezary Kuklo's data bank – List of Trzciannie parishioners from 1843.

the character of the farm, where there was a higher demand for the hard physical work of men (primarily plowing, harrowing, haymaking etc.) than of women (to a higher degree, work in the garden and the cowshed). It is important to note that the percentage of servants was not stable in the subsequent age groups, and its peak was in men in the 15–19 and 20–24 age groups (29.2%–29.9%), whereas in women it was in the 15–19 age group (24%). A job as a hired hand or paid female servant in the circumstances of a serf village was neither a discrediting occupation nor a permanent one in most cases but enabled them to earn their own money and gave them a faster start in adult life.³⁷ First observations on the basis of an analysis of family names indicate that male and female servants were recruited from householders and their neighbors' relatives. Besides, they had a distinctive demographic characteristic, since 70% of the men and as many as 77% of the women in the servant group were young people under 25, so younger than the average age of marriage. In the first half of the 19th century peasants married on average at the age of 26, and women at 22 (first marriage). Thus, we can assume that service was a stage in the life of young Podlasie peasants before emancipation. The situation was similar in the previous period (until the end of the 18th century) in many other regions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth,³⁸ not to mention Western Europe.³⁹

In the data in columns two, three and four of Table 3, we can see the dependence between the fall in the proportion of children and the growth in the proportion of male hands and female servants as well as between the age of assuming the function of householder and the fall in the percentage of hired servants. Adulthood

³⁷ Tomasz Wiślicz, *Upodobanie. Małżeństwo i związki nieformalne na wsi polskiej XVII–XVIII wieku* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Chronicon, 2012), 59. For more on domestic service and its amount in pre-industrial Europe, see Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux, ed., *Domestic Service and the Formation of European Identity. Understanding the Globalization of Domestic Work, 16th–21st Centuries* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2004).

³⁸ See Koczyński, *Studia*, 119–137; Szoltysek, *Rethinking*, 319–401, points out considerable differences in the scale of the number of servants between the regions, the highest being in the West of Poland (over 13% of the whole population and present in over 39% of households) and the land of Belarus and northern Ukraine (not more than 2.5% of the population and 10% of households), 329–331.

³⁹ Peter Laslett, "Characteristics of the Western Family Considered Over Time," in: Peter Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations. Essays in Historical Sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 12–49; Ann Kussmaul, *Servants in husbandry in early-modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Michael Mitterauer, "Servants and Youth," *Continuity and Change* 5 (1990), 1: 11–38; Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux, "Pour une histoire européenne du service domestique à l'époque préindustrielle," in: *Le phénomène de la domesticité en Europe, XVIe–XXe siècles*, eds. Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux, Ludmila Fialová (Praha: Česká Demografická Společnost Sociologický Ústav AV ČR, 1997), 57–73; Frans van Poppel, Michel Oris, "Introduction," in: *The Road to Independence. Leaving Home in Western and Eastern Societies, 16th–20th Centuries*, eds. Frans van Poppel, Michel Oris, James Lee (Bern: Peter Lang, 2004), 1–29.

combined with marriage and taking control over the household in Podlasie villages in the declining phase of late serfdom actually occurred in men after the age of 25. In the 25–29 and 29–34 age ranges married men made up, respectively, 50% and nearly 72%, although some of them started their families a little earlier: 26% at the age of 20–24. The share of men who were heads of households increased proportionally with their age and was the highest in the range 50–54, at over 90%. However, what is most conspicuous is the high percentage of old men as heads of households. As many as two thirds of men aged 65 and older were still managers of their own households. The data seem to be evidence that peasants sought to remain in the position of householder for as long as possible. They realized that with passing the household to a younger descendant their social and economic status would be reduced. A radical change in the social status of elderly people at the moment of ceding the land to the children and their transition from “dożycie” (life annuity) into a worse position, both in the closest small family group as well as in the larger community of the whole village, is testified by numerous ethnological studies.⁴⁰

Among women, marriage and taking the position of mistress of the house was similar to those of men, even though by the time they were 40, a tenth of them had to manage the household alone, either due to her husband’s conscription into the tsar’s army or because of his death. Women usually became heads of their households at the age of 40–54. Generally, however, the share of women as heads of household in the Podlasie village was not very high, since they managed 79 out of 558 households (14.2%). Most of these, over 68%, were landless households.

Previous, scarce, studies on peasants’ life cycle to the end of the 18th century showed that relatives in the household were usually old people.⁴¹ However, among the dwellers of peasants’ cottages in the villages of northern Podlasie (14.1% women and 10% men) very few counted as the oldest residents, at least in reference to men. From 143 relatives, as many as 126 men (88%) were under 35, whereas the share of 60 year-olds and older was a mere 5.6%. In contrast, female relatives followed a different demographic pattern. Only 141 out of 223, i.e., 63.2% were young women under 35, while 16.1% were old women of 60 and above. In the Trzcianne peasant community, relatives were usually unmarried siblings of the

⁴⁰ See Danuta Markowska, “Z problematyki zmian struktury rodziny (rodzina wielopokoleniowa a ludzie starzy),” in: *Zmiany kultury chłopskiej. Problematyka i metody prac etnograficznych*, ed. Kazimiera Zawistowicz-Adamska (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1973), 156; Woźniak, *Kultura*, 114; Bartłomiej Gapiński, *Ludzie starzy na wsi polskiej od schyłku XIX wieku po rok 1939* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Nauka i Innowacje, 2014), 100–102. Leon Dyczewski expresses a dissenting opinion, see *Ludzie starzy i starość w społeczeństwie i kulturze* (Lublin: Redakcja Wydawnictw KUL, 1994), 15. According to him, old people in Christianized Europe occupied a high social position and enjoyed great prestige.

⁴¹ Kopczyński, *Studia*, 150–153.

householder and the mistress of the household (53 households), married children in the households of the parents or parents-in-law (45 households); both parents of the householder and his wife (31 households), as well as the mother and the mother-in-law of the householder (4 households). The share of other ascending relatives (uncles, aunts) and descending relatives (nephews) was merely symbolic.

In addition, so-called *kątnicy* (sing. *kątnik*, a landless lodger) were, although relatively seldom, members of peasant households in the early 1840s. Women (3.5%) were represented in this role twice as often as men (1.7%). As seen in Table 3, they were a very diverse group in terms of age. Looking at their demographic profile, where over half of the men and nearly 59% of the women were in their prime, since they had not turned 40, we can risk the hypothesis that they added to the workforce in the household. In contrast to paid servants, they could work for bed and board only. Only 32% of lodger men and 14.3% of lodger women were old people (60+).

Twenty years after the abolition of serfdom

In the early 1880s, peasant households functioned in new legal and economic circumstances. First of all, peasants were personally free; they could leave their family home in search of better living conditions. Money was of increasing importance in their lives, for it was necessary to pay installments related to buying out the land, taxes or purchasing a new plot of land. Many years after the enfranchisement, land still remained an omnipotent value in the socio-economic life of villagers, and its possession was a major determiner for not only concluding a marriage, but also economic trips taken by both young unmarried men, and even mature heads of the family.⁴²

It is important to underscore that Podlasie peasants, as in other western governorates of the Empire, purchased land at considerably reduced prices, for work on the master's field was exchanged for a 20% reduction in rent. Moreover, the basis for calculating the buyout of the land value was the quality of the soil, so the rule was fairer for the peasant than the renter in accordance with the reform of 1861.⁴³ The emancipation reform in private villages of the Białystok Oblast resulted in the structure of self-sustainable farm-households, because farms over 10 tithes (over 19.5 morgens), recognized as self-sustainable, made up over 62% of the total, and made up as much as 85% of the total area of peasant farms around 1870.⁴⁴

⁴² Markowska, *Rodzina wiejska*, 200; Markowska, *Rodzina w społeczności wiejskiej*, 128–129; Jadwiga Kucharska, “Stosunek do ziemi jako podstawy bytu mieszkańców wsi kujawskiej (wstępne wyniki badań z 1970 r.),” in: *Zmiany kultury chłopskiej*, 225–226.

⁴³ Szumski, “Uwłaszczenie,” 26–27.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, 35, Table 1.

Some of the families functioning at that time had been started before the emancipation, while some of them were started after the reforms of the years 1861–1863. Did the socio-economic transformations (development of the not-very-distant Białystok industrial district) have any impact on the previous behavior of individuals in terms of marriage, which was of key importance for the founding and functioning of peasants' households?

The data in Table 4 referring to the position of an individual in a household in 1882 show two very important issues. In comparison with 1843, one can see a clear growth in the percentage of children, from 42.2% to 53.8%, who even today make up the most numerous groups of residents. However, the growth did not refer to the same degree to all age groups but primarily occurred in three ranges: e.g., 10–24, so it concerned older children and young people. This was by no means a result of the higher fertility of mothers, who had already given birth via natural fertility, but was due to no occurrence of young people as hired workers. We may hypothesise that in the new economic situation, it ceased to be profitable for the previous householders to employ paid staff in the form of male hands or female servants. This loss of workforce could be compensated to a certain degree by keeping adult sons a little longer at home, since at 20–24 only slightly above 15% were heads of their own households in comparison with 26% in 1843. Above 25 years of age, peasants' sons (including their remarriages) were starting families even faster than 40 years previously. However, what is striking is the not inconsiderable share of old men among heads of household. If, before the emancipation, the proportion of householders had clearly shrunk when they turned 55, this was now occurring ten years later. However, even if they had turned 65, nearly 92% of them still remained heads of their households.

In the first two decades after emancipation, peasants' daughters over the age of 20 married even more frequently than in the previous period, the evidence of which are the percentages of mistresses of the household in the subsequent age ranges. In comparison with the period of serfdom, they became independent managers of households only at a later age, when they turned 55. In the 55–59 and 60–64 age ranges, independent female heads of household constituted over 14% of women in these age groups. Nevertheless, the post-emancipation period is characterized by the progressive diminishing in importance of single women farmers. In 1882 they managed only 7% of all farm households.

Even though in the early 1880s, the group of relatives decreased to 6.3% in men and 11.2% in women, the demographic profile of the group of men, which is worth noting, remained the same. Among them, young people still dominated (72% under 35, 82% under 40), and the percentage of old men was minimal, a mere 3.7%. More significant changes occurred among women, for the percentage of young

women shrank clearly from 63.2% in 1843 to 46.3% in 1882, with a simultaneous growing share of old women from 16.1% to 27.9%.

Among relatives, as in the previous period, most common were the unmarried siblings of the householders and their wives (52 households); the householder's mother and mother-in-law (45 households); married children in their parents and parents-in-laws' households (39 households), both the householder and his wife's parents (22 households), as well as the householder's father and father-in-law (6 households).

The share of lodgers as members of peasants' households, small (2.7%) before the emancipation, became even more insignificant after the agrarian reforms in the early 1860s, since both sexes jointly made up fewer than 0.5% of the residents.

Before the outbreak of World War I

At the beginning of the 20th century, peasant family members in Trzcianne no longer knew the reality of serfdom. At most, they could have heard of it from the few remaining members of the oldest generation. Instead, they saw changes in the rural areas of the Grodno Governorate (although not as intense as in the Kingdom of Poland), the progressive territorial mobility of their neighbors, including economic emigration; they had begun to use transport on roads and railroads, and had certainly heard of, or perhaps even been to, the dynamically developing Białystok, the leading town in the whole region and an industrial center, the population of which reached approximately 82,500 in 1910.⁴⁵

Comparing the data in Table 5 for the year 1910 with the data from nearly 30 years previously (Table 4), more similarities than fundamental differences can be seen. Among children, still the most numerous group among the residents (56.7%), there were few people who had never married and had remained single. What attracts the attention is the slower pace of starting families. In 1882, at the age of 20–24, every sixth man, and in the next age group (25–29) every other man, was the head of his own household. In 1910, heads of household in the same age groups were, respectively, only 9% and nearly 41% of men. The share of householders grew systematically up to the age of 55 in men, and the fall in the proportion in subsequent years occurred at the cost of an increase in the percentage of relatives. Worth noting is that heads of household in the Podlasie village remained in that position for longer, because the share of old householders of 65 and more increased up to nearly 93%.

⁴⁵ Adam Dobroński, *Białystok. Historia miasta* (Białystok: Zarząd Miasta Białegostoku, 2001), 91 – c. 66% were Jews, 18.2% Poles, 7.8% Russians, 5.8% Germans and 2% Belarussian.

Table 4. Peasants by their status in the household in Trzcianne parish, 1882 (%)

Age	Status in the household				Total	Number	
Male							
	children	heads of household	relatives	lodgers			
0–4	100.0	–	–	–	100	295	
5–9	99.6	–	0.4	–	100	263	
10–14	95.8	–	3.8	0.4	100	240	
15–19	88.1	2.0	9.5	0.4	100	253	
20–24	69.0	15.2	15.8	–	100	184	
25–29	31.6	51.3	17.1	–	100	117	
30–34	8.1	82.2	9.6	–	100	135	
35–39	2.7	83.2	12.4	1.8	100	113	
40–44	0.8	93.6	5.6	–	100	125	
45–49	1.1	92.4	5.4	1.1	100	92	
50–54	–	96.1	3.9	–	100	103	
55–59	–	94.3	3.8	1.9	100	53	
60–64	–	98.4	1.6	–	100	64	
65+	–	91.7	6.0	2.3	100	84	
Total	56.1	37.2	6.3	0.4	100	×	
Number	1,190	789	134	8	×	2,139	
Female							
	children	householders' wives	independent heads of household	relatives	lodgers		
0–4	100.0	–	–	–	–	100	287
5–9	97.5	–	–	2.5	–	100	276
10–14	94.7	–	–	5.3	–	100	226
15–19	91.9	2.3	–	5.9	–	100	221
20–24	49.7	32.5	0.5	16.8	0.5	100	197
25–29	12.9	70.2	1.7	14.6	0.6	100	178
30–34	6.1	76.2	4.9	12.2	0.6	100	164
35–39	5.3	85.8	3.5	5.3	–	100	113
40–44	–	85.5	4.8	8.9	0.8	100	124
45–49	–	82.9	5.7	11.4	–	100	70
50–54	–	65.2	8.7	26.1	–	100	92
55–59	–	61.4	14.0	22.8	1.8	100	57
60–64	–	38.6	14.3	44.3	2.9	100	70
65+	–	18.6	11.9	61.0	8.5	100	59
Total	52.0	33.4	2.8	11.2	0.6	100	×
Number	1,110	713	59	240	12	×	2,134

Source: Cezary Kuklo's data bank – List of Trzcianne parishioners from 1882.

Table 5. Peasants by their status in the household in Trzcianne parish, 1910 (%)

Age	Status in the household				Total	Number	
Male							
	children	heads of household	relatives	lodgers			
0–4	99.4	–	0.6	–	100	316	
5–9	99.3	–	0.7	–	100	403	
10–14	98.4	–	1.6	–	100	385	
15–19	96.8	1.1	2.1	–	100	372	
20–24	83.4	9.0	7.6	–	100	211	
25–29	38.3	40.9	20.8	–	100	149	
30–34	7.7	76.9	14.6	0.8	100	130	
35–39	3.7	82.2	14.1	–	100	135	
40–44	0.5	90.7	8.8	–	100	215	
45–49	0.7	96.5	2.8	–	100	142	
50–54	0.7	99.3	–	–	100	146	
55–59	–	97.4	1.3	1.3	100	80	
60–64	–	96.2	2.8	1.0	100	106	
65+	–	92.6	5.8	1.6	100	120	
Total	58.6	36.6	4.7	0.1	100	×	
Number	1,704	1,064	138	4	×	2,910	
Female							
	children	householders' wives	independent heads of household	relatives	lodgers		
0–4	99.1	–	–	0.9	–	100	338
5–9	99.1	–	–	0.9	–	100	463
10–14	98.0	–	–	2.0	–	100	356
15–19	92.8	0.6	0.3	6.3	–	100	378
20–24	55.2	25.8	1.3	17.7	–	100	299
25–29	16.0	62.7	3.3	18.0	–	100	150
30–34	7.5	74.2	10.1	8.2	–	100	159
35–39	2.2	79.3	8.9	9.6	–	100	179
40–44	0.3	84.6	8.8	6.3	–	100	240
45–49	–	84.7	9.2	6.1	–	100	131
50–54	–	64.4	21.2	13.7	0.7	100	146
55–59	1.3	68.8	18.2	10.4	1.3	100	77
60–64	–	51.5	15.8	32.7	–	100	101
65+	–	28.9	13.3	55.4	2.4	100	83
Total	54.9	31.3	4.7	9.0	0.1	100	×
Number	1,701	970	147	278	4	×	3,100

Source: Cezary Kuklo's data bank – List of Trzcianne parishioners, 1910.

Among women, over a quarter at 20–24 had married and achieved the status of householder's wife, while in the next age range (25–29) nearly two thirds were in this situation (almost 63%). The highest share of mistresses of the household were in the 40–50 age group, and after that, some of them had to manage the household alone. It is worth noting that whereas in the initial period following emancipation, the percentage of women's households reduced to 7%, and independent mistresses of the household were a mere 2.8% of the whole female population, in the first decade of the 20th century they managed 12.1% of all households in the village, while constituting 4.7% of all women.

The number of relatives of both sexes who were members of peasants' households declined further, to 4.7% of men and 9.0% of women. In comparison with the previous period, there were no significant changes in this group. Young men under 35 (61.6%) still prevailed, although the percentage of the oldest men had nearly doubled from 3.7% to 7.2%. Among women, the proportions of young and old relatives remained at a very similar level in comparison with the years 1882, at 47.1% and 28.4% respectively.

Discussion

In the light of the date referred to, there is no doubt that the agrarian reforms in Russia carried out in the years 1881–1863 affected, although not immediately, the lives of families and thereby transformations in the social structure of the village in the western part of the Grodno Governorate.⁴⁶ The most important change in the social structure of the rural population was the decrease in the importance of servants in the peasant economy after the abolition of serfdom, which

⁴⁶ In Matti Polla's opinion, the emancipation of peasants in Russia had a major impact on the family system, for the "agrarian-oriented family system" in the 1830s (marriages were concluded at a very young age, multi-generation households made up two thirds of the total, there was absolutely no household without a married couple, complex households constituted 80% of the total, the average size of the household was 8 people), changed into the "handicrafts, trade and suburban family system" (marriages after the age of 20; over 85% of women and over 90% of men married before 30, 9% of households did not include a married couple, 19% were complex households, and average size was 4.8 people), see Polla, "Family," 42. Among more recent works it is worth quoting Boris N. Mironov's opinion ("Long-Term Trends in the Development in Christian Russia from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Centuries: An Analytical Overview of Historiography," *Journal of Family History* 41 (2016), 4) that from the 18th century to the mid-19th century, in many regions of Russia the percentage of extended and complex peasant families showed a rising trend and they dominated among the whole population (361–363), whereas after the abolition of serfdom the percentage of simple families grew and the average size of household was reduced (365). However, Mironov observes that in Russia it is difficult to consider serfdom as the reason for the occurrence of complex families, for after its abolition the increase in the share of simple families was not rapid but slow and gradual: Mironov, "Long-Term Trends," 370.

now functioned in the market economy. By the second decade after emancipation it is difficult to find paid servants in peasants' households recruited from sons and daughters, the children of closer and more remote neighbors, the majority of whom were now staying longer in their parents' home. This is clearly visible in the data in Table 6, which shows the pace at which children left their parents' households before and after emancipation. Following Richard Wall, we identify the index with the pace of children leaving their parents' households, even though it is obvious that it also provides us with the number of children remaining in their parents' home.⁴⁷ It represents rates of the simple index, the basis of which is the number of children aged 5–9. Clear disproportions in older age groups above the age of 10 cannot be explained with mortality, like the decrease in the groups of 0–4 and 5–9, since they are primarily evidence of leaving family homes and joining the ranks of servants. In 1843, in Podlasie villages, the pace that younger children in the group of 10–14 year-olds left home was not very fast, affecting only 18% of boys but as many as 33% of girls, who even until the beginning of the 20th century always, and this is worth emphasizing, left their parents' households earlier. A clear acceleration occurred in the next two age groups: index 51 in the group of 15–19 year-olds, and even 24 in the group of 20–24 year-old men, as well as, respectively, index 58 and 17 in women. We have already mentioned the convergence between leaving parents' houses and the growth in the proportion of servants (see Table 3).

Table 6. The rate at which children left their family home in Trzcianne parish, 1843–1910

Age	1843		1882		1910	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
	Indexes					
5–9	100	100	100	100	100	100
10–14	82	67	88	80	95	76
15–19	51	58	85	75	90	76
20–24	24	17	48	36	44	36
25–29	4	4	14	9	24	5
30+	2	2	6	6	5	4

Source: Cezary Kuklo's data bank – List of Trzcianne parishioners from 1843; List of Trzcianne parishioners from 1882; List of Trzcianne parishioners from 1910.

⁴⁷ Here we use the method applied by Richard Wall in "Leaving Home."

After emancipation, the pace at which the younger generation left their parents' household was not only slower, but over the years 1882–1910, there was a tendency to postpone the very moment of leaving. The index of decrease in boys in the 15–19 age group, which came to 51 before emancipation, was 85 in 1882, whereas in 1910, it was 90. In the next group, 20–24, its values were respectively 24–48 and 44. Similarly peasants' daughters also left the family home more slowly.

In the western villages of the Grodno Governorate after emancipation, being a servant ceased to be a stage in the life of the young, which resulted in this group vanishing by the early 1880s.⁴⁸ When we describe the phenomenon we cannot omit an important question, which was, both before and after emancipation, the demand for labor. Whereas before emancipation, peasants doing a high amount of work in serfdom compensated for a deficit of labor by employing male hands and female servants, after the agrarian reforms they tried to keep their adult children a few years longer, postponing their becoming independent. It is important to note that in 1843, in the 20–24 age group, 26% of men were already householders, while in the next decade this number was exactly 50%, whereas in 1910 the proportions were, respectively, 9% and nearly 41%. It also seems possible to accept that in certain households, instead of permanent servants present throughout the year, the household workforce would be supplemented by farmworkers employed on a daily basis at harvest time. This was primarily men and, to a lesser degree, women. Some of them could have come from the landless population, although the number of landless households was quite considerably reduced, but only at the beginning of the 20th century (1844: 28.1%; 1882: 26.6%; 1910: 12.2%). Here, the point was to minimize the expenses connected with the year-round maintenance of servants. On the other hand, we know that noble neighbors tried to employ waged workers on their farms, for example, from the beginning of April until the end of harvest, but not in the period of late fall and winter.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ The reduction of servants in peasant households in the second half of the century is observable in Western Europe, for example in England: see Sheila McIsaac Cooper, "From Family Member to Employee: Aspects of Continuity and Discontinuity in English Domestic Service, 1600–2000," in: *Domestic Service and the Formation of European Identity. Understanding the Globalization of Domestic Work, 16th–21st Centuries*, ed. Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux (Bern: Peter Lang, 2004), 288–289; but also in Czech Lands: see Ludmila Fialová, "Domestic Staff in the Czech Lands as the Turn of the 19th and 20th Centuries in the Light of Statistical Figures," in: *Domestic Service*, 148.

⁴⁹ Eryk Kotkowicz, "Wieś i dwór podlaski z przełomu XIX i XX wieku w świetle wspomnień i pamiętników," in: *Wolni i uwłaszczeni. Chłopi a przemiany społeczno-gospodarcze i polityczne w Europie Wschodniej w XIX i na początku XX wieku*, ed. Dorota Michaluk (Ciechanowiec: Muzeum Rolnictwa im. ks. K. Kluka w Ciechanowcu – Urząd Marszałkowski Województwa Podlaskiego, 2017), 93–94.

When considering the impact of the reforms, we cannot ignore the fate of old people in the rural environment, which was highly diverse if we consider their sex. Over the years 1843–1910 one can see a big group, still growing in the subsequent lists, of elderly householders aged 65 and above. If, before emancipation, householders made up only two thirds of all men over 65, in 1910 they constituted nearly 93%. Of course, the proportions of householders' wives also grew from 20% to nearly 29%, and, to a lesser extent, independent female heads of household, from 11.4% to 13.3%. This demonstrates a peculiar calculation of the householders to remain as long as possible in the position achieved in the hierarchy of the rural community. Also, at the beginning of the 20th century, they were convinced that passing the management of the household on to younger hands (the son or son-in-law's) was tantamount to a visible decrease in prestige and a less secure fate in the future. It is important to add that old age had two different faces. It changed less in men's lives. In 1843, they mostly (almost 67%) still managed their households, nearly 17% were relatives in the household of married children, and less than 14% were put up at strangers' houses. At the same time, nearly a third of old women acted as the householder's wife or managed the household alone. They were relatives in the family of their married children three times as often as men (51.5%), and one in six of them was a lodger. Almost half a century after emancipation, old male peasants had visibly increased their presence in the group of householders and only a few of them lived the life of a relative. Indeed, the joint percentage of householders' wives and independent female heads of household rose from 31.4% to 42.2%, but still over a half of them (55.4%) lived as a relative. At the same time, the number of female lodgers was obviously reduced, since the percentage decreased from 17.1% in 1843 to a mere 2.4% in 1910.

The decreasing number of the 'relatives' group in the years 1843–1910, from 12.2% to 6.9%, allows us to hypothesize that there was a progressing nuclearization of family units, resulting in the reduction of the share of extended and complex households, which may be modest evidence of the modernizing attitudes of Podlasie peasants. Simultaneously, this would mean a breakthrough in the previous caring function of the rural family, which earlier had secured assistance and care for the old members of the households who were not able to cope by themselves. In our opinion, emancipation also strengthened the status of the head of the household, who now became its legal owner, and was thus much more powerful than in the previous period. Thereby, he could have a stronger impact on the younger generation, since he had more material resources for transferral or division, even though, in a way, he had to take into consideration the rules of inheritance. However, in the new legal and economic situation, the place of relatives (especially those more distant) as cohabitants became insecure. First observations of the structure of the Trzcianne peasants' household structure with the

use of Peter Laslett's typology demonstrate a growth in the percentage of simple households from nearly 66% to nearly 76%, with a simultaneous reduction in the share of the families of extended and complex structure from almost 31% to 22%.

In the context of our data based on over 1,200 peasant households, the sociologist Danuta Markowska's hypothesis outlined forty years ago, based on the observation of the communities of two villages, Chrołowice and Wólka Zamkowa (nearly 30 farms each), that "the patriarchal multi-generation family was only a transient phenomenon, characteristic of the phase of transformation from feudal to capitalistic relations in agriculture," can hardly be recognized as referring to all Podlasie villages located in the western part of the Grodno Governorate. In the period 1880–1900, the percentage of multi-generation families was 55% in Chrołowice and 32% in Wólka Zamkowa.⁵⁰

In light of the previous deliberations, even though without final establishments in terms of the size of families depending on the sex and age of the head of the household, it is, however, worth trying to answer the question: Was the individual's life cycle connected with peasants' family strategies in Podlasie villages located in the western part of the Grodno Governorate in the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century more similar to the Russian model or did it reflect the qualities of the West or Central European model?⁵¹ Seeing the considerable presence of life cycle servants, and then their disappearance after emancipation,⁵² the stable age of men's marriages throughout this period (26), and of women (22) (thus, older than the age of peasants in ethnic Russian lands⁵³), a low percentage of relatives in the population, as well as marriage being an important element in

⁵⁰ Markowska, *Rodzina wiejska*, 195.

⁵¹ Peter Laslett, "Family and Household as Work Group and Kin Group: Areas of Traditional Europe Compared," in: *Family Forms in Historic Europe*, eds. Richard Wall, Jean Robin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 518. He described the characteristics of the population and family households in modern Europe from many perspectives: demographic, the foundation of a new household, family composition, and the productive and caring functions of the household. However, Plakans, "Agrarian," 78, like many other authors, points out that within the loosely determined regions, including the eastern zone, we cannot rule out considerable fluctuations in the functioning of households.

⁵² In peasants' households in central Russia there were no servants and hands, for whom work, like in the West, was a traditional stage in the life of a young person. See Plakans, "Agrarian," 83.

⁵³ The issue of comparative studies in the case of the Romanov empire is not simple due to its size, and the age at marriage of peasants (both men and women) in Russia was diverse. In the southern part, in the Elary of the 1830s, in Mishino, men were on average 18.7 years old at marriage; women 19.4; in the central part, in Voshchaznikovo, 25.5 and 20.7 respectively; and this did not change very much in the 1880s, which can be seen in the data for the village of Drakino: bachelors were 21.2 and maids 20.7: see Polla, "Family," 29, 35. See also the family characteristics of Eastern Europe in Plakans, "Agrarian," 77–80. It is enough to remind ourselves that Laslett primarily considered the low percentage of those marrying as one of the characteristic qualities of the Central European model, whereas later works demonstrated that marriage was common in the region whereas celibacy was not.

founding a household, there are definitely more similarities to the model of peasants' households in Central Europe than those in the East.

In this similarity of the Podlasie village to other rural communities in Central Europe, the high percentage of simple households and relatively low percentage of extended and complex households, which in the Russian model exceeded at least a half of all, also cannot be ignored.⁵⁴

Conclusion

The data presented in the paper allow us to draw, with high probability, the following conclusions on the trend in the life cycle of peasants in the village under serfdom and after their emancipation, including their sexes. In the first period, childhood ended relatively soon, usually after 10 years of age, since a group of older boys were hired as paid workers. For the subsequent 10 years an increasing group of them joined the ranks of servants, because being a servant was not a discrediting occupation and for most of them it was just a transitional stage of life. A more serious change in Podlasie serfs' lives occurred at around 30 years of age. The group of unmarried men diminished, like the group of servants, and half of the men managed the household, which they passed to the younger generation after they turned 55. Men acted as relatives more seldom than women; they were mostly young and able to work hard, which enriched the household workforce.

Women's life cycle had the same stages as their brothers', even though it was moved in time. Also, peasants' daughters, when older, found paid jobs as servants and left their parents' households sooner than their brothers, which was also related to their earlier marriage. However, after 40, they experienced widowhood more often than men, which was usually tantamount to becoming an independent head of the household. In the village, under serfdom, they managed every seventh household. Most of them lived modest lives. Over a half were housed as relatives with the families of their married children, and almost one in five lived until their death renting at strangers' houses.

⁵⁴ In the early 1830s in southern Russia complex households alone made up over 74% (Mishino), in the central part over 80% (Manuilovskoe) but only 19% in Voshchaznikovo. After emancipation, in fact, the percentage of complex households was reduced to nearly 26% in Kostroma, to over 42% in Drakino, but including extended families, more complex structures still made up c. 43%–66% of all households: compare Polla, "Family," 29, 35. Currently, the broadest characteristics of family structures in different regions of Russia from the 16th century to the beginning of the 20th century can be found in Mironov's book: see Boris N. Mironov, *Rossijskaja imperija: ot tradicii k moderny*, vol. 1 (Sankt Peterburg: Sankt-Peterburgskij Gosudarstviennyj Universitet, 2014).

Nearly half a century after emancipation, at the threshold of the 20th century, peasants' sons remained in their parents' households for much longer, with certain exceptions until the age of 25. The changed economic and legal circumstances of the functioning of the peasant household after the agrarian reforms forced them to abandon the family home, which was tantamount to the elimination of the customary second stage in their lives, i.e., temporary manual work. Assuming the position of head of the household took place slightly later than during serfdom, but they also remained longer in this position, practically until the age of 65. Throughout their lives, most of the Podlasie peasants independently managed their own household, for they hardly ever lived as relatives with the families of their married children.

Peasants' daughters, like their brothers, did not experience temporary work as female servants and until the age of 20 they remained in their parents' household. They started their own family as a result of marriage within the following 10 years of life. Only after 50, i.e., ten years later in comparison with the period of serfdom, did they more often become heads of households, as a result of their husbands' death. They were independent managers of every eighth peasant household. Towards the end of their lives, having turned 65, their social situation was far worse than that of men at the same age, but slightly better than that of their grandmothers in the last decades of serfdom. A half of them lived their final years with their married children, but over 42% were either householders' wives or independent heads of households.

In the light of the materials used, it seems justified to detect an atomization of Podlasie peasant families at the turn of the 20th century, and the fact that the fundamental elements of the family system of Podlasie peasants living in the Grodno Governorate were more similar to Western Europe than Russia. It is important, however, to emphasize that in the light of newer literature on the subject, both European and Russian family patterns were not always as homogeneous as they had been perceived as late as half a century ago (e.g., John Hajnal, or the early works of Peter Laslett).

We would like to do further research on marital behaviors and arranging the foundations of peasant and petty nobility households in Podlasie in the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century in the broader economic, social and environmental context. This should allow us to not only include the influence of different external factors, but also to scrutinize their mutual effect on each other.⁵⁵ For, as Andrejs Plakans observes, "Historical research has been far more successful in *describing* changes in family characteristics quantitatively

⁵⁵ Mironov, "Long-term Trends," 371, also points this out, underscoring the joint effect of social, economic, legal and psychological factors on the family structure.

than in *explaining* what provoked them.”⁵⁶ It would also be desirable to continue the research with a greater amount of data for other territories of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

This is important, as the shelves in the church archives contain hundreds of parish nominative registers of the faithful compiled in the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century. Even though they are not perfect sources, through their uniform method of providing data they allow us to very well apply research methods from the arsenal of humanities and social sciences, such as the Laslett-Hammel method employed by us, due to which we can go deeper into family life, the basic group of the rural community, and into its manifold and multi-dimensional determinants in the late feudal and post-affranchising period.

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⁵⁶ Plakans, “Agrarian,” 76.

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Did the Abolition of Serfdom Affect the Life Cycle of Peasants in the Western Part of the Grodno Governorate in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries?

Summary

The objective of the article is an attempt to answer the question if the agrarian reforms of the 1860s carried out in Russia affected the individual's life cycle in Catholic families of peasants in Podlasie, which, after 1807, was included in the Grodno Governorate. In Polish historiography the subject of the individual and the family's life cycle in the 19th century has not yet been adequately researched. Hence these studies are supposed to fill this gap, at least in part. In this paper, a cross-section analysis of demographic phenomena was employed, which is based on three lists of the inhabitants of the large Podlasie parish of Trzcianne, compiled in the years 1843–1910. In 1843, the cohort of Trzcianne peasants included over 2,000 people, in 1882 nearly 4,300, and in 1910 over 6,000 people. The research value of the lists was evaluated with the help of three indexes: Whipple's index, modified Whipple's index (W_{tot}) and ABCC. The register of the faithful compiled in 1910, in comparison with two earlier statistical representations of the population of Trzcianne parish, stood out clearly with its meticulousness in terms of the residents' ages recorded in it.

The application of the cross-section method aimed at illustrating the dependence between the age and the status of the individual (children, household servants, householders, independent female heads of households, relatives and lodgers) in the household. The article devotes more attention to the pace of children's leaving family homes, as well as the status of old people, i.e., 65 years old and older, always including their sex.

The results of the study show that towards the end of serfdom, childhood ended relatively soon, usually after 10 years of age, since the group of older boys were hired as paid workers. For the subsequent 10 years an increasing group of them joined the ranks of servants, because being a servant was not a discrediting occupation and for most of them it was just a transitional stage of life. A more serious change in Podlasie serfs' lives occurred at around 30 years of age. The group of unmarried men diminished, just like the group of servants, and half of the men managed their own household which they passed on to the younger generation after they turned 55. Men lived as relatives in their family's household more seldom than women; they were mostly young and able to work hard, which enriched the household workforce.

Women's life cycle had the same stages as their brothers', even though it was moved in time. Furthermore, peasants' daughters, when older, found paid work as servants and left their parents' households sooner than their brothers, which was also related to their earlier marriage. However, after 40, they experienced widowhood more often than men, which was usually tantamount to becoming an independent head of household. In the village under serfdom, they managed every seventh household. Most of them lived modest lives. Over a half of them were housed as relatives with the families of their married children, and almost one in five lived until death renting at strangers' houses.

Nearly half a century after emancipation, on the threshold of the 20th century, peasants' sons remained in their parents' households much longer, with certain exceptions until the age of 25. The changed economic and legal circumstances of the functioning of the peasant household after the agrarian reforms forced them to abandon the family home, which was tantamount to the elimination of the customary second stage in their lives, which was temporary work as labourers. Assuming the position of manager of the household took place slightly later than in the period of serfdom, but they also remained longer in this position, practically until the age of 65. Throughout their lives, most of the Podlasie peasants experienced the independent managing of their own household, for they hardly ever lived as relatives in the families of their married children.

Peasants' daughters, like their brothers, did not experience temporary work as female servants and until the age of 20 they remained in their parents' household. They started their own family as a result of marriage within the following 10 years of life. Only after 50, i.e., ten years later in comparison with the period of serfdom, did they more often become heads of households, as a result of their husbands' death. They were independent heads of every eighth peasant household. Towards the end of their lives, having turned 65, their social situation was far worse than that of men at the same age, but slightly better than that of their grandmothers during the last decades of serfdom. Half of them still lived their final years with their married children, but over 42% were either householders' wives or independent heads of households.

In the light of the materials used, it seems justified to detect an atomization of Podlasie peasant families at the turn of the 20th century, and the fact that the fundamental elements of the family system of the Podlasie peasants living in the Grodno Governorate were more similar to Western Europe than Russia.

Czy uwłaszczenie wpłynęło na cykl życiowy chłopów w zachodniej części guberni grodzieńskiej w XIX i początkach XX wieku?

Streszczenie

Celem artykułu jest próba odpowiedzi na pytanie, czy reformy agrarne lat 60. XIX wieku przeprowadzone w Rosji wpłynęły na cykl życia jednostki w rodzinach katolickich chłopów na Podlasiu, które po 1807 roku zostało włączone w skład guberni grodzieńskiej. W polskiej historiografii temat cyklu życia jednostki i rodziny w XIX wieku jest nieopracowany, zatem niniejsze badania mają wspomnianą lukę choć w części wypełnić. W pracy posłużono się metodą przekrojową, opartą na trzech spisach mieszkańców dużej parafii podlaskiej Trzcianne, sporządzonych w latach 1843–1910. Kohorta chłopów trzciańskich w 1843 roku liczyła ponad 2 tys. osób, w 1882 r. – blisko 4,3 tys. osób, zaś w 1910 r. – ponad 6 tys. osób. Wartość badawczą spisów oceniono, stosując trzy indeksy: Whipple'a, zmodyfikowany Whipple'a (W_{tot}) oraz ABCC. Zrealizowany w 1910 roku

spis wiernych, na tle dwóch wcześniejszych ujęć statystycznych ludności badanej parafii, wyróżniał się zdecydowanie dokładnością w zakresie odnotowanego w nim wieku mieszkańców.

Zastosowanie przekrojowej analizy zjawisk demograficznych miało na celu zobrazowanie zależności między wiekiem a pozycją jednostki (dzieci, służba domowa, gospodarze, samodzielne kierowniczkę gospodarstw, krewni i kątnicy) w gospodarstwie domowym. W artykule w większym stopniu zwrócono uwagę na tempo opuszczania przez dzieci chłopskie domu rodzinnego oraz na pozycję ludzi starych, to jest w wieku 65 i więcej lat, zawsze z uwzględnieniem ich płci.

Wyniki badania wskazują, że u schyłku doby pańszczyźnianej dzieciństwo kończyło się stosunkowo szybko, zazwyczaj po 10. roku życia, gdyż już część starszych chłopców wynajmowała się do płatnej pracy najemnej. Przez następne 10 lat życia coraz większa ich grupa zasilala szeregi czeladzi, ale dla większości praca w charakterze parobka była jedynie przejściowym etapem w życiu. Poważniejsza zmiana w życiu podlaskich chłopów pańszczyźnianych dokonywała się około 30. roku życia. Małeje grupa synów bezzennych, podobnie jak i grupa służących, a połowa mężczyzn kieruje gospodarstwem domowym, które przekazują w ręce młodszego pokolenia po przekroczeniu 55 lat życia. Mężczyźni rzadziej niż kobiety występowali w roli krewnych, w większości byli młodzi i zdolni do pracy fizycznej, dzięki czemu wzbogacali zasób siły roboczej gospodarstwa.

Cykl życiowy kobiety w okresie dzieciństwa i młodości był podobny do ich braci, choć nieco przesunięty w czasie. Także córki chłopskie w starszym wieku najmowały się do płatnej służby i szybciej niż bracia opuszczały gospodarstwo rodziców, nie bez związku z wczesnym zamążpójściem. Jednakże po ukończeniu 40 lat częściej niż mężczyźni doświadczały wdowieństwa, które było równoznaczne zazwyczaj z objęciem funkcji samodzielnej kierowniczkę gospodarstwa. Na wsi pańszczyźnianej kierowały co siódmym gospodarstwem domowym. W dotychczasowym cyklu ich życia w porównaniu z mężczyznami wiele zmieniała starość. Większość z nich wiodła skromny żywot. Ponad połowa zamieszkiwała kątę jako krewnie w rodzinach pożenionych dzieci i prawie co piąta dożywała, podnajmując kąt u obcych ludzi.

Blisko pół wieku po uwłaszczeniu, na progu XX wieku, synowie chłopscy pozostawali w gospodarstwie rodziców znacznie dłużej, z pewnymi wyjątkami, aż do 25. roku życia. Zmienione warunki ekonomiczne i prawne funkcjonowania gospodarstwa chłopskiego po reformach agrarnych wymusiły porzucenie przez nich wczesnego opuszczania domu rodzinnego, co było równoznaczne z likwidacją zwyczajowego drugiego etapu w ich życiu, to jest okresowego najmowania się do pracy w charakterze parobków. Przejęcie funkcji kierownika gospodarstwa domowego następowało trochę później niż w dobie pańszczyźnianej, ale też dłużej pozostawali oni na funkcji, praktycznie aż do 65. roku życia. Większość chłopów podlaskich w całym swoim dorosłym życiu doświadczała samodzielnego kierowania własnym gospodarstwem, gdyż bardzo rzadko występowali oni w charakterze krewnych w rodzinach pożenionych dzieci.

Córki chłopskie, podobnie jak ich bracia, nie znały okresowej pracy w charakterze dziewczek służebnych i aż do ukończenia 20 lat pozostawały w gospodarstwie rodziców. Opuszczenie przez nie dotychczasowego gniazda rodzinnego w wyniku zamążpójścia następowało w następnych 10 latach życia. Dopiero po ukończeniu 50 lat, a więc dziesięć lat później w porównaniu z epoką pańszczyźnianą, częściej stawały na czele gospodarstw na skutek śmierci męża. Kierowały samodzielnie co ósmym gospodarstwem chłopskim. U schyłku swojego życia po przekroczeniu 65 lat ich położenie społeczne było dużo gorsze niż mężczyzn w tym samym wieku, ale trochę lepsze niż ich babek w ostatnich dekadach funkcjonowania pańszczyzny. Wprawdzie nadal ponad połowa z nich przeżywała swoje ostatnie lata u boku pożenionych dzieci, ale ponad 42% było albo żonami gospodarzy, albo samodzielnymi kierowniczkami gospodarstw.

W świetle spożytkowanych materiałów wydaje się być uprawnione stwierdzenie o zarysowującej się atomizacji rodziny chłopów podlaskich w końcu XIX i początkach XX wieku oraz że podstawowe elementy systemu rodzinnego chłopów podlaskich zamieszkałych w guberni grodzieńskiej były bardziej podobne do Europy Zachodniej niż do Rosji.



