Summary

■ Population of Austrian Silesia and North East Moravia during the period of modernisation (from the 1860s until the First World War)

Demographic conditions of Austrian Silesia and North East Moravia during the period of modernisation until the end of the Monarchy have already been investigated for the grant project called Historical Process of Modernisation (on the example of Austrian Silesia). In the field of historiography, the project is based upon Hans-Ulrich Wehler's matrix which was already published in 1975 in *Modernisierungstheorie und Geschichte*. Its contribution was in an application of a dichotomic model of modernisation where important quantities in an ideal type of a traditional society are compared with identical quantities in the current society. The applied method is known as descriptive dichotomy. Wehler characterised modernisation as a progressive, unavoidable, irreversible, global, complex, systemic, lengthy, indivisible linear process. The process comprises six subsystems which are primarily connected by a permanent increase of rationalisation potential. The author was criticised due to the fact that his models perceives a tradition as a beginning and presence as an end of history. The model is so highly general that it does not allow us to grasp specific features of regions and it levels out differences between them. In fact, modernisation is viewed as surmounting traditional society which, still or due to this, instigates new crises.

The project investigating modernisation in Austrian Silesia views a process as a complex entity and thus it entails, amongst others, also demographic changes. Demographic transition is a phenomenon which occupies a central position in the population development and which dramatically changed human reproduction. It represents a qualitative and quantitative transition from unregulated natality towards consciously regulated one. In its complicated outcomes, the new population behaviour lowered child mortality across all age categories, however, notably in children whose mortality dominated in the old demographic regime but which gradually became marginal during the transition. The life expectancy started to grow and the quality of life was rising. Women were focusing upon increasing their potential in the job market. They also paid a higher degree of attention to more complex childcare since having fewer children enabled a more versatile childcare and better education.

Demographic transition constitutes a significant and unique phase of demographic evolution in the population of the whole world while it could or still can be part of a multi-layered movement which we call modernisation. During the 19th and the 20th century, an unprecedented natural growth in population occurred in multiple areas. This increase was several times higher than ever before. Contrary to the previous sudden increase in the number of inhabitants which mostly used to occur in response to mortality crises, this instance was an unprecedented extension of human life expectancy that was connected to improved

health care resulting in lower mortality rates. Natality in connection to mortality seemed to be asynchronous and it started to decrease later. A transition from traditional to modern reproduction has been lasting for various populations for a different length of time. A short process was lasting for about 100 to 120 years, however, it could be longer or shorter depending on the location. For Europe, the level of divergence was highest around 1913. Countries which still showed ageing patterns of demographic behaviour and regions where the demographic transition was being accomplished existed alongside one another. In his work on European population development, Massimo Livi Bacci describes demographic revolution as a complex transition which differs from an established mode depending upon given conditions of a particular continent. Generally stated, he considers decreased mortality rate to be the first incentive (Livi Bacci, 2003, pp. 161-162). Nevertheless, around 1910 also natality showed a decreasing trend. The main cause of this was not only an older marriage age but also voluntary reductions in numbers of children not only in selected families, in the privileged classes , in religious communities (Jews) but on a mass scale.

The aim of this work was to investigate the above mentioned population phenomena in a strictly defined subject area of Austrian Silesia. We decided to add another two political districts of North East Moravia of that time since they made a "wedge" between two strictly divided parts of Austrian Silesia. In fact, this area disrupted a homogeneous territory of Austrian Silesia. However, at the time, which is the subject of this study, it was an indispensable part of the area where the most significant impulses of modernisation took place – may it be initial industrialisation or such subsequent processes as urbanisation, literacy, professionalization of occupations, restructuralisation of social and other structures of inhabitants, migration, onset of demographic transition, etc. We studied this centre of rapid industrialisation and immigration (the Ostrava – Karviná industrial agglomeration) in Austrian Silesia and in North Moravia separately, if statistics enabled this, as territories of two political districts – Fryštát and Moravská Ostrava. Moreover, we had to select three additional areas which were created following unification of other political districts. These represented 1) an imaginary background for industrial production with a persistent old demographic regime, 2) a transitional region with specific conditions and 3) a German-language speaking area where protoindustrialisation forms of textile manufacturing were declining and where the level of emigration was high. Altogether we processed data from twelve political districts (nine from Silesia and three from Moravia) and from three statutory towns of Austrian Silesia (no statutory towns were located in the selected part of Moravia).

