University of Pardubice Faculty of Arts and Philosophy Department of History

The Demographic Revolution on the Borderlands of Bohemia and Moravia.

The Comparison of Population Development in Litomyšl and Svitavy

between 1785 and 1914

Theses of Doctoral Dissertation

Author: Mgr. Eliška Valová

Supervisor: doc. PhDr. Marie Macková, Ph.D.

Annotation

The dissertation deals with the population development in the towns of Litomyšl and Svitavy in the "long" 19th century, i. e. between 1785 and 1914. Although Svitavy and Litomyšl were separated by a distance of only 20 kilometres, in the 19th century, they were very different and represented two greatly contrasting towns. Apart from the dissimilar national composition of the inhabitants, the main difference was in population, building, industrial and cultural development. However, the vast majority of the inhabitants in both towns professed the same religion, the Catholic faith. The goal of the thesis is to find out what the development of the natural change in the studied period was like and by what it was influenced most. Based on an excerpt of data from the Catholic registers of the born, the married and the dead, the dissertation traces the development of nuptiality, natality and mortality. In addition to the basic demographic indicators, attention is also focused on some deeper probes (stillbirths, suicides, emergency baptisms, the evolution of mortality from infectious diseases, the issue of midwives). The findings are compared with the studies of other authors.

Keywords

historical demography, registers, "long" 19th century, population development, Litomyšl, Svitavy, nuptiality, natality, mortality, stillbirth, industrialization

Content

1. Topics and aims of the dissertation	1
2. Methods and sources of the dissertation	5
3. Conclusions of the dissertation	7
4. Overview of the Sources and Literature	12
5. List of author's publications	21

1. Topics and aims of the dissertation

The aim of the dissertation is to compare the population development of two cities that are very close in distance, but completely different in character, in the period of the demographic revolution. From the local point of view, the dissertation focuses on the towns of Litomyšl and Svitavy. The latter are very suitable for comparative research due to their differences in character. The towns under study were separated by a distance of only 20 kilometres, but their population, industrial, economic, construction and cultural development was quite different during the 19th century. The towns were also diverse in terms of their ethnic composition. Only the Roman Catholic religion of the vast majority of the inhabitants of Litomyšl and Svitavy was homogeneous, and therefore only the Catholic registers were used for excerpts.

The thesis follows the time period 1785-1914. The year 1785 was chosen as the starting point because after the issuance of the patent of Joseph II in 1784 registry books began to be kept in an innovative way. From this time onwards, much more attention was paid to the uniformity of the registers and their consistent and accurate keeping. All these conditions were ensured, above all, by the introduction of civil registration forms, which made the content of the registers more transparent and therefore more accessible for processing. There was also unification in the area of language; the previously predominant Latin was replaced by Czech and German. The civil registers of Litomyšl and Svitavy are preserved in a comprehensive series for the period under study, and it is thus possible to trace the development of demographic phenomena over a long period of time. Data extraction is possible up to the outbreak of the First World War. It is not yet possible to analyse changes in trends in the following period, as all the necessary civil registers are still not accessible to the public. Moreover, any temporal overlap of the work into the war or post-war period would open up a number of other topics and questions. For both these reasons, 1914 was the last year analysed.

The accessibility of the registers, as the main archival source, was a decisive criterion for the selection of the timing of the work. However, the period of the "long" 19th century is also a time of significant changes, during which the living conditions, lifestyle and demographic behaviour of the population changed. The opportunity to follow the course of the demographic revolution was also one of the reasons for focusing on the 'long' 19th century.

All historical-demographic studies also include comparisons with other localities. In selecting works suitable for comparison, three basic criteria were considered. Studies were chosen that deal with an identical or at least partially identical time period. At the same time,

these were papers in which the authors also used the method of anonymous data extraction and thus pursued a number of identical questions. It was also very important to choose locations that were close in character to one of the sites studied. In the end, four historical-demographic studies were chosen for comparison.

The first thesis chosen was Population development of the town of Polička in the years 1800-1909. It is the thesis on which this dissertation tries to build. Moreover, the two theses pursue very similar questions, which allows for comparisons on a number of topics. The character of Polička in the 19th century was close to that of Litomyšl. After a devastating fire in 1845, the town faced a number of existential problems, concentrating mainly on repairing the destroyed houses. For this reason, the town did not develop in any way, it was not connected to a major railway line and industry completely passed Polička by in this time period. The rural town did not offer new job opportunities and therefore the population began to decline during the second half of the 19th century.

Secondly, the monograph People of the subject towns of Frýdek and Místek at the end of traditional society (1700-1850) was used. In his publication, the author, Radek Lipovski, chose a different timeframe, only one half of which coincides with this dissertation. Nevertheless, R. Lipovski brings very valuable data that can be used for comparison, as both Frýdek and Místek were becoming important centres of the textile industry during the period under study, just like Svitavy.

The third comparison site was Krnov. Marek Laryš analysed this town in his dissertation. Krnov, like Svitavy, underwent dynamic industrial and population development during the second half of the 19th century and became an important textile centre and a busy transport hub, which is why it was called the 'Silesian Manchester'. In addition to its similarities with one of the cities under study, the time frame of the thesis (1781-1910) proved to be appropriate, being almost identical to the period studied in the present dissertation.

The last work chosen for comparison was the thesis by Alexandra Šikulová, tracing the demographic development of the parish of Libčany in the "long" 19th century (1784-1914). Libčany was chosen in order to compare the data obtained with the results found in the countryside as well, and to see in what ways the urban and rural environments diverged.

However, comparison of the data with these locations was not possible for all the questions studied. Some issues were not addressed by all of the authors listed above, and therefore in these cases data from other locations were used for comparison. Several of the issues we studied (e.g. emergency baptism, suicide, midwives) have not yet been addressed in

Czech historical demography and therefore it was not possible to compare the data with the sites selected for comparison, nor with other works by other authors.

