

*HANDBOOKS PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE  
HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE.—No. 45*

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POLAND

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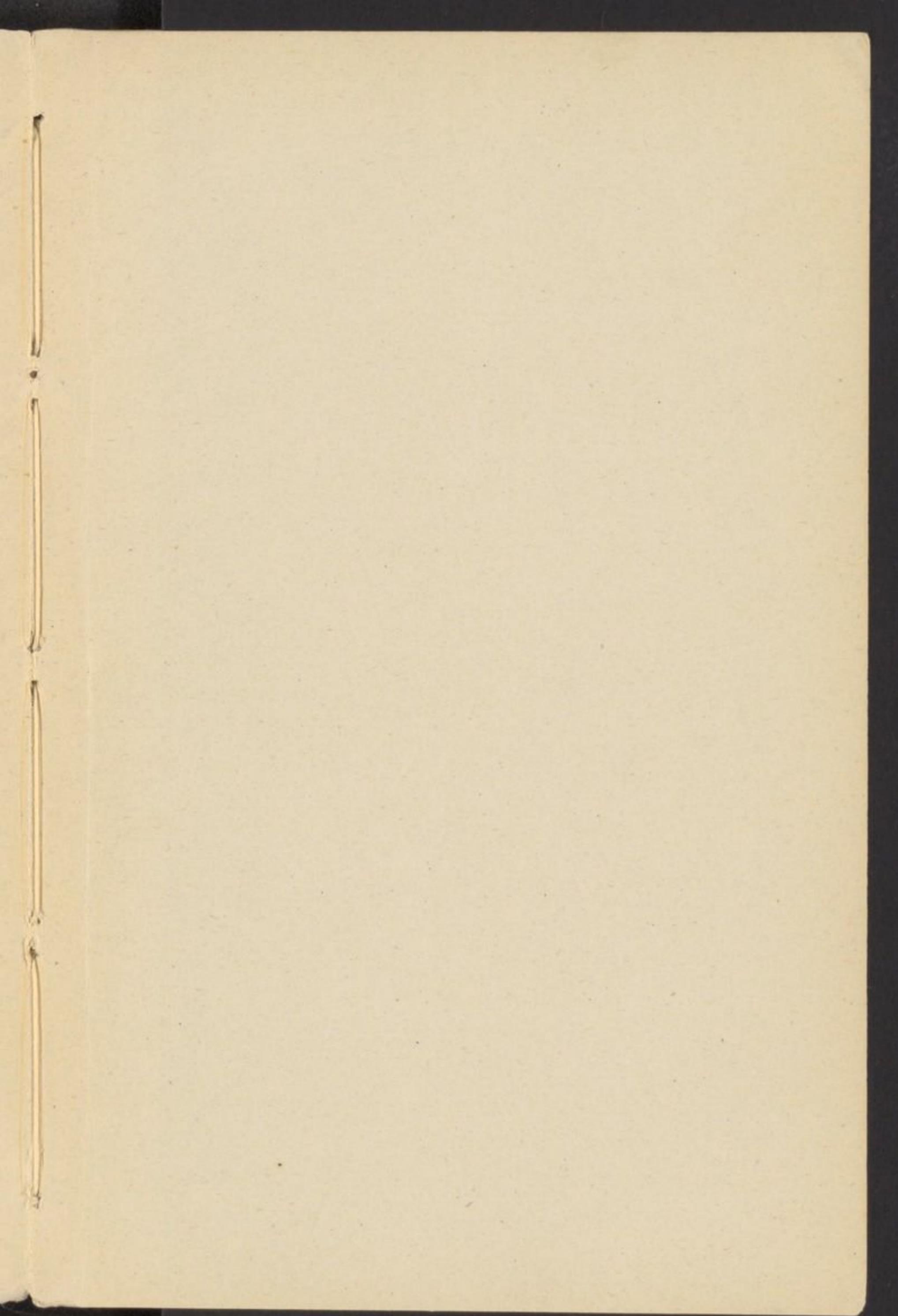
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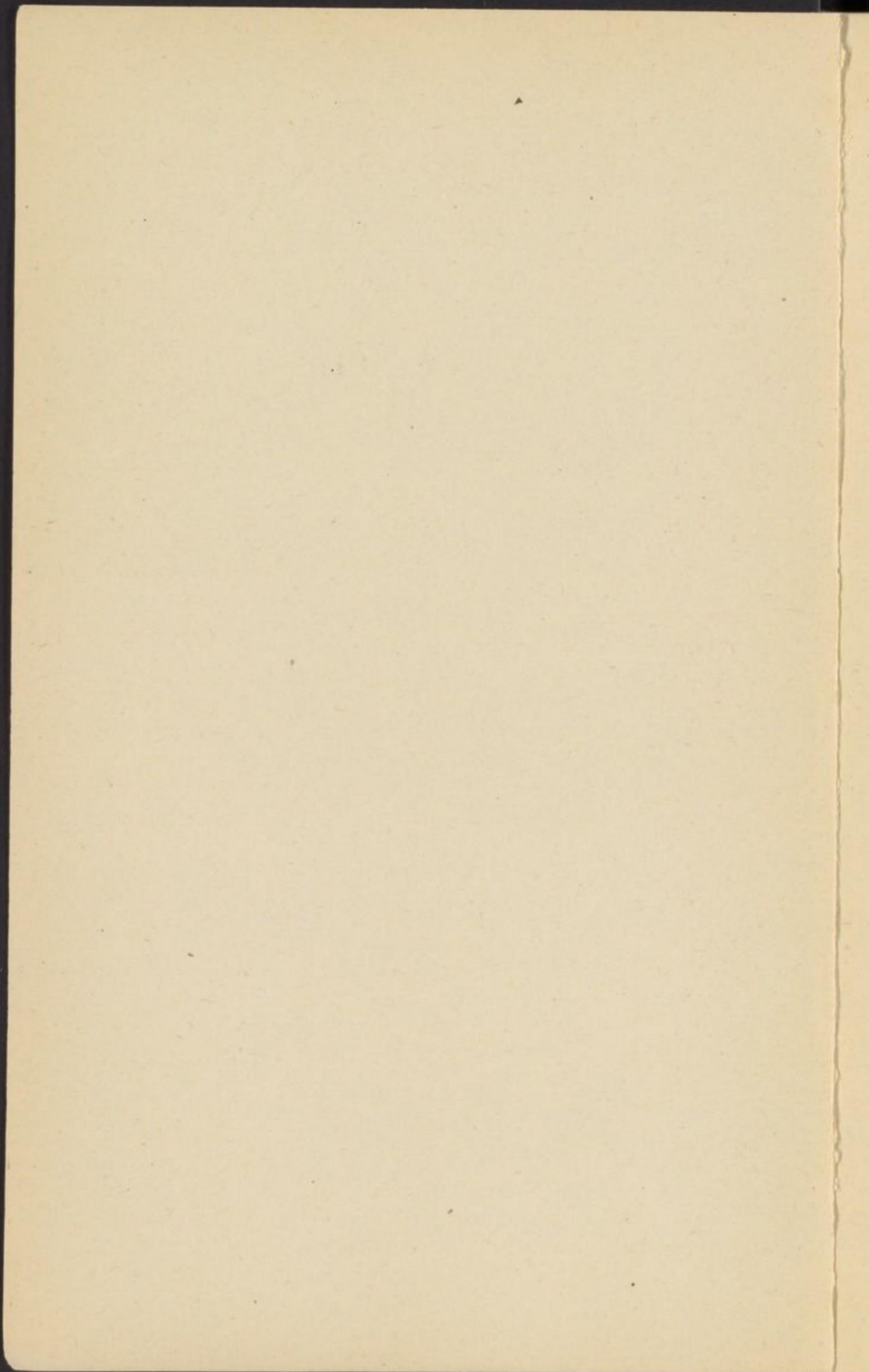
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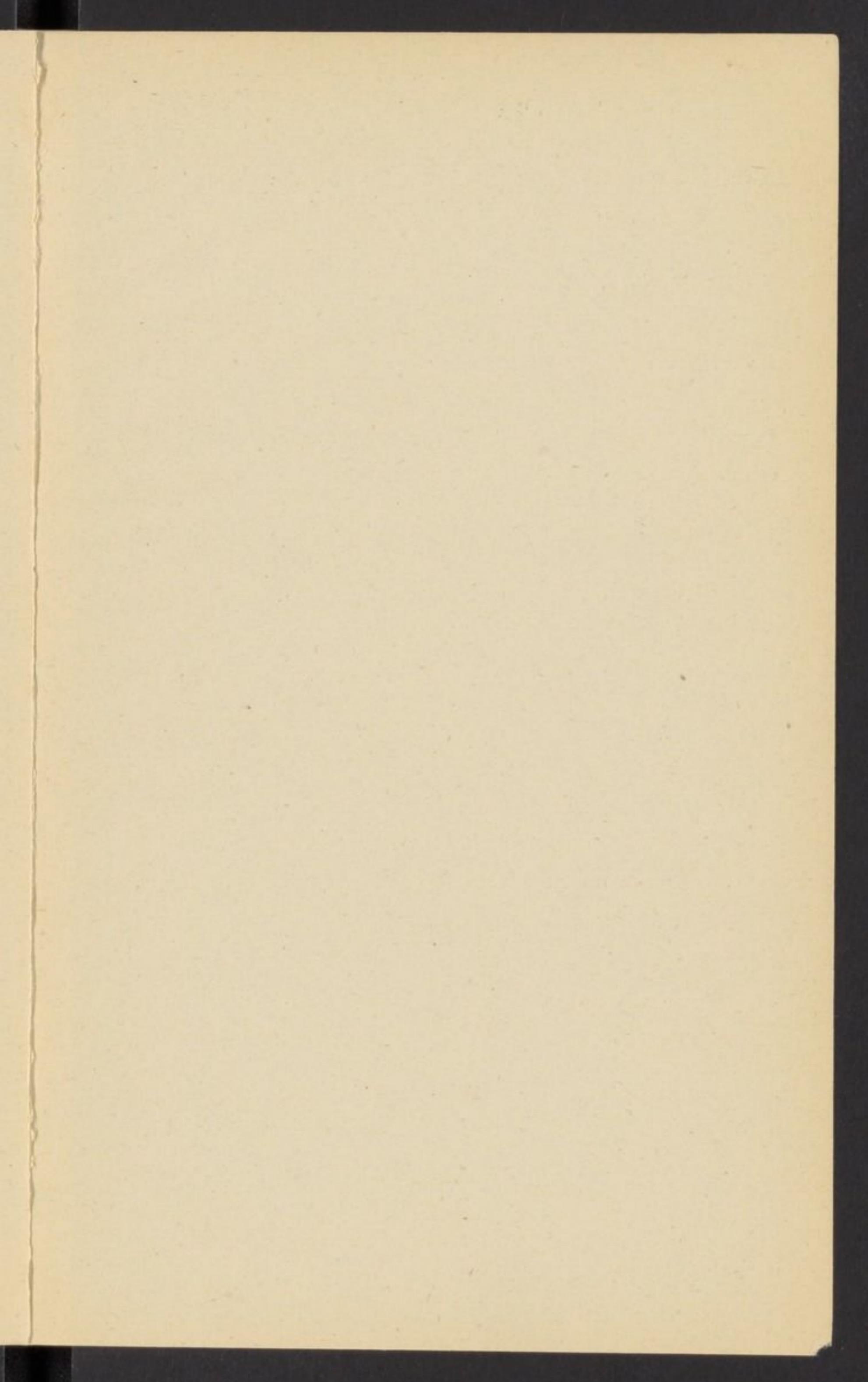


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## EDITORIAL NOTE

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

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

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

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

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

G. W. PROTHERO,

*General Editor and formerly  
Director of the Historical Section.*

*January 1920.*

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# I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

## (1) POSITION AND FRONTIERS

POZNANIA, the province, or Grand Duchy, of Posen, formed part of Prussia's share in the Partitions of Poland (1772-95). Before the first Partition the Polish kingdom had stretched from the Dnieper and the Carpathians to the Baltic, surrounding on three sides the present province of East Prussia. In the first Partition Frederick II had annexed the north-western corner of the kingdom, which now forms the province of West Prussia and the northern part of Poznania. The seizure of Silesia thirty years before had given Frederick another long strip of territory stretching some 200 miles south-east; and the remainder of Poznania thus became a Polish salient jutting out to within eighty miles of Berlin. - Its absorption in 1793 was the logical consequence of the previous annexations.

The total area of the Grand Duchy, as constituted in 1815, amounts to about 11,200 square miles, and it lies between  $51^{\circ} 7'$  and  $53^{\circ} 28'$  north latitude and  $15^{\circ} 17'$  and  $18^{\circ} 37'$  east longitude. It forms a single province, divided into the *Regierungsbezirke* of Bromberg and Posen, which are subdivided into fourteen and twenty-eight *Kreise* respectively.

The adjoining Prussian provinces are West Prussia, on the north; Brandenburg, on the west; and Silesia, on the south; on the east Poznania marches with Russian Poland.

Apart from a few stretches where the boundaries follow rivers (as on the southern half of the Russian frontier except for the bridge-head of Kalisz), they coincide with no natural divisions of any kind. The linguistic boundary only very partially corresponds with the political frontier.

## (2) SURFACE AND RIVER SYSTEM

*Surface*

Geographically and geologically Poznania is a part of the lowland of northern central Europe, which stretches from Holland to Russia, and from the Baltic to the central mountains of Germany and the Carpathians. The whole of this plain lies under a deep covering of glacial deposits, consisting of a lower stratum of boulder clay and an upper stratum of sand. At various points are ridges of stony moraine country, frequently interspersed with large numbers of pools and small lakes.

