HANDBOOKS PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE.—No. 30

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ALSACE-LORRAINE

LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY H.M. STATIONERY OFFICE.

1920

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Editorial Note.

In the spring of 1917 the Foreign Office, in connection with the preparation which they were making for the work of the Peace Conference, established a special section whose duty it should be to provide the British Delegates to the Peace Conference with information in the most convenient form—geographical, economic, historical, social, religious and political—respecting the different countries, districts, islands, &c., with which they might have to deal. In addition, volumes were prepared on certain general subjects, mostly of an historical nature, concerning which it appeared that a special study would be useful.

The historical information was compiled by trained writers on historical subjects, who (in most cases) gave their services without any remuneration. For the geographical sections valuable assistance was given by the Intelligence Division (Naval Staff) of the Admiralty; and for the economic sections, by the War Trade Intelligence Department, which had been established by the Foreign Office. Of the maps accompanying the series, some were prepared by the above-mentioned department of the Admiralty, but the bulk of them were the work of the Geographical Section of the General Staff (Military Intelligence Division) of the War Office.

Now that the Conference has nearly completed its task, the Foreign Office, in response to numerous enquiries and requests, has decided to issue the books for public use, believing that they will be useful to students of history, politics, economics and foreign affairs, to publicists generally and to business men and travellers. It is hardly necessary to say that some of the subjects dealt with in the series have not in fact come under discussion at the Peace Conference; but, as the books treating of them contain valuable information, it has been thought advisable to include them.

It must be understood that, although the series of volumes was prepared under the authority, and is now issued with the sanction, of the Foreign Office, that Office is not to be regarded as guaranteeing the accuracy of every statement which they contain or as identifying itself with all the opinions expressed in the several volumes; the books were not prepared in the Foreign Office itself, but are in the nature of information provided for the Foreign Office and the British Delegation.

The books are now published, with a few exceptions, substantially as they were issued for the use of the Delegates. No attempt has been made to bring them up to date, for, in the first place, such a process would have entailed a great loss of time and a prohibitive expense; and, in the second, the political and other conditions of a great part of Europe and of the Nearer and Middle East are still unsettled and in such a state of flux that any attempt to describe them would have been incorrect or misleading. The books are therefore to be taken as describing, in general, *ante-bellum* conditions, though in a few cases, where it seemed specially desirable, the account has been brought down to a later date.

G. W. PROTHERO,
General Editor and formerly
Director of the Historical Section.

January 1920.

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I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

(1) Position and Frontiers

Alsace-Lorraine consists of the chain of the Vosges together with, on the one hand, a broad belt of plateau running north-west and connecting the Vosges with the Ardennes, and, on the other, the strip of plain separating the Vosges foothills from the Rhine. The plateau is, roughly speaking, Lorraine, and the plain Alsace, the Vosges forming the physical boundary between them.

The natural limits of this district are, to the east the Rhine; to the south the Gap of Belfort; to the south-west a line from Belfort passing roughly through Neufchâteau to the Argonne; to the north-west the Ardennes region. On the north there is no natural limit. From the true Lorraine plateau, south of the Middle Saar, there is a gradual transition northwards to the Hunsrück ridge and eastwards to the hills of the Bavarian Palatinate. This transitional area is roughly equivalent to the basin of the Blies. The total area of Alsace-Lorraine, including both French and German territories, may be roughly estimated at 12,500 square miles, of which the German occupies 5,600.

This area is subdivided in two different ways: (*a*) into Alsace and Lorraine; (*b*) into French and German territory. These divisions give rise to two internal boundaries:—

(*a*) Between Alsace and Lorraine. Alsace is essentially the Ill basin; Lorraine is essentially the plateau between the Vosges and the Ardennes. The natural boundary between them is therefore the watershed of the Vosges. The political frontier follows this natural frontier everywhere except (i) in the north, where,

after descending a little east of the watershed to include in Lorraine the head-waters of the Zorn, the boundary swerves westward to include a part of the Saar basin in Alsace; (ii) in the extreme south, where it again goes west of the watershed and includes Belfort in Alsace.

(*b*) Between France and Germany. In 1871 Germany annexed the whole of Alsace (except Belfort and a small zone round that town) and all the north-eastern portion of Lorraine.

Alsace-Lorraine thus falls into four political divisions: French Lorraine, German Lorraine, German Alsace, and French Alsace. The first, on the west and south-west, is the largest and includes most of the Lorraine plateau. The second, on the north, is much smaller, but geographically similar to the first. The third, on the east, runs along the Rhine in a strip from north to south. The fourth, in the extreme south, is the small piece of territory surrounding Belfort and amounting to one-fifteenth of the area of Alsace as a whole.

The Franco-German boundary is in its southern half a natural geographical division; and, as we shall see later, in some degree a linguistic boundary as well. In its northern half, however, from the point where it leaves the Vosges to its junction with Luxemburg, the line is purely strategic, being designed to secure to Germany the fortress of Metz and the railway thence to Strassburg.

(2) Surface, Lakes, and River Systems

Surface

The Vosges.—The Vosges are a mountain-range with summits of 3,500-4,500 ft. in the south, of 2,500-3,000 ft. opposite Strassburg, and of about 1,500-2,000 ft. on the northern frontier of Alsace. To the east the mountains fall abruptly to the Rhine plain, which lies on an average 500-600 ft. above the sea; to the west they descend more gradually to the Lorraine

plateau, whose level is hardly less than that of the northernmost summits.

This entire range is heavily wooded up to a height of about 3,000 ft. Above 3,000 ft. the summits are bare, with short grass, peat, and stones; but it is only a few of the higher southern (granitic) peaks that reach this zone. In the northern (sandstone) region the forest extends over all the summits.

The Lorraine Plateau.—The sandstone which forms the central range of the northern or Low Vosges forms in the south a belt of transitional country, about 12-15 miles wide, separating the granite massif of the High Vosges from the Lorraine plateau. In character the transitional belt resembles the Low Vosges. The hills are wooded and steep, rising to 2,500 ft. and divided by gorges; the larger rivers have broad and fertile valleys.

North-west of a line running through Épinal, Rambervillers, Baccarat, and Cirey the true Lorraine plateau begins. This is a vast expanse of rolling ground, mostly with a limestone subsoil, and lying in general between 500 and 1,000 ft. above sea-level. This plateau is fairly homogeneous; but it is, nevertheless, possible to distinguish two regions, namely, a marly plain with isolated hills and shallow valleys, geologically defined as the Triassic plateau; and beyond this the Jurassic plateau west of Nancy and Metz, consisting of a series of oolitic limestone ridges, running north and south, between the first two of which lies the clay plain known as the Woëvre. West of this Jurassic district the chalky plain of Champagne begins.

The Rhine Plain.—The Alsatian plain, from the Vosges to the Rhine, and from the Swiss frontier in the south to the Bavarian Palatinate in the north, is about 115 miles long by 15 miles broad. The Rhine plain as a whole represents a rift-valley, bounded by the abrupt escarpments of the Vosges and Black Forest. There is again, however, a transitional belt between hills and plain, formed in this case by the Vosges foothills.

At the extreme south end of the plain the Alsatian frontier includes a fragment of the Jura range, which belongs physically to Switzerland. It is composed of steep ridges, 2,000-2,500 ft. high, lying east and west. North of this comes the Sundgau, extending as far north as Mülhausen (Mulhouse). It is a somewhat hilly district; the surface soil is a fertile loam. North of the Sundgau, between Mülhausen and Thann, is an arid and barren plain called the Ochsenfeld, containing the Nonnenbruch Forest, and remarkable only for its important potassium deposits. Between these districts and the Rhine lies the Hardt, a strip of country beginning close to Basel and extending north to beyond Neu-Breisach. This is a belt of gravel, waterless and barren, on which nothing will grow but stunted oaks. Parallel to the northern end of the Hardt, but extending far beyond it, is a swampy region beginning at Colmar and reaching nearly to Strassburg; the south end of this, between Colmar and Schlettstadt, is called the Ried. Between Strassburg and the Vosges is an undulating plain, 10 miles wide east and west by 20 miles long north and south, known as the Kochersberg. The soil here is loess, and exceptionally fertile. This is, in fact, the chief agricultural district of Alsace. North of this again the plain becomes more sandy and stony. It contains the large forest of Haguenau; otherwise it is mostly agricultural country.

Lakes

Alsace includes two groups of lakes, the mountain tarns of the Vosges and the little lakes of the Sundgau, close to the French frontier. Lorraine has two important lake districts, one on the clay plain east of Dieuze and west of the Upper Saar, the other on the clay plain of the Woëvre, between the Meuse and the Moselle.

River Systems

Alsace-Lorraine is drained mainly by three rivers, the Meuse, Moselle, and Rhine. Of these the Moselle

basin occupies by far the largest area, quite half of the entire region. The Meuse drains a narrow strip in the west of Lorraine. The Rhine drains, roughly speaking, the whole of Alsace. Hydrographically, therefore, the district is divided into three parallel belts by two watersheds running north and south. The western strip, at times only six miles broad, is the basin of the Meuse. The central, averaging 50-60 miles across, is that of the Moselle. The third, 30 miles across, and separated from the second by the Vosges watershed, is that of the Rhine. The fragment of Alsace surrounding Belfort, which was left to France in 1871, falls within the watershed of the Saône.

The *Meuse* rises in the Monts Faucilles at the south-western extremity of Lorraine. It is highest in January and often almost dry in July; its volume is, however, very capricious, and summer floods are common and do much damage.

The *Moselle* rises in the extreme south of the Vosges and descends into the Lorraine plateau at Épinal. Its chief tributaries, on the right bank, are the Meurthe; the Seille, which drains the centre of the plateau north-east of Nancy; and the Saar, which drains the north-east of Lorraine, as well as part of Alsace and of the Bavarian Palatinate. The main left-bank tributary is the Orne, which drains almost the whole of the Woëvre. In volume and height the Upper Moselle varies much less than the Meuse, being largely fed by melting snow in spring, when the weather becomes dry. It is highest from December to March, and lowest from June to October; but the December level is sometimes no higher than that reached in a rainy August. Below the junction of the Meurthe the difference between summer and winter levels is more marked.

The *Rhine* reaches Alsace just below Basel, and forms its entire eastern frontier. Although the largest, it is not the most important river of Alsace; that place is held by the Ill, whose course is marked by the three principal towns, Strassburg, Colmar, and Mülhausen. This is due to the Ill having always been a navigable

waterway, while the Alsatian Rhine was not navigable till improvements, begun in 1840 (see p. 69), were well advanced. From its rise in the Alsatian Jura to its mouth below Strassburg the Ill flows parallel to the Rhine and receives a series of left-bank tributaries, draining the Vosges and all capable of supplying a considerable amount of water-power. North of the month of the Ill the Vosges streams flow directly into the Rhine.

(3) Climate

The climate of the High Vosges is severe, and the same is true of the plateau of Lorraine, at least by comparison with the Rhine plain, where the temperature is fairly warm and equable. On the west slope of the mountains the rainfall is high, averaging 67-80 inches annually on the summits; but on the Alsatian side it drops very rapidly, the mountain-valleys having 36-40 inches. In the Rhine plain the rainfall is low, 21-28 inches on the average; on the Lorraine plateau it is highest (35 inches) in the extreme west; in the centre it varies locally, according to the distribution of hills and forests, from 24 to 31 inches. On the whole the south of the plateau has more rain than the north.

The wettest months in the Vosges are from October to December; the driest month is April. In the Rhine plain the wettest month is June, and the driest are January and February. In the Vosges valleys the distribution is a compromise between these two. On the Lorraine plateau the summer and autumn are wet, the winter and spring dry.

(4) Race and Language

Race

The population of Alsace-Lorraine is of Germanic stock in the east and north-east, and Celtic in the remainder. A rough division between the two races may be drawn by following the language-frontier.

This division would, however, be inaccurate in the following ways:—

First, the Germanic settlers of Alsace and part of Lorraine did not expel or exterminate the original population, which in many parts maintained a separate individuality and continued to speak a Romance language till the tenth century, after which it was gradually absorbed by the German settlers, learning their language and influencing their racial character. The wide difference which separates the Alsatians and Lorrainers, especially the former, from the "Altdeutsche" of Germany proper is due in great part to the strong admixture of Celtic or Iberian blood. There is further, a broad distinction of character and temperament between the Alsatians, who are vivacious and quickwitted, and the comparatively stolid and slow Lorrainers.

Secondly, a certain infiltration of German racial elements can be traced in the Celtic population of Lorraine, concurrently with the German influence on the dialects of that province. The population of the Upper Seille Valley is thus decidedly inclined to Germanic racial characteristics. The population of the Lorraine plateau on the whole, though scanty, is sound and vigorous, with a physique well adapted to the somewhat severe climate.

The population of Alsace is more mixed than that of Lorraine; for instance, the old-established glass industry early attracted workers from Bohemia. In the sixteenth century the Huguenot wars resulted in a considerable migration of French Protestants into Alsace, especially to Strassburg, a town which also possessed considerable colonies of Italians and Spaniards. The Thirty Years' War brought in French, Swedish, and other elements; and the disturbances of that period caused the disappearance of a large number of sixteenth and seventeenth century names. On the whole, however, these foreign elements produced little effect on the general type of the population.

After the conquest of Alsace by France the immigration from Germany increased considerably, while the emigration from Alsace to France was very small. Many notable families of Upper Alsace trace their origin to immigrants from the Palatinate, Württemberg, Augsburg, &c., either before or soon after the French Revolution. During the nineteenth century the number of Germans in Alsace-Lorraine showed a steady increase; between 1861 and 1866 it seems to have increased by about 8 per cent.

The German annexation in 1871 was followed within 18 months by the exodus of some 60,000 *optants* to France. Between 1871 and 1910 some 400,000 persons emigrated, or were expelled, to France.[1] Since 1880 the proportion of immigrants from Germany in relation to the total population has in general risen continuously, though the population, especially in Alsace, has also risen. In Strassburg German immigrants constitute 30 per cent. of the whole population, in Metz an even higher percentage.

After 1871 it was expected that the industrial district of Upper Alsace would attract a large number of immigrants from Germany proper. It was found, however, that German immigration into Lorraine, owing to the sudden development of the iron industry, soon greatly exceeded that into Alsace. This immigration came especially from the Rhineland, and was on such a scale that two results followed: the number of German-born Lorrainers came to exceed that of German-born Alsatians; and the French-speaking population in Lorraine became so diluted that no single canton in that country is now so exclusively French-speaking as the neighbourhood of Schnierlach (La Poutroye) in Alsace. Districts like Metz-land and Château Salins have now considerable German-speaking minorities and, in spite of the higher percentage of French-speakers in Lorraine, that province is really more Germanized than Alsace. Only five communes in German Lorraine contain nobody able to speak German.

[1] An analysis of the emigration figures is given on p. 64.

Of the total number of foreigners in the *Reichsland* (i.e. persons born neither in the *Reichsland* nor in the rest of Germany), 40 per cent. or 31,000 (1910) were Italians. In 1900 the Italians formed 31 per cent. of the total number of foreigners, and in 1880 only ·04 per cent. They are practically confined to the extreme north-west of Lorraine, where they are employed in the iron-mines of the Briey plateau and the associated iron-works, and exercise a considerable influence on the language statistics of the *Kreise* Diedenhofen-west and Metz-land.

Language

Alsace-Lorraine is divided into a French-speaking and a German-speaking area, of which the former is far the larger in extent, while the latter is in general the more densely populated. Alsace speaks German; Lorraine, with the exception of a strip in the extreme north-east, French. The linguistic boundary along its whole course either falls in German territory or coincides with the political boundary; there is thus no German-speaking population on French soil, but a considerable French-speaking population on German. Of German Lorraine over half is predominantly French-speaking, while there are certain enclaves of French-speaking population even in Alsace. In German Lorraine 22·3 per cent. of the population speak French only; in Lower Alsace 6·1 per cent.; and in Upper Alsace 3·8 per cent.[1]

In Alsace the political and linguistic boundaries are in close agreement. There are, however, certain divergences: (i) The villages of Ottendorf and Luffendorf at the head-waters of the Larg near the Swiss frontier, in the latitude of La Ferrette, are French-speaking. (ii) Twelve to fifteen kilometres east of Belfort the linguistic boundary follows the watershed between the Rhine and the Rhône; but a number of French-speaking villages have been given to Germany to im-

[1] See also below, p. 58, *et seq.*

prove her hold on the Gap of Belfort and in particular to secure for her the canal-bridge at Montreux-le-Château; these include Alt and Jung Munsterol, Luthern, Romagny, and Chavannes. The large commune of Dannemarie (Dammerkirch) further east is a disputed place. (iii) Immediately to the north the communes of Brückensweiler, Baronsweiler, Bretten, and Éteimbes, with a total population of 1,000, are also French-speaking. (iv) After this the language-line rejoins the political boundary and follows it to the valley of the Weiss, the upper part of which is French-speaking territory. This area centres in Schnierlach (La Poutroye), and extends east as far as Altweier (Ambure), Urbach (Fréland), and Zell (La Baroche); the population here is more purely French-speaking than in any other district of equal size in the *Reichsland*. (v) The language boundary now turns west and crosses to the valley of the Leber (Liépvrette) by the Col de Bonhomme (or des Bagnolles). In the valley of the River Leber, Leberau, Deutsch-Rumbach and Musloch are French-speaking, but Markirch is German-speaking. The two boundaries here coincide for a time along the crest of the Vosges. (vi) North of the Leber Valley the linguistic boundary leaves the political for good, and runs eastward of the latter at a distance which varies from 5 to 20 kilometres. It strikes across the Hochwald and embraces in the French-speaking area the valley of the Giessen (or Altbach) as far as Steige, including the villages of Charbe, Lach (Lalaye), and Fouchy (Grube); it excludes the village of Natzweiler, but with this exception embraces the whole of the upper valley of the Breusch from Lützelhausen to Saales. The language-line next strikes across the massif of the Vosges, an almost uninhabited forest region, where its exact location is only definable in vague terms. It may be taken generally, however, as following the ridge that divides the Alberschweilerstal from the St. Quirinstal, leaving Alberschweiler and Hessen in French-speaking territory, till it strikes the Red Saar, the east bank of

which it follows to a point just east of Lörchingen (Lorquin), where it enters Lorraine.

In Lorraine the divergence between the two boundaries is much greater, and the French language extends in a continuous strip east of the German frontier, reaching its maximum depth of about 40 kilometres in the areas round Château Salins and Metz. From the point east of Lörchingen, where it leaves Alsace, the language boundary encloses in French-speaking territory the whole of the important lake-district south and south-east of Dieuze, leaving Saarburg about 5 kilometres to the east. The Rhine-Marne Canal is crossed in the direction of west-north-west, Kirchberg and Imlingen being left in French-speaking territory, as are Rodt, Bisping, and Angweiler north of the canal; Lauterfingen (Loudrefing) is German-speaking. In this way the linguistic boundary passes to Albesdorf, which is at the head of a large French-speaking salient. It turns west to avoid Mörchingen (Morhange), a German-speaking town, and runs roughly north within 5 kilometres of Falkenberg (Faulquemont) and about 3 of Bolchen (Boulay). Here the extreme points of the French-speaking area are the villages of Hemilly, Arriance (Argenchen), and Niederum (Many); but a French salient runs east to Chémery. The valley of the German Nied is French-speaking as far east as Fouligny (Füllingen). In the valley of the French Nied a German salient projects about 5 miles westward, but Heinkingen and Brittendorf are French-speaking. The line now bends westward and strikes the Moselle 7 kilometres south of Ückingen. It crosses the Fensch at Schreningen, leaves Marspich in French-speaking territory, passes close to the west of Algringen, Arsweiler (Angevillers), and Ruxweiler (Rochonvillers), where it turns north across the north-eastern corner of the Briey plateau, running east of Öttingen and in a north-westerly direction to the Luxemburg frontier at Rumelange. Thence it runs along that frontier; but Deutsch-Oth (Audun le Tiche) is French-

speaking, whereas Rüssingen and Redingen are German-speaking.

From the French-speaking area above described the city of Metz, which is said to be German-speaking by a small majority,[1] must be excluded. It will be recognised that no such lines of demarcation can be absolutely accurate with regard to particular communes as to which separate statistics are unavailable; but the line described above is based on German data, and may be regarded as at least not favouring French claims.

Historically the linguistic boundary in Alsace was established by the year 1000 very much on its present line, except that the Upper Lebertal (Markirch district) was still French-speaking, while the Upper Breusch valley was German-speaking, and was reconquered by French only since the sixteenth century.

In Lorraine the German population continued to advance up to about 1500. In the sixteenth century, however, the tide turned, and the frontier, which had never reached Metz, retreated north-eastward towards the Saar. This movement was only checked by the German conquest of 1871.

Dialects

The German of Alsace is Alemannic (High German); that of Lorraine Frankish (Middle German). Upper Alemannic, the German of Switzerland, is spoken in the southernmost corner of Alsace, only as far north as Altkirch and Kleinlandau (a village on the Rhine in the latitude of Mülhausen); South Frankish is spoken in the extreme north-east, round Weissenburg; all the rest of Alsace (except that portion which, projecting over the Vosges into the Saar basin, belongs geographically rather to Lorraine) speaks Lower Alemannic, the dialect of the Black Forest.

The French dialects call for little remark, except in so far as they have been influenced by German. This

[1] Probably many of the German inhabitants are officials and military.

has been the case all over eastern Lorraine, notably in the Briey plateau, the Messin, and the Saulnois; here the aspirated *h*, and various words, phrases, and constructions, show Frankish influence. West of Briey, Nancy, and Épinal these peculiarities can no longer be traced.

(5) Population [1]

Distribution

The most remarkable fact about the population of Alsace-Lorraine is the steady increase in density from west to east. The mountainous Vosges, far from being sparsely inhabited, are much more densely so than the Lorraine plateau; and in the plateau itself the higher east is more densely populated than the lower west. This is due, first, to the industrial development of the Vosges valleys with their water-power; and, secondly, to the greater fertility of the volcanic and sandstone soil in the east as compared with the barren clays and oolites of the west. Finally, the high population of Alsace is due to a combination of fertile soil, temperate climate, and industry.

The population of Alsace is somewhat dense, almost everywhere over 250 to the square mile; that of Lorraine in general scanty, under 200 and often below 150. The country falls into four belts running north and south, showing a transition from low population in the west to high in the east.

Beginning in the west, we find a belt of low population running from north to south of Lorraine along the line of the Meuse. Here the density-figures average about 110. It is only round Toul that they rise above 125, while in several parts they fall below 100 over quite large areas. These figures moreover include the town populations; for purely rural districts they would be even lower.

[1] The actual figures for German Alsace-Lorraine since 1871 are given with analysis on p. 62.

A second belt, corresponding with the main trough of the Moselle and running north and south through Metz, Nancy, and Vesoul, has a very slightly denser population—about 130-170 to the square mile. This belt includes the Messin, the Seille and Upper Saar basins, and most of the department of Meurthe-et-Moselle, with a prolongation to the south, passing west of Épinal and reaching across into the Saône valley.

The third belt begins by occupying the whole width of Northern Alsace, and passes south-westward; its southern half is bounded by the Vosges watershed to east and a parallel line passing through Épinal to west. Here the population is everywhere over 200 to the square mile, rising in some districts to 250.

