HANDBOOKS PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE.—No. 44

D 6
.G7
no. 44
Copy 2

RUSSIAN POLAND
LITHUANIA
AND
WHITE RUSSIA

LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY H.M. STATIONERY OFFICE.

1920

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
1800

Class D6
Book .G7

157

HANDBOOKS PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE.—No. 44

207
1407

RUSSIAN POLAND
LITHUANIA
AND
WHITE RUSSIA

LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY H.M. STATIONERY OFFICE.

1920

2d set

H6
.G7
Copy 2

N.B.—White Russia has been treated Geographically and Historically in connexion with Lithuania, but it has not been thought necessary to include it in the account of Economic Conditions.

D. of D.
JUN 30 1920

Editorial Note.

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

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

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

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

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

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

January 1920.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

RUSSIAN POLAND

(1) Position and Frontiers 1
(2) Surface and River System
Surface 2
The Plateaux 3
The Central Plains 4
The Baltic Ridge 4
River System 5
(3) Climate 7
(4) Sanitary Conditions 7
(5) Race and Language
Race 8
Language 9
(6) Population
Distribution 10
Towns 10
Movement 11

LITHUANIA AND WHITE RUSSIA

(1) Position and Frontiers 12
(2) Surface and River System
Surface 13
The Coastal Region and Lithuanian Ridge 14
The Podlesia Depression 15
River System 16
(3) Climate 18
(4) Sanitary Conditions 18
(5) Race and Language
Race 19
Language 24
(6) Population
Distribution 24
Towns 25
Movement 25

Wt. 40378/369 1000 4/20 F.O.P [2566]

II. POLITICAL HISTORY PAGE

Chronological Summary 27

RUSSIAN POLAND

Period of Nominal Autonomy, 1815–1830 28
Insurrection of 1830 30
First Period of Autocratic Government, 1831–1863 ... 30
Revolt of 1863 34
Second Period of Autocratic Government, 1863–1905 34
Period of Parliamentary Representation, 1905–1914... 38

LITHUANIA AND WHITE RUSSIA

Introductory 40
Period of Russian Repression, 1815–1905 41
Period of Parliamentary Representation, 1905–1914... 47

III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

RUSSIAN POLAND

(1) Religious 50
(2) Political 50
(3) Educational... 53
(4) The Cholm Question 54

LITHUANIA AND WHITE RUSSIA

(1) Religious 59
(2) Political 59

IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

RUSSIAN POLAND

(A) Means of Communication

(1) Internal
(*a*) Roads 64
(*b*) Rivers and Canals 65
(*c*) Railways 67
(*d*) Posts, Telegraphs, Telephones 70
(2) External
(*a*) Ports 71
(*b*) Telegraphic Communication 71

(B) Industry

(1) Labour
(*a*) Supply and Conditions of Labour 72
(*b*) Emigration and Immigration 75

PAGE

(2) Agriculture
(a) Products of Commercial Value 77
(b) Methods of Cultivation 80
(c) Forestry 81
(d) Land Tenure 82
(3) Fisheries 84
(4) Minerals 84
(5) Manufactures 86
(6) Power 91

(C) Commerce
(1) Domestic
(a) Principal Branches of Trade 91
(b) Towns, Markets, Fairs, &c. 92
(c) Organizations to promote Trade... 93
(d) Foreign Interests 94
(e) Methods of Economic Penetration 95
(2) Foreign 95
(a) Exports 95
(b) Imports 96
(3) Customs and Tariffs 97
(4) Commercial Treaties 97

(D) Finance
(1) Public Finance 97
(2) Currency 99
(3) Banking 99
(4) Foreign Capital and Fields of Investment ... 103

(E) General Remarks 103

LITHUANIA

(A) Means of Communication
(1) Internal
(a) Roads 104
(b) Rivers and Canals 105
(c) Railways 108
(d) Posts, Telegraphs, and Telephones 112
(2) External
(a) Ports 113
(b) Telegraphic and Wireless Communications ... 113

(B) Industry
(1) Labour
(a) Supply of Labour 114
(b) Labour Conditions 115

PAGE

(2) Agriculture
(a) Products of Commercial Value 117
(b) Methods of Cultivation 121
(c) Forestry 122
(d) Land Tenure 123
(3) Fisheries 126
(4) Minerals 126
(5) Manufactures 126
(6) Power 129

(C) Commerce

(1) Domestic
(a) Principal Branches of Trade 129
(b) Towns, Markets, Fairs 130
(c) Organizations to promote Trade and Commerce 132
(d) Foreign Interests and Economic Penetration ... 132
(2) Foreign
(a) Exports 132
(b) Imports 134
(c) Customs and Tariffs 134

(D) Finance

(1) Public Finance 134
(2) Currency 135
(3) Banking 136
(4) Influence of Foreign Capital 139
(5) Principal Fields of Investment 139

(E) General Remarks 139

APPENDIX

Declarations of Polish and Lithuanian Parties on the Lithuanian Question 141

AUTHORITIES 143
Maps 144

I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

RUSSIAN POLAND

(1) Position and Frontiers

Russian Poland, with an area of 49,000 square miles, lies between 50° 3′ and 55° 6′ north latitude and 17° 38′ and 24° 16′ east longitude. The old title of Kingdom of Poland was retained after the Partition for this territory, and it is usually so spoken of still, although after the Polish insurrection of 1831 the name ceased to be used in Russian official documents, and was replaced by that of the Vistula Governments.

Russian Poland contains ten main administrative divisions or governments, Suwałki, Lomza, Płock, Warsaw, Kalisz, Piotrków (Petroków), Kielce (Kyeltsi), Radom, Lublin (Lyublin), and Siedlce (Syedlets). In 1912, however, a new Government of Chołm (Chełm, Kholm), with an area of 5,200 square miles, was formed out of certain districts belonging to Siedlce and Lublin, and ceased to have any connexion with the rest of Russian Poland, the area of which, as given above, being thus reduced by slightly more than a tenth.

Russian Poland marches on the north-west and west with the German provinces of East and West Prussia, Posen and Silesia; on the south with Galicia (Austria), and on the extreme north and the east with the Russian Governments of Kovno, Vilna, Grodno (Lithuanian), and Volhynia (Ukrainian).

Except towards the east, where the frontier follows in general the lines of important rivers, and likewise bears some relation to linguistic divisions, Russian Poland is almost uniformly lacking in natural protective boundaries. Immediately beyond the northern frontier is the strongly defensible region of the Masurian lakes; the Carpathian chain lies some way beyond the frontier on the south; while to the west the first important feature that breaks the open plain is the

River Oder. All the regions which lie between the frontiers and these natural obstacles, though at present in the possession of other States, contain large districts in which the majority of the population are Poles.

The main physical features of the boundaries are as follows. On the eastern side the division between Poland and Lithuania is formed in the north by the River Niemen (Nyeman), south of Grodno by the Bobr (Biebrza) and the Narew (Narev). Both the Bobr and the Narew flow through wide marshes and thus provide as good a line of defence as the steep slopes of the Niemen further north. From the Narew the frontier passes, by way of the Nurec (Nurets), to the swampy valley of the Bug, which till 1912 (*cf.* p. 8) it ascended as far as the Galician frontier.

The southern boundary is marked by no pronounced features till it reaches the Vistula, which here runs along the southern edge of a hilly region. Near Cracow the river ceases to be the boundary, which runs over the hills north of it.

The western frontier is quite open and unprotected as regards its northern half; in the south it mainly follows the course of the Prosna. The northern frontier is entirely defenceless.

(2) Surface and River System

Surface

The surface of Russian Poland is singularly uniform, and its average altitude very low in comparison with that of most European countries. The country divides itself naturally into three distinct areas: (1) the plateaux of the south; (2) the central plains; (3) the Baltic ridge in the north-east.

The present soil and surface of these regions were determined by the movements of the ancient ice. When the great Scandinavian ice-sheet retreated, it left behind it the deposits of sand and clay which form most of the soil of Poland, and it also left erratic boulders scattered all over the plains. When its southern edge reached the Baltic ridge, its retirement

stopped for a time; and here it deposited huge masses of material which formed the hills and the innumerable hollows now filled by lakes. The retreating ice-sheet explains the immensely broad valleys by which the country is crossed from east to west, two of which are clearly marked. The northern of these is known as the Eberswald-Thorn, and the southern as the Berlin-Warsaw valley. The general direction of these depressions, cutting as they do across the modern rivers, which mostly flow north and south, opens an easy access into Poland from east and west, the importance of which is marked by the fortresses of Thorn, Grodno, and Brest-Litovsk.

The Plateaux.—It has been said that the whole of Southern Poland consists of plateaux sufficiently varied to form ranges of heights. Although there is no gap between them broader than that which is made by the Vistula, the characteristics of the hills are markedly different. If that river, which flows for the greater part of its length through Russian Poland, be considered to run its whole course roughly in the shape of the figure 5, the heights of Cracow and Kielce, which contain all the mineral riches of Poland, are embraced by the lower half of the semicircle, while the heights of Lublin lie to the east of the curve.

The average elevation of the plateaux west of the Vistula is about 900 ft., and their southern slopes are usually fertile, owing to a covering of loess which makes rich soil. At their eastern end the Kielce heights slope down to the Vistula by a series of wooded terraces. The river here flows northward in a narrow valley with precipitous sides. The heights of Lublin rise from it on the right bank, and extend eastward beyond the frontier of Russian Poland. They contain no important minerals, but form part of the great stretch of wheat-bearing land which runs from Warsaw, broadening as it goes south-east, until in Podolia it reaches the black earth belt of South Russia. The black earth actually appears in this district (*powiat*) of Hrubieszów, which is now part of Chołm.

The Central Plains.—The central plains form a part of the great plains of northern Europe which stretch westwards to the Belgian coast and eastwards far into Russia. The section of this vast area which lies within the Polish frontiers is divided by the Vistula into two distinct portions.

The region on the left bank is known as the Mazovian plain. The comparatively high ground on its southern border, where lie the fertile districts of Łódź and Piotrków, might accurately be called an extension of the Heights of Cracow (which belong to the Carpathian system). North-eastwards from Łódź is Lower Mazovia, the lowest ground in all Poland, the altitude being only 216 ft. The great valleys, mentioned above as having been formed by the action of the retreating ice-sheet, merge for a space below Warsaw, which lies on the eastern edge of the Lower Mazovian region. This district is marshy, and thickly wooded. Except at its northern end, the Mazovian plain lies entirely upon the western bank of the Vistula.

In general the soil of the Mazovian plain is naturally fertile when cleared of the glacial boulders which in some places make it quite unfit for cultivation. Modern cultivation has already done much to improve the land on this side of the Vistula, and could do more under German methods.

On the right bank of the Vistula another expanse of level country extends to the River Bug, and thence beyond the Polish frontier into Russia. This region is called the Podlasian plain. In it the transition from western to eastern Europe becomes apparent in a more continental climate, and changes in flora and fauna as well as in the habits of the population. Its fertility is much less than that of Mazovia, as wide tracts of marsh border the rivers, and large parts of the country are under forest.

The Baltic Ridge.—In the north-east of Poland the Government of Suwałki forms a continuation of the Masurian Lake region of East Prussia, and is thus a

country of water and woods where little cultivation is possible. The lakes are of every shape and size, the land between them consisting of sandy hills and ridges covered with pine forests.

River System

The flatness of the country between the Baltic and the Black Sea not only makes the rivers the most important geographical feature of this region, but also facilitates communication between different river systems to such a degree that there are streams whose eastward or westward trend seems almost a matter of chance. Such is the case with the Warta (Warthe) in Russian Poland, which rises in the Heights of Cracow and flows north-west to join the Oder, being the only considerable Polish river which is not a tributary of the Vistula. In great floods, however, some of its water escapes eastwards to the Vistula; and this peculiarity has made it easy to link the waterways of the Vistula basin with the river systems outside Russian Poland on the east and west. The Warta is connected with the Bzura, a tributary of the Vistula, by the Łęczyca (Lenchitsa) canal. All the rest of Russian Poland lies in the Vistula basin, except for the north-eastern corner, where the Government of Suwałki penetrates into the Niemen system.

The Vistula (Wisła), the most important of all the Baltic rivers, runs practically the whole of its total length of 620 miles through territory where more than 50 per cent. of the inhabitants on both banks are Poles. It rises in Austrian Silesia and flows north to the foot of the mountains. There it turns east, and, passing Cracow, becomes the boundary line between Austrian and Russian Poland. After its junction with the San, a right bank tributary, it ceases to form the frontier line, and enters Russian Poland from the south, thence flowing in a general north-westerly direction as far as the fortress of Ivangorod. From this point the Vistula flows north-west in the direction of Warsaw, running through the Eberswald-Thorn

valley. The enormous width of this valley in comparison with the volume of the river causes the latter to spread out and assume a marshy character, splitting up into many confused channels. A few miles below Warsaw the fortress of Nowo Georgiewsk stands in a position of great strategic importance at the angle where the Vistula turns west, commanding the junction of the Vistula with its most important tributaries the Narew and the Bug. A little lower down the Bzura flows in from the west. Below Nowo Georgiewsk the Vistula runs for over 130 miles through the central plains of Poland before it enters West Prussia and finishes its course as a German river.

The principal tributaries are, on the left bank, the Nida, the Pilica (Pilitsa), and the Bzura, of which the last is important as opening river communication between the Vistula and Oder systems by way of the Łęczyca canal and the Warta river; on the right, the Dunajec, the Wisłoka, the San, the Wieprz (Veprj) and the Narew and Bug, the two latter uniting a short way above their junction with the Vistula. The tributaries of the right bank form an easy means of communication with the more easterly river systems. Thus the Vistula has been linked with the Dnieper through the valley of the Bug by way of the Pripet (Pripyat), and the Narew, with its tributary the Bobr, connects the Vistula with the Niemen through the Augustów canal.

The Vistula, like other Carpathian rivers, is liable to severe floods in spring and summer (*cf.* p. 65). It is generally frozen from December to March, and its annual average of navigable days is between 240 and 290. The valleys of the east-bank tributaries are nearly always marshy; and parts of them form a good defensive frontier line, whose natural strength is increased by fortresses. The fortifications of Brest-Litovsk command the passage to Warsaw down the Bug valley, and Kovno and Grodno cover the no less important way of access down the Narew.

(3) Climate

The transition between the oceanic climate of western Europe and the continental climate of Russia is made within the borders of Poland, the climate of which differs somewhat from both, being more temperate than the Russian and more severe than that of the central and west European countries. The average annual variation between the temperatures of January and July increases with the distance from the sea, being 32° F. (18° C.) on the Baltic, and 47° F. (26° C.) on the plateaux of Volhynia across the Polish frontier.

The summer temperature is highest in the south, the winter coldest in the north-east, the average January temperature in the west being 30° F. (- 1° C.) falling to 25° F. (– 4° C.) on the eastern boundary, while the July temperatures vary between 62½° F. (17° C.) on the Baltic, and 68° F. (20° C.) in the south.

The period of great cold usually lasts from December till March. A sudden thaw then sets in and the country becomes covered with mud, rivers flooding their banks and roads becoming impassable. Summer droughts are uncommon in Poland. The average rainfall for the whole year in the plains is from 17½ to 23½ inches, two-thirds of the amount falling between April and September, but the amount varies a good deal from year to year. The average on the plateaux is considerably more. Only about half of the winter precipitation falls in snow, which therefore does not, as a rule, lie very thickly.

The prevailing winds at Warsaw are south-east during most of the year, and west in summer.

(4) Sanitary Conditions

Sanitary conditions in Polish towns are very bad when compared even with the towns of Russia. It could not be otherwise under the system imposed by the late Government, which sanctioned expenditure unwillingly, and only after infinite delay. The

provision of hospitals and doctors is wretchedly inadequate; and the rural parts of Poland are naturally far worse off in this respect than the big towns. Diseases which are inseparable from overcrowding, dirt and bad housing, such as typhus and tuberculosis, cause an enormous death-rate, these two diseases being responsible for no less than 18,000 and 36,000 deaths respectively in 1913.

A Bill was passed in St. Petersburg in 1912 introducing compulsory insurance against illness throughout the Russian Empire, but this legislation applied only to factory workers.

(5) Race and Language

Race

All statistics of population in the Kingdom of Poland are based upon the one and only Russian census, that of 1897. Later official figures have been collected by the Warsaw Statistical Committee, and include the Government of Chołm (Kholm), formed in 1912, as part of Poland. The figures themselves are not very accurate, and the conclusions drawn from them are hotly disputed; but, after making all allowances, the figures still represent the broad lines of racial division.

The total population of Russian Poland was 13,335,400 in 1914, and in 1915 12,247,600 excluding Chołm. Of these at least 9½ millions, or over 75 per cent., are Poles. Jews number over 1,800,000, their proportion being calculated at 11 per cent. according to language, or 15 per cent. according to religion. Of the remaining nationalities approximately 4 per cent. are Germans, 2·3 per cent. Lithuanians, and 2 per cent. Little Russians (or Ruthenians). Great Russians number less than 1 per cent., this number being composed chiefly of soldiers and officials, who very seldom settle permanently in Poland. In the north-east there is a settlement of White Russians, numbering less than 30,000 in all.

The general plan of distribution of these races is

very simple. Eight out of the ten Governments have an overwhelming Polish population. The exceptions are the Government of Suwałki in the north-east corner of Poland, and that of Chołm on the south-eastern border. In this latter Government almost the whole of the Little Russian population of Poland is to be found, here numbering about 30 per cent. of the inhabitants.

Suwałki is the only Government where Poles are actually in a minority. Its four northern districts of Kalwarja, Marjampol, Wiłkowyszki (Vilkovishki), and Władysławów are peopled almost entirely by Lithuanians, there being practically no Lithuanians settled in any other part of Poland. Their total numbers in Suwałki are about 346,000, or 54 per cent. of the population of that Government. (The Lithuanians of Poland form about 18 per cent. of the whole number of Lithuanians in Russia.) The White Russian population also is found in the Suwałki Government, chiefly in the district of Augustów.

Jews are found in every part of the kingdom, the majority, however, being resident in the north-east Governments. As they are chiefly occupied in commerce they are naturally most numerous in the urban districts, forming the majority of the inhabitants in 16 out of the 43 towns whose population is between 10,000 and 20,000 Out of 73 smaller towns with under 10,000 inhabitants, Jews have the majority in 54. In the urban areas, especially in the industrial districts of the west where German settlers are mostly to be found, they are engaged in a constant struggle with the German commercial element.

Language

Five languages are spoken in Poland. Polish is by far the most common, being spoken by about 80 per cent. of the inhabitants. Yiddish is used by the majority of Jews among themselves; and the Lithuanians speak their own tongue, as do the Germans. The Little Russians speak Ruthenian (or Little

Russian) which is classed here as a dialect of Great Russian, and not as a separate language.

(6) Population

Distribution

Poland is a thickly peopled country, with an average density estimated in 1915 at about 250 to the square mile. It takes the sixth place in Europe in this respect.

The following table brings out certain broad facts concerning the distribution of the population. It shows a gradual decrease in density from west to east and from south to north, and also marks the extent to which the western provinces southwards from Warsaw are crowded in comparison with the rest of the country.

Governments.	Density (including towns) per square mile.	Rural Density per square mile.
West—		
Piotrków ..	420	250
Warsaw ..	377	217
Kalisz ..	272	193
South—		
Kielce ..	250	230
Lublin	239	206
Radom	234	207
North—		
Płock	203	173
East—		
Siedlce	182	157
Łomza ..	169	147
Suwałki ..	143	125
Total for Poland ..	254	193

Towns

The officially recognised towns of Poland contain over 4,000,000 inhabitants, or about 35 per cent. of the total population. The largest towns are: Warsaw (population 756,426 in 1901, 875,913 in 1917), Łódź (351,670 in 1900, 415,604 in 1910), Sosnowice or

Nikolajewsk (98,748 in 1910), Balute-Nowe (96,000 in 1910), Częstochowa (Chenstokhov, 53,650 in 1900, 72,652 in 1910), and Lublin (50,152 in 1897, 69,972 in 1913). The country possesses 116 municipal units officially considered as towns. This title is given to the chief city of each Government and to two other centres, namely Łódź and Włocławek (Vlotslavsk), whose administration is directly under the head of the Governments in which they are situated. The other towns are those urban areas in which there are mayors, responsible to the governor of the *powiat* (a subdivision of the Government).

Besides these principal centres Poland contains 358 small towns, administered as parts of the wider areas called *gmina*. Towns of both these types are scattered fairly thickly all over Poland. It may be noted that every town of more than 20,000 inhabitants, except the capitals of the Governments, lies west of the Vistula, and nearly all of them are in the south-western corner of the country.

Some Polish towns have grown with extraordinary speed. Łódź, for instance, has increased its population a hundred and sixty fold since it first became an industrial area about 1827. Będzin, which comes nearest to it, has multiplied itself twenty-five times, although since 1893 it has grown faster than Łódź.

Movement

The rate of increase of population in Poland since 1904 has been estimated as follows:—

Year.	Total Population.	Annual Increase per 1,000.
1904	11,588,000	3·0
1905	11,312,000	—2·4
1906	11,370,000	0·5
1907	11,505,000	1·2
1908	11,687,000	1·6
1909	11,935,000	2·1
1911	12,467,000	2·2

The difference between these figures and those shown in the next table, which deals with the rate of natural increase only, is due to the fluctuations of immigration and emigration.

BIRTH AND DEATH RATES.
Per 1,000 of the Population.

—	Births.		Deaths.		Natural Increase.	
	1904.	1908.	1904.	1908.	1904.	1908.
Kingdom of Poland	38	37	23	21	15	16
Towns	37	36	22	20	15	16
Communes (*gmina*)	39	38	24	21	15	17

The rate of increase here shown for Russian Poland is slightly higher than in Galicia and Prussian Poland, or in the German Empire.

LITHUANIA AND WHITE RUSSIA

(1) Position and Frontiers

The district here described includes the three Lithuanian Governments of Grodno, Vilna (Wilno) and Kovno (Kowno), situated in the north-west of European Russia, and likewise the three White Russian Governments of Vitebsk (Witebsk), Mohilev (Mohylow), and Minsk, which lie immediately to the east of them. The whole region formerly constituted the Principality or Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

The area covered by the six Governments, which lie between 53° 15′ and 57° 27′ north latitude, and 20° 27′ and 32° 56′ east longitude, is 118,000 square miles in extent, an area more than double the size of Russian Poland and very little less than that of the British Isles.

In the west Grodno and Vilna march with Russian Poland, Kovno partly with Poland and partly with Germany (the only point at which Lithuania or White Russia touches non-Russian territory); in the north Kovno (after just failing to reach the Baltic coast)

and Vitebsk march with the Baltic provinces of Courland and Livonia, and the Great Russian Government of Pskov; in the east Vitebsk, Mohilev, and Minsk march with the Russian Government of Smolensk and the Ukrainian Government of Chernigov; while in the south Minsk and Grodno march with Ukrainian Volhynia.

The western boundary is the only one which has a strong natural defensive line and coincides to some extent with the racial divisions. The southern part of this line is formed by the Bug, the Nurec (Nurets), the Narew and the Bobr, the middle stretch by the river Niemen, while the northernmost part, where the Government of Kovno marches with East Prussia for about 90 miles, runs through the coast plain north of the Niemen (Nyeman).

The northern boundary runs at first through the coast plain, and follows no important natural feature until the Dvina is reached, near Druya, some distance above Dvinsk. The boundary then descends the course of the Dvina as far as the frontier of Livonia, where it leaves the river and runs through a region of lakes and hills to its most northern point. Hence it runs in a south-easterly direction through the hills of the Lithuanian Ridge.

The eastern boundary is unmarked by any important natural feature till it reaches the River Dnieper, in the extreme south near Loyev. There is no good natural defensive line on any other part of the eastern frontier.

On the south the boundary runs south of the River Pripet (Pripyat), but is still within the zone of its marshes. Its western portion falls within the territory definitely assigned to the Ukraine by the treaty of February 11th, 1918.

(2) Surface and River System

Surface

As regards physical features, Lithuania and White Russia may be divided, broadly speaking, into a

northern and a southern half. The three northern Governments of Kovno, Vitebsk, and Vilna, as well as part of Mohilev, belong to the moraine region of the coastal district and the Lithuanian Ridge, at a level much above that of the rest of the country. The southern half is known as the Polyesia depression. Nearly the whole of this falls within the region of the Pripet marshes, which fill most of the Government of Minsk and the southern districts of Grodno. The northern parts of Grodno, however, are outside the zone of swamps, although their level is below that of the Ridge. Important variations of surface of course exist within both these main divisions, which will now be described in more detail.

The Coastal Region and Lithuanian Ridge.—In the Government of Kovno, in the north-west of Lithuania, the transition from the coastal plain to the higher levels of the Ridge begins gradually at no great distance from the coast, in the hilly tract known as the Samogitian Highlands, which rises on its southern border to 800 feet.

The gradual rise of the ground eastward from the Baltic is interrupted by a projection of the plain of Courland running southwards into the Kovno Government and intervening between the Samogitian Highlands and the Lithuanian Ridge. This projection merges in the south into the plain of the Niewaza (a tributary of the Niemen).

The region of the Lithuanian Ridge begins eastwards of a line which may be drawn roughly from the town of Grodno, up the River Niemen as far as Kovno and thence in a north-easterly direction through Dvinsk to Lyutsyn in the Government of Vitebsk. The hills of the Ridge fill all the rest of the Vitebsk Government, and also the whole of the Vilna Government, and extend beyond White Russia on the east, joining the Central Russian Heights.

The portion of this area which lies within the Vitebsk Government may be called the Dvina lake-land. Its average altitude is about 600 feet, but it is crossed

from south to north by a considerably higher chain of hills. South-west from the Dvina lake-land lie the Niemen-Viliya hills, in the Vilna Government, which rise to over 1,100 feet along the border between the Governments of Vilna and Minsk, and form the water-shed dividing the Baltic rivers from the rivers flowing to the Black Sea.

In the north of the Mohilev Government are the Dnieper hills, rising in this district to a height of 800 feet, situated east of the Niemen-Viliya hills, and separated from them by the Berezina valley. Vast expanses of the north of White Russia are still under forest, and a great proportion of the rest is water. The Vitebsk Government alone contains 2,500 lakes, of all sizes and shapes, of which the largest is Luban, with an area of 35 square miles.

The Podlesia Depression.—The southern border of the Lithuanian Ridge falls to Podlesia in a succession of hills, and further south lies the region of unbroken swamps in the basin of the River Pripet (Pripyat). On the west these swamps reach across the Bug into Poland, and on the east cross the Dnieper to the Lithuanian frontier, while on the north-west they rise to the undulating moraine region extending between the Bug, Narew, and Niemen. In the region between the Pina and the Pripet the area known as the Pinsk marshes covers more than 600 square miles, and in the spring becomes one great lake with islands rising out of it. In the whole of Podlesia there are only two continuous strips of higher ground: one in the west, projecting from Grodno eastwards into Minsk, between the Pina and the Yaselda, the other in the south-east of Podlesia, on the right bank of the Pripet, stretching from Mosyr (Mozyrz) southward to the White Russian frontier.