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The Register of the Dead from Cholera in Vilnius Pohulanka Hospital in 1831 as a Source for Demographic and Social Studies*

Księga metryczna umarłych na cholereę w szpitalu na wileńskiej Pohulance w 1831 roku jako źródło do badań społeczno-demograficznych

Abstract

During the first cholera epidemic in Vilnius in 1831, a hospital for cholera patients was set up in the Pohulanka district. Over a thousand patients were treated there, of whom approximately half died. Although it was intended for the Roman Catholic population, people of various faiths were admitted. The article is an attempt at a demographic and social analysis of those who died during the epidemic, with the source for the research the Register of those who died of cholera, drawn

Abstrakt

W czasie pierwszej epidemii cholery w Wilnie w 1831 roku, w dzielnicy Pohulanka powstał szpital dla chorych na cholereę. Leczyło się w nim ponad tysiąc pacjentów, z czego około połowa z nich zmarła. Choć docelowo przeznaczono go dla ludności rzymsko-katolickiej, przyjmowano tu osoby różnych wyznań. Artykuł jest próbą analizy demograficznej i społecznej zmarłych w czasie epidemii chorych, a źródłem do badań była Księga metryczna zmarłych na cholereę sporządzona

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up and kept between April 10, 1831 and January 3, 1832 by Father Kazimierz Kontrym. Thanks to the preserved data, it was possible to determine the age structure of 553 men and women, their religion, social status, information on whether they received the last rites and where they were buried.

Keywords

register, cholera epidemics, hospital, Vilnius, Pohulanka, the dead, demography

i prowadzona w okresie od 10 kwietnia 1831 roku do 3 stycznia 1832 roku przez ks. Kazimierza Kontryma. Dzięki zachowanym danym odtworzono strukturę wiekową 553 mężczyzn i kobiet, określono ich wyznanie, stan społeczny, a także uzyskano informacje na temat przyjęcia sakramentów oraz miejsca pochówku.

Słowa kluczowe

księga metryczna, epidemie cholery, szpital, Wilno, Pohulanka, zmarli, demografia

The area where cholera occurred (and still occurs) endemically is north-eastern India, more precisely the river basins of the Ganges and Brahmaputra as well as the historic province of Bengal situated between them. Since the first confirmed outbreak of cholera outside that region in 1817 and its spread around south-east Asia and northern Africa, many chronological divisions of the pandemic have been made. Regarding the 19th century, most scholars distinguish five pandemics, although they would not always agree on their beginning and ending dates.¹ This article shall focus on one year only, 1831, from the period of the second pandemic which I date to the years 1826–1837.

¹ For instance, Myron Echenberg provides the following chronology: 1817–1826, 1828–1836, 1839–1861, 1863–1879, 1881–1896, 1899–1947. Christopher Hamlin distinguished pandemics from: 1817–1824, 1829–1851, 1852–1859, 1860–1875, 1881–1895, 1899–1923 and the seventh, which began in 1960. Richard Evans proposed another series, namely the years 1817–1823, 1826–1837, 1842–1859, 1863–1875, 1881–1896 and 1899–1923. According to Stefan Winkle, cholera pandemics occurred in the years 1817–23, 1826–1837, 1841–1862, 1864–1875 and 1882–1896, whereas according to the Lithuanian doctor and historian of medicine Vytautas Siudikas, they were in the years 1817–1823, 1826–1837, 1846–1862, 1864–1875, 1883–1896 and 1901–1926. It is worth quoting yet another version provided by Grigorij Arhangel'ski. In his doctoral MD dissertation, written in 1874, he described three pandemics with the first one encompassing the years 1817–1838 (hence for other researchers this is the first and the second pandemic), the second falling in 1841–61 and the third in 1865–1872. Myron Echenberg, *Africa in the Time of Cholera. A History of Pandemics from 1815 to the Present* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 15, 18, 23, 26; Christopher Hamlin, *Cholera. The Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 4; Richard J. Evans, "Epidemics and Revolutions: Cholera in Nineteenth-century Europe," in: *Epidemics and Ideas. Essays on the Historical Perception of Pestilence*, eds. Terence Ranger, Paul Slac (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 151; Stefan Winkle, *Kulturgeschichte der Seuchen* (Düsseldorf–Zürich: Komet, 1997), 161, 165, 188, 210, 215; Lietuvos nacionalinė Martyno Mažvydo biblioteka – Vilnius (hereafter: LNB) LI 98/18081: Vytautas Siudikas, *Choleros epidemijos Lietuvoje 1831–1921 metais*, daktaro disertacijos santrauka, mašinraštis (Kaunas: Kauno medicinos

The year 1831 was exceptional, since it was then that cholera occurred for the first time in the European governorates of the Russian Empire and in Europe itself, causing havoc, fear and mass psychosis everywhere. Initially, it embraced 48 Russian governorates, where 466,000 people fell sick and 197,000 of them (42%) died. In the meantime, the disease continued its march westwards. In January of the same year, it reached Galicia, in February the Kingdom of Poland (in Warsaw the first cases were reported in April), in May it arrived in Germany and Austria, by June it was in Hungary, Moldavia, Wallachia, Bulgaria, Romania and Constantinople, in August in Berlin and Vienna, and in October it reached England.² The “purple death”³ killed most victims there, where population density was the highest; therefore, in towns and cities. Before it arrived in the British Isles, from the 360,000 inhabitants of Saint Petersburg 9,247 became ill, with 4,757 (i.e., 51.4%) dying. It was a similar case in Moscow, where from 350,000 citizens 8,576 fell sick and 4,690 of them died (54.6%). As for Western European cities, in Vienna, from 300,000 inhabitants 3,980 became infected and 1,899 died (47.7%), in Berlin, from 240,000 inhabitants 2,220 caught the disease and 1,401 succumbed to it (63.1%), in Prague, where 96,600 people lived, there were 3,234 sick, of whom 1,333 died (41.3%).⁴

At that time, Vilnius was not as densely populated, since if we accept the accounts of Michał Baliński, in 1832 it had 35,922 inhabitants,⁵ yet even if it is compared with cities of 100,000 inhabitants, such as Prague or Hamburg, the incidence and mortality was much higher there. Within the 9 months of the epidemic in Vilnius, i.e., from April 5 to December 18, 1831, 3,706 people contracted the disease and 1,772 of them died. The incidence rate (per 1,000) totaled, therefore, 103.2, while the mortality rate amounted to 48.3 (per 1,000) and the morbidity indicator equaled 47.8%. It was by far the highest rate among all the cholera epidemics that the city experienced in the 19th century. In the same governorate, a similarly unfortunate situation occurred only in the land district of Vilnius,

akademija Lietuvos medicinos ir farmacijos istorijos muziejus, 1998), 3; Grigorij Arhangel'skij, *Holernyâ epidemii v Evropejskoj Rossii v 50-ti-letnij period 1823–1872 gg.*, dissertaciâ na stepen' doktora mediciny (S. Peterburg: Tipografiâ M. Stasûleviča, 1874), 90, 136, 169, 199.

² M.I. Afanas'ev, P.B. Vaks', eds., *Azâatskaâ holera. V szatom' monografičeskom' izložeenii* (S. Peterburg: Izdane žurnala Sovremennaâ Medicina i Gigena, 1904), 6.

³ Cholera was called “the purple death” due to the color of the afflicted person's skin which, in the advanced stage of the disease, turned purple. This is how it was referred to by, among others, Jürgen Osterhammel, *Historia XIX wieku. Przeobrażenie świata* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie 2013), 255.

⁴ S.L. Kotar, J.E. Gessler, *Cholera. A Worldwide History* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co, 2014), 346.

⁵ Michał Baliński, *Opisanie statystyczne miasta Wilna* (Wilno: Józef Zawadzki własnym nakładem, 1835), 64.

where 4,492 fell sick, 2,091 died and mortality reached 46.5%.⁶ It must be highlighted that the data are only an estimate, since neither the actual number of sick nor deceased is certain (the Jewish population would oftentimes conceal cases of infection or even of death from the disease⁷), nor the precise number of inhabitants of the town or the province.⁸

It is difficult to say how the disease came to the city, yet it appeared in the Jewish population and the military troops stationed there almost simultaneously. Since for some time there was no certainty as to whether it was, in fact, the Asian cholera, on April 9, 1831 (four days after reports of the first cases), the civilian governor Dymitrij Michajłowicz Obreskow asked professors at the Medical Department of Vilnius University, Andrzej Śniadecki, Jan Berkman, Konstanty Porcyanko, Adolf Abicht and Józef Bielkiewicz, to examine the sick and to submit their conclusions to the medical faculty. By the following day, the professors had dispelled any doubts as to the nature of the disease and on April 11, under the leadership of Andrzej Śniadecki, the Governorate Committee for Cholera began its work.⁹ In accordance with an Announcement by the minister of home affairs, Count Arsenij Andreevič Zakrevski, from September 14, 1830, in Vilnius as well as in all of the governorate, recommended hygiene, sanitary and medical countermeasures began to be implemented.¹⁰ Unfortunately, none of these stopped the development of the disease, neither did the incidence or mortality decrease, which

⁶ In the whole governorate during the first epidemic a total of 15,436 people became infected, 6,548 of whom died, with a mortality rate of 42.4%. The data were calculated on the basis of weekly messages and reports of the health condition of the governorate inhabitants: Rossijskij Gosudarstvennyj Istorickij Arhiv – St Petersburg (hereafter: RGIA) f. 1297, op. 57, d. 157, k. 29, 37, 39, 41, 44, 47, 49, 54, 55, 57, 61, 63, 65–66, 67v, 68–69, 71, 73, 75–76, 78–79, 91–93, 98, 100, 105, 109, 111, 113, 115, 117, 125, 127, 129, 131, 133, 137, 142, 147, 149, 153–154, 161, 163, 165, 167, 174, 176, 178, 180, 182, 184, 188, 190, 192, 194, 196, 201, 205, 207, 212, 214, 216, 218, 220, 224; RGIA f. 1297, op. 57, d. 200, k. 145; Lietuvos Valstybės Istorijos Archyvas – Vilnius (hereafter: LVIA) f. 378, apr. b/s 1831, svnt. 1788 [mf, ds. 1], l. 179; Gosudarstvennyj Arhiv Rossijskoj Federacii – Moskva (hereafter: GARF) f. 109, op. 171, ed.hr. 107 mf, k. 8 ob., 19b, 25, 28; GARF f. 109, op. 171. ed.hr. 108 mf, k. 18; Rossijskij Gosudarstvennyj Voenno-Istorickij Arhiv – Moskva (hereafter: RGVIA) f. 846, op. 16, t. 1 č. 11/1 d. 5083, k. 25, 27; Lietuvos Mokslų Akademijos Vrublevskių Biblioteka – Rankraščių skyrius (hereafter: LMAVB RS), F318–220: *Księga metryczna umarłych z cholery w mieście Wilnie roku 1831 przez księdza Kazimierza Kontryma Zakonu Dominikańskiego Kapelana w Szpitalu Cholerycznym sporządzona*, l. 1–66.

⁷ LVIA f. 378, apr. b/s 1831, svnt. 1788 [mf, d. 2], l. 108v.

⁸ The population figures quoted by Michał Baliński were called into serious doubt by Adam Honory Kirkor. He recalls that in 1830 Witold Chodźko estimated it at 50,000, with 30,000 in Vilnius itself, whereas the governmental news in 1836 reported there were 56,135 inhabitants. Adam Honory Kirkor, “Ludność miasta Wilna,” *Teka Wileńska* 3 (1858): 201.

⁹ LVIA f. 720 apr. 1 svnt. 96, l. 103–103v.; Iwona Janicka, “Walka wileńskich lekarzy z pierwszą epidemią cholery,” *Forum Bibliotek Medycznych* 8 (2015), 2: 308.

¹⁰ LVIA f. 378, apr. b/s 1830, svnt. 463, l. 6–7v.

throughout the whole of the 19th century remained at approximately 30% practically everywhere.

There were many reasons behind such a high mortality rate and indeed, it was hard to decide which one was of highest priority. Apart from the condition of the patient (past diseases, resilience, strength, body build etc.), the method of treatment was also crucial. During the first and second pandemics, methods and medications tested by English physicians treating soldiers stationed in India were mostly relied upon.¹¹ Their articles were translated into Russian,¹² including one by a surgeon from the Doctors' Committee in Bengal, James Johnson, who wrote "The influence of tropical climates on European constitutions," (first published in 1818 in London and later in 1821). In Russia, the work was published under the title "Describing the Indian Cholera." The means recommended in it, including calomel and enemas, were used throughout the 19th century.¹³ The range of medicines was wide and depended on the sole discretion of the physician and the condition of the patient. The most often used drugs were laudanum (opium), ipecacuanha, camphor, ammonia and bismuth compounds¹⁴ as well as various drops, for example, Inoziemcev's, Botkin's, and Hofman's.¹⁵ Along with these, cupping therapy was applied (*wezykatorie* or *kataplazmy*), cold and steam baths were used, bloodletting was sometimes administered (in this case, physicians were not in agreement as far as the positive results of that method were

¹¹ In 1817 British physicians sitting on the Bengal Council of Doctors recommended treating cholera in four stages, an idea which they had partially taken from Indian Ayurveda practice. The therapy was based on serving alcohol in the first stage in order to invigorate the sick, applying laudanum in the second to calm the stomach and intestines; in the third stage laxatives such as calomel or various salts were administered to dispose of the "sickly secretions" and finally, in the fourth stage, a diet restoring the normal function of the bowels was followed. Echenberg, *Africa*, 10.

¹² In the first half of the 19th century, translations of medical literature constituted 75% of all the medical books published in Russian at the time. An increase in the tendency to translate occurred after 1820. While in 1811–1820 11 translations were published, in the next decade, i.e., 1821–1830, there were 69, while in the years 1831–1840 there were as many as 107. Nikoláj A. Semaško, ed., "Medicinskaâ literature," in: *Bol'shaâ Medicinskaâ Ènciklopediâ*, vol. 27 (Moskva: Sovetskaâ ènciklopediâ, 1936), 550.

¹³ James Johnson, *The Influence of Tropical Climates on European Constitutions* (Portsmouth: Mottley and Harrison, 1818), 222–224, accessed February 9, 2020, <https://wellcomelibrary.org/item/b21061129>.

¹⁴ Adam Szarszewski, "Epidemie cholery w Gdańsku w XIX wieku," in: *Dżuma, ospa, cholera. W trzechsetną rocznicę wielkiej epidemii w Gdańsku i na ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej w latach 1708–1711. Materiały z konferencji naukowej*, ed. Edmund Kizik (Gdańsk: Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Gdańska, 2012), 198–199; LMAVB RS F21–975: *Medyciniški užrašai: receptai, ligos, ligų gydymas, vaistų gaminimas ir t.t. nežinomo asmens surašyti apie XIX a. pradžią*, 38–38v.

¹⁵ Afanas'ev, Vaks, ed., *Azâatskaâ holera*, 78–79.

concerned).¹⁶ Despite the repertoire of treatments, many of the sick were beyond saving. The Russian Ministry of Home Affairs, having admitted to being helpless to some extent, had even announced something of a contest for the best treatise on cholera and the methods for its successful treatment.¹⁷ There was, however, a condition set, which was that the methods for its treatment should take into consideration the location, i.e., the Russian, not Indian, conditions the disease had developed in.¹⁸ The advertisement was successful, as in a short time innumerable entries began to flood the Medical Council: treatises, reports and even recipes, which the Medical Department was supposed to examine and recommend (or reject). Among the numerous cures suggested there were plenty referred to as “miraculous” or “the only effective”, which in reality were merely quack remedies, not only posing risks to health but also threatening the lives of patients. Such dangerous forms of treatment based on the “hit and miss” method were practiced all over Europe. Myron Echenberg notes that Parisian doctors would place hot iron on the spines or heels of their patients, replace electrolytes with hot or cold water orally or through the rectum or administer alcohol and morphine. As he writes, there was a “[m]isunderstanding of cholera’s mode of attack on the human body,” and applying the wrong therapy often led to the patient’s death rather than their recovery.¹⁹

The spread and the course of the disease were greatly influenced by the mismanaged prophylactics. They were nearly identical to that of a plague epidemic (quarantines, sanitary cordons, bans on public gatherings, travel bans). Some of the measures, quarantine in particular, had been criticized since the first epidemic, yet despite this, practically throughout the whole of the 19th century, they were introduced due to a lack of alternative ideas.²⁰ The living conditions of the population were also of importance. Hygiene and sanitary conditions in homes in villages and towns, as well as their surrounding areas, left much to be desired. Insufficient access to clean water was a common problem.²¹ Taking all these factors

¹⁶ Vilniaus Universiteto biblioteka – Rankraščių Skyrius (hereafter: VUB RS) F24–111: *Pietraszkiewicz Onufry, Laiškai*, 1830, 9; *Tygodnik Petersburski* 41, part 2 (October 15, 1830), 336; I.V. Popov’, *Ob’ aziatskoj holere i merah’ predohraneniâ ot’ neâ. Dlä selskih’ žitelej*, izd. 2 (Moskva: Tipografiâ D.I. Inozemceva, 1893), 16.

¹⁷ For the best treatise written in Russian, German, English or Italian the Russian government offered 25 thousand rubels (approx. 1000 pounds). Kotar, Gessler, *Cholera*, 36.

¹⁸ GARF f. 109, op. 170, ed.hr. 226 mf, k. 8–9.

¹⁹ Echenberg, *Africa*, 10.

²⁰ Arhangel’skij, *Holernyâ èpidemii*, 107–108; Anne Hardy, “Cholera, Quarantine and the English Preventive System, 1850–1895,” *Medical History* 37 (1993): 251, accessed on February 11, 2020, <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/medical-history/article/cholera-quarantine-and-the-english-preventive-system>.

²¹ In Vilnius the waterwork network was very poor and those that existed were in dire condition, especially the wooden ones built at the start of the 16th century. They began to be exchanged

into account, cholera found perfect conditions in Vilnius for its development and spread among the inhabitants.

Great attention has already been paid to both the clinical side of cholera in selected communities as well as its course.²² Despite this, there is still a shortage of partial research regarding demographic and social issues, especially the structure, age, gender and social status of the sick.²³ The *Register of the Dead from Cholera in the City of Vilnius in the Year 1831...* sheds more light on that matter, although only in terms of the deceased. Its author was the current chaplain of the cholera hospital in Pohulanka, a priest called Kazimierz Kontrym.²⁴ The *Book* is

with cast iron ones as late as the 1870s. Public reservoirs were spas – during the first epidemic only two existed – the university one at the tower of the Church of St. John and the other at the barracks of St. Ignatius. Due to a lack of control over their conditions they were badly neglected. It was a similar case with the sewage system, which began to be built at the end of the 18th century. One underground canal was constructed at the time (financed by the Jesuits) but until the 1880s there were only six underground canals in total. Henryk Jenz, *Wodociągi i kanalizacja miasta Wilna* (Wilno: Wydawnictwo Magistratu m. Wilna, 1932), 15; Iwona Janicka, *Kultura higieniczna miasta Wilna* (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2009), 147, 155.

²² From among Polish writers, works by the following might be quoted: Marek Paweł Czaplinski, *Epidemie cholery w rejencji opolskiej w latach 1831–1894* (Rybnik: Stowarzyszenie Humanistyczne Europa, Śląsk, Świat Najmniejszy, 2012); Włodzimierz Kaczorowski, ed., *Zapobieganie epidemii cholery w rejencji opolskiej w latach 1831–1832 w świetle przepisów sanitarno-medycznych* (Opole: Archiwum Państwowe, 1996). In international historiography we have the works of Kseniâ Sergeevna Barabanova, *Ėpidemiâ holery v Sankt-Peterburge v 1831 g.: vlast' i graždane v usloviâh črezvyčajnoj situacii*, dissertaciâ na soiskanie učenój stepeni kandydata istoričeskikh nauk (na pravah rukopisi) (Sankt-Peterburg: FGBUN Sankt-Peterburgskij Instytut Istorii Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk, 2017), accessed on February 1, 2020, <https://www.dissercat.com/content/epidemiya-kholery-v-sankt-peterburge-v-1831-g-vlast-i-gorozhane-v-usloviyakh-črezvychajnoi>; Echenberg, *Africa*; Kotar, Gessler, *Cholera*; Hamlin, *Cholera*; Richard J. Evans, *Death in Hamburg. Society and Politics in the Cholera Years 1830–1910* (New York: Penguin Groups, 1987).

²³ Such partial studies regarding Poland were conducted by, among others, Konrad Wnęć, “Epidemia cholery w Krakowie w 1866 roku. Analiza demograficzna i przestrzenna,” *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 37 (2015), 3: 93–117; Leon Dudrewicz, “Cholera w Kałuszynie w 1867 roku – karta z dziejów epidemii w Królestwie Polskim,” *Rocznik Mińsko-Mazowiecki* 20 (2012): 219–224. The area of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania was studied by, among others, LNB LI 98/18081: Siudikas, *Choleros epidemijos*.

²⁴ We do not have much information on the priest Kazimierz Kontrym. He was certainly a Dominican and in the 1840s was transferred by the diocese authorities to a newly built church in Werekji (Grodno gov.), of which he was the first rector: Stowarzyszenie Rodów Grodzieńskich, “Był sobie szlachcic niegodny pochówku...,” accessed on February 5, 2020, <https://www.rodygrodzienskie.pl/byl-sobie-szlachcic-niegodny-pochowku/>. Both in the hospital in Vilnius where he worked during the epidemic, as well as later in the parish church, he filled in the *Register* himself, attempting to provide as much of the required information as possible. Often, having got to know his parishioners, he would add acerbic remarks, such as “terrible drunkard”. In a letter to Michał Romer, Zofia Niesiołowska wrote of him: “a priest of great reason and prudence”. Despite that, he “had a misunderstanding with the Orthodox community surrounding us and the bishop was forced to get rid of him from there for the sake of everyone’s peace, promising that wherever he chooses his place to settle, he would not oppose.” Witold Karpyza, *Ziemia wolkowyska IV* (Lębork: Przemysław Stanisław Mikusiński, 2009), 24, accessed on February 5, 2020, <http://foto.volkovysk.by/wp-content/uploads/karpyza4.pdf>.

a notebook handwritten in Polish, where in tabular form the data on 553 people have been listed,²⁵ i.e., name and surname, age, place of death, gender, social status, information on “being given” last rites, the parish the given person belonged to and finally the place of burial and the people attending. Unfortunately, the information is not complete, yet the pieces we have allow us to deduce several significant demographic and social determiners.

First of all, it must be explained why these accounts were written from April 10, 1831 until January 3, 1832, although the cholera epidemic in Vilnius lasted from April 5 to December 18, 1831, according to the *News on the Health of Inhabitants*. The first date, the 10th of April, was the day when the first sick people were admitted to hospital. However, because cases had already been noted since the fifth of April, it was this day that the Governorate Committee for Cholera decided to recognize as the starting point of the epidemic. Unfortunately, determining the date of its conclusion was more challenging. As there were no governmental guidelines, committees would determine the period on their own. In the instance of Vilnius, incidences of cholera ceased on December 18, 1831; hence, that day was counted as the end of the epidemic. Meanwhile, a number of people would still remain in hospital care: those whose fate still hung in the balance.²⁶ Therefore, Kontrym kept his accounts until the demise of the last of the cholera victims, which was on January 3, 1832.

In the *Register*... 533 people were mentioned in total (the majority of whom came from the districts of Zarzecze, Śnipiszki, Łukiszki and Pohulanka); however, in the hospital in Pohulanka, 508 people actually died there. In the case of 45 people, Kontrym noted a different place of death, namely: 17 in town (with no detailed location), 9 in their own homes (the street name is not known), 2 on the street (unnamed), 2 on Tatarska Street, 2 on Zarzeczna Street, 2 on Garbarska Street, 1 in a charity home, 1 in the Benedictine nuns’ convent, 1 in the garden of the Discalced Carmelites, and 1 in the Carmelite nuns’ convent. Six people were described as “found”: in the cemetery for victims of cholera, 2 on Trocka Way, 1 “in the village in a meadow”, 1 “in the village near the inn”, and 1 in jail. There was also one annotation “brought dead to the hospital” (from where is not

²⁵ The dead in the *Register* were given consecutive ordinal numbers from 1 to 553. In fact, there are 552 entries, since Kontrym, most probably due to oversight, omitted number 368 and noted the next person under the number 369. Despite this, the number of deceased in the hospital is accurate and comes to 553, because under one number (494) a woman with her stillborn child was included. LMAVB RS F318–220: *Księga metryczna*, l. 1–66.

²⁶ Medical Offices in individual governorates had created their own guidelines until the minister of home affairs in 1848 agreed to the suggestion of the Mohylev Governorate Committee for Cholera to pronounce the epidemic as ended if no-one contracted the disease within a period of two weeks. Sources show, however, that it was not possible to follow the directions fully, since the epidemic could return even after a several-week break. RGIA f. 1297, op. 24, d. 1021, k. 97–97v.

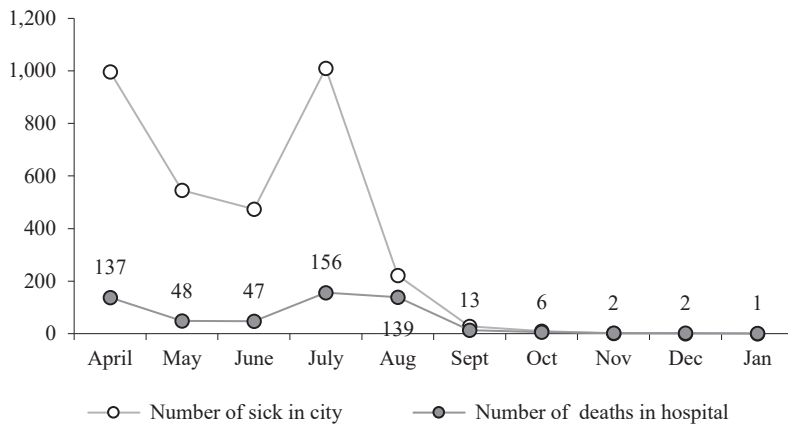
known). Additionally, two of these people did not die of cholera: the approximately 2-year-old girl found “in the village near the inn” was described as having “died of hunger after her mother was killed by Cossacks” and the 43-year-old prisoner “at Vilnius municipal police in section 3 of Zarzecze took his own life by hanging.” Thus, the number of dead should be lowered by two (the girl who died of hunger and the suicide victim), which gives us the number 551. The inclusion of these people in the *Register* of the hospital proves that the priest had taken up the duty of their burial due to the abandonment of their corpses, a lack of close family or the inability to find them. On the other hand, one must remember that during the epidemic there was a “state of emergency” and if a corpse was found, no matter whether they had died of cholera or not, for sanitary reasons they were to be buried as quickly as possible, which was then done at the expense of the city (hospital) or the state.

The 553 people included in the *Register* (or 551 without the two aforementioned cases) constitute 31% of all those who died in the epidemic of 1831 in Vilnius. Taking into account the high mortality rate of 47.8%, it may be assumed that in the hospital in Pohulanka up to a thousand sick people could have sought treatment throughout the whole period of the epidemic. Due to the character of the document, where only the date of death is given, without the date of infection or at least the day the patient had been admitted to hospital, it is impossible to determine how long the disease lasted and its potential dependence on age. We may, however, determine the number of deaths in the individual 10 months when the notes were taken, i.e., from April 10, 1831, to January 3, 1832.

From Figure 1 it appears that the largest number of deaths was noted at the very beginning of the epidemic, i.e., in April, and then during the summer months of July and August when the prevailing conditions fostered the multiplication of the bacteria. This coincides with the data regarding all the incidences in the city at the time²⁷. In winter cholera would usually subside. From all the choleraic summers in the governorate of Vilnius only once did the epidemic survive that period, which was in the land district of Nowy Aleksandrów. It began on December 5, 1837 and lasted until February 1, 1828, with an exceptionally warm winter at its root cause.

²⁷ In April 1831 in Vilnius 996 people contracted the disease, in May 546 more, in June 474, in July 1010, in August 420, in September 222, in October 28, in November 9 and in December 1. RGIA f. 1297, op. 57, d. 157, k. 29, 37, 39, 41, 44, 47, 49, 54, 55, 57, 61, 63, 65–66, 67v, 68–69, 71, 73, 75–76, 78–79, 91–93, 98, 100, 105, 109, 111, 113, 115, 117, 125, 127, 129, 131, 133, 137, 142, 147, 149, 153–154, 161, 163, 165, 167, 174, 176, 178, 180, 182, 184, 188, 190, 192, 194, 196, 201, 205, 207, 212, 214, 216, 218, 220, 224; RGIA f. 1297, op. 57, d. 200, k. 145; LVIA f. 378, apr. b/s 1831, svnt. 1788 [mf. ds. 1], l. 179; GARF f. 109, op. 171, ed.hr. 107 mf, k. 8v, 19b, 25, 28; GARF f. 109, op. 171, ed.hr. 108 mf, k. 18; RGVIA f. 846, op. 16, t. 1 č. 11/1, d. 5083, k. 25, 27.

Figure 1. Number of deaths from cholera* at the hospital in Pohulanka from April 10, 1831, to January 3, 1832



* The chart does not include 2 deaths from causes other than cholera.

Source: own work. Number of deaths based on: LMAVB RS, F318–220. Number of infected in the city after: RGIA f. 1297, op. 57, d. 157, k. 29, 37, 39, 41, 44, 47, 49, 54, 55, 57, 61, 63, 65–66, 67ob., 68–69, 71, 73, 75–76, 78–79, 91–93, 98, 100, 105, 109, 111, 113, 115, 117, 125, 127, 129, 131, 133, 137, 142, 147, 149, 153–154, 161, 163, 165, 167, 174, 176, 178, 180, 182, 184, 188, 190, 192, 194, 196, 201, 205, 207, 212, 214, 216, 218, 220, 224; RGIA f. 1297, op. 57, d. 200, k. 145; LVIA f. 378, apr. b/s 1831, svnt. 1788 mf, ds. 1, l. 179; GARF f. 109, op. 171, ed.hr. 107 mf, k. 8v, 19b, 25, 28; GARF f. 109, op. 171, ed.hr. 108 mf, k. 18; RGVIA f. 846, op. 16, t. 1 č. 11/1 d. 5083, k. 25, 27.

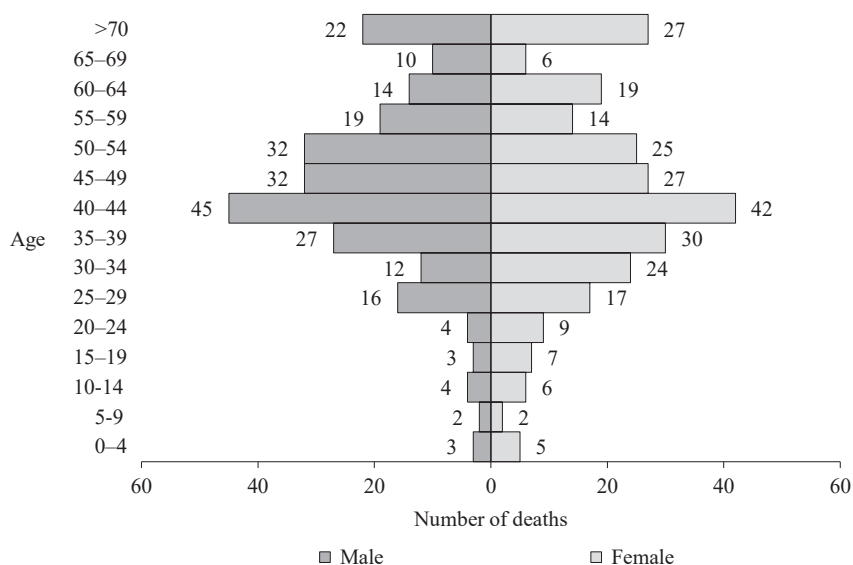
As far as the age and gender of the deceased is concerned, the number of deaths was nearly equal in men and women and came to 275 and 276, respectively. Their age pyramid was similar in its structure, although certain minimal differences may be observed. As the data show, the largest number of deceased males and females occurred in the group of 40–44 years of age. In terms of both sexes, it is clear that people of working age were most likely to contract the disease, and that most of them died. In the instance of men, the division falls to between 35 and 59 years of age, whereas in the case of women between 25 and 64 years of age.

Children aged 0 to 9 died least often in relation to the total number of deaths; there was also a relatively small number of older children and teens between 10 and 19 years of age, although there were more girls than boys in that respect. In the case of males, the death curve decreases after the 69th year of age and increases again after 70, whereas in females it rises in the 60–64-year-old age group and also over 70. Among men, the eldest case was a retired soldier (*odstawny*) of 103 who died in the Carmelites home.²⁸ Among women, the eldest victim

²⁸ In the *Register*, under entry 68.

was 92, who died in the hospital.²⁹ The data, although interesting, refer to a short fragment of time and a small research study, thus it is difficult to form a decisive conclusion that an equal number of men and women died of cholera. It happened to be so in this specific case, but results from other sources would suggest that men contract the disease and die more often than women. Such conclusions were drawn, among others, by Reginald Orton, a surgeon with English troops in Kolkata. He noticed that succumbed to the disease four times more often than women and that children were considerably more resistant to the disease, whereas the elderly were more vulnerable.³⁰ Similar observations were also made by doctors in Moscow and St. Petersburg.³¹

Figure 2. The age pyramid of men and women dying of cholera in the hospital in Pohulanka in 1831



Source: own work; LMAVB RS, F318-220.

Those more directly exposed to cholera included workers (especially those working on the river and migrating for work), people in trade (especially the

²⁹ In the *Register*, under entry 395.

³⁰ Hamlin, *Cholera*, 60.

³¹ Kotar, Gessler, *Cholera*, 35, 346; Frank G. Clemow, "A Contribution to the Epidemiology of Cholera in Russia," *Transactions. Epidemiological Society of London* 13 (1894): 63, 76, accessed on February 5, 2020, <https://europepmc.org/article/med/29419217>.

Jewish population) and also soldiers. The peasant population in the countryside fell victim to the disease considerably less often, which was fostered by the conditions prevailing in rural areas, i.e., the greater distance between households, the use of separate wells, occasions for gatherings being less frequent than in towns, and a certain self-reliance when it came to the food supply. Unfortunately, the *Register* provides data on the social status or occupations of only several dozens of people. Thus 12 people were described as “noblemen”, 1 as a “citizen”, and 1 as a “townswoman”. As far as occupation is concerned, the following jobs were mentioned: soldiers (including female soldiers, sentries and guards) were in total 29 people, 3 in hospital service, 3 doctors, 2 members of the fire brigade, 3 cobblers, 2 office-based civil servants (a secretary and a court employee), 2 carriage owners, 1 postal worker, 1 carpenter, 1 tanner, and 1 teacher. For 188 people, general information on their place of residence was given instead (e.g., a street or town district) and for 353 there is no information at all.

It is a similar case with parish affiliation, which was only given in just over 100 cases. So there were 32 from the parish of St. John, 11 from the Łukiska parish of Dominican priests, 1 from the Łukiska parish of Missionary priests, 10 from Łukiska parish (church unknown) 11 Bernardine priests, 7 from St. Casimir of the Missionaries, 6 from St. Raphael, 5 from St. Jacob in Łukiszki, 2 from the Discalced Carmelites, 6 from St. George, 4 from Montis Salvatoris of Missionaries, 5 from the Carmelite priests, 1 from the Carmelite nuns, 2 from St. Peter (in Antokol), 1 from the Cathedral, and 1 from the White Canonical Friars. With all the other deceased there is no information on which parish they belonged to. It may be assumed that the lack of data, like any other data, was caused by the inability to acquire that information from the patient (e.g., due to their serious condition) or perhaps some of the sick were not able to provide the answer to the questions (perhaps they did not want to?) or the answers were provided by the canon himself. Therefore, it is difficult to state on this basis alone whether all the deceased were Roman Catholics, for although the hospital was designated for them, people of various denominations were accepted there. The *Book* accounts for 21 people of Orthodox denomination, 5 Protestants, 2 Old Believers and most probably 1 Jew (since an Orthodox Jewish home was provided as his place of residence). Moreover, in the case of 2 people, even though their exact parish was determined, the section “given last rites” quotes “not”. It may be assumed that these patients refused to have last rites since it was noted. The same information may be found for other 15 people; thus, the total number of patients who refused the sacramental service was 17. A reason for the refusal was given only in three instances, with 2 cases noted as sudden death and in one case that, despite 6 hours of the chaplain’s work, the dying “did not show any sign, any repentance and did not confess, uttering the most grievous insults [...]” This victim was not buried

in the Roman Catholic cemetery but “at” an area designated as a graveyard. For 43 people, no information on the subject of the sacrament was provided and for the rest of the dead, “yes” was written, whereas what seems interesting is that the Catholic sacraments were also accepted by 4 Orthodox patients and 1 Protestant, even though with the others a “yes” or “not” was written instead of the name of the denomination.

The matter of determining denomination during the epidemic for the sake of a burial place and communion seems to have played a secondary role. The rules for burying the dead had been laid out in an all-Russian instruction for methods to secure against cholera issued on September 14, 1830. With the occurrence of the disease in the southern governorates of the Empire, it was sent to all the affected areas. Yet, since it was to be announced publicly, in order not to raise unwanted anxiety, the matter of burials was treated very perfunctorily.³² The extended and tightened *Zasady, których należy przestrzegać przy grzebaniu zmarłych na cholereę* (*Rules to be followed when burying those who have died of cholera*) were compiled by the Medical Council at the Ministry of Home Affairs on October 8, 1830 and sent to governorate authorities with the suggestion that only those officials (including the police) who were supposed to supervise their implementation should familiarize themselves with them.³³

The guidelines given here were based on both the current regulations practiced during various epidemics and the current state of knowledge, particularly on the experiences of English physicians who struggled with the disease in India.³⁴ The way a body should be treated was their special focus. Washing the corpses was forbidden. They were to be put into coffins in the underwear they had been

³² The issue of burying the dead was discussed in two points: p. 7 spoke of the bodies of the deceased to be buried in ditches of proper depth and covered with lime, whereas p. 8 forbade gatherings of greater numbers of people during funerals, limiting the number of participants allowed to only those required. LVIA f. 378, apr. b/s 1830, svnt. 463, l. 7.

³³ LVIA f. 378, apr. b/s 1830, svnt. 463, l. 37–37v.

³⁴ Sanitary regulations regarding the burial of the dead during epidemics were enshrined in the 1832 Medical Act (*Ustawa lekarska; Vračebnyj Ustav*); thus, after the first epidemic in the area in question. The *Medical Act* was drawn up on the basis of an instruction written for medical offices in 1797 by Stepan Semionowič Andreewski. In 1832, it was amended and became the legal basis for Medical Council operations as well as for the Medical Department in the Ministry of Home Affairs in the struggle against epidemic diseases. In fact, it was adopted only as late as in 1842 and first published in 1857 in volume XIII of the Full Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire (*Svod Zakonov Rossijskoj Imperii*, v. XIII: *Ustavy o narodnom prodovol'stvi i, obšestvennom prizrenii*, S. Peterburg 1857). For the second time the “Doctors Bill” including new annexes was passed in 1892, and for the third time in 1905. In its final incarnation, the new legal regulations were codified, and the legislative material grouping was changed. Despite already being out of date at the time of its introduction, the law remained in force until World War I. A. Uspenskij, “Vračebnyj Ustav,” in: *Bol'shaâ Medicinskaâ Ėnciklopediâ*, accessed on February 2, 2020, <http://medencped.ru/vrachebnyj-ustav/>

wearing during their illness, yet it was to be soaked in a solution of salt and lime (alternatively, sulfuric acid, alum solution or iron sulfate). Also, the broadcloth in which the head would be wrapped should be soaked in a diluted solution. Then, the corpse was to be covered with charcoal up to the top of the coffin, and the lid nailed down. The rules did not, however, specify the depth of the grave; therefore, a solution applied in previous epidemics (such as the plague or smallpox) was adopted and a minimum depth was established at 2.5 arshin (1.8 meters).³⁵ The coffins were to be soaked in the available dilutions and buried up to half a foot or more in charcoal and only later covered with a “mound” of soil.³⁶

Nowhere were there provisions for the time when burial should take place. In that matter, local conditions and the opinions of physicians were followed.³⁷ Due to the specific course of the disease and the resulting fear that the sick could be pronounced dead prematurely and buried alive, doctors recommended the time of burial to be no sooner than 24 hours following the pronouncement of death. During that period the body was to be placed in a morgue or any other isolated cold room, which was sometimes hard to find. Thus, if postmortem signs of death were evident before day’s end, the burial could proceed on the same day.³⁸

Any ceremonial or traditional grand burials were banned or limited to the necessary minimum. The dead were not allowed to be buried in general cemeteries, although such cases occurred during the first epidemic. Regulations provided that separate areas should be used, oftentimes outside the city, alongside roads or in woods. The burial site was to be surrounded by a fence or hedge within a radius of 20 fathoms (ca. 42.7 m) from the graves or with a 2-arshin (1.4 m) mounded earthwork.³⁹ Unfortunately, in modern Lithuania, remains of choleraic cemeteries are hard to find. Most of them disappeared in Soviet times, ploughed over, replaced by residential projects or overgrown with trees.

In 19th-century Vilnius there were a few such graveyards. Information on them is found in the last column of the *Register* headed, Who and Where Buried (*Kto i gdzie pogrzebiony*). Nevertheless, their actual location is not disclosed. Instead, there is only “graves” (*mogilki*), naming only what religion they were or who organized the burial. The accounts conclude that the chaplain of the cholera

³⁵ “Vračebnyj Ustav,” kn. II, st. 926, w: Svod’ Zkonov’ Rossijskoj Imperii, izd. 1857, v. XIII, St. Petersburg 1857; LVIA f.383, apr. 1 svnt. 165, l. 712; Preface to *Medycyna do powszechnego użytku zastosowana przez dra Kazimierza Świdorskiego*, part 1 (Wilno: A.H. Kirkor, 1863), 46.

³⁶ LVIA f. 378, apr. b/s 1830, svnt. 463, l. 37–37 v.

³⁷ For more on the topic of detailed rules for burying the dead, see Iwona Janicka, “Kwestia pochówku zmarłych na cholere w północno-zachodnich guberniach Cesarstwa Rosyjskiego w XIX wieku,” in: *Dżuma, ospa, cholera*, 212–223.

³⁸ RGVIA f. 846, op. 16.t. 1, č. 9/2, d. 5083, k. 103v; LMAVB RS F255–312: *Apie kovą su cholera ir kitomis užkrečiamomis ligomis Vilniuje*, k. 1; Popov’, *Ob’ aziatskoj holere*, 18.

³⁹ LVIA f. 378, apr. b/s 1830, svnt. 463, l. 37v; “Vračebnyj Ustav,” kn. II, 911.

hospital in Pohulanka, the priest Kazimierz Kontrym, or the police, were those who presided over burials most often. The presence of a priest is understandable, since the hospital was aimed at Roman Catholics. However, because everyone brought in could count on being admitted and cared for, priests of other denominations appear, such as Russian Catholic, Orthodox or Protestant.