The fourth belt occupies the whole breadth of Alsace in the latitude of Mülhausen, but from Mont Donon northwards it narrows till, rather north of Strassburg, its western boundary meets the Rhine, and it comes to an end. This is the most densely populated part of Alsace-Lorraine; its density-figure is always over 280 for any single *Kreis* (except in the extreme south, where the Sundgau—*Kreis* Altkirch—has 200 per square mile and may be considered an outlier of the third belt), rising in individual *Kreise* to 350 or even 400. In the High Vosges the density of the population in the valleys is so great as to compensate for the uninhabited condition of the mountains and to bring the whole area within the belt of dense population.

In addition to these four belts there are four isolated districts where special conditions have led to a special concentration. These are (1) the Briey plateau, (2) Nancy, (3) the Saar coalfield, (4) Mülhausen.

(1) The Briey plateau belongs to the second belt above described, and its purely agricultural population is only about 100 per square mile. The development of iron-mining, however, has produced a dense agglomeration extending over the whole of the Minette field and bringing up the average to something like 250.

(2) The large town of Nancy, with its mines and numerous industries, is the centre of a district over which the average population is 250 per square mile.

(3) In the Saar basin the mining and industrial population brings up the density of *Kreis* Forbach to about 270 per square mile.

(4) In the *Kreis* Mülhausen the average is 750 per square mile. This very high figure is chiefly due to the great development of industry at Mülhausen. It is also in part due to the fact that the district lies altogether in the plain; a detailed survey would, however, show that these high densities are not confined to Mülhausen but extend northwards along the Ill and up into the valleys of the Vosges.

Towns

In Lorraine the river-valleys have always a much denser population than the plateau; and towns therefore grew up at the points in these valleys upon which defensibility or natural lines of communication conferred some peculiar importance. Thus Verdun (pop. 21,700) is a valley citadel; Metz (pop. 41,700) is a defensible point at the meeting of two rivers and a great centre of communications over the flat *pays* Messin, guarding at the same time the mouth of the gorge through which the Moselle traverses the high ground; Saarbrücken is the chief crossing of the Saar; Nancy (pop. 120,000), like Metz, defends one end of a river-gorge and radiates lines of road over the flatter country eastward; Neufchâteau (pop. 4,000) lies at the point on which the head-waters of the Meuse converge, each carrying a natural line of communication: Toul (pop. 15,900), at the point where the Moselle once branched off to join the Meuse, covers a highly important pass which has also much to do with the importance of Nancy.

In Alsace, on the other hand, the towns are strung out along the course of the navigable Ill. The unique importance of Strassburg (pop. 179,000) is due to a variety of causes: the Ill is here so close to the Rhine

that Strassburg controls all its traffic; and a number of routes cross the Vosges and the Black Forest, of which the most important are the Zabern Gap, the Breusch valley leading to the Col de Saales, and the Kinzig valley, which leads through the heart of the Black Forest to the Danube. The other chief towns of Alsace are all situated where passes of the Vosges debouch on the Ill: Schlettstadt (pop. 10,650) at the mouth of the Lebertal (Col de Ste. Marie), Colmar (pop. 43,800) at the mouth of the Weisstal and Münstertal (Col de Bonhomme and the Schlucht), and Mülhausen (pop. 94,000) covering the Col de Bussang and the Gap of Belfort. Neu-Breisach (pop. 2,900) is a bridge-head defending the Rhine crossing on the important road between Colmar (the key to three Vosges passes) and Freiburg, which occupies a somewhat similar position in relation to the Black Forest.

Movement

In general the population of Alsace is at present stationary except for a decided rise in the largest towns, which absorb a larger and larger percentage of the total, while that of German Lorraine is increasing almost everywhere owing to the progressive industrial development of the country. In French Lorraine there is an increase where industrial conditions prevail; otherwise the population is declining, though not so fast as in many parts of France.

In common with that of most European countries the birth-rate of Alsace-Lorraine rose from about 1850 to 1870 and then fell. The death-rate rose and fell concurrently. The birth-rate of Alsace-Lorraine appears to have been generally about the same as that of France, and thus materially lower than that of Germany; the death-rate on the other hand is high in proportion to the birth-rate, being nearly as high as the German.

During the decade 1891-1900 the average birth-rate for the *Reichsland* was 31 per thousand (only one

German State having a lower figure) and the death-rate 22·5 (18 German States having lower figures). These, like all German figures, include stillborn children, which are excluded from the French figures.

In French Lorraine the birth-rate shows at present a slight downward tendency; it varies from 16 in the department of Meuse to 26 (a very high figure when allowance has been made for stillbirths) in Meurthe-et-Moselle, in which it is rising. The death-rate varies from 17·5 in Meuse to 23 (rising) in Meurthe-et-Moselle.

Emigration and Immigration

The emigration of *optants* from the *Reichsland* to France after 1871 has been already mentioned. In French Lorraine no great movements of the population have taken place. If migrations to or from countries other than France are considered, the department of Vosges loses about 2 per thousand of its population yearly, and that of Meuse 9 per thousand, while Meurthe-et-Moselle gains 5 per thousand. By migration within the country the rural communes of Meurthe-et-Moselle gain 1 per cent., the urban 8·8 per cent.; in Meuse the rural communes lose 1 per cent., the urban 0·4; in Vosges the rural communes lose 1·6 per cent., the urban gain 2·9 (figures for the year 1906). A distinct rural exodus to the towns can thus be traced only in the department of Vosges.

II. POLITICAL HISTORY

Chronological Summary

1552 French occupation of Toul, Metz, and Verdun.
1634 French occupation of Alsace.
1648 Treaty of Münster.
1672 French garrisons placed in the Ten Imperial Towns of Alsace.
1679-81 Period of *Réunions*.
1681 (Sept. 30) Occupation of Strassburg.
1697 Treaty of Ryswyck.
1736 Marriage of Francis of Lorraine to Maria Theresa.
1737 Transfer of Lorraine to Stanislas Lesczinski.
1766 Union of Lorraine with France.
1790 Division of Alsace and Lorraine into Departments.
1798 Union of Mülhausen with France.
1815 Loss by France of the Middle Saar basin and of Alsace between the Queich and the Lauter.
1871 Cession of Alsace-Lorraine to Germany.
1871 (June 3) Alsace-Lorraine declared a territory of the Empire (*Reichsland*).
1871 (Sept.) Von Möller appointed President of the *Reichsland*.
1871 (Dec. 30) Enactment of the "Dictatorship Paragraph."
1872 (May 1) University of Strassburg opened.
1874 (Jan. 1) Introduction of the Imperial Constitution of April 16, 1871.
1874 (Feb. 18) Protest of the *Reichsland* representatives in the Reichstag.
1874 (Oct. 29) Creation of the *Landesausschuss*.
1879 Grant of a new Constitution to the *Reichsland*.
1879 Manteuffel appointed Statthalter.
1885 (June 17) Death of Manteuffel.
1885 (Nov.) Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst appointed Statthalter.
1887 (Feb.) Victory of Protestaire party in the elections for the Reichstag.
1887 (Mar.) Repressive measures adopted against the *Reichsland*.
1887 (June) Law to enable the Government to exclude persons of French sympathies from the local administration.
1888 (June 1) Restriction of intercourse with France by the "passport system."
1891 (Oct. 1) Relaxation of the "passport system."

1894 (Oct.) Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst appointed Imperial Chancellor.
1894 (Oct. 30) Hohenlohe-Langenburg appointed Statthalter.
1902 Repeal of the "Dictatorship Paragraph."
1902 Establishment of a Roman Catholic faculty in the University of Strassburg.
1907 (Oct. 7) Retirement of Hohenlohe-Langenburg.
1907 Count von Wedel appointed Statthalter.
1911 (June) New Constitution conferred on the *Reichsland*.
1912-13 Pan-German campaign against French tendencies.
1913 (Nov.) Zabern incident.
1914 Removal of von Wedel.
1914 (May 1) Von Dallwitz appointed Statthalter.

i. Acquisition of the Territory by France

In the sixteenth century the territory known since 1871 as the *Reichsland*, or Elsass-Lothringen, consisted of a great number of distinct territories which formed part of the loose Confederation called the Holy Roman Empire. In relation to the acquisition by France, the modern province falls into three divisions: (1) part of the territory of the Bishopric of Metz, one of the Three Bishoprics seized by Henri II in 1552; (2) about one-third of the Duchy of Lorraine; (3) almost the whole of the geographical province of Alsace. The acquisition of each of these three divisions by France is historically distinct.

(a) *The Three Bishoprics.*—On October 5, 1551, Henri II of France concluded a secret treaty[1] with the Lutheran princes of Germany, by which he was authorised to occupy Imperial towns which were not of the German tongue, such as Cambrai, Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and to retain them as Vicar of the Empire, the rights of the Empire being reserved. Accordingly, in 1552 he occupied Toul without encountering resistance. In April he seized Metz by stratagem, and Verdun was also acquired. These cities were not mentioned in the Treaty of Cateau Cambrésis (1559); but the Emperor Ferdinand II, after declaring officially to

[1] Dumont, *Corps universel diplomatique*, IV, iv, 30.

the French envoy at the Diet of Augsburg (February 1559) that the Empire would not resume friendly relations with France until they had been restored, privately assured Henri II that he would not make war to regain them. From 1552, therefore, they remained in the possession of France; and by the Treaty of Münster (1648) the sovereignty of the Empire over the Three Bishoprics was transferred to France.

(b) *Alsace.*—At the time of the Thirty Years' War Alsace was divided into a great number of separate territories. The most important political divisions were as follows. (1) The Landgraviates of Upper and Lower Alsace, the former being under the jurisdiction of the House of Habsburg, and the latter under that of the Bishop of Strassburg. The influence of the Landgraves was small, but they enjoyed certain feudal rights and jurisdictions. (2) The territory of the Sundgau, comprising most of the Upper Landgraviate, was held directly by the House of Habsburg. (3) The League of the Ten Imperial Towns (Colmar, Münster, Türkheim, Kaysersberg, Schlettstadt, Oberehnheim, Rosheim, Haguenau, Weissenburg, and Landau), which were under a prefecture hereditary in the House of Habsburg. Strassburg was a free Imperial city; Mülhausen was united to the Swiss Confederation; and there were a great number of lay and ecclesiastical territories.

In 1632, during the course of the Thirty Years' War, Alsace was occupied by the Swedes, who transferred it to France in 1634. In the Treaty of Münster, in 1648, there were two inconsistent stipulations respecting the cession of Alsace to France. By the first (Arts. LXXIII, LXXIV), the Emperor ceded to France all the rights, properties, domains, possessions, and jurisdictions which belonged to him, the Empire, and the House of Austria over the two landgraviates, the Sundgau, and the ten Imperial Towns. This cession was limited by the subsequent stipulation (Art. LXXXVII) that the princes, nobles, and towns in Alsace should retain the right they had enjoyed of holding their territory immediately of the Empire,

and that the acquisitions of France should be restricted to the rights which had formerly belonged to the House of Austria. This clause apparently reduced the cession to that of the possessions of the House of Austria in Alsace, together with the landgraviate of Lower Alsace; but it was modified by a proviso that the declaration it contained should not derogate from the rights of supreme dominion given to France by the former articles.[1] As a matter of fact Louis XIV at first contented himself with the rights and possessions of the House of Austria in Alsace and the landgraviate of Lower Alsace, and left the other States of the province in the exercise of their rights of immediacy under the Empire.

But after the outbreak of war between France and Holland in 1672, which soon extended to Germany, Louis XIV forced the ten Imperial Towns of Alsace to receive French garrisons. During the conferences preceding the Treaty of Nymegen (1679) the representatives of the Empire endeavoured to raise the question of the position of the towns and princes holding immediately from the Empire; but the French envoys refused to discuss it, and no mention of Alsace was made in the treaty. The ten towns submitted to the authority of the King of France; and in 1680 their submission was celebrated by the striking of a medal bearing the inscription, "Alsatia in provinciam reducta."

After the conclusion of the Treaty of Nymegen, Louis XIV instituted a new method of aggrandisement by reviving and enforcing claims to territory on his northern and eastern frontier, in the Netherlands and Germany. These claims, many of them dormant for a very long time, were referred to three Courts, specially created by Louis to adjudicate on them, under the title of *Chambres de Réunion*. That for the Three Bishop-

[1] The explanation of the inconsistency appears to be that the right referred to in Article LXXXVII was not that of continuing to hold immediately under the Empire, but that of retaining such privileges as were enjoyed under that tenure.

rics sat at Metz, and that for Alsace at Breisach. But only the proceedings of the latter are important; for the reunions effected by the other were annulled in 1697 by the Treaty of Ryswyck. This treaty, however, while revoking the decisions of the Court at Breisach with regard to territory outside Alsace, confirmed the reunions effected within that province, and severed finally the connection between the immediate princes and towns and the Empire.[1] The most important acquisition was that of Strassburg, which had been forcibly occupied on September 30, 1681, and subsequently fortified by Vauban. The importance of Strassburg led to its being expressly ceded to France by Articles XVI and XVII of the treaty, although it was already included under the general Article relating to Alsace (Article IV). Thus by the Treaty of Ryswyck the disputes with regard to the interpretation of the Treaty of Münster were terminated. The reunions outside Alsace were annulled as contrary to the treaty, while those within Alsace were confirmed in accordance with the construction put upon the treaty by the French diplomatists.

(c) *Lorraine.*—The dominions of the Duke of Lorraine included, from 1431, the two Duchies of Lorraine and Bar. The Duchy of Lorraine was an Imperial fief, while the Duchy of Bar, which is represented by the Department of the Meuse and part of that of the Meurthe, had been a French fief since 1302. After the acquisition of Metz, Toul, and Verdun in 1552, the domains of the Duke of Lorraine were in a measure enclosed by French territory. The territory of Verdun and Toul projected into his lands on the west, while that of Metz almost cut them in half. From a military point of view the Duke was at the mercy of his powerful neighbour, while the occupation of his territory was almost essential to the French King if he intended to invade Germany.

Lorraine was, in fact, actually occupied by the French during a considerable part of the reigns of

[1] Vast, *Grands Traités de Louis XIV*, II, 232 (Art. 4).

Louis XIII and Louis XIV. The Duke, Leopold IV, regained his dominions by the Treaty of Ryswyck, but on conditions which foreshadowed incorporation with France. The close relations that existed between the Dukes of Lorraine and the House of Austria made it desirable for France that Lorraine should not be left in their hands. Duke Charles V (1675-90) was married to the sister of the Emperor Leopold I. His successor Leopold (1690-1729) was the father of Francis, who in 1736 married Maria Theresa, and subsequently became Emperor.

Louis XIV, in the latter part of his reign, desired to secure Lorraine by inducing the Duke to accept compensation in Italy. In the treaty for the partition of the Spanish Monarchy concluded in March 1700 between France, England, and Holland it was stipulated that the Duchy of Lorraine should be ceded to the Dauphin, and that Duke Leopold should receive the Duchy of Milan. Though this treaty was not carried out, it was agreed in 1735, in the preliminaries of the Treaty of Vienna, that the Grand Duchy of Tuscany should be bestowed on the Duke of Lorraine on the death of the ruling Grand Duke; that, in return, Stanislas Lesczinski, who had been supported by France in his attempt to regain the Throne of Poland, should receive Lorraine and Bar; and that on his death they should be united with France. These territories were handed over to Stanislas in February and March 1737. His close political dependence on France and family connection with Louis XV, whose father-in-law he was, prepared the way for the assimilation of the Duchies, which was further promoted by a declaration of the French King in 1738 admitting the inhabitants to all the rights of Frenchmen by birth. On the death of Stanislas in 1766 the annexation was finally accomplished.

ii. French Government of Alsace and Lorraine to 1789

The administration by France of her newly acquired provinces was marked from the first by its remedial

activity and its broad-minded tolerance, under the guidance of Intendants appointed by Versailles, the first of whom—in Alsace—was Colbert de Croissy, brother of Louis XIV's great Minister. Colbert's letter to his brother has often been quoted:—

> See that the inhabitants of Alsace are better treated than the inhabitants of the other German provinces, and that the clergy are so treated that they will use their influence to make the Alsatians good Frenchmen.

These generous instructions were followed to the letter. Great strides were made in the rehabilitation and improvement of agriculture, which had suffered terribly in the Thirty Years' War; forestry was organised on the lines which have made the Vosges forests famous throughout Europe—Nancy is still the educational centre of French forestry; communications were improved; posts were established; and the administration of justice was reformed. It must not be forgotten, moreover, when stress is laid on the economic progress which took place in the period of German rule, that the foundations were laid during the French period. Of the railways, nearly half the mileage was constructed by France; and the excellent system of canals was largely the work of the French.

By 1750 the population of Alsace had almost doubled; and the great increase in the yield of the taxes bore evidence to the prosperity of the province. The tolerant wisdom of the French administration is illustrated by the fact that the commercial relations between Alsace and the Empire were protected by the sensible arrangement which made Alsace, until the Revolution, *province effective étrangère*. Sanitary measures were introduced to prevent the recurrence of the disastrous epidemics to which the province had been a victim in the past. But the greatest of all the blessings which France brought to Alsace was security against invasion and exploitation by hostile, and even by ostensibly friendly, armies. She fortified the frontiers with the art of which she was at that time the principal expo-

nent, and garrisoned the fortresses without imposing military obligations on her new subjects other than voluntary enlistment and the provision of a few regiments of militia.

By these means Alsace and Lorraine came insensibly but surely to appreciate the advantages of forming part of a great nation; and—writing shortly after the middle of the eighteenth century—Lamberty was able to say that "it is notorious that the inhabitants of Alsace are more French than the Parisians." Nevertheless, whether from fortunate apathy or wise design, the Bourbons made no attempt to impose French culture or the French language in the Provinces. For all but official affairs the German language was permitted, and "not a word of French was taught in the villages of Alsace and German Lorraine before 1789." It was not till the reign of Louis Philippe that French was introduced into the schools. The fact that they continued to speak German, or rather a German *patois*, is no proof that the sentiments and sympathies of the inhabitants were German; rather it is a proof of the tolerant regime which turned their sentiments and sympathies towards France.

The thoughts and ideals of France were assimilated more widely than her language. Alsace and Lorraine had, indeed, looked to France for inspiration long before the annexations; and, although it would be untrue to suggest that the Alsatians either sought the annexation with enthusiasm or regarded it at first with feelings of unmixed satisfaction, they quickly realised its advantages and were soon thoroughly satisfied with its results. Thus, when the French Revolution broke out, its ideas, which reached Alsace mainly by way of Germany, were nowhere greeted with more immediate acceptance; and the same may be said of Lorraine.

The only exception to the tolerance displayed by France in her dealings with the provinces during the Bourbon period was in religious matters. In the latter part of the reign of Louis XIV there was considerable persecution of Lutherans and Calvinists, which roused

some antagonism, but not sufficient to outweigh the general appreciation of the benefits of French rule.

iii. Effects of the French Revolution

The French Revolution gave rise, however, to serious difficulties. The French Constituent Assembly passed decrees abolishing feudal and seigniorial rights and every sort of privilege. Other decrees appropriated to the nation all ecclesiastical property, and abolished all foreign jurisdictions. At the same time a uniform system of law was enforced for the whole of France, without regard to any treaties which secured to provinces the preservation of their particular institutions.

Thus the Elector of Mainz was deprived of his metropolitan rights over the Bishoprics of Strassburg and Speier in so far as they were situated in Alsace; the Elector of Trier lost his similar rights over the Bishoprics of Metz, Toul, Verdun, Nancy, and St. Dié. Other Princes of the Empire were deprived of rights attached to their domains in Alsace which the treaties uniting Alsace to France had secured to them. In addition, the *noblesse* of Lower Alsace, holding immediately of the Empire, lost their seigniorial rights. The former free towns of Alsace also lost their municipal privileges; but, owing to the enthusiasm of their inhabitants for the Revolution, they assented to the decrees of the Constituent Assembly.

The Emperor Leopold undertook to detend the princes and nobles, and on December 14, 1790, demanded from the King of France the repeal of all laws contrary to existing treaties. Louis XVI answered on January 22, 1791, that these were matters entirely foreign to the Empire, and only concerned the princes in their quality of French vassals, and that they had been offered indemnities. The Emperor brought the question before the Diet on April 26; and on December 10, 1791, it was decided to defend the princes by arms if necessary. The French Government on February 15, 1792, renewed the offer to treat on the basis of indem-

nities, but refused to consent to the re-establishment of the former conditions. Several of the princes concerned agreed to accept the principle of indemnities, but others refused, and the outbreak of war prevented further negotiations. The course of the war was eventually unfavourable to the princes; and in the Treaty of Campo Formio (1797) their claims were neglected. It was intended to consider them in the Congress of Rastatt, which was convened in 1797 to arrange terms of peace between France and the Empire; but that Congress was interrupted in 1799, and the war was renewed before the question of Alsace had been discussed.

In the meantime, the city of Mülhausen was added to the French possessions in Alsace. Mülhausen had been made an Imperial city by Rudolf of Habsburg in 1273. By the Treaty of Münster it was recognised as an independent republic, and it joined the Swiss Confederation. On January 15, 1798, it was united to France at its own request by treaty, with the proviso that its neutrality should be respected during the course of the war.

In 1801 the question of Alsace was finally settled by the Treaty of Lunéville, concluded by the Emperor in the name of the Empire but without the concurrence of the Diet. By this treaty all the territory of the Empire on the left bank of the Rhine was ceded to France, the *thalweg* of the river forming the boundary. The Emperor agreed to compensate the dispossessed princes by territorial grants within the Empire. The treaty was subsequently ratified by the Diet; and thus the territory was politically assimilated to the rest of France.

iv. Territorial Changes, 1790-1871

In 1790, when France was organised into Departments, Alsace was divided into two Departments, Haut Rhin and Bas Rhin, corresponding very nearly to Upper Alsace and Lower Alsace respectively. Schirmeck and Saales, which had formerly formed part of

Lower Alsace, were included in the Department of the Vosges. Lorraine and the Three Bishoprics were divided into four Departments—Moselle, Meurthe, Meuse, and Vosges.

The Treaty of Paris (1814) not only assigned to France the boundaries of 1792, but also made some additions to her territory. To the Department of the Moselle was added the canton of Tholey and all south of a line drawn from Perle to Fromerdorf, also the cantons of Saarbrücken and Arneval, and part of that of Lebach. This cession of territory would have had the effect of securing to France the whole basin of the Middle Saar, the economic and strategic value of which was very great. France had long possessed a portion of that basin round Saarlouis, but the territories of the House of Nassau-Saarbrücken had broken the continuity of her frontier. The rectification was a very proper one, and might have been of great military value to her in 1870. In 1815, however, France was deprived not only of Saarbrücken, which she had only possessed since 1793, but also of Saarlouis, which was a true French town, built by Louis XIV. and fortified by Vauban. Thus she lost the whole Middle Saar, with a large part of the valuable coalfield, and at the same time two important western bridgeheads on that river. This district was ceded to Prussia. At the same time the district between the Queich and the Lauter, with the town and fortress of Landau, was ceded to Bavaria. Historically, this was a more justifiable arrangement; for the historic boundary of Alsace was neither the Lauter nor the Queich, but the Seltzbach.

From 1815 the territorial arrangements remained unchanged until 1871, when Germany acquired practically the whole of Alsace. She obtained the Department of the Bas Rhin, that of the Haut Rhin except Belfort and the territory surrounding that town, and in the Department of the Vosges the cantons of Saales and Schirmeck. In Lorraine Germany acquired two-thirds of the Department of the Moselle, including Metz, Thionville, and Saargemünd, and one-third of

the Department of the Meurthe, including Château Salins and Saarburg. The area of the annexed territory amounted to 5,600 square miles.

v. Early German Rule

Immediately after the first German successes in 1870, the two provinces were distinguished from the rest of the occupied territory by the appointment of Count von Bismarck-Bohlen as their Governor-General, the limits of whose jurisdiction coincided almost exactly with those of the territory ceded by the Treaty of Frankfort.