The infertile hills known as the Baltic ridges extend into the northern part of Poznania, to the Netze valley on the west, and on the east to west of the Vistula. There are several hundred lakes in this district, between Thorn and Posen, of which the largest is that of Gopło, on the Russian frontier. The low plateau known as the Silesian ridge sends out an outlying spur into southern Poznania, extending northwards as far as the Obra depression. The summit of this ridge, the Haideberger Höhe (910 ft.), is the highest elevation in the province. Both the northern and the southern ridges, however, have the form of low plateaux, whose edges have a slight and often barely appreciable slope. Almost the only noticeable hills are the southern edge of part of the Netze depression, and the edges of the valleys in the region round the Haideberger Höhe.

In all, about one-fifth of the surface may be reckoned as sandy, and one-tenth as marsh. Apart from the moraines and the lakes, the soil consists of a clayey loam, inclined to be dry on the higher ground, but liable to be waterlogged in large areas owing to the slight variation in altitude and consequently high level of the water in the soil. On the whole the province is greatly superior in fertility to most of eastern Germany, and compares more closely in this respect with Russian Poland.

*River System*

The rivers of Poznania are mostly tributaries of the Oder. The only exceptions are the Vistula, which forms a section of the north-eastern boundary of the province, and the *Brahe*, which joins the Vistula east of Bromberg.

The *Oder* and its tributaries share the characteristics of the Polish river systems. The rivers flow largely in broad shallow marshy valleys, and are liable to floods where not protected by dykes. These glacial valleys run from east to west ; but the rivers mostly run from south to north, across the glacial valleys. Where two or more rivers occupy portions of a glacial valley, these are frequently connected by canals for purposes of drainage or communication. The rivers themselves are usually shallow and winding, but have little fall and can be easily canalized.

The largest of the Poznanian rivers is the *Warthe* (*Warta*), which rises in Russian Poland, and flows right across the country in a course which curves from south-east to north-west. It is navigable as far up as the city of Posen. Its chief tributaries are the Prosna (which forms a small part of the eastern frontier) and the *Obra* on the left bank, and the *Netze* on the right bank.

The *Netze* (*Noteć*) is 183 miles in length from the Gopło lake to its junction with the *Warthe*, which is outside the borders of Poznania. It is the most important river of the province, as it forms a section of the great waterway from Berlin to Königsberg.

The *Obra*, which is 147 miles in length, flows between marshes for the greater part of its course until it divides into two branches, one of which flows west into the *Oder*, while the other turns north to join the *Warthe*.

The *Bartsch* (*Barycz*) rises in a marshy district in the southern corner of the province, but crosses the border, after a few miles, into Silesia.

### (3) CLIMATE

The climate of Poznania is intermediate between those of central Germany and central Poland. The January temperature has a mean of  $28.5^{\circ}$  F. ( $-2^{\circ}$  C.), and the July temperature one of  $66^{\circ}$  F. ( $18.5^{\circ}$  C.). The rainfall both in winter and summer is less than in any other part of Prussia. Most rain falls in July (2.4 in. = 61 mm.), least in February (1.1 in. = 28 mm.). The winter snowfall is often insufficient to protect winter wheat from the severe cold, and rye is usually sown.

Spring comes in suddenly about the end of April. The season is short, and agriculture depends more than is usual on the summer weather. Night frosts are not infrequent even in June, and early droughts or late rains may ruin a large proportion of the crops. The shortness of the season causes winter cereals to be preferred.

### (4) SANITARY CONDITIONS

The sanitary conditions do not differ materially from those of western Europe, having made the same rapid progress during the last century. The changes came somewhat later than in western Germany, and modern sanitary conditions in the city of Posen date only from the years 1890-6.

### (5) RACE AND LANGUAGE

#### *Statistics*

Poznania is the central section of the racial border-zone between Germans and Slavs, which runs from the Baltic to the Moravian Gate.

The line of national distinction is taken to be the linguistic division. This roughly marks the line where the eastward movement of Germans was arrested towards the end of the Middle Ages. The detailed statistics on which the investigation of this line is founded are those of the Prussian census, which are

the only figures available, and are given in the Appendix (p. 55). In using these statistics it must be observed that not only Polish writers, but the most authoritative writers from the German point of view, assert that the figures are influenced by political bias in a direction favourable to the Germans.

This was particularly the case in 1910, when the figures for all the Polish districts of Prussia appear to have been falsified to an extent involving from 2 to 11 per cent. of the total population. In Poznania the figures appear to have been affected in such a way as to reduce the number of Poles to an extent equivalent to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the population, while increasing the number of Germans to the same amount. The school statistics of 1911 (see Appendix, p. 55) include figures showing the proportion of Poles among the school children. These figures confirm the view that the census figures of 1910 were manipulated.

In any case the figures are misleading in two respects. First, the persons put down as bilingual (i. e. children of parents who speak both Polish and German) are usually reckoned half to the Poles and half to the Germans, whereas actually it may be taken that very few Germans describe themselves as bilingual, and that practically the whole of the bilinguals, or 0.5 per cent. of the population, should be reckoned as Poles. The only bilinguals whose nationality is doubtful are the children of mixed marriages who are still living with their parents. These only numbered 683 in 1910, or 5 per cent. of the total bilinguals. Secondly, the garrisons, which are included in the figures, are said to consist wholly of Germans, as the Polish regiments are quartered in other parts of Germany. Some 11,800 persons should thus be deducted from the total of Germans, and the Polish soldiers in other parts of Germany should be added to the number of the Poles. It is also urged that the large number of German officials should not be included in any calculation designed to show the proportions of the permanent population. A further probable source of error is

the fact that all Protestants are in some districts assumed to be German in sympathies.

Apart from these errors of calculation the census figures, as given in the Appendix, are to some extent misleading in that they concern large units of area, namely the *Kreise*. A map published by the Prussian Statistical Office gives the relative proportions in 1900 according to *Gemeinden* (communes), and these are given for 1910 in a special issue of the Prussian *Gemeindelexikon*. It is noteworthy that the Germans settled in the Polish territory largely live in particular towns or isolated communes (or small groups of communes). Where the Poles are in a minority, as in the *Kreise* of the west, their case is similar. Thus the population of the Polish territory is not a mixed population of Poles and Germans in a proportion of four to one, but rather a Polish population with a number of isolated German settlements.

#### *Distribution*

The western Polish frontier originally coincided roughly with the national boundary, but two factors have since caused the linguistic and racial boundary to recede eastwards from the political frontier.

First, from six to ten of the westernmost *Kreise* of Poznania and West Prussia were colonized in varying degrees by Germans in the centuries preceding the Partition of Poland. A strictly national frontier would give some of these *Kreise*, and parts of the remainder, to Germany. The *Kreise* concerned, in Poznania, are those of Schwerin (Skwierzyna) and Meseritz (Międzyrzec); with parts of those of Bomst (Babimost), Birnbaum (Międzychód), Filehne (Wieleń), Czarnikau (Czarnków), and Kolmar (Chodzież), and perhaps also that of Neutomischel (Nowy Tomyśl).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The proportion of Poles to the total population of each *Kreis* is given in an appendix (p. 55) at the end of this volume. It will be noted that in the more centrally situated of these *Kreise* over half the population is Polish.

The proportion of Poles among the school children in 1911 is given in the same appendix.

To this area must be added parts of the three southern *Kreise* of Fraustadt (Wschowa), Lissa (Lézno), and Rawitsch (Rawicz), in which many German Silesian Protestants took refuge from the Catholic 'Reformation' after the Thirty Years' War.

Secondly, the Prussian Government has at two periods established German colonies in the middle of Polish territory for political reasons. The first State colonies were planted at Bromberg and in the Netze valley by Frederick the Great. In the last thirty years the State Colonization Commission has, in spite of determined opposition from the Poles, founded German colonies in a number of districts, principally in the area south of Bromberg. It has acquired, partly by forced expropriation, as much as one-third of the area of the *Kreis* of Gnesen and over one-fifth of that of the *Kreise* of Wongrowitz (Wągrowiec), Znin, Mogilno, Posen East, and Wreschen (Września).

The result of these two periods of strategic colonization has been, however, not the substitution of a German population for a Polish, but the formation of new German settlements side by side with the existing Polish population. In the six *Kreise* where the Colonization Commission has been most active, the result amounts to a reduction of 4 per cent. in the average proportion of Polish inhabitants (from 75 per cent. to 71 per cent. between 1890 and 1910). In the *Kreise* of Wirsitz (Wyrzysk), Bromberg (Bydgoszcz) rural, and Bromberg urban, the settlements founded by Frederick have led to a greater German immigration, and the proportion of Poles here is only 49, 39, and 18 per cent. respectively. The large number of Germans in the town and district of Bromberg is, however, due to its recent development as an administrative centre.

The problem of these German colonies in the Bromberg part of the Netze district is distinct from that of the German settlements elsewhere in Poznania. The establishment of the colonies had as its object that of separating the Poles of northern and central West

Prussia from those of Poznania and Russian Poland, and of cutting off the latter from their outlet to the sea. Should the question of the re-establishment of the Kingdom of Poland arise, the Bromberg enclave might be claimed as having a preponderatingly German population. Of the two rural districts concerned, however, that of Wirnitz has a bare German majority of 50·9 per cent.; the other, that of Bromberg, is a district which would automatically lose a large proportion of its German inhabitants in the event of its separation from Prussia. In any case the political motive and artificial nature of the colonization would largely vitiate any possible claim that the district was German.

Apart from these exceptional districts (the Bromberg district and the German *Kreise* of the western border) Poznania consists of a compact block of Polish *Kreise*, in which the Poles are, according to the census figures, in an average majority of three to one (77·4 per cent.). The figures need correction in several respects, and it may be estimated that they show a total error of at least 5 per cent. in favour of Germany; in other words, the Poles are in a majority of more than four to one.

This Polish area, or Poznania proper, occupies the whole of the east and centre of the duchy, being a continuation to the west of the main Polish territory. In the south it is linked up with the Polish portion of Upper Silesia; in the north and north-east the partly Germanized Netze district does not entirely separate it from the Polish districts of West Prussia.

#### *Language*

Linguistically, Polish Poznania is part of the Kingdom of Poland; and the divergences between the Poznanian dialect and the dialects spoken in the adjacent parts of Russian Poland are confined to a few peculiarities. Dialectal differences are generally small in Polish, and Poles speaking one dialect understand almost any of the other dialects.

The German settlements are divided into two sections by a line running roughly east and west through the town of Posen. Those north of the line speak a Low German dialect, akin to that of Brandenburg; those south of it a Middle German dialect, similar to that of Silesia.

## (6) POPULATION

### *Distribution*

The population of Poznania in 1910 was 2,099,831, 61.46 per cent. being recorded in the census as Polish. The density of population is least in the west and north (usually from 100 to 150 per square mile). It is rather higher in the centre and north-east (150 to 190 per square mile) and highest in the south-east (usually 190 to 250 per square mile). Greater density roughly corresponds to a relatively high fertility of the soil. The Polish territory has a higher density than the German districts of the west. The averages per *Kreis* are 178 and 156 per square mile, respectively, exclusive of the town of Posen.

### *Towns and Villages*

The predominantly agricultural character of Poznania means that an unusually small proportion of the population (34 per cent.) lives in towns. The proportion of persons living in communes of over 2,000 inhabitants is 33 per cent.

Except where the Colonization Commission has been especially active, the Germans are relatively more numerous in the towns, in which they have settled as traders or officials. The proportion of Poles to Germans in the towns has, however, been increasing, and now averages about 65 per cent. in the Polish territories, and 50 per cent. in the whole duchy, including the German town of Bromberg and the western *Kreise*. In the town of Posen itself the Poles form over 60 per cent. of the population, after deducting the garrison. The towns are mostly small; 49 out of 129 have less

than 2,000 inhabitants, and only 9 have over 10,000 inhabitants.

The larger towns (with over 20,000 inhabitants) are the ancient Polish capitals of Posen and Gnesen, the salt-mining centre of Hohensalza (Inowrazław) and the German towns of Bromberg and Schneidemühl, the latter a railway centre on the northern border.

### *Movement*

The birth- and death-rates are both high. In 1913 they were 34.4 and 17.3 per thousand per annum respectively, as opposed to those of the whole kingdom, which then stood at 29.0 and 15.8. The birth-rate being relatively higher than the death-rate, the excess of births over deaths is also above the average, viz. 17.1 as opposed to 13.2.

The high rate is due to the fact that the Poles are very prolific, 25 per cent. more children being born per 100 Polish families in Eastern Germany than are born per 100 German families. The rates for Poles and Germans in Poznanian in 1900 and 1911 were:

		<i>Birth-rate.</i>	<i>Death-rate.</i>	<i>Excess of births per 1,000.</i>
Poles . . . . .	{ 1900	47	25	22
	{ 1911	40.4	19.7	20.7
Germans . . . . .	{ 1900	37	26	11
	{ 1911	29.7	17.9	11.8

## II. POLITICAL HISTORY

### CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

1815. Treaty of Vienna.  
Decree of Annexation of Poznania.
1823. Provincial *Landtags* granted.
1830. Insurrection in Russian Poland. Withdrawal of special privileges in Poznania.
1840. Conciliatory policy of Frederick William IV.
1846. Abortive insurrection in Poznania.
- 1848-9. Revolution and anarchy.
1850. Prussian Constitution.
1863. Insurrection in Russian Poland.
1866. Austro-Prussian War. North German Confederation formed.
- 1870-1. Franco-Prussian War. German Empire formed.
1871. *Kulturkampf* opens.
1886. Colonization Commission constituted.
1890. Bismarck dismissed.
1905. *Regierungsbezirk* Allenstein formed.
1908. Expropriation Law passed.

