

*HANDBOOKS PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE.—No. 39*

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EAST AND WEST
PRUSSIA

LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY H. M. STATIONERY OFFICE.

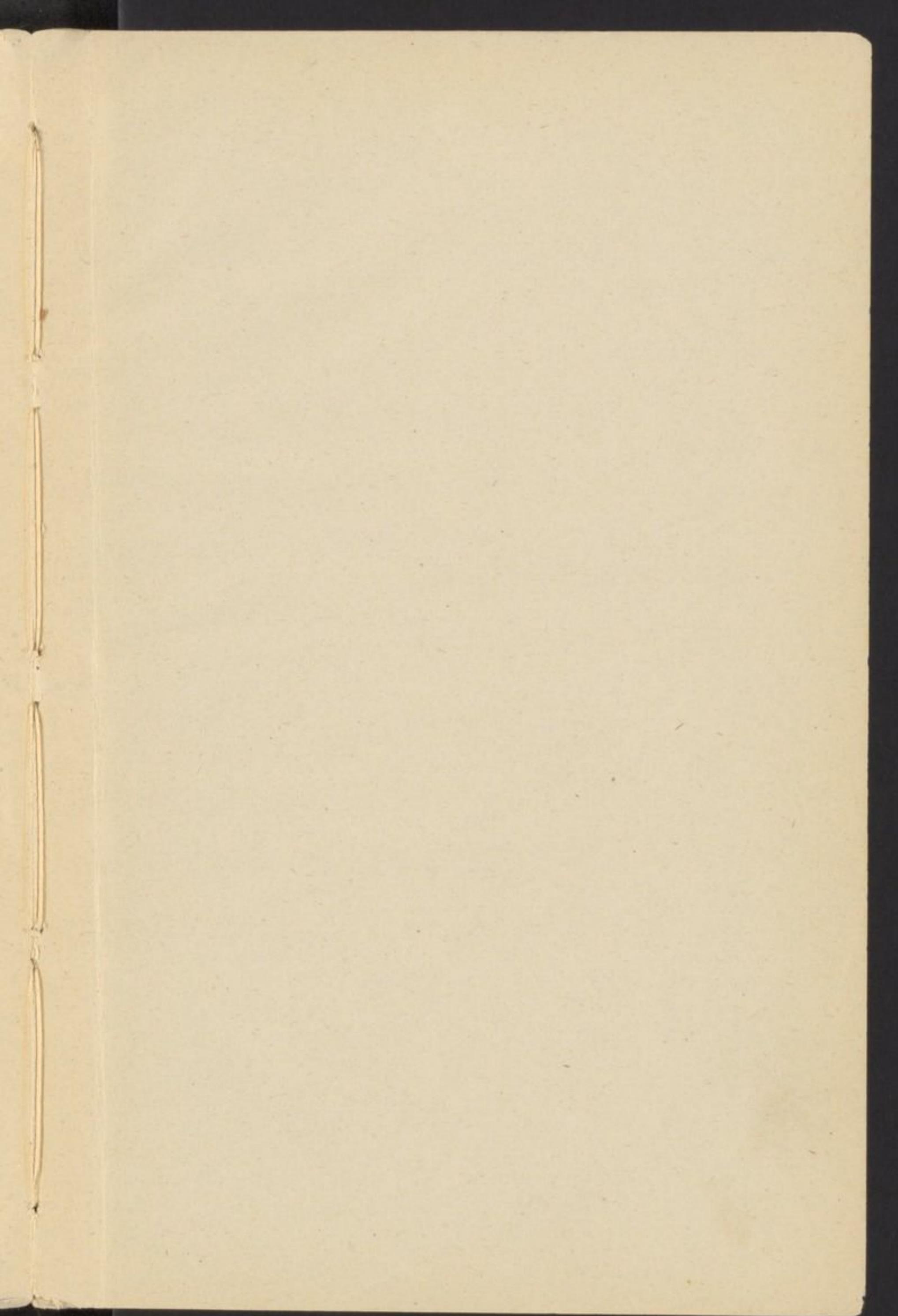


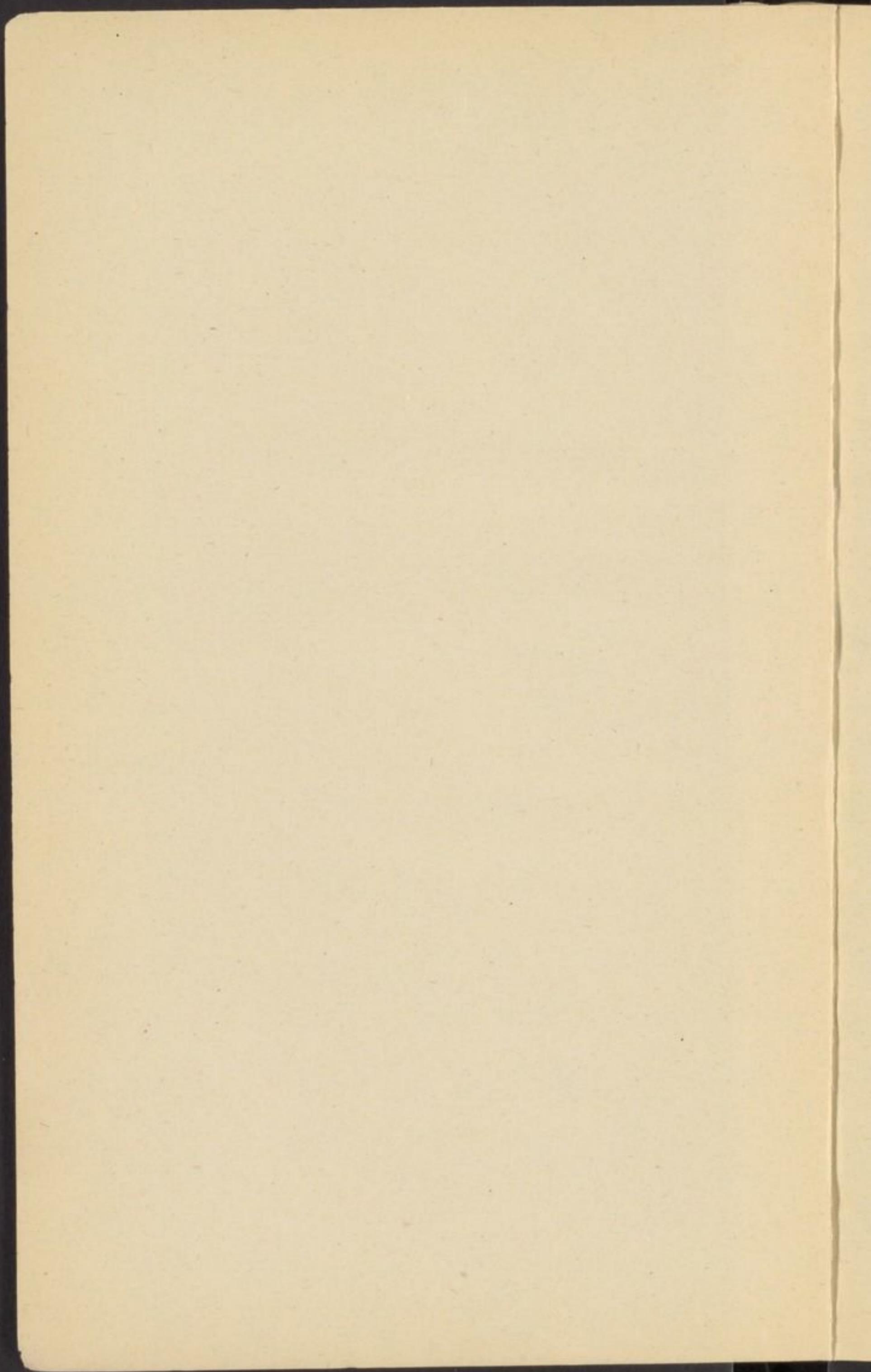
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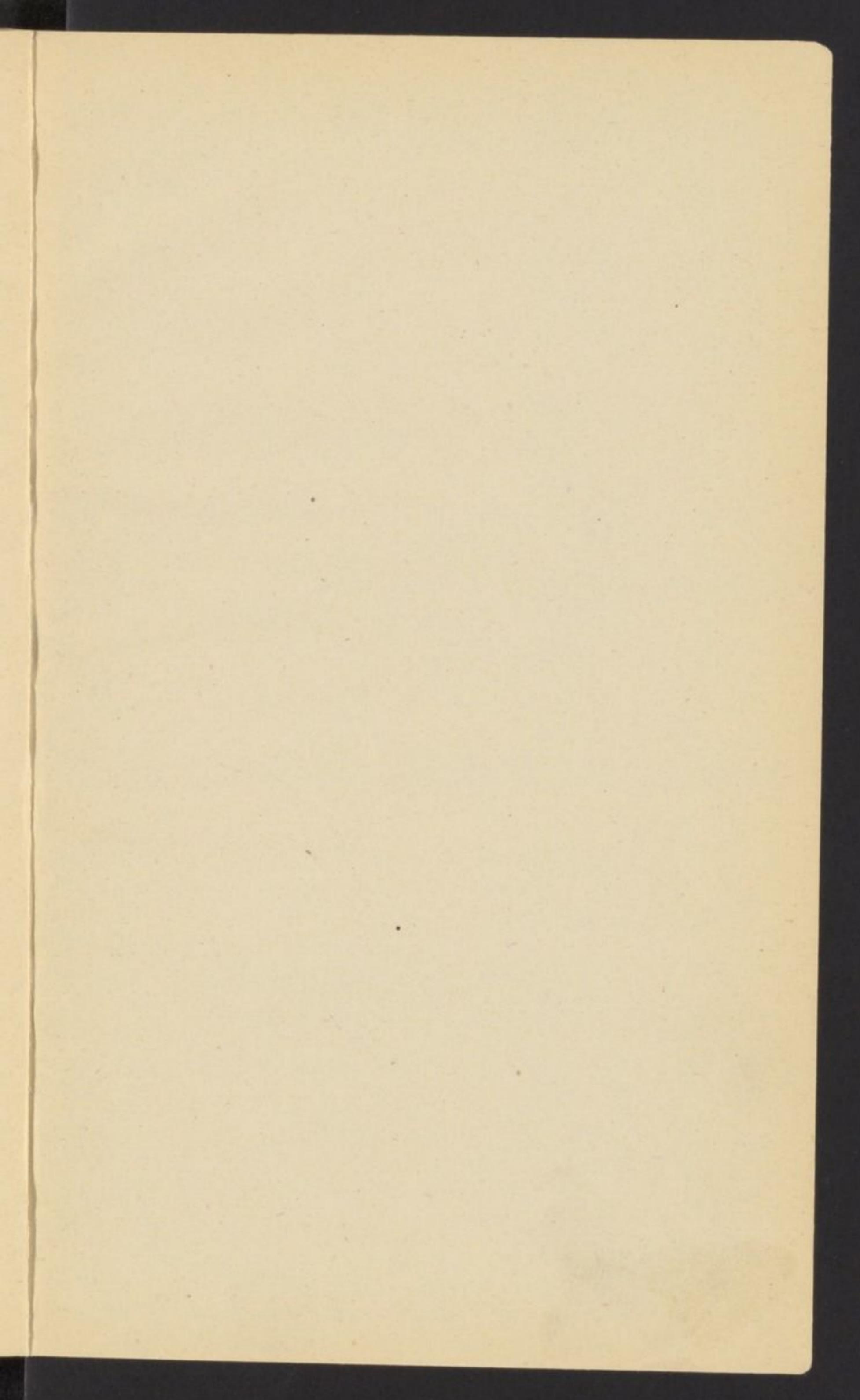


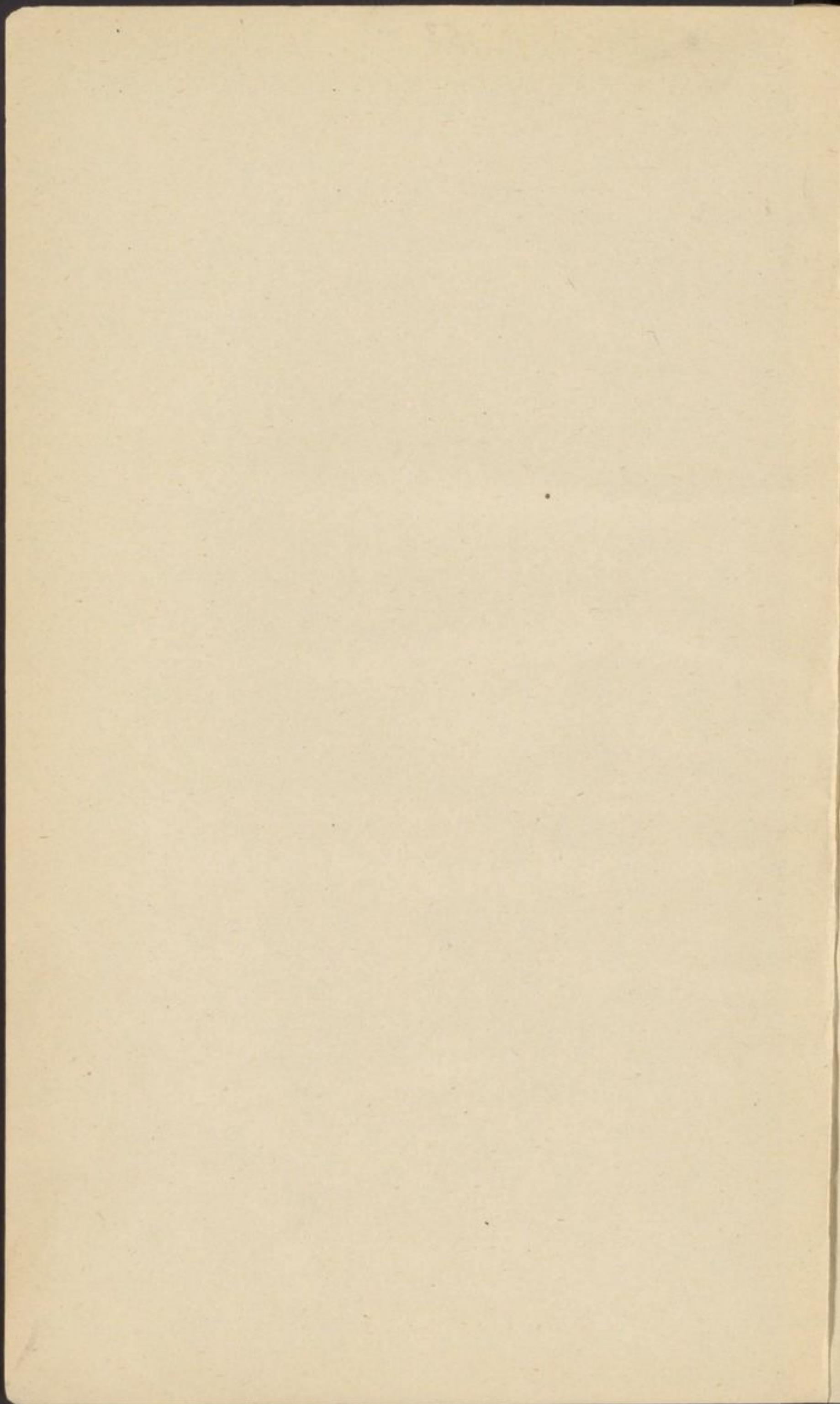
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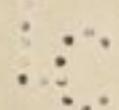
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HANDBOOKS PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE ^{of Brit} FOREIGN OFFICE.—No. 39