The people who were recorded as having been buried “by the police”, I counted as buried in communal graves for all denominations. Unfortunately, the *Register* does not provide information on their location, yet the *Book* mentions that a considerable number of Catholics found their resting place there, with people of unknown religion, and also 7 out of the 21 Orthodox Christians, 2 Old Believers, and perhaps also the Jew; 162 people in total. The police would bury people of other denominations in their cemeteries, such as Orthodox or Protestant, when their religion has been determined.

Table 1. Places of burial of cholera epidemic victims in 1831 according to the *Register*

Place	Number
Communal graveyard for all denominations	162
Graveyard on the road from Pohulanka to Łukiszki	4
Behind the earth wall of the communal graveyard	2
Graveyard on the left side of the road to Troki	363
Cemetery of the Bernardine friars	1
In the Orthodox cemetery	14
A place in the Roman Catholic cemetery	1
In the Protestant cemetery	5
Place of burial not recorded	1

Source: own work; LMAVB RS, F318–220.

The largest graveyard was on the road to Troki, where the burials of 363 Roman Catholics were conducted by priest Kazimierz Kontrym and other, Dominican, priests. The cemetery of Bernardine friars only took renowned persons for burial and only “with superior allowance”. In one case noted in the *Book* it was Dr Lucjan Walicki, MD, who contracted the disease during his work in the hospital.⁴⁰ In one instance, the place where a person was buried is not mentioned, for reasons unknown.⁴¹ Perhaps the account was simply overlooked, such as where there is a line where no person was written in.

⁴⁰ In the *Register*, entry no. 139.

⁴¹ In the *Register*, entry no. 277.

To conclude, the *Register* contains valuable information regarding age, gender, social status, religion and place of burial, which we will not find in the weekly *News* of the state of health of the governorate inhabitants which was sent to the Governorate Committee for Cholera. Although it is difficult to come to conclusions for all the epidemic when only this information is used, it does shed light on certain issues. As mentioned, the dead in hospital in Pohulanka, for which a document had been written, amounted to 31% of all the deceased in the first epidemic in Vilnius. Other sick patients were treated in the remaining hospitals (Jewish and military), and others in the confinement of their own homes. Interestingly enough, the number of men and women who died was nearly the same in this hospital (with a difference of only one). Most casualties came from the productive age group, i.e., working people in their prime. Therefore, we may assume that those people were mobile or occupied with jobs requiring contact with other people. The vast majority of casualties were Roman Catholics, yet the hospital would also admit sick patients of other creeds.

Abbreviations

- apr. (Lithuanian: *aprašas*) – description
 b/s – department of war affairs
 č. (Russian: *časť*) – part
 d. (Russian: *delo*) – archival unit
 ed.hr. (Russian: *edinica hronenā*) – archival unit
 f. (Russian: *fond*) – archival collection
 k. (Russian: *karta*) – page
 kn. (Russian: *kniga*) – book
 l. (Lithuanian: *lapas*) – page
 mf – microfilm
 op. (Russian: *opis*) – inventory unit
 svnt. (Lithuanian: *saugojimo vienetas*) – archival unit
 v. (Latin: *verte*) – reverse
 vol. (Latin: *volumen*) – volume

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The Register of the Dead from Cholera in Vilnius Pohulanka Hospital in 1831 as a Source for Demographic and Social Studies

Summary

The 1831 cholera epidemic was the first in the history of the governorate of Vilnius and the city itself. It turned out to be the harshest of all those that struck there in the 19th century. Over its 9-month course, the city saw 3,700 people infected, with 1,770 dying of it. Since routes of transmission were unknown, effective methods of treatment were scarce, personal hygiene poor and sanitary conditions in an appalling state, the mortality rate soared to as high as 47.8%. By way of a decree of the Vilnius Governorate Committee for Cholera, three large cholera hospitals were established there, including one for Roman Catholics in Pohulanka. Over the entire course of the epidemic, 553 people of different status and denominations died there. On the basis of the *Register of the Dead from Cholera* created and kept by Father Kazimierz Kontrym, an attempt was made to make a demographic and social analysis of the dead. It was found that the same number of men and women died in the hospital, with the highest number of victims of working age, in particular between the ages of 40 and 44. The vast majority of casualties were Catholics,

although there were also Orthodox or Protestant patients among them. 17 people refused last rites and for 43 no information on the subject is provided. The dead were buried in several designated places, the majority in a graveyard on the road to Troki, and in communal graveyards for all denominations.

Księga metryczna umarłych na cholere w szpitalu na wileńskiej Pohulance w 1831 roku jako źródło do badań społeczno-demograficznych

Streszczenie

Epidemia cholery z 1831 roku była pierwszą w historii guberni wileńskiej oraz Wilna. Okazała się też być najcięższą ze wszystkich, jakie tu panowały w XIX wieku. W ciągu 9 miesięcy jej trwania w mieście tym zachorowało 3,7 tys. ludzi, z czego 1,77 tys. zmarło. Z powodu niezajomości sposobu przenoszenia choroby, braku skutecznych metod jej leczenia, a także niskiej higieny osobistej i fatalnych warunków sanitarnych, w jakich żyła ludność, śmiertelność wyniosła tu aż 47,8%. Zgodnie z rozporządzeniem wileńskiego Gubernialnego Komitetu Cholerycznego zorganizowano tu trzy duże szpitale choleryczne, w tym jeden dla ludności wyznania rzymsko-katolickiego na Pohulance. W ciągu całego okresu epidemii zmarły tu 553 osoby różnych stanów i wyznań. Na podstawie *Księgi metrycznej zmarłych na cholere*, sporządzonej i prowadzonej przez ks. Kazimierza Kontryma, podjęto próbę dokonania analizy demograficznej oraz społecznej zmarłych. Ustalono, że w szpitalu zmarła taka sama liczba mężczyzn i kobiet, przy czym najwięcej zmarło osób w wieku produkcyjnym, zwłaszcza pomiędzy 40. a 44. rokiem życia. Wśród zmarłych zdecydowanie przeważali katolicy, ale znajdowali się między nimi również m.in. prawosławni i ewangelicy. 17 osób odmówiło przyjęcia sakramentów, a przy 43 nie podano żadnej informacji na ten temat. Zmarłych grzebano w kilku wyznaczonych miejscach, w tym najliczniej na mogiłkach przy drodze do Trok oraz mogiłkach wspólnych dla wszystkich wyznań.



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Did the Sex Ratio at Birth Reflect Social and Economic Inequalities? A Pilot Study of the Province of Poznań, 1875–1913

Czy wskaźnik proporcji płci przy urodzeniu odzwierciedlał nierówności społeczne i ekonomiczne? Pilotażowe badania prowincji poznańskiej, 1875–1913

Abstract

The goal of this study was to examine whether and to what extent sex ratio values at birth may have reflected social and economic inequalities in the Province of Poznań (German: *Provinz Posen*) in the last decades of the 1800s and early 1900s. It was assumed that maternal economic, social and emotional well-being differed according to the size of the place of residence (Poznań / town / village) and

Abstrakt

Celem pracy było sprawdzenie, czy i w jakim stopniu wskaźnik proporcji płci przy urodzeniu mógł odzwierciedlać nierówności społeczne i ekonomiczne w prowincji poznańskiej w ostatnich dekadach XIX i na początku XX wieku. W pracy założono, że ekonomiczny, społeczny i emocjonalny dobrostan matki różnił się ze względu na wielkość ośrodka zamieszkania (Poznań / miasteczko / wieś) i stan

her marital status (married / unmarried). In the population of the Province, urban areas (e.g., Poznań) and single motherhood were the predictors increasing the chance that the proportion of boys to girls at birth would decline below the biological norm. These factors could affect women during pregnancy through biological (physiological) mechanisms induced by adverse economic conditions (poverty, poor housing conditions, physical effort related to work and spatial mobility) and psychological stress (lack of social approval and support, social instability, occurrence of stigmatization, etc.). It is worth noting, however, that the variability of sex ratio values at birth could also be due to other factors, not identified (captured) in this paper.

Keywords

urban / rural localities, married / unmarried women, sources of environmental stress, sex ratio at birth, adverse living conditions

cywilny (kobiety niezamężne / mężatki). W populacji zamieszkującej prowincję poznańską obszary miejskie (np. Poznań) i samotne macierzyństwo były predyktorami zwiększającymi szansę na spadek proporcji chłopców do dziewczynek przy urodzeniu poniżej normy biologicznej. Czynniki te mogły działać na kobiety w ciąży poprzez mechanizmy biologiczne (fizjologiczne) indukowane niekorzystnymi warunkami ekonomicznymi (ubóstwo, złe warunki mieszkaniowe, wysiłek fizyczny związany z pracą, mobilność przestrzenna) i stresem psychologicznym (brak aprobaty i wsparcia społecznego, niestabilność społeczna, stygmatyzacja itp.). Warto podkreślić, że zmienność wskaźnika proporcji płci mogła wynikać również z innych czynników, które w tej pracy nie zostały zidentyfikowane (uchwycone).

Słowa kluczowe

obszary miejskie / wiejskie, kobiety zamężne / niezamężne, źródła stresu środowiskowego, proporcja płci po urodzeniu, niekorzystne warunki życia

Introduction

According to biological law, 105–107 boys come into the world per 100 girls born alive.¹ In research on historical populations, the number of live-born boys to

¹ Luigi Luca Cavalli-Sforza, Walter Fred Bodmer, *The Genetics of Human Populations* (San Francisco: Freeman, 1971); William Henry James, "The Human Sex Ratio. Part 1: A Review of the Literature," *Human Biology* 59 (1987): 721–752; idem, "The Human Sex Ratio. Part 2: A Hypothesis and a Program of Research," *Human Biology* 59 (1987): 873–900. The mechanism of sex determination is described by Piprek and Kubiak in Rafał P. Piprek, Jacek Z. Kubiak, "Historia badań nad determinacją płci," *Kosmos* 68 (4): 523–533.

the number of live-born girls (sex ratio at birth, hereinafter SRB)² is a simple test of the reliability of historical sources.³ A lower SRB value could indicate a weaker registration of male newborns, while a higher SRB value could suggest a weaker registration of female births. Fluctuations of the sex ratio at birth, resulting from an underestimation of the number of newborn babies, have been indicated by studies by historical demographers. Cezary Kukło,⁴ in his study of the 18th-century Parish of the Holy Cross in Warsaw, observed fluctuations in the SRB. Very high SRB values of 124 and 168 males per 100 females were noted for the periods 1730–1739 and 1740–1749 respectively. According to the author, they resulted from “a considerable advantage of baptized male infants over female infants (...)” Rachwał⁵ showed unstable values of the ratio of live-born boys to live-born girls in a comprehensive study of demographic processes taking place in the Lublin region from the 17th to the early 20th centuries. In some parishes, the masculinization rate of newborns reached 82.7%, while in others almost 136%, which resulted from the low number of baptism registrations of boys or girls respectively. The author also linked the “under-registration” of boys at baptism to epidemics that could have a greater effect on the biologically weaker male sex, “causing increased mortality just after birth and consequently a failure to register some of the dead newborns.”⁶ In the Catholic parishes from Toruń studied by Agnieszka Zielińska,⁷ male births usually prevailed (SRB values of even 125 or 128), but as the author pointed out, the value of the index began to normalize only from the 1860s, which was influenced by the increase in number of the city’s faithful. Occasionally, values below 100 indicated that live-born girls outnumbered live-born boys, which was certainly associated with deficiencies in registration. Edmund Piasecki⁸ also recorded low (97%) and high (122%) SRB values in Bejsce parish. Ján Golian⁹ indicated fluctuations in SRB values in Detva parish, located in the region of Podpoľanie, Central Slovakia, in the first half of the 19th century.

² Also the secondary sex ratio / the masculinization rate of newborns; see literature cited at the end of this paper.

³ Edmund Piasecki, *Ludność parafii bejskiej (woj. kieleckie) w świetle ksiąg metrykalnych z XVIII–XX w. Studium demograficzne* (Warszawa–Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1990), 45.

⁴ Cezary Kukło, *The Population of the Holy Cross Parish in Warsaw in the 18th Century* (Białystok: Institute for Research of European Cultural Heritage, 2016), 38.

⁵ Piotr Rachwał, *Ruch naturalny ludności rzymskokatolickiej w Lubelskiem w świetle rejestracji metrykalnej z lat 1582–1900* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2019).

⁶ Rachwał, *Ruch*, 237.

⁷ Agnieszka Zielińska, *Przemiany struktur demograficznych w Toruniu w XIX i na początku XX wieku* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2012).

⁸ Piasecki, *Ludność*.

⁹ Ján Golian, *Život ľudu detvianskýho. Historicko-demografická a kultúrna sonda do každodenného života v dlhom 19. Storočí* (Ružomberok: The Society for Human Studies, 2019).

According to Golian, this fact was closely related to poor parish registration in the first decades of the 19th century; an improvement was observed only in the second half of the 19th century. Meanwhile Jan Paradysz¹⁰ was quite critical of the use of the number of live-born boys to the number of live-born girls as a measure of the accuracy of historical registration. He pointed out that the SRB value should always be related to the sample size, i.e., the number of births, bearing in mind possible random errors.¹¹ The same opinion is shared by Cezary Kukło¹² who, quoting Henry,¹³ claims that the masculinization index is a very good indicator of the completeness of registration but model values of this index are observed only in large groups.

Researchers have also pointed out that the higher sex ratio values in historical and contemporary populations could have social reasons, i.e., in female discrimination through poor treatment of infants (e.g., shorter breastfeeding periods, poorer nutrition and poor medical care for sick newborns), and girls and women later in life (the neglect of girls in families, poorer healthcare and nutrition for female children).¹⁴ Linda Mealey and Wade Mackey,¹⁵ in reference to the 19th-century Mormon population, indicated the conscious manipulation of the offspring sex ratio by mothers from different social status according to their access to a livelihood. Scott and Duncan¹⁶ observed differences in sex-biased investment strategies in child feeding between social groups in the population of northern England (1600–1800). The sex ratios at birth outside of the biological norm of 105–107 boys per 100 female babies are still a problem observed in some parts of the world. In 2011 the annual estimate of the SRB for China was 117, in the Indian states of Punjab, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh the SRB values in 2008–2010 were 120, 118 and 115 respectively, while at the same time in Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia the values were 116, 115 and 114 respectively, and in Albania

¹⁰ Jan Paradysz, “Współczesna demografia regionalna i kilka wniosków z niej wypływających dla innych badań w mikroskali,” *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 26 (2005): 167–189.

¹¹ Paradysz, “Współczesna demografia,” 170.

¹² Cezary Kukło, *Demografii historycznej wkład do nauk o rodzinie*, XVII Warsztaty Antropologiczne im. Profesora Janusza Charzewskiego, Łódź 2016.

¹³ Louis Henry, *Techniques d'analyse en démographie historique* (Paris: Éditions de INED, 1980).

¹⁴ Sara Horrell, Deborah Oxley, “Gender Bias in 19th Century England: Evidence from Factory Children,” *Economics & Human Biology* 22 (2016): 47–64; Katherine A. Lynch, “Why Weren’t (Many) European Women ‘Missing?’” *History of the Family* 16 (2011), 3: 250–266; Francisco J. Beltrán Tapia, Domingo Gallego-Martínez, “What Explains the Missing Girls in Nineteenth-Century Spain?” *Economic History Review* 73 (2020): 59–77.

¹⁵ Linda Mealey, Wade Mackey, “Variation in Offspring Sex Ratio in Women of Differing Social Status,” *Ethology and Sociobiology* 11 (1990), 2: 83–95.

¹⁶ Susan Scott, C.J. Duncan, “Reproductive Strategies and Sex-Biased Investment,” *Human Nature* 10 (1999): 85–108.

and Montenegro they were 112 and 110 respectively.¹⁷ Prenatal sex determination (sex-selective abortion) is a widespread practice responsible for the right-skewed value of sex ratio at birth and has a cultural background, related to favoring the male sex in some societies.¹⁸ In modern populations, disturbances in sex ratio are observed not only in newborns but also in older children. Jayachandran and Kuziemko¹⁹ showed that in India, mothers breastfeed sons longer than daughters, which contributes to missing women there.

Meanwhile, numerous medical and biological studies have linked the fluctuation of male-to-female live births with extreme exogenous shocks, the so-called environmental stresses caused by natural disasters, wars, political and social upheavals, etc.²⁰ There are two ways to interpret this state of affairs. Firstly, exogenous stressors could decrease the odds of male conceptions by a reduction in the frequency of coitus in the population. Reduced coitus, particularly early in the human menstrual cycle, is responsible for a decline in the conception of males.²¹ Under the influence of stress, male hormones significantly reduce the quantity and quality of sperm,²² which leads to negative changes in sperm motility.²³ The second interpretation has pointed out that adverse stressful events lead to the secretion of stress hormones, which affect either the selection of zygote sex at conception, e.g., by disturbing the processes of determining of male fetus formation,²⁴ or the spontaneous selective abortion of male fetuses. Both modifications ultimately lead to a reduction in the number of live male births.²⁵ In other words, the form

¹⁷ *Sex Imbalances at Birth: Current Trends, Consequences and Policy Implication* (Bangkok: UNFPA Asia and the Pacific Regional Office Bangkok, 2012).

¹⁸ Christophe Z. Guilmoto, *High Sex Ratio at Birth in Southeast Europe* (Paris: CEPED, Université Paris-Descartes, 2012), <http://www.demographie.net/guilmoto/pdf/research%20note%20on%20BM%20in%20SE%20Europe4.pdf>; see also Lynch, "Why Weren't (Many) European Women 'Missing'?", *Sex Imbalances at Birth*.

¹⁹ Seema Jayachandran, Ilyana Kuziemko, "Why Do Mothers Breastfeed Girls Less than Boys? Evidence and Implications for Child Health in India," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 126 (2011), 3: 1485–1538.

²⁰ E.g., Ralph Catalano et al., "Exogenous Shocks to the Human Sex Ratio: The Case of September 11, 2001 in New York City," *Human Reproduction* 21 (2006): 3127–3131; Misao Fukuda et al., "Kobe Earthquake and Reduced Sperm Motility," *Human Reproduction* 11 (1996): 1244–1246.

²¹ Catalano et al., "Exogenous Shocks"; William Henry James, "Regional Differences Invalidate U.S. Sperm Trend Conclusions," *Environmental Health Perspectives* 107 (1999), 3: A132.

²² Fukuda et al., "Kobe Earthquake."

²³ Branko Zorn et al., "Semen Quality Changes among Slovenian Healthy Men Included in the IVF-ET Programme during 1983–1996," *International Journal of Andrology* 22 (1999): 178–183.

²⁴ Fukuda et al., "Kobe earthquake."

²⁵ Julianne Byrne, Dorothy Warburton, John Opitz and James Reynolds, "Male Excess among Anatomically Normal Fetuses in Spontaneous Abortions," *American Journal of Medical Genetics* 26 (1987): 605–611; Tim Bruckner, Ralph Catalano, "The Sex Ratio and Age-Specific Male Mortality: Evidence for Culling in Utero," *American Journal of Human Biology* 19 (2007): 763–773; Catalano et al., "Exogenous shocks"; Ralph Catalano et. al., "Gender-Specific Selection in Utero

of responses to acute environmental stress is the modification of the natural sex ratio of the offspring, which manifests itself in a decrease in the SRB value.²⁶ Therefore, the index of male-to-female live births is considered a “measure” of adverse environmental conditions caused by ecological, economic, or political factors, etc. Studies of contemporary and historical populations have shown that wars, armed conflicts and economic crises can be sources of stress for the human body, including that of a pregnant woman. A decline in the SRB was noted in the US in 1964, a few months after President Kennedy’s assassination, and in 2002 following the terrorist attack on WTC on September 11, 2001.²⁷ Similarly, a decline in the proportion of live-born males to females was observed in Slovenia a few months after the so-called “short war” of 26 June–7 July, 1991²⁸ and during the Iran War in 1980–1988.²⁹ Natural disasters such as earthquakes were also responsible for a fall in the SRB below the biological norm. This was confirmed by research on the population in Japan which was exposed to earthquakes in 1995³⁰ and 2011,³¹ and in Chile a few months after the 2005 earthquake.³² Altered sex ratios after the London smog in 1952 and the Brisbane flood in 1965 were also noted in the literature.³³ A decline in the SRB in China was observed shortly after the end of the 1959–1961 Great Leap Forward Famine.³⁴ In East Germany in 1991,

among Contemporary Human Birth Cohorts,” *Paediatric and Perinatal Epidemiology* 23 (2009): 273–278; Dorthe Hansen, Henrik Moller, Jorn Olsen, “Severe Periconceptional Life Events and the Sex Ratio in Offspring: Follow up Study Based on five National Registers,” *BMJ* 319 (1999): 48–549; Florencia Torche, Karine Kleinhaus, “Prenatal Stress, Gestational Age and Secondary Sex Ratio: The Sex-specific Effects of Exposure to a Natural Disaster in Early Pregnancy,” *Human Reproduction* 27 (2011): 558–567.

²⁶ Elżbieta Żądzińska et. al., “Can Economic Stress Affect Secondary Sex Ratio in Poland?” *Anthropological Review* 77 (2007): 15–27; Elżbieta Żądzińska et al., “Zastosowanie modeli ARI-MA w badaniach nad stresem ekonomicznym wpływającym na kondycję biologiczną populacji ludzkich,” *Acta Universitatis Lodzianensis. Folia Oeconomica* 271 (2012): 85–98.

²⁷ Victor Grech, “Secular Trends in Newborn Sex Ratios,” *Early Human Development* 90 (2014), 11: 755–760; idem, “Ethnic Differences in Birth Gender Ratio Responses in the United States after the September 11 Attacks and the President Kennedy Assassination,” *Early Human Development* 91 (2015), 12: 829–836.

²⁸ Branko Zorn et al., “Decline in Sex Ratio at Birth after 10-Day War in Slovenia,” *Human Reproduction* 17, (2002), 12: 3173–3177.

²⁹ M. Ansari-Lari, M. Saadat, “Changing Sex Ratio in Iran, 1976–2000,” *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* 58 (2002), 6: 622–623.

³⁰ Fukuda et al., “Kobe earthquake.”

³¹ Kohta Suzuki et al., “Effects of the Great East Japan Earthquake on Secondary Sex Ratio and Perinatal Outcomes,” *Journal of Epidemiology* 26 (2016): 76–83.

³² Torche, Kleinhaus, “Prenatal Stress.”

³³ W.R. Lyster, “Altered Sex Ratio after the London Smog of 1952 and the Brisbane Flood of 1965,” *British Journal of Obstetrics and Gynaecology* 81 (1974): 626–631.

³⁴ Shige Song, “Does Famine Influence Sex Ratio at Birth? Evidence from the 1959–1961 Great Leap Forward Famine in China,” *Proceedings. Biological Sciences* 279 (2012), 1739: 2883–2890.

a decline in the proportion of males to females was caused by the collapse of the economy following the fall of the Berlin Wall³⁵.

In light of the above considerations, the aim of our work is to examine whether and to what extent the sex ratio at birth may have reflected maternal social and economic inequalities in the Province of Poznań in the late 1800s and early 1900s. It was assumed that maternal economic, social and emotional well-being differed according to the size of the place of residence, and marital status. Adverse living conditions affecting women during pregnancy had a negative effect on the course of pregnancy, translating into various perinatal outcomes including a decline in the number of boys to girls at birth, below the biological norm.

Characterization of Material

The study uses aggregate data on the numbers of births in subsequent months of the years 1875–1913. They were derived from the Prussian Statistical Yearbooks (*Preussische Statistik*).³⁶ These are currently deposited in the Adam Mickiewicz University Library in Poznań. Volumes were missing for the following years: 1882, 1886, 1894–1897, 1904, 1909–1911. In total 2,249,039 aggregate numbers of live births were collected, including 1,154,199 live-born males and 1,094,840 live-born females.

In Prussia and in Poland under the Prussian partition, population censuses and vital statistics were regulated by the Prussian *Landrecht* and detailed rules. Until Civil State Offices came into operation the main source of information on births, marriages and deaths had been parish records. In 1874 Civil State Offices were set up throughout the Prussian state. Along with priests, officials of the civil state became responsible for the registration of demographic events. In the same year special acts regulating registrations were introduced to the provinces.³⁷ For example, §13 of the 1874 act prescribed that every birth of a child had to be reported within seven days. At the end of each calendar year, priests, pastors and superintendents sent standardized overall tables containing vital statistics data to

³⁵ Ralph A. Catalano, "Sex Ratios in the Two Germanies: A Test of the Economic Stress Hypothesis," *Human Reproduction* 18 (2003), 9: 1972–1975.

³⁶ *Preussische Statistik. Die Bewegung der Bevölkerung. Die Geburten, Eheschließungen und Sterbefälle. Herausgegeben in zwanglosen Heften vom Königl. Preussischen Statistischen Bureau in Berlin* (Berlin: Königl. Preussischen Statistischen Bureau in Berlin, 1876 Heft 42, 1878 Heft 45, 1879 Heft 48, 1880 Heft 51, 1881 Heft 56, 1882 Heft 61, 1882 Heft 72, 1884 Heft 79, 1885 Heft 87, 1886 Heft 89, 1889 Heft 96, 1890 Heft 107, 1890 Heft 113, 1892 Heft 117, 1893 Heft 125, 1893 Heft 127, 1895 Heft 134, 1900 Heft 160, 1901 Heft 161, 1903 Heft 178, 1905 Heft 190, 1906 Heft 200, 1907 Heft 207, 1908 Heft 213, 1909 Heft 220, 1913 Heft 238, 1914 Heft 245).

³⁷ *Extra Beilage zum Amtsblatt der Königlichen Regierung zu Posen* (Posen 1874), 1–40.

the administration of counties (*Kreis*), from which the data were sent to offices at the region level (*Regierungsbezierk*), then to that of the province (*Provinz*), and finally to the Central Statistical Office in Berlin,³⁸ where all the statistics were collected, processed and published. From 1861 onwards, the Royal Prussian Statistical Office (German: *Königlich Preußisches Statistisches Landesamt*) in Berlin started to publish a statistical book on a yearly basis. By 1934, a total of 270 yearbooks had been issued, containing aggregated demographic, medical, economic, and climatic data.³⁹ It is worth emphasizing that the Prussian statistics are characterized by extraordinarily high standards and reliability, so they deserve researchers' attention. Although Wajda⁴⁰ complained about the "too aggregated nature of the data" and the limited usefulness of Prussian vital statistics for demographic studies, to this day they have formed the basis of studies of Greater Poland,⁴¹ Silesia,⁴² Pomerania,⁴³ and the Kingdom of Prussia.⁴⁴ The assessment of the reliability and validity of the Prussian statistics was a crucial part of many previous studies and in the light of the criticism of their reliability they were considered as meeting the required criteria and fit for use for demographic analysis.⁴⁵

Aggregate birth statistics were provided for for the whole year (German: *im ganzen Jahre*) and for the months of subsequent years, from January to December, separately for types of centers differing in size. Such tables were called

³⁸ Kaczmarek, Bogusław. "Ocena spisów ludności na Śląsku z pierwszej połowy XIX wieku," *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 1 (1967): 33–63; Mieczysław Kędelski, "Umieralność i trwanie życia w Wielkopolsce w latach 1818–1875," *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 16 (1985): 109–138.

³⁹ Michael Haines, *Economic-demographic Interrelations in Developing Agricultural Regions. A Case Study of Prussian Upper Silesia 1840–1914* (New York: Arno Press, 1977); Grażyna Liczbińska, *Lutherans in the Poznań Province. Biological Dynamics of the Lutheran Population in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries* (Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovač, 2015).

⁴⁰ Kazimierz Wajda, "Uwagi do wytycznych," *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 12 (1980): 193–200.

⁴¹ Stanisław Borowski, "Zgony i wiek zmarłych w Wielkopolsce w latach 1806–1914," *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 1 (1967): 111–130; Alicja Budnik, Grażyna Liczbińska, "Urban and Rural Differences in Mortality and Causes of Death in Historical Poland," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 129 (2006): 294–304; Mieczysław Kędelski, "Próba rekonstrukcji porządku wymierania w Wielkopolsce w okresie rewolucji demograficznej," *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 12 (1980): 47–65; idem, "Umieralność"; Grażyna Liczbińska, *Umieralność i jej uwarunkowania wśród katolickiej i ewangelickiej ludności historycznego Poznania* (Poznań: Biblioteka Telgte, 2009); eadem, *Lutherans*.

⁴² Haines, *Economic-demographic Interrelations*; Kaczmarek, "Ocena".

⁴³ Grażyna Liczbińska, "Biological and Social Reason of Child Mortality in the Danzig District in the Second Half of the 19th Century," *Anthropological Review* 62 (1999): 85–92; Zbigniew Klotzke, "Ludność obwodu Urzędu Stanu Cywilnego Luzino w latach 1874–1918," *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 12 (1980): 65–104.

⁴⁴ Bronisław Wojtun, "Ocena jakości pruskiej statystyki ludnościowej przy użyciu równań bilansujących," *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 9 (1976): 27–40.

⁴⁵ The results of the assessment of reliability and validity of the Prussian statistics were published by Liczbińska, *Lutherans*, 20–25.

Type of Place of Residence (German: *Charakter der Wohnplätze*). Three types of centers were distinguished by Prussian statisticians: rural areas (*Landgemeinden*), town areas (*Stadtgemeinden*) and cities with at least 20,000 inhabitants (*Städte mit 20000 Einwohner und drüber*). The city of Poznań (German: *Posen*), the capital of the Province of Poznań, was in the last category. In the Prussian sector, rural areas (*Landgemeinden*) had an individual character, and thus encompassed individual villages and land estates. Towns with fewer than 20,000 inhabitants were included by Prussian statisticians in the category *Stadtgemeinden* (towns)⁴⁶. When publishing statistics for centers of residence, account was also taken of whether a child was born to a married or unmarried mother (a column called marital status; German: *Familienstand*). In this group, two categories were distinguished by Prussian statisticians: children born in wedlock (German: *in der Ehe, ehelich*) or children born out of wedlock (German: *ausser der Ehe, unehelich*).

First, in 3 separate Excel sheets (for rural areas, towns and Poznań, respectively), the numbers of live-born boys and girls in particular years were collated, separately for legitimate and illegitimate births. Then the sheets were combined into one, consisting of information on the numbers of males and females born alive, with the year of birth, maternal place of residence and her marital status. The material is shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Number of male and female live births by maternal place of residence and her marital status

Place of residence	Married		Unmarried	
	males	females	males	females
Poznań	40,458	38,002	5,387	5,293
Towns	261,635	249,625	24,714	23,662
Rural areas	781,795	739,496	40,210	38,762

Source: *Preußische Statistik. Die Bewegung der Bevölkerung*.

Methods

From the numbers of live-born males and females the sex ratios at birth were calculated. Maternal socioeconomic status was described according to following variables: “maternal place of residence at delivery” and “maternal marital status at the moment of delivery.” The first variable included 3 categories: 0) Poznań,

⁴⁶ Liczbińska, *Lutherans*; Kędelski, “Próba”; Wajda, “Uwagi.”

i.e., the capital city of the Province of Poznań, 1) towns, and 2) rural areas. The variable “maternal marital status at delivery” allowed two categories to be distinguished: 0) unmarried mother, i.e., an illegitimate child was born, 1) a married mother. In relation to historical and contemporary populations the size of the place of residence and marital status are commonly used indicators of socioeconomic status. These indicators were associated with differences in the standard and quality of life, which was reflected in the stratification of many biological and demographic characteristics.⁴⁷

Mean values (\bar{x}), medians (Me), standard deviations (SD), and lower (Q1) and upper quartile values (Q3) of SRB were computed for the material as a whole as well as according to the maternal place of residence and her marital status. Differences in the SRB values were verified by one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA). If the assumption about the homogeneity of variance was not met, differences in SRB were tested with the use of the non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test by ranks. Generalized Linear Models (GLMs) with binomial error distribution and the logit link function were used to verify which predictors of maternal socioeconomic status: place of residence (Poznań / towns / rural areas) and her marital status (unmarried / married) were significantly associated with the chance that the sex ratio at birth would be below the biological range of 105–107 boys per 100 girls. The sex ratio at birth was used as a response variable, while the maternal place of residence and her marital status as explanatory ones. The odds ratios and their 95% confidence intervals (CI) were calculated to characterize the effect of the explanatory variables on the binary response. Odds ratios allowed the assessment that the risk of sex ratio at birth would be below the biological norm depending on the categories of maternal place of residence and marital status. To assess the performance of the model areas under ROC (receiver operating characteristics), curves (AUC) were calculated. The area under the ROC curve measures

⁴⁷ E.g., Budnik, Liczbińska, “Urban and Rural Differences”; Grażyna Liczbińska, “Diseases, Health Status and Mortality in Urban and Rural Environments: The Case of Catholics and Lutherans in 19th-Century Greater Poland.” *Anthropological Review* 73 (2010): 21–36; eadem, *Lutherans*; Grażyna Liczbińska et al., “Body Mass Index Values of Conscripts in the Polish Lands under Prussian Rule in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries,” *Economics and Human Biology* 21 (2016): 75–83; Grażyna Liczbińska et al., “Marital Fertility and the Family in Poland from the Late Nineteenth to the Early Twentieth Century,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 49 (2018), 2: 279–303; Anna Lipowicz, Monika Lopuszanska, “Marital Differences in Blood Pressure and the Risk of Hypertension among Polish Men,” *European Journal of Epidemiology* 20 (2005): 421–427; Monika Łopuszańska-Dawid et al. “The Relationship between: Occupational Status, Biological Condition and Androgen Hormone Level among Polish Adult Men: The Wrocław Male Study,” *The Aging Male* 19 (2016): 231–238; Alicja Szklarska et al., “Biological Condition of Adult Migrants and Non-Migrants in Wrocław, Poland,” *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 20 (2008): 139–145.

the decisiveness and accuracy of the model, i.e., it compares different models for a particular variable and assesses the performance of the model.⁴⁸

All statistical analyses were carried out using STATISTICA version 12.0.⁴⁹ Significance was set at $p < 0.005$ and $p < 0.001$.

Results

The chi-square test checked the distribution of the SRB values according to the maternal place of residence and maternal marital status. It was assumed that a range of 105–107 boys born alive per 100 girls is the biological norm of sex proportion in human populations,⁵⁰ and 3 categories of the SRB values were separated: 0) SRB < 105; 1) SRB = 105–107; 2) SRB > 107. In the Province of Poznań, among the 3 centers differing in size, it was rural areas where the SRB was most often in the range 105–107, while in Poznań it was the least often ($\chi^2 = 62.72$, $df = 4$, $p < 0.001$). In the case of the marital status of the women from the province, the SRB values 105–107 were observed more frequently in married women than unmarried ($\chi^2 = 120.32$, $df = 2$, $p < 0.001$).

In the entire Province, the statistics of sex ratio at birth are as follows: = 105; Me = 105; SD=7.5. In the capital of the Province, the city of Poznań, the SRB value was at the level of 103.8 ± 9.5 , Me = 104, in towns – 104.8 ± 7.1 , Me = 104, while in rural areas it was 105.0 ± 6.4 , Me = 105. In Poznań, towns and rural areas the central 50% quartiles (Q1–Q3) of the SRB values range from 95–112, 100–110 and 102–109 respectively. The Kruskal-Wallis test did not confirm differences in the SRB between the centers at a statistical level ($p > 0.05$). The value of the SRB according to maternal marital status differed significantly, being lower for unmarried mothers: 103.5 ± 9.3 , Me = 103 than married ones: 105.3 ± 6.0 , Me = 105 (Kruskal-Wallis test: $H = 13.4$, $p < 0.001$). The central Q1–Q3 of SRB in unmarried and married mothers was 96–112 and 102–109 respectively.

The ROC curves with AUC placed between 0.7–0.72 showed that the accuracy of a decision for the risk of sex ratio at birth values based on maternal SES characteristics represented a poor test. However, GLMs revealed that maternal place of residence and her marital status affected sex proportion at birth. The directions of the effects were positive, and odds ratios were above 1. This means that the

⁴⁸ Andrzej Stanisław, *Przystępny kurs statystyki z zastosowaniem STATISTICA PL na przykładach medycyny*, t. 2: *Modele liniowe i nieliniowe*. StatSoft Kraków, 2007; see also in Magdalena Kosińska, Tomasz Hadada, Grażyna Liczbińska, “Does Extreme Maternal Age Still Act as a Risk Factor for Adverse Perinatal Outcome? Evidence from Poland 20 Years after the Social and Economic Transformation,” *Anthropological Review* 82 (2019): 125–137.

⁴⁹ Stat Soft, Inc. 2019; STATISTICA version 12.0, www.statsoft.com.

⁵⁰ Cavalli-Sforza, Bodmer, *The Genetics*.

odds of events (here: the sex ratios at birth < the range of 105–107 boys born alive per 100 girls) were greater in the cities than in the rural areas of the Province, and greater among unmarried women than in mothers living in matrimony (Table 2). The same pattern was confirmed when the sex ratio values at birth of lower than 90 boys per 100 girls were excluded from analysis, as considered the extreme low (Table 3).

Table 2. Model coefficients and odds ratios explaining the influence of maternal marital status and her place of residence on the sex ratio at birth below the value 105–107 boys born per 100 girls

Explanatory variables	Estimate	SE	+95 CL	–95% CL	OR (95% CI)
Place of residence					
Poznań	0.43	0.06	0.30	0.55	2.36 (1.84–3.03)*
Towns	0.17	0.06	0.05	0.28	1.14 (1.12–1.77)**
Villages ^a					
Marital status					
Unmarried	0.45	0.05	0.35	0.55	2.47 (2.02–3.01)*
Married ^a					

Abbreviations: SE – standard error; CL – confidence level; OR – odds ratio; CI – confidence interval.

^a Omitted category is reference group.

* Significant $p < 0.001$; ** Significant $p < 0.005$.

Source: *Preußische Statistik. Die Bewegung der Bevölkerung.*

Table 3. Model coefficients and odds ratios explaining the influence of maternal marital status and her place of residence on the sex ratio at birth below the value of 105–107 boys born per 100 girls (SRB < 90 excluded from analysis)

Explanatory variables	Estimate	SE	+95 CL	–95% CL	OR (95% CI)
Place of residence					
Poznań	0.76	0.12	0.53	0.99	4.54 (2.87–3.18)*
Towns	0.36	0.09	0.19	0.53	2.06 (1.46–2.91)*
Villages ^a					
Marital status					
Unmarried	0.79	0.09	0.59	0.98	4.82 (3.27–4.10)*
Married ^a					

Abbreviations: SE – standard error; CL – confidence level; OR – odds ratio; CI – confidence interval.

^a Omitted category is reference group.

* Significant $p < 0.001$.

Source: *Preußische Statistik. Die Bewegung der Bevölkerung.*

Discussion

Maternal stress during pregnancy has a negative effect on the course of pregnancy and the perinatal outcome of newborns.⁵¹ It contributes to a delay in fetal intrauterine growth, a low birth weight,⁵² and causes premature births.⁵³ It also leads to frequent spontaneous miscarriages of male fetuses,⁵⁴ since males are at greater risk of death or damage during pregnancy than females,⁵⁵ which is ultimately reflected in the decline of the proportion of males to females at birth.⁵⁶ In contemporary human populations sources of environmental stress are very diverse: from chemical contaminants such as TCDD (dioxin),⁵⁷ pesticides,⁵⁸ car exhaust fumes,⁵⁹ radioactive substances,⁶⁰ and the mother's addiction to smoking

⁵¹ Gail A. Barbosa, "The Association of Life Events to Gestational Age at Delivery among Low-Income, Urban, African American Women," *Journal of Perinatology* 20 (2000): 438–442; Laura M. Glynn et. al., "When Stress Happens Matters: Effects of Earthquake Timing on Stress Responsivity in Pregnancy," *American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology* 184 (2001): 637–642; Grażyna Liczbińska, Miroslav Králík, "Body Size at Birth in Babies Born during WWII: The Evidence from Poland," *American Journal of Human Biology* 32 (2020): e23421; Heather Lipkind et. al., "Birth Outcomes among Offspring of Women Exposed to the September 11, 2001, Terrorist Attacks," *American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology* 116 (2010): 917–925; Torche, Kleinhaus, "Prenatal Stress"; Xu Xiong et. al., "Exposure to Hurricane Katrina, Post-traumatic Stress Disorder and Birth Outcomes," *The American Journal of the Medical Sciences* 336 (2008): 111–115; Peng Zhu et. al., "Prenatal Life Events Stress: Implications for Preterm Birth and Infant Birthweight," *American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology* 203 (2010): 1–8.

⁵² Henry William James, "Proximate Causes of the Variation of the Human Sex Ratio at Birth," *Early Human Development* 91 (2015): 795–799.

⁵³ Ralph Catalano, Hans-Tore Hansen, Terry Hartig, "The Ecological Effect of Unemployment on the Incidence of Very Low Birthweight in Norway and Sweden," *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 40 (1990): 422–428; Ralph Catalano et. al., "Sex Ratios in California Following the Terrorist Attacks of September 11, 2001," *Human Reproduction* 20 (2005): 1221–1227; Torche, Kleinhaus, "Prenatal Stress."

⁵⁴ Liczbińska, Kralík, "Body Size"; Torche, Kleinhaus, "Prenatal Stress."

⁵⁵ Reiko Mizuno, "The Male/Female Ratio of Fetal Deaths and Births in Japan," *The Lancet* 356 (2000): 738–739.

⁵⁶ Żądzińska et. al., "Can Economic Stress," Żądzińska et. al., "Zastosowanie modeli ARI-MA."

⁵⁷ Piet Hein Jongbloet, Nel Roeleveld, Hans Groenewoud, "Where the Boys Aren't: Dioxin and the Sex Ratio," *Environmental Health Perspectives* 110 (2002): 1–3; Paolo Mocarelli et. al., "Paternal Concentrations of Dioxin and Sex Ratio of Offspring," *The Lancet* 355 (2000): 1858–1863.

⁵⁸ Irene Figà-Talamanca et. al., "Environmental Factors and the Proportion of Males at Birth in Italy," *Environmental and Occupational Health* 58 (2003): 119–124; Terttu Vartiainen, Leena Kartovaara, Jouko Tuomisto, "Environmental Chemicals and Changes in Sex Ratio: Analysis over 250 Years in Finland," *Environmental Health Perspectives* 107 (1999): 813–815.

⁵⁹ Eugene Pergament, Pinar Bayrak Todydemir, Morris Fiddler, "Sex Ratio: A Biological Perspective of 'Sex and the City,'" *Reproductive BioMedicine Online* 5 (2002): 43–46.

⁶⁰ Miroslav Peterka, Renata Peterkova, Zbynek Likovsky, "Chernobyl: Prenatal Loss of Four Hundred Male Fetuses in the Czech Republic," *Reproductive Toxicology* 18 (2004): 75–79.

and alcohol.⁶¹ Sources of environmental stress are also seen in natural disasters, such as earthquakes⁶² and floods,⁶³ and also in terrorist attacks,⁶⁴ wars⁶⁵ and economic crises.⁶⁶ Human populations respond to adverse environmental conditions by a decline of the number of boys at births, which is evident as a decrease of the sex ratio at birth.⁶⁷

In 1973 Trivers and Willard⁶⁸ claimed that during a time of *prosperity* parents invest more resources such as food and care in boys, while in more difficult times, in girls. Their so-called *economic stress hypothesis* is based on the statement that during a time of *prosperity* natural selection favors mothers who bear male fetuses because they are not under any strong stress and ultimately, they give birth to sons. In a situation of economic stress, the opposite is observed: stress weakens the mother's biological condition, and she gives birth to daughters more often than to boys. Economic stress can be caused by reducing consumption below the expected demand which in turn leads to a decrease in the male-to-female proportion at birth.⁶⁹ The literature has confirmed that stress induced by acute economic

⁶¹ Elżbieta Żądzińska, "Fluctuating Asymmetry of Some Head Structures and Its Possible Causes," *Anthropological Review* 66 (2003): 39–54; Żądzińska et al., "Zastosowanie modeli ARIMA"; Christopher R.S. Dougherty, A.D. Jones, "The Determinants of Birth Weight," *American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology* 144 (1982): 190–200.