THE recent history of the Polish province of Prussia is the history of the treatment by the Prussian Government of a subject foreign population, incorporated against its will, and of the reaction of that population against its alien rulers. Both the treatment and the reaction underwent important changes with the constitution of the modern German Empire in 1871; and the following account will review the two periods separately.

#### (1) THE PERIOD FROM 1815 TO 1870

During this period Prussian policy was subject to considerable variations, though these were to some extent superficial. In the main the Government aimed at the gradual welding together of the new districts of West Prussia and Poznania (Posen) with the rest of the monarchy, and trusted that in this process the

Poles would insensibly become German in sentiment. It is not impossible that this policy might have proved successful if the Prussian Poles had been an isolated ethnographical unit, but forming as they did only one section of a race with whom they were linked by a common frontier of many hundreds of miles, their national spirit was incessantly stimulated by contact with their non-Prussian compatriots, and the Government was forced by 1870 to recognize that its policy had failed.

### 1815-30. *Polish Nobles retain Political Power*

In 1815 the Poles consisted of a race of uneducated peasants, dominated in all respects by a land-owning nobility and gentry (*szlachta*). The Government policy aimed at securing the nobility as its ally. In Silesia and East Prussia the nobles were already germanized; and these districts appeared to present no particular problem, and are unimportant at this stage. In Poznan, on the other hand, and a great part of West Prussia, the nobility was Polish; and the Government entered upon the task of winning it over to the German side.

The royal proclamation of annexation (in 1815) announced that the Poles were 'incorporated in the monarchy without being obliged to renounce their nationality'; they would 'share in the Constitution' of Prussia, and 'receive a provincial Constitution like the other provinces'; the Polish language would 'be used side by side with the German'. . . . 'Admission to administrative offices' would be 'open to the inhabitants of the province'. The Prussian Constitution was only granted in 1850. The provincial Constitution was, however, decreed in 1823; and in Poznan the Polish nobility, by reason of their preponderance in numbers, acquired control not only of the provincial Landtag, but also of its appointments. These included virtually all the administrative and judicial offices. The great improvements which the Prussian Government introduced in law and administration, including

a large increase in the number of schools, thus rather increased than diminished the opportunities of the Poles, as the administration lay to a great extent in their hands.

Moreover the natural desire of the Poles for national recognition was directly fostered by a number of special distinctions. Among these were the use of the title 'Grand Duchy of Posen'; the appointment of the Polish Prince Radziwill as a sort of Lieutenant-Governor (*Statthalter*) side by side with the Chief President of the province; the use of the Polish coat of arms; the appointment of a Pole to the archbishopric of Posen-Gnesen; and the retention of the Polish language on equal terms with German in the courts and local administration.

On the other hand, the Government reduced the proportion of land in Polish hands by appropriating the royal demesnes and ecclesiastical property, while a considerable proportion of the land was sold by impoverished Polish nobles to German purchasers. Thus the Polish nobility distinctly lost ground as regards the ownership of land. The outstanding feature of the period was, however, the fact that the Poznanian provincial assembly or *Landtag* provided the leaders of the Polish nobility with a meeting-ground on which common national aspirations began to take shape.

This process had hardly become apparent when its peaceful development was rudely interrupted by the insurrection of 1830 in Russian Poland. Throughout the years 1815-90, Prussia supported Russia's Polish policy; and, when some 12,000 Prussian Poles crossed the frontier to assist in the insurrection of 1830, the Prussian Government at once decided on a radical departure from its prevailing policy of conciliation.

#### 1830-40. *Trial of Policy of Peaceful Germanization*

The officers and officials who had taken part in the insurrection were dismissed from Government service. The special office of *Statthalter* was abolished; the

appointments of the chairmen of district councils (*Landrat*) and of district magistrates were taken out of the hands of the provincial *Landtag*. The place of the Polish language in justice, administration, and the schools was gradually restricted, and the new Chief President of Poznan (Flottwell) was given a fund for the buying out of Polish landlords with a view to reselling the land so acquired to Germans.

Flottwell describes his policy as aiming at the removal of 'institutions, customs, and dispositions which hinder the close union of the Polish districts with the Prussian State', while favouring 'those characteristics of the Polish race which are valuable in themselves and able to find a place in progressive society'. It is generally held in Germany that, if this policy had been adhered to during the rest of the century, the Prussian Poles would have been definitely germanized. It is true that Flottwell succeeded to a large extent in undermining the influence of the Polish nobles, and that they were at the time the only spokesmen of the Poles. On the other hand, this very action, in conjunction with the freeing of the peasants and other social changes, led to the slow development of a middle class, which later in the century took over the leadership of the peasants and became a far more formidable opponent of the Government than the nobles had been in Flottwell's day. At the same time the conflict between the State and the Catholic Church, which began in 1837, and led to the suspension of several bishops and two archbishops, provided the Polish national cause with the strongest ally to be found in the political field.

The period of Flottwell's presidency thus marks the first stage of the German attempt to denationalize the Poles. It is the only period at which the policy seemed likely to succeed. But Flottwell was, as a statesman, ahead of his time. The Prussian Court had not yet seen the true nature of the Polish question. Indeed neither the Government nor the Poles can be said to have had a clear perception of the situation until it

became defined in the course of the *Kulturkampf*. The Poles based their hopes on the belief that the Government might under favourable circumstances be induced to concede autonomy. The Government spoilt its chance of effecting a peaceful assimilation by under-estimating the force of nationality and by inability to appreciate or adhere to a consistent policy such as that of Flottwell.

#### 1840-8. *The Period of Concessions*

Flottwell's policy was, in any case, not destined to be put to the test, as Frederick William III died in 1840, and his son and successor Frederick William IV was too undecided in character to pursue a definite policy.

In Poznania he compromised by retaining in his hand the appointment of the district officials, but giving to the local clergy the control over primary schools and allowing the land purchased by Flottwell to be sold to Poles as well as Germans. In the struggle over the education of children of mixed marriages he yielded to the Catholic bishops, who returned as heroes to a position immensely strengthened by the popular feeling that had been aroused in the conflict between the Church and the State. The strength of the Catholics was further increased by the establishment in 1841 of a Catholic department in the Ministry of Health, Education, and Religion.

Again, he admonished the Landtag to give up their separatist ideals. On the other hand, he undid Flottwell's work through his desire to 'avoid all appearance of a persecution of the Polish population'. In fact he strengthened the nobles' position by granting them a large new loan for the relief of indebted estates, and paying the arrears of pensions to officers dismissed for taking part in the insurrection of 1830 in Russian Poland.

The schools ordinance, which he issued in 1842 held good with a few minor alterations until 1872, and is indicative of his general attitude to the Polish question.

It provided that in primary schools attended by any considerable number of Polish children all teachers must know Polish, and the teaching must be partly in Polish; the teaching was to be mainly in Polish when the bulk of the children were Poles, except in the higher classes of urban primary schools, where it was to be mainly in German in all cases. In the lower forms of secondary schools Polish was also largely the language of instruction. A fact of great advantage to the Poles was the subsequent extension of a similar system to Upper Silesia, due to the policy of Bogedain, the District Chief Inspector of Schools from 1848 to 1858. Hitherto Polish had only been the language of instruction in 70 out of a total of 800 elementary schools in Upper Silesia; moreover, the form of Polish used had been the local dialect, whereas Bogedain introduced literary Polish throughout, and thus effectively created a link with the rest of Polish territory. The system was also applied in West Prussia.

The first years of the new reign thus show a change on the part of the Government from Flottwell's policy of peaceful Germanization to one by which the Poles were given the opportunity to develop more or less independently of Germany. The policy, although less favourable to the Poles than that before 1830, was bound to lead to a conflict as soon as it became clear that it must logically end either in federation or in complete political independence. The real tendency of the policy was not realized for a considerable time owing to the disturbances of the late forties.

*The Emigration ; Insurrectionary Movement of 1846*

A new political factor had arisen after 1830 in the 'Emigration' in Paris, where the principal nobles exiled from Russian Poland in 1830 had taken refuge. Excitable, but unpractical, they worked for a renewed insurrection, which in fact broke out in 1846. It was soon crushed in Galicia and prevented in Russian Poland. In Prussia it entirely miscarried, and resulted only in the imprisonment of some 120 conspirators.

The majority of Poles at this time were opposed to insurrectionary schemes. The farmers and peasants were pacifically disposed, and the nobles had, in Prussian Poland at least, become cautious after their experiences in 1830. Their leaders in the Poznanian Landtag, even during the troubles of 1848, took as their immediate aim the obtaining by constitutional means of autonomy under the King of Prussia, and this was the motive of ever-recurring petitions to the King.

The results of the insurrection of 1846 were, in any case, hardly felt, as it was closely followed by the revolutionary year of 1848.

*The Year 1848 ; Revolution ; Separatist Movement in  
Poznanian*

In 1848 the popular feeling, which had been smouldering ever since 1815, was kindled by the example of France, and blazed up throughout Germany. The ruling princes and their courts were taken by surprise, and made hasty and reckless concessions. Frederick William promised local autonomy to Poznanian, and a liberal Constitution for the rest of his kingdom ; and a general Constituent Assembly was arranged at Frankfort to draw up a federal Constitution for a united Germany.

These concessions were, however, based on fear rather than on any change of disposition. The courts soon took the measure of the Constituent Assembly, and the Constitution it drew up was entirely abortive. Recourse to arms proved necessary for the settlement of the question of hegemony between Austria and Prussia.

The sole tangible results of the period were the granting of a limited Constitution in Prussia, and the inclusion of the provinces of Poznanian and Prussia (West and East) in the Confederation. In other respects there was a return to previous conditions. The German Confederation was restored. The legal position of Poznanian in the Prussian kingdom remained as before.

The position of the Poles had, however, radically changed. The province had passed through a period of anarchy in which the Polish and German elements had become definitely and bitterly opposed. The Poles had attempted to obtain autonomy for Poznan with a Polish administration and a Polish army. At first the German Assemblies at Berlin and Frankfort were sympathetic, and accepted the principle of 'self-determination'. The Prussian Government promised to set up a commission for the reorganization of the Grand Duchy. But, in proportion as the fortunes of Liberalism declined, the Germans became more and more reluctant to make concessions, and finally refused them altogether. The Poles had meantime begun to act on the basis of the promises made, and formed their own Council and an army, which was disbanded only when beaten decisively by Prussian forces. Each side had thus become exasperated by the other; the time for winning over the Poles by peaceful measures was now past.

The inclusion of Poznan in the German Confederation marked the final rejection of the Polish proposals for a separate national Government united only by a personal union with Prussia.

#### 1850-70. *The National Struggle quiescent*

The possibility of peaceful absorption in Germany was thus finally dispelled. An interval of twenty years elapsed, however, before the Prussian Government determined on a radical change in its Polish policy. During these twenty years Prussia was mainly absorbed in adapting itself to the new Constitution and in strengthening its position in Germany. Measures directed against the Poles were confined to administrative regulations. The use of Polish by officials was gradually restricted. Further credit was refused to the Polish Land Credit Bank, and a new Land Credit Bank was created under official control. No anti-Polish legislation was passed, and the position in regard to primary schools remained as before, except

that in 1858 instruction in German was made general in the case of the upper classes in the towns.

The insurrection of 1863 in Russian Poland was prevented from spreading into Prussian Poland, which remained unaffected by it except in so far as it seemed to confirm the Germans in their general mistrust of the Poles, and to convince the Poles that they had nothing to hope for from recourse to arms.

### *Alterations in the Structure of Polish Society*

In the meantime a process was taking place which led eventually to the development of a Polish middle class. Before 1815 trade had been in the hands of Jews and Germans; the clergy had remained aloof from political action, and there had been virtually no professional class. During the period 1840-70 these circumstances were slowly altering.

The freedom granted to the Jews in 1833 and 1850 led to their leaving the Polish provinces in large numbers. The abolition of guild-restrictions in 1869 and of the restrictions on the movement of peasants (1867) led to the development of Polish home industries in the towns, while the *szlachta* now began to take up professional occupations. The Poles used this opportunity by organizing a society (the Marcinkowski Association, founded in 1841) for the provision of scholarships at the secondary and technical schools and universities. The Association now maintains some 300 scholarships. At the same time the struggle of 1837-40 with the Government had driven the Catholic clergy to seek for popular support, and the Polish clergy obtained this support by adopting an increasingly nationalist attitude.

The Prussian Constitution, though it had little effect on their position, gave the Poles a further new field of activity in the Prussian Landtag and the nationalist campaigns. The Polish group in the Landtag amounted in 1849-52 to 15 members; in 1852 to 11. In 1855 the number was reduced by deliberate manipulation of the electoral areas to 6. The Poles were roused by

this official persecution; and in 1859 the group rose to 18, in 1862 to 23, in 1863 to 26. Bismarck's measures in 1866 reduced the numbers again, and by 1868 the total had sunk to 17. The main importance of the group consisted in the fact that they became the natural spokesmen of the Poles, especially after the final failure in 1863 of the *émigrés'* policy of insurrection. The group thus succeeded the nobility as the acknowledged leaders of the Polish nation in Prussia.