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EAST AND WEST PRUSSIA



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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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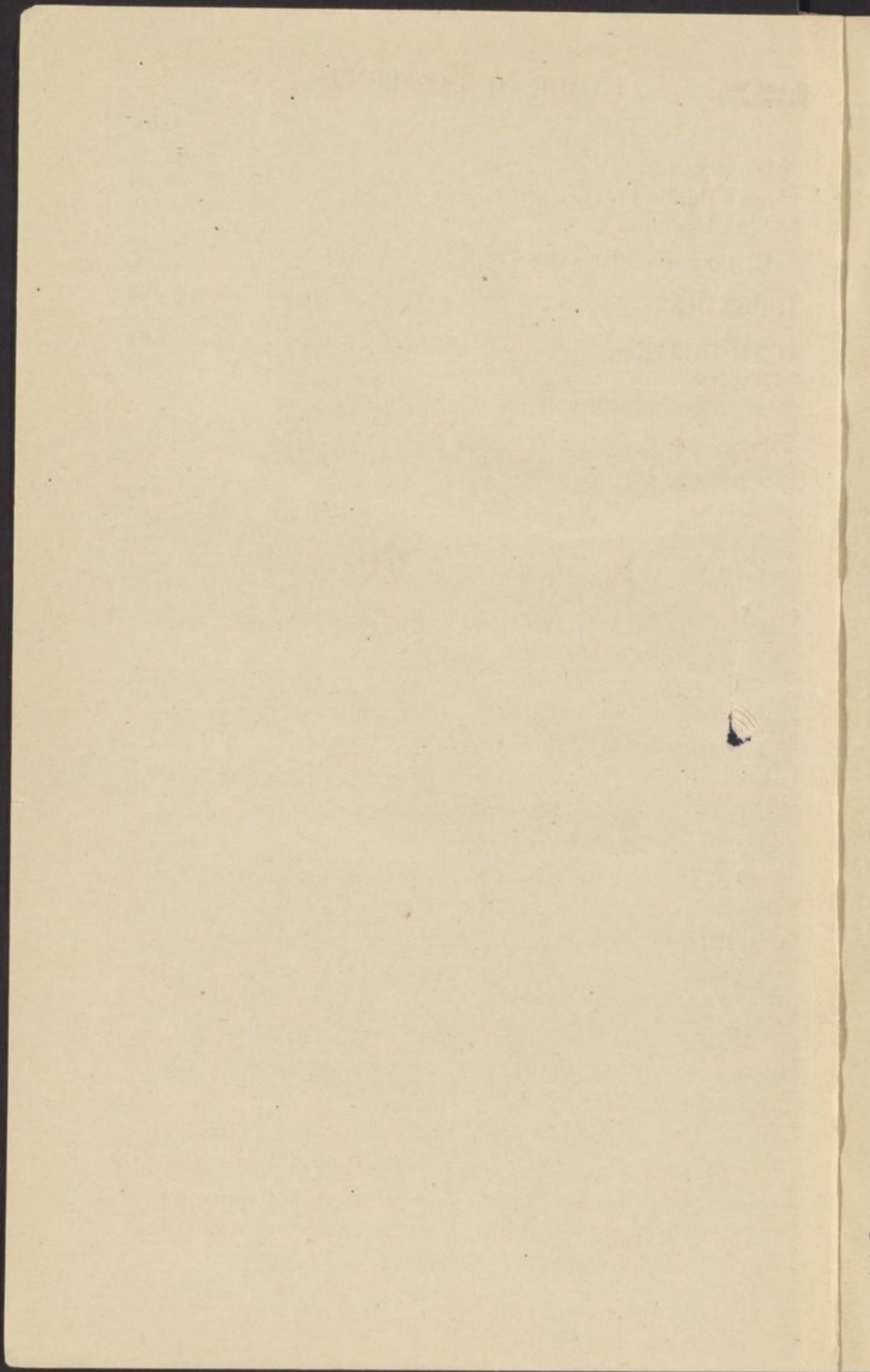
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I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

(1) POSITION AND FRONTIERS

THE Prussian provinces of East and West Prussia, with a combined area of 24,183 square miles (East, 14,320; West, 9,863), lie in the extreme north-east of the German Empire, between $15^{\circ} 58'$ and $22^{\circ} 52'$ east longitude and $52^{\circ} 51'$ and $55^{\circ} 54'$ north latitude. Their northern boundary is the coast of the Baltic, and is almost entirely made up of the Gulf of Danzig and the Kurische Nehrung. In the west and south-west, West Prussia is contiguous with the Prussian provinces of Pomerania and Poznanian (or Posen) respectively. The western (Pomeranian) boundary begins on the coast, 10 miles west of Rixhöft, and runs south to the crown of the Pomeranian ridge, which it roughly follows in an irregular line south-west until it reaches the valley of the Drage (a tributary of the Netze). From this point the southern boundary runs in a general easterly direction to the Vistula; it then follows this river up to a point about 7 miles west of Thorn, where it bends south to the Russian (Polish) frontier, following this to a point just north of Rajaröd (Raigrod) in Poland.

From this point the eastern boundary, as far as the River Memel, forms the frontier between Prussia and Russian Lithuania. From the Memel the boundary curves in a north-westerly direction and reaches the Baltic at Nimmersatt.

The provincial boundary between East and West Prussia, as fixed in 1878, divides the Frische Nehrung into two nearly equal parts, runs south-south-west to the boundary of the *Kreis* (Circle) of Marienwerder, then south-east to the Drewenz lake, and thence roughly south to the Polish frontier.

The Pomeranian boundary in the west and the Polish frontier in the south-east run for the most part through the infertile districts of the Pomeranian and Prussian ridges. The northern part of the Pomeranian boundary roughly agrees with the watershed of the ridge. The rest of the border, apart from the short stretches where it follows the courses of rivers, coincides with no natural limits. At only two points does it approximately correspond to a linguistic division, namely on the east from the river Jura to the south of the *Kreis* of Goldap, and on the northern part of the Pomeranian ridge. The coincidence of the two boundaries in the latter case is only of recent date, being due to the 'Germanization', during the last two centuries, of the greater part of the Polish population in the north-east corner of Pomerania. Elsewhere, in the south-west the boundary cuts through German-speaking districts, in the south and south-east through Polish-speaking districts, and in the north-east through Lithuanian territory.

Strategical considerations have played an important part in the fixing of the East Prussian frontier, the chain of the Masurian lakes, forests, and heaths (e. g., the Rominten Heath and the Johannisburg Heath) forming a natural defence against attacks from the east. This protection was even improved by the Teutonic Knights, who laid waste a frontier zone along their eastern border, which was known as the Wilderness.

(2) SURFACE, COAST, LAKES, AND RIVER SYSTEM

Surface

The provinces together consist of four areas :

1. The Pomeranian ridge with its eastern slopes, forming the western half of West Prussia.

2. The Vistula depression, between the two ridges.

3. The Prussian ridge, forming the southern half of East Prussia and the south-eastern part of West Prussia.

4. The East Prussian lowland, forming the northern half of the province.

The two ridges lie almost entirely at a height of 300–600 ft. The highest part of the Pomeranian ridge is at its north-eastern end, and includes the Turmberg (1,086 ft.). The highest points of the Prussian ridge are the Kernsdorfer Höhe (1,025 ft.) and Tannenberg near the western end, and the Seesker Berg (1,015 ft.) in the east, between Goldap and Oletzko (Marggrabowa).

In the East Prussian lowland three areas of higher land stand out from the rest of the country, viz.: (i) the Elbinger Höhe, east of Elbing, also called the Trunzer Berge; (ii) a group of hills south of a line from Heiligenbeil (on the Frische Haff) to Preussisch Eylau; and (iii) Samland, in the neighbourhood of Königsberg. The remainder of the country slopes gently towards the rivers and the sea, and is almost entirely below 300 ft. in height.

Judged by the yield of crops per acre, the districts of greatest fertility are the Vistula delta-plain (area, 550 square miles; delta proper, 350 square miles), the Vistula depression (*Kreise* of Thorn, Culm, Briesen, Graudenz, and Marienwerder), and Samland with the *Landkreis* of Königsberg.

A second fertile area, corresponding in fertility to

the adjoining provinces of Posen and Silesia, is the central part of East Prussia, i. e., the northern half of the *Regierungsbezirk* of Königsberg (except the *Kreis* of Labiau), and the southern half of the *Regierungsbezirk* of Gumbinnen (except the *Kreis* of Oletzko). The Memel valley (*Kreise* of Ragnit and Niederung) and the *Kreis* of Putzig also belong to this group.

The remainder of the two provinces, i. e., about one-half of the total area, consists of poor soil of a very small productive capacity. Some allowance must, however, be made for climate, as the late spring and early autumn considerably reduce the productive value of the soil. The lower Memel plain (area, 600 square miles) is, on the other hand, capable of very great improvement, and if recent proposals for drainage are carried out it will become hardly less fertile than that of the Vistula.

There are extensive 'forests' consisting largely of barren moor, e. g., the Tuchel Heath in central West Prussia, and the Johannisburg Heath in southern East Prussia; each of these covers several hundred square miles. The surface of the *Nehrungen* (see below, p. 5) consists of sand, and rises gradually from the sea, forming dunes opposite the Haffs. The movement of the sand has been checked in recent years by the planting of pines.

Coast

The coast in general is flat and protected by sand and mud, with a moderate slope outwards from the shore. Cliffs, consisting of easily eroded sand and gravel, are found at the headlands of Rixhöft and Brüsterort, the two extremities of the Gulf of Danzig, and along the western edge of that bay.

The water is shallow, and tidal action is negligible. Prevailing westerly winds have caused sand to be

washed eastwards from the headlands so as to form spits stretching across the bays. The Putziger, Frische, and Kurische Spits (*Nehrungen*) have been formed in this manner, the action of the waves being assisted by the river water, which deposits its silt at the point where its current is held up (i. e., at the mouth of the bay).

The Gulf of Danzig measures about 33 miles from north to south. Near the shore the bottom consists of sand, or clay mixed with sand. Shoals are rare outside the 5-fathom line, occurring only off the Brüsterort promontory. On the west the Putziger Nehrung (Hela Peninsula) extends 18 miles south-eastward into the bay. From Oxhöft to Danzig the Pomeranian ridge sends out spurs down to the coast, but from Danzig to Pillau the coast is formed of dunes. The eastern part of this stretch of coast forms the Frische Nehrung, which fronts the Frische Haff, and is 30 miles long and under one mile broad. From Pillau the coast rises gradually to the rugged cliffs of Samland (Brüsterort). Owing to north-westerly gales, the shore is here being denuded at the rate of one foot per annum.

At Kranz begins the Kurische Nehrung, a narrow sandy peninsula extending for 52 miles north-east and north as far as the Memel Deep, and varying in width from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles. From Memel the coast runs north for 10 miles to the Russian frontier, and here the bottom within the 10-fathom line is rocky.

Lakes

The surface of the ridges is studded with innumerable lakes. These vary from mere ponds (*sölle*) to large lakes like those of Spirding and Mauer in East Prussia, which have areas of 45 and 40 square miles respectively. It is calculated that there are in West Prussia alone over 1,900 lakes with areas of more than five acres.

River System

West Prussia, except for the *Kreise* of Deutsch Krone and Flatow, which lie within the basin of the Netze, is drained by the lower Vistula, the north-eastern corner of East Prussia by the lower Memel (or Niemen), and the rest of East Prussia for the most part by the Pregel and its tributaries.

The *Vistula* enters West Prussia at Ottlotschin as a broad river, 300 yds. wide and $3\frac{1}{4}$ ft. deep, which has already run over three-quarters of its course. For the 33 miles from the Polish frontier to the mouth of the Brahe, an important left-bank tributary, the river runs north-west. From this point it originally ran west to the Elbe valley and so to the North Sea, and its old valley now forms an easy route for the great east and west waterway formed by the Bromberg Canal and the Netze and Warthe (Warta) rivers. Its present course, however, forms a rectangular bend at the mouth of the Brahe, whence the main stream flows north-north-east for 107 miles to the Baltic. From the Brahe mouth to Pieckel (73 miles) it flows in a valley about 5 miles wide, which is itself cut in a broad depression (the 'Vistula depression') between the Pomeranian and Prussian ridges. At Pieckel (32 miles from the sea) the valley expands into a delta, which has filled up the western half of the Frische Haff. Formerly the main stream bent to the west at Einlage ($2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the coast) and flowed for 18 miles behind a sandspit to the sea at Neufahrwasser. Branches flowed from Pieckel to the Frische Haff near Elbing (the Nogat, 37 miles), and from Einlage to the Frische Haff (the Elbing Vistula, 16 miles). In 1840 an ice blockage caused the river to break through the spit above Danzig, and the consequent lowering of the river-level made it possible to build dams or

locks at the entrances to the Nogat, Elbing Vistula, and the Danzig or 'Dead' Vistula; the two latter branches are now used as canals, while the flow of the Nogat is regulated at Pieckel. In 1895 the present outlet was artificially cut from Einlage to the sea at Schiewenhorst in order to prevent damage from ice and floods.