The main content of the dissertation consists of seven chapters. After the introduction, attention is focused on the sources on which this thesis is based - church registers. After a brief introduction to the history of civil registration, the content of the registers of married, born and deceased persons is discussed and then the possibilities and principles of data extraction from the registers (anonymous extraction and the method of family reconstruction) are described. The content and management of the Litomyšl and Svitava civil registers are also analysed.

The third chapter is divided into three sections. The first explains the differences between demography and historical demography and its connection with family history. The next two sections are devoted to the development of the topic within European and Czech historiography. The aim of the fourth chapter is to present the nature of the cities under study. The chapters on Litomyšl and Svitavy begin with a brief history of the towns. Subsequently, attention is focused on population, building, cultural and industrial development.

Subsequent chapters focus on the main topics of this dissertation - the development of marriage, birth and death rates in Litomyšl and Svitavy between 1785 and 1914. Within the marriage process, basic issues such as the seasonal distribution of weddings, the marital status of the betrothed and their age at first or subsequent marriages are examined. People who did not enter into a marriage union even once during their lifetime and lived in so-called definitive celibacy have not been excluded. The probe also investigated what day of the week the fiancés chose at the beginning and end of the period under study, and what was the frequency of announcements at the beginning of the 20th century.

The first part of the chapter focuses on fertility and maps the contemporary views on lifestyle during pregnancy and the risks associated with puerperal fever. The last part of this subchapter outlines contemporary views on the use of contraception and its various forms. The development of the number of births and the crude birth rate in the Czech lands, Svitavy and Litomyšl is characterised within three time periods. Furthermore, the transformation of baptism as a rite of passage (prolongation of the interval between birth and baptism, gradual breakdown of the presence of two godparents) is observed. Special attention is focused on emergency baptism. The subsection devoted to this topic discusses the conditions under which this type of baptism could be granted and the differences in the frequency of its granting in Svitavy and Litomyšl. The research also focused on the persons who granted this baptism and the fate of children baptised out of need. A similarly detailed analysis is made of the issues concerning children born out of wedlock (the proportion of illegitimate children in the Czech lands, in

Svitavy and Litomyšl, the marital status of unmarried mothers, their social status, the proportion of legitimated children). Subsequently, the frequency of multiple births is evaluated and, on the basis of contemporary literature, how the midwife should have acted in cases when she was summoned to give aid in the birth of multiple children is also described. The penultimate subchapter maps the seasonal distribution of births. The last part of the chapter on birth rates focuses on midwives, as this topic has so far escaped historical-demographic analysis. In the introductory part of this subchapter, the midwifery profession is described and the physical and psychological qualities that midwives were expected to possess are mentioned. The subsequent part of the research traces the numbers and fates of midwives who practiced in Litomyšl at the beginning of the 20th century.

A separate chapter has been set aside for the topic of stillbirths. This part of the thesis is divided into several subchapters that trace the principle of recording stillbirths in both towns, their proportions and possible causes of their deaths. Finally, the seasonal distribution of these births is also added to the topic.

The most extensive passage focuses on the topic of mortality. This chapter is divided into 13 sections. The introduction describes death as a rite of passage, the form of which changed over the course of the nineteenth century. The concept of the demographic revolution is also explained and the reasons behind the gradually improving health of the Czech population are discussed. Due to frequent and significant fluctuations, the development of mortality and the number of deaths is divided into six stages. The characteristics of the age composition of the deceased and the problems of recording their age are also studied. The age composition of child deaths is examined in detail and attention is also focused on the frequency of deaths during the first year of life. Along with this, the most common causes of infant deaths are discussed on the basis of contemporary literature. The following subchapter analyses the seasonal distribution of deaths, both in aggregate and by dividing them into four age groups (infants, children under 15, adults aged 15-49 and people over 50). The principle of recording causes of death is also discussed within the four time divisions. This part of the thesis is followed thematically by a subsection on the evolution of mortality from infectious diseases. The analysis of suicide rates tracks suicides by sex and by the method used. Violent deaths are mentioned in the final passage of the chapter.

The dissertation aims to describe and explain the development of natural currency in Litomyšl and Svitavy during the demographic revolution and to find out to what extent the different nature of the two localities influenced the development of individual demographic phenomena and what role industrialization played in the whole process. Furthermore, the

purpose of this dissertation is to open up a number of new topics (emergency baptism, stillbirth, suicide, midwifery, etc.) and to show how they can be analysed based on the study of civil registration.

2. Methods and sources of the dissertation

The processed data were obtained using the anonymous data extraction method. This method can be used to determine the evolution of basic indicators (annual and monthly counts, age, marital status, etc.) over a long period of time and within larger localities. This is the main advantage of this method. The disadvantage is that the research results only in numbers or proportions, but the specific fate of individuals, from whose lives other interesting data could be drawn, is completely missed. The method of anonymous excerpting was introduced by members of the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure. E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield applied it to a survey of over 400 English parishes, tracing the development of births, marriages and deaths during the 16th-19th centuries.

Previously, the classical 'line-drawing' method was used for excerpting. However, working with voluminous material and monotonous content required increased attention and concentration. Any mistakes were very difficult to trace in the jumble of commas, and many errors could also occur in the final evaluation. Modern technology has made the use of anonymous excerpts much easier. In particular, MS Office Excel is an ideal tool. The actual transcription of the individual records is still time-consuming and laborious, but it can be checked afterwards to detect any shortcomings. One undeniable advantage is the evaluation of the entire database. If the user knows how to work with the appropriate filters and sophisticated functions (especially logical and statistical) that Excel offers, processing of the results is relatively fast and, above all, accurate. Today's researcher has also made the whole excerpting process easier by digitising the matrices.

Within Litomyšl, 30 registry books were processed: 7 books of marriages, 15 books of births (baptized) and 8 books of deaths. None of these registers was tripartite and all of them were already in the form of pre-printed rubric forms. The sentence form of the record was used only rarely and its purpose was to distinguish the record visibly from the others. In particular, a number of stillbirths were recorded in this way.

