

THE POPULATION
OF THE HOLY CROSS PARISH
IN WARSAW
IN THE 18TH CENTURY



Cezary Kukło

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 Institute for Research
of European
Cultural Heritage

BIAŁYSTOK 2016

Series: DISSERTATIONES, vol. 14

Centre for the Study of Demographic and Economics Structures
in Preindustrial Central and Eastern Europe
Volume V

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On the cover

B. Bellotto, A View of Warsaw from the terrace of the Royal Castle, 1773 (fragment).
National Museum in Warsaw

Book co-founded by the Minister of Science and Higher Education
(Agreement No 698/P-DUN/2015)



Ministry of Science
and Higher Education

ISBN 978-83-64103-06-3

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Białystok 2016

Publisher



Institute for Research
of European
Cultural Heritage

Typesetting and text makeup
Janusz Świnarski

Printing: TOTEM s.c.

*To the Memory
of Andrzej Wyczański*

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INTRODUCTION

Even in the first half of the 20th century historical demographers calculated population but were little interested in the mechanisms of the increase in the number of population or its inhibition in connection with the fundamental factor which was family. Moreover, early studies on the population or its number to be exact, assumed that people multiplied in a natural, unlimited, way, and only numerous diseases, especially mass epidemics, in the face of which man was helpless, regulated the population. It was only observations in the 20th century, when mass mortality did not occur, that convinced demographers that the mechanism of population growth depends not only on deceases but also, to at least equal extent, on the number of births or the size and fertility of the family. The dramatic decrease in birthrate in certain countries, especially in Western Europe after World War II, resulted in the shift in research interests and even social policy. Hence the conclusion that in order to understand the ways of growth in population and its inhibition it is not enough to know statistical lists or the range and the impact of epidemics, but it is important to examine the mechanisms regulating fertility, which means the structure and dynamics of the ancient family. In this situation, the family as the smallest social cell which maintains the biological continuity of society and passes down the fundamental output of the cultural heritage, became in the second half of the previous century the focal point of various research disciplines, not only demography or economics but also sociology, pedagogy, law, psychiatry, sexology etc.

In this context the art of history plays a very important role, unfortunately little appreciated in Poland, of demonstrating the transformations which occurred in the structure and dynamics of families (rules of their foundation, content, interdependence and position of particular members, economic structures) in the past centuries.¹ Until the end of the preindustrial era, the family

¹ Little presence of representatives of Polish research in the modern current of world interdisciplinary studies on family problems was observed in the 1970s and 80s by Gieysztorowa 1979, p. 161; Bogucka 1983, p. 495; Wyczański 1986, p. 223.

was simultaneously an economic enterprise centered, in towns, around a workshop, trading house or, in the country, around a farm.² The size of the family and its structure stimulated many decisions and economic actions on the one hand, and on the other hand, this biological potential resulted from particular economic processes.³ Thus, demographic analyses are of particular importance in studies on families in the past.⁴ In the preindustrial society the fundamental relations between economy, social structure and vital statistics act foremost on the level of an individual and his family, and only at this level they can be observed, which thereby promises considerable research benefits.

Moreover, the procreative function of the family determined and still determines, even though to a lower degree, the evolutionary direction of every society. Hence the universal pursuit of finding the laws ruling human development in the past, since, as Jean-Marie Poursin wrote nearly half a century ago (far from catastrophic approach), the present “demographic growth in relation to its tempo, probability of its further increasing as well as the size of human mass it refers to, puts a huge question mark before the whole humankind.”⁵

The principal objective of this work is presenting, in the context of vital statistics, the origins, duration and collapse, as well as the size and structure of the demographic family in Warsaw in the 18th century. Thus formed the aim of the study determined the definition of the family. To evade terminological misunderstandings it is important to remember that in our studies we use the term nuclear family (French *famille nucléaire*) composed of a married couple and their offspring remaining in the same household.

Thus, the subject of our research is determination of more important qualities of the urban family's development in the Polish lands in the Saxon era and the Age of Enlightenment, among which are: age and marital status of the newlyweds, marriage and widowhood duration along with the occurrence of remarriages among all marriages concluded, family and women's fertility, distribution of intervals between births, as well as the structure of deceases by sex and age, in particular including the scale of infant and child mortality. Simultaneously, through the analysis of the main elements of vital statistics, i.e. monthly and annual number of marriages, births and deceases, we also want to find development trends in the community under examination – basically

² Laslett 1969, pp. 8–10; Wyczański and Wyrobisz 1983.

³ Laslett 1969, pp. 112–113; Bogucka 1983, pp. 496–499.

⁴ The key role of demographic analyses was pointed out by Wyrobisz 1986, pp. 308–310.

⁵ Poursin 1976, p. 28.

the Catholic population of the most populated parish in the capital, the Holy Cross. In general, we are interested in the attitude of the society of metropolitan Warsaw in the face of problems of life, birth, love, marriage, sex and also death in the period when new Enlightenment currents from Western Europe flew into the city.

It is important to add that because of source shortcomings it was not always possible to present the demographic characteristic of the Warsaw family in its social or occupational diversity. Therefore, certain issues were presented more thoroughly (e.g. family and women's fertility), others in a more general way (e.g. territorial and socio-occupational background of the spouses). Still others, such as selection of wedding witnesses, which could show the range of social, occupational and family contacts in the 18th century Warsaw, due to the size of the information obtained (the list of witnesses embraces nearly 12 thousand people), will be discussed in further works.

Reduction of the social range of the studies to the history of the urban family was determined by, foremost, the state of research. When the studies on the Warsaw family commenced, the work on parish register processing led for many years by Irena Gieysztor, which were about to put light on the demography of peasant and noble families living in the Łomża district in the 18th–19th centuries, was very advanced.⁶ Also other, even though very scarce, demographic historical studies concentrated foremost on the issues of vital statistics of rural population, leaving aside the problems of trends in developmental processes of urban populations, particularly the biggest centers, not to mention the attempts at the reconstruction of demographic histories of the families living in towns. Therefore, the studies are also an attempt at a closer insight into the complicated mechanisms of the growth of 18th century Warsaw and constitute a partial implementation of numerous research proposals of Polish historians, emphasizing the need for a more extensive and courageous utilization of parochial marriage, baptism and burial registers in Polish historical research.⁷

On the other hand, the decision to select the society of 18th century Warsaw for specific studies with the use of the time-consuming L. Henry's method, was also affected by the quality of the available source base. Historical literature unanimously underscores the higher research value of urban registers.⁸ An easy

⁶ Unfortunately a serious illness did not allow Irena Gieysztor to complete her studies, and she died in 1999.

⁷ Gieysztorowa 1976, p. 48; Kula 1963, p. 360; Topolski 1984, p. 408.

⁸ Gieysztorowa 1976, p. 220.

access to the parish church, a small area for the parish and usually more numerous clergy staff of higher qualifications, especially monastic clergy, influenced positively the standard and completeness of the registers, the fundamental source of our detailed analyses. This was confirmed by the query conducted in Polish church archives in Płock, Poznań and Włocławek in search for registers suitable for specific historical-demographic studies.⁹ It is important to remember that in contrast to Western Europe, the spreading of the obligation to keep registers progressed more slowly in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, particularly in multi-settlement, territorially vast rural parishes, often with just one-two-person staff.

The territorial scope of the work is determined by the borders of the Roman Catholic Holy Cross parish in Warsaw in the 18th century. The reduction of the research subject to a single parish is in compliance with the method of partial examination of a community to obtain the view of the whole, which is a commonly employed method in statistical and demographic studies.¹⁰ Too long gaps in the chronological continuity of the preserved 18th century registry books of the oldest Warsaw parish, St. John, did not qualify for thorough statistical exploration. In turn, the files of the third of the oldest capital parishes, the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Nowe Miasto, have not survived for the period under scrutiny.

The chronological frames of our studies, which concentrated on the 18th century and it is the upper border that was sometimes exceeded, require explanation. The selection of the chronological caesuras was not accidental. It was determined by the higher completeness of marriage and baptism registers in comparison with the previous century, and also, which is very important in L. Henry's method, the possibility to use burial registration, kept in the Holy Cross parish only from 1670 on. Moreover, the 18th century, or its second half to be exact, was a special period in the history of the city. From no major urban center at the beginning of the reign of Augustus II Wettin, at the end of the Stanisławian era Warsaw grew into one of the biggest cities in Central Europe. The city experienced a similar pace of demographic increase (four-fold over the years 1754–92) neither in the previous period nor in the following years of the 19th century.

⁹ Kukło 1981.

¹⁰ Kula 1963, p. 426. Also Topolski 1984, p. 420, opts for a broader application of the representative method, especially in studies based on mass sources.

SOURCES

The book was based on mass sources, which can be divided into three basic groups. One of them, the fundamental one, includes handwritten marriage, baptism and burial registers of the Holy Cross parish. They are preserved intact for the period under scrutiny and are stored in the local parish archive in Krakowskie Przedmieście St. The other group embraces censuses of the early 1790s which reside in the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw as well as the published previous tax registers and property tariffs.¹¹ The most valuable, demographic information was provided by the census of the population of the parish under examination of 1791.¹² An additional important source of socio-occupational guidelines turned out to be the census of the whole population of Warsaw prepared by the City Hall on the ordinance of the Police Committee of Both Nations¹³ and, this time to a much lower degree, the census of Warsaw population of Lutheran denomination of 1791.¹⁴ The third group includes the inventories, last wills, divisions of estates and others which reside in the collections Stara Warszawa (Old Warsaw) and Warszawa Ekonomiczne (Economic Warsaw) in the Central Archives of Historical Records.¹⁵ On the basis thereof it was sometimes possible to establish the social background, the occupation performed or the position in the community. The importance of this group of sources is all the higher that they enable to establish, even though approximately, the economic foundations and material conditions of the existence of certain families in the Holy Cross parish.

A separate category includes the *libri iuris civilis*, which beside providing occupations determined the place of origins of part of the group of men marrying in the parish under scrutiny. Certain information is also provided by records prepared by the city authorities, mainly of judicial-police and legal nature. However, it is important to emphasize that the inhabitants of the Holy Cross parish occur there quite rarely. World War II destroyed the whole par-

¹¹ Berdecka *et al.* 1963.

¹² AGAD, Varia Grodu Warszawskiego 25, *Ludność katolików w parafii św. Krzyż na Krakowskim Przedmieściu znajdujących się w miesiącu styczniu i lutym spisana roku 1791.*

¹³ AGAD, WE 15-17, *Protokół rewizji Miasta Wolnego Warszawy 1792.*

¹⁴ AGAD, Varia Grodu Warszawskiego 24, *Rejestr ludności chrześcijan Ewangelickich Augsburskiego wyznania w mieście JKMc i rezydencjonalnym Warszawie znajdujących się, staraniem starszych kościoła tego wyznania ułożony i spisany w miesiącu grudniu 1791 roku.*

¹⁵ Their specification is presented in the list of the used handwritten sources, see pp. 255–256.

ish archive except the registers. A similar fate affected the collections of the Archdiocesan Archive in Warsaw. In the remnants of the reconstructed files an important source is the general visitation (inspection) of the Holy Cross parish conducted by Bishop Andrzej S. Młodziejowski of Poznań in 1779 (*Visitatio Generalis Ecclesiae Parochialis Varsaviensis sub titulo Sanctae Crucis Congregationii Presbyterorum Secularium a Missionibus ... 1779* and *Visitatio Generalis Seminarii Diaecesis Posnaniensis in Maedibus Sanctae Crucis Varsaviensis ... 1779–1781*).¹⁶ It is also important to mention the map of the Holy Cross parish prepared around 1786. Stored in the collections of the Czartoryskis' Library in Cracow, provides good information on the nature and size of the 18th century development of the southern part of the capital.¹⁷

From among numerous memoirs of the 18th century the most useful turned out those by Jędrzej Kitowicz, Franciszek Karpiński, Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz and also accounts of foreigners staying for longer or shorter periods in Warsaw.¹⁸ Moreover, this book uses the information of the years 1774–93 presented in the first regular daily newspaper in Poland, then very popular, "Gazeta Warszawska", edited by ex-Jesuit Stefan Łuski.¹⁹

LITERATURE

Since the mid-1970s, one has observed a clear tendency in the world, mainly West European demography to abandon fallible estimations of the pace of population development on the basis of comparative establishments of successive, chiefly estimated, presenting population in wide territorial ranges and long chronological sections. It was recognized that the most reliable are the large-scale studies on the smallest demographic and social cell, which is family, usually in the possible broadest socio-economic diversity. The previous thirty years confirmed the functioning of two huge research schools: the French one and the British one, which currently are increasingly often mutually connected and

¹⁶ AAW, WG. 2, *Visitationes Ecclesiarum que ipsemet Excellmus et Rmus Dnus Antonius Onuphrius de Okęcki Episcopus Posnaniensis et Varsaviensis Supremus Regni Cancellarius [1779–1784]*.

¹⁷ Biblioteka Czartoryskich w Krakowie, T 122-14, Plan parafii św. Krzyża ok. 1786 r.

¹⁸ Kitowicz 1971, 1985; Karpiński 1987; Niemcewicz 1958; Zawadzki 1963, two thick volumes contain extensive memoirs of nearly 20 foreigners from various countries on their stays in Poland. They left an accurate image of Poland in the second half of the 18th century; they noted all good and bad points.

¹⁹ Biblioteka Narodowa w Warszawie.

complementing. The former, recognizing parish registers as the cornerstone of the pre-statistical demography, works on them with, foremost, L. Henry's method of family reconstruction. The latter, in the face of poor quality of English registers, perfected the collective method of their use, but simultaneously included extensively analyses of early censuses (parochial censuses, name lists, inventories etc.).

In France, simultaneously with the great INED survey "for the knowledge of the population of France since the period of Louis XIV" launched by Louis Henry in 1958, intense studies on rural parishes with the method of family reconstruction, among which the most valuable turned out to be the study by Jacques Dupâquier explaining the functioning of the "ancient demographic order" of agricultural France with the examples of procreation attitudes of villagers in the Paris Basin in the years 1671–1720.²⁰ By the mid-1970s also the demography of small urban centers, such as Beauvais, Meulan or Bayex had been examined.²¹ Although at the same time important studies dedicated to communities of bigger cities, Lyon, Marseille and Caen, were published, demography, particularly that of families, took little space therein.²² A real discovery of demographic family structures of the preindustrial town of the Old Continent was brought only by the brilliant monograph of the capital of Normandy, Rouen, by Jean-Pierre Bardet in 1983. It presented the way the model of the family with a small number of children, quite largely functioning at the beginning of the 18th century among the aristocrats, merchants and rentiers, gradually permeated to poorer strata of urban communities. As the author's studies based on an extensive set of data (he reconstructed over 15 thousand families) proved, in the mid-18th century the working class in Rouen applied birth control to the same degree as the wealthiest strata.²³

In turn, the studies of Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux on the community of Reims in the 18th century revealed even earlier and more radical birth limitations among notables in Reims than in Rouen. Also laborers in the capital of Champagne were characterized by far lower fertility than their counterparts in the capital of Normandy, avoiding conceptions, for example, in the periods of economic crises. In the town under scrutiny, from the mid-18th century on, conscious maternity reached not only the richest classes but also to the vast

²⁰ Dupâquier 1979.

²¹ Goubert 1968; Lachiver 1969; El-Kordi 1970.

²² Garden 1970; Terrise 1971; Perrot 1975.

²³ Bardet 1983.

majority of couples in the other social groups.²⁴ It is worth adding that the demographic history of families in the form of separate monographs has been quite recently written for successive smaller French towns (Bourg-en-Bresse, Chartres, Verdun, Beauvais),²⁵ and the big city of Bordeaux. The latter was based on demographic history of nearly 9.6 thousand families and is a valuable study on recognizing attitudes of conscious procreation strategies of elites (among which Stéphane Minvielle counted wealthy nobility, merchants, bourgeoisie, lawyers and physicians) of the French metropolitan environment long before the revolution of 1789.²⁶

What in discovering procreation attitudes of villagers, noblemen and burghers of prerevolutionary France were the pioneer studies of Jacques Dupâquier, Jean-Pierre Bardet, Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux, for the knowledge of family structures, their transformations and motivations of developmental trends of English society became the successive work of the four researchers of the Cambridge Group.²⁷ The study brings results of the reconstruction of families in staggering 26 parishes scattered all over England and, most importantly, mutually contrasting socio-economically (10 rural parishes, 3 working-class, 4 of craftsmen and tradesmen and 9 with a less clear occupational structure of their residents at the beginning of the 1830s). The subtle reflections of the Cambridge historians, extensively referring to a great number of rates, despite not always easy interpretation thereof, seem to demonstrate a very modest practices of birth limitation in the first half of the 18th century. In that period a norm in English families was natural fertility rather than controlled, even though they do not reject totally a possibility of the modest occurrence of the latter.

An enormously important role in the reconstruction of procreation attitudes of late feudal and early industrial society was played by the studies of the doyen of Swiss historical demographers Alfred Perrenoud, dedicated for many years to the inhabitants of Calvinist Geneva, likewise those of Ulrich Pfister on the community of Zurich.²⁸ The image of family fertility in German towns (Oppenheim, Mainz) is known due to Peter Zchunke and Walter G. Rödel; Italian (Florence) to Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, Spanish (Cuenca) to David Sven Reher.²⁹ Among

²⁴ Fauve-Chamoux 1985a; Fauve-Chamoux 2001b.

²⁵ Garnot 1991; Turrel 1986; Beauvalet-Boutouyrie 1991; Ganiage 1999.

²⁶ Minvielle 2009.

²⁷ Wrigley *et al.* 1997.

²⁸ Perrenoud 1988, 1990; Pfister 1985.

²⁹ Zschunke 1984; Rödel 1985; Klapisch-Zuber 1988; Reher 1990.

the successes of European historical demography one should undoubtedly count the increasingly better recognition of fertility mechanisms of the ancient family in Bohemian towns (Budyně nad Ohří, Domažlice, Jablonec nad Nisou and Brno).³⁰

A kind of summing-up of the knowledge on history of the family and problems referring thereto from the Antiquity to the present day became the two-volume collection of works by 29 authors, *Histoire de la Famille* published in 1986. It can be said that its whole content is an attempt to refer to the problem posed by the anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss in the preface: "There was no society without families but there would not have been more families if there had not been society yet".³¹ A similar research benefit can be achieved from reading two most recent large syntheses of the history of the family. The authors of one are Andres Gestrich, Jene-Uve Krause and Michael Mitterauer, who presented its history from the Antiquity to the present day.³² The other, however, including three volumes, highlighting, among other things, legal and socio-cultural determinants of family life in the modern era (without reference to earlier periods), with the participation of numerous outstanding researchers being representatives of the major academic centers, was published by David I. Kertzer and Marzio Barbagli.³³ A more modest scope but worth underscoring, for, suffice it to say, its utility and accessibility, as well as broader discussion on the issues of Central Europe also characterize two works by Czech historians and demographers.³⁴

This concisely signaled selection of merely a few most important books on the research on the broadly understood demographic structures of the ancient urban family, makes the best prove to confirm the thesis of an incredible potential of interdisciplinary studies on history of families and their households in the past.³⁵ However, in Poland for many years historians did not show any stronger interest in socio-demographic structures of ancient families. Therefore, as early as the 1970s emerged proposals (Irena Gieysztor, Maria Bogucka, Andrzej

³⁰ Dušek 1985; Mužik 1986; Wowková and Fialová 1992; Brabcová 2001.

³¹ Lévi-Strauss 1986, p. 12.

³² Gestrich *et al.* 2003.

³³ Kertzer and Barbagli 2001.

³⁴ Horská *et al.* 1990; Horský and Seligová 1996.

³⁵ Due to the limited frames of the book, I decided to omit references to the most important publications dedicated to households in modern Europe prepared with the use of Peter Laslett's typology, as well as its particular members (children, parents, grandparents, servants), their position in the family and household. For more: Kuklo 2009, pp. 29–33.

Wyczański, Andrzej Wyrobisz) emphasizing the need for their intensification, in the permanent contact with the world leading researchers. Initially, like in Western Europe, the researchers' inquiries concentrated around demographic structures of rural families, mainly in the 18th–19th centuries and were mostly conducted by individual researchers with no broader institutional connections. The legal intensification of modern studies on the smallest demographic cell in Old Polish towns is connected with the works of the research team operating in the years 1979–1986, appointed by Andrzej Wyczański by virtue of the agreement of the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Science and the Institute of History at the Branch of the University of Warsaw in Białystok. Its aim was to computerizing Polish socio-demographic research on the basis of parish registers. Out of demographic studies of families in two urban-rural parishes, Łomża and Ostrów Mazowiecka, in the 18th–19th centuries and two urban parishes: St. John (Old Warsaw) in the 17th century and the Holy Cross in Warsaw in the 18th century, the two latter, dedicated to Warsaw families, have been realized.³⁶ It is worth adding that the work of the team were carried out in cooperation with French historians, Jean-Pierre Bardet (Université de Paris-Sorbonne, Paris IV), who, as a token of cooperation, donated for use the computer system CASOAR, and Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux of EHESS in Paris.

Among the modest output of Polish demographic-historical research dedicated to urban families prepared with the application of Henry's method, it is important to note the valuable studies of Krzysztof Makowski on Poznań in the first half of the 19th century and Agnieszka Zielińska on Toruń in the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century.³⁷ Their far more complete source base enabled them not only to characterize demographically the group of reconstructed families but also presenting the vast range of social problems, such as: durability of territorial, social, ethnic and denominational barriers at the choice of a spouse or family and social contacts considered in the context of wedding witnesses and godparents, as well as divorces and cohabitations. Of a certain research value remain the studies by Krzysztof Mikulski on the Toruń family in the early modern era.³⁸ Quite recently appeared works dedicated to demographic-historic family statistics of two small towns of Gubin and Zielona Góra.³⁹

³⁶ Fauve-Chamoux 1985b.

³⁷ Makowski 1992; Zielińska 2012.

³⁸ Mikulski 1998, 2001.

³⁹ Kurowska 2010; Skierska 2015.

The postwar studies on the demographic characteristics of the population of Warsaw in the Saxon era and the Stanisławian period are not of equal quality. Estimations of the city population by 1792 based on treasury-administrative sources (e.g. lustrations, contributions, estate tariffs), were actually not subject to any stricter criticism, or rewritten and replaced with new findings. Only Adam Szczypiorski identified the need for verification of the estimations of the city population in the second half of the 18th century, i.e. for the years 1770, 1780 and 1784, on the grounds that they are lowered in comparison to the censuses of 1787 and 1792.⁴⁰ However, he completed the estimation for 1787 only, raising it by 10% and assumed Helena Drzażdżyńska's prewar establishment for the year 1792.⁴¹ Nevertheless, he disregarded completely the problems and the need for studies on vital statistics in Warsaw. The studies of Barbara Grochulska make a considerable contribution to establishing the course of the evolution of Warsaw population. First of all, she questioned the previous scheme of urban demography, in which a big preindustrial city was the continuation of the medieval "place of dying out" and could develop as a result of immigration only. Analysing the age pyramid of the residents of the capital in 1810 and using the findings of Samuel Szymkiewicz,⁴² Grochulska posited limited population development of Warsaw in the modern period.⁴³ She maintained this thesis and developed more extensively in her study dedicated to the processes of concentrating the demographic and economic potential of the city at the turn of the 19th century.⁴⁴ Marriage and baptism registers of the parish Skaryszew became for Teresa Wyderkowa a test of her populations estimations for the right-bank part of Warsaw, Praga, obtained on the basis of treasury and census sources.⁴⁵ Demographic issues, including those referring to the size of the family, took a considerable part of Jerzy Waszkiewicz's reflections in his work on the jurydyka Bielino.⁴⁶ Also the book by Samuel Szymkiewicz, presenting the demographic potential of the city at the turn of the 19th century in the light of more

⁴⁰ Szczypiorski 1975.

⁴¹ Drzażdżyńska 1931.

⁴² Szymkiewicz 1959.

⁴³ Grochulska 1966.

⁴⁴ Grochulska 1974.

⁴⁵ Wyderkowa 1972.

⁴⁶ Jurydyka, in the 15th–18th centuries an area in the territory of a town excluded from the jurisdiction of the town authorities, was usually an economic base for the urban residences of magnates. In the first half of the 18th century there were 14 in Warsaw, see Waszkiewicz 1972.

specific materials prepared under the supervision of the occupational Prussian authorities, turned out useful.⁴⁷

General knowledge of the history of Warsaw in the modern period was taken foremost from synthetic works, those both older⁴⁸ and newer.⁴⁹ In the scope of economic relations the study by Barbara Grochulska⁵⁰ was helpful demonstrating urban economy (trade, manufactures and banking) in the context of national market, and monographs of particular craft corporations. Social and moral aspects are discussed in the works by Anna Berdecka and Irena Turnau,⁵¹ the studies by Irena Turnau and Hanna Szwankowska⁵² concern material culture, whereas Franciszek Giedroyc, Marian Łyskanowski and Jerzy Gromski wrote about hygiene and health.⁵³ In turn, the older studies of Julian Bartosiewicz, Józef Łukaszewicz, Żelisław Grotowski and Leon Petrzyk, as well as those more recent by Zofia Podgórska-Klawe and Andrzej Karpiński turned out valuable for the history of the Holy Cross church and parochial institutions of social welfare.⁵⁴

* * *

The foreign reader deserves an additional word of explanation. For the first time overall results of studies on procreation attitudes of married couples in Warsaw of late Baroque and the Age of Enlightenment were published in the Polish language in 1991. Whereas only modest part of them were announced in foreign publications, I decided, with the grants from the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage, to publish them collectively in the form of a separate book, all the more that they have by no means become out-of-date. This decision was also determined by the still scarce knowledge of the Polish family in the world historiography. Of course, for the needs of another reader I gave up too extensive footnotes in many places, especially those referring to Polish works. Chapter 2 was rewritten and included synthetically presented results of

⁴⁷ Szymkiewicz 1959.

⁴⁸ Sobieszczański 1974.

⁴⁹ Konarski 1970 and Bogucka *et al.* 1984.

⁵⁰ Grochulska 1980.

⁵¹ Berdecka and Turnau 1969.

⁵² Turnau 1967a, Turnau 1967b; Szwankowska 1960.

⁵³ Giedroyc 1917; Łyskanowski 1976; Gromski 1977.

⁵⁴ Bartosiewicz 1855; Łukaszewicz 1858–1863; Grotowski 1910; Petrzyk 1920; Podgórska-Klawe 1975; Karpiński 1983.

my many years of studies, among other things, dedicated to the size and the structure of the urban household, the human life cycle and the family status of old people in the preindustrial city. I also presented more extensively the issue of procreation attitudes of Warsaw married couples presented in Chapter 5, as well as mortality in the last chapter. On the other hand, I tried to confront the results obtained years ago with the current state of research, foremost the European historical demography.

I take the opportunity to express my gratitude to my friends from France, Jean-Pierre Bardet and Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux, who introduced me into the uneasy arcana of historical demography at the first international course in this discipline, organized by Jacques Dupâquier in the EHEES in Paris in 1981. Over the following years I could always rely on their selfless support and assistance. I also address my gratitude to Daniel Tollet, thanks to whom I recall my stays in France with great fondness.

I am grateful to Professors Krzysztof A. Makowski of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań and Jacek Wijaczka of the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń for editorial reviews, without which this work could not be published.

I dedicate this book to my academic Master, the late Professor Andrzej Wy-
czański, who passed away in 2008, one of the most outstanding Polish historians of the 20th century, whom I owe the passion for studies on Old Polish society and over thirty years of fruitful research and academic cooperation in various institutions, in particular the University of Białystok.

CHAPTER 1

THE VALUE OF PARISH REGISTERS AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

*Criticism of sources remains
a fundamental discipline of the historian
who deals with ancient demography.*

Goubert 1965, p. 84

1. CONTINUITY OF PRESERVATION, EXTERNAL DESCRIPTION AND ELEMENTS OF CONTENT

The archive of the Holy Cross parish in Warsaw contains three series of registers of the 17th–18th centuries. This collection embraces 25 volumes, 14 of which constitute registers of baptisms, 8 marriages and 3 deaths. Marriage books, keeping of which was begun in September 1626, two months after the parish was erected (!) are preserved intact. A year later baptism registers have a gap in their chronological continuity: 1649–66 and 1778–83. At the end of the 18th century all the registers were, however, still complete, since during a general visitation of the parish in 1779 by Poznań Bishop Andrzej S. Młodziejowski, it was recorded: “Presented are the Books, in which baptized, married and dead are registered and it has been, during this visit, signed since the year 1627, the second since 1626, the third since 1670”.¹ It is worth adding that lists of the dead completely preserved from the beginning of their keeping, i.e. 1670, in the light of the previous archival information, appertain to one of older books of this type on the Polish land.² All the books luckily survived the conflagration of World War II, in which

¹ AAW, WG. 2, *Visitationes*, p. 823.

² Kukło 2009, pp. 92–96.

90% of Warsaw was destroyed by the German occupant.³ During the query in the Archdiocesan Archive in Warsaw two typescripts were come across, one of which included copies of missing baptism certificates of the Holy Cross parish for the period 1649–66, as well as the missing original baptism register for the years 1778–83, which was borrowed from the parish archive as late as after 1945.

The Holy Cross registers, until the turn of the 1760s, are in the format of judicial *folio fracto* (Polish: *lutka sądowa*) of the dimensions 9–10 cm × 31–34 cm. In the second half of the 18th century gradually appear new formats of registers: 17 cm × 38–40 cm, 19 cm × 46 cm, and the most frequent 24 cm × 38 cm (the latest in the series of demises, only in 1775). The seventeenth-century parish registers have thick cardboard covers and leather spines and corners. However, the register of the dead, started in 1670, has the whole binding made of leather. In the following century, among 17 new books, 11 were bound in leather, the others have covers made from thick cardboard. The state of preservation of all 17th–18th century parish registers is very good. Some of them are tight with strings. In the 18th century registers of marriages (49), more often baptisms (68) and only sporadically among deaths (8) small sheets of paper with single records were stitched. A 19th century official of the Heroldia Królestwa Polskiego (Heraldry Office of the Kingdom of Poland), Counsel Matuszewski defined most of these interleaves with records of baptisms as “suspicious”.⁴

Registers were examined in the second half of the 18th century by the church supervisory authorities during the bishop’s general visitation, and the records being a result thereof contain no critical remarks referring to their content, way of keeping or the state of preservation.

A thorough insight into the Holy Cross parish registry of the 17th and 18th centuries demonstrates that it was conducted and preserved extraordinarily carefully. No major gaps in the chronological continuity can be noted. A few minor mixings in a few places appeared probably during their subsequent binding. A few times the same documents were recorded. All the entries are very legible for both the handwriting and the ink. However, it is possible to notice that the beginning of certain books was characterized by a greater diligence and care than in the other books, which may depend on particular authors. The lack of major external and internal drawbacks in the Holy Cross registers

³ Belina-Prażmowski 1933, p. 14; Petrzyk 1989, p. 60.

⁴ Heroldia Królestwa Polskiego was a central office in the Kingdom of Poland and was established in Warsaw in 1841 after a Russian model. It dealt with examining evidence of nobility and issuing appropriate certificates.

resulted from their two-stage edition. The archive complex under examination contains the book of baptism drafts for the period 1741–52 “*Raptularium Liber Baptisatorum*” (no numeration was provided in contrast to the final versions), where the clearness of the records and their legibility is poorer than in the fair copies. Similar recording of later burials in the earliest book of the dead of the years 1670–1708 shows that also these entries were made in the fair copy with a certain delay, using probably notes prepared beforehand. Yet in the mid-18th century marriage lines were prepared and first recorded in a draft book.

The registers of the Holy Cross parish were written in Latin according to the following scheme: on the axis the names of months were placed, whereas on the margin dates (days). The formula of the entries actually had not changed until the turn of the 19th century. The more or less extended formula of register entries in the set of the Holy Cross parish books probably depended on the precision of the information reported and the diligence of those who prepared notes, as well as on the social and economic status of the people recorded. Certificates of marriages and baptisms of magnates and court circles numerous occurring on the pages of the parish books are distinguished by a definitely more extensive form. This refers especially to baptisms of the richest nobility’s children (sometimes two or three baptized simultaneously being of different ages), repeating the ritual with an extended ceremony and a higher number of witnesses.

What deserves a particular emphasis in the examined 18th century baptism records is the precision of their dating. From the beginning of the century, by and large, beside the date of the baptism also the day of the child’s birth was given. Also twin births were precisely noted (together or separately). Moreover, illegitimate children and foundlings were also registered. However, hardly ever did they mention in the baptism registers the social and occupational status of the natural parents and the godparents.⁵

Computer processing of the information from the marriage lines from the 1740s and deaths from the 1760s enabled to deepen the source criticism of the Holy Cross parish books in the chronological development. Marriage lines of 1740–85, beside precise dates, contain surnames and first names of the betrothed’s fathers and it more often concerned the bride’s father (1740–49: 0.5%; 1780–84: 6.1%). Yet at the end of the first half of the 18th century the marital status of the betrothed was recorded for the 78–80% of those entering the marriage union. From the mid-century on, it had been recorded for 90% of the newly-

⁵ Information of similar shortages in the content of Spanish registers can be found in Reher 1984, pp. 137–139.

weds, and in the early 1780s even for 95%. In the periods 1740–49 and 1760–69 the marital status of women was mentioned more frequently, whereas in the remaining years that of men. Over the whole period (1740–85) under scrutiny the percentage of people with a social status determined by the parish clergymen diminished. If in the 1740s estate titles were given for 36% of men, in the subsequent two decades it declined by 10 percentage points, and in the 1770s and 80s the estate affiliation was recorded for 10% of newlyweds only. In turn, the estate titles of the female betrothed was, in the 45 years under examination, even poorer noted than for men. Similarly, the occupation, position or rank of the bridegroom are also scarcely mentioned. Only from the beginning of the 1780s on did the examined registers mention the parish where the newlywed lived before the wedding in the Holy Cross parish church (this mainly referred to men). Recording this information in the period 1785–99 at staggering 95% of the betrothed may constitute a point of departure for a tentative assessment of the immigration inflow of men to the capital city at the decline of the reign of Stanisław August Poniatowski.⁶ Also Marcel Lachiver and Alfred Perrenoud point at the difficulties in following the territorial selection of newlyweds until the mid-18th century in Western Europe, since the authors of registers omitted their places of origin.⁷ Even at the beginning of the 20th century in Italy, the country of the oldest and richest demographic documentation, occur places such as, for example, Bellino, where the place of residence before the wedding was marked for merely 4–6% of all the couples of newlyweds, whereas their place of birth is recorded yet more poorly.⁸ Little, however, do we know, except surnames, first names and sometimes estate titles, about witnesses present at the weddings concluded in the parish temple.

Burial registers for the years 1760–1801 inform precisely about the dead's personal data, providing their first names and surnames, sex, age and the date of death. On the other hand, they fail to name the dates of funerals. In the 1760s the ages of the death are provided for c. 80% of people. In the later period occurred a decline of the number of people with the age defined at the moment of death (the highest in the period 1780–89, by over 12 percentage points). The break-

⁶ On the other hand, Górny 1977, p. 95–96 informs (erroneously?), that registers of Catholic marriages at St. Jacob parish in Toruń in the 18th century provided the places of birth of the betrothed, which, in the light of the previous source criticism of old Polish registers would be exceptional. Compare Gieysztorowa 1976, p. 213.

⁷ Lachiver 1969, p. 12; Perrenoud 1979, pp. 353–354.

⁸ Lucchetti and Soliani 1984, pp. 129–131.

through in recording the age of the dead did not take place until the decline of the 18th century and the beginning of the following century, when it was recorded for 98% of people. An analogous improvement in precision of the records may be also noticed for the information on the marital status of adult people. As late as the 1760s, over $\frac{2}{3}$ of death records, and in the 1770s even half of them omit these data. In the last twenty years of the 18th century, we do not know the marital status of 15–22% of dead adults but at the beginning of the 19th century only 7%.

From the beginning of burial registers in the parish, also the demises of the youngest inhabitants of the city were recorded there.⁹ Death certificates prepared on that occasion name the personal data of the parents, and the age is provided in days, weeks and months. In the 1760, at least a half of deaths of children and youths remained outside the parish death register. Indeed, the spread of recording deaths of the youngest inhabitants of the parish under examination did not take place until the 1770s, and it is only this period, for which the Holy Cross registers may be more useful for specific demographic research.

Like in the registers of baptisms and marriages, the authors of the registers of the dead, the Vincentians, usually omitted social and occupational information, sometimes noting them at the burials of the most prominent people. In turn, the causes of demises hardly appeared in the registers until the end of the 18th century and they did not occur systematically until 1798. From 1785 on, part of the certificates had a note “gratis” on them, which may demonstrate a funeral ceremony free of expense.

In the late 1770s in the parish books appear notes closing particular calendar years (from January 1785 on, also particular months) with a numerical statistics of dead people with the division into sex, the difference between children and adults and with separate categories of demises: parish, hospital (St. Roch, St. Casimir and the Infant Jesus) and there other churches operating in the Holy Cross parish: of the Carmelites, the Dominicans and the Reformanti.¹⁰

2. THE COMPLETENESS OF REGISTERS

In the recent Polish historiography it is possible to observe a tendency to abandon traditional frames of descriptive history. It is visible especially in re-

⁹ In Spain until the mid-17th century only deaths of adults were registered, and the age of the dead was hardly recorded until the mid-19th century; Reher 1979, p. 379.

¹⁰ AP, Lib. mort. 3, pp. 26, 32v, 39v, 49v, 58v, 65, 73, 80, 87v, 95, 104, 111, 118v, 126, 135, 144v, 167, 177, 205v.

search on social history, where mass sources (registry files, mortgage records, notarial deeds etc.), whereby obtaining answers to many research questions previously not posed.¹¹ Using parish registers, it is important to realize that they were not prepared in order to inform modern researchers on the ratio of births to deaths in the past.¹² Therefore, not neglecting its source criticism, we consider as a primary and responsible task of a historian-demographer, as well as other researchers,¹³ a specific assessment of the completeness of the statistical material in use. The degree of the utility of registry documentation for nominative research can be assessed with three tests:

1. Birth rate (baptisms) for one marriage (wedding): B/M;
2. Birth rate (baptisms) for one death (burial): B/D;
3. Coefficient of masculinity of infants.

Among three series of marriage, baptism and death registers, the first is encumbered with the smallest deficiencies in relation to the marriages really contracted in the parish.¹⁴ Church weddings were recognized by the Trident Council as the only valid in the Christian world form of marriage contracting and the basis of the legitimacy of offspring. Therefore, the aforementioned rates and the coefficient of masculinity in the group of infants, at the completeness of marriages assumed, make us aware of, foremost, deficiencies in the registration of baptisms and deaths.

At the beginning of the 1970s, Irena Gieysztor, assessing previous demographic publications on the pre-partition era, estimates the utility threshold of registers for specific analyses of the ration of births to deaths as approx. 5 B/D for the second half of the 18th century.¹⁵ In a discussion on her presentation, Tadeusz Ładogórski claimed that the proposed high norm of the B/M ratio refers to the demographic conditions of Polish villages rather than towns. Simultaneously he referred, as an example, to towns in Silesia in the period 1783–93, where on one marriage fell 4.6 births, while in the biggest center in Wrocław only 4.1 and in rural districts 5.1 children.¹⁶ Thus, it seems that in towns, especially big cities, where migration processes were strong, with a higher number of multiple marriages and illegitimate children (the latter were often poorer re-

¹¹ Collective volumes may be named – Leskiewiczowa and Kowalska-Glikman 1974; Kalabiński *et al.* 1980.

¹² Kula 1963, pp. 362–363; Wrigley 1966, pp. 1–13.

¹³ Goubert 1968, p. 50; Gieysztorowa 1976, p. 48; Maur 1983, pp. 34–35; Palli 1979, p. 149.

¹⁴ See opinions of: Croix 1974, p. 42; Gieysztorowa 1976, p. 235.

¹⁵ Gieysztorowa 1971, p. 591; similarly: Maur 1983, p. 74.

¹⁶ Ładogórski 1975, p. 305.

Table 1.1. Numbers of marriages, baptisms and burials

Years	Marriages	Baptisms	Burials	Rates	
				M/B	B/D
1700–1709	508	1772	3205	3.5	0.6
1710–1719	390	1242	1001	3.2	1.3
1720–1729	479	1656	821	3.5	2.0
1730–1739	530	1793	1200	3.4	1.5
1740–1749	625	1971	667	3.1	3.0
1700–1749	2532	8434	6894	3.3	1.2
1750–1759	898	3522	1366	3.9	2.6
1760–1769	1552	5755	2683	3.7	2.0
1770–1779	1785	8195	5202	4.6	1.6
1780–1789	1860	9657	6164	5.0	1.6
1790–1799	1702	8490	7833	5.0	1.1
1750–1799	7797	35619	23248	4.6	1.5
1700–1799	10329	44053	30142	4.3	1.5

corded), the B/M rate could reach a lower value than that proposed by I. Gieysztor. In France during the reign of Louis XV and Louis XVI, in the period prior to a common consistent fall in fertility visible in this country from the end of the 18th century on, the B/M rate in towns: small (below 10 thousand inhabitants), medium (10–50 thousand) and big (over 50 thousand), amounted, respectively: 5.0 – 4.4 – 4.5 live births; in Paris 4.0, and for rural parishes 4.6.¹⁷ On the other hand, the value of the demographic dynamics rate B/D, at a relatively high mortality at that time, and, what follows, a minimal natural growth, should oscillate around one or slightly exceed one.

Strict numbers of weddings (marriages), baptisms (births) and burials (deaths), excluding those from outside the parish, recorded in registers of the Holy Cross parish in Warsaw in the 18th century along with calculated rates B/M and B/D in ten-year periods are listed in Table 1.1. The data therein demonstrate that in the parish under examination in the first half of the century 3.1 to 3.5 births fell on one marriage. The B/M rate reached its lowest value in the periods 1710–19 and 1740–49. The incomplete recording in the parish registers of infants born particularly in the period 1710–19 was affected by multiple recurrences of the epidemics of plague and other contagious diseases, reaping an especially reach harvest among newborn babies, who very frequently had not been baptized yet. The recurring elemental disasters (e.g. draughts and floods

¹⁷ Dupâquier 1979, pp 114–115; also Goubert 1968, p. 88.

resulted in famine in the capital city and common paucity), contributions and looting the inhabitants of the city suffered from the Swedish, Saxon, Russian and Stanisław Leszczyński's troops, probably weakened the parish community's tights with their priests, resulting in a breach in the practice of prompt church baptism after a child's birth. The end of the Saxon era and the beginning of Stanisław August Poniatowski's reign marked a sluggish development of economic life in the capital, as well as improvement of the level of the Holy Cross birth register (3.7–3.9 B/M). Moreover, the quality leap showing a clear improvement of completeness did not occur until the 1770s. In the last two decades of the 18th century the B/M rate reached the high value of 5.0.

In comparison, in the period 1731–1800 in St. Nicholas' parish in Kalisz (c. 3 thousand Christians and 1.2 thousands Jews) on one marriage fell 4.4 births and only 3.2–3.5 births at the same time in the downtown St. Mary Magdalene's parish of a far more populated Poznań (11.5 thousand Christians).¹⁸ Equally low were the rates calculated for Protestant and Catholic population in Toruń in the 18th century, from 2.9 to 3.8 B/M.¹⁹ Although some researchers (Tadeusz Ładogórski, Stanisław Gierszewski²⁰) point at a dependence of the birthrate level on the denomination and socio-occupational structures (for instance, lower fertility in Protestant families), it seems that registers in both Poznań and Toruń were far from completeness. In turn, in Gdańsk (60 thousand), the biggest city and production center in Polish lands from the beginning of the 1780s, mainly inhabited by Lutherans, in the 1740s staggering 5 births fell on one marriage.²¹ In Protestant Geneva (25 thousand inhabitants) in the first half of the 18th century the B/M rate amounted above 4.²² The diversity in the value of this rate was emphasized many years ago by Roger Mols in his fundamental work dedicated to demography of European towns in the early modern era.²³ A similar tendency to that in the Holy Cross parish under examination, i.e. increasingly more complete register of births from the mid-18th century, may be also observed in Czech and Slovak cities and small towns.²⁴

¹⁸ Kukło 1981, p. 136; Kędelski 1992, pp. 35, 84 (but in the period 1765–78 even 2.8 B/M).

¹⁹ Górny 1977, pp. 82–83.

²⁰ Ładogórski 1975, p. 305; Gierszewski 1979, p. 18, considered the rates obtained: from 3.2 to 3.9 B/M for the community of the small town Hel (c. 500 inhabitants in the 16th–18th cc) as reflecting the real situation.

²¹ Baszanowski 1981, p. 80.

²² Perrenoud 1979, p. 26.

²³ Mols, 2, 1955, pp. 322–324.

²⁴ *Dlouhodobé* 1981, pp. 79, 95, 120, 178, 206.

An analysis of the demographic dynamics rate discovered in the first half of the 18th century a high diversity of values from 0.5 to 3.0 births (baptisms) for one death, clearly proving incomplete registration of the dead at that time. Considerable deficiencies in the parish documentation of demises is strongly indicated by comparing absolute numbers of marriages, baptisms and deaths. With an exception of the second decade (1710–19), in three subsequent decades strict numbers of marriages and baptisms grow. Thus, a similar phenomenon in these years should be reflected in the statistics of the dead. However, except the years 1730–39, the numbers of the demises recorded in the parish book in the first half of the 18th century are increasingly lower. Therefore, the calculated B/D rates show a very poor recording of the dead in the periods 1720–29 and 1740–49 and slightly better in the 1730s. Also in the following period, till the end of the Saxon era (1763) not all demises were recorded, since the demographic dynamics rate exceeded two births for one death. At the same time this rate for Paris was 1.0–1.1 and for Geneva 1.1, and only Domažlice, a small Czech town was characterized by a slightly higher value (1.2–1.3) of this rate.²⁵ An almost ideal, even model, B/D rate at the end of the century, 1.1, is slightly understated, as a result of entering into the registers deaths of people killed in the capital during the uprising led by Tadeusz Kościuszko in 1794, among whom not all were inhabitants of the Holy Cross parish.

The rate of the number of births falling on one marriage informs only generally on deficiencies in the completeness of the baptism registers. A much more precise gauge of its quality is a masculinity coefficient of infants determining the proportions of the born boys to 100 born girls. This coefficient concerns relations of, actually, established values, i.e. 105–107 boys against 100 girls, which were subject to inconsiderable fluctuations.²⁶ Table 1.2 in decades and in Figure 1.1 in five-year sections contain the masculinity coefficient calculated on the basis of the Holy Cross baptism registration together with acceptable deviations of its value in relation to the basis on which it was reached each time.

In the first half of the 18th century, the sex structure of infants in both approaches (5 and 10-year), the sex structure of the baptized infants is incorrect and would demonstrate poorer recording of girls' births. Especially a considerable advantage of baptized male infants over female infants characterized two subsequent 5-year periods, i.e. 1735–39 and 1740–44. A close analysis disclosed

²⁵ Blayo 1975, pp. 52, 56; Perrenoud 1979, pp. 401, 418; Mužík 1986, p. 179. Also compare Mols, 2, 1955, pp. 329–331.

²⁶ Kula 1963, p. 422; Ładogórski 1971, p. 84; Gieysztorowa 1976, p. 252; Henry 1980, p. 47.

Table 1.2. Sex structure of baptized infants

Years	Males for 100 females	Acceptable value of the masculinity coefficient ^{a)}
1700–1709	112	100–100.5
1710–1719	117	98–112
1720–1729	111	100–110.5
1730–1739	124	100–110.5
1740–1749	168	110–110.5
1700–1749	126	102.5–107.5
1750–1759	109	101–109.5
1760–1769	99	102–108
1770–1779	108	102.5–107.5
1780–1789	104	102.5–107.5
1790–1799	105	102.5–107.5
1750–1799	105	103–107
1700–1799	109	

^{a)} Henry 1980, p. 47.

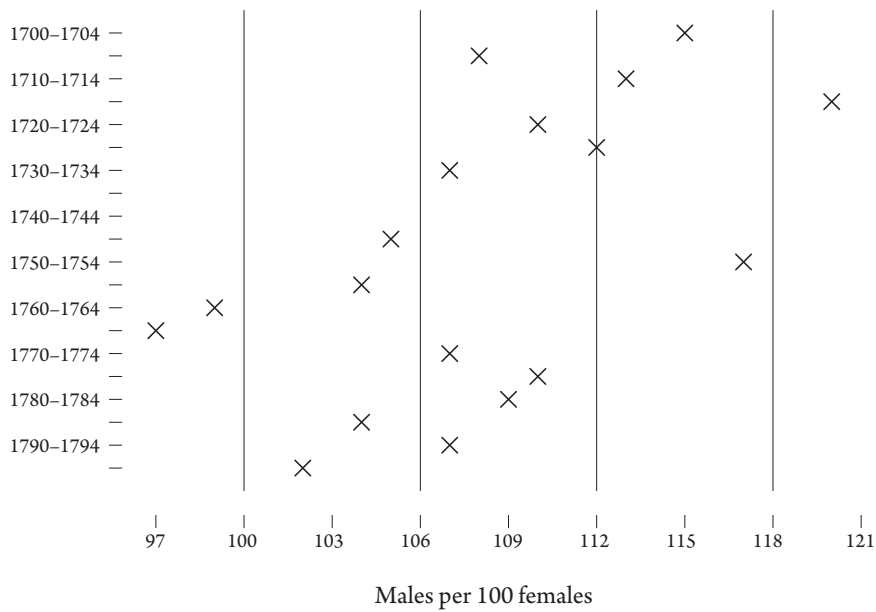


Figure 1.1. Sex structure of baptized infants

the fact that priests failed to record in the Holy Cross register of baptisms in the period 1739–43 even one girl's baptism, entering boys' baptisms exclusively.²⁷ In the 1750s, judging by the correct sex structure of infants, the registration was better than in the following decade, especially in its second half. Too low a masculinity coefficient (99) would be evidence of delaying baptisms, for example in the period 1765–69, as a result of which part of the infants, foremost weaker male ones died before they were baptized in the parish church. The correct sex structure from the 1770s on demonstrates a high quality standards of the Vincentian clergymen managing the parish under scrutiny, although it would be a simplification to claim that the birth records are 100% complete.²⁸ Certainly in that period as well as for many following years, dead infants, who died before baptism, or baptized just with water, whose church ceremonial was completed if they survived, remained beyond the register.

Undoubtedly the high standard of the registers under examination from the 18th century on and still higher from the early 1770s was connected with high qualifications of the sufficiently numerous parish clergy: Vincentians (Lazarites), but could also result from a better functioning of the parish itself and the improvement of the situation of its inhabitants after a period of political disasters and economic collapse caused by wars and epidemics.

Concluding the analysis of the statistical value of the registers of the Holy Cross parish, it is difficult not to ask a question referring to their standards in other capital parishes in that period. Registers of three other parish churches, BVM in Nowe Miasto and St. Andrew's in Ujazdów, did not survive, whereas in the oldest Warsaw parish, St. John's, have not been a subject of specific research yet. Certain knowledge on deficiencies of registers kept in other capital parishes in relation to demographic phenomena is provided by reports published in the popular "Gazeta Warszawska",²⁹ well preserved for the late 1770s, especially "Tabele Ochrzczonych, Umarłych, Zaślubionych, Nawróconych i Komunikujących w Mieście Warszawie z podania Kościołów Parafialnych z lat 1783–1790" (Tables of the Baptized, Dead, Married, Converted and Communing in the City of Warsaw provided by Parish Churches in the years 1783–1790).³⁰

²⁷ See AP, Lib. bapt. 6. Perhaps the missing records (c. 350–370 files) were in a draft book, which failed to survive.

²⁸ Also in other towns, for example Domažlice, Czechia, the masculinity coefficients prove better quality baptism registration in the second half of the 18th century; Mužík 1986, p. 134.

²⁹ "Gazeta Warszawska" nr 2 – 6 I 1776; nr 5 – 15 I 1777; nr 2 – 6 I 1779.

³⁰ Bibl. Czartoryskich w Krakowie, rkp 896.

Table 1.3. Numbers of marriages, baptisms and burials in Warsaw parishes
in the late 18th century

Parish	Marriages	Baptisms	Burials	Rates		
				M/B	B/D	M/100F
St. John	558 ^{a)}	1621	1098	2.9	1.5	113
	1656 ^{b)}	4657	3218	2.8	1.4	101
BVM	659 ^{a)}	2312	1834	3.5	1.3	104
	1860 ^{b)}	7657	4817	4.1	1.6	109
St. Andrew	405 ^{a)}	1344	.	3.3	.	108
	1989 ^{b)}	4561	3040	4.2	1.5	105
Ujazdów	266 ^{a)}	778	573	2.9	1.4	107
	716 ^{b)}	2529	1697	3.5	1.5	107
Praga	602 ^{b)}	2702	2044	4.5	1.3	101

^{a)} Years: 1775, 1776, 1778; ^{b)} Years: 1783–90.

Source: Bibl. Czartoryskich, rkp 896.

Even though the period of observation is not very long, it is possible to reservedly assume that more diligent birth registration was conducted in St. Andrew's and BVM parishes in Nowe Miasto and Praga, whereas in the Ujazdów church it was incomplete (Table 1.3). It is worth adding that St. Andrew's parish, established only in 1774 was the newest of the capital parishes of that period, and its first parson was the ex-Jesuit, well-known historian and geographer, Karol Wyrwicz.³¹ As for the BVM church in Nowe Miasto, probably it was Bishop Antoni Onufry Okęcki's severe reprimand during his general visitation in 1779 that had its effect, for at the end of the visitation he stated in the reformation decree: "...many anarchies and offences in this place, many neglects in Parochial services have occurred..."³² Furthermore, Teresa Wyderkowa, the researcher of demographic relations in the right-bank part of Warsaw, formulated an opinion on full registration of marriages and baptisms in the Skaryszew parish in Praga.³³ In the examined corps of registers in the Holy Cross parish also baptism records of Ujazdów parishioners' children can sometimes be found, both in the first and the second half of the 18th century. This could be affected by the material situation of the Ujazdów parish clergy and the state of the church itself, which, according to available sources, was already old and rotten

³¹ Nowacki 1964, p. 587; Bogucka 1984, pp. 437–438.

³² AAW, WG. 2, *Visitationes*, pp. 585–586.

³³ Wyderkowa 1972, pp. 173–174.

at that time. The parish itself was vast yet modestly endowed, so it failed to bring considerable income for its parsons, who often resigned from its management. Thus, it is difficult to assume that they paid careful attention to proper fulfilling the obligations imposed upon them, including proper keeping registers. The miserable state of the wooden church in Ujazdów, clearly contrasting with the magnificent, monumental architecture of the neighboring Holy Cross parish church, did not encouraged richer parishioners from Ujazdów to hold religious practices in their own temple.

What gives to think in Table 1.3 is the low B/M rates calculated for the oldest parish in Warsaw, St. John's; similarly, a clearly distorted sex structure among the infants baptized in that church. Moreover, a coefficient of demographic dynamics (B/D), relative even for all capital parishes, from 1.3 in the parish in Skaryszew in Praga to 1.6 in the BVM parish in Nowe Miasto, would demonstrate still certain shortcomings in the completeness of the dead registration, mainly in the scope of incomplete registration of children's demises.

In the light of the obtained comparative results tentatively verifying the quality of the registry documentation of capital parishes, and, what is important to repeat, just of approximate value, this book assesses registers of marriages, baptisms and burials kept by the Vincentians in the Holy Cross church as more complete than the others, although far from correctness, especially in the first half of the 18th century.

3. METHODOLOGY

The modern methodology of historical demography, the foundations of which were established by the French statistician and demographer Louis Henry, distinguishes two fundamental methods of working on parochial registers.³⁴ One of them is called a cursory or collective method (also known as a summary or aggregate method). It confines itself to an anonymous use of three register series (even of not always parallel periods) and enables statistical analysis of fundamental issues, such as: distribution of monthly and annual numbers of marriages, baptisms and demises, frequency of extramarital births and foundlings (if they occur), marital status of newlyweds, as well as age, sex and marital status of the dead.³⁵ The other, more specific, method is the technique of family reconstruction, in historical demographic research most frequently called

³⁴ Fleury and Henry 1956; Henry 1970; Dupâquier 1984.

³⁵ Fleury and Henry 1956, pp. 95–113.

Louis Henry's method.³⁶ It consists in reconstructing demographic vicissitudes of families on the basis of nominative assigning to married couples all demographic events referred to them, and then examining the fertility of the families reconstructed. Far from questioning L. Henry's contribution in founding methods of using registry books, at the beginning of the 1980s François Lebrun and Jacques Duâpaquier turned their attention to another French historian, namely Pierre Goubert.³⁷ It was remembered that much earlier German genealogists, Oscar Karl Roller (1907), Walter Scheidt (1928), Joseph Deimleitner and Adolf Roth (the 1930s), and the Swedish demographer Hannes Hyrenius (1942) reconstructed families in a similar way. In addition, a similar genealogical method were applied in their research also by Polish historians: Bogdan Puczyński, who examined the town of Brzeżany and surrounding villages before World War II,³⁸ and, in the early 1950s, Stanisław Waszak in his study dedicated to the population of Poznań in the 16th–17th centuries.³⁹

L. Henry's method was first presented to Polish readers by Witold Kula, who wrote: "The most perfect method devised for long-term demographic research is the method of "family reconstruction", the only method giving on the basis of parochial books almost certain results".⁴⁰ Taking into consideration enormous workload connected with this technique, he inclined more to the register exploitation with cursory methods. It is important to bear in mind, which W. Kula seems not to have noticed, that cursory survey examinations by no means lead to precise determination of the factors of population development, which are marital fertility in connection with the mother's age as well as infant and child mortality, which is enabled by the method of family reconstruction. The world leading historians, demographers and economists all underscore its high cognitive value,⁴¹ and critical voices seldom appear. For example, Swedish researchers, Sune Åkerman and Kenneth A. Lockridge undermined studying old family structures using sources providing quantitative statistics only and proposed interviews with elderly people. However, the attempt to examine people of the Jämtland province in northern Sweden with the latter technique failed and

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 117–161. See also Henry 1980, pp. 65–147.

³⁷ Dupâquier 1984, pp. 24–29; Lebrun 1984, pp. 162–163.

³⁸ Puczyński 1971.

³⁹ Waszak 1954.

⁴⁰ Kula 1963, p. 427.

⁴¹ Guillaume and Poussou 1970, p. 77; Marcilio 1979, p. 16; Palli 1979, pp. 150–151; Reher 1979, p. 380; Borscheid 1980, p. 83.

further work are to be continued “also with specific statistical analyses”.⁴² In numerous historical demographic textbooks L. Henry’s method takes an unquestionable leading position.⁴³

Working on the 18th century registers of the Holy Cross parish in Warsaw the both methods were employed: family reconstruction and aggregation. The reconstruction of family unions included married couples who entered into marriage in the Holy Cross parish and dwelled there from the beginning of the 1740s and whose fertility ended at the turn of the 19th century. The reduction of the range of observation to the families started in the period 1740–99 resulted from the lack of very important information in the marriage registers: the age of the newlywed (it was not recorded until 1801), which was expected to be established through name exploitation of baptism registers from 1700 on.

At the first stage of work, all baptism records of the parish under scrutiny for the period 1700–1801 were transcribed manually in chronological order and alphabetical layout. The size of this part of the fundamental source base (nearly 40 thousand files) and enormous effort of their transcription, caused omission in alphabetical indices of infants all the information referring to their godparents. The basis of registration in the catalogue of infants baptized in the Holy Cross parish was the surname of the infant’s father, and with illegitimate offspring it was usually the mother’s surname, whereas with infant-foundlings just its first name. Then it was planned to transcribe the content of marriage registers for the years 1740–99 onto single cards. However, in the middle of the year 1979 there emerged a real possibility to use computer technology in our research, which was promptly done. Namely, Professor Andrzej Wyczański’s proposal of including the research in progress on the demography of Warsaw families into a research team of the Institute of History at the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw and the Institute of History at the Branch of the University of Warsaw in Białystok. The aim of the team led by A. Wyczański was to build a computer system for socio-demographic research.

It is important to note that Polish studies on vital statistics of population and family on the basis of mass parochial documentation with the use of computer techniques was at that time (the 1970s) really limited. They were first used at the Anthropology Unit of the Polish Academy of Science in Wrocław under the supervision of Edmund Piasecki.⁴⁴ The main objective of the Wrocław team was

⁴² Åkerman and Lockridge 1983, p. 16. Also compare observations of Leti 1979, pp. 77–107.

⁴³ Gieysztorowa 1976, pp. 14, 250–251; Imhof 1977, pp. 100–106; Maur 1978, pp. 77–82.