The fall in the Vistula is slight, averaging 1 in 5,625 above Pieckel, and 1 in 5,886 from that point to the sea; it is never more than 1 in 4,992. The breadth below Pieckel is 270 yds., with a minimum depth of $5\frac{1}{3}$ ft., maintained by dredging. The Nogat has a fall of 1 in 7,299 and a breadth of 130 yds.

The Vistula delta is now well protected with dikes and drained by channels, which are emptied by pumps.

Other left-bank tributaries besides the Brahe are the Schwarzwasser and the Ferse, while on the right bank the chief tributaries are the Drewenz (Drvent), which forms for a short distance the boundary between West Prussia and Russian Poland, the Ossa and the Alte Nogat.

The *Memel* (Russian, Niemen) enters East Prussia at Schmallengken, 70 miles from the sea, having already run for 480 miles through Russian territory. It flows west from the frontier as far as Kallwen (40 miles), where it branches and forms a delta, which has in course of time filled up between one-third and one-half of the Kurische Haff.

The main river, which is from this point called the Russ, runs for 22 miles north-west, and then forks finally into a main channel, the Atmath (8 miles), and a secondary channel, the Skirwieth (slightly shorter). The narrower main branch, the Gilge, has a course of 27 miles from Kallwen. All branches of the Memel, as well as the Nemonien, which drains the southern part of the delta, flow into the Kurische Haff. So also do the Minge,

a fairly large stream which drains the district east of Memel and flows south to join the Atmath at its mouth, and the Dange, a small stream which has its mouth at Memel.

The chief tributaries of the Memel above the delta are, on the left bank, the Scheschuppe (Szeszuppe), which forms for a short distance the boundary between East Prussia and Russian Lithuania, and, on the right bank, the Jura, which has already run the greater part of its course through Russian territory.

The Memel has an average fall of 1 in 12,223, the greatest fall being 1 in 8,312. The delta has not as yet been systematically drained, and is only partially protected against floods. Much of the area, which has great possibilities, is still covered with swamps, on whose borders colonies have settled since 1893.

The *Pregel* and its tributaries drain the centre and eastern part of East Prussia, and the northern slopes of the Prussian ridge. The river flows into the Frische Haff $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of Königsberg, and issues from it at the Pillau Deep. The Pregel is formed by the junction of the Inster (coming from the north-east) and the Angerapp (coming from the south-east) with its affluent the Pissa, at Insterburg.

At Tapiau a secondary branch (the Deime, 23 miles in length) flows north into the Kurische Haff. The Alle flows from the south-west to join the left bank of the Pregel at Wehlau.

The Pregel valley is generally about 3 miles wide, but varies considerably; its sides rise some 50 ft. Originally some (possibly all) of the water of the Memel flowed down the present Inster valley and on down the Pregel to the sea. The Inster valley would provide an easy route for a canal from Insterburg to the Memel. The other tributaries (the Pissa, Angerapp, and Alle) have cut moderately deep valleys; they have a fairly

rapid fall and are used at many places for mills, but are unsuitable for canalization, though timber can be floated down them.

(3) CLIMATE

These provinces are the coldest district in Germany, the average temperature in West Prussia, 45° F. (7° C.), being lower than that of any other province except East Prussia, where the average in most parts is 43° F. (6° C.) and in the south-east corner as low as 41° F. (5° C.). The average temperature of the two provinces in January, the coldest month, is 28° F. (-2° C.), or about the same as that of Poznania and Silesia. The mean for July, however, the warmest month, is 63° F. (17° C.), which is about the average of northern Germany. Spring is considered to begin in the second half of May, i. e., roughly a fortnight later than in central Germany and a month later than in France or on the south coast of England. The agricultural season is thus correspondingly shortened, and outside labour (Polish and Russian) is required for the harvest. Late frosts occur well on into June.

The rainfall in East and West Prussia is moderate, relatively to that of Germany as a whole. It is least in the Vistula depression, 18 in. (460 mm.), and greatest on the hills near the coast and east of the Kurische Haff, 27 in. (690 mm.). The provinces are just within the Continental area, where rain falls all the year round, but predominantly in the summer. The lowest average is that of February, 1.1 in. (28 mm.); the highest that of July, 2.9 in. (74 mm.).

(4) RACE AND LANGUAGE

Race

The inhabitants of the two provinces are predominantly non-German in race, and belong to two groups,

the Baltic and the Polish. The Baltic group consists of Letts (or 'Kurs'), Lithuanians, and Old Prussians, or Borussi. The last-named people were the tribe found in the west and centre of East Prussia by the knights of the Teutonic Order in the thirteenth century. The name *Prussia* is thus strictly applicable only to this district of East Prussia, from which it was extended to cover the whole of that province and eventually the whole of Brandenburg. The Old Prussians were nearly related to the Letts, of whom a small number settled along the coast from the Russian border to Samland. These Letts, known as Kurs, came from Courland, and, like most of the Letts of that district, had a certain admixture of Finnish blood. North-east of a line from Labiau to Goldap the native population forms part of the Lithuanian race which occupies the adjoining district of Russia.

The southern part of East Prussia and the whole of West Prussia were originally inhabited by Poles, and have remained Polish except in two well-defined areas, viz., the south-western *Kreise* and the Vistula delta. These two areas, as well as the north-west and centre of East Prussia, have been largely colonized by Germans. The races have remained for the most part distinct, with the exception of the Old Prussians, whose identity has been merged in the German race since the disappearance of their language. The proportion of the races is therefore only partially shown by the language statistics, as these include as Germans all the population of non-Germanic race that has adopted the German language.

The tendency has been for the Germans to congregate together for the purposes of self-protection and association; but the Prussian Government has made efforts, especially since the colonization law of 1886, to break up continuous Polish

country by the insertion of State-founded colonies. The chief area of recent State colonization in the provinces is in the district of Löbau and Strassburg in the south-east of West Prussia. The chief local area of the Polish counter-movement has been in the *Kreise* of Berent and Preussisch Stargard.

Language

The Old Prussian language died out about 1700.

The Lithuanian language was formerly spoken in the whole of East Prussia to the north-east of a line drawn from Labiau to Goldap, and extended to the Russian frontier. It is now mainly confined to the district north of the Memel, and west of its tributary the Jura. Here, except for the port of Memel itself, over 50 per cent. of the population still speak Lithuanian. The number of Lithuanians in East Prussia according to the census figures of 1910 was 95,470. This shows a drop of 16,000 since 1900, instead of an expected natural increase of 12,000. It is probable that this discrepancy of 28,000 (= 25 per cent.) is partly due to some form of falsification of the figures similar to that which appears to have occurred in the figures affecting the Poles (see below).

The Kurs (Letts) are counted as Lithuanians in so far as Church services in their parishes (4 in number) are held in Lithuanian. In 1897 about 1,200 still spoke Lettish, while another 2,300, who normally speak Lithuanian, used Lettish as their language for fishing purposes. Later figures are not available.

In the greater part of West Prussia and the *Regierungsbezirk* of Allenstein (i. e., the south of East Prussia) a majority of the inhabitants speak Polish. To the north of the Polish-speaking districts of East Prussia lies a further zone in which over one-third of the

population speak Polish. In the three northernmost *Kreise* of West Prussia (Putzig, Neustadt, and Karthaus) the Polish dialect used is known as Cassubian. In the south of East Prussia the dialect is known as Masurian, and in this case the divergence from ordinary Polish is very slight. Polish is the literary language for both areas.

The proportion of Poles to Germans has not altered to any great extent during the past 100 years. In West Prussia the proportion of Poles during the latter part of the nineteenth century maintained a slight but nearly constant increase.

The following figures show the proportion of Poles in the *Kreise* of the Polish districts according to the census of 1910. The census figures are normally rendered somewhat unreliable by three factors: (1) the tendency to allow national sentiment to outweigh fear of authority varies in strength from one census year to another; (2) the census tables are based on 'mother tongue', not on the language actually used at home; (3) the regiments recruited from Polish provinces are usually quartered in other parts of Prussia, and *vice versa*. The numbers of the garrisons have been deducted. The persons speaking both Polish and German may be considered as virtually all Poles, and have been included with Poles in dividing the *Kreise* into groups.

In 1910 there is reason to believe that a more serious source of error was introduced, as the figures for the Polish population are some 110,000 lower than would be expected, the figures for the German population being higher by a similar amount. There appears to have been no migration on a scale large enough to have caused more than a small proportion of the change implied; and it must be concluded that the figures have been deliberately falsified, in order to give the

impression that the Poles are diminishing in numbers relatively to the Germans. The falsification appears to have extended to Poznania and Upper Silesia.

LANGUAGE STATISTICS ACCORDING TO THE 1910 CENSUS

<i>Kreis.</i>	<i>Central West Prussia</i>			
	<i>German only.</i>	<i>Polish only.</i>	<i>Polish and German.</i>	
			%	%
Poles 50 per cent. and over				
Pr. Stargard .	16,796	48,080	73.0	168 0.2
Karthaus .	19,319	50,354	72.1	214 0.3
Putzig .	7,970	18,308	69.0	252 0.9
Tuchel .	11,265	22,247	65.6	406 1.1
Berent .	23,682	31,719	56.7	567 1.0
Konitz .	28,003	34,917	54.8	742 1.0
Schwetz .	42,141	44,792	49.9	2,673 2.9
Neustadt ¹ .	30,854	29,612	48.2	1,032 1.7
Poles 33-50 per cent.				
Dirschau .	27,865	12,910	30.2	1,936 4.5
Poles 10-33 per cent.				
Flatow .	50,648	17,021	24.6	1,509 2.1
Schlochau .	56,578	9,906	14.7	576 0.8
Danziger Höhe	47,397	5,746	10.9	324 0.6

South-eastern District of West Prussia

Poles 50 per cent. and over

Löbau .	12,119	46,258	78.4	649 1.1
Strassburg .	20,536	39,887	64.6	1,139 1.8
Thorn (rural) .	25,071	31,020	54.7	470 0.8
Kulm .	22,686	25,806	52.2	892 1.7
Briesen .	24,007	25,070	50.6	417 0.8

¹ The *Kreis* of Neustadt has been included in the *Kreise* with 50 per cent. of Poles and over, though only 49.9 per cent. of its population is Polish, as the proportion of Poles is considerably higher (63 per cent. on the average) in every part of the *Kreis* excepting the seaside resort of Zoppot. This town, which is on the border of the *Kreis* of Danziger Höhe, is economically and racially outside the *Kreis* of Neustadt.

<i>Kreis.</i>	<i>German only.</i>	<i>Polish only.</i>		<i>Polish and German.</i>	
			%		%
Poles 33-50 per cent.					
Stuhm . . .	20,923	15,560	42.5	22	—
Graudenz (rural)	26,456	19,157	40.9	884	1.8
Marienwerder	41,381	25,149	37.3	793	1.2
Thorn (urban)	24,803	14,907	36.7	663	1.5
Poles 10-33 per cent.					
Graudenz (urban)	29,564	5,055	14.1	1,008	2.7

Southern East Prussia

Poles 50 per cent. and over

Ortelsburg . . .	19,466	46,912	68.0	2,465	3.6
Johannisburg	16,292	33,346	64.8	1,620	3.1
Neidenburg . . .	20,337	35,616	60.5	2,645	4.4
Allenstein (rural)	22,825	33,286	57.4	1,782	3.0
Lyck . . .	25,262	25,763	48.0	2,590	4.8
Sensburg . . .	23,181	22,631	46.4	2,310	4.7

Poles 33-50 per cent.

Osterode . . .	41,204	28,829	39.8	2,279	3.1
Oletzko . . .	23,855	12,851	33.4	1,723	4.4
Lötzen . . .	25,350	13,010	32.1	1,802	4.4

Poles 10-33 per cent.

Rössel . . .	42,605	6,560	13.1	716	1.4
Allenstein (urban)	24,236	2,349	8.4	1,326	4.7

The figures for East Prussia according to the 1900 census were less influenced by outside factors than those for 1910 (see pp. 11, 12), and probably give a fairly accurate indication of the relative proportions. They are as follows (garrisons being deducted):

<i>Kreis.</i>	<i>German only.</i>	<i>Polish only.</i>	<i>Polish and German.</i>	<i>Total Poles.</i>		
		<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>		
Poles over 50 per cent.						
Ortelsburg .	14,912	50,917	75.2	1,673	2.5	77.7
Johannisburg .	12,106	33,926	70.4	2,133	4.4	74.8
Neidenburg .	15,285	38,315	70.0	1,095	2.0	72.0
Lyck .	20,564	28,805	55.1	2,861	5.5	60.6
Sensburg .	19,784	24,443	51.2	3,010	6.3	57.5
Allenstein(urban and rural)	36,613	38,882	49.5	2,950	3.7	53.2
Poles 33-50 per cent.						
Osterode .	35,177	31,534	45.3	2,798	3.9	49.2
Lötzen .	21,107	15,423	38.7	3,236	8.1	46.8
Oletzko .	23,846	12,851	33.5	1,723	4.5	38.0
Poles 10-33 per cent.						
Rössel .	41,932	7,070	14.2	744	1.5	15.7

In the district of Pomerania adjoining West Prussia there is a Polish population amounting in the *Kreise* of Bütow and Lauenburg to 13 and 5 per cent. respectively of the total inhabitants.

Polish territory thus ranges northwards from the borders of Russian Poland and Poznania. It includes six of the *Kreise* of East Prussia, and, if the town of Thorn and *Kreis* of Neustadt (over 49 per cent. Polish according to the census) be included, fourteen of the *Kreise* of West Prussia, where it stretches past Danzig to the sea-coast. The actual proportion of Poles to the population of these districts is approximately 60 per cent., according to the census. If allowance be made for officials, teachers, and Government servants of all kinds with their families, the proportion can hardly be less than 70 per cent., and is possibly greater. The Polish territory also includes parts of the adjacent *Kreise* in each province, in some of which over half the area has a predominant Polish-speaking population.

It should be observed that the German population of the Polish territory includes the settlers in the recently planted strategic colonies; further, that the census figures show a tendency for German inhabitants to leave the rural districts. The proportion of Germans among the settled population of the country is already considerably smaller than among the more mobile population of the towns.