Data on married, born and deceased persons in Svitavy during 1785-1914 were extracted from 7 marriage registers, 16 birth registers and 8 death registers. As in the case of Litomyšl, separate books were used to record individual events. The tripartite principle was used to keep

the registers from 1758-1780, which, however, go beyond the chosen time period. However, unlike their Litomyšl colleagues, they did not have printed forms available for many years and the graphic structure of the registry pages was based on their own pen. German was the language of the registry office at all times.

The research made partial use of name-based data extraction. The principles of anonymous excerpting were maintained, but due to the nature of some of the phenomena studied, it was necessary to record names as well. The latter either served for normal statistical processing with the result of the frequency of individual names or served as a guide for better orientation when tracing records from multiple types of register.

The date of the wedding was transcribed from the marriage records (in 1785-1799 and 1900-1914 the full date, in other years only the month and year). During 1900-1914, the number of announcements made was extracted. The marital status of the groom (single/widower) and his age, and the marital status of the bride (single/widow) and her age were transcribed throughout the period. Within Litomyšl, 6,554 records were transcribed and in Svitavy 5,386 records were transcribed.

From the birth registers, the year and month of birth, the sex of the child (or multiple births), his/her age at baptism (in Svitavy in 1802-1914, in Litomyšl in 1820-1829 and 1900-1914) and origin (married/unmarried parents) were extracted. If the illegitimate child was legitimated, the date of the event was also transcribed. In 1850-1914, the marital status of the child's mother (unmarried/widowed) and, if indicated, her occupation were tracked for all illegitimate children. Within Litomyšl, midwives were also studied for the period 1905-1914. Therefore, at this time, the name of the midwife who assisted the child into the world was attached to each record. For babies baptised out of necessity, it was also listed who gave them the baptism, how long after birth this happened and whether the rites were subsequently completed. The records had to be combined with the death registers, where all children baptised out of need were traced and, where appropriate, the cause of their death was recorded in the records produced. A total of 27,365 records were transcribed in Litomyšl and 22,568 in Svitavy.

The following data were extracted as part of the analysis of death records: year and month of death, sex of the deceased, his/her age and cause of death. For children under 15 years of age, it was transcribed whether they were of marital or non-marital origin. For those who died over the age of 50, whether they were single, married or widowed was recorded during 1890-1914. From 1785 to 1914, 29,320 people died in Litomyšl and 18,681 in Svitavy.

The registration of stillborn children was specific, as they were entered either in the birth registers, or in the death registers, or in both types of register at the same time. Individual

records had to be traced and compared with each other. For all stillbirths, information was extracted on the year and month of birth/death, the sex of the child, its origin (married/unmarried parents), the cause of death, the place of birth/death and the assistance at birth (midwife/doctor). The name of the father of the child (mother of the child in the case of illegitimate children) was also transcribed. This name served only as a guide when comparing the birth and death records.

The selected data were transcribed into MS Office Excel and then processed using the appropriate functions.

3. Conclusions of the dissertation

The main aim of the presented thesis entitled Demographic Revolution on the Bohemia-Moravia Border. Comparison of population development in Litomyšl and Svitavy in the years 1785–1914 was to analyse the population behaviour in two geographically close, but characteristically completely different towns in the period when the demographic behaviour of the population began to change significantly. The research aimed not only to trace the population development of the study sites during the demographic revolution, but also to compare the data from the two locations and to see how the process of industrialization played a significant role.

The source on which this work was based was church registers. Using the method of anonymous data extraction, which allows for tracking changes in trends over a long period of time, 60 registers were processed over the time period under study. In Litomyšl there were 7 marriage registers, 15 birth registers and 8 death registers, in Svitavy there were 7 marriage registers, 16 birth registers and 8 death registers. More than 110,000 civil registry records were transcribed and processed, each with several indicators. MS Office Excel functions were used for transcription and evaluation.

In the period under review, Litomyšl was a town whose former importance began to gradually decline. This was especially evident after 1849, when the neighbouring towns of Svitavy and Česká Třebová were connected to the main Prague-Brno railway line. The process of industrialisation completely passed the town by. In the second half of the 19th century Litomyšl was a Czech small town, a centre of culture, schools and offices, existing at a traditional slow pace. Neither the urban form of the town nor the way of livelihood of the local inhabitants underwent any changes. The stagnation of Litomyšl was especially evident in its population development. In 1869 7,021 people lived here, in 1910 only 845 more (7,866)

people). The modernisation of the local health system and the upgrading of the sewage and water supply system were also delayed.

The transformation of the German town of Svitavy was dynamic in all respects during the period under review. The introduction of the railway to the town led to intensive development of the local textile industry. Svitavy became a very important Moravian industrial centre. It was home to dozens of enterprises employing thousands of workers. Apart from the textile industry, they also found employment in the food industry (brewery, tobacco factory) and in engineering. The jobs attracted new inhabitants to the town, which was reflected in its rapid population growth. In 1869 there were 5,800 inhabitants in Svitavy, but in 1910 there were already 9,647. Similarly, the local buildings expanded at a comparable pace and the town was modernised.

During the years 1785–1914, 6,554 weddings took place in Litomyšl. The population stagnation of the second half of the 19th century was also evident in the steadily declining marriage rate. In 1910, there were only 5.8 marriages per 1,000 inhabitants in Litomyšl, a difference of 1.6‰ compared to the national average. Marriage in Litomyšl was most often entered into by two unmarried people. The average proportion of such marriages was 72.6%. During the period under study, protogamous marriages gradually increased (from 67.4% in 1785–1799 to 77.4% in 1900–1914). Litomyšl's fiancés followed the church recommendations to the maximum extent and avoided marrying during Advent and the period before Easter. On the contrary, they honoured the tradition and entered into marriage most often at the time of Mardi Gras (January, February) and in November after the end of agricultural work. This seasonality has not changed over the 130 years under study.