With these exceptions the whole area of the Pripet marshes is an almost impassable region, containing only a few scattered inhabitants. No crops can be raised upon the land in its present state, although in the Government of Grodno, on the western boundary of

Podlesia, some of it has been drained and converted into pasture.

River System

There are three river systems to be considered: those of the Niemen and the Dvina, draining to the Baltic, and that of the Dnieper, draining to the Black Sea. They all have numerous tributaries, and the lowness of the watershed enables both the Niemen and the Dvina to be connected by canals with the Dnieper. Each of the three rivers is linked in the same way with the neighbouring systems in Poland. (See above, pp. 5, 6.)

The *Niemen* rises in the north-west of the Government of Minsk, and flows through Lithuania in a general westward direction for about 200 miles to the Polish frontier at Grodno. It runs with a slight fall in a wide depression which is an eastern continuation of the Eberswald-Thorn valley. (See above, pp. 2-5.) Connection between the Niemen and the Vistula systems has been made through the Augustów canal a little below Grodno. At Grodno the Niemen turns north, its fall becoming steeper, and forms the boundary between Poland and Lithuania as far as the town of Kovno, where it again turns west, still forming the Polish-Lithuanian frontier for some 60 miles more, until it enters East Prussia and finally discharges into the Baltic through the Kurische Haff.

The total length of the Niemen is 565 miles. Its principal tributaries are the Szczara (Shchara) on the left bank and the Viliya on the right bank. The Szczara rises on the western borders of the Minsk Government, flowing into the Upper Niemen about 60 miles above the town of Grodno. The Oginski canal connects its upper waters with the Yaselda, a tributary of the Pripet belonging to the Dnieper system The Viliya rises on the northern borders of Minsk, and joins the Niemen at the town of Kovno. The Niemen is navigable up to its junction with the Szczara. All

traffic is stopped by ice for a period varying from 90 to 100 days from the middle of December.

The *Western Dvina* rises in the Central Russian Heights, and after a southerly course flows westwards through the Vitebsk Government. At its entry into White Russia the Dvina has low sandy banks, and the floods in this region cover a wide area. Below the town of Vitebsk the river runs for 250 miles to Czargrad, below Dvinsk, in a comparatively narrow valley. In this part of its course the Dvina forms for a short distance the north-western boundary of Lithuania, and then flows in a generally north-westerly direction to its outlet to the sea at Riga. Owing to the presence of many rapids and shoals the upper course of the Dvina is difficult for navigation; nevertheless small steam vessels go as far up as Velij, near the eastern border of White Russia. At Vitebsk the stream is frozen for 120 to 130 days from the beginning of December. The principal tributaries are the Drissa on the right bank, and the Disna (Disenka) and the Ulyanka on the left bank. The latter river, flowing in between Vitebsk and Polock (Polotsk), joins the systems of the Dvina and the Dnieper, by way of the Berezina canal.

The *Dnieper* also rises in the Central Russian Heights, enters White Russia in a westerly direction in the north of the Mohilev Government, turns due south soon afterwards, and thence runs in a wide marshy valley, leaving White Russia at the south-eastern corner of the Minsk Government. Its course within White Russia is 400 miles long, out of a total of 1,200. Its value as an artery for the communications of the southern district is increased by the two important tributaries of its right bank, the Berezina (329 miles) and the Pripet (Pripyat, 375 miles). The Dnieper receives only one important tributary, the Sosh, on its left bank, within White Russian territory.

The Berezina rises in the north of Minsk and flows south-east through that Government. Its upper waters connect the Dnieper with the Dvina system by the Berezina canal. The Pripet runs in an easterly

direction across the whole breadth of Lithuania and White Russia. The Yaselda, flowing in on the left bank near the town of Pinsk, connects the Pripet with the Szczara and the Niemen, while in its upper waters the Pripet is joined by a canal with the Bug, thus linking the Dnieper with the Vistula.

The navigation of the Dnieper itself is made difficult by the rapids of Orsza (Orsha), not far below the point where it enters Mohilev, and by ridges of rocks which emerge when the river is low. The stream is generally ice-bound by the middle of December, and remains so for a period varying from 80 to 120 days.

(3) Climate

The winter in Lithuania and White Russia is coldest on the eastern borders. The average January temperature is 20° F. (–6·6° C.) on the western, and 17° F. (–8·3° C.) on the eastern frontier. The average July temperature of the Lithuanian Ridge is between 64° and 66° F. (about 18° C.), while the south-eastern frontier of the country has a July temperature of 68° F. (20° C.). The average annual rainfall for most parts of the Lithuanian Ridge is between 19 and 23 inches. This amount is exceeded in the region of the Samogitian Highlands in the north-west, and in the Dnieper hills on the north-eastern frontier. In Polyesia the annual precipitation averages between 17 and 19 inches.

(4) Sanitary Conditions

The description given of conditions in Poland may on the whole be applied to the Lithuanian and White Russian Governments. There is, however, no district in Poland or elsewhere in Russia which is so unhealthy as that of the Pripet marshes.

The medical service is even more inadequate than in Poland. In 1912 the Government of Kovno, which was the best in this respect, had only about two doctors to

every 100,000 inhabitants, while the White Russian Governments of Vitebsk, Mohilev and Minsk had less than one to every 100,000 of the population.

(5) Race and Language

Race

The population of Lithuania and White Russia, excluding the Jews, is composed of three distinct groups, in which the Lithuanians and Letts are placed together as having a common origin, distinct from the Poles on the one hand and the Russians on the other. They belong to the Baltic race, of which the original Prussians, now almost extinct, were also members. Apart from the fact that the Letts have now a mixture of Finnish blood, the differences between them are mostly those of culture, and date from the Middle Ages, when the Lithuanians struggled successfully against the dominion of the Teutonic Knights and formed a union with Poland, whereas the Letts remained subject to the German conquerors.

The White Russians and Little Russians may be classed together as belonging to the Russian nation. The White Russians have become distinguished from the other branches chiefly by their backwardness and poverty. The Little Russians (Ruthenians or Ukrainians) are superior to them in type. Their blood is here mixed with that of various other races, chiefly that of the Poles.

In 1911 the total population of the six Governments included here was 12,900,000. Over 5½ millions of these inhabited the Governments of Kovno, Vilna and Grodno, and the remaining 7 millions belonged to the White Russian Governments of Vitebsk, Mohilev and Minsk.

The numbers of each of the six main racial groups which make up this total are given as follows in the Russian Census of 1897. No later official figures for all the nationalities are available. The accuracy of

these returns is even more disputed by non-Russian authorities than the similar calculations made for Russian Poland.

White Russians	5,447,000
Jews	1,414,000
Lithuanians	1,408,000
Poles	565,000
Great Russians	500,000
Little Russians (Ruthenians)	380,000
Letts	308,000

The Great Russian population at the date of the census was chiefly composed of officials and soldiers who did not settle permanently in the district. There is no doubt that the Polish population is much larger than these figures allow. The extent of the discrepancy between Polish and Russian calculations on this subject is shown further on.

The broad lines of distribution are as follows. The Lithuanian population is almost entirely confined to the north-west. Lithuanians form over 70 per cent. of the inhabitants in the Government of Kovno and in the district of Nowo Troki to the north-west of the Vilna Government. Outside Lithuania they occupy the northern districts of the Polish Government of Suwałki and the north-eastern coast districts of East Prussia, their territory therefore forming a compact whole, of which the western portions lie outside the Lithuanian frontier and contain about half a million Lithuanian inhabitants. The total numbers may therefore be put at something over 2 millions.

The Letts in Lithuania and White Russia form only a small fraction of the total Lettish population of the Baltic regions; and the area they inhabit within White Russia is small and clearly defined, lying in the north-west of the Vitebsk Government, in the three districts of Dvinsk, Rzeźyca (Ryeshitsa, Rositsa), and Lyutsyn (Lucyn), usually described as Lattgalia. Lettish authorities are quoted as putting the Letts in

these districts at 75 per cent. of the total population. This is probably an exaggeration, but they may safely be reckoned at over 50 per cent.

The White Russians occupy a far larger area than any other race under discussion. They are in a great majority in all the districts of Vitebsk eastwards from Lattgalia, and throughout the whole of Minsk and Mohilev.

Thus far the facts are beyond dispute. A solid mass of Lithuanians inhabits the north-west, and the Governments of the east and south are peopled by White Russians. The two areas are, however, divided from one another by the Government of Vilna, in which the chief settlements of Poles are found. Here the population is very mixed, and it is peculiarly easy to manipulate figures to suit political prejudices, as the White Russians in Vilna are strongly Polonized, especially in religion. Polish statisticians are apt to write all Catholics down as Poles, whereas some other authorities maintain that White Russians call themselves Poles when they merely mean to state that they are Catholics. There is no doubt, however, that Polish influence is strong enough to make the Government of Vilna and the adjoining northern districts of Grodno form a Polish wedge between the Lithuanians on the north and the White Russians on the south and east. The Poles in the population of the whole Government of Vilna are probably about a quarter of the inhabitants, and their centre is the Vilna district.

The following table compares the calculations made by different authorities regarding the proportion of nationalities in the districts of the Vilna Government where the question is most disputed. It shows what widely different results may be obtained when the nationality of a predominantly Catholic population is tested by its religion instead of by its language; but the discrepancies between the two sets of figures bring out all the more clearly their one point of agreement with regard to the small percentage of Lithuanians to be found south of the Vilna district. Both calculations

give the Święciany (Svyentsyany) district as marking the south-eastern limit of the area which could ethnographically be claimed for the Lithuanians.

POPULATION OF CERTAIN DISTRICTS IN VILNA GOVERNMENT.

District.	Percentage according to :—	
	Russian Census 1897.	Wilenski 1913.
Swięciany :		
White Russians	47	36
Lithuanians	34	28
Poles..	6	25
Vilna :		
White Russians	26	27
Lithuanians	21	7
Poles..	20	45
Oszmiana :		
White Russians	80	36
Lithuanians	4	4
Poles..	2	27

The Polish element is not confined to the Vilna Government. Comparison of the two sets of figures below gives some idea of the different results arrived at by Russian and Polish calculations in this respect.

TOTAL NUMBER OF POLES.

Government.	Russian Census 1897.	Polish Statistics 1909 (M.S. Encyclopædia).
Kovno	139,000	131,000
Vilna	130,000	854,000
Grodno	161,000	456,000
Vitebsk..	50,000	135,000
Minsk	64,000	200,000
Mohilev	17,000	69,000

The Little Russian (Ruthenian) population in Lithuania and White Russia is settled almost entirely in the Grodno Government and the south-west corner of Minsk. According to the Russian census figures of 1897, their numbers in Grodno were 362,000, or about 18 per cent. of the total population of the Government. They are concentrated in the four districts of the south and south-west, where their numbers in 1897 were as follows:—

District.	Total number of Little Russians.	Percentage of total population.
Byelsk	64,256	39
Prujany	9,278	7
Brest-Litovsk ..	140,561	64
Kobrin	146,789	79

This distribution is of interest in view of the proposal made by the Russo-German treaty of February 1918, which assigns to the Ukraine the greater part of the district of Brest-Litovsk, the whole of Kobrin, and the southern part of Prujany.

The census of 1897 gives 10,000 as the number of Little Russians in the Minsk Government. These are chiefly the scattered inhabitants of the Pinsk marshes, who are often confused with the White Russians.

Jews form a considerable proportion of the population in every Government. According to the Russian census of 1897 there are fewest in Vitebsk, their numbers there being 175,000, or just under 12 per cent. of the inhabitants, while the largest Jewish element is found in the Grodno Government, where there are 276,000, about 17½ per cent. of the total inhabitants. Considerably more than half the Jews live in towns, and in some they form the majority of the inhabitants, as for instance in Brest-Litovsk, where they make up more than 79 per cent. of the total population, in Białystock (Byelostok) where they form 66 per cent., in Kovno (54 per cent.), and in Grodno (52 per cent.).

Language

The Lithuanian language is neither Slavonic nor Germanic. Both it and Lettish belong to the Baltic group of European languages. White Russian and Little Russian are akin to one another and to Russian. Anyone who knows either Great Russian or Little Russian will easily understand every form of White Russian.

It is less easy to say positively that the Little Russian or Ruthenian tongue is merely another Russian dialect, as the subject has become one of political controversy. In recent years a Little Russian literary movement has been developed, which might in time widen and fix the difference between the two languages. At present, however, the speech of the Little Russian peasant in Lithuania cannot be sharply differentiated from the neighbouring White Russian dialects.

(6) Population

Distribution

The following table shows the population of the Governments in 1912 and 1915:—

Government.	1912.	1915.
Grodno .. .	1,997,600	2,094,300
Vilna	1,989,900	2,083,200
Kovno	1,819,000	1,871,400
Vitebsk	1,875,100	1,984 800
Mohilev	2,307,200	2,551,400
Minsk	2,926,200	3,070,900
Total ..	12,915,000	13,656,000

The average density of population in Lithuania and White Russia was estimated in 1913 at about 112 to the square mile. The following table shows the uniformity of distribution, there being no industrial districts and

few large towns. The thinly-scattered population of Minsk is accounted for by the large area occupied by the Pripet marshes :—

Government.	Density (including towns) per sq. mile.	Rural Density per sq. mile.
Kovno	118	107
Vilna	125	110
Grodno	137	112
Vitebsk	112	96
Minsk	84	77
Mohilev ..	128	116

Towns

The urban population was estimated in 1909 as being only about 13 per cent. of the total population. According to the rather rough calculations from the census of 1897, upon which this and all the following figures are based, the largest proportion of town dwellers were found in the Governments of Vitebsk, where they formed 18 per cent. of the total; Grodno, 17 per cent.; and Vilna, 15 per cent.

The industrial towns lie chiefly in the west. Vilna (population 205,000), the largest town in Lithuania is a centre of the tanning industry, and Białystock (population 93,000) of textiles. Other towns which had before the war a population of over 100,000, are Minsk, Dvinsk, and Vitebsk; and at the outbreak of the war there were 13 towns with a population of between twenty and a hundred thousand.

Movement

Between the years 1900 and 1910 the actual rate of increase was 11 per 1,000, and the natural rate was 15. Both rates are less than those of Russian Poland over the same period.

The following table for 1912 shows that the higher birth-rate in the White Russian Governments makes the natural increase almost double that of the Government of Kovno, in which the Lithuanian race predominates:—

Government.	Births per 1,000	Deaths per 1,000	Natural Increase.
Kovno	27·4	16·7	10·7
Vilna	31·4	18	13·4
Grodno	31·7	13·3	18·4
Vitebsk	33·7	17·6	16·1
Mohilev	37·4	18	19·4
Minsk	38·4	17·9	20·5

II. POLITICAL HISTORY

Chronological Summary

1815 Congress of Vienna. Annexation by Russia. Grant of a Constitution.
1825 Death of Alexander I. Accession of Nicholas I.
1826 Foundation of Polish Land Bank.
1830 First Polish Rising.
1831 Abolition of Constitution. Incorporation of Kingdom of Poland in Russia as the Vistula Governments.
1832 Suppression of the University of Vilna.
1838-9 Suppression of the Uniat Church in Lithuania.
1840 Suppression of the Lithuanian Statute. Establishment of the Russian Code.
1848 Introduction of Russian Penal Code.
1850 Abolition of Customs frontier between Poland and Russia.
1855 Death of Nicholas I. Accession of Alexander II.
1861 Liberation of serfs in Russia.
1863 Second Polish Rising.
1864 Emancipation of Peasants in Russian Poland. Beginning of systematic persecution of Polish language and religion.
1867 Abolition of Council of State and complete end of all Polish autonomy.
1869 Russian made the official language of instruction in secondary education. Emancipation of peasants in Lithuania.
1874-5 Suppression of Uniat Church in Chołm.
1881 Death of Alexander II. Accession of Alexander III.
1883 Foundation of *Ausra*, the first Lithuanian newspaper.
1885 Russian made the official language of instruction in primary education.
1894 Death of Alexander III. Accession of Nicholas II.
1905 Revolution in Russia.
Meeting of first Lithuanian National Assembly.
1906 First Duma. Beginning of electoral representation.
1907 Second and third Dumas. Reduction of number of Polish delegates from 36 to 12.
1912 End of third Duma. Formation of new Russian Government of Chołm out of parts of the Polish Governments of Lublin and Siedlce. Beginning of fourth Duma.

RUSSIAN POLAND

Period of Nominal Autonomy, 1815–1830

THE era of Russian rule in Poland, which lasted from 1815 to 1914, opened promisingly with the grant of a constitution and a considerable degree of independence. The rest of the nineteenth century saw the withdrawal of the constitution, and the reduction and eventual abrogation of every trace of Polish autonomy. The absorption of the kingdom into the Russian bureaucratic system was marked by violence and brutality which led to a popular outbreak in 1830 and again in 1863. On each occasion the outbreaks were followed by savage reprisals. The general disturbances in the Russian Empire following on the Japanese war in 1905, led to a half-hearted concession of parliamentary institutions; but these were largely withdrawn or proved illusory, and the Poles remained up to 1917 subject to the irresponsible rule of an alien autocracy.

The history of the hundred years under review is the story of reaction and of measures of repression. It shows how the poorer class of nobles, who had ruined the old independent kingdom, gradually declined, while a middle class, previously non-existent, arose to take its place. During these years, agricultural co-operation, industrial enterprise and political organizations to some extent succeeded the old regime of aristocratic caprice; and so matters progressed until Poland in 1917 found herself ready to seize the opportunity, brought about at last by the war, for re-entering the list of independent states with a new patriotism which had learnt from misfortune to avoid some of the old mistakes of class-interest and disunion.

It was claimed, not without some justification, that the Polish Constitution of 1815 was one of the most liberal in Europe. Legislative power lay with a Diet

consisting of a nominated Upper House and a Lower House elected on a limited suffrage. The Executive consisted of the Viceroy and five ministers appointed by the Crown, who with a few other members formed the "Administrative Council," whilst liberty of the press and responsibility of ministers to the Diet seem to have been vaguely promised. Amongst other advantages, freedom of belief was guaranteed; Polish was the official language; the Emperor undertook to be separately crowned at Warsaw as King of Poland; and the Archbishop of Warsaw was given the title of Primate of Poland. The Polish army also remained as a separate force, staffed by Polish officers.

The Tsar Alexander I seems to have been personally responsible for the liberal element in this Constitution. In 1818 he was prepared to go so far in his concessions to the Polish nobility as to hold out hopes of a reunion with Lithuania. His Polish sympathies then however melted away. The Russian aristocracy and bureaucracy had throughout been violently opposed to them, and the supposed dangers to European society of modern movements in Germany and other countries led him to abandon them. The Viceroy Zajaczek was too weak a man to uphold them in opposition to the military Commander-in-Chief, the Grand Duke Constantine; and the real power rapidly passed into the Grand Duke's hands. The Diet was rarely summoned, and on each occasion its sittings were confined to a few weeks. The budget, once passed in the first session, was never submitted to it in subsequent years. The vague promises of freedom of the press and of the responsibility of ministers were ignored. A strict censorship was introduced in 1819; the debates of the Diet were no longer allowed to be published; secret police were instituted to track down the members of secret societies, formerly favoured by the Tsar himself; and arrests and imprisonments without trial became the order of the day.

After the accession of Nicholas in 1825 matters grew worse. In 1826 there was an orgy of arrests

connected with the affairs of Vilna University. The gigantic trial of the members of the National Patriotic Society only resulted in a series of mild sentences; but the temper of the autocracy grew no better.

In 1830, when all Poland was rejoicing at the successful revolution in France, it was suddenly announced that Polish troops were to be sent to quell it. The result was the insurrection of that year.

Insurrection of 1830

The insurrection was unfortunately mismanaged. The nobles and the Warsaw bourgeoisie, though they threw themselves eagerly into the struggle for independence, were not ready to sacrifice their hold over the peasants in order to win their full support. As to leadership, they allowed the old Napoleonic soldier, General Chlopicki, to assume a kind of dictatorship; but his policy alternated between violence and conciliation. When at length he was superseded, his successor Skrzynecki showed a lamentable indifference to strategy and allowed the Russians to occupy points of vantage unopposed. Finally Warsaw was surrendered without permission being given to the citizens to assist in its defence.

One of the chief causes of the hesitation of the Polish leaders was the fact that they felt the struggle against the Russian millions to be unequal, and looked for outside support both from friendly elements in Russia and from other European powers. That such hopes could be seriously entertained shows remarkable ignorance of European, and even of Russian, affairs.

First Period of Autocratic Government, 1831–1863

In St. Petersburg the insurrection was held completely to justify the mistrust that had been felt of all liberal government and all measures of autonomy. The Grand Duke Constantine had died during the

war, but Paskiéwicz, who was installed as Lieutenant-Governor, went as far as even Constantine could have wished. The title of "Kingdom" was suppressed; the Polish army was incorporated in the Russian army and quartered in other parts of Russia, while the Poles were made to support a Russian army, 100,000 strong, in their own country. In addition to the imposition of an indemnity of 22,000,000 roubles, the property of no less than 2,340 *émigrés* was confiscated. The Diet was abolished, and the administration was placed entirely under the control of the Lieutenant-Governor.

The Council of State was still retained, but its administrative powers were reduced to a minimum. The University, Polytechnic Institute, and Scientific Society were suppressed, libraries were removed, and educational facilities curtailed. Martial law was kept in force uninterruptedly till 1856. It is typical of the regime that plots were actually promoted by Russian agents in order to provide an opportunity of deporting the persons induced to take part in them.

The St. Petersburg Government had hardly as yet however formulated its policy in definite terms. Its general aim was the destruction of Polish resistance. Its actions mainly consisted in a disconnected series of attacks, distributed over the 30 years from 1831 to 1861, and carried out as opportunity offered.

In 1839 the Uniat Church in Little Russia, White Russia, and Lithuania was forcibly incorporated in the Orthodox Church, in order to put an end to the Polish attempt to break up the unity between Great Russia and Little and White Russia. With the same object restrictions and special taxes were imposed on Polish landowners in Lithuania. Measures taken in 1846 restricting the powers of landlords in Poland, though justified in themselves, were dictated by hostility towards the Polish nobility; and further agrarian laws were issued in 1858 and 1862. The Polish University at Vilna was abolished in 1832. Russian was introduced as the language of instruction

in secondary schools; and the Vilna seminary was removed to St. Petersburg in 1842. In 1847 it was decided that Polish officials must know Russian, and that Russian was to be the language used in Government offices. A large number of Russian officials were imported. Russian weights, measures and coinage were introduced in 1848.

In regard to justice, the Napoleonic Civil Code remained in force, but the Penal Codes introduced by Prussia and Austria between 1795 and 1809 were replaced by the Russian Code in 1848.

The Poles had been allowed by the Congress of Vienna to hope for some degree of free trade between the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian parts of the country. This proved, however, to be opposed to the fiscal interests both of Russia and of Prussia, and was never carried out. Indeed, four years later, a protective tariff was applied in Russian Poland which practically destroyed the old cloth industry of Poźnania and led to the development of Łódź as a manufacturing centre. In 1831 this rising Polish industry was deliberately weakened by the raising of the Russian tariff on Polish manufactures. At the end of the forties, however, the opposite policy was adopted; and Poland was incorporated for customs purposes with Russia. This was of great advantage for the economic progress of Poland, which found a ready market in the less developed provinces of Russia. A factor of great importance in the political development of Poland was the Land Bank, founded at Warsaw in 1826, which was allowed to remain in existence throughout the greater part of this period. Its operations were confined to assisting noble landowners with mortgages, but it came to form a meeting-place for the leaders, and a sort of informal co-operation in their political efforts was gradually attained. A more popular organisation, the Agronomic Society, was authorised in 1857, and formed for the next four years an organised body of public opinion—the only body of this kind in the country.

By this time public opinion was becoming excited. The censorship did indeed prevent the publication of nationalist literature, but the leaders of the Polish educated world were beyond its reach, and the great Polish literary group in Paris produced a flood of patriotic, historical, and poetical works. Thanks largely to their work, the national spirit was not only kept alive, but penetrated deeper into the nation. After the insurrection of 1830 two political groups emerged —the conciliatory group which, as in Prussian Poland, believed in a policy of acquiring economic strength and efficient social organisation without provoking the occupying Government, and the revolutionary group, largely inspired by the *émigrés*, which would have no dealings with the aliens in authority. In Prussian Poland the firmness of the Government prevented any more serious insurrections than that of 1848 in Poźnania. In Cracow and Galicia the Austrian Government used insurrection for its own purposes, but was forced to yield to centrifugal forces in 1860; and constitutional measures were subsequently sufficient to maintain a large measure of autonomy. In Congress Poland[1] the Russian Government was neither willing to make sufficient concessions, nor efficient enough to prevent outbreaks.

In 1860 the temper of the population became so threatening that the Government resolved on partial concessions. Wielopolski, a Pole belonging to the extreme wing of the conciliatory party, was appointed to introduce a certain degree of autonomy, of which the chief features were a considerable extension of educational facilities and the replacing of a large number of Russian officials by Poles. The Council of State, abolished in 1841, was restored, which meant that Polish affairs were dealt with at Warsaw instead of St. Petersburg. Some provision was also made for giving Polish landowners a share in local government.

[1] *I.e.*, Poland as defined by the Congress of Vienna, and as we have known it up to the present day.

The Wielopolski measures were sincerely meant, and would have satisfied the conciliatory group among the Poles, at any rate as an instalment. But the revolutionary movement, which they were designed to forestall, was clearly too far advanced. A plan was prepared for the conscription of its adherents; and, when this became known, the rebellion broke out.

Revolt of 1863

The "Reds," as the revolutionary party were called, had not learnt, like the "Whites," from experience. Trusting, like their predecessors, in foreign aid, in the sympathies of Russian liberals, and in the abstract justice of their cause, they rebelled at a time when they had only 10,000 troops to set against an army of nearly 200,000 Russians. In one point they were wiser than the insurgents of 1830; they proclaimed a land reform by which the land held by peasants was to be legally owned by them. But this action was nullified when the mistake was made of changing horses in mid-stream, in deference to diplomatic intervention from foreign powers who were expected to send help. A "White" Government was formed which damped the enthusiasm of the "Reds," temporized on the question of land-reform, sought to compromise with the Russians, and yet failed to obtain any concessions. The most striking feature of the insurrection was the fact that the Poles were able to prolong it as a sort of guerilla warfare for so long as 16 months. It is said that no less than 650 skirmishes and battles were fought before resistance was finally crushed.