(5) POPULATION

Distribution and Density

East and West Prussia are thinly populated districts, with an average proportion of 140 and 170 inhabitants per square mile respectively. Only one other considerable district of Germany, Mecklenburg, is as sparsely populated as West Prussia, and the density in East Prussia is the lowest in the country. It is noteworthy that in density of population the two provinces approach the greater part of Poland in one area only, namely, the Vistula delta-plain (including Danzig). East and West Prussia have about half the density of population found in Silesia and about one-quarter of that of the Rhineland.

The rural population is densest (over 230 per square mile) in the *Kreise* of Danziger Höhe and Dirschau, and (from 150 to 200 per square mile) in the *Kreise* of the Vistula depression from Thorn northwards to the mouth of the river; also in the *Kreise* of Neustadt and Niedering. The most sparsely populated districts (under 100 per square mile) are three *Kreise* in the west (Deutsch Krone, Schlochau, and Tuchel), and two *Kreise* in the south-east (Johannisburg and Neidenburg). The rest of the country has a uniform population of between 100 and 150 per square mile.

The density appears to bear no relation to race or language, but varies (especially in West Prussia) roughly in proportion to the fertility of the soil. It has been observed that the areas where the land is mostly in the hands of large landowners are the most thinly populated.

Towns and Villages

In 1910 33 per cent. of the population lived in towns, 66 per cent. in the country. The proportions in 1880 were 25 and 74 respectively. Thus the general tendency towards migration into the towns shows itself to some extent in the two provinces, but the proportion of country-dwellers to town-dwellers has remained higher than in any province except Poznania; while in East Prussia taken by itself it is higher still (68 per cent.). The majority of the so-called towns, moreover, are small country towns or villages. Only five towns have any considerable industrial population, the figures in 1910 being as follows:

	<i>Total population.</i>
Königsberg	245,994
Danzig	182,468
Elbing	63,600
Thorn	46,227
Graudenz	40,325

All these are either seaports or river ports. Four other towns have over 20,000 inhabitants, namely: Tilsit (39,013), Allenstein (33,077), Insterburg (31,624), and Memel (21,470). Thirteen other towns have between 10,000 and 15,000 inhabitants. Altogether there are 107 towns with over 2,000 inhabitants; they are almost evenly distributed over the two provinces.

Movement

The population of East and West Prussia doubled itself in the period 1816-71. Since 1871 that of West Prussia has increased to a figure three times as great as that for 1816, while that of East Prussia has also steadily increased. The figures are:

	1816		1871		1910		1905-10
	<i>Total.</i>	<i>Per sq. mile.</i>	<i>Total.</i>	<i>Per sq. mile.</i>	<i>Total.</i>	<i>Per sq. mile.</i>	<i>Increase per 1,000.</i>
East Prussia	886,174	62	1,822,934	127	2,064,175	144	16.6
West Prussia	571,081	57	1,314,611	133	1,703,474	173	36.8

The higher figures for West Prussia are largely due to the higher birth-rate among the Poles. It is noteworthy that although the birth-rate in West Prussia is higher, the death-rate is about the same as in East Prussia, or even lower.

At the middle of the nineteenth century the birth and death rates in these provinces were 45 and 36 per 1,000 respectively, each figure being relatively high, greater by 7 per 1,000 than the average for the whole country. Since that date both rates have fallen slowly until about 1900, then rapidly. In 1913 the rates were:

	<i>Birth-rate.</i>	<i>Death-rate.</i>
East Prussia	31	18.6
West Prussia	36	18.5
Kingdom of Prussia	29	15.8

The death-rate, as in other civilized countries, has fallen more rapidly than the birth-rate, and consequently the excess of births over deaths per 1,000 has risen, though more so in West Prussia (18 in 1905-10), and less in East Prussia (12.6 in 1905-10), than the average for the kingdom (15.0 in 1905-10).

The number of foreigners present, nearly all temporary labourers, is small in comparison with those in industrial districts, being (1910) 15,000 in East Prussia, 7,000 in West Prussia. About two-thirds were Russian subjects, and among other countries represented were Austria-Hungary and Switzerland, and, to a much less degree, Italy. One-quarter of the aliens present in 1900 were Polish by race.

II. POLITICAL HISTORY

- A.D. CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY
- 1226-83. Native Prussians (Wends) subjugated by Teutonic Order.
1410. Teutonic Order defeated by Poles and Lithuanians at Tannenberg.
1411. First Peace of Thorn.
1454. War between Poland and the Teutonic Order.
1466. Second Peace of Thorn. West Prussia ceded to Poland. East Prussia becomes a Polish fief.
1525. Reformation in East Prussia, which becomes a Duchy under the Hohenzollern Albert of Brandenburg.
1618. East Prussia inherited by Elector of Brandenburg.
1640. Accession of Frederick William of Brandenburg, the Great Elector.
1657. Treaty of Wehlau. Poland cedes to the Great Elector sovereignty over East Prussia.
1660. Peace of Oliva.
- 1660-72. The Great Elector overcomes the East Prussian Estates, which opposed his paternal absolutism.
1701. Frederick, Elector of Brandenburg, becomes 'King in (East) Prussia'.
- 1758-62. East Prussia occupied by Russians until voluntarily evacuated by Tsar Peter II.
1772. First Partition of Poland. Frederick the Great acquires West Prussia, with the exception of Danzig and Thorn. Attempts at Germanization follow.
1793. Second Partition of Poland. Danzig and Thorn acquired by Frederick William II, together with a new province of South Prussia.
1795. Third Partition of Poland. Frederick William II acquires New East Prussia.
1807. Treaty of Tilsit. Parts of West Prussia included in new Duchy of Warsaw. Danzig a free city.
1811. Serfs in West Prussia emancipated.
1815. Congress of Vienna. Frederick William II recovers West Prussia.
1824. Fusion of East and West Prussia.

1873. Conflict between Prussia and the Roman Catholic Church stimulates Polonism.
1878. Separation of East and West Prussia.
1886. Prussian Diet establishes a Colonization Commission for Posen and West Prussia ; £5,000,000 provided, subsequently increased.
1893. Polish support for Army Bill gained by economic help to Polish landowners. (Caprivi.)
1894. William II upholds Germanism at Marienburg. German Association of the Eastern Marches formed to combat Polonism.
1906. Prussian Minister of Finance complains that since 1891 Germans in East Prussia have been reduced by 630,000. Strike of Polish school-children.
1908. Prussian Bills for compulsory expropriation of Polish landowners in Posen and West Prussia and for limiting use of Polish language at meetings.

(1) *Germans conquer Prussia (1226-83)*

SINCE the fall of Napoleon, the region which gave the name of Prussia to the Hohenzollern monarchy has been simply a portion of the modern Prussian State. The special interest of its history, therefore, lies in the years prior to 1815. At the beginning of the thirteenth century this region was inhabited by a people subsequently known as Old Prussians, an unlettered and polygamous race akin to the Letts and Lithuanians. These were invaded in 1226 by German crusaders of the Teutonic Order, whose advent was due to the need of the Polish princes for protection. The inhabitants defended themselves tenaciously and learned much from the invaders, but before the century closed they had been crushed. Some remnants took shelter with the Lithuanians, whose anti-German feelings they inflamed; some remained in the shelter of the lakes and marshes; others, both nobles and peasants, had refrained from resistance, and some districts were inhabited by Poles. But thenceforward the name Prussian denotes the German conqueror.

(2) *Germanized Prussia submits to Poland. The Reformation (1410–1640)*

In 1410 Poland and Lithuania attacked and defeated the Teutonic Order at Tannenberg; but in the following year the first Peace of Thorn practically left the territory of the knights intact. The abuses of their rule led to the formation by the gentry and townspeople of a so-called 'Prussian League', which placed itself under the protection of Casimir IV of Poland, who issued a manifesto (1454) incorporating the Prussian provinces with Poland. This led to a long war with the Teutonic Order, ending in the second Peace of Thorn (1466), by which Prussia became dependent on the Polish Crown. East Prussia was henceforward merely a Polish fief, but West Prussia formed something like a third component in the Polish-Lithuanian State. It sent representatives to the Diet at Warsaw; but it also held its own provincial assemblies, and its troops were not bound to serve outside the province. In 1618 East Prussia fell to the elder branch of the Hohenzollerns which ruled in Brandenburg, and so in 1640 passed by inheritance to Frederick William, the 'Great Elector'.

Prussia was secured and organized by Germans under the control of the Order. 'The great work of Eastern colonization,' writes Prince von Bülow, 'is the best and most permanent result of our brilliant history during the Middle Ages, a piece of work performed, not by a single German tribe, but by all of them together. One and all—Saxons, Franks, Bavarians, Swabians, Thuringians, Lorrainers, Flemings, and Frisians—sent men of their tribe to the East of Germany, laymen and churchmen, knights and peasants.' There was scarcely a single German princely house that was unrepresented in Prussia. Unity prevailed; and the Teutonic Order has been regarded as the forerunner of

modern Germany, 'the prototype of military-political organization in the service of self-defence always ready to strike'. It was in substance secular rather than ecclesiastical, starving the local church and sometimes in conflict with Rome. Thus, when the Reformation came, it spread through Prussia with lightning speed. The Bishop of Ermeland, indeed, kept his lands strictly Catholic; but Albert of Hohenzollern, the Grand Master of the Order, made East Prussia a Protestant Duchy of his own; and the West Prussian towns eagerly embraced Luther's teachings. In the long run, the Reformation exercised a powerful influence on the history of both East and West Prussia; for, while Brandenburg speedily accepted it, Poland became its ardent opponent.

(3) *East Prussia under the Great Elector (1640-88)*

The problem before the Great Elector was how to emancipate himself as ruler of East Prussia from Polish overlordship. He solved it by organizing a strong military force and by changing sides with astuteness and alacrity in the struggle between the Swedes and Poles, with the result that by the Treaty of Wehlau (1657) he was recognized by Poland as independent Duke of Prussia, with reversion to the 'King and Republic of Poland' in case of failure of male heirs to him or his descendants. Three years later the Peace of Oliva left him immediate lord of the Duchy; and he at once set about the subjugation of the Estates.

He recognized clearly that a strong state could be established only if the former separation of the several provinces and the influence of their Estates were ended; and he therefore worked indefatigably to found an absolute autocracy with the aid of a large well-trained army. Bound by self-interest to maintain the law, he could not violate it openly; but he availed himself of subterfuges and untruths and made

promises which he was firmly resolved not to keep. In Prussia he fought alone against all the world, but he reached his goal. This, the overthrow of Prussian privileges, may be said to have been achieved in 1672 with the judicial murder of Von Kalckstein, a political opponent whom the Great Elector kidnapped in the Polish capital, tortured contrary to law, and finally beheaded, thus showing the Prussian nobles how much they had to fear from himself and how little to hope from their chartered liberties and from Poland. 'After this there came over the Prussians a triumphant consciousness of belonging to the Hohenzollern State, as over the Rhinelanders in 1866. Thenceforward East Prussia is a really German land with genuine German feeling.'

(4) *The Prussian Monarchy (1701-95)*

Geographically, Eastern or Ducal Prussia was still separated by Western or Royal or Polish Prussia from the central mass of the Hohenzollern dominions, and lay politically outside the bounds of the Empire. From both points of view the change which took place in 1701, when, with the consent of the Emperor, the son and successor of the Great Elector became 'King in Prussia', was of incontestable importance.

The second king, Frederick William I (1713-40), developed the army and treasure necessary for the next advance. His care for the economic interests of his dominions was illustrated by the settlement of exiled Protestants from Salzburg, whom, to the number of some 17,000, he established in East Prussia.

The third king, Frederick the Great (1740-86), made the Prussian monarchy a great power, and Prussia, both East and West, one of its stoutest limbs. The entry of Russia into the Seven Years' War interrupted his rule over East Prussia; and he had resigned himself to the abandonment of the province when

a new Tsar, Peter II, suddenly returned it to him without equivalent (1762). Ten years later, by the First Partition of Poland, West Prussia became his, with the exception of Danzig and Thorn.

(5) *West Prussia* (1772-95)

From the juridical point of view, West Prussia was ceded to the Hohenzollerns by the Treaty of Warsaw (September 18, 1773), supplemented by a boundary convention signed at the same place on August 22, 1776. In reality, of course, the cession amounted simply to an obligatory acquiescence by the Poles in what had been done by overwhelming force, and was justified by historical claims which Frederick ranked far below even his titles to Silesia.

The new province contained a population estimated at 416,000 souls. In race and in religion it was far from homogeneous. The extirpation of the original inhabitants had here been less complete than in East Prussia; many Polish and Jewish elements were present; and the preference of the local nobles for Polish over German rule had been evident for three hundred years. In dealing with opposition from his new subjects, however, Frederick was in a position infinitely stronger than that of his great-grandfather, the Great Elector. West Prussia was a disorderly wilderness, without industry, town life, or solid peasantry. The poor and pretentious nobles were swiftly dismissed from their offices; education and colonization received liberal help from the Crown; the Bromberg Canal united the systems of the Vistula and Oder; and Bromberg rose from a mere village to a substantial town. Frederick not only introduced the Hohenzollern principles and system of government, but endeavoured also to increase the German elements in the population.

It fell to his nephew and successor, Frederick William II (1786-97), to complete the acquisition of

the old Prussian province. In the Second (1793) and Third (1795) Partitions of Poland, Danzig and Thorn were won; the province was buttressed by a new Prussia, South and East, and safeguarded by the extinction of independent Poland.

(6) *West Prussia lost and regained. Reforms in East Prussia (1806-15)*

The great expansion of the Prussian State and Province at the expense of Poland remained unchallenged for eleven years, but the new structure then collapsed before the onslaught of Napoleon. After a campaign in East Prussia the Treaty of Tilsit (1807) was concluded, by which the Hohenzollerns lost almost all the Polish territories acquired by Frederick the Great. The greater part of West Prussia was incorporated in the new Duchy of Warsaw—a revived Poland under the ruler of Saxony. Danzig became a free city under Prussian and Saxon protection.