Between 1785 and 1914, 5 386 weddings took place in Svitavy. The fewest weddings took place in 1815 (only 15). Fewer weddings also took place during the "hunger" years and also in the decade or so after the Vienna Stock Exchange crash of 1873. The highest number of weddings was found in 1899, the year of the city's greatest industrial expansion. During this year 99 couples were married. The observed marital status of the betrothed was almost identical in comparison to Litomyšl. On average, 76% of those married were unmarried. 14.6% of the weddings were between widowers and unmarried girls, 4.9% were between unmarried men and widows, and 4.5% were between a widower and a widow. However, the proportion of protogamous marriages increased significantly in Svitavy during the period under review. It reached 80.9% in 1900–1914. Svitavy's fiancés most often chose November, January, February and also October for their wedding, almost avoiding the forbidden time. In 1890–1914, the values showed the first signs of change. The months with wedding highs and lows were still

identical. The preponderance of the months in which marriages were most frequently contracted was no longer so marked, and there began to be a greater interest among the betrothed in summer weddings.

During 1785–1914, 27,365 live births took place in Litomyšl, including 291 pairs of twins and three sets of triplets. The number of births dropped significantly especially during the Napoleonic Wars (1806, 1809–1810) and during the "famine" years (especially during the typhus epidemic in 1855). It is impossible to determine exactly when the idea of conscious fertility control became widespread in Litomyšl. Natality began to decline during the 1890s. During 1910–1914 the decline was already quite clear. Between 1820 and 1829, parents had their children baptised immediately after birth. The date of birth and the date of baptism coincided for 89.9% in this decade. By the early 20th century, older children were being baptized. Only 2.3% of newborns were baptized on the day of birth. 5–8 days after birth, 39.2% of children were baptized. Godparenthood did not undergo a significant change. Even at the beginning of the 20th century, parents still most often chose godparents for their offspring from among their relatives and acquaintances. There were 3 679 newborns of illegitimate origin. Of these, 1 252, or 34.1%, were legitimated. Most children were born in Litomyšl during the first quarter of the year, which also corresponds to the national average. The observance of sexual abstinence during Advent and Lent was not observed. The highest proportion of conceptions occurred in the warm months of June and July.

During the years 1785–1914 there were 22 568 live births in Svitavy, 198 of them twins and one triplet. During the period under review, the number of births increased along with the population growth. The fewest children were born in Svitavy in 1806 (69 live births). The number of births began to decline clearly after 1900. However, the crude birth rate underwent a major change already during 1890–1900 (a decrease from 32.2 ‰ to 24.8 ‰). Between 1820 and 1829, 1,147 children (84.1%) were baptised on the day of birth, and 217 children (15.9%) on the following day. Between 1900 and 1914, 3.6% of the total number of births in this period were baptised on the day of birth, but more than 14 days after birth, 28% of children were brought to church for baptism. The change in mentality was also evident in the choice of godparents. In the early 20th century, babies were increasingly chosen by one of the local midwives. The illegitimate origin was recorded in the birth registers of 1 963 children (8.7 %). 544 of them were legitimised (27.7 %). Legitimation took place most often 2 years after the birth of the child (30 % of cases) or 6 or more years after the birth (19.5 %). Only one in ten recognised illegitimate children (10.6 %) was legitimised within a year of birth. Most children were born in Svitavy during the first quarter of the year, with a peak in April and a minor peak

in February. In contrast, the fewest births were recorded in autumn, from September to November.

During 1785–1914, 29,320 people died in Litomyšl, 14,788 men and 14,530 women. Most people died during epidemics. In 1799, 359 people died there, of whom 127 (35.4%) died of smallpox. In 1832, 446 people died in Litomyšl, 221 of them (47.9%) die of cholera. The most tragic year was 1866. After the occupation of the town by the Prussian army, cholera spread in the town. In that year 668 people died in Litomyšl, 437 of them (65.4%) died directly die of cholera. The health of the town's inhabitants began to improve only thanks to the reorganisation of the local health system during the 1890s. Among the deceased, 44% were children aged under 15, 20.3% were adults aged 15-49 and 35.7% were over 50. People were beginning to live to older ages and at the same time the number of child deaths was declining. The proportion of the child component declined very significantly (in 1785–1799, children accounted for 60.3% of deaths; in 1900–1914, only 25.7%). Along with this decline, the proportions in the remaining age groups rose. The highest number of deaths occurred during spring (with a peak in April), while the lowest number of deaths occurred in early autumn. 200 deaths (0.5%) were reported to have died as a result of an accident. The most common causes of death were accidental drowning (25%) and suffocation (14.5%). In 15.5% of the records, the cause of the accident was not specified. Suicide was committed by 88 people (0.3% of deaths). The number of suicides continued to rise as the 20th century approached. 74 men and 14 women (15.9%) voluntarily took their own lives. Suicide strategies varied by gender. Men most often reached for a rope (52.7%) and a firearm (21.6%). Women most often chose death by hanging (57.1%) and drowning (21.4%). Suicides in Litomyšl most often committed suicide during the warmer months. During May, June, July and August, 43 (48.9%) of the 88 suicides were committed.

A total of 18,681 people died in Svitavy between 1785 and 1914, of which 9,398 were men (50.3%). The number of deaths gradually increased with the growing population. In some years, however, the increase was extraordinary. During 1806, 186 people died there, and 79 of them (42.5%) had typhus as the cause of death. As in Litomyšl, the most tragic year in Svitavy was 1866. 346 people died that year and 151 of them (43.5%) succumbed to cholera. Although the number of deaths continued to rise during the second half of the 19th century, it was only a consequence of population growth. The health of the local population began to improve in the 1870s. The influx of new inhabitants starting families, living to an older age and advances in medical science also showed a change in the age structure of the deceased. Overall, 47.2% of the deceased were children, 20.8% were adults aged 15 to 49 and 32% were over 50. The

proportion of children who died almost halved from the beginning to the end of the study period (dropping from 62.6% to 32.9%), while the proportion of adults who died increased (15–49 group: increase from 12% to 27%; 50+ group: increase from 25.4% to 40.1%). Most people in Svitavy died between January and March (which was the peak period). The period from June to October was one of the quieter periods. Children died mainly in the first quarter of the year. However, the pattern always changed with the outbreak of epidemics (smallpox, cholera, diphtheria). The most common accidents were accidental drowning (34%), falling (23.7%) and suffocation (15.5%). A total of 90 people (77 men, 13 women) ended their lives by their own hand. Both men and women chose death by hanging most often (63.6% of men, 46.2% of women). The second most common form of suicide was shooting oneself (28.6%). For women, the same proportion (23.1%) was found for suicide by poisoning and drowning. As in Litomyšl, suicides in Svitavy also chose to end their lives during the warmer months. From May to August, 36 suicides (40%) were recorded in the registers.