The analysis was based upon statistical data which Austrian statisticians compiled at the end of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century. The data were published in Österreichische Statistik from 1880 and they were firstly results from censuses in I. 1880, 1890, 1900 and 1910, and also summaries of births, deaths and marriages for all political districts and statutory towns of Cisleithania (Bewegung der Bevölkerung). The results of the 1869 census were announced separately (Bevölkerung und Viehstand, Wien 1871) and numbers of

births, deaths and marriages in the 1870s were gradually publicised in the journal of Statistisches Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Monarchie. However, if data were announced on a lower administrative level (district courts or municipalities), they were also used for analyses – mainly to specify certain phenomena which might or might not be identified on a higher administrative level of political districts. Since it was necessary to understand the situation on a "microlevel", we also utilised long-time research from the Department of History of the University of Ostrava which studied individual localities or parishes. Thanks to this, a large number or student diploma theses probing the studied area was written (34 were used). We tried to frame the simple demographic evolution into at the time valid way of life and cultural environment and we used ethnographic research and articles from period newspapers to achieve this. We aimed to construct the submitted picture of human reproduction by fitting it into a system of transitional rituals which connect history and pre-history and which encircle the whole globe with its varied population since it creates the basis of human existence on this planet.

The detailed analysis of inhabitants in Austrian Silesia and North East Moravia confirmed the fact that the most fundamental phenomenon for both the economy and civilisation was a further development of the Ostrava-Karviná agglomeration based upon heavy industry, heavy engineering, chemical and other industries. The Ostrava region gradually joined other regions with the highest concentration of inhabitants in the monarchy on the Danube. Compared to this region, old textile manufacturing centres, despite their transformation towards modern technologies, were unable to compete due to their economic limitations (low demand for workforce, low realised finance, etc.) The situation in North West Silesia, with its autochthonnous German population, was developing in a rather unsatisfactory way (districts of Jeseník, Bruntál and Krnov)[1], mainly in border municipalities.

We worked in line with limitations of information sources and with rough sizes of basic pointers so that we could demonstrate the development of reproduction and to reveal dominant contours. We attempted to trace down the correlation between the rough numbers for natality in the studied territorial units and the regional mapping of fertility development so that we could verify the conception of our work and the level of validity for our rough data. To complete such tasks we worked with the study by L. Fialová (Fialová, 1991, pp. 61-82) who examined the territory of the wider Ostrava region using the method of indirect standardisation which Ansley J. Coale (Ig) proposed to measure the rates of fertility.

An essential phenomenon in the development of natural change in the studied area was a high rough rate of natality in the most industrialised microregions of both lands that were lead by districts of Fryštát and Moravská Ostrava. At the same time, these microregions were also the most intensively modernised ones. In the course of the 70s, the average reached as much 60 cases of childbirth per 1000 inhabitants in miners colonies and newly-appearing factory villages. Some miners villages kept their exceptionally high rough rate of natality even at the

1 Their original German names were Freiwaldau, Freudenthal and Jägerndorf

beginning of the 20th century (as much as 55 ‰). Contrary to that, in North West Silesia the natality rates used to be lowest (a decrease under 30 ‰), which was well below the Land average, in some years as much as 8‰. Of course the main reason behind differences in natality was nuptuality, however, it was not the only one. Frequent immigration into the industrial area played an important role. Nevertheless, natality was rather high even in agricultural and less developed areas. We consider the explanation that the differences could be caused also by cultural aspects because the western part of Silesia spoke the German language while the eastern part spoke Slavonic languages. The differences were very pronouncedly manifested in the number of illegitimate children. Their share was 15% and more in North West Silesia (the German speaking part) but only about 10% and fewer in the Eastern (Slavonic speaking) parts.