The actual achievements of the group amounted, however, to little more than declamations, among which the most noteworthy were their protests in 1851 and 1871 against the inclusion of Prussian Poland in the German Confederation and Empire respectively. The party at first held itself aloof from any connexions with the German political groups. After 1863, when there were signs of the coming *Kulturkampf*, they founded a sort of informal alliance with the Catholic group.

Thus the national conflict, which developed as a consequence of the rising of 1830 and came to a head in the struggles of 1848, was followed by some twenty years of comparative quiescence, during which, on the one hand, the Prussian Government was consolidating its position in Germany and treating the Poles with less severity than in Flottwell's time; on the other hand a nationalist middle class, consisting of traders, priests, and professional men, was developing and becoming influential among the Poles. This middle class was composed of men who had little of the romantic nationalism of the old Polish nobility, which had so often wasted its strength in ill-conceived and hopelessly mismanaged insurrections. It based its action mainly on the maxim attributed to the French statesman Thiers, 'Enrichissez-vous', and began the attempt to win for the Poles an economic independence and self-sufficiency which would prepare the way for ultimate political independence.

## (2) THE PERIOD FROM 1870 TO 1914

The establishment of the German Empire and the end of the Franco-German War gave Bismarck leisure to deal with the Polish question and at the same time with a second problem which he had reserved for a more settled time, namely that of the relation of the Catholic Church to the monarchy. In the Catholic Church as in the Prussian Poles, Bismarck saw enemies within the German camp who aimed at establishing a dangerous independence inside the State.

It may be observed, incidentally, that the anti-Polish policy has been much easier to put into action owing to the fact that Polish territory is under the control of the undemocratically elected Prussian Landtag and not under that of the Reichstag, from which the Poles might have received slightly better treatment.

*The Kulturkampf; General Attack on Rights of Poles and Catholics*

The problem of Church and State had been rendered difficult by the declaration of Papal infallibility (on July 18, 1870). The Catholics in Germany had already been strengthened by their victory over the Prussian Government in 1840. In 1852 they had formed a Catholic group in the Landtag. In 1871 the Catholic group was formed in the Reichstag with the object of urging the Government to interfere in favour of the Pope in Italy. It was felt that a party commanding a quarter of the votes of both Reichstag and Landtag, whose policy was directed from Rome and derived support from anti-German elements in Alsace-Lorraine and Prussian Poland, was a real danger to the Empire.

The struggle known as the *Kulturkampf* began in 1871. Bismarck attacked Catholics and Poles together in a rapid succession of laws. The Catholic department in the Ministry of Health, Education, and Religion was abolished. The control of elementary education was taken out of the hands of the clergy,

the State henceforth appointing all inspectors. The Jesuits were expelled from the Empire. The 'May Laws' of 1873 enacted that the State should control the training and appointment of priests and limit the disciplinary powers of the Church. A royal decree then abolished the use of Polish as the language of instruction in both secondary and primary schools, except in the case of religious instruction, in which it was made dependent on the decision of the provincial authorities. Polish as a subject of study was made optional where previously it had been obligatory. These laws were supplemented by further Acts and regulations which virtually excluded the Polish language from the administration and the law courts and police courts.

The anti-Catholic laws are generally held in Germany to have been the greatest political mistake made by Bismarck. He excused himself later in his memoirs by saying that his policy was 'determined mainly for him by its Polish side'. Certainly by 1879 he realized that the details 'had not been properly conceived for the effect they were expected to produce'. The Catholics had entirely declined to conform to the new laws; eight out of twelve bishoprics (including the archbishopric of Posen-Gnesen) were vacant, an immense number of parishes were without priests; the entire funds due to the Church had been withheld. The Catholic party in the Reichstag had increased to a total of over 80 members. In 1881 the Government began to relent. During the following twelve years the majority of the anti-Catholic measures were repealed; and peace was thus restored by a surrender that was little short of unconditional.

#### *Specific Attack on Polish Language*

But the anti-Polish measures remained. The only attempt to restore local control in the schools (in 1892, after Bismarck's retirement) ended in the dismissal of the responsible minister. Thus all Polish children in national schools continued to receive their education in German, except for religious instruction. Further

measures were gradually added. The appointment of teachers was transferred to the Central Government in 1886, and a regulation secured that no teachers of Polish nationality should be employed in Polish districts. In 1887 Polish ceased to be a subject of instruction in primary schools. Even private teaching of Polish was prohibited, though the prohibition was temporarily withdrawn from 1891 to 1894. The number of schools in which religious instruction was given in Polish was gradually reduced. Finally, in 1900, religious instruction in Polish was abolished, and severe measures were taken to secure that all Polish children attended the instruction in German, notably at Wreschen in 1901, where the children refused to answer questions on the catechism in German, and throughout the Polish area in 1906-7, when a general school strike took place.

The ruthless methods by which the Government repressed these strikes were only paralleled by the methods of the Tsarist bureaucracy in Russia. Immense sums were paid in fines by the parents of the children who refused to say their prayers in German; their fathers were dismissed from Government posts; the children were detained at school after they had passed school age; and the severity of the corporal punishments administered raised a storm of protest in Europe, headed by the Polish writer Sienkiewicz.

Resistance however proved fruitless, and the Government adhered to its policy.

Yet the school policy has signally failed in its main object, the Germanization of the Poles. The *Kulturkampf* gave to the Polish clergy precisely the kind of bond of union with their people which the Catholic Church loves to promote. The Poles gained a body of indefatigable leaders—with a powerful organization behind them—a spokesman and a statesman in every parish.

The *Kulturkampf* was for this reason, if for no other, a grave tactical mistake in that it gave the national struggle a religious aspect. German writers have

accused the Poles of dragging in religion. The *Kulturkampf* had, however, inextricably involved the two questions.

• *The National Conflict extends to the Land Question*

Perhaps even more important was a quite unexpected result—the entry of the Polish farming class into the nationalist ranks. Before 1871 both Poles and Germans had regarded the farmers as neutral, if not actually German in sympathies; but events proved that they had been merely politically asleep. Their status had improved in consequence of the lessening of the power of the nobles; and they had not been affected by any of the measures directed against either the landowning class or the Church. In the *Kulturkampf* the farmers found themselves attacked for the first time, and attacked in matters in which they were essentially conservative, namely in their language and their religion. A movement towards agricultural co-operation had, indeed, been started among Polish farmers in the fifties, but had made little progress in comparison with the corresponding Schulze-Delitsch and Raiffeisen movements in other provinces of Germany. Now it spread with a rapidity that in a few years more than made up for the time lost. In 1873 there were only 11 farmers' unions in Poznan and West Prussia. In 1880 the number of societies had risen to 120. These societies, whose position has gradually grown stronger, are a source of national as well as economic strength to the Poles.

*Attack on Polish Landownership; the Colonization Commission*

In proportion as the Government found it necessary to abandon their religious policy and to abate their hopes of Germanizing the Poles through the schools, they tended more and more to the conclusion that the strength of Polish nationalism rested on possession of the land. Already by the middle of the century the impoverishment of the Polish landowners had led to

the acquisition of about half the total area of Poznania by Germans. But the area that thus passed into German hands was mainly composed of large properties; and the number of Germans thus introduced into the province was relatively small, the more so as large landowners as a rule found themselves unable to attract German labourers except after a considerable outlay on improvements in housing and other conditions. Thus, the Government was led to revive Frederick the Great's policy of establishing colonies of farmers.

The idea of a State colonization scheme was discussed in the Prussian Landtag in 1885. In 1886 a law was passed establishing a Colonization Commission with a preliminary capital of 100,000,000 marks for the purchase of land and settlement of German colonists. The Commission acted on exclusively political considerations. Land was to be bought from Poles in districts of Poznania and West Prussia where the establishment of German colonies would result in the creation of a German majority. The colonies were to be kept under the control of the Commission by arranging that the colonists should never buy their holding outright. Poles could not be admitted as colonists.

German policy thus entered on a new course, in which the power and resources of the whole country, including the taxes paid by the Poles, were directed to the expropriation of a national minority. The series of exceptional laws (*Ausnahmegesetze*) which was thus introduced also affected the Danes of North Slesvig and the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine. The desirability and indeed the legality of exceptional laws have been contested by many German writers. They constitute an extreme instance of oppression by majorities which is illustrated by a recent speech by a Polish member in the Reichstag, who observed that while in Ireland the British Government had spent millions (of English money) in settling the peasants on the land, in Prussian Poland the Government had spent as many millions (partly contributed by the Poles) in taking the land away from them.

The first attack found the Poles unprepared and the price of land low. In the first nine years (1886-94) the Commission bought about 20,000 acres in Poznania and West Prussia, of which area over four-fifths were obtained from Poles. 1,575 German families were settled as colonists, chiefly in the Netze district and on either side of the Vistula, where a German wedge between the Poles of West Prussia and Poznania, created by Frederick the Great, already to some extent existed. It was thought that this policy would in course of time achieve decisive results by the colonization of the whole of the Polish area.

But these hopes were in reality hardly justified even under conditions then prevailing, as the district selected was the easiest to deal with, and the policy of the Colonization Commission was bound to increase the price of land and so to strengthen the hands of the Polish landowners.

#### *Polish Defensive Measures in the Land Struggle*

Moreover, the Poles proceeded to organize a counter-movement of Polish colonization. Their first colonization agency, the Land Bank (*Bank Ziemski*), founded in 1886, hoped for support from non-Prussian Poles. This hope was not realized, but in 1888 the bank obtained funds from home sources, and began the formation of small holdings societies. These gradually grew in numbers; and their success was imitated and exceeded by private speculators to such an extent that the balance of land acquired was all but redressed. The Polish associations succeeded by ingenious methods in obtaining so much land from the Germans that in the period 1896-1910 the area gained by the Poles from Germans largely exceeded the area gained by the Germans from Poles.

The Polish landowners at the same time took steps to consolidate the land already held by the Poles, through the Land Association (*Zwiazek Ziemian*) which undertakes the management of neglected estates, and through local small holdings associations which

redeem mortgages about to fall in and supervise the farms concerned.

Apart from the direct methods of counter-colonization and consolidation, the position of Polish landowners and farmers has been materially altered since the formation of the Empire owing to a number of causes. Among these the principal are the increased demand for agricultural products (including sugar), owing to urban and industrial expansion in Germany; the introduction of modern agricultural methods; and the economic and educational benefits derived from the co-operative movement.

The co-operative movement is particularly strong in Prussian Poland. It embraced in 1910-11 over 300 farmers' unions with 13,000 members; 185 credit associations, 50 societies for marketing produce, and 19 small holdings associations. The Central Bank of the credit associations has a salutary control over the financial policy of the affiliated societies. Through this power and by means of personal relationship between the presidents and managing directors, not only the economic policy of the Poles but the Polish political movements in the provinces of Poznania, West Prussia, and Silesia are inspired and directed.

#### *The Eastern Marches Association and the Hakatist Policy*

Finding that the Colonization Commission's policy was in danger of complete failure, the Government decided on the adoption of a more ruthless policy. This was made possible by the aggressive attitude of the members of the German Eastern Marches Association (*Ostmarkenverein*), known by the Poles as the *Hakatisten* (H, K, and T being the initials of its three chief founders). This is an offshoot of the Pan-German League, and was founded in 1894 as a protest against the policy of superficial conciliation which prevailed during the first three years after Bismarck's retirement. The association has to a large extent created an anti-Polish public opinion in political circles in Germany.

The strength of this Imperialist party in the country

was responsible for the superficiality and the short duration of William II's conciliatory policy (1891-4). During the chancellorship of Caprivi a hesitating attempt was made to pacify the Poles by certain minor concessions, among which was the permission to give private lessons in Polish. It is a striking fact that such small concessions, falling so far short as they do of any approach to fair treatment of a racial minority, should have met with so powerful an opposition. It is clear that the Ostmarkenverein and its friends had already recognized that conciliation was impossible; the Poles could no longer be won over to German sympathies; and, having once adopted the policy of Germanization, they were determined to carry it through to its logical conclusion.

The Eastern Marches Association spread the view that the safety of Germany and the possibility of further expansion depended on germanizing Prussian Poland, and that the hope of achieving this result stood or fell by the success of the Colonization Commission. Thus, when in 1904 the chancellor, Prince Bülow, exposed the success of the Polish opposition and the critical position of the colonization policy, he found it possible to induce the Prussian Landtag to pass an Act prohibiting further Polish settlements; and, when the Polish organizations evaded this Act by dividing up land among existing villagers, a further Act was passed in 1908 by which the Colonization Commission was empowered to expropriate landowners. This Act was vehemently opposed on principle by the Conservative party, and has apparently only been applied in four cases in the year 1912. Hitherto this formidable threat to the Polish nation has, therefore, hardly come into operation. A further measure, the Priority Bill of 1914, according to which the State should have the right of pre-emption in all sales of land, was not passed owing to the outbreak of war.

The situation as regards the land question thus remains as in 1908. The Poles are faced by a Government which with the help of Polish taxes is settling

German colonies in their territory in order to prevent them from claiming it as Polish. Counter-colonization by Poles is virtually prevented. Met by organized resistance and a refusal to sell Polish land, the Government has obtained powers to expropriate by force and threatens to acquire the right of pre-emption in all sales. Its supporters openly advocate the expropriation of all Polish landowners.

### (3) GENERAL SUMMARY

To sum up the position of the Poles in Prussia, they find their nationality attacked in two chief ways, namely, through the schools and through the land. These principal questions have been dealt with at length. The policy of the Government aims at the elimination of the Polish element from the eastern provinces; and its methods have been increasingly severe, finally reaching a degree of ruthlessness only paralleled among European nations by the Tsarist regime in Russia.