The dual conception of the annexed provinces as an "instrument of Empire" and a military protection gave rise to certain inevitable difficulties in connection with their treatment and government. A *Reichsland*, in the first place, could not under any circumstances be regarded as an autonomous Federal State, while the fact that the provinces were regarded as being in a special sense a permanent military zone rendered considerable restrictions of liberty inevitable. These two conditions of the annexation have been the governing factors of the period of German rule.

After the termination of the war, claims to the ceded districts were advanced by Prussia, Bavaria, and Baden; but Bismarck adopted the course of having them declared a territory of the Empire (*Reichsland*). This was accomplished by the law of June 3, 1871, and on June 9 it was decreed that they should be for ever united with the German Empire. The territory was divided into three Presidencies, Upper Alsace, Lower Alsace, and Lorraine, corresponding generally to the French Departments of Haut Rhin, Bas Rhin, and the annexed portions of Meurthe and Moselle. These three districts were governed by Presidents, each of whom was assisted after June 1873 by an elected consultative council. The three Presidencies were divided into twenty-two Circles (*Kreise*), of which Upper Alsace had six, Lower Alsace eight, and Lorraine eight. Each Circle was administered by a Director, assisted by an Assessor,

The government of the whole territory was vested in the Emperor and the Bundesrat. The administration was directed from Berlin by the Imperial Chancellor, who was represented at Strassburg by a President-Superior (*Oberpräsident*), assisted by an Imperial Administrative Council. In September 1871 Edward von Möller was appointed President-Superior. Von Möller was a good administrator, and accomplished much for the economic reorganisation of the *Reichsland*. He was not inclined to arbitrary measures, but he was obliged to follow the instructions which he received from the Chancellor at Berlin.

By the law of December 30, 1871, and the Chancellor's ordinance of January 29, 1872, the President enjoyed all powers except those expressly reserved for the Chancellor. These powers were very considerable. They included what was known in Alsace as the "Dictatorship paragraph" (*paragraphe de la dictature*). By Article X of the Law of December 30, 1871, the President was empowered, in case of danger to the public safety, to take all the measures which he should judge necessary to remove the danger. He was particularly authorised to exercise within the threatened districts the powers which paragraph 9 of the French Law of August 9, 1849, conferred on the military authority in case of siege, viz., to make domiciliary visits by night or day, to banish persons not domiciled in the district in a state of siege, to search for and seize arms in private hands, and to prohibit publications and meetings likely to produce disorder. In fact, the German Law of December 30, 1871, gave to the civil ruler of the province the power to exercise in time of peace an authority which the French Law of 1849 reserved to the military authority in time of war. The President was also empowered to use the military forces for police purposes, and particularly in order to carry out the measures indicated in the French Law of 1849.

In the early days of German rule these powers were exercised with considerable rigour. They were delegated by the higher officials at Strassburg to the gen-

darmes, police agents, and customs officers, who used them in a vexatious manner. But, though the "dictatorship paragraph" was not repealed until 1902, the powers conferred by it were less constantly and less oppressively employed as time went on and as the methods of administration improved.

The Germans began by endeavouring to eradicate French culture and sympathies. Even before the conclusion of the Treaty of Frankfort, the Governor of the occupied territories suppressed the use of the French tongue in the primary schools; and in the secondary schools and colleges it was ordained that it should be studied as a foreign language. The schools were subjected to a system of strict inspection and control by the Law of April 18, 1871, which introduced compulsory education. The Law of March 31, 1872, made German the official language of the administration. On May 1, 1872, the University of Strassburg was opened to serve as a centre of German education and culture. The Treaty of Frankfort had allowed the inhabitants of the conquered provinces until October 1, 1872, to choose, if they desired, French nationality. Such option was, however, only recognised as valid if accompanied by a change of domicile within the allotted period; and, in effect, out of 160,000 "options," more than 100,000 were annulled by the German authorities, and only about 60,000 took effect; 45 per cent. of these came from Lorraine, 33 per cent. from Upper, and 22 per cent. from Lower, Alsace. The emigrants were drawn from all classes, but principally from the learned professions, the officials, and the industrial population. Some 5,000 settled on 250,000 acres provided by the French Government in Algeria.

Emigration from Alsace-Lorraine has proceeded steadily ever since; statistics on the subject are given on p. 64. It cannot, of course, be assumed that those who remained were content with the annexation. It was impossible for the peasants, whose sole wealth consisted in their land and its produce, to leave, however great their devotion to France. Moreover, the advice of

Thiers, repeated since with the greatest emphasis by such writers as Maurice Barrès, was "*rester et espérer*"; it was felt that to emigrate *en masse* was to play the game of the Germans by leaving a vacant country open to wholesale colonization.

On June 25, 1873, the Reichstag passed a law introducing the Imperial Constitution of April 16, 1871, into the *Reichsland* as from January 1, 1874. From that date the annexed provinces were to be ruled as an integral part of Germany, and to be entitled to send fifteen representatives to the Reichstag. On October 29, 1874, an Imperial ordinance created the *Landesausschuss* (Regional Committee), an advisory body, composed of thirty-four members, chosen by the councils of the three Presidencies from among their own members. It was not at first given legislative powers, the legislative authority being vested in the Emperor, the Bundesrat, and the Reichstag.

By this arrangement the *Reichsland* obtained representation in the Imperial Legislature; but it obtained no power of local self-government. The *Landesausschuss* had no control over local administration, and the province was not represented in the Imperial Executive Council or Bundesrat.

vi. The Autonomiste and Protestaire Parties

On February 16 and on March 1, 1871, the deputies of the ceded provinces had made a protest against the Treaty of Frankfort in the National Assembly at Bordeaux. All the fifteen deputies returned were pledged to vote against the proposed cession; Gambetta, who had been chosen for each of the four Departments affected, drew up the well-known protest, which was read before the Assembly. It declared "null and void all Acts and treaties, vote or plebiscite, which might consent to the cession to a foreign Power of all or part of the provinces of Alsace-Lorraine," and proclaimed for ever inviolable the right "of the people of Alsace-

Lorraine to remain members of the French nation.'"[1] When, in spite of this protest, the Assembly obeyed Thiers and voted the Preliminaries of Peace, the fifteen deputies withdrew. When the fifteen representatives of the *Reichsland* made their first appearance in the Reichstag, on February 18, 1874, they renewed the protest in a modified form. With one dissentient they requested that, since the inhabitants of the *Reichsland* had been incorporated with the German Empire without their consent, their opinion should now be taken with regard to the annexation. A minority—seven out of fifteen—went further, and declined to recognise the validity of the Treaty of Frankfort.

This difference of view with regard to the validity of the treaty was the sign of a deeper divergence. After the united protest against annexation the provincial deputies split into two groups, the one French in sympathy, the other provincial. These groups are sometimes designated by the titles of *Protestaires* or *Protestaires purs* and *Autonomistes* respectively. The *Protestaires* possessed great influence until about 1890; after which they gradually became weaker until, in 1902, Reuss considered them nearly extinct as a political party.[2]

It was inevitable that, as the prospect of reunion with France became more and more remote, and the sense of solidarity between Alsace and German Lorraine more and more pronounced, politicians should have abandoned the apparently hopeless policy of crying for what it seemed they could never obtain. The outbreak of war has undoubtedly altered all this. Reunion with France is once more a practical policy; and there can be no doubt that the events of the last four years have revived in an acute form the feeling in favour of reunion.

The other group, the *Autonomistes*, held that after the Reichstag had disregarded their protest they ought

[1] The protest is printed in the Appendix; see p. 114.
[2] Reuss, *Supplément à l'Histoire d'Alsace*, p. 431.

only to consider the future, to accept the position that Alsace-Lorraine belonged to Germany in fact, though not of right, and to endeavour to gain from the German Government the rights and liberties due to their country. The chief organ of this party was the *Journal d'Alsace*. Its leader after 1877 was Auguste Schnéegans, a decided opponent of the annexation. It contained representatives of a number of old families, and included Mgr. Raess, the Bishop of Strassburg, who on February 18, 1874, after the protest, had declared that he recognised the validity of the Treaty of Frankfort.

The French party saw in the *Autonomistes* the precursors of Alsatian Germanism.

> "Our most dangerous enemy just now," said Edmond About in 1875, "is not Bismarck, but the particularism adopted by certain very intelligent men in the interest of their private fortunes. . . . The man who says 'I am an Alsatian' is already no longer a Frenchman. He will shortly solicit office in order to serve Alsace better, and a salary in thalers in order to regain part of our five milliards of war indemnity."[1]

The views of the *Autonomiste* party, though at first regarded with favour by the Germans, soon came to be regarded as dangerous in that quarter also. Bismarck in 1879 criticised Schnéegans in the Reichstag, on the ground that he represented his country as neutral, that is to say as one in which French and German sympathies would be placed on the same footing; and he stated that Germany could not allow such an arrangement. There can be no doubt, however, that the existence of a party of autonomists made it easier for the *Reichsland* to obtain increased powers of self-government. The party in recent times discouraged emigration and enlistment in the French Foreign Legion, and strove to bring about a Franco-German *entente*. The spread of its views also led to the acceptance of office by inhabitants of the *Reichsland* within the territory under the German Government.[2]

[1] About, *Alsace*, 1875, p. 207.
[2] Leroy, *L'Alsace-Lorraine*, p. 21.

vii. The Constitution of 1879

In 1877, by the law of May 2, the powers of the *Landesausschuss* were increased. It became a consenting body in regard to legislative projects, and could initiate territorial legislation. The right of legislating independently was preserved for the Reichstag and Bundesrat. In consequence, this continued to be the usual method of legislation.

The Law of July 4, 1879, introduced by Bismarck after an appeal by Schnéegans for autonomy, considerably increased the powers of the provincial government. It created at Strassburg the office of Imperial Statthalter, or Governor, to whom were entrusted all the powers previously exercised by the Imperial Chancellor and the local President. The Statthalter was responsible to the Emperor alone. He fulfilled the double part of Viceroy, acting when necessary as the irresponsible representative of the Emperor, and of constitutional head of the State. In the latter capacity he was assisted by a Council of State, nominated by the Imperial Government, and by a Ministry consisting of a Secretary of State and three other heads of departments, responsible only to the Emperor. The departments were: (i) Interior and Education; (ii) Justice and Public Worship; (iii) Finance; (iv) Commerce, Agriculture, and Public Works. The Secretary of State took one of the departments. All these Ministers were subject to interpellation in the *Landesausschuss*; while the Ministry, before introducing legislation, could consult the Council of State, an advisory body which consisted mainly of members nominated by the Emperor for a term of three years. The *Landesausschuss* was given a more representative character. It was enlarged to fifty-eight members, of whom thirty-four were elected by the Councils of the three Presidencies (*Bezirkstage*) from their own members, four by and from the Municipal Councils of Strassburg, Mülhausen, Metz, and Colmar, and twenty by the twenty rural Circles. This body was

given the right of initiating legislation, but the co-ordinate legislative authority of the Reichstag and Bundesrat was retained. The Reichstag was, however, in practice eliminated, and only intervened once or twice before 1911, when a new Constitution was voted and became law.

viii. Manteuffel's Government, 1879-85

The first Statthalter was Field-Marshal von Manteuffel, who had gained the respect of the French while commanding the German army of occupation after the Franco-German War. He governed the *Reichsland* from 1879 until his death on June 17, 1885. Manteuffel's government was a purely personal one; he interfered in every detail of the administration, with the declared object of converting the *Reichsland* "in a few years into the most German of German lands." He made great concessions out of regard for the wishes of the population, and cultivated the chiefs of the anti-German party in the hope of gaining them over to the Government.[1] His policy was much criticised. It was alleged that he alienated the German officials without making any converts among the opponents of annexation, and that he stimulated the dissensions between the native population and the numerous immigrants from the other side of the Rhine. In fine, he was accused of estranging the former friends of the Government and of filling with discontent the officials who were its natural supporters. He undoubtedly failed to win over public opinion to the Government, though personally he was esteemed. In 1881, at the General Election for the Reichstag, all but one of the representatives returned belonged to the "Protesters." The General Election of 1884 was equally unfavourable. The Autonomist party, which, it was hoped, would bring about a reconciliation between the malcontents and the Government, was beaten by large majorities.

[1] It was characteristic of his government that, in deference to local sentiment, he omitted the Emperor's health at public dinners.

ix. Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst's Government, 1885-94

Manteuffel's successor in 1885 was Prince Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst. He was a man of moderate and enlightened views, who had previously been Bavarian Minister for Foreign Affairs from 1866, a friend of Bismarck and intimate with the Emperor and his family. He began his rule in the *Reichsland* by persuading William I to re-establish the Municipality of Strassburg, which had been dissolved in April 1874 in consequence of a conflict with the Government. This was followed by a great political success. On July 4, 1886, for the first time since the annexation, the German party carried most of their candidates in the municipal elections.

But, though the new Statthalter was inclined, as his early measures showed, to pursue a conciliatory policy, he afterwards found himself obliged to adopt a different attitude. The nomination of a southern German and a civilian as successor to the Lusatian Field-Marshal (Manteuffel) was distasteful to the military party. Moreover, it was considered that Manteuffel had made himself too independent of the central Government. Bismarck was not in sympathy with the military party in their desire for reactionary measures; but at first he was forced to make concessions to them, and during his last years in office he came to consider a repressive policy necessary.

French politics had a very considerable influence on the situation in Hohenlohe's first years of office. By 1887 Boulanger had attained a position of great importance. It was generally believed in Germany that a *coup d'état* was imminent, and that it would be followed by war. The effect on the *Reichsland* was to strengthen the French party there. In February 1887 the elections to the Reichstag resulted in a decided triumph for those hostile to German rule. They secured all the fifteen seats, and obtained 247,000 votes out of 314,000 recorded. This total exceeded that

of 1884 by 82,000. In these circumstances the military authorities insisted on precautionary measures being taken, pointing out that in the event of war the arrangements for mobilisation might be disorganised by hostile action in the *Reichsland*. They attacked Hohenlohe's measures, and desired that the province should be administered from Berlin. It was even proposed in Berlin, and almost carried into effect, that the Constitution should be withdrawn; and suggestions for the partition of the *Reichsland* between Prussia, Bavaria, and Baden were again brought forward.

In March Hohenlohe went to Berlin to secure his position. He found that Bismarck and he were in general agreement as to the policy to be followed. It was resolved to adopt repressive measures, to suppress hostile political associations, to restrict by decree the residence of French subjects, to introduce a political police, and to modify the system of local government. With this programme Bismarck was able to withstand the military party, who had drafted a Bill for abolishing the Statthaltership and administering the country from Berlin.

In the *Reichsland* a period of severe government followed, on the general lines of Bismarck's programme. Antoine, the representative of Metz, was expelled from the Reichstag on March 31, 1887; and Lalance, of Mülhausen, was forced to withdraw. A number of political prosecutions were undertaken; and on July 18 four Alsatian members of the Patriotic League were convicted at Leipzig of making preparations to commit high treason. Organisations such as gymnastic, choral, and student clubs which refused to admit German immigrants as members were dissolved by administrative decree. In June a Bill was brought before the Reichstag conferring additional powers on the Government in the selection and appointment of Burgomasters and their assistants. The *Reichsland* members protested that this measure would enable the Government to appoint a dictator in every village. But the Minister of the Interior replied that the measure

was made necessary by the Gallophile agitation which was largely propagated by the Burgomasters. He added that the Government could not be responsible for the future of the annexed territories if this propaganda were allowed to continue. The Bill was accepted by the Reichstag without amendment, in spite of the opposition of the Centre. The consequence was the elimination from the higher local appointments of men of French sympathies.

To secure control of local administration was, however, not considered sufficient. It was believed that the country was overrun by French spies and political emissaries. On May 23, 1888, a decree was issued by which all foreigners, whether Frenchmen or not, were forbidden to enter the *Reichsland* from France unless provided with a passport bearing the *visa* of the German Embassy at Paris, such a *visa* not to be valid for more than a year for foreigners and eight weeks for Frenchmen. The German Embassy had to refer all applications to Berlin before granting the *visa*, and much delay was thus inevitably incurred. The semi-official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* stated that this measure was necessary for the more complete Germanisation of the annexed provinces. "Germany," it added, "does not wish for war, but only for more distant relations with France." On the other hand, it was contended that the measure was a violation of Article XI of the Treaty of Frankfort.[1]

Hohenlohe strongly disapproved of the measure. He considered it a device of the military party for driving the inhabitants into revolt, and thus finding a reason for declaring a state of siege and placing the government in the hands of the general in command.

> "If I yield now," he wrote on May 8, "I cannot avert the final catastrophe of a military government, and shall be unable to resign with honour."[2]

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[1] See *Journal de droit international*, 1888, pp. 488 *et seq.*

[2] *Memoirs*, II, p. 384.

But when he found that Bismarck was determined on the measure, and that he must either acquiesce or resign, he yielded. The stringency of the regulations was even increased on February 28, 1891. The effect of the passport system was considerable. The younger generation lost touch with France, and political divisions became more characteristically German. German artisans introduced socialistic ideas at Mülhausen and Strassburg, and were countenanced by the Government as likely to hold the *bourgeois* in check. At Mülhausen in 1890 a Labour candidate defeated a Protester; and the elections generally went against the party of protest. In 1893 only one Protester was elected. Intimidation had had its effect in convincing the majority that this *non possumus* attitude could not be maintained.

The new motto "Alsace for the Alsatians" grew in popularity for many reasons. France appeared to have turned her back on Alsace, and to be occupied with the Russian Alliance, colonial expansion, and internal problems. The great industrial development, especially in north-west Lorraine and round Mülhausen, steadily increased opportunities for employment and the wealth of the country. The influx of large numbers of German and foreign workmen spread socialist doctrines, which to a certain extent obscured the old nationalism. Between 1895 and 1905, for the first time since annexation, the number of immigrants exceeded that of emigrants (by 1,298). Nevertheless, the new *Autonomiste* party, which came into being in 1890, and was known as *Jeune Alsace*, while working for autonomy within the Empire, made it clear that it did so without prejudice to its French sympathies. The growth of this party and the eclipse of the party of protest is no proof of any change in the desire of Alsace-Lorraine to return to France.[1]

These measures marked the last years of Bismarck's tenure of office as Chancellor. Though they were continued after his retirement in 1890, the Emperor

[1] See below, p. 54.

William II soon showed an inclination for a milder system. He held out hopes of relaxation, provided the inhabitants of the *Reichsland* would convince themselves of the permanency of the ties which united them to Germany. In September 1891 the passport system was in great part abandoned. An Imperial decree provided that, after October 1, passports would only be required from foreign military men on active service, ex-officers, pupils of foreign military schools, and persons who, before performing their military service, had lost their German nationality. Caprivi, Bismarck's successor, defended the relaxation of the regulations on the ground that it was impossible to maintain them permanently. Moreover, he asserted that the province was being rapidly absorbed into the body of the Empire.

x. Repeal of the "Dictatorship Paragraph"

In October 1894 Prince Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst succeeded Caprivi as Chancellor; and the Statthaltership of the *Reichsland* was bestowed upon Prince Hohenlohe-Langenburg. He left the direction of affairs wholly in the hands of his Secretary of State, von Koeller, to whom the credit for the repeal of the "Dictatorship Paragraph" in 1902 is due. On several occasions since 1879, and particularly in 1895 and 1900, a motion for the repeal of the paragraph in the Constitution of Alsace-Lorraine had been carried in the Reichstag by a large majority, in spite of the opposition of the Government. These motions were disregarded by the Executive, in consequence of military opposition and of the disapproval of Bismarck in 1895 and of Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst in 1900. But Hohenlohe retired from the Chancellorship in 1900; and on May 9, 1902, the Emperor addressed a rescript to the Statthalter, in which he authorised him to take the necessary steps for the repeal of the paragraph, and declared his belief that sentiments of loyalty and of fidelity to the Empire had become more and more firmly established among the population of the country. The Chancellor, Bülow, in

introducing the Bill for the abolition of the paragraph in the Reichstag in June 1902, claimed that the powers conferred by it had only been exercised two or three times during Prince Hohenlohe - Langenburg's Governorship; that emigration to France had greatly diminished; and that, in view of the strength of Germany, all hope of separation by force had vanished. Hohenlohe-Langenburg's tenure of office had also been marked by other conciliatory measures. The rights of public meeting and association were extended, and natives were encouraged to enter the public services, the complete Prussianism of the previous regime being abandoned. Not many natives took advantage of the concession; but at one time there were two sitting as Under-Secretaries in the Council of State. There can be little doubt that, had this regime been continued, and had it gradually been expanded into complete autonomy, Alsace-Lorraine, though always regretting her severance from France, would not have been discontented. The effect of conciliation is admitted even by such strong French partisans as the Abbé Wetterlé; and it was increased by the pacific utterances and propaganda of the French Socialists at the time.

xi. Political Attitude of the Catholic Party

It is certainly true that by 1902 the party of protest had disappeared from practical politics, while the autonomist party had become considerably stronger. But the most important phenomenon in *Reichsland* politics in the early years of the twentieth century was the change in the attitude of the Roman Catholic clergy. After the annexation they were regarded as, in a special degree, the preservers of the French tradition. This was the natural outcome of the Lutheran associations of the German Government and of the fact, as Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst pointed out,[1] that no effort was made immediately after the annexation to Germanise their seminaries.

[1] *Memoirs*, II, p. 364.

The conflict between the Imperial Government and the Roman Church, known as the *Kulturkampf*, which led to the expulsion of the Jesuits from German territory in 1872, intensified the feeling. In the elections of 1874 seven Roman Catholic clergy, including two bishops, were returned, their candidatures being warmly supported by both the Protestants and the Jews. Mgr. Dupont des Loges, Bishop of Metz, was nominated by a Jew and supported by the *Ligue d'Alsace*, which was predominantly Protestant. Later, however, more cordial relations were established between the German Empire and the Papacy. In 1899 and 1900 the Government was able to secure the appointment of Germans to the Sees of Metz and Strassburg. In 1902 a Roman Catholic theological faculty was established at the University of Strassburg. A semi-official statement explained that this step had been taken exclusively for State reasons, because the education of the priests in the episcopal seminary had tended to keep alive Gallophile tendencies among them.

This feeling, so far as the clergy were concerned, was largely destroyed by the anti-clerical policy of the French Government in France itself. In 1904 that Government refused to allow the Abbé Delsor, a deputy of the Reichstag, to address a Catholic gathering at Lunéville, on the ground that he had attacked the Government of the French Republic for its anti-clerical measures. The clerical press of Alsace retaliated by asserting that the sympathy of the *Reichsland* for France had totally disappeared.[1] The changed attitude of the Catholic clergy may also be attributed in part to the deference shown by the Emperor William II to the Holy See, which had conciliated the higher clergy, and to the influence of the University of Strassburg on those educated there. But the political attitude of the clergy has been largely determined by its religious interests. In the face of Protestant Germany they remained faithful to the memory of France so long

[1] *Elsässische Volksbote*, January 12, 1904.

as France herself preserved her religious traditions; but, after the breach between Rome and Republican France, they reconciled themselves to the German Government because it treated them well and did not oppose their propaganda. Good treatment may be said to have been assured by the repeal of the "Dictatorship Paragraph." In 1903 the elections were favourable to the Government; and it was declared in the *Landesausschuss* that the Germanisation of the country was making notable progress, owing chiefly to the conflict between the French Government and the Catholic Church.