⁶² Torche, Kleinhaus, "Prenatal Stress"; Misao Fukuda et al., "Decline in Sex Ratio at Birth after Kobe Earthquake," *Human Reproduction* 13 (1998): 2321–2322.

⁶³ Catalano, "Sex Ratios."

⁶⁴ Tim Bruckner, Ralph Catalano, Jennifer Ahern, "Male Fetal Loss in the U.S. Following the Terrorist Attacks of September 11, 2001," *BMC Public Health* 10 (2010): 273.

⁶⁵ Jan Graffelman, Rolf Hoekstra, "A Statistical Analysis of the Effect of Warfare on the Human Secondary Sex Ratio," *Human Biology* 72 (2000): 433–445; Piet Hein Jongbloet et al., "The Secular Trends in Male: Female Ratio at Birth in Post-war Industrialized Countries," *Environmental Health Perspectives* 109 (2001): 749–752; Ariane Kemkes, "Secondary Sex Ratio Variation during Stressful Times: The Impact of the French Revolutionary Wars on a German Parish (1787–1802)," *American Journal of Human Biology* 8 (2006), 6: 806–821; Liczbińska, Kralik, "Body Size"; O. Polasek et al., "Sex Ratio at Birth and War in Croatia (1991–1995)," *Human Reproduction* 20 (2005), 9: 2489–2491; Vartiainen, Kartovaara, Tuomisto, "Environmental Chemicals and Changes"; Branko Zorn et al., "Decline in Sex Ratio."

⁶⁶ Catalano, "Sex Ratios"; Victor Grech, "Historic Royal Events and the Male to Female Ratio at Birth in the United Kingdom," *European Journal of Obstetrics & Gynecology and Reproductive Biology* 191 (2015): 57–61; Victor Grech, "The Secondary Sex Ratio at Birth Was Depressed in Quebec in the Sovereignty Referendums," *Journal of Obstetrics and Gynaecology Canada* 37 (2015), 5: 405–411; John Jarrell, "Rationale for Study of the Human Sex Ratio in Population Studies of Polluted Environments," *Cadernos de Saude Publica* 18 (2002): 429–443; Żądzińska et al., "Can Economic Stress"; Żądzińska et al., "Zastosowanie modeli ARIMA."

⁶⁷ Żądzińska et al., "Can Economic Stress"; Żądzińska et al., "Zastosowanie modeli ARIMA."

⁶⁸ Robert L. Trivers, Dan E. Willard, "Natural Selection of Parental Ability to Vary the Sex Ratio of Offspring," *Science* 179 (1973): 90–92.

⁶⁹ Victor Grech, "The Influence of Migration on Secular Trends in Sex Ratios at Birth in Cuba in the past Fifty Years," *Western Indian Medical Journal* 63 (2014): 372e6.

reasons reduces the human sex ratio at birth. Catalano⁷⁰ showed changes in the SRB after the economic collapse following Germany's reunification. In East Germany in 1991, the male-to-female ratio at birth was at the lowest level since the end of WWII. Catalano⁷¹ justified his results with economic indicators in the light of which in 1991, East German industrial production dropped by half to its lowest recorded value, 20% of the labor force was unemployed and another 20% worked a few hours a week. A sharp decline in M / F at birth was observed in Ireland as the response to the 2007 economic shock.⁷² An improvement in economic and social conditions in OECD countries, especially in Estonia, is by contrast connected to an increase in the SRB in these countries.⁷³ Koziel and Ulijaszek⁷⁴ found partial evidence of greater investment in female offspring in families with the lowest level of paternal education and greater investment in male ones in the case of parents with higher levels of education. Mealey and Mackey⁷⁵ suggest that the sex ratio at birth in 19th-century Mormons was affected by the mother's social status and her access to resources. Ruckstuhl and her team⁷⁶ proved that women doing work categorized as "high stress" were more likely to give birth to daughters, while those with jobs categorized as "low stress" produced a similar number of daughters and sons or slightly more male offspring. Elissa Cameron and Fredrik Dalerum⁷⁷ investigated a group of the wealthiest people in the world⁷⁸ and showed that in billionaire families more sons than daughters were born compared to the general population.

In the population of the Province of Poznań, single motherhood increased the chance that the proportion of boys to girls at birth would decline. Marital status is considered one of the markers of socio-economic status, encompassing a complex

⁷⁰ Catalano, "Sex Ratios," 1972–1975.

⁷¹ Catalano, "Sex Ratios," after: Manfred J.M. Neumann, *German Unification: Economic Problems and Consequences*. Working Paper DP584 (London: Center for Economic Policy Research, 1991); Michael Funke, Jörg Rahn, "How Efficient Is the East German Economy? An Exploration with Microdata," *Economics of Transition* 10 (2002): 201–205.

⁷² Victor Grech, "Economic Stress and the Secondary Sex Ratio: Ireland, Iceland, Greece and Latvia," *International Journal of Tropical Disease & Health* 5 (2015): 252–259.

⁷³ Ohto Kanninen, Aleksi Karhula, "Changes in Income at Macro Level Predict Sex Ratio at Birth in OECD Countries," *PLoS ONE* (2016), DOI:10.1371/journal.pone.0158943.

⁷⁴ Sławomir Koziel, Stanley J. Ulijaszek, "Waiting for Trivers and Willard: Do the Rich Really Favor Sons?" *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 115 (2001): 71–79.

⁷⁵ Mealey, Mackey, "Variation."

⁷⁶ Kathreen E. Ruckstuhl, Grant P. Colijn, Volodymyr Amiot, Erin Vinish, "Mother's Occupation and Sex Ratio at Birth," *BMC Public Health* 10 (2010): 269.

⁷⁷ Elissa Z. Cameron, Fredrik Dalerum, "A Trivers-Willard Effect in Contemporary Humans: Male-Biased Sex Ratios among Billionaires," *PLoS ONE* 4 (2009), 1: e4195, DOI: 10.1371/journal.pone.0004195.

⁷⁸ Elissa Cameron and Fredrik Dalerum built their dataset on the basis of information from the Forbes billionaire list.

of factors associated with a woman's social and professional position, her living conditions, and relationship with a social group such as social stigmatization, lack of psychological support, etc. This has been confirmed by studies of historical populations.⁷⁹ Unwed mothers mainly belonged to lower social classes. Among upper- and middle-class women, cases of illegitimate births were very rare.⁸⁰ Unmarried mothers and their children were treated more severely than married mothers and children born in wedlock. Illegitimate children were usually deprived of the right of succession, had no access to office jobs or the priesthood, and were sometimes stigmatized for life by the local community. It sometimes happened that the mothers of children born out of wedlock were relegated to a special place in the church called "the whore's pew" or "the pew of shame".⁸¹ Access to medical care for single mothers was worse than for married women, which was associated with higher rates of death in their infants compared to the children of married couples⁸². Cases of infanticide were also frequent. As written by Revuelta-Eugercios,⁸³ "increased mortality among illegitimate children in the regular population was caused by shame, poverty, or a combination of both. Single women with no partner to support them economically or emotionally experienced great distress during pregnancy and after delivery, which could have harmful effects on children's health."⁸⁴ In the contemporary world, similarly to historical times, unmarried mothers more frequently belong to the category of women with low socioeconomic status than married ones. This makes them more exposed to the stress resulting from poor living conditions, unemployment and financial problems, and they more frequently experience adverse interpersonal factors such

⁷⁹ Anders Brändström, "Illegitimacy and Lone-Parenthood in 19th Century Sweden," *Annales de démographie historique* 2 (1998): 93–114; Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux, "Continuity and Change among the Rhemish Proletariat: Preindustrial Textile Work in the Family Perspective," *The History of the Family* 6 (2001), 2: 167–187; eadem, *Domestic Service and the Formation of European Identity: Understanding the Globalization of Domestic Work, 16th-21st Centuries* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2004); Alice Reid et al., "Vulnerability among Illegitimate Children in Nineteenth Century Scotland," *Annales de démographie historique* 111 (2006): 89–113; Reto Schumacher, Grażyna Ryczkowska, Olivier Perroux, "Unwed Mothers in the City. Illegitimate Fertility in 19th-Century Geneva," *The History of the Family* 12 (2007), 3: 189–202.

⁸⁰ Schumacher, Ryczkowska, Perroux, "Unwed Mothers."

⁸¹ Freddy Sarg, *En Alsace, du berceau à la tombe: rites, coutumes et croyances, hier et aujourd'hui* (Strasbourg: Editions Oberlin, 1977).

⁸² Jan Kok, Frans van Poppel, Ellen Kruse, "Mortality among Illegitimate Children in Mid-nineteenth Century the Hague," in: *The Decline of Infant and Child Mortality. The European Experience: 1750–1990*, eds. Carlo A. Corsini, Paulo Viazzo (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1997), 193–212.

⁸³ Bárbara A. Revuelta-Eugercios, "Abandoned and Illegitimate, a Double Mortality Penalty? Mortality of Illegitimate Infants in the Foundling Hospital of Madrid, La Inclusa (1890–1935)," *The History of the Family* 18 (2013): 44–67.

⁸⁴ Revuelta-Eugercios, "Abandoned and Illegitimate," 45.

as violence. They are also deprived of psychosocial support and social stability.⁸⁵ Unmarried status is still considered an important stress factor for pregnant women, translating into higher rates of preterm delivery and prevalence of low birth weight in subjects born at term compared with babies born to married mothers.⁸⁶

Cities also increased the chance that the proportion of boys to girls at birth would decline below the biological norm. Cities destined single mothers to anonymity, which could protect them from the widespread social disapproval of illegitimate children at the time. In practice, single mothers were exposed more frequently to economic insecurity in cities than in rural areas. They were affected by low income, poverty and poor housing conditions, physical effort related to work, spatial mobility, and moreover stress caused by social disintegration.⁸⁷ Moreover, urban centers in the Province of Poznań were characterized by deficits in infrastructure, poor sanitary and hygienic conditions and a lack of access to clean water. Among them, the city of Poznań stood out in particular. With its dramatically poor living conditions – with a mainly working-class population concentrated in overcrowded districts – it posed a threat to human health and life.⁸⁸ The population's poor biological condition resulting mainly from very high infant and child death rates has frequently been highlighted in the literature. By contrast, rural areas still enjoyed an unpolluted natural environment.⁸⁹ Along with the poor living conditions of the city residents, the working conditions deteriorated. For example, in many Poznań factories and workshops, the working day lengthened from 12 hours to 16 hours. Health and safety in industrial plants left much to be desired. Factories and workshops failed to install protective devices, thus causing an increase in the number of workplace accidents. Poor living conditions and malnutrition were additionally to blame for the deteriorating health of employees: in 1900 nearly 45% of the Poznań population lived in one-room dwellings, often

⁸⁵ Sheryl Thorburn Bird et al., "Beyond Marital Status: Relationship Type and Duration and the Risk of Low Birth Weight," *Family Planning Perspectives* 32 (2000): 281–287; Emily E Campbell, Jamie A. Seabrook, "The Influence of Socioeconomic Status on Adverse Birth Outcomes," *Canadian Journal of Midwifery Research and Practice* 15 (2016): 10–20; Jamie A. Seabrook, William R. Avison, "Family Structure and Children's Socio-Economic Attainment: A Canadian Sample," *Canadian Review of Sociology* 52 (2012): 66–88.

⁸⁶ Sylvia Kirchengast, Michael Mayer, Manfred Voigt, "Pregnancy Outcome Is Associated with Maternal Marital Status in Austria – Even at the Beginning of the 21st Century," *Anthropologischer Anzeiger* 65 (2007): 415–426.

⁸⁷ Reid et al., "Vulnerability."

⁸⁸ Budnik, Liczbińska, "Urban and Rural Differences"; Liczbińska, "Diseases"; eadem, *Lutherans*; eadem, *Umieralność*; eadem, "Infant and Child Mortality among Catholics and Lutherans in Nineteenth Century Poznań", *Journal of Biosocial Science* 41 (2009): 661–683.

⁸⁹ Budnik, Liczbińska, "Urban and Rural Differences"; Liczbińska, "Diseases"; eadem, *Lutherans*; eadem, *Umieralność*; eadem, "Infant."

cramped, damp and unheated, one room sometimes shared by 5 to 12 people.⁹⁰ Poverty, the low standard of living, the effort related to performing physical work and stress affected pregnant women through the biological (physiological) mechanisms and could have had a negative effect on the course of pregnancy and translated into the more frequent elimination of weaker male fetuses, preterm births (causing perinatal death) or the stillbirths of males rather than females. Moreover, in the Province of Poznań of the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries, there were clear differences in the rates of illegitimate births depending on the size of the place of residence: the highest figures were noted in cities and towns while the lowest were in the villages of the region.⁹¹ As was mentioned earlier in this paper, this fact could have additionally contributed to the proportion of boys to girls at birth being lower in cities than in rural areas.

Research limitations

We are aware that our research is not free from limitations. The aggregate data did not allow a deeper insight into the phenomenon under study, which would have been done if individual information on births had been used. Secondly, the aggregate data on live births by sex did not contain information on the duration of pregnancy, including pre-term and prolonged pregnancies. Moreover, the lack of information on fetal deaths in utero, miscarriages / abortions and stillbirths as well as maternal age at birth and birth order did not allow us to capture the biological factors driving the changes of the SRB in the period under study. It is worth emphasizing that the variability of the SRB values obtained in this work could also be due to other factors which have not been identified here.

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⁹⁰ Czesław Łuczak, *Życie gospodarczo-społeczne w Poznaniu 1815–1918* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1965).

⁹¹ Liczbińska, *Lutherans*, 113.

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Did the Sex Ratio at Birth Reflect Social and Economic Inequalities? A Pilot Study from the Province of Poznań, 1875–1913

Summary

The sex ratio at birth, or SRB (secondary sex ratio or the masculinization rate of newborns), is a simple test of the reliability of historical sources. According to biological law its range is 105–107 of males born alive per 100 female live births. There are studies suggesting that SRB values could be modified by environmental stress which, when it affects pregnant women, leads to greater elimination of weaker male fetuses. The goal of this study was to check whether and to what extent the values of sex ratio at birth may have reflected social and economic inequalities in the Province of Poznań (German: *Provinz Posen*) in the late 1800s and early 1900s. It was assumed that maternal economic, social and emotional well-being differed according to the size of the place of residence (Poznań-town-village) and marital status (married-unmarried). Adverse living conditions affecting pregnant women could have translated into perinatal outcomes, including the decline of the number of boys to girls at birth. The study was based on aggregate data encompassing the numbers of live births for the years 1875–1913. They were derived from Prussian statistical yearbooks. In total 2,249,039 aggregate numbers of live births were collected, including 1,154,199 live-born males and 1,094,840 live-born females. The specificity of the Prussian statistics allowed maternal socio-economic variables, i.e., the mother's place of residence and her marital status to be taken into account. The chi-square test showed that the SRB in the range of the biological norm was most frequent in rural areas and among married mothers, while it was least frequent in Poznań and among unmarried mothers. In the Province of Poznań, living in urban areas (e.g., Poznań) and single motherhood were the predictors increasing the chance that the proportion of boys to girls at birth would decline below the biological norm. These factors could affect women during pregnancy through biological (physiological) mechanisms induced by adverse economic conditions (poverty, poor housing conditions, physical effort related to work and spatial mobility) and psychological stress (a lack of social approval and support, social instability, occurrence of stigmatization etc.). It is worth noting, however, that the variability of the values of sex ratio at birth could also be due to other factors, not identified (captured) in this paper.

Czy wskaźnik proporcji płci przy urodzeniu odzwierciedlał nierówności społeczne i ekonomiczne? Pilotażowe badania prowincji poznańskiej, 1875–1913

Streszczenie

Proporcja płci w momencie urodzenia (współczynnik wtórnej proporcji płci lub wskaźnik maskulinizacji noworodków) jest prostym testem wiarygodności źródeł historycznych i zgodnie z prawem biologicznym zawiera się w przedziale 105–107 żywo urodzonych noworodków płci męskiej na 100 urodzeń płci żeńskiej. Istnieją badania sugerujące,

że wartość wskaźnika proporcji płci przy urodzeniu może być modyfikowana przez stres środowiskowy, który działając na kobiety w ciąży, prowadzi do częstszej eliminacji słabszych płodów płci męskiej. Celem pracy było sprawdzenie, czy i w jakim stopniu wartości wskaźnika wtórnej proporcji płci mogły odzwierciedlać nierówności społeczne w prowincji poznańskiej w ostatnich dekadach XIX i początku XX wieku. W pracy założono, że ekonomiczny, społeczny i emocjonalny dobrostan matki różnił się ze względu na wielkość miejsca zamieszkania (Poznań / miasteczko / wieś) oraz stan cywilny (kobiety niezamężne / mężatki). Niekorzystne warunki życia kobiet w ciąży mogły przekładać się na wyniki okołoporodowe, w tym spadek liczby urodzeń chłopców do dziewczynek. Badania oparto na zbiorczych danych obejmujących liczby urodzeń żywych w latach 1875–1913. Pochodzą one z pruskich roczników statystycznych. Ogółem zebrano 2 249 039 liczb urodzeń żywych, w tym 1 154 199 noworodków płci męskiej i 1 094 840 płci żeńskiej. Specyfika pruskich statystyk pozwoliła uwzględnić matczyne zmienne społeczno-ekonomiczne, tj. miejsce zamieszkania matki i jej stan cywilny. Test chi-kwadrat wykazał, że na obszarach wiejskich i w grupie matek zamężnych wartość wskaźnika proporcji płci kształtowała się najczęściej w zakresie normy biologicznej, podczas gdy w Poznaniu i w grupie matek niezamężnych – najrzadziej. W populacji zamieszkującej prowincję poznańską obszary miejskie (np. Poznań) i samotne macierzyństwo były predyktorami zwiększającymi szansę na spadek proporcji chłopców do dziewczynek przy urodzeniu. Czynniki te mogły działać na kobiety w ciąży poprzez mechanizmy biologiczne (fizjologiczne) indukowane niekorzystnymi warunkami ekonomicznymi (ubóstwo, złe warunki mieszkaniowe, wysiłek fizyczny związany z pracą, mobilność przestrzenna) i stresem psychologicznym (brak aprobaty i wsparcia społecznego, niestabilność społeczna, stygmatyzacja itp.). Warto podkreślić, że zmienność wskaźnika proporcji płci mogła wynikać również z innych czynników, które w tej pracy nie zostały zidentyfikowane (uchwycone).



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The Process of Demographic Transition in Lands of the Former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Other Areas with Polish-Speaking Populations, 1865–1912

Przebieg procesu przejścia demograficznego na ziemiach dawnego państwa polsko-litewskiego oraz na innych obszarach z polskojęzyczną ludnością w latach 1865–1912

Abstract

The aim of the research is to trace the process of demographic transition in the area of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, enlarged by areas with a predominantly Polish-speaking population, Upper Silesia and Cieszyn Silesia, as well as Southern Masuria. The time frame of the work covers the years 1865–1912. Changes in the basic indicators of the vital statistics of the population were analyzed: the crude death rate (death rate per 1,000 population), the crude birth rate and the crude marriage rate. The source of the data is the work of Adam Krzyżanowski and Kazimierz Kumaniecki, *Statystyka Polski* [Statistics of Poland], which was

Abstrakt

Celem pracy jest prześledzenie procesu przejścia demograficznego na ziemiach byłego państwa polsko-litewskiego, poszerzonych o obszary zamieszkane głównie przez ludność polskojęzyczną, tj. Górny Śląsk i Śląsk Cieszyński oraz Mazury Południowe. Zakres czasowy pracy obejmuje lata 1865–1912. Przeanalizowano zmiany podstawowych wskaźników ruchu naturalnego ludności, czyli: surowego wskaźnika zgonów (natężenie zgonów na tys. ludności), surowego wskaźnika urodzeń oraz surowego wskaźnika zawierania małżeństw. Źródłem danych jest praca Adama Krzyżanowskiego i Kazimierza Kumanieckiego *Statystyka Polski*,

in fact the first statistical yearbook of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and other predominantly Polish-speaking areas. The analysis was carried out strictly according to the requirements of the demographic transition theory. A comparative analysis of the demographic situation in these lands on the eve of the outbreak of World War I was carried out using Ward's taxonomic method and the k-means method. The results of the analysis indicate that the process of demographic transition in these lands was varied and was conditioned by their economic development and geographical location.

Keywords

historical demography, vital statistics, demographic transition theory, taxonomic methods

będąca w istocie pierwszym rocznikiem statystycznym ziem polskich. Analizę przeprowadzono ściśle według wymogów teorii przejścia demograficznego. Analizę porównawczą sytuacji demograficznej na ziemiach polskich w przededniu wybuchu I wojny światowej przeprowadzono przy zastosowaniu taksonomicznej metody Warda oraz metody k-średnich. Wyniki przeprowadzonej analizy wskazują, że proces przejścia demograficznego na ziemiach polskich przebiegał w sposób zróżnicowany i był uwarunkowany rozwojem gospodarczym oraz położeniem geograficznym tych ziem.

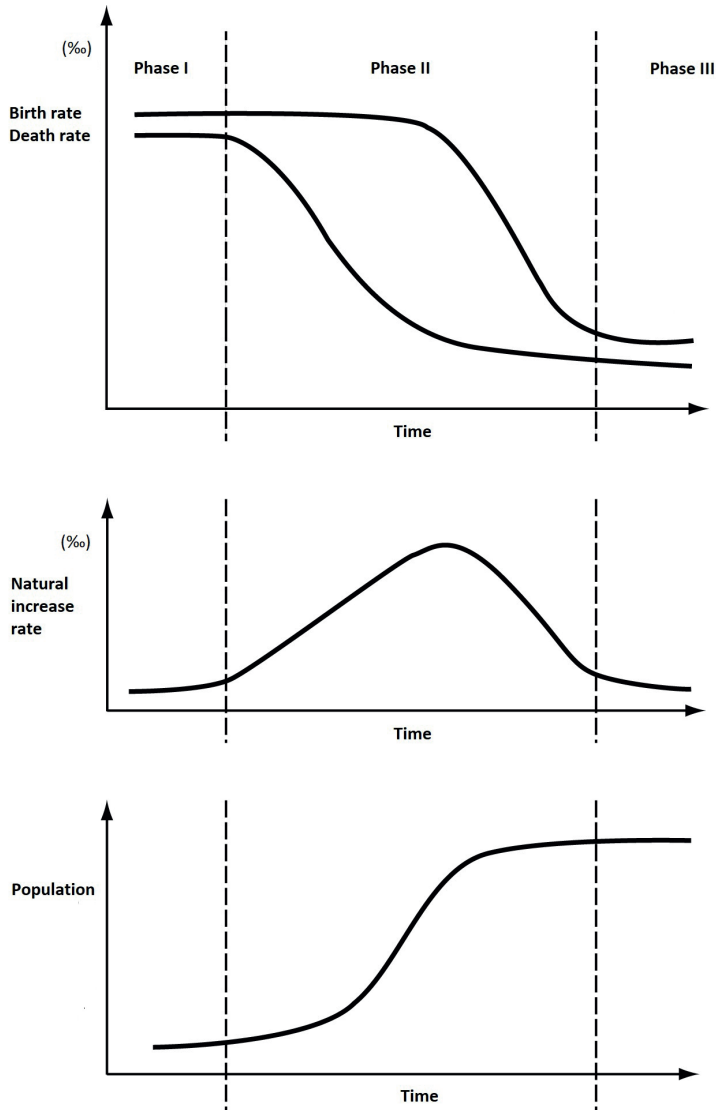
Słowa kluczowe

demografia historyczna, statystyka ruchu naturalnego, teoria przejścia demograficznego, metody taksonomiczne

The Theory of the Demographic Transition

A commonly recognized theoretical basis for studying changes in the vital statistics of the population is the theory of demographic transition (demographic transformation). It recognizes that in the historical process of changes taking place in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, there was a fundamental transformation of the population reproduction process, from the traditional (primitive) phase of reproduction, characterized by high mortality and fertility, through the phase of demographic transition, consisting in a reduction in mortality and, slightly later, fertility, to the modern reproductive phase, characterized by low mortality and low fertility. In the demographic transition phase, the relationship between falling mortality and natural fertility is disrupted, which is accompanied firstly by a rapid increase in the number of the population, and then, along with a decrease in fertility, the pace of population increase slows down until the phase of modern equilibrium is reached. A diagram of this demographic transformation is shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Classic diagram of demographic transition

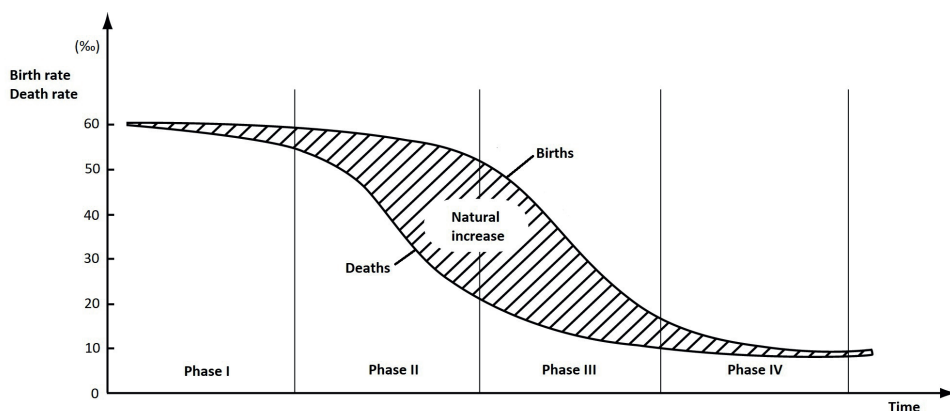


Source: data from Marek Okólski, ed. *Teoria przejścia demograficznego* (Warszawa: Polskie Wydawnictwo Ekonomiczne, 1990).

The beginnings of the theory of demographic transition are associated with the independent work of Adolphe Landry¹ in France and Warren S. Thompson² in America. Both presented changes in the processes of mortality and natality in the classic three-phase form. The theory of demographic transition in its mature and classical form was formulated by Frank W. Notestein.³

Nowadays in demographic research, the four-phase model of demographic transition⁴ is most often used (Figure 2).

Figure 2. The four-phase model of demographic transition



Source: data from Jerzy Z. Holzer, *Demografia* (Warszawa: PWE, 2003).

In the first phase, we observe the natural process of population reproduction, in which the intensity of births and deaths remains at a high level. In this phase, there is a simple or slightly extended reproduction of the population, and periods in which the mortality rate exceeds the natality rate are also possible. In the second phase, a decrease in mortality is observed, while fertility remains at the current high, natural level, which results in an increasing natural increase in the

¹ Adolphe Landry, *La Révolution Démographique. Études et Essais sur les Problèmes de la Population* (Paris: Librairie du Recueil Sirey, société anonyme, 1934).

² Warren S. Thompson, "Population," *American Journal of Sociology* 34 (1929), 6: 959–975.

³ Frank W. Notestein, "Population. The Long View," in: *Food for the World*, ed. T. Schulz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945), 36–57.

⁴ Ansley J. Coale, *The Growth and Structure of Human Populations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972). In Polish, a description of the four-phase model can be found in, among others: Małgorzata Rószkiewicz, *Model transformacji demograficznej. Teoretyczne uogólnienia oraz praktyczne implikacje* (Warszawa: SGPiS, 1987).

population.⁵ The third phase is characterized by a faster decrease in the level of fertility than mortality, which results in a declining natural increase in the population. In phase four, the birth rate approaches or exceeds the mortality rate, resulting in zero or negative natural increase.

In the demographic literature, we can find many works in which the theoretical aspects of the demographic transition theory are discussed, its determinants by level of economic and social development, and also problems relating to its empirical verification in geographically, economically, socially and politically diverse countries.⁶

Although the general pattern of demographic transition shown in Figures 1 and 2 is true for all countries, the specific course of changes in the intensity of deaths and births in each country, and even in individual regions of the countries, is different. Empirical demographic research on the course of the demographic transition process in a four-phase approach in various regions of the world, countries and their regions consists in:

- determining the moment of transition of a given society from the first phase to the second i.e., determining the beginning of the demographic transition process;
- determining the moment of transition from the second phase to the third phase, i.e., to the moment when a constant decline in fertility appears;
- determining the moment of transition from the third phase to the fourth, i.e., to the moment when the demographic transition process is completed;
- determination of the mortality curve throughout the demographic transition period;
- determination of the fertility curve throughout the demographic transition period.

⁵ The phase of increasing natural increase rate in the demographic literature is equated with a demographic explosion, see e.g., Edward Rosset, *Ekspluzja demograficzna* (Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza, 1978).

⁶ The very extensive world literature will not be mentioned here. The basic work presenting general and detailed problems of the demographic transition theory published in Polish is Marek Okólski, ed., *Teoria przejścia demograficznego* (Warszawa: Polskie Wydawnictwo Ekonomiczne, 1990). Other more important works in Polish on this subject include: Jerzy Z. Holzer, *Demografia* (Warszawa: PWE, 2003); Jolanta Kurkiewicz, *Modele przemian płodności w wybranych krajach europejskich w świetle drugiego przejścia demograficznego* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Akademii Ekonomicznej w Krakowie, 1998); Jolanta Kurkiewicz, ed., *Procesy demograficzne i metody ich analizy* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Ekonomicznego w Krakowie, 2010); Marek Okólski, *Demografia* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, 2005). An interesting work presenting the model and course of demographic transformation in the context of the course of long-term demographic processes in Kraków at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries is Bartosz Ogórek, *Niezatarte piętno? Wpływ I wojny światowej na ludność miasta Krakowa* (Kraków: Universitas, 2018).

Accurate determination of the mortality and natality curves requires a knowledge of crude mortality rates and crude birth or total fertility rates over long periods of time, which is often difficult to achieve, especially in long-gone times or in countries with a low degree of political organization. It is slightly easier to approximate the transition boundaries to particular phases, as this requires knowledge of the relevant coefficient values only in breakthrough periods. Many works have been devoted to the study of the demographic transition process in world literature. Among them, the most important is the extensive work of Jean-Claude Chesnais,⁷ who collected extensive statistical material on the course of the demographic transition process in 67 countries covering the period 1720–1984.

The purpose of this work is to show the approximate course of the demographic transition process in the various regions of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and other predominantly Polish-speaking areas from the mid-nineteenth century to the outbreak of World War I and to show the similarity and diversity of the process in the distinguished administrative units on the eve of the outbreak of World War I.

Statystyka Polski as a Source of Study of the Demographic Transition Process

In 1912, in Kraków, statisticians and economists from all partitions established an association of Polish statisticians under the name of the Polskie Towarzystwo Statystyczne [Polish Statistical Association, hereafter referred to as the PTS].⁸ Its first president, Dr. Juliusz Leo, was elected Professor of the Treasury at the Jagiellonian University, Mayor of the City of Kraków and was an outstanding conservative politician.

One of the basic goals of the PTS was to publish social statistical yearbooks for the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and other areas with Polish-speaking populations. At the end of the partitions, there were quite extensive and reliable demographic, social and economic data on the territory of the Polish state which, at that time, did not officially exist. However, the data were scattered around the publications and statistical sources of the partitioning states.

⁷ Jean-Claude Chesnais, *La transition démographique. Étapes, formes, implications économiques* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1986).

⁸ Many works are devoted to the history of the PTS, including Czesław Domański, *Jubileusz Polskiego Towarzystwa Statystycznego*, in: *Tradycje i obecne zadania statystyki w Polsce*, ed. Alexander Zeliaś (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Akademii Ekonomicznej w Krakowie, 2004); Józef Pocięcha, "Powstanie Polskiego Towarzystwa Statystycznego w Krakowie: J. Leo – pierwszy prezes Towarzystwa," *Wiadomości Statystyczne* 10 (2011); *Polskie Towarzystwo Statystyczne 1912–1992* (Warszawa: Polskie Towarzystwo Statystyczne, Rada Główna, 1992).

The PTS decided to verify, merge and, if possible, supplement these data. Such studies were to be published by the PTS in the form of statistical yearbooks for these lands. Before the outbreak of World War I, PTS compiled such a statistical yearbook, entitled *Statystyka Polski*, printed during the war, in 1915, at the Jagiellonian University Press.⁹

The authors of *Statystyka Polski* later became very famous Polish professors: Prof. Adam Krzyżanowski and Prof. Kazimierz Władysław Kumaniecki. In addition to these main authors, other persons known at that time or later, such as Prof. Franciszek Bujak, Prof. Stanisław Surzycki and Prof. Edward Grabowski were involved in the editorial committee. Collaborators in the editorial committee also included Dr. Marcin Nadobnik from Lviv and Michał Römer from Vilnius. The project was supported by such contemporary personalities as Prof. Władysław L. Jaworski, Prof. Stanisław Kutrzeba, Prof. Michał Rostworowski and Dr. Franciszek Stefczyk. The tabulation was made by employees at the Miejskie Biuro Statystyczne [Municipal Statistical Office] in Kraków. *Statystyka Polski* was thus the work of people representing all the partitions, but the dominant role was played by Galician statisticians and economists.¹⁰ *Statystyka Polski* was published in a trilingual Polish, German and French version. The intention of the authors was therefore to disseminate the work in an international environment. This publication was later used as a Polish argument to define the borders of the reborn Polish state at the Peace Conference in Paris which ended with the signing of the Versailles Treaty.

It is important to define the territorial and temporal scope of the data contained in *Statystyka Polski*. The authors of the work write about this in the Foreword: "Defining the scope of our spatial combinations raised many doubts. [...] In order to present Poland in statistical figures, we first of all had to answer the question of which territorial areas will become the subject of our research. We had two paths to choose from: historical and ethnographic. We were able to display statistically the relations on the lands that used to be part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth or on lands inhabited today by Poles. We chose the indirect path in the belief that in this way we would avoid the one-sidedness of relying solely on the historical or ethnographic principle. In our lists, we have covered mainly the lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: Galicia, the Kingdom of Poland (Congress Poland), the Prussian Kingdom regions of Poznań and Royal Prussia, as well as Lithuania, Belarus and three governorates which were formerly Ruthenian provinces: Podole, Wołyń and Kiev region; we did not

⁹ Adam Krzyżanowski, Kazimierz Kumaniecki, *Statystyka Polski* (Kraków: Polskie Towarzystwo Statystyczne, 1915).

¹⁰ Józef Pocięcha, "Statistics of Poland – The First Yearbook of Polish Lands: Authors and Content," *Acta Universitatis Lodzianis. Folia Oeconomica* 5 (2018), 338: 229–245.

omit the countries inhabited to a large extent by Poles, which have long ceased to be part of the Polish state. We did not omit the Olsztyn Region or the Cieszyn and Opole Districts in Silesia. [...] Due to the difficulties in collecting reliable material, we did not include Poland in exile, a large group of Poles living within the three partitioning states, but outside the areas we excluded in our calculations, in Bukovina, in the Rhenish provinces, in Berlin and St. Petersburg, and also in North and South America. The lists do not cover the whole of Polish society, nor do they include all the people whose mother tongue is Polish, because we did not want to reach beyond the territorial limits set out in our work. We included the entire population living within these borders, so we did not limit ourselves to the statistics of Polish society only. In the area statistically enumerated in our book, there live, alongside Poles, people whose mother tongue is not Polish. It would not be possible to separate Poles from the general population living in the lands of the former First Republic, Opole and Cieszyn Silesia, the Olsztyn Region and would not be desirable, even.”¹¹

When it comes to the time scope of *Statystyka Polski*, the authors write that they wanted to “illustrate the present state of affairs”, that is, from the period before the First World War. However, as they point out: “In order to facilitate the understanding and assessment of the present, we have reached back within the limits indicated by the nature and size of the work. The Reader will find most retrospective statistics in the first part, covering the state and movement of the population. Historical statistical material is more abundant in this section than in others. We did not go back beyond 1815 – the limit imposed by the available material.”¹²

As is clear from these excerpts from the preface to *Statystyka Polski*, which is the source of the statistical data, the territorial scope of this study includes lands understood as the territory of the First Republic within the borders before the first partition (1772), extended by the territories of Upper Silesia (Opole Region), Cieszyn Silesia and Southern Mazuria (Olsztyn Region), inhabited mostly by Polish populations. However, it should be emphasized that in some historically Polish lands, such as Lithuania, Belarus, Ruthenia or Royal Prussia, the Polish population was in the minority. The time scope of this article covers the period of the second half of the 19th century until the outbreak of World War I.

¹¹ Krzyżanowski, Kumaniecki, *Statystyka*, XXIV–XXV (own translation).

¹² Ibidem, XXV (own translation).

Vital Statistics of the Population

The basic demographic process shaping the size and structure of the population is the vital statistics of the population.¹³ This mainly includes births and deaths, but the birth process is carried out mainly within marriages, so traditionally the vital statistics also includes entering into (dissolving) marriage. Vital statistics events have long been continuously registered, firstly by religious institutions and now in registry offices. Data on vital statistics are relatively most accessible and more reliable than other socio-economic characteristics of the population.

In *Statystyka Polski*, statistical data on the intensity of marriages, births, deaths and natural increase as the difference between births and deaths, for the individual districts of the lands in the period under analysis, are included in tables T. 43–T. 50 on pp. 72–80. On their basis, the course of the individual processes of vital statistics in the lands will be traced. As a result, an attempt will be made to trace the demographic transition process in individual districts of Polish-speaking lands territorially defined by the scope of data included in *Statystyka Polski*.

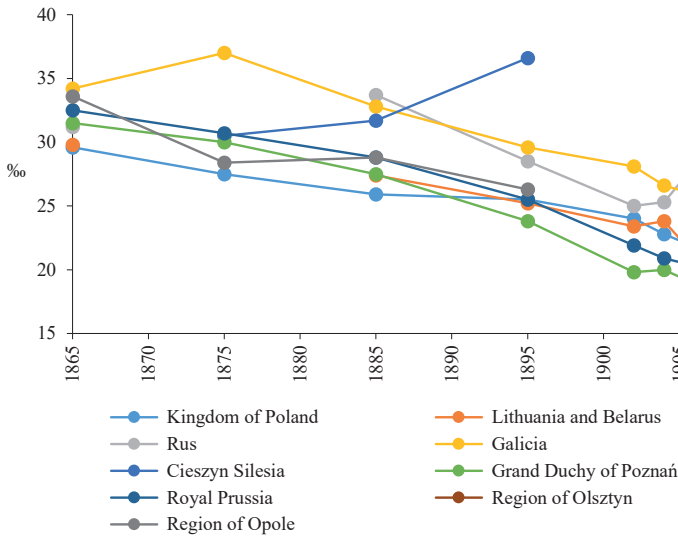
The territory of the lands under Russian partition includes the following: The Kingdom of Poland, Lithuania and Belarus (governorates: Vilnius, Kaunas, Grodno, Minsk, Mogilev, Witebsk), Ruthenia (governorates: Volynia, Podolia, Kiev). The territorial units belonging to Austria are: Galicia and Cieszyn Silesia. The lands under Prussian partition are: Poznań (Grand Duchy of Poznań), Pomerania (Royal Prussia) and Upper Silesia (Opole Region, German: *Regierungsbezirk*) and Southern Masuria (Olsztyn Region, German: *Regierungsbezirk*). The time range covers the period from 1861 to 1912, the data from the 19th century are given as averages from each of the four decades and assigned to the middle years of individual decades, and in the 20th century two-year periods were adopted. Statistical data on individual districts and periods are incomplete. These are also secondary data, drawn from various sources. The authors of *Statystyka Polski* detail the sources of the data, so they will not be cited here. The degree of reliability of these data varies. Data on lands under German rule are generally considered reliable, as the Prussian Statistical Office was considered at the time to be the exemplary European statistical office. Austrian statistics were also considered reliable at that time. However, reservations can be made about the data for the lands under Russian partition. Generally, it can be assumed that these data illustrate well the tendencies of changes and differences in the intensity of the vital statistics of the population, but the credibility of the specific values of individual

¹³ The topic of vital statistics and the methods of its measurement are discussed in many demographic textbooks. Recommended Polish titles include: Maria Cieślak, ed., *Demografia. Metody analizy i prognozowania* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1992); Holzer, *Demografia*; Kurkiewicz, *Procesy*; Okólski, *Demografia*.

demographic indicators may differ. For this reason, detailed figures on the vital movement of the population will not be provided here.¹⁴ The values of the demographic parameters in these districts in this time range are given in Figures 3–6.

The beginning of the demographic transition is determined by changes in the intensity of deaths. Figure 3 shows the trends of changes and differences in the values of the crude death rate.

Figure 3. Intensity of deaths in individual districts of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and other predominantly Polish-speaking areas in the years 1865–1912



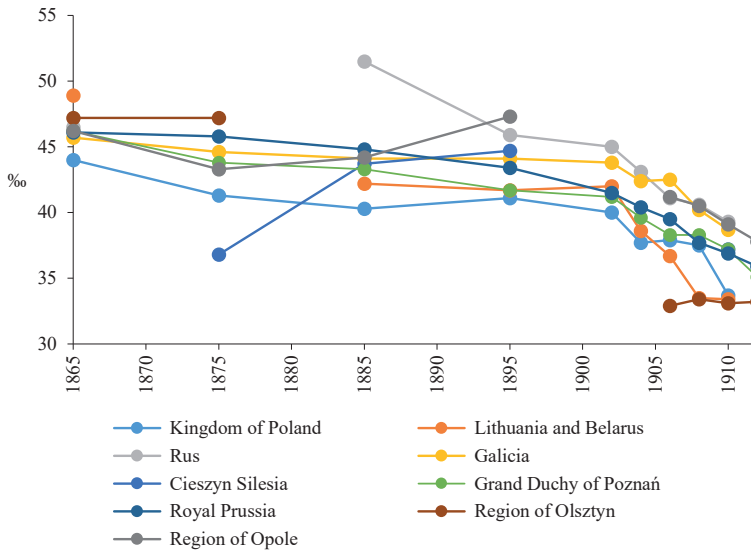
Source: Krzyżanowski, Kumaniecki, *Statystyka*, table 48, and own calculations.

The transition from the second to the third phase of the demographic transformation marks the beginning of a constant downward trend in the birth rate. The course of changes and the differences in the values of the crude birth rate in individual districts of the historically Polish-speaking areas are shown in Figure 4.

The difference between the number of births and the number of deaths is the natural increase. The tendencies of changes and differences in the values of the natural increase rate in individual districts are given in Figure 5.