Second Period of Autocratic Government, 1863–1905

There can be no mistake on this occasion as to the lesson taught to the Poles. During the war it had been naïvely declared by a Russian in authority that it was a question which should live, Russia or Poland. If after 1830 the Government's action consisted of a disconnected series of experimental measures, its policy after 1863 was a comprehensive plan for the elimina-

tion of everything distinctly Polish, and the complete absorption of the old kingdom in the general framework of the empire.

The process was carried out in the twelve years between 1863 and 1876. Its execution lay mainly in the hands of two special commissions. Their first endeavour was to abolish the power of the nobles (*szlachta*). Even before the revolt was crushed, commissioners began the work of freeing the peasants' land. This measure amounted in itself to a complete revolution in the social conditions of the country. In 1864 one-third of the land became the full property of some 500,000 peasants subject only to a land-tax paid to the State. The feudal privileges of the *szlachta*, which had so long blocked the way to progress, were thus at last removed by an alien hand; and the landowning class paid the penalty of its obstinacy in clinging to them by losing even the prestige which would have accrued to it from a voluntary renunciation.

The social and political structure of Poland was thus at last modernised, but the Russian Government had no intention of conferring on the country any benefits which it could avoid. The "servitudes" were retained, *i.e.*, the peasants' right of gathering timber and pasturing stock on the landowners' land; and the economic value of the latter actually deteriorated. Further measures provided for a nominal self-government in rural districts, and this was so arranged that neither *szlachta* nor priests nor other educated men had any influence. The local councils, *gmina* and *gromada*, were thus managed almost entirely by officials who were controlled by the Russian bureaucracy.

At the same time Russian officials and the Russian language were so far as possible substituted for Polish. The number of Governments was increased from five to ten in order to accommodate more Russian functionaries. By 1874 there were said to be over 22,000 Russian officials in the country, in addition to the judges, higher officials, professors, and some 3,500 school teachers.

Russian was made the language of instruction in all schools. In 1868 it became the official language in administration, and in 1875 in the courts of justice, with the exception of the rural police courts.

Other details in the process of Russification included the deportation of 18,000 persons to Siberia and the confiscation of some 12,000 square miles of land. The number of towns with urban privileges was reduced from 480 to 115 (1864). The monasteries were dissolved (1864) and church funds sequestrated.

The Council of State was suppressed in 1867, the control of Polish administration being transferred to St. Petersburg. The Polish Bank became a branch of the Imperial State Bank (1885).

The Uniat diocese of Chołm, which had survived the abolition of the Uniat churches in Lithuania and Little Russia, was now abolished (1874–5), and its members were forced into a nominal orthodoxy. There was some historic justice in this end of the Polish and Roman Catholic attempt to assimilate the eastern conquests of the old kingdom; but the time had long since passed when the Uniats would have willingly rejoined the Orthodox Church, and their resistance was now only to be crushed by persecution.

The whole of this russifying policy was carried out by autocratic, capricious, and often barbarous methods under a regime of martial law. Its first effect upon the Poles was paralysing; during the ten years following the revolt political life seemed dead. Then, however, the characteristic weaknesses of the Tsarist regime began to show themselves. Russian officials could not be found in sufficient numbers, and Poles had to be employed. Instead of the Poles learning Russian, the Russian officials took to learning Polish; and the exclusion of Polish from official use was not maintained. Russian landowners, to whom confiscated lands had been sold or presented, consistently refused to settle on them, and proved of no use in the policy of Russification. The judicial bench was liberally minded, as in Russia, and in general opposed to the rigorous

measures of the administration. The total exclusion of the Polish language from the courts and even from the scattered rural schools proved unworkable.

The policy of complete Russification to which the Government had committed itself was, indeed, impossible from the first. In a country of superior civilization with a completely distinct national consciousness it was pre-doomed to failure.

The sheer weight of the Russian regime prevented any general manifestation of Polish national life until the early years of the present century, when the autocracy itself began to show signs of weakness at the centre. But meanwhile, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Poles were developing on national lines in two spheres, those of economics and party organisation, in a way which corresponded remarkably to their development in Prussian Poland, though the entire lack of constitutional freedom under Russian rule necessarily rendered the development in Russian Poland both slower and less secure.

The year 1886 was, however, the date of the foundation of the National League, out of which the National Democrat Party eventually arose. This party is more fully described below (p. 51). In its early years the main object of the National League was to rouse a sense of Polish patriotism among the masses of the peasantry, to improve their conditions, and to establish a better understanding between classes.

The Government appears to have been largely indifferent to the growth of Polish industry. But the abolition of the tariff barrier between Poland and Russia in 1850 made it easy for Polish manufacturers, aided and often initiated by German settlers, not only to hold their own in the kingdom, but even to compete successfully with the Russian products in Russia. The growth of Łódź during the nineteenth century from a village to a town of 459,000 inhabitants is one of the romances of modern industry; but it is only the most striking of a large number of cases. The Polish coal mines of the Dombrova basin, which had been sold at a

very low price by the Government in the late 'seventies, were also able to export coal to Russia in spite of the existence of the immense fields of the Donetz basin. Polish engineers were sought after for work on Russian railways and other enterprises. It was not till 1912 that the Government took control of the Warsaw-Vienna railway.

Thus the Poles were allowed to develop their industries. This development, together with the abolition of the old privileges of the *szlachta*, which caused many of its members to turn to the professions and led to the rise of a class of well-to-do farmers, produced, as in Prussian Poland, a Polish middle class. Though immensely hampered by the hold of the Jews on Polish trade, this middle class grew steadily in influence; and it is from its ranks that a great number of the political leaders of the present day have sprung.

At the end of 1904 Warsaw was the scene of the first open manifestation within the Russian Empire of the discontent which was soon to lead to revolution and to the consequent opening of the constitutional era. The Warsaw demonstration was organised by the Polish Socialist Party, a body which will be more fully described in the next section (p. 53).

Period of Parliamentary Representation, 1905–1914

The upheavals of the social order throughout Russia, which were the immediate consequences of her reverses in the war with Japan, took the form of ceaseless and violent strikes in all quarters of the Empire.

In the Kingdom of Poland one of the most important movements in its results was the boycott of the Warsaw University, in which the Russian students joined, in sympathy with the demands of the Poles for a Polish University. The example of the University students was followed by the pupils in the secondary and primary schools throughout the Kingdom. A universal boycott was proclaimed of all educational institutions in which the compulsory language of instruction was Russian. The movement was supported by

the parents of the pupils and by most of the teachers. Private schools were hastily organised in Warsaw and other centres to supply temporarily the place of the State schools until the issue of the struggle should be decided.

The Government was too much embarrassed by attacks on all sides to be able to avoid some concession. It yielded nothing, however, as regards the State schools or the University, but merely licensed the use of Polish as the language for instruction in all but Russian subjects in the private schools. The Poles therefore decided to continue the boycott and to face the heavy expenses which the maintenance of the private schools must entail, as well as the sacrifices of prospects involved by the loss of a University career at Warsaw. These sacrifices were great, since no privileges were granted to the private schools, and no universities recognised their diplomas, except those of Cracow and Lemberg. The boycott of Russian schools had not, however, been relaxed up to the outbreak of war in 1914.

The only benefit which the Kingdom of Poland shared with the rest of the Russian Empire before the assembly of the first Duma in 1906 was the Edict of Tolerance promulgated in 1905, which enabled some 200,000 of the population to rejoin the Church of Rome. These were chiefly inhabitants of the eastern borders of the kingdom, who had been forced to profess Orthodoxy when the Uniat Church was abolished in 1874. The subject will be referred to again in the summary of the Chołm question (p. 54).

The grant of a Constitution to Russia and the summoning of the Duma filled the Poles with hopes, which were immediately disappointed. Only three days after the promulgation of the Constitution the crowd which assembled in the streets of Warsaw to acclaim it was fired upon by the Russian troops, although its intentions were perfectly peaceful. Martial law was imposed a few days later, and the whole country remained under it for several years. Even the first Duma, which

was composed of more liberal elements than its successors, showed no special interest in Polish questions. The second was even less sympathetic. The Polish party in both these assemblies supported the Government, in spite of the fact that after the second Duma the number of Polish deputies was cut down from 36 to 12. Nevertheless their representation was again curtailed, and when the third Duma met there were only eleven deputies from the Kingdom.

The third Duma, which met in 1907, had a Conservative and reactionary majority, and was definitely hostile to Polish aspirations. The chief manifestation of this attitude occurred in 1912, when it voted for the formation of the new Government of Chołm, which was formed of districts carved out of the Governments of Lublin and Siedlce, and thus included, besides the Little Russian districts of Eastern Chołm, a large amount of territory which was ethnically Polish. This constitutes the most important incident in Polish history during the period between 1905 and 1914, and will be discussed separately below in the section on the Chołm question. Otherwise the chief interest of these years is concentrated in the development of political parties in the Kingdom of Poland, and in the attitude taken by the different groups towards Russia and towards each other.

LITHUANIA AND WHITE RUSSIA[1]

Introductory

The history of Lithuania from 1815 to 1914 is divided into two parts by the Russian Revolution of

[1] In this section the term "Lithuania" is used to cover the whole of the former Principality or Grand Duchy, in which is comprised the six Russian governments of Kovno, Vilna, Grodno, Vitebsk, Mohilev, and Minsk. Of these governments, ethnic (*i.e.*, genuine) Lithuania only includes (approximately) the government of Kovno and the north-western half of Vilna, whilst all the remainder comes under the term White Russia—a territory whose population is Slav, but whose language, whilst almost identical with (Great) Russian, has absorbed a certain proportion of Lithuanian elements.

The White Russians also extend some distance to the eastward of the Lithuania described.

1905. Before that date the development of its own internal movements was checked and distorted by the russifying policy of Russia, which was applied both to Poles and Lithuanians. The oppression was not felt equally heavily by all; it naturally weighed most upon the Poles, who formed the upper class of the country, and least upon the White Russians, especially upon the Orthodox majority of peasants of that race. But it altered the relationship in which the nationalities stood to one another, and thus created the new conditions under which Lithuania began its political life when parliamentary representation was granted to Russian subjects in 1905.

The Russian Government in the 19th century set itself to attain a definite object in Lithuania, quite distinct from its aims in the Kingdom of Poland. In the latter it could not hope to denationalize a homogeneous population of a different religion and language from its own. It was even obliged to concede a minimum of rights to the Polish nation, though the rebellion of 1830 provided an excuse for withdrawing them. In Lithuania, on the other hand, the conditions were such as to make the complete assimilation of the country seem an easy matter. From the very beginning, therefore, the system of repression was applied more thoroughly than in the Kingdom of Poland. The measure of its success and failure is the best clue to understanding the conditions of the last fifteen years. The records of tyranny which make up the whole history of the first period must therefore be studied more carefully than would be necessary if they were merely incidents of a repressive form of government which has now disappeared from the world.

In the second period the chief interest lies in the appearance of an active hostility to Poles among the Lithuanians, and in an examination of its origin, its extent, and its reasons.

Period of Russian Repression, 1815–1905

The six Lithuanian governments had been annexed by Russia in the period between 1772 and 1795, before

the Treaty of Vienna gave her the Kingdom of Poland in 1815. The terms on which she obtained the latter involved a promise of constitutional government; and this obligation forced the Tsar to define in words his policy towards Lithuania. In the Warsaw Diet in 1818 Alexander I expressed his desire to reunite Lithuania with Poland under constitutional forms. But even this speech evidently represented no more than a vague personal aspiration of the notoriously liberal-minded Tsar. The project was never mentioned again, for the whole weight of Russian political opinion was opposed to it, and had solid reasons for objection. Not only did Lithuania round off the north-west frontier of Russia and consist mainly of White Russians, but also it was evident that to grant the smallest measure of self-government to the country would merely be putting more power into the hands of the Polish nobility.

In the first ten years after 1815, however, the liberalism of the Tsar himself prevailed sufficiently to secure for his friend the Polish Prince Adam Czartoryski power to continue some of the projects for Lithuania which had been begun before the annexation of Poland. The chief of these was the encouragement of the University of Vilna, which was a centre of Polish culture at this date, and sent forth men who have influenced Polish sentiment ever since. The poet Mickiewicz was the most famous among these. It is remarkable how many Polish leaders have been born in Lithuania; and it will be seen below (p. 61) how the fact is used as an argument by both Poles and Lithuanians in their dispute as to the genuineness of the Lithuanian nationalist movement.

The influence of Vilna University was soon destroyed. Even before the death of Alexander I, in 1825, great discontent had arisen in the Kingdom of Poland, and political conspiracies had been discovered among the upper classes. The trouble had been intensified by the appointment of the Grand Duke Constantine as Governor of Poland, with almost absolute powers—a state of things entirely contrary to the Con-

stitution. Novosiltsov, hitherto the adviser of the Grand Duke, was sent by the Tsar to Lithuania; and under his influence persecution of all liberal thought began, especially at the universities, including that of Vilna. In 1829 the new Tsar Nicholas I was crowned at Warsaw. He declared definitely that Lithuania should never be united to the Kingdom of Poland.

In 1830 the first rising broke out in Poland and spread quickly into Lithuania. It was not repressed for eleven months. The Lithuanian and White Russian peasantry took no great share in it. This point is raised at the present day by Lithuanian nationalists who wish to trace anti-Polish feeling existing in a distant past. It is only necessary to say here that the same apathy prevailed among the peasants in the Kingdom of Poland. No active hostility to Poles was manifested among Lithuanian peasants in 1830, nor did the Russians attempt to instigate it. Immediately after the suppression of the rising 45,000 Polish families were transported into Russia, and Russian colonists were established in Lithuania in their place.

In 1832 the University of Vilna was abolished. Many of its members were sent to Siberia or imprisoned. Some were set free later on, and joined the other exiles who from 1830 onwards did political work for Poland from outside its frontiers. Mickiewicz was the chief inspiration of this band of men, who became an active force for the preservation of Polish patriotism.

After the destruction of Polish schools in Lithuania all education was carried on in Russian. In 1836 the religions of the country were attacked. All children one of whose parents was a member of the Orthodox Church, had thenceforward to be baptised in the Orthodox faith. There was oppression of the Roman Catholic Church by restrictions upon the clergy and suppression of religious houses. The Uniat Church, however, to which most of the White Russians belonged, was assailed with greater relentlessness at

this date, and naturally with greater success, as its powers of resistance were slighter. In 1839 its ceremonial was definitely and finally forbidden, and all its monasteries and convents were dissolved. Most of its members were forced into Orthodoxy. Some joined the Roman Catholic Church and were singled out for special animosity when, after the second rising, the great persecution of that Church began.

In 1840 the Lithuanian Statute, which had remained the law of the land through the four centuries of union with Poland, was replaced by the Russian Code. Thus in ten years Russia abolished Polish education, Lithuanian law, and the Lithuanian religion.

In 1855 the Tsar Nicholas I was succeeded by Alexander II. His accession brought no changes in Lithuania, but some slight relaxations in the Kingdom of Poland, which, however, had no effect in checking the revolutionary spirit that led to the rebellion of 1863.

Just as had happened in 1830, the revolt in 1863 spread at once to the Polish nobility of Lithuania. The cycle of events repeated itself. After 16 months Russian force prevailed and the punishment began. It was carried out by Muraviev with a brutality which has made his name notorious. The measures he took were directed more scientifically and specifically against Polish influence than any which had gone before; yet there was no favour shown to Lithuanian nationality—quite the contrary indeed, for this was the date at which the printing of Lithuanian books in Latin characters was forbidden. Complete extirpation of Polish culture was, however, the principle which inspired the brutalities that followed 1863. A Polish writer (Dmowski) even attributes the severities practised in Poland at this date to the same motive. In order that Lithuania might be made genuinely a part of Russia, Polish culture must be so far destroyed at its root that it would not have strength to spread again beyond the frontiers of the kingdom.

Polish education having already been abolished so

far as possible in Lithuania, Polish religion and Polish property were naturally the next objects of attack. The persecution of the Roman Catholic Church began in 1864 by means of confiscations, closing of churches and restrictions on the personal liberty of the clergy, who were forbidden to leave the boundaries of their parishes. All this was enforced with great cruelty, inflicted both on individuals and on whole congregations of country people. The story is made more horrible by the fact that a few Polish priests were found, who consented to be tools in the hands of Muraviev. Details of the persecution need not be given, as it was unsuccessful. The Roman Catholic Church is as strong in Lithuania at present as if no effort had been made to stamp it out.

The attacks upon Polish property have achieved more, although their effect has been different from that which the Russian Government hoped or foresaw. The edict of 1865, which forbade Poles to buy estates or to bequeath them to any but their direct successors, diminished the land-owning class. This edict was never made law, but was set up as a provisional measure, which however was to last for 40 years. In 1905 its first clause was modified so as to enable Poles to buy land, but only if the seller were also a Pole. Increase of Polish landed property was thereby prevented.

In 1869 heavy additional taxation was laid on Poles (5 per cent. on all incomes derived from land), and this was continued until the reign of Nicholas II. The use of the Polish language in newspapers, plays, shop-signs, &c., was also made a penal offence, as well as the secret teaching of Polish.

Such restrictions as these could not fail to weaken Polish influence. Where the policy failed most was on the constructive side. When land was taken from Polish owners, Russians were settled upon it, sometimes as peasant colonists and sometimes as big landlords. These do not appear to have advanced the cultural influence of Russia in any marked degree. It

was, in fact, the Jews who profited most by the shifting of the centre of influence. Poles lost their position as the only educated class. Jews and Russians now shared it, although the latter only to a very limited extent.

As another means of attacking Poles, the Government aggravated agrarian quarrels by the abolition of serfdom without any accompanying abolition of servitudes, *i.e.*, the prerogatives of the peasant with regard to pasturage, cutting of fuel, use of waggons, &c. This was done also in the Kingdom of Poland; and the Austrians used the same device in Galicia at an earlier date. In Lithuania therefore it did not necessarily imply recognition of any antagonism except that of class. Nevertheless it may be mentioned here that, according to some Polish writers, the enmity to Poles, which characterizes the Lithuanian movement now, began only in 1870 under stimulus from Russia.

A great opportunity of extending their influence was denied to the Poles, by the exclusion of Lithuania from the Zemstvo system of municipal autonomy, when it was introduced into Russia in 1864.

From all this it is seen that Russia's policy in Lithuania was perfectly consistent from the earliest years after the Treaty of Vienna until the revolution of 1905. Her determination to break by force every non-Russian element in the country never admitted doubt of her ability to do so. Nevertheless she did not succeed in destroying anything except the Uniat Church. Her efforts to crush nationality failed so completely that it was under her rule that the Lithuanian national problem came into being.

The first open expression of Lithuanian national consciousness began in the *Ausra*, a newspaper which was founded in 1883. Lithuanian writers look upon this as an era in their history, as "the dawn of regeneration," as "the end of the dark years." Nothing could be more characteristic of the intellectual origin of the Lithuanian movement than the enthusiasm which surrounds the *Ausra* and its editors. It was printed in East Prussia, in Latin characters, for

circulation in Lithuania. An attempt had been made to represent Lithuanian interests in the East Prussian Lithuanian press, but it was given up. The Lithuanians under German rule were found to be too far denationalized at this date, to want to hear about the history and traditions of their race in Lithuania. At first the *Ausra* dealt only with such subjects. In so far as it became political it departed from what are alleged to have been the original intentions of its founders. It was run under great difficulties, for its first editor was banished from Germany, and it eventually had to be edited from Prague. It only lived for three years, but undoubtedly had a great effect among the more educated Lithuanians.

Period of Parliamentary Representation, 1905–1914

The defeat of Russia in the Japanese war was the immediate cause of revolutionary outbreaks in the form of peasant risings and workmen's strikes throughout the whole Empire. In the second half of 1905 these movements were organised; political meetings were held everywhere; and a general strike took place. This paralysed the life of the country, and forced the Government to issue the Manifesto of October 30, which was the point of departure for a certain measure of constitutional reform.

In Lithuania the most important incident of the revolutionary period was the meeting of the first National Lithuanian Assembly. Two thousand delegates sat at Vilna, and passed resolutions demanding autonomy for the four governments of Vilna, Kovno, Grodno, and Suwałki (this last lying in the Kingdom of Poland, adjoining Lithuania, and containing a solidly Lithuanian population in its northern half). They asked for a Diet at Vilna, whose members should be elected by equal, direct and secret voting, without regard to race, nationality, or religion. Autonomous Lithuania should be formed from the ethnographically Lithuanian territories as a centre,

with the addition of such neighbouring countries as should be drawn to her for economic, cultural, national, or historical reasons. The Assembly desired federation with Russia for the Lithuania so constituted.

The Assembly by this Resolution suddenly brought into being an organised Lithuanian National Party with a definite programme, which remained unaltered until after the Russian Revolution of 1917, when the idea of complete independence was substituted for federation.

The policy of the Tsar's Government remained so far as possible unmodified. The electoral Statute of 1905, granted under pressure of fear, imposed no special nationality distinctions. The franchise was based on a four-class system (land-owners, peasants, townsmen and workmen), which was arranged so as to favour the rural population. Only Poles were returned at the elections held in Lithuania, under this Statute, for the first Duma in 1906.

The system was altered by Imperial ukase, in defiance of the Constitution, at the same time that the second Duma was dissolved in June 1907. The new franchise favoured the great land-owners, and would of course have put more power into Polish hands if it had been allowed to work in Lithuania; but there a nationality clause was introduced providing that the number of electors in each class should be in proportion to the amount of land possessed by the respective nationalities in the district. The application of this system was in the hands of the Russian officials, and it produced a disproportionately large Russian majority. Moreover, the Great Russians in Vilna and Kovno were given three deputies to represent their nationality, which was less than 5 per cent. of the population. The Lithuanian Nationalists got no support from any of the parties in the Duma, for none even of those progressives who favoured autonomy for Poland were disposed to grant it to Lithuania.

At the third Duma the five delegates allotted to the

non-Russian population of the Vilna Government were all Poles; of the five allotted to the Kovno Government one was a Pole, three were Lithuanians, and one a Jew. The Polish delegates from Lithuania made common cause in the Duma with the Polish party, although their interests were not always the same; and thereby they escaped the isolation in which the Lithuanians found themselves.

III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

RUSSIAN POLAND

(1) Religious

The prevalent religion in Russian Poland is the Roman Catholic, to which over 75 per cent. of the population belong.

The four Roman Catholic dioceses are now Warsaw, Sedomierz, Lublin, and Plotsk (Płock), the Metropolitan being the Archbishop of Warsaw. A certain sect, termed the Mariavites, was founded in 1893, and for some time numbered about half a million adherents. They were, however, excommunicated by the Roman Catholic Church, and at present the number has somewhat declined.

Protestants, mostly Lutheran, amount to about 6 per cent. of the population, whilst only about 5 per cent. belong to the Orthodox Church. The remaining 14 per cent. are Jews.

There are practically no Uniats, that form of religion having been stamped out in Poland during the past century.

(2) Political

The opening of an era of parliamentary representation, by giving more scope for definite action, inevitably produced more definite programmes, and accentuated the differences which existed between Polish politicians. Before attempting to sketch the main divisions into which the parties fell, it should be said that, however great the differences between them, they all, except the extreme Socialists, stood on a common Nationalist basis in their desire to see Poland once more united and independent.

The Nationalist parties may conveniently be grouped for the purpose of this brief account under five main

heads. The groups of the Right were the Realists, or aristocratic party, and the National Democrats. The Left was composed of the Polish Peasants' Party and the right wing of the Polish Socialist Party. Between these there were other groups, the most important being the League of the Polish State, which had little influence before the outbreak of war, but which afterwards became the nucleus of the Centre Party and adopted an opportunist policy towards the Central Powers. It was from these groups that the Provisional Government set up by the Germans after their occupation of Poland was mostly drawn.

The Realist Party was made up of the great landowners; and their attitude towards the Russian Government might be compared to that of the Polish Conservatives in Galicia, being one of conciliation and willingness to co-operate with the occupying Power, in the hope of thus gaining benefits for their country which could not be obtained by uncompromising hostility. The founder of this policy was the Marquis Wielopolski, whose influence dates back to the period before 1863. The revolt of that year destroyed his hopes; and for many years after it the severe repression in Poland rendered all political activity impossible. Nevertheless the social position of the Realist Party enabled them to keep a certain amount of influence with the Government, which they exercised always on the side of conciliation, although, as has been seen, without producing very much effect.

The National Democrats.—After the revolution of 1905 the Realists were joined by the National Democrats. This important group contained a large proportion of the more solid elements of Polish society, the gentry, the professional classes, &c. Before 1905 the National Democrats were definitely anti-Tsarist in sympathy; at the same time, as regards domestic policy, their attitude was anti-Socialist. The events of 1905 caused them to modify their attitude towards the Russian Government so far as to join the Realists in their policy of moderation. It was the organisation of

the National Democrats that broke the agrarian strike which the Socialist party attempted to organize in Poland in the year of strikes, 1905. This policy naturally raised fierce hostility to the National Democrats among other Polish Nationalist parties, who regarded any compromise with the Russian Government as treachery to Poland, and who, moreover, considered the franchise on which the Duma was based to be a mere mockery of national representation, and therefore to be shunned by all true democrats. The National Democrats, however, under the leadership of Mr. Roman Dmowski, kept steadily to their policy, and were almost the sole representatives of Poland in the Dumas, as the Realists were in the Council of Empire. They explained that their attitude towards Russia was to a great extent determined by their conviction that the chief obstacle to a united and independent Poland was, and always must be, Germany. This became the dominant principle of the foreign policy of the party after 1905, and is an important point to be remembered, for it constituted the chief claim of the Inter-party group—as the coalition between the Realists and the National Democrats was called—to the confidence of the Allied Powers, and caused the Right after the outbreak of war to be recognised as the official representatives of Poland in the Allied countries.

The remaining political groups may be dealt with more briefly. The parties which afterwards became those of the Centre, namely, the League of the Polish State and the National Centre, were drawn from the same social class as the National Democrats, and were, in fact, groups who broke away from the National Democrats on account of the pro-Russian tendencies of the latter. The Centre parties could not agree to the policy of compromise, although their hatred of the principles of the Tsar's Government was less fierce than that of the parties of the Left. Their definite disagreement with the National Democrats naturally made them less unfriendly towards Austria; and it was with these groups that the Central Powers found it easiest

to co-operate after the occupation of the kingdom by Germany.

The differences between the parties of the Right and Centre in the period between 1908 and 1914 were therefore chiefly concentrated on the question of their attitude towards Russia and Germany. They were agreed after the outbreak of war in desiring that the united and independent Poland of the future should include the eastern territories which had once been part of the old Polish State, namely, Lithuania, White Russia, and possibly the western parts of the Ukraine.