A complete reversal of policy, however, followed the appointment of Count von Wedel as Statthalter in 1907, with Zorn von Bulach as his Secretary of State. The latter, who was particularly disliked as a *rallié*, made no secret of his contempt for local feelings, and on one occasion exclaimed in the Lower House:—

> "Pass as many votes of censure as you like. I am here by the will of the Emperor, and I shall stay as long as he requires my services."

The reasons for this sudden change are obscure, but are probably to be found in the fact that, whereas in 1901 there seemed a real possibility of an alliance between France and Germany, after 1906, on the contrary, the relations between the two countries were consistently so bad as to suggest the imminence of war. The renewed ill-treatment of the *Reichsland* excited the anger of men like Lichnowsky and Delbrück, as well as that of the whole Social Democratic party.

xii. The Constitution of 1911

In the first decade of the present century the German Government felt that the arrangements for the government of the *Reichsland* were not satisfactory. The *Landesausschuss* was striving to attain the position of a sovereign Chamber. It criticised the administration of the Statthalter, and presented requests the imperative character of which

harmonised ill with the subordinate part assigned to it by the Constitution of 1879. It was felt that its attitude of protest was weakening German influence. Moreover, the spirit of opposition seemed to grow. From 1903 onward the *Landesausschuss* renewed yearly the request that the *Reichsland* might be raised to the rank of a Federal State. The idea of autonomy received support among the early German immigrants, who regretted that inhabitants of other parts of Germany were chosen for office in the province in preference to themselves.

In the *Reichsland* generally there existed also a widespread discontent at the lack of constitutional methods for the expression of popular feeling and desires. This situation gave rise to occasional manifestations, such as that which led to the repression of the gymnastic and musical society, *La Lorraine Sportive*, early in 1911, and to the prosecution of its president. The head of the provincial administration, von Bulach, said in the Reichstag on January 28, 1911 :—

> "It has been asserted that the youth of the Reichsland is not as patriotic as could be wished. If the youth reads that the actual situation does not give rise to contentment, that in the neighbouring country (France) it is better, it must not excite surprise if the young people believe what they read."

These and many other instances showed the German Government that there was something wrong with the existing system, and led the Emperor and his advisers in 1910 and earlier to contemplate an increased measure of autonomy for the *Reichsland*. The strong hand of authority had failed; there remained to be tried the experiment of constitutional remedies. The good effects which had followed on the abolition of the "Dictatorship Paragraph" afforded encouragement.

In June 1911 a new Constitution was conferred on the *Reichsland*. It was declared that the sovereign power in Alsace-Lorraine was vested in the Emperor. At the head of the Government was placed the Statthalter, nominated and removable by the Emperor. The province was represented in the Bundesrat by three

plenipotentiaries, nominated and instructed by the Statthalter. They were given votes except in a few instances. Their votes were not to be counted if by their means Prussia obtained a majority in the Bundesrat; and they were not to be allowed a voice in any revision of the Constitution, in cases of declaration of war, or in questions concerning treaties. The task of legislating for the *Reichsland* was taken from the Reichstag and Bundesrat and entrusted to the Emperor and a Landtag consisting of two Chambers. Control of finance was given to the Landtag; but, should they refuse to vote the Budget proposed by the Executive, the Government would be free to act on the basis of the preceding Budget.

The Landtag consisted of two Chambers; the Lower contained sixty members elected by universal secret suffrage, for which the qualifications were an age-limit of twenty-five years and a residence of three. The vote could be exercised by all German citizens, whether natives of Alsace-Lorraine or of any other German State. This extension of the franchise is without precedent in any of the Federal States of the Empire. The Upper Chamber was constituted of thirty-six persons, representative of bodies controlling religious and economic interests. These included the Roman Catholic Bishops of Strassburg and Metz, the President of the Higher Consistory of the Lutheran Church, the President of the Synod of the Reformed Church, a representative of the Jewish faith, the President of the highest provincial Court at Colmar, a professor of the University of Strassburg, four representatives of the larger cities—Strassburg, Metz, Colmar, and Mülhausen—a representative of the Chamber of Commerce in each of these towns, six representatives of the agricultural councils, and two representatives elected by the Chamber of Craftsmen at Strassburg. To these were added members nominated by the Emperor for five years, who were not to exceed in number the rest of the members. In 1914 there were eighteen. This body was intended to secure the development of a peaceable

policy in accordance with the interests of the Empire, and to exert the control over legislation hitherto entrusted to the Bundesrat. The power of modifying the Constitution was vested in the Reichstag and Bundesrat.

The new Constitution was severely criticised in Alsace-Lorraine as reactionary, and received little support except from the Germanophile wing of the Alsatian Liberals, whose leader was Georges Wolff. It was observed that the prerogatives of the Emperor were increased, and that this would lead to an augmentation of the influence of Prussia. The elimination of the representatives in the Upper Chamber chosen by the Emperor was demanded. It was pointed out that, since the Executive Government remained responsible solely to the Statthalter, and he was nominated and removable by the Emperor, Alsace-Lorraine would still remain the property of the Empire, and would not take its place on a footing of equality among the other Confederated States.

xiii. Subsequent Troubles

The Constitution fell very far short of the programme formulated by the Autonomists, who demanded that Alsace-Lorraine should be placed on exactly the same footing as the other States of the Empire. They desired, above all, that they should have the right of voting their own Constitution, instead of receiving it as a precarious gift from the Reichstag, which could at any moment withdraw what it had conceded; that such a vote should be confined to natives, and not extended to members of other German States resident in Alsace-Lorraine; that, finally, if they could not have a republican Constitution, which a majority would almost certainly have preferred, the Statthalter should, at least, be appointed for life, instead of being removable at will by the Emperor. Nevertheless, the elections of 1911 were not unfavourable to the Government; and it is possible that the new Constitution might have worked smoothly had not the central Government, from about 1912, showed itself increasingly suspicious of French

tendencies. Attacks were made by the Pan-German press on the commemoration of those who had fallen in the Franco-German War; and projects were considered for undertaking new repressive measures against the French language and press.

In 1913 the Zabern (Saverne) incident attracted the attention of the whole of Europe. Its importance lay, not in Lieutenant Forstner's original action, which in itself was no more than a piece of gross bullying by a single young officer, but in its sequels. The disproportionate violence which at once placed the town under a state of siege, the explanation given by von Jagow that the German garrison in Alsace-Lorraine felt that they "were camping in an enemy country," the acquittal of Forstner for wounding a lame cobbler on the incredible ground that he was acting in self-defence, the remarkable telegram of the Crown Prince—all went to show how Alsace-Lorraine was really regarded by the military party. A vote of censure was, it is true, passed by a large majority in the Reichstag; but it was actuated mainly by dislike of military methods, not by sympathy with Alsace-Lorraine, where the repressive measures continued until the outbreak of war, and were justified by the new Statthalter, von Dallwitz, by the argument that "French influence and sympathies are stronger than ever."

It is important to observe that this direct military action in the *Reichsland* was without precedent, and that it excited great indignation in the Reichstag and in Southern Germany. It seemed to indicate that the military party had acquired much greater power in the Imperial Government than at any previous period.

xiv. Opinion in Alsace-Lorraine

The dislike of Germany that undoubtedly prevails in the provinces is due partly to difference of temperament. The Alsatian is democratic and republican, ready to submit to authority, but neither obsequious to his superiors nor harsh to his subordinates. It is due also to more specific grounds of complaint. It has been

shown how greatly the constitutional anomalies and restrictions are resented. In addition, the German army and the language question have been grave stumbling-blocks.

(1) *The Army.*—The garrison in Alsace-Lorraine, composed almost exclusively of Germans (in 1910 75,436, as against 6,778 natives), amounted, in fact, to a permanent army of occupation, constantly warned by its officers to hold aloof from the natives and forming in several of the smaller towns an actual majority of the adult population. The Alsatian,[1] on the other hand, when his turn came for military service, spent it, as a rule, away from the *Reichsland*, often at Berlin in one of the Guard regiments, which were considered specially suitable for producing Germanisation. Alsatian soldiers even before the war were the objects of official suspicion. In 1912 they were withdrawn from all batteries where experiments with new guns were in progress; in 1913 von Mudra (G.O.C., 16 A.C., at Metz) ordered that no native soldiers should have posts in telegraph or telephone offices or on the railways. During the whole period 1871-1914 only thirteen Alsatians became active officers and only twelve were officers of reserve. The Alsatians contrasted with this state of affairs their share in the Napoleonic wars, the remarkable number of famous generals then produced by the two provinces, and the special reliance which Napoleon placed on all Alsatian troops. Even in 1912 the French army contained 398 officers born in the annexed provinces, including thirty generals and forty-six colonels; while the number of Alsatians who have enlisted in the French army since 1871 is estimated by French writers at 160,000. Apart from the prospect of having to fight against France, the Alsatian soldier was faced with the possibility of meeting his own compatriots in battle.

(2) *The Language Question.*—It is true that in 1910 a considerable majority of the population spoke

[1] The word is used here to signify Lorrainers as well as Alsatians properly so called.

German as their mother-tongue. The great majority of the inhabitants, however, desire that both French and German should be compulsory in primary schools. This desire is based not only on sentiment but on economic considerations, whose importance is obvious in a frontier country with such extensive trade relations both east and west. The Germans, however, have refused to accede to this desire. They have, on the contrary, changed the French place-names in Lorraine, have prohibited French signboards and names over shops, on one occasion actually insisting that the legend *Liquidation Totale* should be Germanised into *Totale Liquidation*. They have even, with an odious pedantry, refused to allow French inscriptions on gravestones. French actors were refused permission by Prince Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst to perform tragedies at Strassburg, "as an undue promotion of the French interest." The native soldiers of the garrison of Strassburg were forbidden to speak French in the streets. Since the war similar conduct by civilians has been frequently punished by imprisonment and fine as giving proof of "hatred towards Germany."

It is not denied in Alsace-Lorraine that the local administration, and particularly the administration of justice, is good; that the railway system and the industrial wealth of the country have been largely developed; and that in Strassburg a large amount of German money has been spent on the improvement of the city, and, above all, on the university, whose endowments are on the most lavish scale. It is felt, however, that all this has been done in the sole interests of Germany and of Germanisation; at the university more than half the students and almost all the professors are German; and, when any question arises which affects the interests of Alsace-Lorraine alone, or which conflicts in any way with the interests of any other German State, it is persistently shelved. The history of the proposals for a lateral canal on the left bank of the Rhine is a good example. Put forward by the Strassburg Chamber of Commerce in

1871, they have been blocked ever since by the efforts of Bavaria and Baden.

Although, therefore, a majority of Alsatians might have been willing to accept federal autonomy from disbelief in the possibility of a French deliverance, and from fear that the event of war would lead to the ruin of their country, the minority who were won over to Germany remained very small. They consisted of a certain number of officials, or persons who hoped to become officials, of part of the Protestant clergy, and of a fraction of the *petite bourgeoisie* and peasants of Alsace. Even on German showing, the number of *ralliés* in Lorraine is insignificant. All writers, French, German, and Alsatian, agree that the *haute bourgeoisie* and employers of labour in the towns, especially Mülhausen, Colmar, and Metz, are more French in sentiment and habit of life than in 1870, and that the women everywhere are the strongest influence against which the Germans have to contend.

That the war has proved the hostility of Alsace-Lorraine to Germany is clear from the treatment which it has received, and is constantly acknowledged by German writers. So early as July 28, 1914, the *Reichsland* was placed under martial law; and hundreds of persons who figured in the police lists as suspect were instantly arrested and kept in prison without trial. The French troops, on their first entry into Mülhausen (August 8, 1914), were received "with transports of joy, while the inhabitants behaved like a lot of lunatics" (*Breisgauer Zeitung*, October 10, 1915). In Lorraine, though less demonstrative, the attitude of the population is admitted by Germans to have been the same; and the additional charge is made that water was consistently refused to the German wounded. The Alsatians were accused in proclamations of aiding the escape of prisoners of war, and of destroying railways and telegraph and telephone wires.

During the first two years of the war forty-eight persons were convicted of high treason, sixty-four of aiding and abetting desertion, 317 of anti-German

sentiments; and 5,655 were deprived of their German nationality. These persons belonged to every rank in society and all parts of the *Reichsland*. They included priests, nuns, schoolmasters, mayors, Inland Revenue officials, deputies, and tradesmen. The severity of the sentences may be judged by the fact that a Mülhausen lady received ten months' imprisonment for "showing her hatred of Germany" by reading *La Gironde*. In 1917 Wendel, the Socialist deputy, protested in the Reichstag against this regime, declaring that :—

> " Hundreds of people have been arrested in Alsace-Lorraine who have never shown the least anti-German activities. The French language is forbidden even in districts where more than 70 per cent. of the population speak it. The Prefect of Metz, von Gemmingen, has declared that the system dominant to-day is a barbarism. Informers flourish to-day as in the worst times of the Roman Empire. It is high time to put an end to such abuses."

The conduct of Alsatians in the German army affords cogent evidence in regard to popular feeling. Though no complete statistics are available, the Germans estimate that the number of desertions by the end of 1916 exceeded 30,000; and the French stated that at the same date more than 20,000 were serving in their army. A German army order of January 11, 1916, states that, "owing to the many proofs of anti-German sentiment noticed among the Alsatians," it had been proposed to withdraw them all from the Western front, but that it was considered sufficient to withdraw them from all confidential posts where they could gain knowledge of army organisation and military plans.

As a result, fresh proposals for partition were put forward by various political parties in Germany, though not by the Socialists. Count Hertling, when Prime Minister of Bavaria, actually said on October 13, 1917 :—

> " I am of opinion that the incorporation of Alsace with South Germany and of Lorraine with Prussia would be a good thing under present circumstances. Nothing, however, has yet been settled in this sense."

The extent to which German eyes have been opened to the truth is well illustrated by the two following statements. The *Kreuz Zeitung* (October 16, 1915) said :—

> " The treason of Wetterlé, Weill, and Blumenthal, the hundreds of condemnations pronounced for anti-German sentiments, the numerous cases of desertion and espionage, and, saddest of all, the anti-German sentiments of officials like the Inland Revenue clerks at Strassburg recently condemned . . . . will lead the German nation to think that the entire Alsatian people have deceived us, and that this has proved the great disillusionment of the war."

The *National Zeitung*, of Baden (August 2, 1915), said even more frankly :—

> " We must speak the truth openly. The Alsatian people *en bloc*, with a few exceptions, would welcome their return to France, as putting an end to an almost intolerable position."

XV. The Future of Alsace-Lorraine

There is no doubt as to the views of the people of Alsace in 1871 regarding their connection with France. They were expressed by their representatives in the declaration at Bordeaux, and subsequently in the Reichstag. They resented being torn from France; they resented being annexed to Germany; but, above all, they resented being treated like chattels, as if their opinions counted for nothing. The changes that have occurred since 1871 have had their effect on the policy, but have not altered to any great extent the sentiments, of the population.

The vast economic and commercial development of the last forty-seven years has brought the provinces into close economic relationship with, and even dependence on, Germany. The administration, though marred by its dictatorial and repressive character, has been thoroughly efficient, and a high degree of prosperity has been achieved. These things, though they have not broken down the dislike for German rule, have had considerable effect; and there can be no doubt that the well-to-do classes view with some apprehension the

prospect of severing the purely material bonds that have grown up during the period of annexation.

The apparent hopelessness of the policy of reunion with France led, after 1890, to a strong political campaign in favour of autonomy within the German Empire. The remarkable and, to the Germans, irritating fact about this campaign was that it was carried on with the reservation that it was without prejudice to the desire for reunion with France. Autonomy has long been the political watchword of Alsace-Lorraine; yet it is doubtful whether any considerable number of the inhabitants desires complete independence.

xvi. Recent Events

Prince Max of Baden, on becoming Chancellor, announced (on October 5, 1918) that Alsace-Lorraine had a just claim to become a Federal State, and (on October 8) that the Statthalter, von Dallwitz, an extreme "Junker," had been replaced by Dr. Schwander, the Burgomaster of Strassburg; at the same time Hauss, an Alsatian autonomist, was made Secretary of State, and Peirotes, a Minority Socialist, Finance Minister.

Beyond these changes in personnel nothing was done to give effect to the declared policy of the Chancellor; but no time was lost in putting forward certain suggestions, which, if they could have been carried through, might have prejudiced the action of the Peace Congress. The Alsatian party, if Hauss is to be believed, passed a resolution in favour of an immediate plebiscite.

The drawbacks and advantages of plebiscites are discussed in No. 159 of this series. It is always difficult to ensure that a plebiscite shall be a real expression of the wishes of the people; but a plebiscite taken under the conditions contemplated by the Alsatian party, and no doubt approved by the German Government, would have been a ludicrous travesty. A large number of refugees, as well as the inhabitants of the occupied districts, would have been disfranchised,

while the 400,000 German immigrants, as well as the numerous settlers introduced during the war for political purposes by a German colonization society, would have had votes. This company has acquired at least 25,000 acres of land, confiscated from French citizens and Alsatians who had left the country, and has sold them to persons who "are reliable from a German point of view." The candidates were interviewed at the German headquarters at Strassburg; and only Pan-Germans were accepted.[1] There was severe criticism of the company in the Reichstag in July 1918. Moreover the Alsatian soldiers would have had to vote (if they were allowed to vote at all) under pressure from their military superiors. Clearly a plebiscite taken under such conditions would have been unfair to the verge of absurdity.

The Alsatian Deputies, though apparently in favour of a plebiscite, did not agree to the Government proposal, though Hauss falsely asserted that they did. Dr. Ricklin, speaking professedly for Alsace-Lorraine in the Reichstag, repudiated it, and desired that the whole question should be determined by the Peace Congress in accordance with President Wilson's Fourteen Points.

Another section of German opinion, especially that of the Left, advocated the postponement of the plebiscite until ten years should have elapsed, during which period it was no doubt imagined that the misdeeds of the past four years would be forgotten, and the economic results which it is supposed will arise from the severance with Germany would have had time to make themselves felt.

[1] See also below, p 92.

III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

(1) Religious

The Constitution of the German Empire provides for entire liberty of conscience. The following table shows the comparative number of adherents of the principal creeds in the *Reichsland*:—

	Per cent. of population.
Roman Catholics	76·3
Protestants	21·3
Other Christians	0·2
Jews	1·6
Not designated	0·6
	100·0

(2) Political

In 1911 the Lower Chamber in the *Reichsland* was composed as follows:—

Centre Party (Catholic)	26
Lorrainers[1]	13
Liberal Democrats	10
Social Democrats	11
	60

In 1912 the following representatives were returned to the Reichstag :—

Centre	7
Lorrainers	2
Socialists	4
Liberal	1
Independent	1
	15

[1] The Lorrainers generally acted with the Centre.

The Socialist deputies were returned by the great towns, Strassburg, Colmar, Mülhausen, and Metz.

(3) Public Education

A sum of 1,800,000 marks is spent annually on the University of Strassburg, which is one of the finest on the Continent. In 1872 it had 47 professors and lecturers, and 220 students; in 1914 it had 176 professors and 2,200 students.

The efficiency of the provision for public education and the liberal financial grants for the purpose are a remarkable evidence of the readiness of the Germans to spend money to please the inhabitants of the conquered provinces, and of their recognition of the value of general and liberal education, as also, it may be added, of the highly important part which the direction of it may play in the work of propaganda.

In 1914 the following educational institutions existed, besides the University of Strassburg, viz.:—18 *gymnasia*, 3 *progymnasia*, 6 higher *realschulen*, 7 *realschulen*, 4 *realschulen* united with *gymnasia*, 1 agricultural school, 1 technical school, 7 seminaries, 5 preparatory schools for teachers, 68 higher girls' schools, 2,850 elementary schools, 68 private elementary schools, 504 infant schools, 52 intermediate schools, 5 institutions for the deaf and dumb, 2 institutions for the blind, 2 institutions for idiots.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

(1) Language

In 1870 French was the dominant language in the ceded parts of Lorraine. In Alsace German, or a German *patois*, was the language of 77 per cent. of the population; but French was that of the upper classes, and was in common use both in town and country. A *patois* comprising Celtic, German, Latin, and French words—many of them obsolete in the country of their origin—was in use among the inhabitants of the Vosges, particularly in the neighbourhood of Belfort. This dialect varied from village to village.

Under the French Government no serious attempt had been made until comparatively recent times to change the language and habits of the people. In 1685 a decree of the *Conseil d'État* had, indeed, ordained that French should be employed for all legal decisions and public acts; but this order was very imperfectly carried out. In the nineteenth century French took the place, in many districts, of the Alsatian *patois*. Louis Philippe began the introduction of French into the schools; and this policy was developed under Napoleon III. A recent writer on the problem of Alsace-Lorraine has made the suggestive reflection that, " had the annexation been deferred for a time, there is no doubt that French would have become the predominating language."[1]

In 1871, even before the Treaty of Frankfort had been concluded, the Governor of the occupied territories superseded the use of the French language in the primary schools and colleges; and it was only preserved in secondary schools as a foreign language, being taught, if at all, for two or three hours a week

[1] Coleman Phillipson, *Alsace-Lorraine* (1918), p. 125.

only, and generally by a German schoolmaster. The Law of March 31, 1872, made German the official language of the administration; that of May 23, 1881, extended the rule to the debates of the *Landesausschuss;* and various orders have, since 1887, made the use of German obligatory in the Courts of Law, for commercial signboards, and even in the case of Christian names.

Notwithstanding these restrictive measures, the recent tendency over the whole of the *Reichsland* has been for the number of French-speakers to increase rather than to diminish. In 1910 there were in Alsace-Lorraine 1,634,260 German-speakers (87 per cent.) and 204,262 French-speakers (10·9 per cent.). These figures show an advance on the previous census (1900), the number of French-speakers having been in that year 198,173. The proportion of German-speakers was highest in Upper Alsace, 671,425 (95·8 per cent.) to 26,394 (3·8 per cent.), falling slightly in Lower Alsace to 93 per cent. and 6·1 per cent., and in Lorraine to 73·5 per cent. and 22·3 per cent. The small margins unaccounted for cover persons speaking only foreign languages and habitual bi-linguists.

If the immigrants are excluded from calculation, the percentage figures must be modified. The native inhabitants in 1910 numbered 1,502,071, of whom 13·6 per cent. were French-speakers. The difference was chiefly noticeable in Lorraine, where the immigrant Germans numbered 164,502; the native population being 441,396, of whom 146,097, or about 33 per cent., were French-speakers. Further, on this reckoning, three complete *arrondissements* show a French-speaking majority :—

—	Total Native Population.	French-Speakers.
Château Salins..	40,299	30,944
Metz-land	69,692	52,292
Diedenhofen-west (Thionville) ..	36,492	21,007

Approximately 100,000 persons are recorded in the statistical year-book for 1910 as unable to make themselves understood in German. The figures are :—

Lower Alsace	11,528
Upper Alsace	12,566
Lorraine	75,518
Total	99,612

In recognition of the existence of the large minority of habitual French-speakers (still constituting 22 per cent. of the population of Lorraine), 266 communes out of 759 in Lorraine were, before 1914, exempted from the use of German for business and official purposes, 22 in Lower Alsace, and 3 in Upper Alsace.