In less prominent questions the Government's policy has been the same. Meetings of societies are strictly supervised. The use of the Polish language at meetings, public or private, is prohibited in districts where the Polish population, according to the census, forms less than 60 per cent. of the total. After 1928 all meetings are to be held exclusively in German. Similar restrictions have been applied to the history of services in Catholic Churches. In the Protestant Church, which is treated as part of the civil service, only Germans are appointed as priests, and in regard to the Polish Protestants of Poznania, Upper Silesia, and Allenstein the Church is virtually an agent of Germanization.

At one time attempts were made to exclude all foreign Poles from Prussia, and several thousands were actually expelled. The dearth of labour has, however, forced the Government to readmit Russian and Galician Poles, though they are now required to return home once a year.

Poles are practically excluded from posts in Govern-

ment service in the eastern provinces, except for subordinate clerkships and labourers' work on railways, &c. The judicial, educational, and administrative services are used by the Government as agents in its germanizing policy, and throughout these services advancement is only open to men who show strict adherence to anti-Polish sentiments. Through such servants the Government has instituted a regime of petty persecution in all administrative details. The Poles who are serving in the army are posted to garrisons in other parts of Germany. German garrisons are distributed as widely as possible in Polish areas so as to support German traders. Polish street-names and place-names are converted into German names, and the post-office officials instructed not to deliver letters bearing Polish names. Even personal names are given a German form by germanizing priests at baptisms or marriages. Census officials are instructed to 'correct' the returns of Poles in regard to the language particulars, and to call in the police to assist them. The police, who are directly controlled from Berlin, are required to attend all public meetings, and given power to break up any meeting at which the Government may be criticized. Officials are not permitted to join Polish societies, and are instructed to put all possible obstacles in the way of the development of Polish organizations. Their position is thus unenviable, and in order to retain the services of capable men, the Government has had to institute a special bonus for officials serving in the eastern provinces.

The combination of Pan-German imperialistic policy with the Prussian tradition of State interference in all spheres of life has resulted in a complete alienation even of the more moderate Poles who might in time have become amenable to incorporation in Prussia. There is now an unbridged gulf separating Polish and German society, in business, in politics, and in private life. Though strictly non-national in theory, in order to comply with legal requirements, all Polish associations confine their membership to Poles; and, if a Pole

joins a German society or even buys from a German trader, the fact is noted in the Polish press.

Both the Polish press and the Polish groups in the Reichstag and the Prussian Landtag are frankly and uncompromisingly hostile to Prussian rule. The political leaders and the respectable newspapers are usually moderate in tone, but they make the same unvarying assumption as the more violent provincial journals, namely, that there is only one solution to the Polish question, viz. complete independence and union with Russian and Austrian Poland. The Polish parliamentary group has latterly (since about 1905) found it necessary to oppose even the Centre Party, from which it had long derived a certain measure of support, and it has since conquered from it nearly all the Polish constituencies which formerly returned Centre members in Upper Silesia.

The Poles have never ceased to regard the Partition as a temporary condition, and to await an opportunity of restoring the old independent kingdom. Informal community of action between Russian, Austrian, and Prussian Poles has constantly taken place, occurring not only in the three insurrections but also in connexion with the land-war in Prussia, the boycott of German goods, the celebration of Polish anniversaries at Cracow and Lemberg, and the school strikes in Poznan. At the end of the period of conciliation under Caprivi's chancellorship (1891-4) the Prussian Polish noble Kascieliski made the characteristic declaration at Lemberg that red lines on a map could not create divisions of the Polish nation. It is also significant that the Polish political parties have operated together in all the three empires, in spite of the differences of both political and social conditions.

### III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

#### (1) RELIGIOUS

THE population of Poznania is divided into Catholics and Protestants in nearly the same proportions as it is divided racially into Poles and Germans, the Catholics being in a majority of over two-thirds (68 per cent.). In the main the Poles are Catholics and the Germans Protestants. The German *Kreise* of the western border differ from the rest of the province, having a much greater proportion of German Catholics; two-thirds of the total number of German Catholics are included in the western *Kreise* and the two towns of Posen and Bromberg. The Polish Protestants, who together number only 18 per cent. of the total Polish population, are concentrated in an even greater degree, and are nearly all inhabitants of the southern *Kreise* of Adelnau (Odolanów), Ostrowo, Schildberg (Ostrzeszów), and Kempen (Kępno). Thus the greater part of the province, including nearly all the solid Polish territory, is practically divided between Polish Catholics and German Protestants. The coincidence of the racial and religious divisions is so nearly exact that it is asserted to be the cause of the assimilation of some German Catholics by the Poles; and it is maintained that Polish Protestants have similarly become Germanized. It seems probable that a considerable number of Polish Protestants have in the census been counted as Germans owing to their religion, and some allowance must be made for an exaggeration of the German element in this respect.

The Jews of Poznania, as distinguished from their co-religionists in other parts of Poland, have sunk into a position of insignificance. At the beginning of the nineteenth century they formed 6 per cent. of the population. In the course of the century they dropped to one-third of that percentage, and in 1910 included only 1.2 per cent. of the population.

The Protestant Poles in Prussia, as compared with those in Austrian Silesia, are considerably weaker in their opposition to the Government's policy of denationalization. The main cause of this weakness is probably the fact that belonging as they do to the German national Church, their pastors, the natural leaders of village communities, are German in sympathy, and discourage the Polish propaganda which is so largely maintained by the Catholic priests. Undoubtedly the Polish Protestants have a real though probably needless fear that the political and economic organizations and the Polish press, which mostly proceed from the Catholic centres in Poznania, West Prussia, and Silesia, being primarily managed in the interests of the Catholics, must tend to act in the direction of proselytizing for the Roman Church. To this fear must be added the fact that in Poznania Protestantism is generally recognized as a synonymous term with Germanism.

Of late years, however, it is noticeable that the Protestant Poles have begun to be less suspicious, and to follow their Catholic compatriots in resisting Germanization.

## (2) POLITICAL

In the Reichstag the elections of 1912 gave the Polish Party 18 seats; these were increased to 19 by the securing of the seat of Lublinitz-Tost-Gleiwitz in 1918. Twelve of these seats have been held by Poles continuously since the formation of the Empire. The present distribution of the Polish seats is as follows :

West Prussia . . . . .	3
Poznania . . . . .	11
Upper Silesia . . . . .	5

Other seats which have at one time or another, since 1871, been held by Poles are as follows :

East Prussia . . . . .	1
West Prussia . . . . .	5
Poznania . . . . .	3
Total . . . . .	9

in addition to the 19 now held by Poles.

The Polish representatives in the Prussian Landtag have been of relatively little importance since the formation of the Reichstag. Previously (i. e. between 1851 and 1870) they numbered from 5 to 26. The number in the latest elections (1913) was 12. The reduction since 1870 has been due to the three-class system of elections by which a small group of wealthy German voters have been able to outvote the majority of the electorate.

In a country where the question of nationality dominates the whole of human life as in Prussian Poland, popular opinion and national sentiment are so important that it has been necessary to refer to them at almost every stage of this historical survey. It remains to speak briefly of their manifestations in the political sphere and in the press.

Elections to the Reichstag, which take place every five years, are conducted entirely on a national basis. The same is true of the Prussian Landtag, but its relative unimportance keeps it more in the background. This was not true until about 1905 of Upper Silesia, where the Polish votes were given to the candidates of the Centre (Catholic) Party, which took care to nominate men acceptable to the Poles. Now, however, Upper Silesian constituencies return five Polish members. In East Prussia (*Regierungsbezirk Allenstein*) Polish candidates have hitherto met with insufficient support, and have only once succeeded in obtaining a majority in any constituency.

The Polish press is at all times consistently hostile to Prussian rule, and with surprising openness Polish periodicals of all shades unite in the eventual aim of an independent State, with the exception of some two or three unimportant papers managed in German interests. They vary considerably, however, in their views as to the methods of resistance to German rule. On the whole the leading middle-class journals (like the *Kuryer Poznanski* of Posen, the *Dziennik Berlinski* of Berlin, the *Dziennik Poznanski* of Posen, and the *Goniec Wielkopolski* of Posen) tend to be more moderate

in their language, and to assume tacitly, though invariably, the anti-German attitude in their readers, while the smaller provincial papers (such as the *Gazeta Grudzionska* of Graudenz and the *Gazeta Gdanska* of Danzig) indulge in open tirade. Sectional publications, such as the organ of the Socialists (the *Gazeta Robotnica* of Kattowitz), the *Wiarus Polski* (Rhineland-Westphalian miners), *Robotnik* and *Sila* (trade unions), and *Poradnik Gospodarski* (farmers' unions), are no less openly anti-German than the general press.

It is thus recognized by the Germans, at any rate by those who live in the east, or are members of the Eastern Marches Association, that the Poles are unitedly and ineradicably hostile to German rule, and that all the efforts of the past hundred years have only served to intensify Polish nationalism and solidarity. German public opinion, at any rate among the upper and middle classes, as typified in the Eastern Marches Association, has hardened and become more aggressively imperialistic in its attitude to the Poles. Even the Centre (Catholic) Party has proved a very doubtful support to the Poles, while the majority of Socialists have shown themselves so far unsympathetic towards self-determination in the eastern provinces that the Polish Socialist Party in Upper Silesia has developed on lines independent of any connexion with them.

### (3) EDUCATIONAL

All education in Prussia is under the management of the State. Private schools are permitted, but under strict control; and instruction must be in German. Both in schools and universities teachers are compelled to profess German nationalist sentiments; and expressions of anti-Government sympathies are punished by dismissal. In Prussian Poland State control is more stringent than in other provinces, as here the State appoints teachers and inspectors. The standard of scholarship is high. The teachers are on the whole

poorly paid, but have the advantage of an official position.

There is no university in Prussian Poland, though attempts have been made to induce the Government to form a university out of the Academy of Posen, which in some ways fulfils university functions. There are a fair number of secondary and technical schools. The history of the language question in schools has been treated elsewhere.

### GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

The question of Prussian Poland forms an integral part of the Polish question as a whole. The Prussian Poles have incessantly looked for reunion with their compatriots in Russian and Austrian Poland, and have gone so far that even moderate organs like the *Kuryer Poznanski* have declared during the war that no solution of the Polish question can be tolerated that does not unite Prussian Poland with the proposed Polish State. It is certain that no Polish State could be complete either nationally or economically that did not include the Poles of Prussian Poland, whose territory includes the greater and richest part of the Polish coal-field (in Upper Silesia), and who form the most highly organized agricultural population and the best developed Polish middle and professional class in Poland.

## IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

### (A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

#### (a) Roads

IN 1912 there were 1,888 km. of provincial and 3,189 km. of district (*Kreis*) roads in Poznania, making an average of 17.5 km. to 100 square km., as compared with an average of 24.2 for the whole of Prussia. These roads, as is the case throughout Prussia, are well maintained, and in many parts are bordered with fruit-trees, the yield of which is applied to their upkeep; but in view of the adequacy of the railway system they are only of secondary importance in the economic life of the province.

#### (b) Rivers and Canals

The province is badly provided with waterways, its rivers being for the most part shallow and marshy. In 1912 the shipping of the province amounted to only 70,000 register tons, or 241 register tons per 100 square km., whereas West Prussia had 174,851 register tons (685 per 100 square km.), and Silesia 501,304 register tons (1,243 per 100 square km.). Apart from the Vistula, which for a short distance forms the boundary between Poznania and West Prussia, the only navigable rivers are :

The *Warthe*, which rises in Russian Poland and flows into the River Oder at Küstrin in Brandenburg, having a course in Poznania of 366 km.; it is navigable as far as the town of Posen by boats of 175 tons, but in summer these can carry only one-third of their possible cargo.

The *Netze*, rising close to the Polish frontier and joining the *Warthe* near Landsberg in Brandenburg, with

a course in Poznania of 305 km., navigable by boats of 150–175 tons drawing 3–4 ft. of water.

The *Obra*, rising in the south-east of the province and flowing into the Warthe near Schwerin on the western frontier; though canalized, it can be navigated by small boats only.

The only canal of importance is the *Bromberg Canal*, which joins the Vistula to the Netze (and so connects it with the Oder). The canal has a length of 26 km. and a breadth of 19 metres at the top and 11 metres at the bottom, and can carry boats of 150 tons. In 1911, 49,627 tons of timber and 105,245 tons of other merchandise were transported along this canal.

Of the tonnage carried on the Poznania waterways in 1912, 375,529 metric tons went from Poznania into Germany and 297,800 metric tons into other countries, while 152,972 metric tons came from Germany and 117,043 metric tons from other countries into Poznania.

#### (c) *Railways*

The province is very well furnished with railways. From Posen town there are lines running to Berlin *via* Frankfurt an der Oder; to Stettin; to Colberg, with a branch at Neu Stettin to Lautenburg; to Danzig *via* Bromberg; to Memel *via* Thorn and Insterburg; to Beuthen and on to Cracow; to Breslau, with a branch at Lissa to Liegnitz and thence to Vienna; to Leipzig *via* Guben.

In 1912 the total length of line was 2,666 km., equivalent to 12.7 km. for every 10,000 inhabitants, and 9.2 km. per 100 square km. of territory. By 1913 there were 1,293.21 km. of main and 1,487.55 km. of branch lines, the main lines being heavily laid double tracks and the branches of normal gauge but not so heavily laid.