⁴⁴ Piasecki 1990, pp. 9–38.

to analyze registers of three series at the parish Bejsce in the 18th–20th centuries in order to reconstruct the model of generation alteration, which resulted in the system with a separate card for each person, on which all information referring to him/her from marriage, baptism and burial registers were copied. However, first and family names, places of birth and residence, occupation or causes of demise were not introduced to the computer memory. The identifying function was fulfilled by the card number of a particular person, instead of the name. Appreciating on the Polish soil the methodological novelty of the Wrocław scholars, it is important to note critically, that the system built in this way, based on a card index of single persons is of little use in historical-demographic research, which employ a more extensive socio-demographic questionnaire, except, of course, population genetics. Its fundamental drawback was impossibility to examine sizes and structures of families as well as fertility and mortality in social and occupational stratification. E. Piasecki's Wrocław system did not include studies on the problems of the durability of social barriers between particular estates, layers or occupational groups, the range of social and occupational-family contacts.

Also the research, started in 1965, on family procreation in Greater Poland from the 17th to the 20th century under the supervision of Stanisław Borowski at the Economic Academy in Poznań with the use of computer technology, distorted the final results because of the faulty registry material. Namely, nearly 1.5 thousand rural families of the parish Czacz in the 17th and 18th centuries reconstructed by him, were supposed to be characterized by fertility as surprising as dubious: i.e. on average on the level of 2.2–2.4 children.⁴⁵

The team led by A. Wyczański, seeking to intensify and modernize Polish socio-demographic research implemented with computers on the basis of marriage, baptism and burial registers, entered into closer cooperation with two research centers in Paris: EHESS and Centre Roland Mousnier Université de Paris Sorbonne (Paris IV). The representative of EHESS in the Polish team was Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux, whereas Jean-Pierre Bardet and Jacques Renard were representatives of the aforementioned Centre Roland Mousnier. It is important to underscore that J.-P. Bardet was already a co-author of the integrated system of programs for demographic calculations and analyses for the reconstructed families known as "Logiciel CASOAR",⁴⁶ and it was he who made this system available for Polish historians.

⁴⁵ Borowski 1976; Borowski 1978.

⁴⁶ It included 5 main programs, 10 referring to marriages, 30 to fertility in the family and 9 mortality, compare Hainsworth and Bardet 1981.

Whereas the system CASOAR in that version did not include processing data from marriage, baptism and burial registers but merely those referring to the families manually reconstructed before, historians with IT specialists developed their own normalized input formats (forms) (marriage, baptism and death entries), to which the historians brought data from particular series of registers and, at the final stage, the form of the family manually reconstructed. Thus filled in input forms were initially introduced by perforators to the computer memory with a magnetic tape. Two years later it was the researchers who could do it themselves (even without the forms, if they had had, of course, the source material in the calculation center), using the screen device Mera 9150. Moreover, several actions were taken to simplify the recording of particular register files in order to save time of the digital machine and costs connected with it, and additionally three card indices were developed (occupations and positions, social titles and their abbreviations, names in both Polish and Latin versions).

In total over a dozen programs for substantive analyses of marriages, baptisms and burials were developed and positively tested, as well as those partly referring to reconstructed families.⁴⁷ For basically the families manually reconstructed had been processed by French programs of the system CASOAR after having been conversed for the Polish use.⁴⁸

Because the Holy Cross parish baptism registers had already been transcribed in indices, it was decided not to fill in input forms for them and thereby not to process their content with a computer. On the other hand, marriage registers for the period 1740–85 and burial registers for the period 1760–1801 were transferred on input forms and then recorded in the memory of the digital machine (Table 1.4).

Table 1.4. Methods and techniques applied in the work

	Aggregative method	L. Henry's method	IT techniques
Marriages	1700–1739	1740–1799	1740–1784
Baptisms	–	1700–1801	–
Burilas	1700–1749	1750–1807	1760–1801
Reconsttructed Families	–	1740–1799	1740–1799

⁴⁷ Cegiella *et al.* 1983.

⁴⁸ Polish programs were written in the laguage PL/I, and data were processed on digital machines IS RIAD and IBM available then in big calculation centers only.

On the basis of the alphabetical card indices of the newlywed and the dead, as well as the earlier manually prepared index of births, the next stage of study commenced: reconstruction of Warsaw families. The point of departure was ascribing each of the married couples the baptisms of their children found for them in the index. During the work on the reconstruction of family ties in the capital Holy Cross parish, at its various stages, a serious problem was different forms of transcription of their names in the registers. It was particularly visible with foreigners and other immigrants. Among other difficulties were problems with finding a proper certificate of death of married women, especially those who had married more than once. For not always did the Vincentians record their demises in the registers under the name of their current husband but often their maiden names or even the name of one of their earlier husbands, which made us stay focused and alert.

The value of reconstructed families for the studies on biological factors conducive or impeding their development largely depends on the accuracy of the information gathered on the card of a particular family on the age of the spouses, foremost women at the moment of the wedding. First of all, it is taken from the found baptism records but it was possible for a relatively small group of people, i.e. those who were born, married and lived in the Holy Cross parish. For most women and men we had information on their age taken from the parochial census of 1791 or from burial registers, which, in both cases, allowed us to determine their ages at the moment of wedding. For the families residing in the parish in the last quarter of the 18th century, we had both types of information on their age (from the census and from burial records). Then, having closely analyzed them, one, the most probable, was accepted, which usually turned out to be that provided by the parish register.

Table 1.5. Division of reconstructed families according to their types

Date of marriage	Closed families				Open families
	MF 1	MF 2	MF 3	Total	
1740–1769	147	257	255	659	183
1770–1799	234	319	289	842	221
1740–1799	381	576	544	1501	404

Initially there was an intention to reconstruct families in the Holy Cross parish, who married in the years 1740–84. However, desiring to extend the col-

lectivity of reconstructed families it was decided to include also those from after 1784 and terminated with a demise of one of the spouses at the beginning of the 19th century. In total, all reconstructed families were divided into two groups. One of them was made by closed families, MF, for which the date of the first demise of one of the spouses was known (Table 1.5). The other, open families, MO, for which the certificate of death of the husband or the wife was not found. Besides, due to different ways of establishing the woman's age at the moment of wedding among the closed families three more subgroups were distinguished:

1. families, for which the woman's age was established on the basis of her certificate of baptism (MF1);
2. families, for which the woman's age was established on the basis of the parochial census or her certificate of death (MF2);
3. families, for which the woman's age was not established (MF3).

The analyses of family fertility and women's fertility, to a lesser degree mortality, were based on a few dozen computer programs of the French system "Logiciel CASOAR" devised by J.-P. Bardet,⁴⁹ adapted by IT specialist to process the data in the Polish "input form of reconstructed family" as well as programs developed by A. Wyczański's team. All reconstructed marriage families were thoroughly examined. Thereby, the research proposal of I. Gieysztor to examine families with a great number of children only, as those not raising any doubts referring to the source basis, was rejected. The data concerning open families were used in the analyses other than observations of general and family fertility. In order to connect demographic problems with socio-economic transformations in the capital city in the 18th century, as well as to make a necessary comparison with the results of other studies on urban family in pre-industrial Europe, the collected material from the years 1740–99 was divided into two subperiods: 1740–69 and 1770–99, where the determinant of division was the date of marriage. In total, in the course of research on ancient Warsaw family nearly 2 thousand families were reconstructed, a half of which are qualified for specific demographic analyses.

⁴⁹ Hainsworth and Bardet 1981.

CHAPTER 2

WARSAW IN THE 18TH CENTURY

Nathaniel W. Wraxal 1778: *As regards
entertainment typical of the capital, joys,
pleasures and charms of elegant society,
it [Warsaw] surpasses Berlin, Stockholm
or Copenhagen.*

Zawadzki 1963, 1, p. 548.

1. WARSAW ON THE MAP OF POLAND AND CENTRAL EUROPE

Warsaw, which was granted its charter the most probably around 1300, till the end of the Middle Ages remained a modest town of the small Duchy of Masovia. Two major political events of the 16th century, the incorporation of Masovia to the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland in 1526 and the real union of Poland and Lithuania in 1569, had a particular impact on the situation of Warsaw determining directions of its further development.¹ What was also important was its location at the junction of land routes, foremost upon its main navigable river of the Commonwealth: the Vistula, in particular in the eyes of the monarchs, magnates and nobility. At that time it was possible without any major problems to reach by boat Gdansk, the economic capital of Poland, for three centuries the biggest city, a great export and banking center. Warsaw, after the Treaty of Lublin (Polish-Lithuanian Union) found itself in the center of the multiethnic Commonwealth. As early as the end of the 16th century the city became the seat of the royal court and the supreme offices, the place of sejms (parliamentary ses-

¹ Bogucka *et al.* 1984, p. 13.

sions) and elections, as well as a center of artistic and intellectual life. Wholesale, condensed in Warsaw, clearly set to cater for the needs of the court, magnates and nobles, was simultaneously a source of capital accumulation and bourgeois families' fortunes.² The demographic progress of the city, connected with the extension of the suburbs and changes in development, lasted incessantly until the Swedish invasion in 1655 (Table 2.1). Over the following three years (1655–57) Warsaw was passed from hand to hand, sieged and systematically looted by hostile troops. Simultaneously, not counting previous major epidemics of typhus and plague (1624–25 and 1629–30) they returned even more intense spread all over the Crown and Lithuania in the years 1655–60 by Swedish, Muscovite and Transylvanian troops. According to Andrzej Karpiński, the new pandemics of plague and typhus decimated also the population of Warsaw, in particular the poorest, suffering from famine caused by bad crops and dearth.³

Table 2.1. Population of Warsaw in the 16th–18th century

Year	Population in thousand
1510	5.5
1620	8
1655	18
1659	6
1690	20
1700	22
1754	24
1764	30
1784	63
1792	115
1794	150
1799/1800	75

Source: Bogucka *et al.* 1984, p. 15; Kuklo 2009, p. 235

The beginning of the second half of the 17th century brought Warsaw enormous damages and demographic, as well as cultural, regress. However, it seems more important to emphasize a great ability of the city to rebuilt and further develop. It is that time that the town finally became a big residential city, where

² Ibid., pp. 43–70.

³ Karpiński 2000, pp. 27, 202–208.



1. Bernardo Bellotto, *A View of Warsaw from Praga*, 1770

bourgeois were pushed into worse, marginal positions. Changes occurred also in its economic life: as a commercial and craft center it was, even more than in the previous period, oriented to serving the royal court and magnates, reducing production for the local Masovian market.⁴ At the end of the century, Warsaw, in the context of the situation in other Polish towns, beside Gdansk with its 64 thousand inhabitants at that time, made a quite dynamic and comprehensive progress, developing also demographically (Table 2.1). However, it was not until the following 18th century that Warsaw became a real capital city.

Although the reign of the representatives of the Saxon dynasty (the Wettins) in Poland: Augustus II the Strong (1697–1733) and his son Augustus III (1733–63) failed to leave the best memory, in the history of Warsaw it was durably marked with the monarchs' urbanistic initiatives, for example, the famous Baroque Axis called Saxon Axis. The kings' example was followed by many magnates, who built and rebuilt their palaces in the late Baroque style (e.g. the Mniszechs' palace, Jerzy Dominik Lubomirski's Copper-Roof Palace, the palace of Franciszek Bieliński, the future Crown great marshal), which boosted the capital construction process. After over dozen first uneasy years of the 18th century, trade and crafts began to revive due to, among other factors, an influx of merchants and artisans accompanying the Saxon dignitaries. Here also, at the beginning of the 1720s, two Frenchmen, Jakub Malherbe and Jakub Pellison founded a trading house and conducted bank transactions. The owners of the house traded in various luxury goods imported mainly from Leipzig, yet also from Paris, Amsterdam, London and Frankfurt, and their company in the European scale was recognized as big. The city grew in the second half of the 18th century definitely above any other Polish towns, outdistancing Gdansk, which had previously been the most populated urban center, which was a result of many decades of peace after the Second Northern War (Table 2.2). It is, however, important to remember that due to the lack of censuses until the 1790s, attempts at precise determination how many people lived in Warsaw over the 16th–18th centuries are bound to fail. In this case we operate with just estimations on the basis of tax registers. Another hindrance is the fact that various types of census lists in the period of King Stanisław August Poniatowski embraced each time increasingly larger territory of Warsaw. The growth in the city population considerably resulted from immigration, foremost from the nearby villages and small towns of Masovia and neighboring Podlasie, to a lesser degree from other parts of the country, but also

⁴ Bogucka *et al.* 1984, pp. 194–198.

natural population growth, at the moment difficult to estimate with precision.⁵ From the beginning of the 18th century on more and more foreigners settled in the city. Until the 1760s the most numerous group were the Saxons. Relatively numerous were groups of Russian and Armenian merchants, as well as a colony of the French (merchants, craftsmen, professionals, tutors); to a lesser degree an Italian colony.⁶ Despite formal restrictions on the part of the authorities of the Warsaw City Hall concerning the settlement of the Jews in town, around 1792 approximately 7 thousand of them lived there (they paid a fee called “biletowe”), not to mention the poor coming to Warsaw illegally.⁷

Table 2.2. Warsaw versus the biggest cities of the Commonwealth around 1790

City	Population in thousand
Warsaw	110
Gdańsk	39
Lvov	33
Wilnius	24
Cracow	24
Brody	16.5
Elbląg	14
Poznan	13
Lublin	12
Torun	10

Source: Kuklo 2009, pp. 233–234.

Throughout the whole 18th century survived the traditional estate structure of the Polish society (clergy, nobility, burghers), although there were signs of changes occurring in the social structure of the capital. The Catholic clergy made slightly less than 1% (with a clear dominance of male monks: 80%); the nobility c. 26% and burghers 65%. All these groups were internally diversified in terms of their material status. The remaining part of the inhabitants could be defined as “free people”, including mainly fugitive peasants and beggars. As regards the faith, in Warsaw dominated Catholics who constituted 75% of the population. Over 7% were Lutherans and c. 9% Calvinists, Uniates and the Or-

⁵ Zienkowska 1970.

⁶ Smoleński 1976, pp. 43–77.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 103–104; Bogucka *et al.* 1984, pp. 276–281.

thodox. Among non-Christian denominations, estimated as c. 9%, the most numerous was the Mosaic population and a petty percentage of Muslims.⁸

Warsaw, in comparison with the rest of Poland, in the second half of the 18th century was a strong center of banking and trade with extensive foreign contacts, although its internal trade was mostly operated from outside, by merchants and chandlers from other towns. The activity of Warsaw financiers (Piotr Tepper and his adapted nephew Piotr Karol Tepper Fergusson, Fryderyk Cabrit, Maciej Łyszkiewicz, Piotr Blank, Andrzej Kapostas) reached the major banking centers on the Old Continent: Amsterdam, Hamburg, Berlin, Wrocław and the capitals of the strongest influence on the fate of Poland at that time: St. Petersburg, Berlin and Vienna. It is important to remember about the enormous differences within the group of Warsaw merchants, which is demonstrated by the data in Table 2.3. Beside c. 400 financial potentates, not to mention bankers, the second richest group were owners of single shops. Nevertheless, a nearly half of all Warsaw merchants were various poor chandlers, called by their contemporaries peddlers, hucksters or trash vendors.

Table 2.3. Warsaw Merchant in 1792

Specification	Merchants	
	Number	%
Bankers	9	0.6
Money-changers	17	1.2
Purveyors, wholesalers and various entrepreneurs	9	0.6
Marchants	396	27.0
Tradesmen	326	22.2
Peddlers	219	14.9
Market trawers	32	2.2
Junk dealers	52	3.6
Collectors	11	0.7
Door-to-door salespeople	71	4.8
‘Szacherzy’	49	3.4
Brokers	18	1.2
Cattle and poultry trawers	153	10.4
Others	105	7.2
Total	1467	100

Source: Jezierski and Wyczański 2003, p. 84.

⁸ Kuklo *et al.* 2014, p. 120.

Even today the assessment of the produce of Warsaw manufactures and guild crafts in the context of the national produce is disputable. According to Barbara Grochulska, an expert in urban economy of that period, Warsaw was not a strong manufacture industry center, although there could operate c. 100 manufactures on the territory of the city and in its nearest surroundings (in approx. 300 founded nationwide during the reign of Stanisław August Poniatowski).⁹ Unlike her, Andrzej Zahorski supposes that the capital at that time was the biggest industrial center in the Commonwealth.¹⁰ About a half of capital manufactures produced different types of textile for clothes making, foremost broadcloth, linen cloth, cotton textiles, and also tanned leather for shoe making. It is worth adding that the capital city was the biggest craft center but with small workshops (30% of masters did not employ any journeymen and 23% one only) and with a very average number of specializations: approx. 70, whereas at the same time, for example, in Wrocław, Silesia, twice smaller, there were 158.¹¹ In comparison with other Polish towns, Warsaw was characterized by the highest share of craftsmen connected with construction (Table 2.4), which confirms its dynamic growth in the field of development. A numerous group of inhabitants of Warsaw, a staggering $\frac{1}{5}$ of the whole population constituted home service, also strongly diversified hierarchically at that time. Among servants clearly dominated women, who made about $\frac{2}{3}$ of them.¹²

Table 2.4. Craft structure in Warsaw, Cracow and Poznan in the late 18th century (%)

City	in % of all workshops: crafts							All
	textile	grocery	leather	wood	metal	construction and ceramic	other and unspecific	
Warsaw	20.6	10.8	18.6	8.5	9.3	28.0	4.2	100
Cracow	18.9	23.4	22.4	6.1	10.5	15.9	2.8	100
Poznan	27.0	25.0	9.0	6.0	8.0	6.0	19.0	100

Source: Jezierski and Wyczański 2003, 1, p. 80.

⁹ Grochulska 1980, p. 180.

¹⁰ Bogucka *et al.* 1984, p. 341.

¹¹ Kaczmarek 1966, p. 227.

¹² Poniat 2014, p. 129, 139–140.

At the end of the 18th century, in the capital old feudal social structures break and new social groups emerge on its territory: bourgeois, intelligentsia and proletariat. It has been already mentioned about the Warsaw financiers connected with a business network with the royal court and magnates as well as the major capital merchants, who became the foundations of the later Warsaw bourgeoisie in the 19th century. On the opposite socio-occupational pole form the beginnings of proletariat or workers of numerous Warsaw manufactures. Among their employees were, beside craftsmen who had lost their property, usually because of a life catastrophe, also free people forced to work in a manufacture (for instance, in Rehan's cloth manufacture in the early 1790s worked under police supervision c. 300 forced laborers, former beggars caught in the town streets).¹³ In the capital there were quite a numerous group of people supported themselves as professionals: teachers, physicians, lawyers, officials, architects, painters, writers, librarians, printers-investors, actors, singers and dancers.

In the modern era, whole Europe experienced powerful urbanization processes yet with one fundamental difference. In its western and southern part these processes consisted in a swift growth of the towns already existent due to the inheritance of medieval thick urban network to such an extent that until the end of the 18th century staggering 21 cities exceeded the population level of 100 thousand and further 31–50 thousand.¹⁴ On the other hand, in Central Europe occurred thickening of urban network as a result of founding new towns, among which dominated small and very small towns. Similarly it was also in the Commonwealth, although the domination of small urban centers, mostly of agrarian nature, should not be treated as a symbol of regress.¹⁵ On the contrary, the growth in number of small towns was a consequence of the general economic, colonization, demographic boom, the progressing monetarization of rural economy from the late Middle Ages, which stimulated the urbanization process not only in Poland but also in the whole Central Europe. It was a response to the needs of rural population for a better and more efficient system of production and urban distribution. At the beginning of the 1770s, which is just before the first partition of Poland in 1772, in all 1,075 towns, regardless

¹³ Bogucka *et al.* 1984, p. 343. High daily norms of weaving in this manufacture perhaps contributed to the well-known rebellion of the workers in 1793, which reverberated in Warsaw in the Age of Enlightenment.

¹⁴ Dupâquier 1997, p. 267.

¹⁵ Compare the opinion of Zeller 2003, pp. 615–616, who recognizes the coefficient of urbanization of Poland, estimated in our opinion too low, 4.8% in 1800, as an example of counterurbanization in the most recent French synthesis of history of urban civilizations.

Table 2.5. The biggest cities in Central-Eastern Europe in the 18th century

City	Population in thousand			
	1700	1750	1800	increase in % 1700=100
Berlin	55	113	172	207
Dresden	40	57	60	50
Leipzig	20		40	100
Königsberg	22	60	60	73
Prague	48	59	76	58
Wrocław	40	55	60	50
Vienna	114	175	247	117
Budapest	15		54	260
St. Petersburg	–	95	220	132
Moscow	130	130	300	131

Source: Dupâquier 1997, p. 261; Bairoch 1998, p. 211.

of their size, lived approx. 15–18% of the Crown population, also because of the rapidly increasing demographic potential of Warsaw.¹⁶ It was not little since Paul Bairoch, an expert in European quantity relations of the populations living in the country and in towns, estimates the urban population of the whole Old Continent in 1800 as 11.5% in the centers with over 5 thousand inhabitants and as 14.6% in settlements with over 2 thousand inhabitants.¹⁷

What is worth noting in Central and Eastern Europe is an over threefold growth in population of the capital of Prussia, Berlin, but other major cities, such as Königsberg or Wrocław (Breslau) were not very impressive as regards their dynamics of development. It was similar with the most populated centers in Saxony (Table 2.5). In neighboring Bohemia (Czechia), like in the previous period, number one was Prague but other towns were considerably smaller. It is important to note a dynamic growth in population of Budapest by 260% and the growth of the population of Vienna by 117% and equally fast growth of two leading Russian cities: Moscow (by 131%) and St. Petersburg (in 1700 it had not existed yet). The latter was, anyway, a peculiar urbanistic phenomenon in Europe, since the beginning of its construction from scratch at the beginning of the 18th century and towards its end it already had 220 thousand of inhabitants. It is important to note that among land European capital cities the fastest

¹⁶ Kuklo 2009, p. 234.

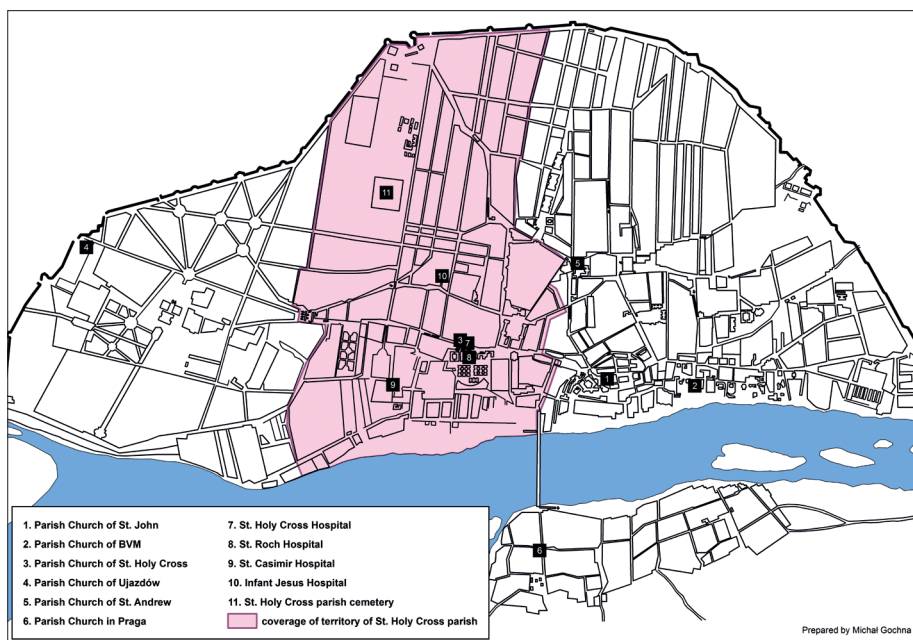
¹⁷ Bairoch 1998, p. 196.

growing was Warsaw, which in the second half of the 18th century (1754–92) increased its demographic potential over 4 times (up to 115 thousand), which was a pace observed in industrial cities of western England only. Undoubtedly, Warsaw became one of the most bustling and illustrious European cities of the Age of Enlightenment. Of course, it cannot be compared with such metropolises as London (c. 900 thousand) or Paris (over 500 thousand). However, in comparison with Central and East European capital cities (Berlin, Dresden, Vienna, Moscow, St. Petersburg) and other cities of the region (Königsberg, Leipzig, Prague, Wrocław) it appears as a big city and an important manufacturing center. The first statement is well corroborated by observations of most foreigners visiting Warsaw during the reign of Stanisław August Poniatowski and seeing it as a real European city. Their opinions are all the more precious that often, before their arrival in Poland, they had travelled all over Europe and not only Europe. It is impossible to analyze here more profoundly over a dozen of extensive memoirs and journals left by foreigners. Let us quote just two opinions as an illustration. One was written by the Englishman, Nathaniel William Wraxall, a high official, who, beside Europe, was also familiar with India. In his *Memoirs of the Courts of Berlin, Dresden, Warsaw and Vienna* (1778) he stated: “This metropolis itself seems to me, like the Republic of which it is the head, to unite the extremes of civilization and of barbarism, of magnificence and wretchedness, of splendor and misery; but, unlike all other great cities of Europe, these extremes are not softened, approximated, and blended by any intermediate gradations”.¹⁸ The author of the other account was the inhabitant of Vienna and Berlin, Friedrich Schulz, a prolific author, who, in his extensive work *Travels of a Livonian from Riga to Warsaw and through Poland in the years 1791–1793* wrote: “Perhaps in none of European cities, except Petersburg and Naples, is there so clear, sharp a partition between different strata of inhabitants as in Warsaw.”¹⁹ A common quality of these opinions was emphasizing striking social and material contrasts in Warsaw. However, it is possible to find also other opinions, for example that of Johann Erick Biester, another German writer and librarian, who after his stay in Poland, in his work *Some Letters on Poland Written in the Summer 1791* did not hesitate to write: “In Germany the culture and the standard of living in Poland is assessed as very low but Warsaw gives way to Vienna only”.²⁰

¹⁸ Zawadzki 1963, 1, p. 492.

¹⁹ Zawadzki 1963, 2, p. 481.

²⁰ Zawadzki 1963, 2, p. 208.



2. Parishes of Warsaw in the late 18th century

To conclude this synthetic socio-economic image of the actual capital of the country, formally just „residential city of His Royal Majesty”, since till the end of the Commonwealth the name of capital was reserved to Cracow, some observations on constitutional issues. Although in the previous reflections we use consistently the name Warsaw, actually until the Sejm law on cities of April 1791, two independent urban bodies existed beside each other: Old and New Warsaw. The latter, as *Nowe Miasto* (New Town) was granted its charter at the beginning of the 15th century on the lands belonging to, from the North, to Old Warsaw. From its origins on, New Warsaw was poorer than Old Warsaw. Moreover, the both independent urban bodies, from the early 16th century began to be surrounded by private *jurydykas*, founded by secular and church magnates, rich nobles, monasteries and even the king. They were areas within the city borders or outside its walls, excluded, which has to be underscored, from the municipal control and jurisdiction by virtue of a royal privilege. They were governed independently, following the will of their masters. In fact they were a type of private towns being an expression of magnates' power, although the craftsmen settling there, not recognizing the guilds, competed with guild burgers and breaking their monopoly. The aforementioned law, later incorporated into the first Constitution in Europe, 3 May 1791, put an end to the administrative chaos, which had existed for centuries, and made from Old and New Warsaws, over 20 private *jurydykas* and Praga situated on the right bank of the Vistula an economically and administratively homogeneous urban body. The city was divided into 7 districts, the representatives of which elected the City Municipal Government including the president, the vice-president and councilors.²¹

In the system of church connections Warsaw till the end of the 18th century was not a seat of the diocese (just of the Warsaw archdeanery being part of the Poznan Diocese), but in spite of that it was a powerful center of religious life (in the years 1772–73 reached the number 26 of monastic institutions), overtaking all remaining towns save Cracow. In the capital the most flamboyant was the development of begging and teaching orders, those whose task was an activity outward oriented, based on cooperation with the community and determined thereby. A peculiarity of Warsaw was a particular disproportion between its status in the diocesan church hierarchy and its significance in the life of monastic clergy.

²¹ Bogucka *et al.* 1984, p. 370.

Warsaw entered the 18th century with a well-established network of parishes. The oldest, medieval ones, were St. John's, embracing the area of Stare Miasto (Old Town) and BVM parish in Nowe Miasto (New Town). At the end of the 16th century the parish in Solec was moved to a newly erected church in Ujazdów, and in the early 17th century the Holy Cross parish was founded, which included territories located south of the walls of Old Warsaw. Its area was reduced in 1774 by erection of a new parish at St. Andrew's church. It is worth to add in conclusion that the inhabitants of Praga (the right-bank part of the city) belonged to the parish in Skaryszew²² (see illustration 2).

Until the mid-1770s Warsaw protestants, both Calvinists and Lutherans, did not possess their own institutions on the territory of Warsaw; hence their weddings and baptisms were held in the dissenter center closest to the capital: Węgrów, 80 km away. Those more affluent Warsaw protestants could participate in closed services arranged in the premises of Prussian and Danish residents. In 1776 the Warsaw Calvinists founded their own parish, independent from Węgrów, and a year later a temple, erected in record time, was consecrated. Soon it turned out too small and four years later, towards the end of 1781 another newly erected church designed by the architect Szymon Bogumił Zug was put to use.²³

2. THE TERRITORIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE HOLY CROSS PARISH BY THE END OF THE 18TH CENTURY

At the dawn of the early modern period, the church services were provided to rich burghers of Stare Miasto (Old Town) by the priests of St. John's collegiate church, to less affluent population of Nowe Miasto (New Town) the clergymen of their local Visitation of the BVM church. Those both churches, through personal parochial coercion, covered with its range also the population of the rapidly expanding suburbs. Many newcomers, for example from Masovian small towns and villages, settled in the southern suburb (on both sides of one of the main access roads to town: the Czersk road), developing faster and foremost cheaper than within the walls. The growing political importance of Warsaw, already mentioned, from the mid-16th century on, triggered a new wave of in-

²² Konarski 1970, p. 287.

²³ Ibid., p. 297.

tense interest in purchasing land in the nearest vicinity of town, this time the interest of magnates and the city.²⁴

The evidence of the progressing development and population growth of the southern suburb of the city was an erection of the Holy Cross chapel in the early 16th century, which was built on the land offered by Jan Serafin, the then mayor of Old Warsaw.²⁵ Working practically on Sunday only, with a nonresident priest from St. Johns Collegiate coming on that day, the Holy Cross chapel could not satisfy the spiritual needs, and perhaps also ambitions of the local population. As early as 1526, Marta Möllerowa, the first founder of the chapel's widow, commenced building a wooden church with her own funds.²⁶ The increasing endowment of the church with lands as a result of bestowals of successive donors, the value of which grew year by year, together with the progressing development of these areas, caused considerable troubles to the next administrators after the deaths of the first founders. For nearly half a century they fought long and numerous feuds with Warsaw burghers finished in 1587 with the church party's success.²⁷

The transfer of the Royal Court from Cracow to Warsaw towards the end of the 16th century resulted in even more intense urbanization of suburban areas. In the previous landscape of very rare low development of wooden nobility's manor houses and burghers' houses, emerge, increasingly often in the first half of the 17th century, stone/brick palaces of then state and church dignitaries, for instance, Marshal Adam Kazanowski, Chancellor Jerzy Ossoliński or Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski. In contrast to the burgher Stare Miasto (Old Town), Krakowskie Przedmieście (Cracow Suburb) with the surroundings became, as Bogucka observes, "a typical magnate-noble district, with large enclaves of clergymen's possiessions".²⁸ A small wooden church hardly fitted increasingly numerous crowds of the faithful, despite the fact that in 1615 it was renewed and extended by adding two new chapels by efforts of Paweł Klucznik Zembrzusi, the mayor of Old Warsaw. The greatest contribution, however, of this mayor was founding a new parish at the Holy Cross church, the third Warsaw parish after St. John's church and the BVM church. Formally the new parish was erected

²⁴ As a result of noble-magnate expansion at the end of the 16th century, burghers' property, from dominating in the suburbs, shrank dramatically to c. 25%, Szaniawska 1966, p. 135.

²⁵ Nowacki 1966, 2, p. 587.

²⁶ AAW, WG. 2, *Visitationes*, p. 782.

²⁷ Petrzyk 1920, p. 9.

²⁸ Bogucka *et al.* 1984, p. 26.



3. The Map of the Holy Cross parish around 1786

by Bishop Jan Wężyk of Poznań by the document of 3 July 1626.²⁹ It embraced a vast area, to a considerable degree undeveloped, at the South to Dziekania towards Nowy Świat, at the North up to the parish border in Ujazdów.

We learn from the visitation of the Holy Cross church performed by Bishop Wężyk in April 1626 that the church property was 4 łans of land, which the clergymen leased, considerable sums of money bestowed by burghers secured on estates and two houses.³⁰ Even before the parish foundation at the church, also a small school operated with two teachers. The Holy Cross parish community had also a hospital-almshouse, founded as early as 1572, where 12 poor boarders resided.³¹

As the transformation of the Holy Cross church into a parish church opened a new stage in its activity, the possessing of this institution by the Congregation of the Mission was an important event and not only for the local parish community. The first group of the Vincentians arrived in Poland at the request of Queen Louise Marie Gonzaga in November 1651.³² Thanks to the queen's strenuous efforts, having fulfilled all formalities, by the decree of Bishop Florian Czarotoryski of Poznań of 1 December 1653, the Vincentians were granted the right to patronage and benefice of the Holy Cross church.³³ The final decisions approving their assumption of the capital parish along with the whole property was a positive opinion of the nobility gathered at the Sejm in 1678 and the clergymen debating at the Wytwicki's synod two years later.³⁴

The intense development of the southern suburban territories was broken by warfare in the years 1655–57, as a result of which the population of Krakowskie Przedmieście (Cracow Suburb), Grzybów and Leszno suffered from considerable losses. The revival of development, both in old town centers and in its suburbs, occurred in the 1770s, the expression of which was the establishment of two jurydykas: Nowoświecka and Tamka. At the same time, in the territory of the parish Treasurer Jan Morsztyn, Voivode Jan Gniński of Pomerania, the Ossolińskis in Wierzbowa Street, and new stone/brick church buildings are erected: of the Carmelites, of the Reformates and of the Dominicans Observants.

²⁹ AAW, WG. 2, *Visitationes*, pp. 782–783.

³⁰ Knapieński 1949, p. 117, 121.

³¹ Podgórska-Klawe 1975, p. 32; Karpieński 1983, pp. 266–267.

³² Petrzyk 1920, pp. 17–18.

³³ AAW, WG. 2, *Visitationes*, pp. 783–784.

³⁴ *Volumina Legum*, 5, pp. 177–278; Petrzyk 1920, p. 19.

The Swedish wars did not spare the Holy Cross wooden church demolished in the early 1680s. In its place, in the period 1682–96, a new baroque temple was built according to the design of the architect Józef Szymon Bellotti.³⁵ It is characteristic that if the first wooden church was funded by burghers, the brick temple was erected from financial contributions of secular and church magnates and noblemen.

An inflow of successive incomers, mainly from Masovia and Lesser Poland (foreigners constituted less than one fifth of the admitted to the municipal law in the years 1679–1720), was impeded by new wars in the early 18th century. However, despite the undoubted demographic losses, the era of two kings of the Saxon dynasty: Augustus II and Augustus III, resulted, in the 1730s and 40s, in an accelerated pace of urbanization in southern Warsaw, also building the new, thoroughly planned jurydyka Bielino. A little later, during the reign of the last monarch Stanisław August Poniatowski, the main roads of the previously residential noble-clergy quarter, such as Krakowskie Przedmieście and Nowy Świat became central and representative streets of the city. The good observer of the metropolitan life of the capital of that time, Friedrich Schulz, noted: “The most illustrious part of Warsaw is its main street called Krakowskie Przedmieście” and further on “Warsaw is gaining in population with every year, grows in houses, and plots for building also become increasingly expensive every day. This progress in constructions can be perceived in certain suburbs: e.g. in Leszno, Nowy Świat. Where new houses are erected one next to another, in new taste, the old huts suffocate and squeeze”.³⁶

The Holy Cross parish, despite a slight reduction of its territory in 1774 in connection with the erection of a new parish, third in the capital, St. Andrew’s, still embraced a vast area. In 1791 its borders in the west reached the line of Lubomirski’s trenches and in the east the Vistula River. The northern border separating it from St. John’s parish ran along the streets: Grzybowska (on one side), Żabia to Senatorska (including the Saxon Axis into the parish), then Trębacka to Krakowskie Przedmieście and farther on along Karowa St. to the Vistula; the southern border ran along Nowogródzka St., through which it neighbored the Ujazdów parish (see illustration 3). In total, at that time, the parish consisted of about 35 streets and part of Krakowskie Przedmieście from the Saxon Palace to

³⁵ However without a façade with two towers. The completion of the work on the façade took place only in 1756 and its final form was designed by the architect Jakub Fontana; Kowalczykova 1975.

³⁶ Zawadzki 1963, 2, p. 414, 426.

Nowy Świat. The parish was inhabited by 18 thousand people or c. one fifth of the whole population of the city.

In the Age of Enlightenment, the urbanistic panorama of the Holy Cross parish attracted newcomers with numerous palaces, often with beautiful gardens located in the center near Krakowskie Przedmieście (Radziwiłł's, Lubomirski's, Saxon, Poniatowski's, the Cadets', Wielopolski's, Ossoliński's, Czapska's), Królewska St. (Ostrowski's, Bieliński's) and Aleksandria (Karaś's, Dłuski's, Godzki's, Chodkiewicz's). The farther from the center the rarer magnates' residences. At Mazowiecka St. still are Krasiński's palace and Mrs. Oemheim's palace called Czerwony Dwór (Red Manor). Outside them spreads a realm of big and small manor houses built in the environment of numerous vegetable gardens and even fields. At the end of the 18th century, in 100 buildings in the western part of the parish, a staggering $\frac{3}{4}$ were estates with gardens; in the center they constituted just 34%.³⁷ According to Szymkiewicz, it was just "That complete lack of the green was also one of the qualities strongly emphasizing the urban nature of this quarter".³⁸ Another quality of the parish under examination, and simultaneously the capital itself, was domination of trade buildings (they made 3% while in the peripheries this rate did not exceed 1%), and public buildings: churches, monasteries, hospitals and barracks.

Beside the dense development, the western part of the parish include industrial buildings: breweries, distilleries and mills. This so diverse nature of the development in the center and peripheral streets of the parish under scrutiny was underscored by foreigners, for example, aforementioned Johann Erich Biester, who wrote: "Although beside an excellent palace one may see a wretched hut or a wooden manor house, just the one which one means talking about negligence in Polish economy, in the city center such views occur very rarely; only in the suburbs, which are always built more carelessly and are of rather a rural nature anyway, there are many wooden houses".³⁹ Almost totally wooden was the development of the streets: Grzybowska, Złota, Twarda, Zielna, Chmielna and other turnings of Marszałkowska St. Small wooden manor houses but foremost poor cottages or even huts constituted the development of Powiśle, the eastern part of the Holy Cross parish, providing shelter for the poor. The development of Marszałkowska St. and Nowy Świat St. looked much

³⁷ Szymkiewicz 1959, p. 105.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

³⁹ Zawadzki 1963, 2, p. 209.



4. Bernardo Bellotto, *Krakowskie Przedmieście as seen from Nowy Świat Street*, 1778

better: brick buildings made, respectively, one third and one fifth of their total development.⁴⁰

Only the central, representative streets of the parish were paved with cobblestones in the 1740s and 50s. The others, unpaved, shrouded in a veil of dust in summer, during spring thaws and autumn rains became impassable. The poor state of the surface of Warsaw streets was an object of critical observations from not only foreigners but the inhabitants of the city themselves. An anonymous author in his *Myśl patrzącego przez okno na ulicę w Warszawie 1791* (A thought of a looking out of the window at the street in Warsaw 1791) characterized the nearest neighborhood of the Holy Cross parish: the center of the parish and the capital city: "What an unpleasant view in Warsaw, what things to eat sold are half mixed with mud. Near the Holy Cross on holiday morning it is impossible either to ride or walk past; having open the window in your chamber, the odor of headcheese or dead fish gets into your chamber: a cart stands in a such a place that for its impoliteness you have to wade in mud. The honorable's driver, sitting on the English wagon bench, just yells "Run away!" and pays no heed whether he spatters or runs over a poor pedestrian, who, attacked in the dark street, doesn't know where to save himself".⁴¹ The aforesaid "odor" is a result of not the best sanitary condition of the city of a hundred thousand. Jerzy Gromski, an expert in this issue, claims that the capital of Poland was no worse than other big European cities and sometimes was even better, for example the 18th-century Paris, which seems, however, too optimistic.⁴²

Better-off citizens of the capital supplied themselves with water from private wells, the poorer from public ones. However, its sanitary value was not the best since not very deep wells drew water from shallow undersurface marshes and other reservoirs often polluted with sewage from latrines. Among 13 public wells of the left-bank Warsaw in 1792 being in good condition, 4 were in the area of the Holy Cross parish, and 2 more which, unfortunately, had dried up.⁴³ From the point of view of sanitation a more important problem was not just supplying the population with drinking water but discharging the used water or sewage. Until the end of the 18th century the main sewage canals were creeks of southern Warsaw. However, in the second half of the century the system of gutters and pipes was built more energetically, although this entailed huge

⁴⁰ Szwankowska 1972, pp. 197–198.

⁴¹ Kott and Lorentz, pp. 230–231.

⁴² Gromski 1977, p. 236.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 88.

expenses.⁴⁴ It is important to remember that at that time public buildings were already equipped with canals, for example in the territory of the parish: the Infant Jesus Hospital.

3. THE PARISH COMMUNITY

A short review of social groups inhabiting the Holy Cross parish in the second half of the 18th century should begin with the parochial clergy, which managed at that time the religious, social and cultural life of the majority of the community of the faithful. It is also worth considering how much the number of the clergymen, their education and also moral standards and involvement in pastoral work could affect the inhabitants' participation in religious practices in the parish church, as well as the completeness of the registers kept by them, the fundamental source in the study of demographic structures of ancient urban families.

In the period discussed the parish was managed by the Vincentians, who beside their daily pastoral work also managed the work of 2 seminaries, monastic and diocesan, educating future priests.⁴⁵ Although the instruction in both seminaries was shared (there were no differences in the content of instruction), outside the lecture rooms there was a tendency to limit contacts between the groups of clerical students. The Vincentian youth had a stricter organized free time and were treated more strictly.⁴⁶ The students of the both educational institutions, their teachers and the parochial clergymen were provided by the authorities of the Congregation with a well-equipped library with a clear domination of French works. Due to its content, the Holy Cross library drew attention of even foreigners, and the famous Swiss scholar, Johann Bernoulli, in his memoir *Travel through Poland* (1778) described it as "well equipped".⁴⁷

The high standard of instruction in the Warsaw seminaries, especially the monastic one, managed by the Vincentians, clearly raising the average intellectual standard of future parochial clergy, drew large attention. Hugo Kołłątaj,

⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 138–140; Konarski 1970, pp. 112–115.

⁴⁵ Petrzyk 1920, p. 66.

⁴⁶ A positive opinion on the pastoral and teaching work, as well as morality was expressed by Father Jędrzej Kitowicz, known for his critical approach to clergy; see Kitowicz 1985, pp. 79–82.

⁴⁷ Zawadzki 1963, 1, p. 453.

the representative of higher clergy in the Age of Enlightenment, known for his extremely critical opinion on parochial priests, highly appreciated the Vincentians' educational activity.⁴⁸ Also the Congregation's printing house with 4 employees, from 1780 on located in Warsaw, played an important role. Due to strenuous efforts of Parson Józef Jakubowski (1743–1814), a writer and erudite, captain and teacher of artillery, one of the best-known figures in the capital, at the end of the century not only religious books were printed there but also scientific literature.

The lifestyle and conduct of lower parochial clergy largely depended on the daily conduct of their direct superiors: parsons. In the 18th century their gallery in the Holy Cross parish begins with one of the most outstanding Polish Vincentians, the first Polish superior of the Polish province of the Congregation: Bartłomiej Tarło, from 1709 on also the bishop of Poznań.⁴⁹ In the period 1710–39 the parish was managed by, successively: Michał Kownacki, Antoni Fabri, Szymon Steffen, Michał Walther and Jan Aumont, hardly mentioned in the sources. However, their successor, Piotr Śliwicki, the head of the order and the parish for staggering 35 years (1740–74) was a personality of the new Age of Enlightenment. Well-educated, a participant in the famous “Thursday dinners” held by King Stanisław August Poniatowski for the intellectual elite, the king's confessor and advisor (as well as his predecessor, Augustus III's), he was largely active in the field of care for the poor in the parish and the whole capital city.⁵⁰ Śliwiński's successors as Holy Cross parsons were inspectors Mikołaj Siemieński, Sebastian Woliński (professor in the seminary, where he taught theology and the history of the Church) and the aforementioned erudite, Józef Jakubowski. It is impossible to deny their care for securing the proper functioning of the Holy Cross parish, although the daily pastoral work was performed by vicars, of whom, in the late 1770s, were 6.⁵¹ It was they who administered most of sacraments in the parish church, such as marriage or baptism and the registers prepared by them can be found in the parish books.

In 1791 the Vincentian house at Krakowskie Przedmieście provided home for 24 clergymen (not mentioning those working in the Infant Jesus Hospital), and 42 clerical students of the both seminaries, 10 brothers “substituting household

⁴⁸ Kołłątaj 1953, p. 205.

⁴⁹ Petrzyk 1920, pp. 21–23.

⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 31–33; Smoleński 1979, p. 312.

⁵¹ AAW, AG. 2, *Visitationes*, p. 785.



5. Bernardo Bellotto, *A View of Krakowskie Przedmieście leading to the Castle Square*, 1774

services” and 4 boarders. Their material needs were catered for by a group of 18 home servants.⁵²

At the end of the 18th century the Vincentians in the number of 51 clergymen (including monks working in hospitals), constituted the most numerous cluster of clergy in Warsaw under the Prussian control.⁵³ The second largest group were the priests of St. John's collegiate: 49 people. In this context, the number of clergymen in the remaining Warsaw parishes seems quite low. At the BVM church in Nowe Miasto worked 6 priests, at St. Andrew's 5 and in the Ujazdów parish only 3.

In the light of the previous observations on the formation, the standard of education of clerical students and the customs in the central house of the Congregation of the Mission, the important question arises: is this image not too idealized and unreal? An indispensable source for the studies on the history of the Church, including the studies on life and conduct of the clergy is the files of visitations, especially general visitations. The only visitation at the Holy Cross parish held in the 18th century failed to provide information indicating any negative sides of life, conduct and morality of the parochial clergy under examination. Moreover, the inspectors cannot be blamed of partiality or omitting the darker parts of the clergy's life, since wherever they found situations not befitting the conduct of the priesthood, they condemned them severely.

Such condemnation occurred, for example, in another capital parish, the BVM in Nowe Miasto, where moral laxity of the clergy was observed, for example numerous arguments and disputes among the priests themselves, neglecting fundamental pastoral responsibilities etc. Bishop Antoni Onufry Okęcki, embittered with the situation, did not hesitate to state at the end of the general visitation in this parish (23 November 1781) that if it did not radically change for better “I have to issue decisions, though harsh, in order that this House of God free completely from the immoral and scandalous priests, and fill it with completely different Clergymen, who, acting in the fear of God, would edify the faithful”.⁵⁴

As demonstrated in the quotation seconded by the opinions of Franciszek Karpiński, Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz and certain foreigners, for example Johann Joseph Kausch (1793), the Silesian doctor, the conduct and moral life of the clergy in Warsaw in the Age of Enlightenment was very diverse even in neigh-

⁵² AGAD, Varia Grodu Warszawskiego 25, *Ludność katolików parafii św. Krzyża ... 1791*, p. 3v.

⁵³ Sobieszczański 1974, p. 133.

⁵⁴ AAW, WG. 2, *Visitationes*, 2, pp. 585–586.

boring parishes.⁵⁵ A historian by no means can abandon the studies on parochial clergy, the authors of registers.

The inhabitants of the center of the parish under examination, Krakowskie Przedmieście and its nearest vicinity, were burghers: c. 63% and noblemen: c. 22%. The farther from the center the higher percentage constituted noblemen, ¼ in the western part to nearly a half in the southern part.⁵⁶ Also in the center concentrated secular and monastic clergy, which constituted c. 1.2% of all Roman-Catholic parishioners.

The social elite was, of course, rich nobility: magnates. The parish census of 1791 names people making nearly 20 magnate manors, for instance: Elżbieta Lubomirska, “Miss Crown Marshal” (altogether 149 people); Franciszek Ksawery Branicki, the Grand Crown Hetman residing with his family in the palace at 1245 Nowy Świat (altogether 126 people); Ignacy Potocki, the Lithuanian Court Marshal (117 people), Barbara Sanguszkowa, widow of Paweł Karol Sanguszko, the Grand Lithuanian Marshal in the palace at 1066 Królewska St. (109 people). They were followed by the manor houses of people particularly involved in the political life of Poland: Jacek Małachowski, the Grand Crown Chancellor, at 613 Wierzbowa St. (56 people) and the marshal of the confederated Sejm, Kazimierz Sapieha, at 614 Wierzbowa St (55 people). At the opposite end we can find small magnate houses, modest and dwelled by fewer than 20 people. The smallest, with 18 people, was the house of Józefa Ogińska, 30-year-old widow of Ignacy Ogiński, the Dorsuń starost, who lived with her 7-year-old son Gabriel. Also small, 19-people each, manors were those of Józef Ossoliński and Konstancja Tyszkiewiczowa.

Among the inhabitants of the parish were also representatives of affluent burgher “aristocracy”. Merchant Jan Samuel Giering, the owner of a small residence at 2727 Gęsta St. left after his death (1787) assets catalogued by his wife of the value of nearly 58,000 red zlotys (1,044,000 zł).⁵⁷ The fortune of another merchant, Józef Niedzielski, catalogued after his wife Małgorzata’s death was appraised for 131,000 zlotys,⁵⁸ and the value of the property of noble Maciej Szutowski was calculated as 77,000 zlotys.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, many found and analyzed inventories of the left assets indicate that a great number of inhabitants of the parish, mainly craftsmen of various specializations, lived definitely more

⁵⁵ Karpiński 1987, p. 105; Niemcewicz 1958, 1, p. 62; Zawadzki 1963, 2, p. 328.

⁵⁶ Szymkiewicz 1959, pp. 155–156.

⁵⁷ AGAD, SW 332, pp. 1025–1109.

⁵⁸ AGAD, SW 325, pp. 196–218.

⁵⁹ AGAD, SW 326, pp. 549–554.

modest lives. For example, *famatus* Paweł Chmielewski, a cooper, after his wife Barbara's death, reported that what is left is 432 zlotys in cash and besides a silver snuffbox, a French watch with a case, quite a number of vessels from English tin and copper, some woman's clothes (a *jupka*, 4 skirts, an apron) and man's clothes (2 pairs of dresses, a *delia*, a *kiereja*, 2 hats, 2 belts, including "Persian with gold"). Altogether, after subtracting expenses connected with the burial and others, the value of his belongings amounted almost 2,231 zlotys.⁶⁰

The fate of yet other dwellers being Warsaw craftsmen was less fortunate. In an inventory of another cooper, Antoni Kwiatkowski, which was catalogued after his death, just poverty can be seen. There is no information referring to cash, silver or valuable vessels left. Whereas in the inventory of his predecessor the cooper tools were valued for 199 zlotys, here it was nearly 34 zlotys. Some woman's clothes and bedclothes were left and the late cooper's clothes "the dead's sister took as a compensation for the expenses on the care in husband's illness". The carpenter equipment was appraised for merely 17 zlotys, and household equipment for 8 zlotys. In total, the whole estate was merely almost 180 zlotys but, what is the most important, debts incurred by the couple amounted 297 zlotys.⁶¹ Similarly, the value of the estate of the citizen of the City of Old Warsaw, famous Józef Pawlikowski, catalogued by his wife, who lived in a house with 2 chambers (!), amounting nearly 1,416 zlotys, was over three times lower than the family debts left to pay off: nearly 5,735 zlotys.⁶² There were much more similar cases.⁶³

The size and structure of Warsaw households will be discussed later but it is worth mentioning that every fourth household in the Holy Cross parish was managed by a single women (spinsters, widows, abandoned, living in separation). Only few of them, c. 15% may be counted among a better-off inhabitants.⁶⁴ What is really striking is their visible poverty. Almost 28% of them are described in the sources as "poor", "loose" and remaining "without the way of life". Precisely as much again supported themselves as servants, and further 10% drew income from poorly paid wage labor working in various types of services (washerwomen, seamstresses, tailors). Undoubtedly then the contrasts in the

⁶⁰ AGAD, SW 326, pp. 557–559.

⁶¹ AGAD, SW 330, pp. 52v–54v.

⁶² AGAD, SW 321, pp. 79v–82v.

⁶³ AGAD, SW 324, pp. 188v–192v; SW 326, pp. 312–316v; SW 329, pp. 226v–230; SW 332, pp. 606–612.

⁶⁴ Kukło 2005, p. 223.



6. Jean Pierre Norblin de la Gourdain, *Horse market in Królewska Street in Warsaw*, 1791

social and material stratification of the Holy Cross parishioners were enormous. They could be reflected in the parish life, and more precisely in religious practices of its inhabitants. Probably the poorer not always were able to meet the high costs of parish services, especially burials, provided by the clergy. They were delicate matters, touchy issues, often leading to conflicts with the priests and affecting further participation of the faithful in religious practices. Not otherwise must it have been in the Holy Cross parish since Bishop Okęcki visiting the parish at the turn of the 1780s, at the end of his inspection stated in the justification of issuing new *Taxa Iurium Stolae*: “to avert great antipathies between the shepherds and the parishioners hence resulting and for the aforementioned premium or fee was the least burdensome, most accommodated to the poverty of the places, certain and subject to no bargain”⁶⁵

The review of the local community should not miss boarders of charity institutions operating at that time. The Holy Cross parish entered the 18th century with 2 institutions called hospitals, practically being almshouses for the poor. The main occupation of 12 boarders of the parish hospital was service in the Holy Cross church. For example, they guarded moneyboxes and numerous altars from theft. Once every two years the Vincentians supplied their charges with clothes and shoes. Besides, not counting firewood, the hospital clientele received money for bread and petty expenses. A cloak with a red cross on it worn by them was an element distinguishing them from the crowd.⁶⁶ Limits of admissions to the parish hospital were rigid and rigorously obeyed. This state of affairs suited the both parties: the management, because the hospital funds were not always sufficient anyway, as well as the paupers themselves, who were afraid of worsening their standard of living if the number of the boarders increased.

The other institution was founded in the 1650s and is connected with the work of the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul. Managed by them from the end of the 17th century, St Casimir hospital was housed by a masonry building with its own chapel and, under the reign of Stanisław August Poniatowski, 32 sisters (led by the Superior Henrietta Thierry), brought up 93 orphaned girls and 26 girls staying at school. Education of young girls, beside learning the French language, comprised mainly instruction in a broad spectrum of housework.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Sierocka-Pośpiech 1984, p. 147.

⁶⁶ AGAD, Varia Grodu Warszawskiego 25, *Ludność katolików parafii św. Krzyża ... 1791*, pp. 3v–4; Petrzyk 1920, pp. 84–85.

⁶⁷ AGAD, Varia Grodu Warszawskiego 25, *Ludność katolików parafii św. Krzyża ... 1791*, pp. 11–13.

In the early 18th century another, third, hospital named St. Roch was erected. Establishing this new foundation not only the poor or the infirm were taken into consideration but also the sick. In the spacious edifice erected in Krakowskie Przedmieście in the last years of the Commonwealth stayed in total 141 patients, mostly adult (121).⁶⁸ A similar number of patients was noted by two French emigrants travelling in the late 1792 through Poland, aristocrats Fortia de Piles and Boisseguin de Kerdu. In their account *Travel of Two Frenchmen*, published in Paris in 1796, they observe the lack of fresh air in the hospital, and also its confined space. As they wrote: “Then three sick are laid on a bed for two”.⁶⁹ The French aristocrats underscored, however, the neat appearance of the rooms, which was undoubtedly the contribution of 6 Daughters of Charity working in the hospital.

Within the parish also the biggest Warsaw charity institution of the 18th century was founded: the General Hospital. Its establishment was preceded by Gabriel Piotr Boudouin’s foundation of the first in the capital Foundling House, in 1732, located just opposite the Holy Cross church.⁷⁰ In the late 1750s the hospital was moved to a new, big, purposely built edifice in Warecka St. and merged with the General Hospital (founded in 1758) under the name of the Infant Jesus Hospital. From 1762 on it began admitting, beside children-foundlings, also the sick on a bigger scale. Toddlers from the hospital were given to country women from the surroundings of Warsaw to be fed. Those slightly older are found as pupils also in capital households. In 1791 in the institution stayed 196 “sick men, disabled and beggars”, 46 boys over 7 and 86 younger children. In the same groups among women respectively 233, 97 and 81 people were noted. Altogether 739 sick and poor found shelter in the Infant Jesus hospital⁷¹, although the aforementioned statistics did not include newborns and wet nurses. In the 1790s the institution was managed by Michał Jaszewski as its rector, and the spiritual care was secured by 4 other Vincentian fathers. The hospital also housed a big chapel where the abandoned babies were baptized. The post of hospital doctor was occupied by Tomasz Woźniakowski. This nearly 750-person group, and with newborns and wet nurses even more numerous, were served, in total, by 50 people, but two years later the administrative staff comprised three times as many.⁷²

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 7v.

⁶⁹ Zawadzki 1963, 2, p. 697.

⁷⁰ Podgórska-Klawe 1974; Podgórska-Klawe 1975, pp. 73–75.

⁷¹ AGAD, Varia Grodu Warszawskiego 25, *Ludność katolików parafii św. Krzyża ... 1791*, p. 10.

⁷² Konarski 1970, p. 257.

All the charity institutions mentioned above attempted to, even in part, solve the problem of poverty and pauperization of large groups of people, so visible in increasingly more populated Warsaw, both in the Saxon and Stanislavian era.

4. DEMOGRAPHIC STRUCTURES

4.1. Population by sex, age and marital status

The demographic condition of the population of the Holy Cross parish, their diversification by sex, age and marital status can be characterized on the basis of the census of the parish inhabitants carried out at the beginning of 1791. It embraced Roman-Catholic population only. It was a state census conducted, like many others in the years 1790–92, by parsons in their parishes by order of new Enlightenment bodies of the territorial administration, i.e. the Civil-Military Administrative Commissions. The Sejm act of law of the end of 1789 obliged parsons to systematic annual recording, under pain of financial penalty, of Catholics in their parishes, and the census of the inhabitants of other confessions was imposed on either estate owners or city authorities. The aforementioned law also obliged parsons to pass copies of marriage, baptism and burial registers at the beginning of each successive new year.⁷³ Thus, it was not only strong evidence of interest in the issues of population on the part of the state authorities of the country under reforms, but also the beginning, which should be emphasized, of regular population statistics in Polish lands. For those times they were innovatory decisions and actions in the European scale.

Like other lists prepared by order of the Civil-Military Administrative Commissions, the census was developed by the Vincentians according to the instructions, in the form of tables with columns.⁷⁴ The census, after naming the clergy (Vincentians, monasteries of Dominicans Observants, Discalced Carmelites and Visitandines), and people staying in hospital (parish, St. Roch, St. Casimir and Infant Jesus) recorded particular inhabitants in a family order according to houses in successive streets. Moreover, within houses the census always first recorded the owner or the lessee (husband and wife), successively

⁷³ Gieysztorowa 1976, p. 125; Kukło 2009, pp. 53–59.

⁷⁴ The census was probably the work of the Vincentians, the evidence of which is several shifts in handwriting, although formally it was signed by the prefect of the Holy Cross church, Szymon Bliźnicki (54).

their children, grandparents, servants, then lodgers, both whole families and single persons. A person named in the first place was the landlord or landlady known by first and family name, much more rarely by their social status or occupation. Not always the marital status of the head of the household was clearly defined. As the second the recorders usually placed the name of the landlord's wife, thereby determining their marital status. The remaining members of the family were usually mentioned only by first name together with defining their relation to the person in the first place, e.g. son, daughter, grandson/granddaughter, nephew/niece, relative, etc. Children were normally recorded by age within sex, first sons, then daughters. Usually, after naming the landlords' children, the landlords' parents were placed, not always defining it precisely. Some surnames occurring beside them, especially those different from that of the landlord, may indicate either parents of one of the landlords or a complete stranger. Servants as well as craft and trade apprentices were defined by first name, more rarely surname (journeymen were defined by surname). Among menial workers one can notice internal diversification and hierarchy (*maid*, *chambermaid*, *servant*, or even *coffee maker*). Personal identification of lodgers, who close the list of the house dwellers, especially particular single women and men is definitely the poorest, since the most often only their first names are possible to find. Within the census periodic conclusions were made a few times.

The population of the Holy Cross parish, for its size, including over 18,000 people, and the rank of the parish itself, deserves a detailed study. Before it is possible, however (the most valuable would be putting socio-occupational structures of this part of the inhabitants available from the Warsaw census of 1792 on the demographic structures), an attempt was taken to use its content in the form of broad survey. The inhabitants being part of magnate manors, parochial and monastic clergy, and also soldiers in barracks were omitted (postponing their demographic analysis for subsequent studies). In total, the survey covered nearly 83% of people recorded by first name and family name along with their age in the census under examination.