The recent increase in the number of avowed French-speakers in Alsace is significant; it indicates (as German authorities state) a growth of Gallophile feeling, since it can hardly be accounted for, in the absence of a considerable French immigration (of which there is no trace), except by supposing that an increasing number of persons refuse to speak German and enter themselves in the census as ignorant of that language.

Clearly, then, the French language has still a strong hold on Alsace and Lorraine, especially on the latter. Considering the large immigration of Germans, it is not surprising that there was, for many years at any rate, an apparent decline in the number of French-speakers in Lorraine, and that the number was stationary in Alsace, except in a few communes where there was no German garrison. What is surprising is that, even under these conditions, there has been an actual increase in recent years. The census figures speak for themselves. Moreover, there has been, in the twentieth century, a considerable development of French newspapers. The *Journal d'Alsace*, formerly published in both French and German, has recently given up its German edition; and French newspapers have acquired very considerable circulations. This

phenomenon is probably connected with an increase in the use of the French tongue. The sociologist, Marcel Mauss, wrote in 1913 :—

> "Les tout-petits bourgeois de Strasbourg, de Colmar, de Mulhouse, parlent, écrivent, lisent le français bien plus qu'avant la guerre [of 1870]. La grande bourgeoisie est, d'idées, toute française. Même les fils d'immigrés allemands se ressentent de cette influence."[1]

In considering the relative positions of the two languages at the present day, two points should always be remembered : (1) that the French language has never had a fair chance since the annexation, German being the official language for all business, the language used in the schools, and the only language heard by the vast majority of conscripts from Alsace-Lorraine during their three years of military service[2]; (2) that the use of the German tongue is consistent with as strong a degree of devotion to France as that of the French-speaking population.

Indeed, a definite warning against the over-stressing of arguments based on language seems necessary. The fact that the majority of the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine speak German, or a Germanic *patois*, is no proof that their sentiments, sympathies, and social instincts are German. It is not even a proof of German extraction. It is only necessary to point out that, if the arguments based on language were pressed everywhere to their logical conclusion, the existence as a separate nationality, not only of Belgium, but also of Switzerland, would be discredited. And other conclusions, even more absurd, might also be deduced.

The language frontier has been traced in detail elsewhere (see p. 9) ; but the following facts may be noted here.

(1) With regard to Alsace generally, (*a*) the population of the districts which would have to be transferred in order to make the political coincide with the

[1] *Revue de l'enseignement primaire*, 20 avril, 1913.

[2] In 1910, 99·91 per cent. of the conscripts were returned as having had a German education (*Schulbildung genossen in der Deutschen Sprache*), as against 77·56 per cent. in 1875.

language frontier is very small—less than 25,000—and only in the Breusch Valley attains a density of between 50 and 100 per square kilometre. This is due partly to the position of those districts on the higher slopes of the Vosges, and partly to emigration to France; in the canton of Saales, for instance, there has been a positive decrease of nearly 2,000 since 1871, while Schirmeck has remained almost stationary. (*b*) The strategical importance of these districts is very great. (*c*) The German-speaking majority in Metz is subsequent to the annexation. The census of 1866 gives 44,367 French-speakers out of a population of 47,242.

(2) With regard to Lorraine, it is obvious, without need of argument, that the French-speaking districts are so vital to German interests, both strategical and industrial, that the linguistic question is entirely thrown into obscurity, and that complete victory alone could reverse the decision of 1871. The cession, for instance, of the mining districts from Moyeuvre to Öttingen (exchanged for the *territoire de Belfort* in 1871), though a small rectification on the map, would be of enormous industrial importance.

(2) Population

The main problem which requires solution is a double one. It is important to find out (*a*) how much of the native population has been lost since 1871 by emigration; (*b*) how far a corresponding immigration of Germans and foreigners has taken its place. This can best be shown by the following statistics:—

(A) *Total Increase of Population since* 1871

Years.	Totals.	Decrease.		Increase.	
		Total.	Annual Average	Total.	Annual Average.
1871–1875 ..	1,549,700 1,535,700	14,000	2,800	—	—
1876–1885 ..	1,537,200 1,566,200	—	—	29,000	2,900

(A) *Total Increase of Population since* 1871—Contd.

Years.	Totals.	Decrease.		Increase.	
		Total.	Annual Average.	Total.	Annual. Average.
1886–1895 ..	1,569,300 1,636,900	—	—	67,600	6,760
1896–1906	1,650,700 1,822,000	—	—	171,300	15,572
1907–1910	1,834,100 1,868,900 [1]	—	—	34,800	8,700
	Total increase			302,700	
	Deduct decrease ..			14,000	
	Total net increase				288,700
	Add for the three years not reckoned, increase				29,000[2]
	Total increase				317,700

(B) *Numbers of Germans and Foreigners resident in Alsace-Lorraine in* 1880 *and* 1910

—	1880.[3]	1910.	Including Garrison of—
(1) Germans[4]	114,797	295,436	75,498
Including Prussians	*61,813*	*174,468*	*54,873*
„ *Bavarians*	*18,244*	*42,013*	*6,803*
„ *Baden*	*17,254*	*39,495*	*4,190*
(2) Foreigners	33,848	76,386	—
Including Italians[5]	*1,304*	*31,029*	—
„ *French*	*13,906*	*11,622*	—

Grand total of Germans and foreigners in 1880: 148,645.
„ „ „ 1910: 371,822.

[1] The figure for 1913, as estimated by the German authorities, is 1,896,000.

[2] German Year Book of 1913-14, estimate for years 1911-13.

[3] First detailed statistics available.

[4] As to which it may be noted that (*a*) the number of Germans has increased by 250 per cent. since 1880; (*b*) the number of Prussians has increased by nearly 300 per cent. since 1880; (*c*) the Prussian garrison is more than five-sevenths of the total garrison.

[5] The large increase in the number of Italians is accounted for by their employment as miners in the Diedenhofen and Metzland areas.

(C) *Total Native Population in* 1910

1,497,078, to which may be added natives serving in the army in other parts of the German Empire, 20,000 (about), i.e., 1,517,078.

(D) *Excess of Births over Deaths*

1872-1910 : 540,100 (of whom alive in 1910, 361,250).

Total population, exclusive of immigration and emigration: 1,920,150.[1]

(E) *Statistics of Emigration*, 1875-1910

Increase (without allowing for emigration or immigration)			337,250[2]	
Actual increase	330,300[2]			
Add unenumerated (conscripts serving in Germany and included in the census for other parts of Germany). (Rough estimate)	20,000			
		350,300		
Excess of non-natives—				
1875	104,522			
1910	371,822			
		267,300		
Balance (native increase)			83,000	
Deduct this from the natural increase to obtain deficit due to emigration[3]				254,250
Add estimate for 1871–75[4]				70,970
Total emigration				325,220

[1] Figure taken from German Year Book.

[2] Figure based on tables in German Year Book.

[3] This deficit is further increased by (*a*) the children of emigrants born since the emigration of their parents; (*b*) the children of Germans or foreigners born in Alsace-Lorraine and included in the census as natives; (*c*) Germans living in Alsace-Lorraine who have become naturalised either by special administrative act or in consequence of their appointment to certain public offices. A total of 414,470 can be reached as follows:—

Excess of non-natives in 1910 over total for 1875 ...	267,300
Excess of emigration over immigration, 1875-1910...	147,170
Total	414,470

This, however, cannot be considered entirely conclusive, as many emigrants have returned to Alsace-Lorraine within the period

(F) *Growth of Non-Native Elements in Detail*

Years.	Alsace-Lorrainers.	Germans.	Foreigners.	
	Per cent.	Per cent.		
1875	95·1	2·6	2·3	Excluding Garrison and including civil settlers.
1880	90·5	7·3	2·2	
1885	87·5	9·7	2·8	
1895	86·8	10·1	3·1	
1900	85·4	10·7	3·9	
1905	83·9	11·6	4·5	
1910	83·5	12·3	4·2	
1910				
Upper Alsace ..	90·3	6·1	3·6	
Lower Alsace ..	88·6	10·1	1·3	
Lorraine	72·1	19·8	8·1	

The total number of immigrants since 1871 is given by both German and Alsatian writers as roughly 400,000.

We can draw the following additional conclusions:—

(i) That such increase in population as has taken place is more than accounted for by the towns and industrial areas, e.g. :—

	Per cent.
Diedenhofen-west	231·00
Strassburg	108·85
Metz-land	63·98
Mülhausen	49·58
Forbach	46·85
Strassburg-land	30·33

under review for their military service, and then left again, and would therefore be counted as emigrants twice over. A total of 400,000 may perhaps be regarded as approximately correct.

[4] The numbers who left the provinces in 1871-72 have apparently been greatly exaggerated. Figures of 200,000 to 300,000 have been freely given by French writers. The census proves this to be an impossibility. There is probably a confusion between the numbers of those who opted for French nationality (about 160,000) and those who actually left before the prescribed date (October 1, 1872), which does not seem to have exceeded 60,000 (see above, p. 31).

and that most of such increase can be put down to the influx of German and foreign population.

(ii) That in the rural areas, particularly those bordering on the French frontier, there has been a positive decrease,[1] e.g. :—

	Per cent.
Château Salins	14·20
Schlettstadt	13·54
Rappoltsweiler	13·34
Bölchen	12·38
Molsheim...	10·47

and that in no fewer than 15 cantons the actual population is less by 200 per cent. (or over) than what it should have been by the natural increase of births over deaths; in 8 more the deficit is between 150 per cent. and 200 per cent. In 8 only is the percentage reversed. As there has certainly been emigration from the rural cantons to the towns and industrial areas, too much importance must not, of course, be attached to this point, but it is not without significance.

(G) *Percentage of Natives, Germans and Foreigners in some Towns of Alsace-Lorraine*

—	Native.	Germans	Foreigners.
Colmar	85	12	3
Mülhausen	80	14	6
Dieuze	74	23	3
Strassburg	68	29	3
Saarburg	66	31	3
Saargemünd ..	65	32	3
Saint-Avold ..	60	37	3
Mörchingen ..	58	39	3
Weissenburg ..	57	42	1
Neiderjeutz.. .	54	39	7
Metz	52	41	7
Diedenhofen ..	51	38	11
Montigny	49	45	6
Sablon	45	50	5
Rombach	43	47	10
Spittel	35	52	13
Deutsch-Oth ..	22	24	54

NOTE.—Garrisons amounting to 75,498 Germans and 6,778 Alsace-Lorrainers are excluded.

[1] Census of 1910.

IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

(A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

(1) *Roads*

THE chain of the Vosges is a formidable barrier to communication. At its northern end, between Zabern and the Alsatian-Bavarian border, it is low and there are several easy passes. South of Zabern there is no easy pass until the chain ends at the Gap of Belfort. It follows that the important points for all east and west lines of traffic in Alsace-Lorraine are (*a*) the Pass of Zabern, (*b*) the Gap of Belfort. These two passes are greatly used for road, railway, and canal traffic; the Zabern Pass carries the Rhine-Marne Canal, the Metz-Strassburg and Nancy-Metz railways, and a very important military road; the Belfort Pass similarly carries the Rhine-Rhône Canal, the railway from Besançon to Mülhausen, and two important roads.

These two passes carry practically all the traffic between France and Germany, except that which travels through Belgium. All the through trains between Paris and central and south-eastern Europe, for instance, pass through either Zabern or Belfort. Belfort, again, is the gate between the whole of Germany and South France. Between these two passes no railway crosses the Vosges; there are, however, several road passes, of which the two most important are the Col de Saales, which is the lowest point in this ridge and connects St. Dié with Strassburg, and the Ballon d'Alsace, which, though a high pass, is important as the exit from the head of the Moselle Valley. There are some six other passes by which carriage roads cross

the main watershed. It may be noted that the Rhine, flowing in numerous channels through a belt of swamps and wooded country, is a serious obstacle to all east and west communications, and has a real value as a natural frontier.

There are 13,855 km. of roads in the province, not including those of merely local significance. The roads are roughly divided into three classes, State roads, district roads, and township roads—a survival of the French classification into national, departmental, and communal roads. The roads of the first class are maintained by the central authority, those of the second by the higher district authorities, and those of the third by the local authorities.

It is noteworthy that for the maintenance of roads of the third class each inhabitant is liable for a certain small amount of personal labour, as under the old *corvée* system, and, although a money contribution may be substituted, the custom of personal service has by no means entirely disappeared.

(2) *Rivers*

The principal rivers of Alsace-Lorraine are the Rhine, the Ill, and the Moselle. The Ill is navigable, but has been little used for traffic since the construction of the Rhine-Rhône Canal (see below, p. 75). Of the numerous small rivers and streams flowing from the Vosges into the Ill and the Rhine the only navigable one is the Zorn, which flows down the Zabern Valley and is used by the Rhine-Marne Canal. Before the construction of the canals the Ill was the main artery of the province.

The Rhine.—Almost the whole of the commercial traffic on the Rhine above Mannheim has grown up since the German occupation of the province. Until 1890 Mannheim on the right bank and Ludwigshafen on the left bank were the terminal points of the Rhine traffic. These two ports developed with astonishing rapidity in

the second half of the nineteenth century; and, as a consequence, the Rhineland and Baden railways made large profits by the distribution of goods throughout South Germany and Switzerland. An early attempt to improve the fairway of the river was unsuccessful, and the proposal to construct a canal from Ludwigshafen to Strassburg was dropped owing to the opposition of Baden and Bavaria. Notwithstanding these failures, the regulation of the channel from the mouth of the Neckar to Basel had been gradually proceeding from 1840 to 1895. This was a necessary preliminary to any further development, as, before the river was confined within its present limits, it was, in this part, a maze of streams, shoals, and islands, and liable to such changes of course and level as made regular navigation almost impossible.

In 1880 quays were constructed at Lauterburg, on the left bank of the river south of Karlsruhe; but it was not until the opening of the first harbour at Strassburg in 1892—the Metzgerthorhafen on the Umleitungs (Junction) Canal, which encircles the city in the south and connects the Ill and the Rhine—that the traffic on the Alsatian Rhine began to show marked increase.

The chief Strassburg harbours are now as follows:—

(1) A harbour on the Junction Canal near the point at which it joins the Ill River.

(2) The Metzgerthorhafen, also on the Junction Canal, about 650 metres long and 40 metres broad; this basin is prolonged into an expansion of the canal forming a coal dock 900 metres long and 20 metres broad; here is unloaded coal from the Saar and Ruhr districts, the Ruhr coal being transported by canal both to Colmar and Mülhausen.

(3) A petroleum dock about 200 metres long and 45 metres wide.

(4) The most recently constructed harbours are those on the Sporeninsel, an island lying to the south-east of the city and surrounded by the Rhine and the so-called Little Rhine; they consist of two long basins with

quays, docks, &c., accommodating the larger Rhine steamers. Each basin is 1,200 metres long, and has about 2,800 metres of quays. One of the basins is used by the boats bringing coal and raw material and taking back manufactured products, the other being reserved for merchandise destined for or coming from Strassburg and the rest of Alsace.

Harbour accommodation and appliances at Strassburg are said to be good and quite up to date. Storage and handling facilities were being improved before the war in order to cope more efficiently with the developing traffic. Mannheim is, however, the usual transhipment port for Switzerland and is likely to remain so. In 1906, after much negotiation, the deepening of the channel from Mannheim to Strassburg was undertaken, and the work is still proceeding. The traffic at the quays of Strassburg has increased as follows :—

	Tons.
1892	11,513
1901	570,087
1910	1,201,215

Navigation of the Rhine.—Early in the present century more or less regular commercial navigation was extended to Basel, and in 1909 the volume of trade at that port amounted to 40,000 tons; but the trade on this part of the Rhine is at present in its initial stages only. Owing to the swiftness of the current and the limited periods at which navigation is possible, the cost of transport is almost as great as by railway. The main difficulty in the way of navigation above Strassburg is the strong current; above Neu-Breisach the bed of the river is rocky and the fairway remains clean.

The time taken in commercial navigation by steam on the Rhine is roughly as follows. A tug brings 6,000 tons in four barges from Rotterdam to Mannheim (354 miles) in five days; 2,000 tons in two barges from Mannheim to Strassburg (81 miles) in two days; 700 tons in two barges from Strassburg to Basel (79 miles)

in two days. Down stream the time taken is, of course, less, viz., Basel to Strassburg one day, Strassburg to Mannheim one day, and Mannheim to Rotterdam three or four days.

The present conditions of navigability between Mannheim and Strassburg are somewhat uncertain. As a result of the works which have been carried on for the last ten years, there is supposed to be a minimum depth of 2 metres throughout, except at one or two points where it may sometimes be slightly less; at these points the channel is to be deepened, unless indeed the work has been already carried out. Under these conditions the largest barges should be able to reach Strassburg (at any rate when the channel has been finally cleared at the points mentioned), except at extreme low water or when the stream is impeded by ice. In practice, however, it appears that the official estimate of the depth is not accepted, and in the opinion of the barge-captains it cannot be trusted without risk. They allege that the depth has been found to be considerably less than 2 metres at many points; the current is swift and liable to accumulate deposits in the drier season; and in any case, owing to the greater swiftness of the current, more traction power is needed above Mannheim than below. Vessels of not more than 800 tons deadweight are sent up to Strassburg. Most of these vessels obtain their cargoes by transhipment at Mannheim or other ports on the upper middle Rhine, but some are loaded in Dutch ports direct for Strassburg.

From Strassburg to Basel only barges not exceeding 750 tons can navigate the river, and these only during some months of the year. There is, however, little doubt that Basel will develop into an important Rhine harbour when the stream has been regulated and locks have been built at Istein in connection with the power scheme (see below, p. 105). The bridges at Kehl, opposite Strassburg, which at present interfere with traffic, will also have to be reconstructed. Were these improvements and a certain amount of canalization

carried out, navigation would be possible as far as Lake Constance.

Improvement of the Waterway above Strassburg.—The question of the method to be adopted for the development of navigation on the Rhine from Strassburg to Basel is still under consideration, and the decision taken will be of considerable importance for the future of the Rhine as a commercial waterway. Generally speaking, the German Government favours the canalization of this section of the river, and also of the section between Basel and Schaffhausen. Coal is as expensive in Germany as elsewhere, and hydraulic power is scarce. By canalization the establishment of power stations on the Rhine between Schaffhausen and Basel would be considerably facilitated. Plans have already been prepared for the erection of power stations on the lower section from Basel to Strassburg. According to these plans the German Government would propose to construct sluices to enable boats to pass, but only up to 1,000 tons; the construction of sluices to accommodate boats of a greater tonnage would be too costly.

On the other hand, not only the Swiss Government and Swiss public opinion generally, but also shipping circles in Mannheim, Cologne, and other Rhine towns, are in favour of such a regulation of the stream as has been carried out below Strassburg, which would make it possible for boats of 2,000 tons to reach Basel during at least part of the year. It is urged that the Rhine Navigation Treaty of 1868 forbids interference with navigation by the construction of sluices, &c., and further that during the construction of electrical works, which might take many years, traffic would be suspended. After the completion of these works no ships over 1,000 tons could be used, and owing to the loss of time in canals and locks the journey from Strassburg to Basel, which is now effected in two days, would take from six to seven. Moreover, the hire of boats would be greatly increased, and there would be dues to pay. It is urged that electric power could be obtained

in such abundance in the river between Basel and Lake Constance that there is no necessity for establishing works on a lower section.

A waterway for 2,000-ton boats on the Rhine up to Basel would mean a highway for cheap transport into the heart of Europe. The transit of heavy goods from England and Scandinavia *via* Rotterdam to Basel and Switzerland, and to the eastern parts of France *via* Switzerland or *via* Alsace, would be greatly facilitated, and English coal might be able to compete successfully with German coal in Switzerland.

The German Government maintains that, as Switzerland was not a signatory to the Act of 1868, she cannot complain of the construction of sluices. This appears to be somewhat disingenuous, but in any case Holland could make a valid objection. Nothing has been decided, and presumably nothing will be done until the restoration of normal peace conditions.

Present Conditions of Navigation on the Rhine generally.—The revised Rhine Navigation Treaty signed in 1868 was in force in 1914, the German Empire having, after 1870, taken the place of France as the sixth of the signatory Powers. By the provisions of this treaty, navigation on the Rhine and its tributaries, so far as they lie within the boundaries of the Powers concerned, is open to the vessels of all nations; no tolls can be levied which are based on the mere fact of navigation; no bridge fees, such as for the opening of pontoon bridges, can be levied on the Rhine itself, though tolls for the use of adjacent artificial waterways are allowed; bridge fees are allowed on the tributaries, and tolls for the use of canalized portions of these rivers; wandering channels are to be kept buoyed off; each State is to treat the citizens of the other Treaty Powers as its own; plans for the improvement of the river, as far as they concern adjacent States or States opposite each other, must be mutually made known and agreed on; the water of the river is to be reserved exclusively for navigation, and no dams, mill-races, &c., may be

built. The administrative authority is in the hands of a central committee, upon which each of the six riparian Powers is represented. This body meets at Mannheim.

The Moselle.—There was always a good deal of traffic, particularly passenger traffic, on the Moselle; but it was carried on under difficulties, and at certain parts of the year had to be suspended altogether owing to the shallowness of the river. Canalization of the river from Frouard, near the confluence of the Meurthe, to Metz was begun by the French in 1867 and finished by the Germans in 1876. The minimum depth is 2 metres, and barges of 300 tons can be accommodated. The rest of the river to Coblenz, however, is liable to be extremely shallow.[1] The improvement or canalization of the lower part of the river is a matter of real urgency from the German point of view, since it would allow of a cheaper exchange of Lorraine iron for Prussian coal. Moreover, cheap freightage would assist the development of the sand and lime industries and facilitate the transport of corn, &c. A company for the canalization of the Moselle has been founded, and a detailed scheme worked out. This, however, has not yet been carried through, owing to the fear of the Prussian Government that it would have an adverse effect on the railway receipts. There was also opposition on the part of the Westphalian ironmasters who were afraid of the competition of the south-west German ironworks on the Saar and Upper Moselle; the ironmasters were to some extent independent of the Lorraine ore, since they could import ore cheaply from Sweden and Spain. The proposals for canalization included the improvement of the channel of the Saar from Saarbrücken, where it is united with the Saar Canal (Canal des Houillères), to Konz, where it joins the Moselle.

[1] The arrival of 150 tons of coal at Metz from Coblenz was the occasion of a public banquet as recently as May 1918. (*Das Rheinschiff*, June 29, 1918.)

(3) *Canals*

There are two principal canals in the *Reichsland*, the Rhine-Marne Canal and the Rhine-Rhône Canal. The *Rhine-Marne Canal* was built in the years 1838-53. It runs northwards from Strassburg, turns towards the west between Brumath and Hochfelden, and links up with the French canal system near Nancy and again at Vitry-le-François. South of Nancy it connects with the Est Canal, which leads into the Saône and the Rhône.[1] Further west, at Troussey, there is a connection with the Nord Canal, which links up with the Canal des Ardennes and the Belgian system. At Vitry-le-François the canal joins the Aisne-Marne Canal, and so connects with the north-east French system. The length of the Rhine-Marne Canal within the frontiers of Alsace-Lorraine is 104 km., and it has a minimum depth of 2 metres.