The parties of the Left, the Polish Peasants' Party and the right wing of the Polish Socialist Party, did not put these imperialistic desires in an equally crude form, but professed a desire to see a voluntary reunion with Poland on the part of Lithuania. Hatred of Russia was, of course, the chief characteristic of their foreign policy, and this hatred was extended to all elements within the country which inclined to make terms with the detested rulers. During the period under discussion it was impossible for the parties of the Left openly to formulate their social programmes. Their organisation and their activities had to be kept strictly secret. It is therefore difficult to estimate the nature and extent of their socialistic principles. The parties of the Left were chiefly characterized by their extreme nationalism. The Polish Socialists, who held that a class war overrode considerations of nationality, were forced to form a separate and independent organization. This is of great importance in view of the fact that the first Polish National Government, formed after the termination of the German occupation in November 1918, was presided over by General Pilsudski, the leader of the Polish Socialist Party.

(3) Educational

In the Kingdom of Poland the primary schools are supported by the communes and the towns; the secondary schools are the charge of the State. In the State schools Russian was the sole language of instruction.

In the primary schools since 1905 instruction in the Polish language has been given in Polish, and arithmetic taught in Polish or Russian according to the nationality of the teacher.

The proportion of children attending school was about 30 per cent. of the total population of school age in 1914.

In Lithuania and White Russia Russian was the sole language of instruction in all subjects. Since the suppression of Vilna University Lithuania has possessed no institution for higher education.

(4) The Chołm Question [1]

It has been said above that the most important incident in the history of the Kingdom of Poland between 1905 and the outbreak of war was the annexation by Russia of parts of the territory of the Polish Governments of Lublin and Siedlce, which were welded together under the name of the Government of Chołm. This act had long been contemplated by the Russian Government, and was carried out in 1912, in spite of the strong opposition of the Poles in the Duma and violent protests from all parts of Poland against what they considered to be an absolutely unwarranted violation of the rights of territorial integrity guaranteed them by the Treaty of Vienna.

An examination of the history of the districts involved and of the social conditions previously existing in them goes far to support the Polish claims. The territory between the Bug and the Wieprz (Veprj) had passed finally to Poland at the end of the fourteenth century, that is to say, four hundred years before the Partitions. The population of the region has always been mixed in historical times, the two dominant nationalities being Poles and Little Russians or Ruthenians. The latter form a majority in most of the eastern districts. The boundary line of 1912 was

[1] This question has here been treated at some length, owing to the strong feeling aroused by it among the Poles.

drawn so as to include some districts further west, where Poles predominated.

The history of the relationship between the two races in the territory which is now called the Chołm Government offers no analogy with the racial strife which is so often the fundamental characteristic of social conditions on the Polish borders. In Chołm Poles and Little Russians have lived together amicably for centuries. It appears that in the course of time the inhabitants of the districts on the Bug developed a dialect of their own, composed so equally out of Polish and Little Russian that it is hard to say which of the two languages predominates when it is used in ordinary speech, although the Polish tendency is on the whole more evident in the language of ceremony.

The Polish influence is the strongest in the civilization of the region, but it has not attempted to impose itself forcibly upon the Little Russians.

The common possession of a distinct dialect has no doubt encouraged a local patriotism, and the whole district has always regarded itself as belonging naturally to Poland. Before the war there was no agitation on the part of the Little Russians in Chołm to break away from Poland, or to make common cause with the Little Russians of the Ukraine on the ground of their common nationality. If any such desire has arisen since the break-up of the Russian Empire it should be attributed to land-hunger and similar causes, and not to racial antagonism. It would, in fact, be shared by the peasants of both nationalities, and be due to the belief that the Ukrainian Government would be more radical in sympathy than that of Poland. No one familiar with the social conditions which prevail in other parts of the eastern portion of Poland—in Lithuania for example, and in Eastern Galicia—where the contact of Poles with other races has invariably provoked a bitter racial hatred, can fail to be struck with its absence in the territories of the Bug.[1]

[1] Recently, however, Bolshevism has made considerable way in these parts.

This is the more remarkable in view of the fact that there is no geographical barrier between the Little Russians in Chołm and their kinsmen in Eastern Galicia. The territories are contiguous, yet on one side of the frontier between Russian and Austrian Poland the Poles were looked upon as oppressors, and on the other often as friends and compatriots. A very short study of the social conditions provides obvious reasons for the difference of attitude, at any rate so far as the comparison with Eastern Galicia is concerned. In Eastern Galicia the landlords are nearly always Poles; in Chołm they are of all classes. The peasants who form the great bulk of the population are of both races. Intermarriage has been so common that nothing but the form of their religious belief would, in many cases, distinguish a Polish peasant from a Little Russian.

It would, however, be rash to yield to the temptation of ascribing the dislike of Polish rule, which is manifested elsewhere by the races of inferior civilization, only to class hatred on the strength of the example of Chołm. The religious history of Chołm in the nineteenth century provides an explanation of the Little Russian attitude towards Poles which cannot be disregarded and has no precise parallel elsewhere.

The Uniat Church, created by the Council of Florence in 1438, extended into Little Russia after the Congress of Brest in 1596. The majority of the Orthodox bishops and clergy in Little Russia agreed to a union with Rome, and adopted the Roman Catholic doctrine while retaining the Greek rite. The Chołm bishopric was the most favourable of all to the union. It was not until more than a hundred years later, after the Congress of Zamosc in 1720, that it was accepted by Lemberg and other adjacent dioceses. Many of the differences in ritual between the Uniat form of worship and the Church of Rome disappeared at this date, and the use of the vernacular was kept. There was therefore no part of the eastern territories of the Polish State where the Uniat Church struck root earlier or more easily than in Chołm. The Polish Government

was never unfriendly towards it. In the absence of strife or persecution the ignorant peasantry were converted from Orthodoxy to the Uniat faith probably more or less unconsciously. They followed the lead of their clergy without question.

It cannot be said that there was never any friction between Roman Catholics and Uniats in Chołm; but such as there was was spasmodic and local, and no persecution was ever carried on by the Polish Government while the Polish State existed. The Uniat Church was, in fact, at all times an influence which tended to remove racial antagonism between Poles and Little Russians. This became more than ever true after the country became subject to the dominion of Russia, and the Uniats were made the victim of the assaults on the part of the Russian Government, culminating in the persecution of 1874, which abolished the practice of the Uniat Church in Chołm and by sheer terrorism forced its adherents either into outward submission to Orthodoxy or into an absolute renunciation of all the offices of religion. During the years between 1874 and the Edict of Tolerance in 1905, a very large number of the children of the Uniat Little Russian peasantry were born out of wedlock, and grew up unbaptized, because their parents preferred to dispense with the ceremonies of marriage and christening altogether rather than have them performed by Orthodox priests. When possible they would travel long distances to reach a Roman Catholic priest, but very often it was not possible, for many Roman Catholic churches had been closed in the Uniat districts after the Russian Government perceived that the suppression of the people's own religion was driving them into the arms of the Poles instead of causing them to gravitate towards Russia.

The total number of Uniats in Chołm at the date (1875) when their Church was suppressed was about 250,000. The total number of new adherents to the Roman Catholic faith in the two years after 1905, the date of the Edict of Toleration, was about 124,000, all

of whom may be reckoned to have been formerly Uniats. The number is large when it is remembered that meanwhile thirty years had passed, and that reasons of self-interest as well as racial ties might be expected to attach the Uniat Little Russians to the Orthodox religion which their kindred professed and which the Government favoured.

The result of the Edict of Toleration in the Bug territory showed the Russian Government how little the use of force in the religious sphere had done to reduce Polish influence. The next organized attack was political, and resulted in the formation of the Chołm Government in 1912. The ultimate object was to administer Little Russian districts under Russian law, and directly from Petrograd, instead of, as hitherto, under Polish law from Warsaw. The new Government was a long narrow strip, inconveniently shaped from the administrative point of view. For this and other reasons the idea of separation had been rejected when it had been suggested before, as had happened several times since its first consideration after 1863.

The re-opening of the question on these various occasions was usually on the initiative of the Orthodox clergy; and it was dropped on the representations of the ministers concerned with strategy and economics, who pointed out its disadvantages from their own points of view. After 1905, however, the Government became alarmed at the evidences of Polonization given by the secessions to Catholicism; and the objections to the scheme were brushed aside. The hands of the bureaucracy were strengthened by the backing of the Duma, which was never sympathetic to Poland, and passed the measures for the separation of Chołm without difficulty. The vote of the Assembly relieved the Government of some of the odium attaching to a change which no impartial critic could regard as other than an arbitrary violation both of the rights and wishes of the bulk of the people concerned. It is true that numerous petitions were sent up to the State Council purporting to

express the desire of the local population for union with Russia; but the Poles assert that many of these bear signs of being faked, and that all of them were due to the activity of the Orthodox clergy, who collected signatures openly, whilst the Polish clergy were prevented by the police from preparing any counter-petitions. Without examining the truth of these statements closely, it is possible to some extent to judge the attitude of the Little Russians of Chołm towards separation on the strength of the numbers quoted above of those who voluntarily became Roman Catholic. The remainder naturally included many who were indifferent, as well as those who were genuinely attached to Orthodoxy.

The separation of Chołm from Poland became an accomplished fact in 1912, but the necessary administrative changes were not complete when war broke out in 1914. In 1915 the territory fell under the military occupation of Austria-Hungary. In 1916 it was restored by the Central Powers to the Kingdom of Poland. In 1918 the Brest Treaty once more separated it from Poland, and gave it to the Ukraine, drawing the frontier further west than the Russian Government had done in 1912, and therefore including still more districts which are indisputably Polish by nationality as well as by tradition and sympathy.

LITHUANIA AND WHITE RUSSIA

(1) Religious

Of the inhabitants of Lithuania[1] about 25 per cent. are Roman Catholics, and the remainder, except the Jews, belong to the Orthodox Church.

(2) Political

The Lithuanian Question

The Declarations made by Lithuanians and Poles in 1917 (see Appendix, p. 141) show the aims of these two nationalities with regard to their own racial ambitions

[1] See p. 40, footnote.

on Lithuanian territory. In their controversies they act and speak as if the whole problem of Lithuania's future destiny was contained in the question of their own racial strife.

This attitude is quite logical on the part of the Lithuanians, who profess to desire merely the independence of ethnographic Lithuania (see pp. 19-24), although in reality they include in it certain White Russian districts of Grodno. The Poles, on the other hand, use the term Lithuania in the sense in which it has been defined here (see p. 40, footnote) to cover an area in which the majority of the inhabitants are neither Poles nor Lithuanians, but White Russians, a people who, by the tests of race, of language, and (in the eastern Governments) of religion, are more closely bound to the other branches of the Russian race than they are either to the Poles or to the Lithuanians. The Polish claims, including all the territory of historic Lithuania, thus stretch over a country whose centre of gravity must inevitably lie in Russia. The possession of the White Russian districts would be a perpetual menace to the peace of Poland and of Europe at large, even if the inhabitants of the ethnically Lithuanian districts became reconciled to federation with Poland, as the Poles assert they would be.

Polish writers make light of the hostility shown by the Lithuanians to the idea of union with Poland in any form. They define the anti-Polish feeling as being social rather than national. It is true that the dividing line between class and nationality in Lithuania is the same to the extent that practically no Lithuanians are large land-owners, and the majority of them own no land at all, or too little to render them economically independent. The large resident proprietors are usually Poles. It is therefore possible to argue that at present class enmity emphasizes the racial conflict, and may account for much of it. The four hundred years of union between Lithuania and Poland fell in an age in which the feeling of nationality hardly existed. This explains how it was that the Poloniza-

tion of the Lithuanian gentry was so complete—at any rate among the greater *szlachta*—that they may be said to have become Poles, although many of them still retain a sense of territorial particularism.

Although Polish influence diminishes among the lesser gentry, until at the lowest level of that class the Polish language is often only used on formal occasions and in prayers, it is still true that practically the only educated Lithuanians who take part in the national movement at the present day are the *intelligentsia* and the clergy. Both of these are drawn entirely from the peasant class. In these days of awakened racial consciousness neither of them would be likely to be attracted by Polish cultural influences as were the former leaders of the Lithuanians. At present, their tendency is in the opposite direction, as can be seen in the grievances of the clergy with regard to Polish interference in church matters.

Both Poles and Lithuanians belong to the Roman Catholic Church. The theological college at Vilna is in Polish hands. The Lithuanian clergy complain that their candidates are refused admission to the college, so that, as a result, the majority of the priests, even in the ethnically Lithuanian parishes, are Poles. The Polish clergy, it is alleged, use their influence to polonize the people, and prohibit the use of the Lithuanian language in the vernacular parts of the church services. In 1906 the Lithuanian clergy petitioned the Pope for the complete separation of their Church and for the creation of a Lithuanian archbishopric. The lack of any response from the Vatican produced, in 1912, a protest, signed by eighty priests, giving an account of the oppressive treatment of the Lithuanians in regard to the use of their language in religion at the hands of the "pan-Poles." This, however, had no more effect than the first petition. The grievance has increased since the war, when a certain amount of power was given by the Germans to the local militia, who were usually raised and led by Polish gentry, and who took the Polish side in the riots over

language which have been increasingly frequent at church festivals, and have often ended in bloodshed.

The Poles, on the other hand, while defending themselves against these accusations, point out the ways in which their civilization has been a benefit to the country. Some support of their contentions is to be found in a report sent in January 1917 by the German Commissioner von Beckenrath to the Eastern High Command. He writes :—

"In spite of all the vicissitudes of history, the Poles continue to wield a predominant political and economic influence in Lithuania. Although it may be possible to govern without them in time of war, it would appear difficult to govern against them in time of peace, for the other Lithuanian nationalities offer no solid or stable support. . . . The political and economic value of the Polish element has been underrated in Berlin, as well as its numerical importance. . . . Our census of 1916[1] has shown that the importance of the Polish element is much more considerable, and that it is only in it that constructive political qualities are to be found."

This statement of von Beckenrath's must be taken with reserve, for the Germans may have had political motives which, taken together with their natural sympathy with the Polish land-owners, may prevent their report from being unbiassed. But, even if von Beckenrath's account of conditions be accepted, and full weight be given to his statements of the value of the Polish element in Lithuania, the attitude of the non-Polish races is such that the advantage which Polish influence would bring to the country might be neutralized by the discontent which would ensue if any form of union with Poland were imposed upon Lithuania from without.

The Jewish Question

The Jews in Lithuania have a tighter grip on the economic life of the country than they have even in the

[1] This census is, however, unreliable.

Kingdom of Poland. Every town has a large Jewish population, and in most they even form the majority of the inhabitants (see above, p. 23). Their rapid increase in numbers and influence during the nineteenth century was due to the Russian policy which checked their eastward expansion.

Therefore at present the Jews block the commercial expansion of the other races; and anti-Semitism is likely to increase with any increase in the desire for such expansion on the part of the self-governing Lithuanian people, unless the return of stable conditions in Russia were to tempt more Jews to settle there and thus to relieve the congestion within the territories which once constituted the Pale.

IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

RUSSIAN POLAND

(A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

(1) Internal

(a) *Roads*

In considering the state and development of the means of communication in Poland, it is desirable to keep in mind two factors which have influenced them, mainly to their detriment. In the first place, Poland has never had control over its own means of communication, since the Imperial Russian Government decided all questions relating to them in accordance with its own interests, economic or strategic. Secondly, as the Kingdom of Poland included part of the western frontiers of the dominions of Russia, strategic considerations have very largely influenced the development of communications in the Kingdom during the last hundred years.

Before the war Poland had, in all, 45,798 miles of road. Of this total 5,207 miles were first-class roads, macadamized and properly drained, 250 miles were paved, and the remainder, 40,341 miles, were soil roads, that is, tracks worn by the traffic of the district, which received little or no attention, and were not metalled, except that here and there a boggy spot might occasionally receive a load or two of gravel.

The proportion of metalled road was extremely small, and yet Poland contained very nearly one-third of the total mileage of this class of road in the European territories of Russia. This was owing to

the fact that a number of strategic roads led to the various strong points which were designed to secure the line of the River Vistula against western attack. The districts between the Vistula and the western frontiers were systematically starved in the matter of roads, although they were more thickly populated and industrially more important than the districts east of the river.

The principal roads, therefore, served as means of strategic rather than economic communication, and commercial traffic relied mainly upon roads of the lowest class. In this connexion it is of interest to note that shortly before the war 142 miles of road in the province of Kalisz were suppressed.

(b) *Rivers and Canals*

The *Vistula* was formerly a very important means of communication in Poland both for local traffic and for the import and export of goods, but in 1914 its importance had been on the decline for some years. The fact that the outlet of the river is in Prussian territory at Danzig was partly responsible for this, as the Russian Government made every effort to divert traffic to Libau. At the same time it neglected the Vistula, which stands in need of great improvements if it is to be an avenue of traffic under modern conditions. By a Convention of 1864 between Russia and Austria the river was to be regulated throughout its course in Galicia and Poland, and the general depth increased by 3 ft. The period for the completion of the work was several times extended, but in 1913 only 39 per cent. of the work on the Polish section had been completed. At that time the depth varied from $6\frac{1}{2}$ ft. minimum to 22 ft. maximum. There are three big annual floods, in March, June, and September, which break down the banks on the unregulated stretches of the river and cause large, shifting sandbanks to form, impeding navigation and sometimes causing it to be suspended altogether. The floods are succeeded by

periods of very low water, which have an equally bad effect upon traffic. The length of the Polish section of the river is 410 miles, and that of the Prussian section from the frontier near Thorn to Danzig 148 miles.

The fleet on the Vistula in 1905 consisted of 135 steamers, of which more than half were of German registry. There used to be a passenger traffic from Sandomir, on the borders of Galicia, to Warsaw, and thence to the Prussian frontier. The principal goods traffic consisted of timber floated down the river, but coal, stone, lime, hides, and petroleum were also transported. Three classes of vessel were engaged in freight-carrying, capable of loading about 33, 31, and 27 tons respectively. They were of very light draught, and usually traded down-stream only, being broken up on reaching their port of discharge.

Before the war the value of the goods traffic on the Vistula at Warsaw was estimated at £1,250,000 annually. The Prussian authorities calculated the value of the traffic passing the frontier Customs station at Niesava at £1,875,000 annually. It was considered that with proper improvements and with reasonable freedom for traffic to choose its natural route these figures would be enormously increased.

The *Niemen* is navigable from Olita, which lies about half-way between Grodno and Kovno, to the Prussian frontier. The river itself forms the boundary between Poland and Lithuania, and before the war practically the entire traffic was supplied from the Lithuanian side, the Polish district of Suwałki being thinly populated, and having no articles of commerce to put on the river.

The *Pilica* (*Pilitsa*) is navigable for rafts from a point near Novo-Radomsk to its junction with the Vistula. So, for a small portion of the year, is the *Bug* from the point where it first touches Poland, and likewise its tributary, the *Narew*, for a considerable part of its course.

There is one canal in Poland, known as the Augustów Canal. It is 40 miles in length, and has 28

locks; it connects the Niemen with the Bobr, a tributary of the Narew. This canal was constructed early in the nineteenth century, but was gradually allowed to fall out of repair, and in 1914 was of small use.

A great number of canal schemes have been proposed for connecting the Baltic and the Black Seas, and incidentally various river systems. Poland would stand to benefit by the completion of any one of these, but the proposals of various financial groups, who were ready to find the money for their construction, were shelved by the Russian Government.

(c) *Railways*

Warsaw is the general centre of most of the railways in Poland. It has terminal stations on both sides of the River Vistula, which are connected by a loop-line passing through the suburb of Praga. The principal lines radiating from Warsaw are the following:—

(1) In a south-westerly direction the Warsaw-Vienna line runs *via* Piotrków (Petroków) and Częstochowa to the Austrian frontier at Granitsa (191 miles), and thence *via* Oderberg to Vienna.

(2) In a north-easterly direction the Warsaw-Petrograd line runs *via* Małkin to the frontier at Łapy (92 miles), and thence *via* Białystock, Vilna, and Dvinsk to Petrograd.

(3) In an easterly direction a line runs to Siedlce (56 miles), thence in a north-easterly direction roughly parallel with the Warsaw-Petrograd railway, terminating at Bologoe, a station on the Petrograd-Moscow line.

(4) In a south-easterly direction a line runs to Ivangorod, Lublin, Chołm (153 miles), and thence to Kovel and Kiev.

The first three of these lines are of double track throughout. Warsaw is also the starting-point of the following single-track lines of less importance:—

(5) In a south-westerly direction *via* Łódź to Kalisz (frontier, 156 miles), and thence to Breslau.

(6) In a north-westerly direction to Mława (frontier, 79 miles), and thence to Danzig.

A double-track line traverses the country from Dombrova-Gornaya, on the south-west frontier, *via* Radom, to Brest-Litovsk (286 miles), and thence runs *via* Pinsk and Homel to Bryansk, a great railway centre, 200 miles south-west of Moscow. This line and the line from Warsaw to Bologoe, mentioned above, have been constructed for strategic reasons with little or no regard to the economic requirements of the region traversed; cross-lines connecting these main lines are intended also for strategic purposes.

A number of lines connect the Polish main lines with the Prussian frontier, running as follows:—

(*a*) From Częstochowa to Herby (frontier), thence to Oppeln and Breslau.

(*b*) From Skierniewice, *via* Kutno and Włocławek, to Alexandrów (frontier, 98 miles), thence to Thorn and Bromberg.

(*c*) From Białystock (entering Poland at Osowiec) to Grajewo, on the Prussian frontier, thence to Königsberg.

Further, a number of strategic lines, arranged for the purpose of facilitating troop movements, also face the Prussian frontier, but do not closely approach it.

The Polish-Austrian frontier districts are almost entirely devoid of railways on the Russian side, whereas no less than eight lines touch the border coming from Austrian systems.

The closely-packed industrial district surrounding Łódź is served by a private railway which is connected with the Warsaw-Piotrków main line, and has also an electrically-worked narrow-gauge line.

A small network of lines links up the coal-pits near Dombrova in the south-west corner of Poland, and connects with the main line at Częstochowa.

The main line from Petrograd to Berlin crosses Poland in the extreme north between Kovno and Wierzbołów (Verjbolovo, Wirballen), but the line has

no influence on Polish traffic in its passage across this strip of territory.

The total mileage of Polish railways in 1912 was 2,248. The mileage per 10,000 inhabitants was 1·76, an unusually low figure; and the mileage per 100 square miles (about ·47) was also much below that of the neighbouring provinces of Germany and Austria.

The tonnage carried in 1912 was 24,250,000.

The railways of Poland, even privately owned lines, were strictly under the control of the Russian Government. Proposals by private capitalists to develop the system in accordance with the economic expansion of the country were repeatedly rejected. These offers of course came from native Poles interested in local development; no foreigner and no group promoted indirectly by foreigners could have hoped to receive a railway concession in Poland in recent years.

When war broke out, the railways were owned mainly by the Russian Government and the Warsaw-Vienna Railway Company. The State owned all the lines east and north of Warsaw and most of those lines which were of strategic importance. The Warsaw-Vienna Company owned the line from Warsaw to Granitsa[1] and some branches radiating from it. This line was opened in 1848. In 1908 its gross revenue was £2,500,000; its net revenue £540,000. The State took over the working control of the line in 1912, and made very favourable offers to the shareholders with a view to acquiring the capital also. A great deal of this capital was apparently in German hands, for Berlin, Dresden, and Breslau were specially designated as places where share dealings could be transacted.

The Łódź-Factory Railway belonged to a private company, with a share capital of £127,400 and a State guarantee of 5 per cent. interest, and also a sinking fund guarantee. Loan capital amounting to

[1] The company, in spite of its name, did not own the section from the frontier to Vienna, which was part of the Austrian State Railways.

£1,400,000 was raised at 4½ per cent. or 4 per cent. for various extensions.

The gross revenue of the Polish railway systems in 1912 was £9,500,000, and the net revenue £3,438,000.

It can be justly asserted that the railways of Poland are quite unequal to the economic needs of the country. Strategical purposes have completely overridden any considerations of commercial needs; and the country presents a picture of anomalous and uneven railway development. East of the Vistula a number of lines pass through sparsely-populated districts, leading to places in Russia of little economic importance; and much additional mileage has been constructed solely in accordance with an elaborate scheme of defence. On the other hand, the frontier districts west of the Vistula, though of great industrial importance, have been starved of railways in order to curtail facilities for attack. Expansion should normally follow in these districts if the country is freed from its disabilities; but it is difficult to foresee exactly what form it may take, or what principal directions it may follow. In this connexion it may be noted that the latest official maps indicate an entirely new railway running from Piotrków in a southerly direction *via* Włoszczowa (Vloshchova) to Cracow, in Galicia, and there joining the Austrian State Railway system.

(d) *Posts, Telegraphs, Telephones*

Before the war the postal and telegraphic services of Poland were under the control of the Russian Post Office, and differed in no material respect from those in adjacent parts of Russia. For information as to the working of the Russian postal and telegraphic systems, see *The Ukraine*, No. 52 of this series.

In the last years before the war, communication by telephone was rapidly growing in popularity. Warsaw and Łódź had each possessed a local service for some time; and the number of subscribers in Warsaw increased from 14,817 in 1908 to 28,935 in 1912. In the latter year the Warsaw Central Exchange was capable

of serving 50,000 subscribers, while that of Łódź was rendered large enough to provide for 10,000. Many big estates were in telephonic communication with Warsaw or Łódź, and a line owned by the Post Office connected the two towns.

An extension from Łódź to Kalisz, on the Prussian frontier, was opened in 1908, but connexions across the frontier were not made. The line was under private management, but connected with Government lines. In 1913 the Government made extensions from Warsaw to Radzymin and Wyszków (Vishkov), and from the Warsaw-Łódź trunk line to Skierniewice, Błonie, Milanowek, Łowicz (Lovich), and Sochaczew (Sokhachev). Further local extensions of considerable importance were authorised, and possibly some were opened before the outbreak of war; but definite information is lacking. A trunk line between Warsaw and Petrograd, *via* Vilna, a distance of 729 miles, was sanctioned in 1913, but it is not known how far it was completed.

The telephone instruments used in Poland were nearly all of Swedish manufacture.

(2) External

(a) *Ports*

Russian Poland has no seaboard, and its commerce has hitherto made little use of the ports which lie near its frontiers. The natural port of the country is Danzig, but of late years it has been of small service to Poland, and has dropped to the position of a third-rate harbour. Libau was carefully fostered by the Imperial Government, and some Polish traffic used to pass through it.

Various river ports have been projected on the Vistula, and also on the Niemen, but no work on them seems even to have been attempted.

(b) *Telegraphic Communication*

Telegraphic communication with foreign countries was in the hands of the Russian Imperial Post. The

nearest sea-cable is that from Libau to Bornholm, owned by the Great Northern Telegraph Company, of Copenhagen. There is no wireless station in or near Poland for public use.

(B) INDUSTRY

(1) Labour

(a) *Supply and Conditions of Labour*

Before the war the supply of labour seems to have been ample, both for the land and for factories. The labour was to be had very cheaply, but was not always efficient. Returned emigrants from Germany and America are said to be more active and more intelligent than other Poles.

The population was between twelve and thirteen millions, from which a deduction should be made for men serving in the Imperial Army, which at any one time absorbed about 120,000. The density of the population was considerable, the average being 250 to the square mile, or about three times that of the rest of European Russia (see above, pp. 10, 11).