West Prussia thus entered upon a practical servitude which lasted more than five years and culminated in the invasion of Russia by 200,000 Germans as auxiliaries of the French. Yet this was the time when the reforms associated with the name of Stein were in great part proclaimed from Königsberg, and when East Prussia won her place of pride as the leader in the War of Liberation. It is claimed that this great contribution to the downfall of Napoleon was in no sense accidental. The province then possessed a marked colonial stamp, centuries of struggle against soil and climate having given to nobles, burghers, and yeomen alike great depth of character and tenacity. Educationally the successors of Kant were advanced enough to exert influence upon Stein himself.

Before 1807 the monarchy had been based upon a feudal system in which the public services formed the inheritance of the nobles, agriculture and (if

demanding) service in the ranks that of the peasants, and trade and industry that of the burghers. Each class had inalienable lands of its own and remained a close hereditary corporation. Town and country were sharply separated and even opposed. The peasant was a serf, the burgher commonly narrow-minded and unenterprising, the noble often self-satisfied and overbearing.

In the years which followed the collapse of the Hohenzollern State before Napoleon all this was changed. Serfdom was abolished, and the prospect dawned of a land tenure free from feudal burdens. Every Prussian subject gained freedom to choose his dwelling-place and his career. The army became national; and even the corps of officers was thrown open to men of non-noble birth. The financial system was reorganized. By the great Municipal Ordinance of 1808, which was introduced first in Königsberg and Elbing, the *communes* regained wide autonomy and freedom. Under it the burghers or freemen elected some of their number as communal deputies. These chose the magistrates, subject to confirmation by the provincial authorities, the Crown reserving the right to appoint the burgomaster from among three candidates whom the towns proposed. 'The Municipal Ordinance . . . has proved adaptable to all the changed conditions incidental to a century of growth. Under the revised forms in operation to-day the German towns are exercising in some directions wider powers of self-government than any other towns in the world possess.' The work of regeneration was crowned and fortified by educational reform. In 1810 the University of Berlin was launched upon a brilliant career. At about the same time the League of Virtue (*Tugendbund*), first formed at Königsberg, rallied the youth of the nation in preparation for throwing off the foreign yoke.

(7) *East and West Prussia since 1815*

In the War of Liberation (1813–15) the Hohenzollern kingdom finally secured its independence. At its reconstitution in 1815, West Prussia and the late province of Poznanian were regained, but the bulk of the lands seized in the Second and Third Partitions now passed to Russia. Succeeding generations have been taught to deplore the loss of the Vistula line. East Prussia and to a less extent West Prussia were left in the position of an exposed wing of the reconstituted State, since new East Prussia and the eastern half of South Prussia fell to the Tsar. At the same time East Prussia acquired the abiding prestige of the province from which the national uprising had been inspired.

Owing in great part to the international situation, however, the representative institutions devised by Stein did not find their embodiment in fact; and the Liberal movement, therefore, produced agitations which became most conspicuous in 1848. East and West Prussia, however, underwent little disturbance. Since 1815 neither of the provinces has figured independently in history, save in their respective relations to the question of Polish nationality. With a less fertile soil, a harsher climate, and a sparser population than most of the other Hohenzollern provinces, with huge estates and a striking absence of considerable towns, they have remained the seat of unprogressive Junkerdom, of independent manorial jurisdiction, and of ignorance. They have shared, of course, in the general changes affecting the State as a whole. Thus in 1817 their Lutheran and Calvinist Churches were combined by royal decree in an Evangelical Union; and in 1823 they received the royal concession of Provincial Estates with a marked aristocratic predominance and severely limited powers.

III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

(1) RELIGIOUS

IN respect of their religious confession, as affected by history, there is a marked contrast between East and West Prussia. Broadly speaking, East Prussia, under the House of Hohenzollern, has been thoroughly germanized, and has become almost entirely Protestant. In the comparatively recent acquisition of West Prussia, on the other hand, large districts retain the Roman Catholic faith which was theirs in Polish times. But an apparent exception to the rule is furnished by Ermeland, which now belongs to East Prussia, but remains predominantly Romanist; while West Prussia contains ancient colonies of Germans, some of which have been Protestant since the Reformation.

In 1900 the population of East Prussia approached two millions, of whom nearly 270,000 were Roman Catholics and nearly 14,000 Jews; the remainder, or six-sevenths of the whole, being, at least nominally and officially, Protestant. In 1905 the total exceeded two millions.

In 1905 West Prussia contained rather more than 1,641,000 inhabitants, of whom 51.4 per cent. were Roman Catholics. There were 16,000 Jews; and the remainder, 46.6 per cent. of the whole, were classified as Protestant.

It must be remembered that in the isolated and backward agricultural communities of East and West Prussia, where large towns are rare, confessional differences count for more than they do in Germany proper.

The usual type is that of villages or districts practically homogeneous from the religious point of view; and the cleavage is not lessened by the annual irruption of foreign harvesters, or by the growing national consciousness of the Poles, who are almost all Romanists. In West Prussia two-thirds of the Roman Catholic population are Polish. The Jews are generally disliked, though not, as a rule, on religious grounds.

While the Roman Catholic faith has given powerful aid to Polish nationality, it is recognized that the racial tie surpasses the religious in strength, and that, once a Prussian subject regards himself as primarily a Pole, he will hardly change his view under ecclesiastical direction. This fact adds importance to the presence in the south of East Prussia of some 400,000 Masurians, who are Polish-speaking Protestants.

(2) POLITICAL

The recent history of both East and West Prussia has largely consisted in the religious, economic, educational, and political attacks by the Government upon its Polish subjects, described in *Prussian Poland*, No. 45 of this series. These were primarily concerned with Poznania (Posen), which stood to East and West Prussia in the relation of head to members. Without Poznania, the West Prussian Poles would have found racial assertion difficult; and they might well have been assimilated almost as fully as their kinsmen in East Prussia. But with the men of Poznania to lead them they were able to contribute powerfully to the Polish resistance against aggressive Teutonism. The *Kulturkampf* roused their anti-German sentiment. Its consequence, the Colonization Commission, was entitled 'for West Prussia and Poznania'; and between 1886 and 1895 the country north-east of Thorn became almost as full of purchased Polish estates as the Poznanian territories beyond the Vistula. The compulsory use of

the German language, culminating in the autumn of 1906 when the Minister of Public Instruction forbade prayers to be recited in Polish in the primary schools, outraged the inhabitants of great tracts in both East and West Prussia at a time when the landowners of these provinces were already suffering from the economic effects of this policy. For, where the Government had succeeded in compelling the Polish labourers to learn German, it had merely enhanced their industrial value and caused them to abandon agriculture, the occupation in which they were indispensable to their employers.

By the year 1907 it had become apparent that the Poles had defeated the Colonization Commission. The new Government campaign was embodied in 'Measures to strengthen Germanism in the Provinces of East Prussia and Poznania'. Both East and West Prussia now contributed important auxiliaries to the Polish national movement. Together they constituted one of the four divisions of the Central Polish Election Committee. Two of the four Polish Educational Unions were formed in West Prussia; and violently Polish newspapers were published at Danzig, Graudenz, and Thorn. The Union of Unions, which the East and West Prussian Poles obeyed, combated with no little success the Polish Expropriation Law, which appeared to British eyes at the time 'one of the most illiberal measures ever passed by any Parliament'. In the sphere of religion the disposition grew for Polish Romanists in East and West Prussia to regard themselves as members of an all-Polish archiepiscopal province.

(3) EDUCATIONAL

The general educational system is that of Prussia. But, owing to the predominance of the manorial system of the landed classes and the small concern

which these affect for education, school buildings in the remoter districts are very poor, the teacher's position is low, and education in general is backward. The reluctance to admit the Polish language increases the difficulties in the primary schools. Secondary education, on the other hand, is extremely good.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

It is possible that the comparatively recent date at which the great city of Danzig was seized by Prussia may cause those who are unacquainted with it to mistake its national character. This has been for several centuries definitely German. Some of the most conspicuous of the trophies of the Reformation were preserved within its walls; and twenty years ago it was possible to inhabit it for some time without becoming aware that a Polish question existed.

This German character is, naturally, maintained in the greater part of East Prussia. In West Prussia, apart from Danzig, as well as in Poznania, the Polish nationality undoubtedly prevails.

IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

(A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

(1) INTERNAL

(a) Roads

THE chief metalled roads in East and West Prussia are the provincial roads and circle (*Kreis*) roads, besides which there are a few roads kept up by the several parishes, and nearly 50 km. of Imperial and State roads. The total length of the provincial and circle roads in each *Regierungsbezirk* of the two provinces in 1913 is shown in the following tables :

East Prussia			
<i>Regierungsbezirk.</i>	<i>Provincial roads.</i>	<i>Circle roads.</i>	<i>Km. of these roads to 100 sq. km.</i>
	<i>km.</i>	<i>km.</i>	
Königsberg	684	2,377	19.4
Gumbinnen	772	1,345	19.3
Allenstein	423	1,575	16.6
	<u>1,879</u>	<u>5,297</u>	<u>19.3</u>

West Prussia			
<i>Regierungsbezirk.</i>	<i>Provincial roads.</i>	<i>Circle roads.</i>	<i>Km. of these roads to 100 sq. km.</i>
	<i>km.</i>	<i>km.</i>	
Danzig	421	1,488	23.9
Marienwerder	513	3,706	23.9
	<u>934</u>	<u>5,194</u>	<u>23.9</u>

In East Prussia the road-system is exceedingly inadequate. Prussian Lithuania, where metalled roads have been made only in the last few decades, has especially suffered from the lack of means of communication. In Masuria, too, up to very recent times, the cross-roads left much to be desired, though the roads through the State forests were well kept.

(b) Rivers

The *Memel* or *Niemen* has been regulated and embanked, and is navigable for the whole of its course through East Prussia. Its mean depth allows the passage of vessels of 5½ ft. draught. The two chief tributaries it receives in Prussia, the *Scheschuppe* (*Szeszuppe*) and the *Jura*, are both used for timber floating. As regards the navigability of the *Niemen* in its upper reaches, see *Russian Poland, Lithuania, and White Russia*, No. 44 of this series.

The *Pregel* has been canalized up to Königsberg, which can be reached by sea-going vessels. Craft drawing 5 ft. can go as far as *Tapiau*, 28 miles from the mouth; but above this point the river can be used only by small boats, and beyond *Wehlau* it is so silted up as to be virtually useless as a waterway. Of its tributaries, the *Alle* is used by small craft from *Wehlau* to *Friedland* (34 miles), and the *Deime* is navigable for its whole course of 24 miles. The other tributaries are unsuitable for navigation, but can be used for floating timber.

The *Passarge*, which flows into the *Frische Haff*, is not navigable; and the *Pissek* is used only for timber floating.

The *Vistula* is navigable throughout its course in West Prussia, and is a very important artery for heavy traffic. It is, however, difficult to navigate, owing to numerous sandbanks; and little improvement can be expected until it has been regulated in Poland. Of the streams forming its delta, the *Nogat* cannot be used by vessels of more than 2 ft. draught; but both the so-called *Elbing Vistula*, which leaves the main stream at *Rotebude*, and the *Danzig* or 'Dead' *Vistula* have been canalized, the latter being able to take vessels with a draught of 16½ ft. Between these two branches a channel has been cut from *Einlage*, where there is a lock, to the sea at *Schiewenhorst*. The other branches of the delta are not used for navigation,

(c) Canals

Although East Prussia possesses a number of useful canals, they are mostly short and of merely local importance. West Prussia is ill-provided with artificial waterways; and neither province is connected with the great canal system of central and western Germany. The need for more and better canals has been strongly felt, for the traffic of East and West Prussia is largely concerned with heavy goods which cannot bear high railway rates.

The region of the two provinces which is best provided with canals is the north-east of East Prussia. The Königsberg Ship Canal connects Königsberg with Pillau, passing through the Frische Haff, where it is protected by moles. It is dredged to a depth of 20 ft. The König-Wilhelm Canal, 25 miles in length, which links Memel with Lankuppen on the Minge, can be used by vessels of 300 tons burthen, and is of much service to timber merchants. Communication between the Memel (Niemen) and the Pregel is afforded by several small canals and by the important Seckenburg Canal, which connects the canalized Gilge (the most southerly branch of the Memel delta) with the Nemonien, whence it is continued by the Grosser Friedrichsgraben, which at Labiau joins the Deime, a tributary of the Pregel.

Lakes Mauer and Spirding, and some of the smaller lakes of the Masurian region, are linked by small canals; and in the extreme west of the province lie the middle sections of the Oberland Canal, which, with the aid of Lakes Drausen, Röthloff, and Geserich, connects the West Prussian towns of Elbing and Deutsch-Eylau. This canal can take craft of 50 tons burthen, and has four locks and five inclined planes on which there are tramways capable of carrying vessels of 70 tons. It has two branches—one leading to Osterode

through Lake Drewenz, and the other to Saalfeld through Lake Ewing.

Two short stretches of this canal belong to West Prussia, but that province contains no other artificial waterway of note except the Kraffohl Canal, which links the Elbing Vistula with the Nogat. It must be remembered, however, that a great deal of money and energy has been devoted to the canalization of various branches of the Vistula delta.

The desirability of improving the canal system of East and West Prussia gave rise to many projects, but the only waterway under construction in 1914 was the Masurian Canal. It was to connect Allenburg on the Alle with Lake Mauer, and subsequently, according to the hopes of the more sanguine of its promoters, to be extended southwards, so as to afford communication between the Masurian lake region and the basin of the Narew. The canal was expected to be of great economic value to East Prussia; but, though work on it was begun in 1908, it was still far from completion at the outbreak of the war. Should the project of a waterway from the Baltic to the Black Sea be taken seriously in hand, the Masurian Canal might form a section of the new route. In that case, however, the original plans would have to be revised, as they were based on the assumption that the canal would not be used by vessels of more than 300 tons burthen.

Closely connected with the scheme for the Masurian Canal was an enterprise having as its object the increase of water-supply for the canals of the lake region. Most of the surplus water of this district flows southwards, and thus renders no service to East Prussia. It was therefore resolved to divert the outflow of Lake Spirding and other lakes towards the north. The necessary works, which included

several reservoirs and a large dam, were begun in 1908, but are still unfinished.

A project which has attracted much attention and been thoroughly examined is that of the so-called Ost-Kanal, which would run from Lake Spirding by way of Allenstein and Lake Drewenz to Deutsch-Eylau, and thence to a point on the Vistula just north of Thorn.