The *Rhine-Rhône Canal* runs south from Strassburg through Mülhausen, crosses the French frontier at Alt Munsterol, and at Montbeliard joins the canalized Doubs, which flows into the Saône a little south-east of Dijon. The length of this canal within the frontiers of Alsace-Lorraine is 132 km. Its minimum depth is 2 metres from Strassburg to Mülhausen, and 1·6 metres from Mülhausen to Alt Munsterol, the latter stretch accommodating 170-ton ships only, to the great hindrance of traffic.

Other canals are as follows :—

The *Saar Canal* or *Canal des Houillères*, to which reference has already been made in connection with the proposals for improving the Moselle and Saar rivers. This canal branches off from the Rhine-Marne Canal at Gondrexange and unites with the Saar River between Saaralben and Saargemünd, canalization being continued to a little beyond Saarbrücken. The length in

[1] There is not as yet any regular commercial communication with the Mediterranean *via* the Rhône, as the stream of that river is too rapid; a parallel canal would have to be built over the entire distance from Lyons to Arles. The cost of this has been estimated at considerably over half a milliard of francs.

Alsace-Lorraine is 75 km.; the minimum depth is 2 metres.

The *Hüningen Canal* (built early in the nineteenth century), which leaves the Rhine-Rhône Canal just north of Mülhausen and joins the Rhine at Hüningen; its main function being to feed the larger canal, it is not much used for traffic. The length of the canal in German territory is 28 km., and the minimum depth 1·6 metres; at present it can only carry ships of 200 tons, and might with advantage be deepened and lengthened. Its use as a source of water-power is referred to below (p. 105).

The *Breisach Canal*, leading south-east from the Rhine-Marne Canal to the Rhine at Breisach, 6 km. long, with a minimum depth of 1·6 metres. It is scarcely used for commercial purposes; it was originally built by Vauban to convey stone for the fort of Neu-Breisach.

The *Colmar Canal*, built 1860-64, 13 km. long, with a minimum depth of 2 metres.

The *Breusch Canal*, constructed by canalization of the Breusch River, 20 km. in length, with a minimum depth of 1·3 metres.

Strassburg is the centre of a network of canals and waterways connecting the Rhine, the Ill, the Rhine-Marne Canal, and the Rhine-Rhône Canal. The most important is the Junction Canal, already referred to, which runs south of the town, connecting the Ill (Rhine-Rhône Canal) with the Rhine.

Traffic on the Waterways.—In the first half of the nineteenth century the waterways played a considerable part in the economic life of the provinces, and were responsible for a great expansion of trade. With the extension of the railways, however, this traffic began to diminish. The Baden Railway, built in 1846 from Mannheim to Basel, parallel to the river, was the first great competitor of water transport and seriously affected shipping from Mannheim to Strassburg. At present, however, water transport for heavier goods is again being considerably used, largely owing to its rela-

tive cheapness (a 300-ton barge holds as much as 30 normal railway trucks); and the transport of heavier goods, such as coal, iron, stone, &c., on the Rhine-Marne and Saar canals is becoming very considerable. Canal transport, however, is slow and cannot be used for perishable goods or in transactions where speedy delivery is of financial moment.

The following table will show the amount and character of goods carried by water in Alsace-Lorraine in 1910:—

Water-borne Goods.	Metric Tons.	Proportion of all goods carried by water.
		Per cent.
Coal, including coke and briquettes ..	1,987,633	50·0
Cereals	367,376	9·3
Stone	329,548	8·5
Lime	326,647	8·3
Earth and sand	213,068	5·4
Iron ore	194,902	5·0
Manure	52,421	1·3
Flour	48,021	1·2
Petroleum	41,875	1·1

These commodities comprise over 90 per cent. of the total goods carried by water. The figures, though considerable, represent but a small proportion of the goods carried by rail.

(4) *Railways*

At the time of the annexation in 1871 the German Government bought the existing railways, which were owned by a private company, for 260,000,000 marks, and they have been worked ever since, together with later extensions, by the Imperial Government. There are now 1,393 km. of first-class railways in Alsace-Lorraine and 448 km. of subsidiary lines. Of the total, 755 km. are single tracks only. There are also 78 km. of local and mountain lines of smaller gauge. The

larger proportion of the lines has been constructed since the annexation. In 1871 there were only 768 km. of lines in use, many of which had been built entirely for military purposes and only gradually acquired any commercial importance.

The *Reichsland* may be regarded as adequately provided with railway connections as compared with Baden and Saxony, states of approximately the same size; but, in proportion to its area, it has about 20 per cent. less of railway lines than the Prussian province of the Rhineland. The most important line is that from Paris to Strassburg. This goes through Châlons and Bar-le-Duc, and at Frouard divides into two branches, one running north through Metz and the other south through Lunéville. They rejoin, however, before crossing the Alsace-Lorraine frontier near Zabern. From Strassburg there are two main connections, one going down the left bank of the Rhine to Ludwigshafen, the other down the right bank to Karlsruhe and Heidelberg. Through Metz a main line runs north through Namur to Brussels and Antwerp.

The receipts of the *Reichsland* lines in 1910 were, in round figures, 27,000,000 marks from passenger traffic and 93,000,000 marks from goods traffic. Of the latter total, about 21,000,000 marks represent internal traffic, 53,000,000 export and import, and 18,000,000 transit. The excess of receipts over expenditure in 1910 was, in round figures, 32,000,000 marks.

The capital invested by the Empire in the purchase, construction, and equipment of the railways of Alsace-Lorraine, including the provision of rolling-stock, was in 1911 estimated at about 839,000,000 marks.

(B) INDUSTRY

(1) Labour

(a) *Supply of Labour*

In Alsace there would appear to be no deficiency of labour. In Lorraine the population is scantier, a

fact which may in part explain the less intensive cultivation of the soil in that part of the *Reichsland*. For employment in the mining industry considerable supplies of labour have been imported from abroad, mainly from Italy. There is little overseas emigration from Alsace-Lorraine, the ratio of emigrants to population being lower than the average for the whole Empire, which has not been high in recent years. In 1911 the emigrants from these lands numbered 472, all but three of whom went to America.

The census of December 1910 showed a total population of 1,868,900, as compared with 1,549,700 in 1871 and 1,603,506 in 1890; the density was slightly above that of the Empire as a whole.

(b) *Labour Conditions*

Generally speaking, the peasantry of Alsace-Lorraine are capable and industrious, and are distinguished for independence of character and tenacious attachment to ancient customs and habits. Conditions of life are, however, primitive, more especially in Lorraine, even in the houses of comparatively well-to-do farmers. Hired labourers receive from 250 to 400 marks annually, besides their keep, or else a daily wage of two to three marks. The lodging and food provided, however, would not be tolerated in most other parts of Germany. The wages of industrial workers are probably below the average for Germany as a whole, though there had been a distinct improvement in the years immediately preceding the war.

Mülhausen was the scene of one of the first experiments in the provision of industrial dwellings, which the workers were to be enabled ultimately to buy. In 1852 twelve members of the *Société Industrielle de Mulhouse* formed the *Société Mulhousienne des Habitations Ouvrières*, with a capital of seventy-one shares of 5,000 francs each. This society undertook to sell to the workmen the houses built at its expense, or to let them at a rent not exceeding 8 per cent. of the outlay.

The interest on the share holdings was not to exceed 4 per cent. Unfortunately, in later years the dwellings were sublet, and became overcrowded, and many of them fell into the hands of classes of the population for which they were not intended. The society still exists, however, and has latterly been building at an increased rate; its beneficent activities have contributed largely to producing the friendly relations which generally exist between masters and men. A large number of model dwellings have been provided in Mülhausen by the municipal authorities.

Co-operation is fairly well developed in the province. There were, in 1910, 755 co-operative societies, with an aggregate membership of 97,800; 592 of these, with a membership of 89,340, were credit societies; 41, with a membership of 2,173, productive agricultural societies; and 80, with a membership of 22,933, stores societies. There were three central co-operative banks, all with their headquarters at Strassburg. The agricultural societies included a number of dairy societies, societies for the supply of manures, fodder, seed, &c., to their members, and a still larger number of credit societies.

The following table shows the comparative importance of the principal trades and industries of the province, as indicated by the German Occupation Census of 1907:—

PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS OF THE POPULATION

Occupation.	No. of persons employed, with their dependants.
Agriculture and Gardening	551,658
Textile Industry	134,656
Building Trades	125,461
Mining, Smelting, &c.	94,228
General Business	91,447
Metal-working	70,835

PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS OF THE POPULATION—*continued*

Occupation.	No. of persons employed, with their dependants.
Post and Railway Services	69,825
Stone-Quarrying	54,978
Clothing Industry	52,909
Wood-working	52,660
Food and Luxuries	52,020
Machine Manufacture..	38,746
Hotel- and Inn-keeping, &c...	36,466
Transport Services (other than Railway)	20,727
Forestry and Fishing..	16,499
Cleaning Industry	13,135
Leather Industry	12,145
Chemical Industry	7,399
Paper Industry	7,197

(2) AGRICULTURE

(a) *Dairy Farming and Stock Breeding*

The results of the most recent enumeration of live stock are given below in tabular form. Since the annexation, the head of cattle is said to have increased by 30 per cent., the number of pigs by 88 per cent. There are four kinds of cattle found in the province. The so-called Simmenthal cattle, for breeding, are found in the districts of Saarburg, Forbach, and Saargemünd; the Durham breed is found near Château Salins; the Vosges breed in the Rappoltsweiler, Colmar, Schlettstadt and Molsheim districts; and East Friesland cattle in the two districts (eastern and western) of Diedenhofen, as well as round Bolchen, Metz, and Château Salins. There are large markets for the sale of cattle for slaughter at Altkirch and other places. The breeding of pigs receives considerable attention, and is actively encouraged by the

Government; in many districts, especially in Lorraine, large herds are kept on the common lands.

Sheep-breeding is relatively unimportant. The keeping of goats is becoming profitable and popular, and the number of these animals increased by 11 per cent. between 1909 and 1914. Geese are abundant, particularly in the Rhine district.

A well-known cheese is manufactured at Münster; it resembles the soft variety of Camembert, and is of some commercial importance. Before the war, the Kayserberger Valley was producing yearly more than 2,000,000 marks' worth of Münster cheese, and the Münster Valley more than 10,000 marks' worth. There are no figures available for the total production, but it is certainly considerable. A cheese similar to Gruyère is also made in the Altkirch district, but the amount produced is not large.

TABLE SHOWING THE TOTALS OF THE PRINCIPAL KINDS OF LIVE STOCK ACCORDING TO THE ENUMERATION OF 1911:—

Horses	138,077
Mules	106
Donkeys	1,483
Cattle	544,644
Sheep	67,980
Pigs	502,443
Goats	63,670
Geese	149,274
Ducks	87,635
Fowls	2,445,034
Turkeys	8,512
Bees ... ...(hives)	86,579

The wild fauna of Alsace-Lorraine is the same as that of the neighbouring forest regions of France and Germany. Red deer are plentiful in the Central Vosges. In certain districts wild boars are not infrequent. Black-game and capercailzie abound in many parts.

(b) *Vegetable Products of Commercial Value*

Statistics of the more important forms of cultivation are given below for the year 1912:—

AREA AND YIELD OF PRINCIPAL CROPS

Crop.	Area under cultivation in hectares.	Yield in metric tons.	Yield per hectare in metric tons.
Wheat (winter)	136,572	228,996	1·68
„ (summer)	506	836	1·65
Rye (winter)	55,332	86,702	1·57
„ (summer)	224	320	1·43
Barley (summer)	48,705	101,387	2·08
Oats	115,864	162,167	1·40
Potatoes	93,266	1,261,643	13·53
Hops	4,055	4,903	1·21
Clover and Lucerne ..	61,533	299,727	4·80
Meadow Grass	190,089	1,036,848	5·45
Vineyards (in yield) ..	27,908	—	—

Cereals.—It is noteworthy that the area under wheat has shown a tendency to decrease; it diminished from 189,839 hectares in 1878 to 136,572 in 1912. The area under rye, however, increased from 39,875 to 55,332 hectares. This change may partly be due to the large immigration from Old Germany, where rye bread is the staple food; for the true Alsatian peasant regards rye bread as beneath him. The area under oats increased by about 20 per cent. between the same dates, while the production of the other cereals has remained almost stationary.

Fruit.—There are fairly extensive orchards in Alsace-Lorraine, the total area of gardens and orchards in 1912 being 22,038 hectares.[1] The commonest fruit is the so-called *zwetsche*, or late plum, nearly half the

[1] The number of hectares devoted to fruit and vines together (in 1913) was 30,519, and to vineyards alone (in 1912) 27,908. This indicates a fruit-bearing area of some 2,600 hectares, without reckoning gardens.

total number of fruit-trees in Alsace-Lorraine being of this kind. Fruit thrives best in the vine country on the lower slopes of the Vosges. Large numbers of fruit-trees are also planted along the high roads. The Metz district is famous for its strawberries, the annual crop of which is valued at considerably over half a million marks.

Wine.—Vineyards form a considerable part of the agricultural wealth of the province, and the area under vines exceeds that of any other of the vine-growing districts of Germany. Most of the vineyards are on the lower slopes of the Vosges, between Thann and Mutzig. There are also vines in the Sundgau and Rochersberg districts and along the slopes of Lower Alsace as far as Weissenburg, and others, again, near the Ill in the neighbourhood of Colmar and in the plain near Ochsenfeld.

Area of Vineyards in 1912

Produce	Lower Alsace.	Upper Alsace.	Lorraine.
	Hectares.	Hectares.	Hectares.
White wine.. ..	12,485	9,771	903
Red wine	284	92	3,095
Mixed wine.. ..	535	117	626

Quantity and Value of the Vintage in 1912 [1]

—	Hectolitres.	Marks.
White wine	294,667	13,009,855
Red wine	60,085	2,388,417
Mixed wine	14,464	601,351

As is seen, Alsace produces almost exclusively white wine and Lorraine chiefly red wine, including the so-called *vin gris*, which is red wine made with white

[1] The corresponding figures for the German Empire in 1912 were 2,019,392 hectolitres and 94·4 million marks.

grapes. For the most part the wine is *vin ordinaire*, and is consumed locally or used in the manufacture of Rheingau and Moselle wines for export. Red grapes are also used in the production of white sparkling wine, which is becoming a considerable industry in the neighbourhood of Metz.

VALUE OF THE WINES PRODUCED IN 1913 IN THE GERMAN EMPIRE AND ITS CHIEF WINE-GROWING STATES

	Marks.
German Empire	48,400,000
Prussia	15,900,000
Bavaria	13,700,000
Württemberg	500,000
Baden	2,500,000
Hesse	9,300,000
Alsace-Lorraine	6,400,000

The quantity and value of the Alsace production have shown a great tendency to decline in recent years[1]. This diminution is largely due to the *phylloxera*, and to the adoption of methods of eradication which involved the destruction of a great quantity of vines, but also to some extent to the shortage of labour.

It is perhaps doubtful whether export on any considerable scale of Alsatian wine under its own description could be established; but a limited amount of wine of good quality and some reputation is produced, the wines from Upper Alsace being distinguished by their strength and good aroma. The best-known vineyards are those of Reichenweiler, Türkheim, Gebweiler, Thann, Zellenberg, Rappoltsweiler, and Bergheim, in Upper Alsace; and those of Wolzheim, Marlenheim, and Oberehnheim, in Lower Alsace. There is also some manufacture of brandy in the province. It should be added that Alsatian wine was, in the years before the war, falling out of favour for local consumption, a fact which the high excise duties may possibly explain.

[1] The decline is not, however, as great as would appear from the Table for 1913, as that year was an exceptionally poor one. In 1908 and 1911, which were "bumper" years, the figures for Alsace-Lorraine actually exceeded 30 million marks.

Sugar-beet.—Sugar-beet proves a profitable and popular crop. It yields safe returns, and its cultivation increases by about 20 per cent. the yield of the succeeding crop. About 1,271 hectares are planted with sugar-beet in Alsace-Lorraine, of which 1,140 hectares are in Lower Alsace. The production of sugar-beet received a great stimulus as a result of the prohibition of imported sugar under Napoleon I and of the measures then taken to encourage the growth of the plant. After Napoleon's time, the industry grew enormously in France, but it declined in Alsace, largely owing to the counter attractions of madder, tobacco, and hops. Of late years, however, the Alsatian sugar-beet industry has received more attention, and in 1893 a society of agriculturists and capitalists was formed, and a factory was founded in the Erstein district at Ried, between the Ill and the Rhine, favourably situated for the Rhine-Marne Canal and the Strassburg-Markolsheim Railway. The greater part of the acreage under sugar-beet is now under the control of this society. It is, perhaps, doubtful whether any considerable export trade in sugar could be established in competition with the Palatinate and Baden. Probably the industry will always depend on the home market, but the area under cultivation could, with advantage, be enlarged.

Hops.—Hop-growing is an industry of importance, and there are breweries of considerable size in various parts of the country. In 1912 there were 4,055 hectares under cultivation, and the yield amounted to 49,034 metric centners. Most of the German hops are grown in Bavaria; but in 1913 about one-seventh of the total was grown in Alsace-Lorraine. Few hops are grown in Lorraine or Upper Alsace. The centre of the industry is at Haguenau, in the Rhine Valley, and a newspaper devoted to the subject is published there. The quality of the plants is said to be very high, and they give twice as good a yield as those in Bavaria[1] and

[1] In 1912 Bavaria produced 115,092 metric centners of hops on 17,625 hectares of land.

Bohemia; brewers rank them next after Kentish hops. Notwithstanding the large number of breweries, the production is not entirely absorbed in the province, and considerable quantities are exported to Belgium, France, and England.

Tobacco.—In 1911, 1,625 hectares were under tobacco in Lower Alsace, 4 hectares in Upper Alsace, and 36 in Lorraine. The plant is chiefly grown in the Schlettstadt, Haguenau, and Saargemünd districts. The total crop was 3,399,135 kilos, valued at 1,583,417 marks. The area of tobacco cultivation has of late greatly decreased. It amounted to 3,462 hectares in 1872, and was even more considerable during the period of French control. This decline seems to have been partly due to the competition of American tobacco and partly to the unsuitability of the original Alsatian tobacco for the German market. In the past few years, however, the quality of the tobacco grown is said to have improved.

A large quantity of tobacco—about half the total crop—used to be exported for manufacture; but during recent years a number of factories of considerable size have been established, and the crop is now nearly all dealt with and consumed in the province.

Vegetables.—The cultivation of vegetables naturally extends more or less over the entire province, especially in the neighbourhood of the towns. There is, however, considerable cultivation of vegetables for commercial purposes in various districts, e.g., Neudorf and Horburg (near Colmar), Schlettstadt, Hoerdt, and the suburbs of Strassburg and Metz. At Neudorf, Horburg, and Hoerdt the cultivation of asparagus has become a flourishing industry. Peas and also gherkins are largely grown near Metz and Schlettstadt, chiefly for preserving. Large quantities of cabbages for sauerkraut are grown at Krautergersheim. Potatoes are widely grown throughout the province, and are the most valuable of all the fallow crops. More than 1,018,000 metric tons a year were produced in 1909-13. Nevertheless, various plants, the cultivation of which

was formerly the foundation of flourishing industries, have now almost entirely disappeared. Oil-seeds were at one time widely grown; but after the introduction of petroleum this form of cultivation, with the exception of rape-seed, has wholly ceased. Madder, hemp, and flax were at one time important products in Lower Alsace, but their cultivation has now been practically discontinued.

(c) *Methods of Cultivation, including Irrigation*

There is a considerable difference in the forms of cultivation found in Alsace and Lorraine respectively. The whole of the Rhine Valley, more especially the level country round Strassburg, is exceedingly fertile, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the rivers, where there are still marshy meadows and peat beds surviving from the old unregulated bed of the Rhine. Cereal crops predominate; but there is a considerable cultivation of potatoes and cabbages, the latter being preserved on the spot or sent to various parts of Germany for the manufacture of sauerkraut. The yield per hectare is in general slightly higher in Alsace than in Lorraine.

In Lorraine the climate is more inclement and the soil is heavier and more troublesome to cultivate, from two to four horses being necessary for ploughing, while elsewhere, in normal circumstances, two are enough. The result is that intensive cultivation has hitherto been uncommon in Lorraine. For some time, however, conditions had been improving, one reason for this being the expansion of the Lorraine railways under German administration. Further, the large garrisons normally kept in Lorraine and the development of the coal and iron industries had increased the demand for agricultural products, and under the stimulus of higher prices intensive cultivation was becoming more common.

The cereals most widely grown in Lorraine are wheat and oats, the area under rye being proportionally much less than in Alsace. It is still a common

practice in Lorraine to leave much of the land entirely fallow. In 1912 there appear to have been no less than 32,000 hectares of fallow land in Lorraine, compared with 2,000 hectares in Alsace. In all some 86,000 hectares were returned as " unused " in 1913.

The rotation of crops varies considerably in different districts. The general rule in the plains of Alsace and Lorraine is that a cereal crop is cultivated for two years successively, and followed in the third by a so-called fallow crop, consisting usually of clover or some other fodder plant, but sometimes, and now to an increasing extent, potatoes.

In one respect the agriculture of the province is handicapped in comparison with the rest of Germany. Properties are scattered and irregular, and unduly expensive to work. More convenient access to roads and irrigating canals is wanted. Measures of co-operation, such as the organisation of crops among the different properties, which are well carried out in the rest of Germany, are the exception in the *Reichsland*.

In the case of the most important crops the average yield per hectare is less than the average for the German Empire.

Irrigation.—The land, more especially in the plains, is well watered, and the system of irrigation presents no features of special interest. Full advantage is taken of the many rivers and streams which flow down from the Vosges towards the Ill and the Rhine.

In Lorraine, on the western side of the Vosges, there is a large system of lakes and ponds between Saarburg and Château Salins. These stretches of water, assisted by barrages, regulate the water supply of the greater part of Lorraine. Some of the larger lakes are also used to supply the Rhine-Marne and Saar canals.

(d) *Forestry*

Nearly one-third of the area of the province is wooded, a higher proportion than elsewhere in Germany except in Baden, Bavaria, Hesse, and Württemberg. The wooded part of the country coincides for

the most part with the Alsatian slopes of the Vosges. These mountains are thickly covered with trees; the higher parts carry conifers of various kinds, and on the lower slopes are found beech, oak, ash, birch, larch, hornbeam, chestnut, and elm. The proportion of conifers to hard-wood is about 30 per cent. The Rhine plain contains various forests. In the south-east is the Hardt, which consists chiefly of oak coppices grown for vine props; in the centre the Ill-Wald, occupying the swampy ground north of Colmar; and in the north the Haguenau forest, which consists chiefly of pines, with groups of oaks and beech.

The forests are divided into State forests, unassigned (*ungeteilte*) forests, which are owned jointly by the State and the communes, communal forests, and private forests. All except the private forests are administered by the State. The total area covered by forests was as follows in 1911[1]:—

	Hectares.
Lower Alsace	160,593
Upper Alsace	125,133
Lorraine	158,368
Total	444,094

State forests formed 31 per cent. of the whole and unassigned 6 per cent., communal 44 per cent., private 19 per cent. The State forests are mostly on the estates of the old Dukes of Lorraine and Princes of the Church. In each of the three districts of Lorraine and Upper and Lower Alsace there is an *Ober-Forstmeister* at the head of the administration, with a personnel of some two or three hundred foresters and forest guards, &c. In recent years the lumber industry had become increasingly valuable, and the sale of timber from all the forests in 1911 was estimated at over 12,000,000 marks, that from the State and un-

[1] The total area for 1913, as given by F. Lange, *Landwirtschaftlich Statistischer Atlas* (Berlin, 1917) was only 436,347 hectares.

assigned forests being estimated at 5,000,000 marks. So greatly has the lumber industry been encouraged by the authorities that there was some danger a few years ago of the exhaustion of some of the forests in South Lorraine. Cheap transport, on which the industry depends, has been provided by the construction of a considerable mileage of light railways, especially in the south-east corner of Lorraine, south of Saarburg. The value of all the light railways in the province built for this purpose was estimated in 1910 at a million marks. The floating of timber on the rivers in the Lorraine forests is seldom possible. Sawmills are common in all the Vosges valleys.