Of the working population the land employed about 80 per cent., the factories 20 per cent.

(i) Of hired workers on the land there were three classes:—

(1) Those hired for an entire year. In 1891 these constituted 46 per cent. of the rural population.

(2) Day labourers. These had small[1] farms not sufficient to support them, and were often ready to do a day's work on some estate or farm near their homes. In 1891, 37 per cent. of the rural population belonged to this class.

(3) Workers engaged for a season (usually the summer months) or for a definite piece of work; they were generally hired in parties.

Labourers of the first of these divisions bound themselves for a year. Their hours of work were from dawn

[1] A peasant with less than 8 *desyatines* (=21·5 acres) can hardly make both ends meet.

to sunset, or, if they were engaged with cattle, still longer. A family with three working members would get free lodging (sometimes only one room, but often two and a store room), and, further, land for potatoes, hemp, cabbage, and cereals. The cost of such a family to the landowner varied in 1900 from £16 to £18. The landowners preferred to pay the labourers in cash, but the latter generally held out for land, their wives specially desiring hemp-growing land. On the whole, the amount of cereal land so granted increased in recent years, while the amount of potato land and garden diminished. These labourers did not fare badly, and regularly supplied their daughters on marriage with a linen trousseau, doubtless worked by themselves. They had little meat in comparison with the same class in Germany, but could keep cows, pigs, and sheep, though it was becoming rarer to allow these to graze on the estate. The wealth of the labourers in live-stock varied much in different provinces. Unmarried labourers of this class got food and lodging, and were not ill-fed; a man was paid on the average about £4 a year, a woman rather over £2. The large number of people willing to work by the day of course lowered the demand and the wages for "permanent" labourers. The relation of large owners to this type of labourer was, on the whole, good, at times even patriarchal, though corporal punishment was allowed up to the 'eighties of last century.

Day labourers worked with their own tools, and paid for their own food. They might be engaged also for only half a day, or even for an hour, and were then paid in kind. Owing to lack of communications and intercourse, two villages quite near together might have widely different rates of pay, though in many regions a minimum wage was practically fixed through the demand for labour in factories or across the German frontier. The money value of a man's wages ranged from 25 to 75 kopeks (about 6½*d.* to 1*s.* 7*d.*) a day; women, as a rule, got two-thirds or three-quarters of the wage paid to men.

The temporary workers employed at haytime or for the harvest came from the mountainous or hilly districts on the Galician and Volhynian frontiers—whence the Polish name for them, *Gorali*, or "mountaineers"—they came in parties for a week or a fortnight to reap (at 40 kopeks, or about 10*d.*, a day) or mow (sometimes at as much as 1·50 rubles, or about 3*s.* 2*d.* a day), sleeping in the open or in ill-constructed straw huts. They were also in demand in beet-growing districts. Their number was put at 30,000. They had no organization, and were recruited by travelling Jewish agents.

Migration in the summer from one part of Poland to another was very considerable; this shifting population was thought to number 800,000, including the temporary labourers just noticed. It consisted mainly of people without land of their own, who might enter factories or take positions as "permanent" workers on the land, where they were needed to replace genuine emigrants who had gone to Germany or America.

(ii) Factory workers were usually abundant, being supplied from the population of the industrial centres themselves and by immigration from other districts. Conditions of labour were generally bad. The factory law of Russia, though excellent, benefited the Polish workman very little. One reason was the number of works, often temporary, which employed less than 16 workmen—the smallest establishment of which factory inspectors were allowed to take notice. Wages were everywhere lower than in the rest of Russia, which was due to the cheapness of food, to the exploitation of domestic industry by Jewish contractors, and to the practice of renting parts of factories, often only for a very short time and to execute a single order. In Łódź 3,000 adults were employed in such temporary establishments; the wages, as in home industries, seldom amounted to 7½*d.* for a day of 12 or even 14 hours. The competition of foreign labour sometimes depressed wages; thus, in the iron and mining industry, where work was constant, even trained workers seldom

earned as much as 2*s.* 6*d.* a day, as they were always in danger of being replaced by Galicians, who were willing to engage themselves very cheaply. Wages were particularly low in the spinning and weaving industries and in works producing cheap goods, which were in growing demand in Russia. An American consular report gave £35 a year as the average wage in textile factories, and £48 in others, adding that the employers paid accident compensation, insurance, and for medical aid.

Associations of workmen, other than political, were curiously absent from Poland, which in this was unlike Russia. Foremen were not the mouthpiece, but the exploiters of the workmen, and competition being keen, workmen were too jealous to associate. It was characteristic that organized strikes were almost unknown, though desperation sometimes showed itself in cruel outbursts against the foremen. Self-mutilation was common among the workmen, the object being to get compensation under the Accident Law.

On the whole, it seems likely that the natural growth of the population will keep pace with any increase in the demand for its labour.

(b) *Emigration and Immigration*

Emigration from Poland was of two sorts, permanent and temporary. All natives of Poland who left their country for an undefined period of years were classed as permanent emigrants. A certain number of them used to return; the proportion has been calculated at about 30 per cent. in recent years. This form of emigration was older than the temporary or seasonal movement, although the latter had surpassed it in volume. Emigrants of the second type left Poland for some months every year, seeking agricultural employment, chiefly in Germany.

The primary motive of both classes was the necessity of earning a living wage. In addition many emigrants were actuated by the ambition of saving money to buy a holding of land. Nearly all the Poles who returned

from America purchased land, and a number of the temporary emigrants achieved the same object.

Permanent Emigration.—The figures from the beginning of the century up to the outbreak of war show that permanent emigration was increasing. The total number of emigrants rose from 10,000 in 1900 to 17,000 in 1904. The destination of Polish emigrants was generally the United States. In 1908, for instance, 75 per cent. of them went there, while 10 per cent. settled in South America, and the rest in Western Europe. Agricultural workers constituted about three-quarters of the whole body of emigrants, the remainder being chiefly artisans, navvies, small traders, and factory hands.

Temporary Emigration.—During the last 25 years temporary emigration has taken the form of an exodus *en masse* from certain Governments during the spring and summer months. For a short time before the war a small part of the stream was directed to Russia, Denmark, and France; but so large a proportion of the emigrants sought work in Germany that German writers use the word *Sachsengänger* to describe them all. Their number in 1913 was estimated at 400,000.

Most of the seasonal emigrants belonged to the Governments bordering German territory. The movement was becoming more and more systematized. An increasing number of agents were exploiting the market, striking their bargain beforehand with German employer and Polish labourer. The young and inexperienced peasant was in special demand, as he was willing to sell his labour more cheaply than the man who had been over the frontier before. On the other hand, there was an increasing tendency in favour of emigration by groups. The inhabitants of one village preferred to keep together, finding that they could thus live more cheaply, get better terms for their work, and protect their women more effectively from insult. This experience seemed likely to diminish that dislike of combination and discipline which had hitherto been

a characteristic of the Polish fieldworker; and the system was therefore strongly encouraged by the parish priests and the Polish *intelligentsia*.

Immigration.—Since the Partitions only two alien races—Germans and Russian Jews—have settled permanently in Poland in sufficient numbers to make their influence felt.

The years between 1897 and 1907 saw a very large influx of Germans. Agricultural colonies multiplied along the left bank of the Vistula, and the Łódź industrial area was invaded by German business men, who drew a crowd of lesser immigrants after them as their enterprises prospered. After 1907, however, the movement from Germany slackened; and, so far as it is possible to judge from statistics, it was steadily diminishing up to the outbreak of war. The proportion of Germans in the population was less in 1913 than in 1907.

It was particularly in Warsaw that the influence of Jewish immigration was evident. A steady flow of Jews entered Poland from Russia all through the nineteenth century, drawn by the commercial opportunities of the country, which were expanding beyond the capacity of its population. After 1893 the movement was greatly increased by the Russian edicts which forced practically all the Jews of the Empire out of Great Russia. Nearly all those who entered Russian Poland settled in Warsaw and its suburbs, where they were joined by many Lithuanian Jews, driven out by the poverty of their home provinces. Thus, in the period between 1893 and 1909, the proportion of Jews in Warsaw rose from 33 to 36 per cent. of the total population.

(2) Agriculture

(a) *Products of Commercial Value*

The soil of Poland is fertile, being the silt of glacial lakes left by the Ice Age; there is sufficient rain, and the climate, unlike that of Russia, is rather mid-Euro-

pean than Asiatic. These favourable circumstances make agriculture a great support to an industrial country like Poland, where, before the war, agriculture itself was largely "industrial"—it produced crops that served as the basis of two great industries: potatoes for making alcohol and sugar-beet for making sugar, the Polish beet crop being celebrated for the extent of its acreage and the percentage of sugar obtained from it. These cultures lead to a varied rotation, which does not exhaust the soil like the old three-field system. They also supply a root-residue which helps stock-breeding.

For the brewing industry the Vistula basin yielded large quantities of good hops, and there was a fairly efficient organization among the growers for marketing the crop. Another industrial crop was flax, which was spun and woven in the textile district round Łódź, but the crop was decreasing, and was much inferior in magnitude to that of Livonia.

Gardening was intelligently and successfully carried on in the Vistula basin. Meadows were estimated to cover 2,500,000 acres, the hay from which was estimated at 289,000 tons.

The following table shows the acreage and yield of certain crops in 1913:—

—	Rye.	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Buckwheat
Acres ..	5,400,000	1,296,000	1,282,500	2,700,000	237,100
Tons ..	2,266,000	626,000	642,000	1,160,000	72,321

—	Millet.	Peas, beans, and lentils.	Potatoes.	Flax.	Hemp.
Acres ..	81,000	405,000	2,700,000	81,000	16,200
Tons ..	35,000	160,714	10,206,071	22,500	3,214

Wheat yielded on an average about 18 bushels an acre; this is nearly the same as the yield in France

and Hungary, but only about half of that in Belgium, Switzerland, England, and Germany. Barley yielded 22 bushels an acre. In respect of these crops there seems little difference in productivity between the various provinces. Rye and oats were the principal cereal crops; the former was grown chiefly in the provinces of Warsaw and Kalisz, the latter in Warsaw and Lublin. Twenty-five years ago Poland had a large surplus of cereals, but for some years before the war considerable quantities of grain had to be imported.

Potatoes occupied 18 per cent. of the arable land, a larger proportion than anywhere in Russia. The farmers usually sold direct to the distillers. The province with the best average yield of potatoes was Radom, with 125 to 140 bushels an acre—a yield nearly equal to that of Esthonia; but the greatest quantities came from the provinces of Warsaw, Kalisz, Lublin, and Piotrków. The cultivation of hemp was decreasing; the crop of Kursk, in Russia, was eight times greater than that of all Poland.

Of sugar-beet the average annual production in the years 1910-13 was about 1,600,000 tons; this may be compared with the production of the Government of Kiev (3,600,000) and that of Germany (16,000,000). The percentage of sugar was 18. The yield of the crop might be improved, and before the war experiments were being made with this object, seeds distributed, and destructive insects studied.

Of hops Poland raised in 1913, a good year, 1,600 tons. In the same year Volhynia, where methods of cultivation were better, produced 3,200. Germany used to produce some 80,000 tons annually.

Poland raised annually about 16,000 tons of colza (rape).

Stock-breeding was once of very high importance, but owing to Russian competition it greatly declined. The number of sheep, in particular, diminished, the acquisition of land by peasants having broken up many large sheep farms. Other causes for the decay of

stock-raising are said to have been the carelessness and ignorance of the farmers, both in the selection of breeds and in the treatment of their animals, and the lack of facilities for buying and selling; the Warsaw Agricultural Society, however, was striving to remove these evils. Cattle and horses were less affected by the general decline than other kinds of stock; in the province of Radom especially more attention was being given to horses, which were exported in considerable numbers to Germany and Austria. The keeping of pigs was in late years encouraged by the growth of a bacon-curing industry; and the long and lean bacon pig, with short forequarters and heavy hams, was on many farms taking the place of the old heavy pig, its popularity being greatly increased by the fact that it can be sent to market at six months, whereas a pig of the old breed has to be kept about three times as long. On the other hand, the distance from the farm to the bacon factory was often a serious drawback.

The annual production of fine wool in Poland averaged upwards of 900 tons; figures for coarse wool are not given. Hides were provided for the tanneries of Warsaw and Radom. Dairy-farming was steadily increasing. Poultry-farming was successful, and the collection and export of eggs was being organized, especially in the province of Lublin.

The following figures show the numbers of horses, cattle, sheep, and pigs in Poland in certain recent years:—

—	Horses.	Cattle.	Sheep.	Pigs.
1909	1,243,376	2,268,000		..
1912	1,234,000	2,211,000	838,000	587,000
1913	1,104,000	2,010,000	650,000	490,000

(b) *Methods of Cultivation*

Agriculture was, on the whole, conducted with intelligence, though it is to be noticed that the yield per

acre on peasant farms was only six-sevenths of that on the large estates, a proof that over more than half the land something less than the best use was made of the soil; in fact, peasant properties were still largely worked on the three-field system. Certainly the land was much less efficiently worked than in the Baltic Provinces. Agricultural societies—illegal till 1897—were spreading, and in 1913 had 10,000 members. They were bringing about some improvement in agricultural methods, and the Warsaw Society received a Government subsidy for an experimental station; but, on the whole, they devoted more of their attention to co-operative trading than to promoting modern methods of cultivation, and they unquestionably showed less energy than the Russian Zemstvos. It must be added that, though free trade with Russia had obvious advantages for the non-agricultural population of Poland, it was found to be disadvantageous to the agricultural part, which comprised nearly four-fifths of the inhabitants, especially as the Russian Government, by a most arbitrary and unfair manipulation of the railway tariffs, gave an unnatural advantage to distant Russian producers.

(c) *Forestry*

Poland is fairly well afforested in parts, about 21 per cent. of the total area being reckoned as forest land. Before the Russian Revolution the largest proprietor was the Crown, which owned about a third of the whole. Of the remainder, the bulk belonged to private owners and companies, only 7 per cent. being the property of peasants. That the share of the peasants was so small is due to their having generally cleared their lands of forest in order to secure as much space as possible for crops.

The central portion of Poland has a thin covering of pine forests, but the principal timber areas are in the north and in the south-west. The foot-hills of the Carpathians, a region consisting of a series of plateaux

of an average height of 800-1,000 ft., are covered with forests of oak, beech, and lime. In the northern area pine, spruce, and other coniferous trees are the most plentiful, but the birch is also abundant; this area extends eastward as far as the confluence of the Bug and the Narew. The pine also grows on a small, isolated range of hills known as Lysa Gora, close to Kielce. In addition, the white beech, aspen, and elm are found everywhere in the country.

The regulations in regard to felling and replanting are reported to have been much evaded, and reckless cutting of timber has always been common. The value of the forests has consequently declined. Between 1905 and 1909 the number of the timber rafts floated down the Vistula decreased by 60 per cent., whereas the rivers of the European dominions of Russia, taken together, showed an increase of 30 per cent. It is, of course, true that much of the timber transported on the Vistula came from outside Poland; but the decrease certainly extended to Polish timber as well.

(d) *Land Tenure*

In 1914 the ownership of the soil of Poland was divided between the nobles (collectively the *szlachta*), the peasants (*chlopi*—a highly contemptuous term), the Crown, the Church, towns, and hamlets. About 90 per cent. belonged to the nobles and peasants. The origin of peasant property was the Emancipation ukase of 1864, which transferred to the peasants the legal ownership of all the land which they rented from the nobility and farmed. The nobles were thereby deprived of nearly half their land, though they received as compensation the produce of a land tax, which was imposed upon the new peasant owners, with some additions from the Treasury.

After 1864 the land owned by nobles steadily decreased, and that owned by peasants steadily grew. This was largely due to the policy of the Government, which, after the various insurrections, was ill-disposed

to the nobility and anxious to win over the peasantry. Accordingly, while the Russian State Nobles' Land Bank lent nothing to Polish nobles, the Russian State Peasants' Bank was always ready to lend to Polish peasants at a moderate rate of interest, which provided for the amortisation of the capital in the course of 35 years. Private land banks, a special category in Russian law, which called them "Long-term Loan Banks," might lend on mortgage to either nobles or peasants.

The class known as the "small nobility" approximated in recent times to the peasant class so far as land-tenure is concerned. It consisted of small owners who, having lost most of their land through the Act of 1864, sank to the position of small farmers hardly more prosperous than the peasant farmers, though more persevering and intelligent, and, owing to their numerous connections and family pride, more influential. They might well develop into a middle class, and certainly must be taken into account in considering the future development of the country.

The peasants' right of ownership was so far limited that they were prohibited from selling their land to any but peasants or from dividing it into parts of less than eight acres, though this did not wholly stop speculation in land. On the other hand, the peasants continued to enjoy, from the pre-emancipation days, certain easements over the landlords' estates, such as the right of cutting in their woods or grazing beasts on their pastures, which, besides being provocative of much ill-feeling between noble and peasant, are decidedly injurious to the community, *e.g.*, in their effect on the forests.

A peculiar feature, however, of peasant landed property was that the holdings of individuals were frequently dispersed over a large area, and at the same time divided into ridiculously narrow strips. This defective method of distribution made scientific cultivation almost impossible, and entailed great waste of time and labour. Stolypin's law of 1906 was mainly designed to do away with the waste inherent in this

system, and was, in fact, vigorously carried out by the Ministry of Agriculture.

In 1904 the ownership of the soil was apportioned roughly as follows: peasants, 49 per cent. of the area; large proprietors, 35 per cent.; small nobility, 6 per cent.; Crown, 6 per cent.; towns, &c., 4 per cent. The proportions were much the same in 1909, though many estates had changed hands. It was calculated in 1908 that there were 43,000 large landowners, nearly 7,000,000 small owners, and over 800,000 landless peasants. In consequence of mortgage, the debt on the land in 1901 was 41 per cent. of its value; ten years earlier it had been as high as 66 per cent. of the value.

(3) Fisheries

The river fisheries of Poland are stated to be of considerable value, especially those of the Vistula and its affluents. Nevertheless, the fishing industry has never been of more than local importance, possessing no central markets of any note and yielding no surplus for export. The Vistula and the Niemen abound not only in purely fresh-water fish, but also in those which ascend the rivers from the Baltic. Lake and pond fish are bred with some success. Complaint used to be made of the depletion of the fish stock of the country, which was due to lack of control of fishing, the methods employed being often unnecessarily destructive.

(4) Minerals

Poland's mineral resources are, on the whole, neither very rich nor very varied. They consist of coal, iron, lead, zinc, and copper.

The *coalfield*, usually known under the title of the Dombrova field, is situated in the extreme south-west corner of the kingdom. The field lies partly in each of the countries whose frontiers meet here; and the Polish portion is the smallest. Of the 46,000,000 tons extracted in 1911 from the entire field, its contribution

was only 5,769,000. This quantity, however, represented about one-fifth of all the coal mined in the Russian Empire. The seams near Dombrova are of considerable thickness, often 20-30 ft., and in general are found near the surface. The coal is bituminous and of good quality. It does not coke, and there is no anthracite among it.

Iron is found in four districts in the south-west of Poland: Opochna, Końskie, Kielce, and Ostrowiec (Ostrovets). These are all situated close together west of the Vistula and south-east of Łódź. The ore is poor, and contains only from 21 to 37 per cent. pure iron. The output averaged 128,000 tons a year from 1906 to 1910; it was not increasing, though it by no means sufficed for local industrial needs. It should be noted that the pig-iron produced in Poland, which amounted in 1910 to 386,000 tons, has hitherto been derived mostly from ore imported from Krivoy-Rog, in South Russia.

Zinc mining was at one time a very prosperous industry, but for some years prior to 1914 it ceased to make progress. Up to 1906 the Polish were the only zinc mines worked in the European dominions of Russia. The mines are situated at Olkusz, in the district of Kielce, south-east of Łódź. The ore used to be smelted at Kielce and Piotrków. The annual output of pure zinc was 8,000 tons, or about 80 per cent. of the total production of Russia. 750 workmen were employed at the three smelting furnaces.

Lead is found in the same neighbourhood as the zinc, but the once prosperous mines fell into neglect owing to difficulties of working and lack of up-to-date appliances, which the proprietors had not sufficient capital to instal. In 1912 only 50 tons of lead were mined.

Copper exists in Poland, and was formerly extensively mined, but the pits were closed down some years ago.

The methods of extraction of minerals call for no special comment; before the war they were, on the

whole, somewhat antiquated, and production per head of miners employed was low compared with that of other European mining centres.

The quarrying of limestone for building and cement-making was carried on fairly extensively; for the latter purpose quarries near Zawiercie, in the province of Piotrków, were specially important. Pottery clays and kaolin are also found; they were used in the ceramic industry in the Warsaw district and by peasant makers of roofing tiles.

(5) Manufactures

For many years before the war manufacturing industry in Poland showed great activity, and made rapid progress. It took many forms, and its productions enjoyed a good reputation in distant markets.

The manufacturing output of Poland averaged one-seventh of the total output of Russia. In 1910 its value was £90,000,000, and some 10,000 factories were at work, employing in all over 400,000 workpeople. The seat of almost all the manufacturing industry, except some of the sugar-refining, was in the western portion of the country, in the provinces of Piotrków and Warsaw. The former province produced 50 per cent. of the total Polish output, and the latter 33 per cent. Of the hands employed 52 per cent. were in Piotrków and 29 per cent. in Warsaw.

The *textile* industry was the most flourishing of all branches of Polish manufacture. The establishment of the industry was due primarily to the high tariff, its expansion to German enterprise and the cheapness of Polish labour. Prevented by the heavy duties from exporting textiles from Germany to Poland, the Germans characteristically resolved to produce the goods within the tariff wall, so that in 1914 the capital and management of the industry were largely in their hands, many firms which were nominally Russian being really under German control.

Between 1901 and 1910 the number of factories increased by 87 per cent., the production by 65 per cent.,

and the number of workmen by 24 per cent., and this notwithstanding the fact that the industry was hampered by the great expense of raw materials, due to heavy import duties, and by the high rates fixed by the Russian Government for the transport of fuel from the Dombrova basin.

The chief causes of this development were the abundance of cheap labour and the superior qualities of Polish workmen, especially in comparison with Russians, who are less skilful and productive. Other factors were also the good organisation and the centralisation of industry in large enterprises.

Nearly all the raw materials for the textile industry were imported, partly from abroad and partly from other parts of the Russian Empire. The following table, which is based on statistics for the period 1909-1911, shows the yearly average of the quantities and values of certain of these imports:—

Imports.	From abroad.		From Russia.	
	Quantity in lbs.	Value in £	Quantity in lbs.	Value in £
Raw Cotton ..	94,300,000	4,060,000	67,300,000	2,745,600
Wool	55,800,000	4,091,600	19,800,000	1,452,400
Flax	—	—	7,872,185	116,600
Hemp	—	—	6,283,300	86,284

It will be noticed that the import of cotton and wool from abroad was much greater than from Russia. Great quantities of cotton, however, came from Turkestan. The quantity of wool produced in Poland was small, but its quality was good. The wool imported from abroad was mostly merino and crossbred. The wool from Russia was of inferior quality, mostly carpet-wool.

The *cotton* spinning and weaving branch of the industry held first place. In 1910 it employed 62,200

workmen, and the value of its output was £14,000,000. Its principal centres were Łódź, Kalisz, Częstochowa, and a district west of Warsaw comprising several small towns, of which the chief is Błonie. The finished article was, in general, of a coarse quality and suited for sale to the peasants. The spinning and weaving machines were largely imported from Great Britain.

Cotton laces and embroideries were extensively made in the districts of Warsaw and Kalisz. What is known as Swiss embroidery was the staple article, plain nets also being made. More fancy types of laces, known as Plauen goods, were produced, but are reported not to have been so successful. Yarns were imported from the United Kingdom for this branch, and there is said to have been an increasing demand for those of better quality.

Łódź was the centre of the manufacture of *woollen* and *mixed cotton* and *woollen* goods. The output in 1910 was valued at £12,000,000, and 41,000 workpeople were then employed in this branch. The cloths turned out were, in general, of a rather low quality, but of a high technical standard in design and finish. Being well protected by the tariff they defied the competition of other goods of similar class all over Russia and Siberia. There were also at Łódź a number of ready-made clothing factories, which did an extensive business.

The *silk*, *linen*, *jute*, and *hemp* industries were of relatively small importance, and the average value of the combined annual output of all four was only £3,200,000.

Iron and *steel* goods were manufactured, but not on a large scale, owing to the deficiency in Poland of iron-ore and coking coal. The chief centre of the industry was in the south-west, where the mining and smelting of the metal took place. In 1910 397,000 tons of manufactured iron and steel were produced—about 10 per cent. of the total output of Russia's European territories. The principal steel process in use was that of the Martin open-hearth furnace. In 1911 there

were 33 of these furnaces in Poland. Considerable quantities of Martin-process steel bars were produced.

There was only a small output of iron and steel articles of the third stage of production; it consisted principally of assorted merchant iron. Rolled wire and universal iron were produced on a much smaller scale; steel rails, trusses, roof iron, axes, and springs only in insignificant quantities.

Of industrial articles made of iron and steel there was a fair production in the province of Warsaw, where there were a number of works making machinery, boilers, bridge-building materials, &c. Cutlery was also largely manufactured in and near Warsaw.

There were 108 undertakings engaged in the production of agricultural machinery. This consisted of ploughs, harrows, light horse-power threshing machines and winnowing machines. The more complicated and heavy machines were not made.

There were seven *cement* works, which in 1913 produced 1,985,000 barrels of 360 lbs. each. The industry, based on local supplies of limestone, had become very prosperous, and three new works were to be started just before the war. The industry was in the hands of a syndicate, which was allied to similar rings in Prussian Silesia and Austria-Hungary.

Sugar refining was an important industry. The chief centres were the provinces of Warsaw, Lublin, and Płock (Plotsk), which had 18, 13, and 7 refineries respectively. There were in all 51 refineries in Poland. In 1913 these produced 265,000 tons of sugar. The industry had developed rapidly since the beginning of the century, the production having nearly doubled between 1901 and 1910.

Distilling was carried on mainly as an adjunct to agriculture, the stills being almost entirely attached to the farms of large estates. Of the spirits manufactured, 87 per cent. were based on potatoes, 6½ per cent. on cereals, and 6½ per cent. on molasses derived from sugar-beet. The production in 1912 from all sources was 38,500,000 gallons of spirit at 40°.

Beer brewing was a large industry in and near Warsaw, whence a great deal of beer was sent to other parts of the Russian Empire. The value of the brew in 1910 was £1,350,000.

The manufacture of *starch* from potatoes was a staple industry of long standing. The factories were controlled by a combine called the Warsaw Starch Syndicate, whose normal annual production was 16,000 tons. Of the factories belonging to the syndicate 36 were in Poland, the remainder in the Governments of Grodno and Minsk.