Before presenting its results, it is important to pose a fundamental question to be answered here: is it the question of its research value? For it is undoubted that, like other early population calculations prepared in the pre-statistical era, the Holy Cross census is not without flaws, more or less diminishing its value. Judging by remarks written on the margin of the Holy Cross census, the clergymen tried to do their best to meet their obligation and perhaps consistently visited house by house for the first two winter months of 1791, record-

ing their residents, which certainly was not easy in the populous and mobile southern part of Warsaw. From the note: “The rest of the people living in this house refused to be recorded by the landlord”,⁷⁵ or that referring to Tekla Olejewska: “unmarried maid in this tenement house knocking failed, not recorded then”⁷⁶, one should conclude that they used assistance of the people with the best knowledge regarding the current lodgers of houses, although it is difficult to overestimate the influence of the latter on the credibility of the census. The Vincentians did not go past the households of confessors of other religions, recording there just single Catholic servants. It is also probable that they knew very well their parochial community, the biggest of those examined on the basis of censuses, since one can come across notes on couples living together without church marriage, in cohabitation, on abandoning by husband or wife, or on failing to go to Easter confession.

A separate issue remains the precision of census information concerning the real age of the recorded inhabitants. With baptism registers it was attempted to compare 30 men and 44 women’s real age with the age recorded in the census. In general, only 1/5 of the whole group the age recorded in the census was identical with that real, in accordance with the birth register. Over a half of women and just a quarter of men in this group declared an age lower than real whereas 30% of women and over a half of men overstated their age. In total, women presented themselves as younger or older by 4 years on average, while men by 5–6 years. The census under examination highlighted a phenomenon characteristic of early population registrations, i.e. numerous age clusters in birth cohorts from the years ending in “0”, and to a lesser degree, in “5” (Figure 2.1). Moreover, Radosław Poniāt, referring to Whipple’s indices as well as those proposed by A’Hearn, Baten and Crayen, corroborates the occurrence of a clearer phenomenon of clusters among older people rather than younger ones and maintains that even over a half of the inhabitants of the Warsaw Holy Cross parish failed to inform about their exact age.⁷⁷ Unfortunately, this results in a great difficulty in more specific analyses and comparisons, and simultaneously requires considerable cautiousness in describing the age of preindustrial populations.

Table 2.6 seems to indicate foremost incomplete registration of infants and youngest children (0–4) and a little older (5–9) in the group of boys, the evidence

⁷⁵ AGAD, Varia Grodu Warszawskiego 25, *Ludność katolików parafii św. Krzyża ... 1791*, p. 20.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 100v.

⁷⁷ See Poniāt 2016, pp. 137–138.

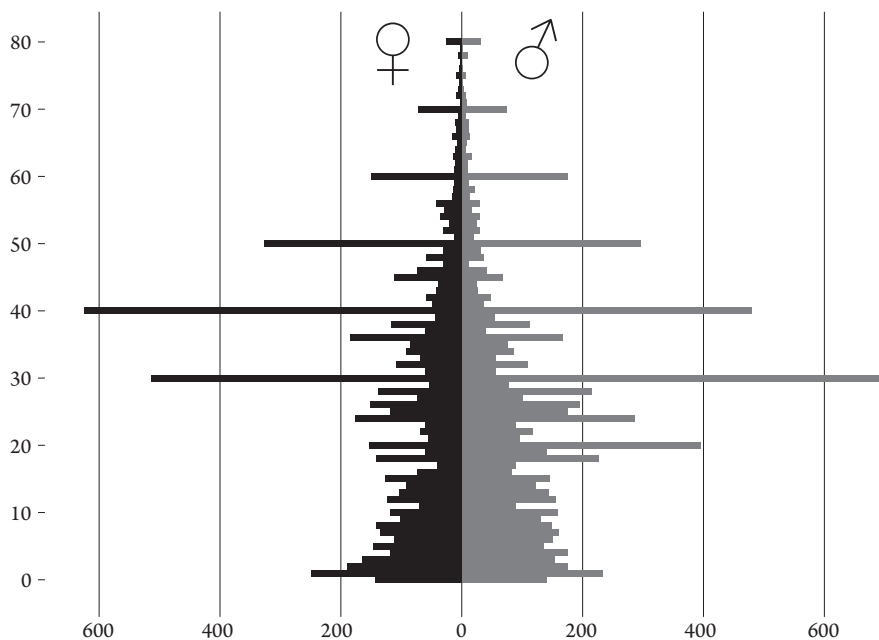


Figure 2.1. Population by sex and age in 1791

Table 2.6. Structure of population by sex and age in 1791

Age	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	F/100 M
	Number			%			
0	143	140	283	2.0	1.8	1.9	98
0-4	864	879	1743	12.3	11.0	11.6	102
5-9	635	726	1361	9.1	9.1	9.1	114
10-14	509	671	1180	7.3	8.4	7.9	132
0-14	2008	2276	4284	28.7	28.5	28.6	113
15-24	954	1669	2623	13.6	20.9	17.5	175
25-34	1377	1761	3138	19.7	22.1	21.0	128
35-44	1305	1065	2370	18.6	13.3	15.8	82
45-54	728	589	1317	10.4	7.4	8.6	81
55-64	311	312	623	4.4	3.9	4.2	100
65+	215	228	443	3.1	2.9	3.0	106
Unknown	102	79	181	1.5	1.0	1.3	78
Total	7000	7979	14979	100	100	100	114

of which is the overstated feminization coefficient. Higher mortality of boys than girls could be of certain importance. On the other hand, the high value of feminization coefficient in the age group (10–14) may be evidence of inflow of young girls looking for a better life in Warsaw. The impact of the immigration factor on the general population structure in the Holy Cross parish is corroborated by the domination of women in two further age groups (15–24) and (25–34), best visible in the range 15–24. Warsaw in the 18th century opened opportunities (and even greater expectations) of changing their previous lifestyles into better not only for men but, perhaps even more, for young women. Usually with no qualifications, taken out of their family environment, mainly villages and small towns, they joined foremost the class of home servants, accepting actually any paid job, not rarely including prostitution.⁷⁸ Maid-servants, beside assistance in production and trade or several types of housework, were also often responsible for the care of children and the sick. Men were usually not expected to be so “multifunctional”. Those aforementioned needs for women’s work must have led to vivid migration to the city.⁷⁹ Hence such a considerable percentage of women between 15 and 35. Perhaps the observable domination of men in further age groups could also result from excess mortality at childbirth of women who gave births in an older age. Although the census does not show a strikingly high number of old people, the percentage of people over 65 in the whole population: 3%, seems slightly understated. The value of such rates, in a diagnostic sense, is low and shows the imperfection of the census in that period.

Finally, it is worth focusing attention on one aspect. In most West European towns, for instance in France (both in those bigger: Lyon, Marseille, Reims, Caen as well as those smaller: Bayeux, Pontoise), similarly in the central part of the Old Continent, in Switzerland (Geneva, Zurich, Lucerne, Bern), and also in Bohemia (Domažlice, Česká Kamenice), women’s domination (55–58%) over men can be observed at that time.⁸⁰ The situation was similar also in the Holy Cross parish. Nevertheless, the population of whole Warsaw, until the end of the 18th century was characterized by a very strong domination of men. In 1792, even after excluding soldiers from the census, still men made 53% of the popu-

⁷⁸ High territorial mobility of young women is proved by their testimonies of the capital underworld; see Turska, 1961, pp. 84, 135, 171–173, 207–208, 220–221, 255–257.

⁷⁹ Also R. Poniat, in the observation of demographic structures of Warsaw Catholics and Protestants, strongly emphasizes the immigration nature of the both denominational communities, especially visible in the case of men and Catholic women, see Poniat 2015.

⁸⁰ Fauve-Chamoux 1994, p. 35; Perrenoud 1979, pp. 86–87; Head-König 1994, p. 57; Mužik 1986, p. 167; Dušek and Fialová 1989, pp. 135–136.

lation, whereas women just 47%. The strong domination of men in Warsaw at that time was, however, a transient phenomenon, which resulted from the momentary circumstances and it decreased only at the turn of the following century, so during the era of the Duchy of Warsaw and later on, women dominated in the capital.⁸¹ Perhaps this domination of women in the whole population of the Holy Cross parish resulted from excluding from our analyses magnate manors, in the personnel of which men definitely prevailed, as well as military youth.

Although the census in the parish under examination not always exhaustively informs on the marital statuses of all its inhabitants (this foremost refers to home servants, lodgers and “loose people”), familiarization with this issue brings us closer to understanding the whole process of population reproduction in the pre-industrial city. Moreover, it is just such analyses of population structures that enable us to estimate the size of a group of persons permanently unmarried or living, in terms of demography, in definite celibacy. Despite popular opinions, in Old Polish society, in spite of favoring of married people by Churches of various confessions, state and city authorities, there lived individuals (secular and monastic clergy of both sexes is out of consideration), who never entered a marriage union, usually due to the lack of material foundations to start a family. It was assumed that the measure of definite celibacy is the percentage of unmarried people at the age of 50, which results from the fact that a chance to start a family for most people over this age is usually little.⁸² As the data in Table 2.7 demonstrate, the percentage of bachelors over 50 among the inhabitants of this part of Warsaw in the Age of Enlightenment was not low and amounted c. 23%. It was similar with women, where spinsters constituted about 20%.

The percentage of unmarried people among the population of the Holy Cross parish decreases along with age, regardless of sex, but faster at women, who started families sooner than men. Until the age of 24 over a third of these women had already married, whereas most men remained in celibacy. The most considerable changes, and simultaneously the most serious differences between the both sexes, occur in the age group of 25–34. Whereas among men slightly more than a half started families, among women the married made over two thirds of all at this age. Furthermore, widowhood, although sporadically pres-

⁸¹ Szymkiewicz 1959, pp. 160–168. One of the cities with peculiar permanent dominance of men over women between the 17th c. and the beginning of the 19th c. was Rome; see Schiavoni and Sonnino 1994, pp. 103–104.

⁸² Beauvalet-Boutouyrie 2008, pp. 136–137.

Table 2.7. Structure of population by marital status in 1791 (%)

Age	Marital status			Total
	Single	Married	Widowed	
Men				
0–15	100.0	–	–	100
15–19	99.8	0.2	–	100
20–24	83.4	15.4	1.2	100
25–29	63.7	35.3	1.0	100
30–34	43.7	55.6	0.7	100
35–39	30.9	67.6	1.5	100
40–44	26.1	71.6	2.3	100
45–49	22.8	73.3	3.9	100
50–54	22.3	70.9	6.8	100
55–59	28.7	65.0	6.3	100
60–64	24.2	66.7	9.1	100
65+	29.5	48.2	22.3	100
Women				
0–9	100.0	–	–	100
9–14	99.8	0.2	–	100
15–19	94.8	5.2	–	100
20–24	63.7	35.7	0.6	100
25–29	36.1	59.4	4.5	100
30–34	25.2	68.6	6.2	100
35–39	21.0	69.0	10.0	100
40–44	20.1	61.4	18.5	100
45–49	20.9	58.2	20.9	100
50–54	19.0	44.4	36.6	100
55–59	33.0	33.0	34.0	100
60–64	24.8	25.2	50.0	100
65+	26.5	22.8	50.7	100

ent in the both sexes even in the group 25–29, basically was not yet very strongly visible at men before 50, but among women grew systematically along with passing to the increasingly older age groups: from 10% and 18% in the range 35–39 and 40–44 to even 50% in the group 60+. Among elderly people the percentage of widows was always a few times higher than widowers. Although these percentages illustrate well the phenomenon of women's longevity, but also result from the fact that widowers more often remarried, even being old.

It seems that the process of family making and family collapsing, nowadays referred to as nuptiality, triggering changes in the population structure, was very similar also in many other big urban centers of the noble Commonwealth, the evidence of which could also be data referring to the most populated parish of Cracow, the BVM, yet with one reservation. Presented in Table 2.7 big sizes of definite celibacy among the both sexes of the Warsaw population in the early 1790 (the so-called spinsterhood and bachelorhood), were a result of the

highest among other Old Polish towns territorial mobility of women and men, whose large numbers immigrated to the capital in the Stanislavian era in search for better living conditions. This phenomenon has been also noticed by all astute observers of metropolitan life of Warsaw in the Age of Enlightenment, such as, for example, Friedrich Schulz, who spent there almost a year (September 1791 – June 1792).⁸³

4.2. Household: structure and size

Most people, regardless of their sex, age, marital status or the place of residence, usually lived in more or less extensive households, fulfilling various functions in them: from a manager to a laborer. To conclude the foregoing observations, despite the imprecision of the sources, it is important to pose a question: What was the structure and size of those households in the context of the characteristics of the demographic potential of the community in this part of Warsaw?

In the light of the data in Table 2.8, there is no doubt that regardless of economic foundations of the population, i.e. a craft workshop or merchant shop, in pre-partition Warsaw dominated households based on a simple, two-generation family, constituting about two thirds of all. Nevertheless, what is really striking is a considerable share of households of single people in a big preindustrial city: 25%. Connecting Warsaw with national and international trade along with extending the functions it fulfilled, from social and cultural to political, encouraged creating big centers and resulted in not only accelerated growth in the number of people but also a noticeable atomization of its inhabitants' life. Definitely much more often one could find in a metropolitan environment a household with no family structure. Also it was very difficult to find a household composed of at least two married couples. It is worth adding that more than every fourth capital household (27.5%) kept servants.

A similar household structure at that time, although with a smaller participation of single persons' households (18.5%) could be found in the central parish of Cracow, one of the more populated cities of Poland.⁸⁴ Over a half of households of Cracow burgers dealing with trade, commerce and crafts employed servants. Furthermore, at the end of the 18th century in dozens of small Polish towns with the population below 2,000 inhabitants, often agrarian, the

⁸³ Zawadzki 1963, 2, p. 531.

⁸⁴ See Kuklo 1998, p. 81.

Table 2.8. Structure of households in 1791

Household type	Total		With servants		w/o servants	
	N. House-holds	%	N. House-holds	%	N. House-holds	%
1. Solitaries	1031	25.0	192	16.9	839	28.1
1a. Unmarried	352	8.5	85	7.5	267	8.9
1b. Widowed	322	7.8	51	4.5	271	9.1
1c. Unknown Marital Status	357	8.7	56	4.9	301	10.1
2. No Family	70	1.7	23	2.1	47	1.6
2a. Coresident Siblings	16	0.4	8	0.7	8	0.3
2b. Other Coresident Relatives	27	0.7	4	0.4	23	0.8
2c. Personal Evidently Not Related	27	0.6	11	1.0	16	0.5
3. Simple Family Household	2732	66.4	795	70.2	1937	64.8
3a. Married Couples Alone	820	19.9	162	14.3	658	22.0
3b. Married Couples with Children	1479	35.9	530	46.8	949	31.7
3c. Widowers with Children	52	1.3	21	1.9	31	1.0
3d. Widows with Cildren	189	4.6	35	3.1	154	5.2
3e. Non-Widowed with Children	192	4.7	47	4.1	145	4.9
4. Extended Family Households	249	6.2	107	9.5	142	4.6
4a. Extension Upwards	119	2.9	46	4.1	73	2.4
4b. Extension Downwards	32	0.8	13	1.1	19	0.6
4c. Extension Sideways	78	1.9	35	3.1	43	1.4
4d. Combination of 4a–4c, or any other form of extension	20	0.6	13	1.2	7	0.2
5. Multiple Family Households	39	0.9	16	1.5	23	0.7
5a. Secondary Units Disposed Upwards From Head	12	0.3	3	0.3	9	0.3
5b. Secondary Units Disposed Downwards From Head	20	0.5	10	0.9	10	0.3
5c. Secondary Units Disposed Sideways From Head	3	0.0	1	0.1	2	0.0
5d. Combination of 4a–4c, or any other Multiple Household	4	0.1	2	0.2	2	0.0
6. Indeterminate	1	0.0	–	–	1	0.0
Total	4122	100	1133	100	2989	100

Source: Kuklo 1998, p. 82.

share of simple households was still higher and reached 75–85%.⁸⁵ Similar proportions, 4–9% characterized both households of families of extended structure as well as single people, with a simultaneous modest share of complex households: 1–3%.

Presenting a typology of Warsaw households in the late 18th century provokes a question, to what extent their characteristics makes them similar and to what extent distinguishes them among the households in other big European cities of the pre-industrial era. To compare it is important to bear in mind that in the major French political and economic centers, such as, for instance, the capital of Normandy, Rouen, simple households in its center made 58.4% but every third household (35%) was an economic unit managed by an unmarried person and, strikingly, it is impossible to find there complex households at all.⁸⁶ Furthermore, in the capital of Provence, Marseille, in 1793 households of single and non-family people (type 1 and 2) constituted $\frac{1}{3}$ of all.⁸⁷ Only slightly later, at the beginning of the 19th century, in Reims, also simple families had the largest share (67%), complex households made merely 0.5%, while every fifth economic unit was managed by a single person.⁸⁸ In Europe perhaps the strongest domination of family household, regardless of the size of economic and administrative functions performed by their members, characterized Spanish towns. The port town of Cartagena (in the mid-18th century over 27,000 inhabitants), being an important commercial and military center, in smaller Lorca as well as in tiny Cieza (5,500 inhabitants) in the region of Murcia, the share of simple households made staggering 87%.⁸⁹ Similarly stable were the proportions of the remaining types of households: single (8%), extended (3–4%) and with no family structure (2–3%). David Sven Reher discovered a more diverse structure of family types in his studies on the population of the Castilian town of Cuenca (8,000 inhabitants in the late 18th century). In this town, where $\frac{1}{3}$ of the working constituted slightly lower percentage than in other Spanish towns: almost 73%, with a simultaneous larger share of single person's households: 13.5% and over 5% of non-family households.⁹⁰ As regards Central European towns, thanks to Alfred Perrenoud's, now classic, valuable study, the family

⁸⁵ Ibid., pp. 77–80.

⁸⁶ Bardet 1983, p. 318.

⁸⁷ Fauve-Chamoux 1991, p. 338.

⁸⁸ Fauve-Chamoux 1983, pp. 480–481.

⁸⁹ Chacon Jimenez *et al.* 1986, pp. 170–171, 175.

⁹⁰ Reher 1990, p. 194.

typology of Calvinist Geneva is well known. At the end of the 18th century it had over 20,000 inhabitants and experienced weakening of the previous pace of economic development. The share of dominating simple households amounted almost 70%; non-family and extended households 10–11% each, and, surprisingly, single people's households merely 8%.⁹¹

So far not many studies have been dedicated to demographic history of urban families in Russia in the pre-industrial era. Nevertheless, one of Daniel H. Kaiser's papers revealed an interesting, and, let us add straight away, slightly different from that outlined above, structure of households in 12 Russian agglomerations. Simple households, so clearly dominating in many towns of Central and Western Europe, constituted in Russia around a half (50.7%) of all.⁹² Complex households, hardly found not only in West European but also Polish and Czech towns, were the second most numerous: 34%. This phenomenon was accompanied by a small percentage of single persons' households: 0.6–3.9% with one exception of Vyatka: 9%. The share of extended households in most Russian towns was stable and oscillated around 12%. It is worth adding that actions of the inhabitants were usually similar to those better known from western historiography. Namely, a complex organization of a household prevailed among rich merchant population, which can be well observed in, for example, Ryazan, Ustyuzhna, Toropets: the poorer gathered basically in simple households.⁹³

These observations are far from exhausting the comparative problems. However, they seem to allow us situate the Warsaw household on the map of urban households of pre-industrial Europe in the West European model. After all, the position of Kaiser is significant, since he, not forgetting a large share of complex households, is against counting Russian towns to the East European household model, as Laslett saw it, due to a considerable share of simple family units.⁹⁴

Previous opinions on the size of the urban family household (manor houses of rich nobility are excluded) in the pre-partition Commonwealth, even recently included a belief in its considerably large, consisting of 8–10 people, and in richer families even over 20.⁹⁵ Lately, opposite voices are increasingly stronger, which seems quite well-grounded. Urban environment, particularly that in big agglomerations, although they were not very numerous in Poland, enabled doz-

⁹¹ Perrenoud 1979, p. 139.

⁹² Kaiser 1992, pp. 64–65.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁹⁵ Bogucka 1983, p. 499.

ens of single people to live and earn their living to a higher degree than the country. Until the mid-18th century various natural disasters strongly affected the size of the burgher family and their households. Epidemics often reduced, violently and directly, the biological potential of families. Others, such as floods, torrential rains, hails or long-lasting droughts, decreased food supplies, resulting in dearth, always much more painfully felt in towns than in the country. For many families this meant dramatic deterioration of already difficult living conditions.

Little as we still know about mutual influence, on the level of family, of demographic, social and economic mechanisms, it is possible to suppose that the uneasy conditions of everyday existence in the pre-industrial town did not encourage part of its inhabitants, as mentioned before, to fully use their marital reproductive potential. The size of family households, at least those in the towns examined so far, seems to confirm not large sizes of the Old Polish households over the whole early modern era. In the late 16th century an average household in populous Poznań included 5.6 people and 3.4 people (but over 10 years of age) a century later.⁹⁶ In the second half of the 17th century, after devastating wars, plagues and epidemics, the largest sizes of households among big urban centers characterized Old Warsaw: 4.3 people and Lvov: 3.4; far smaller were economic families in Cracow, which consisted of merely 2.6 members.⁹⁷ At the same time, in Podlasie towns, according to head tax registers, on one household fell 3.3 people (over 10), and 4.7 people if we include the offspring omitted in the registers.⁹⁸ In Warmian Dobrze Miasto (nearly 1,750 inhabitants) at the average of 4.8 house-dwellers for all economic units in 1695, according to *status animarum*, households of the patricians (the richest townspeople) included c. 8–9 people, craftsmen 5 but lodgers and laborers merely 3.⁹⁹

More complete than fiscal sources, although also not free from flaws, parish censuses (usually without infants) demonstrate similar sizes of economic families in towns also a hundred years later. The data in Table 2.9 indicate that at the end of the 18th century the Holy Cross family households in the capital agglomeration, inhabited not only by wealthy burghers and noblemen but also, in many regions of the parish, for example Powiśle, by strongly pauperized population, were small and included 3.5 (average) – 4.0 (median) members. Definitely households of Cracow burghers and noblemen were more populated, and

⁹⁶ Waszak 1953, p. 117.

⁹⁷ Karpiński 1995, pp. 58–60, 129.

⁹⁸ Laszuk 1999, p. 109.

⁹⁹ Borowski 1975, pp. 146–149.

Table 2.9. Households by size in Cracow and Warsaw in 1791

Number of people in a household	Cracow		Warsaw	
	N. households	%	N. households	%
1	126	10.9	865	21.0
2	221	19.0	952	23.1
3	203	17.5	743	18.0
4	158	13.6	575	13.9
5	132	11.4	367	8.9
6	107	9.2	226	5.5
7	50	4.3	123	3.0
8	49	4.2	79	1.9
9	33	2.8	59	1.4
10	23	2.0	28	0.7
11	15	1.3	25	0.6
12	7	0.6	15	0.4
13	11	0.9	14	0.3
14	8	0.7	8	0.2
15 +	18	1.6	44	1.1
Total	1161	100	4123	100
Average	4.5		3.5	
Median	6		4	

Source: Kuklo 1998, p. 108.

Table 2.10. Average size of households by sex, age and socio-occupational status of the household head in Cracow and Warsaw in 1791

Social stratum	Men			Women		
	Age			Age		
	-39	40-59	60+	-39	40-59	60+
Cracow						
Upper	8.5	9.1	7.1	3.8	6.9	4.5
Middle	6.6	6.5	4.5	2.5	4.1	3.7
Lower	4.1	4.0	2.8	2.1	2.3	1.8
Warsaw						
Upper	6.0	9.5	7.1	4.8	4.8	5.7
Middle	5.2	6.2	3.7	2.6	7.3	4.0
Lower	3.1	3.7	2.5	2.8	1.8	1.3

Source: Kuklo 1998, p. 113.

reached the size of 4.5 (average) – 6.0 (median) people. Only slightly larger were average sizes of households in Poznan, the capital of Greater Poland in 1777: approximately 6.5 people.¹⁰⁰ Households of most inhabitants of Polish small towns in the Age of Enlightenment usually comprised, on average, 4–5 members.

In the light of the data referred to above, it is difficult to search for dependence between the volume of population of an urban center and the average size of a household. Nevertheless, undoubtedly its size was proportional to the affluence of the owner, which is demonstrated in Table 2.10. Higher average sizes of households in Cracow (and in Poznan), in contrast to metropolitan Warsaw, would suggest more stable economic structures of the both cities and greater wealth, in general, of their inhabitants. In Old Polish towns, like in whole pre-industrial Europe, men dominated among managers of households but the share of women-managers was never insignificant. Although the way of women to managing a household was not only different from that of men and still more strongly determined by their age and marital status (usually after 50 they became widows), there were not rarely households of unmarried women and young widows. In pre-partition Poland single women managed 15–17% of all households in smaller towns up to 20–25% in the biggest cities such as Cracow and Warsaw. It is worth noting, that regardless of social status and age, the Old Polish urban woman's household in Cracow and Warsaw, like in many other European towns, for example Reims, was always smaller than that managed by a man (Table 2.10).¹⁰¹

4.3. The place of old people

Most researchers of historical aspects of old age, despite various reservations, for example, referring to the short life span in the past centuries, usually assume, after current demography, the age of 60 as the border of old age, and people over 65 are defined as very old.¹⁰²

The answer to the question of the number of old people in towns of pre-industrial Poland is not easy, taking into consideration the fact that the fundamental source which is parish censuses, registered (incompletely!) not only the youngest but also the oldest birth cohorts of the inhabitants. Not negating possible varieties of the population age profile in Old Polish cities and towns, which could result from, for example, immigration of people in their prime to

¹⁰⁰ Kędelski 1992, p. 100.

¹⁰¹ Fauve-Chamoux 2001, p. 245.

¹⁰² Henry 1980, p. 11; Laslet 1977, pp. 174–213; Wrigley and Schofield 1981.

the biggest urban centers, it does not seem that there were reasons for questioning the share of old people in them on the level of 6–8%.

The data in Table 2.11 prove essential differences in family status of old men and women, including also the size of urban centers. In small towns over a half of men lived within a full nuclear family yet, i.e. with the spouse and children, although in bigger centers this percentage decreased and reached its lowest value (39%) in metropolitan Warsaw. This phenomenon was accompanied by a simultaneous growth in the percentage of men living with their wives only: from 31.3% in small towns to 36.2% in the capital city. In total, staggering three quarters of men over 60 in Cracow and Warsaw, and in smaller towns even 84% did not experience senile solitude, because they lived with their spouses or both with spouses and children. Thus, they were not left at the mercy of fate, although the percentage of those living permanently alone grew along with the rank, size and economic development of the town: from 8% in small towns through over 19% in Cracow to nearly 20% in Warsaw.

Table 2.11. Family status of old people (60+) in Polish towns in 1791 (%)

Family status	5 small towns ^{a)}		Cracow		Warsaw	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Solitaries	8.0	26.2	12.7	39.8	19.2	46.9
With spouse	31.3	19.0	32.8	20.3	36.2	19.9
With spouse and others	52.7	20.2	45.6	11.4	39.0	13.8
W/o spouse:						
with children	7.1	31.0	2.2	18.7	4.1	15.8
with relatives	–	2.4	1.5	3.3	0.9	2.6
with not relatives	0.9	1.2	5.2	6.5	0.6	1.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

^{a)} Olkusz, Praszka, Proszowice, Radziejów i Wieluń.

Source: Kuklo 2002, p. 106.

The family status of old women in urban communities of late-feudal Poland was to a high degree different from the situation of men. Merely about one third of women in Cracow and Warsaw, and only a few more (39.2%) in smaller towns, lived in a full marital family. What is really striking in Table 2.11 is an enormous group of women living in solitude, from a quarter in small towns to nearly a half in Stanisławian Warsaw. When the spouse died, old women lived into old age mainly in their children's care, in bigger towns at relatives'

and even with unrelated people. Only a third of old women cohabited with children in smaller towns and even fewer, c. 16–20% in bigger ones. They were more often present, in contrast to old men, in households of their relatives and strangers.

Old age in the pre-industrial era in Polish lands was of very visibly diverse nature depending on sex and place of residence. In small town communities a man's growing older did not bring fundamental changes in his life. He still managed his household, which included his wife and children, more rarely wife alone and yet more rarely children only. In the biggest cities it more often happened to him to cohabitate just with his spouse, whereas a considerable number lived alone. In relation to women, the higher number of whom always lived to old age, senility had its peculiar meaning. In Old Polish towns at least a quarter, and in big ones even a half of them, lived and aged in solitude.

Cohabitation of an old parent under one roof in the household of an adult son or son-in-law, even in the case of formally prepared private annuity agreement, was not easy. He/she was more often tolerated if he/she was able to provide any physical assistance in the household. It was much worse in the case of infirmity. Nothing else remained but only counting on board and care from the closest members of the family. Hence the eloquent words of lawyer Bartłomiej Groicki, who knew everyday life of old people in Cracow in the Renaissance era, and wrote in the early 17th century: "In this matter I don't know then, if some fathers don't do a better thing, giving their son-in-law for their daughter a particle of his assets only for support, for investment they give a small part, keeping the bigger part for themselves. They say that it is better when children expect help from father than when father expects help from children; what is left after death, let children take whatever one can get, let them take it for their good. For uncertain is food from children, particularly if son-in-law is one of those who play games, sink in drunkenness, don't care for their vocation, and wife is also his accomplice".¹⁰³ Judicial sources quite often vividly illustrate this saddest part of Old Polish senility spent with relatives.

Only for a very small group including at most a few dozen old people, another way of spending their old age in the Old Polish era was moving to almshouses, founded in particular in big cities, not only by clergymen and also by secular authorities. At the end of the 18th century 7 "beggars" and 6 "hospital grannies" found refuge in such a parish almshouse. Eight of the boarders were

¹⁰³ Groicki 1958, p. 90.

over 60.¹⁰⁴ Still others lived into their old age “on merciful bread” at monasteries. The parish census of 1791 names, for instance, 6 men and 2 women with such an annotation among boarders of the nunnery of Visitation Sisters in Krakowskie Przedmieście. A single boarder (not counting a church beggar) can also be found among the residents of the monastery of the Dominicans Observants.¹⁰⁵ A separate group made male, and even more female monastery residents often cohabiting with their spouse or just with their child, more often with servants. However, taking into consideration their age, some of them were far from being old. The case was securing a convenient accommodation rather than living into old age.¹⁰⁶

Concluding these reflections on the demographic condition of the population of the Holy Cross parish, it is important to underscore that they are based on an extensive survey of the parish census of the Catholics prepared at the beginning of 1791, in which toddlers and young boys (0–4 and 5–9) were poorly recorded. It is possible to suppose that also old people, over 65 were not completely listed. Nevertheless, in contrast to the population of whole Warsaw, in the Holy Cross community were more women than men. The domination of women, the strongest in the group of 15–24-year-olds clearly shows their high territorial mobility and a considerable participation in immigration processes to the capital of the country. Simultaneously, the analyses of marital statuses of the population under examination do not confirm the views, still popular, also in foreign literature, of marrying in a very young age in central Poland. Although $\frac{2}{3}$ of all households were simple households, what is undoubtedly worth noting is (like in many other European cities) a large share – staggering 25% – of households belonging to people living in solitude. Households in the Holy Cross parish were not big; on average they include just 4 members. Furthermore, their size depended on foremost socio-occupational status and sex of the household manager. Finally, it is important to add that also living their old age by the Holy Cross parishioners differed by sex: it was less favorable for old women. Definitely more often than men they lived and got old alone.

¹⁰⁴ AGAD, Varia Grodu Warszawskiego 25, *Ludność katolików w parafii św. Krzyża ... 1791*, pp. 3v–4.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 7.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 10.

CHAPTER 3

NUPTIALITY

*Despite the impossibility of divorce,
second and third marriages played
a much greater role in old European
society than at the present time.*

Mitterauer and Sieder 1982, p. 35.

1. CHANGES IN ANNUAL NUMBERS OF MARRIAGES

Historical-demographical studies of the last four decades, beside extension of subjects and deepening the problems, also brought a mechanism of population self-regulation in the pre-industrial era other than previously accepted. Numerous West European studies, not denying the role of the volume of mortality, especially that of infants and children, revealed a fundamental dependence of population development on martial and reproductive attitudes dominating in families.¹ It is important to remember that at that time the size and the pace of entering marriage unions depended, to a considerable degree, on more or less conducive conditions of material existence.² Until the beginning of industrialization the smallest socio-demographic cell constituted, simultaneously, a productive and consumer unit. It usually consisted of parents and children, more rarely also grandparents, and in better-off households also of servants, in towns

¹ Dupâquier 1973, pp. 39–73; Wrigley and Schofield 1981, p. 402–405; Livi Bacci 1989, pp. 147–158.

² See, for instance, the opinion of J. Dupâquier, who claimed that: “What limited the increase of population in the ancient demographic order was not mortality but young people’s difficulty in starting their own household”, Dupâquier 1984, p. 49.

concentrated around a craft workshop, a store or a trading company.³ It came to existence only when a man, son or future son-in-law, was able to provide material foundations of existence for the future household. For a considerable group of pre-industrial town population: laborers, journeymen, home servants, peddlers or vendors, difficulties in founding a permanent job or better wages often resulted in abandoning the plans of starting their own family or in their postponing until their material status improved.⁴

Therefore the research on vital statistics of the population of the Holy Cross parish in Warsaw in the Saxon and Stanisławian eras commences with considering the evolution of the frequency of marriages being a source of births. A point of departure of analytical works is tables presenting annual numbers of marriages (in further parts of the book also baptisms and burials) by month, also enabling to observe not only longer, annual, but also shorter, a few-month-long intervals in registration. In order to better illustrate the data in the tables, also graphs were prepared as their complements. Beside annual numbers, 9-year movable averages of fundamental demographic events were marked. The latter enable to reveal tendencies in forming the number of marriages, births and deaths, and simultaneously reflect the direction and the pace of population development of the parish under examination in the 18th century.

The analysis of the distribution of the numbers of marriages recorded in the Holy Cross registers by months failed to reveal any major gaps (except their visible decline in the periods of natural disasters, which will be discussed later), showing that the registration was suspended in the parish (Table 3.1). Basically, only the missing weddings in November 1726, in October 1729, in July 1732, in June 1736, in October 1737, in May 1738 and in September 1751, which means in the months when always (sooner or later) a number of marriages were concluded in the parish church, may arise a suspicion of certain single minor defects.

The permanent growth in marriages in the 1680s (460) and 1690s (573) proves that the population of the Holy Cross parish increased fast after the wars in the middle of that century.⁵ Along its central streets: Krakowskie Przedmieście and Nowy Świat, and in the closest vicinity reside nobility, state and church officials, to a lesser degree foreigners, and, slightly farther from the center, poorer population looking in the capital for any employment and improvement of

³ See P. Laslett, 1969, p. 101; Mitterauer and Sieder 1982, pp. 7–10; Wyrobisz 1986, pp. 324–329.

⁴ See Wrigley and Schofield 1981, p. 417; Bogucka 1983, pp. 497–498.

⁵ On the basis of: AP, Lib. cop. 3 (1667–1692) and Lib. cop. 4 (1693–1740).

Table 3.1. Marriages by months

Year	Month												Total
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	
1700	8	9	–	2	5	10	8	6	2	8	2	–	60
1701	11	2	–	7	4	–	7	4	2	4	6	–	47
1702	7	4	–	1	11	2	–	4	5	4	8	1	47
1703	6	7	–	2	–	1	5	2	7	6	5	–	41
1704	12	6	2	1	5	6	4	–	2	7	7	–	52
1705	6	11	–	1	2	6	3	1	4	3	4	–	41
1706	4	8	–	3	7	–	3	4	6	5	8	–	48
1707	6	7	6	–	2	2	2	2	1	6	4	1	39
1708	4	9	–	3	6	–	1	–	–	–	15	6	44
1709	21	13	–	7	10	7	3	3	13	5	7	–	89
1710	9	5	5	–	3	5	5	–	2	1	–	–	35
1711	11	11	–	1	2	8	2	6	–	1	3	–	45
1712	9	3	–	4	4	2	5	4	4	6	–	–	41
1713	6	6	–	4	4	2	4	6	2	4	1	–	39
1714	4	1	–	2	3	1	5	2	2	1	1	–	22
1715	2	4	2	–	3	6	4	3	3	6	3	–	36
1716	9	6	–	1	2	6	4	5	–	1	6	–	40
1717	14	11	–	2	7	6	2	4	5	8	7	–	66
1718	7	7	1	–	1	4	–	3	2	1	3	–	29
1719	6	3	–	2	4	2	4	–	3	4	8	1	37
1720	6	2	–	2	2	2	3	7	7	3	4	1	39
1721	11	6	1	4	4	3	5	–	4	4	2	1	45
1722	8	7	–	–	4	1	4	3	3	4	4	–	38
1723	8	3	–	–	5	1	1	5	5	4	4	–	36
1724	6	10	1	–	3	6	5	3	4	3	5	–	46
1725	8	10	–	5	9	3	4	1	8	5	5	–	58
1726	11	10	3	1	4	2	8	3	8	14	–	1	65
1727	4	13	–	2	11	4	4	1	4	5	7	1	56
1728	5	7	1	9	5	2	7	1	3	3	1	1	45
1729	5	7	3	3	3	3	4	4	12	–	7	–	51
1730	8	9	1	5	6	4	5	3	6	4	1	–	52
1731	15	9	1	5	6	5	9	6	4	4	5	–	69
1732	7	13	–	–	6	5	–	3	4	7	8	1	54
1733	3	10	–	6	3	2	9	7	7	6	9	–	62
1734	6	6	1	1	6	4	6	2	5	4	4	1	46

Year	Month												Total
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	
1735	5	8	–	2	7	6	6	6	3	7	3	–	53
1736	8	6	–	6	3	–	8	8	4	10	2	–	55
1737	3	6	3	–	3	3	4	2	2	–	6	–	32
1738	3	4	–	2	–	3	7	1	5	3	8	–	36
1739	17	12	–	–	7	4	7	4	6	6	8	–	71
1740	18	–	–	–	1	2	3	5	1	2	10	1	43
1741	12	5	–	2	1	1	2	8	3	8	7	1	50
1742	16	2	–	1	2	2	4	5	3	5	4	–	47 ^{a)}
1743	10	16	–	4	7	4	4	4	4	5	6	–	64
1744	16	9	–	3	2	8	6	7	11	6	7	–	75
1745	13	15	1	–	6	4	8	7	9	3	10	–	76
1746	10	13	1	4	4	3	2	5	3	9	9	–	63
1747	17	7	1	7	4	2	6	7	4	8	5	–	68
1748	2	16	–	–	3	10	4	4	7	8	14	–	68
1749	14	11	–	2	8	5	6	6	7	7	5	–	71
1750	23	2	–	4	10	5	7	9	5	14	16	–	95
1751	9	11	1	2	7	8	15	4	–	7	14	–	78
1752	17	14	–	9	3	2	14	10	8	12	6	1	96
1753	18	10	7	–	8	10	9	4	7	3	10	–	86
1754	10	16	–	–	2	13	11	5	9	14	17	–	97
1755	22	10	–	3	10	12	6	3	9	11	8	–	94
1756	9	14	1	–	6	4	7	8	3	6	6	–	64
1757	9	6	–	7	11	2	12	8	2	14	8	1	80
1758	16	–	–	11	12	6	4	3	5	15	8	–	80
1759	9	15	–	2	20	14	16	9	12	15	15	1	128
1760	18	13	–	9	12	16	14	10	9	17	21	1	140
1761	35	6	–	12	13	15	22	21	3	19	16	1	163
1762	18	22	–	4	13	14	18	16	12	18	17	2	154
1763	29	13	–	10	13	8	27	13	6	14	12	3	148
1764	18	7	4	–	7	7	12	7	6	16	18	2	104
1765	30	15	2	10	12	16	20	9	8	14	10	1	147
1766	31	13	1	10	13	10	33	9	10	14	23	3	170
1767	29	39	8	2	16	14	28	15	19	21	27	1	219
1768	17	24	–	15	12	17	15	15	7	22	14	–	158
1769	14	14	–	14	21	4	16	15	15	17	19	–	149
1770	16	25	1	–	15	9	21	6	15	15	18	1	142
1771	20	22	–	6	8	16	23	14	14	23	18	1	165

Year	Month												Total
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	
1772	16	27	6	–	14	13	16	14	14	16	21	1	158
1773	17	28	1	1	18	19	17	13	9	29	23	1	176
1774	25	19	1	1	22	20	15	11	9	18	23	1	165
1775	20	38	1	2	13	16	30	13	10	13	11	–	167
1776	25	24	1	5	26	15	19	10	11	22	18	–	176
1777	32	25	–	17	24	23	26	12	18	27	30	2	236
1778	17	26	5	1	27	24	19	15	15	16	30	1	196
1779	35	27	3	16	21	11	17	22	12	24	16	–	204
1780	34	18	1	15	18	12	21	16	19	33	27	–	214
1781	29	41	–	2	25	16	25	27	21	24	19	1	230
1782	27	14	–	8	16	4	19	12	13	11	21	–	145
1783	7	33	11	–	14	15	22	11	12	27	25	1	178
1784	20	37	2	3	16	8	18	17	14	24	18	–	177
1785	31	23	1	14	18	12	26	10	24	30	21	–	210
1786	30	23	–	–	20	17	20	14	9	22	18	–	173
1787	27	22	5	1	13	13	17	16	8	22	16	1	161
1788	30	11	2	16	11	9	23	10	13	19	22	2	168
1789	15	35	4	2	29	16	25	14	15	26	22	1	204
1790	29	37	1	5	20	13	12	16	18	23	19	–	193
1791	20	32	18	2	18	20	27	23	12	34	20	1	227
1792	38	36	1	12	26	27	18	15	21	36	27	1	258
1793	37	21	1	16	18	15	29	21	18	26	28	1	231
1794	24	37	13	3	10	14	12	6	9	13	10	2	153
1795	18	35	3	9	27	16	17	12	11	20	18	1	187
1796	25	13	2	10	11	8	16	7	10	19	13	–	134
1797	10	20	5	–	11	4	16	13	8	12	7	–	106
1798	17	13	–	–	22	7	15	9	5	11	16	–	115
1799	12	9	2	8	8	9	12	5	7	14	12	–	98

a) 3 with unmarked month.

their living conditions. However the warfare of 1702–09, in the period when the population was strictly forced to pay contributions and vulnerable to violations and oppression from the foreign Swedish, Russian and Saxon soldier, impeded the influx of new immigrants to the Holy Cross parish. Its previous inhabitants thought, foremost, about surviving the difficult and dangerous wartime and many of them abandoned the intention of starting a family (putting it off), since

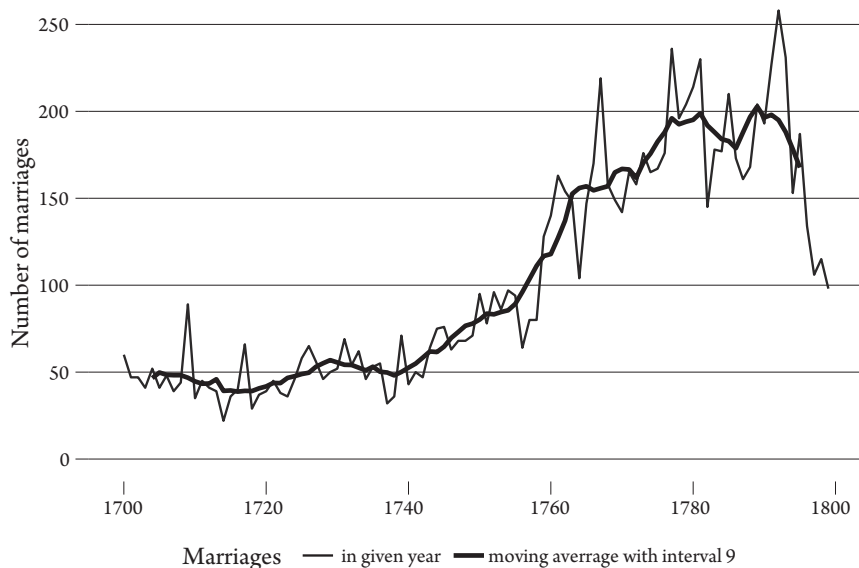


Figure 3.1. Annual numbers of marriages and 9-year moving average

their future, especially that of newborn children, was uncertain. There occurred a noticeable decline in the number of marriages concluded within the walls of the parish temple by over 11% (from 573 in 1690–99 to 508 in 1700–09), see Figure 3.1.

However, the inhabitants of the parish under scrutiny experienced a real demographic catastrophe in the next decade, decimated by the epidemics of plague in the years 1708–12, which struck whole Europe.⁶ Occurring after that alternate floods and droughts caused subsequent bad crops, which resulted in famine in Warsaw. Seriously malnourished and weakened, the population was still persecuted by slightly weaker epidemics (1711–14). Plundering and contributions imposed by the Russians (1715) and the Saxons abandoning Poland (1716), as well as by Polish confederated noble troops. In the period discussed it is possible to observe strong material stratification among the inhabitants of the parish, visible in the increasing number of the poorest. The phenomenon of rapid pauperization of many inhabitants of the city must have taken large dimension, since the previous actions on the part of the capital authorities and the Church for the Warsaw poor were not sufficient. Therefore, known for his

⁶ Biraben 1975, 1, pp. 108–109; Livi Bacci 1999, p. 119; Karpiński 2000, p. 71.

earlier charity, Bartłomiej Tarło, the Holy Cross parson and bishop of Poznań, delivered a famous sermon in St. John's collegiate in 1715, on *Diligite pauperes*, with the intention of stimulate a need for private mercy in those hard times.

The growth in the number of weddings towards the end of the second decade and at the beginning of the reign of Augustus III, seem to demonstrate the parishioners slowly overcoming the demographic crisis. The following years, until 1738, were characterized by a totally higher number of concluded marriages than in the first twenty years but Figure 3.1 demonstrates a downturn in the pace of weddings. Probably most of the parishioners being able to marry, both for the first and successive time, did it directly after the expiration of the numerous epidemics. In the case of second marriages the point was not only finding a partner for the further part of life but also supporting and securing further proper functioning of the family production workshop. In such a socio-economic situation, a better chance of marriage was open for a numerous, as usual in modern towns, group of young people. In normal times they stood a poor chance of starting a family due to their less wealth, lower socio-occupational status, being a demographic reserve of pre-industrial urban populations.⁷ On the other hand, lower numbers of marriages concluded in the parish church after the compensation period were a result of new natural disasters: plague in 1730, floods in 1730 and 1736, damages caused by Russian troops in 1733 and famine in 1737.

Jędrzej Kitowicz, an eyewitness of the long-lasting famine and common scarcity in town in the second half of the 1730s, noted: "After Muscovites left Poland, in sort of second or third year after the coronation, a famine occurred, the circumstances of which I remember. **First, no other food tasted so well as bread, even to well-to-do people and in other times hardly eating bread** (highlighted by C.K.) Second, Warsaw was full of hungry folk coming in from the surroundings. Lords and affluent citizens carried out big collections for those paupers, a great number of which, despite this provision, died every day; cast down in huge pits in cemeteries and fields by gravediggers deliberately prepared therefore, who collected the dead in the streets, laid on stretchers and transported to the pits".⁸

From the beginning of the 1740s until 1781 numbers of wedding services provided in the Holy Cross church show a stable growing tendency, although

⁷ Similarly Wyrobisz 1986, pp. 325–326; Dupâquier 1987, p. 307.

⁸ Kitowicz 1971, pp. 38–39. Similar attitudes in such situations were also observed in West European towns, see Braudel 1992, 1, pp. 68–71.

its pace was not even. In the 40-year-long period of population growth in the southern areas of the capital city, as regards the dynamics, four subperiods can be distinguished: 1740–49 with the arithmetic average 63 marriages; 1750–58: 86 marriages, the number that increased in the years 1759–76 to 157, and in 1777–81 reached the level of 216 concluded marriages (arithmetic average). Undoubtedly, the fastest development of the Holy Cross population occurred at the end of the reign of Augustus III and at the beginning of Stanisław August Poniatowski. Supposedly, one of more important reasons for the nearly double growth of the average number of marriages was King August III's return from Dresden to Warsaw. The move of the royal court with the entourage of secular and church officials of various levels and with populous commercial and service facilities again populated desolated palaces, filled burghers' houses, enlivened construction business and economy of the city.⁹ They were, simultaneously, which is worth underscoring, years of definitely lower intensity of plagues and other natural disasters,¹⁰ which affected the improvement of living conditions not only of the rich but also those less affluent parishioners.¹¹

The period 1782–88 was the time of a rapid, yet short-termed, breakdown in the previous pace of marriage conclusion. In the following 5 years the highest arithmetical average of weddings can be observed: 223. The uprising led by Tadeusz Kościuszko in 1794, which also covered the capital of the country, occupation of Warsaw first by the Russian troops in November (1794), then the Prussian soldiers (1796), and the even earlier departure of the king and most of magnates with their servants, as well as some merchants, for Grodno, rapidly depopulated the whole city (see Table 2.1). Thus, it was no wonder that in the last five years of the 18th century, the Holy Cross church provided with merely as many sacraments of marriage as at the end of the 1750s.

2. MARRIAGES IN THE YEARS OF NATURAL DISASTERS

The pre-industrial era, despite the systematic civilizational progress, failed to bring Europe any major independence of the human from the broadly-understood geographical and economic environment. Also in the discussed 18th century natural disasters marked the fates of the population, especially strongly

⁹ Bogucka *et al.* 1984, pp. 252, 332–335.

¹⁰ Siegel 1936, p. 55.

¹¹ Socio-occupational and territorial characteristics of Warsaw immigrants on those days are presented by Zienkowska 1970, pp. 5–35.

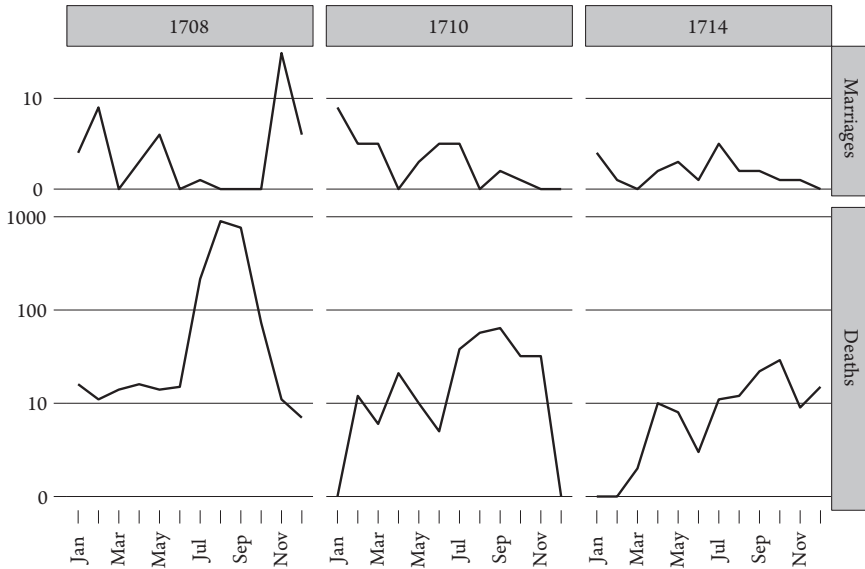


Figure 3.2. Monthly changes of the number of marriages and funerals during the plague in the years 1708, 1710 and 1714

experiencing town dwellers, packed in a small area.¹² For the needs of our observations, the effect of natural disasters on the number of marriages concluded in the Holy Cross parish, they were divided into three groups. The first one includes epidemics of plague and other diseases, which directly eliminated part of the population fit to start a family. The other group embraces broadly-understood climatic phenomena, such as: heavy rains, floods of the Vistula River, droughts, hails, strong frosts, which through rapid reductions of crops resulted in food dearness in the city, and in consequence famine, in particular among the poorest inhabitants of the city. The third group refers to warfare, which perhaps contributed to the direct population decline in Warsaw to a lesser degree, but through destruction of consumption and production means, caused, often considerable, economic problems.

Thus, let us try to follow the level of marriages concluded in the Holy Cross parish during one of the hardest epidemics of bubonic plague in 1708–10, and then a pestilence of a milder course in 1714. In the successive months of the first half of 1708, the parish registers noted on average 14–16 burials and a few

¹² Kula 1963, p. 652; Braudel 1976, 1, p. 360–367.

weddings a month (see Figure 3.2). However, already in June no single couple of the betrothed decided to stand before the altar, although the level of deceases could not have indicate what was to happen a few days later. The outbreak took place at the end of the month and with every week became increasingly intense, the evidence of which is the number of recorded burials; which in July exceeded 200. It caused the greatest havoc in the following months, when nearly 1,700 people died. In October the plague was already in retreat and at the beginning of the winter it ceased completely.

Over the fourth months of plague (July–October) the Holy Cross parishioners concluded no, except one in July, marriage(!), probably postponing such important life decisions to more conducive times. Figure 3.2 demonstrates clearly that this easier and thereby more convenient time to marry was already November, when the number of epidemic deceases definitely lowered, while the number of weddings was little different from the number of weddings in the whole first half of 1708. Moreover, a few couples concluded a union in church also in December, which previously was a rarity. Judging by the account of an eyewitness, one of the representatives of St. Benno's Brotherhood, organizer of aid during the plague, in the capital churches were closed down and the economic life practically ceased.¹³ This was frequently accompanied by escapes of the wealthier group of inhabitants from town, as they saw it as one of the ways of protection from annihilation.¹⁴

A strikingly low number of funerals in 1709 hinders a broader comparative analysis for that period, even though the sources confirm the occurrence of plague. Probably it did not afflict the Holy Cross parishioners very much, since, despite losses in the whole population, there were twice as many marriages than a year earlier.

An epidemic of bubonic plague returned with strong intensity in 1710. It attacked at the turn of July and it reached its apogee, judging by the number of registered burials, in September and gave up, as previously, in winter months. A plague of similar intensity in the years 1708–10 also occurred in Toruń, while in Gdansk it was different.¹⁵ Although its course was slightly milder in com-

¹³ Bystroń 1977, pp. 86–87.

¹⁴ Delumeau 1986, pp. 107–109; Braudel 1976, 1, pp. 366–367; Karpiński 2000, pp. 120, 202.

¹⁵ Górny 1977, p. 86; Baszanowski 1987, pp. 80–81. Correlations between fluctuations in food prices, the rise of which resulted in increase in mortality and impeded investment inclinations of residents of Gdansk in the years 1691–1740 are pointed out by Kizik 2012, pp. 30–34.

parison with the plague of 1708, a similar attitude can be observed in the Holy Cross community. Whereas in the first “non-plague” half of the year, altogether 27 marriages were concluded, in the second half just 8, including 5 in July, thus at the beginning of the plague. This type of attitude was, after all, characteristic of inhabitants of many other towns in various parts of the Old Continent.¹⁶

Subsequent epidemics, despite the fact that the sources define them, like the plague, “pestiferous air”, was until the end of the 18th century connected with occurrence of other acute infectious diseases such as typhoid, dysentery, small-pox and influenza. It is undoubted that after 1720 it is possible to observe in Polish lands reduction of frequency and range of the plague itself, even though, to a lesser degree, this concerned other epidemic diseases. Mostly, they did not have such an acute and violent course and not all of them led to a fast death. In epidemic years, for example 1714, 1737, 1769–71, one can observe, every single time, a decline in the number of concluded marriages (see Figure 3.1), but nowhere does one see their lack within a few months, which could be evidence of total abandoning of the plans of starting a family in the period of higher mortality.

Among many atmospheric disturbance, the capital and its nearest agricultural surroundings were tormented by frequent floods of the Vistula River. Natural disasters of that type, depending on its intensity and duration, caused bad crops, the result of which was rapid decline in food production. As we know, in the economy of pre-partition Poland dominated extensive agriculture, so any major decrease in crops turned into a disaster, particularly for the masses of poorer populations in big cities, more the consumer than the producer of food goods. In everyday family life, at their diminishing market supply, it led to a growth in food prices and additional, unpredicted beforehand, major expenses paid from the family budget.¹⁷ Simultaneously, they realized that mark-down could not be expected sooner than in a year, which could result from better crops. The maintenance of high prices of food in the pre-industrial city would be evidence of certain market-economic problems. In general, these disturbances lowered the standard of living of most Warsaw families and not only through higher expenses but also through lower incomes as a result of harder conditions of craft market. It is important to present family budgets in pre-partition Poland, which causes huge difficulties due to no fundamental studies

¹⁶ Goubert 1968, pp. 70–72; Armengaud 1975, pp. 86–87; Dupâquier 1979, p. 265; Perrenoud 1979, pp. 375–377.

¹⁷ Wyrobisz 1986, pp. 320–323.

on incomes and expenses of particular social groups in previous historiography. A separate problem remains the fact that we do not know what determined the living standard at that time. Fragmentary data on that subject were placed by Tadeusz Korzon, who referred to a table of expenses of a nobleman living in the city at the end of the 18th century (without a wife and children), employing 4 servants (a driver, a butler, a cook and a washerwoman). It lacks, what is important to emphasize, the costs of bread and other cereal products as well as the rent for the apartment. It is possible to cautiously conclude that what included the most expenses was the maintenance of the service (43%), and, furthermore, shopping: clothes (26.5%), beverages, sugar and spices (13.5%), meat and fish (11%), as well as fuel and lighting (4.5%).¹⁸ More objective, although also single, seem pieces of information referring to home budget of one of a craftsman of average wealth in Toruń at the turn of the 19th century. They demonstrate that, what from the perspective of our studies is the most important, nearly 56% of expenses concerned purchase of food and drinks (bread 18.2%, meat and fish 11.4%, dairy 7.4%, sugar and beverages 18.9%).¹⁹ Craftsmen's families of a small French town of Abbeville spent as much on food (1764): 56.8%, but even more households in such populous cities as Strasbourg (1745–54): 72%, Milan (1800): 70.1% or masons in Berlin (1800): 72.7%.²⁰

Thus, the question arises if in the situation where securing the material foundations of the already existent households caused problems for their managers, could they support their son or daughter's wedding, which, beside expenses, enticed the reduction of the estate (e.g. dowry)? In other words the point is to find out if a good or bad period of the economic situation in the modern town could affect in any way on attitudes of future partners' families encouraging or delaying young people's marriages. Unlike Italian, French or English historians, we do not have abundant and precise sources for this issue.

In search for the answer concerning occurrence and duration of better and worse economic situation in pre-industrial towns, Polish historians referred to following the fluctuations in prices of groceries and industrial goods as well as wages in 18th-century Warsaw possible to retrieve with the assistance of old study of Siegel.²¹ However, it is important to remember about many flaws in the

¹⁸ Kuklo *et al.* 2014, p. 152.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 150–151.

²⁰ Hoffman *et al.* 2005, pp. 140–144.

²¹ Siegel 1936.

aforementioned publication, signaled by, for instance, Kula.²² For these analyses seeking to observe the course of demographic facts, first matrimonial attitudes of the population under examination, in connection with the economic situation in the city, what seems the most useful is Robert Allen's calculations of the so-called welfare ratio, in this case referring, which worth underscoring, unqualified laborers working on daily wages.²³ It is important to remember that they answer the question how the wages of these laborers, the most vulnerable to all fluctuations occurring in pre-industrial, mainly urban, economy affected the costs of living of an average household. What seems the most characteristic of the remuneration movement in towns is not institutionalized salaries (e.g. those of officials, or those regulated by pay lists), but the wages of unqualified laborers. It is supposed that the changes in wages of this category of people (despite attempts at regulation), will relatively well reflect the economic changes occurring in Warsaw, which affected improvement or deterioration of the material status of foremost middle and poorer strata of the urban community.

It is worth adding that the basket of basic products, including foremost food and apartment rent, was created on assumption that each household includes 3 adult people.

Having data of the number of people in whole Warsaw in a few chronological sections (table 2.1), the city population was estimated in all years of the period 1700–99, with the so-called LOESS regression (of the range 0.5). Then the partial correlation for weddings and welfare ration were calculated, controlled because of the third variable, which was the previously estimated population of Warsaw. The value of the partial correlation calculated in this way between weddings and the welfare ratio of an unqualified laborer in the capital city in the 18th century is 0.7717014 at the probability value = 0.0001.

The coefficient of partial correlation calculated above between the welfare ration of an unqualified laborer and the number of weddings in the Holy Cross parish may show that the movement of the phenomena under examination was multidirectional. Thus, in the years of a better economic situation marked with a growth in daily wages of labor, a higher frequency of starting families in the capital of the country can be observed.²⁴ This tendency decreases in the years of economic disturbances expressing themselves in the decline of welfare ratio of

²² Kula 1963, pp. 539–541.

²³ Allen 2001.

²⁴ It was similar in Geneva, see Perrenoud 1979, p. 380.