The aim of this work was to analyse and compare the development of natural change during the period of the demographic revolution. Its main manifestations, the decline in birth and death rates, can be observed in Litomyšl with a certain delay compared to Svitavy. According to all the findings, Litomyšl was a 19th century town that remained faithful to its previous tradition and piety, and the lifestyle changed only slowly. All innovations and modernising tendencies arrived here with a certain time lag, and the local conservative population was also slower to accept them. However, the persistence of the 'old ways' also had negative effects, especially on health of the local population. This only began to improve with the modernisation of the town in the 1890s.

As a result of the industrial development of Svitavy and the influx of new inhabitants, the pace of life accelerated. Modernisation and secularisation began to permeate the behaviour of the local population and people began to abandon their traditions. This is evidenced not only by the earlier acceptance of the possibility of fertility regulation, but also by the declining level of gross morality. The expansion of local industry has not had negative effects on the health of the local population, according to the results. In fact, as part of the development of construction, upgrading of health facilities, sewerage and water supply was also considered. These changes appear to be essential in the context of the natural change analysis.

4. Overview of the Sources and Literature

Archival sources

State regional archive in Zámrsk

Sbírka matrik Východočeského kraje

Farní úřad římskokatolické církve Litomyšl

matrika oddaných 1784–1799, sign. 1318; 1800–1823, sign. 1319; 1824–1842, sign. 1320; 1842–1864, sign. 1321; 1865–1884, sign. 5409; 1885–1904, sign. 7488; 1905–1926, sign. 7619

matrika narozených 1784–1791, sign. 1302; 1791–1802, sign. 1303; 1802–1816, sign. 1304; 1817–1833, sign. 1305; 1833–1836, sign. 1306; 1837–1843, sign. 1307; 1843–1850, sign. 1308; 1850–1857, sign. 1309; 1858–1863, sign. 1310; 1864–1870, sign. 5401; 1871–1881, sign. 5402; 1881–1888, sign. 5403; 1889–1896, sign. 5404; 1897–1905, sign. 7484; 1906–1918, sign. 9013

matrika zemřelých 1784–1795, sign. 1327; 1796–1819, sign. 1328; 1820–1852, sign. 1331; 1852–1863, sign. 1332; 1864–1881, sign. 5411; 1882–1902, sign. 7489; 1903–1912, sign. 7490 1912–1937, sign. 8347

Farní úřad římskokatolické církve Svitavy

matrika oddaných 1781–1812, sign. M–30 2411; 1813–1834, sign. M–30 2412; 1835–1848, sign. M–30 2413; 1849–1863, sign. M–30 2414; 1864–1887, sign. M–30 2415; 1888–1902, sign. M–30 5851; 1903–1919, sign. M–30 7562

matrika narozených 1781–1808, sign. M–30 2397; 1808–1821. sign. M–30 2398; 1822–1828, sign. M–30 2399; 1828–1835, sign. M–30 2400; 1836–1841, sign. M–30 2401; 1842–1850, sign. M–30 2402; 1851–1857, sign. M–30 2403; 1858–1864, sign. M–30 2404; 1865–1873, sign. M–30 5527; 1874–1882, sign. M–30 5528; 1883–1888, sign. M–30 5529; 1889–1894, sign. M–30 5530; 1895–1898, sign. M–30 5531; 1899–1903, sign. M–30 5849; 1904–1909, sign. M–30 5850; 1910–1921, sign. M–30 7561

matrika zemřelých 1781–1812, sign. M–30 2418; 1845–1857, sign. M–30 2421; 1858–1879, sign. M–30 2422; 1880–1890, sign. M–30 2423; 1891–1910, sign. M–30 5852; 1911–1930, sign. M–30 7914

Secondary Literature

František BEDNÁŘ, Sbírka zákonů a nařízení ve věcech náboženských a církevních v republice československé. Normy platné v celém území republiky, zvláštní předpisy, týkající se církví v zemích českých, Praha 1929.

Klement BOROVÝ, Úřední sloh církevní: příručná kniha praktického úřadování pro katolické duchovenstvo, Praha 1887.

Karel BULÍŘ, Nemoci nakažlivé. Jak si počínati, abychom se uchránili od všeliké nákazy vůbec, Praha 1914.

Karel BULÍŘ, Těhotenství, porod a šestinedělí, Praha 1903.

Eliška ČÁŇOVÁ, *Sezónní pohyb narození v předstatistickém období*, Demografie 32, 1990, č. 1, s. 41–44.

Zuzana ČEVELOVÁ, *Každodennost manželství v 19. století v Čechách pohledem soudních akt* a příruček pro katolické kněze, Pardubice 2015.

Lumír DOKOUPIL, Obyvatelstvo ostravské průmyslové oblasti do sčítání 1869, Praha 1986.

Lumír DOKOUPIL – Ludmila FIALOVÁ – Eduard MAUR – Ludmila NESLÁDKOVÁ, Přirozená měna obyvatelstva českých zemí v 17. a 18. století, Praha 1999.

Lumír DOKOUPIL – Ludmila NESLÁDKOVÁ, Úmrtnost kojenců a mladších dětí v českých zemích na sklonku feudalismu, HD 11, 1987, s. 141–157.