The *flour milling* industry tended to decline owing to changes in agriculture in Poland. There were still, however, a number of large mills in the provinces of Warsaw and Lublin. The annual output of flour was about 900,000 tons, of which one-third was produced in the two provinces mentioned.

Tobacco manufacture was carried on in eight factories, of which five were in Warsaw, one in Lublin and two in Suwałki. The Warsaw and Lublin factories made cigars and cigarettes from imported leaf of good grades. The two factories in Suwałki worked entirely upon native leaf, and produced only *mahorka*, which was smoked exclusively by peasants.

Tanning and the production of leather goods was an old-established industry, centred at Radom and Warsaw, fancy goods being chiefly made at the latter. Polish boots had a high reputation, and were exported to Russia, but not so extensively as in former times.

The *paper* industry was concerned chiefly in producing the finer qualities for literary and decorative use; paper for packing was imported. The mills were at Warsaw and Częstochowa.

In addition to the industries mentioned, numerous small ones were carried on in Warsaw and its neighbourhood. Toys, gloves, artificial flowers, hats, musical and surgical instruments, watches, glassware, and so-called "fancy goods" were all made in factories in this district. An authority, quoting industrial statistics for Poland, includes under the heading " Various " 229

factories, employing 3,074 workpeople and turning out goods to the value of £800,000 in 1910. It is safe to conclude that these "various" industries were nearly all conducted near Warsaw.

The peasant or *kustarni* industry, so marked a feature in large areas of Russia, hardly existed in Poland. The principal reasons for its absence would appear to be the competition of the factories in such goods as domestic industry would naturally produce, and the lack of Zemstvos to foster rural crafts and organize the sale of the products—a rôle they performed so admirably in many provinces of Russia. The small output of such peasant industries as existed was valued some years ago at £40,000 annually, and consisted of hand-made laces, buttons, and woollen goods.

(6) Power

Owing to the general flatness of the country, the flow of rivers and streams is not rapid; and in 1914 there were no hydro-electric installations in Poland. Steam power was used in most of the factories. In Warsaw and Łódź there were electric-power stations, but these were not large, and their supply was used for lighting more than for driving machinery. In all 4,800 industrial establishments, many of them small ones, used electric-power for machinery. In 1913 work was about to be commenced on a special electric-power station at Pruszków, 10 miles east of Warsaw, which was to supply industrial power to that city and the town of Zyrardov. The total length of the cables was to be 23 miles. It was then expected that the station would be working in two years' time.

(C) COMMERCE

(1) Domestic

(a) *Principal Branches of Trade*

In view of the highly developed and varied industry which existed in Poland before the war, it is surprising to find that the country's domestic commerce was of small extent, ill-organized, and

conducted on unsound lines. All authorities agree as to the principal causes of this state of affairs. In the first place the peasantry were, and had long been, a poverty-stricken mass, disposing of their produce to Jews at ruinously unprofitable rates, and consequently having but small purchasing power. Secondly, there was no proper market or exchange for the bulk of the goods produced and sold in the country. The one exchange in Warsaw was almost entirely a stock and share exchange, and elsewhere there was none. Thirdly, there was a lack of adequate commercial education and of commercial organization. The Pole, while excelling in the technique of industry, and succeeding, both at home and all over Russia, in important industrial positions, appears to show small bent for the organization of trade on a large scale. The consequence of these various disadvantages was that the produce of the industries of Poland, especially the valuable textiles, found its market for the most part outside the country, mainly in Russia and Siberia. The chief internal trade of the country, besides the local supply and sale of foodstuffs and clothing, consisted of traffic in articles of luxury and the technical supplies for industry, partly made at home, but largely imported.

The distribution of the iron and steel products of Poland was almost entirely in the hands of the *Prodamet* sales-combine, a Russian syndicate, whose operations concerned nearly every kind of iron and steel goods. The domestic trade in agricultural products was virtually monopolised by Jews, who had the peasants at their mercy, buying their goods at low prices and reselling them to others of their own race, a process which might be repeated several times before the commodities reached the consumer, who, of course, had to pay for them at a proportionate rate.

(b) *Towns, Markets, Fairs, &c.*

At the outbreak of war there were in Poland 20 towns with more than 20,000 inhabitants, of which

several were important centres of trade. Warsaw was by far the largest and commercially the most active, and the great bulk of the trade of the country was carried on there. It had two important annual fairs. A wool fair took place in June, and was attended by sellers from all over Southern Russia and by purchasers from Łódź. A hop fair was held at the end of September, and lasted four days. There was also a wool fair at Kalisz in June. Besides these, 52 annual fairs were held in 12 different towns, but they are stated on good authority to have been of no commercial interest, being kept up purely for merrymaking and the sale of trumpery goods.

Most of the larger towns, such as Łódź, Częstochowa, and Sosnowice, owed their importance exclusively to industry. The frontier towns, particularly those on the Prussian border, were much occupied in the transit trade, and supported an enormous number of forwarding, commission, and Customs agents.

(c) *Organizations to Promote Trade*

Organizations to promote trade and commerce were few in number and not very active. Their inadequacy was, of course, typical of the backward state of Polish commerce, but it was partly due to the Russian Government, which looked askance at commercial associations, suspecting them of pursuing political aims under colour of their ostensible objects. Such organizations as existed consequently worked under difficulties. Chambers of Commerce were generally absent, but in Warsaw there was a branch of the Russo-British Chamber of Commerce with 51 members. The Government would not allow Zemstvos to be established in Poland, and the services rendered to commerce by such bodies in many parts of Russia were very imperfectly performed by agricultural syndicates, of which each province had one. These used to purchase and sell on credit agricultural machines and tools, seeds, stud-cattle, &c.

The Association of Polish Merchants, founded in 1906, had 924 members in 1913. Its object was to stimulate and organise national commerce. Its chief success was the establishment of a commercial information bureau, which proved very useful.

The assembly of merchants directed by the Council of Elders was an old institution which was dwindling in importance.

The Society for the Development of Industry, Crafts, and Commerce, founded in 1912, attempted to encourage and assist small traders, artisans, and industrialists of Christian profession, presumably in the hope of freeing trade and small industry from exclusive control by Jews.

(d) *Foreign Interests*

Before the war foreign interests in Poland lay chiefly in the industrial field, commerce in the strict sense being little influenced by them. The ownership, management, and technical staff of a great portion of the textile industry were German, and although most of the firms engaged in the industry were registered as Russian, they were financially in close touch with German banking interests. There were, of course, a number of big undertakings which were admittedly foreign. Some of the largest of these were French, including several large collieries in the Dombrova region, wool-combing and spinning mills at Częstochowa, and an electric light and power station at Warsaw. Belgian companies were also prominent, especially in the textile industry in the west and the hardware industries at Warsaw. The telephone system of Warsaw belonged to a Swedish firm. Undertakings registered as German were less numerous and influential than might have been expected, though Bendin, in the extreme south-west, was a nest of German mines and works. But the list of firms officially recognised as foreign gives a totally misleading impression of the relative positions of foreign countries in the economic life of Poland. Germany's hold on

Polish industry was far stronger than that of any of her rivals.

British interests were scarcely traceable, and it is certain that no British concerns played any direct part in Polish industry and commerce. British commodities were, of course, imported, but many of them reached Poland through German markets.

(e) *Methods of Economic Penetration*

Foreign influence spread not only through such industrial undertakings as were referred to above, but also through the banks. The extent to which the banks served foreign interests is not easily ascertained; whatever their titles and ostensible nationality, their real character depended on the sources of their capital. It is known, however, that many banks supported by German groups had branches in the larger Polish towns, and financed many industrial firms, native as well as foreign.

(2) Foreign

The Russian Imperial Government issued no statistics of the exports and imports of separate divisions of its territories. In an attempt to estimate the extent and value of the external trade of Poland, it is therefore necessary to rely upon general information and upon figures compiled by individuals or associations interested in commerce. In considering the commercial relations of Poland and Russia, it must continually be borne in mind that there was no Customs barrier between the two countries.

(a) *Exports*

Up to 1914, as was natural in the circumstances, the exports of Poland went mainly to Russia. They consisted, in the first place, of textiles, which were almost entirely taken by Russia, whence many of them were forwarded to Siberia and other Asiatic countries. Iron and steel goods, enamel wares, leather and leather articles, boots, ready-made clothing, paper,

and fancy goods also went to Russia. The sugar surplus was exported partly to Russia and partly to foreign countries, the alcohol surplus to Russia. To Germany were exported meat, barley, eggs, bran, and some timber. The trade with Austria-Hungary was insignificant.

The Industrial Society of Poland made calculations which show that in the years 1909-1911 the average yearly exports of Polish goods were valued at £58,000,000. Of this, exports to Russia accounted for more than £53,000,000.

(b) *Imports*

In the import trade of Poland Russia's part was less predominant. The effect of the high Customs duties at the foreign frontiers was largely counterbalanced by the railway rates charged on goods coming from Russia, and, as many of the commodities most needed by Poland were to be obtained in neighbouring parts of Germany, they were imported thence, even when they might also have been obtained from Russia. The imports were extremely varied, as Poland was compelled to import not merely manufactured and colonial goods, but also the commonest foodstuffs and most of the material used in her industries. Imported food supplies, such as grain, flour, cattle, and preserved fish, came mainly from South Russia, though Prussia supplied rye. Raw wool and cotton were imported in great quantities, mainly from overseas, though a good deal of cotton came from Russian Turkestan. Cotton and woollen yarns of finer qualities were principally of British, Belgian, or German origin. Coal and coke were obtained from Prussian Silesia for the metallurgical industry. Iron was imported from Krivoy-Rog, in South Russia; zinc from Prussian Silesia; copper from Russia. Cotton-spinning machinery came from Great Britain; other imported machinery chiefly from Germany. Germany also supplied dye-stuffs and large quantities of superphosphates for chemical manure.

The figures of the Industrial Society of Poland for the period 1909–11 show that the average annual value of the imports during that period was £63,300,000. This trade was shared almost equally between Russia and other countries.

(3) Customs and Tariffs

Poland was subject to the general tariff of the Russian Empire, which was, in the main, strongly protective, except as regards foodstuffs and a few special items, such as certain types of agricultural machinery, which were free, and certain fertilisers, which paid low duties. The general effect of the tariff was disadvantageous to Poland, since it made raw materials for industry dear, and at the same time depressed agriculture by admitting German corn free.

(4) Commercial Treaties

Such commercial treaties as the Russian Empire concluded in recent times appear to have affected Poland but little, save that German manufactured goods of certain categories were admitted at reduced rates, and thus were enabled to compete with Polish productions in the Russian market.

(D) FINANCE

(1) *Public Finance*

The total revenue raised in European Russia, exclusive of Poland, in 1910 amounted to £162,000,000. That raised in Poland alone in the same year was £22,000,000—a rise of 33 per cent., which had been effected gradually, over the figures of 1906, the increase being greatest in the provinces of Warsaw and Piotrków. Thus the revenue from all European Russia without Poland was little more than seven times as great as that from Poland alone. The largest part of the Imperial revenue as a whole came from the spirit monopoly (about 25 per cent.), the State railways

(nearly the same), customs, excise (particularly on sugar), and the direct taxes on land and on industrial enterprises. The "industrial tax" in Poland yielded about two-thirds of the tax on land; it had many complications, and must have been a heavy burden on small undertakings. In Poland, moreover, the land tax was heavier than in Russia. Of the customs, a very large proportion was paid in Poland, but that cannot be considered a special hardship for the country, as the goods on which the duties were paid belonged in great part to Russia. On the other hand, the pooling of all the railway receipts of the Empire was distinctly unjust to Poland, whose busy State railways paid a specially large sum to the Treasury, but, so far from receiving commensurate attention, were neglected, while the interests of the country were prejudiced by a particularly irksome system of rates. In general, if the amount of the taxes per head is calculated, it appears that the ratio between the payments of the Pole and those of the Russian was as 8 to 5; while in regard to Government expenditure per inhabitant, the relation of the Pole to the Russian was reversed, the latter receiving twice as much benefit as the former.

In the absence of Zemstvos, the only local authorities empowered to levy taxes were town councils, some of which raised considerable sums, and rural assemblies, which raised very little. Of the *gmina* (assemblies containing all classes and representing a large district) and the *gromada* (composed exclusively of peasants and representing only a small area) nothing need be said from a financial point of view; they exacted little (about £400,000 in all in 1902), and accomplished little. But the towns—even the largest—had still less freedom of action, being absolutely subject in respect of taxation, expenditure, and even the selection of their officials to the Russian administrative authorities, the Governor of the province, the Governor-General of Poland, and the Ministry of the Interior. The income derived by them

from taxation was not what it should have been, and was not spent on the most urgent local needs; a quite disproportionate part, 33 per cent., was absorbed by salaries, while only about 8 per cent. was devoted to sanitation.

In 1901 and 1910 the sums raised by certain of the leading towns of Poland were as follows:—

—	1901.	1910.
	£	£
Warsaw	851,000	1,085,000
Łódź	149,000	149,000
Lublin	19,000	19,000
Sosnowice	..	53,000
Częstochowa	..	18,000
Kalisz	..	15,000

The public debt of Warsaw reached the sum of £4,468,000 in 1910. It is noticeable that Łódź and Lublin, which from the figures given above seem to have been singularly unprogressive, were at least not burdened with debt.

(2) *Currency*

The currency of Poland was that of the Russian Empire. Before the war the value of the ruble was 2*s.* 1½*d.*, or 9·45 to the £, in exchange on London. There are 100 kopeks in the ruble.

(3) *Banking*

It is somewhat difficult to classify the banks operating in Poland before the war, as the functions of the different types overlapped and it is desirable also to make some distinction between those which were purely Polish and those which were Russian concerns with branches in Poland. Among the latter were three Russian State institutions—the Imperial Bank, the Peasants' Land Bank, and the Russian State Savings Banks—and these can be considered as forming a class

by themselves. In the second class may be placed banks lending money on the security of land, usually on long-date terms. The third class comprises banks which catered for the commercial and industrial needs of the country, usually granting credit on short terms; they were numerous and powerful, and were mainly Polish institutions, branches of Russian banks being comparatively infrequent. The fourth class is a very large one, consisting of various types of mutual and co-operative credit institutions and local savings banks. In the larger towns a number of private bankers carried on business, but their efforts were mainly devoted to stock and share dealings and foreign currency transactions.

The Russian Imperial Bank was comparatively a newcomer in Poland, having taken over in 1885 the Bank of Poland, a national institution founded in 1828 and at the time of its absorption carrying on a flourishing business. The Imperial Bank had manifold activities. It was closely related to the Ministry of Finance, and was the only bank with a note issue. Its principal functions were, of course, connected with State loans and finance, but it interested itself in the commercial side of banking as far as its resources would admit, and had large dealings in commercial bills of exchange, besides financing private banks with commercial interests. Its commercial business of latter years consisted largely in the financing of holders of crops, especially grain crops, whether by direct loans or by supplying resources to smaller banks. Its object was to stabilise the agricultural market and prevent the hasty and wasteful disposal of crops which had been prevalent for half a century. The bank's branches in Poland numbered 12; every important town had one.

The Peasants' Land Bank, founded by the State in 1882, extended its operations to Poland in 1887. Its object was to assist the purchase of land by peasants and to enable peasant-holders of land to raise money on their holdings under reasonable conditions. By 1912 the amount advanced on loan to Polish peasants by the bank was £4,600,000.

The Russian State Savings Banks performed the function their title implies; they also carried on insurance business of the less important classes. In principle each bank was separate and had its own profit-and-loss account, but all were controlled and assisted by a committee of the Imperial Bank. In 1914 the State Savings Banks had deposits of over £8,000,000 in Poland, Polish deposits having shown a steady tendency to grow for some time past.

The absence of the Nobles' Land Bank (*cf.* p. 32) must be remarked upon; it was due to the bad relations of the Polish nobility with the Central Government.

The second class of banks, those lending money on the security of land on long-date terms, were principally represented by (1) the Land Credit Society, with headquarters in Moscow and branches in 10 large towns of Poland; (2) the Urban Credit Society, which lent on real estate both in towns and elsewhere. The promissory notes of these two banks served as a subsidiary currency.

The third class of banks, namely, those that specially financed commerce and industry on a large scale, must be sub-divided into (1) those which were Polish and (2) those which were Russian, with branches in the principal Polish manufacturing centres.

The banks of the former division were the following:—

The Commercial Bank of Warsaw; share capital, £2,150,000; reserve, £1,200,000; deposits, £12,000,000. Head office, Warsaw; seven country branches.

Bank of Commerce and Industry of Warsaw. Two country branches.

Commercial Bank of Łódź; share capital, £1,040,000; reserve capital, £600,000; deposits, £3,000,000. Head office, Łódź; branch at Warsaw and three country branches.

Łódź Merchants' Bank, at Łódź and Warsaw.

Warsaw Discount Bank; share capital, £1,250,000; reserve capital, £650,000; deposits, £2,300,000

William Landau (a privately-owned bank of great

importance); share capital, £510,000; deposits, £1,350,000.

The Russian banks of the industrial and commercial type did not penetrate into Poland to any great extent. They were represented as follows:—

Riga Commercial Bank; three branches.
Azov-Don Commercial Bank; two branches.
Volga-Kama Commercial Bank; two branches.

The fourth class of banks, those catering for the needs of smaller industrial and agricultural borrowers, consisted in the main of mutual credit societies, which were found in every considerable centre of population. These societies, which numbered 98, were affiliated to the Co-operative Societies' Central Bank in Warsaw. Their position in 1913 is indicated by the following figures:—

Members.	Capital.	Reserve.	Deposits.
49,093	£ 1,300,000	£ 270,000	£ 6,100,000

There were five similar organisations catering exclusively for industrial enterprises. The following statistics regarding them refer to 1913:—

Members.	Capital.	Reserve.	Deposits.
26,017	£ 280,000	£ 73,000	£ 1,850,000

There were, in addition, a great number of small local institutions, distinguished as communal banks, small credit societies and savings banks. They numbered in the aggregate some 2,780, but were individually of the smallest dimensions.

It would thus appear that credit systems of all sorts were well developed in Poland, and the rapid increase of banks, especially mutual credit concerns, suggests that the normal wants of both agriculture and industry were being adequately supplied.

(4) *Foreign Capital and Fields of Investment*

Of the potent influence of German capital in Poland in the textile industry there can be no question. Germans created it, and Germans constantly pressed into it, though the Polish element, animated by a strong national rivalry, as well as by commercial motives, was steadily gaining ground in this field. Jews, who were not properly either Germans or Poles, but who also had much success in the textile industry, seemed of late inclined to throw in their lot rather with the Poles than with the Germans, and if they gave up Judaism they became not Protestants, but Roman Catholics.

It should be noted that certain Russian banks (among others the Azov-Don and the Volga-Kama), which had branches in Poland, were largely in the hands of the great bankers of Berlin.

(E) GENERAL REMARKS

The fact that there was no tariff wall between Poland and Russia ought normally to have proved an immense boon to the smaller country. Poland was the more advanced agriculturally and industrially, and should have found in Russia an immense market, at least for its more expensive secondary products, even if high prices were not attainable by its raw materials. But Russia, especially after 1894, treated Poland with great unfairness. Anxious that industrial Poland should be unable to compete with Moscow, she put a high duty on the raw materials and on the spinning and weaving machines needed for

the Polish textile industries, and forced Poland to buy Russian metallic ores instead of the superior ores of Sweden. Moreover, by manipulation of railway rates, Poland was deprived of such natural advantages as it had through its proximity to certain markets, so that agriculture tended to become unprofitable and the area of cultivation to diminish. Much-needed extension of roads and railways was forbidden by the Russian Government, which entirely controlled construction and put strategic considerations above all others. Polish towns, too, being under the complete control of the Russian Administration, could not equip themselves in ways necessary for towns of such energetic growth, and thus another field was withdrawn from the scope of Polish industry. Education, commercial and other, was shamefully neglected by the authorities; and private schools—because they naturally aimed at teaching in the native language—were penalised and discouraged.

LITHUANIA

(A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

(1) Internal

(a) *Roads*

The situation of the Lithuanian provinces on the borders of Russia has had great influence upon the development of their means of communication. Metalled roads in Russia are few, and in every province the great majority of the roads are merely tracks worn in the soil by the general traffic of the district. Very little is spent on their upkeep, and they are of small use except in winter, when they are covered with a thick coating of frozen snow and carry a busy sledge traffic. Lithuania, however, has benefited in some degree from its strategic importance. The Grodno Government lies on the route from the interior of Russia to the line of the Vistula defences, and has

therefore been provided with a number of metalled roads, most of which pass through it from north-east to south-west. Before the war their total length was 1,525 km., only three Russian provinces possessing more. On the other hand, there were in the Government of Kovno only 366 km. of metalled roads, and in that of Vilna only 363 km. It must not be assumed, however, that Grodno derives much economic advantage from its imposing road system, for over 1,400 km. of its metalled roads were made for purely military reasons. There are also in Lithuania some short lengths of paved road, amounting altogether to 79 km., nearly all of which lie in the province of Grodno.

Of inferior roads, the Governments of Grodno and Vilna possessed 25,535 km. and 26,164 km. respectively before the war. That of Kovno, which differs only slightly in size and population from the other two, was, on the other hand, deplorably ill-supplied, having only 6,827 km.

In general it may be said that the roads of Lithuania are inadequate to the needs of the country, alike in number and quality. On most of them only small and light vehicles can be used, and stretches impassable by any kind of wheeled traffic are frequent. As the system of local government by Zemstvos and other communal bodies, which before the Revolution prevailed in most parts of Russia, was never established in Lithuania, the task of maintaining all save the military roads fell upon the Ministry of the Interior, which kept in tolerable repair a few routes used by the mail service, and grossly neglected the rest.

(b) *Rivers and Canals*

In view of the defective roads, water communications have considerable importance in Lithuania. Their value, however, is much discounted by the fact that ice renders them useless for navigation from December to April.

The principal river is the *Niemen*, which is navigable at least up to its junction with the Szczara.

Between Kovno and Jurburg, the nearest town to the Prussian frontier, the river can be used by barges of 300 tons burthen in the spring and occasionally in the autumn; and there is a service of steamers on this section. Above Kovno, however, navigation becomes difficult, for the river has a winding course and a swift current, and shallows are frequent; in fact, it is only in spring that heavy cargoes can be carried. Above Grodno only very small barges can ply at any time.

An affluent of the Niemen, the Viliya, flows through the town of Vilna and joins the main stream at Kovno. It can be navigated by small craft for a short period in the spring, but great caution is necessary, as the river is rapid and winding.

In the province of Grodno the Niemen is joined by another affluent, the Szczara (Shchara), which can be used for light traffic and affords direct connection with the Oginski Canal in the province of Minsk (see below, p. 107).

The *Western Dvina* forms the north-eastern boundary of the province of Vilna for 46 miles, and is navigable for the whole of that distance.

The *Bug* forms the south-western boundary between Lithuania and Poland, and is navigable for a short period of the year.

The following table, which is compiled from official statistics, shows the total mileage of the navigable sections of the rivers of each province :—

Province.	Suitable for floating only.	Navigable up and down stream.	Total.
	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.
Kovno	193	54	247
Vilna	800	94	894
Grodno	556	290	846
Total for Lithuania ..	1,549	438	1,987

In Grodno only 63 miles, and in Vilna only 9, are suitable for steam traffic, but in Kovno all the stretches that are navigable in both directions can be used by steamers. As a matter of fact, however, the traffic in all the provinces consists mainly of floating rafts, and there is little navigation up-stream, except on the Niemen as far as Grodno.

No statistics regarding the nature and amount of the goods conveyed on the rivers are available, but it is certain that most of the cargoes sent down-stream consist of timber, either raw or partly worked, though some grain and flax are also carried in this direction. Cargoes coming up-stream are made up chiefly of coal and iron goods.

In the extreme south of the province of Grodno is the Dnieper-Bug canal system, which has 51 miles of canal and 83 miles of controlled rivers, and provides a waterway between the basins of the Dnieper and the Vistula. The canal is only suitable for small vessels, and is principally used by timber rafts. The traffic upon it is stated to have amounted to 1,086,000 tons in 1910.

Mention should also be made of three canals which, though just outside Lithuania, are connected with rivers of that country and affect their commercial value.

The *Oginski Canal*, 34 miles in length, connects the River Szczara (see p. 106) with the River Yaselda, an affluent of the Pripet, which flows into the Dnieper.

The *Berezina Canal*, 70 miles in length, connects the river of that name and the Western Dvina.

The Niemen is connected with the Vistula by the *Augustów Canal*, 63 miles in length, which leaves the former river a few miles north of Grodno, and near the town of Augustów joins the Bobr, which flows into the Narew, a tributary of the Vistula. Lithuania is thus provided with an additional waterway to Central Poland and Danzig.

None of these three canals is suited for steamers, and their use is confined to the period of high water in

spring and early summer. The Oginski and Berezina canals, moreover, are at present in a somewhat derelict state. Their existence, however, is an important fact, for if attempts are made to realize the project of a waterway from the Baltic to the Black Sea, one of the two will probably become the link between the rivers flowing north and those flowing south. The choice of either for this purpose would greatly benefit Lithuania.

Lithuania would also derive some advantage from the completion of the Masurian canal in East Prussia. This waterway is intended to connect the Masurian lake region with the River Pissa, an affluent of the Narew. The canal was in a half-finished state when war broke out, and little or nothing has been done on it since. It was designed to take vessels up to 300 tons burthen, and one reason why work has been suspended is the hope that it may form part of the Baltic-Black Sea waterway, in which case the canal and locks will have to be made large enough for vessels of 1,000 tons burthen.

In the centre of the province of Grodno there is a vast area of forest known as the Byelovyej Heath. Little use has hitherto been made of it, owing to the difficulty of transporting its products, but a canal has been projected which would connect it with the basins of the Vistula and the Dnieper.

(c) *Railways*

Railway System.—The construction of railways in Lithuania, like that of roads, has been greatly affected, both for good and for evil, by military considerations. The most striking result is that while the provinces of Vilna and Grodno are fairly well supplied, the former being traversed by two main lines of double track and the latter by four, the railways of the province of Kovno are very few. The reason is that Vilna and Grodno lie between Central Russia and the Vistula line of defence, whereas Kovno borders East Prussia, and the principles of Russian strategy demanded that

near the frontier means of communication should be rare and bad.

The four main lines which cross Lithuania form part of the principal railway routes between Central Russia and Poland, Germany and Western Europe. The most northerly is the Petrograd-Warsaw line, which enters the country at Novo-Alexandrovsk, and continuing in a south-westerly direction through Vilna, Grodno, and Białystock, quits Lithuania a few miles south-west of the last-named town.

The second line starts at the junction of Bologoe, on the main line between Petrograd and Moscow, and enters Lithuania about 25 miles south-west of Polotsk, in the province of Vitebsk. It runs in a south-westerly direction through Velika, Lida, Volkovisk, and Gainovka, crosses the Bug into Poland, and is continued to Siedlce and Warsaw.