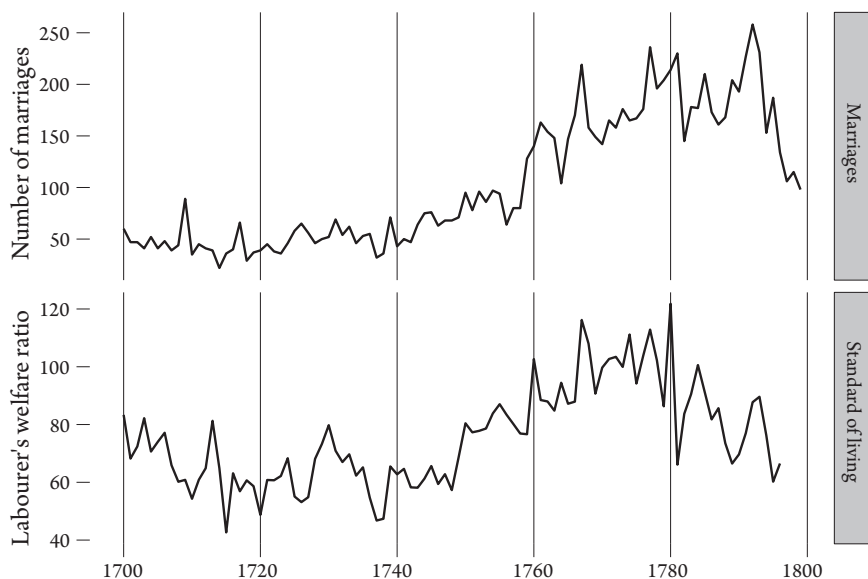


Figure 3.3. Annual numbers of marriages and welfare ratio of an unqualified laborer in Warsaw

Source: Allen 2001.

laborers (see Figure 3.3). So far it is difficult to assess the effect of immigration to the city in this correlation.

The conclusions presented above, being cautious hypotheses rather, require further research and verification for both the capital of the country as well as other Old Polish towns, on a broader source basis. World research dedicates a great deal of attention to the influence of the pre-industrial economy level on demographic processes, including the number of marriages concluded, about which convinces a synthesis of demographic processes in the British Isles by E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield.²⁵ Among extensive and diverse literature on the subject it is worth referring to the interesting research of Jean Claude Perrot on social development of the urban body of Caen, which highlighting the diverse influence of the town economy in a long scale on the number of marriages, in a short scale, for example 1740–70, demonstrated that the years of

²⁵ Wrigley and Schofield 1981, pp. 403–453. The results of studies on economic and demographic crises of preindustrial populations are concisely presented by Dupâquier 1984, pp. 42–44.

best wages coincided directly (or with a year's shift) with matrimonial peaks.²⁶ The French historian generally believes that until the Revolution of 1789, the movement of marriages demonstrated fluctuations similar to the changes in the economic situation of the city he studied.

3. SEASONALITY OF MARRIAGES

The source data presented in Table 3.1 enable to study the monthly seasonality of marriages concluded throughout the 18th century in the Holy Cross parish in Warsaw. Figure 3.4 demonstrate in the whole century under scrutiny (without the first quarter) three clear periods, in which the inhabitants married in the parish church. They include two winter months: January–February, then autumn: September–November and, to a lesser degree, July. Generally, the sacrament of marriage was not provided in the parish church in the period embracing the Lent and until the first Sunday after Easter inclusively (March–April) and from the beginning of Advent (December) until Epiphany or 6 January.

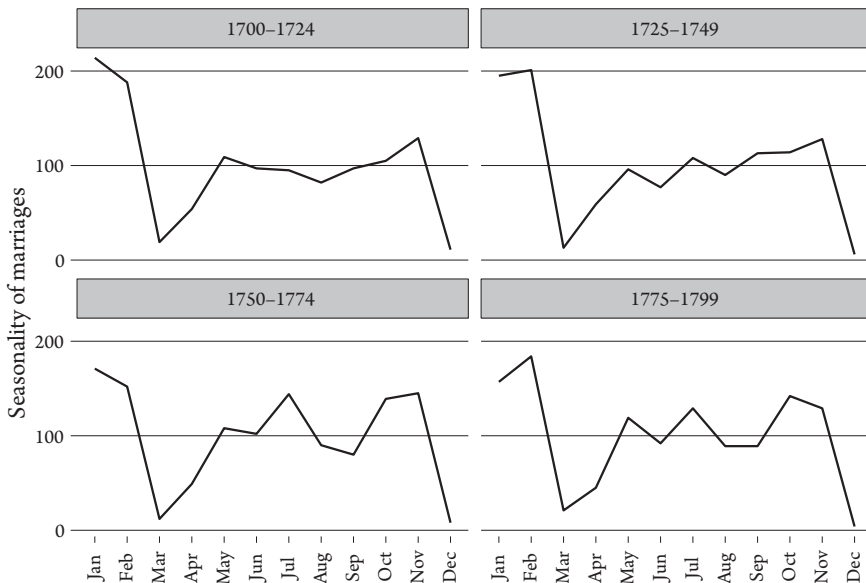


Figure 3.4. Seasonality of marriages, monthly indices

²⁶ Perrot 1975, p. 810.

Throughout the 18th century in December 55 couples of the betrothed married, which is merely 0.5% of the whole. All the couples had been granted dispensations from the Church authorities, which allowed them to marry in the period of Advent. It was similar when it comes to weddings held in the period of Lent, although the statistic investigation, due to the movable festival of Easter, is time-consuming. Nevertheless, among marriages concluded during the seasons of Lent and Advent dominated weddings of wealthy nobility, judging by the estate titlature mentioned in registers (*generosi, magnifici*).

A slightly different course of the seasonality curve of marriages in the parish under examination may be observed in the first quarter of the century, when in summer months, from June to September, there were few of them. The effect of numerous plagues and other epidemics is visible, which, as already mentioned, were not periods encouraging to concluding marriages, but it was not the only factor. The presented distribution of marriages by month in the years 1700–24 shows a great similarity with the seasonality typical of rural environments, which, even more than in populous towns, were determined by the natural calendar measured with the rhythm of field work. It is important not to forget that even at the beginning of the 18th century, the Holy Cross parish remained peripheral in relation to the then center: Old Town, and the dominating part of its area was occupied by nobility and clergy's granges and gardens. It was not until later, in the Stanisławian period, that the roads of the residential district would constitute a center of socio-economic life. Thereby, the previous agricultural production was pushed aside. Table 3.2 demonstrates it very well: each decade the July peak grows, whereas the share of marriages concluded in January and November decreases. A similar phenomenon also occurred in Poznań, but not until the last quarter of the 18th century. On the other hand, in Gdańsk in the first half of that century, the local, protestant, population concluded the most marriages in November (!) and in May and June.

The seasonality distribution of weddings in certain, comparatively selected, West and Central European towns of a strongly diversified degree of industrialization and population (from 80 thousand: Rouen, the big port and cotton procession center and Prague, the capital of Bohemia with the population of c. 60 thousand, to smaller ones: Caen: c. 35 thousand, Geneva: 20 thousand, down to small agricultural Meulan: c. 2 thousand, and other Czech towns), once more underscored the strong domination of economic factors (see Figure 3.5). As could be expected, it was the strongest in smaller agricultural centers. More interestingly, the volume of production, for example, the cotton industry in

Table 3.2. Seasonality of marriages, monthly indices

Years	Month												Total
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	
1710–1719	232	188	23	50	99	131	105	99	71	99	99	4	1200
1720–1729	179	201	22	65	122	68	107	68	147	110	99	12	1200
1730–1739	165	201	13	62	104	82	134	93	105	113	124	4	1200
1740–1749	243	194	5	44	71	79	85	109	101	115	150	4	1200
1750–1759	186	141	12	51	117	103	132	82	81	145	146	4	1200
1760–1769	181	138	11	67	100	95	155	99	74	130	139	11	1200
1770–1779	147	188	13	33	123	113	133	85	86	133	141	5	1200
1780–1789	158	178	16	40	114	79	136	93	96	150	136	4	1200
1790–1799	158	191	32	46	118	95	120	87	85	143	121	4	1200
1700–1724	214	188	19	54	109	97	95	82	97	105	129	11	1200
1725–1749	195	201	13	59	96	77	108	90	113	114	128	6	1200
1750–1774	171	152	12	49	108	102	144	90	80	139	145	8	1200
1775–1799	157	184	21	45	119	92	129	89	89	142	129	4	1200

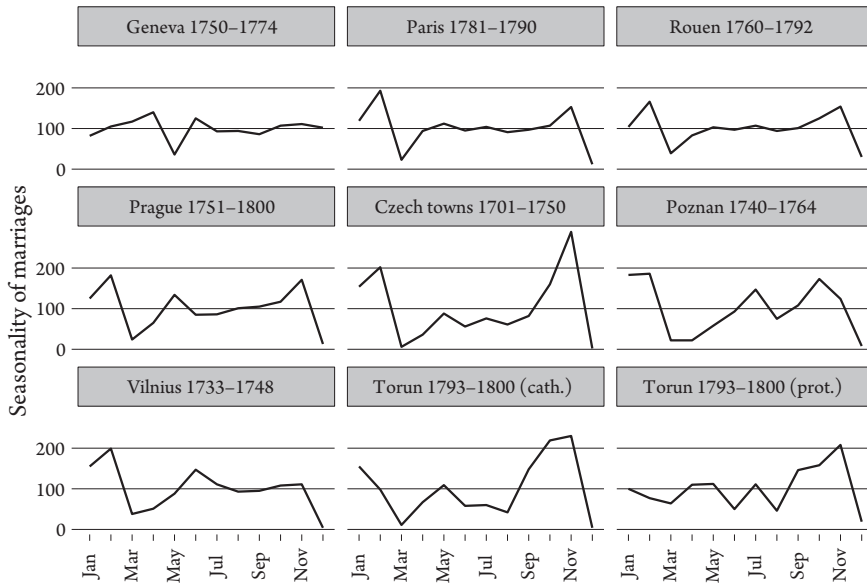


Figure 3.5. Seasonality of marriages in selected European towns, monthly indices

Source: Perrenoud 1979, p. 384; Lebrun 1988, p. 299; Hofman 2002, pp. 90, 97; Bardet 1983, 2, p. 172; Kędelski 1992, p. 29; Manyś 2014, p. 73; Zielińska 2012, pp. 373–375.

Rouen using work of the local rural craftsmen in the form of home work, was, as J.-P. Bardet observes, clearly limited by the calendar of farm works.²⁷ Also E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield, the authors of a renowned work on the population history in modern England, emphasize that regardless of the differences occurring in the European model of the marriage seasonality (for instance, between Catholics and Protestants), its fundamental structures remained under the influence of seasonal changes of work in agriculture. In 17 urban parishes examined by them 53% of marriages were concluded after harvest in two months: October and November.²⁸

The beginning of a new family as a result of marriage was a social event, which was underscored not only by the season of its concluding but also the day. The wedding was a subject of vivid interest on the part of the newlywed's families, closer and further relatives, also friends or sometimes even acquaintances. Usually they made efforts, regardless of the degree of wealth, to secure it ceremonious settings. Obviously, in Warsaw of the 18th century, full of blatant social contrasts in all respects, the wedding parties of the capital noble and bourgeois elite stood out with grander and more careful direction of the ceremony than the weddings of the capital commoners. It seems that the element of attractiveness of the marriage conclusion in the parish church itself could be enhanced by the selection of the very day of the ceremony. Certainly, the festive nature of Sunday made a great occasion for that.

In a big city, which was Warsaw in the Age of Enlightenment, concentration of weddings on a festive day can be observed, although not so high as in rural communities. Among the Holy Cross parishioners in the years 1740–84 Sunday enjoyed the greatest popularity (292 of a daily average) and Monday and Tuesday (Table 3.3). Altogether, over the first three days 510 of a daily average of the whole week were held. Varsovians, after all like noblemen or peasants in urban-rural and rural parishes, hardly ever concluded marriages on Friday. In the Church calendar it was a day of the crucifixion and death of the Christ, a day of fast and was not really suitable for such an important ceremony, especially for sumptuous wedding receptions. In the small Upper Silesian town of Toszek, its inhabitants married mainly on Tuesday, in contrast to peasants, who preferred Sunday.

Recently published Edmund Kizik's thorough study dedicated to family celebrations in a modern Hanseatic town brought new interesting observations

²⁷ Bardet 1983, p. 302.

²⁸ Wrigley and Schofield 1981, p. 304.

Table 3.3. Marriages by the days of the week in months in the years 1740–1784

Day	Month												Total
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	
Sunday	324	296	280	281	310	322	299	296	301	342	256	129	292
Monday	121	128	152	126	101	90	135	134	115	103	100	48	113
Tuesday	120	128	93	88	91	98	105	101	127	93	122	97	105
Wednesday	41	59	35	76	56	66	54	56	53	52	69	97	65
Thursday	45	47	70	69	80	53	56	59	41	32	70	145	63
Friday	8	7	35	25	4	15	3	6	7	13	16	–	10
Saturday	41	35	35	35	58	56	48	48	56	65	67	121	52
Total	700	700	700	700	700	700	700	700	700	700	700	700	700
Number	849	762	60	222	536	459	659	464	413	665	680	29	5,798

also on this issue.²⁹ The development and then strengthening of Protestantism in the towns of Gdansk Pomerania resulted in subordination of wedding timetables to the Lutheran liturgical calendar. Luther and other Protestant legislators after him, dedicated Sunday and other festive days to foremost joint spiritual experiencing and celebrating of the whole community of the confessors, which would be disturbed by afternoon sumptuous wedding feasts. Therefore, from the end of the 16th century on, successive wedding ordinances and resolutions of the Ordyneks (Gdansk government), like in Torun, forbade its inhabitants to marry on Sunday and, simultaneously, designated Monday, Tuesday and Thursday as days for wedding ceremonies. In Lutheran Elbląg, despite a discussion on that subject in the 17th century, Sunday weddings were acceptable. However, the Elbląg ordinance of 1709 formally provided for weekdays only as suitable for weddings. In smaller Lutheran congregations, according to E. Kizik, legislators usually pointed at one day of the week suitable for wedding ceremonies, for example in Wschowa it was Tuesday; in West Pomeranian towns Monday.³⁰ Not very numerous so far analyses of this issue fail to reveal dependence between the seasonality of marriage concluding in particular days of the week and the marital status or socio-occupational origins of the newlyweds.

Yet another preference in the selection of a day of the week was observed in the Age of Enlightenment in the capital of Normandy. The inhabitants of Rouen usually married on Tuesday and Monday, as well as Saturday. Definitely

²⁹ Kizik 2001, pp. 49–51.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

fewer unions were concluded on trading days: Wednesdays and Thursdays, and almost never on Friday or Sunday.³¹

4. PARISH COMPULSION. MIXED MARRIAGES. RESIDENCE BEFORE THE MARRIAGE

4.1. Parish compulsion

The authorities of the Commonwealth, in 1577, recognized the church form of concluding marriage unions as universally binding, leaving to ecclesiastical authorities specific legal regulations on the issue. In accordance with canon law, marriage, being a sacrament, was established on voluntary and mutual accord of the newlyweds expressed in the presence of witnesses and a priest. It also defined obstacles making the union conclusion impossible, the rules of its annulment, as well as determined the time and the place of providing the newlyweds with the sacrament of marriage. A bride's wedding, beside baptism, burial or Easter confession, according to the Church authorities, should take place in a parish church exclusively. This personal parish compulsion even gained in importance in the post-Tridentine reform of the Church, which strongly emphasized the need for clergy's control over all domains of social and individual life of the faithful. Therefore, clergy, in particular the parish priests, were against providing sacraments in other church institutions on the territory administered by them, for example monastic ones, numerous in towns, not mentioning private chapels, because they saw in it reduction of their rights and income.³²

In the marriage registers for the years 1740–79 (nearly 5 thousand files) thoroughly examined, what is striking is an enormous role of the Holy Cross parish church, where almost 98% of all sacraments of marriage were provided. Only 84 marriages, i.e. merely 1.7%, were concluded beyond the walls of the parish church. The most such facts took place in the 1740s and 60s. From the beginning of the 1780s on, marriages provided outside the parish church were exceptional. Systematic diminishing of the not very high number of weddings held outside the proper church, in such a big city as the capital of the country in the second half of the 18th century, may indicate considerable successes of

³¹ Bardet 1983, pp. 310–311. On determinants of weekly seasonality of weddings see Guillaume and Possou, 1970, p. 185; Pillorget 1979, pp. 43–44.

³² Litak 2004, p. 168.

Poznan bishops in their seek to make the parish the most important and strong cell of socio-religious life of the faithful.

In the Saxon era and at the beginning of the reign of Stanisław August Poniatowski, 1/3 of marriages provided outside the Holy Cross parish church were held in chapels at private houses, but in the 1770s they were already very rare. The most of them (5) took place at the Ruthenian Voievode August Czartoryski's, twice in the palace of the Grand Marshall of the Crown Franciszek Bieliński and the Deputy Chancellor of Lithuania, Michał Czartoryski. They were also held in the residences of the supreme Church dignitaries, for example in the palace of the bishop of Płock and Cuiavia. Before the altar in the palace chapel of the Ruthenian Voievode entered the marriage union representatives of wealthy, official nobility, e.g. Teodor Szydłowski, the judge of the city of Warsaw; Józef Vallen, the captain of the Royal Guard; Feliks Nowicki, the Chełm Master of the Hunt, or Kajetan Borowski, the Połock cup-bearer.³³ The voievode acted, obviously, each time as a witness. These ceremonies were conducted by Teodor Czartoryski, the Poznan bishop; Wawrzyniec Świniarski, the Gniezno canon and others. In palace chapels married, for example, the Nakło starost Feliks Franciszek Łubieński and Tekla Bielińska, the daughter of Czersk starost (in father-in-law's house)³⁴, Stanisław Kostka Potocki and Aleksandra Lubomirska, the daughter of Stanisław, the Grand Marshall of the Crown.³⁵

Marriage registers of the parish under examination fail to bring information confirming marriages of burghers outside the parish temple. The only such case took place in the palace of the banker Piotr Tepper, where the wedding of *famati* Jan Zygmunt Keyser and Anna Weber (Tepper was the groom's uncle), celebrated by Gabriel Podoski, the later primate of Poland. The ceremony was held at the end of December 1766, and the betrothed were granted a consent from the Warsaw official, who issued an appropriate dispensation from banns, date and place.³⁶ Also in a private house married (22 January 1767) Jan Dobrowicz and Helena Ledziewicz, whose social status remains unknown but witnesses of the ceremony were burghers: Filip Eckmajer, the baker, and Jan Zaidler, the bladesmith.³⁷

Warsaw of the 18th century was, beside Cracow, as already mentioned, the largest cluster of monastic clergy. The highest percentage in the capital was that

³³ AP, Lib. cop. 5, pp. 10, 66, 218, 259.

³⁴ AP, Lib. cop. 6, p. 186.

³⁵ AP, Lib. cop. 5, p. 89 – in the palace in Wilanów.

³⁶ AP, Lib. cop. 5, p. 250.

³⁷ AP, Lib. cop. 5, p. 252.

of Bernardines and Dominicans, and then representatives of Regular Canons: Jesuits, Piarists and Vincentians. Through their large educational activity, emphasizing moral values, demeanor of their patrons as role-models, the monastic clergy strongly marked their presence in the life of the inhabitants of the capital. These ties were additionally strengthened by their large charity activity, as well as the social composition of the monks itself, especially those in mendicant orders, who recruited their members among burghers. The evidence of this vitality of the orders and their rooting into the soil of the capital was marriages concluded in monastic churches. They constituted nearly a half of all weddings celebrated out of the walls of the parish temple in the years 1740–79. The highest number of marriages were concluded in the church of the Visitandines' nunnery in Krakowskie Przedmieście (11), and then at the Carmelites (9), the Capuchins (4) and the Dominicans (3). Two weddings were recorded in registers of each of the following churches: at the Bernardines, the Reformanti, the Trinitarians and the Augustians; and only single weddings at the Theatines, the Jesuits, the Pauline Fathers and the Franciscans. Knowing the estate status of 29 in 41 married couples, we can state that $\frac{3}{4}$ of the newlyweds concluding their marriages in monastic churches constituted wealthy official nobility. The magnificent and generosi entering marriage unions were cup-bearers, pantlers, masters of the hunt and starosts of various Crown and Lithuanian lands. Weddings of Warsaw burghers in those churches were rare.

It is very difficult, in the light of the material used, to find an unequivocal explanation of the phenomenon of weddings outside the proper parish church. It seems that Church authorities made exceptions to the universally binding regulations for the people of the highest social status and allowed them conclude their marriages in private houses. Such a wedding, for its venue, other than usual, graced with the presence of also remarkable witnesses, usually first people in the state, met the ambitions of the newlyweds, their parents, as well as closer or further relatives. Perhaps official nobility did not have such mighty protectors as the Czartoryskis or Bielińskis, or were not in such close relationships with the elite of wealth and power, but they saw a chance to manifest their different socio-legal status in concluding marriage in one of numerous Warsaw monastic churches. Also other, unknown, reasons could matter. Nevertheless, for Warsaw burghers, the place of wedding ceremonies was their proper parish church of the Holy Cross. Rare weddings of their representatives in monastic institutions could concern people firmer connected with them, for example, through legacies or other donations in their favor.

4.2. Mixed marriages

The reign of Augustus II and his son undoubtedly encouraged the inflow of foreign immigrants to the capital, mainly Germans. The socio-occupational and religious composition of the immigrants was diverse, but, as notes Kitowicz, an astute observer of the Warsaw street of that time, “grew in Poland Lutheranism and Calvinism”, simultaneously adding “And thus those little faiths, meeting no repugnance, on the contrary, pleasantly nested at first persons, they crowded to Poland as they could and multiplied”.³⁸ Among over 6 thousand of Lutherans in 1792, their considerable part dwelled the parish under examination, for example in the private jurydyka of Bielino.³⁹ As the literature claims, the cohabitation of Catholic and dissenter population in the capital was not without numerous tensions. Although religious charges were brought first, actually the point was a strong economic rivalry, where Protestant merchants and craftsmen usually did better. All the more that, as Friedrich Schulz being in the capital (1791–93) wrote, “Polish craftsmen can manufacture basic and most common necessities, and for this reason it was necessary to invite gentler people from Germany, France and England”.⁴⁰ Various ethnic groups living in Warsaw, at the advanced division of labor in everyday life of the parish and the city, considerably extended the range of contacts and acquaintances and led to religiously mixed marriages, although the Catholic Church formally prohibited such unions.⁴¹

Marriages of Catholics and Protestants were more frequent in the Holy Cross parish in the 1740s and 50s (3.0–3.1% of all), and rarer in the following two decades of the 18th century. Among these unions dominated marriages where the man was a representative of the Protestant party (73–82% in particular decades). In the parish church, the Vincentians also provided a sacrament of marriage to a couple where both parties were not Catholic. Over the years a systematic decline in the percentage of completely Calvinist or Lutheran weddings can be observed: from 1.8% in the 1740s to 0.7% in the 1770s. In the following decade no marriage of two non-Catholic betrothed was registered. This was probably connected with the improvement of the legal situation of Polish dissenters, whom the Sejm granted equal political rights in 1768 and at the turn

³⁸ Kitowicz 1985, p. 25.

³⁹ Waszkiewicz 1972, pp. 126–129; see also Poniat 2016.

⁴⁰ Zawadzki 1963, 2, p. 601.

⁴¹ Pelczar 1882, pp. 347–348; Grabowski 1927, p. 428–429.

of the 1780s the first temple of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession, from 1781 on, the venue of weddings of Warsaw dissenters.

Marriage registers of the Holy Cross parish also inform about rare marriages of both neophytes alone or unions of a neophyte with a Catholic. In the years 1740–85 6 couples of neophytes were provided with the sacrament of marriage⁴², and further 6 couples with their participation⁴³; they were, thus, very rare cases. Recently published Jakob Goldberg's precious study on Jewish converts in Old Polish society, extensively showing motives making Jews to adopt Christianity, revealed difficult and complex processes of socio-cultural integration of neophytes in the past.⁴⁴ Drawing broader observations from the content of sporadic marriage registers referring to neophytes is impeded by exceptional conciseness of the records. In contrast to converts' baptisms, pompously celebrated, usually with illustrious godparents (magnates, state dignitaries, higher clergy), their weddings fail to stand out with any special ceremony or outstanding witnesses. Probably there occurred certain difficulties in functioning of converts' families due to the conduct of one or the other spouse, or the social environment which was not always very friendly.⁴⁵ It is important to add, however, that a half of the Warsaw neophytes' marriages lived in the parish under examination, which is confirmed by the baptisms of children born in those unions. An example may be the marriage of the neophyte Walenty Ostrowski concluded with Miss Krystyna Pulchzucz (22 February 1767, in which 5 children were born.⁴⁶ Thereby they document their firmer ties with their newly adopted religion and systematic rooting in the new social environment.

4.3. Residence before the marriage

Processes of territorial mobility of feudal society have long attracted the attention of historians. Their fundamental source base usually constituted *Libri Iuris Civilis* (books of admitting to the town rights). Hardly ever were other materials referred to. Well known, thanks to Stanisław Gierszewski's work, numerous faults of Old Polish town censuses result in the fact that the effects of this research are of, quite often, limited value.⁴⁷ In this context, certain propos-

⁴² AP, Lib. cop. 5, pp. 40, 158; Lib. cop. 6, p. 26 (2 weddings); Lib. cop. 7, p. 6.

⁴³ AP, Lib. cop. 5, pp. 37, 112, 129, 255; Lib. cop. 6, pp. 6, 8.

⁴⁴ Goldberg 1986.

⁴⁵ Konarski 1970, pp. 162–163; Goldberg 1986.

⁴⁶ AP, Lib. cop. 5, p. 255; Lib. bapt. 9, pp. 82v, 125, 184v, 241; Lib. bapt. 10, p. 190.

⁴⁷ Gierszewski 1973.

Table 3.4. Place of residence of men married in the years 1785–1799 (%)

Years	Place of residence parishes:							Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	Outside Warsaw	Unknown	%	Number
	Bachelors								
1785–1789	80.9	5.8	1.9	2.5	2.0	3.0	3.9	100	728
1790–1794	81.6	5.8	3.6	1.4	1.1	2.8	3.7	100	808
1795–1799	82.4	3.3	1.5	1.7	1.1	3.3	6.7	100	460
1785–1799	81.5	5.2	2.5	1.8	1.4	3.0	4.6	100	1996
	Widowers								
1785–1789	73.1	5.6	3.7	3.1	4.4	2.5	7.6	100	160
1790–1794	82.2	3.4	–	1.9	4.8	4.3	3.4	100	208
1795–1799	76.5	6.5	2.9	1.8	1.8	7.0	3.5	100	170
1785–1799	77.7	5.0	2.0	2.4	3.7	4.6	4.6	100	538

1 – the Holy Cross; 2 – St. John; 3 – St. Andrew; 4 – BVM; 5 – Ujazdów.

als were brought forward, for example of larger use of register books in the research on migration processes.⁴⁸

Marriage registers not always, as for instance in the parish under examination, precisely inform about the place of origins and residence of the betrothed before the marriage conclusion. Whereas the sacraments of marriage were usually provided in the bride's parish, these observations refer to the group of men, who married women from the Holy Cross parish only. Thereby, which is worth emphasizing, the territorial origins of the wives of the Holy Cross parishioners coming from outside the territory of the parish in question evades statistical examination.

The results of the statistical analysis prove that in the last 15 years of the 18th century, over 80% of bachelors inhabited the same parish as their future wives, which demonstrates that the couples were matched foremost within the local community (Table 3.4). Further 11% of men came from other Warsaw parishes (including that in Ujazdów), although the share of each of them was not the same. Most bachelors came from the oldest, St. John's parish, embracing Stare Miasto (Old Town), next, but twice more rarely, from St. Andrew's parish, separated, which is worth remembering, out of the parish under ex-

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 11–13, 162.

amination in 1774. Even lower was the percentage of marriages concluded by women from the parish under scrutiny to inhabitants of Nowa Warszawa (New Warsaw) and the Ujazdów parish. However, what is surprising, at least on the face of it, in Table 3.4, is just a negligible scale of weddings with men coming from outside Warsaw. In the period 1784–99, only 61 bachelors and 25 widowers, thus not even 90 in over 2.5 thousand men who married in the Holy Cross church, lived outside Warsaw. It is important to note that whereas the percentage of marriages with bachelors coming from outside Warsaw was stable, in that with widowers one could observe a growing tendency. Most of those 86 men came from parishes surrounding Warsaw: Skaryszew, Wilanów and Służew.

The nature of the sources used does not, unfortunately, present the real size of migration to Warsaw at the end of the 18th century. The route of migration of newcomers to the capital did not usually run directly from their home villages and towns. They arrived in Warsaw from smaller or bigger places being stages of their migration. Hence the analyzed group of the betrothed (women and men) coming from Warsaw parishes, according to information in marriage registers, included both its permanent dwellers (having lived there for one or even a few generations), and those who had arrived in Warsaw quite recently and just begun the process of rooting into the social body of the city. One thing is undoubted: for most newlyweds standing within the walls of the Holy Cross church the range of their social contacts is confined to the borders of this single parish. This finding is, surprisingly, corroborated by Stefania Kowalska-Glikman's studies on the society of Warsaw in the era of industrialization in the mid-19th century. In the city of over 200 thousand inhabitants at that time (including 164 of permanent population), the percentage of marriage couples having lived before their wedding in one parish amounted 65.5% and increased along with passing to the lower rungs of the socio-occupational ladder.⁴⁹ The situation was similar in Poznań in the first half of the 19th century, the inhabitants of which usually looked for a spouse in the nearest neighborhood. 77.6% of the betrothed in the capital of Greater Poland in the years 1815–20 came from the same quarter, including 61.3% from the same street. In the period 1843–48 the phenomenon intensified, respectively: 86.6% and 70.2%.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Kowalska-Glikman 1971, pp. 118–122.

⁵⁰ Makowski 1992, pp. 114–115.

5. AGE OF THE NEWLYWEDS

One of the fundamental advantages of Henry's method used in the research is the possibility to establish the age in which marriages were concluded in the past. In the French historian Pierre Chaunu's opinion, it was "The age of concluding a marriage by maids was a real contraception weapon of the classic Europe" and "a key to fertility in the ancient demographic structure".⁵¹ A characteristic of the marriage model in pre-industrial towns of Western Europe was the high average age of marriage. Men in Lyon, Marseilles and also in Geneva and Lucerne married at the age of 29, in Zurich 30, in Caen and Chartres even later: 31, in populous Amsterdam and small Meulan 28, and in Durlach slightly over 27.⁵² Similarly late the Czechs started their families: from nearly 28 years of age in Budyně nad Ohří up to 31 in Domažlice, and still slightly later in the capital of Bohemia, Prague, unlike in Russian towns.⁵³ In the British Isles under the reign of the first Stuarts, the English married being on average 28 years old, but one and a half centuries later the decision on marrying was generally taken before 26.⁵⁴ The age of marriage of French, Swiss and German women was lower than their partners but not much, since the differences were usually 2–3 years, although, for example, in Bohemian towns brides were 5–6 years their bridegrooms' junior.

Detailed western studies dedicated to the family, beside a high average of the age of marriage, revealed its high diversification throughout the social stratification. In the 18th century Rouen laborers married the earliest, on average at the age of 27, they were followed by craftsmen (slightly over 28), then merchants: after 30, whereas the remaining groups of local notables did it yet later, at the age of 32–33.⁵⁵ At the same time, in Calvinist Geneva, workers employed in clock-maker and goldsmith's manufactures, privileged because of their higher wages, started their families at the age of 27.5, which as nearly a year earlier than textile workers (28.4). The Genevan elite (owners of manufactures, hotels, lawyers) did not marry until 30, and still later, due to the lack of livelihood and stable job,

⁵¹ Chaunu 1989, p. 86.

⁵² Garden 1970, p. 91; Bardet 1983, p. 255; Perrenoud 1977, pp. 147–148; François 1975, p. 299; Kintz 1986, p. 517; Perrot 1975, p. 820; Garnot 1988, p. 92; Diederiks 1986, p. 186; Lachiver 1969, p. 138–140.

⁵³ Mužik 1986, p. 131; Fialová *et al.* 1996; Fialová 1999, pp. 77–78; Rabinowicz 1985, pp. 228–230.

⁵⁴ Wrigley *et al.* 1997, pp. 130–138.

⁵⁵ Bardet 1983, pp. 255–256.

physical laborers: 31.4.⁵⁶ A similar phenomenon of late starting a family, also in socio-economic stratification, took place in Belgium and Holland.⁵⁷

The lack of more extensive studies on family demography in Old Poland enforced for years the opinion taken from memoirs and novels on allegedly very early starting a family in Polish lands in the early modern era. The data in Table 3.5 definitely disprove it demonstrating that in the 18th-century Warsaw men married for the first time at the age of nearly 29, so at the same age as in Western Europe. Warsaw women, on the other hand, unlike female inhabitants of Lyon, Marseille, Rouen and Geneva, married much earlier. Under the reign of Augustus III brides in the capital were nearly 23 years old, and in the Age of Enlightenment they were even a year younger.

Table 3.5. Age of newlyweds by marital status

	Men			Women		
	Bachelors	Widowers	Total	Maidens	Widows	Total
1740–1769						
Average	28.8	39.2	30.7	22.6	35.5	24.7
Median	27.8	40.0	29.3	21.8	35.8	22.9
1770–1799						
Average	29.0	41.2	32.2	21.8	34.1	24.2
Median	28.4	39.6	30.6	20.9	32.9	22.2

The relatively high average age of marriage in West European towns was also confirmed in pre-industrial Warsaw but among men only.⁵⁸ This resulted foremost from the similarity of the economic situation and material conditions of urban families all over late-feudal Europe. Becoming independent by a man, a future family head and manager of the future household, meaning the ability to fully cater for the needs of the new social cell, in the pre-industrial urban circumstances, occurred relatively late. However, a more important fact, from the point of view of demographic structures of the Warsaw family, was the lower

⁵⁶ Perrenoud 1977, pp. 148–151.

⁵⁷ Vandenbroke 1977, pp. 9–11.

⁵⁸ For more on differences in the circumstances of concluding marriages between Western and Central Europe on the one hand, and Eastern and South-Eastern Europe on the other hand, see Mitterauer and Sieder 1982, pp. 35–38. The age of entering the marriage union is a primary criterion for historians reconstructing the European geography of family forms: see Hajnal 1965; Laslet 1983; Burguière 1986.

average age of marriage of women. In contrast to western ones, each Warsaw married couple, enjoying naturally a longer period of procreation, stood a better chance to have more numerous offspring.

Among Warsaw brides, throughout the 18th century, occurred single girls marrying as early as the age of 13 and a few others at 14–15. The upper border for maidens was 47–48, although almost all entered the marriage union earlier, before 40. In the years 1740–69, the most numerous group were maidens of 19, and in the next thirty years of 19–20. As regards men, the youngest were 16 years old, i.e. only two years more than required by canon law, but they were exceptions. Ignoring them, the lower and upper age border of bridegrooms for 30-year-long periods (1740–69 and 1770–99) was 20 and 50 years of age, respectively. However, during the reign of Stanisław August Poniatowski, the dispersion of the age category among men was less diverse than 30 years earlier. In the years 1740–69 three age peaks were quite clearly observed: 21–22, 23–25 and 29–30, in which the highest number of men married. In the Age of Enlightenment there were only two: at the age of 22 and 26.

Table 3.6, which illustrates newlyweds' age structure by their marital status, demonstrates that the most marriages in the late Saxon era, were concluded by men in the sections of 21–25 and 26–30; in total nearly 60%. Although Warsaw maidens usually married in the age group of 16–20, by 25 years of age $\frac{2}{3}$ of them had already been married. At the same age slightly more than $\frac{1}{3}$ men married. By the age of 30, $\frac{2}{3}$ of bachelors and staggering 90% of maidens entered the marriage union. It seems that an age border of marriage for most maidens was 35 years of age (merely 3.3% of all marriages), which did not refer to bachelors, since every sixth union was entered by those who were 36 and older.

In the Age of Enlightenment, in the years 1770–99, considerable changes in the age structure of marriages are not observed. On the other hand, a clearer tendency to early starting a family among Warsaw maidens is noticeable. Whereas in the late Saxon era, 43.4% maidens married by the age of 20, in the next thirty years, more than a half of them were married at that age (50.7%). The number of marriages concluded by older maidens over 30 slightly decreased.

Appreciating the cognitive value of the age of the betrothed marrying for the first time, especially that of women, who in the 18th century constituted c. $\frac{2}{3}$ of all concluded marriages and, thereby, determined the pace of the demographic development of the capital population (the importance of immigration is disregarded here), it is important to note the age of newlyweds also for the remaining unions. Thus, Warsaw widowers, who married for another time in

Table 3.6. Age structure of newlyweds by marital status (%)

Age	1740–1769				1770–1799			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	Bachelors	Widowers	Maidens	Widows	Bachelors	Widowers	Maidens	Widows
–15	–	–	4.7	–	–	–	5.0	–
16–20	7.1	–	38.7	5.6	5.9	–	45.7	5.7
21–25	28.3	9.2	30.4	9.7	31.7	2.7	28.5	12.9
26–30	30.7	9.2	16.8	15.3	28.4	12.0	12.8	24.3
31–35	17.7	15.4	6.1	19.4	17.5	16.0	5.7	17.1
36–40	8.5	20.0	1.4	25.0	9.0	22.7	1.7	13.6
41–45	5.6	23.1	1.4	9.7	4.7	13.3	0.4	12.9
46+	2.1	23.1	0.5	15.3	2.8	33.3	0.2	13.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number	283	65	362	72	423	150	523	140

the years 1740–69 were on average slightly more than 39 years old (Table 3.5). In the later period (1770–99) the average age of widowers was two years higher (41.2), but the median even slightly lower than previously. Among widows in the Holy Cross parish, the average age of marriage lowered by c. 1.5 years, and the median even by 3 years.

In the period 1740–69, the percentage of widowers in the group of the betrothed grows systematically along with their age; among widows up to 40 years of age, inclusively (Table 3.6). It is worth adding that the percentage of women remarrying is higher than that of men in all age groups up to 40. A half of them married not having turned 35; 25% in the next age group. Among widowers in the same age sections, only $\frac{1}{3}$ married by 35, and the percentage slightly exceeded a half of all for those who married by 40. Staggering $\frac{1}{4}$ of widowers and merely $\frac{1}{5}$ of widows remarried late, being over 45. Thirty years later, in the Stanisławian era, the percentage of remarrying men by 40 is nearly identical as in the earlier period, even though the share of the betrothed in the youngest age group fell from 9.2 to merely 2.7%. On the other hand, even more characteristic change occurred in the last, the oldest age group. Exactly $\frac{1}{3}$, unlike $\frac{1}{4}$ earlier, widowers remarried being over 45.

Considerable changes in the age structure of Warsaw widows occurred in the Age of Enlightenment. Widows remarried more often than widowers by 35, unlike previous 40. Moreover, more of them entered marriage unions at the age

from 21 to 30. Thus, the tendency of a kind of “rejuvenating” successive marriages on the part of women, observed in the years 1779–99, concerned not only maidens but also widows. Exactly 60% of all married at the age of under 35, which is by 20% more than in the late Saxon era. The percentage of the oldest, over 46, widows also slightly decreased (from 15.3 to 13.5%).

In conclusion, the thorough analysis of the age structure of newlyweds, including first and successive marriages, delivered an image, previously unknown to Polish historiography, of marriage conclusion in the biggest pre-industrial city of pre-partition Poland. It is important to remember, however, that it is the age of marriage that is one of the most important criteria for historians reconstructing the European geography of family forms.⁵⁹

6. MARITAL STATUS OF THE NEWLYWEDS

Marriage registers of the Holy Cross parish of the first half of the 18th century note the marital status of the betrothed incompletely; more precisely not until the 1760s. Table 3.7 contains data (omitting the newlyweds with undefined marital status), which present the percentage of never married single people and widows/widowers in the marriages concluded. It is important to remember that along with the process of making new marriages goes the process of collapse of old ones, from which a certain part of widowed spouses will seek to rebuild the broken family structures. They are defined as remarriages, understood not only as the second marriage but any successive marriages. In the light of the results obtained, it is possible to state that in pre-industrial Warsaw among all marriage unions concluded prevailed marriages of bachelors to maidens (66.6%). Their percentage over the last 60 years of the 18th century (except the years 1760–64 and 1795–99) was stable and basically fit in the limits 65.5–71%.

The causes of the decline in the percentage of first marriages in the aforementioned 5-year periods were probably basically similar, although processes of socio-economic development of the town at the end of pre-partition Poland are by and large better known. Disasters that affected the inhabitants of the capital in the mid-1790s (floods, bad crops, famine, epidemics of contagious diseases⁶⁰) resulted in the growth in mortality. Its victims were not only the youngest but also adults. Part of the previously functioning marriages were suddenly broken

⁵⁹ Hajnal 1965; Laslett 1983; Mitterauer and Sieder 1982, pp. 35–37; Burguière 1986, pp. 639–641.

⁶⁰ Siegel 1936, pp. 54–55.

Table 3.7. Newlyweds by marital status (%)

Period marriage	Bachelors		Widowers		Total
	Maidens	Widows	Maidens	Widows	
1740–1744	66.1	10.5	14.0	9.4	100
1745–1749	68.1	16.7	10.1	5.1	100
1750–1754	67.6	12.2	15.7	4.5	100
1755–1759	65.5	14.9	14.3	5.3	100
1760–1764	60.1	17.4	14.8	7.7	100
1765–1769	70.8	14.9	11.2	5.1	100
1770–1774	66.8	14.1	13.1	6.0	100
1775–1779	69.1	11.7	12.3	6.9	100
1780–1784	68.2	12.2	14.2	5.4	100
1785–1789	71.0	10.9	13.7	4.4	100
1790–1794	68.0	12.1	13.1	6.8	100
1795–1799	53.3	19.7	16.4	10.6	100

as a result of the death of one of the spouses. Probably the majority, if not all, sought to remarry, although the chances of the poorer or those in advanced years were not equal. Thus, it is possible to observe at that time the growth in, on the one side, the number of marriages with widows by nearly 63% and widowers by over 25% (in relation to marriages with their participation in the years 1790–94); on the other hand unions of both widowed persons, by nearly 56%. Władysław Smoleński cogently characterized the general situation of the city after Poland lost its independence in 1795: “Only vestiges of ancient wealth remained in it. Palaces of magnates who dispersed all over the world, stayed empty. The city patricians experienced a heavy economic crisis”.⁶¹ In those extremely hard years for the city community, marriages of maidens and bachelors constituted merely a half of all unions concluded in the Holy Cross church. A similar situation, a lower percentage of first marriages in the years of stronger natural disasters combined with economic problems, could also be observed in other towns, for example Poznań (the 17th century) and Toruń (the 1770).⁶²

In the pre-industrial era, the collapse of a family occurred at the moment of one of the spouses’ death. Disintegration of a marriage as a result of its an-

⁶¹ Smoleński 1976, p. 317; similarly Bystroń 1977, pp. 152–153; see also Magier 1963, pp. 141–142.

⁶² Górny 1977, p. 93; Waszak 1954, pp. 348–351.

nulment or termination of the union of martial life was actually possible but such situations were exceptional and generally referred to magnates, the then social elite.⁶³ The Catholic Church did not recognize divorces but accepted, in exceptional situations, when there occurred a so-called breaking obstacle, annulment of the concluded marriage and, for important reasons, separation of the spouses.⁶⁴ Remarriages with the participation of the separated, defined in registers as “divortatus/a/” were rare. In general, in the years 1740–99 14 such marriages were found, including staggering 11 referring to women.

Statistical data based on the Holy Cross registers prove that there occurred, both under the reign of Augustus III and Stanisław August Poniatowski, numerous remarriages. They usually made $\frac{1}{3}$ of all marriages concluded at that time in the parish church. For the whole period under examination (1740–99) an almost ideally equal proportion of widows (19.9%) and widowers (19.7%) entering successive unions was obtained. By the mid-1770s, with small exceptions (1740–44, 1750–54), judging by the data in Table 3.7, prevailed marriages of widows and bachelors, and in the next period, by the mid-1790s, widowers and maidens.

The structure of marriages concluded in the Holy Cross church in the years 1740–99, as regards the marital status of the betrothed is close to the composition of marriages formed in the 17th-century Poznań and the 18th-century Toruń. It is important to note, however, that in both those towns, the percentage of multiple marriages was, however, slightly higher (47–50%) than in the capital.⁶⁵ This could result from far higher attractiveness of Warsaw in the second half of the 18th century, for it offered considerably better opportunities of earning a living than Poznań or Toruń and, thereby, a greater influx of young people to Warsaw.

Finally, it is important to pay attention to a certain detail. Generally researchers of the western family emphasize quite unanimously that remarriages were much more often concluded by widowers than widows.⁶⁶ However, in the Holy Cross parish in Warsaw there was a balance in this respect, like in the whole city at the turn of the 19th century.

⁶³ For more on the subject see Kulesza 1997.

⁶⁴ Pelczar 1882, pp. 599–600.

⁶⁵ Waszak 1954, p. 352; Górny 1977, p. 93. At the beginning of the 19th century remarriages in Poznań were less numerous, less than 34%; see Kędelski 1990, p. 51,

⁶⁶ Mols, 2, 1955, p. 275; Laslett 1969, pp. 311–312; Guillaume and Poussou 1970, pp. 182–183; Armengaud 1975, pp. 37–38; Lebrun 1975, pp. 51–52; Perrot 1975, pp. 822–823; Mitterauer and Sieder 1982, p. 35.

Historical literature made its readers accustomed to an image where a man marries again every time he is widowed and emphasized matrimonial difficulties of widows. For Warsaw in the 19th century it is just a part of the truth. Remarriages of widows, as numerous as those of widowers, should be evidence of an intention to maintain family households, in a way production companies, guaranteeing at least preserving the previous standard of living for particular family members. The death of husband and father, the manager of a craft workshop or commercial agency, often the only breadwinner in the household, contrary to the demise of wife and mother, shattered the foundations of the family much more strongly: it was a greater tragedy. This activity of Warsaw widows on the matrimonial market was an expression of the new socio-economic situation, which they faced after their husband death, sometimes also coerced by guild regulations.⁶⁷ On the other hand, Andrzej Wyrobisz tends to see widows' matrimonial activity as evidence of the still strong role of the family as the basic economic unit in the pre-industrial town.⁶⁸

7. DURATION OF MARRIAGES AND WIDOWHOOD

Beside the average age of marriage, especially the first marriage, by a woman, and also the time of lasting of the union, played a very important role in determining the duration of real fertility. Among 659 reconstructed closed families formed during the late Saxon era the most numerous group (29%) were marriages with over 20 years' experience (Table 3.8). The percentage of family unions lasting very short, to 5 years inclusively, was very small: slightly over 14%. The calculated average duration of a marriage concluded in the years 1740–69 was exactly 15 years. Furthermore, in the following 30 years nearly staggering $\frac{1}{3}$ was made by couples with a short (5 years) experience of married life; whereas nearly 22% families lasting over 15 years. Thereby, the calculated average duration of marriages functioning in the Age of the Enlightenment was definitely shorter: merely 10 years.

How to explain these differences, which at the first glance seem to show more frequent dissolutions of marriages at the end of the 18th century as a result of an earlier death of one of the spouses? It is important to remember that the second of the groups of marriages distinguished was in a way artificially reduced to the families where the demise of the first of the spouses occurred at latest at the be-

⁶⁷ Gieysztorowa 1979, p. 165.

⁶⁸ Wyrobisz 1986, p. 329.

Table 3.8. Marriage durability

Period of marriage duration	1740–1769		1770–1799	
	Number	%	Number	%
–2 years	7	1.0	31	3.7
2–5	87	13.2	226	26.8
6–10	127	19.3	236	28.0
11–15	131	19.9	167	19.8
16–20	116	17.6	109	12.9
20+	191	29.0	73	8.8
Total	659	100	842	100

ginning of the 19th century. In this way families with longer marital experience disappeared from the field of observation but their collapse occurred definitely later, beyond the chronological scope of our observations. We think that introducing any corrections for the second period (1770–99) would be too arbitrary and therefore we assume that in Warsaw in the 18th century the marriage lasted on average 15 years. It was by staggering 5 years more than the duration of marriages in big Polish cities but in the 17th century and only slightly less (2–3 years) than the duration of marriages in small towns in the 18th century.⁶⁹

The proportion of remarriages to all weddings on the basis of the information on the marital status of the betrothed in registers has already been mentioned. Lower or higher frequency of marriages with a widower or a widow depended on many factors, for example the age of becoming a widow/er, wealth, the number of orphaned offspring, fluctuations of supply on the marital market connected with the socio-economic environment and others. Definitely different was the socio-economic situation of a childless widow from the one burdened with offspring. In yet another situation were widowers, even with children, who could not establish new unions, ever for a long time, employing servants to take care of the orphaned offspring.

Table 3.9 for the period 1740–69, and Table 3.10 for the following 30 years (1770–99) provide the number of widowers and widows remarrying by age and number of the orphaned offspring. Among 118 widowers and 101 widows in the late Saxon era, nearly 46% of men and 37% of women entered successive marriage unions. The group of widowers who started new families included

⁶⁹ Waszak 1954, p. 352; Brodnicka 3, 1970, p. 1987.

Table 3.9. Remarriages by the number of orphaned children in the years 1740–1769

Age of widowhood	Remarriage										Permanent widowhood									
	Number of children										Number of children									
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total				
Men																				
25-29	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	3				
30-34	1	1	-	-	-	2	2	6	-	2	-	2	1	-	-	5				
35-39	2	1	1	3	-	3	3	13	1	1	1	-	2	3	2	10				
40-44	2	1	-	1	1	-	3	8	1	-	-	-	-	1	2	4				
45-49	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	3	1	-	1	-	1	-	4	7				
50-54	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	3	-	1	-	-	1	-	4	6				
55-59	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				
60-64	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	2				
65-69	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2				
Unknown	6	3	3	1	3	-	3	19	5	2	1	-	2	2	13	25				
Total	11	10	4	5	5	7	12	54	9	7	3	2	10	6	27	64				
%	20.4	18.5	7.4	9.3	9.3	12.9	22.2	100	14.1	10.9	4.7	3.1	15.6	9.4	42.2	100				

Age of widowhood	Remarriage							Permanent widowhood								
	Number of children							Number of children								
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
Women																
25-29	1	-	3	-	1	-	1	6	1	-	-	-	2	1	-	4
30-34	2	-	1	3	-	1	1	8	-	-	2	-	-	1	5	8
35-39	-	-	-	2	1	-	2	5	-	-	1	-	1	-	4	6
40-44	-	-	1	-	1	-	3	5	-	-	-	1	-	-	3	4
45-49	-	1	-	1	-	1	1	4	2	-	1	1	3	-	5	12
50-54	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	3	1	1	-	1	2	4	12
55-59	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	1	2	6
60-64	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	3
65-69	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Unknown	-	2	-	-	1	3	2	8	1	2	-	-	1	-	4	8
Total	3	3	5	6	5	5	10	37	10	3	5	3	8	5	30	64
%	8.1	8.1	13.5	16.2	13.5	13.5	27.0	100	15.6	4.7	7.8	4.7	12.5	7.8	46.9	100

Table 3.10. Remarriages by the number of orphaned children in the years 1769–1799

Age of widowhood	Remarriage							Permanent widowhood								
	Number of children							Number of children								
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
Men																
25-29	2	2	1	1	-	-	-	6	-	3	-	-	-	1	-	4
30-34	1	2	1	-	1	2	-	7	-	2	1	-	1	-	-	4
35-39	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
40-44	2	1	-	-	-	-	1	4	1	-	-	2	-	1	-	4
45-49	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	4
50-54	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	3	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	2
55-59	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
60-64	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
65-69	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
70-79	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Unknown	1	2	-	1	1	-	-	5	4	1	-	2	2	-	2	11
Total	10	8	2	4	3	3	3	33	8	7	1	6	5	2	6	35
%	30.3	24.2	6.1	12.1	9.1	9.1	9.1	100	22.8	20.0	2.9	17.1	14.3	5.7	17.1	100

Age of widowhood	Remarriage								Permanent widowhood							
	Number of children								Number of children							
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
Women																
25-29	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	3	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	3
30-34	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	3	-	3	-	1	-	-	1	5
35-39	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
40-44	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	3	1	1	1	1	9
45-49	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	3	-	1	-	-	1	6
50-54	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	3
55-59	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
60-64	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
65-69	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
70-79	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Unknow	4	3	3	1	1	-	-	12	4	2	3	-	-	-	2	11
Total	8	4	5	1	2	-	2	22	12	11	7	3	2	1	8	44
%	36.4	18.2	22.7	4.5	9.1	-	9.1	100	27.3	25.0	15.9	6.8	4.5	2.3	18.2	100

$\frac{1}{5}$ of the childless and nearly $\frac{1}{5}$ with one child and as many with six children. Among permanently unmarried widowers nearly a half constituted men burdened with a very high number of six children.

Another situation in this respect can be observed among Warsaw widows. The lack of offspring or having just one child did not make a privileged position for the woman on the capital marital market. Only every third widow remarried, although one could expect that they had better chances. Like among widowers, also a half of women who did not remarry were mothers with six children. It is important to note, however, that the same category of widows in the group of those remarrying was the most numerous. The data in Table 3.9 allow for an assumption that in general possessing a high number of children by a widowed person, regardless of their sex, was one of the elements which somewhat impeded finding a new partner for the further part of life. Among widowers, those remarrying were most often the childless or those with one child. In turn, the number of widows remarrying grows along with the number of the children they had. For the purpose of full description it would be necessary to become familiar with those women's material situation, which is difficult in the light of the sources gathered so far. It is possible to merely assume that it was their material status – they probably had a production or service workshop – tipped the scales in their favor in relation to those worse-off, since neither numerous offspring nor their age (half of them were 35–44 years old!) were not a problem for their new partners to marry them.

Thirty years later only proportions between those reentering marriage unions and those permanently remaining in their widowhood are similar to those in the previous period. Almost 48% of widowers and a little over 33% widows started new families (Table 3.10). Among childless widowers and those with one child such a decision was taken by every other man and every third woman, whereas among those burdened with a higher number of orphaned offspring (5–6 children) staggering 43% of widowers and merely 18% of widows entered new marriage unions.

On the basis of the data in Table 3.9 and Table 3.10, it is difficult to form any general conclusions. The proportions obtained in this respect concern the parish under scrutiny only and can be different at the same time for the whole city. It is important to remember that the scope of our reflections is confined to the community of a single parish, which means that weddings of the widowed elsewhere, even in the other parishes of the capital, remain evasive.

It is worth remembering about it analyzing next two Tables, 3.11 and 3.12, which demonstrate the duration of widowhood in the both periods under ex-

Table 3.11. Widowhood duration between successive marriages
in the years 1740–1769

Widowhood duration	Men		Women		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
–1 month	2	3.8	2	4.3	4	4.0
1–3	13	24.5	4	8.7	17	17.2
3–6	14	26.4	8	17.4	22	22.2
6–12	10	18.9	9	19.6	19	19.2
1–2 years	5	9.4	8	17.4	13	13.1
2–5	5	9.4	12	26.1	17	17.2
5+	4	7.6	3	6.5	7	7.1
Total	53	100	46	100	99	100
Average	1.8 year		1.9 year		1.8 year	

Table 3.12. Widowhood duration between successive marriages
in the years 1770–1799

Widowhood duration	Men		Women		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
–1 month	4	2.2	3	2.1	7	2.1
1–3	33	18.1	14	9.7	47	14.4
3–6	37	20.3	24	16.5	61	18.6
6–12	41	22.5	48	33.1	89	27.2
1–2 years	36	19.8	30	20.7	66	20.2
2–5	22	12.1	20	13.8	42	12.8
5+	9	5.0	6	4.1	15	4.7
Total	182	100	145	100	327	100
Average	1.2 year		1.2 year		1.2 year	

amination. In the years 1740–69, similar values for both sexes can be found for two ranges: the shortest: up to 1 month and the longest: over 5 years. Widowers, however, remarried earlier, since a half of them married new partners within 6 months of their previous spouse's death. At the same time merely $\frac{1}{4}$ widows remarried, as many again did not do it until two years of widowhood had passed. In total, new families in the first year of widowhood were started by staggering $\frac{3}{4}$ of men and merely a half of women. It was similar in the Czech

town of Domažlice but, for example, in the French town of Meulan longer periods of widowhood have been observed.⁷⁰

In the Stanisławian era one can see, for both sexes, the frequency of remarriages in both extreme sections of the duration of widowhood, although in smaller dimensions, similar to that thirty years earlier (Table 3.12). In the half-year of the spouse's demise, like in the years 1740–69, more or less as many widows started new families: 28.3% in relation to 30.4% in the late Saxon era, whereas definitely fewer widowers remarried; the fall of even 25% can be noted. Thus, among men a tendency to lengthen widowhood can be observed, whereas among women on the contrary, even its shortening took place. For it is visible that the number of remarriages of widows in the range from 6 months to 1 year grew by over 68% and that from 2 to 5 years fell by 48%.

Urban private law, in contrast to land law, for example Mazovian land law, did not strictly determined the period of mourning after which the widow could remarry. The scarcity of their remarriages in the first months of widowhood could result for fear on the part of potential candidates that the widow to be married was pregnant and expecting a posthumous child. On the other hand, it will not be a big mistake to claim that early remarriage of certain widows could also be connected with the intention of the soonest legalizing babies already conceived out of wedlock. Confrontation of the dates of remarriages of certain widows with baptism registers of their children, demonstrates that at least some of them adopted a freer conduct after their husband's death. Recently richer literature dedicated to the place and role of the family in pre-partition Poland, presented considerable moral freedom, including extramarital relationships, of inhabitants of not only the biggest cities such as Warsaw, Gdansk and Cracow⁷¹, but also in dozens of smaller towns such Kalisz or Urzędów.⁷²

The reflections presented above lead to the following conclusions. The frequency of the sacrament of marriage provided in the Holy Cross parish clearly tends to increase from the end of the 1750s on. This growth in population in the southern quarter of Warsaw, visible in the second half of the century, was a result of both the influx of newcomers and progressing demographic stabilization of the previous population of the Holy Cross parish, because of lower intensity of various natural disasters, so strongly affecting the inhabitants under the reign of Augustus III. Over the whole 18th century marriages were more of-

⁷⁰ Mužík 1986, pp. 129–130; Lachiver 1969, p. 145. See Dupâquier 1979, pp. 61–62.

⁷¹ Kracik and Rožek 1986.

⁷² Rusiński 1988; Surdacki 2011.

ten concluded in the years of a favorable economic situation than in the periods of crises caused by epidemics of plague and other infectious diseases, climatic phenomena or warfare. In a year, the frequency of weddings usually held on Sunday were limited by, beside ecclesiastical regulations, foremost economic circumstances, although to a lesser degree than in the country. What was characteristic in the process of marriage making was a relatively small, confined mainly to Warsaw, parishes, the territorial range of newlyweds' recruitment. Two thirds of all marriages were first marriages. The average age of marriage of Varsovians, 29, was not far from that in many towns in Western and Central Europe. This cannot be said about women's age of marriage. Warsaw maidens usually married at the age of 22, so definitely earlier than women in many western towns. The marriage in preindustrial Warsaw lasted on average 15 years, and a higher number of orphaned offspring was not a factor making it easier to find a new partner very soon.

CHAPTER 4

BIRTHS

*...a great many unhappy accidents
happen to children, such as their
miscarriage, hard and long labor, dying
in maternal viscera, long sickness of
mothers and frequent death.*

“Gazeta Warszawska” no 48,
20 IV 1787, p. 84

1. CHANGES IN ANNUAL NUMBERS

Birth registration covered exclusively children baptized in accordance with the church ritual in the parish temple.¹ Prohibitions of providing a ceremonious sacrament of baptism in private homes were repeated many times at synods in Poland even in the 18th century, for example, in Poznan in 1720 and 1738, which may indicate the occurrence of this phenomenon.² Definitely the newborn baptized with water either by their parents or other people, for instance a midwife, and dead immediately after that, were not recorded in the then parish register.³ It was only the baby's survival of the first hours that made the parents to organize a baptism prescribed by ecclesiastical law in the parish temple. There are also opinions, like that of Irena Gieysztor, that the poorest parishioners, due to costs,⁴ could sometimes all their life do without a formal church baptism and this opinion is correct. In addition, this did not always have to refer to the

¹ Kumor 1976, p. 40.

² Ibid., pp. 45–46.

³ Mols 1, 1955, p.p. 266–268; Croix 1974, pp. 40–42.

⁴ Gieysztorowa 1976, pp. 233–234; Dworzaczek 1979, p. 183.

poorest. None other but Antoni Onufry Okęcki, the later Poznań bishop in the years 1780–93, who came from a not very rich noble family, was baptized with water on the sixth day of birth and the proper baptism ceremony was not completed until he joined the priesthood.⁵

The number of baptisms registered in the parish books by no means should be treated as equal to the number of children born in the parish at that time.⁶ The sources actually fail to provide a serious opportunity for precise determination of differences in numbers between baptisms and births. Using the B/M rate and the sex structure of the baptized infants, we have already pointed at periods of poorer quality registration. However, among many various factors determining the completeness of three series of the parish books, in the case of baptism registration, the issue of the very time (date) of the baptism ceremony in church is of considerable importance. Practices of postponing the baptism of a newborn child and visible long intervals between births and baptisms may be evidence that certain part of the newborn died without this sacrament and thereby were not recorded in the parish registers. Similarly, the dead newborn, estimated as at least 4% at that time, were not registered either.