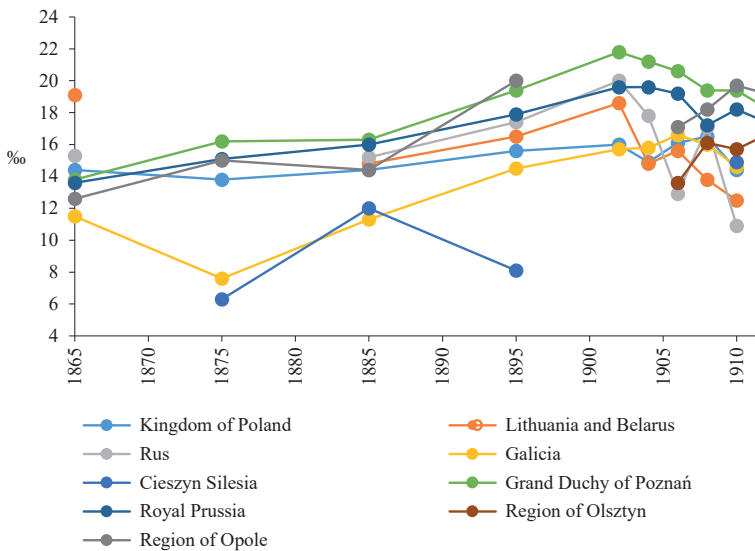
¹⁴ Detailed data can be found in Krzyżanowski, Kumaniecki, *Statystyka*, 72–80.

Figure 4. The intensity of births in individual districts of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and other predominantly Polish-speaking areas in the years 1865–1912



Source: Krzyżanowski, Kumaniecki, *Statystyka*, table 46, and own calculations.

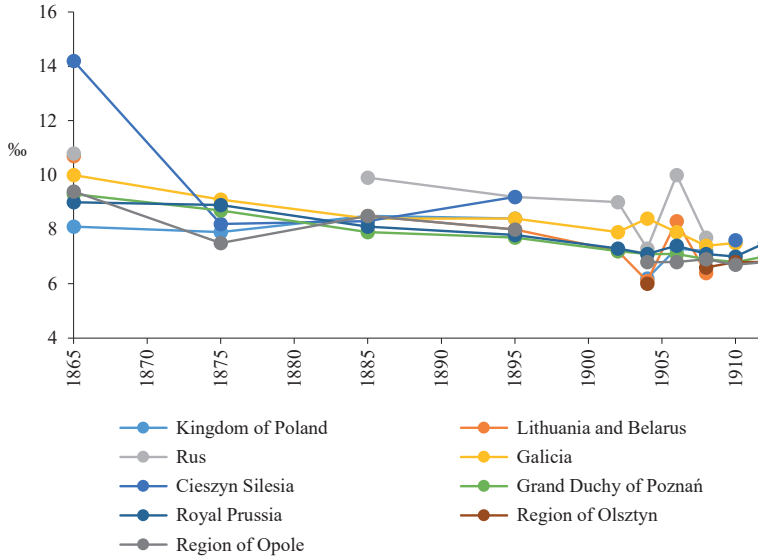
Figure 5. Natural increase in population (per mille) in individual districts of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and other predominantly Polish-speaking areas, 1865–1912



Source: Krzyżanowski, Kumaniecki, *Statystyka*, table 50, and own calculations.

The traditional analysis of the vital statistics of the population also includes the study of the intensity of marriages. The crude marriage rates in each district during the period considered are shown in Figure 6.

Figure 6. The intensity of marriages in individual districts of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and other predominantly Polish-speaking areas, 1865–1912



Source: Krzyżanowski, Kumaniecki, *Statystyka*, table 44, and own calculations.

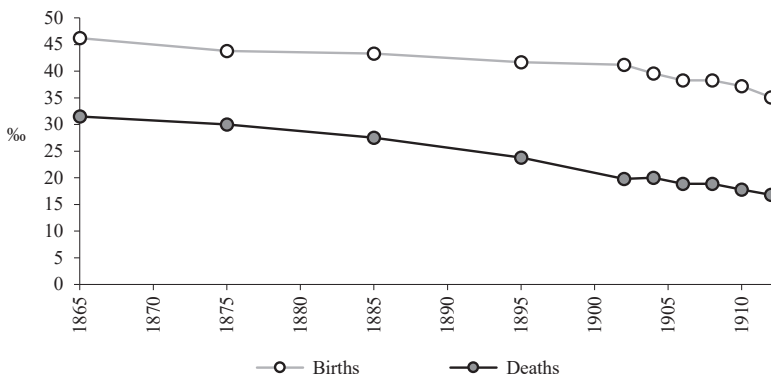
With the data contained in the source tables and the drawings above, we will try to answer the following questions:

1. In which districts of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and other predominantly Polish-speaking areas is the demographic transition process apparently revealed?
2. When did the process of demographic transition begin in particular districts of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and other predominantly Polish-speaking areas?
3. When and where did the transition from the second to the third phase in four-phase model of demographic transition take place, if at all?

An analysis of the drawings shows that the process of the demographic transition in Poland was not clear, it was disrupted by the influence of many other factors, including the low level of economic development, famine, epidemics, waves

of emigration from Polish-speaking lands or political disturbances in the Russian partition (the 1905 Revolution, Russo-Japanese War). The most regular course of the demographic transformation, similar to the four-phase model of transition, took place in Greater Poland (the Grand Duchy of Poznań). It is also clearly visible in Pomerania (Royal Prussia). Figure 7 shows the course of the demographic transition in Greater Poland (Grand Duchy of Poznań).

Figure 7. The process of demographic transition in Greater Poland (the Grand Duchy of Poznań), 1865–1912



Source: Krzyżanowski, Kumaniecki, *Statystyka*, table 46, table 48, and own calculations.

Answers to the question on the demographic transition process in these historically Polish-speaking areas should also be sought in international and Polish literature. The main work in this field is the book by Jean-Claude Chesnais.¹⁵ The author conducted extensive comparative studies of the demographic transition process in many countries of the world including Austria, Germany and Russia, which included the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and other areas with Polish-speaking populations during the partitions. In Europe, he distinguished three types of transition: Nordic, Western, to which he included the then (1986) German states (West Germany, East Germany), Austria, Hungary and Poland, and Southern or Eastern, to which he included the then USSR. He characterized the Western type as a transformation with a long transition period (around 100 years) and a maximum natural increase at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. The Southern or Eastern type was characterized as having a fairly long transition period (70–90 years), with the maximum natural increase only in the 20th

¹⁵ Chesnais, *La transition*.

century¹⁶. Works devoted to an analysis of the demographic transition process in Germany include, among others, the work by John E. Knodel,¹⁷ but there we can only find information on particular regions of Germany. Therefore, we can state that in the international literature there is no further information on the course of the demographic transition process in historically Polish regions.

Polish literature on the study of the demographic transformation in Poland is quite modest. The most important works were by Krzysztof Zamorski,¹⁸ based on the same demographic database,¹⁹ in which the author traced changes in the population number, population density, age structure, marriage, births and deaths in Galicia compared to other Central European regions such as Cisleithania, Greater Poland, the Kingdom of Poland, Austrian and Prussian Silesia. This work did not directly refer to the theoretical model of demographic transition. Elżbieta Stańczyk²⁰ traced the fertility and mortality in Poland from 1895 to 1938 in the context of the theory of demographic transition. An article by Piotr Eberhard²¹ presents the long-term demographic changes taking place in Poland in the five-phase cycle of demographic transformation in the period from the second decade of the 19th century to the first decade of the 21st century. Regarding the period of interest to us, the second half of the nineteenth century to the first decade of the twentieth century, the author states, “Until World War I, the lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and other areas with Polish-speaking populations were in the second phase of transformation of natural movement, which consisted in a slight decrease in the number of births with a simultaneous faster decrease in mortality.”²² Of course, in the Polish literature we can find a number of other works on changes in the individual components of the vital statistics in different territorial systems, which will not be mentioned here.

Moving on to the question of when the demographic transition started, its beginnings, at least in the privileged social strata of Western Europe, can be seen as

¹⁶ Okólski, *Teoria*, 99.

¹⁷ John E. Knodel, *The Decline of Fertility in Germany 1871–1939* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974).

¹⁸ Krzysztof Zamorski, *Transformacja demograficzna w Galicji na tle przemian ludnościowych innych obszarów Europy Środkowej w drugiej połowie XIX i na początku XX w.* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1991); idem, “Transformacja demograficzna w Europie Środkowej w XIX w. Wewnętrzne podobieństwa i różnice,” *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 19 (1994): 27–45.

¹⁹ Krzyżanowski, Kumaniecki, *Statystyka*.

²⁰ Elżbieta Stańczyk, “Rodność i umieralność na ziemiach polskich w kontekście teorii przejścia demograficznego,” *Wiadomości Statystyczne* 9 (2009): 16–32.

²¹ Piotr Eberhard, “Fazy rozwoju demograficznego Polski,” *Roczniki Nauk Społecznych* 42 (2014), 2: 135–160.

²² *Ibidem*, 141 (own translation).

early as the 17th and 18th centuries.²³ However, as demographers say quite unambiguously, “Actual changes began only after 1870, showing an extremely strong territorial differentiation, within and between countries, but at the same time covering almost all European countries at relatively short intervals.”²⁴ Krzysztof Zamorski,²⁵ when discussing the beginnings of the demographic transformation in the lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and other areas with Polish-speaking populations, states that their populations had a quarter-century delay in relation to Western Europe.

By focusing on the data contained in *Statystyka Polski* and Figures 3–5, the transition from the first to the second phase of demographic transformation in lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and other areas with Polish-speaking populations will be traced. A decrease in the intensity of deaths in relation to the initial level, adopted here conventionally for the year 1865, can be observed by the mid-1870s in the Poznań region (a decrease in the crude death rate from about 31.5 per mille in 1865 to 16.8 per mille in 1912, i.e., a decrease in the intensity of mortality by 14.7 deaths per thousand inhabitants). A similar, or even slightly greater, decrease in the intensity of deaths is observed in Upper Silesia (Opole Region), by 15.0 deaths per thousand residents. Also in Pomerania (Royal Prussia), there was a similar decrease, by 14 per mille. Changes in mortality in the Olsztyn Region are subject to some uncertainty due to a lack of relevant data until the beginning of the 20th century. However, the crude death rate in individual districts of these historically Polish-speaking areas under the rule of the German Empire in 1912 was very similar (Poznań, 16.8; Upper Silesia, 18.6; Pomerania, 18.5; Masuria, 16.8). These results generally concur with Knodel’s findings²⁶ that the process of demographic transition began more or less at the same time in eastern Germany.

The process of demographic transition in the lands under Russian partition was somewhat different. Here, too, there are significant differences between the Kingdom of Poland and the eastern territories taken from the First Republic of Poland. In the Kingdom of Poland, the process of demographic transition also began relatively early, in the mid-1870s, but the decline in mortality was slower here than in the lands under German partition. The fall in the crude death rate was 10.5 deaths per thousand inhabitants (from about 29.6 per mille in 1865 to 19.1 per mille in 1912). In Lithuania and Belarus, the transition process started in the mid-1990s and was even slower (a drop in the crude death rate by 8.9 per mille)

²³ Okólski, *Teoria*, 22–25.

²⁴ Okólski, *Demografia*, 129.

²⁵ Krzysztof Zamorski, “Początki przejścia demograficznego w Polsce,” *Studia Demograficzne* 2 (1993): 15–22 (own translation).

²⁶ Knodel, *The Decline*.

over the period under review. In Ruthenia (in the Ruthenian governorates of the Russian Empire), we observe the beginnings of demographic transition around the mid-nineties, and the decline in mortality in this period is very slow, by 2.8 per mille, and is subject to relatively large fluctuations during this period.

The process of demographic transformation in Galicia was also different. Here, it began in the mid-1880s, and the decrease in the mortality rate was 10.1 per mille. It had the highest mortality in Poland in the 1860s, amounting to 34.2 deaths per thousand people, up to 24.1 deaths per thousand people in 1910, which was also the highest mortality (apart from the mortality in Ruthenia) in historically Polish regions. Due to gaps in the data, we cannot follow the process of demographic transition in Cieszyn Silesia. It can only be noted that between the mid-1870s and 1910 there was a decrease in mortality by 8.2 per mille (from 30.5 per mille in the mid-seventies to 22.3 per mille in 1910).

The next step in our analysis is to determine the approximate moment of transition from the second to the third phase in the four-phase model of demographic transformation, i.e., the moment when the birth rate declined significantly. This is equivalent to finding the maximum rate of natural increase. The results will be presented in the same order as before in the individual historical districts of Poland.

In Greater Poland (the Grand Duchy of Poznań), the beginning of the third phase of the demographic transition can be dated to the beginning of the 20th century. In the period 1902–1912, the crude birth rate dropped from 41.2 per mille to 35.1 per mille and the natural increase of the population fell from 21.8 per mille to 18.3 per mille, but it was still significantly higher than at the beginning of the period under discussion (in the mid-1860s it was 13.8 per mille). For Upper Silesia (Opole Region) it is difficult to determine this turning point, as there are no data for 1902, but it can be assumed that it falls more or less at the end of the first decade of the 20th century. The crude birth rate between the mid-1890s and 1912 fell by 9.5 per mille, but the natural increase rate only fell by less than 1 per mille, as more or less the same proportion between births and deaths was maintained during this period. In Pomerania (Royal Prussia), the transition from the second to the third phase is the beginning of the 20th century. The decrease in the intensity of births between 1902 and 1912 was 5.6 per mille, and the decline in the natural increase rate was 2.2 per mille. For the Olsztyn Region, we cannot determine this moment of transition due to a lack of data.

In the Kingdom of Poland, the transition from the second to the third phase was somewhat different. The beginning of the decrease in births also occurred at the beginning of the 20th century, but the decrease in the natural increase rate in the first decade of the 20th century was minimal (from 16.0 per mille in 1902 to 14.4 per mille in 1910), i.e., the decline in births was approximately proportional

to the decline deaths. It can also be noted that the natural increase in the Kingdom of Poland at the beginning of the period, 1865, and at the end, 1910, was the same (it was 14.4 per mille). In Lithuania and Belarus, the transition from the second to the third phase took place at the beginning of the first decade of the twentieth century, and the decrease in the birth rate was more significant (from 18.6 per mille in 1902 to 12.5 per mille in 1910). In Ruthenia, this transition also occurred at the beginning of the 20th century, and the decrease in the rate of natural increase was significant (from 20 per mille in 1902 to 10.9 per mille in 1910).

In Galicia, the transition from the second to the third phase occurred at the end of the first decade of the 20th century. Due to the gaps in data, we cannot mark this transition for Cieszyn Silesia.

When it comes to the number of marriages per thousand population (Figure 6), a decrease in the number of marriages can be observed in the period 1865–1912, especially until the 1880s, which can be associated with the beginning of the demographic transition determined by the decrease in mortality (including mortality of spouses) and the same number of remarriages.

The analysis of the data on fertility and mortality shows that in the historically Polish-speaking areas the process of demographic transition took place in a different way between particular partitions, but also within partitions. These differences occurred both in terms of the start date of the transformation and the moment of transition from the second to the third phase, as well as the levels of values of individual vital statistics indicators and the rate of their changes. It can therefore be concluded that even in a relatively small area of Central and Eastern Europe such as the territory of the First Republic and Polish-speaking areas, the process of demographic transformation was varied both in terms of time and in terms of the pace of change.

To sum up our analysis of the vital statistics of the population in the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and other areas with Polish-speaking populations, it should be emphasized that until the outbreak of World War I, natural increase was still high and no symptoms of transition to the fourth phase of demographic transformation, i.e., modern reproduction, were noticeable. World War I interrupted the continuity of the demographic transition in Poland. After the interwar period, World War II caused another break in the continuity of demographic processes. Demographers assume that the vital statistics indicators entered the declining phase of the demographic transformation from the beginning of the 1960s, and in the early 1990s the process of demographic transition in Poland was finally and irrevocably completed.²⁷ Contemporary changes in the vital

²⁷ Eberhard, "Fazy," 147.

statistics of the population are described by the theory of the second demographic transition.²⁸

In studying changes in the vital statistics, an important role is played by the study of the total similarity and diversity of the demographic indicators. Therefore, the question arises as to whether it is possible to distinguish certain similar groups of territorial units due to the course and degree of advancement of the demographic transition process in the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and other areas with Polish-speaking populations? Taxonomic methods of grouping objects can be a useful tool in finding an answer to the above question.

A Taxonomic Analysis

Taxonomic methods are multidimensional classification procedures. Specifically, they are methods of extracting groups of similar objects in a space with multidimensional features. They are a widely recognized tool for studying multidimensional structures in many academic fields, such as the natural, socio-economic, psychological and human sciences, including historical sciences.²⁹ Literature on taxonomic methods is readily available and extensive.³⁰ Currently, in line with global trends, these methods are called³¹ cluster analysis.

In our analysis of historical data on the demographic transition, let us ask the following question: Is it possible to distinguish certain groups of territorial units included in historically Polish-speaking areas, which are very similar due to the course of the demographic transformation processes on the eve of World War I? The subject of classification here will be nine territorial units of historically Polish lands (the Kingdom of Poland, Lithuania and Belarus, Ruthenia, Galicia, Cieszyn Silesia, the Grand Duchy of Poznań, Royal Prussia, Olsztyn Region and Opole Region). The classification space will be three-dimensional for the

²⁸ The most comprehensive of the works in Polish is: Kurkiewicz, *Modele*.

²⁹ An example would be the work by Lucyna Błażejczyk-Majka, *Zastosowanie wybranych metod taksonomicznych w badaniach historycznych* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Historii Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, 2018).

³⁰ The Polish literature recommends, inter alia, works by: Tadeusz Grabiński, Stanisław Wydmus, Aleksander Zeliaś, *Metody taksonomii numerycznej w modelowaniu zjawisk społeczno-ekonomicznych* (Warszawa: PWN, 1989); Maria Kolenda, *Taksonomia numeryczna* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Akademii Ekonomicznej we Wrocławiu, 2006); Andrzej Młodak, *Analiza taksonomiczna w statystyce regionalnej* (Warszawa: Difin, 2006); Józef Pocięcha et al., *Metody taksonomiczne w badaniach społeczno-ekonomicznych* (Warszawa: PWN, 1988).

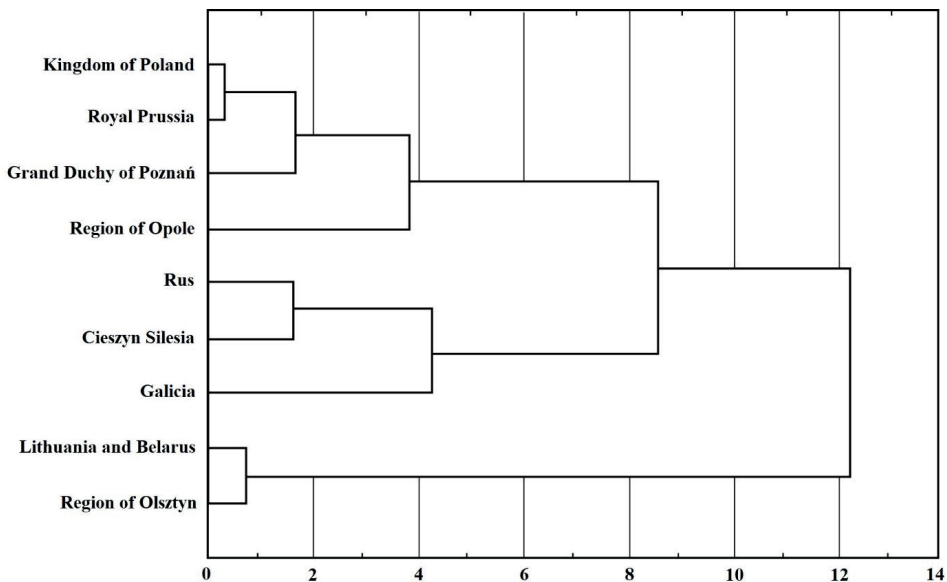
³¹ *Analiza skupień – Internetowy podręcznik statystyki*, <http://www.statsoft.pl>.

following characteristics: crude death rate, crude birth rate, and crude marriage rate per thousand people.³²

In order to distinguish homogeneous groups within the territorial units of these areas, Ward's hierarchical agglomerative clustering method and alternatively the k -means clustering method³³ were used. Ward's method analyzes the variance of clusters and is considered a very effective procedure for grouping objects. If we assume a number of groups k , into which we want to divide our set of objects, then the k -means method is the procedure that allows us to determine the k groups that differ to the greatest extent in the feature space.

The results of the classification for the nine territorial units, achieved using Ward's method, defining the vital statistics of the population in the feature space, and assuming the Euclidean distance for the measure of their distance, are shown in Figure 8.

Figure 8. Dendrogram of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and other areas with Polish-speaking populations made with Ward's taxonomic method for the Euclidean distance



Source: own calculations.

³² These data, the source of which is: Krzyżanowski, Kumaniecki, *Statystyka*, tab. 44–48, pp. 74–78 have been partially recalculated and refer to the year 1910/1911.

³³ For a comprehensive description of these methods, see *Analiza skupień*.

Figure 8 clearly distinguishes three groups of territorial units due to the course of the demographic transformation, described by the values of the mortality, fertility and nuptiality rates in 1910/1911. The first group is the Kingdom of Poland, Royal Prussia, the Great Duchy of Poznań and Opole Region (Upper Silesia). The second group is Ruthenia, Cieszyn Silesia and Galicia. The third group is Lithuania and Belarus, and Olsztyn Region (South Masuria).

The results of the classification into three groups of territorial units using the *k*-means method are as follows: the Kingdom of Poland, Royal Prussia, the Great Duchy of Poznań, Opole Region, and Cieszyn Silesia. The second group is Ruthenia and Galicia. The third group is Lithuania and Belarus as well as Olsztyn Region.

If we interpret the results of the grouping according to the advancement of the demographic transition process, we can see that the division by partitioning powers is not a decisive factor. A more important factor is the level of economic development in these lands. The first group includes lands with a higher level of economic development, belonging to the German partition, but also the Kingdom of Poland. The influence of the geographic and natural factors is also clear. The first group includes the western and central lands of the First Polish Republic, the second group includes the southern lands, and the third group includes the north-eastern lands, which is generally consistent with the theoretically separated types of transition³⁴ into Western, Southern and Eastern types. The classification results obtained with Ward's method and the *k*-means method differ only in the different classification of Cieszyn Silesia. Ward's method connects Cieszyn Silesia with other southern territories of the Republic of Poland, and the *k*-means method connects Cieszyn Silesia with the more economically developed western territories of the Republic of Poland.

The next stage of research may be the use of taxonomic methods to periodize the course of the demographic transformation process, i.e., the use of dynamic taxonomy methods. It is also important to search for socio-economic or geographic and natural features which significantly affect the course of the demographic transformation process, and which can be studied using taxonomic methods of selecting features.³⁵ However, the inclusion of the time factor and the taxonomic analysis of features require an extended data set and should be the subject of a separate work. As shown in this paper, taxonomic methods can be a useful tool for studying the demographic past of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and other areas with Polish-speaking populations.

³⁴ Okólski, *Teoria*, 99.

³⁵ Models of taxonomic, and other, issues are discussed in Józef Pocięcha et al. *Metody*, 23–32.

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The Process of Demographic Transition in Lands of the Former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Other Areas with Polish-Speaking Populations, 1865–1912

Summary

The work is devoted to tracing the demographic transition process in the area of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, enlarged by areas with a predominantly Polish population, i.e., Upper Silesia and Cieszyn Silesia, along with Southern Masuria. The time frame of this article covers the period of the second half of the 19th century until the outbreak of World War I, more specifically the years 1865–1912.

The theoretical basis for the research is the theory of demographic transition, the principles of which are presented in the first part of the work. The source of the demographic data is the work by Adam Krzyżanowski and Kazimierz Kumaniecki *Statystyka Polski* [Statistics of Poland], published in Kraków in 1915, which is the result of the activities of the Polish Statistical Association established in 1912 in Kraków.

The main part of the work is the analysis of changes in the basic indicators of the vital statistics of the population, namely, the intensity of deaths, the intensity of births and the intensity of marriages. The approximate beginning of the demographic transition process in individual districts of the analyzed areas and the approximate moment of transition from the second to the third phase of demographic transformation in the four-phase model of transition were determined.

The similarities and differences in the demographic situation on the eve of the outbreak of World War I were examined by distinguishing, with the use of taxonomic methods such as Ward's method and the k -means method, groups of territorial units similar to the changes in vital statistics. The grouping results indicate that the process of demographic transition in analyzed areas was diversified and was conditioned not so much by the state affiliation of these lands, but rather by the level of their economic development and their geographical location.

Przebieg procesu przejścia demograficznego na ziemiach dawnego państwa polsko-litewskiego oraz na innych obszarach z polskojęzyczną ludnością w latach 1865–1912

Streszczenie

Praca została poświęcona prześledzeniu procesu przejścia demograficznego na ziemiach dawnego państwa polsko-litewskiego, poszerzonych o obszary zamieszkałe głównie przez ludność polskojęzyczną, tj. Górny Śląsk i Śląsk Cieszyński oraz Mazury Południowe. Zakres czasowy obejmuje okres drugiej połowy XIX wieku do wybuchu I wojny światowej, ściślej lata 1865–1912.

Podstawą teoretyczną przeprowadzonego badania jest teoria przejścia demograficznego, której zasady przedstawione zostały w pierwszej części pracy. Źródłem danych demograficznych jest praca Adama Krzyżanowskiego i Kazimierza Kumanieckiego *Statystyka Polski*, wydana w Krakowie w 1915 roku, będąca efektem działalności powstałego w 1912 roku w Krakowie Polskiego Towarzystwa Statystycznego.

Zasadniczą część pracy stanowi analiza zmian podstawowych wskaźników ruchu naturalnego ludności, czyli: natężenia zgonów, natężenia urodzeń oraz natężenia zawierania małżeństw. Wyznaczono przybliżony początek procesu przejścia demograficznego w poszczególnych dzielnicach ziem polskich oraz przybliżony moment przejścia z drugiej do trzeciej fazy transformacji demograficznej w czterofazowym modelu przejścia.

Podobieństwa i różnice sytuacji demograficznej na ziemiach polskich w przededniu wybuchu I wojny światowej zbadano, dokonując wyodrębnienia metodami taksonomicznymi, czyli: metodą Warda oraz metodą k -średnich, grup jednostek terytorialnych, podobnych ze względu na przebieg procesów ruchu naturalnego. Wyniki grupowania

wskazują, że proces przejścia demograficznego na ziemiach objętych analizą przebiegał w sposób zróżnicowany i był uwarunkowany nie tyle przynależnością państwową tych ziem, ile bardziej poziomem ich rozwoju gospodarczego oraz położeniem geograficznym.



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Population of Gubin District in the Context of Situational and Statistical Reports in the Years 1945–1949

Ludność powiatu gubińskiego w świetle sprawozdań sytuacyjno-statystycznych z lat 1945–1949

Abstract

The article aims to reconstruct the number of inhabitants in the Gubin district in the early post-war years. The statistical data available include previously unused source material in the form of reports and lists of the district administrator and the State Repatriation Office (PUR). The displacement of Germans and the influx of Poles will be discussed, the district's population levels will be given with a division into town and village, and the speed of change in 1945–1949 will be indicated, as well as the population structure in terms of sex, age, nationality and direction of influx (repatriates from the East and West and displaced people from central Poland).

Abstrakt

Artykuł ma na celu odtworzenie stanu liczbowego mieszkańców powiatu gubińskiego w pierwszych powojennych latach. Zebrane dane statystyczne obejmują niewykorzystany dotąd szerzej materiał źródłowy w postaci sprawozdań i wykazów starostwa powiatowego oraz PUR. Omówiono wysiedlanie Niemców i napływ ludności polskiej, przedstawiono liczbę ludności powiatu z podziałem na miasto i wieś oraz wskazano dynamikę zmian w latach 1945–1949, a także strukturę ludności pod względem płci, wieku, narodowości i kierunku napływu (repatrianci ze wschodu i zachodu oraz przesiedleńcy z Polski centralnej).

Keywords

Post-war settlement, displacement, migration, population structure, Gubin District, town, rural areas

Słowa kluczowe

osadnictwo powojenne, wysiedlenia, migracja, struktura ludności, powiat gubiński, miasto, wieś

Introduction

The population in the early post-war years is particularly hard to determine. World War II changed the world map, and the new state borders had an impact on increased migration in Europe. Gubin District is one of those that were incorporated into Poland in 1945. The indigenous people i.e., people who had lived in German territory before 1939 but had declared their Polish origins, were on the margins of the community. Therefore, to put it simply, we can say that the German population was replaced by Poles, and the very process of rebuilding the population potential turned out to be long and highly unsatisfactory. The speed of population changes makes it very difficult to form an accurate picture of individual districts in the Lubuskie Region.¹ Monographs on cities and districts usually give publicly available statistical data from the two censuses of 1946 and 1950 and do not go into the dynamics of changes between them. The aim of this article, therefore, is to present the quantitative status of the population in the Gubin district in the early post-war years (to the end of 1949). As of now, the only article to address this issue was written by Henryk Dominiczak almost half a century ago, but for the years 1945–1950 he focused more on political issues and property relations than on demography.²

The district in this article consisted of one town, Gubin, and five rural municipalities: Biecz, Czarnowice, Markosice, Pole and Wałowice. The reports used as the source made it possible to show the speed of change in the number of people, the structure of the district's population in terms of place of residence, sex, nationality and origin, and also (partially) the balance of the migratory movement divided into repatriated and displaced people. A statistical and descriptive method will be used.

¹ Emphasized by Prof. Czesław Osękowski in his article "Nowi 'Lubuszanie' wobec problemów osadniczych i politycznych na Ziemi Lubuskiej w latach 1945–1956. Opór – przystosowanie – uległość," *Studia Paradyskie* 28 (2018): 255.

² Henryk Dominiczak, "Osadnictwo i stosunki demograficzne w powiecie gubińskim w latach 1945–1960," in: *Gubin*, ed. Wiesław Sauter (Zielona Góra: Lubuskie Towarzystwo Kultury, 1971).

The time and space frames of the article stem from the source material preserved.³ Monthly descriptive and tabular reports were submitted by the Gubin administrator to the Poznań voivode, while tabular reports were sent by the head of the district branch of the State Repatriation Office (PUR) to the voivodeship office of the PUR in Poznań.⁴ This is therefore the only available, relatively complete statistical material for the years 1945–1949 that allows us to capture the quantitative status of the population in the early post-war years. Unfortunately, the administrator's reporting changed the content, which makes it impossible to analyze it fully. Monthly *Lists of Repatriates and Displaced Persons Settled on Former German Farms in Gubin District* have been preserved for almost the whole of 1946,⁵ for 1947 there are the *Lists of Repatriates and Displaced Persons Settled by the PUR on Post-German Rural Farms* and *Lists of Repatriates and Displaced Persons in Total Settled in Cities*,⁶ while for 1948 and the first half of the following year we have the *Situational and Statistical Report*.⁷ All these sources are tabular, with some of them classifying the population into repatriates and displaced persons, and although this classification has become established in the literature on the subject, today it is rightly emphasized that it is inappropriate in the context of the situation.⁸ The above terms will be used in the article, as they are imposed by the statistical material used.

These previously unused sources of material are stored in the State Archives in Zielona Góra in the collections *Gubin District Office, Gubin, Poznań Voivodeship Office, Gorzów Branch* and in the State Archive in Poznań in the *State Repatriation Office, Voivodeship Branch, Poznań* collection. The lists are located either in one archival unit (e.g., for a specific year), or they are scattered in different units or even groups, hence the difficulty in completing them. The sources are

³ Situation reports of administrators from the Lubuskie Region, or on the Polish scale, have been preserved in the archives, but their completion for the entire period 1945–1949 causes major problems. In the case of Gubin district, it was possible to collect not only descriptive reports, but also tabular reports with the division into municipalities.

⁴ Matters related to settlement in the district were initially within the competence of the Settlement Department at the District Branch of the PUR in Gubin, and from March 22, 1948 of the Settlement Office at the District Administrator.

⁵ Archiwum Państwowe w Poznaniu (hereafter: APP), Państwowy Urząd Repatriacyjny Wojewódzki Oddział w Poznaniu (hereafter: PUR Poznań), sygn. 2767: Reports on rural settlement in Gubin district.

⁶ APP, PUR Poznań, sygn. 2768: Reports on settlement in Gubin district.

⁷ Archiwum Państwowe w Zielonej Górze (hereafter: APZG), Starostwo Powiatowe Gubińskie w Gubinie (hereafter: SPG), sygn. 36: Sprawy statystyczne ogólne 1948, k. 18–128 (Situational and statistical reports, 1948).

⁸ Repatriation means “return to the homeland”, but the proper term is expatriation, “forced expulsion from the homeland”. Cf. Jerzy Surwiło, *Zostali tu z nami na dobre i złe. Losy przedstawicieli inteligencji Wilna i Wileńszczyzny po 1944* (Wilno: Margi raštai, 2000), 8; Czesław Osękowski, “Proces zasiedlania Ziemi Lubuskiej po II wojnie światowej,” *Studia Zachodnie* 5 (2000): 11.

in good condition, while the pages are partly typescript and partly handwritten (sometimes in crayon).

The numerical statements of the administrator cannot be compared with the PUR data, because the latter do not take into account the indigenous people, Germans and Poles who arrived outside of PUR transports. Thus, the article largely analyzes the administrator's data as they were more complete. PUR statistics, in turn, allow us to capture the dynamics of migration (though incomplete). The data contained in the source may raise some doubts, as there are (minor) errors in summing up columns and rows, and errors in rewriting data from the tables sent by the municipal authorities.⁹

A further problem that resulted in gaps in the statistics was the arrival of individual family members or the abandonment of occupied properties / farms without informing the relevant authorities. In order to establish facts and check registers, PUR employees conducted field inspections. The sources contain information on two such inspections carried out in 1946 and 1947. In September 1946, the head of the PUR district branch wrote in his comments, "The absorptive capacity increased this month because settlers who had taken it upon themselves to abandon occupied settlements were deleted from the register."¹⁰ The number of empty farms increased by 238 (43%), the number of manned farms decreased by 145 (-7%), and the number of inhabitants fell by 712 (-11%). Similarly, in early 1947, the governor wrote in his comments to the table, "The present report does not agree with the previous one, because the number of settlers has significantly decreased, which was uncovered by the inspection carried out in the district in February 1947. The present data should be treated as reliable and fully accurate."¹¹ Thus, the number of families decreased by 17%, and the number of occupied farms by 20%, but the population fell by only 1% (see Table 1). The absorptive capacity increased by as much as 75%.

⁹ Particularly doubtful is the entry in the table on the state of settlement in November 1948, as the number of displaced families who came to Wałowice municipality was given as 51, and the number of residents was given as 10. 51 families could not amount to 10 people (perhaps it was supposed to be the other way round, with 51 people and 10 families), but these data add up to the number of families and people in December. APZG, SPG, sygn. 36, k. 121.

¹⁰ APP, PUR Poznań, sygn. 2767, k. 27.

¹¹ Ibidem, sygn. 2768, k. 4 (list of repatriates and displaced persons), k. 8 (report, Feb. 1947), k. 7 (letter of the Head of the PUR District Branch in Gubin, March 3, 1947).

Table 1. Change in number of inhabitants of rural communes in Gubin district following an inspection by the PUR in February 1947

District	As of January 31, 1947				As of February 28, 1947			
	no. of families	no. of people	no. of occupied households	absorptive capacity	no. of families	no. of people	no. of occupied households	absorptive capacity
Biecz	285	912	284	193	282	903	260	216
Czarnowice	506	1,420	505	45	469	1,754	450	99
Markosice	375	1,325	375	100	298	1,315	280	192
Pole	264	968	264	154	216	816	215	203
Wałowice	588	1,794	587	41	416	1,587	413	225
Total	2,018	6,419	2,015	533	1,681	6,375	1,618	935
Difference					-337	-44	-397	402
Difference in %					-17.0	-0.7	-20.0	75.0

Source: APP, PUR Poznań, sygn. 2768, k. 1, 4.

In all municipalities the number of occupied households and families decreased; only in the municipality of Czarnowice did the number of inhabitants increase. On the other hand, in the corresponding period, the report of the Gubin administrator indicated a general increase in the number of inhabitants; only in the commune of Pole was there a slight decrease in the number of inhabitants.¹² It should be noted that the administrator based his calculations on lists of the residents' names and was not informed of all the changes. All this means that the data should be approached critically, but nevertheless they give the opportunity to capture trends in the inflow of inhabitants of the district. Moreover, the dynamics of migration was so great, especially in the first two years, that problems related to the registration of the population are not entirely surprising.

The Expulsion of the Germans

It is estimated that at the end of the war, about 30% of the German population remained in the Lubuskie Region, and 12% in Gubin district, i.e., c. 8,000 people.¹³ Following the declaration of peace in May 1945, some Germans fled west across

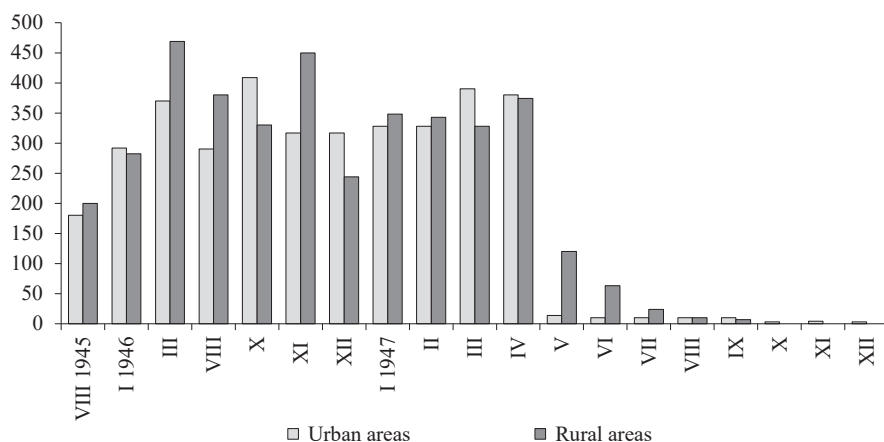
¹² APZG, SPG, sygn. 60, k. 13–41.

¹³ Henryk Dominiczak, *Proces zasiedlania województwa zielonogórskiego w latach 1945–1950* (Zielona Góra: Lubuskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 1975), 29; Osękowski, "Nowi 'Lubuszanie'," 260; idem, *Osadnictwo polskie na poniemieckich ziemiach po drugiej wojnie światowej. Ziemia Lubuska i powiat Gubin*, <http://www.transodra-online.net/pl/node/1411>.

the Oder and Nysa Łużycka rivers, but some returned to their homes. On June 20, 1945, deportation of the remaining German population began, and c. 12,000 people were deported from the district. The representative of Gubin described the action in 1946 as follows: “In July 1945, the Germans were displaced by the 38th Infantry Regiment with the help of the [communist] police and secret police in Gubin; German specialists only were retained for work. In March this year, a transport of Germans from the district of Wrocław arrived. Because the border on the Niss is closed for now, the Germans were engaged in springtime work.”¹⁴

In August 1945, the Ministry of Public Administration made it possible for those Germans who could be used in the economy to stay in the country.¹⁵ After the Potsdam Conference, the issue of their expulsion was taken up by the Allied Control Council; according to the plan, the operation was to start in December 1945. Up to that point, voluntary displacement dominated, so the district was flooded by Germans “trying to get into one of the occupied zones.”¹⁶

Figure 1. German population in Gubin district, 1945–1947



Source: own work based on the reports of the Gubin administrator.

¹⁴ APZG, SPG, sygn. 54, k. 107 (letter, April 11, 1946) (own translation).

¹⁵ Paweł Kacprzak, “Polityka władz polskich wobec ludności niemieckiej w okresie funkcjonowania Ministerstwa Ziem Odzyskanych,” *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne* 62 (2010), 2: 218; Stanisław Jankowiak, “Wysiedlenia Niemców z Polski po II wojnie światowej,” *Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość. Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej* 2 (2004): 145.

¹⁶ Jankowiak, “Wysiedlenia,” 148–149; Bernadetta Nitschke, *Wysiedlenie ludności niemieckiej z Polski w latach 1945–1949* (Zielona Góra: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej, 1999), 149.

In Gubin district, the number of Germans increased significantly between the summer of 1945 and March 1946 (see Figure 1). In July 1945, there were 50 Germans in Gubin, in August their number had increased to 180, and in the countryside, there were 200 people. In the following months of 1946 this number continued to increase: in January it was 574, in August 682, in October 739, and in March of the following year, 718.¹⁷ On May 30, 1947, most of the Germans were deported. On May 31, there were still 120 in the town and 14 in the countryside, but in July only 34 were mentioned, and at the beginning of 1948, only 3, on March 15. From June 1948 to March 1949 there were no Germans in the district. In April 1949, there were 3 Germans in Gubin, and from July 2, this state lasted until the end of the year.

The Germans expelled in July 1945 were largely children, women and old people. In the following months, German people arrived from the east. Due to the temporary closure of the border and a lack of transports (especially in winter), their number increased in the district with each successive month. Therefore, people who were able to work were ordered to do so to support themselves and their families. They worked in craft workshops, industrial plants (e.g., in the Sock and Stocking Factory), or public institutions, as well as manual laborers on the land. The district authorities constantly complained about the lack of professionals in the economy, it was impossible to restart the former German factories and plants, and Poles with the appropriate qualifications were not arriving, so German workers were willingly employed. Some light on the issue of the increase in the number of Germans, which in the reports included the Volksdeutsche, is shed by the report of the administrator from January 1947: "There are about 164 Volksdeutsche in the district. These are people who are not locals, but mainly immigrants, detained last year on their way from the interior of Poland to Germany due to the closure of the border in the meantime; they are not seeking rehabilitation. They are stuck here and work for assigned employers."¹⁸ In October 1947, a group of 133 Volksdeutsche was still in the district, as they had been excluded from the forced expulsion, but they wanted to leave.¹⁹ At the end of 1948 the number of Volksdeutsche was 143; at the end of 1949 it was 43.²⁰

¹⁷ APZG, SPG, sygn. 54, k. 110, 111 (list, Aug. 20, 1946); k. 224–230 (state of settlement, Oct. 1946; APZG, SPG, sygn. 59, k. 14–15 (report, inflow to Aug. 30, 1946); k. 30, 46 (situational report, Dec. 1946); Dariusz A. Rymar, "Początki Ziemi Lubuskiej w świetle dokumentów (lutysierpień 1945)," *Nadwarciański Rocznik Historyczno-Archiwalny* 12 (2005): 193.

¹⁸ APZG, Urząd Wojewódzki Poznański Ekspozytura w Gorzowie (hereafter: UWPEwG), sygn. 36, k. 6 (report, Jan. 1947).

¹⁹ APZG, UWPEwG, sygn. 36, k. 40 (report, Oct. 1947).

²⁰ *Ibidem*, sygn. 36, k. 63 (quarterly report, 4th quarter 1948); k. 156 (quarterly report, 4th quarter 1949).