This abundance is due not to the needs of commercial or industrial traffic but to the strategical demand for a means of transporting troops to the frontier. The same consideration has dictated the arrangement of the lines. It will be noted that in the enumeration of

lines radiating from Posen there is a conspicuous gap on the eastern side, none being mentioned between that running north-east to Memel and that running south-east to Beuthen; in other words, there is no direct route into Russian territory. There is indeed a line from Ostrowo, on the Posen-Beuthen line, via Skalmierzyce, on the frontier, Kalisz, and Łódź to Warsaw; but the connexion between Skalmierzyce and Kalisz was only made so recently as 1908, before which date to travel from Posen town to the Polish capital it was necessary to go by way of Thorn; and the six other sections of the Posen system which reach or approach the Polish frontier all still stop short of it.

Besides these main and branch lines, there were in 1914 857 km. of light railways, some of which are of normal gauge (1.425 m., or 4 ft. 8½ in.), while others have a gauge of only 0.6 m. (nearly 2 ft.). These lines, in which a capital sum of 33,800,000 marks has been sunk, have been built to give the larger landowners easy access to the main system, and are of recent construction.

## (B) INDUSTRY

### (1) LABOUR

#### *(a) Supply of Labour; Emigration and Immigration*

In 1907, out of a population of about 2,000,000, or 70 inhabitants to a square kilometre of territory, 54 per cent. were classed as agricultural, 23 per cent. as industrial, and 9 per cent. as connected with commerce and transport. The chief industries, such as sugar-making and spirit-distilling, are closely dependent on the produce of the land, and in the off season for agriculture give employment to farm labourers. A consideration of labour in the province is therefore to all intents and purposes a consideration of agricultural labour.

The sparseness of the population would not in itself imply a shortage of labour, were it not for the consider-

able emigration of young men who, after their term of military service, seek to improve their fortunes in the industrial regions of western Germany, and principally in Westphalia and the Rhineland. Some of these visit their homes every year, and their savings contribute largely to the prosperity of the numerous people's banks, which are such an important economic feature of Poznanian (see below, p. 53). A large number, however, settle in the lands of their adoption. There is also a substantial seasonal migration to other provinces of Germany. The total number of persons leaving Poznanian East and West Prussia, and Silesia yearly for Westphalia and the Rhineland is about 150,000. The number of emigrants to America is reckoned to be 3,000 yearly; those of them who return bring back savings estimated at about 500 marks per head for men and 200 marks for women.

The shortage created by these movements is met by temporary immigration from Russian and Austrian Poland, 24,000 Poles entering the province in 1908, and 21,500 in 1910; and there has been a considerable influx of German colonists in connexion with the activities of the Settlement Commission (see below, p. 46).

#### (b) *Labour Conditions*

Agricultural wages in Poznanian are at a transition stage between payment in kind and cash payment. Improvement in the method of cultivation is making for the disappearance of the old, though still surviving, custom by which the labourer receives an allotment of land from the estate on which he works, and takes the profits of it as the reward of his labour. As land grew more valuable, the allotment grew smaller, until it has come to be no more than a potato-patch, for which an allowance of potatoes is often substituted.

The following details of the remuneration of foremen-labourers (*Deputanten*)<sup>1</sup> on two estates in Poznanian may

<sup>1</sup> These are not ordinary labourers, but persons employed by owners to work on their estates with the help of extra farm hands.

be taken as typical illustrations of present conditions :

(1) In money the foreman-labourer receives for himself an annual wage rising from 120 marks to 150 marks ; for his wife, 60 pf. daily at harvest and 40-60 marks for the year ; for extra farm hands, allowances varying from 60 pf. to 1.20 marks daily in summer and from 50 pf. to 1.10 marks in winter ; as harvest bonuses, 1 mark per *morgen* ( $\frac{5}{8}$  acre) of rye, 30 pf. per *morgen* of meadow and clover, and 12 pf. per bushel of potatoes. He also has a one-roomed dwelling-house ; wood and coal valued at 45 marks ; free medical attendance and drugs ; one cow with free stallage and pasture, or else an allowance of milk ; one to three pigs ; two to six geese ; five to ten hens ; half a *morgen* of potato land yielding  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 tons ; a quarter *morgen* of garden ; one ton of rye, and if he engages additional farm hands, an extra allowance of up to 16 cwt. ; three tons of potatoes, and with 15 cwt. to 3 tons extra for the farm hands.

(2) The foreman-labourer receives 120 marks yearly and an allowance of 240 marks for a ploughman to do 300 days' ploughing ; free dwelling ; four cubic metres of wood and 2.4 tons of coal ; free medical attendance ; fodder for one cow and accommodation for cow, pigs, and fowls ; a potato patch ; and 1.4 tons of rye ; the estimated value of the whole, including profits from live stock, being 1,300 marks yearly.

The relations between the large farmer and his permanent employees have still, therefore, something of a feudal character ; and his agreement in many cases is not with the individual labourer but with the family.

Throughout eastern Germany, however, agriculture tends more and more to become a seasonal occupation, a development largely due to the cultivation of sugar-beet, which gives casual employment to a very considerable number of women and children ; the use of female labour being greatest where, as in Silesia, the number of landless labourers is large and the homesteads are so small that they do not afford occupation to the women of the household. In 1907 there were

in Poznania 54,778 men and 35,069 women regularly employed in agriculture, 63,641 casual female labourers, and 4,192 casual child labourers, of whom 2,366 were boys and 1,826 girls.

The large annual immigration of cheap labour, to which reference has already been made, impedes efforts to raise the economic condition of the permanent labour supply. The daily wages paid to Russian Poles are: to mowers, 2.20 marks during harvest and 1.70 marks at other times; to other adult male labourers, 1.80 marks and 1.40 marks; to women and boys, 1.40 marks and 1.20 marks. Russians from the east of Thorn are paid at a far lower rate, mowers getting only 1.50 marks at harvest, while Galician Poles receive still less. Piece-work rates are sometimes higher, and there are also payments in kind which may amount to 40-60 pf. per diem.

Agricultural labourers have not the right of combination, though the place of the trade union is to some extent filled by the Union of the Polish Catholic Workmen's Societies of the Archdiocese of Gnesen and Posen, which has a membership of 32,000. The industrial workers, on the other hand, enjoy the benefits of all the imperial laws for the protection of labour.<sup>1</sup> They are well organized and their unions are prosperous, these having been federated since 1909 with the Polish unions in Westphalia, the Rhine Province, and Upper Silesia. The workmen's insurance laws apply both to industrial and to agricultural labour.

## (2) AGRICULTURE

### (a) *Products of Commercial Value*

The total surface area of Poznania is 2,899,300 hectares, of which in 1913 63.7 per cent. was arable land, 10.4 per cent. meadow and pasture, 19.9 per cent. forest, and 6 per cent. put to other uses or left uncultivated.

<sup>1</sup> One of the first acts of the Socialist Government formed in November 1918 was to do away with the disabilities under which the rural labourers suffered in this respect.

*Cereals.*—By far the most important crop is *rye*, which in 1914 occupied over 40 per cent. of the arable land. The average yield per hectare (1910–14) is 1.54 metric tons, which is slightly higher than the average for the whole of Prussia.

*Wheat, barley, and oats* are grown on a much smaller scale, occupying 4.5 per cent., 7.1 per cent., and 9.3 per cent. respectively of the arable area, and showing in each case a lower average yield than that for the whole kingdom; but whereas between 1892 and 1912 the area under wheat decreased by some 20 per cent., the area under barley and oats as well as that under rye considerably increased, and, owing to the adoption of intensive methods of farming, the output of all four crops showed a marked advance: that of rye from 502,000 metric tons to 1,231,000 metric tons, that of wheat from 126,000 metric tons to 176,000 metric tons, that of barley from 64,000 metric tons to 288,000 metric tons, and that of oats from 107,000 metric tons to 365,000 metric tons. In 1913 the production per hectare was: of rye, 1.93 metric tons; of wheat, 2.35 metric tons; of oats, 2.24 metric tons; of barley, 2.38 metric tons; these returns, as were also those for potatoes and sugar-beet, being higher in every case than the corresponding returns in any other Polish province, whether under Prussian, Russian, or Austrian rule.

The reduction in the cultivation of wheat is due to the increased cultivation, both on the large estates and on the *Rentengüter* (see below, p. 47), of sugar-beet, fodder-beet, and potatoes.

*Potatoes* are grown extensively, the area covered in 1912 being 17.1 per cent. of the arable land and the harvest weighing 4,565,000 metric tons, while the average annual yield of 15.36 metric tons per hectare (15.7 in the district of Posen and 15.03 in that of Bromberg) compares favourably with the general average for Prussia of 14.59. Potatoes are used exclusively in the Poznania distilleries.

The production of *sugar-beet* in 1912 amounted to

1,976,000 metric tons, the average crop being 29.63 metric tons per hectare.

The *hay* crop in Poznania is not remarkable, though the meadow grass is abundant.

*Fruits* grown in Poznania are (in order of the numbers of trees bearing in 1913) plums, apples, cherries, and pears, and, in much smaller quantities, walnuts, peaches, and apricots. The district of Posen is richer in every variety than the district of Bromberg, and the province as a whole compares favourably with either East or West Prussia. It is not, however, of great importance as a fruit-growing country.

In 1913 the yield of *hops* was 306 metric tons, a high proportion of the 578 tons produced in Prussia, but a small matter in comparison with the 6,658 tons produced in Bavaria, from which kingdom Poznania imports hops for its needs. The hops of Poznania are grown in the west near Meseritz (Międzyrzec) and Neutomischel (Nowy Tomyśl).

*Tobacco* is grown only on a small scale, the area under cultivation in 1914 being 1,882 hectares, and the value of the crop 21,967 marks.

*Wine*.—In 1914, 7,572 hectolitres of must, valued at 391,266 marks, were produced in the districts of Frankfurt an der Oder, Posen, and Liegnitz, but the figures for Posen are not given separately. There were 99 hectares under vineyards in Poznania, a very small part of the 16,986 hectares of vineyard in all Prussia.

*Live Stock*.—In 1912 the numbers of live stock in the province were, in round figures: horses, 301,000; cattle, 942,000; pigs, 1,322,000; sheep, 242,000.

It may be remarked that considerable progress has been made in the breeding of horses, more particularly on the large estates, and that the high price obtainable for milk has favoured the development of cattle breeding, especially on small farms. Sheep-farming has inevitably declined as pasture has been broken up for intensive culture. The number of goats in Poznania is considerable. It is noteworthy that the number of

sheep and pigs is very much less than in Pomerania, though the latter province is by very little the larger.

(b) *Methods of Cultivation*

In Poznania the tendency of recent years has been to introduce intensive farming, and, together with West Prussia, the province not only shows a higher agricultural development than any other predominantly Polish region, but compares advantageously with any country in Europe. The amount spent in wages per hectare has increased, and large quantities of chemical manures are now used; for instance, the average annual consumption of superphosphate is 120,000 metric tons, and of Thomas flour 100,000 metric tons, and on an estate where, in 1893-4, 10,000 marks were spent on artificial manures, 48,000 marks were spent in 1902-3 and 93,000 marks in 1912-13. The steam ploughs used in the province represent 27,257 horse-power, as compared with 3,942 horse-power in Pomerania, and as there are twenty-five institutions for hiring out expensive plant of this kind, it is clear that it is used on some of the smaller farms as well as on the great estates.

(c) *Forestry*

The afforested area of Poznania in 1913 was 572,854 hectares, about 20 per cent. of the entire surface of the province, a proportion very similar to that obtaining in Russian Poland, but low for Germany. Of this area, 185,012 hectares was State-owned, 20,269 hectares communal, and 367,573 hectares private property. The proportion of privately-owned forests is considerably higher than in East or West Prussia. Over some 86 per cent., or rather more than 500,000 hectares, the trees are coniferous, as the soil suitable for deciduous trees is usually considered too valuable to be given up to woodland, and the forests are therefore practically confined to the sandy tracts, which are for the most part covered with plantations of pine (Scotch fir).

In 1913 the felling in the State forests yielded 530,664 cubic metres of timber, worth 7,044,963 marks, and 378,513 cubic metres of firewood, worth 1,633,872 marks.

(d) *Land Tenure*

Large estates, relics of the old feudal tenures (*Rittergüter*), were, and still are, characteristic of the Polish lands; but of recent years the tendency has been towards a subdivision into smaller units. This tendency is less marked in Poznania and West Prussia than in the Kingdom of Poland and Galicia, but between 1905 and 1907 estates in the former province of more than 100 hectares were reduced by 250,246 hectares, and between 1882 and 1907 by 11.4 per cent. of their total agricultural area; the land thus lost to the great owners was for the most part split up into peasant holdings of from 2 to 20 hectares. More than half the area of Poznania is now held in estates of less than 100 hectares, the majority of which are between 5 and 20 hectares; but in 1907 there were some 138,900 holdings of under 5 hectares, the owners of more than 100,000 of which found their chief means of livelihood in working on the more extensive estates of others. A distinction is to be drawn between these small freehold properties and the allotments granted by the large farmers to their labourers as part wages (see above, p. 40).

Various causes have led to the break-up of the big estates. The importation of capital into the province by returning emigrants, in conjunction with the activities of the agricultural associations and the people's banks, has enabled the peasant to satisfy a land-hunger so strong as to tempt him to acquire land at prices often far above its economic value. But probably the policy of the Prussian Government, as embodied in the Colonization Commission of 1886 and subsequent measures, has been the most potent agent of change.