Legal regulations adopted by the Council of Trent did not specifically determine the day of baptism of infants after their birth. This was not done until the provincial synod chaired by a great propagator of Church renewal, the bishop of Milan, Charles Borromeo, stating that infants should be baptized at latest within 9 days of the birth. These regulations, together with the formula that children should be “baptized as soon as possible” (*quam primum*) were spread over Polish lands the decisions the provincial synod held in Piotrków Trybunalski in 1631 modelled on the *Rituale Romanum* of 1614.

The problem of the length of intervals between the birth and the baptism in the historical-demographica studies has been signaled by, for example, Lachiver, Perrot, Perrenoud. The issue was discussed more extensively by Midi Berry and Schofield of the Cambridge Group, who examined for this registers of 43 English parishes, including 11 in London.⁷ Lachiver's research demonstrates that 95% of the Catholic inhabitants of a small town of Meulan in the first half of the 18th century baptized their children within 48 hours of their birth, and in the second half even 95%. Baptisms after 3 days, which even at the end of the 17th century con-

⁵ Nowacki 2, 1964, p. 113.

⁶ Mols 1, 1955, p. 263; Gieysztorowa 1976, p. 235.

⁷ Berry and Schofield 1971.

stituted 10%, fifty years later do not occur.⁸ Not without importance was here the royal declaration of Louis XIV of 1698 prescribing the sacrament of baptism within 24 hours. The inhabitants of much bigger Caen proceeded in this matter like in Meulan.⁹ Different practices took place among the Anglican society in the British Isles. In general, all over the 18th century intervals between births and baptisms systematically grew. British historians divided the research material into 3 groups, i.e. parishes always characterized by the shortest intervals; medium and the longest ones. In the second half of the 18th century, within the section of those short dominate ($\frac{3}{4}$ of all baptisms) 11-day intervals, in the section of medium ones: 6-week intervals whereas in the group of the longest staggering 5 months! However, in big London itself intervals were shorter. At the turn of the 18th century, $\frac{3}{4}$ of children were baptized within first 13 days, in the mid-18th century 21 days, in the 1770s and 80s 30 days, and at the beginning of the following century over 2 months.¹⁰ Also in Calvinist Geneva the phenomenon of lengthening the intervals between births and baptisms of infants has been observed. Whereas at the beginning of the 18th century over a half (53%) of baptisms were held within first 3 days, at the end of the century they constituted merely a third of all.¹¹ Similar religious practices took place among Calvinist families living in Rotterdam in the 16th–18th centuries.¹²

The size of baptism registers in the parish under scrutiny (over 44,000 files) made it impossible to examine the length of the interval between the birth and the baptism for the whole 18th century. It was decided to reduce the scope of observation to studying the distribution of the aforementioned intervals in successive years of the 18th century ending in 5. In total the survey covered registers of 3,844 children, i.e. 8.7% of all baptism records. We know dates of birth of 3,105 children, which makes nearly 81% of the group under scrutiny and 8% in relation to all infants recorded in the parish books. Specific data are presented in Table 4.1, which needs a commentary. In the last column are marked percentages of baptisms with unrecorded date of birth in relation to the total in the year under examination. Systematic decrease in the number of baptisms with unrecorded day of the baby's birth from the mid-1760s on, at simultaneous increase in the number of births (500–800 a year), confirm our earlier observations concerning improvement of the completeness of registration at that time.

⁸ Lachiver 1969, p. 70.

⁹ Perrot 1975, p. 843.

¹⁰ Berry and Schofield 1971, pp. 458–460.

¹¹ Perrenoud 1979, p. 394.

¹² Lebrun 1975, pp. 210–121.

Table 4.1. Interval between the birth and the baptism of legitimate children (%)

Year	Interval in days							Total	% baptisms w/o DOB
	0–1	2–3	0–3	4–5	6–7	8–14	15–		
1705	35.9	44.8	80.7	9.7	2.7	4.8	2.1	100	14.7
1715	28.4	56.8	85.2	6.8	4.6	2.3	1.1	100	7.5
1725	30.6	50.0	80.6	14.3	1.1	2.0	2.0	100	37.6
1735	27.9	54.7	82.6	11.0	2.3	2.3	1.8	100	10.9
1745	27.3	52.9	80.2	15.1	1.3	1.7	1.7	100	26.2
1755	43.8	43.8	87.6	8.9	1.2	0.6	1.7	100	46.7
1765	31.9	47.2	79.1	11.3	4.1	3.8	1.7	100	27.1
1775	25.3	46.5	71.8	18.5	5.6	3.9	0.2	100	21.1
1785	20.3	41.5	61.8	21.3	10.2	4.7	2.0	100	13.4
1795	17.1	35.1	52.2	22.2	11.2	9.5	5.0	100	3.3

Until the mid-18th century the Holy Cross parishioners tried not to delay their children's baptisms and c. 80–86% of ceremonies were held within 3 days after they were born. At the same time from 3.4 to 6.9% of infants were baptized in a week. However, from the 1770s on, a significant change in their proceedings could be observed. An increasingly larger group of inhabitants of Warsaw clearly began to delay the baptism of their children. Whereas at the beginning of the Age of Enlightenment infants baptized within first three days constituted over 79% (1765), towards the end of the century (1795) slightly more than a half: 52.2%. Simultaneously, the percentage of those baptized after a week had passed increased very visibly: 2–3 times.

The observation of lengths of the interval between the birth and the ceremony of baptism of newborn children, at least in the Warsaw parish in point, undermines theses of their shortening, sometimes to be found in Polish historiography.¹³ It basically seems that the poorer standard of baptism registration in the Holy Cross parish in the Saxon era, in the light of short intervals between the birth and the baptism, could be a result of, foremost, not reporting, and thereby concealing births of children by certain, probably the poorest, families. It is not unlikely that in those years full of epidemics of bubonic plague and other contagious diseases, the Holy Cross parishioners saw in the soonest baptism of the infant a chance of its reconciliation with God in the case of its sudden death,

¹³ Kumor 1976, p. 53.

which surrounded whole families and their homes with unusual intensity. On the other hand, the systematic growth in the percentage of infants baptized in one, two or even more weeks in the Age of Enlightenment, shows that even when a clear improvement of registration took place (visible, suffice it to say, in the more correct sex structure of infants), it was not complete. For a certain percentage of babies who died in the first days of their life. As commonly known, infant mortality was the highest just in those few days after they were born. For example, in not so big Beauvais (over 11 thousand in 1765) out of 1,000 born babies, 222 died within the first week and over a half: 536, before they turned one month. The situation was similar in far more populous Rouen.¹⁴ However, lower mortality occurred in, for instance, the Bohemian town of Domažlice: 60 babies within the first week and more than 150 over 4 weeks would suggest considerable gaps in their burial registration.¹⁵

The Vincentians, the authors of baptism registers diligently noted the year, the month and the day of the ceremony of baptism. Simultaneously the books examined contain 143 records of baptism, which inform that the address of the baby's parents was different from the Holy Cross parish. Therefore they were classified in the group of extra-parochial baptisms. It seems, however, that the share of extra-parochial baptisms in a big city and a parish which aspired to play a leading and important role in the life of the whole Warsaw society, was slightly larger, for the Vincentians not always consistently noted the parents' place of residence. In spite of that, they failed to extract from the group of parish baptisms registers of the children about whom we had information that their parents lived outside the Holy Cross parish, since it is not impossible that at a certain moment the family had moved in the parish under examination. This risk of error, however, cannot be avoided in any circumstances. It is worth remembering, however, that the hosts of the Holy Cross parish, the Vincentians, in the 1780s, questioned the borders of the neighboring parish in Ujazdów and reported claims to part of its incomes.¹⁶ Eventually we believe that the image of fluctuations of real numbers of baptisms presented below could be slightly corrected, which anyway should not affect the final conclusions. Extra-parochial baptisms, like baptisms of converts, usually adult, are beyond the scope of specific reflections. On the other hand, baptisms of illegal babies and foundlings, numerous in the parish, will be discussed in the further part of this chapter.

¹⁴ Ganiage 1999, p. 284; Bardet 1983, pp. 368–369.

¹⁵ Mužik 1986, p. 155.

¹⁶ Brzeziewicz 1930, p. 23.

Table 4.2. Baptisms by months

Year	Month												Together	Illegitimate	Total
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII			
1700	12	13	15	10	18	20	13	20	16	11	13	20	181	17	198
1701	24	13	32	17	15	15	9	20	20	18	26	23	232	17	249
1702	14	18	18	13	9	20	18	20	12	18	18	7	185	28	213
1703	11	20	23	8	18	10	18	9	12	11	18	9	167	24	191
1704	20	21	17	13	13	16	22	16	14	13	16	19	200	16	216
1705	14	12	17	17	13	15	15	13	14	16	11	13	170	28	198
1706	23	12	18	12	13	9	13	11	6	21	13	15	166	13	179
1707	14	6	13	15	6	17	17	12	11	11	15	7	144	16	160
1708	8	10	18	12	13	15	2	-	-	2	2	2	84	16	100
1709	4	1	4	4	2	2	4	7	7	11	11	8	65	3	68
1710	11	12	7	8	13	12	6	-	1	1	2	-	73	3	76
1711	6	4	6	9	5	4	5	8	7	8	7	6	75	11	86
1712	17	10	12	6	5	5	14	5	8	8	4	5	99	7	106
1713	8	12	17	11	6	11	8	17	12	12	7	4	125	15	140
1714	9	14	12	12	10	9	11	13	7	8	9	10	124	16	140
1715	14	8	7	15	5	5	7	7	11	10	3	3	95	8	103
1716	6	10	6	15	7	5	10	13	16	9	10	11	118	8	126
1717	8	17	16	18	13	19	11	17	13	10	6	8	156	12	168
1718	14	12	9	13	8	5	7	15	16	12	6	7	124	21	145
1719	9	12	14	17	9	4	14	9	12	12	9	10	131	21	152

Year	Month												Together	Illegitimate	Total
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII			
1720	9	12	14	12	13	7	11	11	11	14	19	12	145	26	171
1721	5	5	14	13	11	5	7	18	8	14	8	10	118	26	144
1722	14	15	14	12	5	8	12	14	15	9	10	6	134	21	155
1723	8	17	17	13	18	12	16	14	5	15	8	20	163	23	186
1724	11	11	13	13	9	8	11	7	10	10	14	15	132	19	151
1725	14	8	14	17	15	12	17	15	16	14	9	6	157	11	168
1726	12	11	14	15	19	18	12	8	12	10	6	11	148	10	158
1727	6	13	14	13	9	15	7	11	14	15	11	15	143	14	157
1728	15	14	14	15	9	13	13	9	17	16	10	13	159a	11	170
1729	16	22	16	21	16	10	9	14	16	20	9	17	186	10	196
1730	16	14	14	16	1	15	13	13	11	15	17	9	154	12	166
1731	16	15	17	18	14	10	15	21	18	26	11	12	194b	13	207
1732	15	12	15	22	18	9	17	28	25	26	17	17	221	16	237
1733	13	12	18	13	20	19	15	20	19	23	19	14	205	17	222
1734	25	16	16	19	15	10	6	21	21	16	15	12	192	12	204
1735	12	18	17	17	10	17	23	21	15	13	11	18	193c	2	195
1736	11	22	17	14	21	23	18	21	13	22	16	12	210	.	210
1737	17	13	17	11	9	12	6	17	11	7	9	6	135	.	135
1738	9	7	10	6	11	17	6	18	5	11	6	7	113	.	113
1739	10	8	11	8	5	11	8	12	1	10	7	13	104	.	104
1740	13	6	11	7	6	6	3	4	14	6	7	7	90	.	90

Year	Month												Together	Illegitimate	Total
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII			
1741	8	6	10	6	11	4	7	9	12	7	8	3	91	.	91
1742	12	6	10	6	9	6	3	9	6	7	10	13	97	.	97
1743	9	8	9	8	12	13	8	9	3	15	11	12	117	.	117
1744	15	7	14	20	15	20	20	16	22	28	16	20	213	33	246
1745	18	24	25	31	15	15	21	10	23	17	21	13	233	52	285
1746	17	16	21	13	15	15	11	19	18	12	11	12	180	52	232
1747	17	20	14	16	14	11	11	23	16	20	21	14	197	45	242
1748	30	9	13	13	18	18	16	29	26	21	17	15	225	45	270
1749	24	18	22	29	13	16	17	27	11	23	11	21	232	69	301
1750	14	22	14	24	10	18	24	28	25	20	17	21	237	45	282
1751	22	21	18	31	22	22	29	20	16	23	17	15	257d	59	316
1752	24	16	21	18	15	17	20	16	21	31	25	23	247	60	307
1753	24	25	27	24	13	24	12	19	25	26	20	13	253e	59	312
1754	23	14	22	20	27	24	26	32	26	28	27	20	289	59	348
1755	16	26	23	33	25	28	31	40	20	26	28	21	317	56	373
1756	24	17	34	33	20	17	28	20	24	22	28	26	293	68	361
1757	24	21	30	29	19	13	20	25	32	22	20	27	282	84	366
1758	33	25	25	24	26	15	34	21	31	31	37	27	329	66	395
1759	34	25	40	22	32	31	37	36	29	38	28	27	379	83	462
1760	38	39	36	31	38	20	31	32	41	40	47	24	418f	76	494
1761	37	41	35	42	44	35	36	28	42	47	34	33	455g	70	525

Year	Month												Together	Illegitimate	Total
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII			
1762	45	27	43	32	23	31	32	30	40	28	32	35	398	68	466
1763	36	30	50	46	40	35	47	34	31	33	27	35	444	46	490
1764	39	43	46	41	28	36	44	53	33	45	46	43	497	42	539
1765	35	41	40	40	39	38	25	43	43	41	51	36	473h	59	532
1766	50	29	41	52	40	42	33	48	45	48	45	51	524	63	587
1767	57	51	43	61	41	43	41	57	50	55	69	45	613	54	667
1768	49	47	67	36	75	51	47	67	56	54	52	52	653	49	702
1769	52	60	56	65	49	52	53	58	56	50	71	61	683	70	753
1770	65	44	61	71	57	53	56	57	61	56	53	59	693	77	770
1771	56	78	61	68	57	63	55	56	61	55	53	65	728	103	831
1772	72	60	80	70	44	57	66	60	65	50	62	52	739i	35	774
1773	57	59	69	67	65	63	63	64	69	57	60	64	757	46	803
1774	71	55	75	65	62	56	52	75	82	62	82	66	803	57	860
1775	66	79	69	51	77	50	64	63	43	68	66	57	753	64	817
1776	60	62	64	58	53	56	67	63	58	104	68	52	765	72	837
1777	63	57	80	46	55	60	59	72	54	16	54	55	673j	82	755
1778	55	64	72	64	69	69	65	66	71	55	82	55	787	90	877
1779	69	78	74	70	62	66	55	54	65	80	77	61	811	60	871
1780	84	69	83	74	69	58	78	65	79	78	77	97	911	80	991
1781	91	80	90	87	73	80	87	67	77	92	72	65	961	98	1059
1782	76	97	86	67	67	55	40	80	63	90	65	55	841	82	923

Year	Month												Together	Illegitimate	Total
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII			
1783	74	90	84	79	72	53	81	66	65	75	74	67	880	72	952
1784	85	85	83	82	71	64	76	72	68	72	70	62	890	103	993
1785	66	66	78	70	60	64	66	45	82	69	69	84	819	67	886
1786	87	86	66	85	75	61	76	69	78	83	76	70	912	68	980
1787	78	64	96	67	66	60	64	64	56	63	63	80	821	86	907
1788	57	78	100	85	68	82	64	59	81	70	61	59	865k	62	927
1789	96	101	81	78	74	80	66	93	67	75	68	66	945	94	1039
1790	91	91	79	76	61	72	69	75	82	48	74	81	899	117	1016
1791	98	80	76	78	83	79	90	80	70	92	76	77	979	89	1068
1792	88	80	82	88	81	80	72	84	71	89	86	72	973	67	1040
1793	106	84	87	84	71	59	80	91	90	89	78	87	1007l	76	1083
1794	77	86	97	70	89	59	94	99	94	66	83	94	1009h	66	1075
1795	48	76	87	46	46	45	42	42	51	45	49	57	634	26	660
1796	56	71	65	57	60	60	53	46	51	47	55	43	664	31	695
1797	40	64	47	58	60	39	52	62	47	43	58	61	631	46	677
1798	57	57	48	57	43	40	52	41	42	42	51	60	590	42	632
1799	45	50	43	37	52	44	31	35	45	45	46	37	510	34	544

a-i, k-l – including 1 month unknown; j – including 2 months unknown.

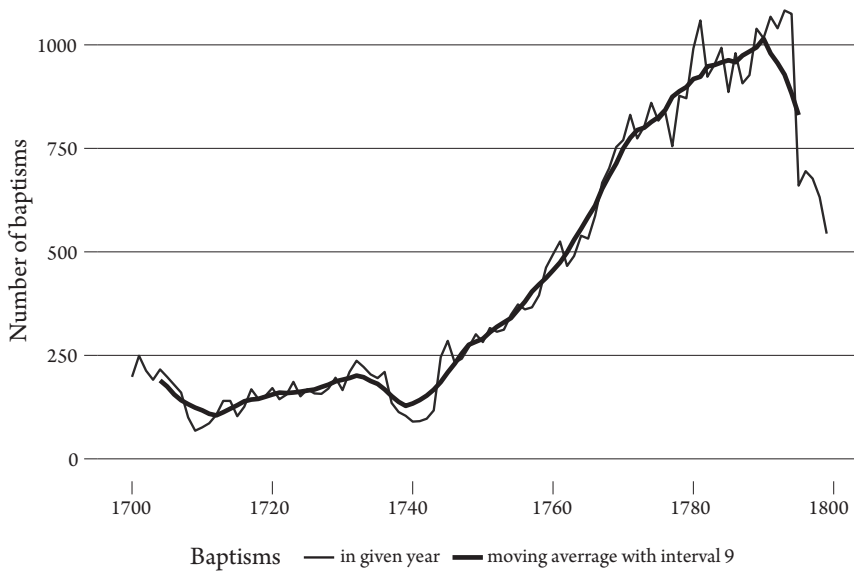


Figure 4.1. Annual numbers of baptism and the 9-year moving average

The basis for analyses of the evolution of the number of births in the Holy Cross parish is Table 4.2 and Figure 4.1. Annual numbers of baptisms in the Warsaw Holy Cross parish in the 18th century, in comparison with the numbers of weddings, basically evolve in a way that is little different (see Figure 4.1). The high level of births at the end of the 17th century (the annual average of baptisms in the last decade: 183¹⁷), broke suddenly in 1708. A year later the number of baptisms recorded in the registers was the lowest in the whole 18th century. When the epidemics of bubonic plague and other contagious diseases, which decimated the population of the whole city in the years 1708–12, had ceased, a growth in the number of births can be observed, which lasted incessantly practically until the early 1730s, when their decline occurred. Whereas in the first half of the 1730s 200 births were recorded on average, in the other half not much above 100, and at the beginning of the 1740s even fewer. It is important to add that Table 4.2 did not reveal any gaps in the continuity of the registers.

The decline of the number of baptisms at the turn of the 1740s, recorded in the registers, was affected by a few factors. First, for unknown reasons in the

¹⁷ AP, Lib. bapt. 4.

years 1739–43, the Vincentians registered baptisms of boys only, as if registration of girls had been kept in a separate book, which failed to survive to our times. Second, the beginning of the 1740s was characterized by market disturbances and severe dearth in the city, as a result of which slightly fewer marriages were concluded in the parish. Finally, the famine, hunger typhoid, diarrhea and fever caused deaths of a certain number of infants (difficult to estimate), for this difficult period survived only those strongest and most immune. Even they, perhaps, were not very fast brought to the parish church to be baptized in this period so difficult for the inhabitants.

The increase in the number of births visible from the mid-1740s up to the mid-1790s basically corresponds with the identical growth in the number of marriages (till 1781), and in the early 1770s its pace was high. The most children were baptized in the period 1794–95 but in the following years one can observe a clear falling tendency. At the end of the 18th century, after the 3rd partition of Poland, when Warsaw was occupied by the Prussians, the Holy Cross parish registered on average as many baptisms as in the mid-60s. These changes were determined by, foremost, rapid decrease in the number of population living in the capital, including the parish under examination, the evidence of which could be the two-fold lower number of marriages concluded at that time (see Table 3.1).

Finally, it is worth comparing the trends of changes in average 10-year numbers of marriages and baptisms in the parish under scrutiny, which indicate great similarities of general development tendencies of the phenomena under examination. The juxtaposition in Table 4.3 demonstrates that the highest growth rate occurred in the number of baptisms, surpassing, especially in the second half of the 18th century (except the years 1766–69), quite clearly the marriage rates, which proves improvement of the standard of the registration of born children, which was incomplete in the first half of the century. However, even those far more complete baptism registrations includes gaps. This is demonstrated by the analysis of burial registers (for more see Chapter 6), which in the years 1760–99 recorded demises of 341 infants immediately after their birth. Probably they were baptized with water and their death was recorded in the parish burial register, without recording them in baptism registers. Thus, on these grounds alone we can state that the Holy Cross parish baptism registers omitted at least c. 1.5% of children born in the period 1760–99. In fact, the gaps in this scope were even larger. Twice as much over 3% is suggested by historians in Bohemia. Valuable research of Mieczysław Kędelski on the population of

Table 4.3. Change dynamics of average 10-year numbers of marriages and baptism

Years	Marriages 1690–1699=100	Baptisms 1690–1699=100
1700–1709	89	97
1710–1719	77	70
1720–1729	123	133
1730–1739	111	108
1740–1749	118	110
1750–1759	144	179
1760–1769	173	163
1770–1779	115	142
1780–1789	104	118
1790–1799	91	93

Poznan in the 18th century proved that even in the years 1806–10 c. 8% of born girls, a considerable part of whom came from Jewish families, could not be registered in the official statistics of the capital of Greater Poland.¹⁸

2. BIRTHS DURING NATURAL DISASTERS

The pre-industrial era, despite systematic civilizational progress, failed to bring Europe human's independence from the broadly understood geographo-economic environment. In the centuries discussed natural diseases considerably marked population's fate, especially strongly affecting town dwellers, especially in those more populous towns, tightly confined to a small area. It is, thus, worth following approaches of our ancestors in the periods of major demographic crises triggered by epidemics of bubonic plague and other contagious diseases, which resulted in extraordinary mortality in big cities. The subject of the observation will be approaches of the inhabitants of the Warsaw Holy Cross parish both during one of the heaviest plagues in the years 1708–10, as well as during later, slightly weaker disasters of famine and epidemic diseases, for which we have more precise, monthly data on vital statistics.

In chapter 3, observing the distribution of the number of marriages concluded in the parish Church we did not hesitate to state that during the periods of plague or other epidemic diseases, the most intense in the first half of the 18th

¹⁸ Kędelski 1992, p. 144.

century, especially the first two decades, the inhabitants of Warsaw concluded marriages waiting for a more peaceful time. There is nothing strange in it, taking into consideration a suggestive picture of a Warsaw street during the great plague of 1708–12, written by an anonymous Redemptorist:

“Weeping and wailing during this disaster neither by language nor by quail can be expressed, or imagined, save he who was present and saw it for himself. People walked in sadness and in tears, with pale and swollen faces like bogeymen, one fled away from another so as not to become infected”.¹⁹

Did the ferocious time of plague, full of burials, lament and despair, sometimes due to the loss of all children, affect the procreation attitudes of the then Warsaw married couples? The plague at the end of June 1708 resulted in rapid decrease in the number of babies baptized in the parish to such a degree that within two months, August and September, when the plague was in its peak phase and engulfed the most victims, not a single child was registered. Along with its slow yielding in the late autumn and winter months, the number of baptism grew systematically. The epidemic in the following year was characterized by a milder course, so, in spite of a visible decline on the number of births, the total lack of baptisms is not observed. However, the next plague in 1710, like that two years earlier, considerably reduced the number of baptized children (systematic decline from June to August), and in August the Vincentians failed to record even a single baptism.

As the scheme sketched above demonstrates, epidemics of bubonic plague, depending on their intensity, more or less reduced both the number of marriages and the number of born and baptized children. But did it concern conceptions as well? The answer is yes. In the years 1708–10 in summer months, when plagues reached its climaxes, clear decline in sexual activity of married couples is observed, which is visible in a lower number of conceptions (see Figure 4.2). Thus, the attitudes of the inhabitants of Warsaw, at the moment of plague and collapse of previous human relations were different from, for example, those of the inhabitants of Marseilles, inclined to crazy excesses and sexual promiscuity.²⁰ It is difficult to judge to what extent the noted decline in procreative activity in Warsaw families during the great epidemics of plague could be evidence of responsibility of married couples for conceiving a new life during its huge threat. It seems more probable that the cause could be weakened malnourished, often emaciated women's bodies, resulting in difficulties in their impregnation. But was the situation similar in another time, for example, during famine or other

¹⁹ Bystron 1977, p. 87.

²⁰ Delumeau 1986, pp. 113–115.

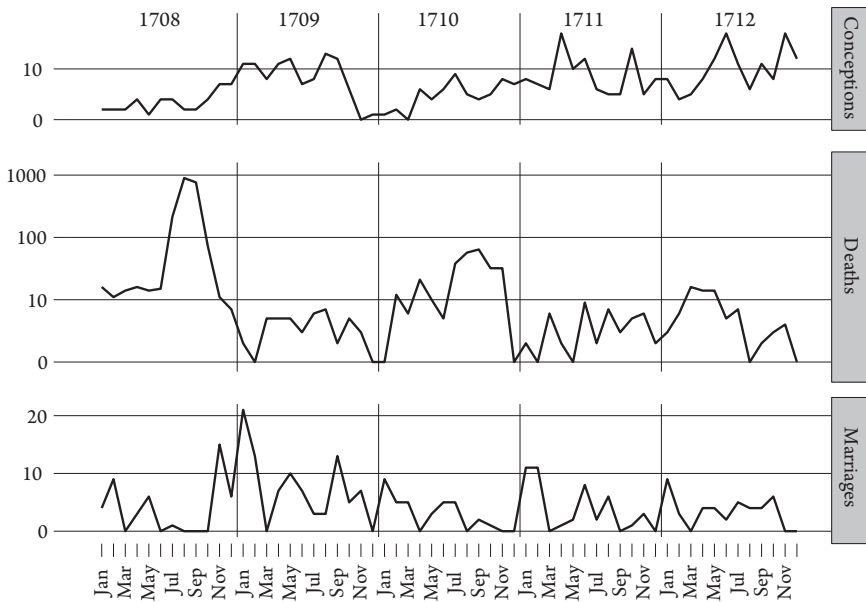


Figure 4.2. Marriages, conceptions and burials during the plague in the years 1708–1712

epidemic diseases? In 1714 four-month rains caused an enormous inundation of the Vistula and lack of grain, which resulted in dearth and epidemic diseases in the following years and, obviously, dramatic increase in the number of burials. It was similar in the years 1736–37, when the malnourished population of the capital suffered from typhoid, fever and diarrhea. However, a close analysis of the distribution of conceptions (births minus 9 months) in the years 1714–15 and 1736–37 indicates a similar phenomenon of a peculiar sexual abstinence clearly visible in the lower number of conceptions (see Figure 4.3). Whereas the registry documentation for the first half of the 18th century is far from completeness and may be misleading, it is important to study the last decade of the 18th century. In the spring 1794 the population of the capital during the insurrection began severe dearth, shortage of cattle and soon also hunger. In the second quarter of that year, the average number of demises within 3 months nearly doubled, in summer months reached its zenith and remained on a high level in the fourth quarter (Figure 4.3). It was not until the summer 1795 that the quarter of the average number of deaths returned to the state from before one and a half years. Death in the mid-1790s by no means encouraged marriage or,

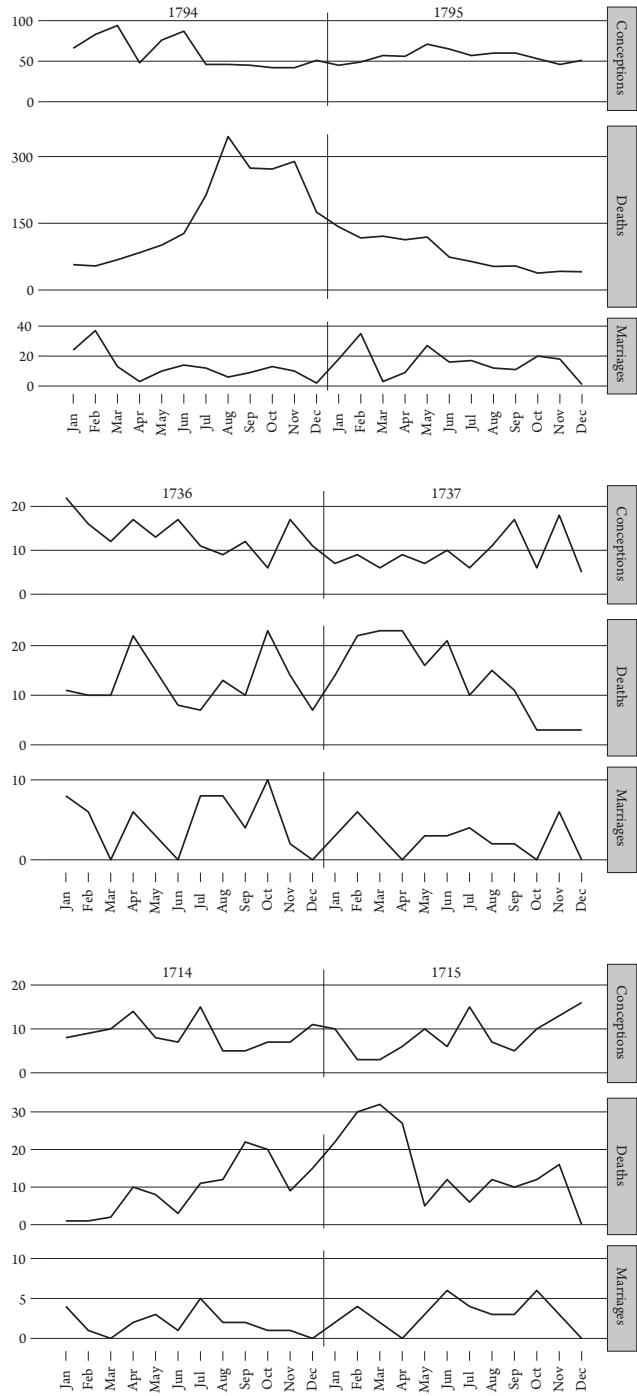


Figure 4.3. Marriages, conceptions and burials in the years of demographic crises

which is important, procreation. Moreover, a well visible asymmetry occurs: the months of the highest number of demises correspond with the lowest number of marital conceptions. Much as we tried to explain the contradictions discovered on the micro-regional level, it is necessary to admit that we know nothing or almost nothing on individual demographic behaviors. It is important to be at least cautious encountering explanations including possible periodic (a few months'?) sexual abstinence in a marital family in the years of demographic crises. In the world of adults, as regards marriage, the phenomenon noted may be an example of separation of sexual intercourses from procreation. On the other hand, there also appear suggestions (A. Armengaud, R. Pillorget), that in the years of famine, emaciated bodies of women could be characterized by the lack of ovulation, which impeded impregnation.²¹ Still others, for example J.-P. Bardet, point at the grow in general morbidity, which could also result in temporary infertility of both women and men.²² In this respect, a very similar situation took place in Beauvais, where Pierre Goubert, studying crises of the second half of the 17th century, concluded: "Minimum of conceptions is almost always contemporary of maximum funerals, but sometimes with a slight shift".²³ Also A. Perrenoud, analyzing the course of the epidemic in Geneva, although in an earlier period (the end of the 16th and the first half of the 17th centuries), recognized plagues as stimulators of procreation attitudes of the burghers.²⁴ Certainly the problem of matrimonial and procreation attitudes of our ancestors in the years of demographic crises, practically so far unnoticed in Polish historiography, deserves attention on the part of historians and require further specific studies, which will broaden and deepen the image sketched above.

The previous chapter dedicated to marriages in the Holy Cross parish proposed a hypothesis that periods of economic prosperity, mainly measured with changes of the welfare ratio, entailed growth in the number of marital unions concluded. However, little is known about their procreation attitudes in periods of a better and worse economic situation. Therefore, searching for further interdependence between economy and demographic processes of population development in a pre-industrial town, what was examined is also a correlation between the welfare ratio of an unqualified laborer and the number of conceptions in Warsaw in the 18th century. The value of the coefficient of partial

²¹ Armengaud 1975, pp. 98–99; Pillorget 1979, p. 154.

²² Bardet 1983, pp. 358–359.

²³ Goubert 1966, pp. 72–75.

²⁴ Perrenoud 1979, pp. 406–409.

correlation for both variables additionally controlled by the third variable, the estimated population of the whole city, amounted 0.7749713 at the probability value = 0.0001, which would be evidence of influence of long-term economic tendencies on the differences in the level of fertility.²⁵ Similarly, E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield, in their monumental work, demonstrate connections between changes of real wages and fertility in modern England.²⁶ It may be expected that in certain circumstances the improving standard of living in a non-Malthusian population will increase, and not decrease, fertility. Everything said so far indicates a probability of connections between the value of real wages with marriage and marital fertility. The time of high real wages in the pre-industrial economy of Warsaw could be a synonym of, usually lower, prices of food and improvement of living conditions even among the poorest city dwellers.

World studies on population crises dedicate a great deal of attention to the influence of the standard of pre-industrial economy on demographic processes, including the process of marriage conclusion and marital fertility.²⁷ The field of observation are foremost large clusters of urban population, being consumers rather than producers of food produce. In the Commonwealth, like in many other areas of the Old Continent, dominated extensive agriculture, and consequently any considerable decrease in crops, even if it did not turn into famine, led to the growth in the prices of food. People realized that price reduction could not be expected before a year, which could happen as a result of hopefully better crops. Thus, the maintenance of high prices of most food products in the pre-industrial city is evidence of market economic problems, which could also affect matrimonial and procreation attitudes of the inhabitants. So far we have not had any extensive family data sample in this respect, but observations referring to Warsaw and Gdansk authorize us to propose certain hypotheses. The inhabitants of the two biggest cities of the Commonwealth clearly reduced the frequency of starting a family in the years of high food prices and decline in real wages of unqualified laborers, which meant periods of economic disturbances²⁸. Furthermore, shorter periods of economic prosperity, i.e. the best wage years in the capital converged directly (or with a year's shift) with matrimonial and birth peaks. In modern Gdansk the number of births returned to the level from before the epidemic as soon as within

²⁵ Studies of Peerenoud 1979, pp. 402–403, revealed a certain regularity in occurrence of lower fertility in the years of high grain prices.

²⁶ Wrigley and Schofield 1981, pp. 417–419.

²⁷ See Lebrun 1980.

²⁸ Baszanowski 1995, pp. 218–219.

two years, but according to J. Baszanowski, their number always depended more on the economic situation of the city than on the size of the natural disaster²⁹.

3. SEASONALITY

In contrast to marriages, where in Warsaw three peaks of their concentration within a year were observed, births were characterized by a smaller amplitude of fluctuations in particular months (Table 4.4). The most births fell on winter months and the beginning of spring with a peak in February (1775–99), March (1700–24) and April (1725–74) (see Figure 4.4).³⁰ The fewest infants were born in the Holy Cross parish in the following spring months, from May to June, inclusively, and in December. It is worth adding that by the mid-1770s one more peak of births in autumn is visible: in October (1725–49) and November (1750–74).

Table 4.4. Seasonality of marital births, monthly indices

Years	Month of birth												Total
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	
	Month of conception												
	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	
1700–09	106	99	130	93	89	107	98	93	85	98	109	92	1200
1710–19	105	130	111	134	84	87	96	109	112	96	68	68	1200
1720–29	88	110	115	117	99	88	92	96	102	108	86	99	1200
1730–39	99	103	104	102	85	104	88	129	98	116	90	82	1200
1740–49	115	93	105	108	90	90	82	109	110	110	97	91	1200
1750–59	98	95	104	109	86	88	107	105	105	109	104	90	1200
1760–69	100	102	105	105	95	90	89	103	103	101	112	95	1200
1770–79	102	108	112	102	94	94	96	102	101	93	102	94	1200
1780–89	95	107	102	103	98	97	99	95	104	102	100	98	1200
1790–99	105	121	106	100	96	89	95	98	99	90	101	100	1200
1700–24	100	111	123	110	89	93	97	102	94	99	95	87	1200
1725–49	104	100	105	109	90	98	85	113	106	113	89	88	1200
1750–74	100	101	106	108	91	92	94	102	106	99	107	94	1200
1775–99	105	120	111	102	96	88	95	95	98	93	101	96	1200

²⁹ Baszanowski 1995, p. 244.

³⁰ See Mols 2, 1955, p. 296.

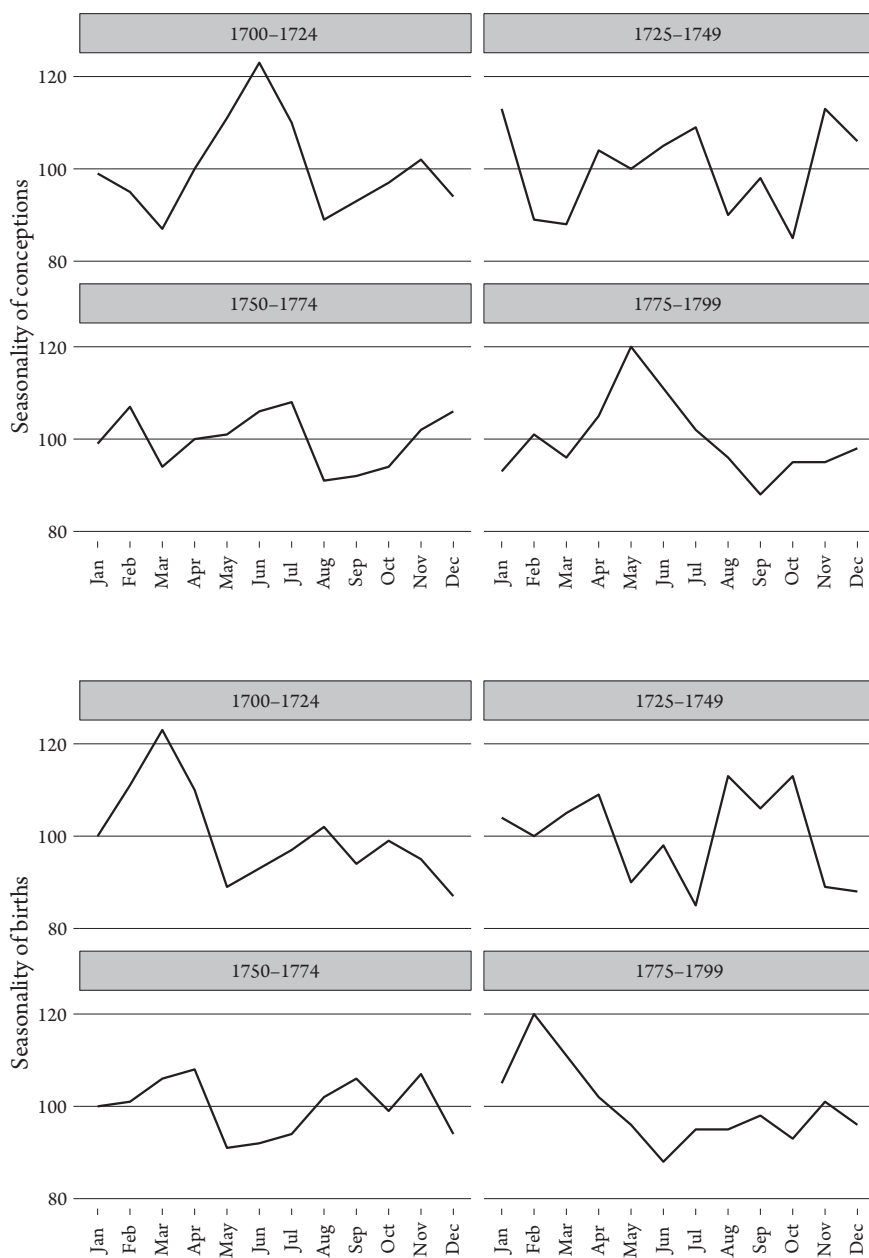


Figure 4.4. Seasonality of marital births and conceptions, monthly indices

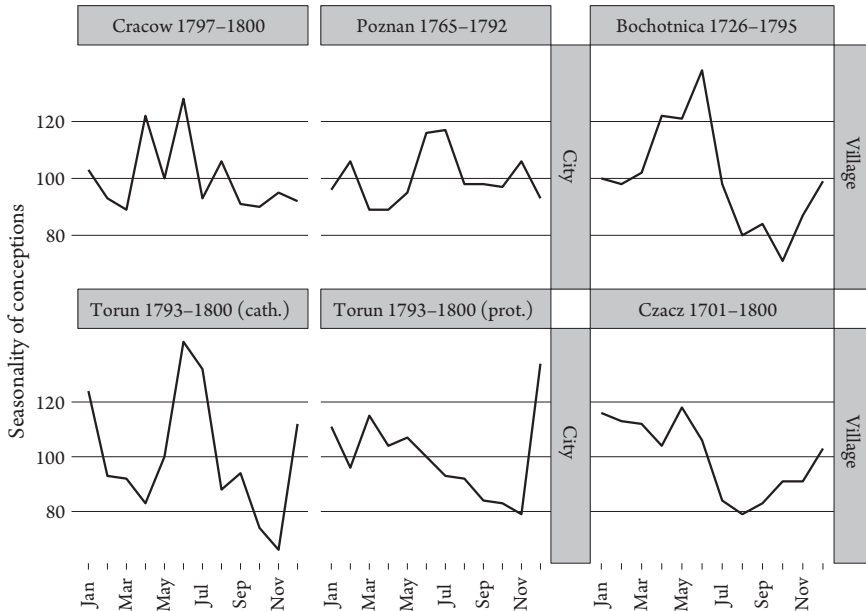


Figure 4.5. Seasonality of conceptions in the country and in towns of the Commonwealth, monthly indices

Source: AN Cracow, Libri baptisatorum parafii NMP w Krakowie 1797-1800, microfilm 5-182; Kędelski 1992, p. 78, Kuklo 2009, p. 351; Zielińska 2012, pp. 401-403.

It is, however, more interesting to study the seasonality of conceptions, which are, to a certain degree, evidence of periodicity of marital intercourses in Warsaw families.³¹ It is obvious that operating for this purpose with baptism statistics, we mean conceptions which ended up with not only happy birth but also baptism of the infant in the parish temple. Actually, the point is not to review conceptions by month but also, using slightly richer Polish studies on this issue as well as western studies, also reveal their distribution in populations of different economic and religious structures.

Seasonality curves of marital life in two comparatively selected rural parishes: Czacz (Greater Poland) and Bochothnica Kościelna (Lesser Poland) demonstrate considerable similarity (see Figure 4.5). A clear increase in sexual activity is observed in winter and spring months, which lasted to May-June inclusively. The characteristic decline in the number of conceptions is discern-

³¹ Similarly Guillaume and Poussou 1970, p. 171.

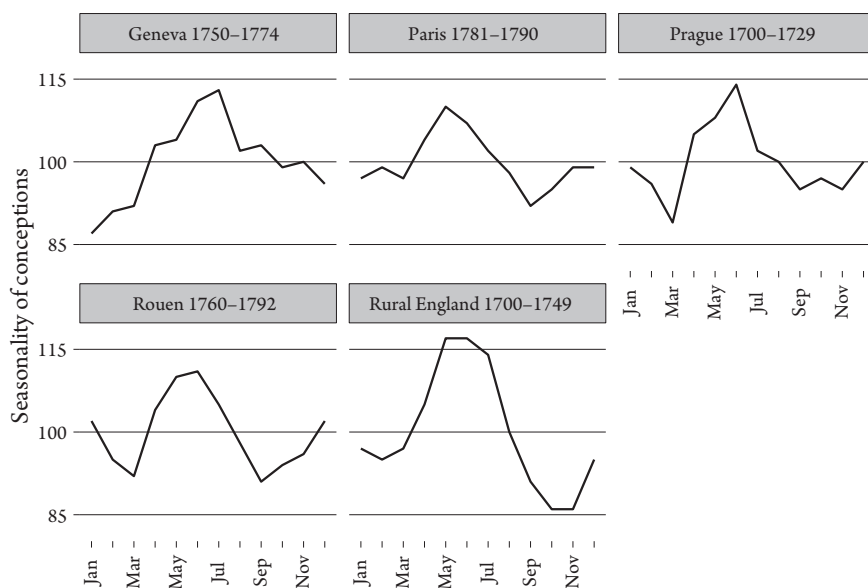


Figure 4.6. Seasonality of conceptions in Europe, monthly indices

Source: Perrenoud 1979, p. 408; Houdaille 1991, p. 401; Dokoupil *et al.* 1999, p. 81; Bardet 1983, 2, p. 175; Wrigley and Schofield 1981, p. 287.

ible in summer and autumn (from July to November), which results from the intensification of field work in this environment. It is important to note that the conception curve in the period of Lent (basically March–April), to a lesser degree Advent (December), not only does not decline to zero but is placed above the monthly average. This may suggest that the teaching of the Church on the need for sexual abstinence at that time, was not always obeyed by peasants. On the other hand, the distribution of conception seasonality in big cities of Poland: Warsaw, Poznan, Cracow and Torun, where the amplitude of the fluctuations is milder (except Torun) reveals foremost a clear increase in the number of conceptions in the summer, usually June and July, and definitely smaller in November but in Warsaw and Poznan only. In the big city environment it is difficult to talk about any considerable sexual abstinence in the months determined by the Church calendar as periods of penance, which were expected to be a time of abandoning pleasures of everyday life. By the way, it is worth paying attention to various attitudes in this matter of two basic socio-religious groups of the inhabitants of Torun at the decline of the 18th century. Families of local

Catholics, largely living in its suburbs and basically poorer, were characterized by conception seasonality closer to rural, peasant environment, which could be expected, but unlikely metropolitan environment. On the other hand, dominating, as far as the family size is concerned, families of Protestants, rich craftsmen and merchants, showed the most intense sexual activity chiefly in spring months, like many Polish peasants.

In this picture of sexual activity in the ancient Polish family both that rural and that urban, one can basically see the effect of its economic surroundings. Was it similar in towns of Western and Central-Eastern Europe? Figure 4.6 represents the distribution of the seasonality of conceptions in certain selected cities and, comparatively, English rural parishes. As one can see, the model of marital life of the Old Polish family outlined before, can also be easily found in more or less industrialized urban centers of early modern Europe (also in Florence and Paris with its over half a million dwellers³²), as well as in English country.

4. THE SIZE OF THE RECONSTRUCTED FAMILIES

Over half a century ago, Witold Kula, the renowned expert on economic history, wrote: "The size of families, results from the very sociological concept of family, is a purely social size".³³ Not negating the aptness and conciseness of Kula's definition, this subchapter is intended to consider socio-demographic factors affecting real sizes of families in pre-industrial Warsaw, which are tangible for research purposes due to the application of L. Henry's method. This means foremost the age of a woman at the moment of concluding marriage and its duration. Specific research was conducted in two directions: terminated families and complete families. It is worth remembering that terminated families are called the families for which we know the date of death of the first of the spouses (which also the date of the end of observation of a particular family), whereas complete families are marriages terminated or still lasting, in which the woman lived to the age terminating her procreative abilities, i.e. 45 years of age.

The division of closed families by the number of offspring in the periods 1740–69 and 1770–99 is presented, respectively, in Table 4.5 and Table 4.6. In both juxtapositions strikes the fact that the highest percentage constituted childless families (respectively $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$) and those with one child only: 12.3%

³² Mols 2, 1955, pp. 296–297; Charlot and Dupâquier 1967, p. 516; Bardet 1974, p. 123; Croix 1974, pp. 89–91; François 1975, p. 300.

³³ Kula 1963, p. 467.

Table 4.5. Number of children in closed families by the woman's age of marriage in the years 1740–1769 (family types MF 1 and MF 2)

Number of children	Age of the woman's marriage					Total	
	–20	20–24	25–29	30–34	35–	Number	%
0	7	9	12	7	29	64	16.4
1	8	11	8	9	12	48	12.3
2	8	6	8	3	5	30	7.7
3	10	3	6	6	5	30	7.7
4	19	10	10	5	3	47	12.0
5	12	13	9	3	–	37	9.5
6	13	21	7	1	1	43	11.0
7	9	6	1	3	1	20	5.1
8	7	10	8	1	–	26	6.7
9	11	9	3	1	–	24	6.2
10	9	4	–	–	–	13	3.3
11	–	1	–	–	–	1	0.3
12	2	1	–	–	–	3	0.8
13	1	1	–	–	–	2	0.5
14	2	–	–	–	–	2	0.5
Total children	641	542	267	112	62	1627	100
Average	5.4	5.2	3.7	2.9	1.1	4.2	
Average ^{a)}	5.8	5.6	4.4	3.5	2.3	5.0	
Total women	118	105	72	39	56	390	
%	30.3	26.9	18.5	10.0	14.3	100	

^{a)} In a family with children.

and 18.2%. The data referring to the size of the other families are different. Whereas among marriages concluded in the years 1740–69, the third and the fourth position is taken by the couples with four and six children, in the following three decades they were taken by the married couples with two and four children only. As a result, for 390 reconstructed families started in the years 1740–69 the average number of children, 4.2, was obtained, and taking into consideration families with children only: 5.0; whereas for 544 marriages in the period 1769–99, respectively, 2.8 and 3.8 children. The averages obtained, even omitting childless marriage couples, which in the Age of Enlightenment constituted one quarter of all, indicate decrease in the number of children born in the marriages concluded in the years 1770–99.

Table 4.6. Number of children in closed families by the woman's age of marriage in the years 1770–1799 (family types MF 1 and MF 2)

Number of children	Age of the woman's marriage					Total	
	–20	20–24	25–29	30–34	35–	Number	%
0	28	22	26	18	46	140	25.7
1	23	25	20	13	18	99	18.2
2	17	20	11	9	7	64	11.8
3	12	14	10	5	3	44	8.1
4	22	22	9	3	1	57	10.5
5	9	19	8	2	2	40	7.3
6	11	18	3	1	–	33	6.1
7	13	14	4	1	–	32	5.9
8	11	6	–	–	–	17	3.1
9	6	2	–	1	–	9	1.7
10	5	–	–	1	–	6	1.1
11	1	–	–	–	–	1	0.2
15	1	–	–	–	–	1	0.2
16	1	–	–	–	–	1	0.2
Total children	617	562	194	100	55	1528	100.0
Average	3.9	3.5	2.1	1.9	0.7	2.8	
Average ^{a)}	4.7	4.0	3.0	2.8	1.8	3.8	
Total women	160	162	91	54	77	544	
%	29.4	29.8	16.7	9.9	14.2	100	

a) In a family with children.

The tables presented above also enable to follow the number of offspring in the families reconstructed including the mother's age of marriage. In the both groups of closed families their distribution by proportion of the number of women in particular age ranges is nearly identical. Both in the period of 1740–69 and the following (1770–99), the percentage of married couples where mothers had not turned 25 years of age at the moment of wedding, amounted nearly 60, which is 57.2% and 59.2% of all to be precise. Moreover, it is well visible how with the age of mother the number of children born in the marriage changes. The families in which women married before the age of 25 in the years 1740–69, had on average six children, whereas those closer to 30 three-four only, and marriages formed by older women (over 35), merely two (see Figure 4.7).

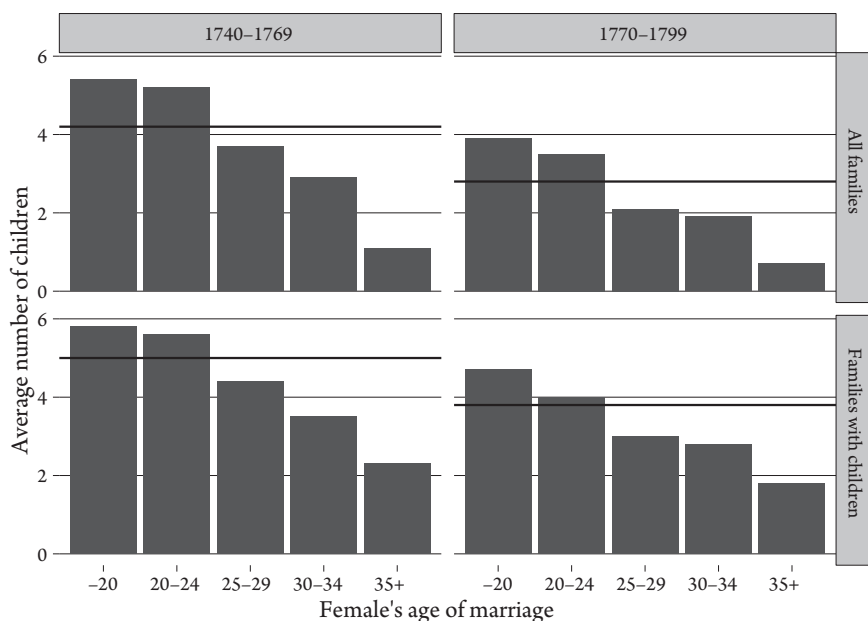


Figure 4.7. Average number of children in families by the woman's age of marriage in the years 1740–1799 (family types MF 1 and MF 2)

In the era of Enlightenment in families made by the youngest Warsaw women (below 20) were on average five children, and four in families with women being 20–24 at the moment of wedding. Women marrying in the age range of 25–34 had three children, i.e. one more than the oldest mothers or those starting a family being over 35. Assuming the average number of children in each family with children as 100, respectively to the woman's age at the moment of her marriage in the years 1740–69, in the following period under scrutiny, the smallest decline in the number of infants occurred at marriages concluded by the youngest women (below 20): 0.19% and in two oldest age ranges (30–34): by 20% and (over 35) by 21.7%. The biggest decline is noted in the ranges of 25–29: by staggering 31.8% and 20–24: by 28.6%.

The observed decrease in the average number of children in the reconstructed close families founded in the 1770s and later, in the group of marriages concluded by women between 20 and 30 years of age, may suggest certain contraception practices. It is important to remember that the observation so far concerns, which is worth emphasizing, closed families, where not all of Warsaw

Table 4.7. Number of children in complete families by the woman's age of marriage in the years 1740–1769 (family types MF 1 and MF 2)

Number of children	Age of the woman's marriage						Total	
	–20	20–24	25–29	30–34	35–	Unknown	Number	%
0	1	1	5	5	10	16	38	14.5
1	–	1	–	2	1	1	5	1.9
2	–	–	3	–	2	–	5	1.9
3	–	2	1	3	3	1	10	3.8
4	–	3	2	6	2	5	18	6.9
5	2	3	5	1	–	4	15	5.7
6	3	13	5	1	–	13	35	13.4
7	6	6	2	3	–	16	33	12.6
8	5	11	5	1	–	12	34	13.0
9	11	11	4	1	–	12	39	14.9
10	8	4	–	–	–	3	15	5.7
11	–	1	1	–	–	3	5	1.9
12	2	1	–	–	–	2	5	1.9
13	1	1	–	–	–	–	2	0.8
14	2	–	–	–	–	–	2	0.8
16	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	0.3
Total children	354	417	173	84	22	541	1597	100.0
Average	8.6	7.2	5.2	3.7	1.2	6.1	6.1	
Average ^{a)}	8.9	7.3	6.2	4.7	2.8	7.4	7.1	
Total women	41	58	33	23	18	89	262	
%	15.6	22.1	12.6	8.8	6.9	34.0	100.0	

^{a)} In a family with children.

mothers lived in marriage until the terminal age of their procreative abilities, which demographers determine as 45. Thus, it is interesting to follow procreative attitudes in the reconstructed families and those complete at the same time in the both periods distinguished. Appropriate data were juxtaposed in Table 4.7 and Table 4.8. It is worth adding that they also contain families for which it was not possible to establish mother's age at the moment of wedding but judging by its duration, 20 and more years, women outlived the period of their real fertility.

These both tables demonstrate almost identical percentage of married couples definitely infertile for both chronological ranges: 14.5–14.6%. Also Agnieszka Zielińska's studies on the population of Toruń from the 18th century on

Table 4.8. Number of children in complete families by the woman's age of marriage in the years 1770–1799 (family types MF 1 and MF 2)

Number of children	Age of the woman's marriage						Total	
	–20	20–24	25–29	30–34	35–	Unknow	Number	%
0	–	1	2	9	13	5	30	14.6
1	1	1	–	–	6	–	8	3.9
2	1	1	3	1	–	–	6	2.9
3	–	–	3	2	1	1	7	3.4
4	–	2	4	2	2	–	10	4.9
5	3	5	7	1	1	–	17	8.3
6	5	7	8	–	–	5	25	12.2
7	9	9	6	2	–	7	33	16.1
8	6	8	4	–	–	11	29	14.1
9	10	1	1	1	–	5	18	8.8
10	5	1	–	1	–	2	9	4.4
11	–	2	1	–	–	4	7	3.4
14	2	1	–	–	–	–	3	1.5
15	1	–	–	–	–	1	2	1.0
16	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	0.5
Total children	358	260	208	54	22	294	1196	100.0
Average	8.1	6.7	5.3	2.8	0.9	7.2	5.8	
Average ^{a)}	8.1	6.8	5.6	5.4	2.2	8.2	6.8	
Total women	44	39	39	19	23	41	205	
%	21.5	19.0	19.0	9.3	11.2	20.0	100.0	

^{a)} In a family with children.

with the application of L. Henry's method proved that the proportion of the share of childless families in the years 1793–1800: 12.5% among Protestants and 13.6% among Catholics is similar to that in Warsaw.³⁴ Discussing this issue it is impossible not to observe that thorough exploration of the registers seems to better reflect the real demographic situation of families than basing on tax or census sources. According to Maria Bogucka, childless families in early modern Poznań and Gdańsk were to constitute c. 30% and in Old Warsaw in the mid-17th century even about a half of all.³⁵ A. Wyrobisz signals a closer to reality and,

³⁴ Zielińska 2012, pp. 249–252.

³⁵ Bogucka 1983, p. 498.

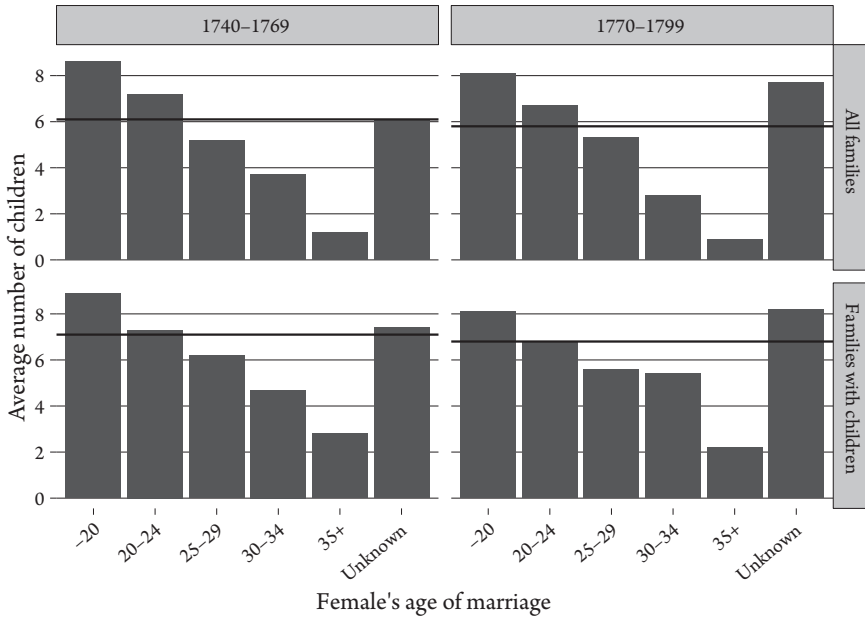


Figure 4.8. Average number of children in complete families by the woman's age of marriage in the years 1740–1799 (family types MF 1 and MF 2)

at the same time, more modest share of childless couples in his studies concerning the population of a small town of Solec nad Wisłą (Solec-upon-Vistula).³⁶

In the late Saxon era, the most numerous were families with nine children and the other period with seven children. Changes which occurred in the both periods are not very big, which can be confirmed by the data showing that families with 1–4 children, than 5–9 and more than 10, both in the years 1740–69 and the following three decades, made the same percentage: respectively 15, 60 and 25%. The average calculated once including families with children only, for the second time for all proved, however, a slight yet visible decrease in the number of children in the second of the periods under examination (decline from 7.1 to 6.8 and from 6.1 to 5.8: see Figure 4.8). In closed families with children the average number of children in the years 1770–99 decreased, in comparison with the earlier period, by 24%, whereas in complete families merely by 4.2%.