Lumír DOKOUPIL – Ludmila NESLÁDOVÁ – Radek LIPOVSKI, *Populace Rakouského Slezska a severovýchodní Moravy v éře modernizace*, Ostrava 2014.

Antonín DOLEŽAL, Od babictví k porodnictví, Praha 2001.

Sabina DUŠKOVÁ, Demografický vývoj Ústí nad Labem v 19. století, HD 24, 2000, s. 109–154.

Ludmila FIALOVÁ, *Příspěvek k možnostem studia sňatečnosti v českých zemích za demografické revoluce*, HD 9, 1985, s. 89–122.

Ludmila FIALOVÁ, Sezónnost demografických událostí v českých zemích v 17. až 20. století, Demografie 37, 1995, s. 9–21.

Ludmila FIALOVÁ, *Změny v charakteru mimomanželské plodnosti v českých zemích od 18. století*, Demografie 49, 2007, č. 4, s. 230–243.

Ludmila FIALOVÁ et al., Dějiny obyvatelstva českých zemí, Praha 19982.

Radoslav FIKEJZ – Vladimír VELEŠÍK *Historie a současnost podnikání na Svitavsku, Litomyšlsku, Poličsku, Moravskotřebovsku a Jevíčsku,* Žehušice 2003.

Radoslav FIKEJZ – Vladimír VELEŠÍK, Kronika města Svitavy, Svitavy 2006.

Jaroslav Jan GLOSER, Litomyšl. Městem krok za krokem, Praha 2005.

Josef GRULICH, *Populační vývoj a životní cyklus venkovského obyvatelstva na jihu Čech v 16. až 18. století*, České Budějovice 2008.

Josef GRULICH, *Venkovská žena v období raného novověku (16.–18. století)*, Československá historická ročenka 2001, s. 223–235.

John HAJNAL, *European Marriage Patterns in Perspective*, in: David V. Glass – David E. C. Eversley (edd.), Population in History, London 1965, s. 101–143.

John HAJNAL, *Two kinds of pre-industrial household formation systems*, in: Richard WALL – Jean RODIN – Peter LASLETT (edd.), Family forms in Historic Europe, Cambridge 1983, s. 101–143.

Louis HENRY, Manuel de démographie historique, Genéve – Paris 1967.

Pavla HORSKÁ – Milan KUČERA – Eduard MAUR – Milan STLOUKAL, *Dětství, rodina a stáří v dějinách Evropy*, Praha 1990.

Jan HORSKÝ – Markéta SELIGOVÁ, *Rodina našich předků*, Praha 1996.

Eliška CHADIMOVÁ, *Nemanželské děti v Poličce ve druhé polovině 19. století*, HD 40, 2016, č. 2, s. 199–225.

Věra KALOUSKOVÁ, *Demografický vývoj farnosti Lochenice v letech 1784–1900*, HD 30, 2006, s. 67–143.

Ludmila KÁRNÍKOVÁ, Vývoj obyvatelstva v českých zemích 1754–1914, Praha 1965.

Karl KASER, Macht und Erbe. Männerherrschaft, Besitz und Familie im östlichen Europa (1500–1900), Wien – Köln – Weimar 2000.

Čeněk KŘÍŽEK, Domácí lékař. Rodinám, obecenstvu, obcím a okresům. Pro poměry všech stavů, též rolnictva i dělnictva, Praha 1890.

Čeněk KŘÍŽEK, *Pravá pomoc v těhotenství*, při porodu, v šestinedělí a při ženských nemocech. Sbírka užitečných pravidel a naučení pro pohlaví ženské, Praha 1889.

Čeněk KŘÍŽEK, Základové porodnictví pro lékaře, Praha 1876.

Milan KUČERA – Ladislav RŮŽIČKA – Vladimír SRB, Demografie, Praha 1971.

Peter LASLETT, *Family and Household, as Work Group and Kin Group. Areas of Traditional Europe Compared,* in: Richard WALL – Jean RODIN – Peter LASLETT (edd.), Family forms in Historic Europe, Cambridge 1983, s. 513–563.

Peter LASLETT, *Introduction. Compring Illegitimacy Over Time and Between Cultures*, in Peter LASLETT – Richard SMITH (ed.), Bastardy and its Comparative History. London 1980, s. 1–64.

Peter LASLETT, The World We Have Lost, London 1965.

František LAŠEK, Oživené litomyšlské paměti, Litomyšl 1940.

Milena LENDEROVÁ – Vladan HANULÍK – Daniela TINKOVÁ, *Tělo mezi medicínou a disciplínou: proměny lékařského obrazu a ideálu lidského těla a tělesnosti v dlouhém 19. století*, Praha 2014.

Milena LENDEROVÁ – Tomáš JIRÁNEK – Marie MACKOVÁ, *Z dějin české každodennosti*. *Život v 19. století*, Praha 2009.

Milena LENDEROVÁ – Karel RÝDL, *Radostné dětství? Dítě v Čechách devatenáctého století*, Praha 2006.

Milena LENDEROVÁ et al., Velké dějiny zemí Koruny české. Tematická řada. Dětství, Praha 2021.

Milena LENDEROVÁ et al., Žena v českých zemích od středověku do 20. století, Praha 2009.

Milena LENDEROVÁ et al., *Ženy s kufříkem a nadějí: Porodní báby a asistentky v českých zemích od poloviny 19. do poloviny 20. století*, Praha 2020.

Radek LIPOVSKI, Dětská úmrtnost v populacích měst Frýdku a Místku v éře demografického přechodu od starého k novému reprodukčnímu režimu, HD 31, 2007, s. 21–48.

Radek LIPOVSKI, Lidé poddanských měst Frýdku a Místku na sklonku tradiční společnosti (1700–1850), Ostrava 2013.

Radek LIPOVSKI, *Nemanželské děti ve městě Frýdku na prahu moderní společnosti*, Těšínsko 48, 2005, č. 1, s. 12–16.