The Colonization Commission (1886) was one of the

manifestations of Bismarck's intention to Prussianize the Polish districts of Poznan and West Prussia. It provided for the purchase of estates, of whatever size, and their division into redeemable leasehold farms (*Rentengüter*), on which German colonists were settled. The dealings of the Commission were considerable, and the average price paid was not low for undeveloped land. Up to 1913 the total area purchased in Poznan was 293,943 ha. (hectares), at an expenditure of 304,576,772 marks, or an average of about 1,036 marks per ha. Many of the holdings into which this land was divided were of a substantial size, there being 143 above 25 ha. in extent, 504 between 10 and 25 ha., 494 between 5 and 10 ha., and 321 under 5 ha.

For the first ten years from 1886 the Polish landowners, who were impoverished, sold their land readily to the Commissioners. At first, therefore, the scheme served the purpose for which it was intended. Soon, however, several new factors made themselves felt. The German settlers in many cases were boycotted by their Polish neighbours, and, as the value of their land rose rapidly, they were glad to get out of their holdings at a profit and return to Germany. At the same time there came into existence a Union of Polish Proprietors, which enabled the nobles to finance their estates and introduce improved methods of farming, so that the sale of *Rittergüter*, once common, became infrequent. Those which did come into the market were purchased by a rival Polish organization, which was intended, by increasing the number of small Polish holdings, to combat the attempt to Prussianize Poland. The Prussian counter-move was a statute, the *Ansiedlungs Novelle*, of 1904, which prohibited the erection of new buildings without the consent of the Government. To evade this, the managers of the Polish colonization scheme sold the properties which came into their hands in very small lots to peasants who already had houses in the locality or were willing to share a house with others. In some cases indeed the old demesne house was divided up among a number

of owners. Between 1896 and 1912, the first year in which the law of 1908 was enforced, 170,497 ha. of land passed from Germans to Poles, and 117,963 ha. from Poles to Germans; in other words, the Poles gained, and the Germans lost, 52,534 ha., or 1.81 per cent. of the area of the province. A similar situation in West Prussia had an equivalent result.

In 1915 the landed property of the State in Poznania, exclusive of forests, amounted to 45,673 hectares, with a yearly yield of 1,654,714 marks.

### (3) MINERALS

With the exception of salt, Poznania has little mineral wealth. At Hohensalza (Inowrazław) there are extensive deposits of *rock-salt*, which is mostly at a considerable depth, and is pumped out as brine. The production in 1913 was 34,447 metric tons.<sup>1</sup> *Gypsum* is found associated with the salt.

Some *bog iron ore* is found. It has a high percentage of iron, but the deposits are generally too thin and scattered to be of commercial value. The ore is worked on a small scale, and only in the marshes of the upper Bartsch, whence it is transported to the furnaces of Prussian Silesia.

There are considerable tracts of *peat* in the Obra and Netze depressions.

*Lignite* is found near Krone on the Brahe, on the lower Warthe and the lower Netze, and in the tracts east and west of the Obra and the Warthe, north of the town of Posen. It is worked chiefly at points (e.g. Krone) where it is situated at a level above or little below that of the soil water. The reserves of lignite are estimated at 29,700,000 metric tons. In 1910 the amount extracted in Poznania and West Prussia together was 30,300 tons. The deposits extend beyond the boundary line into the province of Brandenburg,

<sup>1</sup> The production in 1905-6 was 81,269 metric tons, but this apparently was an exceptional year.

and borings have established their existence throughout the whole of the district of Bromberg and the greater part of that of Poznania.

#### (4) MANUFACTURES

Owing to its lack of raw materials, its geographical situation, and the Russian tariffs, the only industries of any importance which have arisen in Poznania are those dependent on local agriculture. The chief of these are the production of alcohol and beet sugar, but there is also a certain output of beer and starch.

*Spirit* is distilled exclusively from potatoes. In 1912-13 there were 569 distilleries with an output of 594,764 hectolitres, which represented 19.6 per cent. of the total output for Prussia, and the highest production of any province in the kingdom.

*Sugar*.—The production of raw sugar in 1913 was 348,113 metric tons, and of refined sugar 23,268 metric tons.

*Beer*.—In 1913 there were 97 breweries producing 509,666 hectolitres of beer. These figures show that the average size of the Poznania breweries is comparatively small, as in the same year the production in East Prussia and Pomerania, which had practically the same number of breweries (94 and 96), was 1,105,763 and 774,914 hectolitres respectively, while in West Prussia, where there were only 67, there was also a higher output than in Poznania, namely 673,897 hectolitres.

*Starch*.—The starch factories, on the other hand, are large, five factories producing in 1913 25,033 metric tons, whereas the three in Silesia produced 6,118 metric tons, and the two in Pomerania only 2,178 metric tons. The starch is manufactured from sugar.

*Machinery* is manufactured in the towns of Posen and Bromberg, but for the most part in small businesses and for the supply of local needs.

The following table gives the number of works and workmen in the chief industries in 1907 :

	<i>Works.</i>	<i>Hands employed.</i>
Mines and blast-furnaces . . . . .	80	1,381
Metal and machine manufacture . . . . .	6,094	19,862
Food production . . . . .	8,380	30,690
Earthenware industry . . . . .	956	15,343
• Wood-working . . . . .	3,630	14,961
Textile industry . . . . .	396	809
Paper-making and printing . . . . .	445	3,020
Chemical and wood-products industries . . . . .	307	2,270
Clothing industry . . . . .	14,933	25,727
Animal products . . . . .	909	2,171
Total . . . . .	<u>36,130</u>	<u>116,234</u>

Among these there were 397 enterprises each employing more than 50, and together 49,834, hands. The total number of hands employed in industry, commerce, and transport, including small undertakings (handicrafts, &c.), was 221,591, an increase of 90,553 over the number similarly employed in 1882. There were 41,427 workmen engaged in building.

### (C) COMMERCE

#### (a) *Towns*

In Poznania there are an unusual number of small towns, a fact which is explained by the need for each large estate to have a centre for dealing with its produce and procuring its supplies; but there are only 34 towns with more than 5,000 inhabitants, and only 9 with more than 10,000. Of these the most important are the four of which particulars are given below. They are all centres for the sale of agricultural produce, and in some cases have small factories. In them are situated the head-quarters of the various banks and associations that finance and organize agriculture. The sugar and starch factories and distilleries are, as a rule, situated not in the towns but in the country on the great estates.

*Posen* (population, 154,811 <sup>1</sup>) is the chief town of the

<sup>1</sup> The population figures are those of 1910.

district (*Kreis*) of Posen. It has 3 breweries, 3 chemical factories, of which one is a joint-stock company and makes manure, 4 machinery manufacturers, 20 timber merchants, 17 grain merchants, 2 distilleries, and 1 sugar factory.

*Bromberg* (population, about 70,000) is the chief town of the district of Bromberg. It contains 4 agricultural machinery manufacturers, 6 breweries, 3 cement goods manufacturers, 4 confectionery manufacturers, 1 crushing machine manufacturer, 11 grain merchants, 11 machinery manufacturers, 1 phosphate-grinding machinery manufacturer, 5 saw-mills, 2 distilleries, 1 sugar machinery manufactory, and 4 timber importers.

*Schneidemühl* (population, 27,504) has 2 starch manufacturers, 2 machinery manufacturers, and 2 grain merchants.

*Lissa* (population, 17,156) has 1 agricultural machinery manufacturer and 10 produce merchants.

#### (b) *Organizations to promote Trade and Commerce*

There are Chambers of Commerce at the towns of Posen and Bromberg.

#### (c) *Exports*<sup>1</sup>

Poznania has a considerable and well-organized export trade in agricultural products, holding, in respect of the export of cereals, the first place in the German Empire. Her principal customers are the other states and provinces of Germany, especially Prussian Silesia, but rye is sent to Bohemia, to Austrian Silesia, and in particular to Russian Poland, and rye meal to Scandinavia, Belgium, Holland, and Finland. Alcohol is exported in large quantities to foreign countries through Hamburg commission dealers. Fat cattle are marketed at Berlin and Breslau.

<sup>1</sup> In this section the trade of Poznania with other Prussian provinces and states within the German Empire is treated as import and export trade.

Stimulated by the protective customs tariff introduced in 1879 and subsequently increased, and also by the export bounties on corn, the trade of the province has made a notable advance during the last thirty years. Between 1886 and 1908 the average annual export of cereals amounted to 208,000 metric tons of rye, 25,000 metric tons of wheat, 41,000 metric tons of barley, and 21,000 metric tons of oats. In 1913 the following deliveries were made by rail within the German Empire: 135,842 metric tons of rye, 115,909 of barley and malt, 92,063 of oats, 39,041 of wheat, 7,405 of millet, buckwheat, and pulse, 122,795 of flour and milled products, 241,038 of potatoes, 218,424 of feeding stuffs, 14,232 of seeds, and 105,949 of sugar. Of live stock in 1913 the province sent westward: 131,236 horses, 173,341 head of cattle, 71,535 sheep, 857,735 pigs, 1,281,398 head of poultry, and 4,964 metric tons of meat and bacon. In spite of the ill effects of the war on the cattle stocks, Poznania delivered through the Live Stock Dealers' Union during the period January 1, 1917—October 1, 1918, 352,976 head of cattle and 300,967 pigs. In 1918 the Seed Growers' Union had by October exported no less than 15,952 metric tons of grain and pulse seed to western Germany.

(d) *Imports*

The principal import is artificial fodder, of which the greater part comes from Russia (either by rail or *via* Hamburg and Stettin), but some also from America, the United Kingdom, and Sweden. Barley and rye meal are imported from Norway and rice meal from India. The spirit distilleries obtain cognac from France and rum from Jamaica through Amsterdam and Rotterdam. Thin cattle for ploughing are brought from East Prussia, Bavaria, and Oldenburg; coal and other industrial products from Prussian Silesia.

## (D) FINANCE

(1) *Public Finance*

The public finance of Poznania follows the ordinary Prussian model,<sup>1</sup> and presents no feature calling for special remark. The direct taxes levied by the province for its own purposes in the financial year 1912-13 amounted to 1.30 marks per head of the population, and the provincial debt was equal to 8.97 marks per inhabitant. The direct taxes levied in the towns for local purposes amounted to 18.60 marks, the indirect taxes to 1.62 marks, and the standing debt to 157.41 marks per inhabitant. For the rural circles the corresponding figures were 2.76 marks, 0.89 mark, and 20.14 marks.

(2) *Banking*

Poznania is sufficiently served by German banking institutions. In addition to numerous branches of the Reichsbank and the Norddeutsche Kredit-Anstalt, an important German joint-stock undertaking, the Eastern Bank for Commerce and Industry (Ostbank für Handel und Gewerbe), with a share capital of 27,000,000 marks, has its head-quarters in the town of Posen and branches in every other important centre. There are also local German mortgage institutions, for one of which the capital was found by the Prussian Treasury.

The province contains five Polish joint-stock banks which are on a comparatively small scale, their collective capital being between 12,000,000 and 13,000,000 marks (the largest, 6,000,000 marks). The savings of the Polish population, however, flow rather into the Polish co-operative credit organizations, people's banks on the Schulze-Delitzsch system, with a central bank at Posen, which have been very successful. To support them is considered a patriotic duty, and their activity, as well as that of the Polish banks proper, helps to combat German penetration into and colonization of the country.

<sup>1</sup> For details see *Rhenish Prussia*, No. 38 of this series.

Outside the purely Polish associations there are other equally strong co-operative credit societies, some of which are mixed and others purely German in membership. Agricultural associations for co-operative purchase and sale are also strongly developed in the province.

#### (E) GENERAL REMARKS

The economic prospects of Poznania depend so much on its political future and on the tariff policy of its neighbours that it is difficult to make any but very conditional statements about it.

Hitherto its commerce and trade have suffered greatly from the absence of good direct railway communication with Russian Poland and from the adverse tariffs on its eastern boundary; on the other hand, its export of agricultural produce westwards is large, and there is no doubt that Germany would be prepared to take any increased production arising from intensive farming. If the province should become part of a reorganized Poland it would in some ways be more indispensable to the new state than it now is to Germany. It already supplies large quantities of the wheat and rye which Russian Poland requires, and might substitute a further production of wheat for that of sugar-beet, a commodity with which Russian Poland is well supplied. Poznania might also supply Russian Poland with the live stock which at present is imported to that country from South Russia.

It is doubtful, however, if the change of customer would benefit Poznania; and it must be remembered that it is to German capital and German science that the introduction of intensive farming, in the beginning at any rate, was largely due. It is perhaps safe to say that a Poznania endowed with equal facilities for export on both its eastern and western boundaries would be better situated than it is now, always provided that under new political conditions its economic stability were as good and the supply of capital as abundant as in the past.