The analysis of reconstructed Warsaw complete families confirmed, on the one hand, the interdependence of the woman's age of marriage and duration of

³⁶ Wyrobisz 1987, pp. 338–339.

marriages with a number of children in the both distinguished periods, and on the other hand, also decrease of average numbers of offspring in the years 1770–99. In the 18th century, Warsaw complete families with women married before 20 usually contained 8–9 children and with women married at the age of 20–24 seven.

J.-P. Bardet names 7–8 children as their most frequent number in complete families in Rouen in the first half of the 18th century at women married before 25 and 6–7 children in the second half of the century.³⁷ Similarly, M. Lachiver provides information, although for the smaller town of Meulan, that the most marriages concluded before the Revolution of 1789 by women below 20 had 8–9 live births, whereas those married at the age of 20–24 there were 7.³⁸ Basically similar sizes were those of families in Bohemian Domažlice, but with a clear decrease in the number of children in the group of the youngest mothers (below 20) in the second half of the century.³⁹ In German towns, for instance Mainz (27 thousand of population at the end of the 18th century), families contained on average nearly 8 children, and in small Oppenheim (c. 1.7 thousand) Catholic families were more numerous with their 11 children than Lutheran and Calvinist ones with 9.⁴⁰ Simultaneously, A. Perenoud's studies on the society of Calvinist Geneva proved that completed families in this town usually included merely 6 children, since the age of the mother did not exceed 24 years of age at marriage,⁴¹ whereas in Chartres 7 children in the first half of the 18th century and merely 5 in the second.⁴² At the same age of mothers Protestant families reconstructed by J.-C. Perrot in Caen had 5.1 children while Catholic ones 4.6.⁴³ Most of the aforesaid populations, to a lesser (Meulan, Chartres) or higher degree (Rouen, Geneva) applied practices of birth regulation.

The average number of children in the reconstructed complete families in Warsaw shrank to the highest degree in the period 1770–99 in the last of the distinguished age ranges (35+), by staggering 24.1%, and then in the group of women married at the age of 25–29, by 9.7% as well as in the group of the youngest mothers by 9%. The smallest decline occurred among women married at the age of 20–24: by 6.8%. On the other hand, not decline but increase of the average number of children could be observed in families started by women at

³⁷ Bardet 1983, pp. 270–273.

³⁸ Lachiver 1969, pp. 167–169.

³⁹ Mužík 1986, p. 142.

⁴⁰ Kintz 1986; François 1988.

⁴¹ Perrenoud 1977, p. 157.

⁴² Garnot 1988, pp. 92–93.

⁴³ Perrot 1975, p. 868.

the age of 30–34, although this could be caused by a limited source basis: 19 complete families.

5. ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS AND FOUNDLINGS

A broader interest in the problems of illegitimate children in the modern era appeared in western historiography as if in connection demographic studies on ancient French families. First results of monographs on parishes and small French towns noted their small percentage (0.5–2%) and, by the end of the 1960s, had spread the opinion of Pierre Goubert, the author of a perfect work dedicated to the inhabitants of Beauvais and its surroundings in the 17th century on very strict observance of ecclesiastical law, which severely condemned extramarital intercourse, in Ancient Regime society.⁴⁴ This opinion was echoed by the other great expert, Pierre Chaunu, who underscored asceticism and severity of moral life.⁴⁵

The mass scale of the phenomenon of children out of wedlock, particularly visible in larger urban centers, which increasingly more often have become the subject of interest of historians, resulted in the need for deepening the knowledge.⁴⁶ Discovering connections between the number of illegitimate births, economy and social structure triggered further growth in publications in many countries, which brought new precious observations, not without critical and polemical aspects in relation to previous views. Once a widespread response was caused by works by Jean-Louis Flandrin⁴⁷ and Edward Shorter.⁴⁸

The former generally opposed, which is important to remember analyzing Polish data, determining the level of morality and erotic life of rural society through the prism of the scale of illegitimate births only. J.-L. Flandrin also turned his attention to other forms of sexual activity, which actually cannot be statistically grasped, but so frequent in rural community, such as: homosexuality, foremost pederasty, masturbation and sodomy.⁴⁹ Emphasizing the wide spectrum of bodily experiences, he explained the small number of illegitimate children with a short duration of most love adventures and more extensive

⁴⁴ Goubert 1968, p. 54.

⁴⁵ See Dupâquier 1984, p. 81.

⁴⁶ The increase from 3.1 at the beginning of the 18th c. in Nantes to 10% at its end is stated by Depauw 1972, pp. 1155–1182; almost threefold growth also in Lille, from 4.8 to 12.8%: Armengaud 1975, p. 98; slightly smaller in Lyon from 5 to 10%: Garden 1970, p. 102.

⁴⁷ Flandrin 1972; Flandrin 1984.

⁴⁸ Shorter 1971.

⁴⁹ Flandrin 1975.

contraception practices in premarital and extramarital intercourses. E. Shorter, on the other hand, did not hesitate to call the great increase in the number of illegitimate children and conceptions a sexual revolution, which occurred especially in lower social classes towards liberalization of their previous sexual behavior. Shorter's theses provoked an interesting opinion of R. W. Lee⁵⁰, and their further discussion developed on the pages of *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*.

In Poland, however, the areas of extramarital sexual life were until recently a subject of interest of chiefly researchers of the history of culture and ancient morality, although as early as the beginning of the 1980, Irena Gieysztor attempted to examine the scale of the phenomenon of illegitimate children in the 18th century, taking as an example the urban-rural parish of Łomża.⁵¹

It is important to remember that illegitimate children, according to Canon Law, was the offspring born before the parents' wedding or else, in the relationship concluded against its provisions. However, it accepted its legitimization through the marriage of the parents (*legitimatio per subsequens matrimonio*), although they still remained just natural children, and not born in wedlock. The land law treated severely illegitimate offspring called bastards, since it deprived them of the rights of inheritance from their father and enjoying privileges of nobility. The Sejm constitution (law) of 1578 against marriages of nobles with burghers and peasants still stronger intervened in such relationships, recognizing their offspring, even born after their wedding, as illegitimate and this status lasted until 1768. In Poland the right to legitimize noble children born out of wedlock was vested in the monarch, who lost it in 1578. From that time on this right was a prerogative of the Sejm. Extensive Magdeburg law included not only the very phenomenon of the existence of illegitimate offspring but even distinguished a few categories of them, depending the type of relationship between their parents. They were not always unequivocally discriminated in urban civil law, since, in certain cases, they were allowed to inherit their dead parents' property.⁵² The Enlightenment regulations of civil law of certain invaders, i.e. Austria and Prussia brought partial improvement in the legal status of extramarital children. Illegitimate origin, even in the society of noblemen clearly hostile to bastards, was no obstacle, especially when the parents were wealthy, either to complete an education or to enter the noble estate, the clergy or any other ca-

⁵⁰ Lee 1977.

⁵¹ Gieysztorowa 1981.

⁵² Groicki 1954, pp. 50–51.

reer, which can be learnt from *Liber chamorum* by Walerian Nekanda Trepka (1584/5–1640), a peculiar “armorial of the plebs” usurping the right to nobility.

Baptism registers of the pre-partition era, although often less precise and complete in comparison with West European registration, deliver abundant material for research on extramarital sexual life. It is important to remember, however, that even the best kept registration in the Old Polish period, but also later, never contains all legal births, so how could we expect full recording of illegitimate offspring?

Giving birth to a child from the pre- or extramarital relationship in Old Polish society, where all people usually knew one another quite well, did not bring honor to its mother, especially that the father hardly ever admitted to this fact. In villages and small towns the mother was vulnerable to harassment or even repressions on the part of the closest people, including the parish clergy.⁵³ There is nothing strange then, that at least some of pregnant village girls moved to bigger towns, where it was easier to hide the fruit of their extramarital intercourse, give birth to the offspring and, not rarely, leave it at the gates of a refuge, church or monastery, or often even in the street. Thus, it seems accurate to recognize the rates presented below as minimal.

The basis for distinguishing in Table 4.9 extramarital children's baptisms was clear defining by the parish clergy their illegitimate origins, recorded in parish registers as “ex illegitimo thore”, or “pater ignotus”, and in the case of baptisms of foundlings “expositus/a”. In the last twenty years of the 18th century, illegitimate births in the Holy Cross parish constituted 8–8.5%. Also Old Warsaw (Stara Warszawa) was characterized by similar sizes of illegitimate fertility, the scale of which throughout the 17th century, 7.1% (and in the years 1671–80 even 9.3) Maria Sierocka-Pośpiech considers high.⁵⁴ Thereby the Warsaw values of extramarital fertility exceeded even the analogous rates for major towns in France at that time.⁵⁵ The reign of Augustus II, full of political catastrophes and economic damages in Poland, for Warsaw community meant long-lasting deterioration of material circumstances of everyday existence, further increase in the number of extramarital births and foundlings, exceeding over 10% in the 1720s. In the later period occurred two clear peaks: the 1740s and 50s. To certain extent they could be an aftermath of the more difficult economic situation, which affected the looseness of previous ethical and moral attitudes, or a result of a new

⁵³ Kracik 1977, pp. 207–208; Kwak 2001, pp. 14–17.

⁵⁴ Sierocka-Pośpiech 1992, p. 76.

⁵⁵ Beauvalet-Boutouyrie 2008, p. 288.

Table 4.9. Illegitimate births and foundlings

Years	Annual averages			%	
	Illegitimate	Illegitimate and foundlings	Total	Illegitimate	Illegitimate and foundlings
1700–1709	17.2	17.8	177.2	9.7	10.0
1710–1719	11.2	12.2	124.2	9.0	9.8
1720–1729	15.8	17.1	165.6	9.5	10.3
1730–1739	12.2	14.0	207.8	5.9	6.7
1740–1749	33.2	49.3	262.7	12.6	18.8
1700–1749	17.1	20.4	177.7	9.6	11.5
1750–1759	45.6	63.9	352.2	13.0	18.2
1760–1769	51.4	59.7	575.5	8.9	10.4
1770–1779	68.6	74.6	819.5	8.4	9.1
1780–1789	81.2	.	965.0	8.4	.
1790–1799	59.4	.	849.0	7.0	.
1750–1799	67.5	.	712.4	9.5	.

wave of immigration to the capital connected with the return of Augustus III with his entire court. It is important to note that in those years, which were the time of increasingly more complete baptism registration, illegitimate children and foundlings constituted nearly $\frac{1}{5}$ of all births in Warsaw. So high rates of extramarital fertility (including foundlings, who were mostly also illegitimate) were not noted in any subsequent decade. In the Age of Enlightenment, which seems a little surprising, at least in the light of literary sources of that period underscoring quite widespread laxity of morals, the proportions of non-marital fertility in the central parish of the capital even slightly declined. However, this decline is apparent and not real, since, as written in the further part of this book, most foundlings from 1763 on were registered beyond the registers of the parish under examination. In other urban communities, for example St. James's parish in Toruń or in Łomża after 1770, occurred a growth in the percentage of non-marital children in comparison with the previous decade, respectively by 36% and 60%.

The scale of the phenomenon discussed, which is worth remembering, was not even even in the same populations, and not stable in time, which is demonstrated in the comparative survey we conducted in registers of the central,

Table 4.10. Illegitimate births and foundlings in the BVM parish in Cracow

Years	Annual averages in %
1741–1743	9.5
1761–1763	4.5
1771–1773	6.7
1781–1783	8.3
1797–1800	8.6

Source: AN Kraków, Libri baptisatorum parafii NMP w Krakowie 1738–1800, microfilm 5/178–5/182.

the most populous parish of Cracow: the Blessed Virgin Mary (Table 4.10). Throughout the 18th century the most illegitimate children in Cracow were baptized at the beginning of the 1740s: 9.5% and the fewest, just 4.5% twenty years later. From the 1780s on, one can observe a new steady increase in the percentage of non-marital children among all the baptized, which at the end of the 18th century reached the value of 8.6%. At the time of more correct baptism registration (the turn of the 19th century), the percentage of illegitimate offspring in Poznan was the highest in the downtown (15.3), considerably lower in its left-bank suburbs (12.2) and the lowest among the local Protestants: merely 7.5%. Similar phenomena of territorial-environmental diversity of illegal fertility can be observed in Gdansk in the 1740s, where the highest rates occurred in peripheral parishes of Old Town (St. Bartholomew: 12%), the poorest and simultaneously most populous (the Savior: 9.2%, Corpus Christi in Podwale: 11.1%).⁵⁶ Also in Torun at the end of the 18th century a higher percentage of non-marital children occurred basically among less affluent inhabitants of Catholic confession (the average for 3 parishes: 7%), than among richer Protestants (the average for 3 parishes: 5.2%).⁵⁷ Not very big size of non-marital fertility (1–4%) could usually be found in villages all over Europe, regardless of their geographical locations. In cities these proportions depended on their size. Just before the French Revolution, not only in Bordeaux, Toulouse or Paris, but also in, for example, Leipzig, the percentage of extramarital children amounted

⁵⁶ Baszanowski 1995, pp. 238–240; whereas Kościelak 2012, pp. 278–281, sees the issue of diversification of the share of illegitimate children in Gdansk throughout the 18th century, for example the decrease in their percentage from 8.9 (1741–50) to 6.6% (1781–90) in the local Catholic population.

⁵⁷ Zielińska 2012, pp. 399–400.

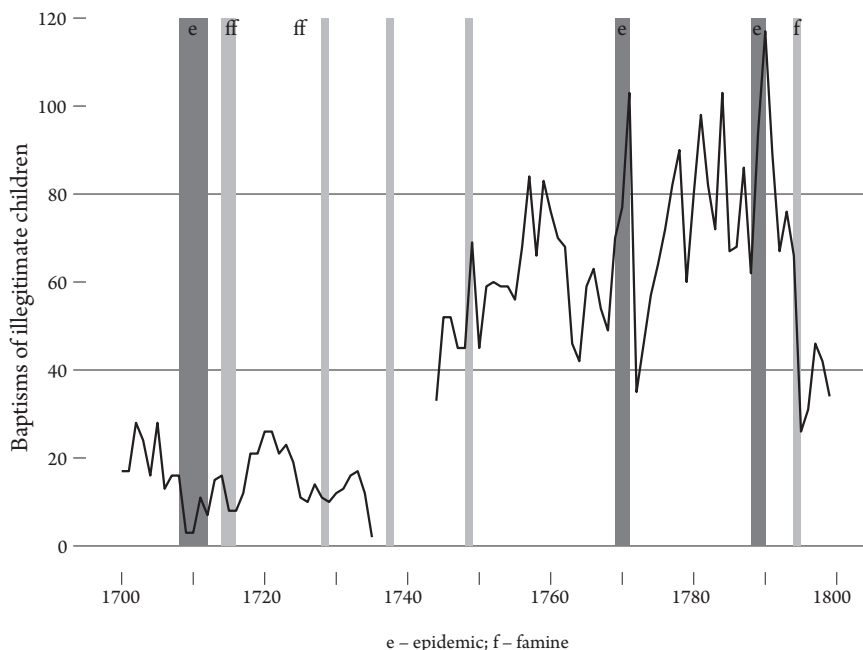


Figure 4.9. Illegitimate births and foundlings

c. 20%.⁵⁸ The capital of Bohemia, Prague, was characterized by similarly high rates in the scale of the continent in the 18th century: 20–25%.⁵⁹ It is also worth adding that in the years 1760–70 an increase in the number of extramarital children and foundlings has been observed throughout Western Europe, where the rates were twice or three times higher than at the beginning of the century.

Figure 4.9 reveals a clear connection between the growth in the number of non-marital babies' baptisms in the years 1703, 1705, 1708, 1713 and warfare in the years preceding them. It is the deterioration of the conditions of material existence of a certain part of the inhabitants of the Holy Cross parish, which could trigger the looseness of sexual attitudes, that we incline to see the cause of the increase in the number of non-marital children in the years 1713–14 (bad crops and dearth), 1747–49 (maximum in 1749, thus after bad crops and famine in 1748), in 1771 (after the plague of 1769–71 and the famine of 1770), and in 1790 (after epidemics of 1788–89, e.g. fever and dearth resulting

⁵⁸ Beauvalet-Boutouyrie 2008, p. 288.

⁵⁹ Fialová 1999, p. 48.

from bad crops).⁶⁰ It is important to remember that the bubonic plague or other epidemic diseases resulted in premature termination of part of marital unions. Concluding new ones, as already observed, was usually postponed until the expiration of the plague or famine. The prolonged time of waiting probably made part of partners start their sexual life earlier. Also difficulties on the matrimonial market of widows, particularly those less affluent and older, who lost the competition with maidens, led to more frequent trespassing the binding norms of sexual life recommended by the Church. Some of them believed that casual or even more systematic sexual intercourses did not have to result in their impregnation; others might even know methods of restoring menstruation in the event of its termination (see subchapter 5.5), yet others consciously provoked impregnation seeing therein a chance of sooner marriage. Probably certain men in this situation decided to marry, but others abandoned their partners. In such situations the consequences of pre-marital and extramarital intercourses, which is the child's upbringing, fell foremost on its mother.

The high number of infants out of wedlock, especially foundlings registered in the years 1745–62, slumped suddenly in 1763, although the growth in population in the 1760s stood out with its dynamics. Although the available sources do not corroborate the occurrence of natural disasters at that time, which could indicate a certain improvement of the life standard in the city, but the decline in the number of extramarital and abandoned infants' baptisms noted in the registers of the Holy Cross parish by no means has to prove a decrease in size of the phenomenon in question. The evidence thereof is the statistics of children admitted to the Infant Jesus hospital, where a visible increase from 1762 on can be observed (Table 4.11). Father Jaszewski's account, written about the mid-1770s, informs that "Inside the aforesaid St. Felicissima and St. Stanislaus rooms is a small church consecrated by His Excellence, Sir X. Załuski, bishop, in the year 1762, on the day of 12 mensis Septembris, on which he celebrates the holy baptism of abandoned children, as well as adult catechumens, by permission of the Holy Cross parish, where the aforementioned hospital is."⁶¹ Thus, in the early 1760s occurred a change of the place of baptism of abandoned children, most of whom, which is demonstrated in western studies, probably non-marital. On

⁶⁰ Siegel 1936, pp. 54–55. Similarly, maxima of the increase in illegitimate births presented in decades (1651–60, 1661–70, 1691–1700 and 1701–10) clearly correspond with the years of wars or plagues and epidemics of various diseases in Masovia, see Gieysztor 1981.

⁶¹ Bystroń 1977, p. 125.

Table 4.11. Foundlings admitted to the Infant Jesus Hospital in Warsaw

Year	Number	1756=100	Year	Number	1756=100
1756	206	100	1778	469	228
1757	233	113	1779	586	284
1758	224	109	1780	567	275
1759	226	110	1781	688	334
1760	227	110	1782	684	332
1761	206	100	1783	670	325
1762	401	195	1784	677	329
1763	520	252	1785	679	330
1764	444	216	1786	713	346
1765	436	212	1787	796	386
1766	383	186	1788	748	363
1767	390	189	1789	797	387
1768	413	200	1790	768	373
1769	419	203	1791	794	385
1770	449	218	1792	796	386
1771	423	205	1793	760	369
1772	386	187	1794	837	406
1773	368	179	1795	906	440
1774	370	180	1796	886	430
1775	361	175	1797	890	432
1776	369	179	1798	560	272
1777	468	227	1799	460	223

Source: Jezierski and Wyczański 2003, p. 118.

the other hand, until the consecration of the hospital church, the abandoned children's baptisms in the parish were recorded in its registers. The moment the Infant Jesus hospital was put into the church's use, its own registration of baptized children commenced.

The institution opened around the clock with its own church, in the view of a mother abandoning her own baby, provided a better chance for its survival, and even upbringing, than leaving it to its fate in another place. The witness of that period, Jędrzej Kitowicz, remembers in his *Opis obyczajów* (Description of Customs): "but when too many children began to be abandoned every night in this circle, so that there was shortage of wet-nurses for them, guard was placed near the circle in order to catch the people abandoning. Once they catch such

a person, they keep her until daylight, examine who she is”.⁶² Thus, one can believe that whereas the main stream of foundlings reached directly the Infant Jesus hospital, where they were baptized and registered, there were still mothers, who in fear of giving away their identity, abandoned their babies in other places in the parish. Probably it was those children who were baptized in the Holy Cross church and not in the hospital church, and recorded in the parish register.

The practice of abandoning unwanted babies gained large sizes in the dynamically developing Warsaw in the second half of the 18th century. In the late 1750s alone, more than 220 foundlings were admitted yearly (Table 4.11). Their number grew systematically from one year to another and in the 1770s it was twice as high as initially. The scale of abandoning newborns increased even more in the 1780s, whereas the zenith of registered foundlings, over 900, fell on 1795. For the inhabitants of the capital that year and the previous one remained in memory as the period of famine, great dearness, diseases, burnt villages near Warsaw and various requisitions by the occupational armies of the invaders partitioning Poland. Kitowicz, already mentioned, left in his memoirs a harrowing picture of the dramatic situation of the population.⁶³ We know about other cities, that the Holy Spirit hospital in Cracow at the decline of its existence, from 1762 to 1788, admitted nearly 900 unwanted children.⁶⁴ Several dozen were admitted yearly in Gdansk.⁶⁵

The scale of the phenomenon of abandoning babies in the biggest European cities was even greater. The Orphanage in Paris in the years 1640–1789 provided refuge for c. 390,000 small children. Whereas at the end of the 17th century it admitted slightly more than 800 babies a year, and in the years 1700–29 over 1,800, during the reign of Louis XVI this number exceeded 6,000! In Milan at the same time c. 150,000 foundlings were registered. No smaller sizes of this practice occurred in Vienna, St. Petersburg and Moscow. In England from the reign of George III on, about 15,000 unwanted children a year went to hospitals.⁶⁶

Analyses of the seasonality of ex illegitimo thoro and legal conceptions did not reveal any considerable differences. In the rural environment pre- and extramarital contacts were usually encouraged by the period of Carnival and spring–summer field works; hence their general dominance in these months (except March), and also in November. It was usually similar in urban communities, although

⁶² Kitowicz 1985, p. 37.

⁶³ Kitowicz 1971, pp. 639–641.

⁶⁴ Antosiewicz 1984, pp. 61.

⁶⁵ Kropidłowski 1992, p. 121.

⁶⁶ Beauvalet-Boutouyrie 2008, p. 297; Surdacki 1998, pp. 9–10.

Table 4.12. Seasonality of illegitimate and marital births in Warsaw and Cracow

	Months of birth												Total
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	
	Months of conception												
	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	
	Warsaw 1700–1799												
Illegitimate	101	113	113	117	103	92	86	83	95	112	93	92	1200
Marital	101	107	107	104	94	94	95	101	102	99	101	95	1200
	Cracow 1771–1783												
Illegitimate	139	106	114	104	110	88	88	76	92	51	101	131	1200
Marital	100	103	115	102	100	99	96	101	98	100	107	79	1200

Source: AN Kraków, Libri baptisatorum parafii NMP w Krakowie 1759–1783, microfilm 5/179–5/180.

not always. Thus, in Lublin in the first half of the 17th century, the most children, both those legitimate and extramarital, were conceived in spring with a characteristic peak for the both categories of babies in June, and with a visible decline in the intensity of non-marital conceptions in March, during the Lent.⁶⁷ Also in 18th-century Warsaw they were usually a fruit of spring and summer conceptions (April–August), when warmer weather enabled them to meet outside the home, and in January, the traditional period of balls and courtly entertainments, both public and private, in the places of trysts of both steady and casual lovers (Table 4.12). However, what is characteristic is lower intensity of sexual contacts resulting in births out of wedlock in the periods of both Advent and Lent. The behavior of the inhabitants of Cracow break out of the scheme outlined, since there the most illegitimate children in the 1770s were conceived in different months than in Warsaw, namely in March and April, which clearly contrasts with the monthly seasonality of marital conceptions in this city (see Figure 4.10).

As regards the sex structure of the non-marital newborns it is difficult to find any regularities. In the parish of Łomża in the 17th century, boys dominated in this group: 112M/100F, but in the following century the sex proportion was correct 105M/100F. In Warsaw boys prevailed 114M/100F in the Saxon period, and in the Age of Enlightenment girls: 90M/100F. The situation was similar with twin births, which, in the light of literature, were to be more frequent

⁶⁷ Prucnal 2008, pp. 312–313.

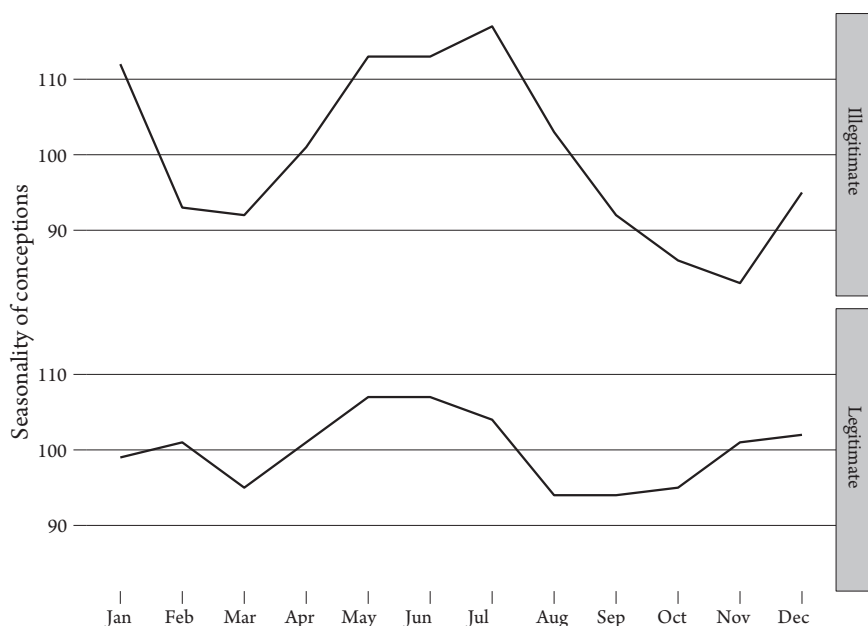


Figure 4.10. Seasonality of conceptions of illegitimate and legitimate children, monthly indices

among unmarried couples. This was true for Łomża, where in the 17th century, they constituted 2.8% and even 3% in the following century, but in Warsaw illegitimate twin births did not exceed 2%.

Nearly 2 thousand registry files of illegitimate offspring with a known date of birth in the capital Holy Cross parish enables us to answer the question of the date of their baptism. In the Saxon era, approximately a half of newborns were reported for baptism within 48 hours of their birth. In the Age of Enlightenment the interval between the birth of a illegitimate baby and its baptism lengthened systematically, but we should not forget that in Warsaw families this also happened. Towards the end of that era, merely a third of extramarital newborns were baptized within first two days, and as many within four and more days.

Even though the Catholic Church obliged parish clergy to provide the sacrament of baptism for all children regardless of the legitimacy of their birth, it simultaneously prescribed to avoid, while preparing entries for non-marital offspring in the baptism registers, anything that could defame the family of the parents. Therefore, recording full names of mother and father required their consent. Nearly three quarters of those children recorded in the parish books remains

anonymous; only first names of mothers are known and nothing else. In this situation, an attempt at a more precise defining the environment of the parents of the non-marital offspring as regards their socio-occupational status or their place of residence is considerably impeded. Judging by scarce mentions, quite a number of them were female home servants, who were characterized by a greater sexual freedom, quite often by submission to their employers. The moral scandal of the Bielachowski family in Kalisz in 1782 consisted in the fact that the host, saddlery master, had long lived with servants, and his wife with her stepson, whereas he with a maid-servant. When the latter became impregnated by the stepson, the host and the hostess tried to cause her miscarriage with such methods as kicking, dragging her on the floor and beating.⁶⁸ Still others were immigrants (in the case of, for example, the 17th-century Warsaw they came from its nearest surroundings), with a various period of inhabiting the capital. Similar things happened in 17th-century Lublin, where staggering 61% of mothers of illegitimate offspring came from the Lublin agglomeration (Krakowskie Przedmieście, Podzamcze, jurydykas), including merely 7% from the town itself, as well as from surrounding villages. Dariusz Prucnal also observed that around a quarter of the aforesaid mothers, who baptized the fruit of their extramarital sexual life in St. Michael the Archangel's church in Lublin came from outside the parish, foremost from other urban communities, sometimes considerably distant.⁶⁹ At the same time, Marian Aleksandrowicz's research on the Gniezno archdeaconry at the beginning of the Saxon era, which covered both villages and towns, showed an enormous (88.8%) general domination of village women among mothers of illegitimate offspring.⁷⁰

Considerable loosening of morals, including sexual behavior and weakening of traditional morality, despite efforts on the part of the local Church, as one of characteristics of Warsaw in the Age of Enlightenment was noted by foreigners visiting the city in the second half of the 18th century. For example, Nathaniel W. Wraxall observed: "The general dissolution of morals among the upper orders, is not one of the least extraordinary and characteristic features of the capital and country from which I am writing. Neither Petersburg nor Naples can surpass Warsaw in these respects. All the principles which bind society together, and which purify or perpetuate it, appear to me to be relaxed among the Poles."⁷¹ Although the author of these words may be blamed of just antipa-

⁶⁸ Rusiński 1988, pp. 308–309.

⁶⁹ Prucnal 2008, pp. 305–308.

⁷⁰ Aleksandrowicz 1976, p. 29.

⁷¹ Zawadzki 1963, 1, p. 106.

thy towards the Poles, which was expressed with such an extreme opinion, it cannot be said about Franciszek Karpiński, who wrote: "Debauchery of the city reached such a degree that there [in Warsaw] were, it can be said without doubt, ten times as many divorces as in Poland and Lithuania altogether."⁷² The parish census of 1791 contains families living in cohabitation. For example, at 2811 Zajęczna St. lived Maciej Zieliński, 40, with Magdalena, ten years his junior, while at 2723 Browarna St. Teodor Chojnacki, Czartoryski's butler, with Elżbieta, 24. In both cases the census clerk recorded those couples as "non-marital."⁷³ Moreover, also the reconstruction of family unions of the inhabitants of the Holy Cross parish proved the existence of single married couples cohabiting, at least in the beginning, in a legal cohabitation, legalized (perhaps not without pressure from the Vincentians?) by their subsequent formal conclusion of marriage in the parish temple. Thus, for example, 10 February 1762 Jan, son of Jan Gotlib Pecolt and Karolina Bergemstein, was baptized, whereas they did not marry as single persons until 28 July 1763.⁷⁴ It was similar with the baptism of Klara Kamińska, daughter of Michał and Maria on 7 April 1787, whereas her parents concluded marriage as late as 22 January 1788.⁷⁵ In the both cases in the baptism register the legitimacy of the children's births was noted, probably as a result of their parents' declaration of marriage in the nearest time. It was different in the case of the marriage of Jan Ziarkiewicz and Teresa Włachowska, who married on 3 October 1744 having had 2 children. Their first son Ignacy, baptized on the day following his birth, 31 July 1743, was defined as an illegitimate baby and certainly died soon, since their next son was given the same name. Also at his baptism on 30 July 1744 (the date of birth was not given) the illegitimate origin of the second son was clearly recorded.⁷⁶ The author of the registration acted in yet another way in the case of Elżbieta-Katarzyna, an illegitimate daughter of Jan Szyndler and Małgorzata, born on 30 November 1783, whose parents married only a few months later, 9 May 1784. The legitimacy of her origin was ignored in the baptism register.⁷⁷

Similar information on moral attitudes and habits which could be found in Warsaw, although probably in other big cities of pre-partition Poland, is pro-

⁷² Karpiński 1987, p. 104.

⁷³ AGAD, Varia Grodu Warszawskiego 25, *Spis katolików parafii św. Krzyża ... 1791*, pp. 143v, 181v.

⁷⁴ AP, Lib. cop. 5, p. 194; Lib. bapt. 8, p. 118v.

⁷⁵ AP, Lib. cop. 7, p. 52v; Lib. bapt. 12, p. 161.

⁷⁶ AP, Lib. cop. 5, p. 17; Lib. bapt. 6, pp. 114, 125v.

⁷⁷ AP, Lib. cop. 6, p. 200; Lib. bapt. 12, p. 22.

vided by successive reconstructed families. The widow Jadwiga Chochowicz, being merely c. 21–22 years old at the moment of her husband's death, maintained certain relationships with Wojciech Wiński, a much older (55) double widower. Perhaps her pregnancy and attractiveness of the young woman resulted in their wedding at the beginning of May 1777, where the bride appeared with very visible pregnancy, since 2 weeks later she gave birth to a daughter, *Szczęсна*.⁷⁸ Similarly, the slightly older widow Marianna Rozalia Zalewska-Koperska (her husband Franciszek died in October 1781), who was 27 at the moment of her remarriage to a merchant from Brzeziny, Józef Kozłowski, was in the last weeks of pregnancy for the labor took place just before 3 weeks later.⁷⁹ Also Marianna, the widow (of Jan Miszewski, who died in September 1764) remarrying was in advanced pregnancy, and exactly a month after the wedding gave birth to her daughter Katarzyna.⁸⁰ Examples taken from the history of Warsaw family unions suggest, simultaneously, freer sexual attitudes of widows after the death of their previous life partners.

The characteristics of the sources used here limits to a considerable degree possibility to draw more extensive conclusions. Sexual intercourses, both pre- and extramarital, not always had to result in a conception and birth of a child. If a female partner in such a relationship was a very young girl, her chance of impregnation was lower than in the case of older women, because of the phenomenon of young women's infertility and hence much lower probability of their impregnation.⁸¹ It cannot be ruled out that those more cunning wives maintaining extramarital relationships, ascribed their pregnancy as caused by their husbands, who did not suspect anything (always?). The resort for the others, those most desperate, was abortion or even infanticide.⁸²

Difficulties in more exact personal identification actually make it impossible to put the group of mothers of illegitimate children in numbers. Beside the examples of widows remarrying with a very visible fruit of a non-marital intercourse, there are also maidens who give birth to successive babies over a few years. For example, Marianna Jasińska, on 20 May 1704 baptized her daughter Marianna, and 2 December 1707 Barbara⁸³, likewise Marianna Piotrowska, who

⁷⁸ AP, Lib. cop. 6 (5 V 1777); Lib. bapt. 10 (20 V 1777).

⁷⁹ AP, Lib. cop. 6 (27 XI 1783); Lib. bapt. 12 (17 XII 1783).

⁸⁰ AP, Lib. cop. 5 (21 V 1766); Lib. bapt. 9 (21 VI 1766).

⁸¹ Chaunu 1989, pp. 80–81.

⁸² The scale of infanticide and other offences against morality and marriage in the biggest cities of Poland at the end of the 18th century is well presented by Kaczor 2005, pp. 108–158 and Kamler 2010, pp. 264–298.

⁸³ AP, Lib. bapt. 5, pp. 45, 73v.

on 5 February 1790 gave birth to her son Michał, and six years later, 4 September 1796 another son Piotr Antoni.⁸⁴ Some of those mothers were professional or casual prostitutes. Most of them were maidens but there were also many widows and women abandoned by their husbands. The representatives of the oldest profession of the world colorfully specified by the Curonian Schulz visiting Warsaw, due to their regular customers lived in quite a number in the parish in such streets as: Trębacka, Bednarska and na Tamce.⁸⁵ Also in the census of 1791, the Vincentians sometimes named prostitutes, for instance: in Michał Jarzyński's house at 1311 Nowy Świat: Amelia Bogdańska, 22, with her servant Anna, the same age, with a characteristic note: "of unknown occupation".⁸⁶ Of course, the outlined image of the phenomenon of illegitimate children and foundlings in the capital Holy Cross parish requires further specific studies.

Observations and inquiries included in this chapter, despite the reservations, already mentioned, regarding the completeness of the source basis, allow us to draw final conclusions. The baptism registration in the capital parish under examination never covered all the born throughout the 18th century. The major differences between the baptisms registered and births (bigger in the group of extramarital births) occurred in the first half of that century, during numerous and various natural disasters, usually conducive to relaxation of the registration discipline. In general, raw numbers of births throughout the period evolved, like the number of marriages. The analysis of reconstructed capital families, both those closed and foremost those complete, confirmed, on the one hand, the interdependence between the age of the woman's marriage and the duration of marriages with a number of children in the both distinguished periods, on the other hand, also decline in the average number of offspring in the years 1770–99.

Children born outside the family constituted in the capital at least a tenth of all births in throughout the period under scrutiny, but in the 1740s and 50s, at the time of strong economic disturbances in the capital, even a fifth of all. The collected material demonstrated that spring in the families of the Holy Cross parishioners, and summer in informal relationships, were characterized by greater intensity of sexual life. In Warsaw of the Age of Enlightenment, a higher degree of society abandoning Church prescriptions, which is visible in postponing the ceremony of baptism in the parish church.

⁸⁴ AP, Lib. bapt. 13, p. 126; Lib. bapt. 15, p. 22.

⁸⁵ Zawadzki, 2, pp. 531–540.

⁸⁶ AGAD, Varia Grodu Warszawskiego 25, *Spis katolików parafii św. Krzyża ... 1791*, p. 73.

CHAPTER 5

FERTILITY

*As I happened to hear for myself,
a certain woman, cheated by deception
of a hag being by her side, asked her to
remedy so that she had no more children.*

Róžański 1787, p. XII

Reproduction as the total of births, beside infant and child mortality, was and still is one of the fundamental factors determining the past and the future of the world. The passage, visible in the modern era, from the high fertility, also known as natural, to the controlled fertility resulted in progressive, even though with various intensity, depopulation of civilized societies, increasingly stronger at the beginning of the 21st century. Therefore, problems connected with the mechanism of fertility of families in the past are a focal point of interest on the part of not only historical but also contemporary demographers. The latter underscore the still persistent overpopulation of underdeveloped countries, which constitutes one of major current problems of humanity.¹

However, the extending and deepening the knowledge thereof, especially for the early modern era, facing the lack of valuable demographic documentation: censuses and vital statistics in reference to the Polish lands, is an extremely difficult task. Hence the simple measure of vital statistics of population sometimes calculated on such an incomplete basis: the birth coefficient, is not a good instrument in specific studies on the size of families and reproduction of successive generations. The sources universally used in western research, foremost church registers, as well as the employment of techniques of their processing in historical demography, Henry's

¹ Livi Bacci 1999.

method, enable to focus attention on legal, marital, fertility. Even though in this way the issue of fertility of singles eludes research observation, the extramarital fertility so understood in the previous history of humanity during the long biological ancient regime (1400–1800) made a modest share in the global demographic balance.

Attempting to describe the intensity of Old Polish couples' fertility, it is important not to forget that the previous studies on fertility on the basis of the reconstructed history of families, the techniques of statistical measurement applied, as well as the very final results, cause numerous disputes in the international community of historical demographers. Among them is, for example, a widely discussed term *natural demography* (see: the excellent selection of articles in the *Annales de Démographie Historique* 1988).

The term itself appeared in academic vocabulary and became popularized due to the works by Louis Henry back at the early 1950s. In one of them Louis Henry identified natural fertility with the fertility "which human population would have, if it did not take any conscious efforts in order to limit births."² Several subsequent French works, modelled on the pioneer study of the Norman village parish of Crulai, seemed to confirm that the intensity of marital fertility depends to a much higher degree on physiological facts as well as cultural and social experience of the spouses than on their individual decisions. Despite the credit for the technical novelty of Henry's method, the term natural fertility was largely criticized, for instance because of the results of studies on families in big pre-industrial cities. As early as 1975, Jean-Claude Perrot demonstrated in his research on the community of the town of Caen (Lower Normandy) that local Protestant families limited fertility through its stoppage, whereas Catholic families rather by spreading it in time, which demonstrated a dispersion of demographic attitudes.³ A few years later the historian Jacques Dupâquier, rejecting the term *nature* (the human is inscribed in the cultural context and is motivated by social laws) plainly asserted that "In all societies fertility is regulated by the social institution: marriage, which cannot be considered as a 'natural' phenomenon."⁴ Numerous discussions on the subject led Henry to adopting in the 1970s a more general term of natural fertility, i.e. population not practicing conscious birth limitation.⁵ The Swiss historian Alfred Perrenoud went even further in his definition, where: "controlled fertility occurs only when the couple

² Quotation after Bardet 1997, p. 317. See also Henry 1961.

³ Perrot 1975, p. 874.

⁴ Dupâquier 1984, p. 45.

⁵ Ibid., p. 47.

decides deliberately to stop procreation. [...] Any other form of fertility regulation, for instance conscious time distribution of births, abstinence, social norms in reference to age and breastfeeding, are caused by the social environment, and not subject to personal conscious choice. Thus, they are included in the scope of natural fertility.”⁶ Also the stance of Henry Léridon from the National Institute of Demographic Studies in Paris (INED) is worth noting. He prefers to define the procreation controlling by virtue of conscious birth spreading or by delaying of women’s age of marriage as “pseudonatural” fertility, because it is a result of physiological factors and attitudes compliant with social norms.⁷ Léridon’s definition, which is worth underscoring, focuses on considerable differences in couples’ behavior before contraception. This definition fails to contain, however, individual decisions of the spouses referring to ceasing giving birth to offspring.

The international discussion on both the terms themselves as well as research instruments for natural fertility and controlled fertility also contained the voices of demographers, statisticians and economists from other countries. Many of them expressed their opinions on the occasion of the unprecedented research project called European Princeton Fertility Project, implemented under the supervision of Ansley J. Coale at the University of Princeton, US in the years 1963–79. The project manager defined natural fertility in a similar way to Henry’s, as “fertility existing at the total lack of birth control”. Furthermore, any practices aiming at reducing the probability of conception after the couple had had the most desired number of children (but not necessarily final), which they do not want to exceed he called controlled fertility.⁸ Also the Italian demographer Massimo Livi Bacci, sharing the opinion on natural fertility characterizing pre-industrial societies in general, found populations which could control their fertility effectively. He noticed such innovatory attitudes in aristocratic families, Jewish marriages, and especially in urban communities.⁹

1. FERTILITY BY MARRIAGE AGE

The problem of recognition of the whole mechanism of fertility forming in Old Polish families is as fascinating as difficult. Despite many calls for intensification of Polish demographic works dedicated to demographic-historical

⁶ Perrenoud 1988, p. 59.

⁷ Léridon 1988, p. 33.

⁸ Coale 1967, pp. 164–169.

⁹ Livi Bacci 1986.

family statistics expressed at least for a quarter-century (Maria Bogucka, Irena Gieysztor, Andrzej Wyczański, Andrzej Wyrobisz) their number does not exceed just a few. Not always unified research program, in particular methods, complicate comparative juxtapositions and, thereby, collective summing-up of the results. Even the newest results of research dedicated to the demographic structure of families either in big Toruń or in smaller Gubin and Zielona Góra, focus their attention on the number of offspring and the pace of their births, actually ignoring levels of fertility of the urban populations under examination.¹⁰ Because they evaded the previous studies, we do not know many various cultural factors (for instance, changes in the social environment or habits), which could, consciously or involuntarily, affect procreative attitudes and behaviors of our ancestors, usually hitherto placing them in the category of natural fertility.

It is worth remembering, that among the nearly 2 thousand of families reconstructed, which began and finished procreation in the years 1740–99, almost a half were qualified for specific demographic analyses. In order to combine the demographic problems with socio-economic changes of the capital, it was decided to divide the material collected into two sub-periods: 1740–69 and 1770–99, and the determinant of the division became the date of marriage conclusion. By and large it can be stated that fertility of married couples in the first period fell foremost on the Saxon era (the reign of Augustus II and Augustus III in Poland) and the early Stanislavian era, in the other period on the Age of Enlightenment (the reign of Stanisław August Poniatowski). It is important to remember, that the community of the Holy Cross parish proposed to be examined was an urban population, in addition very diverse socially and economically, which contained the families reconstructed from, for example, noble and bourgeois elite, which could make efforts to more or less successfully affect their fertility.

The analysis of marriage fertility coefficients in Table 5.1 allows for the statement that fertility decreased regularly and physiologically throughout the period of marriage life of the couples of the Holy Cross parishioners both in the Saxon era and the Age of Enlightenment. The comparison of coefficients of women at the same age, who married earlier, for instance, at the age of 15–19, indicates their lower fertility than that of those who married five years later. There are opinions explaining this state with various pathologies experienced by women giving births to successive children at a young age as well as the char-

¹⁰ Zielińska 2012; Kurowska 2010; Skierska 2015.

Table 5.1. Marital fertility by the woman's age of marriage in the years 1740–1799
(family types MF 1 and MF 2)

The woman's age of marriage	The woman's age						
	15–19	20–24	25–29	30–34	35–39	40–44	45–49
1740–1769							
15–19	459	460	425	366	233	100	–
20–24	–	486	422	340	210	66	–
25–29	–	–	359	400	280	100	50
30–34	–	–	–	479	420	150	66
35–39	–	–	–	–	307	200	200
40–44	–	–	–	–	–	142	100
45–49	–	–	–	–	–	–	125
Total	459	469	408	381	276	121	60
1770–1799							
15–19	382	341	327	285	233	–	–
20–24	–	516	350	400	133	–	–
25–29	–	–	272	244	80	–	–
30–34	–	–	–	271	314	200	300
35–39	–	–	–	–	242	–	–
40–44	–	–	–	–	–	50	200
45–49	–	–	–	–	–	–	133
Total	382	413	316	293	217	61	133

acteristic sterility of young women at the beginning of marriage. Fertility coefficients, always the highest in the initial years of marriage, clearly decline along with the woman's age. They reach their highest value in the range of 20–29 years of age of the women; they gradually and slowly decrease in the range of 30–39, and definitely faster after 40. For the women who married the earliest turning 45 meant the end of fertility. In this range women married at the age of 25–34 sporadically gave birth to children, and those married after 35 only gave birth more frequently. Simultaneously Figure 5.1 clearly highlights a lower level of fertility among all capital families formed in the Age of Enlightenment including the women's age, in comparison with the earlier period, which may suggest certain attempts at affecting their procreation on the part of part of the couples.

Table 5.2 compares marriage fertility coefficients with theoretical fertility in a few selected communities in preindustrial European towns, as well as the community of the Hutterites, the sect of Anabaptists living in the United States

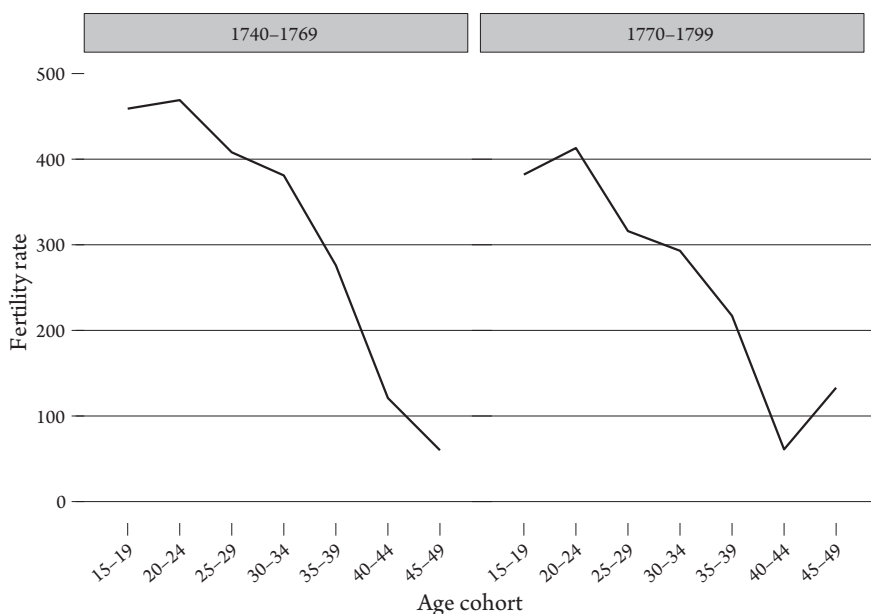


Figure 5.1. Marital fertility by the woman's age of marriage in the years 1740-1799 (family types MF 1 and MF 2)

and Canada, characterized by documented fertility resulting from their rigorous observance of religious rules and not using contraception. It is important to note that both the distributions and the values of particular coefficients are different in the communities under examination, sometimes quite considerably. Against the high fertility of the Hutterites, women in small Bohemian towns (Domažlice and Jablonec) and in Lucerne were characterized by slightly lower fertility, and definitely lower in Geneva and Rouen. In the communities of those latter towns, circles of rich burghers had practiced birth limitation as early as the second half of the 17th century, undoubtedly before the considerable reduction of mortality. Both in Rouen and in Geneva, the practice of controlling the number of offspring was soon extended over the whole population, the evidence of which is a regular decline in fertility. Warsaw burghers, in the light of the data presented, were characterized by lower marriage fertility in comparison with communities in not only small towns of the Old Continent but also those much larger, such as the aforementioned capital of Normandy. The calculated coefficient of theoretical fertility for Warsaw families formed in the years 1770-99 is by 16% lower in comparison with the families in the previous period.

Table 5.2. Marital fertility in selected towns of Europe and the Hutterites

Town	Period marriage	The woman's age							Total fertility rate
		15–19	20–24	25–29	30–34	35–39	40–44	45–49	
Warsaw	1740–1769	459	469	408	381	276	121	60	10.87
	1770–1799	382	413	316	293	217	61	133	9.07
Rouen	1730–1759	499	545	505	407	277	108	13	11.77
	1760–1792	536	488	443	345	229	82	7	10.65
Geneve	1745–1749	436	503	417	344	226	97	15	10.19
	1770–1772	554	488	394	313	209	90	15	10.31
Verdun	1750–1769	473	615	556	453	337	157	17	13.04
	1770–1789	573	500	420	329	214	95	10	10.70
Lucerne	1786–1795	583	503	466	349	296	144	27	11.84
Domažlice	1740–1749	590	485	431	398	281	191	69	12.22
	1750–1799	513	481	430	354	271	165	55	11.34
Jablonec	1740–1749	553	454	426	365	308	168	20	11.47
	1750–1799	413	488	483	411	342	192	33	11.81
Hutterites	1921–1931	300	550	502	447	406	222	61	12.44

Source: Bardet 1983, 2, pp. 129–130; Perrenoud 1988, p. 61; Ganiage 1999, p. 183; Dokoupil *et al.* 1999, p. 44.

2. FERTILITY AND THE DURATION OF MARRIAGE

The thorough analysis of marital fertility is conducted not only by observing distributions by the woman's age but also by marriage duration (Table 5.3). The latter observation highlights well the visible connection of the high fertility persisting foremost in two first five-year periods with its progressive decline in further years of marriage. It is also clearly visible that regardless of successive five-year periods of marriage, the fertility of Warsaw women was strongly connected with their age of marriage. Over the first 5 years of marriage the highest fertility characterized women marrying at the age of 20–24, whereas in the following two five-year periods of marriage (5–9 and 10–14 years) the first place was occupied by the Warsaw women who married at their youngest age, before 20. However, what seems the most characteristic of the data in the table is, taking into consideration the age of marriage and marriage duration, visible lower values of fertility coefficients among women who married in the second of the periods under scrutiny, i.e. in the years 1770–99.

Table 5.3. Marital fertility by marriage duration in the years 1740–1799
(family types MF 1 and MF 2)

The woman's age of marriage	Marriage duration in the years				
	0–4	5–9	10–14	15–19	20–24
1740–1769					
–20	452	395	354	220	108
20–24	465	386	309	210	43
25–29	373	315	187	75	14
30–34	364	228	146	–	–
35–39	276	162	28	–	–
40–44	24	–	–	–	–
1770–1799					
–20	403	359	329	234	66
20–24	410	342	276	33	–
25–29	353	246	93	–	–
30–34	245	224	99	(299)	–
35–39	212	75	39	–	–
40–44	142	–	–	–	–
45–49	149	–	–	–	–

This phenomenon is confirmed by the tendency, visible in Table 5.4, to systematic decline in the average number of children in successive five-year periods of marriages concluded in the Age of Enlightenment. However, the lack of more extensive modern studies on procreation behaviors and attitudes of married couples in the pre-partition and early industrial eras impedes considerably finding an answer to the question of the occurrence of controlled fertility in the Polish lands before the mid-19th century. The previous literature on the subject used to claim that Old Polish society was characterized by not limited fertility.¹¹ However, the noticeable decline in fertility in the reconstructed Warsaw families, not only those closed but also those complete, started in the Age of Enlightenment (1770–99), in comparison with the late Saxon era, may suggest that certain capital couples applied contraceptive practices. Before it is possible to thoroughly recognize the whole mechanism of forming and the course of fertility in Old Polish families in social stratification and territorial diversity, it is important to try to remind concisely establishments of Perrenoud and Bardet

¹¹ Borowski 1974, p. 87; Gieysztorowa 1976, p. 260.

Table 5.4. Number of children by the woman's age of marriage and marriage duration in the years 1740–1799 (family types MF 1 and MF 2)

The woman's age of marriage	Marriage duration in the years									
	0–4		5–9		10–14		15–19		20–24	
	1740–69	1770–99	1740–69	1770–99	1740–69	1770–99	1740–69	1770–99	1740–69	1770–99
15–19	2.3	2.0	2.0	1.8	1.8	1.6	1.1	1.2	0.5	0.3
20–24	2.3	2.1	1.9	1.7	1.5	1.4	1.1	0.2	0.2	–
25–29	1.9	1.8	1.6	1.2	0.9	0.5	0.4	–	0.1	–
30–34	1.8	1.2	1.1	1.1	0.7	0.5	–	1.5	–	–
35–39	1.4	1.1	0.8	0.4	0.1	0.2	–	–	–	–
40–44	0.1	0.7	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

concerning the decline in fertility in the past, which characterized certain urban communities as early as the 18th century in Western Europe. The example is the Protestant community of Geneva and the metropolitan community of the capital of Normandy, Rouen, considered, beside Reims, as especially innovative in this matter.

Studies of the both historians proved the ability of married couples in those places to control the number of offspring and to maintain conscious strategies of procreation. The theoretical fertility of Genevan married couples over nearly two centuries decreased from 6.33 (1625–44) to 2.90 children (1800–10), i.e. by a third! The decline in theoretical fertility was associated with a systematic lowering of the mother's age at the birth of her last child. Abandoning procreation by women in their young age, long before menopause, is recognized as a characteristic quality of populations applying limitation of the number of offspring. It is well seen in the example of the growing percentage of married couples who finished procreation before 35 years of age of the woman. Whereas in the first half of the 17th century such a decision was taken by merely every seventh married couple (13.9%), at the beginning of the 19th century nearly two thirds of couples terminated their procreation (61.5%). Thereby decreased the percentage of marital fertility after 30 years of age of the woman, calculated in relation to the total fertility of married women aged 15–30. Systematically progressing from decade to decade limitation of fertility in Genevan families is well illustrated by the increasingly higher values of the *m* parameter of Coal-Trussell, the

fertility limitation rate: from 0.023 at the beginning of the 17th century to 0.822 at the turn of the 19th century. The reduction of fertility among the inhabitants of Protestant Geneva was the more visible the earlier the marriage was concluded. It is worth noting that that decline in fertility in the Genevan population was initially accompanied by the growth of the average age of women at the moment of their marriage conclusion. Along with spreading practices of birth control, marriage ceased to play the role of a regulatory element and the age of women at their wedding slightly decreased. In such a model of fertility limitation intergenetic intervals were short and were the evidence of a clear tendency to tighten the frequency of births.

Procreation behaviors of the inhabitants of the capital of Normandy are in many aspects similar to those in the community of Genevan burghers described above. Also in Rouen, long before the Revolution of 1798, occurred a decline in the number of the theoretical offspring of the married woman, although not as rapid as in Geneva, clearly combined with a considerable lowering of the age in which women gave up procreation. In the days of minority of the future “Sun King” only every fifth marriage finished procreation before the mother turned 35 and only twice as many before 40. A hundred years later, in the pre-revolutionary period, a similar attitude of resignation from the conception of offspring characterized a staggering quarter of all couples and already before the woman turned 30; slightly more than a third did the same before 35 and over two thirds before 40. Over more than one and a half centuries the proportion of infertile families doubled from 5% to 10%, and intervals between births were short.

In the both urban communities the decline in fertility seems result from “total contraception”, i.e. stoppage of procreation, and not distribution of births in time, which characterized some of the rural populations of the Paris Basin or Swiss villages at the end of the Ancien Régime era. French and Swiss peasants avoided excessive procreation with longer intergenetic intervals. The earlier they married the more they inclined to spread births in time.¹² It is worth adding that the both practices outlined above, “stoppage of fertility” and “distribution of fertility in time”, were not mutually exclusive. On the contrary: depending on other factors, for example, the spouses’ previous experience, they could complement each other.

¹² Lachiver 1973; Perrenoud 1988, pp. 66–67.

3. PREMARITAL CONCEPTIONS AND THE PROTOGENETIC INTERVAL

Whereas historical-demographical research on the ancient family fails to provide a literary description, through statistical data it is a basis for presenting at least a few of moral attitudes of our ancestors. Beside the procreation attitudes outlined above, seen through the prism of fertility intensification and family growth, it also enables to determine the protogenetic interval or an interval between the marriage conclusion and the birth of the first child, the frequency of premarital conceptions resulting, of course, in a happy birth and baptism of the child and intervals between the successive births. Historical demography universally classifies as premarital conceptions the births which occurred within 8 months of the date of marriage.

The percentages presented in Table 5.5 clearly indicate a considerable popularity of premarital intercourses in the capital community, higher in the Stanisławian era: 15.4% of premarital conceptions in relation to 12.1% in the late Saxon era. Taking into consideration the fact that they constituted almost the same percentage, 12.8%, also among the 17th-century families of Old Town in Warsaw, it is well-grounded to talk about relatively steady size of the phenomenon. Even more interesting seems the size of the phenomenon when observed including the mother's age of marriage (Table 5.6). In the first of the periods distinguished the proportions of premarital conceptions grow along with the woman's age until 34, in the second, slightly shorter, up to 29. What attracts attention is the fact that the Warsaw women marrying in the years 1740–69 at the age of 25–34, sometimes decided to have premarital sexual life even twice as often as their younger counterparts. In the following thirty years, the highest growth in premarital conceptions took place in two youngest age groups: under 20 by 38% and 20–24 by staggering 54%, whereas in two oldest groups occurred a decrease. Although the size of the phenomenon of premarital conceptions is not very big, it seems to suggest freer sexual attitudes, especially among older Warsaw women. In those days, when most women married at the age of 20–24, their matrimonial chances decreased with every year after they turned 25. Hence, perhaps, more frequent decisions of older women to start premarital sexual life, which, when visible due to pregnancy, could accelerate (force the father of the baby conceived?) a decision on starting a family.

The size of the phenomenon of premarital conceptions in the reconstructed families in the Holy Cross parish can be also presented in 5-year periods, which,

Table 5.5. Premarital conceptions and protogenetic interval

Interval in months	Date of marriage		Interval in months	Date of marriage	
	1740–1769	1770–1799		1740–1769	1770–1799
0	1	9	20	5	4
1	6	5	21	5	11
2	7	6	22	4	7
3	4	5	23	2	10
4	10	14	24	4	10
5	4	7	25	2	9
6	7	12	26	–	7
7	6	18	27	6	9
8	17	32	28	7	7
9	56	47	29	7	6
10	47	44	30	5	4
11	30	37	31	1	3
12	29	35	32	–	3
13	26	29	33	–	4
14	6	18	34	3	1
15	13	13	35	–	1
16	11	15	36	17	17
17	11	17	Total 0–7	45	76
18	6	11	Total 0–36	370	493
19	5	6	% 0–7	12.1	15.4

Table 5.6. Premarital conceptions (%)

Date of marriage	The woman's age of marriage					
	–20	20–24	25–29	30–34	35–	Total
1740–1769	8.6	12.0	15.9	19.4	12.0	12.1
1770–1799	11.9	18.5	19.0	16.2	7.1	15.4

beside revealing the general tendency prevailing at that time, place its size in the context of the whole socio-economic development of the Warsaw agglomeration, including a chronicle of political events (Table 5.7). The percentage rates obtained in this way prove the highest increase in the number of premarital conceptions foremost in the following 5-year periods: 1740–44, 1765–69, 1775–79, 1795–99. To a high degree they were convergent with various epidemic diseases occurring in

Table 5.7. Premarital conceptions by the woman's age of marriage (%)

Date of marriage	The woman's age of marriage					
	-20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-	Total
1740-1744	11.1	18.2	-	-	-	13.6
1745-1749	-	-	10.0	50.0	-	6.1
1750-1754	6.3	5.9	25.0	-	-	7.0
1755-1759	9.1	15.0	6.3	14.3	-	10.3
1760-1764	9.7	16.0	20.0	9.1	16.7	14.0
1765-1769	9.4	12.1	23.5	40.0	12.5	14.9
1770-1774	9.5	15.2	11.1	20.0	12.5	12.3
1775-1779	14.5	30.3	33.3	40.0	-	21.8
1780-1784	15.2	21.6	16.1	7.1	-	16.4
1785-1789	9.5	6.5	16.7	-	-	8.7
1790-1794	-	14.3	20.0	22.2	-	12.5
1795-1799	-	16.7	100.0	-	50.0	21.4
1740-1799	10.5	15.8	17.6	17.6	9.4	14.0

the capital in those days. The inhabitants suffered from famine caused by bad crops and dearth in the city. This could be evidence of the claim that in the years of natural disasters, economic problems which disorganized or considerably disturbed the functioning of households, also the matrimonial market, in the environment of a big preindustrial city, premarital intercourse was more spread than usual. We realize that the hypothesis outlined above requires further observations in reference to many other, foremost big, cities in pre-partition Poland. There is also no doubt that pregnancies before marriage were no rarity in smaller towns or Polish villages, judging by the scale of the phenomenon fitting the range of 10-25%.¹³ Despite formal prohibitions of churches of various denominations, it is possible to assume a certain peculiar social acceptance of sexual life before the wedding, especially in reference to groups of the poorer, for example laborers. For it is a fact that there is a correlation between the size of premarital conceptions and the social status of the family: they were the most numerous in the lower strata of society. This is quite well visible in certain towns in Poland, for example Toruń at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century. In general, poorer families, usually Catholic (12.5-22.7%) rather than better-off Protestant households

¹³ Kuklo 2009, p. 349-350.