Schemes have also been suggested for connecting Silesia and West Prussia by a canal, and for constructing a waterway from the basin of the Memel to that of the Windau (Windawa), and thus providing a new route between East Prussia and the Baltic ports of Courland and Livonia. Nothing, however, has been done towards the execution of these plans.

In East Prussia the principal inland port is Tilsit, a great centre of the timber trade, where before the war it was resolved to build a large harbour for timber. Among the other river or canal ports may be mentioned Lankuppen, on the König-Wilhelm Canal, Tapiau, on the Pregel, and Pinnau-Wehlau, at the confluence of the Pregel with the Alle.

The leading river port of West Prussia is Thorn, while in the Vistula delta there are several ports of lesser note, such as Rotebude, Platenhoff, Einlage, and Danziger Haupt.

(d) Railways

System.—The railways are all State-owned, and are managed by the railway boards of Königsberg and Danzig. Their length, both actual and in proportion to the area and population of the two provinces, is indicated in the following table, which refers to the year 1912 :

	<i>Main lines. km.</i>	<i>Secondary lines. km.</i>	<i>Total. km.</i>	<i>Km. per 100 sq. km.</i>	<i>Km. per 10,000 in- habitants.</i>
East Prussia	979	1,870	2,849	7.6	13
West Prussia	919	1,331	2,250	8.8	13

In the German Empire as a whole, there were, on an average, 9.15 km. of railway to every 10,000 inhabitants. Compared with other German provinces, both East and West Prussia were thus very well provided with railways.

The railway system of the two provinces is simple. Both are traversed by two important lines from Berlin, viz. :

1. The *Ostbahn* to Konitz, Dirschau (junction for Danzig), Königsberg, and Eydtkuhnen, on the Russian frontier, where it is in connexion with the Russian line to Vilna and Petrograd.

2. The line, passing through Schneidemühl and Bromberg in Posen, to Thorn, Allenstein, and Insterburg, where it joins the *Ostbahn*.

There are also several lines running inland from the Baltic coast. Of these the following deserve notice :

1. The Danzig – Dirschau – Marienburg – Deutsch Eylau – Soldau line, the continuation of which reaches the Polish frontier at Illowa and affords direct communication with Warsaw.

2. The Pillau – Königsberg – Korschen – Lyck line, which is continued to Prostken, on the frontier of Poland, and thence to Białystock, on the Warsaw – Moscow railway.

3. The line from Memel to Insterburg, *via* Tilsit.

Mention should also be made of a line which runs roughly parallel with the southern frontier of the two provinces, leaving the Thorn – Insterburg railway near Schönsee, passing through Strassburg, Soldau, Neidenburg, Ortelsburg, Johannsburg, and Goldap, and reaching the *Ostbahn* a little east of Stallupönen. This line is of small economic value, but its strategic importance is very great, and it stood the Germans in good stead during the campaigns of 1914 and 1915.

East Prussia has direct railway communication with

Russian territory at three points, which have been mentioned above, but no line actually crosses the frontier between Poland and West Prussia. Two lines, however, afford easy communication between the two regions—one is the railway from Thorn to Warsaw, which enters Poland from Poznania, the other, already noticed, is the Danzig–Warsaw line, the frontier station of which, Illowa, is in East Prussia.

In both provinces the lines are for the most part single, but the track of the following sections is double :

1. The Ostbahn throughout.
2. The Berlin–Thorn–Insterburg line, except from Thorn to Jablonowo and from Korschen to Insterburg.
3. The Danzig–Illowa line.
4. The line from Korschen to Lyck.

It may be added that East Prussia has 802 km. of light railways (*Kleinbahnen*) and West Prussia 583 km.

Possibilities of Expansion.—While a number of local branch lines are urgently needed, even more imperative, in the interests of the two provinces, is the construction of new links with Poland, Lithuania, and Courland. At present, traffic between the Baltic and the manufacturing region of Poland passes largely through Stettin, which is in easy communication with Łódź ; while the alignment of the principal railways of Courland and Lithuania attracts the overseas trade of those parts to Libau and Windau. Thus Danzig and the ports of East Prussia have failed to secure a great part of the commerce to which their geographical position would seem to entitle them. The improvement of railway communication between East and West Prussia and adjacent districts must, of course, depend largely on the character of the political settlement effected in these regions and the consequent relations between the different peoples concerned.

(2) EXTERNAL

(a) Ports

Accommodation.—In East Prussia the chief seaports are Memel, Königsberg, and Pillau, while Tilsit, a river port already described, carries on a considerable trade with Lithuania. Elbing and Danzig are the only seaports of note in West Prussia, which has an important river port in Thorn (see p. 37), where an active trade with Poland is conducted.

The port of *Memel* (population, 21,000) is approached by the Memel Deep, a channel nearly 7 km. long. The harbour, which is from 13 ft. to 19½ ft. in depth, is roomy and safe. The total length of the quays is 1,000 yds., and there is in addition a jetty 133 yds. long. The harbour is adequately provided with cranes and has a patent slip. Before the war Memel was the principal centre of the Baltic timber trade. It used to have a considerable transit trade with the interior of western Russia, but this has declined.

Königsberg (population, 246,000) stands on a harbour formed by the Pregel and 21 ft. in depth. The Königsberg Ship Canal (see p. 35) enables vessels of 3,000 tons to enter the port. Königsberg has about 1½ miles of wharves, on which, among other buildings, is a granary capable of holding nearly 37,000 tons of corn. The town was the centre of the amber trade, and the main outlet for the agricultural produce of East Prussia. Its timber trade, though still large, was somewhat declining in the last years before the war; and its general commerce was suffering from the competition of the Baltic ports of Russia.

Pillau lost much of its importance after the opening of the Königsberg Ship Canal. The Pillau Deep, a fortified channel protected by moles, which forms the entrance to the Frische Haff, is 328 yds. wide and has a minimum depth of 27 ft.; it is kept open in

winter by ice-breakers. The port has two docks, and can accommodate vessels of 1,500 tons.

The port of *Elbing* stands on a narrow gulf leading into the Frische Haff, which varies in depth from 7 ft. to 15 ft. The harbour is small and about 10 ft. deep, with wharfage 1,370 yds. in length, the approach to it being protected by a mole over a mile long. It is ice-bound for about nine weeks in the year. The town of Elbing lies about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles inland, up the Elbing river.

The deep-water port of *Danzig* (population, 182,000) is Neufahrwasser, which is formed by a canal and a basin close to the most westerly mouth of the Vistula. The canal, known as the Hafen Canal, is 24 ft. deep; and the section of it which is used as a harbour is about 65 yds. wide and a mile long. Just within the entrance is an inner harbour, the *Freihafen*, 26 ft. deep and $13\frac{1}{2}$ acres in extent, which was opened in 1900 as a duty-free area. From a point on the Vistula about a mile and a half above Neufahrwasser, an artificial channel has been cut to Danzig town. This channel, known as the Kaiserhafen, is from 100 to 200 yds. wide. Between the Kaiserhafen and the circuitous course of the 'Dead' Vistula is situated Holm Island, on which are the Imperial and Schichau dockyards, and a number of steel works and wharves. Just opposite the southern end of the Kaiserhafen is the confluence of the 'Dead' Vistula and the Mottlau. The latter river, in its course through the town, is 11 ft. deep; its banks are lined by granaries and elevators. The steamship route from Danzig to the sea is seldom closed by ice; and vessels drawing as much as 13 ft. can moor at the quays in the town. The port is well supplied with facilities for loading and repairing ships.

Volume of Trade.—The following table shows the number and total tonnage of the loaded vessels enter-

ing the four largest ports of East and West Prussia in 1906, 1909, and 1912 :

	<i>Memel.</i>		<i>Königsberg.</i>	
	<i>Number.</i>	<i>Tonnage.</i>	<i>Number.</i>	<i>Tonnage.</i>
1906	685	139,644	1,627	450,594
1909	1,387	198,709	1,872	562,517
1912	2,769	210,312	1,885	534,513

	<i>Pillau.</i>		<i>Danzig (Neufahrwasser).</i>	
	<i>Number.</i>	<i>Tonnage.</i>	<i>Number.</i>	<i>Tonnage.</i>
1906	239	121,865	2,246	678,397
1909	209	108,967	2,444	702,273
1912	227	107,973	3,079	785,958

The only port where traffic was expanding satisfactorily was Memel. At Danzig it was indeed growing, but whereas statistics of the tonnage entering German ports in 1908 show that Danzig ranked seventh in this respect, by 1912 it had lost this position to Lübeck, and there seemed every prospect that it would shortly have to surrender the eighth place to Emden.

From the table in the Appendix (p. 63), which shows the nationality of the vessels which in 1911 visited the chief ports of East and West Prussia, it appears that, exclusive of Scandinavia, the interest of the United Kingdom in the overseas trade of these provinces exceeded that of any other country of Western Europe.

Future Development of Danzig.—While the total tonnage visiting Danzig was slowly increasing in the last years before the war, the trade of the port was declining—a process which was specially remarkable in view of the rapid growth of trade at most other German ports. A further diminution was threatened by the widespread advocacy of a general lowering of freights on the German railways, which would have strengthened the tendency for the trade of eastern Germany and neighbouring regions to flow to Hamburg and Bremen. The decay of Danzig was due to various causes. For one thing, Russia had recently improved her railway communications with her own Baltic ports, while direct railway traffic between Danzig and Russia

was still limited to the one line through Soldau and Mlawa. Even more detrimental to Danzig was the fact that the frontiers and the main railway routes of the kingdom of Prussia have been determined by politics much more than by geography. Thus the basin of the Vistula has been broken up by political boundaries; and the railways which serve it have rendered the disruption still more complete. Hence Danzig has gained but little by the development of its *hinterland*, whose trade, which would naturally follow the Vistula, is now diverted. The distance between Danzig and Przemyśl in Galicia is 350 miles, but before the war the railway journey between the two could not be accomplished in less than twenty-six hours; while trains took only nineteen hours to cover the 625 miles between Przemyśl and Hamburg. The North Sea ports have profited enormously by the dislocation of the Vistula trade-route; in 1911, for example, Hamburg and Bremen sent 80,000 Russian emigrants to America, and Danzig not a single one. Should, however, Danzig become the port of an independent Poland, it would probably recover much of the trade of the Vistula valley, especially if its railway communications with Central Poland were improved.

(b) *Shipping Lines*

The ports of East and West Prussia lie off the routes of the largest shipping lines. Of the foreign lines which used to call at Königsberg and Danzig, the most notable were Det Forenede Dampskibs Selskab, of Copenhagen, the Leith, Hull, and Hamburg Steam Packet Co., Ltd. (James Currie & Co., Glasgow), and the London and Hull Line (Bailey & Leetham, Hull). The chief ports of the two provinces were, of course, visited by the vessels of numerous German firms engaged in the Baltic trade.

(c) *Telegraphic and Wireless Communications*

No submarine cable touches either East or West Prussia. Before the war the only wireless station was at Danzig; it had a range of 330 nautical miles by day, and of twice that distance by night.

(B) INDUSTRY

(1) LABOUR

(a) *Supply of Labour*

In both East and West Prussia, as in the whole of Eastern Germany, the supply of agricultural labour is insufficient; for the agricultural labourers, being poorly paid, have migrated in large numbers to the west of Germany or other countries. Before the war many farmers used to complain that in the busy season they could get no labourers at all. The emigration from the two provinces was at its height in 1881-5, and so recently as 1898 it was considerable. In this year, out of 66,554 labourers' houses in the *Regierungsbezirk* of Königsberg, 8,370 were empty. In the same year, from this district alone, 15,600 labourers went to the west of Germany, where most found employment in the Westphalian mines. Subsequently, however, this movement to the mining and manufacturing areas of Germany diminished. Emigration to foreign countries has had a similar record. In the years 1886-90 the average annual number of emigrants going overseas from East Prussia was 1,950, and from West Prussia, 11,283; but in 1911 East Prussia sent only 390 and West Prussia only 903. The great majority of these emigrants went to the United States.

It is worthy of notice that just before the war the overseas emigration from East and West Prussia was more than balanced by the return of natives of these

provinces from abroad. In 1914, 2,039 persons came back to West Prussia from foreign countries. There was also a large annual immigration of seasonal labour from Russia and Poland.

(b) *Labour Conditions*

Before the war many agricultural labourers were paid largely in kind; and these were better off than the 'free' labourers, who received a cash payment only. During the twenty years previous to 1914 wages doubled in many districts. At the end of this period, in both East and West Prussia, a usual wage for the hind who 'lived in' was 210-255 marks yearly, with board and lodging valued at 350-400 marks. For a small holder working on a larger estate a typical remuneration in East Prussia was the following: 180 marks in cash, one bushel of seed oats, four bushels of seed potatoes, two sheep on the pasture and their lambs, 10,000 blocks of turf to be dug by the labourer. Men day-labourers got 2 marks a day and their board, women 0.60 to 0.90 mark and their board.

In East Prussia, just before the war, the pay of artisans was considerably higher than that of agricultural labourers. Workers in the amber mines got from 3.10 marks to 5.24 marks a day, bricklayers 4.30 marks, smiths 2.75 marks, and bakers 2.50 marks. For women engaged in industries other than agriculture an average daily wage was 1.20-1.80 marks in the district of Königsberg in East Prussia, and 1.30-2 marks in West Prussia. In general, wages appear to have been rather higher in West Prussia than in East Prussia.

(2) AGRICULTURE

(a) *Products of Commercial Value*

In neither East nor West Prussia is the soil generally fertile; and the branches of agriculture which flourish

most are the growing of fodder crops and the raising of live-stock. Cereals and potatoes, however, cover a large area in each province. The production of these crops increased enormously in the generation before the war, but the average yield per hectare remained lower than that of the kingdom of Prussia as a whole. Among the cereals, rye was the most successful, and did about equally well in both provinces, the average yield per acre being little less than that of the whole kingdom. Oats were also grown in large quantities, East Prussia having as a rule the larger production, though the smaller average yield per acre. Wheat and barley were much less popular, but well repaid cultivation in many parts of West Prussia; East Prussia, however, is not generally suited to them. Both provinces grew large quantities of potatoes, though in neither did the average yield compare favourably with that in other potato-growing areas of Germany.

Clover was widely grown in both provinces, the average yield being about the same as in the whole kingdom; and the meadows of East and West Prussia alike are celebrated for the abundance of their hay.