(e) *Land Tenure*

In the year 1907 the total number of landed properties in the province was 244,948. Over three-fifths of these were holdings of under 2 hectares. The prevalence of small holdings is specially noteworthy in the case of the vineyards, of which over nine-tenths are properties of under one hectare. The peasants commonly live in towns or compact villages, and cultivate the land in the neighbourhood; it is rare for them to live actually on their land. The distinguishing feature of Lorraine as compared with Alsace is the larger number of more extensive properties. In Alsace in 1907, the year of the last enumeration of agricultural holdings, there were only 35 properties of over 100 hectares, while in Lorraine there were 317, chiefly in the districts of Metz-Ruval and Château Salins; many of them consist of the enclosed pastures characteristic of this part of Lorraine. It is alleged by German authorities that these large properties, which should be a centre of agricultural energy and experiment, are in point of fact an obstacle to progress in the province. A considerable proportion of them belong to French owners, who prefer to let their properties and live elsewhere, and the tenants are said to be small Lorraine farmers with little capital and less initiative.

It was reported in June 1918 that a company was being formed at Strassburg for the purchase, division, and conjunction of plots of land and for the improvement of the soil, especially in the Lorraine frontier region. The company proposed to settle on the land peasants, labourers, and workmen, preference being given to war veterans, and to ameliorate farming and housing conditions. The foundation capital, in amount 7,500,000 marks, was for the most part being provided by the large provincial "home colonization" organisations. It was intended to acquire the properties of French citizens and replace them by independent German farmers.[1]

Peculiarities of Tenure.—The singular conditions attaching to many leases of properties in the province deserve mention. The continuance of the prevalent system of cultivation, viz., one fallow year in every three, is often prescribed in the lease, while the sale of hay, straw, and fodder is forbidden. By long-established custom a tenancy begins on the 23rd April, but the prospective tenant can visit the property and has certain rights of control over the cultivation before that date, and after the new tenant has entered into possession the outgoing tenant can return and harvest the winter and summer cereals which he has grown. This system has obvious disadvantages, but is not unsuited to tenants with little or no capital.

In many districts of Lorraine there still survive forms of the old system of *metayage*. Vineyards are often divided into units called *mouées* (about $4\frac{1}{2}$ *ares*[2]). The tenant is paid from 16 to 24 marks per *mouée*, and is provided with a lodging, a stable, and a garden of about 50 *ares*, or roughly $1\frac{1}{4}$ acres. He is pledged to do the necessary work in the autumn, and to take the requisite measures of protection against the pests attacking the vine, in return for a fixed wage which is agreed upon in each individual case. This system is

[1] See also above, p. 55.
[2] 1 are = 100 sq. metres = ·0988 rood.

adopted chiefly in the Moselle country. It has the obvious disadvantage that the tenant has no direct interest in the amount of the vintage. In other forms of cultivation, more especially potatoes and beetroot, the yield is often divided equally between landlord and tenant.

There is a good deal of common land; it consists mostly of pasture land in the Vosges and to a much less extent in the Alsatian plains, and is used for cattle, sheep, and goats. Common land is sometimes let by the local authorities at a low rental to deserving members of the community.

(3) Fisheries

Fish are numerous, mainly in the lakes and ponds of the Vosges, and especially of Lorraine, to which reference has already been made. In all there are in Lorraine about 200 fish ponds, of which 171, with an area of 4,128 hectares, are stocked with carp, and 29, with an area of 37 hectares, with trout. In most cases fish are caught by draining the ponds, usually once in every three years, the drained area being then cultivated mainly with grain. Some of the large lakes, however, being used as reservoirs for the Rhine-Marne and Saar canals, cannot be allowed to run dry, and are fished in the ordinary way. The industry in Lorraine is of some importance and value, and the fish are gradually being sent further afield to towns like Cologne, Wiesbaden, and Coblenz, some even going to Berlin. One great disadvantage is the fact that there are no means of keeping the fish when the ponds have been drained, so that they have to be sold at once at any price which can be obtained. In Alsace, more especially in the Altkirch district, the character of the industry is rather different. There the lakes are much smaller, the total area amounting to 280 hectares only; and there are also many small ponds into which the fish are transferred when the larger ponds have been dried, with the result that they can be better preserved and usually fetch

higher prices. The lakes in this district yield a proportionately higher rent than those in Lorraine.

(4) Minerals

The *Coal and Iron Fields* of Lorraine form part of the Saar and Briey basins, which are dealt with in *Lorraine and Saar Mine Fields*, No. 31 of this series. Before the war it was not found profitable to work the small deposits of coal near Rappoltsweiler in Upper Alsace. It is reported, however, that their exploitation was resumed in 1916, but with what result cannot yet be ascertained.

Potash.—A recently established but very important industry is potash mining in Upper Alsace. The beds were discovered in 1904, and by 1913 there were 160 borings. The deposits extend over an area of 200 sq. km., taking the form of an ellipse with a bulge protruding towards the north. They lie between Mülhausen, Remingen, Cernay, Soultz, Radersheim, Beguishheim, and Sausheim, to a depth of 450 to 1,000 metres, and are covered by a layer of rock salt about 240 metres deep. They comprise two layers of "sylvinite," which is a mixture of rock salt and chloride of potash. The value of the deposits, estimated at the price current in 1909, viz., 21 fr. 20 c. per 100 kilos, reaches the enormous figure of something like 62 milliards of marks.

Potash is chiefly used as an ingredient in compound fertilisers. It is also an essential in the manufacture of optical glass, dyes, soft soap, and other products. Before the war the potash deposits at Stassfurt, in Prussia, almost monopolised the world-market, the Alsace deposits having scarcely been worked, and the output from the workings at Kalicz, in Austria, being insignificant. The Germans anticipated that potash would fetch very high prices after the war, and that it would be possible to coerce unfriendly nations by the threat of withholding it. The supposed possession of a monopoly of potash has often been used as an inducement to invest in German war loans. However,

it is improbable that the Germans would be able to maintain this monopoly, owing to the exploitation of potash deposits in other parts of Europe, notably at Suria and Cardona (Catalonia) in Spain, where the prospects of the workings—largely in the hands of a Franco-Belgian Syndicate—are promising.[1]

The Alsatian potash bed is much richer and more easily worked than the other German deposits, which are more irregular. Further, Alsatian salts contain more potash in a pure state, viz., 20 per cent. as against 12 to 13 per cent. elsewhere. The shafts had nearly all come into full working order by the outbreak of war, and in 1917 each shaft could, if conditions had remained normal, have produced about 1,000 to 1,200 tons of salt per day, i.e., about 6,000,000 tons per year for the whole area. This is roughly equivalent to the total output of Germany in 1913. The output in 1913 was nearly 300,000 tons, a figure which was slightly exceeded by the output during the first seven months of 1914. During the war, owing to the cessation of the export of potash, the industry has been in a very depressed condition, and the German Government has prohibited the development of new and the extension of established mines.

[1] There are, of course, deposits in other parts of the world, *e.g.*, near the Red Sea, in the Italian colony of Eritrea, where in 1917 some 50,000 tons were produced, though the resources of the deposit are not important, and at Zahzis, on the coast of Tunis, where the estimated output of crude potash salts in 1918 is 25,000 tons. Potassium salts are also found in certain lakes in the United States; and one of the potash companies in California on Lake Searles is likely soon to be able to produce 100 tons daily. Venezuela and Chile contain deposits; and unworked deposits exist in the Government of Perm in Russia, and in the province of Overyssel in Holland. Furthermore, various ways of obtaining potash artificially have been devised during the war, e.g., from the decomposition of felspar, from the dust of blast furnaces, from sheep's wool and from sunflowers. Some of these methods, though costly, are likely to be continued; thus it is suggested that the demand for potash in the United Kingdom is likely, in the future, to be satisfied by the method of production from felspar.

The bed has been divided into 106 concessions, of which 28 are in the hands of the Société Sainte-Thérèse of Mülhausen, whose capital is exclusively French and Alsatian. The 78 other concessions have been granted to or acquired by the Deutsche Kali-Werke and other German companies; there is also a considerable amount of French and Alsatian capital in these concerns. The management and personnel are almost entirely Alsatian, and the machinery is made in Alsace. The French and Alsatian interest in the workings is estimated at 40 per cent. of the whole (according to a German estimate, half this amount); the total capital engaged is less than 100 million francs.

The German potash industry, in which between 1½ and 2 milliards of marks have been invested, is controlled by the German Kali-Syndikat, which fixes prices, and has hitherto, it is alleged, controlled the industry in the interests of the Prussian as against the Alsatian deposits, which can be worked more cheaply. The possession of the Alsatian deposits by France would at once place at her disposal an almost unlimited supply of potash of first-rate quality at a comparatively low price. In agriculture the world consumption of pure potash was, in 1913, about a million tons, or 88 per cent. of the total consumption. The Allied countries used in 1913 in agriculture alone some 300,000 tons of pure potash, and the demand will greatly increase after the war. The deposits in Upper Alsace are estimated at about 300,000,000 tons.

Salt.—There are important deposits of salt in various parts of the province, both in brine pits and in rock-salt mines. The deposits lie between Château Salins, Avricourt, and Bensdorf. There is also a smaller detached area at Saaralben, north-east of Château Salins. In this neighbourhood there are various salt and soda works, of which the most important are the Solvay Works at Saaralben and Château Salins. There is also a large establishment at Dieuze, a few miles east of Château Salins, where brine is

treated for the manufacture of various chemical products, hydrochloric, sulphuric, and nitrogenous acids, together with ammonia, alum, sulphates, and superphosphates. The chief products and their value in 1911 were as follows:—

	Tons.	Value.
		Marks.
Common salt	60,791	1,614,000
Sulphate of soda	8,606	228,000

Petroleum.—North of Haguenau, in Lower Alsace, at the junction of the foothills of the Vosges with the Rhine plain, are the Alsatian oil wells. There are about 40 of them, mostly round the railway junction of Walburg. They are usually known as the Pechelbronn deposits. The modern exploitation of these wells only dates from 1881; but the yield is considerable, and the district has become a centre of oil refineries in which the oil is worked up into benzene, petroleum, &c. The total output in 1911 amounted to 43,748 tons of the value of 2,615,000 marks—a very small matter compared with the production of the better-known petroleum deposits of the world, e.g., the annual production of Rumania, which is nearly 2,000,000 tons. Although the output has doubled since 1902 there is no reason to expect any important developments. The deposits are noteworthy for their purity and high content of light oils.

Copper and Silver.—Copper deposits have been found between Mollau and Wesserling, but the production has not justified exploitation. At Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines there are silver workings which go back to a very early date. They were exploited by the Princes of Lorraine until the eighteenth century. It is said, however, that the industry never recovered after the abandonment of the mines during the Swedish invasion in the seventeenth century, and production ceased in

1826. Attempts to reopen the works have met with little success.

Stone, &c.—There are stone quarries too numerous to specify in many of the Vosges valleys. The variegated sandstone is chiefly found in the Breusch and Zorn valleys; it is a handsome, durable stone, and has been extensively quarried since the Middle Ages.

Considerable quantities of clay for the local pottery works have been obtained.

Mineral Springs.—In past centuries Alsace was famous for its mineral springs. In Lower Alsace more than 30 springs are recorded, and a somewhat smaller number in Upper Alsace, but few of any importance in Lorraine. Not many of these springs survive. Most of those now existing are salt springs with some admixture of iron; a few are alkaline. Two watering-places are, however, still well known and to some extent frequented—Niederbronn, in the foothills of the Vosges, in the north of Lower Alsace, and Carolabad, near Rappoltsweiler, a few miles north-west of Colmar. The export of "Carolawasser" amounts to millions of bottles yearly. Other less frequented springs are at Bad Bronn, near Kestenholz; Sulzbad, near Molsheim; Sulzmatt, near Rufach, in Upper Alsace; and Sulzbach, on the Colmar-Münster Railway. The water of the last three springs is bottled and some of it is exported.

(5) Manufactures

Industrially, Alsace-Lorraine is in a very flourishing condition, and has greatly developed in recent years. Numerous industries, old and new, are distributed pretty generally throughout the province; but, apart from those connected with the coal and iron fields, which are dealt with elsewhere, the more recent industrial developments have taken place chiefly in Upper Alsace. In Lower Alsace the transport trade is specially important. Strassburg secures the advantages of its geographical position—it is, in fact, the gateway between Germany and France. The construction of

railways and the extension and improvement of the canal system have allowed this city to develop its commercial relations in every way. There are, it is true, in this district a few famous industries, such as printing and the various food industries; the *Société Alsacienne de Constructions Mécaniques*, referred to below, has a branch at Grafenstaden; there are large ironmongery factories at Klingenthal and Zornhof; and textile works at Strassburg, Bischweiler, and Waisenheim. But, in spite of the possession of these factories, and apart from the business activities of Strassburg, Lower Alsace is chiefly an agricultural region. In Upper Alsace, on the contrary, industries predominate. From Belfort to Colmar, in the plains, in the mountains, in the towns and outside them, especially at Mülhausen and in its environs, manufacturing and commercial enterprises of all kinds have multiplied and flourished. Generally speaking, all the manufactures of Alsace-Lorraine are distinguished for their high finish and fine quality.

Cotton Manufacture.—One of the most famous and historic industries of Alsace-Lorraine is the textile industry, more especially the weaving, spinning, and printing of cotton. The industry as a whole represents in importance and value fully one-third of the industries of the province, and the cotton manufactures are the most important in the German Empire. The industry began about 1745 at Mülhausen with cotton printing, or rather the impression of coloured designs on cotton fabrics obtained from India. The fabrics became famous by reason of the variety and tastefulness of the patterns and the fastness of the excellent colours. Notwithstanding the fact that in the eighteenth century the town was independent and hemmed in by customs tariffs on all sides, the industry continued to flourish and develop. In 1798 the town became part of France, and immediately the whole French market was opened to the industry. At the beginning of the nineteenth century cotton spinning and weaving began to be estab-

lished. Throughout the century the industry continued to flourish under the stimulus of the development of communications, machinery, and scientific discoveries. Many factories were started in the Vosges for the sake of water-power and fuel; but these were almost entirely dependent on the establishments of Upper Alsace. The industry had developed to such an extent that when Alsace-Lorraine was annexed to Germany it was estimated that France lost 25 per cent. of her spindles and 40 per cent. of her looms, while Germany obtained an accession equivalent to 56 per cent. of her spindles, 86 per cent. of her looms, and no less than 100 per cent. of her calico-printing machines.

After 1871 the industry had to adapt itself to somewhat different conditions, owing chiefly to the competition of English fine yarns in the German market. The Alsatians were suddenly cut off from their market and deprived of the high protective duties which they had enjoyed for their fine cottons. By the treaty of peace, however, Alsatian cotton goods were to be admitted to France at one-quarter, and later at one-half, of the French duties up to 1872. The coarser stuffs were in great demand, and this the industry adapted itself to meet, though subsequently the production of finer fabrics was to some extent encouraged by a graduated tariff. On the whole, the counts spun in Alsace are finer than in the rest of Germany, but there is no district which specialises in fine spinning. The printing industry continued to flourish and the output increased. In 1869 it was estimated at 212,000,000 kilos., and in 1900 at 274,000,000 kilos. The number of spindles in activity also increased slightly. In 1907 there were 1,532 textile businesses in the *Reichsland*, excluding hand-looms worked by the owners, of which comparatively large numbers still existed. Of these establishments two-thirds had a very small number of employees, but there were 186 establishments with from 51 to 200 hands, 93 with from 201 to 1,000 hands, and four with over 1,000. In 1907 78,158 persons were engaged in the textile industry, including the wool and

silk industries (an increase of about 3,000 as compared with 1875), a number equal to about 17 or 18 per cent. of the numbers engaged in trade and industry, exclusive of agriculture. In 1912-13 the total number of spindles in Alsace was estimated at 1,750,000, or 15·6 per cent. of all the spindles in Germany (11,186,000).

The consumption of cotton in Germany in that year was as follows:—American 1,355,000 bales, Indian 188,000 bales, Egyptian 110,000 bales, and sundries 47,000 bales. The bulk of the cotton consumed by the Alsatian mills is "middling" American.

The Mülhausen industry is now, to a large extent, in the hands of limited liability companies, most of which were founded at the conclusion of the war of 1870-71, when many factory owners removed to Paris and found it convenient to turn their interest into shares. A number of branch establishments were started in France at that time, just outside the new frontier, and a flourishing cotton spinning and weaving industry has been established there.

Much of the spinning and weaving machinery comes from England, though some of it is now made in Mülhausen.

Some of the mills are controlled by large distributing firms with a predominant share in several concerns, the products of which they sell either in the raw state or else, after having them dried and bleached, on commission. The looms are mostly engaged on "printers" and every variety of fabric for dyeing and bleaching. There is very little weaving of coloured goods.

Calico printing, the industry in which the Alsatians have achieved their greatest triumphs, is carried on in Mülhausen and in the valley of Wesserling, where the finest articles are produced. In his own specialities, such as *voiles*, satins, &c., the Alsatian printer has few rivals, and before the war goods were still being sent from Manchester to Mülhausen for this purpose. Nevertheless, his position has of recent years become increasingly difficult, as fashion has been against him. Moreover, several concerns have suffered heavy losses

through unfavourable cotton prices, and this has finally induced several to confine themselves to commission printing. A few firms continue to pay large dividends; but this is said to be possible only in the case of old-established firms the value of whose plant has practically been written off, so that there are no serious charges for depreciation.

With the return of Alsace to France it is probable that the Alsatian mills, owing to their higher organization, would be able to produce at lower prices than those current in other districts of France, and it is certain that there would be severe rivalry between the Alsatian mill-owners and those of Lille and Rouen.

Woollen Manufacture.—Woollen-making is less important, but there are woollen mills at Mülhausen. Textile fabrics are also made at Gebweiler, Colmar, Türkheim, Münster, and Logelbach. The cloth is bleached and finished in the valley of the Thur, and yarn and cloth are produced at Wesserling, Cernay, Thann, Weiler, Moosch, and St. Amarin. Cotton and woollen mixtures are produced in the valley of the Liépvrette, at Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines and in its neighbourhood, and in the valley of the Doller.

Ribbon Manufacture.—This is a considerable industry in the south, near the Swiss frontier; the factories are branches of Swiss houses established in Alsace to avoid Customs duties. There are four at St. Ludwig, all branches of Basel houses, and employing in all over 2,000 workmen, and two at Hüningen, employing nearly 1,000 workmen, one the branch of a Basel house, and the other of a house at Thalwyl, near Zürich.

The total capital invested in the textile industry and the industries subservient thereto is something over 100 million marks.

In March 1918 a company entitled the Aktien-Gesellschaft für Elsässische Textil-Werke was founded in Berlin, with a nominal capital of 22,500,000 marks (of which 25 per cent. has been paid up), in order to purchase textile factories in Alsace belonging

to French Alsatians. The Bleichröder interest is said to be behind the enterprise.

Engineering and Machinery.—Engineering trades and the manufacture of machinery have latterly become very important. They are fairly distributed throughout the province; but some of the best-known firms are to be found in Upper Alsace—viz., at or near Mülhausen. Here is established the famous Société Alsacienne de Constructions Mécaniques, which owns works for the manufacture of railway locomotives, steam engines, electrical machines, cables, and looms for the textile industry. In 1910 these works employed 9,000 workmen. The Ateliers de Constructions Mécaniques are well known for their production of machine tools, and especially for their machinery for constructing cannon.

The better-known products of the Alsace-Lorraine metal industry include spinning and weaving machinery, textile printing and dyeing machinery, locomotives, electrical machinery (though this comes chiefly from Belfort and Nancy), steam-engines and turbines, special machine tools, railway waggons, motor cars, and newspaper- and book-printing machines. There is a large home trade and a considerable export to France, and, in the case of weaving and printing machinery, to Japan and Russia.

Ceramic and Glass Industries.— The pottery and tile industry has been long established in the province, more particularly in Lorraine. One of the largest factories is at Saargemünd, in Lorraine, the Utzschneider factory, founded in 1871, and to-day employing between 2,000 and 3,000 hands. At its inception this factory proved a serious rival to the British industry, and with the assistance of factories at Creil and Montereau, in France, it supplied the French market with a certain amount of china which had hitherto been an English monopoly. Some methods of painting pottery which have since become well known also originated here. Since the annexation, branches have been established in France, at Digoin and Vitry-

le-François. There is also a smaller china factory at Niederweiler, near Saarburg, and there are large tile factories at Pfalzburg, Illfurth, at the mouth of the Larg, Forbach, Altkirch (the Gilardoni factory, which has turned out as many as 16,000,000 tiles yearly), and many less important works.

There is also a flourishing and old-established glass industry in the Vosges, in the south-east of Lorraine. There is an important factory at Vallerysthal, which employed before the war between 1,000 and 2,000 hands, and had a turnover valued at 2,500,000 francs. Glass of all kinds is produced, but more especially mechanically ornamented glass. There are also large factories at Meistenthal (near Zabern) and elsewhere in the same district. The Meistenthal factory dates back to the sixteenth century, and may be regarded as the original home of the Lorraine glass industry. The crystal works of Münzthal-St. Louis are also of importance.

Other Industries.—Other growing industries are the manufacture of chemicals, which is becoming important, especially in the neighbourhood of Mülhausen, and tanneries and industries connected with the manufacture of leather, some of the most important centres being at Gebweiler and Lingolsheim.

Two important domestic industries still survive—viz., embroidery (*broderie sur blanc*), the centre of which is Lorquin, in south-east Lorraine, and the very considerable straw-hat industry at and near Saargemünd. Hats of all kinds are made from fibre imported from Cuba and the West Indies, including so-called "Panama" hats.

The famous *pâté de foie gras* industry at Strassburg deserves mention. This delicacy was invented at Strassburg in the eighteenth century, and the industry has since attained considerable importance, its value being variously estimated at 500,000 to 2,000,000 francs. It is claimed that the genuine article is manufactured only at Strassburg, but, as a fact, it is extensively produced in the south-west of France,

particularly in the neighbourhood of Périgueux, Angoulême, Toulouse, &c. Considerable quantities of sausages and preserved meats of all kinds are also made at Strassburg and Metz.

(6) Water power

The province has a considerable amount of hydro-electric power available and in use in working saw mills, paper mills, and factories of every kind in all the Vosges river valleys. The Vosges are especially favoured in that there are large numbers of natural and some artificial lakes in the hills, and these form a reserve of water-power for the factories and for irrigation in the summer. The large system of lakes and ponds in the Saarburg district has already been mentioned in connection with agriculture. The Hüningen canal supplies a number of factories with water-power.