After the war, a review of the local population began in the so-called Recovered Territories. Committees determined whether the people declaring their willingness to stay there were Poles. The Lubuskie Region had the fewest people positively assessed in the whole of the Recovered Territories.²¹ In September 1946 the number of indigenous people in Gubin district was 37, in November the administrator gave the number as 28, in March 1947, 34, and in May, 37.²² In the last quarter of 1947 and the first quarter of 1948, however, the administrator mentioned only 7 people confirmed as indigenous in the district, and in October 1949 this number was also 7 (2 families).²³

Apart from Germans, several people of other nationalities lived in the district. In the years 1947–1949 there were a dozen (initially 19, later 13) Swiss (German-speaking, who owned their own farms inherited from their ancestors in Biecz and Bieżyce), 3 Czechs (machine mechanics in Gubin) and several Yugoslavs (unemployed), while in 1947 there were 2 Lithuanians, in 1948 and 1949 1 Belgian, and at the end of 1948, 4 Jewish families.²⁴ At the end of 1948, people of other nationalities constituted only 0.2% of the district's population (21 people in total). In the third quarter of 1949, the administrator reported that there were no national minorities in the district, and the 5 Swiss families had left for Switzerland.²⁵

An Influx of Polish Settlers

From June 1945, the operation to settle the Recovered Territories was supervised by the PUR, established in October 1944, and the Ministry of the Recovered Territories, established in November 1945.²⁶ Gubin district found itself in a peculiar situation, as there was almost no indigenous population, and the German population had either fled or been expelled, so the resulting population void had

²¹ Until mid 1947, 7,600 people were recognized as Polish citizens in the Lubuskie Region. Osękowski, "Proces," 8.

²² APZG, SPG, sygn. 60, k. 67 (state of the Polish population, March 31, 1947); sygn. 54, k. 336 (letter, Dec. 2, 1946); APP, PUR Poznań, sygn. 2768, k. 21 (letter, May 16, 1947); Dominiczak, *Proces*, 52. The operation finished at the end of 1947.

²³ APZG, UWPEwG, sygn. 36, k. 58 (report, 4th quarter 1947); k. 65 (general report, 1st quarter 1948); APZG, SPG, sygn. 42, k. 14 (administrator's letter, Oct. 10, 1949). Interestingly, the 1950 census showed 54 indigenous people in Gubin and as many as 433 in the countryside in Gubin district. Compared to the previous data, these numbers (a significant increase) cause doubt (see Dominiczak, *Proces*, 56). *Narodowy Spis Powszechny z dnia 3 grudnia 1950 r. Miejsce zamieszkania ludności w sierpniu 1939 r.* (Warszawa: GUS, 1955).

²⁴ APZG, UWPEwG, sygn. 36, k. 20 (letter, Aug. 4, 1947); k. 51 (letter, Dec. 12, 1947); k. 63 (report, 4th quarter 1948).

²⁵ *Ibidem*, sygn. 36, k. 145 (administrator's office report, 3rd quarter 1949).

²⁶ Osękowski, "Proces," 6–7.

to be filled by Poles. This is how the district Commissioner at the time, Czesław Zalewski, described it in the summer of 1945: “The population is suffering from hunger and fleeing en masse to the opposite bank of the Neisse. There are no cattle and horses [...] There is no industry.”²⁷ In July, it was reported: “Gubin is 75% destroyed, and the surrounding area is mined and inaccessible. The villages have been abandoned and are almost deserted. The Germans were expelled beyond the Neisse, and in the villages, you meet Russians returning from work in Germany and Poles who are either returning from Germany, or who have come here from eastern Poland. The villages are empty, and livestock, living and dead, has been taken away by the army.”²⁸

The proximity to the border with Germany raised concerns that the Germans would return to these areas. The arable land was of poor quality, and nearly every year there were natural disasters (hail, floods, drought, plagues of mice, and thistles). People were not encouraged to settle at the time due to problems related to food supplies, a lack of electricity and water in the first year or a lack of livestock. In the first months, it was impossible to get to Gubin via a direct train, as the station was on the German side. As one of the pioneers recalls, “Guben could only be reached by a light steam engine, due to the damaged surface, damaged tracks, bridges thrown together by the army and mines left over from the Nazi troops.”²⁹ The repatriated and displaced people coming by train had to deal with another serious problem when they arrived—no means of transport.³⁰ The people and their belongings walked from the station on foot or took a rented wagon. With time, it became easier to find transport, but it was not possible to go everywhere, e.g., Szydłów, located in the north of the district (about 20 km from Gubin), remained

²⁷ Hieronim Szczegóła, “Narodziny władzy ludowej w powiecie gubińskim i początki życia społeczno-politycznego w latach 1945–1946,” in: *Gubin*, 69–70 (own translation).

²⁸ Dominiczak, “Osadnictwo,” 52 (own translation). The Gubin area was heavily mined; only in 1946 did sappers remove 63.3k anti-personnel mines, 10.3k anti-tank mines and 143.9k artillery shells. The operation to de-mine the city and the district lasted until 1956. See Zygmunt Traczyk, “Wyzwolenie Gubina w 1945 roku,” in: *Gubin. Zarys historii miasta*, ed. Czesław Osękowski (Zielona Góra: Lubuskie Towarzystwo Kultury, 1987), 32; idem, *Ziemia gubińska 1939–1949...* (Gubin: Stowarzyszenie Przyjaciół Ziemi Gubińskiej, 2011), 128–131.

²⁹ Czesław Szczepaniak, “Z oflagu do Gubina,” in: *Mój dom nad Odrą. Drugi tom wspomnień i pamiętników*, compiled by Janusz Koniusz (Zielona Góra: Lubuskie Towarzystwo Kultury, 1965), 29 (own translation).

³⁰ Some of the people who came by transport did not want to leave the wagons, claiming that there were still Germans there. The district authorities explained this fear as coming from German propaganda. For example, in May 1946, none of those arriving at the Gubin stage wanted to get off the train. They were unloaded by force by the police and secret police officers, but that did not help either, as they did not want to leave the train station. Varying methods were used to encourage the arriving settlers to stay – they were taken around the district and shown farms ready to be taken over, and even the local priest was employed to confirm that it was safe there. APP, PUR Poznań, sygn. 2767, k. 11 (situational report, Apr. 1946), k. 16 (report, May 1946).

uninhabited in 1948, because it was the only place located on the other side of the Oder River and had no line to the rest of the district.³¹

People arriving from mid-1946 onwards tended to settle in the countryside, as Gubin's economic opportunities were exhausted. Several "larger plants" were open (employing a maximum of 40–50 people, eventually 100 people) and the small number of state institutions did not offer a sufficient number of jobs, and craft and service companies were also at capacity. So even though houses stood vacant in the town, the lack of work effectively discouraged people from settling there.³² Therefore, people were keener to take over a farm, although farms in Lower Silesia, which were allocated with livestock, remained more attractive than those in Gubin.³³ In the spring of 1946, Commissioner Czesław Kończak wrote to the voivodeship authorities, "The settlement operation in this area is in a very bad way. The settlers coming to our area are poverty-stricken and have no food supplies and for the most part there are no livestock, which causes great unhappiness and discourages them from settling here."³⁴

Further problems with settlement resulted from the operations of the Red Army and the Polish state itself. Polish settlers appeared relatively late in the district, as they had been prevented from doing so by the Soviet war commander (formally, no final decision had been made as to the delineation of the new Polish-German border). It was only at the beginning of June 1945 that he allowed the establishment of a Polish administration, and with its establishment, settlers began to arrive, including Poles returning from Germany.³⁵ This influx was somewhat halted in June by the Polish state's plan to settle the districts along the border with

³¹ Before the war, Szydłów was inhabited by only 22 people, and it did not recover after the war. Today only the name of the hamlet remains on maps. For more on subject, see Wiesław D. Łabęcki, "Szydłów – wieś, której już nie ma," *Ziemia Lubuska* 3 (2017): 31–44.

³² In the spring of 1947, the Settlement Office advertised no further possibility for the settlement of workers and craftsmen in the city, as the factories had to be opened first. APZG, SPG, sygn. 60: Sprawozdawczość i statystyka, k. 100 (report, May 1947). Por. APZG, UWPEwG, sygn. 36, k. 76 (report, 3rd quarter 1948); APP, PUR Poznań, sygn. 2769: Sprawozdania Referatu Ogólnego, k. 37 (report, May 1949).

³³ For example, in April 1949, the head of the PUR in Gubin wrote: "7 families, i.e., 25 people, came from the area of Limanowa who, after seeing farms in Niemaszchleba, decided not to settle there. They found that the land was not suitable for cultivation (marshy ground), they ordered wagons and at their own expense left for Kłodzko district in the Wrocław voivodeship." Today, Niemaszchleba is the village of Chlebowo. APP, PUR Poznań, sygn. 2769, k. 46 (report by PUR, 31 Mar.–30 Apr. 1949).

³⁴ APZG, SPG, sygn. 54: Przepisy, zarządzenia ogólne i raporty sytuacyjne, k. 204 (letter, April 7, 1946).

³⁵ Henryk Dominiczak, "Początki władzy ludowej na obszarach obecnego województwa zielonogórskiego w 1945 r.," *Polska Ludowa. Materiały i Studia* 7 (1968): 176.

Germany by former soldiers (the so-called military settlement).³⁶ However, in the fall of 1945, the state authorities realized that it would be impossible to settle the borderland with military settlers only. More and more permits for civil settlement began to be issued, all the more so as the inhabitants of former Polish lands now occupied by the USSR, and central Poland, were looking for new places to live.³⁷

Military settlers came to the district from the end of July 1945. The literature emphasizes that they formed a high percentage of the population.³⁸ This is also confirmed by the data, although in the light of the (fragmentary) material, it should be modified. However, before I proceed to determining the number of these settlers, the statistics contained in the source material require explanation. The reports indicated the number of military settlers, but it should be remembered that the term *military settlement* should not only be understood as soldiers, but also their family members. As the families were not numerous at that time (see the section on the size of the family), the number of settlers given in the source can be tripled, and in 1949, multiplied by 3.5.³⁹

On July 31, 1945, 3 settled military families totaling 11 people were reported in the district, while a month later there was a total of 1,500 people.⁴⁰ To Octo-

³⁶ In August 1945, it was reported, "Civil settlers are reluctant to settle in the district, because they receive a warning that they will eventually have to give their premises to military settlers," k. 9. For more on the subject of military settlement, see Krystyna Kersten, "Osadnictwo wojskowe w 1945 roku. Próba charakterystyki," *Przegląd Historyczny* 55 (1964), 4: 657–658; Arkadiusz Ogrodowczyk, *Nad Odrą i Bałtykiem. Osadnictwo wojskowe na zachodnich i północnych ziemiach Polski po drugiej wojnie światowej* (Warszawa: MON, 1979); Czesław Osękowski, *Pionierzy w mundurach na Ziemi Lubuskiej* (Zielona Góra: Lubuski Komitet Upowszechniania Prasy, 1985); Jerzy Czabator, "Osadnictwo wojskowe w powiecie gubińskim po II Wojnie Światowej," *Gubin i Okolice. Biuletyn SPZG* 2 (2013): 35–42. Ogrodowczyk mentioned two aims of this settlement: securing the border and a way of rewarding soldiers for participating in the war (*Nad Odrą*, 54–55). Cf. Osękowski, "Oficjalne i faktyczne cele osadnictwa wojskowego na pograniczu polsko-niemieckim po drugiej wojnie światowej," *Słupskie Studia Historyczne* 3 (1993): 58.

³⁷ There are a couple of interesting sources in the APP that deserve a separate study. These are *Książki rejestracyjne repatriantów* and *Książki rejestracji przesiedleńców*. They contain data including name and surname, date of birth, where the settler came from, profession, date of registration and address of settlement. The *Books of Repatriates* have 9,260 entries up to early 1948, and the *Books of the Displaced* have 2,661 entries up to October 1947. On their basis, it would be possible to determine the age of the settlers, the size of the family, as well as where they were born, i.e., where they came from APP, PUR Poznań, sygn. 2783, 2785, 2786: *Książki rejestracyjne repatriantów*, sygn. 2784: *Książka rejestracyjna przesiedleńców*.

³⁸ In fact, military settlers were visible in the district, but such a high percentage is not reflected in the source material. Military settlers formed one of the units of the Volunteer Fire Brigade, founded the District Union of Military Settlers, were the trustees of most of the mills in the district, and also established their own cooperative, *Nysa* (closed down at the end of 1948).

³⁹ The number of settlers in Ogrodowczyk, *Nad Odrą*, was similarly estimated to be 164. Of the numbers he provided in 1948, the average family consisted of 3 people (164, 170).

⁴⁰ APP, PUR Poznań, sygn. 2032: Reports on military settlements, Gubin district, k. 23 (Register of the movement of military settlers); k. 26 (report on the settlement operation, 1–10 Jan. 1946). Cf. Osękowski, *Pionierzy*, 48.

ber 23, 1945, the Gubin District Residential Register listed 500 military settlers (families), while the next, to May 15, 1946, contained 1,688 people.⁴¹ On the other hand, the Alphabetical Index of Settlers, which contained a list of military settlers by surname with the place of residence (name of the borough) and the registration number lists 3,247 settlers to the end of 1946. Names have also been deleted and there is a note in the comments about leaving farms.⁴² According to reports, the military were in the worst situation among the settlers, because “they come in only what they are wearing, and without their families, who are still on the other side of the Bug.”⁴³

By February 1946, military settlers (1,600 people) had taken over 420 farms in the district and constituted the majority (61%) of the district’s inhabitants (there were 1,021 civilian settlers).⁴⁴ In August, there were 889 military settlers in the district, including 210 in the town, and in November, there were 1,181.⁴⁵ On January 31, 1947, this number dropped to 1,069, in April it rose to 1,214, in August it fell again to 889, and at the end of the year it increased to 1,257. In February 1948, the number of military settlers decreased to 1,242, in April 1949 to 1,079, and fell to 1,006 people in September.⁴⁶ These fragmentary data refer to military personnel; however, the number of their family members should also be estimated. Thus, the level of military settlement can be estimated in January 1947 at about 3,200 people, at the end of the year and at the beginning of the next at 3,800 people, in mid-1949 3,500, and in September 1949 about 3,500 people.

⁴¹ APZG, SPG, sygn. 91: Register of settlers from 500 to 1,674. According to Ogródowczyk (*Nad Odrą*, 109), by the end of November 1945, 1,500 military settlers had settled in the district, according to the Military Settlement Commission, and 630 families (1,440 people) according to circuit supervisors.

⁴² APZG, SPG, sygn. 92: Alphabetical index of settlers, k. 54. But by the summer there were problems with settlement, e.g., the Inspector of Military Settlement reported on August 21, 1945, “A group of settlers consisting of 20 families is refusing to take over farms because of minefields and the poor soil.” (own translation) APP, PUR Poznań, sygn. 2032, k. 25.

⁴³ APP, PUR Poznań, sygn. 2032, k. 26 (Report from settlement operation, Jan. 1–10 1946).

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, sygn. 2032, k. 30 (Survey no. 1, as of 15 Jan. 1946).

⁴⁵ APZG, SPG, sygn. 54, k. 110 (population list, 20 Aug. 1946); *ibidem*, sygn. 59, k. 26–39 (municipality list, 31 Dec. 1946. Cf. Ogródowczyk, *Nad Odrą*, 136, 138.

⁴⁶ Own calculations based on: APZG, SPG, sygn. 59, k. 26–39 (settlement status, Nov. 1946); APZG, SPG, sygn. 60, k. 28–41 (settlement status, II 1947); k. 77 (settlement status, V 1949); APZG, SPG, sygn. 43: Sprawozdania okresowo–statystyczne, k. 104 (settlement status, VI 1949), APP, PUR Poznań, sygn. 2676, k. 81 (settlement status list, XII 1947). Ogródowczyk estimated the number of military settlers at the end of 1948 at around 2,000, and with their families at 6,000 (table 10, 163). However, he did not have data for the districts, but aggregate data for the Lubuskie Region, hence it seems that this number was significantly overestimated, because in the data for the district the number was at that time almost half. Czabator (“Osadnictwo,” 41) incorrectly states that by 1949 1,840 military settlers had officially been granted farm ownership. The number cited by him refers to the total number of deeds issued in the district (cf. Hanna Kurowska, “Rolnictwo w powiecie gubińskim w latach 1945–1949” [in press]).

The administrator's report from the last quarter of 1947 states that military settlers constituted 60% of the total number of employees in the district;⁴⁷ however, if we analyze the numbers given in the lists which indicate the number of military settlers, we need take a critical view of this information. Military settlers constituted the majority of the district's inhabitants until the beginning of 1946. Later, the level of this settlement, in view of the influx of repatriates and displaced persons, decreased and came to a total of c. 27% in the county in August 1946 and at the beginning of 1947, 30% a year later and c. 25% at the end of 1949.⁴⁸ An analysis of the number of military settlers by municipality shows that the intensity of this type of settlement in the district was uneven and concentrated in the countryside. In August 1946, the largest number of military settlers lived in the municipality of Czarnowice (c. 53% of the population), while in the remaining rural municipalities they made up c. 30%, and the smallest number of military families lived in Gubin (c. 14%). In the years 1947–1949, the highest percentage of military settlers was in the municipality of Biecz (c. 90%, 95% and 80%, respectively) and Pole (87%, 83% and 80%). In the years 1947–1948, the military constituted almost half of the inhabitants of the Czarnowice municipality, but at the end of 1949 they made up only about 20% of the population. In the Markosice municipality, their numbers fell by half from 35% to 17%, and in the Wałowice municipality the level was constant (c. 10%), while the lowest percentage was recorded in Gubin, although here it doubled from c. 5% to 10%.

In addition to the military settlers, inhabitants of the former eastern borderlands and central Poland came to the district. In October 1945, only half of 57 villages (27) were inhabited, and of the 2,400 former German farms, only 517 settlers had occupied them.⁴⁹ By the end of the year, 870 apartments were occupied in Gubin, 765 apartments were still to be occupied, with 1,871 farms in the countryside still vacant.⁵⁰ The pace of settlement in this district, one of the most western in Poland, was unsatisfactory. The main settlement operation in the district lasted until the end of 1946; in the following year, the district was only "further settled [...] by people displaced from central Poland, who had decided to renovate the devastated farms."⁵¹ Nevertheless, the pre-war population potential was not rebuilt.

⁴⁷ APZG, UWPEwG, sygn. 36, k. 58 (report, 4th quarter 1947).

⁴⁸ Osękowski reported that in March 1946 military settlers occupied over 25% of all farms (*Pionierzy*, 53). Ogródowczyk (*Nad Odrą*, 163–164) and Osękowski (*Pionierzy*, 63) later wrote that in 1948 soldiers and their families constituted 49% of the county's population.

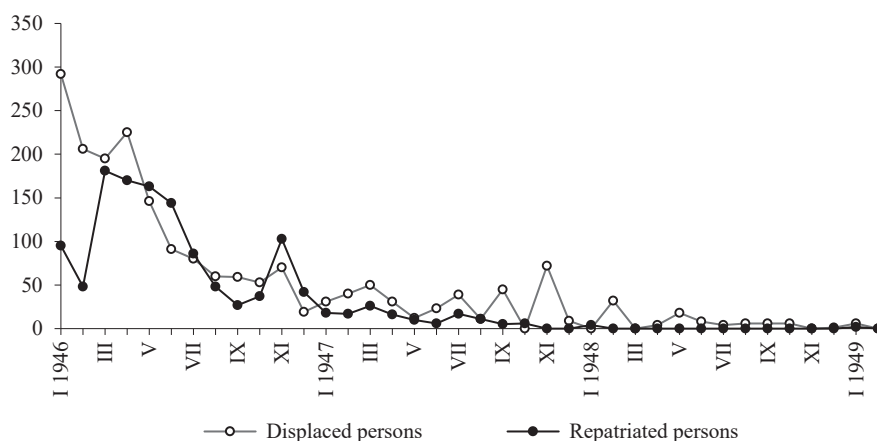
⁴⁹ APZG, SPG, sygn. 120: Powiatowy Urząd Ziemski w Gubinie – pisma okólne, korespondencja z władzami nadrzędnymi, sprawozdania z działalności, k. 258 (report, Oct. 1945).

⁵⁰ APP, PUR Poznań, sygn. 2766: Sprawozdania dotyczące osadnictwa miejskiego na terenie powiatu gubińskiego, k. 1 (list of repatriates and displaced persons to Dec 31 1945).

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, sygn. 2768, k. 17 (descriptive report, April 1947). Mass migration ended for the entire Lubuskie Region in 1946, and it remained largely underpopulated. On the other hand, mass

The sources provide a partial insight into the monthly number of repatriated and displaced people arriving in Gubin in the years 1946–1948 (Figure 2). Unfortunately, there are no data available for such a long period of time for the rural municipalities. The influx of people was dwindling with each passing year.⁵² By the end of 1945, 417 repatriates and 1,823 displaced persons had been settled in the city, in 1946 there were 1,144 repatriates and 1,496 displaced persons, 132 repatriates and 363 displaced persons in 1947, and in 1948 only 4 repatriates and 85 displaced persons. From February to the end of 1948, no repatriates came to the city. In total, 1,697 repatriates and 3,767 displaced persons were settled. The continuity of data for rural municipalities was preserved for 1946, when 3,174 repatriates and 883 displaced persons were settled. Statistics show that the repatriates dominated in the countryside (c. 70% of the population), and the displaced in Gubin (c. 75%).

Figure 2. Number of repatriates and displaced persons settled per month in Gubin, 1946–1948



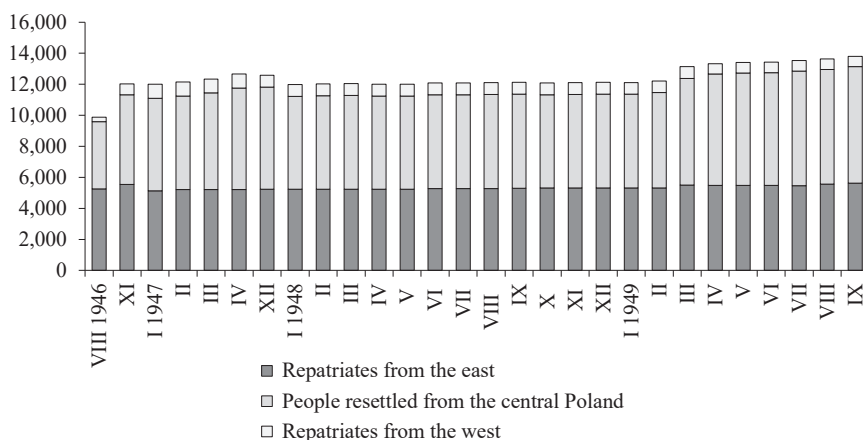
Source: APZG, SPG, sygn. 36; APP, PUR Poznań, sygn. 2766, 2768.

migration to the western territories in Poland ended two years later, in 1948. Cf. Stefan Banasiak, *Działalność osadnicza Państwowego Urzędu Repatriacyjnego na Ziemiach Odzyskanych w latach 1945–1947* (Poznań: Instytut Zachodni, 1963), 152; Stanisław Łach, *Osadnictwo wiejskie na ziemiach zachodnich i północnych Polski w latach 1945–1950* (Ślusk: Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna, 1983), 222.

⁵² This also resulted from the intensity of the repatriation of Poles from the USSR; the most intense influx was in the first half of 1946: Henryk Słabek, *O społecznej historii Polski 1945–1989* (Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza, 2015), 66–67. Por. Andrzej Gawryszewski, *Ludność Polski w XX wieku* (Warszawa: PAN IGiPZ, 2005), 442–443.

Changes in the number of repatriates and displaced persons in the years 1946–1949 are shown in Figure 3. Unfortunately, there is no continuity of data, but until the beginning of 1947, the number of repatriated people exceeded the number of those displaced, and in 1948 both population groups were similar in numbers (this year was characterized by stabilization), so that in 1949 the number of displaced people prevailed. Every year, a decrease in the population arriving from Western Europe is visible, in 1947 by 15%, and in 1949 by another 11%.

Figure 3. Number of repatriated and displaced people settled in Gubin district, 1946–1949



Source: APP, PUR Poznań, sygn. 2767; APZG, SPG, sygn. 36; sygn. 43; sygn. 54, sygn. 59.

The influx of Polish people to Gubin district was highly unsatisfactory. While by 1946 most of the districts of the Lubuskie Region were almost completely settled, only two of them, Krosno and Gubin, still had many vacant farms.⁵³ In January 1946, it was reported that 1,812 independent single-family farms of up to 15 ha were vacant in the district in the countryside, while there were 1,055 vacant houses.⁵⁴ In mid-1946, the absorption capacity decreased to 500 farms in the countryside and 81 houses in the city, and at the end of the year it was 570 in the countryside and 127 in the city.⁵⁵ Two years later, there were still 420 farms vacant

⁵³ Franciszek Pastwa, *Wieś lubuska w latach 1945–1950. Polityka i gospodarka* (Zielona Góra: Lubuskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 1977), 33.

⁵⁴ APZG, SPG, sygn. 54, k. 11 (survey to determine the settlement capacity of the Recovered Territories for the countryside); k. 12 (survey for towns).

⁵⁵ APP, PUR Poznań, sygn. 2767, k. 1 (population status, Dec. 31 1945), k. 25 (list, Aug. 1946); *ibidem*, sygn. 865: Wykazy cyfrowych danych dotyczących możliwości osiedlenia na Ziemi

in the village, and about 1,000 families could be settled in the town.⁵⁶ At the beginning of 1949, the administrator stated that 114 farms and 197 auxiliary farms remained in the village.⁵⁷ In June he wrote, "Gubin has an abundance of vacant apartments. About 10,000 people could still settle in Gubin without major renovations."⁵⁸ In mid-1949, the absorption capacity in the countryside was still high, with 145 farms and 197 auxiliary farms, which had not changed at the end of the year (141 farms and 192 auxiliary farms).⁵⁹

Population of the District

In May 1939, about 44,000 people were permanent residents of Guben (the part located east of Nysa Łużycka had c. 28 thousand people), there were 45,400 in rural communes (the eastern part had 16,000), giving a total of 89,000 permanent residents.⁶⁰ After the war, both the district and the town were divided between Germany and Poland, with Poland accounting for c. 44% of the pre-war area, 49,123 ha, including 27,000 ha (50%) of forest, and 13,200 ha of arable land (c. 25% of the area).⁶¹

The arriving settlers faced quite difficult living conditions, so their number grew slowly, slowed down with time, and periodically decreased. This process was the most dynamic in the first year: in August 1945, the district numbered 3,500 people, in January 1946 4,757 people, in February 5,575 people and in March 6,472 people (Figure 4).⁶² In the following months of that year, the number of inhabitants increased significantly, although it is difficult to clearly establish the

Lubuskiej, k. 73 (list, Dec. 1946). In 1947, only two districts in the Lubuskie Region were excluded from settlement operations: Zielona Góra and Świebodzin. Cf. Banasiak, *Działalność*, 138–139, 145.

⁵⁶ APZG, UWPEwG, sygn. 36, k. 58 (report, 4th quarter 1947).

⁵⁷ Ibidem, sygn. 36, k. 126 (report, 1st quarter 1949); APP, PUR Poznań, sygn. 2770: Sprawozdania z akcji przesiedleńczej w powiecie gubińskim, k. 17 (report, Jan. 1949).

⁵⁸ APZG, Powiatowa Rada Narodowa i Wydział Powiatowy w Gubinie, sygn. 1: Protokoły z posiedzeń Powiatowej Rady Narodowej w Gubinie; Nos. I–XV, k. 47 (protocol no. 6, June 1949).

⁵⁹ APP, PUR Poznań, sygn. 2770, k. 41 (report, June 1949); sygn. 2772: Sprawozdania z działalności osadniczej w powiecie gubińskim, k. 8 (report, Jan. 1950).

⁶⁰ *Amtliches Gemeindeverzeichnis für das Großdeutsche Reich auf Grund der Volkszählung 1939*, Berlin 1944, 63, 64; *Wyniki spisu z 17 V 1939 r. w odniesieniu do ziem odzyskanych*. Materiały Informacyjne Biura Studiów Osadniczo-Przesiedleńczych, z. 1 (Kraków, 1946), 13.

⁶¹ APZG, SPG, sygn. 38: Sprawozdanie o sytuacji gospodarczej powiatu gubińskiego, k. 2; ibidem, sygn. 53: Statystyka gospodarza, k. 5.

⁶² Rymar, "Początki," 193; APZG, SPG, sygn. 38, k. 2–7; ibidem, sygn. 94: Sprawozdania statystyczne, k. 49 (letter, June 15 1946); k. 71 (population list); APP, PUR Poznań, sygn. 2764: Sprawozdania dotyczące osadnictwa wiejskiego w powiecie gubińskim, k. 2 (list of repatriates and displaced persons).

number. For the end of August 1946, the sources provide two versions of the data: The Settlement Office counted 9,879 displaced persons and repatriates (it also mentioned 680 Germans), while the PUR counted 10,894 displaced persons and repatriates.⁶³ Thus, the data differed by about 1,000 inhabitants and perhaps that is why a review was made in September. After the PUR inspection, it turned out that 712 people had left the rural communes (c. 11% of the population), the changes in numbers had not been noticed in the town, and the district itself had 10,262 inhabitants. Regardless of how many people actually left the district, this was caused by widespread famine (crops were destroyed by hail, flooding and mice, and there were problems with food supplies).⁶⁴ In his report for September, the administrator wrote, "Every day a large number of people apply to leave the district for other areas. Ninety percent of them, however, are refused and we try to stop them from doing so in various ways. Our refusal, however, is not a particularly difficult obstacle for the settlers to overcome, and so we hear, 'So I'll take the cow on a rope, and the carthorse, and I'll be off,' and it turns out that these are not just empty words, because, as we said, they are mostly acted upon and after a week or two, it turns out that the settler has actually done it. The mass escape of settlers is clearly visible in our numerical report on rural settlement. We had about a hundred cases in our district this month. So, if we do not actually take appropriate remedial measures, the district will be depopulated by a large percent."⁶⁵

The December report by the Settlement Department showed 12,168 people in the district, and the PUR data gave the number as 11,299 people. This time the data differ by about 1,000 people, but the higher number was now given by the Department.⁶⁶ This time the number was not verified (perhaps this was the number of people who arrived independently of the PUR transport). In general, the increase in the number of inhabitants in 1946 was significant, about 2.5 times higher.

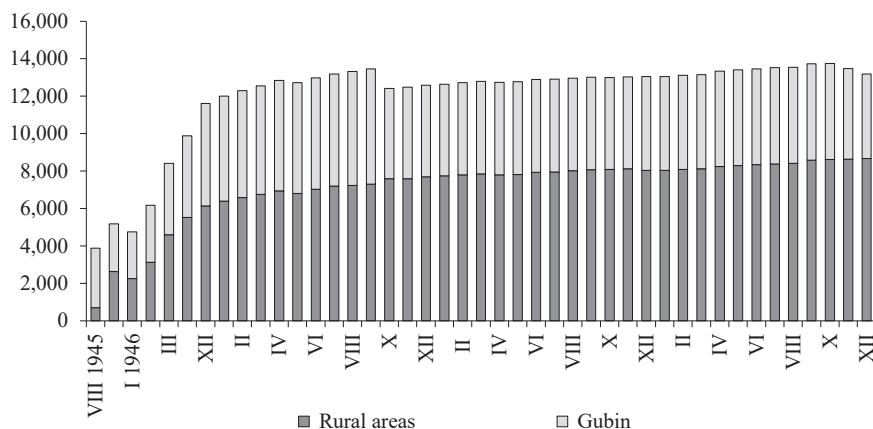
⁶³ APZG, SPG, sygn. 59, k. 14–15 (report, August 30, 1946). Importantly, fewer than 11,000 inhabitants were counted and thus far 3,662 repatriates and 2,013 displaced persons had passed through the PUR Stage Point in Gubin and through the West Point 2,527 repatriates, making a total of 8,202 people. The vast majority, 75%, of those arriving by rail were repatriates. APP, PUR Poznań, sygn. 2761: Sprawozdanie z działalności Punktu Etapowego w Gubinie, k. 65 (summary of the movement of repatriated and displaced persons, Sept. 1946); APP, PUR Poznań., sygn. 2762: Sprawozdanie z działalności Punktu Etapowego w Gubinie, k. 6 (movements of repatriates to Aug. 31 1946).

⁶⁴ APP, PUR Poznań, sygn. 2767, k. 28 (explanatory table to the report for Sept. 1946).

⁶⁵ Ibidem, sygn. 2767, k. 31–32 (report, Sept. 1946).

⁶⁶ APZG, SPG, sygn. 59, k. 46 (report, Dec. 1946).

Figure 4. Population of Gubin district, 1945–1949 (as of the end of each month)



Source: own work, based on the sources.

Early 1947 saw the start of a small decrease in the population (c. 150 people), summed up by the head of the Settlement Department as follows: “It is no disaster for us that, for example, we will find families missing, because individuals who have left can be called inadequate, a weak link who have succumbed in the struggle for forging a better tomorrow and run away from work, and some of those who have left treated their stay in the West as just using the building entrusted to them, filling their pockets with money, and never as honest work. So now we need more and more people to come here and start work.”⁶⁷

When analyzing the dynamics of the changes in the district’s population in the following years, it should be emphasized that the number of inhabitants at the end of 1946 (12,000 people) changed slightly in the following years. Another periodic outflow of population took place: on March 30, 1947, 12,842 people lived in the district, and 11,876 people in May. This loss of inhabitants is mainly the reduction of the town’s population by 13%, and the rural population by 2.5%. Another outflow was recorded in the fall, and while in September the district had 13,457 people, a month later there were only 12,415.⁶⁸ On October 31, 1947, the PUR reported that, of the planned settlement in the district of 4,843 families, 4,108 families had actually settled. “The shortcoming was caused by the destruction of the dams on the Oder River during military operations and the flooding

⁶⁷ APP, PUR Poznań, sygn. 2767, k. 40 (report, Feb. 1947).

⁶⁸ APZG, UWPEwG, sygn. 36: Sprawozdania sytuacyjne Starostwa Powiatowego w Gubinie, k. 24 (letter, Aug. 4, 1947); k. 54 (letter, Dec. 9, 1947).

of large areas of the district.”⁶⁹ Another loss of over a thousand inhabitants was due to a further outflow of people from Gubin, whose population decreased by as much as 20%. This fact can be associated with the earlier deportation from the district of a large group of Germans (c. 700), who largely supplied the market with both skilled and unskilled labor. In addition, the district was once again hit by natural disasters, exacerbating supply problems. The problems for the town’s inhabitants could also have been aggravated by the nationalization of many companies (the trustees of former German property were losing their jobs). At the end of the year, the district was inhabited by 12,600 people.

The number of inhabitants stabilized in 1948 (at c. 13,000), increasing by only 3%, with the number of people in the countryside (4%) slightly more than in the town (2.5%). In the following year, the district still had c. 13,000 residents. While the number of rural inhabitants increased from 8,000 to 8,700 (8%), the number of Gubin residents decreased from 5,000 to 4,000 (–10%, with 12% of these leaving in the fall only). In period under study, Gubin district was the least numerical-ly and densely populated district in Lubuskie Region.⁷⁰

Table 2. Population of the municipalities in Gubin district (1946–1949)

	Gubin	Biecz mun.	Czarnowice mun.	Markosice mun.	Pole mun.	Wałowice mun.
Feb. 14 1946	3,040	426	1,078	461	351	818
Aug.	4,362	838	1,614	1,063	720	1,282
Jan. 1947	5,620	1,045	1,644	1,337	839	1,529
June	5,160	974	1,854	1,482	868	1,759
Dec.	4,895	1,205	1,890	1,686	886	2,021
June 1948	4,964	1,260	1,985	1,747	914	2,026
Dec.	5,013	1,339	2,106	1,638	978	1,982
June 1949	5,125	1,388	2,247	1,757	1,028	2,051
Dec.	4,520	1,432	2,269	1,741	1,075	2,147

Source: own work based on the sources.

When we analyze the individual municipalities in the years 1946–1949 (see Table 2), we should note that compared to the census data from 1946, the highest increase in the number of inhabitants, almost fourfold, was recorded in the

⁶⁹ *Państwowy Urząd Repatriacyjny Oddział Poznański 1945–1948* (Poznań, 1949), 49.

⁷⁰ In early 1946, Babimojski and Skwierzyński districts (c. 9,000 people each) had slightly more inhabitants. In mid 1947, the population was smaller only in the area of Skwierzyński (almost 10,000 people), a similar number of inhabitants, c. 12,000, was located in the area of Babimojski. This situation did not change until the end of the period under analysis. Cf. APP, PUR Poznań, sygn. 228: Zestawienie osadnictwa na Ziemi Lubuskiej, k. 10 (report, June 1947).

Markosice municipality, there was a 3.5-fold increase in the Biecz municipality, in the municipality of Pole the population tripled, increased 2.5 times in the municipality of Wałowice, doubled in the municipality of Czarnowice and the weakest increase was recorded in Gubin, with only 50%. It is significant that the only town in the district that had been settled so enthusiastically in the first year, was later the worst-developing municipality.

To sum up, the population of the district increased 3.5 times (340%) from August 1945 to the end of 1949, but that of the town of Gubin by only 42%,⁷¹ and the countryside had a 12-fold increase. The largest increase was observed until the end of 1946; the number of the district's population increased threefold, with that of the towns and cities almost doubling (182%), and the that of villages going up nine times (912%). It should be noted that the increase in the number of inhabitants in the first post-war year was disrupted in the following years by population losses caused by the lack of jobs, parceling and expropriation operations, and natural disasters that aggravated supply problems, as well as defections abroad.⁷² At the end of 1949, the town's population was only 16% of its pre-war state, and 54% of the countryside, which clearly demonstrates the poor settlement of this district.

Structure of the District's Inhabitants

The sources make it possible to determine the structure of society in Gubin district. If we examine the place of residence, the dominance of the rural population increased year on year. At the end of 1945, 51% of the district's inhabitants lived in the countryside, a year later it was 52.5%, in 1947 61%, and at the end of 1949 it reached 66% of the population.⁷³ The structure of the district's inhabitants over the period is most accurately characterized by two censuses: the General Census (02/14/1946) and the census of the inhabitants of the Recovered Territories (12/31/1948).

In the light of the 1946 census, there were almost 109 women per 100 men in Gubin, 107 in rural areas, with the average for the Poznań voivodeship being as high as 118 F to 100 M, and in the country 121.5 F to 100 M.⁷⁴ The highest feminization rate was in the municipality of Czarnowice (114 F to 100 M), and the lowest

⁷¹ In Poland, small towns (including Gubin) had the lowest population growth rate in the years 1945–1950. Gawryszewski, *Ludność*, 126.

⁷² APZG, UWPEwG, sygn. 36, k. 146 (report, 3rd quarter 1949).

⁷³ The percentage of the urban population in the Recovered Territories was higher than the average in Poland, which was 32% in 1946 and 37% in 1950.

⁷⁴ *Powszechny Sumaryczny Spis Ludności z dn. 14 II 1946 r.* (Warszawa: GUS, 1947). Cf. Gawryszewski, *Ludność*, 211.

in the municipality of Pole (91 F to 100 M). Looking at the age structure (there were three economic age groups in the census), 64.2% of the population was aged 18–59, 31.5% were children and adolescents, and 4.3% were 60 years of age and older.⁷⁵ A characteristic feature of post-war Gubin was a very high share of working-age population (70.5%), with children and adolescents constituting only 26%, and people of post-working age only 3.5%. The age structure of the town differed significantly from the traditional picture, where there are relatively large numbers of children alongside people of working age.⁷⁶ In villages, the percentage of people aged 18–59 was lower and came to 58%, but there were more children and adolescents (37%) and very elderly people (5%).

A *One-Time Report as of December 31, 1948* was drawn up for the census of the Recovered Territories.⁷⁷ It includes such features as gender, age (also in three age groups, but the 0–17 age group is divided into 0–3 and 4–17 years old), nationality and place of origin. The district had 13,056 permanent residents and 435 temporary residents. The rural population was most numerous, with only one in three people living in the town (38.4%). Compared to the 1946 census, the feminization rate had not changed and was still 108 F to 100 M,⁷⁸ but for individual municipalities the changes were large. In towns, this ratio increased to 112, while in rural municipalities it dropped to 106. This shows a greater inflow of women to urban areas, and men to the countryside.⁷⁹ There were still more men than women in the Pole municipality (97 F to 100 M), and the largest number of women was in the Biecz municipality (115 F to 100 M). The feminization rate also differed in the subsequent age groups. The highest was for people aged 60 and over, coming to 174 F to 100 M (in the municipality of Czarnowice it was 260, and in Gubin 219), while among people of working age there were 110 F to 100 M, and among the youngest (under 18 years) the number of men and women was comparable.

The age structure of the district's population changed, as there were more children (see Figure 5). Every second person (58%) was 18–59 years old, every

⁷⁵ On average, people under the age of 18 in Poland accounted for 54.4% of the population, 18–59-year-olds 36.7%, and 60 and above 8.9%. Cf. *Powszechny Sumaryczny Spis Ludności*; Łach, *Osadnictwo*, 226–227

⁷⁶ Marek Okólski, Agnieszka Fihel, *Demografia. Współczesne zjawiska i teoria* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, 2012), 68.

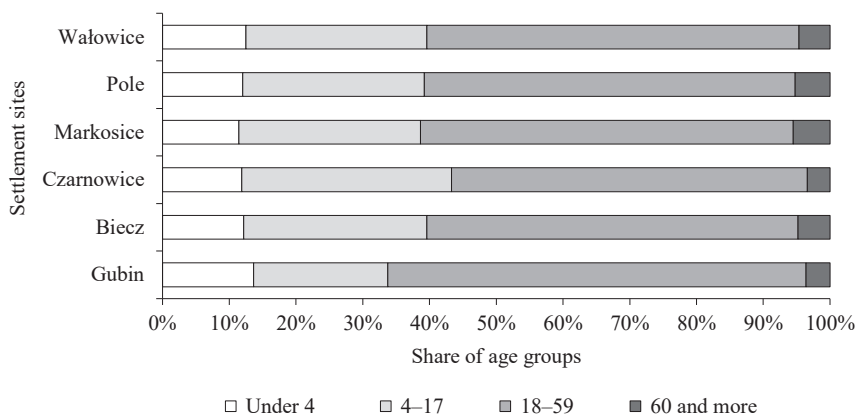
⁷⁷ For more, see Patrycy Dziurzyński, “Spis ludności na Ziemiach Odzyskanych z dnia 31 grudnia 1948,” *Polska Ludowa. Studia i materiały* 6 (1967): 183–188. It should be added that the statistical material given by the author shows the population according to voivodeships and districts, with the division into urban and rural municipalities (it does not include individual municipalities in numbers).

⁷⁸ On December 31, 1949, the feminization rate was further reduced to 107 F to 100 M. APZG, SPG, sygn. 42, k. 37 (population status, 4th quarter 1949).

⁷⁹ Generally, in the Lubuskie Region, the number of men increased and large disproportions in the number of both sexes decreased. Cf. Łach, *Osadnictwo*, 227.

fourth person was 4–17 years old, every eighth person was born after the war (0–3 years old), and every 25th person was 60 years old or over. The youngest inhabitants (under 18 years of age) accounted for 38% of the total population, so it was a young community of the progressive type.⁸⁰ It should be remembered that 3 years previously, adults had made up as many as 64% of the population, with only 31% children and adolescents. There was still a higher percentage of people of working age in Gubin: 63%, and in the countryside, 55%. There was a significant increase in the share of children in the population especially those born after the war; the highest percentage was recorded in Gubin (13.7%), and in municipalities it was around 12%. Older children (4–17 years old) were most numerous in the municipality of Czarnowice (31.4%) and the smallest number was in Gubin (20%), while the largest number of people aged 18–59 was also in the town, the lowest in the was in the municipality of Czarnowice (53%). The highest percentage of people aged 60 and above was in the Markosice municipality (5.5%), and the lowest in the Czarnowice commune (3.4%).