## APPENDIX

List of *Kreise* of Poznania, showing (i) proportion of Poles to total population (including bilinguals), as given in Prussian Census of 1910 ; (ii) proportion of Poles among children attending elementary schools as given in school statistics of 1911.

	i.	ii.
A. <i>Kreise</i> of Western border.		
Kolmar (Chodzież) . . . . .	18.9	23.6
Czarnikau (Czarnków) . . . . .	29.2	34.7
Filehne (Wieleń) . . . . .	30.1	35.3
Birnbaum (Międzychéd) . . . . .	51.1	58.8
Schwerin (Skwierzyna) . . . . .	8.6	25.5
Meseritz (Międzyrzec) . . . . .	22.9	27.7
Neutomischel (Nowy Tomysł) . . . . .	54.2	61.1
Bomst (Babimost) . . . . .	50.7	58.2
Fraustadt (Wschowa) . . . . .	31.9	41.1
Lissa (Lézno) . . . . .	38.3	47.0
Rawitsch (Rawicz) . . . . .	57.8	70.7
B. <i>Kreise</i> of Bromberg district.		
Wirnitz (Wyrzysk) . . . . .	49.0	52.1
Bromberg (Bydgoszcz) urban . . . . .	18.9	34.8
Bromberg rural . . . . .	39.0	43.8
Schubin (Szubin) . . . . .	56.3	57.8
C. <i>Kreise</i> of Polish territory proper.		
Hohensalza (Inowrazław) . . . . .	63.2	71.3
Znin (Żnin) . . . . .	72.8	75.8
Wongrowitz (Wągrowiec) . . . . .	68.8	73.1
Gnesen (Gniezno) . . . . .	61.8	70.3
Mogilno (Mogilno) . . . . .	70.8	74.2
Strelno (Strzelno) . . . . .	80.2	83.1
Witkowo (Witkowo) . . . . .	83.3	85.7
Obornik (Oborniki) . . . . .	59.7	64.5
Samter (Szamotuły) . . . . .	74.3	79.3
Posen (Poznań) urban . . . . .	57.8	78.6
Posen West . . . . .	82.8	85.6
Posen East . . . . .	71.2	78.1
Grätz (Grodzisk) . . . . .	83.5	87.4

	i.	ii.
Schmiegel (Śmigiel) . . . . .	81·8	84·7
Kosten (Kosćian) . . . . .	89·0	92·2
Schrimin (Śrem) . . . . .	82·5	86·7
Schroda (Środa) . . . . .	87·4	90·7
Wreschen (Września) . . . . .	80·6	85·2
Jarotschin (Jarocin) . . . . .	82·0	85·9
Gostyn (Gostyń) . . . . .	86·5	90·6
Koschmin (Koźmin) . . . . .	82·8	89·4
Pleschen (Pleszew) . . . . .	83·2	88·8
Krotoschin (Krotoszyn) . . . . .	66·2	77·5
Adelnau (Odolanów) . . . . .	87·1	90·9
Ostrowo (Ostrowo) . . . . .	77·8	87·1
Schildberg (Ostrzeszów) . . . . .	85·3	93·1
Kempen (Kępno) . . . . .	83·5	91·4

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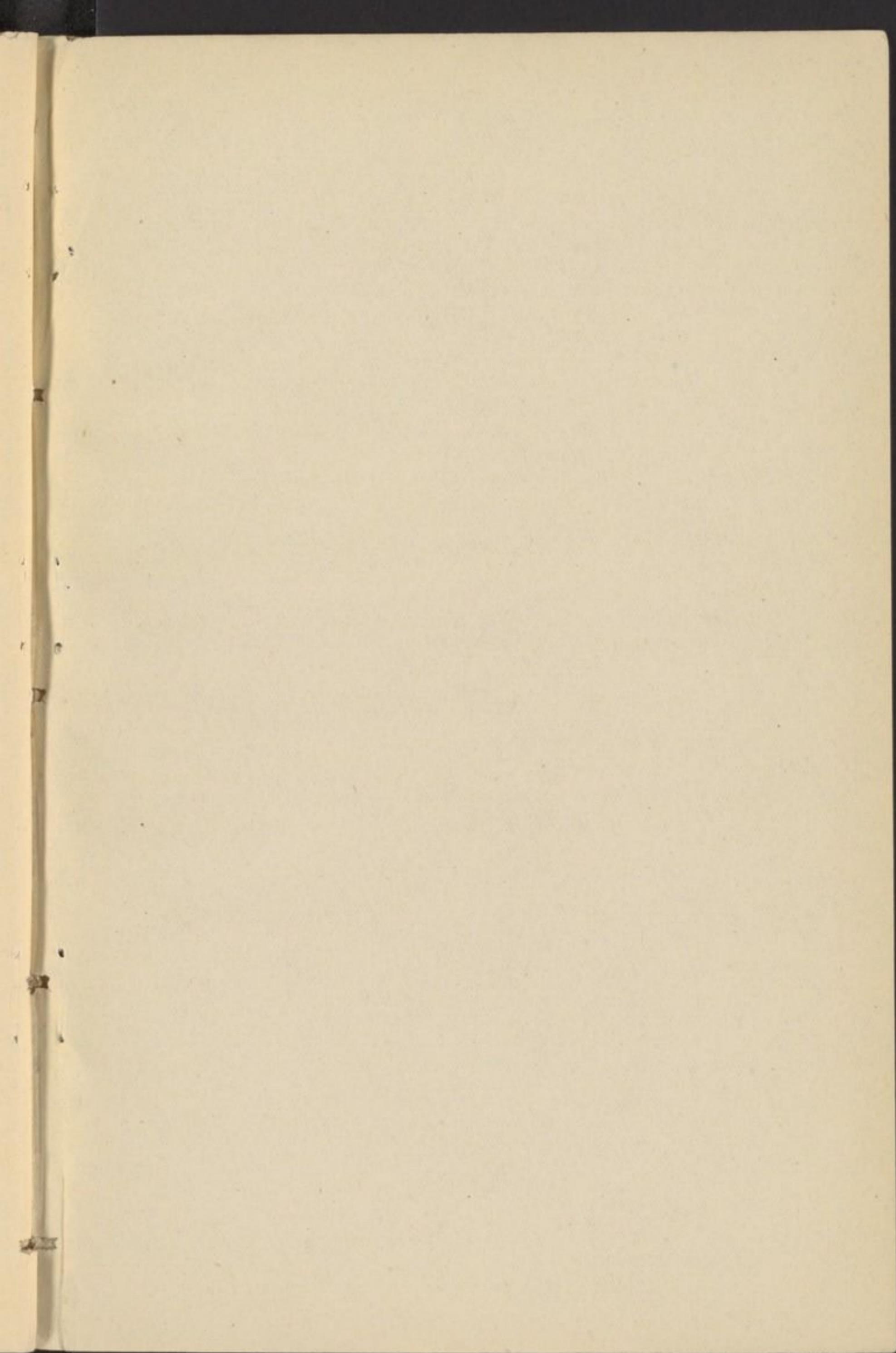
## (2) ECONOMIC

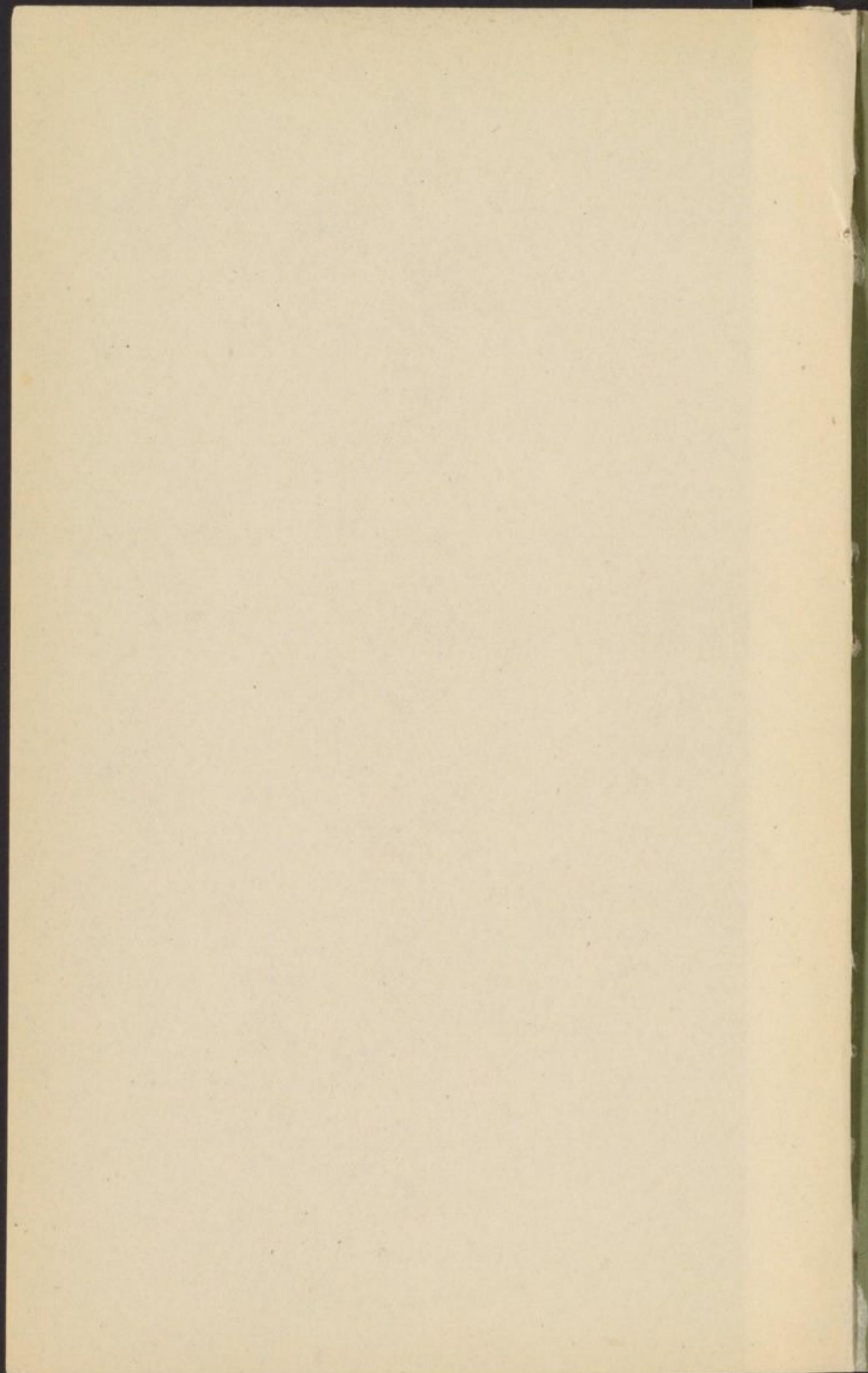
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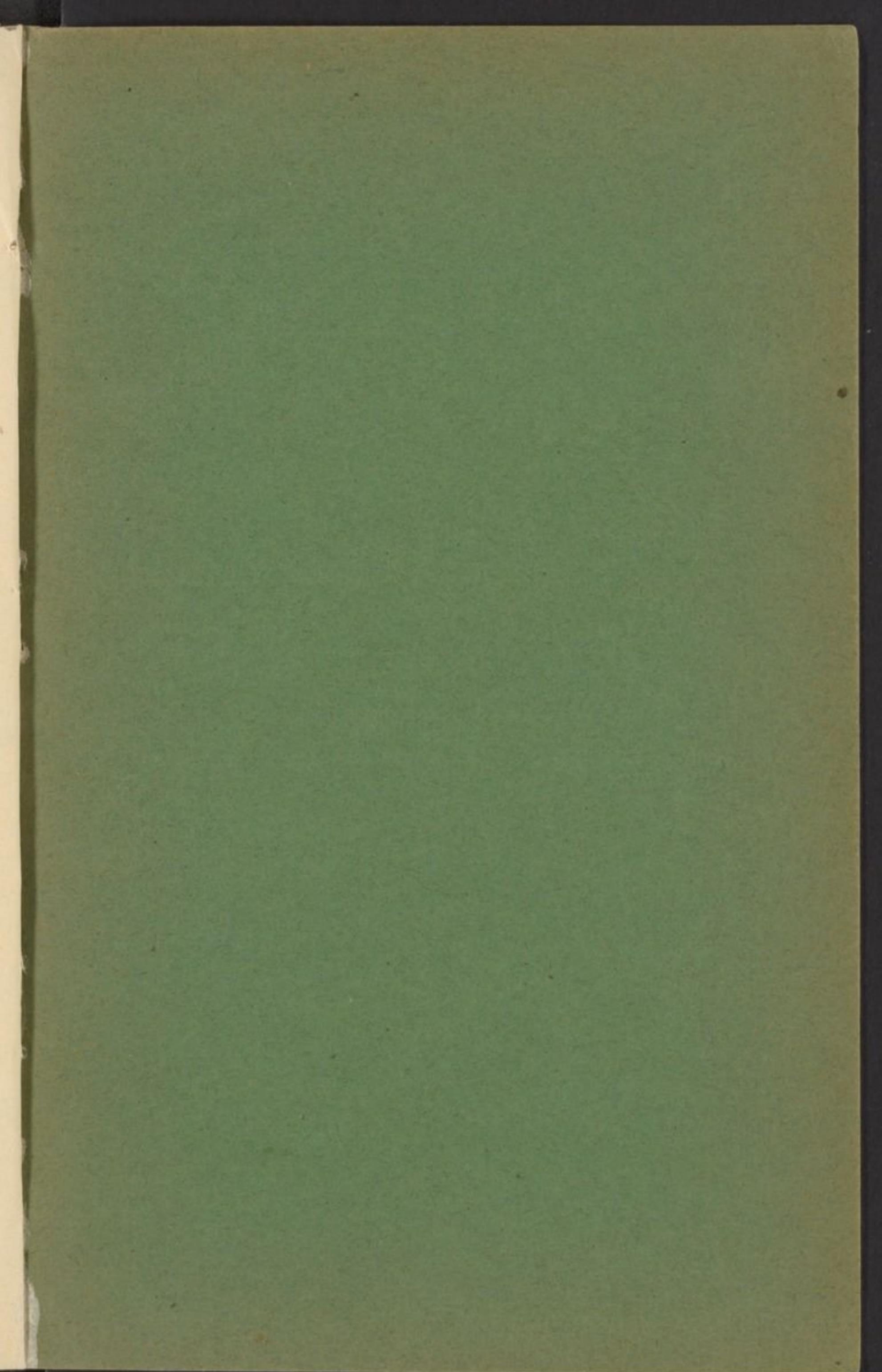
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