If we look at mortality rates, we can observe an immense difference in the most eastern part of Silesia at the beginning of our observation. The highest level of mortality was reconstructed in the district of rural Bielsko and almost the lowest in the statutory town of Bielsko. This is a textbook example of 13.5‰ difference in mortality demonstrating the divergence between urban and rural population. The situation started to change gradually only from the 1890s when a hospital was founded in the town of Bielsko. Consequently, infant mortality gradually decreased in the rural areas which was a sign of a late onset of the demographic transition. Surprisingly low mortality levels of babies were detected in the industrial area; mortality levels increased in the group of children between the ages of 1 and 4. So far we are unable to explain the phenomenon without reservation. Theories about a higher quality of drinking water and better childcare on the side of mothers are not likely in an industrial area. A newspaper article shed some light on mortality in adults which was also relatively low. The article states that exhausted labourers went to their homes where they died. This was another reason why the highest growth was found in the industrial district of Fryštát but also here they started to drop sharply at the beginning of the 20th century in connection with the end of an immigration influx and with a rapid onset of the demographic transition.

Migration was one of the main reasons behind different rates of natality, nuptuality and mortality. The western part of Austrian Silesia was less attractive for immigrants. Between several hundred and several thousand people came here mainly from the neighbouring Moravian lands and Prussian Silesia. The eastern part attracted mostly inhabitants of Galicia and Moravia and in a much higher extent since an industrial area was located there. An extensive immigration from Galicia into the most eastern political district of rural Bielsko and mainly into highly industrialised villages of the Fryštát area were a real phenomenon. This migration concerned about tens of thousands of people. Mainly young people in productive age were coming and arriving. Soon after they obtained a permanent source of income, they entered into a marriage and due to their traditional upbringing they fathered children without any effort to limit their numbers.

Migration and differences in natural change of population affected a population structure in the studied area. A share of people in reproductive age (15–49)

considerably increased in the industrial region and also the numbers of children (0–14) grew very quickly thanks to a high natality. Regions in population hinterland, i.e. southern parts of Místek, Frýdek, Teschen and Bielsko districts, had a favourable age structure of population. Young people left these areas for work in industrial regions but thanks to persistently high natality they were satisfactorily replaced with younger generations. The ratio of population over 50 was highest in North West Silesia. People in productive age left these areas mainly for Lower Austria and a long-term low level of natality was observable there. Since immigration into North West Silesia was low, the region lacked considerable mixing of cultures either from language or religious point of view. Compared to this, mainly Lutherans from nearby Teschen area began to appear in the industrial "hub" of the Ostrava and Fryštát regions more often. Mostly Catholics came from Galicia and they were closely followed by Jews and individuals or small groups of Greek Catholics and members of the Orthodox Church. Over the whole of the observed period, inhabitants using German as their customary language prevailed in Austrian Silesia but there was a slight decrease in their numbers (from 48.9 % in 1869 to 43.9 % in 1910). There was a strong representation of the Polish ethnic group with a slightly increasing trend (from 28.1 to 31.7 %) and a lower representation of those who avowed the Czech language (23–24.3 %).

The process of modernisation was taking place in the whole of the studied area, i.e. both in Austrian Silesia and in North East Moravia, over the observed period – but the speed and the intensity of the changes varied. A smallish territory of a neighbouring and later also political district of Moravian Ostrava became the epicentre of the process. This area was transformed into Velká Ostrava (Greater Ostrava) during the First Czechoslovak Republic. The intensive urbanisation, which was taking place here, resulted in the highest concentration of inhabitants in the whole state. Consequently, numerous municipalities – factory villages – were promoted to townships and towns (Vítkovice, Přívoz, Mariánské Hory). Moravská Ostrava, once a small and unimportant town, was reborn into a city in the era between the Wars. The newly created town and city milieu altered the mentality of local inhabitants and this affected the reproductive behaviour in a manner which cannot be neglected. The political district of Fryštát and later also the court district of Polská Ostrava (Polish Ostrava) too belonged to those territories with a high intensity of various phenomena connected to modernisation.

Demographic transition is considered to be one of the most significant tokens of modernisation. Its second stage was taking place in the studied period. Also, this process with a complex nature took a rather irregular course in Austrian Silesia and North East Moravia. Statutory towns became its protagonists and mass transitions towards a small nuclear family with all its consequences happened at different times there. However, our tools to identify the process are imperfect because we worked mostly with rough rates of natality, mortality and nuptiality instead of specific rates. We still used several probes which were applied using the method of family reconstruction. Our research proved that a mass transition towards a new type of reproduction happened in most studied populations only after the First World War.