The water-power available from the Upper Rhine has hitherto been very little utilised, though the German Government has had under consideration schemes for utilising it. From Basel to Neu-Breisach it has been estimated at about 500,000 h.p., but it has hitherto been very little exploited, owing to the disputes which have arisen over the best method of developing the Upper Rhine (see above, p. 72). In 1912 a company with a capital of 20,000,000 marks, called the Oberrheinische Kraft-Werke, was founded for this purpose, but nothing has yet been done. It may be mentioned that, above Basel, hydro-electric works have been established representing a power of about 100,000 h.p.

It should be remembered, however, that the utilisation of water-power from the Rhine between Basel and Strassburg presents peculiar difficulties. The ground is treacherous, the banks of the river are low, and the construction of a dam is liable to cause inundations.

(C) FINANCE

The receipts and expenditure of the Central Government of the province in 1913, as shown by the estimates, were as follows:—

	Marks.
Receipts, ordinary	76,802,300
Receipts, extraordinary ...	3,276,400
Expenditure, ordinary ...	76,417,300
Expenditure, extraordinary	3,486,400

In the ordinary receipts is included a sum of 5,630,400 marks contributed by the Imperial Treasury. The chief sources of revenue were as follows :—

	Marks.
Direct taxation	21,642,000
Assignment from the Imperial Customs revenue ...	10,710,000
Taxes on trade (Verkehrssteuern)—i.e., taxes on commercial transactions, playing cards, bank-notes, &c.	10,385,000

The public debt, floating and funded, of Alsace-Lorraine in 1913 was 44,546,600 marks, the whole of which has been contracted since the annexation by Germany.

(D) GENERAL REMARKS

Alsace-Lorraine is unquestionably in a very prosperous condition, and the development of her wealth and natural resources of late years has been remarkable. A significant symptom of the prosperity of the province is the increase in the number of businesses subject to the trade tax (*Gewerbesteuer*). Those of which the capital amounts to 10,000 to 20,000 marks increased from 1,527 in 1903 to 2,313 in 1912, and there was a similar growth in the case of larger businesses,

those in which the capital exceeded 100,000 marks having increased from 157 to 233.

Although it has taken place under German administration, there is no reason to suppose that this development has been in any way furthered by the incorporation of the country in the German Empire, by which, indeed, it has been in some respects impeded. The development of Rhine traffic and the exploitation of the deposits of potash, and, to some extent, of the Saar coalfield, have been restricted in the interests of Germany. There is also a good deal of foreign capital in the country; and, unlike the Austrians in the Trentino, who have in many cases excluded Italian capital from certain enterprises, the Germans have placed no obstacle in the way of the investment of French capital in Alsace-Lorraine.

There can be no doubt that the province will continue to prosper. The mineral resources—iron, coal, potash, salt, and petroleum—the flourishing industries of Upper Alsace, together with the fertile soil of the Rhine valley, have combined to make it one of the most valuable territories of the German Empire; and the conspicuous intelligence and enterprise of the business community are a guarantee that the utmost will be made of the resources of the country in the future.

APPENDIX

I. PRÉLIMINAIRES DE PAIX ENTRE L'EMPIRE ALLEMAND ET LA FRANCE, SIGNÉ A VERSAILLES, LE 26 FÉVRIER, 1871

Art. I.—La France renonce en faveur de l'Empire allemand à tous ses droits et titres sur les territoires situés à l'est de la frontière ci-après désignée.

La ligne de démarcation commence à la frontière nord-ouest du canton de Cattenom vers le Grand-Duché de Luxembourg, suit vers le sud les frontières occidentales des cantons de Cattenom et Thionville, passe par le canton de Briey en longeant les frontières occidentales des communes de Montois-la-Montagne et Roncourt ainsi que les frontières orientales de Ste.-Marie-aux-Chênes, St.-Ail, Habonville, atteint la frontière du canton de Gorze qu'elle traverse le long des frontières communales de Vionville, Bouxières et Onville, suit la frontière sud-ouest resp. sud de l'arrondissement de Metz, la frontière occidentale de l'arrondissement de Château Salins jusqu'à la commune de Pettoncourt dont elle embrasse les frontières occidentale et méridionale pour suivre la crête des montagnes entre la Seille et le Moncel jusqu'à la frontière de l'arrondissement de Sarrebourg au sud de Garde. La démarcation coïncide ensuite avec la frontière de cet arrondissement jusqu'à la commune de Tanconville dont elle atteint la frontière au nord, de là elle suit la crête des montagnes entre les sources de la Sarre Blanche et le Vezouze jusqu'à la frontière du canton de Schirmeck, longe la frontière occidentale de ce canton, embrasse les communes de Saales, Bourg-Bruche, Colroy-la-Roche, Plaine, Ranrupt, Saulxures et St.-Blaise-la-Roche du canton de Saales, et coïncide avec la frontière occidentale des départements du Bas-Rhin et du Haut-Rhin jusqu'au canton de Belfort, dont elle quitte la frontière méridionale non loin de Vourvenans pour traverser le canton de Delle aux limites méridionales des communes de Bourogne et de Froide-Fontaine, et atteindre la frontière suisse en longeant les frontières orientales des communes de Jonchery et Delle.

L'Empire allemand possédera ces territoires à perpétuité en toute souveraineté et propriété. Une commission internationale composée de représentants des Hautes Parties contractantes en

nombre égal des deux côtés sera chargée, immédiatement après l'échange des ratifications du présent traité, d'exécuter sur le terrain le tracé de la nouvelle frontière, conformément aux stipulations précédentes.

Cette commission présidera au partage des biens-fonds et capitaux qui jusqu'ici ont appartenu en commun à des districts ou des communes séparés par la nouvelle frontière; en cas de désaccord sur le tracé et les mesures d'exécution, les membres de la commission en référeront à leurs Gouvernements respectifs.

La frontière telle qu'elle vient d'être décrite, se trouve marquée en vert sur deux exemplaires conformes de la carte du territoire formant le Gouvernement général d'Alsace, publiée à Berlin, en septembre 1870, par la division géographique et statistique de l'état-major général, et dont un exemplaire sera joint à chacune des deux expéditions du présent traité.

Toutefois le tracé indiqué a subi les modifications suivantes de l'accord des deux parties contractantes: dans l'ancien département de la Moselle les villages de Ste.-Marie-aux-Chênes près de St.-Privat-la-Montagne et de Vionville, à l'ouest de Rezonville seront cédés à l'Allemagne. Par contre, la ville et les fortifications de Belfort resteront à la France avec un rayon qui sera déterminé ultérieurement.

* * * * *

Art. V.—Les intérêts des habitants des territoires cédés par la France, en tout ce qui concerne leur commerce et leurs droits civils, seront réglés aussi favorablement que possible lorsque seront arrêtées les conditions de la paix définitive. Il sera fixé, à cet effet, un espace de temps pendant lequel ils jouiront de facilités particulières pour la circulation de leurs produits. Le Gouvernement allemand n'apportera aucun obstacle à la libre émigration des habitants des territoires cédés et ne pourra prendre contre eux aucune mesure atteignant leurs personnes ou leurs propriétés.

II. TRAITÉ DE PAIX ENTRE L'EMPIRE ALLEMAND ET LA FRANCE, SIGNÉ A FRANCFORT-SUR-MAIN, LE 10 MAI, 1871

Art. I.—La distance de la ville de Belfort à la ligne de frontière telle qu'elle a été d'abord proposée lors des négociations de Versailles et telle qu'elle se trouve marquée sur la carte annexée à l'instrument ratifié du traité des préliminaires du 26 février, est considérée comme indiquant la mesure du rayon qui, en vertu de la clause y relative du premier article des préliminaires, doit rester à la France avec la ville et les fortifications de Belfort.

Le Gouvernement allemand est disposé à élargir ce rayon de manière qu'il comprenne les cantons de Belfort, de Belle et de

Giromagny, ainsi que la partie occidentale du canton de Fontaine à l'ouest d'une ligne à tracer du point où le canal du Rhin au Rhône sort du canton de Delle au sud de Montreux-Château jusqu'à la limite nord du canton entre Bourg et Félon où cette ligne joindrait la limite est du canton de Giromagny.

Le Gouvernement allemand, toutefois, ne cédera les territoires sus-indiqués qu'à la condition que la République française, de son côté, consentira à une rectification de frontière le long des limites occidentales des cantons de Cattenom et de Thionville qui laisseront à l'Allemagne le terrain à l'est d'une ligne partant de la frontière du Luxembourg entre Hussigny et Redingen laissant à la France les villages de Thil et de Villerupt, se prolongeant entre Erronville et Aumetz entre Beuvillers et Boulange, entre Trieux et Lommeringen, et joignant l'ancienne ligne de frontière entre Avril et Moyeuvre.

La commission internationale, dont il est question dans l'Art. I des préliminaires, se rendra sur le terrain immédiatement après l'échange des ratifications du présent traité pour exécuter les travaux qui lui incombent et pour faire le tracé de la nouvelle frontière conformément aux dispositions précédentes.

Art. II.—Les sujets français originaires des territoires cédés domiciliés actuellement sur ce territoire qui entendront conserver la nationalité française jouiront jusqu'au premier octobre 1872 et moyennant une déclaration préalable, faite à l'autorité compétente, de la faculté de transporter leur domicile en France et de s'y fixer, sans que ce droit puisse être altéré par les lois sur le service militaire, auquel cas la qualité de citoyen français leur sera maintenue. Ils seront libres de conserver leurs immeubles situés sur le territoire réuni à l'Allemagne.

Aucun habitant des territoires cédés ne pourra être poursuivi, inquiété ou recherché dans sa personne ou dans ses biens à raison de ses actes politiques ou militaires pendant la guerre.

Art. III.—Le Gouvernement français remettra au Gouvernement allemand les archives, documents, et registres concernant l'administration civile, militaire, et judiciaire des territoires cédés. Si quelques-uns de ces titres avaient été déplacés, ils seront restitués par le Gouvernement français sur la demande du Gouvernement allemand.

Art. IV.—Le Gouvernement français remettra au Gouvernement de l'Empire d'Allemagne dans le terme de six mois à dater de l'échange des ratifications de ce traité:

1° le montant des sommes déposées par les départements, les communes et les établissements publics des territoires cédés;

2° le montant des primes d'enrôlement et de remplacement appartenant aux militaires et marins originaires des territoires cédés qui auront opté pour la nationalité allemande;

3° le montant des cautionnements des comptables de l'État;

4° le montant des sommes versées pour consignations judiciaires par suite de mesures prises par les autorités administratives ou judiciaires dans les territoires cédés.

Art. V.—Les deux nations jouiront d'un traitement égal en ce qui concerne la navigation sur la Moselle, le canal du Rhin à la Marne, le canal du Rhône au Rhin, le canal de la Sarre, et les eaux navigables communiquant avec ces voies de navigation. Le droit de flottage sera maintenu.

Art. VI.—Les Hautes Parties contractantes, étant d'avis que les circonscriptions diocésaines des territoires cédés à l'Empire allemand doivent coïncider avec la nouvelle frontière déterminée par l'article I ci-dessus, se concerteront après la ratification du présent traité, sans retard, sur les mesures à prendre en commun à cet effet.

Les communautés appartenant, soit à l'Église réformée, soit à la confession d'Augsbourg, établies sur les territoires cédés par la France, cesseront de relever de l'autorité ecclésiastique française.

Les communautés de l'Église de la confession d'Augsbourg établies dans les territoires français cesseront de relever du consistoire supérieur et du directeur siégeant à Strasbourg.

Les communautés israélites des territoires situés à l'est de la nouvelle frontière cesseront de dépendre du consistoire central israélite siégeant à Paris.

* * * * *

Art. IX.—Le traitement exceptionnel accordé maintenant aux produits de l'industrie des territoires cédés pour l'importation en France sera maintenu pour un espace de temps de six mois depuis le 1er mars, dans les conditions faites avec les délégués de l'Alsace.

* * * * *

Art. XI.—Les traités de commerce avec les différents États de l'Allemagne ayant été annulés par la guerre, le Gouvernement allemand et le Gouvernement français prendront pour base de leurs relations commerciales le régime du traitement réciproque sur le pied de la nation la plus favorisée.

Sont compris dans cette règle les droits d'entrée et de sortie, le transit, les formalités douanières, l'admission et le traitement des sujets des deux nations ainsi que de leurs agents.

Toutefois, seront exceptées de la règle susdite les faveurs qu'une des parties contractantes, par des traités de commerce, a accordées ou accordera à des États autres que ceux qui suivent: l'Angleterre, la Belgique, les Pays-Bas, la Suisse, l'Autriche, la Russie.

Les traités de navigation, ainsi que la convention relative au service international des chemins de fer dans ses rapports avec la douane et la convention pour la garantie réciproque de la propriété des œuvres d'esprit et d'art seront remis en vigueur.

Néanmoins, le Gouvernement français se réserve la faculté d'établir, sur les navires allemands et leurs cargaisons, des droits de tonnage et de pavillon, sous la réserve que ces droits ne soient pas plus élevés que ceux qui grèveront les bâtiments et les cargaisons des nations susmentionnées.

* * * * *

Art. XIV.—Chacune des deux parties continuera sur son territoire les travaux entrepris pour la canalisation de la Moselle. Les intérêts communs des parties séparées des deux départements de la Meurthe et de la Moselle seront liquidés.

Articles additionnels

Art. I, § 1. D'ici à l'époque fixée pour l'échange des ratifications du présent traité, le Gouvernement français usera de son droit de rachat de la concession donnée à la Compagnie des chemins de fer de l'Est. Le Gouvernement allemand sera subrogé à tous les droits que le Gouvernement français aura acquis par le rachat des concessions en ce qui concerne les chemins de fer situés dans les territoires cédés, soit achevés, soit en construction.

§ 2. Seront compris dans cette concession :

1° Tous les terrains appartenant à ladite Compagnie, quelle que soit leur destination, ainsi que : établissements de gare et de stations, hangars, ateliers et magasins, maisons de gardes de voie, &c., &c. ;

2° Tous les immeubles qui en dépendent, ainsi que : barrières, clôtures, changements de voie, aiguilles, plaques tournantes, prises d'eaux, grues hydrauliques, machines fixes, &c., &c. ;

3° Tous les matériaux, combustibles et approvisionnements de tout genre, mobiliers des gares, outillages des ateliers et des gares, &c., &c. ;

4° Les sommes dues à la Compagnie des chemins de fer de l'Est à titre de subventions accordées par des corporations ou personnes domiciliées dans les territoires cédés.

§ 3. Sera exclu de cette concession le matériel roulant. Le Gouvernement allemand remettra la part du matériel roulant avec ses accessoires qui se trouverait en sa possession au Gouvernement français.

§ 4. Le Gouvernement français s'engage à libérer envers l'Empire allemand entièrement les chemins de fer cédés ainsi que leurs dépendances de tous les droits que des tiers pourraient faire valoir, nommément des droits des obligataires. Il s'engage également à se substituer, le cas échéant, au Gouvernement allemand, relativement aux réclamations qui pourraient être élevées vis-à-vis du Gouvernement allemand par les créanciers des chemins de fer en question.

§ 5. Le Gouvernement français prendra à sa charge les réclamations que la Compagnie des chemins de fer de l'Est pourrait élever vis-à-vis du Gouvernement allemand ou de ses mandataires par rapport à l'exploitation desdits chemins de fer et à l'usage des objets indiqués dans le § 2, ainsi que du matériel roulant.

Le Gouvernement allemand communiquera au Gouvernement français, à sa demande, tous les documents et toutes les indications qui pourraient servir à constater les faits sur lesquels s'appuieront les réclamations susmentionnées.

§ 6. Le Gouvernement allemand payera au Gouvernement français, pour la cession des droits de propriété indiqués dans les §§ 1 et 2 et en titre d'équivalent pour l'engagement pris par le Gouvernement français dans le § 4, la somme de trois cent vingt-cinq millions (325,000,000) de francs.

On défalquera cette somme de l'indemnité de guerre stipulée dans l'article VII.

§ 7. Vu que la situation qui a servi de base à la convention conclue entre la Compagnie des chemins de fer de l'Est et la Société Royale-Grand-Ducale des chemins de fer Guillaume-Luxembourg, en date du 6 juin 1857 et du 21 janvier 1868, et celle conclue entre le Gouvernement du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg et les Sociétés des chemins de fer Guillaume-Luxembourg et de l'Est français, en date du 5 décembre, 1868, a été modifiée essentiellement de manière qu'elles ne sont applicables à l'état des choses créé par les stipulations contenues dans le § 1er, le Gouvernement allemand se déclare prêt à se substituer aux droits et aux charges résultants de ces conventions pour la Compagnie des chemins de fer de l'Est.

Pour le cas où le Gouvernement français serait subrogé, soit par le rachat de la concession de la Compagnie de l'Est, soit par une entente spéciale, aux droits acquis par cette société en vertu des conventions sus-indiquées, il s'engage à céder gratuitement dans un délai de six semaines ces droits au Gouvernement allemand.

Pour le cas où ladite subrogation ne s'effectuerait pas, le Gouvernement français n'accordera des concessions pour les lignes de chemin de fer appartenant à la Compagnie de l'Est et situées dans le territoire français que sous la condition expresse que le concessionnaire n'exploite point les lignes de chemin de fer situées dans le Grand-Duché de Luxembourg.

Art. II. Le Gouvernement allemand offre deux millions de francs pour les droits et les propriétés que possède la Compagnie des chemins de fer de l'Est sur la partie de son réseau située sur le territoire suisse, de la frontière à Basle, si le Gouvernement français lui fait tenir le consentement dans le délai d'un mois.

Art. III. La cession de territoire auprès de Belfort, offerte par le Gouvernement allemand dans l'article I du présent traité en échange de la rectification de frontière demandée à l'ouest de

Thionville, sera augmentée des territoires des villages suivants: Rougemont, Leval, Petite-Fontaine, Romagny, Félon, La Chapelle-sous-Rougemont, Angeot, Vauthiermont, La Rivière, La Grange, Reppe, Fontaine, Frais, Foussemagne, Cunelières, Montreux-Château, Bretagne, Chavannes-les-Grands, Chavanatte, Suarce.

La route de Giromagny à Remirement passant au ballon d'Alsace restera à France dans tout son parcours et servira de limite, en tant qu'elle est située en dehors du canton de Giromagny.

III. DECLARATION OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF ALSACE AND LORRAINE IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, BORDEAUX, FEBRUARY 16, 1871.

ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE.

SESSION 1871.

Annexe au procès-verbal du 16 février, 1871.

Proposition

relative à la déclaration des députés des départements du Bas-Rhin, du Haut-Rhin, de la Moselle, de la Meurthe, et des Vosges, à l'égard de l'Alsace et de la Lorraine,

Présentée

par MM. Léon Gambetta, Grosjean, Humbert, Küss, Saglio, H. Varroy, Titot, André, Kablé, Tachard, Rehm, Edouard Teutsch, Dornès, Hartmann, Ostermann, La Flize, Deschange, Billy, Bardon, Viox, Albrecht, Alfred Kœchlin, Charles Boersch, Grandpierre, Chauffour, Rencker, Melsheim, Keller, Brice, Berlet, Schnéegans, Ed. Bamberger, A. Bœll, Noblot, Scheurer-Kestner, Ancelon.

Nous soussignés, citoyens français, choisis et députés par les départements du Bas-Rhin, du Haut-Rhin, de la Moselle, de la Meurthe, et des Vosges, pour apporter à l'Assemblée nationale de France l'expression de la volonté unanime des populations de l'Alsace et de la Lorraine, après nous être réunis et en avoir délibéré, avons résolu d'exposer dans une déclaration solennelle leurs droits sacrés et inaltérables, afin que l'Assemblée nationale, la France et l'Europe, ayant sous les yeux les vœux et les résolutions de nos commettants, ne puisse consommer ni laisser consommer aucun acte de nature à porter atteinte aux droits dont un mandat formel nous a confié la garde et la défense.

Déclaration

I. L'Alsace et la Lorraine ne veulent pas être aliénées. Associées depuis plus de deux siècles à la France dans la bonne comme dans la mauvaise fortune,ces deux provinces, sans cesse exposées

aux coups de l'ennemi, se sont constamment sacrifiées pour la grandeur nationale; elles ont scellé de leur sang l'indissoluble pacte qui les rattache à l'unité française. Mises aujourd'hui en question par les prétentions étrangères, elles affirment à travers tous les obstacles et tous les dangers, sous le joug même de l'envahisseur, leur inébranlable fidélité.

Tous unanimes, les citoyens demeurés dans leurs foyers comme les soldats accourus sous le drapeau, les uns en votant les autres en combattant, signifient à l'Allemagne et au monde l'immuable volonté de l'Alsace et de la Lorraine de rester terre française.

II. La France ne peut consentir ni signer la cession de Lorraine et de l'Alsace.

Elle ne peut pas, sans mettre en péril la continuité de son existence nationale, porter elle-même un coup mortel à sa propre unité en abandonnant ceux qui ont conquis par deux cents ans de dévouement patriotique le droit d'être défendus par le pays tout entier contre les entreprises de la force victorieuse.

Une Assemblée, même issue du suffrage universel, ne pourrait invoquer sa souveraineté pour couvrir ou ratifier des exigences destructives de l'intégrité nationale: elle s'arrogerait un droit qui n'appartient même pas au peuple réuni dans ses comices. Un pareil excès des pouvoirs qui aurait pour effet de mutiler la mère commune, dénoncerait aux justes sévérités de l'histoire ceux qui s'en rendraient coupables.

La France peut subir les coups de la force; elle ne peut sanctionner ses arrêts.

III. L'Europe ne peut permettre ni ratifier l'abandon de l'Alsace et de la Lorraine.

Gardiennes des règles de la justice et du droit des gens, les nations civilisées ne sauraient rester plus longtemps insensibles au sort de leur voisine, sous peine d'être, à leur tour, victimes des attentats qu'elles auraient tolérés.

L'Europe moderne ne peut laisser saisir un peuple comme un vil troupeau; elle ne peut rester sourde aux protestations répétées des populations menacées; elle doit à sa propre conservation d'interdire des pareils abus de la force. Elle sait, d'ailleurs, que l'unité de la France est aujourd'hui, comme dans le passé, une garantie de l'ordre général du monde, une barrière contre l'esprit de conquête et d'invasion. La paix faite au prix d'une cession de territoire ne serait qu'une trêve ruineuse et non une paix définitive. Elle serait pour tous une cause d'agitations intestines, une provocation légitime et permanente à la guerre.

En résumé, l'Alsace et la Lorraine protestent hautement contre toute cession; la France ne peut la consentir, l'Europe ne peut la sanctionner.

En foi de quoi nous prenons nos concitoyens de France, les gouvernements et les peuples du monde entier, à témoin que nous tenons d'avance pour nuls et non avenus tous actes et traités,

vote ou plébiscite, qui consentiraient l'abandon en faveur de l'étranger, de tout ou partie de nos provinces de l'Alsace et la Lorraine.

Nous proclamons par les présentes pour jamais inviolable le droit des Alsaciens et des Lorrains de rester membres de la nation française, et nous jurons, tant pour nous que pour nos commettants, nos enfants et leurs descendants, de la revendiquer éternellement et par toutes les voies envers et contre tous usurpateurs.

Proposition.

Les soussignés, représentants de l'Assemblée nationale, déposent sur le bureau de la Chambre la proposition suivante :

" L'Assemblée nationale prend en considération la déclaration unanime des députés du Bas-Rhin, du Haut-Rhin, de la Meurthe, de la Moselle, et des Vosges."

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A special map of Alsace-Lorraine and the neighbouring countries, on the scale of 1 : 1,000,000, has been issued by the War Office in connection with this series (G.S.G.S. 2909, January 1919).

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