Among the other crops grown, sugar-beet did fairly well in a few districts of West Prussia, and tobacco was cultivated in the same province with some success. West Prussia also grew rape, its production being exceeded by only two provinces of the kingdom. Flax-growing, which used to be a flourishing industry, had declined in both provinces, as elsewhere in Germany. It may be mentioned here that peat-litter is made on the moors of East and West Prussia; and about 400 wagon-loads used to be exported annually, largely to Austria and France.

In East Prussia, Königsberg was the most fertile *Regierungsbezirk* for all the principal crops. The *Kreise* of Fischhausen and Königsberg yielded the richest

crops of wheat, rye, and oats, while barley did best in the *Kreise* of Gerdauen and Königsberg. Potatoes were most successfully grown in the *Kreis* of Friedland. Clover was most remunerative in the *Kreis* of Tilsit (*Regierungsbezirk* of Gumbinnen), but yielded a good return in most parts of the Königsberg *Regierungsbezirk*. Rye and potatoes were very widely grown in the *Regierungsbezirk* of Allenstein, but did not repay cultivation as well as in that of Königsberg.

Of the West Prussian *Kreise*, those in the plain of the Vistula are the most fertile. Before the war the *Kreis* of Marienburg produced most wheat, barley, oats, rape, and sugar-beet, that of Löbau most rye.

Stock-raising plays a prominent part in the economic life of both provinces. East Prussia, in particular, is celebrated for its horses, of which it used to supply large numbers for the German army. The horse-market at Wehlau on the Pregel was the biggest in east Germany, and was world-renowned. The principal horse-breeding district in the two provinces is the *Regierungsbezirk* of Gumbinnen.

Statistics for 1912 show that, in proportion to their area, both provinces possessed more horses, but fewer cattle, sheep, and pigs, than the kingdom of Prussia as a whole. In proportion to the population, however, all these animals were much more numerous in East and West Prussia than in the kingdom at large. The raising of cattle, sheep, and pigs flourished especially in the *Regierungsbezirke* of Königsberg and Marienwerder. The numbers of the cattle and pigs in the two provinces have greatly increased in the last forty years. Sheep-breeding, however, has declined, as in most parts of Germany, and in the last years before the war was of comparatively small importance.

(b) Methods of Cultivation

Intensive methods of cultivation are now generally followed in the two provinces, but the time-honoured three-field system prevailed in many parts until quite recent years. On some estates the sum spent on wages and on artificial manures has trebled since the beginning of the century.

(c) Forestry

In East Prussia 17.7 per cent. of the surface is under forest, and in West Prussia 29.9 per cent. East Prussia has less timber than any other Prussian province except Schleswig-Holstein, but its forests are, on the whole, more vigorously exploited than those of West Prussia. The most thickly wooded *Regierungsbezirk* of East Prussia is Allenstein, Königsberg coming second. In West Prussia the forests lie chiefly in the *Regierungsbezirk* of Marienwerder. Coniferous trees cover 80 per cent. of the forest area in East Prussia and 87 per cent. in West Prussia.

In both provinces considerably more than half the forest area belongs to the State, the rest being almost entirely in private ownership. The amount and value of the timber and firewood cut in the State forests in 1911 is shown in the following table :

	<i>Amount in cubic metres.</i>		<i>Value in marks.</i>	
	<i>Timber.</i>	<i>Firewood.</i>	<i>Timber.</i>	<i>Firewood.</i>
East Prussia	1,411,208	973,181	15,359,000	3,909,000
West Prussia	855,820	636,731	12,744,000	2,427,000

More than half the timber felled in East Prussia belonged to the *Regierungsbezirk* of Allenstein ; while that of Marienwerder produced nearly two-thirds of the output of West Prussia.

In both provinces, especially in East Prussia, the price of timber before the war was low, owing to the large import of wood from Russia.

(d) Land Tenure

In 1907, 24·1 per cent. of the cultivated land of East Prussia belonged to holdings of less than 20 hectares, and 38·5 per cent. to holdings of between 20 and 100 hectares. In West Prussia the corresponding percentages were 30·6 and 32·9. Compared with Poznania and Silesia, both East and West Prussia have a smaller proportion of their surface occupied by holdings under 20 hectares in area, but both surpass the other two provinces in the percentage of land divided into estates of moderate size. But in East and West Prussia alike, as in the whole of eastern Germany, very big estates are numerous, though in recent times some of them were curtailed by the Settlement Commission which used to operate in West Prussia and Poznania (pp. 30–31).

In East Prussia nearly all the agricultural land is cultivated by its owners, very little being held on lease.

(3) FISHERIES

The coastal fisheries of the two provinces are of much importance. The following table shows the weight and value of the catch in 1911 and (for the Frische Haff and Kurische Haff) in 1913 :

<i>Fishery.</i>	1911.		1913.	
	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Marks.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Marks.</i>
Danziger Bucht	3,441	625,581	—	—
Frische Haff	1,860	1,373,200	1,779	1,576,503
Kurische Nehrung	804	137,115	—	—
Kurische Haff	10,733	1,457,713	10,452	2,034,295

To judge from the returns of 1911, the fishermen of the Danziger Bucht derive most of their profits from flounders, eels, sprats, and herrings ; and, with the exception of eels, the same fish yield the greater part of the revenue of the Kurische Nehrung fisheries. In the Frische Haff, eels and perch-pike were taken in very large quantities during 1913. Perch-pike also

constituted a considerable part of the catch in the Kurische Haff, where enormous numbers of smelts and roach were likewise caught.

(4) MINERALS

The only valuable mineral of East and West Prussia is amber. This fossil gum is found on the coasts, which, especially in the Samland, have long been noted for it. Amber occurs in rocks known as 'blue earth', and is particularly abundant between Brüsterort and Rantau, and at Kranz. It is collected on the seashore in small pieces which have been broken off from the rock by wind or wave; and until recent times this was the only way of obtaining it. Of late years, however, it has also been mined with great success, the pioneers in the enterprise being the firm of Stantien & Becker. The first mine worked was at Palmnicken, and the yield between 1892 and 1896 was nearly 500,000 kg. a year. During this period the rent of land leased for amber-mining rose from 75 to 52,000 marks per morgen (five-eighths of an acre). In 1899 the Prussian State took over all the amber works, including those of Stantien & Becker, who had long controlled the market, but permitted the town of Danzig to retain the amber-mining rights on a short section of the Vistula estuary, near Polsk.

Large pieces of genuine amber are very valuable, but the average weight of a piece is only about half a kilogram. Since 1870 a process has been in use for fusing small pieces of amber into a homogeneous mass which is scarcely distinguishable from a large natural piece, such fused amber being called ambroid. Cuttings and other scraps not devoted to this purpose are converted into amber colophony, a kind of varnish. Other products are oil of amber, used medicinally and

as a constituent of Eau de Luce, and succinic (amber) acid, which is used in photography.

During the period 1892-6 the average annual output of amber and its products in the two provinces consisted of 13,533 kg. of amber and ambroid, 140,473 kg. of amber colophony, 33,878 kg. of oil of amber, and 5,495 kg. of succinic acid, the whole being valued at 2,240,336 marks. The value of the annual production seems to have remained much the same during the next ten years.

(5) MANUFACTURES

The manufactures of East and West Prussia are of small note, and, apart from shipbuilding and the making of a little agricultural machinery, are dependent on local agriculture and forestry.

Beer.—There are numerous breweries in both provinces, and in 1912 East Prussia produced upwards of 1,000,000 hectolitres of beer, and West Prussia more than 650,000 hectolitres.

Ships.—Shipbuilding is an important industry at the ports. Since 1890 the famous firm of Schichau, originally established at Elbing and Pillau, have had at Danzig large yards covering an area of 123 acres and furnished with eight slips, of which the largest measure 300 yds. by 33 yds. They supply vessels to the North German Lloyd and the Hamburg-America Line, and build cargo-boats for the Baltic trade and Rhine steamers. At Elbing, where they make torpedo boats, they have large steel smelting works, which render them independent of other firms.

There is at Danzig another important firm, T. W. Klawitter, which specializes in tank steamers for the Caspian Sea and river boats for the Memel, as well as in floating docks and patent slips. The Imperial Government had large naval dockyards at Danzig.

Spirits.—In 1912 there were in East Prussia 305 distilleries, with an output of 156,000 hectolitres, and in East Prussia 350 distilleries, at which 271,000 hectolitres were produced. The spirits were distilled chiefly from potatoes, but in a few districts from molasses.

Sugar.—In East and West Prussia there were in 1912 eighteen sugar factories, which worked 1,115,363 tons of beet, and produced 158,818 tons of raw sugar and 5,247 tons of crystal sugar. This was equal to only one-fifth of the output of Silesia. In comparison with the production of sugar in West Prussia that of East Prussia is very small. In 1912 the sugar tax yielded only 32,888 marks in East Prussia, while the amount paid in West Prussia was 8,758,292 marks.

Wood Products and Wooden Goods.—The wood-working industry of East Prussia is of considerable magnitude. In 1914 there were in the province 370 saw-mills, employing in all 7,530 hands. In Tilsit and the neighbourhood there were 38 steam saw-mills, and two cellulose factories, one of which, a branch of a large firm in Mannheim, had machinery of 8,400 horse-power. Memel had 31 steam saw-mills, employing 2,000 hands, a large factory where boards for cigar-boxes were made, and a cellulose factory which belonged to a firm in Aschaffenburg and employed 600 people. In Königsberg there were 12 saw-mills, with 600 hands, and no fewer than 200 joiners' shops, which gave employment to 2,000 workers. At the same town a company with a capital of 600,000 marks made veneer. Königsberg also had two large match factories, and a cork factory which produced 25,000,000 corks yearly.

(C) COMMERCE

(1) DOMESTIC

(a) Principal Branches of Trade

The internal trade of East and West Prussia calls for no special comment. Its character may be inferred from the nature of the products and imports of the two provinces.

(b) Towns, Markets, Fairs

In 1910 East Prussia had five towns with a population of more than 20,000. Of these *Königsberg*, *Tilsit*, and *Memel* have been dealt with above (pp. 17 and 40). *Allenstein*, a town of 33,077 inhabitants, had an iron foundry and a machine factory, and manufactured wooden articles of various kinds. At *Insterburg*, which had a population of 31,624, there were two machine and iron foundries, several breweries and flour-mills, and a flax-spinning mill.

In West Prussia there were in 1910 three towns—*Danzig*, *Thorn*, and *Graudenz*—with upwards of 20,000 inhabitants. *Danzig* and *Thorn* have already been noticed; *Graudenz*, with a population of 40,325, had a trade in grain, wood, cattle, and horses, possessed flour-mills and saw-mills, and manufactured baskets, brushes, and pottery.

(c) Organizations to promote Trade and Commerce

Königsberg, *Memel*, and *Tilsit* each have a *Vorsteheramt der Kaufmannschaft* (Directorate of the Merchants), membership of which is voluntary and limited to individuals. There are also chambers of commerce at *Braunsberg*, *Allenstein*, and *Insterburg*. The sphere of the *Allenstein* chamber comprises the whole of the *Regierungsbezirk* of that name, and that of the *Inster-*

burg chamber covers several *Kreise* in the east of the province. The Elbing Chamber of Commerce, though its head-quarters lie outside the province, includes within the scope of its work three *Kreise* in the west of East Prussia. Nevertheless a few *Kreise*, mainly in the centre of the province, are wholly without chambers of commerce, although in 1907 they contained nearly 11 per cent. of the trading concerns of East Prussia. The merchants of these districts might easily have obtained admission into one of the existing chambers, and that they have not done so suggests that the work of these bodies is not highly appreciated.

In West Prussia there are chambers of commerce at Danzig, Graudenz, and Thorn, as well as at Elbing.

(2) FOREIGN

No complete statistics of the external trade of either province are available, and while there are recent returns of the weight of the exports and imports of Königsberg and Danzig, no information as to their value has been issued since 1904. In that year the exports of Königsberg were valued at 216,000,000 marks, and the imports at 298,000,000 marks; while at Danzig the value of the exports was estimated at 95,000,000 marks, and that of the imports at 116,000,000 marks. Since then, to judge from the statistics of quantities, the trade of both ports, and in particular of Danzig, has declined. Figures relating to the ports, however, throw but a partial light on the external trade of the provinces, most of it being carried on across the land frontiers. Moreover, such figures cover many goods that were merely in transit to or from Poland or other parts of the Russian Empire. It may be pointed out here that while large quantities of goods entered the two provinces from Russian territories, the exports thither were insignificant.

Detailed information regarding the external trade of East Prussia is given in a recently-published work, *Grundlagen des Wirtschaftslebens von Ostpreussen*, Jena, 1916-8, part iv. This book contains numerous statistical tables, which, though admittedly lacking in completeness and accuracy, give a clear impression of the character of the trade of the province. Unfortunately, there seems to be no similar review of the economic conditions of West Prussia.

(a) *Exports*

Of the exports of East Prussia the most important before the war was wood, which was sent to other parts of Germany and overseas in very large quantities. It should be remembered, however, that much of the wood exported was of Russian origin. The chief port for the shipment of wood was Memel, whence in 1913, 386 vessels sailed with cargoes consisting exclusively of wood or wooden goods, while of the remaining 404 ships which left the port, 146 carried wood as part of their freight. In this year the value of the timber dispatched from Memel to destinations outside East Prussia was nearly 23,000,000 marks. Königsberg also had a lively trade in wood, which, however, showed a marked decline in the years immediately before the war. Timber was shipped from Danzig, but in comparatively small quantities. Much of the wood exported by West Prussia was of Polish origin.

Both provinces exported considerable quantities of cereals and leguminous plants. In East Prussia, Königsberg was the great emporium of the trade in these products, whatever their destination might be. There was a large export, by both rail and sea, of wheat, rye, and oats. Königsberg also shipped numerous heavy consignments of peas, beans, and lentils, but these were mainly of Russian origin.

A good many horses and very large numbers of cattle, sheep, and pigs were sent out of the province, almost entirely by rail.

Among the other exports of the province may be mentioned flax, hemp, various kinds of oil-bearing seeds, and clover. These, however, came for the most part from Russia. Amber, on the other hand—which was the object of a valuable export trade—was a genuine product of the province. But it will be seen that the export trade in goods of native origin was insignificant. The same may be said of West Prussia, which, in addition to cereals and leguminous products, exported a certain amount of sugar and spirits, but imported far more goods than it sent abroad.