The third line comes from Moscow, *via* Smolensk and Minsk. It enters Lithuania about 15 miles south-west of the junction of Baranovichi, and continues to Brest-Litovsk, close to the Polish border, whence two lines lead into southern Poland.

The fourth of the main lines connects Lithuania with the Ukraine and the region south-west of Moscow. It approaches Lithuania from Bielitsa and Pinsk, entering the province of Grodno some 22 miles west of the latter town. It then runs westward to join the third of the main lines about 25 miles east of Brest-Litovsk.

Of the lines just described, the first and the third were constructed with a view to meeting the requirements of commerce as well as war; but the main purpose of the second and the fourth was the improvement of the military communications between Central Russia and Poland.

There are also in Lithuania a number of cross-country lines almost entirely of single track. One of the most important of these is the railway which connects the port of Libau with Central Russia. This enters the province of Kovno about 40 miles east of

Libau, and proceeds in a south-easterly direction *viâ* Shavli, Koshedari, and Vilna, leaving Lithuania at a point about 20 miles north-west of the town of Minsk, whence it is continued into the Ukraine. The line, which is known as the Libau-Romny railway, is of high importance to Lithuania, as Libau is the principal port for the oversea commerce of the country.

A short distance south-east of Shavli a branch leaves the Libau-Romny railway and runs eastward for some 35 miles to Ponevyej. Here two lines diverge, one to Dvinsk, on the Petrograd-Warsaw railway, and the other to Novo-Svyentsiany (also on the Petrograd-Warsaw line), whence it is continued across the province of Vilna, finally meeting the Bologoe-Warsaw line south-west of Polotsk.

At the town of Vilna, a great railway centre, trains from Petrograd to Berlin leave the Petrograd-Warsaw line. They then follow the Libau-Romny line as far as Koshedari, whence they run to Kovno, where they cross the Niemen and enter Poland. Vilna is also the starting-point of an important branch line which runs almost due south, crossing the Bologoe-Warsaw line at Lida, the Moscow—Brest-Litovsk line at Baranovichi, and the Pinsk—Brest-Litovsk line at Luninets. Thereafter it traverses the Pinsk marshes, and finally reaches Rovno in Volhynia.

Besides Vilna, the only important railway centre in Lithuania is Białystock, whence lines run (1) in a north-westerly direction to the Polish border and thence to Grayevo on the Prussian frontier; (2) eastwards *viâ* Volkovisk and Slonim to Baranovichi; (3) southwards *viâ* Byelsk to Brest-Litovsk.

With the exception of one or two short sections of merely local importance, all the railways which existed in Lithuania before the war are noticed above.

While the country was under German occupation a number of new lines were built, but it has not been definitely ascertained which of these were meant to be permanent and which were light railways which the invaders could carry off when retiring. It appears,

however, that the Germans devoted special attention to the improvement of communications in the province of Kovno, across which they built two lines from Libau to Memel, one on the coast and one inland, a line from Mitau to Tilsit *via* Shavli, and a direct line from Dvinsk to Kovno. These lines have probably been solidly constructed.

Before the war Kovno had 367 miles of railway, Vilna 717, Grodno 880. The mileage per 100,000 inhabitants was 20·4 in Kovno, 36·6 in Vilna, and 43·4 in Grodno. Except in Kovno, a large proportion of the permanent way is of double track, and the gauge is 5 ft. on all lines of importance, so that the carrying capacity of the railways will certainly be equal to all requirements in the near future, especially as no strain is likely to be put on the lines by mineral traffic.

Relations to Government.—The railways of Lithuania originally belonged to private companies, but for some time before the war were owned and worked by the State. The systems of the former companies were, however, separately administered, and their old names were still officially used. The Lithuanian railways comprise parts of four such systems—the North-Western, the Libau-Romny, the Vistula, and the Polyesia railways, titles which give a general indication of their respective spheres. Each of these systems extends beyond the limits of Lithuania, and there are consequently no official statistics which refer exclusively to the railways within its borders.

Financial Considerations.—As State property the railways were not necessarily worked with a view to profit. Unprofitable rates, indeed, were often charged in order to stimulate the traffic in certain directions. This policy was followed, for instance, on lines affording communication with Libau, a port which was fostered by the Imperial Government. On the systems serving Lithuania the proportion of expenses to receipts appears to have been particularly high in 1907, viz., 85 per cent. on the Vistula railway and 88 per cent. on the North-Western. Owing to increasing

traffic, however, it had been reduced by 1911, the latest year for which figures are available, to 59 per cent. on the Vistula railway and 62 per cent. on the North-Western. The gross and nett income of all the railways concerned rose greatly in the period 1907-11, the nett income being in every case at least doubled, and in that of the Vistula railway quadrupled, while the mileage open was not appreciably increased during the period. It is not possible to estimate the share of Lithuania in these increases, but as the commerce of the country was expanding during the period it probably accounted for a fair proportion.

Adequacy to Economic Needs.—It is evident that, like the roads, the railways are not adequate to the needs of the country. That the interests of the province of Kovno have been grossly neglected is plain from the figures quoted above, and, indeed, from a casual glance at a railway map; and even after the work done by the Germans the region remains very badly provided with means of communication. It must be remembered, too, that many miles of the railways in the other provinces were laid down primarily for military reasons and with only a secondary regard for the economic interests of the country. Even in Grodno, which has a better railway system than either of the other two provinces, there are many estates and villages which lie more than 30 miles from a railway station. If Lithuania is to prosper, it must be supplied with a number of new branch lines, or with a network of good motor roads, the latter alternative being on the whole preferable. New links, moreover, should be made between the existing railways and the Prussian system. Before the war these were connected by only two lines—those from Vilna to Wierzbołow (Wirballen) and from Białystock to Grayevo, and the railways recently built by the German armies will not fully supply the deficiency.

(d) *Posts, Telegraphs, and Telephones*

Before the Revolution the posts and telegraphs belonged to the Russian Post Office. The service was in

general mediocre, and as regards postal deliveries in rural districts very bad. In some provinces of Russia the Zemstvos undertook the organization and control of rural postal deliveries, but Lithuania had no Zemstvos or any other organizations which could come to the rescue. There are local telephone systems in the towns of Kovno, Vilna, Grodno, and Białystock, but the country has no trunk system. A trunk telephone line from Petrograd to Vilna and Warsaw was sanctioned in 1913.

(2) External

(a) *Ports*

As the country has no seaboard there are no Lithuanian ports. The import and export trade of the country was mainly carried on through the Russian ports of Libau, Windau, and Riga. Particulars of the capacity and trade of these ports are to be found in *Courland, Livonia, Esthonia*, No. 50 of this series. Riga is situated at the mouth of the Western Dvina, but neither Windau nor Libau is connected with the interior by any sort of waterway. In this respect they are at a disadvantage compared with the German port of Memel, which used to export a great deal of timber brought down on the Niemen, much of which was of Lithuanian origin. In the event of the completion of the Masurian canal, mentioned above (p. 108), Königsberg and Danzig would also become of high importance to Lithuanian trade, both outward and inward.

(b) *Telegraphic and Wireless Communications*

For telegraphic communication with other countries Lithuania is dependent upon the land lines of adjacent regions. Before the war there were no wireless installations in the country.

(B) INDUSTRY

(1) Labour

(a) *Supply of Labour*

Agriculture is by far the most important industry in Lithuania. Up to the time of the Russo-Japanese war and the disturbances it occasioned, there was an ample, if not excessive, supply of agricultural labour; but subsequent changes materially altered the position. A large number of the inhabitants of rural districts went to America, Scotland, Poland, or the Baltic ports. Agricultural wages consequently rose, but not, it seems, sufficiently to attract much labour from the neighbouring provinces. Even manufacturing industry, though but little developed in Lithuania, played a part in reducing the numbers of agricultural labourers. It is significant that in the neighbourhood of Białystock, which had an active woollen industry, wages on the land were notably higher than in other districts of the province of Grodno.

In the last decade before the war emigration from Lithuania increased rapidly. Many Lithuanians have settled in the United States and Canada, and a considerable number in the colliery districts near Glasgow. From 1909 to 1913, according to official statistics, the number of emigrants who went direct to foreign countries averaged 3,172 a year. There is no doubt, however, that this figure is much below the truth. Emigration statistics for Russia, in fact, are of little value. Those who emigrated rarely gave notice of their intention, and emigration agents generally kept their business and its methods to themselves. Numerous as the emigrants were during the period in question, there were probably even more in the five previous years, when many of those concerned in the political disturbances of 1905 found it advisable to quit Russian territory.

Many Lithuanian peasants used to go every year to East Germany or Poland, where at certain seasons temporary employment with comparatively good pay

could readily be obtained. Latterly, however, owing to the shortage of labour and increase of wages in Lithuania itself, this practice became much less common, though up to 1914 Polish agriculturists, especially sugar-beet growers, used still to rely largely on Lithuanian labour to fill the gap caused by the annual migration of Polish peasants to the harvest fields of Germany.

(b) *Labour Conditions*

Despite a certain movement to the towns during the ten years previous to the war, Lithuanian labour was still engaged chiefly on agricultural work. The actual proportion thus employed is not ascertainable, as there has been no census in Russia since 1897. There is no doubt that the conditions of agricultural labour, judged by almost any European standard, were bad. Up to 1905 the supply of labour was somewhat in excess of the demand, and with this handicap the workers on the land would have had small chance of bettering their lot, even if their ignorance and apathy had not held them back from any attempt to do so. After that time, however, owing to causes already noted, wages steadily improved in all branches of agriculture. The following examples illustrate the extent to which various types of day-labour benefited. The figures quoted represent the average daily wages for seed time, hay harvest, and corn harvest, the rate varying with the season :—

—	1901–05			1906–10			1911		
	Kopeks.	*s.*	*d.*	Kopeks.	*s.*	*d.*	Kopeks.	*s.*	*d.*
Worker providing his own horse and food ..	159	3	4	195	4	1	207	4	4
Worker, without horse, providing his own food	66	1	5	82	1	9	87	1	10
Worker, receiving food as part wages ..	47	1	0	58	1	2	65	1	4½

Unfortunately, the rise in wages was accompanied by a rise in the prices of foodstuffs, live-stock, and fodder, so that the agricultural labourer was, on the whole, not much better off than he had been before.

There were several classes of agricultural labour besides those specified above. One class, consisting mostly of unmarried persons, both men and women, received food, lodging, and a very small wage in money, and was commonly employed on menial work about farm buildings or with cattle. There were also workers engaged by the year, who received an annual wage of 40 or 50 rubles (£4 to £5) and numerous allowances in kind, consisting of foodstuffs and fuel. As a rule they also had the use of a small patch of vegetable garden and a field for flax growing, as well as some pasturage. They were usually married, and their wives commonly gave from 30 to 50 days' work a year on the farm gratis, receiving a small wage for days above the stipulated number. In the summer travelling workers used to appear. Their wage averaged 13 to 15 rubles (about £1 7*s.* 6*d.* to £1 12*s.*) a month. In addition they received supplies of food, but they had to find their own lodging.

Owners of small holdings often worked part time for wages or payment in kind. They depressed the labour market where they were numerous, as they could not go far from their own holdings in search of work, and so accepted low remuneration.

An outstanding fact is that nearly all wages were paid partly in kind, and that such workers as provided their own food received very little extra in money. The truth is that the food supplied to workers on the land was often of the worst quality and badly prepared. In general, the evidence of competent enquirers goes to show that the agricultural labourer of Lithuania was of rather poor capacity, had a low standard of comfort, and was remunerated accordingly, but that he was becoming more industrious and ambitious, with results favourable to his position and prospects.

Labour engaged in manufacturing industry was likewise in evil case. There was little concentration of capital in Lithuania, and the small industries which existed were conducted mainly by Jews, who exacted the uttermost from the workers for very low remuneration. No definite figures are available, but all authorities agree as to the long hours, low wages, and insanitary conditions which prevailed generally in the workshops and factories of Lithuania. It is true that the woollen industry concentrated at Białystock is reported to have been conducted by more humane and enlightened methods than those followed in the textile mills of Łódź in Poland; but this testimony amounts to very little.

(2) Agriculture

(a) *Products of Commercial Value*

The total area of Lithuania is 28,098,000 acres, fairly evenly divided between the three provinces. In 1912 the area under plough was 10,940,000 acres, or rather over one-third of the whole, and was also about equally distributed. The area of meadow and pasture was 5,990,000 acres, of which Kovno had about 45 per cent., Vilna 26 per cent., and Grodno 29 per cent.

The principal cereal crop everywhere was rye, which was raised on 47 per cent. of the cultivated land in Vilna and Grodno, and on 40 per cent. of that in Kovno. Oats came next in importance, and occupied about 20 per cent. of the cultivated area in all the provinces. Barley stood third, being raised on 14 per cent. of the ploughed land in Kovno, on 9·7 per cent. in Vilna, and on 6 per cent. in Grodno. Wheat was little grown except in Kovno, where it occupied 5·6 per cent. of the arable land. Buckwheat and millet were also cultivated on a small scale, principally in Vilna and Grodno. The proportion of cultivated land under cereals was 82·7 per cent. in Kovno, 71·8 per cent. in Vilna, and 82·4 per cent. in Grodno. All these figures refer to 1912; little or no variation in the

proportions is shown by those for the previous twelve years.

The following table shows the amount, in tons, of the harvest of the four principal cereals in each province. The figures are an average for the period 1909-13 :—

—	Kovno.	Vilna.	Grodno.
Rye .. .	388,750	352,850	336,800
Oats	218,900	149,380	136,930
Barley ..	136,560	73,750	43,760
Wheat ..	62,440	10,970	24,240
Total ..	806,650	586,950	541,730

The average cereal crop of Lithuania thus amounted to 1,935,330 tons, plus a small quantity of millet and buckwheat.

Potatoes were grown in fair quantities, mainly for distilling. Grodno had 14·3 per cent. of its cultivated area under this crop, Vilna 11·8 per cent., and Kovno 8·3 per cent. The potato harvest during the period 1909-13 amounted on an average to 829,400 tons in Grodno, 778,100 tons in Vilna, and 588,800 tons in Kovno.

Pulse crops, mainly peas, together with small quantities of beans and lentils, occupied about 4 per cent. of the cultivated land in Kovno and Vilna, and 2 per cent. in Grodno.

Flax and hemp were raised on 4·5 per cent. of the cultivated land in Kovno, on 2 per cent. in Vilna, and on 1·2 per cent. in Grodno.

The only other crop of any note was tobacco, of which a very small quantity was raised in Vilna. It is remarkable that sugar-beet, which was grown in all the neighbouring provinces, except those on the north-east, does not figure at all in the returns for Lithuania, and fodder roots also appear to have been wholly neglected.

Market gardening was on the increase, and was most profitable in the neighbourhood of the large towns, but certain vegetables, particularly onions and gherkins, for which there is an enormous demand in large centres such as Riga and Petrograd, were grown in country parts of the province of Grodno.

Fruit growing was universal, but could hardly be classed as an industry except in Kovno, where it flourished, especially in the valley of the Niemen. The climate did not permit of many varieties being grown, and apples and sour cherries formed the bulk of the fruit brought to market. Many orchards and fruit gardens in Lithuania were rented by dealers from Riga and Petrograd and fruit-growing was a favourite industry with Jews and Old Believers. In a good year the province of Kovno sent as much as 8,500 tons of fruit to the large markets.

There were large numbers of live-stock in Lithuania, mostly the property of peasant farmers.

The Lithuanian is passionately fond of horses, and often keeps more than he needs. Horses of the native Samogitian breed are on the whole the most popular. They are small, but docile and of great staying power. Unfortunately, necessity leads to their being worked too young, and the result is a deterioration in the breed. Where the soils are heavy, native horses are not sufficiently strong for agricultural work, and imported horses are used. The Oldenburg, Ardenne, Percheron, and English Shire breeds are mentioned as having found favour. Attempts to cross the local breed with imported stock are stated to have been quite unsuccessful.

In 1913 the horses in Lithuania numbered 900,000, of which about 40 per cent. were in Kovno, 34 per cent. in Vilna, and 26 per cent. in Grodno.

The horned cattle are mainly of a local breed, small and ill-conditioned owing to poor feeding and hard work when young, and yielding poor meat and milk. On the larger farms near towns, however, Dutch and Swiss breeds have been introduced, and some success

in dairy farming has been attained. The stock of horned cattle in 1913 consisted of 1,961,000 head.

Sheep are commonly kept by the peasants, and before the war almost every household possessed one or two. The conditions, which were inimical to cattle, enabled sheep to be kept profitably. The peasant thus had to his hand a cheap if rather coarse meat, material for his sheepskin coat, and tallow for lighting and other purposes, while the sheep partially manured the fallow land on his holding. The local sheep, which is of a coarse-woolled variety, held the field almost exclusively, except in Grodno, where, owing to the proximity of the cloth factories at Białystock, a number of merino sheep were kept, mostly by large proprietors. There were a few goats, especially in and near the towns, but they were nowhere of much importance. The stock of sheep and goats in 1913 was 1,444,000 head.

Owing to the lack of suitable food, pigs were less numerous. Those that were kept fed on the pastures in summer, while in winter they were given spoiled grain, potatoes, and offal from the distilleries attached to estates. The local breed is not very satisfactory, the animals, which in many respects resemble the wild pig, maturing late and not fattening easily. No attempt seems to have been made to improve the breed by the introduction of stock from elsewhere. In 1913 the stock of pigs amounted to 959,000 head, of which Kovno had about 40 per cent., Vilna 33 per cent., and Grodno 27 per cent.

Poultry farming was everywhere popular. The goose was the principal bird reared, and enormous flocks were driven to market at certain seasons, as there was a lively export trade. The geese were of two distinct breeds, one Polish, the other Lithuanian; those of the former are somewhat small, but the native variety is much larger. The Japanese knobbed goose was also kept, mainly for the sake of its eggs. A few turkeys were bred for export.

Bee-keeping was carried on, but seldom by modern methods. Over 11,000 persons, mostly peasants, were

registered as bee-keepers in 1910. Only in Kovno was bee-keeping of much economic importance, the bulk of the honey and wax produced in the other provinces being consumed locally.

(b) *Methods of Cultivation*

The soil of the three Lithuanian provinces varies very much. Kovno is most favoured by nature in this respect, and wheat, barley, peas, and fodder grasses can be grown there with more success than elsewhere. Vilna has a variety of soils, from the lightest to a good loam in some ways resembling the black earth of South Russia. Grodno is much the worst off, and has mainly light soils, while 30 per cent. of its area consists of sandy or stony ground which is useless for cultivation. Swamps are found in all parts, and cover 4 per cent. of the area of Kovno.

Before the war methods of cultivation in Lithuania were on the whole antiquated. The soil was only superficially tilled with light implements, the manuring was frequently inadequate, artificial manure being insufficiently employed, and the land was not well drained. The seed used was often poor. While this is no unfair picture of the general state of cultivation, a slow but steady and general improvement was said to be taking place. The three-field system, which used to be generally followed, especially by peasant-farmers, was disappearing, though it persisted in places, particularly in the province of Grodno. Its abandonment was dependent on the execution of the land reform referred to below (p. 123). The general improvement was shown in increased harvests per acre and increased production per head of the population, and was the more encouraging as taking place during a period when agriculture was suffering under the effects of emigration. For continued success it will be necessary to spend large sums of money on drainage, and to offer the peasants better facilities for obtaining credit.

(c) *Forestry*

Lithuania is, on the whole, a well-wooded country. Forests cover one-sixth of Kovno, and rather more than a quarter of each of the other provinces. In both Kovno and Grodno coniferous trees predominate, but Vilna has large numbers of deciduous trees, including considerable quantities of oak. Oak is also found in Kovno and Grodno, but birch and aspen are the only other deciduous trees which are at all common. Beech, ash, and elm occur, but only rarely.

The extent (in acres) and the ownership of the forest land in 1911 are shown in the following table :—

—	State.	Private.[1]	Communes and Peasants.	Others.
Kovno	289,080	1,166,429	—	4,716
Vilna	1,708,860	1,739,669	49,080	2,070
Grodno	753,019	953,275	20,649	26,613
Total	2,750,959	3,859,373	69,729	33,399

In Grodno there were, in addition, 311,985 acres of forest which belonged to the appanage or dowry of the Imperial family.

The State forests were almost the only ones managed on rational principles. They brought in a handsome nett revenue, the aggregate expenses being rather less than 16 per cent. of the gross income, which in recent times usually exceeded 4,000,000 rubles (about £423,000) a year. The private forests are said to have been wastefully managed, and suffered from unauthorized encroachments by the peasants. In their own strips of forest the peasants set little store on the

[1] The classification of a forest as " private " usually indicated that it was part of a large estate.

timber, which they usually clear as soon as they can, with the object of adding to their arable land. The greatest stretches of forest are in Grodno, where the noted Byelovyej Heath extends over a large portion of the districts of Slonim and Prujani, covering about 250,000 acres in all, while to the north of the town of Grodno there is a wooded area of 225,000 acres.

(d) *Land Tenure*

Even before the Revolution the system of land tenure in Lithuania, as everywhere in Russia, was undergoing great changes. The two important legislative acts which produced the conditions existing at the outbreak of the war were the ukase of 1861 decreeing the abolition of serfdom, and the agrarian law of 1906, generally known from its framer as the "Stolypin Law." The ukase of 1861 provided for the transference to the peasants, on a deferred purchase system, of a proportion of the agricultural land belonging to their former masters. This land is always referred to as *nadyel*, or endowment land. The effect of the ukase in Lithuania differed in one important respect from that produced in most parts of Russia, for, whereas the transferred land was usually vested in *mirs* or communes, such institutions were hardly known in Lithuania, and *nadyel* land became the property of individuals. As time went on, certain defects of the arrangement of 1861 began to appear. In the first place, the peasants were never able to keep up the payments for the land, which fell into arrears to such an extent that it was eventually found advisable to cancel the balances outstanding in 1905. Secondly, no provision was made for the increase of population, which became very rapid under the new conditions; and at the periodical redistributions enjoined by the law the amount assigned to the individual tended to decrease, until many holdings became so small as to be economically worthless. In Lithuania, however, this process

was partially counterbalanced by clearing of forest and reclamation of bog.

The law of 1906 was a comprehensive act, which had for one of its principal aims the abolition of communal ownership. In this respect it made little difference to Lithuania, but in another way its effect was powerful. *Nadyel* land was not in general held in one piece, but in strips often separated by considerable distances. The 1906 Act provided for the redistribution of such land with a view to the removal of this drawback, and during the next eight years the unification of holdings went on very quickly. This was specially the case in the province of Kovno, where between 1907 and 1912 20 per cent. of the peasants' land, formerly consisting of scattered plots, was converted into compact and economic farm holdings. The corresponding proportions in Vilna and Grodno were 13·8 per cent. and 9·5 per cent. respectively. A notable feature of the land system in Lithuania was that most of the peasant holdings were large enough to support the owners and their families, who in that case were spared the necessity of seeking part-time employment elsewhere and thereby depressing the wages of the agricultural labourer or artisan. The area of the average peasant-holding in Kovno was 43 acres, in Vilna 40, and in Grodno 48. The distribution of land in Lithuania was, in fact, much more favourable to the peasants than in most parts of Russia, where uneconomic small holdings were only too frequent. Lithuania, however, had its share of *latifundia*, for in 1912 there were some 704 estates of over 2,700 acres in extent. These were held by the nobility, whose possessions had nevertheless greatly diminished in the previous fifty years, owing partly to the ukase of 1861 and partly to sales of land to successful peasants who found their *nadyel* holdings insufficient.

The following tables give statistics illustrating the distribution of land in Lithuania. The figures are the latest available, but unfortunately refer to so distant a date as 1905, between which time and the Russian

Revolution considerable changes occurred, mainly to the advantage of peasants :—

(i.) *Ownership of Lithuanian Land as a Whole*

—	Kovno.	Vilna.	Grodno.[1]
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Private estates	48·3	48·2	36·7
Nadyel land	45·0	40·3	46·3
State land	5·8	10·6	11·1
Land belonging to churches, monasteries, municipalities, &c.	0·9	0·9	1·5

(ii.) *Ownership of Private Estates*

	Kovno.	Vilna.	Grodno.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Nobility	84·1	81·9	74·0
Peasants	10·8	11·2	10·7
Townspeople and merchants ..	4·4	6.3	14·3
Others	0·7	0·6	1·0

The State lands consisted mainly of forest; the large private estates included many kinds of land, and the peasants' land, whether *nadyel* or private property, was mainly plough land, with some pasture. In the last years before the war the eagerness of the peasants to acquire land continued unabated, and, even under Imperial rule, most of the cultivable land would probably have come into their hands before long by purchase.

The proportion of *nadyel* held by communes was negligible, except in Grodno, where it amounted to 7·3 per cent. of the whole.

[1] In Grodno 4·4 per cent. of the land was an appanage of the Imperial family.

(3) Fisheries

With its numerous lakes and rivers Lithuania naturally has an abundance of fish, but the fishing industry has so far been neglected, very little having been done to improve the waters or to stock them with new varieties. There is, however, a considerable trade in crayfish, which command high prices, and are exported to distant markets, mainly in Germany. Of the other fish found the chief are pike, perch, crucian carp, sheat-fish, grayling, lavaret, and lamprey. Great quantities of lamprey are caught in the Dvina and its tributaries in autumn. The Niemen contains salmon and sturgeon, and eels are particularly numerous in the Vaka, a tributary of the Viliya. No figures illustrating the value of the fisheries are available.

(4) Minerals

So far as is known, Lithuania has no mineral resources of any value. *Coal* is known to occur, but the seams are at a great depth below the surface, and the quality is believed to be poor. There has been no attempt to work the coal, and it is most unlikely that it would pay to do so. *Lignite* is found in the province of Vilna, but has apparently not been much exploited. *Peat* suitable for fuel occurs in Grodno, and is used locally for domestic heating. A certain amount of free hæmatite *iron* is found in the bogs and lakes, and the presence of iron is also indicated by the existence of several springs strongly impregnated with the metal; but no attempt to turn it to account has been made. *Pottery clays* are found in Vilna and have been worked on a small scale.

(5) Manufactures

The manufacturing industries of Lithuania did not play a great part in the economic life of the country

before the war. Most of them were concerned with the products of local agriculture.

The latest statistics for Lithuanian manufactures refer to 1908, though they were not published till 1912. More recent information does not suggest that any considerable development took place in the interval before the outbreak of the war; indeed, there were times of crisis and restriction in several branches during that period.

One of the more important industries was *distilling* from grain and potatoes. In 1908 Vilna and Grodno each had more than 100 distilleries, but there were only 19 in Kovno. The value of the aggregate output was 4,961,000 rubles (£525,000), and 1,968 workpeople were employed. The distilleries were mainly large concerns, and produced from 2,500 to 3,000 hectolitres of spirit annually.