Figure 5. Age structure (in years) of the district's population as of December 31, 1948



Source: APZG, SPG, sygn. 41: Statystyka ludnościowa, k. 86.

⁸⁰ The population of this district in comparison with the inhabitants of Lubuskie Region and the whole of the Recovered Territories was distinguished by its age structure. It was younger, with the percentage of children and adolescents under 18 higher than that of the remaining LR districts (36.4%) and even higher than the total of the Recovered Territories (34%). In particular, there were many children under 4, 12.6%, while for the RT the figure was 3.2%. On the other hand, the percentages were lower in the populations of working age (58% in Gubin district, 58.4% in the LR and 59.6% in the RT) and post-working age (4.2% in Gubin district, 5.2% in the LR and 6.4% in the RT). Own calculations based on P. Dziurzyński, "Spis," 195.

For every 100 people of Polish nationality in the district (see Table 3) there were 46 people displaced from central Poland, 38 repatriates from the USSR, 13 children born after the war, and 3 repatriates and re-emigrants from other countries. Most of the re-emigrants came from Germany (325 people), then from France (41), the Czech Republic (35), East Africa (5), Lithuania (4), Italy (2) and England (1).⁸¹ The indigenous population was small (12 people), the lowest in the Lubuskie Region, where, according to the 1948 census, there were 9,300 indigenous people.⁸²

Table 3. Polish population of Gubin district by place of origin as of December 31, 1948

Town/municipality	Children, 0–3 years	Locals	Repatriates from the USSR	Repatriates and re-emi- grants from other countries	Resettled from central Poland
Gubin	684	7	878	217	3,219
Biecz	162	3	734	50	381
Czarnowice	250	1	968	7	880
Markosice	187	1	908	37	505
Pole	117	0	499	68	290
Wałowice	248	0	1,032	34	668
Towns	684	7	878	217	3,219
Rural municipalities	964	5	4,141	196	2,724
Total	1,648	12	5,019	413	5,943
Total in %	12.6	0.1	38.5	3.2	45.6

Source: APZG, SPG, sygn. 41: Statystyka ludnościowa, k. 86.

With the information on the number of families in the district and the number of inhabitants, it is possible to determine the size of the family, bearing in mind that the war period strongly influenced its shape and size (there were frequent single-parent families). The average size of the Gubin family continued to grow: in September 1946 it numbered 2.9 people, in early 1947 it was 3.1, by the end of the year it had decreased to 2.9, and in the following year 3.6. At the end of 1945, the urban family had 2.4 people, in mid-1946 2.6 people, in 1947 2.5 people, and at the end of that year 2.3 people, in 1948 2.7 people, and in 1949 almost 3 people. The rural family was larger: 3.1 people in mid-1946, 3.7 in mid-1947, 3.9 a year later and 4.2 in mid-1949. The increase in the number of family members indicates that complete families came more often, and the number of children increased.

⁸¹ APZG, SPG, sygn. 41: Statystyka ludnościowa, k. 85 (One-time report on the population of the Recovered Territories, Dec. 31, 1948. Summary A).

⁸² Dziurzyński, "Spis," 202.

Immediately after the war, single people often came, and with time the rest of the family joined them.

There were also visible differences in the number of repatriated and displaced families. In mid-1946, the repatriate family numbered 3.3 people,⁸³ a year later 3.5, in mid-1948 3.8 and in 1949 4.2 people. On the other hand, the resettling family was smaller and consisted of 2.7 people, and in 1949 it grew to 3 people. Generally, it should be stated that the family size in the town of Gubin was smaller than that of the rural family, and the repatriate family was larger than the relocated family.

Conclusion

The post-war population situation in Gubin district gave an image of under-population. Of the 28,000 residents in pre-war Gubin (the right bank), there were only 4,500 people at the end of 1949 (16% of the pre-war population), and the villages of about 16,000 inhabitants in 1939 had only 8,700 inhabitants 10 years later (54%). Despite vacant farms, there were no people willing to take them over. In the first months after the war the settlement operation was dynamic and the population grew month on month, but local difficulties often turned out to be too great to overcome and the discouraged inhabitants left the district. The basic problems were poor soil, a lack of livestock and jobs, and state policy, combined with natural disasters which exacerbated food supply issues. The number of inhabitants in the district grew, although not systematically: in August 1945 it came to 3,900 people, at the beginning of 1946 4,800 people, in August there were 10,900 and at the end of the year the population reached 12,100. In the following years, it oscillated between 12,000 and 13,500 people. There were several large outflows, with a significant decrease in the rural population recorded in the fall of 1946, and in the urban population in the spring (of 13%) and fall of 1947 (of 22%) and in the fall of 1949 (of 12%). It was a heavily feminized society, with a high percentage of people of working age. The displaced population predominated in the town, and repatriates in the countryside. Family size in the district was not large: in September 1946 it was 2.9 people, and in 1949 3.6 people, with the urban family smaller than the rural one, and the family of displaced people smaller than that of repatriates.

The potential increase in the number of inhabitants of Gubin and the entire district had to be associated with changes in the local economic situation, mainly with the creation of larger industrial plants and the improvement of the food

⁸³ According to Słabek (*O społecznej historii*, 67) only 38% of adult repatriates at that time were men.

supply. The administrator often emphasized this fact in his letters, and it was also relied on when developing the 6-Year Plan (1950–1955). However, in those years the population of the towns and rural municipalities did not increase significantly (in 1955 the district had 14,500 people).

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Population of Gubin District in the Context of Situational and Statistical Reports in the Years 1945–1949

Summary

The article was written on the basis of post-war accounts and reports by the Gubin district administrator and State Repatriation Office. The process of displacement of the German population, the influx of military settlers, repatriates and displaced persons along with the structure of the population by sex, age and place of origin are described. In June 1945, the deportation of Germans from the district began with c. 12,000 former inhabitants deported, but in the next few months German people were brought into the district or arrived on foot from the east. Due to the temporary closure of the border and a lack of transports (especially in winter), their number increased. At the beginning of 1946, 574 Germans were counted, in August, 682 and in October, 739. On May 30, 1947, most of the Germans were deported, on May 31, there were 134, in July, 34 and at the beginning of 1948, only 3 people remained. From mid-1948 to March 1949, there were no German inhabitants in the district. In April 1949, there were 3 Germans in Gubin, and from July there were only 2. This number remained until the end of the year.

The influx of people in 1945–1949 was insufficient to rebuild the pre-war population potential. In 1939, the eastern part of the Gubin district, which in 1945 became Poland, was inhabited by 44,000 people, but in August 1945 the district had only 3,500 residents, and in January 1946, 4,800. With the influx of people, this number increased to 12,000 at the end of 1946, and at the end of 1949 to 13,100 residents. The only slight increase in population over these 3 years would suggest a decline in the inflow of people, but the influx, although weaker and weaker, continued; on the other hand, previous settlers left the district, which they considered unsuitable: the poor-quality soil, the lack of transport links, livestock and jobs, as well as concerns about the proximity of the border with Germany were mentioned. Every year, the area was also hit by natural disasters (hail, floods, drought, plagues of mice, and thistle), which exacerbated the existing food supply problems.

In the period under analysis, the district was the least numerous and most sparsely populated in the Lubusz Region. The total number of residents from August 1945 to the end of 1949 increased by 340%, while the town of Gubin saw only a 42% increase, and

the countryside saw a 12-fold increase. The highest population growth was observed until the end of 1946, with a threefold increase in the number of the district's inhabitants. There were several significant population losses: in the fall of 1946, in the spring and fall of 1947, and in the fall of 1948. At the end of 1945, half of the district's inhabitants lived in the town but in the following years the population settled mainly in the countryside and thus, at the end of 1949, villagers accounted for 66% of the population. Compared to the voivodeship and the country as a whole, the district was characterized by a relatively low feminization rate (108 F:100 M). Gubin was dominated by people displaced from central Poland (c. 70% of the population), and in the countryside, repatriates (also c. 70%). Military settlers and their families constituted a large percentage of the inhabitants (25–30%). At the beginning of 1946, they made up over half of the district's population but in the following years their share in the total number of residents decreased. The number of military settlers from the end of 1946 to 1949 hovered at around 1,000 people, and together with their families they numbered approximately 3,000–3,500 people. While a year after the end of the war the average family consisted of 2.9 people, in 1949 it was 3.6 people. This growth was undoubtedly influenced by the increasing number of births.

Ludność powiatu gubińskiego w świetle sprawozdań sytuacyjno-statystycznych z lat 1945–1949

Streszczenie

Artykuł powstał na podstawie powojennych sprawozdań i raportów starosty oraz oddziału Państwowego Urzędu Repatriacyjnego w Gubinie. Opisano proces wysiedlania ludności niemieckiej, napływ osadników wojskowych, repatriantów i przesiedleńców oraz strukturę tej ludności według płci, wieku i miejsca pochodzenia. W czerwcu 1945 roku rozpoczęto wysiedlanie Niemców z powiatu, deportowano około 12 tys. dawnych mieszkańców, ale w kolejnych kilku miesiącach do powiatu została przywieziona lub przybyła pieszo ludność niemiecka z kierunku wschodniego. Ze względu na czasowe zamykanie granicy oraz brak transportu (szczególnie zimą) liczba ich w powiecie rosła. Na początku 1946 roku zliczono 574 Niemców, w sierpniu 682, a w październiku 739. 30 maja 1947 roku wywieziono większość Niemców, 31 maja zliczono ich 134, w lipcu 34, a na początku 1948 roku tylko 3 osoby. Od połowy 1948 roku do marca 1949 roku nie było w powiecie ludności niemieckiej. W kwietniu 1949 roku w Gubinie było 3 Niemców, a od lipca 2. Stan ten utrzymał się do końca roku.

Napływ ludności w latach 1945–1949 był niezadowalający i nie udało się odbudować przedwojennego potencjału ludnościowego. W 1939 roku wschodnią część powiatu gubińskiego, która w 1945 roku przypadła Polsce, zamieszkiwało 44 tys. mieszkańców, a w sierpniu 1945 roku powiat liczył zaledwie 3,5 tys. i w styczniu 1946 roku 4,8 tys. mieszkańców. Liczba ta na skutek napływu ludności zwiększyła się pod koniec 1946

roku do 12 tys., a pod koniec 1949 roku tylko do 13,1 tys. mieszkańców. Nieznaczny wzrost zaludnienia w ciągu tych 3 lat sugerowałby spadek napływu ludności, ale napływ, choć coraz słabszy, trwał, jednak dotychczasowi osiedleńcy opuszczali nieprzyjazny ich zdaniem powiat. Wskazywano na słabość ziem, brak komunikacji, inwentarza i miejsc pracy, a także na obawy związane z bliskością granicy z Niemcami. Obszar ten był także nawiedzany co roku klęskami naturalnymi (gradobicie, powódzie, susza, plaga myszy i ostu), co potęgowało istniejące problemy związane z aprowizacją.

Powiat był w analizowanym okresie najmniej licznym i najslabiej zaludnionym powiatem Ziemi Lubuskiej. Ogółem liczba osiedlonych osób od sierpnia 1945 do końca 1949 roku wzrosła ponad 3-krotnie (340%), miasta Gubina o zaledwie 42%, a wsi 12-krotnie. Największy przyrost ludności obserwowano do końca 1946 roku – wzrost liczby mieszkańców powiatu był 3-krotny. Doszło do kilku znacznych ubytków ludności: jesienią 1946 roku, wiosną i jesienią następnego roku oraz jesienią 1948 roku. Pod koniec 1945 roku połowa mieszkańców powiatu zamieszkiwała miasto, ale w kolejnych latach ludność osiedlała się głównie na wsi i tym samym w końcu 1949 roku mieszkańcy wsi stanowili już 66% zaludnienia. Powiat na tle województwa i całego kraju charakteryzował się stosunkowo niskim wskaźnikiem feminizacji (108 K/100M). W Gubinie dominowała ludność przesiedlona z centralnej Polski (ok. 70% mieszkańców), a na wsi repatrianci (również ok. 70%). Duży odsetek mieszkańców to osadnicy wojskowi i ich rodziny (25–30%). Na początku 1946 roku stanowili oni ponad połowę mieszkańców powiatu, ale w kolejnych latach udział tej społeczności w ogólnej liczbie mieszkańców zmalał. Liczba osadników wojskowych od końca 1946 roku do 1949 wahała się w granicach 1000 osób (z rodzinami liczyli łącznie ok. 3–3,5 tys. osób). Rok po zakończeniu wojny przeciętna rodzina liczyła 2,9 osób, a w 1949 roku już 3,6 osób. Na wzrost ten niewątpliwie wpłynęła zwiększająca się liczba urodzeń.



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Parish Registers in the Archival Fonds of the State Archives in Szczecin

Księgi metrykalne w zasobie Archiwum Państwowego w Szczecinie

Abstract

The article aims to show the value that Protestant parish registers kept in the State Archives in Szczecin have for demographic research. The paper will also examine the internal structure of the Pomeranian and New Marchian parish registers, showing the changes that took place in the records over a period of more than 350 years (from the end of the 16th century to the mid-20th century). The material is also intended to encourage academics to use the sources in their research work.

Keywords

Protestant parish registers, State Archives in Szczecin, Pomerania, the New March, historical demography

Abstrakt

W artykule wskazano na wartość, jaką dla badań demograficznych przedstawiają ewangelickie księgi metrykalne przechowywane w Archiwum Państwowym w Szczecinie. Zaprezentowano również strukturę wewnętrzną pomorskich i nowomarchijskich ksiąg metrykalnych z ukazaniem zmian zachodzących w zawartych w nich zapisach na przestrzeni ponad 350 lat (od końca XVI do połowy XX w.). Materiał ma również zachęcić potencjalnych naukowców do wykorzystywania opisanych źródeł w pracy badawczej.

Słowa kluczowe

ewangelickie księgi metrykalne, Archiwum Państwowe w Szczecinie, Pomorze, Nowa Marchia, demografia historyczna

The main goal of the article is to familiarize researchers with the content and to demonstrate the scientific value of Pomeranian and New Marchian parish registers currently stored in the State Archives in Szczecin for historical demographic research. In addition, analysis of the books' contents will allow the author to show the changes (differences, similarities) that took place from the end of the 16th century to the mid-20th century in the records (baptisms/births, weddings, and funerals/deaths) contained in these books. The work is also intended to encourage academics to undertake research efforts in this area of Pomerania and the New March which thus far has been unexplored.

Parish registers in Pomerania and the neighboring counties (the New March/Brandenburg) first appeared in the middle of the 16th century with the strengthening of Lutheranism in these lands.¹ In the duchies ruled by the Griffin dynasty (the Duchy of Wolgast and Szczecin), registration of vital events was recommended to new Lutheran pastors by the local parliament in Trzebiatów (1534), where the dukes decided to introduce Protestantism in Pomerania.² However, it should be emphasized that although the oldest known Pomeranian parish register (the marriage register from Wołogoszcz/Wolgast) was established in 1538,³ the process of creating subsequent parish registers in Pomerania was very slow and met with many difficulties. No wonder then that in 1568 Dukes Barnim IX and Philip I, as guardians of the Pomeranian church, categorically ordered pastors to keep at least marriage registers. This ordinance had a rather limited effect, since in the second half of the 1590s, marriage registers were kept in only a dozen or so parishes⁴ out of about 400 which existed in Pomerania at that time. In March 1616, during the national sejmik, and then in December 1617, the Duke of Szczecin, Philip II, issued ordinances requiring the pastors under his authority to keep three classes of parish registers, i.e., of baptisms, marriages, and funerals.⁵ These orders also

¹ On the causes and course of the Lutheran reform and the organization of the Lutheran Church in Brandenburg, see Bogdan Wachowiak and Andrzej Kamiński, *Dzieje Brandenburgii-Prus na progu czasów nowożytnych (1500–1701)* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2001), 168–193; the publication also includes a list of basic literature. On the Lutheran revolution in Pomerania, see Bogdan Wachowiak, "Reformacja na Pomorzu Zachodnim i w Nowej Marchii," in: *Historia Pomorza*, vol. 2: *Do roku 1815*, ed. Gerard Labuda, part 1: (1464/66–1648/57), ed. Marian Biskup et al. (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1976), 802–825, where also basic literature on the subject can be found.

² Wachowiak, "Reformacja," 814–816; compare also: Radosław Pawlik, *Kapituła katedralna w Kamieniu Pomorskim na przełomie epok (1498–1549)* (Warszawa–Szczecin: Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, Archiwum Państwowe w Szczecinie, Stowarzyszenie Archiwistów Polskich, 2019), 203–208.

³ Martin Wehrmann, "Die Kirchenbücher in Pommern," *Baltische Studien* AF 42 (1892): 204.

⁴ Martin Wehrmann confirmed that books were kept in 18 parishes: Wehrmann, "Die Kirchenbücher," 204–205.

⁵ Keeping three classes of books was ordered in 1616 by the local parliament of the Duchy of Szczecin: Wehrmann, "Die Kirchenbücher," 206–209.

had a rather limited effect. Actually, before the Thirty Years' War reached Pomerania (1627), all three types of vital event registers were kept mainly in urban and rural parishes located in the immediate vicinity of towns that were considered large on the local Pomeranian scale (e.g., around Szczecin, Stralsund, Greifswald, Kołobrzeg, Stargard or Słupsk).

The Thirty Years' War, which caused great destruction in Pomerania and Brandenburg,⁶ and a significant loss of population in both duchies, also led to the situation where the post of pastor remained vacant in many parishes. As a result, vital records obviously ceased to be kept in many Pomeranian and New Marchian parishes. It is known that a stabilization began in the 1640s. Martin Wehrmann calculated that in the years 1640–1649, parish registers were kept in 44 Pomeranian parishes,⁷ and in the years 1650–1659, in the Brandenburg part of Pomerania, they were kept in 60 parishes. However, it was only at the end of the 17th century that 360 Pomeranian parishes out of the 450 existing kept the three classes of parish registers ordered by the authorities. In the 18th century, the Prussian kings gradually forced all Pomeranian and Brandenburg parishes to regularly record vital events in their area, and the records were given a strictly defined content. Moreover, it was forbidden to record these demographic facts on separate pieces of paper, and they were ordered to be entered directly into the parish registers. Reluctant pastors who did not keep their books systematically or kept them carelessly (illegibly) were fined (ordinances from 1760 and 1764).⁸ A Prussian national law issued in 1794 introduced comprehensive provisions relating to the keeping of parish registers by pastors. The pastor was required to enter notes on baptism, marriage or death into the appropriate register immediately after the event, according to a strictly defined internal structure. He was to do it carefully and legibly. The pastor was required to make entries in the original books. On the other hand, the sacristan could, on the basis of the pastor's record, make a note in duplicate parish registers. The pastor was also required, at the end of each year, to send information on vital events in his parish to the nearest court of lowest instance. Pomeranian pastors were ordered to comply with the regulations of the

⁶ On the Thirty Years' War in Brandenburg: Wachowiak, Kamieński, *Dzieje Brandenburgii*, 334–355; in Pomerania: Bogdan Wachowiak, "Upadek państwa zachodniopomorskiego," in: *Historia*, ed. Biskup et al., 994–1003.

⁷ Wehrmann, "Die Kirchenbücher," 210.

⁸ The church was intended to become an efficient part of the Prussian state: Zygmunt Szultka, "Stosunki wyznaniowe i kościelne w Prusach w XVIII w.," in: *Prusy w okresie monarchii absolutnej (1701–1806)*, ed. Bogdan Wachowiak (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2010), 745–764; compare also: Bogdan Wachowiak, "Stosunki wyznaniowe i kościelne w XVIII i początkach XIX wieku," in: *Historia Pomorza*, ed. Gerard Labuda, vol. 2: *Do 1815*, part 3: *Pomorze Zachodnie w latach 1648–1815*, ed. Zygmunt Szultka et al. (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2003), 842–848, 856–860.

Landrecht in this matter by a separate order of the Pomeranian Consistory (1796), and Brandenburg pastors by the Brandenburg Consistory (1795). The obligation to keep record books by parishes (throughout Prussia) was suspended in 1874, when civil registry offices were established in the Kingdom of Prussia. This was when the state took over the supervision over vital events. Parishes then gave up keeping duplicate books, although they continued to keep original parish registers until 1945.

Pomeranian parish registers were relatively infrequently used in historical research. Martin Wehrmann was the first to become interested in them as a source.⁹ It was he who made a list, highly valuable today, of all the parish registers in existence in Pomeranian parishes at the time (1892). Wehrmann's catalog was the result of a growing interest in genealogical issues at the end of the 19th century. In the 1930s, in connection with racial research in the Third Reich, both the Pomeranian and New Marchian parish registers were used by the Nazi authorities to analyze the racial purity of German citizens.

The Second World War led to the dispersal of and significant losses among the Pomeranian and New Marchian parish registers kept at that time in parishes. Hence, today we can find Pomeranian and New Marchian parish registers in, e.g., the Protestant Central Archives in Berlin (Evangelisches Zentralarchiv in Berlin),¹⁰ the Church Archives in Greifswald (Landeskirchliches Archiv in Greifswald),¹¹ and in the State Archive in Greifswald (Landesarchiv Greifswald).¹² On the Polish side of the border, some Pomeranian and New Marchian parish registers are kept in the State Archives in Koszalin and in the State Archives in Gorzów Wielkopolski,¹³ while some constitute a separate collection in the State Archives in Szczecin.¹⁴

⁹ Wehrmann, "Die Kirchenbücher," 201–214 introduction, 215–280, list of books.

¹⁰ Christa Stache, ed., *Verzeichnis der Kirchenbücher im Evangelischen Zentralarchiv in Berlin* (Berlin: Evangelisches Zentralarchiv in Berlin, 1992), 247–270, 293–296.

¹¹ Inventory of parish registers in the Church Archives, Greifswald: Carlies Maria Raddatz, ed. *Landeskirchliches Archiv Greifswald* (Greifswald: Landesarchiv Greifswald, 1995), 8–19.

¹² Uwe Rodig, ed., *Verzeichnis der pommerschen Kirchenbücher im Vorpommerschen Landesarchiv Greifswald* (Rostock–Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1996), 20–335.

¹³ Dariusz A. Rymar, ed., *Archiwum Państwowe w Szczecinie Oddział w Gorzowie Wielkopolskim. Przewodnik po zasobie archiwalnym* (Warszawa: Naczelna Dyrekcja Archiwów Państwowych – Wydział Wydawnictw, 2002), 86–88. It is worth mentioning the guide to parish registers and the books of registry offices in the New March: Georg Grüneberg, ed., *Kirchenbücher, Kirchenbuch-Duplikate und Standesamtsregister der ehemals brandenburgischen Kreise Königsberg, Soldin, Landsberg, Arnswalde, Friedeberg, Ost- und Weststernberg, Crossen, Züllichau-Schwiebus, Guben und Sorau, Schwerin, Meseritz, Bomst. Bestandverzeichnis* (Lenzen: Verlag G. Grüneberg, 1998), 15–266.

¹⁴ Compare also the microfilms of parish registers kept in Leipzig: Martina Werme et al., eds., *Bestandverzeichnis der Deutschen Zentralstelle für Genealogie Leipzig*, Part 1: *Die*

The books that currently make up the collection in Szczecin were placed in the local facility as part of a drive by the Polish archival authorities to secure post-German church records. During this undertaking, not only parish files were secured, including parish registers, but also archives of superintendentcies.¹⁵ Books from Protestant Pomeranian and Brandenburg (New Marchian) parishes were combined into one collection, which in the 1960s consisted of 177 archival items. Successive inflows of archival materials, especially duplicate parish registers kept in regional courts (Amtsgerichte), led to significant changes. Ultimately, it was decided to include the duplicate parish registers in the existing collection. As a result of this decision, the collection was supplemented with duplicates and then re-ordered. In 1991, Jerzy Grzelak separated duplicate books from the collection of parish registers and included them again in the fonds of the relevant regional courts. As a result of these activities, in 1991 the newly rearranged collection of parish registers amounted to 271 archival items. In 1992, Jerzy Grzelak published a list of Szczecin's parish registers and their duplicates.¹⁶ A reclassification of the collection carried out in 2010 by Alicja Kościelna reduced the number of books to 232 archival items, which was due to the exclusion of some books from church provinces other than Pomerania and Brandenburg.¹⁷ The Szczecin collection of parish registers created after the war has not been the subject of in-depth analysis so far. It has been used almost exclusively for fragmentary genealogical research conducted mainly by German citizens.¹⁸ Only the Jasienica parish marriage registers have been more thoroughly examined.¹⁹ At this point, it is worth adding that the revival of genealogical research in Poland has resulted in an increase in the literature on parish registers.²⁰ These works were usually

Kirchenbuchunterlagen der östlichen Provinzen Posen, Ost- und Westpreußen, Pommern und Schlesien (Neustadt/Aisch: Verlag AG Degener & Co, 1991), 79–84.

¹⁵ Jerzy Grzelak, "Spis ksiąg metrykalnych i ich duplikatów w zasobie Archiwum Państwowego w Szczecinie," *Szczeciński Informator Archiwalny* 7 (1992): 54–56.

¹⁶ Grzelak, "Spis," 53–141, compare also: Herbert Spruth, "Pommersche Kirchenbücher und Standesamtsregister 1968," *Baltische Studien* 54 [according to the new numbering system] (1968): 115–116, 121–122; and Radosław Gaziński, Paweł Gut, Maciej Szukała, eds., *Archiwum Państwowe w Szczecinie. Przewodnik po zasobie archiwalnym. Akta do 1945 roku* (Warszawa–Szczecin: Naczelna Dyrekcja Archiwów Państwowych – Wydział Wydawnictw, 2002), 392–406.

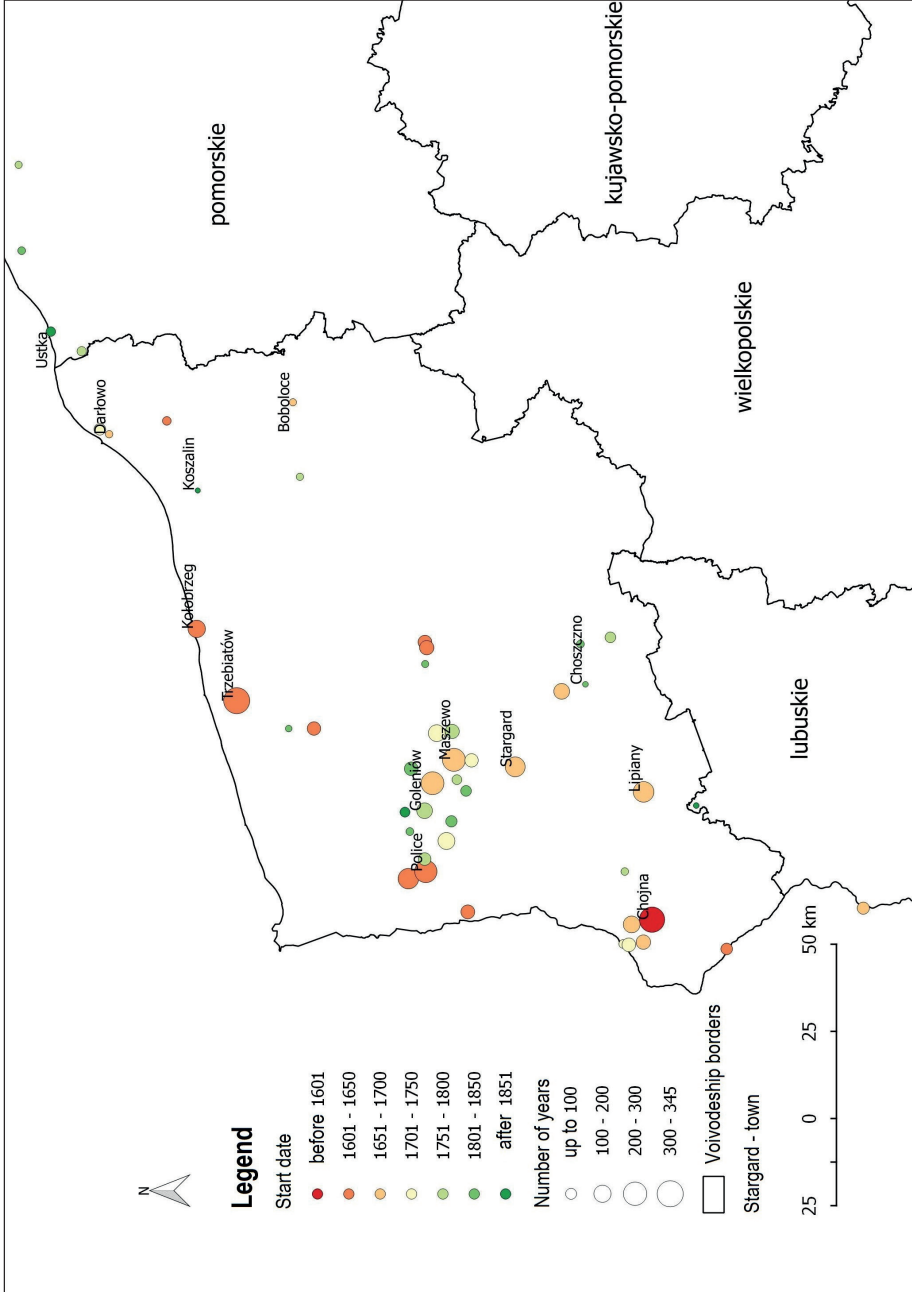
¹⁷ Alicja Kościelna, *Inwentarz. Zbiór ewangelickich ksiąg metrykalnych z Pomorza i Nowej Marchii 1581–1947* (Szczecin: Archiwum Państwowe w Szczecinie, 2011), 2–75.

¹⁸ Grzelak, "Spis," 53.

¹⁹ Radosław Gaziński et al., "Śluby w ewangelickiej parafii Jasienica pod Szczecinem w latach 1778–1880," *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 28 (2007): 27–111.

²⁰ Czesława Hruszka, "Księgi metrykalne i akta stanu cywilnego w zasobie Archiwum Państwowego w Poznaniu," *Archeion* 55 (1970): 59–78. Dariusz A. Rymar, Stanisława Janicka, Teresa Kuciak, "Spis ksiąg metrykalnych i ich duplikatów w zasobie Oddziału AP w Gorzowie Wielkopolskim," *Szczeciński Informator Archiwalny* 8 (1993): 69–135; Zofia Szulc, "Akta metrykalne w zbiorach Archiwum Państwowego w Rzeszowie," *Prace Historyczno-Archiwalne* 4 (1996):

Map 1. Spatial distribution of parish registers in the archival fonds of the State Archives in Szczecin



Source: own work.

created in the archival environment and their culmination was a guidebook by Anna Laszuk²¹ and the electronic database *Pradziad*. Research carried out by archivists has found a wider response among historians and genealogists, which has resulted in the accumulation of new valuable publications.²²

Parish registers in the State Archives in Szczecin today constitute a separate collection called the Collection of Protestant Parish registers from Pomerania and the New March.²³ This means, first of all, that numerous small fonds in Szczecin were combined into one whole, creating a collection of partial fonds, including partial fonds from 61 Protestant parishes. Secondly, these parishes functioned in several neighboring provinces. Of course, the vast majority of them (42 parishes) were located in historical Pomerania. The second largest group of archival materials (parish registers) relates to parishes located in the area of the former New March (13 parishes), which was part of Brandenburg. The collection also includes partial fonds of parish registers (3 parishes) from former West Prussia (Royal Prussia) and (3 parishes) from East Prussia (the Duchy of Prussia). In total, the

244–254; Anna Krochmal, Michał Proksa, *Akta metrykalne w zasobie Archiwum Państwowego w Przemysłu* (Przemyśl: Archiwum Państwowe w Przemysłu, 1998), 185.

²¹ Anna Laszuk, comp., *Księgi metrykalne i stanu cywilnego w archiwach państwowych. Przewodnik* (Warszawa: Naczelna Dyrekcja Archiwów Państwowych, 2003), 475; the electronic database *Pradziad* is an extension of the guide: www.archiwa.gov.pl/pl/768-ksiegi-metrykalne-i-stanu-cywilnego-pradziad.

²² The following publications should be mentioned: Józef Mandziuk, “Księgi metrykalne województwa jeleniogórskiego w Archiwum Archidiecezjalnym we Wrocławiu,” *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 16 (1985): 197–203; Małgorzata Kośka, Dorota Lewandowska, “Księgi metrykalne różnych wyznań z terenów tzw. zabużańskich przechowywane w AGAD,” *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 20 (1997): 129–144; Wiesława Kwiatkowska, *Kancelaria Ewangelickiego Kościoła Unickiego w Prusach Zachodnich w latach 1817–1924 i pozostałe po niej akta* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2006), where on pp. 98–107 the forms of the parish registers are described, and recently: Wojciech Ziobro, “Księgi metrykalne parafii rzymskokatolickiej w Strzyżewie z lat 1784–1918 – stan zachowania i możliwość odtworzenia ruchu naturalnego ludności,” *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 39 (2017): 97–115; Wojciech Ziobro, Radosław Waśko, “Bazy danych w opracowaniu galicyjskich ksiąg metrykalnych,” *Galicja. Studia i Materiały* 4 (2018): 289–304 and Sławomir Kościelak, “Katolicka społeczność Gdańska w świetle ksiąg metrykalnych z II połowy XVIII wieku. Nowe spojrzenie na przemiany demograficzne w wielowyznaniowym protestanckim ośrodku,” *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 40 (2018): 83–103.

²³ It is worth adding at this point that today, in state archives, collections of partial fonds are no longer being built, especially in one collection of record creators operating in various administrative units of a higher level (in this case, in various church provinces). However, in Szczecin, during the works on the electronic version of the inventory in 2010, it was concluded that the above-mentioned collection had been functioning as a whole for over 50 years and there is no justification for dividing it into numerous, usually simple partial fonds. The arguments also referred to numerous examples of collections of parish registers that still function in the Central Archives of Historical Records. It should also be mentioned that the books from three parishes from the area of East Prussia were separated from the collection with the intention of transferring them to the State Archives in Olsztyn.

Szczecin collection consists of 232 archival items, which amounts to 10.5 linear meters of files for the years 1581–1947. If we look at the affiliation of the these parish registers to particular church provinces, 165 archival items remained from Pomerania for the years 1600–1947, with 60 archival items from Brandenburg (the New March) for the years 1581–1943, 4 archival items from West Prussia for the years 1824–1874, and 3 archival items from East Prussia for the years 1680–1814. The parish registers in question contain all three classes of entries: baptisms, including baptisms of illegitimate children, marriages and marriage banns, deaths, confirmations, and finally records of people receiving holy communion (communicants). The German language dominates in these books, although there are entries in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. These archival materials are the products of Protestant (Lutheran) parishes, and after 1817 (when the Prussian king Frederick William III united Lutherans with Calvinists), of United Protestant parishes. Of 42 Pomeranian parishes, only 1 or 2 parish registers have survived from 27 parishes. In the remaining 15 parishes, more than 2 books have survived, but only 7 parishes have more than 10 parish registers. Pomeranian record holders include the parishes in Goleniów (17 archival items), the parish of the Holy Spirit in Stargard (16 archival items), and in Maszewo (14 archival items). In the case of Brandenburg province (the New March), in the surviving 13 parishes, only 7 have more than 1 book. The record holders, with more than 10 books, include the parishes in Chojna and Lipiany, both with 17 archival items. If we look at the chronological distribution of entries, books containing entries from the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries are clearly predominant. Only around a quarter of the books date back exclusively to the 17th and 18th centuries. In the case of 165 parish registers from Pomerania, only 40 contain entries exclusively from the 17th and 18th centuries. It should be added here that the 17th-century records appear only in 19 books (mainly from the second half of the 17th century), and of those dating back to the times of the duchies there are only four (the oldest from 1600 are included in the register of births at St. Mary's Church in Trzebiatów). For the New March (Brandenburg), of the 60 preserved parish registers, only 22 contain records all predating the 19th century. On the other hand, in 11 books we can find references from the 17th century, mainly from the second half. Only in Chojna two baptism and death registers have been preserved, which date back to the times before the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War (from 1581).

Thus, the oldest entries in the parish registers kept by Pomeranian parishes date back to 1600 (the first entry was dated 18 August 1600), and in those kept by parishes in the New March to 1581 (the first entry is from 14 May 1581). The oldest Pomeranian parish register preserved in the Szczecin archives is the baptism

register from the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Trzebiatów.²⁴ The notes it contains on the demographic events for the years 1600 to 1668 are very brief. They consist of the date of baptism (day, month), sex of the child, the first name(s) and surname of the father, the name(s) of the child himself/herself, and the names and surnames of the witnesses to the baptism. Among the witnesses to the baptism (usually three or four people), men were greatly prevalent. With time (beginning in the 1620s), there were also women, most often one woman for every two or three men. At the end of each year, the pastor who kept the book summarized the number of babies baptized. It must be added that the structure of the record did not change until the end of the book. The oldest book from the New March, in turn, includes entries for the years 1581–1600 concerning baptisms and deaths in the parish of the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Chojna.²⁵ Notes on demographic events are kept here in two columns. Information on baptisms was written on the left side, while the right side listed deaths/funerals. The records were very simple and brief. In the case of a baptism, the date of the child's baptism was recorded (day, month, year was given at the top of the page), along with the name(s) and surname of the child's father, the mother's first name(s) and maiden name, sex and first name(s) of the child, and finally the names and surnames of witnesses to the baptism (usually two or three). As in the Trzebiatów parish register, there were far more male witnesses. In some records in the 1590s, the name and sex of the child appear immediately after the date of baptism, and only then were the father's details recorded (often together with his occupation/estate), as well as the details of the mother and of the witnesses to the baptism. Data on deaths/funerals were recorded much more briefly. In the case of adults, the records amounted to providing the date of the funeral and the name(s) and surname of the deceased, and, in the case of children, the date of the funeral, the name(s) and surname of the father, sometimes the child's sex, and his or her first name.²⁶ At the end of each year, the pastor made a summary of how many children had been born in the parish and how many people had died. Additionally, the book contains the statistics of communicants included in a table consisting of the list of consecutive Sundays and the number of persons given Holy Communion on those Sundays by the pastor and two curates. The next parish register of the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Chojna for the years 1600–1631

²⁴ Archiwum Państwowe w Szczecinie (hereafter: APSz), Zbiór Ewangelickich Ksiąg Metrykalnych z Pomorza i Nowej Marchii (hereafter: ZEKMPNM), archival reference no. 154.

²⁵ APSz, ZEKMPNM, archival reference no. 173: the oldest record in the book is dated 14 May 1581. On that day, Andreas Friske and Dorota Gores had their son David baptized in the presence of the witnesses Casper Masbach, Balthasar Widmans, Hans Fuile, and Christoph Wolk.

²⁶ The earliest death was recorded on 16 May 1581, when Joachim Beldikans' child was buried.

contains an identical structure of records arranged in two columns (baptisms/funerals).²⁷ The only minor differences are that the number of witnesses to baptisms increased to 10 in some cases (among whom the majority were still men), and in the case of funerals, the age at death of the elderly deceased was given.²⁸ Each year, the pastor would still summarize the births and deaths and compile a table that recorded the number of communicants. Equally brief and simple entries can be found in the book of baptisms of the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Kołobrzeg covering the years 1633–1676.²⁹ They were recorded in the following order: the date of the event, the child's name(s), the father's name(s), sometimes his estate/occupation, and the names and surnames of the witnesses. In the few cases of illegitimate births, the mother's first name(s) and surname were recorded. Twin births (also very few in number) were joined with a curly bracket and followed by the name(s) and surname of the children's father. After each year, the number of babies baptized was totaled. Schematic data are also included in the marriage register from the parish of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Kołobrzeg from 1682–1703.³⁰ The records have a standardized content which consists of the date of the wedding (day, month, year), the groom's name(s), surname, and sometimes estate/occupation, the bride's name(s) and surname, as well as (although not always) the name(s), surname, place of residence, and estate/occupation of the father of the bride. In a few cases, after the data on the father of the bride, information stating which of his daughters (younger, older) had married was added. A very interesting example of a parish register from a relatively small, town parish is the church book of Bobolice, containing baptism records from 1657–1696. The book begins with a chronicle of the most important events that took place in the years 1657–1687 in the Reich, Brandenburg, and Pomerania.³¹ On the other hand, the baptism entries themselves were included in a handwritten table³² with the following columns: date of baptism (day, month, year at the top of the table) (1), the child's first name(s) (2), the name(s), surname, and sometimes occupation/estate of the father, the name(s) and maiden name of the mother (3), the names and surnames of the baptism witnesses (4). The estate/occupation of men who were witnesses were often recorded and, in the case of women, their maiden names. From 1666, the dates of birth of baptized children appeared in the first column instead of the dates of baptism, and the latter were added after the name(s) of the

²⁷ APSz, ZEKMPNM, archival reference no. 174.

²⁸ The most frequently recorded age was over 70 years, but the oldest deceased person found during the analysis of the book was 90 years old.

²⁹ APSz, ZEKMPNM, archival reference no. 40.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, archival reference no. 44.

³¹ *Ibidem*, archival reference no. 2, the above-mentioned chronicle covers pages 3–19.

³² It is the oldest handwritten table preserved in the parish registers kept in Szczecin.

children in the second column. A cross was also drawn here if the child died soon after baptism. From the beginning of the 1670s, the estate/occupation of the father of the baptized child was almost always mentioned (column 3). It is worth adding that this book is supplemented by indexes of the baptized children, arranged chronologically according to the dates of baptism (baptism date, date of birth, name(s) of the child, and name(s) of his or her father).³³ It ends with a chronological list of confirmed children (subsequent year, name(s), and surname of the confirmed child).³⁴

During the 18th century, notes on demographic events were fully standardized, and from the second half of the century they were almost exclusively included in handwritten tables. Examples of books from the first half of the 18th century, from the period before the introduction of tables, include books from the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Kołobrzeg: the marriage register from 1706–1758³⁵ the deaths register from 1708–1747.³⁶ In the first of these books, following the cited 18th-century regulations on the methods of registering vital events, the records are standardized, chronologically arranged, and contain the following data: date of the wedding (day, month), name(s), surname, estate/occupation of the groom, and place of residence if he was not from Kołobrzeg, name(s) and surname of the bride, and the name(s), surname, and estate/occupation of the father of the bride, as well as his place of residence if he was not from Kołobrzeg. Each marriage concluded by a widower or widow was also clearly marked. In the latter case, the name, surname, and the estate of the deceased husband were given. The book also contains chronologically arranged lists of those who had been confirmed (name, surname, and age of the confirmed person). The second of the books from the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Kołobrzeg, the death register for the years 1708–1747, also contains schematically arranged chronological records including the date of the funeral/death, name(s) and surname of the deceased, sometimes their place of residence, and the place of burial. For men, this is supplemented by the estate/occupation of the deceased. In the case of women, next to the date of death/funeral, their first name(s) and maiden names were given, as well as personal details of their husbands, even if they were already dead. When a child died, the father's name(s), surname, and estate/occupation were always recorded, as well as the child's sex, but much less often their first name. The age of the deceased was rarely given.

³³ APSz, ZEKMPNM, archival reference no. 2, 179–211, 227–248.