Most of the exports of the two provinces naturally went to other parts of the German Empire, within which they were distributed over a very wide area. A good deal of wood was sent by East Prussia to the United Kingdom, this traffic being encouraged by the low freight charges on English ships returning home after discharging coal at Memel or Königsberg. Holland also purchased timber in some quantity.

The destinations of the cereals and leguminous products exported varied according to the harvest in Germany and the countries of Northern and Western Europe. Considerable quantities of these goods left East Prussia by sea, whether for German ports or for foreign countries. It should be noticed that a large proportion of the agricultural produce shipped from Königsberg to Holland was destined ultimately for western Germany, the cheapness of transport by steamer causing East Prussian merchants to prefer this route to the direct line of railway across Germany. In 1913 most of the wheat dispatched by East Prussia went by rail to other German provinces, but two years before there had been a large export to Norway. The

rye exported in 1913 went mainly by sea. A large quantity was shipped to Holland, whence most of it was probably forwarded to western Germany; Norway and Sweden were also important purchasers of rye; and Great Britain took 3,700 tons. By rail a small amount went to Poland. In 1911 large quantities were taken by Russia, but it appears that in most years the surplus rye of East Prussia found its principal market in Germany. Little barley was exported, and hardly any went to foreign countries. Oats, on the other hand, held a conspicuous place in the list of exports. Other German provinces took considerable quantities; a good deal was sent to the United Kingdom; while in 1913 France, and in 1911 Sweden, received large supplies. For peas, which were exported mainly by sea, the chief markets, after Germany itself, were Great Britain, America, Sweden, Norway, and France. The other exports of the province went for the most part to destinations within the German Empire.

(b) *Imports*

In the period immediately preceding the war, the imports of East and West Prussia greatly exceeded the exports, both in weight and in value. The two provinces were almost entirely dependent on outside sources for everything except the products of local agriculture and forestry. Some of these, indeed, could not meet the home demand. Thus, East Prussia had to import considerable quantities of peas, clover, barley, and potatoes, though a large proportion of the peas and clover was subsequently re-exported. Wood, too, was imported in large quantities, principally through Schmalleningken on the Memel and Thorn on the Vistula. From the Russian Empire, East Prussia received 2,074,000 cubic metres in 1912 and 2,212,323

cubic metres in 1913. In 1912, 712,000 tons of goods entered West Prussia *via* Thorn, and while detailed statistics of this traffic are not available, it may be inferred from the records of previous years that timber accounted for 80 or even 90 per cent. of it. Most of the wood imported was consumed within the provinces, whose forests cannot satisfy the needs of the local wood-working industries; but, as was indicated above, much of it was destined for re-export. Before the war the construction of a large timber-harbour at Tilsit was contemplated—a scheme encouraged by the owners of saw-mills and the manufacturers of wooden goods, who viewed with concern the growing tendency of the Russians to work their own timber, but opposed by those interested in the exploitation of East Prussian forests. The river and canal system of East Prussia has proved of great service in the development of the timber trade.

Coal was naturally one of the most notable imports of each province, a large amount entering both by rail and by sea. Accessories of agriculture, such as artificial manures and feeding-stuffs, were imported in large quantities. Colonial goods, metals, and manufactured articles of many kinds naturally figured conspicuously in the list of imports. Königsberg and Danzig received a considerable amount of mineral oil, and Danzig imported a good deal of salt. Among the imported food-stuffs, herrings and lentils deserve special mention; the latter, however, were largely re-exported.

The original source of the imports of the two provinces can seldom be ascertained. The imported wood came almost exclusively from Russia or Poland. The coal arriving in East Prussia by rail—more than two-thirds of the total import in 1913—was nearly all supplied by Silesia. The United Kingdom used to stand second among the sources of the coal consumed

in East Prussia; but in 1913, owing to a rise in the price of British coal, about half the supplies brought thither by sea came from the Rhenish-Westphalian field. The cereals, vegetables, and clover imported by East Prussia were mostly of Russian origin, though other German provinces supplied large quantities of barley and potatoes. Salted herrings came principally from Great Britain. The origin of the colonial goods seldom appears, as even when brought to East or West Prussia by sea, their immediate source was commonly some German port. Petroleum and other mineral oils were obtained from the United States and Austrian territories, Russia supplying comparatively little. Artificial fertilizers, whatever their primary source, usually arrived *via* Germany. Manufactured goods were supplied chiefly by the industrial areas of the German Empire; but there are no published figures which render possible even an approximate estimate of the amounts derived from foreign countries.

(c) *Commercial Treaties*

Certain of the commercial treaties concluded by the German Empire were of special interest to East and West Prussia. Of particular moment to these provinces was the arrangement with Russia for the establishment of the so-called Vistula Association Tariff, whereby freight charges from western Russia to Königsberg and Danzig were fixed. This tariff first came into force in 1876, but was repeatedly modified between that date and 1905, when Germany and Russia concluded a commercial treaty which, so far as this question was concerned, remained operative until the beginning of the war. The general object of the tariff was to ensure that Danzig, Königsberg, and the Baltic ports of Russia should have a fair share of the trade

of those districts which they naturally served. To effect this higher rates were charged on goods going to Danzig than on those for Königsberg.

The import of timber was also subject to special regulations which greatly influenced East and West Prussia. It was complained by those interested in saw-mills that unworked timber from abroad was taxed too heavily, and worked timber too lightly. There was, however, no duty on firewood or wood for the production of cellulose and wood pulp.

(D) FINANCE

(1) *Public Finance*

In 1912-13 the taxes levied by the provincial authorities of East Prussia amounted, on an average, to 1.28 marks per head of the population, and the standing debt of the province represented a liability of 10.09 marks per head. Inhabitants of rural circles paid to the local government, on an average, 4.69 marks in direct, and 1.77 marks in indirect, taxes. The average standing debt of the rural circles amounted to 24.03 marks per inhabitant. For the towns, the corresponding figures were 25.24 marks, 3.34 marks, and 237.05 marks.

The provincial government of West Prussia collected, on an average, 1.42 marks per head in direct taxes, and had a standing debt equivalent to 11.17 marks per head. In the rural circles, direct taxes averaged 4.26 marks per head, indirect taxes 1.36 marks, and the standing debt 28.65 marks. For rural communes with more than 10,000 inhabitants the corresponding figures were 13.22 marks, 2.32 marks, and 140.22 marks; for towns they were 23.25 marks, 2.28 marks, and 172.76 marks.

(2) *Banking*

Before the war the principal banks operating in East and West Prussia were the following:

The *Reichsbank*, which had branches in the chief towns.

The *Ostbank für Handel und Gewerbe*, with its headquarters at Posen and several branches in East and West Prussia. Share capital, 27,000,000 marks; reserve funds, 4,000,000 marks; dividend in 1913, 7 per cent.

The *Norddeutsche Kreditanstalt*, with its head office at Königsberg, and branches and agencies in Poznania and Pomerania, as well as in East and West Prussia. Share capital, 24,000,000 marks; reserve funds, 3,600,000 marks; dividend in 1912, 7 per cent.

The *Königsberger Vereins-Bank*, which operated only in East Prussia. Share capital, 10,000,000 marks; reserve funds, 2,000,000 marks; dividend in 1912, 7 per cent.

The *Danziger Privat-Aktien-Bank*. Share capital, 14,000,000 marks; reserve funds, 3,476,000 marks; dividend in 1912, 7½ per cent.

There were three important land mortgage banks: the *Bank der Ostpreussischen Landschaft* (which had advanced 483,000,000 marks), the *Bank der Westpreussischen Landschaft* (which had advanced 127,000,000 marks), and the *Bank der neuen Westpreussischen Landschaft* (which had advanced 229,000,000 marks).

Savings banks were numerous and popular in each province, but credit and co-operative societies, though fairly successful, were distinctly less flourishing than in Poznania.

(E) GENERAL REMARKS

The political future of East and West Prussia is so uncertain that little can at present be said about their economic prospects. The lack of minerals makes it unlikely that either region will ever see much development of its manufacturing industries. Despite recent improvements in methods of cultivation, the average yield of cereals and other vegetable food-crops has not increased as rapidly in East and West Prussia as in the kingdom at large; and in most parts of the two provinces agriculturists would probably be well advised to concentrate their attention on the growing of fodder crops and the raising of live-stock. More might be made of the forests, but the wood-working industries will remain largely dependent on supplies from what at present are foreign sources. Emphasis has already been laid on the need for new canals and railways; and the possibility of reviving the trade of Danzig has been already discussed (see above, p. 42). But the future of trade in the area under review must remain quite uncertain until the political frontiers of eastern Germany are settled, and, for that matter, until stable conditions again prevail in western Russia.

APPENDIX

NUMBER, TONNAGE, AND NATIONALITY OF THE LOADED SHIPS ENTERING
THE CHIEF PORTS OF EAST AND WEST PRUSSIA IN 1911

Flag.	Memel.		Pillau.		Königsberg.		Danzig.		Total.	
	Number.	Tonnage.	Number.	Tonnage.	Number.	Tonnage.	Number.	Tonnage.	Number.	Tonnage.
Norwegian	29	20,163	19	14,920	155	68,440	163	77,959	366	181,482
Danish	25	22,219	24	11,241	361	75,004	209	57,117	619	165,581
British	4	8,001	20	12,747	95	55,755	98	69,168	217	145,671
Swedish	14	9,432	20	14,100	217	36,731	192	57,426	443	117,689
Dutch	18	2,569	1	87	132	42,283	67	28,878	218	73,817
Russian	6	840	—	—	3	1,470	25	14,536	34	16,846
Belgian	1	1,268	6	6,034	3	3,559	2	1,548	12	12,409
Spanish	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1,778	1	1,778
French	—	—	—	—	1	652	—	—	1	652
Total of foreign ships	97	64,492	90	59,129	967	283,894	757	308,410	1,911	715,925
German ships	2,448	149,052	206	55,117	1,084	297,973	2,065	451,502	5,803	953,644
Total of all shipping	2,545	213,544	296	114,246	2,051	581,867	2,822	759,912	7,714	1,669,569

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MAPS

East and West Prussia are covered by two sheets of the War Office Map (G.S.G.S. No. 2758), viz. Berlin (North, N. 33) and Warsaw (North, N. 34), on the scale of 1 : 1,000,000.

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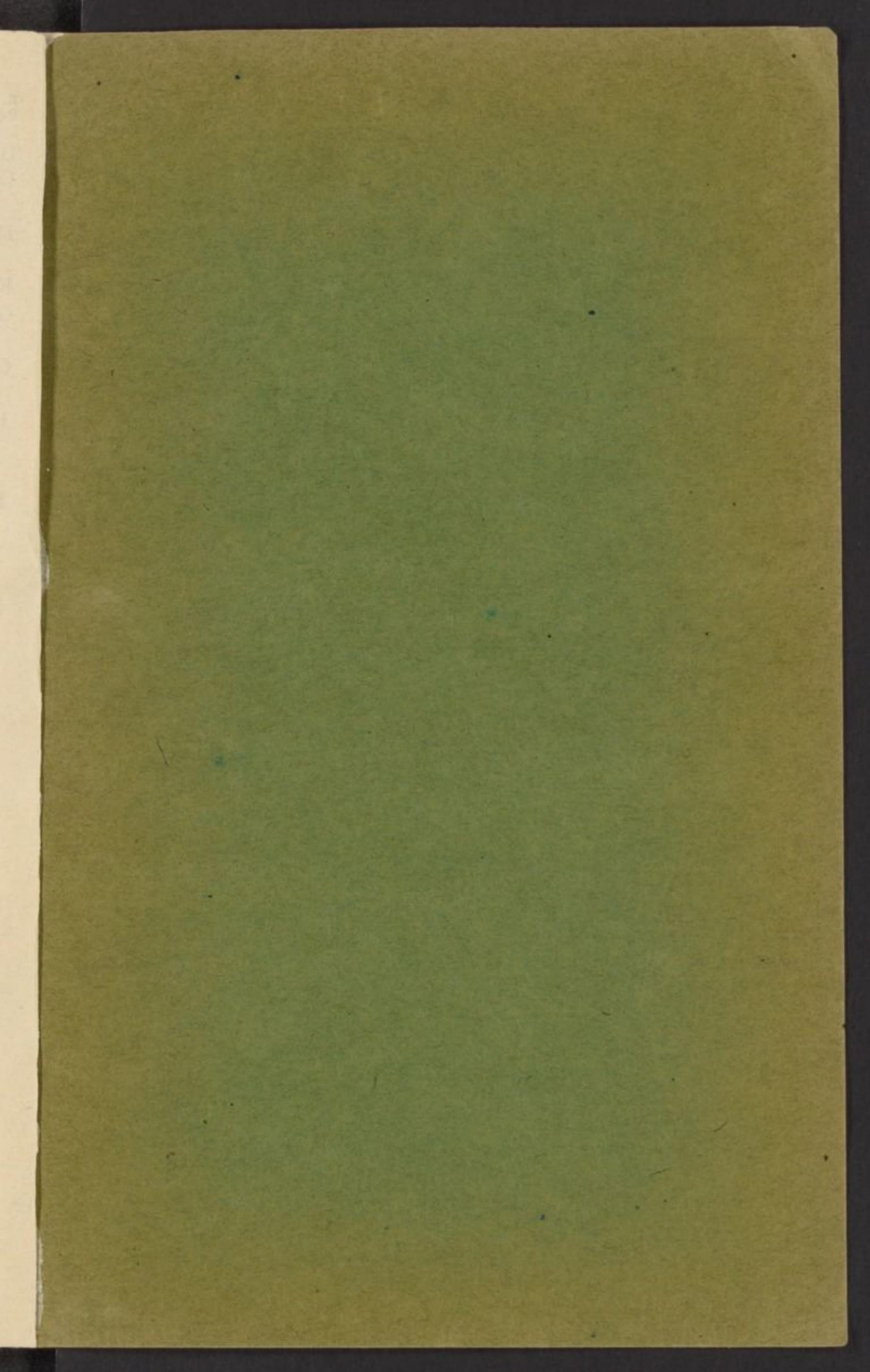
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