(13.8–14.8%) were characterized by higher percentage of premarital conceptions.¹⁴ A similar situation can be also observed in Zielona Góra, Silesia, where among peasants and wage laborers premarital conceptions constituted 15.1–15.6% while among the most numerous group of inhabitants, craftsmen, merely 7.6%.¹⁵ To a certain degree this could be connected with a greater special mobility of representatives of the aforementioned social groups, their more frequent being far from their own environment and thereby weaker influence of the closest family.

Considering these problems it is important to refer to and recognize, every single time, matrimonial practices ruling in the society under examination. Forgetting them and operating with statistical data only may result in misunderstandings. The considerable size of premarital conceptions in modern English society (25% in the first half of the 18th century, over 35% in the second half), found by late Peter Laslett, the co-founder of *Cambridge Group* famous for its academic achievements, do not necessarily prove, which the author demonstrated, sexual chaos in the British Isles but the existence of another form of engagement, independent from the later wedding. Moreover, even after the wedding leaving of a young married woman for her husband's home did not happen at once but only in a few weeks' time. In his opinion, the betrothed in the Isles maintained sexual intercourses just after the formal contract of engagement, before the wedding ceremony. Hence so high numbers of children born soon after the conclusion of the union in church; it was "adultery with one's own wife"¹⁶.

In comparison with the inhabitants of the British Isles, France with its mere 4% (under Louis XIV) and 10% (Louis XVI) of premarital conceptions in rural families before the mid-18th century seems extremely puritanical. The growing tendency of the phenomenon came only along with the Age of Enlightenment, the most visible foremost among the inhabitants of the biggest cities and their suburbs – usually at the level of over 20%, and sometimes even over 30%. Also in towns of the southern neighbors of Poland the scale of the phenomenon was not small, since premarital conceptions in the first half of the 18th century made there from 12.8% (Domažlice, Komín), through 17.5% (Budyně nad Ohří), to 22.1% (Jablonec nad Nisou)¹⁷.

¹⁴ Zielińska 2012, pp. 232–233, 468–469. In the capital of Normandy the most premarital conceptions were among laborers (19–24%), the fewest among notables (3–5%), Bardet 1982, p. 326.

¹⁵ Zielona Góra was a town of craftsmen in Silesia, c. 5–7 thousand inhabitants in the 18th century, with the dominance of Protestant population; after 1740 in Prussia, Skierska 2015, p. 226.

¹⁶ Laslett 1977, pp. 129–131; Bardet 1983, pp. 324–325.

¹⁷ Fialová 1999, p. 49; Nesládková 2003, pp. 154–157.

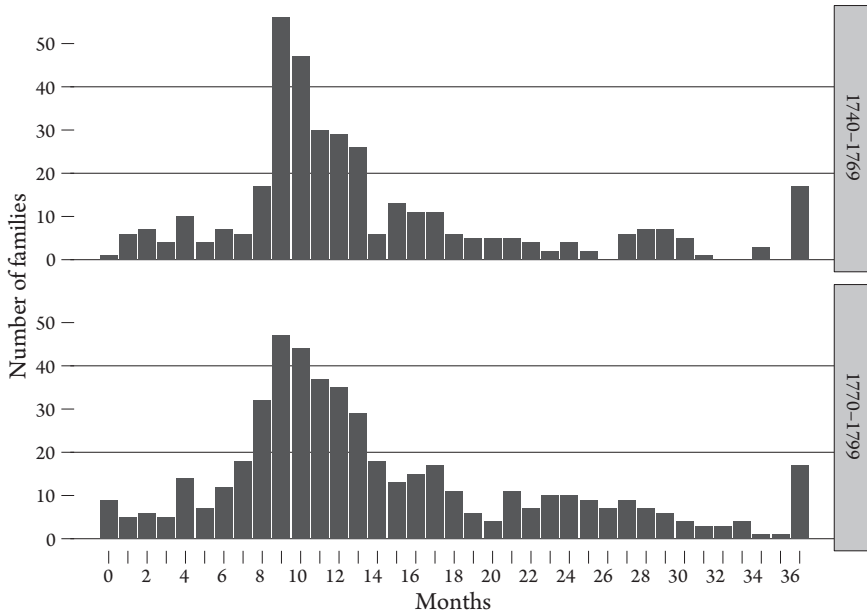


Figure 5.2. Protogenetic intervals

The age of the mother, the way of feeding and premature death of the infant influenced considerably the length of inter-birth intervals. In turn, taking into consideration the whole period of marital life, the growth in the length of the intergenetic intervals, depending on the order of children emerging, is clearly visible. The first baby (talking about the protogenetic interval) in Old Polish families was not born as soon as one could expect. Thus, in the circles of rich burghers in Old Warsaw in the 17th century the first child emerged in 43.1% of families in 8–12 months, in 27.7% in 13–24 months, and in 17.5% in two and more years.¹⁸ A hundred years later, in Warsaw families living in the Holy Cross parish, the first birth took place after 14 months had passed (including premarital conceptions in the calculations), see Figure 5.2. It was very similar in this respect in other urban communities. In Toruń at the end of the 18th century the protogenetic interval amounted 13–14 months in Protestant families but it was longer by a few months among the local Catholics. The author of a study on the Toruń population, Agnieszka Zielińska, sees in the shorter protogenetic intervals in Protestant families evidence of a slightly better living situation and occupational stability of

¹⁸ Sierocka-Pośpiech 1992a, p. 98.

the representatives of this denomination than that of the local Catholics.¹⁹ Also in certain smaller towns, for example the community of Upper Silesian Krapkowice in the years 1761–1800 the first child in the family appeared relatively soon, in 15 months' time (rural in 13 months) after the wedding. A similar situation was in families in Gubin, the biggest town on the territory of Lower Lusatia.²⁰ However, in Zielona Góra the interval was definitely longer and lasted on average even 20 months.²¹ From among other examined urban communities it is worth quoting the data for the end of the 18th century from small Strzelce Opolskie, where the interval between the wedding and the first baby amounted 16 months and more. It was slightly longer in families of the parishes in Bielawa and Toszek; it fitted, respectively, the ranges of 12–17 and 20–22 months.²²

In the light of the existent literature, the latest to give birth after the wedding were peasant-women in the parish of Bejsce, Lesser Poland. Among the local marriages concluded in the years 1771–1800, the protogenetic interval was very long and lasted on average staggering 2.3–2.4 years. According to Edmund Piasecki, the author of the studies, such a long interval resulted from not only marrying off very young girls who were physically not able to procreate, or dead births, about which there are no data, but also because of difficult conditions of everyday life in the decline of feudalism. The problem, however, might have as well resulted from the selection of source material.²³

To conclude the information on the length of the protogenetic interval it is important to note that correlations between the woman's age at the moment of wedding and the duration of the period before giving birth to the first child in both urban (Warszawa) and rural (Bejsce) families indicate that its length was a function of the mother's age. Usually the protogenetic interval was longer at young married women (the result of young girls' sterility and miscarriages) than at the oldest women: those of 35 years of age and more. Basically, a similar phenomenon is also visible among the reconstructed Warsaw families, although with a certain reservation (Table 5.8). In both periods, the youngest mothers (married

¹⁹ Zielińska 2012, pp. 244–245, 480–484.

²⁰ Górna 2001, p. 39; Kurowska 2010, p. 207.

²¹ Skierska 2015, pp. 231–232.

²² Kukło 2009, p. 339.

²³ The author observed clear shortening of the interval from the abolition of serfdom in 1864 on. In addition, in contrast to the commonly accepted way of calculating the parameter on the basis of complete families only, E. Piasecki included all women, for whom he knew the data of the conclusion of their first marriages and births of their first children, see Piasecki 1990, pp. 236–237.

before 20) gave birth to their first offspring slightly later than those who married at the age of 20–29, likewise yet later women married at the age of 30–34, respectively 17 and 19 months. However, among Warsaw families something else is characteristic, namely the length of the protogenetic interval at mothers married after 35, which was shorter and not longer. In the Saxon era those married at older age gave birth as soon as in 13.5, and in the Stanisławian era in 11 months.

Table 5.8. First three intervals in families with 3 and more children

The woman's age of marriage	Number of families	Intervals in months		
		0-1	1-2	2-3
1740-1769				
-20	100	15.2	23.6	26.1
20-24	83	14.2	22.9	24.9
25-29	45	15.1	25.3	24.6
30-34	17	17.1	22.7	27.0
35+	7	13.5	25.9	28.5
1770-1799				
-20	115	16.4	23.8	26.1
20-24	94	15.2	22.7	26.9
25-29	45	17.0	23.8	25.3
30-34	15	19.2	21.7	23.7
35+	4	10.9	20.1	34.1

4. INTERGENETIC INTERVALS

In the populations in the past, especially those non-Malthusian, i.e. not practicing, or practicing to a very little degree, limitation of offspring, the issue of the length of the intervals between successive births or between successive labors called intergenetic, is considered one of more important elements, which may reveal the procreation attitudes of married couples. However, their comparison on the basis of the reconstructed families requires certain subtlety, for the decreasing number of families along with the growing number of children results in the reduction of the circle of the women under examination in favor of those with the most numerous offspring, yet who were characterized, simultaneously, by the shortest interbirth intervals. Therefore the observation of the distribution of those intervals is usually conducted on the basis of families with many children, i.e. 6 and more children, comparing three first and three last sections.

This rule was followed while placing data in Table 5.9. Inter-genetic intervals between successive births. Inter-genetic intervals between successive labors lengthen along with the number of successive births. Especially the two latter, longer in comparison with the earlier ones are evidence of decreasing in fertility along with the advanced age of the mother. Whereas three first inter-genetic intervals in Warsaw families did not exceed 24 months, the penultimate section amounted over 27 and the last over 32 months. In comparison with certain urban populations in Western Europe, Warsaw families were characterized by foremost longer three first interbirth intervals, although basically they are not as very long as in Moravian Brno or Bohemian Budyně nad Ohří (Table 5.10). Historians are inclined to count among the factors which affect the length of inter-genetic intervals regardless of social practices, for example, methods of child feeding, physical and psychical tiredness of mothers, the fate of the previous child, frequency of sexual intercourses, unintentional miscarriages. However, it seems that especially two of those named above, the methods of feeding in combination with the fate of the previous child, play a fundamental role. There is a dispute in the circles of historical demographers and physicians on the influence of breastfeeding by one's own mother on the probability of her reimpregnation²⁴. However, recently it has been increasingly often underscored that one of hormones, prolactin, secreted at the moment of breastfeeding inhibits ovulation of the feeding mother. In the light of abundant documentation of the Holy Cross families, it is possible to observe in the Saxon and Stanislavian eras clear reduction of the length of interbirth intervals in the case of children's demises within the first 365 days of their lives (Tables 5.11 and 5.12). In the reconstructed Warsaw families which started in the years 1740–99, among women breastfeeding longer than a year, the average inter-genetic interval amounted 25–26 months and mere c. 20 months at those who did not breastfeed for so long because of the death of their previous infant.²⁵ Thus, there is no doubt that it was the death of the previous child in infancy, generally caused termination of breastfeeding²⁶. It is worth adding that the average interval between successive labors, calculated on the basis of over 5 thousand pieces of data on the length of interbirth inter-

²⁴ For more on the subject see Mac Laren 1985.

²⁵ Kuklo 1991, pp. 212–215.

²⁶ In contrast to West European urban society, which widely used the institution of wet nurses, especially country women, there is not much evidence of employing them by Warsaw couples. In several thousands of families recorded in the parish census of 1791, just a few mentions about wet nurses can be found.

Table 5.9. Intergenetic intervals in families with 6 and more children

Date of marriage	Intervals in months						
	1–2	2–3	3–4	4–5	A	P	U
1740–1769	22.3	23.9	23.2	24.3	25.6	27.1	32.4
1770–1799	22.6	25.7	23.5	25.1	25.3	27.3	29.3

A – Antepenultimate; P – Penultimate; U – Ultimate.

Table 5.10. Intergenetic intervals in families with 6 and more children in European towns

Town	Date of marriage	Intervals in months						
		1–2	2–3	3–4	4–5	A	P	U
Gubin	1701–1720	32.0	37.0	37.0	37.5	32.0	27.0	31.0
Zielona Góra	1721–1740	32.5	34.2	36.0	37.0	31.6	21.4	38.5
Torun Catholics	1793–1800	27.3	27.4	30.0	29.8	29.8	25.9	39.7
Torun Protestants	1793–1800	18.3	27.2	27.0	31.0	34.3	36.3	37.0
Rouen	1730–1789	18.8	19.6	21.3	22.6	23.4	25.3	27.8
Beauvais	1735–1779	19.1	21.3	22.0	23.3	25.0	27.0	34.9
Meulan	1740–1789	18.5	20.8	21.7	24.6	23.7	28.5	35.4
Geneva	1745–1749	16.5	19.9	21.2	–	23.4	26.8	37.0
	1770–1772	16.4	19.6	21.0	–	25.6	31.0	32.0
Brno	1710–1769	22.0	24.6	26.2	28.8	24.1	28.2	34.5
Budyně n. Ohří	1701–1750	24.4	27.0	25.9	26.5	27.6	28.0	34.9

A – Antepenultimate; P – Penultimate; U – Ultimate.

Source: Calculated on the basis Zielińska 2012, pp. 470–474, 480–484; Kurowska 2010, p. 211; Skierska 2015, p. 233; Bardet 1983, 1, p. 285; Ganiage 1999, p. 204; Perrenoud 1988, p. 70; Brabcová 2001, p. 96.

vals, in marriages of the 18th-century Warsaw was 26 months. Thus, it is possible to assume that in capital families live births in the Saxon and Stanislavian eras occurred on average only slightly more often than every two years.

Modest comparative data from the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the following century demonstrate that in Torun families interbirth intervals, in comparison with those in Warsaw, were slightly longer and amounted 28 months among the Catholics and 30 months among the Protestants.²⁷ What can be also observed is lengthening of the average intergenetic interval in pro-

²⁷ Zielińska 2012, pp. 480–484.

Table 5.11. Intergenic intervals by fate of the previous child in the years 1740–1769

Intervals in months	Births ^{a)}					
	The previous child died within 365 days		The previous child survived 365 days		Fate of the previous child unknown ^{b)}	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
under 9	1	0.5	1	0.4	5	0.3
9	2	0.9	2	0.8	2	0.1
10	3	1.4	3	1.2	15	0.9
11	10	4.8	8	3.3	37	2.2
12	11	5.2	3	1.2	59	3.5
13	18	8.6	3	1.2	58	3.5
14	15	7.1	3	1.2	67	4.0
15	15	7.1	5	2.1	51	3.1
16	15	7.1	11	4.6	53	3.2
17	7	3.3	10	4.1	79	4.7
18	7	3.3	8	3.3	50	3.0
19	10	4.8	5	2.1	68	4.1
20	7	3.3	5	2.1	71	4.3
21	9	4.3	11	4.6	81	4.9
22	9	4.3	17	7.1	68	4.1
23	9	4.3	10	4.1	72	4.3
24	3	1.4	17	7.1	109	6.9
25	7	3.3	7	2.9	64	3.8
26	6	2.9	15	6.2	79	4.7
27	4	1.9	8	3.3	67	4.0
28	4	1.9	17	7.1	63	3.8
29	1	0.5	6	2.5	58	3.5
30	6	2.9	12	5.0	41	2.5
31	1	0.5	7	2.9	44	2.6
32	3	1.4	4	1.7	39	2.3
33	1	0.5	5	2.1	36	2.2
34	6	2.9	4	1.7	24	1.4
35	3	1.4	7	2.9	20	1.2
36	–	–	–	–	10	0.6
over 36	17	8.2	27	11.2	179	10.7
Total	210	100	241	100	1669	100
Total months	4290		5919			
Average	20.4		24.6			

^{a)} Families with fewer children than 2 were ignored; ^{b)} Unknown fate should be understood as the survival or death of the child were not noted in any file.

Table 5.12. Intergenic intervals by fate of the previous child in the years 1770–1799

Intervals in months	Births ^{a)}					
	The previous child died within 365 days		The previous child survived 365 days		Fate of the previous child unknown ^{b)}	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
under 9	7	1.7	–	–	7	0.4
9	4	1.0	1	0.3	1	0.1
10	12	2.9	4	1.3	9	0.8
11	23	5.5	1	0.3	26	2.3
12	25	6.0	5	1.6	35	3.1
13	24	5.7	7	2.3	30	2.7
14	22	5.3	7	2.3	28	2.5
15	29	6.9	6	1.9	35	3.1
16	23	5.5	5	1.6	34	3.0
17	23	5.5	3	1.0	35	3.1
18	16	3.8	10	3.2	48	4.2
19	20	4.8	13	4.2	44	3.9
20	14	3.4	10	3.2	42	3.7
21	19	4.5	9	2.9	48	4.2
22	9	2.1	18	5.8	42	3.7
23	10	2.4	17	5.6	53	4.7
24	13	3.1	13	4.2	101	8.9
25	13	3.1	21	6.8	46	4.1
26	9	2.1	10	3.2	52	4.6
27	9	2.1	14	4.6	48	4.2
28	4	1.0	10	3.2	39	3.5
29	10	2.4	7	2.3	49	4.3
30	6	1.4	13	4.2	35	3.1
31	10	2.4	10	3.2	30	2.7
32	8	1.9	10	3.2	32	2.8
33	6	1.4	9	2.9	19	1.7
34	6	1.4	3	1.0	19	1.7
35	9	2.1	8	2.6	12	1.0
36	–	–	–	–	10	0.9
over 36	36	8.6	65	21.1	123	10.9
Total	419	100	309		1130	100
Total months	8636		8130			
Average	20.6		26.3			

^{a)} Families with fewer children than 2 were ignored; ^{b)} Unknown fate should be understood as the survival or death of the child were not noted in any file.

vincial small towns such as Zielona Góra or Gubin, where they amounted, respectively, 30 and 33 months, or else Strzelce Opolskie with even 35 months.²⁸ Long interbirth intervals (34 months) characterized rural women in Lesser Poland (the parish Bejsce) throughout the period of the so-called natural fertility.²⁹ On the other hand, despite the twice lower infant mortality in Upper Silesia than in Lower Silesia, in the both parts of this region at the turn of the 19th century, the time after which subsequent children appeared was similar: 28–29 months.³⁰

5. DID VARSOVIANS PRACTICE LIMITATION OF BIRTHS?

Previous observations of historians referring to procreation behavior of certain metropolitan, although not only, families, in Western Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries provided a great deal of specific data being the evidence of a regular decline in fertility and, thereby, control of the number of offspring. Nowadays nobody seems to question the fact that the practice of preventing fertility reaches back to the earliest history, the evidence of which are descriptions of “tried and tested contraceptives” once recommended by witches, helpful “good” women and regular charlatans. Traditional society applied a few methods limiting the number of births: abstinence, coitus interruptus, primitive contraceptive practices, artificial miscarriage and infanticide. Beside miscarriages and infanticides, another example of eliminating unwanted infants was their abandoning, which was discussed in the previous chapter. Nevertheless, an open problem which triggers incessant disputes remains the causes of the phenomenon in point. Historians in their attempts to explain it refer to various factors: economic, social, religious and cultural, by no means excluding the impact of them all combined. It is difficult to develop one model explaining procreation behaviors of our ancestors, since contemporary demographers and sociologists argue about causes of the end of fertility nowadays in highly developed countries. Anyway, so far, apart from France, studies on the broadly understood mechanisms of fertility forming in the preindustrial era are not very numerous. In addition, France during Ancien Régime was far from ho-

²⁸ Kurowska 2010, p. 210; Skierska 2015, p. 232.

²⁹ Not including the mother's age, but they were shorter among younger mothers, see Piaśnicki 1990, pp. 208–212.

³⁰ Górna 2005, p. 54.

mogeneity as regards the intensity of family reproduction and fertility, and is an example of high plasticity in space and time. The inhabitants of the North of the country were characterized by higher fertility than those of the South.

Earlier attempts at explanation of the decline in births by dechristianization of French society, progressing impiety and egoism of the elites on the eve of the 1789 Revolution, convince hardly anyone today. The explications of interdependence between overpopulation of certain rural regions and contraception did not withstand criticism either, not mentioning international comparisons. In Italy and Ireland, more overpopulated than France, anti-natalist attitudes of married couples were negligible. Philippe Ariès highlighted mental changes which had occurred from the Middle Ages, which brought about the separation of sexuality and procreation. The modern period, particularly the Enlightenment, weakened, according to the author, the strongly sacralized medieval way of thinking set towards the cult of fertility and negation of contraceptive interventions. The French researcher simultaneously underscored the desire of wives coming from the privileged strata of society, visible from the 17th century on, for breaking out of the vicious circle of their previous existence: pregnancy – labor – pregnancy. Finally, he discovered in the families in the Age of Enlightenment, non-existent before, in his opinion, focus of maternal and paternal feelings on the child.

On the other hand, Ariès's disciple, the historian of mentality, Jean-Louis Flandrin, explained the emergence and development of contraception as a result of changes between the 16th and the end of the 18th centuries in the nature of family and forming new family morality. He attached considerable significance to practice of breastfeeding infants by their own mothers, adopted again in social elites, and not sending them to rural wet nurses, which inevitably began to limit the earlier hyper-fertility of urban rich people. A certain part of married couples realized not only the sacralization of the newborn's life but also their own responsibility for children's death. The new Enlightenment family morality much more often and commonly accepted the wife's refusal to fulfil the marital duties. Thereby, it introduced a shift in the relations between the spouses, and *coitus interruptus* became almost officially approved.

In the discussion on spreading Malthusian attitudes (practices of offspring limitation) in France a hundred years earlier than in the other countries of Western Europe, participated also Pierre Chaunu, who explained the phenomenon as a result of the development of sexual asceticism propagated by the French Jansenists. Currently, beside emphasizing the role of mental chang-

es, the economic factor attracts more attention. The bad economic situation of Champagne in the first half of the 18th century is, according to Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux, the cause of effective application of contraception by wool weavers in Reims. Husbands preferred their spouses' assistance in the home workshop to exempting them from certain works during pregnancy or their later involvement in childcare. Hence avoidance of conceptions in the periods of crises, or at least their wives' pursuit, conscious or unconscious, thereof, as emphasizes Fauve-Chamoux. One could say that the attitudes seeking to voluntary limitation of births or even regulation of conceptions were chiefly an urban phenomenon. However, during the reign of Louis XVI, the opinion of one of priests that "It is the taste of luxury that, defiling the marriage bed, determines the spouses' number of children, who are expected to show heart to them," concerns, although to a lesser degree yet, also French villagers.

Although the previous interpretations, revealing several similarities and factors affecting the appearance of innovatory marital actions in urban communities under Ancien Régime do not explain the whole model of the new reproduction system, they are an essential contribution to recognition and comprehension of the mechanisms controlling procreation behaviors of various social groups in the past.

The demographic vicissitudes of nearly a thousand families in the Holy Cross parish in Warsaw (type MF 1 and MF 2), reconstructed with L. Henry's method, authorize us to pose a research question: Did and, if so, to what extent, the society of the biggest city of the 18th-century Poland intervened in its fertility? Answering this question we referred to the methodology of the European Fertility Project implemented at the University of Princeton. Briefly, its founders (Ansley Coale and his cooperators) proposed to refer to a model population, which is a community characterized by natural fertility: Hutterites. This religious group of Anabaptists coming from Central Europe, settled near the US-Canadian border, is characterized not only by a universal pattern of marriage conclusion but also rejects very restrictively any forms of human influence on his fertility, the level of which is recognized as the highest in the previously registered fertilities for the species *homo sapiens*. On the basis of the data concerning their fertility, the historians constructed, among other things, "marital fertility index" (which expresses the relation to the Hutterites' fertility) I_g , which may be equal, lower or higher than 1. They also propose other rates, including " m ": "voluntary fertility control", the value of which is the higher, the higher degree of contraception (" m "=0 means, that birth regulation does

not occur) and M , expressing the rate of natural fertility which would be in the population in the case of no birth control.

The parameters for the Warsaw population calculated in this way were juxtaposed with the age of mother at birth of her last child in Table 5.13. In the first of the periods under examination (marriages formed in the years 1740–69) all rates confirm the absence of birth regulation. The value $I_g=0.793$ means that in the population under examination married women in fertile age realized as much as 87% of their theoretically maximum fertility. However, researches recognize the I_g value lower than 0.600 as a border undeniably indicating conscious control of conceptions and births in the community under scrutiny. I_g falling below 0.500 is recognized as indisputable prove of conscious and purposeful limitation of births. It is similar as regards the low rate $m=0.21868$, the value of which indicates a lack of birth control. In turn, the value of the parameter $M=1.03359$ provides clear evidence of similarity of the level of marital fertility in the Warsaw families with the level of natural fertility. If the families of that first period are defined, following the results obtained, as “natural”, a question arises about procreation attitudes of the capital community in the following period, at the end of the 18th century. First of all, it is important to note that the values of the three rates presented are not identical in comparison with the period 1740–69, likewise the fourth parameter informing about the mother’s age at birth of her last child. Among families formed in the years 1770–99 lower values of I_g and M indices are observed but they stay at such a level that demonstrates that the majority of the population did not apply practices of conscious conception and birth control and remained on within the system of natural fertility. On the other hand, the growth in the value of the m index measuring the range of birth control by 140% could suggest that there appeared a certain group of married couples who made some attempts at affecting their own procreation.

Table 5.13. Coal-Trussel’s fertility indices for the reconstructed families

Date of marriage	Indices			
	Marital fertility I_g	Level of births control m	Level of parity M	Woman’s age at birth of the last child
1740–1769	0.874	0.21868	1.03359	39.4
1770–1799	0.729	0.52554	0.9359	38.1

For the statistics presented little demonstrates any extensive practice of contraception among Warsaw families at the end of the 18th century, finally it is worth posing a question on a potential state of knowledge of the inhabitants of the capital (which was not only the biggest town in Poland but also one of bigger ones in Europe), referring to the areas of sexual life. By all means a certain part of Varsovians were not unfamiliar with the texts by Jakub Kazimierz Haur, a popular author from the end of the 17th century on. He wrote in his work *Skład albo skarbiec znakomitych sekretów oekonomiei ziemiańskiej* (*A Store or A Treasury of Perfect Secrets of Land Economy*) published in 1693: "In prosperous homes are such impious people, who, being seduced by their rich crops and business, so as not more offspring inherited their substance, do not want to have many children, and, what's more, they make bad and frivolous effort and ways so that there is no fetus over a few, and they deliberately damage it. [...] There are also even such people who for their alleged and temporal beauty, so that it not change, despise this divine blessing (God have mercy), violating their status and duty."³¹

The noble writer's observations are so important to us that they point at the social group and the reasons of avoiding having a higher number of offspring. According to Haur, it was foremost the noble elite – the magnates – that resorted to limiting the number of conceptions and births, but probably also bourgeoisie seeking to prevent their fortunes from breaking up through family divisions. However, there were also people, especially women, who avoided pregnancies for selfish reasons. It is important to note, that the Holy Cross parish was inhabited by numerous wealthy families of merchants, officials and rich nobles, to whom the attitudes emphasized a hundred years earlier by Haur were not alien to them.

Even though sexual life was, at least theoretically, under mighty influence of the Church, whose theologians-moralists, such as St. Augustin or St. Thomas Aquinas, condemned any intercourses not intended as procreation, as acts against nature,³² but the problems seen perhaps more through the prism of then hygiene and wholesomeness were well known to Old Polish society, mainly from medical texts, calendars, books on herbs and other guide books. Certain changes in the attitude towards their own procreation of a part of Warsaw families in the last years of the 18th century could be also affected by shifts that occurred in erotic culture in those days. Zbigniew Kuchowicz, a great expert in this matter, wrote about the second half of the 18th century: "Eroticism and sensuality began to considerably affect the moral life of that time. To achieve a fullness of life was

³¹ Haur 1693, p. 201.

³² The ecclesiastical doctrine in this respect is more extensively discussed by Flandrin 1970.

perceived as achieving a fullness of love experiences. There was a tendency to reject any previously binding norms and prohibitions; which was assumed as the only fundamental criterion of conduct was achieving pleasure.”³³ Even though this opinion refers foremost to magnate and artistic circles, it is difficult to believe that such attitudes did not reach the less affluent group of Warsaw society and did not change, even in part, their traditional moral system. They still lived in the biggest city of the Commonwealth, beside palaces of magnates and bishops, so numerous in the territory of the parish under scrutiny. In their everyday life they encountered at every turn with the great fashionable world, which in those days eagerly read frivolous literature, not only that of foreign authors but also Polish, such as: Stanisław Trembecki, Adam Naruszewicz, Jakub Jasiński, Stanisław Kostka Potocki. There is abundant evidence thereof, for both foreigners visiting the capital of Poland (Jacques-Henri Bernardin de Sainte Pierre, Nathaniel William Wraxall, Hubert Vautrin), as well as national authors (Franciszek Karpiński) underscored debauchery and licentiousness, so characteristic of big urban agglomerations. Also a high number of divorces and ease in their obtaining.³⁴

This issue should not be disregarded and ascribed to merely little knowledge of the foreigners or an assumption that it concerned just a small elite group of people. Convincing evidence is provided by the “*Gazeta Warszawska*” of 1774–97, each issue of which (released twice a week) contained a few announcements placed by abandoned husbands or wives in order to receive information about the spouse necessary to obtain a marriage annulment at the Warsaw Consistory. Moreover, those announcement were placed not only by noble elite but also by bourgeoisie. The phenomenon of common marriage annulments and separations of spouses must have taken considerable size at that time, since the bishop of Poznań, Andrzej S. Kostka Młodziejowski, whose diocese embraced capital parishes, did not hesitate to write a pastoral letter to the faithful and the clergy on that matter. In the letter dated 14 February 1777, the bishop noted bitterly the density of “divorce cases” and reminding that the Christ elevated marriage to the status of sacrament, wrote: “Speak to their hearts that even Pagans did not make such immoral relationships, so as to enter marriage not for love and mutual respect but for an impulse of passion or greed of wealth. This is, however, (I regret to confess it) what glues the modern marriage.”³⁵

³³ Kuchowicz 1975, p. 279.

³⁴ Zawadzki 1963, 1, pp. 207, 539, 810; similarly Karpiński 1987, p. 104.

³⁵ “*Gazeta Warszawska*”, 1777, nr 18, suplement.

In the attempts to present the factors which could in any way affect procreation attitudes of the Warsaw population, one cannot ignore the question what the biological regime reigning in those days, where the rhythm of the woman's life was determined by successive pregnancies and labors, was for women themselves. In unhygienic conditions of a big city like Warsaw, at low standards of medicine, each impregnation and then labor evoked in the woman symptoms of anxiety and fear of possible death – not only of the baby but her own. Towards the end of the 18th century demises of women who died in childbirth were to be 8.3%³⁶, but this rate seems slightly lowered, taking into consideration its size in better documented western works (11 dead women in 100 giving birth).³⁷ One of announcements in the capital press contained the following account of the course of labor: "Whereas a great many unfortunate cases used to happen to children, such as their miscarriage, hard and long labor, dying in maternal entrails, long sickness of the children and frequent death [...]"³⁸ At the end of the 18th century, in Warsaw about 4,000 babies a year were born, whereas according to data of 1796 in the city were 55 "midwives or rather the ones delivering children [...]" but among them there are no but two or three (!) who received instruction therein; the others do their job on the basis of their experience."³⁹ Thus, did some women in the period of a certain revaluation referring to previous sexual attitudes (the scale of this revaluation in society in the Polish lands is still to be specifically studied) not try to make efforts to avoid a new maternity ignoring the opinion of their spouses? An answer to this question may be found in the opinion of Józef Różański, one of Polish provincial doctors. Observing practices applied towards pregnant women by various barbers and wandering midwives, he noted in his guide "Sztuka babienia..." what follows: "As I happened to hear for myself, a certain woman, cheated by deception of a hag being by her side, asked her to remedy **so that she had no more children.**"⁴⁰ If such requests (attitudes) occurred among rural population, far more traditional and to a much lesser degree following moral transformations, including sexual culture, it is not surprising that similar and maybe even more frequent could occur in metropolitan Warsaw.

Certain women could practice contraception themselves without their husbands or other partners' knowledge, trying to avoid impregnation despite

³⁶ Woźniewski and Rose 1962, p. 1524.

³⁷ Bideau 1981, p. 54; Perrenoud 1981, p. 99

³⁸ "Gazeta Warszawska", 1787, nr 49, suplement.

³⁹ AGAD, WE 1430, p. 44v.

⁴⁰ Różański 1786, p. XII.

the sexual intercourse. Perhaps this is the way the Haur's mentions should be treated: "after an effective fun with Venus, it is important always to calm down, lie quietly, **especially for women, for effective retention of seamen in them.**"⁴¹ There were various methods for that, quite well described in literature on the subject, for example by Jean-Louis Flandrin. On the basis of French sources, richer than Polish, he asserted that under the Ancien Régime women quite often used vaginal tampons to prevent fusion of male and female cells.⁴² They were used the most widely in France by women practicing the oldest profession of the world. In the light of numerous opinions of foreigners as well as native newcomers, it was no different in the capital of Poland, where the standard and quality of services of Warsaw prostitutes were no worse (as well as protection against unwanted pregnancy) than those provided by their French colleagues. The German Johann Joseph Kausch, referring to the opinion of Leopold Lafontaine, King Stanisław August Poniatowski's court doctor from 1787 on, stated: "The color of the skin or the language are no obstacle for them, and a French would say: *C'est tout comme chez nous à Paris.*"⁴³

Women who resorted to tampons probably did not want to betray their attitudes to their partners, although it is difficult to establish if these actions were effective. Some of them, those more courageous in talking about the sexual life of their family (or casual relationship) tried to involve their men in contraception practices and persuade them to make love with coitus interruptus. For the couples sensitive to erotic experiences it was not easy. Finally, the boldest couples in treating sexual issues, in fear of unwanted pregnancy, could resort to anal sex. It is characteristic that it is just the Age of Enlightenment from which come sources informing us about this type of intercourses practiced in marriage. Published in 1792, the textbook for confessors written by the Catholic moralist, Basilian monk Tymoteusz Szczurowski, demands capital punishment for the couples having an intercourse "through an inferior or rear vessel."⁴⁴

Fertilization of a woman, despite applying certain primitive contraceptives, did not mean that each of such pregnancies had to culminate in birth. Those who wanted to get rid of it had, even in a big preindustrial city such as Warsaw, to their disposal a quite wide range of various abortifacients. They can be roughly divided into two groups: herbs and chemicals. It was already in *Zielnik*

⁴¹ Haur 1693, p. 200.

⁴² Flandrin 1981.

⁴³ Zawadzki 1963, 2, p. 140.

⁴⁴ Szczurowski 1792, p. 16.

Syreniusza (Syreniusz's Herbarium) published in Cracow in 1613, and many successive ones, that contained qualities of certain herbs, with a clear guidance that are harmful to pregnant women. Moreover, Haur's book includes whole ready phytotherapeutic recipes intended to restore women's menstruations and, interesting enough, they are placed under a significant title of the chapter: "Ladies, if they, by a defect, could not cause evacuation of the bowels"⁴⁵

The information about pregnant women's application of herbal abortifacients can be found in court records of witch and infanticide trials. Accused of witchcraft at the beginning of the 17th century one of such women testified: "I gave virgins herbs [...] destroying the fetus so that they don't give birth to children"; while another medicine woman admitted that she gave girls "*brysztwan*, so that they don't have babies".⁴⁶ Furthermore, a mother who committed infanticide testified in the investigation that when she was pregnant her aunt "first brew her herbs, which she drank twice but it didn't help".⁴⁷ However, it seems well-grounded to believe that in metropolitan Warsaw in the period of Stanisław August Poniatowski, chemical abortifacients played much greater role. Anyway, even in this case traditions reached back the Middle Ages, since the statute of Cracow Academy published in 1433 forbade the local doctors produce poisons and drugs for killing fetuses. Even though also in the 18th-century Warsaw announcements of successive marshals officially prohibited pharmacists from manufacturing and selling "various secret drugs" without the knowledge of a special medical committee, it is doubtful that they were effectively obeyed. On the other hand, women interested in acquisition of such drugs could count on help from quite a great number of travelling and local "miracle-workers", who, judging by announces placed in the "*Gazeta Warszawska*" were able, for money, deliver chemical abortifacients. It is easy to find in most of those advertisements that this salt or another wonderful drug "peculiarly serves in all women's sicknesses, causes the monthly evacuation of the bowels or, if it is not necessary, reduces it."⁴⁸ It is impossible not to notice that Haur, the noble writer, who initially seemed to be absolutely against the practices of birth control, did not forget to place in his work, tractate XXV *O białogłowskich lekarstwach na różne ich niemocy* (On women's drugs against their various infirmities) a subchapter entitled not otherwise but "For pregnant women tested remedies for miscarriage",

⁴⁵ Haur 1693, p. 434.

⁴⁶ Baranowski 1952, pp. 129–130.

⁴⁷ Kamler 1991, pp. 177–178.

⁴⁸ Łyskanowski 1980, p. 236.

with strong emphasis on drinking silver or mercury.⁴⁹ Thus, we believe that as regards potential availability of various abortifacients, female Varsovians were in a way in a privileged situation. Their abuse of especially chemical drugs often led to tragic effects. It is known from magnate and metropolitan circles that the reason of the death of Szczęsny Potocki's wife, Józefina Amelia nee Mniszech, was just ingestion of a drug to cause abortion. The overdose of abortifacients brought about the death of one of Konstanty Adam Czartoryski's mistresses.⁵⁰

The phenomenon of abortion by pregnant women was no taboo topic, at least in the 18th century and such mothers were quite frequently stigmatized in satirical texts. One of them reads as follows: "That this angel in human body, Magdusia has swollen around the navel, vomits on a dish or under the pretense of a miraculous place somewhere far away **she gets rid of the swelling and rescues herself.**"⁵¹

Considering anti-birth attitudes of urban communities of the old noble Commonwealth it is impossible to ignore the phenomenon of infanticide. This subject has not, so far, been thoroughly discussed in the Polish historical literature. Therefore, all the more precious are studies of Dariusz Kaczor and Marcin Kamler on crime in Polish towns by the end of the 18th century, which also contain the scale of the crime recognized in the ancient Commonwealth as particularly hideous, against divine commandments and nature, and usually extremely severely judged.⁵² Their studies demonstrate that infanticides were only unmarried women being in service, living far from their family, abandoned by the men by whom they became pregnant. Their actions were chiefly affected by mental and emotional experiences, whereas economic factors, i.e. fear of later supporting the child was of little importance.⁵³ In Kaczor's opinion, infanticide in Gdansk in the period 1558–1783 was not very widespread, since it constituted in general 5.1% (combined with related torts) of the registered cases but the dynamics of those crimes grew over the whole early modern period with a clear culmination in the first half of the 18th century.⁵⁴ It is important to add that our query in the acts of both the Office of the Grand Marshall of the Crown and the Police Department in Warsaw was not very fruitful for only

⁴⁹ Haur 1693, p. 436.

⁵⁰ Kuklo 1990/1991, p. 46.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁵² Kaczor 2005, pp. 108–129; Kamler 2010, pp. 264–268.

⁵³ Kamler 1986, pp. 179–180.

⁵⁴ Kaczor 2005, p. 128.

3 testimonies referring to infanticide in the capital at the end of the 18th century were found. One of them concerned a Jewish woman Loja Moško arrested for abandoning a dead baby. The accused testified that she was impregnated by her husband (also Jewish), whom she left, when she learnt that he already had a wife in Połock and, in addition, was twice punished for thefts. She went on to claim that she miscarried the baby during work for another Jew, the tailor Marek. It is difficult to establish if the miscarriage was deliberate or by accident. However, the examination of the baby's body carried out by doctor Dziarkowski called by the police, confirmed Loja Moško's testimony.⁵⁵ In turn, Marianna Szuligowska was charged with causing the death a baby but not her own but her daughter's. The child died as a result of convulsions caused by beating, which, as the accused testified, had occurred also earlier. Perhaps the point was to eliminate a weak or defective child, but it also could be just a misadventure.⁵⁶ Also a Franciszka Rzepecka was accused of strangling her own child. She was first put in detention and then, on the basis of a testimonial of Warsaw doctors, she was released and freed from the charge.⁵⁷ Unfortunately, nothing more is known about the case, so it is difficult to establish if it was a legitimate or illegitimate child. It is important to remember, however, that among married women the phenomenon of infanticide was far rarer because they had much better opportunities to eliminate the unwanted offspring in a believable and safe way.

The lack of comparative studies for other urban populations in the Polish lands, not only in the 18th century but also in the first half of the following century, including Warsaw, dictates a great caution in formulating any categorical conclusions on the basis of the statistics presented. Nevertheless, the reflections presented so far on the fertility of Warsaw families in the 18th century undoubtedly show their adherence to natural fertility. However, it is important to remember that in the second of the periods under examination, 1770–79, its level was slightly lower in comparison with the earlier period 1740–69, and the length of the first four inter-birth intervals was slightly longer. On the other hand, considering the value of the parameter of birth control (m), it is possible to propose a hypothesis that at the decline of the 18th century, in the society of the big city, which was Warsaw in that period, probably only few married couples resorted to attempts to apply birth control in practice, with the use of primitive methods, of course.

⁵⁵ AGAD, Archiwum Królestwa Polskiego 302, p. 6.

⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 37v–38.

⁵⁷ AGAD, WE 876, p. 84.

CHAPTER 6

MORTALITY

*It is impossible to understand the
structure and functioning of the ancient
family without the analysis of mortality*

Wyczański 2003, p. 33

1. CHANGES IN THE ANNUAL NUMBERS OF BURIALS

Half a century had passed since the Council of Trent spread marriage and baptism registers before the Rome Ritual of 1614 in Europe and the Piotrków Ritual in Poland not before 1631 obliged parochial clergy to keep burial registers.¹ Whereas essential canonical motives cannot be denied to the previous registry action, the obligation of registering funerals celebrated in a parish probably resulted also from the Church authorities' endeavor to control parsons.² Parish clergymen's obligations to bishops resulted in their reluctance to disclose their real incomes for pastoral services, the most profitable being fees for burials. Another example of the tendency to obtain maximum profit by parsons was their accumulation of ecclesiastical benefices. In one of the largest Polish dioceses, the Cracow diocese, in the mid-18th century about a third acted like that. Over 64% of them resided just periodically or did not reside at all in their parish.³ There is nothing strange in the fact that parish clergy were not interested in very diligent keeping records of buried people. On the other hand, high costs of funerals resulted in a phenomenon, visible even to the contemporary in the Old Polish era, of evading those practices by poorer

¹ Mols 1954, 1, p. 88; Kuklo 2009, p. 92.

² For more on the subject see: Gieysztorowa 1976, pp. 199–200.

³ For more on the subject see thorough analyses by Litak 2004, pp. 148–154.

parishioners.⁴ The opinion of Włodzimierz Dworzaczek, a good expert in the quality of sources produced in parish offices of the large Poznań diocese, seems significant in this matter. Having examined registers of 429 parishes in Greater Poland in reference to burial books, he did not hesitate to write: “Apparently parsons definitely disregarded that type.”⁵ Therefore, the obligation of registering the dead, the purposfulness was difficult to accept by parish clergy, spread very slowly in the lands of the Commonwealth, the evidence of which is a low number of burial registers preserved referring to the 17th century and the first half of the 18th century.⁶

By the end of the 18th century, the place of burials for prominent parishioners in towns were church vaults. Those poorer were buried in the adjacent cemeteries. Outside the town walls usually those who died during plagues and epidemics were buried, often also suicides and criminals. As late as the mid-18th century, the churchyard (cemetery near the church) of the parish under scrutiny was at the outlet of Krakowskie Przedmieście St.⁷ The dynamic demographic development of the southern district of the capital resulted in the situation that the Vincentians, as early as 1745, having vast lands outside the city, began „preparing materials to build a new cemetery”. We do not know the reasons for which the plans taken at that time did not come true, although it is possible to assume that those efforts, to their surprise, were not welcomed by the parish community. The resistance of the population of Warsaw delayed by over ten years a very similar initiative of the Grand Marshall of the Crown, Stanisław Lubomirski of 1772, referring to the need for founding new cemeteries outside the compact urban development.⁸ The initiative, which is important to add, was supported by the bishop of Poznań, Andrzej S. Młodziejowski. Thus, the opinion of Fourastié that “In the traditional era, death was in the center of life as the cemetery in the center of the village”⁹ can certainly be referred to urban centers as well.

Further maintenance of full churchyards, which in both parishes: the Holy Cross and St. John's found themselves in the center of the capital in the Stanisławian

⁴ Kukło 2009, pp. 123–124. In the opinion of experts in the life of parochial clergy, at least until the mid-18th century the main and most frequent vices of Old Polish clergy was greed, intemperance, and breaking celibacy, see Litak 2004, pp. 206–211; Kracik 2011, pp. 166–189.

⁵ Dworzaczek 1979, p. 187.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 183–184; Kukło 2009, pp. 93.

⁷ AAW, WG 2, *Visitationes*, pp. 781–782; Gromski 1977, p. 242.

⁸ Bystron 1977, p. 140.

⁹ Fourastié 1959, p. 418.

era, threatened with a potential outburst of diseases and epidemics. Consequently, in 1780, the new Poznan bishop, Antoni Onufry Okęcki, prohibited burials in churches and churchyards.¹⁰ Issued a year later by the same bishop in the Poznan diocese *Taxa Iurium Stolae* allowed, however, for such cases, stating: “for burial of the dead’s body in the church vaults, until these graves in churches are used”.¹¹

In accordance with the regulation of the Church authorities, the Warsaw Vincentians commenced building a new cemetery on the land of their grange in Nowogrodzka St. It took an area of almost 1.5 hectares fenced with a wall. The territory of the cemetery was probably grange fallow lands, since the muddy ground had to be drained during the construction. Also graves were dug very shallow there. In the new cemetery the Vincentians erected a mason church, two mortuaries and catacombs with 826 holes. The cemetery was consecrated by Bishop Okęcki in 1783 “after prior teaching to the people on important needs for the foundation of this cemetery.”¹² However, the parish community was not very eager to bury their close relatives in that new place and it was not until the ceremonious funeral of a church dignitary, the bishop of Smolensk, Gabriel Wodzyński, broke the enormous reluctance of the inhabitants of the city to burials in the new cemetery. For the first few years the cemetery was empty, except burials of the Vincentians and the Daughters of Charity, who had previously been buried in the parish church vaults. It is worth adding, that, for example, since as early as 1756, dead patients of hospitals had ceased to be buried in the parish churchyard in Krakowskie Przedmieście St., as a result of opening a new cemetery in Wareckie, which organizationally was connected with the construction of the building of the Infant Jesus Hospital, being about to finish, located away from the then representative urban development.

Although the legislator, the author of *Taxa Iurium Stolae* of 1781 states, as regards funerals, that “Leaving it to everybody’s will and capacity to order a knell, the number of priests during the funeral ceremony, grandeur both in the conduct of the body as well as its exposure in church...”,¹³ it is necessary to clearly underscore the high costs of funerals in that period. Posthumous inventories are convincing evidence thereof. The specific analysis of these expenses is difficult because in many bills they occur jointly, for example with fees for property

¹⁰ Petrzyk 1920, p. 91; according to the authors of the history of Warsaw, it took place in 1782, see Bogucka *et al.* 1984, p. 324.

¹¹ Sierocka-Pośpiech 1985, p. 144.

¹² “Gazeta Warszawska” nr 65, 13 VIII 1783.

¹³ Sierocka-Pośpiech 1985, p. 148.

appraisal, writing the inventory itself, or its recording in city registers. A more realistic opinion on the costs may be obtained not as much for their absolute value as in comparison with the general value of the property left by the dead.

Mikołaj Blaszkowski, butcher, paid for the burial of his wife, who died in 1778, 144 zlotys of interment fee and further 72 zlotys for the coffin, so altogether 216 zlotys. The whole estate was valued as nearly 15,673 zlotys but jointly with a small manor house worth 15,300 zlotys sold after her death.¹⁴ Thus, at the moment of his wife's death, Mikołaj did not have very impressive funds. Ewa, widow of the *famous* Jakub Budkiewicz, who died in 177, was charged 100 zlotys of interment fee by the Vincentians, the coffin cost 18 zlotys, preparation of the body further 36 zlotys and "divine dinner" for 62 zlotys, and finally "preparing children" 44 zlotys. Jointly the expenses connected with her husband's funeral amounted 260 zlotys, whereas the value of the assets after subtracting debts was slightly over 7,642 zlotys (including 10,000 zlotys for the house sold after his death).¹⁵ The funeral of Marianna Konecka, who died in 1780, entailed bigger expenses. The widower Tomasz paid the parish 144 zlotys of interment fee, the coffin cost 21 zlotys, the "dress" or the dead's shirt: 68 zlotys. He spent 108 zlotys for the "divine dinner" for the poor alone. Altogether the funeral expenses amounted 482 zlotys and despite the fact that he had quite much money: 1,800 zlotys, the expenses were considerable in his budget, since all his assets (including a small manor house worth 3,000 zlotys) was valued as 6,484 zlotys.¹⁶ Józef Pawlikowski, who died in 1769, had certainly a modest funeral: for only 88 zlotys, but it was no wonder since his widow Rosalia had to pay off nearly 4,500 zlotys of debts.¹⁷ The aforementioned sums of funeral costs, 200–500 zlotys, are the most often found in posthumous inventories, although they also include far bigger expenses, 1,500–2,000 zlotys, as it was in the case of the burial of Małgorzata Niedzielska, the wife of a merchant Józef (1,710 zlotys), Maciej Szutowski (1,872 zlotys) or Agnieszka Lasoczyńska (2,520 zlotys).¹⁸ As demonstrated, the costs of a funeral depended on the wealth of the dead, but even that most modest entailed expenses of c. 100 zlotys. It was not a special problem if the dead person left some assets. However, who bore the costs of burials (and what they were in reality) of less well-off parishioners, often living

¹⁴ AGAD, SW 324, pp. 98v–100.

¹⁵ AGAD, SW 322, pp. 31–33.

¹⁶ AGAD, SW 324, pp. 287–289.

¹⁷ AGAD, SW 321, pp. 79v–82v.

¹⁸ AGAD, SW 325, pp. 196–218; SW 327, pp. 280–282; 729–754.

alone far from their family, the enormous group of home servants, the so-called loose people or other representative of the Warsaw plebs? We can only guess that sometimes such burials could be free but also a certain part of the dead were buried without the participation of the parish clergy.

Therefore historians agree that by the end of the 18th century the registration is flawed by the greatest gaps, and the interpretation of the statistics referring to mortality, in particular in big cities, is a difficult task.¹⁹ Mortality is affected by several various factors, among which the first place in the era of biological Ancien Régime is taken by big epidemics of bubonic plague and other contagious diseases (dysentery, small pox, typhoid, cholera), further on material living conditions, the general sanitary state and also the standard and availability of medical expertise. It is also doubtless that the level of mortality is also formed under the influence of diverse demographic structures of population, for example sex and age. Immigration to the capital, basically more popular with men, which is not totally certain, increasing the percentage of dead adults, may artificially distort the size of infant and child mortality.²⁰

Another difficulty in correct establishment of the size of mortality in the population under examination results from the functioning of as many as 3 hospitals-refuges in the Holy Cross parish.²¹ Whereas the burial registers of the Holy Cross parish recorded the patients of the Holy Infant Hospital by noting their overall number, these statistics have been ignored in this study; all the more that that institution was available for all inhabitants of the capital. On the other hand, those who died in the parish hospital and St. Roch hospital were listed by first name and surname, but did all the patients, especially in the latter, belong to the parish community? It is difficult to state it for certain, although for the purpose of these analyses they were all classified as belonging to the parish.

The monthly record of burials in registers in successive years of the 18th century presented in Table 6.1, revealed no entries in the first half of that century for

¹⁹ See Mols 1954, 1, pp. 263–265; Lachiver 1969, p. 13; Croix 1974, p. 42; François 1975, pp. 295–296; Reher 1979, p. 379 (“The incompleteness of the information in this matter is a fundamental fault of the registers obscuring the picture of mortality...”); Kędelski 1992, pp. 36, 83, 145. On the other hand, Bellettini and Samoggia 1983, pp. 196–199, describe the infant burial registration used by them as complete; similarly Perrenoud 1979, pp. 412–415.

²⁰ See Garden 1977, pp. 59–63.

²¹ According to Bardet 1974, pp. 116–117, the major difficulties in urban demography concern the range of the establishment of the infant mortality scale; unlike François 1978, pp. 142–143. See also the opinion of Bornael and Chagny 1977, pp. 326–327.

staggering 30 months! The biggest gaps, as regards both the disproportionately low number of burials as well as longer intervals in the continuity of their registration took place in the years of the major natural disasters experienced by the population of Warsaw, i.e. 1709, 1711–13, 1716, 1721, 1738 and 1743. In the second half of the century (except 1751) burials were recorded in all months of the year, which clearly shows improvement in its continuity and standard. It is worth noting that frequent gaps in the continuity of burial registers both in the parishes of the city of Poznań as well as nearby parishes in the first half of the 18th century were emphasized by Kędelski.²² However, it represented a good standard in Gdańsk in the 17th and 18th centuries. Baszanowski notes that even in the periods of the major epidemics churches and cemeteries sent to the town authorities weekly reports on the number of the buried and they included (in certain periods) also stillbirths, which was rare in the Polish lands until the end of the noble Commonwealth.²³

At the end of John III Sobieski's reign, in the last decade of the 17th century, the annual average of funerals in the parish under examination amounted almost 131. In comparison with this period, the curve of burials (the 9-year moving average) in the first quarter of the 18th century, safe the periods of plagues (1708, 1710, 1715), falls and it was not until the following decade that it rises (see Figure 6.1). From the mid-1730s on, the burial curve falls again reaching its lowest point in 1743. The clear increase in the number of burials recorded in the parish registers can be observed from the end of the 1740s till the end of the 1770s. A certain stabilization of the burial curve can be noticed in the following decade (1770–89) and at the beginning of the 1790s but in the years 1793–96 it soared rapidly (reaching its maximum in 1795). Juxtaposing the curves of baptisms and burials (see Figure 6.2), it is possible to note a great similarity in their course throughout the century discussed, with a reservation that in the first half baptisms outnumber burials only slightly. Visible in the graph a big discrepancy between baptisms and burials from the mid-1740s on proves, on the one hand, clear increase in the parish population, both through the inflow on new inhabitants combined with the reconstruction of the demographic potential of the population after previous heavy natural disasters, and on the other hand, is also the evidence of faulty burial and baptism registration in the Saxon era, which has already been signaled.

In the 18th century, in the capital Holy Cross parish there were ten cases where burials outnumbered baptisms noted in the registers. In the years 1705, 1710, 1715, 1737, 1795 and 1798 it was inconsiderable, whereas in 1708 and

²² Kędelski 1992, p. 35.

²³ Baszanowski 1995, p. 245.

Table 6.1. Burials by months

Year	Month												Total
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	
1700	9	5	7	9	6	12	20	22	10	8	8	7	123
1701	7	10	10	14	6	9	7	5	7	8	4	5	92
1702	6	6	10	14	9	9	6	7	11	6	3	5	92
1703	5	8	12	7	7	8	4	6	11	11	12	8	99
1704	8	8	9	9	10	7	10	8	11	12	11	11	114
1705	20	21	20	28	25	11	12	12	16	16	16	22	219
1706	27	21	16	16	11	3	12	13	5	10	12	10	156
1707	10	13	15	21	25	12	15	23	17	32	18	13	214
1708	16	11	14	16	14	15	215	897	764	73	11	7	2053
1709	2	–	5	5	5	3	6	7	2	5	3	–	43
1710	–	12	6	21	10	5	38	57	64	32	32	1	278
1711	2	–	6	2	–	9	2	7	3	5	6	2	44
1712	3	6	16	14	14	5	7	–	2	3	4	–	74
1713	–	1	4	–	–	–	4	4	5	7	1	2	28
1714	1	1	2	10	8	3	11	12	22	20	9	15	114
1715	22	30	32	27	5	12	6	12	10	12	16	–	184
1716	–	–	–	13	17	–	8	–	–	6	4	11	59
1717	16	5	10	5	10	6	4	9	5	4	7	1	82
1718	2	5	3	5	11	–	5	12	8	9	3	5	68
1719	5	5	7	7	7	7	9	10	8	2	3	–	70
1720	5	5	6	11	2	6	5	8	9	7	–	5	69
1721	3	5	8	3	3	5	6	3	1	2	–	3	42
1722	3	2	4	1	–	2	2	–	12	5	4	12	47
1723	1	5	3	2	5	2	4	8	5	7	8	10	60
1724	2	16	8	9	11	7	10	11	10	12	10	7	113
1725	5	4	7	4	5	12	5	7	6	6	9	8	78
1726	11	9	10	12	6	12	9	3	10	8	7	4	101
1727	12	11	18	10	9	4	7	5	3	8	7	7	101
1728	9	10	12	10	8	9	5	7	12	7	9	19	117
1729	17	9	1	17	10	14	6	5	1	6	–	7	93
1730	9	5	2	3	1	4	–	10	8	5	10	7	64
1731	8	4	12	7	11	6	9	5	10	14	7	10	103
1732	13	10	5	7	12	11	8	11	18	23	11	7	136
1733	7	11	11	6	14	15	6	11	13	10	14	10	128
1734	17	23	21	23	14	7	13	10	5	13	8	8	162

Year	Month												Total
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	
1735	15	13	14	39	19	16	12	12	9	11	8	11	179
1736	11	10	10	22	15	8	7	13	10	23	14	7	150
1737	14	22	23	23	16	21	10	15	11	3	3	3	164
1738	3	8	9	4	4	3	2	3	3	4	8	5	56
1739	6	7	8	12	3	6	2	6	3	–	2	3	58
1740	5	3	6	7	5	9	9	6	2	4	5	7	68
1741	7	2	1	5	8	5	3	4	7	3	3	5	53
1742	5	3	7	7	8	7	–	2	5	2	2	4	52
1743	4	5	2	5	5	1	2	–	4	7	4	4	43
1744	4	5	7	3	2	3	5	6	5	6	2	2	50
1745	11	2	6	8	7	5	5	6	3	1	1	2	57
1746	–	5	9	3	6	3	9	5	1	13	7	3	64
1747	3	10	11	2	5	3	7	4	2	2	4	4	57
1748	5	9	6	8	7	7	6	16	15	14	10	4	107
1749	9	10	18	22	8	9	10	5	6	9	7	3	116
1750	6	5	6	9	10	16	8	20	15	9	7	5	116
1751	4	8	6	5	12	8	9	13	3	6	3	–	77
1752	1	3	10	5	8	6	11	2	5	6	2	5	64
1753	4	10	15	19	14	19	8	10	12	9	10	13	143
1754	12	14	4	12	17	12	9	11	12	16	13	14	146
1755	12	8	7	15	15	8	15	10	1	6	7	10	114
1756	12	9	11	12	18	17	10	20	9	10	11	12	151
1757	14	12	15	19	21	11	8	19	21	21	21	11	193
1758	21	14	18	21	19	11	11	10	8	16	9	11	169
1759	17	6	22	12	14	17	7	13	20	24	15	26	193
1760	18	14	26	44	28	19	9	22	12	23	11	16	242
1761	21	28	16	43	27	28	20	16	14	19	11	12	255
1762	18	10	51	33	33	15	6	9	11	14	7	9	216
1763	15	6	4	19	10	11	10	11	13	15	8	7	129
1764	11	10	15	9	19	30	27	12	25	19	13	14	204
1765	23	14	10	8	12	12	14	4	18	10	8	22	155
1766	10	12	20	28	28	25	20	27	26	30	18	36	280
1767	27	24	22	41	25	18	22	41	34	29	29	19	331
1768	23	42	28	43	31	28	28	37	44	29	37	21	391
1769	23	24	50	40	47	35	47	62	47	42	37	26	480
1770	40	31	33	39	39	31	40	52	29	35	37	24	430

Year	Month												Total
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	
1771	31	42	35	44	36	26	37	48	23	19	23	33	397
1772	29	36	34	40	41	31	53	46	53	36	29	27	455
1773	39	40	49	46	53	40	41	43	49	20	25	29	474
1774	34	37	48	51	37	38	43	56	42	28	37	49	500
1775	34	46	55	52	81	60	50	92	75	66	38	47	696
1776	51	37	31	40	53	58	30	52	49	46	50	33	530
1777	39	43	54	44	21	39	53	66	46	46	35	42	528
1778	45	38	50	48	55	50	45	66	51	55	47	50	600
1779	52	55	42	52	51	42	36	56	61	59	50	36	592
1780	54	44	37	49	54	50	42	57	52	54	55	57	605
1781	52	54	53	57	59	58	85	97	81	61	62	63	782
1782	58	62	86	113	87	68	64	83	80	67	67	78	913
1783	63	45	47	54	51	38	44	51	61	41	46	33	574
1784	56	27	46	36	45	39	30	34	42	49	56	58	518
1785	55	52	47	61	46	24	31	44	47	55	36	37	535
1786	37	39	56	63	38	40	55	34	44	37	55	59	557
1787	43	41	59	65	48	38	37	41	36	46	44	46	544
1788	50	43	87	47	38	50	49	61	45	44	35	63	612
1789	60	45	45	35	40	38	62	41	42	31	35	50	524
1790	42	50	57	45	38	44	52	45	31	33	43	52	532
1791	35	49	63	65	51	38	43	61	45	41	42	40	573
1792	41	46	58	41	48	41	33	58	51	58	74	47	596
1793	67	54	60	65	62	60	50	84	73	73	74	58	780
1794	57	54	68	84	101	127	213	345	274	272	289	175	2059
1795	142	117	121	113	119	74	64	53	54	38	42	41	978
1796	40	50	78	54	50	58	43	61	47	65	36	50	632
1797	49	35	43	55	47	51	45	53	34	27	40	57	536
1798	54	49	60	41	42	48	63	59	70	46	64	69	665
1799	32	67	44	51	29	42	30	38	49	33	25	42	482

1794 the burial curve ran high above the births. The cause of the high mortality in the years 1708–10 was the pandemic of bubonic plague, which embraced the countries of Central and Eastern Europe as well as the Balkans.²⁴ In Poland, beside the capital, in 1708 suffered also inhabitants of not only big cities: Lublin,

²⁴ Biraben 1975, p. 371; Livi Bacci 1999, p. 119; Karpinski 2000, pp. 71–72.