Potatoes were also used for making *starch*. There were 19 factories engaged in this industry; their annual output was valued at 290,000 rubles (£30,700), and they employed 275 hands. A combine had been formed by the starch manufacturers of Lithuania and Poland, with results which were stated in 1914 to be very satisfactory, a rapid development of the industry having taken place and foreign markets for its products having been sought with success.

There were 54 *breweries* in Grodno, 20 in Kovno, and 16 in Vilna. The largest were in Vilna town. The total output in 1908 was valued at 3,369,000 rubles (£356,300), and 1,126 people were employed in the industry.

Flour-milling was also an industry of some note, and was carried on chiefly in Grodno, which had 39 of the 79 mills of Lithuania. The total production in 1908 amounted in value to 3,282,000 rubles (£347,300). The industry gave employment to 692 people.

Tanning was a successful industry. The largest tanneries were in the province of Vilna, which possessed 37 in all, several of which were in the capital town. The other provinces had 90 between them, mostly

small concerns. The value of the aggregate output in 1908 was 6,302,000 rubles (£666,800). The workers numbered 2,866.

There were 65 *sawmills*, which employed 1,224 people, but the industry was not so well developed as it should have been, much of the timber from the forests being floated out of the country in logs. More than half the total output, which was valued at 1,939,000 rubles (£205,100), was produced in Vilna.

In the town of Białystock and its neighbourhood there was a large and prosperous *woollen* industry, which, while using a certain amount of local raw material, was largely dependent on imported yarns. There were weaving and spinning mills, and dye-works, the total number in 1908 being 162. Several firms specialized in blankets, others in knitted goods. The output was valued at 8,143,000 rubles (£861,700), to which the weaving factories contributed 4,781,000 rubles (£505,900). Some 6,550 people were employed, of whom about 38 per cent. were women.

There was also at Białystock a *silk* industry, carried on in two factories, which in 1908 produced goods to the value of 1,004,000 rubles (£106,200) and employed 420 people, of whom about 60 per cent. were women.

Paper was manufactured on a small scale in Vilna, and an allied industry of some importance, the making of the paper tubes which form part of all the cigarettes made in Russia, was found here and there in each province. In 1908 the paper industries were carried on by 30 concerns with a turnover of 1,688,000 rubles (£178,600).

The *metal industries* were very poorly represented. The province of Kovno had two ironworks, with a turnover of 2,367,000 rubles (£249,000) and 1,213 workers. In the same province there was also a copper factory which turned out goods to the value of 1,420,000 rubles (£150,200) and employed 1,150 people, among them 87 women. Very little machinery of any kind was made in Lithuania. The only factory worthy of notice was in Grodno; in 1908 it produced goods to the

value of 375,000 rubles (£39,600) and employed 420 hands.

There were 21 *tobacco* factories, but their output amounted in value to only 3,300,000 rubles (£349,200), of which Grodno contributed 75 per cent. The majority of the 2,000 workers were women.

A *cement* factory has recently been started in Grodno, but no other developments of note have taken place of late years.

The most remarkable feature of Lithuanian industry was the surprisingly small use made of local products. The preserving of fruit and meat, flour milling, linen weaving, the manufacture of woollen goods, paper, and paper pulp, are all industries for which the country provided an abundance of material, but which existed, if at all, on only a small scale.

(6) Power

Nearly all the power employed in Lithuania before the war was produced from ordinary steam boilers; it was largely absorbed by the Białystock woollen factories and the distilleries. Electricity was very little used, even in the Białystock district, less than 200 horse-power being available. Water-power was also neglected, though many of the rivers have a considerable fall and might well be utilised. A scheme to produce power from the Niemen exists on paper, but up to 1914 it led to no material results.

(C) COMMERCE

(1) Domestic

(a) *Principal Branches of Trade*

Before the war the internal commerce of Lithuania was of but small account, and rested on an unsatisfactory basis. The peasants supplied many of their wants

from their farms, and their additional requirements remained scanty owing to their poverty. Such goods as they bought were generally supplied by Jewish retailers. It does not necessarily follow that the peasants got poor value for their money, but as a matter of fact nearly every article sold in Lithuania reached the consumer at a price which mainly represented the cumulative profits of a number of middlemen.

The internal trade of the country was almost entirely confined to products of the soil. Cereals, flax, spirits (a large item), bone meal, and the like were the principal commodities in demand. Textiles were naturally important, but less so than in most other countries of Europe, as the Lithuanian peasant notoriously lives the year round in his sheepskin. The internal distribution of imported commodities, such as iron and steel goods, dried fish, cotton goods, was effected through small local fairs and Jewish pedlars. The principal manufacture of the country, the woollens of Bialystock, was not dealt in locally, but despatched to Moscow or elsewhere direct.

(b) *Towns, Markets, Fairs*

Before the war the principal centre of population in Lithuania was Vilna, a town of 205,000 inhabitants, the ninth city of Russia in point of population. It was not, however, an important centre of wholesale trade. Except for leather, no valuable stocks were concentrated at the town, and no very notable firms were established there. It was, however, interested in the export of timber, leather, and spirits, and as the market town for a large surrounding area it had eight annual fairs. None of these was devoted to any special commodity, but all served as a means for distributing clothing, tools, and small luxuries among the peasants. The chief reason on account of which so large a centre of population was commercially so unimportant is that Vilna was one of the towns of Russia where Jews of all

classes were allowed to reside and follow any occupation they chose. In consequence, the growth of the town outstripped the needs of the districts it served, and it became overcrowded with a needy population of petty traders who competed desperately for a quantity of business which did not suffice to maintain them all.

The town of Kovno had 91,000 inhabitants. Lying as it does on the navigable Niemen, it had a fairly prosperous foreign trade, exporting timber, grain, flour, and spirits, and importing coal, colonial produce, fish, and salt. There was a general fair every year lasting for two weeks from June 29. The town served as a market for the province, but its domestic wholesale trade was of little importance.

Grodno, a town of 59,000 inhabitants, carried on an export trade in grain, leather, hemp, and timber, and imported cured fish, salt, coal, and colonial produce. It had also a little wholesale trade of local importance, as it was the purchasing centre for a fairly prosperous region. There was an annual general fair which lasted from June 23 to July 5.

Białystock and Brest-Litovsk had 93,000 and 58,000 inhabitants respectively. The former was almost entirely an industrial town; the latter was a great railway junction and the distributing centre for Podlesia, a very poor district.

Shavli, in the north of the province of Kovno, was the centre of a lively local trade in grain, leather, and general agricultural produce, but had no more than provincial importance. Much the same may be said of Slonim, a town of 22,000 inhabitants, in the east of the province of Grodno.

The needs of the rural districts were provided for by a great number of small fairs, which catered for the wants of the peasant population, and furnished opportunities for horse-dealing, an important feature in Lithuanian rural economy. It is stated that 550 of these fairs were held annually in Kovno, 159 in Vilna, and 333 in Grodno. Many of them, however, were merely assemblages of pedlars.

(c) *Organizations to Promote Trade and Commerce*

In view of the lack of large trading centres in Lithuania, it is not surprising that in 1914 commercial organizations were almost unknown. No chamber of commerce or other combination of traders was registered, even in Vilna. The nearest approach to organized effort was shown by the provincial agricultural societies, which had established at the important towns sales depôts which dealt in tools, machines, artificial manures, and other accessories of agriculture.

(d) *Foreign Interests and Economic Penetration*

Lithuania seems to have had no attraction for foreign capital before the war; and, so far as can be ascertained, there were no foreign interests, properly so called, in any sphere of the country's commerce. It is true that Poles were concerned in many of the industrial and commercial enterprises of the country, but in view of the close ethnical, historical, and economic connection between Lithuania and Poland this fact is of small significance.

(2) Foreign

(a) *Exports*

The export trade of Lithuania was of considerable value. Separate statistics regarding it have not been published, so that it is impossible to do more than indicate the principal commodities exported and their usual destinations.

Principal commodities exported.—In point of value the principal export was unquestionably timber, which for the most part left Lithuania by water in the form of logs.

Of the cereals grown in the country, only rye and barley yielded a surplus for export. Flax and linseed were sent abroad in small quantities. The export

trade in vegetables and fruit, the production of which was far in excess of the country's needs, was very valuable.

Horses were exported in considerable numbers. Pigs also figured among the animals exported, but not, it seems, cattle or sheep. The export of poultry, especially geese, was a source of much profit. A good many eggs and a certain amount of butter were also sent abroad, and there was a lucrative export trade in hides and leather.

As was mentioned above, most of the textile goods produced in the Białystock district were sold outside Lithuania.

Principal Destinations.—It is impossible to trace the ultimate destination of much of the exported timber, as great quantities used to be finally disposed of in Libau, Riga, or the Prussian ports of Memel and Königsberg. A large amount was doubtless taken by Germany, but there is evidence that a good deal went also to France, Britain, and Holland.

The destination of the cereals varied according to the character of the harvest in neighbouring countries. Flax and linseed were usually shipped from Libau or Riga to the United Kingdom. Vegetables and fruit were sent to the Baltic ports and Petrograd, where they formed an important part of the food supply.

The horses exported were mainly bought by Germany, but a few were shipped to England from Libau. Pigs and geese, it appears, went exclusively to Germany, where the latter were always in great demand. England, on the other hand, was the principal market for butter and eggs, which, however, were frequently sent first to Denmark, whence, after being re-graded, they were re-exported as Danish produce. The leather and hides reached various destinations, among which Warsaw was probably the most important.

The textiles of Białystock were mostly despatched to Moscow, and a considerable quantity eventually went to Siberia, often passing through the fair of Nizhni-Novgorod.

(b) *Imports*

The Lithuanian demand for foreign goods being small, imports were not numerous, nor, it may be estimated, of very high value in the aggregate. As in the case of exports, no figures are available.

Principal commodities imported.—Wheat, wheat flour, and oats were imported, the home supply being insufficient for the country's needs.

All agricultural machinery, except the simplest, all artificial manure and high-grade seed had to be obtained from abroad, but, owing to the general ignorance of sound methods of cultivation, the trade in such goods was not large.

A great deal of the wool used in the Białystock factories was of foreign origin. Other imports included drugs, coal, cotton goods, tools, factory machinery, and many other kinds of manufactured goods.

Countries of Origin.—The bulk of the imports into Lithuania were purchased from Germany, whatever their original source may have been. Most of the imported wool, in particular, even if grown in British colonies, was graded in Germany before it reached the Białystock mills. Some, however, was sent direct from the Don district of Russia. Coal came largely from the Dombrova coalfield in Poland, but districts on the routes from Riga or Libau obtained a good deal from Great Britain.

(c) *Customs and Tariffs*

The import tariffs of Russia were highly protective on the whole, but agricultural machinery, artificial manures, and certain feeding-stuffs paid low duties or were admitted free. Lithuania's interest in the matter was, however, small, as so few goods were imported.

(D) FINANCE

(1) *Public Finance*

The sums which the Lithuanian provinces contributed to the Russian Imperial Budget during the

period from 1907 to 1911 are shown in the following table. The figures represent millions of rubles.

Government.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.
Kovno	9·0	8·8	8·9	9·3	9·9
Vilna	12·5	12·3	12·4	13·4	15·1
Grodno	13·9	14·2	14·0	15·4	17·1

The revenue, therefore, increased considerably except in the province of Kovno.

The taxes in Russia were mainly indirect, and in the case of Lithuania close upon 40 per cent. of the revenue was derived from the Government spirit monopoly. A good deal of the remainder came from railways, telegraphs, and telephones. A stamp tax on licences and legal documents was the only other individual source which brought in as much as 3 per cent. of the whole. Direct taxes on land, industry, and capital yielded only trivial sums. No separate figures are published to show the amount spent in the several provinces of the Russian Empire.

As Lithuania had neither Zemstvos nor communes, there were no local budgets; and, as was always the case in provinces where the whole administration was in the hands of the central authorities, very little money was devoted to the improvement of local conditions.

(2) *Currency*

The Russian ruble, equivalent to 2*s.* 1½*d.*, was the unit of currency in Lithuania before the war. During the occupation of the country by the Germans a new unit, the Polish mark (of slightly less nominal value than the German mark), was introduced. It is not possible to say how much of this currency is now in circulation, or how far the ruble has been restored to its former position.

(3) *Banking*

In 1914 the commercial finance of all parts of Russia had for several decades been closely connected with the Central Government through the medium of the State Bank. This was a powerful institution with many privileges, including the sole right to issue currency notes. It was in close connection with the Treasury, and had the handling of international loans, internal Treasury bills, and so forth. Its importance to commerce arose from its readiness to make advances upon commercial bills or upon commodities, especially grain. The bank had agencies in the towns of Vilna, Grodno, Kovno, and Białystock.

In an agricultural country the question of land credits is naturally of high importance. During the latter half of the nineteenth century the State founded two institutions—named the Nobles' Agrarian Bank and the Peasants' Agrarian Bank—to supply the need for credit in rural districts. Both institutions worked in Lithuania.

The Nobles' Bank was doing an increasing amount of business during the period from 1909 to 1914, especially in loans on estates which were changing hands. The number of estates on which loans were advanced increased from 547 in 1909 to 784 in 1914, and their value from 26,000,000 rubles to 30,000,000 (£2,751,000 to £3,174,000).

The Peasants' Bank existed for making advances to peasants who wished to purchase land additional to the *nadyel* or endowment land. Its activity increased greatly during the period from 1906 to 1912, the latest year for which figures are available. In 1906 the bank had on its books 15 parcels of Lithuanian land, with an aggregate area of some 27,000 acres, while in 1912 there were no fewer than 153 parcels of land, with an area of 226,000 acres, on which it had advanced money. It is plain from these figures that the bank was doing excellent work in helping to raise the economic status of the peasants. The rates of interest varied between 4½ and 6 per cent.

About the year 1872 certain joint-stock land banks were constituted in Russia for the special purpose of extending hypothecary credit. Each worked separately in an area defined in its statutes, and under the guidance of the Minister of Finance, who was represented on the board of each. They issued mortgage bonds bearing 4½ per cent. interest. These banks were ten in number, and one, called the Vilna Land Joint-Stock Bank, operated in Lithuania. In 1914 its capital was 9,800,000 rubles (£1,037,000), and its reserve 4,955,000 rubles (£524,000), and the bonds issued were of a value of 155,000,000 rubles (£16,402,000). The banks described above were all in close connection with the State. Purely private banks for providing hypothecary credit do not appear to have existed.

Short-term credit for trade and industry was mainly in the hands of a number of large joint-stock banks with their headquarters in Petrograd. The most notable among these were the Azov-Don Commercial Bank, the Russo-Asiatic Bank, the Petrograd International Bank of Commerce, and the Union Bank. Each was represented in Vilna, and the Union Bank also in Białystock.

The Riga Commercial Bank had a branch in Białystock. That town and Vilna each had a local commercial bank: the Białystock bank had a branch at Grodno, and the Vilna bank had branches at Kovno and Białystock. A number of private banking firms were registered in Vilna and Białystock, but their importance was not great.

There were also in Russia numerous credit and loan companies and associations, mostly founded on the principles of the German pioneers in this form of finance, Schultze-Delitzsch and Raiffeisen. The system of the former is the more suitable for commerce and manufacturing industry, that of the latter for agriculture. It was only in quite recent times that these institutions took root in Lithuania. They developed most rapidly in the province of Grodno; in Vilna they

were less powerful, and in Kovno unimportant. Their development in Lithuania between 1908 and 1912 is shown by the following aggregate figures :—

—	1908.	1912.
	Rubles.	Rubles.
Working capital	5,789,000	10,405,000
Loans granted	5,379,000	12,820,000

Of the savings banks in Lithuania, some were managed by the State, others were under private or communal control. Before the war the deposits in the State savings-banks were increasing rapidly, as also the average amount deposited per account opened. The following table gives figures for 1905 and 1913. The increase was continuous and steady in the interval :—

—	No. of State Savings Banks.	Total deposits in rubles.	Average amount deposited per account, in rubles.
1905	294	23,400.000	172
1913	376	65,900,000	227

Private and communal savings banks did not develop so fast, and the latter existed on only a small scale. The former were, as a rule, combined savings and loan banks. No figures are available to show the increase in their deposits during the last years before the war, but that it was substantial is suggested by the growth of the amounts they advanced on loan, which rose from 7,200,000 rubles in 1908 to 17,800,000 in 1912.

To sum up, it is clear that in Lithuania there were adequate facilities for obtaining hypothecary credit, and, when large undertakings were concerned, commercial and industrial credit. Institutions granting credit on a small scale were, however, not sufficiently

numerous, nor was their policy as generous as that commonly followed by similar organisations in Germany, Poland, and the Baltic provinces.

(4) *Influence of Foreign Capital*

The influence of foreign capital in Lithuania was negligible, and nothing need be added under this head to what was said above regarding economic penetration (p. 132).

(5) *Principal Fields of Investment*

Until the political orientation of Lithuania is decided it would be hazardous to suggest promising fields for investment. On the surface there do not appear to be many openings. Agriculture seems destined to remain the predominant industry of the country, and it is not likely to become sufficiently profitable to attract capital from abroad.

(E) GENERAL REMARKS

It is obvious that the question of the political future of Lithuania must turn largely on economic considerations; for, of the various solutions that have been proposed—complete independence, a combination with Poland, some form of federation with the Baltic States, not to mention others—each affects the industrial and commercial prospects of the country in a different way. In any case, Lithuania will encounter grave difficulties owing to the one-sidedness of its economic development. Hitherto the country has been almost entirely devoted to agriculture and forestry; its mineral wealth is insignificant, and its manufacturing industry, except in Białystock, is of little importance.

The future prosperity of the country seems therefore likely to depend, in the main, on its agriculture; and this admits of great development. German writers delight to compare the country with their own neighbouring province of East Prussia, where the conditions

of soil and climate are similar. These comparisons are all in favour of East Prussia, where the results obtained in nearly every branch of agriculture and stock-raising are enormously greater in proportion to both area and population. But Lithuania made good progress between 1905 and 1914; and there is no reason why, with improved communications and a land-owning peasantry, supported by satisfactory facilities for obtaining credit, the country should remain behind its neighbours in prosperity. Its forests and fisheries, in particular, should prove sources of great wealth.

The future of manufacturing industry in Lithuania is more doubtful. The woollen, leather, timber, and paper industries deserve particular attention and should expand greatly, as the raw materials are on the spot and the difficulty of obtaining power is not insurmountable. Apart from woollen, and perhaps linen, manufacture, however, textile industries do not offer much prospect of success, owing to the necessity of importing the raw material from distant sources; and for the same reason little can be expected of the metallurgical industries, which are, in addition, hampered by lack of accessible fuel.

The project of a ship canal to connect the Baltic and Black Seas seems certain to be carried out in the near future. Several possible routes have been surveyed, and there is much dispute among interested parties as to their several merits; but whichever is finally adopted, Lithuania will stand to benefit largely, as the waterway must pass through some part of its territory. Not only will Lithuania obtain a new outlet for its products, but the value of its existing waterways will be greatly increased; and the passage of a great traffic through its territories will be a powerful stimulus to its domestic commerce.

APPENDIX

DECLARATIONS OF POLISH AND LITHUANIAN PARTIES ON THE LITHUANIAN QUESTION

(*a*) *Proclamation of Independence by the Lithuanian Diet assembled at Petrograd in May* 1917.

Prenant en considération :

1. Qu'une partie de la Lithuanie ethnographique appartenait avant la guerre à la Russie et l'autre à l'Allemagne;

2. Que la Lithuanie russe est occupée par l'armée allemande;

3. Que, pour cette raison, la question lithuanienne est devenue une question internationale et devra être discutée au Congrès de la Paix;

4. Que le Conseil des Ouvriers et Soldats a posé pour tous les territoires occupés actuellement par des armées étrangères un principe: " Pas d'annexions et d'indemnités," et le droit pour chaque nation de disposer librement de son sort;

5. Que les démocrates d'Europe et d'Amérique reconnaissent la nécessité de l'unification de toutes les nations partagées entre plusieurs États;

6. Que la Lithuanie a été jadis un État libre et indépendant jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe siècle;

7. Que toutes ces circonstances sont propres à la réalisation de l'idéal de la liberté politique en s'appuyant sur le droit des peuples à disposer librement de leur sort;

Les Lithuaniens ont adopté les résolutions suivantes:

I. La Lithuanie ethnographique entière doit être érigée en un État indépendant et neutre à perpétuité.

II. Sa neutralité devra être garantie par le Congrès de la Paix.

III. Les délégués lithuaniens doivent être admis au Congrès de la Paix.

IV. L'Assemblée Constituante lithuanienne, élue par le suffrage général, direct, égal et secret, décidera de la forme du futur État et de son organisation intérieure.

(*b*) *Declaration of Polish Parties, May* 22, 1917.

Les partis politiques demandent par la voix de leurs représentants soussignés, au nom du peuple de l'État polonais ressus-

cité, l'existence indépendante d'État pour les terres de l'ancien grand-duché de Lithuanie.

La Pologne tendra inflexiblement au renouvellement de l'union avec la Lithuanie indépendante dans la ferme conviction que les peuples habitant la Lithuanie, Lithuaniens, Polonais, et Blanc-Ruthènes, trouveront dans l'union volontaire et concordante des deux États la garantie du développement national, culturel et économique de toutes les couches sociales.

Ligue pour la Reconstitution de l'État Polonais; Comité Central National:

Le Parti National;
Union Nationale Ouvrière;
Union des Partis Démocratiques;
Parti de l'Indépendance Nationale;
Parti Populaire Polonais;
Parti Socialiste Polonais;
Comité Central Ouvrier;
Parti de la Politique Réaliste;
Parti de la Démocratie Nationale;
Parti Progressiste Polonais;
Union Nationale;
Union de l'Indépendance Économique.[1]

(c) *Declaration of the Lithuanian Supreme National Council in reply to the Declaration of Polish Parties, May* 1917.

Le Conseil national suprême de Lithuanie, ayant pris connaissance de la déclaration de tous les partis polonais reconnaissant l'indépendance de la Lithuanie, les remercie et en prend acte.

En ce qui concerne leur désir de renouveler l'union avec la Lithuanie indépendante, union dans laquelle le peuple lithuanien trouverait " la garantie du développement national, culturel et économique," le Conseil national refuse de se prononcer en ce moment.

Quant à la garantie de " Développement national, culturel et économique," le Conseil national suprême de Lithuanie serait heureux de la voir se réaliser d'ores et déjà par la cessation des actes de démoralisation et de polonisation du peuple lithuanien dans les églises et les écoles.

---

[1] It may be observed that this list includes all the main groups of Polish political parties.

AUTHORITIES

Historical

RUSSIAN POLAND

Araminski, S. [*i.e.*, J. A. Fayard.] *La Révolution Polonaise.* Paris, 1864.
Cleinow, G. *Die Zukunft Polens.* Leipzig, 1908.
Dmowski, R. *La Question Polonaise.* Paris 1909.
Dmowski, R. *Myśli nowoczesnego Polaka.* Lwów, 1904.
Dymsza, L. *Sprawa Chelmska.* Warsaw, 1911.
Leblond, M. A. *La Pologne vivante.* Paris, 1910.
Präsent, H. *Anteil der Bekenntnisse an der Gemeindebevölkerung des Cholmer Landes.* 1918.

LITHUANIA AND WHITE RUSSIA

Dmowski, R. *La Question Polonaise.* Paris, 1909.
Guttry, R. v. *Die Polen und der Weltkrieg.* Munich and Berlin, 1915.
Piltz, E., E. Woroniecki, S. Zaleski, and J. Perlowski. *Petite Encyclopédie Polonaise.* Lausanne et Paris, 1916; Cracow, 1918. (English translation: *Poland: her people, history, &c.* London, 1919.)
Romer, M. *Litwa.* Lwów, 1908.
Stary. *Les Éléments de la Question Lithuanienne.* (Article in "Le Correspondant," February 25, 1918.) Paris.
La Persécution de l'Église Polonaise. Traduction du Polonais revue par Lescœur. Paris, 1873.
Le Moniteur Polonais. Revue Économique et Politique. Lausanne, 1917-18.
ro Lithuania. Bulletin du Bureau d'Information de Lithuanie. Lausanne, 1917.

Economic

Agricultural Industry of Russia (ed. V. Morachevsky). Petrograd, 1914.

Annual Collection of Agricultural Statistics (Russian Ministry of Agriculture). Petrograd, 1916.

Baltic Pilot. London, 1910.

British Diplomatic and Consular Reports (Trade and Agriculture of Poland and Grodno), 1908-13.

Brockhaus, E. and Efron, L. A. Encyclopædic Dictionary. 43 vols. St. Petersburg, 1890-1906.

Cleinow, G. *Die Zukunft Polens*. Leipzig, 1908.

Drage, Geoffrey. *Statistics of Poland and Lithuania*. Royal Statistical Society, London, 1918.

Maps and Publications of the Russian Ministry of Ways and Communications. St. Petersburg, 1913.

Mining Trade Gazette (for 1914). Kharkoff, 1914.

Piltz, E., E. Woroniecki, S. Zaleski, and J. Perlowski. *Petite Encyclopédie Polonaise*. Lausanne et Paris, 1916; Cracow, 1918. (English translation: *Poland: her people, history, &c.* London, 1919.)

Russian Year Book, 1912 and 1916.

Semenov, P. P. *Rossiya*. Vols. III and IX. St. Petersburg, 1900, &c.

Skalweit, Prof. B. *Die Landwirtschaft in den litauischen Gouvernements*. Jena, 1918.

Statistics of Trade and Industry for all Russia in 1900. 13 vols. St. Petersburg, 1908.

Statistisches Jahrbuch für Kurland und Litauen (ed. Dr. E. F. Müller). Jena, 1918.

Maps

Russian Poland is covered by five sheets (Berlin, N. 33; Warsaw, N. 34; Minsk, N. 35; Krakau, N. 34; Jitomir, M. 35) of the General Map of Europe (G.S.G.S. 2758), published by the War Office, on the scale of 1:1,000,000. Lithuania and White Russia are covered by six sheets (Stockholm, O. 34; Riga, O. 35; Petrograd, O. 36; Warsaw, N. 34; Minsk, N. 35; Smolensk, N. 36) of the same.

For ethnography, see note on Maps in *Poland*, No. 43 of this series.

LONDON:
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY H.M. STATIONERY OFFICE.
To be purchased through any Bookseller or directly from
H.M. STATIONERY OFFICE at the following addresses:
IMPERIAL HOUSE, KINGSWAY, LONDON, W.C. 2, and
28, ABINGDON STREET, LONDON, W.C. 2, and
37, PETER STREET, MANCHESTER;
1, ST. ANDREW'S CRESCENT, CARDIFF;
23, FORTH STREET, EDINBURGH;
or from E. PONSONBY, LTD., 116, GRAFTON STREET, DUBLIN.

1920.

Price 2s. 6d. net.