Radek LIPOVSKI, *Příčiny úmrtí obyvatel města Frýdku na základě matričních údajů (18.-19. století)*, Těšínsko 49, 2006, č. 2, s. 7–15.

Marie MACKOVÁ, *Sňatek ve světle rakouského Všeobecného občanského zákoníku*, in: Oznamuje se láskám našim... aneb svatby a svatební zvyky v českých zemích v průběhu staletí. Pardubice 2007, s. 67-73.

Tomáš Garrigue MASARYK, Sebevražda hromadným jevem společenským moderní osvěty, Praha 20025.

Eduard MAUR, *Demografický přechod (demografická revoluce)*, in: Jana ČECHUROVÁ – Jan RANDÁK et al. (edd.), Základní problémy studia moderních a soudobých dějin, s. 713–731.

Eduard MAUR, *Historická demografie a dějiny rodiny v raném novověku*, in: Marie KOLDÍNSKÁ (ed.), Základní problémy studia raného novověku, Praha 2003, s. 559–582.

Eduard MAUR, K demografickým aspektům tzv. druhého nevolnictví, HD 8, 1983, s. 7–43.

Eduard MAUR, *Metoda rekonstrukce rodin v historické demografii*, Demografie 24, 1982, s. 101–102.

Eduard MAUR, *Na okraj francouzských metod historickodemografického bádání*, HD 2, 1968, s. 72–83.

Eduard MAUR, Nové příspěvky k dějinám antikoncepce, Demografie 13, 1971, s. 64–68.

Eduard MAUR, *O počátcích a vývoji církevních matrik se zvláštním zřetelem k českým poměrům*, HD 3, 1969, s. 4–19.

Eduard MAUR, *Problémy demografické struktury Čech v polovině 17. století*, ČsČH 19, 1971, s. 839–870.

Eduard MAUR, *Smrt ve světle demografické statistiky*, in: Helena LORENZOVÁ – Taťána PETRÁSOVÁ (edd.). Fenomén smrti v české kultuře 19. století. Praha, 2001, s. 245–254.

Eduard MAUR, Vývoj matričního zápisu v Čechách, HD 6, 1972, s. 40–58.

Eduard MAUR, Základy historické demografie, Praha 1983.

Hans MEDICK, Weben und Überleben in Laichingen 1650–1900. Lokalgeschichte als allgemeine Geschichte, Göttingen 1996.

Miroslava MELKESOVÁ, Adhiberi solent, qui compatres vocantur. Kmotrovství ve venkovském prostředí raného novověku na základě výzkumu chýnovské matriky, HD 27, 2003, s. 63–120.

Miroslava MELKESOVÁ, *Církevní matriky českých zemí v pozornosti badatelů*, HD 32, 2008, s. 5–56.

Michael MITTERAUER, Ledige Mütter: zur Geschichte illegitimer Geburten in Europa, München 1983.

Petr MUŽÍK, *Obyvatelstvo města Domažlice v letech 1651–1830*, Sborník archivních prací 36, 1986, č. 1, s. 103–207.

Alexandra NAVRÁTILOVÁ, Namlouvání, láska a svatba v české lidové kultuře, Praha 2012.

Alexandra NAVRÁTILOVÁ, Narození a smrt v české lidové kultuře, Praha 2004.

Ladislav NEKVAPIL – Šárka NEKVAPIL JIRÁSKOVÁ, *Prameny k sociálním a náboženským dějinám venkova v raném novověku. Část 1: Prameny pro výzkum sociálních dějin*, Pardubice 2013.

Ludmila NESLÁDKOVÁ, Reprodukce kulturně odlišných skupin obyvatelstva jižní Moravy v novověku na příkladu křesťanů a židů, Praha 2003.

Olga NOVÁKOVÁ, Úmrtnost kojenců a mladších dětí v 19. a 1. polovině 20. století, Demografie 43, 2003, č. 3, s. 177–188.

Tereza NOVÁKOVÁ, *Lidové zvyky na venkovských městech v letech sedmdesátých*, Národopisný věstník českoslovanský 3, 1908, s. 145–156.

Sherwin B. NULAND, *Špinavé ruce. Mikrobi, horečka omladnic a podivuhodný příběh Ignáce Semmelweise*, Praha 2005.

Oldřich PAKOSTA, Pruská okupace Litomyšle v roce 1866, Litomyšl 2016.

Jan Křtitel PAULY, Právní rádce pro duchovní správu v Čechách, na Moravě a ve Slezsku systematický soubor církevních a státních zákonů, nařízení, rozhodnutí, norem a příslušných formulářů s praktickým návodem pro duchovní správu, Praha 1902.

Jaroslav PETR (ed.), Svitavy. 700 let města, Brno 1956.

Marika POULOVÁ, *Vývoj sňatečnosti ve farnosti Rožmberk nad Vltavou v 19. století*, HD 30, 2006, č. 1, s. 195–218.

Markéta PRAŽÁKOVÁ SELIGOVÁ, Život poddaných v 18. století: osud, nebo volba? Praha 2015.

Vladimír PREININGER, Sbírka zákonů a nařízení o zdravotnictví, se zvláštním zřetelem ku zemím koruny české, Praha 1900.

Šárka C. RÁBOVÁ, Kulturní reflexe tuberkulózy v českých zemích 1800–1945, Praha 2018.

Šárka C. RÁBOVÁ, Tuberkulóza a společnost: Obrazy nemoci v 19. a 20. století, Praha 2022.

Václav RUBEŠKA, *Porodnictví pro babičky*, Praha 1910⁴.

Jindřich RŮŽIČKA, Litomyšl, Praha 1988.

Jindřich RŮŽIČKA, Litomyšl. Průvodce, Praha 1978.

Karel RÝZLER, Vznik, rozvod a rozloučení manželství, Praha 1908.

David SABEAN, Unehelichkeit: Ein Aspekt sozialer Reproduktion kleinbäuerlicher Produzenten. Zu einer Analyse dörflicher Quellen um 1800, in Robert M. BERDAHL et al., Klassenund Kultur, Frankfurt am Main, 1982, s. 54–76.