³⁴ Ibidem, archival reference no. 2, 249–266, 306–310.

³⁵ Ibidem, archival reference no. 45.

³⁶ Ibidem, archival reference no. 47.

Books from the area of the New March that record vital events contain similarly formulaic records in the first half of the 18th century. The book from Krzymów parish can serve as an example. It is worth adding here that in the case of small parishes, regardless of their location (Pomerania or the New March), one book contained the records of all the demographic events: births, marriages, and deaths. In Krzymów³⁷ parish in the New March, these records from 1707–1751 contained data that were uniform in terms of content. In the case of births, these were always: the child's date of birth, the father's details, the date of baptism, the sex and name of the child, and the personal details of the baptism witnesses. Only at the end of the book (1750–1751) did the details of the baby's mother begin to appear. Information on marriages consisted only of the wedding date, the personal details of the groom, and then of the bride. The death records were similar, consisting of the date of death and the name and surname of the deceased.³⁸

The parish book of Pomeranian Jasienica, 1776–1796 already constitutes an example of a book in which all data on the vital events were included in identical handwritten tables, compiled in accordance with royal regulations.³⁹ For births, the table contained the following information: the consecutive number of the event (1), date of the child's baptism (2), his or her name and date of birth (3), the father's personal details (4), the mother's personal details (5), the personal details of both of the child's grandfathers (6), the personal details of both of the child's grandmothers (7), the personal details of the godparents (8), and potential comments (9). A table compiled in this way was kept separately for boys and girls. In 1778, minor changes were introduced to the table described. Firstly, a separate column was added with the child's date of birth and, before the main table, information (in columns) was given recording the total number of children born and baptized, and the number of legitimate and illegitimate boys and girls. The table of deaths was more complicated. Initially, it had a transitional form between the standardized notes from the first half of the 18th century and the concise table from the second half of that century. All the deceased were divided into age groups: under 5 years of age (1), 6 to 10 years (2), 10 to 20 years (3), deceased husbands (4), deceased wives (5), deceased widowers (6), and finally, deceased widows (7). In each of the columns, a brief note on the deceased was entered. In the case of children who had died before the age of 10 (columns 1, 2), the names, surnames, date of death, date of funeral, and sometimes the age at death were given. For adolescents up to the age of 20, these were: the date of death, the date of the funeral, the name

³⁷ *Ibidem*, archival reference no. 146.

³⁸ In the case of a deceased child, the personal details of the father were always given, and only sometimes the name of the child himself or herself.

³⁹ APSz, ZEKMPNM, archival reference no. 28.

and surname, name and surname of the father, and age at death (column 3). In the case of adults, the following information was recorded for married men: the date of death, date of funeral, name and surname, occupation, place of residence, age at death (column 4), and for married women: date of death, date of funeral, name and maiden name, husband's name, surname, and occupation, place of residence, age at death (column 5). For widowers and widows, the same data were reported as for married men and women (columns 6 and 7 respectively). In 1777, the table was reversed, starting with married men, then married women, widowers, widows, and finally adolescents and children. It was only in 1778 that a standardized table of the deceased was introduced to the Jasienica parish register, in which the basic data included in 5 columns were: date of death (1), date of funeral (2), personal details of the deceased (3), cause of death (4), and age of the deceased (5). The general statistics of deaths during a given month were still given; later, the deceased began to be listed according to their marital status (married men, married women, widowers, widows, children) and with a division into the villages constituting Jasienica parish.

In the 19th and 20th centuries, entries in the parish registers became highly formulaic and were included almost exclusively in handwritten tables, which from the mid-1830s most frequently became printed. In the Goleniów birth register from 1806–1824,⁴⁰ the handwritten table contained the following data: the child's first name(s) (1), the date and time of birth (2), the date of baptism (3), the father's personal details: name(s), surname, estate/occupation (4), the mother's personal details: name(s), maiden name (5), the godparents' personal details: names and surnames, and, in the case of men, their occupations (6). Initially, the table with this structure was completed separately for boys and girls. From 1811, the table was inverted, placing the columns in the following order: the child's name(s) (1), the father's personal details (2), the mother's personal details (3), the godparents' personal details (4), the date of birth (5), and finally the date of baptism (6). In the printed table of the birth register from Jasienica for the years 1863–1880,⁴¹ the same data were arranged in a slightly different order in a printed table: the child's father's details: name(s), surname, estate/occupation (1), the mother's details: name(s), maiden name (2), the name(s) of the child (3), the date of birth: time, day, month (4), whether the child was legitimate or illegitimate (5), the date of baptism (6), the personal details of the godparents (7), comments (8). The book from Jasienica ends with alphabetical and chronological lists of born and baptized children. Identical tables (like that from Jasienica) can be found in other Pomeranian birth/baptism registers from that period. For example, the registers

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, archival reference no. 5.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, archival reference no. 32.

from Maszewo from 1898–1934⁴² can be mentioned here, as well as those from the parish of the Holy Spirit in Stargard from 1876–1892,⁴³ from the parish in Mosty from 1856–1885,⁴⁴ from the parish in Lubczyna from 1869–1882,⁴⁵ from the parish in Bolesławice from 1845–1886,⁴⁶ or from the parish in Sielsk from 1846–1883.⁴⁷ On the other hand, the arrangement of the columns in the tables in the birth registers kept by parishes in the New March area (administered by the Brandenburg Protestant consistory) was slightly different. It is exemplified by the birth and baptism register book from Lipiany for the years 1824–1842,⁴⁸ in which, after the consecutive number of the event in a given year (1), the following information was given: the child's name(s) (2), the date of birth (3), information as to whether the child was legitimate or illegitimate (4), the father's personal details (5), the mother's personal details (6), the parents' place of residence (7), the date of baptism (8), the name of the pastor performing the baptism (9), and finally, the godparents' personal details (10). Identical birth tables are also found in other registers from the New March area. Examples include books from the parish of the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Chojna for the years 1898–1912,⁴⁹ or from the parish in Lubieniów from 1855–1877.⁵⁰

In the 19th and 20th centuries, the tables recording marriages in Pomeranian parishes were also standardized. These changes are exemplified by the marriage register from the parish in Police for the years 1866–1899,⁵¹ in which there is a printed table with 12 columns containing the following data: the consecutive number of the event in the year (1), the name(s), surname, estate/occupation, and place of residence of the groom (2), his age with the date of birth added (3), whether he had obtained the consent of his parents or guardians to enter into marriage or whether there was any reason for him not to enter into marriage (4), whether the groom had previously been married and how the previous relationship had ended; later, in this column the groom's marital status was recorded: bachelor, widower (5), the name(s) and surname of the bride (6), the bride's age and date of birth (7), the name(s), surname, estate/occupation, and place of residence of the bride's father (8), whether the parents or guardians had consented to the marriage

⁴² *Ibidem*, archival reference no. 76.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, archival reference no. 141.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, archival reference no. 130.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, archival reference no. 66.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, archival reference no. 62.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, archival reference no. 226.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, archival reference no. 194.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, archival reference no. 185.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, archival reference no. 221.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, archival reference no. 101.

or whether there was any other reason not to conclude the marriage (9), whether the bride had already been married and how the previous relationship had ended; later, the bride's marital status was recorded here: spinster, widow (10), the date of marriage (11), and comments (12). In the Police book in question, the last column was most often used to note the consent to the marriage of the relevant registry office. Moreover, from 1878, the fields concerning the consent of parents or guardians to marriage were not filled in (4, 9), and from 1896, with the exception of widowers and widows, the fields relating to the first marriage were not completed (5, 10). Finally, from 1898, the age of the groom and the bride were no longer recorded (3, 7), with only their birthdates given. The same table layouts were also used in other Pomeranian marriage registers. Let us mention here, for example, books from the parish of the Holy Spirit in Stargard for the years 1852–1871,⁵² from the parish in Mosty from 1858–1885,⁵³ from the parish in Lubczyn from 1863–1882,⁵⁴ from the parish in Bolesławice from 1845–1885,⁵⁵ from the parish in Sielsk from 1846–1883,⁵⁶ or from the parish of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Trzebiatów from 1935–1947.⁵⁷ The tables of marriages in the New March parishes were slightly different in terms of the shape and number of columns. For example, the marriage register from the parish of the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Chojna from 1898–1912⁵⁸ contained the following data: the consecutive number of the event (1), the groom's personal details (2), the groom's father's personal details (3), the groom's age with his date of birth (4), the bride's personal details (5), the bride's father's personal details (6), the age of the bride with her date of birth (7), the date of marriage (8),⁵⁹ the personal details of the pastor officiating at the wedding (9). A similar layout of information with additional data regarding the parents' or guardians' consent to the marriage and the marital status of the couple are contained in the marriage registers from the Lubieniów parish from 1855–1877.⁶⁰

In the period under discussion, the tables recording deaths in individual Pomeranian parishes were also standardized. An example of such a practice can be found in the death register from the parish of the Holy Spirit in Stargard for the

⁵² *Ibidem*, archival reference no. 144.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, archival reference no. 130.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, archival reference no. 66.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, archival reference no. 62.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, archival reference no. 226.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, archival reference no. 228.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, archival reference no. 185.

⁵⁹ After the establishment of civil registry offices, the date of marriage in the marriage registers kept in the New March parishes was split into two: the date of the registry office wedding and the date of the church wedding.

⁶⁰ APSz, ZEKMPNM, archival reference no. 221.

years 1866–1894⁶¹ containing a printed table with the following data: the consecutive number of the event in a given year (1), the name(s), surname, and occupation/estate of the deceased; in the case of women the name(s), maiden name of the deceased woman and the name(s), surname, and the estate/occupation of her husband; in the case of minors, the name(s), surname, and estate/occupation of the father were added (2), the age of the deceased counted in years, months, and days; sometimes the date of birth of the deceased was added here (3), the day, month, and time of death, sometimes the place of death was added here (4), cause of death (5), day and month of burial (6), relatives left by the deceased (7), comments (8). The book in question ended with an alphabetical and chronological index of the deceased. Of course, the same layout of tables was used in other Pomeranian death register books. This is exemplified by death registers from the parish in Police for the years 1866–1878,⁶² from the parish in Mosty from 1856–1885,⁶³ from the parish in Lubczyn from 1868–1882,⁶⁴ from the parish in Bolesławice from 1845–1886,⁶⁵ from the parish in Sielsk from 1846–1883,⁶⁶ or from the parish in Trzebiatów from 1943–1945.⁶⁷ The layout of the tables was slightly different in the death registers kept in the parishes in the New March. An example in this case is the death register of the parish in Lipiany for the years 1824–1842,⁶⁸ whose table contains the following information: the consecutive number of the event in the year (1), the name(s) and surname of the deceased; in the case of deceased women, the husband's personal details were added, and in the case of deceased children, their father's personal details (2), the deceased's estate/occupation (3), age in years, months, and days (4), relatives left by the deceased (5), the day, month, and time of death (6), the cause of death (7), the pastor who celebrated the funeral (8), the day and month of the funeral (9), the place of burial (10). It should be emphasized here that the tables of deaths in the parishes of the New March were also standardized, which resulted from the orders of the Brandenburg Protestant consistory. The same 10-column tables can be found, among others, in the death registers from the parish of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Chojna from 1898–1912⁶⁹ or from the parish in Lubieniów from 1855–1877.⁷⁰

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, archival reference no. 150.

⁶² *Ibidem*, archival reference no. 102.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, archival reference no. 130.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, archival reference no. 66.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, archival reference no. 62.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, archival reference no. 226.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, archival reference no. 229.

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, archival reference no. 199.

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, archival reference no. 185.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, archival reference no. 221. It is worth adding here that the older books from the Lubieniów parish for the years 1829–1854 contain standardized chronological notes made by the

Parish registers from the Szczecin collection are a valuable source for demographic research on the population of Pomerania and the New March from the end of the 16th century to the 1940s. The basic weakness of the collection in question, however, is its very poor condition. It only enables full demographic research to be carried out in the case of a few selected Pomeranian or New Marchian towns with the most complete state of preservation of their parish registers. More extensive research on the societies of both provinces, i.e., Pomerania and the New March, require deeper source research both in the Polish (mainly Koszalin and Gorzów Wielkopolski) and German (mainly Greifswald and Berlin) archives. Only complete, long-term, and arduous source research and the creation of an appropriate database for recording individual demographic events registered in parish registers can lead to a comprehensive assessment of demographic processes that took place in Pomeranian and New Marchian societies over the course of the 17th, 18th, 19th, and first half of the 20th centuries.

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Parish registers from the archival fonds of the State Archives in Szczecin

Summary

The article is devoted to the Pomeranian and New Marchian parish registers currently stored in the State Archives in Szczecin. At the beginning of the paper, the stages of establishing and then keeping registers recording vital events, in particular Pomeranian and New Marchian parishes, were presented. These times, which lasted over 350 years in total, were divided into three basic periods: from the 1530s to the end of the era of the duchies, from the second half of the 17th century to the end of the 18th century (Brandenburg-Prussian period), and from the beginning of the 19th century to the mid-20th century. The subsequent part of the article addresses the problem of the very limited use

of Pomeranian and New Marchian parish registers in the research work of both German and Polish historians. This applies equally to the pre-war and post-war periods. It should also be emphasized that the final shape of the collection of parish registers kept today in Szczecin was greatly influenced by World War II. It was what led to large losses and the dispersion of this type of sources, which are currently stored in German (Greifswald, Berlin) and Polish (Gorzów Wielkopolski, Koszalin, Szczecin) archives. Subsequently, the paper describes the archival features of the Szczecin collection of Evangelical parish registers, consisting of 232 archival items, which amounts to 10.5 linear meters of files created in the years 1581–1947. However, the essential part of this article discusses the content of all classes of books included in the Szczecin collection (births, marriages, deaths). At the beginning, the records from the oldest books from the beginning of the 16th and 17th centuries were characterized, and then sample books from the 18th century were described in detail, both those from the period before introducing tables (the first half of the century) and those from the times when all the data were placed by pastors in specially compiled tables (the second half of the century). Finally, the entries included in the tables in all classes of books from the 19th and the first half of the 20th century were analyzed. The result of this work was the identification of similarities and differences in the records contained in various classes of parish registers kept over the course of over 350 years. The differences between the tables completed in Pomeranian and New Marchian parishes were also indicated. Finally, the cognitive value of Pomeranian and New Marchian parish registers was recognized and conclusions were formulated for those who might want to conduct research in the field of historical demography based on the above-described parish registers.

Księgi metrykalne w zasobie Archiwum Państwowego w Szczecinie

Streszczenie

Artykuł został poświęcony pomorskim i nowomarchijskim księgom metrykalnym przechowywanym obecnie w Archiwum Państwowym w Szczecinie. Na początku pracy syntetycznie omówiono etapy zakładania, a następnie powadzenie ksiąg rejestrujących ruch naturalny ludności w poszczególnych parafiach pomorskich i nowomarchijskich. Czasy te, trwające łącznie ponad 350 lat, zostały podzielone na trzy zasadnicze okresy: od lat 30. XVI wieku do końca epoki książęcej, od 2. połowy XVII do końca XVIII wieku (doba brandenbursko-pruska) oraz od początku XIX po połowę XX wieku. W dalszej części artykułu poruszono problem bardzo słabego wykorzystania pomorskich i nowomarchijskich ksiąg metrykalnych w pracach badawczych zarówno historyków niemieckich, jak i polskich. W jednakowym stopniu dotyczy to okresu przedwojennego, jak i czasów powojennych. Trzeba również podkreślić, że na ostateczny kształt przechowywanego dziś w Szczecinie zbioru ksiąg metrykalnych olbrzymi wpływ wywarła II wojna

światowa. To ona doprowadziła do dużych strat oraz rozproszenia tego typu źródeł, które obecnie przechowywane są w archiwach niemieckich (Greifswald, Berlin) oraz polskich (Gorzów Wlkp., Koszalin, Szczecin). Następnie w pracy opisano pod względem archiwalnym szczeciński zbiór ewangelickich ksiąg metrykalnych, który liczy sobie 232 j. a., co daje łącznie 10,5 m. b. akt wytworzonych w latach 1581–1947. Jednak zasadniczą częścią niniejszego artykułu jest omówienie zawartości treściowej wszystkich serii ksiąg wchodzących w skład szczecińskiego zbioru (urodzenia, śluby, zgonu). Przynajmniej scharakteryzowano zapisy zawarte w najstarszych księgach z początku XVI i XVII stulecia, a następnie szczegółowo opisano przykładowe księgi z XVIII wieku i to zarówno te z okresu przed tabelarycznego (pierwsza połowa stulecia), jak i z czasów, gdy wszystkie dane umieszczane były przez pastorów w specjalnie opracowanych tabelach (druga połowa stulecia). Na koniec przeanalizowano zapisy umieszczone w tabelach znajdujących się we wszystkich seriach ksiąg z XIX i 1. połowy XX wieku. Efektem tych prac było wskazanie podobieństw i różnic w zapisach zawartych w różnych seriach ksiąg metrykalnych na przestrzeni ponad 350 lat. Wskazano także na różnice między tabelami wypełnianymi w parafiach pomorskich a nowomarchijskich. Na końcu, podkreślając wartość poznawczą pomorskich i nowomarchijskich ksiąg metrykalnych, sformułowano wnioski dla osób, które ewentualnie chciałyby się zająć badaniami z zakresu demografii historycznej na podstawie tych właśnie źródeł.



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Interaktywny Atlas statystyczno-demograficzny Królestwa Polskiego – projekt badawczy

An Interactive Statistical and Demographic Atlas of the Kingdom of Poland – Research Project

Wraz z rozwojem technologii informatycznych i opartych na nich systemów GIS w wielu krajach świata trwają zaawansowane prace nad wykorzystaniem tych nowych narzędzi do historycznych badań geoprzestrzennych¹. W Polsce działania tego rodzaju prowadzi kilka ośrodków naukowych. Ich zainteresowania terytorialne i chronologiczne nie uwzględniały, jak do tej pory, w szerszym zakresie, terenów Królestwa Polskiego w latach 1815–1914. Mając na uwadze tę sytuację, grupa badaczy z Olsztyna i Krakowa zdecydowała się wystąpić z projektem opracowania Interaktywnego Atlasu statystyczno-demograficznego Królestwa Polskiego, który mógłby ową lukę przynajmniej częściowo wypełnić. Projekt ten został złożony w ramach Konkursu NPRH 2016–2019 – moduł dziedzictwo narodowe i po zaakceptowaniu skierowany w 2019 roku do realizacji (Decyzja Ministra Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego 0410/NPRH7/H11/86/2018). Przewidywany termin zakończenia – koniec 2023 roku.

¹ HGISLinks, dostęp 20.09.2020, <https://hgis.usask.ca/resources/links.php>; The Historical GIS Research Network, dostęp 20.09.2020, <http://www.hgis.org.uk/resources.htm>; GeoHumanities, dostęp 20.09.2020, http://geohumanities.org/?page_id=125.

Zasadniczym celem projektu jest naukowe opracowanie i udostępnienie, w postaci badawczej bazy danych oraz bazującego na niej, interaktywnego atlasu elektronicznego, danych statystycznych i demograficznych odnoszących się do Królestwa Polskiego w latach 1815–1914. Źródła poświadczające przeszłość demograficzną i społeczno-ekonomiczną Królestwa Polskiego stanowią ważny element polskiego dziedzictwa narodowego. Dostępne są one w postaci stosunkowo licznych, lecz rozproszonych wydawnictw i publikacji polsko- i rosyjskojęzycznych. Większość występuje wyłącznie w postaci analogowej. Równocześnie prezentowane w nich dane o charakterze statystycznym i demograficznym mają najczęściej zróżnicowaną strukturę wewnętrzną oraz niejednorodną metodologię opracowywania. Wszystko to sprawia, że ich potencjał informacyjny i poznawczy wykorzystywany jest dotychczas przez badaczy w bardzo ograniczonym zakresie. Wśród zachowanych materiałów uwagę zwracają zwłaszcza rosyjskojęzyczne wydawnictwa oficjalne, publikowane periodycznie przez rosyjskie władze gubernialne. Szczególnie cenne wydają się, wydawane przez poszczególnych gubernatorów od 1870 roku, najczęściej corocznie, opisy guberni o charakterze statystycznym – „Obzory gubernij” (*обзоры губерний*). W odniesieniu do ziem Królestwa Polskiego udało się dotychczas zidentyfikować łącznie 395 edycji tego wydawnictwa, w tym 16 rękopiśmiennych. Część z nich znajduje się wyłącznie w zbiorach bibliotek Federacji Rosyjskiej². Oprócz „Obzorów” interesującym źródłem o charakterze masowym są wydawane przez instytucje Ministerstwa Spraw Wewnętrznych doroczne „Księgi pamiątkowe” (*памятные книжки*) poszczególnych guberni. Na ziemiach polskich wydawano je także od 1870 roku. Znanych jest łącznie 310 edycji tego wydawnictwa dla guberni Królestwa Polskiego³. Zarówno księgi pamiątkowe, jak i przeglądy guberni prezentują obszerny zestaw najważniejszych, z punktu widzenia funkcjonowania danego obszaru, informacji: administracyjnych, ekonomicznych, społecznych, demograficznych, edukacyjnych, zdrowotnych itd. Nadaje to tym wydawnictwom wyjątkową wartość i znaczenie jako wielowątkowym źródłom pierwotnym dla badań historycznych, pozwalającym wieloaspektowo odtwarzać codzienne życie poszczególnych guberni. W licznych przypadkach źródła te udostępniają dane tematyczne w rozbiciu na poszczególne powiaty, co stwarza szansę na precyzyjniejsze lokalizowanie badanych zjawisk w czasoprzestrzeni. Wszechstronna analiza tej bazy źródłowej pozwoliła wyodrębnić ponad 3200, występujących w nich w sposób powtarzalny lub incydentalny, informacyjnych kategorii semantycznych. Wydaje

² Aleksej I. Razdorskij, *Obzory gubernij, oblastej i gradonačal'stv Rossijskoj imperii 1870–1916* (Sankt-Peterburg: Dmitrij Bulanin, 2011), XVIII–XXXII.

³ Nadežda M. Balackaâ, Aleksej I. Razdorskij, *Pamätnyeknižki gubernij i oblastej Rossijskoj imperii (1833–1917): svodnyj katalog-repertuar* (Sankt-Peterburg: Dmitrij Bulanin, 2008), 615–616.

się, że konsolidacja tej listy, a następnie digitalizacja na jej podstawie relevantnych danych, będzie stanowić jeden z podstawowych problemów metodologicznych, przed jakim stoi zespół realizujący projekt. Niestety dla początkowego okresu Królestwa Polskiego brakuje danych umożliwiających konstruowanie dla poszczególnych obszarów kraju kompletnych tematycznych szeregów czasowych. Dostępne są jedynie materiały dla niektórych zagadnień demograficznych i ekonomicznych w pojedynczych przekrojach rocznych. Niemniej stanowią one mogą miarodajny punkt odniesienia dla oceny procesów społeczno-ekonomicznych zachodzących na terenie Królestwa Polskiego. Do źródeł tego typu należy wydane w 1827 roku tabelaryczne zestawienie wszystkich miejscowości Królestwa Polskiego z podaniem ich przynależności administracyjnej oraz, co najistotniejsze, liczby zamieszkujących w nich mieszkańców i liczby domostw⁴. Możliwe będzie zatem zapewne stworzenie mapy topodemograficznej dla 1827 roku. Interesujący potencjał badawczy ma także sporządzony pod auspicjami Sztabu Generalnego Rosji wojskowy przegląd statystyczny imperium rosyjskiego. Tom 15. tego wydawnictwa, opublikowany w 5 częściach w latach 1849–1851, traktuje o terytorium Królestwa Polskiego. Obok informacji o warunkach naturalnych poszczególnych guberni przedstawia także szczegółowe dane o ich potencjale demograficzno-ekonomicznym⁵. Zintegrowanie w ramach jednej platformy badawczej podstawowych danych statystyczno-demograficznych z rządowych wydawnictw gubernialnych oraz pozostałych dostępnych źródeł stworzy szansę na znaczące wzbogacenie naszej wiedzy o przeszłości na poziomie lokalnym. Konwersja tak wyselekcjonowanych danych statystycznych (po uprzedniej wszechstronnej analizie ich wartości naukowej i wystandaryzowaniu) do postaci cyfrowej pozwoli zbudować badawczą bazę danych. Stanowiąc będzie ona swoiste komputerowe centrum informacyjne oferujące zintegrowany dostęp do rozporoszonych dotychczas statystycznych materiałów źródłowych. Scalenie danych zapewni efekt synergii w badaniach i umożliwi automatyczną eksplorację danych metodami statystycznymi w dłuższych szeregach czasowych oraz przekrojach terytorialnych za pomocą ogólnodostępnych narzędzi elektronicznych. Planowana jest wersja bazy zgodna z językiem oryginału, jak i z tłumaczeniem obcojęzycznych kategorii semantycznych na język polski. Dualizm taki dotyczyć będzie także jednostek miar i wag, które prezentowane będą zarówno w wersji oryginalnej, jak i po przeliczeniu na system metryczny.

⁴ *Tabella miast, wsi, osad, Królestwa Polskiego, z wyrażeniem ich położenia i ludności, alfabetycznie ułożona w Biórze Kommissyi Rządowej Spraw Wewnętrznych i Policji*, t. 1–2 (Warszawa, 1827).

⁵ *Voенно-статисти́ческое оboзрение Росси́йской империи: издаваемоe по вы́сочайшему повелению́ при 1-м отделе́нии Де́парта́мента Генера́льного штаба[трудami офи́церов Генера́льного штаба]*, t. 15: *Carstvo Pol'skoe*, cz. 1–5 (Sankt-Peterburg, 1849–1851).

Równoległym celem projektu jest opracowanie interaktywnego, elektronicznego atlasu Królestwa Polskiego. Z uwagi na charakter informacji źródłowych gromadzonych w bazie danych (w znacznej części są to dane zbiorcze dla określonych obszarów), dominującą formą ich wizualizacji geoprzestrzennej będą kartogramy. Umożliwiają one prezentację średniej wartości obserwowanego zjawiska w określonych jednostkach przestrzennych. Wymagać to będzie, w wielu wypadkach, agregacji danych dla uzyskania nowych macierzy danych o charakterze względnym, np. gęstość zaludnienia czy obsada zwierząt gospodarskich na jednostkę ziemi. Jako pola podstawowe kartogramów wykorzystane zostaną jednostki podziału administracyjnego Królestwa do szczebla powiatu w dół. Konieczne będzie opracowanie cyfrowych map Królestwa Polskiego uwzględniających granice owych podstawowych jednostek administracyjnych i ich zmienność w czasie. Tak opracowane mapy będą mogły być wykorzystywane w przyszłości w kolejnych projektach badawczych. Obok kartogramów, kartodiagramów i map topograficznych planowane jest także szerokie wykorzystanie innych form wizualizacji danych, ułatwiających m.in. kwantyfikację skali zjawisk oraz ich hierarchizację lub strukturyzację – diagramy typu treemaps, packed bubbles, kołowe i inne. Oprócz wizualizacji danych interfejs prezentować będzie na bieżąco podstawowe dane statystyczne: podsumowania, średnie, udział procentowy w stosunku do całości terytorium Królestwa itd. W założeniu atlas ma umożliwić prezentowanie chronologicznych szeregów tematycznych tak, aby widoczna była dystrybucja i intensywność badanego zjawiska czy procesu w czasie i przestrzeni. Oznacza to, że możliwe będzie śledzenie zmian w strukturze i dynamice owych procesów. Cechą innowacyjną planowanego atlasu ma być jego interaktywność. Użytkownik będzie miał możliwość wskazania dowolnego zakresu chronologicznego i terytorialnego, zaś program stosownie do tego wskazania zwizualizuje wybrane dane oraz przeliczy wszelkie prezentowane miary statystyczne. Równocześnie możliwość drukowania na żądanie dowolnych, wygenerowanych interaktywnie przez system kartogramów, map, diagramów, zestawień tabelarycznych stworzy każdemu badaczowi możliwość zbudowania własnego, ściśle sprofilowanego problemowo, chronologicznie lub terytorialnie analogowego zestawu danych do analiz wizualnych.

Powiązanie danych kwantytatywnych pobieranych z bazy z informacją geoprzestrzenną oraz ich wizualizacja na kartogramach, mapach i diagramach stworzy nowoczesną przestrzeń eksploracyjną umożliwiającą badanie struktury i dynamiki zjawisk zarówno w czasie, jak i przestrzeni. Końcowym efektem realizacji projektu będzie komputerowa platforma badawcza łącząca w sobie elementy wydawnictwa źródłowego z zaawansowanymi narzędziami analityczno-badawczymi (badawcza baza danych) oraz przyjaznego, intuicyjnego interfejsu

graficznego umożliwiającego wizualizację i analizy danych geoprzestrzennych (interaktywny Atlas statystyczno-demograficzny Królestwa Polskiego). Platforma będzie miała strukturę modułową, co w przyszłości umożliwi włączenie do niej kolejnych zespołów danych, np. z pozostałych ziem polskich. Zostanie ona udostępniona wszystkim zainteresowanym zarówno zdalnie (on-line), jak i lokalnie (wydawnictwo DVD lub pendrive). W ten sposób szerokie grono odbiorców uzyska zweryfikowany pod względem naukowym i opracowany cyfrowo korpus źródeł do dziejów społeczno-gospodarczych Królestwa Polskiego oraz podstawowe narzędzia do ich analizy wizualnej, w tym zwłaszcza geoprzestrzennej. Tego rodzaju platforma badawcza umożliwi zarówno prowadzenie badań tradycyjnych, jak i eksplorowanie zupełnie nowych, interesujących problemów badawczych. Możliwość wyodrębniania informacji w dowolnych przekrojach terytorialnych – do szczebla powiatu – sprawi, że z nowej platformy badawczej będą mogli korzystać zarówno zawodowi historycy prowadzący badania w skali makro, jak regionaliści i miłośnicy historii lokalnej zainteresowani dziejami swych lokalnych ojczyzn.

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Interaktywny Atlas statystyczno-demograficzny Królestwa Polskiego – projekt badawczy

Streszczenie

W komunikacie przedstawiono podstawowe założenia projektu badawczego mającego na celu zdigitalizowanie podstawowego dla badań nad historią Królestwa Polskiego korpusu źródeł statystyczno-demograficznych oraz opracowanie opartego na nich interaktywnego atlasu statystyczno-demograficznego Królestwa Polskiego. Podstawę źródłową stanowią głównie oficjalne publikacje władz rosyjskich wydawane corocznie w poszczególnych guberniach, uzupełnione o dostępne źródła nieinstytucjonalne. Końcowym efektem realizacji projektu będzie komputerowa platforma badawcza łącząca w sobie elementy wydawnictwa źródłowego z zaawansowanymi narzędziami analityczno-badawczymi (badawcza baza danych) oraz przyjaznego, intuicyjnego interfejsu graficznego umożliwiającego wizualizację dystrybucji i skali procesów społeczno-ekonomicznych w czasie i przestrzeni (interaktywny atlas).

An Interactive Statistical and Demographic Atlas of the Kingdom of Poland – Research Project

Summary

This report presents the basic assumptions of a research project aimed at digitising the corpus of statistical and demographic sources essential for research on the history of the Kingdom of Poland, and using these materials to create an interactive atlas of the Kingdom of Poland. Primary sources will include official publications of the Russian authorities published annually in individual governorates, supplemented by the non-institutional sources available. The final outcome of the project will be a digital research platform combining elements of a source publication with advanced analytical and research tools (research database) and a user-friendly, intuitive graphical interface enabling visualization of the distribution and the scale of socio-economic processes in time and space (an interactive atlas).



Opracował: Piotr Rachwał

Sprawozdanie z posiedzeń Zespołu Demografii Historycznej Komitetu Nauk Demograficznych PAN w 2018 roku

2018 Report on the Meetings of the Historical Demography Group in the Committee on Demographic Studies at the Polish Academy of Sciences

W 2018 roku odbyło się pięć posiedzeń naukowych Zespołu Demografii Historycznej Komitetu Nauk Demograficznych PAN. W spotkaniach uczestniczyło od 8 do 18 osób – byli to reprezentanci ośrodków naukowych z Białegostoku, Krakowa, Lublina, Szczecina i Warszawy. Stałymi elementami obrad były referaty i komunikaty naukowe, informacje o nowościach wydawniczych z zakresu demografii historycznej i nauk pokrewnych oraz sprawy redakcyjne związane z wydawaniem czasopisma „Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski” (PDP).

W lutym referat pt. *Ruch naturalny ludności rzymskokatolickiej w Lubelskiem w świetle rejestracji metrykalnej od końca XVI do XIX wieku – aspekt źródłoznawczy* wygłosił dr Piotr Rachwał. Na początku wystąpienia referent nawiązał do wcześniejszych prób inwentaryzacji i wykorzystania danych o ruchu naturalnym w badaniach demograficzno-historycznych na Lubelszczyźnie. Przywołał m.in. inicjatywy Henryka Wiercieńskiego, Zygmunta Sułowskiego i Janiny Gawrysiakowej. Dr Rachwał wskazał, że prace nad przeliczeniem miesięcznych liczb urodzeń, ślubów i zgonów rozpoczął w 2008 roku. Początkowo akcja prowadzona była w archiwach parafialnych, jednak od 2012 roku metryki zaczęto także digitalizować, a ich kopie cyfrowe będą ogólnie dostępne w Internecie. Teren badań wyznaczyły granice XVI-wiecznego powiatu lubelskiego, natomiast ramy czasowe objęły lata 1582–1900. W badaniach, które powoli zbliżają się do

końca, udało się wyznaczyć ciągłość trzech serii danych w każdej z badanych parafii, tj. w 61 ośrodkach parafialnych. Wskazano także grupy parafii, dla których, ze względu na nieprzestrzeganie przez ich mieszkańców zasady przymusu parafialnego, statystyki ruchu naturalnego powinny być analizowane łącznie. Kolejny etap pracy stanowiła ocena rejestracji za pomocą syntetycznych miar kompletności – wskaźników U/M, U/Z, wskaźnika maskulinizacji urodzeń. Referent poinformował, że nadal trwają prace nad wyznaczeniem kilku kluczowych parametrów demograficznych: struktury wiekowej populacji, współczynnika reprodukcji brutto i netto, a także oczekiwanej długości trwania życia e_0 .

Na spotkaniu Zespołu w kwietniu wygłoszono dwa referaty naukowe. Pierwszy z nich, autorstwa badaczy z Białegostoku, dra Piotra Guzowskiego i dra Radosława Poniata, zatytułowano *Badania nad systemem pańszczyźnianym. Między perspektywą ekonomiczną a historyczną*. Na wstępie wystąpienia zdefiniowane zostało pojęcie *serfdom* (służba, poddaństwo, przymusowa praca), czyli termin, który nie ma prostego odpowiednika w literaturze przedmiotu w Europie Środkowej i Wschodniej, a sam w sobie jest obiektem zainteresowania demografów i ekonomistów, co wynika z kolei z badań nad nierównościami rozwoju ekonomicznego Europy. Autorzy referatu postawili sobie za cel wydobyć ze źródeł spisowych z terenu Podlasia i Wołynia takie elementy, które dadzą się kwantyfikować i mogą posłużyć do konstrukcji indeksu. Wśród wyróżnionych elementów znalazły się m.in.: sposób organizacji wspólnoty wiejskiej, kontrola właściciela dóbr nad chłopskim rynkiem ziemi, udział ludności chłopskiej w rynku, siła chłopskiego prawa do ziemi. W dalszej części wystąpienia referenci dokonali krótkiej charakterystyki tych elementów, wskazując równocześnie na problematyczne ustalenie ich znaczenia i wag konstruowanego indeksu. Efektem prowadzonych badań ma być uniwersalne narzędzie do mierzenia poziomu *serfdom*. Pomoże ono w zbadaniu wpływu *serfdom* na poziom nierówności społeczno-gospodarczych, PKB, możliwości finansowych państw, kapitał ludzki czy w końcu standard życia mężczyzn i kobiet.

Drugi referat – „*Ze względów materialnych*”. *Aborcja w Polsce międzywojennej* – wygłosił dr Bartosz Ogórek. Wyjaśnił, że tytuł wystąpienia determinuje charakter wykorzystanych źródeł, a precyzyjniej – najczęściej pojawiająca się tam przyczyna przerywania ciąży. Badania wpisują się w pytania o modernizację biologiczną społeczeństwa polskiego. Wśród pytań badawczych, które postawił referent, znalazły się m.in.: Czy w przypadku społeczeństwa II RP możemy mówić o kulturze aborcji? Czy aborcja jest związana z trudnymi warunkami bytowymi? Jaki związek zachodzi pomiędzy tzw. układem sił w związku z aborcją (koszty alternatywne a siła przetargowa)? Podstawę źródłową rozpatrywanego problemu stanowiły m.in. dane GUS dotyczące gorączki połogowej, a także ankiety ze Szpitala Ginekologiczno-Położniczego w Sosnowcu. W konkluzji

referent wskazał, że na podstawie wstępnych wyników można mówić o przejawach „kultury aborcji” w II RP, a poziom aborcji w niewielkim stopniu związany był z zamożnością rodziny; brak także wyraźnych związków z relacjami płci.

Również dwóch wystąpień naukowych wysłuchano w trakcie czerwcowych obrad Zespołu Demografii Historycznej. Jako pierwszy wystąpił dr Mateusz Wyźga z referatem pt. *Homo movens. Mobilność chłopów w Polsce przednowoczesnej na przykładzie mikroregionu krakowskiego*. Na wstępie badacz zdefiniował pojęcie mobilności oraz rodzaje migracji. Przedstawił ich klasyfikację na podstawie pokonywanego dystansu. Wyróżnił migracje krótkodystansowe – do 15 km, średniodystansowe – między 15 a 50 km oraz długodystansowe – powyżej 50 km. Następnie przybliżył zebranym literaturę dotyczącą migracji w aspekcie historycznym, m.in. prace Colina G. Pooleya, *Migration and Transport: Historical Perspectives* (2017) oraz Steva Hochstadta, *Mobility and Modernity. Migration in Germany 1820–1989* (1999). Więcej uwagi dr Wyźga poświęcił omówieniu celów badawczych, a także problemom, jakie wiążą się z ich realizacją – głównie natury źródłowej. Zadał pytania, czy chłopci polscy byli zdolni do migracji, jakie interakcje zachodziły między procesami migracyjnymi a cyklem życia oraz jaki był wpływ miasta na mobilność chłopów. Omawiając źródła, zwrócił m.in. uwagę na ich fragmentaryczność i zróżnicowanie. W wykorzystanej w referacie szerokiej bazie źródłowej znalazły się księgi metrykalne, księgi przyjęć do prawa miejskiego, księgi grodzkie i ziemskie. Prelegent w syntetyczny sposób omówił wykorzystane metody badań, w tym analizę statystyczną, rekonstrukcję rodzin, studia przypadku i mikroanalizę.

Podsumowując swoje dotychczasowe badania, dr M. Wyźga stwierdził, że większość migracji odbywała się na małych dystansach, co kilka miesięcy lub lat. Około 55% migrantów migrowało maksymalnie do 15 km, ponad 33% do 50 km, a tylko 10% powyżej tej granicy. Bardziej mobilne były uboższe warstwy społeczności chłopskich. Z kolei chłopci pełnorolni migrowali na dalszą odległość (szersza sieć społeczna). Istotną rolę w podjęciu decyzji o zmianie miejsca zamieszkania odgrywały czynniki ekonomiczne oraz zasady dziedziczenia.

Jako drugi na omawianym zjeździe wystąpił mgr Konrad Kołodziejczyk z referatem *Ludność chrześcijańska w osiemnastowiecznym Kazimierzu*. Autor przedstawił wstępne wyniki badań nad ludnością chrześcijańską w osiemnastowiecznym Kazimierzu. Zaprezentował m.in. konspekt rozprawy doktorskiej, omówił podstawę źródłową i wykorzystywane metody badawcze. W kręgu zainteresowań referenta znalazł się nie tylko ruch naturalny, stan ludności, ale również migracje oraz szerszy kwestie związane z życiem codziennym w mieście.

W październiku mgr Tomasz Związek przedstawił referat *Najstarsze rejestry poborowe powiatu kaliskiego z XVI w. – źródło i możliwości wykorzystania w zakresie badań nad osadnictwem, stanem populacji i historią gospodarczą*.

Referent omówił źródła, na podstawie których prowadzi badania, tj. rejestry poborowe powiatu kaliskiego z lat 1507–1510. Materiały te, jak podkreślił, nie były jak dotąd przedmiotem pogłębionych badań. Dociekania badacza koncentrowały się wokół czterech głównych zagadnień: studiów źródłoznawczych, środowiska naturalnego, struktury osadnictwa oraz struktury gospodarczej i demograficznej. Omawiany obszar charakteryzował się gęstą siecią rzeczną i leśną. Na terenie powiatu funkcjonowała przede wszystkim duża własność szlachecka – 82%, majątki Kościoła – 8% oraz dobra królewskie – 5%. Samo źródło charakteryzuje się schematyczną budową. Zawiera nazwy miejscowości, głównie w układzie parafialnym, informację o liczbie łańów uprawnych, liczbie obiektów przemysłowych (karczmy, wiatraki itp.), datach pobrania świadczeń podatkowych, kwocie zapłaconego podatku, wsiach, które nie opłaciły podatku, adnotacjach o własności. W dalszej części wystąpienia T. Związek przywołał szerszy kontekst badań nad skarbowością XV–XVI wieku w Polsce. Dokonał krótkiej charakterystyki literatury przedmiotu i oprócz swoich badań wymienił m.in. edycje Adolfa Pawińskiego i Aleksandra Jabłonowskiego, prace Ireny Gieysztorowej, Tadeusza Szulca, Piotra Guzowskiego i Krzysztofa Borody. Poruszając kwestie metodologiczne, zauważył, że istotne jest ustalenie, czy mamy do czynienia z oryginałem, czy też z brudnopisem źródła, który często zawierał więcej informacji. Omówił schemat, w jaki pobierano podatek, krótko przedstawił sylwetki poborców, zwrócił też uwagę, że wraz z upływem czasu rósł odsetek pustych zapisów dla poszczególnych miejscowości.

Ostatnie posiedzenie Zespołu Demografii Historycznej w 2018 roku odbyło się 4 grudnia. Referat pt. *Nominacje senatorskie w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów w świetle analizy sieci społecznej* wygłosił dr Marek Jerzy Minakowski. Na wstępie przywołał najważniejsze informacje związane ze składem i funkcjonowaniem parlamentu polsko-litewskiego. Autor wystąpienia zwrócił uwagę, że dostępna jest obszerna literatura na temat kształtowania się polsko-litewskiej elity władzy w wiekach XVI–XVIII; równocześnie podkreślił, że literatura ta pomija kilka istotnych aspektów tematu. Zaproponowane rozwiązania metodologiczne w zakresie analizy sieci społecznych pozwoliły zwrócić uwagę na fakt, że nawet jeśli nominacje senatorskie były arbitralne, to i tak odpowiadały rzeczywistej pozycji polityków w ogólnokrajowej sieci społecznej, co sugeruje, że sieć społeczna była jedną z realnych władz w kraju i wpływała na decyzję króla. Poza tym status polityków był bardziej związany z pozycją ich matek i żon niż z ich nazwiskiem i linią męską.