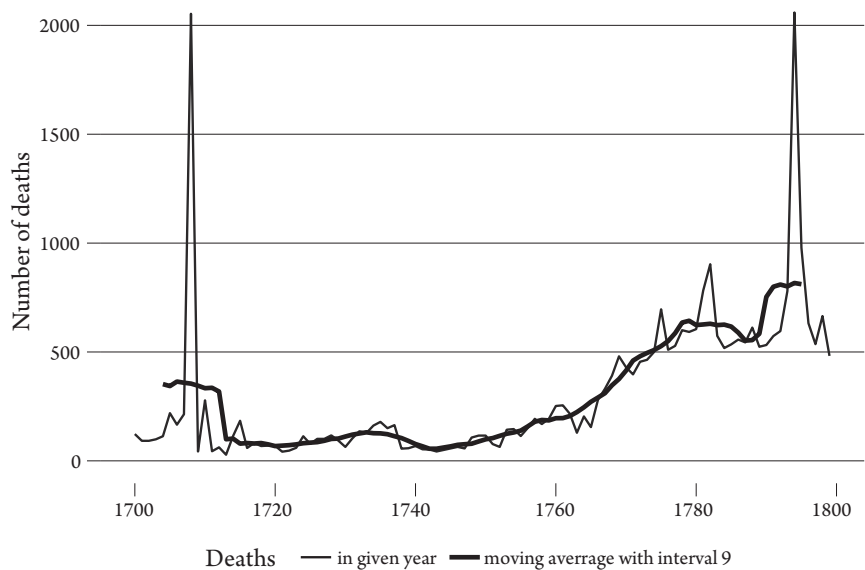


Figure 6.1. Annuals number's of burials and the 9-year moving average

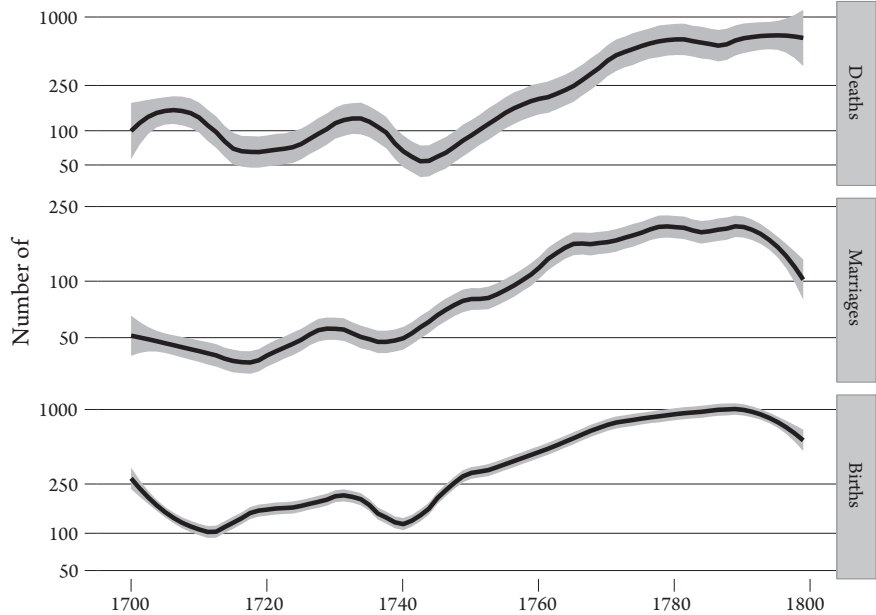


Figure 6.2. Annual numbers of marriages, baptisms and burials: 9-years moving average

Logarithmic scale. The trend smoothed with the locally weighed polynomial regression. The grey area surrounding it determines the 95% confidence interval.

Torun and Königsberg but also smaller towns: Gniezno, Sieradz, Bydgoszcz, Płock, and in 1709 also Gdansk, Elbląg and Vilnius. In the remaining towns their dwellers suffered also from other contagious diseases such as: typhoid, small pox and dysentery. It is peculiar that they occurred either simultaneously or directly after famines resulted from bad crops, which especially affected lower middle class townspeople and the poorest. In turn, the visible increase in burials in 1794 was initially of a completely different background. Namely, on 17 April that year an anti-Russian uprising outburst in the city, in connection with Tadeusz Kościuszko, as a result of which the insurgents defeated the Russian garrison, yet with high casualties: c. 2,100 of dead and wounded. In the summer and autumn in the surroundings of Warsaw operated not only Russian but also Prussian troops. Finally the Russians took the city on 18 November after the slaughter of the inhabitants of Praga and the capitulation of the Insurrection Army.²⁵ Father Jędrzej Kitowicz describes diseases occurring in the community under examination in 1795: "Because of drought and extraordinary heat, as well as plundering of grain in various places by different camps, positions and passages of soldiers, namely near Warsaw, a few miles around, where all villages were robbed, many of them burnt, and all crops completely destroyed, occurred enormous dearth."²⁶ Hunger and the sanitary conditions in which stayed wounded soldiers placed in private and public houses in the capital, led to spreading contagious diseases and high mortality. Thus, out of those heaped wounded without proper care, in addition malnourished for the greed of the supervisors and servants, badly warmed in the cold autumn and severe winter, feeding themselves with bread and meat for the sick, and starving those miserable sick to famish, extremely many died, and the dead lay among the sick for a few days before they were dragged to the animal, not human, burial, without spiritual service, without covering the body, naked by the head onto a cart, off the cart got to the hole, the disease spread and strengthened."²⁷

From everything stated so far one can draw a conclusion that in the 18th-century Warsaw, burial fluctuations were strongly connected with natural disasters such as the pandemic of bubonic plague and epidemic diseases on the one hand, partly with warfare experienced by the capital in 1794, on the other hand, with bad crops (as a result of flood, drought and hail), which reduced rapidly the amount of food available. The latter statement may suggest, however, the

²⁵ Bogucka *et al.* 1984, pp. 272–270.

²⁶ Kitowicz 1971, p. 639.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 640.

existence of stronger connections between the preindustrial economy and the level of mortality on those days expressed in the number of burials. For better orientation in the phenomenon discussed it was again referred to the examination of the ratio, i.e. correlation between the annual number of burials and the annual average price of rye and wheat and the daily pay of an unqualified laborer. It is important to add that the growth in the number of burials over decades, being, to a certain degree, also a function of the progressing completeness in the parish burial registers (in contrast to baptisms and foremost weddings), impedes considerably following the regularity linking the mortality fluctuations with the years of high prices of food and changes in real wages.

It is generally assumed that there exists quite a strict connection between poor crops, famine inevitably accompanied by high prices and the increase in mortality.²⁸ We, however, are more interested in the connections between the improvement of living conditions (even temporary) in the preindustrial town and the scale of mortality, which is possible to grasp correlating the welfare ratio on the unqualified laborer in Warsaw with the number of burials in the parish under examination. The low value of the calculated coefficient of partial correlation, 0.2052133, at the probability value = 0.04488469, far lower than similar coefficients for marriages and conceptions presented earlier, would prove rather a lack of any stricter connections between those two variables. The poor correlation between burials and wages may provide evidence of considerable immigration to the capital. For higher real pays were typical of the periods of better economic conditions for the majority of those interested in improving their material status (especially revival of construction, development of services and industrial enterprises), contributed to a more intense, higher than in other countries, inflow of population. Thereby, in the period of a better economic situation, Warsaw attracted people, who were not born in the capital, who could even not marry there (hence they are impossible to be found in baptism or marriage registers), but a certain part of them, despite the fact that connected their lives with the city for longer, found there their place of eternal rest, also in the Holy Cross parish cemetery. Thus, higher real wages considered in long time sections, being to a certain degree a result of the dynamic development of town, in this case Warsaw, increased the global number of funerals in the demographic process.²⁹ It requires further studies to prove the validity of this explanation.

²⁸ See Guillaume and Poussou 1970, pp. 149–151; Bardet 1983, 1, pp. 355–356; much more reserved are the opinions of Lebrun 1980, pp. 205–207 and Poussou 1980, pp. 235–237.

²⁹ See Wyrobisz 1986, p. 308.

2. SEASONALITY

Short intervals between the death and the funeral determined by the attitudes of people trying to bury the dead relatively quickly, usually on the first days after the death (this does not refer to the funeral of magnate elites, which quite often took place several months after the death), allow for treating their monthly distribution as equal to a seasonality of deceases. As Table 6.2 demonstrates, the highest intensity of mortality in the Holy Cross parish in the 18th century occurred from the end of winter or February–March till the end of May. After the summer decline in June and July, another peak is discernible from August till September or even October (by the end of the 1760s). In the remaining late autumn months the seasonality rate of deceases placed itself below the monthly average. From the scheme outlined above clearly differs the demise curve for the last decade of the 18th century, when in the first seven months deceases did not exceed the monthly average and high mortality did not occur until mid-summer and lasted until late autumn (see Figure 6.3). This distribution of seasonality resulted from the extraordinarily high number of demises in those months noted in 1794 (ever three and four times more than in the previous years; Table 6.1), in connection with the armed anti-Russian uprising led by Tadeusz Kościuszko. It seems that the seasonal model of mortality presented above was characterized by stability throughout the period under examination. Here the seasonality of deceases in the years of the pandemic of bubonic plague and other epidemics is omitted.

There arises a question to what extent it was a universal model and to what extent different from the rural communities and other big cities of pre-partition Poland. Figure 6.4 represents the decease seasonality in 2 different rural parishes (geographically remote), the parish in Czac (Greater Poland) and Bejsce (Lesser Poland), while Figure 6.5 a similar seasonality but in the biggest cities of then Poland: beside Warsaw (1761–90) also Poznań (1782–92) and Toruń (1793–1800) including in the latter separate data for the Catholic and Protestant communities. What strikes in the seasonal model of deceases in rural communities is foremost its simplicity: increase in mortality from December till May and clear decline in the second half-year. The decease curve in big cities is characterized foremost by a smaller amplitude of fluctuations and higher diversity. For instance, in Toruń its course is quite similar to the distribution in rural communities, even though higher mortality is observable, but among Catholics only, in August and October. In turn, in Warsaw and Poznań clearly

Table 6.2. Seasonality of deceases

Years	Month												Total
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	
1700–59	94	104	112	131	108	96	84	101	96	106	86	82	1200
1760–69	83	93	105	139	114	100	89	105	110	101	81	80	1200
1770–79	90	101	98	107	106	93	98	132	110	94	87	84	1200
1780–89	101	95	108	115	97	88	95	104	105	93	97	102	1200
1790–99	84	94	98	96	88	91	96	129	113	103	113	95	1200

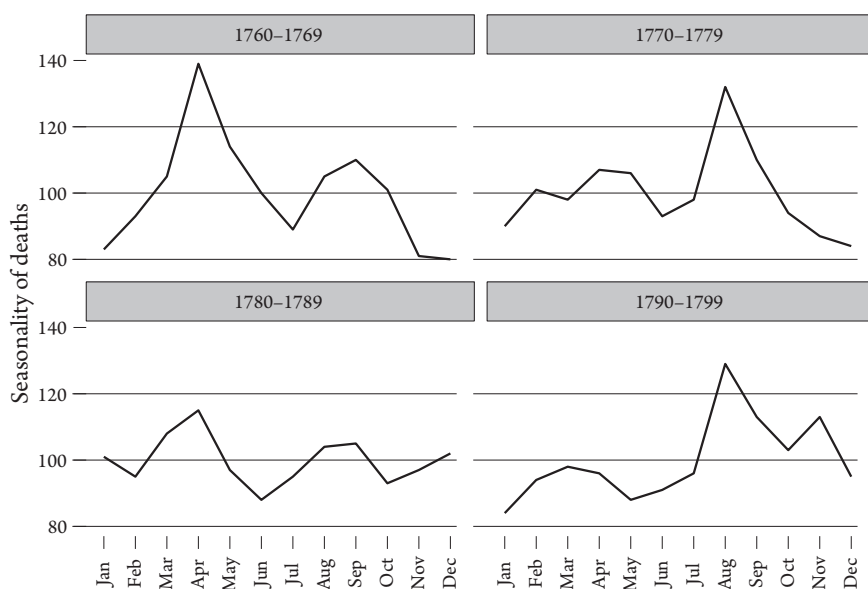


Figure 6.3. Seasonality of deceases, monthly indices

higher mortality characterizes the period of early spring (usually connected with shortage of food) (March–April) and late summer (August–September).

Similar distributions of the intensity of mortality characterized many urban and metropolitan populations in Western and Central Europe (see: Figure 6.6). In big urban agglomerations, such as Paris, Rouen or slightly less populated Geneva, the period of higher mortality was the beginning of the year, winter months and the beginning of spring (January–April). In turn, in the capital of Bohemia the highest intensity of mortality took place no sooner than in March and lasted until the end of August.

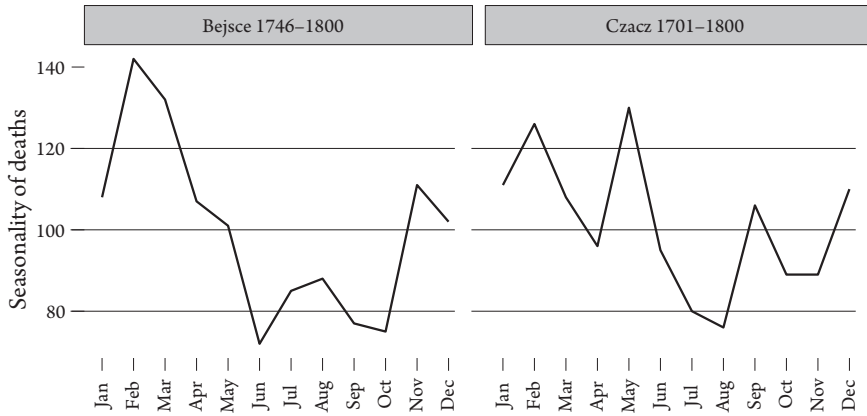


Figure 6.4. Seasonality of deceases in rural communities, monthly indices

Source: Kuklo 2009, p. 410.

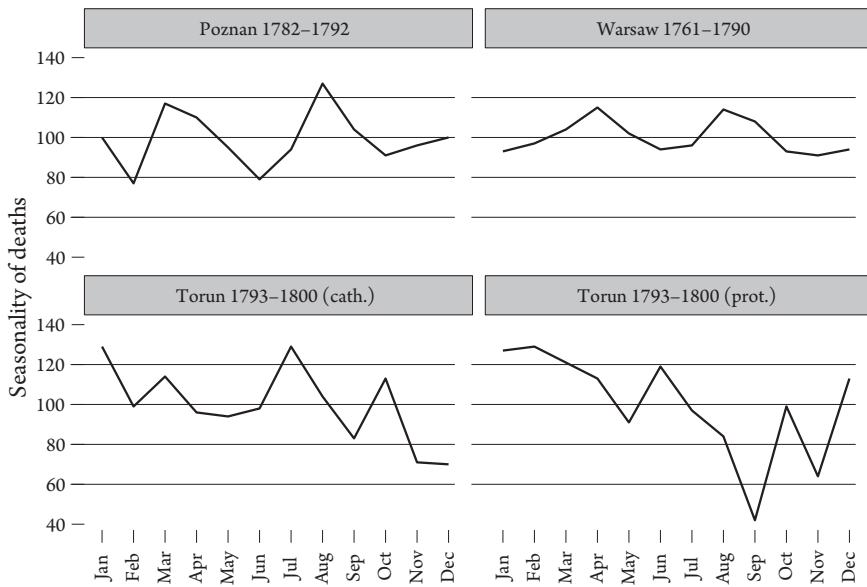


Figure 6.5. Seasonality of deceases in cities, monthly indices

Source: Kuklo 2009, p. 410; Zielińska 2012, pp. 448–449.

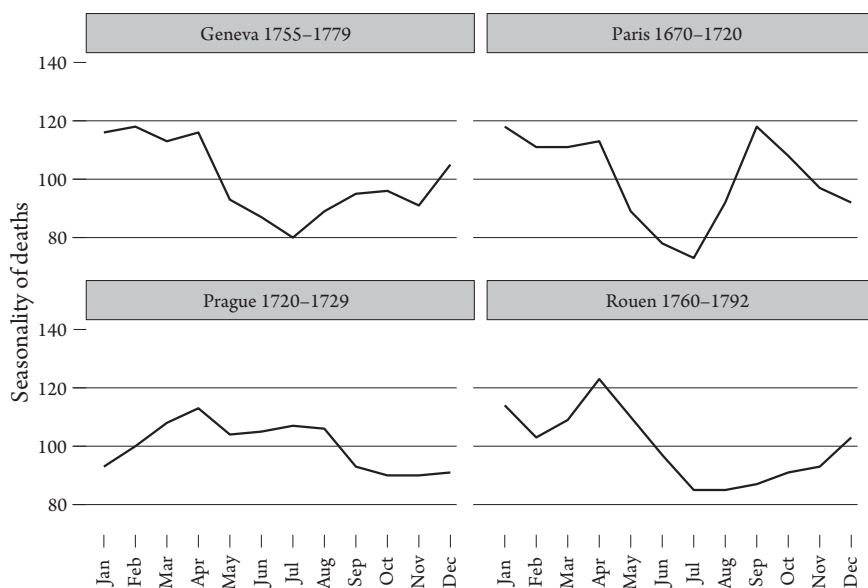


Figure 6.6. Seasonality of deceases in European cities, monthly indices

Source: Perrenoud 1979, p. 429; Dupâquier 1979, p. 272; Dokoupil *et al.* 1999, p. 81; Bardet 1983, 2, p. 189.

The mortality model of Old Polish mortality presented above informs only in general terms on its annual intensity, since it does not include the age of the deceased. Including the category of age into the scope of research observation, which has not been very popular in Polish literature so far, brings us closer to the knowledge of mutual determination of genetic and environmental factors. In Warsaw in the Age of Enlightenment the most newborns died in late autumn (November–December), which resulted from the higher number of births in that period (Table 6.3). Demises of the remaining infants stood out with definitely high mortality in summer, from June to September inclusively, with the apogee in August. Thus the seasonal model of deceases of all infants is not just a simple reflection of the seasonal birth model. The latter is closer to the seasonality of infants deceased within the first four weeks of life.

Observable in summer high mortality of infants, especially at the age of 1–11 months, resulted from foremost common poisonings and infections of the digestive tract, which the young organism usually failed to overcome. Summer milk souring led directly to numerous diarrheas. Low standards of general

Table 6.3. Seasonality of deceases by age in the years 1760–1799

Age	Month												Total
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	
0–1 month	89	102	90	105	84	93	97	101	99	98	131	111	1200
1–11 months	79	77	82	81	88	108	129	165	127	89	86	88	1200
0–1 year	83	89	85	92	86	101	114	136	114	94	107	99	1200
1–4	74	83	93	83	90	93	112	169	131	97	90	85	1200
5–14	69	75	93	85	86	85	129	185	136	101	87	69	1200
15–59	102	110	114	129	114	88	76	92	91	93	95	96	1200
60+	106	109	115	145	104	86	57	74	106	102	86	110	1200

hygiene, poor living conditions of a considerable part of population, in the case of the poor often the smallest food rations and low quality products, and the use of polluted water led to many infectious diseases. Their germs, spread by flies and other insects in summer, extended the circle of the sick and caused the most casualties among the newborns.

The seasonality of deceases of younger (1–4) and older (5–14) children in the capital with 100 thousand dwellers was nearly identical with that of infants (see Figure 6.7). The fundamental shift in the seasonal mortality model in pre-industrial Warsaw took place in the group of adults (15–59), where the highest mortality occurred in winter and dragged until spring. Most adults died in those months of typhoid, small pox and tuberculosis.³⁰ The aforementioned diseases, beside the others, as well as reduced biological immunity of old organisms (the group of people aged 60+) took their greatest toll in early spring, in April. Only summer months were relatively merciful for the Varsovians in this age category. Little did the course of decease seasonality, including the age of the dead, in the peasant population in the parish of Bejsce (Lesser Poland) in the second part of the 18th century differ from the scheme outlined above. Also in the community of farmers the summer period converged with higher mortality but in the group of children (up to 14, inclusively) only. The full winter and especially the spring scarcity of food clearly resulted in a higher number of deceases of adults and the oldest people.³¹

³⁰ Woźniewski and Rose 1962, where nearly 20% of deceases resulted from “consumption” and “cough”.

³¹ Piasecki 1990, pp. 126–129.

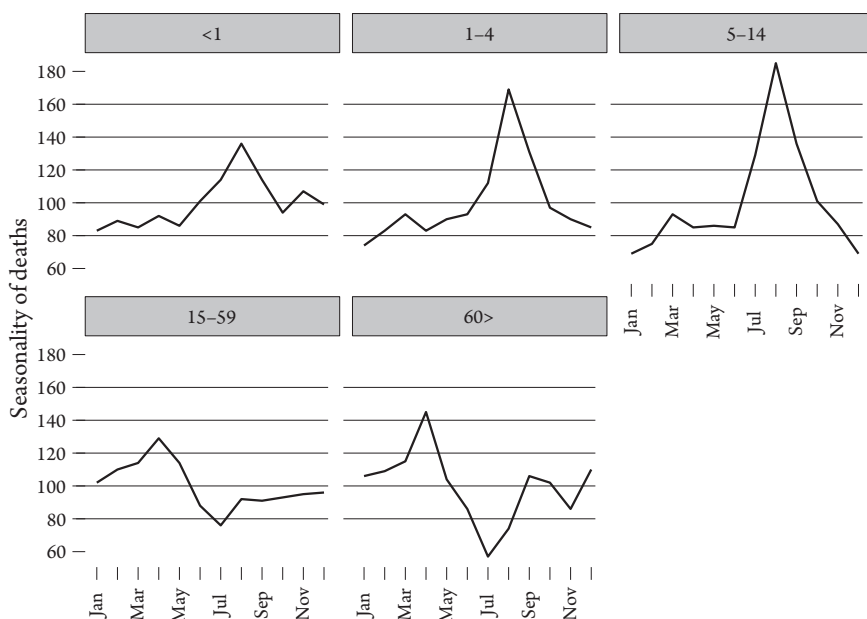


Figure 6.7. Seasonality of deaths by age in the years 1760–1799, monthly indices

In conclusion, the general model of deaths in pre-partition Poland was determined by high mortality of adults and the oldest in winter and early spring, as well as infants and children with its apogee in summer.

2.1. Seasonality of deaths during plagues and epidemics

At the end of the review of the monthly intensity of deaths, it is worth looking at their distribution during the pandemic of bubonic plague, which attacked the population under scrutiny in the years 1708–10. The account recorded in the minutes of St. Benon's brotherhood informs about the outburst of the plague on about 24 June. The plague at the turn of July 1708 was also corroborated by the entry of one of the Vincentians, who noted in the marriage register under the date 2 July: "Hic pestis grassabat".³² We can think, however, that first illnesses and perhaps also deaths caused by the plague were slightly earlier, since the burial register already under the heading "Junius" is the statement: "Hic caepit pestis suspicit".³³ From 11 July on the daily number of burials

³² AP, Lib. cop. 4, p. 65.

³³ AP, Lib. mort. 1, p. 156v.

registered in the parish exceeded 10 and systematically rose (in comparison with 4–5 at the beginning of July). That increase meant the plague entering into the epidemic phase. It had not passed more than one and a half months since the first casualties at the beginning of June. The registration analyzed allows for precise establishment of the length of the period from the outburst of the epidemic of plague to its peak intensity. The analysis of daily numbers of burials demonstrates that it reached its culmination at the end of August 1708; exactly on 28 and 29 of that month the most interments were recorded, 51 each day, i.e. after 65 days (9 weeks) from its outburst, counting from 24 June. The turn of September was characterized by still strong intensity of demises, which clearly weakened only from mid-September and the following month the plague was in its final phase (in the first half of October still total 62 burials were recorded, in the second half 11 only). Its time of extinction, like its increase, was not long: c. 6–8 weeks, although it is difficult to say how many casualties buried in November and December were a result of the plague. In Toruń, the same plague lasted shorter: it emerged in August in the suburbs, attacked the city itself in September and subsided at the end of December.³⁴ The precious comparative findings by Jan Baszanowski demonstrate that similar to the presented above was also a typical course of the epidemic of bubonic plague in Gdańsk, for example that of 1709, which was characterized by a strong surge of mortality in June–July, the peak in September–October and decline the epidemic intensity of deaths exceptionally in December, whereas normally in January or even February of the following year.³⁵ Those were the most frequent qualities of the bubonic plague. In contrast, pneumonic plague, more dangerous yet rarer, took the most casualties in winter. It is worth adding that in Gdańsk usually 11–12 weeks passed from the outbursts of the epidemics to their peak intensity, more rarely 14–15 weeks.³⁶ The plague in Warsaw could have not totally expired in 1709 but blatantly low number of records of burials in the register impede a more thorough analysis; its size was definitely far smaller. Its traces in winter 1709 can be found in the burial registers.³⁷ Perhaps, the point was demises caused by an epidemic disease, which, on those difficult days for the parishioners, were ascribed to the

³⁴ Pękacka-Falkowska 2012. The course and effects of the epidemic of plague in the years 1708–11 in the towns of Brandenburgian Prussia is well presented by Wijaczka 2012.

³⁵ Baszanowski 1987, p. 81. The seasonality and duration of the plague of 1720–22 in France is well described by Biraben 1975, pp. 290–295.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

³⁷ AP, Lib. mort. 1, p. 156v.

plague. A new rapid outburst of the epidemic occurred at the beginning of July 1710, since one of the Vincentians did not hesitate to write: "Hic ces sit secunda pestis".³⁸ Comparing the seasonality of deceases in the both years of plague, i.e. 1708 and 1710, considerable similarities can be observed. However, the plague of 1710 was characterized by a less violent and longer course, reaching its culmination slightly later, in September.

The both epidemics, that in 1708 and that in 1710, took the highest toll among women: 44–45%, slightly lower among men: 35–39% and still lower among children: 16–20%. It is reasonable to agree with Andrzej Karpiński, who, quoting the aforementioned data, observed that the modest share of children in this sad statistics results from imprecision of the source base, since in reality the percentage of infants and children below 9 among the casualties of the epidemic must have been much higher.³⁹ Although the plague made threat to all strata of urban population, wealthier groups had definitely much more possibilities of effective protection against its effects than poorer population, foremost going away to the country and applying stricter isolation from the infected. It is clearly visible when we take into consideration socio-occupational status of the casualties of the both epidemics. The most deceased came from the malnourished and not very immune urban poor: on average the staggering 86% (!), far fewer from the group of craftsmen and vendors: c. 12–14% and only 1–2% from the urban elite.⁴⁰

3. MORTALITY OF INFANTS AND CHILDREN

The knowledge of infant mortality is one of the major problems in determining the scale of children mortality because of either a total omission or else, irregular recording in registers stillborn infants and those deceased directly after birth, although probably baptized with water. Undoubtedly, for a long time, until the end of the Saxon era in the Polish lands church burial registers recorded foremost demises of adults (even though to different degrees), without any special attention to the burials of children. The evidence thereof is the data juxtaposed in Table 6.4, which demonstrate, on the one hand, a fundamental improvement in recording the age of the dead which occurred at the beginning of the 19th century, and on the other hand, a systematic improvement of

³⁸ AP, Lib. mort. 2, p. 4v.

³⁹ Karpiński 2000, p. 201.

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 208, 355.

Table 6.4. Structure of deceases by age in the years 1760–1801 (%)

Age	1760–1769	1770–1779	1780–1789	1790–1799	1800–1801
0–1	15.8	21.4	26.4	22.5	22.0
1–4	12.9	15.2	16.3	18.7	26.7
5–9	3.6	4.5	3.3	3.8	5.1
10–14	1.9	1.4	1.2	1.5	1.6
15–19	1.6	1.4	1.0	1.2	1.6
20–24	3.6	2.6	1.6	2.0	2.1
25–34	7.3	6.6	4.5	4.2	7.0
35–44	10.1	6.3	3.9	6.2	7.5
45–54	6.0	5.3	3.5	5.0	9.3
55–64	7.8	3.6	2.5	3.8	7.0
65–74	5.3	2.9	1.9	3.2	4.4
75–84	2.4	1.9	1.4	2.3	3.6
85+	0.9	1.0	0.8	1.6	1.8
Unknown (adult)	20.8	25.9	31.8	24.0	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

the registers of deceased infants and younger children (under 5), observable from the 1770s on. These problems are not specifically Polish, since even better registers in France, Italy or Britain are characterized by faulty registration of infant and child demises. It is extremely difficult to estimate the deficiencies in this respect. The world research practice applies two methods. One, easy and simple, consists in calculating proportions of Christian names given again to children in the same family, which took place in the case of the death of a small child of the same name. The other one, more precise, compares the lengths of intergenetic (interbirth) intervals. The point of departure is that most mothers in the past fed infants with their own milk and in that period they were infertile. In such a case abnormally short intergenetic intervals would provide the evidence of the previous infant's decease. Estimation of deficiencies in the registration of demises of infants and children seems possible only in reference to single, well-documented in sources, parish communities, even though any generalization of the results may be very illusive. Results of better quality could be expected from analyses of neater decease registers in bigger urban centers. The authors of a great survey of the National Institute for Demographic Studies (INED) estimates those deficiencies for prerevolutionary France as c. 15–20%

in the north of the country and c. 50% in the south.⁴¹ Some of them, employing the method of name recurrence, considerably correct the scale of infant mortality in the 17th century, sometimes nearly two-fold and more (for example, raising the value of coefficients from 155 to 257‰ or from 139 to 322‰⁴²). It is worth quoting the reliable opinion of the expert in population relations and sources for the history of Greater Poland in not only the pre-partition but also post-partition era, Mieczysław Kędelski, according to whom as late as the turn of the 19th century, the registers in Poznań downtown failed to include c. 50% of deceased infants (!), and c. 30% in the era of the Duchy of Warsaw⁴³. Thus, identification of the number of burials of infants and probably also the youngest children with the real number of their deceases for the late feudal era is a fallacy.

Because of diverse causes infant mortality may be divided into two types: endogenous mortality and exogenous mortality. The former, endogenous mortality includes deceases which occurred as a result of the reasons connected with the condition of the individual, with fetal life (malformations) as well as connected with certain causes of perinatal morbidity and mortality. The latter, exogenous mortality embraces infant demises caused by external environment being a result of hygienic and sanitary negligence (contagious diseases, infant's infection), malnutrition or resulting from bad care (e.g. unlucky accidents). Whereas determinants of endogenous infant mortality are perceived as typically biological, the scale of exogenous mortality depended to a high degree on the socio-economic and cultural environment of the family. In the preindustrial era it was definitely higher in the families of urban commonalty or rural landless peasants than in wealthy families.

An undoubtedly eloquent illustration of imprecision in the registration of infants' deceases, not only in the second half of the 18th century but also at the beginning of the following century, are mortality rates juxtaposed in Table 6.5. Therefore, it is difficult to deny their cognitive value. It seems that it is only the infant mortality coefficient calculated for the period 1804–05 for whole Warsaw, the basis of which was better quality vital statistics prepared on order of the occupational Prussian authorities, certainly reflects better the real scale of the phenomenon. However, probably even this coefficient is slightly lowered. Comparatively, even in 1874 in Warsaw, 350 in 1,000 born children failed to survive

⁴¹ Beauvalet-Boutouyrie 2008, p. 309.

⁴² A. Bideau *et al.* 1991, pp. 222–223.

⁴³ Kędelski 1992, p. 145.

Table 6.5. Infant mortality

Years	In 1000 live births
1760–1769	74
1770–1779	133
1780–1789	137
1790–1791	206
1800–1801	258
1804–1805 ^{a)}	309

^{a)} Whole Warsaw, Christian population, calculated on the basis: Szymkiewicz 1959, pp. 2282–285.

the first year of life, whereas in Poznań in the years 1876–80 and in Gdańsk even later – at the turn of the 20th century, respectively 280 and 265.⁴⁴

The level of infant mortality coefficients for the Old Polish era and early post-partition era presented in the Polish demographic literature so far, which usually did not exceed 200 deaths in 1000 live births, proves rather gaps in registration of deceased infants than the real scale of the phenomenon. Similarly, Mieczysław Kędelski underscores the considerably lowered average infant death coefficient in Poznań, which was in the years 1800–06: 135‰, 1807–12: 180‰ and 1813–1815: 197‰.⁴⁵

In the light of the definitely better death registers kept in the 18th and 19th centuries in the West, also in Polish lands infant mortality usually exceeded 300‰. Thus, it is difficult to find grounds to claim that it could have been lower in the earlier period, although, as already mentioned, its scale, like the mortality of children and adults, was diversified socially, territorially and even denominationally. The better documented West European studies concerning towns, e.g. Rouen or Geneva, clearly prove higher infant mortality among their working class and home servants than among craftsmen and shopkeepers, not to mention the richest stratum of notables and bourgeoisie (Table 6.6).

Discussing earlier the considerable size of extramarital offspring in the Old Polish era, we pointed out their social environment. The previous studies show that, in comparison with the children born in legitimate marriage unions, illegitimate children stood a definitely worse chance to survive their first year of life. Sometimes their mortality exceeded the mortality of legitimate children

⁴⁴ Jezierski and Wyczański 2003, 1, p. 183.

⁴⁵ Kędelski 1992, p. 145.

Table 6.6. Mortality of children by social groups in Rouen and Geneva in the 18th century (in 1000 births)

Age	Rouen		
	Higher class	Craftsmen/ shopkeepers	Laborers
0	272	288	396
1–4	118	186	220
5	107	177	53
5–10	91	31	85
0–15	479	526	592
	Geneva		
		Petty bourgeoisie	
0	143	214	230
1–4	103	164	182
5	61	91	107

Source: Bardet 1983, 1, p. 370; Beauuvalet–Boutouyrie 2008, p. 315.

by a third.⁴⁶ Among infants, both legitimate and illegitimate, usually, which is important, more boys died than girls.

It is difficult to state much about the statistics of the scale of endogenous and exogenous mortality in the pre-partition era. The highest intensity of infants' deaths fell upon the first four weeks of life: from a third to nearly a half of all born babies. Thus, there is no doubt that most of the infant mortality, the neonatal mortality, was foremost a result of the circumstances of the fetus development in the mother's womb as well as the labor and perinatal mortality. The mortality of slightly older infants, also known as postneonatal mortality, resulted chiefly from enormous hygienic and sanitary negligence in the preindustrial era, as well as from diseases of digestive tract and unsatisfactory care of the newborns. The modest research output in the field of determinants of mortality in the Old Polish society, certainly fails to reveal all the factors deciding on inequality before death in infancy. The model of infant mortality structure outlined above says little about the effect of the birth order on the mother, connection with her age or a general number of the offspring born by her. It is undoubted that a considerable number of first pregnancies of the youngest

⁴⁶ Kuklo 2009, p. 405.

mothers (under 18) in the Middle Ages and later ended in miscarriage.⁴⁷ Thus, a higher scale of mortality characterized women giving birth to their first children at younger age rather than those at older age. Lower mortality characterized children of mothers giving birth at 25–34. The studies carried out so far also point out a lower mortality rate among births with higher ordinal numbers, which most historians explain by a considerable risk of the first birth, which usually was also the hardest. Also large families (9+ children) in comparison with those with a smaller number of children stood out with a higher intensity of infant deceases.⁴⁸ In Old Polish families twin births, regardless of the social environment of the mother, were usually more difficult and the babies smaller and weaker. Naturally, they stood a worse chance of survival.

Natural disasters occurring periodically every few years, chronic malnutrition of the poorer inhabitants of towns and villages, as well as horrible sanitary conditions were conducive to spreading typhoid and dysentery, which afflicted with equal severity not only infants but also younger children. In the second half of the 18th century, in the parish Strzelce Opolskie, Upper Silesia, the mortality coefficient of children aged 0–4 in the urban community amounted c. 460‰ and c. 425‰ in the rural community.⁴⁹ In both of them it was always higher among boys. Also in Warsaw at the turn of the 19th century staggering nearly 50% of children died before they turned 5.⁵⁰ Like among infants, also in this age group occurred a characteristic excess mortality of boys. 113 M/100F in Warsaw (1775–99) and 105 (1800–01), 120 in Poznań (1800–15), 117 in Strzelce Opolskie and 114 in nearby villages (1766–1800).

Thus, there is no doubt that in preindustrial Europe, also regionally diverse, 40–50% of children failed to live until 5, whereas the infant mortality rate remained on the level 150–350‰.⁵¹ The aforesaid rates for Poland tended to place themselves nearer higher than average values.

4. ADULT MORTALITY

Adult mortality in the pre-statistical era is even more difficult to establish than that of children. To determine its intensity it is not enough to know the

⁴⁷ Tyszkiewicz 1981, p. 188.

⁴⁸ See Bideau *et al.* 1991, pp. 230–233.

⁴⁹ Kuklo 2009, p. 405.

⁵⁰ Calculated on the basis of Szymkiewicz 1959, pp. 282–285.

⁵¹ See Livi Bacci 1999, p. 178; Dokoupil and Nesládková 1999, p. 53.

annual numbers of demises or their structure by sex and age. For what is essential is the knowledge of the size of the real group of adults exposed to the danger of death. To estimate the scale of mortality of children their population was referred to live births. For adults we should have information on the actual division of population by age. In Old Polish practice it has been so far not really possible, taking into consideration the modest number of parish censuses demographically processed.

In the Old Polish era the mortality rate was high and was on average in big cities, such as Gdansk and Poznan c. 40‰; only in the country it was lower.⁵² Similarly, the coefficient of deceases calculated for men was higher than for women. The big scale of mortality, not only in pre-partition era but even much later, until the mid-19th century, was enormously affected by natural disasters (epidemics of contagious diseases, bad crops and famines), in the years when the number of demises of adult people grew rapidly.⁵³ Very high mortality in big preindustrial agglomerations, in contrast to agricultural communities, also resulted from most of them lacking basic sanitary and communal facilities, unsatisfactory fresh water supply and waste removal. Multitudes of inhabitants, mainly the numerous poor, did not observe even the simplest rules of daily hygiene.

The analysis of deceases by sex and age of the dead may be a certain demonstration of the issue of the mortality rate in past populations. Table 6.7 juxtaposes appropriate data for the last quarter of the 18th century and, comparatively, better quality data from the beginning of the following century. It is important to underscore that the number of demises in the mere two first months of the 19th century is low and may bear qualities of fortuity. Moreover, the studies are disturbed by the clusters of the dead's ages around the digits 0 and 5, resulting in leaps of the percentage in successive age groups, and for the years 1775–99 a high number of adult people with precisely undefined age at the moment of death.

Slightly more precise data referring to the structure of infant deceases confirm simultaneously, the phenomenon of inequality before death, dependent on sex from the very moment of birth. There is no doubt that the mortality of male infants was higher than the mortality of female infants. The definite dominance of boys' demises, despite that fact that more of them were born (105–7) than

⁵² Kędelski 1992, pp. 141, 145; Baszanowski 1995, pp. 250–251.

⁵³ Even in the first half of the 19th century in the years of natural disasters coefficients of deceases outnumbered birth coefficients twice, see Jezierski and Wyczański 2003, 1, p. 182.

Table 6.7. Structure of deceases by sex and age (%)

Wiek	1775–1799			1800–1801		
	Males	Females	M/100F	Males	Females	M/100F
0–4 years	38.9	42.9	113	48.3	49.3	105
0–12 months	23.3	23.6	123	20.4	23.7	92
0–1 month	14.2	13.1	134	11.4	11.5	125
of which:						
0 day	1.9	1.5	158	1.4	1.2	29
1–7 days	6.0	5.7	132	5.5	2.9	200
1–11 months	9.1	10.5	108	9.0	12.2	79
1	7.7	10.0	96	13.9	11.0	134
2	4.0	4.8	103	6.3	8.1	83
3	2.5	2.8	108	3.5	3.8	100
4	1.4	1.7	106	4.2	2.7	162
5–9	3.7	4.2	112	5.1	5.0	110
10–14	1.1	1.6	85	1.9	1.2	171
15–19	1.0	1.3	100	1.6	1.5	111
20–24	1.7	2.3	92	1.9	2.2	92
25–34	3.8	6.0	78	6.4	7.5	91
35–44	5.4	5.3	126	7.4	7.6	105
45–54	5.0	4.0	153	9.1	9.4	104
55–64	3.3	3.6	114	7.9	6.0	140
65–74	2.4	3.0	102	5.0	3.7	141
75–84	1.6	2.4	85	3.5	3.8	100
85+	1.0	1.5	82	1.4	2.4	64
Unknown (adult)	31.1	21.9	177	0.5	0.4	300
Total	100.0	100.0	125	100.0	100.0	×
Number				620	582	107

girls, occurred foremost in the first week and month of life. In the population under examination infant deceases at the beginning of the 19th century constituted nearly 22% of all, whereas nearly a half including the demises of children of 0–4. At the same time deceases of adults (over 15) made 45% of all. The dominance of male deceases maintained also among older children and adolescents, in total until the age of 20. A very well visible shift in the whole period under analysis (1775–1801) can be observed in two following age ranges, jointly from 20 to 34 years of age, in which women's deceases predominate over men's de-

ceases. This excessive mortality of women resulted foremost from their decreasing biological immunity caused by the increasing number of births. Thereby the reproductive age for women was characterized by their higher mortality in comparison to men. In turn, in older age groups the dominance of men's demises is clearly observable, which may, in a way, result from a worse registration of older women's burials. In metropolitan Warsaw the deceases of old people (over 65) were not very numerous and they made nearly 10% of all, since in this environment, more rarely than in villages, people lived to a ripe old age. This is corroborated by the arithmetic average of deceased men at the beginning of the 19th century calculated in the population under scrutiny, which amounted merely 23.9, whereas for women 23.3. Thus, the process of dying out of the population in the Holy Cross parish in Warsaw was still more intense than, for example, in Poznań in the years 1800–15 (the average age of the deceased men was 28.6 and women 30.4).⁵⁴

In the pre-partition Commonwealth, even in the Age of Enlightenment, no essential progress occurred in sanitary conditions, medicine, obstetrics, nutrition and hygiene of the most of society, which would have reduce the high mortality of both infants and adults. Everywhere Old Polish villages were healthier than towns. Future studies should more intensely establish the importance of biological, climatic and ecological factors in ancient mortality in the Polish lands in the preindustrial era.

In retrospective studies burial registers may also be a basis for establishment of the size of the community of unmarried people, on condition that the age and the marital status of the dead person is recorded. The studies carried out so far, which used the Old Polish parish burial registers seem to demonstrate that, despite their many faults, the information from the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century may make a basis for attempting to find the scale of definite celibate by sex in ancient communities, especially facing the lack of pre-statistical censuses.

Date included in Table 6.8 enable to determine a group of people in the capital community who went through life unmarried. In general, the percentage of celibacy is calculated in two ways⁵⁵. One of them refers the number of bachelors or maidens to the number of all people deceased at the age of 50 and more but excluding people with undefined marital status. The definitive celibacy rate so calculated amounts among men 16.6% and among women 5.2%.

⁵⁴ Kędelski 1992, p. 145.

⁵⁵ Henry 1980, pp. 48–51.

Table 6.8. People who died unmarried at 50+ in the years 1780–1789

Marital status	Males	Females
	Number	
Single	42	14
Married	166	80
Widowed	45	172
Undefined	19	13
Total	272	279

The other method, however, recognizes that the deceases of the latter are highly probable to refer to single people and the group of the unmarried so described are compared with the total number of those who died at the age of over 50. The parameters calculated with the latter method concerning both unmarried men, 22.4% and unmarried women, 9.7% are higher than those obtained for the first time. Undoubtedly Table 6.8 proves a considerable scale of definitive celibacy among the inhabitants of preindustrial Warsaw, much higher among men than women. Simultaneously, it is important to remember that the estimates of definitive celibacy on the basis of the analysis of the census in the parish under examination at the beginning of 1791 (the percentage of unmarried population in the age group 50–54) show almost identical value among men: 22.3 and doubled among women: 19 (see Table 2.7).

5. CAUSES OF DECEASES

The knowledge of an important issue in studies on mortality, causes of deceases, helps us better understand the determinants of biological conditions in Old Polish society. Its acquisition is not an easy task in the face of the lack of any extensive medical hospitals and statistics kept by doctors on those days⁵⁶. Thereby it is again necessary to refer to the content of pre-partition burial registers bearing in mind that the causes of death in registers, except those resulting from epidemics, were mentioned more frequently only in the second half of the 18th century. The source of information on the causes of demises in that period

⁵⁶ Apart from a few exceptions (the Holy Spirit Hospital in Cracow in 1736), until the beginning of the 19th century there is no information on keeping medical documentation including the medical history and causes of deceases; see Podgórska-Klawe 1981, pp. 222–225.

remained mostly declarations of the dead person's family and probably the fact that the clergy knew their parishioners, including their health condition, history of illnesses etc. In turn, little precision or often laconic information thereon included in church registers is not helpful to us now in closer familiarization with disease entities and causes of deceases of inhabitants of villages and towns in the past.

Using slightly more exact data on that subject for Warsaw at the beginning of the 19th century, i.e. Prussian vital statistics yet prepared on the basis of reports of particular Catholic parishes, as well as Evangelical and Jewish congregations, it is possible to find the causes of deceases, seemingly typical of inhabitants of a big preindustrial city.⁵⁷ At the turn of the 19th century the Christian population in Warsaw most frequently died of tuberculosis, described in the sources as "consumption": 18,3% and small pox: 13.9% (Table 6.9).⁵⁸ Altogether, every third inhabitant of the big city died of the diseases mentioned above. Among the other usual causes of death, beside deceases "of infirmity resulting from old age" (8.1%), a considerable number of casualties died as a result of various illnesses of teeth and the oral cavity (7.5%), epilepsy, i.e. nerve and mental disturbances (7.8%). Further positions are taken by deceases resulting from "dyspnea or asthma" (3.5%), typhoid (2.5%) and misadventures. In spite of suggestive opinions of the contemporary, even then occurrence of venereal diseases, probably thanks to application of increasingly more effective methods of treatment, was negligible.

At the decline of the feudal era in the town, among the causes of death occurred differences between Christian and Jewish populations (Table 6.10). Even though among Warsaw Jews dominated also deceases of the most common disease, small pox, they died much more often than Christians of illnesses which are often difficult to identify, such as "betki", "robaki" (bugs)⁵⁹, and "wietrzna puchlina" (wind swelling). More Jews also died of whooping-cough and various diseases of the digestive system (diarrheas and bacterial dysentery); on the other hand not many, which is peculiar, of tuberculosis, the most frequent disease among the Christian population. It is important to note that both Tables show a certain diversification of coefficients due to the sex of the deceased person.

⁵⁷ Prussian printed schemes named 53 types of diseases and cases.

⁵⁸ Tables 6.9 and 6.10 ignore nearly 13% of the total number of deceases (out of over 7.7 thousand) in 1800 and 1804–05 for which the causes of demises have not been established.

⁵⁹ Kuchowicz 1972, p. 43: this term is connected with food poisoning and infections.

Table 6.9. Structure of deceases by diseases of Christian population
at the beginning of the 19th century (%)

Cause of Death	Males	Females	Total
Tuberculosis	18.5	18.2	18.3
Small Pox	12.4	15.7	13.9
Senility	7.8	8.4	8.1
Epilepsy	7.9	7.8	7.8
Teeth	6.6	8.4	7.5
Dyspnea or sthma	3.0	4.0	3.5
Typhoid	2.4	2.6	2.5
Misadventures	2.3	1.7	2.3
Others	39.1	33.2	36.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	3143	2717	5860

Source: Szymkiewicz 1959, tabl. 22 after p. 285.

Table 6.10. Structure of deceases by diseases of Jewish population
at the beginning of the 19th century (%)

Cause of Death	Males	Females	Total
Small pox	16.9	23.9	20.0
“Betki”	12.6	6.4	9.9
Wind swelling	8.4	8.0	8.2
Bugs	7.2	8.0	7.5
Whooping cough	7.4	6.6	7.1
Diarrhea and dysentery	5.6	6.9	6.1
Tuberculosis	5.3	3.7	4.6
Others	36.6	36.5	36.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	486	376	862

Source: Szymkiewicz 1959, tabl. 22 after p. 285.

There is not much specific information on the causes of deceases in rural communities. In the light of the available data children and adolescents in the Old Polish country died foremost of infectious diseases, e.g. small pox, measles, dysentery, typhoid and whooping-cough. Primitive living conditions combined

with low hygiene were conducive to numerous diseases of the digestive system, for example helminthiasis. The third dangerous group included illnesses of air passages. The latter group, comprising tuberculosis, tonsillitis and pneumonia, seemingly took the most victims among adult population, on average even up to 30–40% of all. The contagious diseases caused deaths of another group of people (c. 1/5). The percentage of fatalities as a result of diseases of the nervous and digestive systems was definitely lower.⁶⁰

The attempt made in this chapter to analyze certain aspects of mortality in the population of the Warsaw Holy Cross parish in the 18th century brought certain findings which require recapitulation. The incredibly low number of registered burials in relation to the number of baptisms and numerous gaps in the continuity demonstrated the deficiencies of the source base, especially that of the Saxon era. In that period chiefly infants and small children's demises remained beyond the church registration. By the end of King Stanisław August Poniatowski's reign no major successes had been noted in the improvement of the general health condition of the inhabitants of the capital city. Hence the enormous scale of infant mortality, over 300‰ and nearly 60% of the burials of people under 20. Adult population and old people usually died in winter and early spring, infants and children (1–14) mainly in summer with the clear climax in August. Beside general mortality remaining at a high level throughout the century, the Warsaw population was several times decimated by natural disasters, which reduced the birthrate, already not very high. In the first half of the 18th century the most fatalities were caused by the epidemics of plague in 1708 and 1710, which raged from Juny–July to the end of autumn. In the second half of the century, the intensification of mortality was noted in the stormy years 1794–95, marked with the uprising of Kościuszko and the brutal armed intervention of Russia and Prussia. By the end of the 18th century, the society of Warsaw suffered from, beside the epidemics of plague, a great deal of various diseases, mostly contagious, which devoured the highest number of casualties. Thus, the progressing diversification of the biological condition of the inhabitants contributed, simultaneously, to social inequality in the face of diseases and death. Different environmental factors, living and hygienic conditions, lifestyle, including the standard and value of food, of the populations, from the poorest, through better-off craftsmen, to clergy and high city officials and patricians, resulted in various causes of deceases in the particular social groups.

⁶⁰ Diseases in Poland from the decline of the 16th century till the end of the 18th century are extensively discussed by Kuchowicz 1972, pp. 17–48.

CONCLUSIONS

Conducting research on the Old Polish society we were foremost interested in two issues: the course of demographic processes and the circumstances of origins, duration and collapse of the smallest socio-demographic cell in the big preindustrial city, which was Warsaw, especially in the second half of the 18th century. The basic source for establishing the demographic composition of the urban family in that period was marriage, baptism and burial registers, of different degree of completeness, kept by the Holy Cross parish, already central at that time and the second largest parish of the capital. Among three series of registers, in the case of baptisms and burials, we dealt with incomplete registers, in particular in the first half of the century. Valuable demographic data were provided by the parish census conducted by the Vincentians at the beginning of 1791.

In order to reconstruct the demographic history of Warsaw families L. Henry's method was employed. On the basis of over 80 thousand marriage, baptism and burial registers, nearly 2,000 families were reconstructed, including 1,500 of the so-called closed families, with known dates of not only the conclusion of marriage but also of the date of demise of the first of the spouses. In the latter group of families, the age of the mother at the moment of wedding was established for over 950 on the basis of baptism registers and the aforementioned parish census.

In the second half of the 18th century Warsaw was already the biggest city of pre-partition Poland and one of the bigger in Europe of that period, in the early 1790s reaching the number of inhabitants estimated as c. 115,000. In contrast to the population of whole Warsaw, the Holy Cross community contained more women than men. The dominance of women, the highest in the age group of 15–24, clearly indicates their high territorial mobility and considerable share in the immigration processes to the capital of the country. Although $\frac{2}{3}$ of all households were simple households, what is undoubtedly worth noting is large sizes (by the way, like in many other big European cities) of the share of lone people's households: 25%. The households in the Holy Cross parish were not

big; on average they included 4 members. In turn, their sizes were dependent foremost on the socio-occupational status and the sex of the household manager. Finally, it is important to add that also experiencing old age by the Holy Cross parishioners was of diverse nature, depending on sex, more unfavorable for old women. They lived and grew old in solitude definitely more often than men.

The development of population throughout the 18th century did not proceed evenly; especially in the first half the effect of natural disasters was visible, foremost the epidemic of plague in 1708 and 1710, as well as several other epidemic diseases in the years 1714, 1730, 1737, 1769–71. The dynamic development of population did not occur until the late 1750s. A strong decline was noted in the second half of the 1790s along with the third partition of Poland and the occupation of the capital first by Russian, then Prussian, troops. From the beginning of January 1796 on, Warsaw fell from the ancient capital of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth with its c. dozen million residents to the role of a provincial town in the Prussian absolute monarchy. Population fluctuations can be connected with the fluctuations in the economic situation chiefly determined by the observation of the real pay level of the unqualified laborer and, to a considerably lesser degree, by the prices of wheat.

Matchmaking in preindustrial Warsaw took place foremost within the same parish community. Slightly more complete information about the social background of the newlyweds allow for the statement that usually people married within the same estate or even stratum. It is important to emphasize that the analyses presented in this book do not corroborate the opinions, so popular in both Polish and foreign literature, that in pre-partition Poland marriages were concluded at a very young age. Men in Warsaw married for the first time being on average 29 years old, and their partners were considerably younger, on average 22–23. Usually the premature death of one of the spouses affected the transitory nature of the marriage union in the preindustrial town. In the capital it lasted on average merely 15 years. At high average general mortality, even in “normal years” without any major cataclysms, multiple marriages constituted about a third of all unions. Their number grew rapidly in post-disaster periods up to 40–50% of all. The higher number of orphaned offspring usually did not encourage remarriages. Warsaw widowers, in contrast to widows, not only started new families more often, but also did so definitely sooner.

The studies on fertility of Warsaw married couples conducted for all reconstructed closed families proved the decrease in the average number of children

in fertile families over the last sixty years of the 18th century from 5 in the late Saxon period to 4 in the Age of Enlightenment. A similar phenomenon, even though to a lesser degree, was also observed in the group of complete families, in which the woman lived in marriage with the same partner to 49 years of age. However, the thorough analysis of their fertility, for example with the use of measurement techniques of Coael-Trussel's method, except its slightly lower level at the couples formed in the Age of Enlightenment, proved that in the both periods they were characterized by natural fertility. It is impossible, however, not to notice that some Warsaw couples, probably not very numerous, at the end of the period under examination made certain attempts at conception and birth control. It is the capital experiencing from the 1770s on a rapid and accelerated development, the pre-bourgeoisie social transformations, and the visible shifts in morality in which we tend to see the factors, which, by no means reducing the areas of erotic experience, could result in deterioration of procreation attitudes among a certain small group of married couples living in the largest urban agglomeration in the Polish lands.

In preindustrial Warsaw the first child was usually born in 14 months. Next ones were born every 2 years but the length of the interbirth interval reduced to 20 months, if the previous child died in infancy. The intervals before the birth of the last offspring were clearly longer.

The documentation collected demonstrates that the Warsaw population was characterized by an enormous scale of infant and child mortality, which throughout the period under scrutiny exceeded undoubtedly 30% before the first year of life and 50% by the age of 5. Generally higher mortality characterized men in low and medium age groups, except the perinatal mortality of women, and even in the oldest age groups, which may be, however, a problem of the source basis: generally worse burial registration of old women. One thing is certain: the process of dying out of the population in the Warsaw parish under examination was very intense even at the end of the 18th century, so what can be said about its pace in the first half of the century which was full of demographic disasters.

Reflections on the sizes of Warsaw families referred to, which is understandable, foremost legitimate births, which dominated. Nevertheless, the share of children born to extramarital relationships in the population under scrutiny being part of the population of a big city, was not small and amounted at least 10%. However, in the period of natural disasters and deteriorating conditions of everyday existence of families in preindustrial Warsaw not only did the number

of illegitimate children grow but even more did that of abandoned children, not all of which must have been illegitimate (in the 1740s and 50s they constituted, jointly with foundlings, staggering 20% of all births registered in the baptism books).

Historiography usually introduces a difference between illegitimate births and those from premarital conceptions, the share of which increased in the period discussed from 12.6% to 15.4% at the end of 18th century. However, if they were considered jointly as a rate of exceeding moral norms of that period, so strongly emphasized by both Church and secular authorities, it turns out that the percentage of children born but conceived as a result of pre- and extra-marital contacts is definitely yet higher. Additionally, if throughout the century under examination one can observe a phenomenon of abandoning the rule of baptisms "as soon as possible", it is well-grounded to state that in the community of a big preindustrial city of Central Europe there were tendencies to abandoning ecclesiastical prohibitions and graduate weakening of moral conformism.

Present day historiography, both Polish and foreign, tends to underscore with certain pleasure and see (or at least try to find, not always reasonably) differences in not only Old Polish political and economic structures but also social ones including the form of the family and its household. Therefore it is important to attempt to compare the final synthetic image of the Warsaw family of the late feudal period with the principal qualities of the marital model occurring in towns of Western Europe, far better known due to fruitful French, British and German studies.

In the model of the Warsaw family of the late Saxon era and the Age of Enlightenment, it is easy to find one of the most characteristic qualities of the West European family, namely the high average age of marriage conclusion, but in reference to men only. In towns of "old" Europe, they married at the age of 28–30. On the other hand, unlike in the West, Warsaw maids married definitely earlier than French, German or English women. Naturally, Warsaw families were characterized by a definitely more considerable difference between the spouses at the moment of making a family, which generally was 6–7 years, whereas in the West this difference was smaller. If we recognized the marriage age of Warsaw women plus those 14 months in which they gave birth to their first child, the Polish urban family in the preindustrial era was definitely characterized, unlike in Western Europe, by early maternity.

In contrast to married couples in social elites, those of middle class or even laborers in Rouen, Reims or Geneva, Warsaw were stuck in the regime of natu-

ral fertility and only a few of them made conscious attempts to affect their own procreation. No greater differences were observed, however, in the scale of premarital conceptions, illegitimate children or the size of households. Moreover, Warsaw but also the aforementioned towns, and not only they, beside households based on a nuclear family, were characterized by a considerable share of the households of single people and a small share of complex households.

Inevitably, this comparative image of demographic structures of the urban family in the preindustrial era including the Warsaw family is far from being complete (it lacks more extensive consideration of social groups and material status), because an urgent research need of Polish historiography remains the recognition of the functioning of the basic social cell in several big cities of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, e.g. Gdansk, Cracow, Poznan, Lvov or Vilnius, not to mention dozens of smaller towns. Its examination in isolation from the present day world research may lead to misunderstandings only.

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