Edward SHORTER, "*Illegitimacy, Sexual Revolution and Social Charge in Modern Europe*", Journal for Interdisciplinary History 2, 1971, Nr. 2, s. 237–272.

Ilona SCHELLEOVÁ – Karel, SCHELLE, Civilní kodexy 1811–1950–1964, Brno 1993.

Markéta SKOŘEPOVÁ, *Kmotrovství a biologické příbuzenství na českém venkově 19. století*, HD 45, 2021, č. 2, s. 139–160.

Markéta SKOŘEPOVÁ, *Křty a kmotrovství ve farnosti Nový Rychnov v 19. století*, HD 42, 2018, č. 1, s. 43–63.

Markéta SKOŘEPOVÁ, Nemanželsky narozené děti na Pelhřimovsku v 19. století a jejich obraz v matrikách křtěných a zemřelých, HD 46, 2022, č. 2, s. s. 167–196.

Markéta SKOŘEPOVÁ, Ovdovění a osiření ve venkovské společnosti. Panství Nový Rychnov (1785–1855), České Budějovice 2016.

Markéta SKOŘEPOVÁ, *Vdovství v tradiční venkovské společnosti (přehled bádání)*, HD 35, 2011, č. 1, s. 1–31.

Markéta SKOŘEPOVÁ – Josef GRULICH, *Palingamní sňatky na území českobudějovické diecéze ve srovnávací perspektivě: farnosti České Budějovice a Nový Rychnov, 1786–1825*, HD 41, 2017, č. 2, s. 151–171.

Milan SKŘIVÁNEK, Litomyšl 1259–2009. Město kultury a vzdělávání, Litomyšl 2009.

Milan SKŘIVÁNEK – Pavel VOPÁLKA, Litomyšl. Starobylé město, Praha – Litomyšl, 1994.

Věra SLOVÁKOVÁ, Dětství a dospívání poddaných na Moravě ve druhé polovině 18. století na příkladu slavkovského panství, Brno 2022.

Hana STOKLASOVÁ, *Katolické přechodové rituály v českých zemích v "dlouhém" 19. století*, Pardubice 2017.

Jan STŘÍTESKÝ, Zdravotní a populační vývoj československého obyvatelstva, Praha 1971.

Petr SVOBODNÝ – Ludmila HLAVÁČKOVÁ, Dějiny lékařství v českých zemích, Praha 2004.

Daniela TINKOVÁ, Bez zpěvu a bez zvonění. Dekriminalizace sebevraždy mezi sekularizací a medikalizací v 17. –19. století, Praha 2022.

Daniela TINKOVÁ, Ilegitimita a "nová ekonomie života" v osvícenské Habsburské monarchii. Problém svobodných matek a nemanželských dětí mezi sociální kontrolou a sociální péčí na prahu občanské společnosti, HD 27, 2003, s. 133–172.

Daniela TINKOVÁ, Tělo, věda a stát. Zrození porodnice v osvícenské Evropě, Praha 2010.

Daniela TINKOVÁ, Zákeřná mefitis. Zdravotní policie a veřejná hygiena v pozdně osvícenských Čechách, Praha 2012.

Eliška VALOVÁ, *Nakažlivé nemoci a jejich oběti v Litomyšli v "dlouhém" 19. století*, Východočeský sborník historický 41, 2022, s. 93–128.

Eliška VALOVÁ, Problematika matriční evidence mrtvě narozených dětí ve Svitavách a v Litomyšli v letech 1785–1914, HD 46, 2022, č. 2, s. 141–165.

Alice VELKOVÁ, Krutá vrchnost, ubozí poddaní? Proměny venkovské rodiny a společnosti v 18. a první polovině 19. století na příkladu západočeského panství Šťáhlavy, Praha 2009.

Alice VELKOVÁ, *Nemanželské děti ve venkovské společnosti na přelomu 18. a 19. století*, in: Tomáš JIRÁNEK – Jiří KUBEŠ (edd), Dítě a dětství napříč staletími. 2. Pardubické bienále, Pardubice 2002, s. 205–227.

Alice VELKOVÁ, *Proměna v chápání majetkových zájmů v rodinách držitelů venkovských usedlostí v letech 1650–1850*, in: Rodina a domácnost v 16.– 20. století, Praha 2010, s. 51–68.

Alice VELKOVÁ, *Unmarried mothers in pre-industrial Bohemian rural society-example of the Šťáhlavy domain 1741–1830*, HD 40, 2016, č. 2, s. 179–199.

Vilém WEISS – Vítězslav JANOVSKÝ – Jindřich ZÁHOŘ, *Názvosloví lékařské a lékárnické*, Praha 1881.

Bedřich WELZ, Zpráva o všeobecné veřejné nemocnici v Litomyšli 1874–1902, Litomyšl 1903.

5. List of author's publications

Martina BOROVIČKOVÁ – Eliška VALOVÁ, *Porodní bába v moderní době*, in: Hana STOKLASOVÁ (ed.), Porodní bába? Asistentka? Porodní deníky z let 1898–1954, Pardubice 2018, s. 82–102.

Eliška CHADIMOVÁ, *Nemanželské děti v Poličce ve druhé polovině 19. století*, Historická demografie 40, 2016, č. 2, s. 199–225.

Marie JÍLKOVÁ – Marie MACKOVÁ – Eliška VALOVÁ (edd.), *Jak se u nás podvádělo: za monarchie i za republiky*, Pardubice 2019.

Eliška VALOVÁ, *Nakažlivé nemoci a jejich oběti v Litomyšli v "dlouhém" 19. století*, Východočeský sborník historický 41, 2022, s. 93–128.

Eliška VALOVÁ, *Problematika matriční evidence mrtvě narozených dětí ve Svitavách a v Litomyšli v letech 1785–1914*, Historická demografie 46, 2022, č. 2, s. 141–165.