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VOL. VIII

POLAND AND FINLAND

1920



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PEACE HANDBOOKS

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VOL. VIII

POLAND AND FINLAND

- 43. POLAND : HISTORY, 1571-1815
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AND WHITE RUSSIA
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LONDON :
H.M. STATIONERY OFFICE.

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.

P O L A N D

GENERAL SKETCH OF HISTORY

1569—1815

LONDON:

PUBLISHED BY H.M. STATIONERY OFFICE

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CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

1569	Union of Lublin.
1573-75	Henry of Anjou.
1575-86	Stephen Batory.
1587-1632	Zygmunt III.
1596	Congress of Brest.
1629	Truce of Altmark.
1632-48	Wladyslaw IV.
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1648-68	John Kasimir.
1649	Treaty of Zborów.
1654	Treaty of Pereyaslavl.
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1734-63	Augustus III.
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1768	Bar confederacy.
1772	First Partition of Poland.
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1795	Third Partition.
1807	Duchy of Warsaw created.
1814-15	Congress of Vienna.

POLISH BOUNDARIES IN THE 16TH CENTURY

THE POLAND of the 16th century was a very different country from that which we are accustomed to have in mind when questions of modern interest arise in connection with it. In those days it comprised at least four or five times as much territory as it does at present; and, when Lithuania was added to it by the Union of Lublin in 1569, the State found itself about doubled. The boundaries of those days were of course vague in the extreme, and Lithuania was largely a "geographical expression," which covered very much more ground than it was, strictly speaking, entitled to; but we may take it that in about 1560 the western boundary of Poland proper ran south-west from a point some 50 miles west of Danzig for about 200 miles towards the Oder; thence the frontier ran south-east and up again in a northerly direction, so as to include the whole of Galicia, Moldavia¹ and Podolia, the Ukraine nearly up to the Dnieper, Volhynia, West Polesia, modern Poland, Grodno, Kovno and Courland, leaving only about half of East Prussia (including Königsberg) to the Teutonic Knights. The Lithuania that was added included White Russia and nearly all the basins of the Dnieper and Dvina, whilst Livonia belonged equally to Poland and to Lithuania.

¹ A vassal State.

PERIOD I

1569—1632

THE CATHOLIC REACTION

INTRODUCTION

By the middle of the 16th century the Polish Constitution had practically assumed the form which lasted till the First Partition (1772). The chief power in the State had formerly been in the hands of the magnates and princes, but, though wealth still gave them great influence, it was now extended to the large body of petty nobles and land-owners called the *szlachta*. These nobles formed the army and Diets and controlled most of the administrative offices, which were tenable for life. The King was elective, and was Commander-in-Chief of the army, but he could not touch the life, liberty or property of the nobles. Occasionally a strong King was able to introduce for a time a form of centralized government. But at any manifestation of kingly power it was easy for the *szlachta* to conjure up the spectre of *absolutum dominium*; or else the King's policy was reversed by his successor, or by a sudden change in the endless dynastic wars brought about by the Polish system of elective monarchy. The King was helped to govern by a Senate and by a Diet of elected deputies. The Diet met irregularly and decisions had to be unanimous. Sometimes, when their object could not be obtained by means of the Diet, unions or "confederacies" were formed between nobles and magnates or the Diet and the King. Confederacies which failed were called rebellions (*rokosz*).

During most of the period under discussion the Roman Catholic Church wielded considerable power, and supported the King against the disruptive tendencies of the *szlachta*. Non-Roman Catholics were called Dissidents; they consisted chiefly of Protestants in the north and Russian Orthodox in the south-east. Polish intolerance towards the Dissidents, which increased towards the end of the period, played into the hands of the Prussians and Russians across the borders and was a cause contributory to the Partitions.

The towns were crippled by economic restrictions which, in the interest of the big land-owners, cut them off from connection with the country districts. They dwindled in population and importance, lost their right of representation, and fell under the control of Jews and other aliens. The peasants—comprising the mass of the population—were entirely under the jurisdiction of the lords of the manors; but, unlike Russian peasants, they could hold property and could not be sold; and the fact that during the 16th and 17th centuries peasants migrated to Poland from all parts of Europe tends to show that at that time they enjoyed a relatively superior position.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS

From 1386 to 1569 there had been a personal union between Poland and Lithuania under the Jagiellon dynasty, for the purpose of defence against the Teutonic Knights. The defeat of the Teutonic Knights raised up a new enemy on the eastern frontiers of Poland, viz. Russia; and, in order to secure Poland and Lithuania against the latter, it was determined to transform the existing personal into a political union. Many things already pointed to this change. The religious tolerance shown by the Jagiellon kings was highly appreciated by the Lithuanians, and by the middle of the 16th century the administration and organization of Lithu-

ania were similar to those of Poland. The King and the *szlachta* supported, whilst the big land-owners opposed, a political union; but the most influential of the latter were finally won over, and at the Diet of Lublin in 1569 the union became law. It is essential to note that at the time it was really a voluntary union, and the opposition to it was largely subsequent and due to other causes, such as the later Polish treatment of the Russian Orthodox religion. Poland and Lithuania in this way became two halves of one State. While they had in common an elective King, a Senate of temporal and spiritual dignitaries, a Diet (which met at Warsaw), currency and the system of land tenure, each retained its separate administration, army and laws. The whole State was apparently an elective monarchy, but in reality a republic. Poland was known as the Crown (*Korona*), Lithuania as the Principality (*Kziestwo*). The approximate boundaries have been given above (p. 1).

The Union of Lublin (1569) was an experiment. For the time being, by joining forces, Poland and Lithuania certainly checked Russian aggression and a recurrence of German hostility in the Baltic. Even subsequently there were periods of considerable Polish expansion. But the cost of this development, involving the excessive dissipation of internal energy and resources, was ultimately fatal to Poland.

The reign of Henry of Anjou (1573–75) was too short to be of much importance. But two circumstances deserve notice. The choice of Henry was the first instance of the danger to the country involved by a system of election which was not confined to Poles. This danger was apparently realized by the Poles, but in countering it by the introduction of the *Pacta Conventa*, which the King had to sign at his election, they were involved in a second danger. The passing of the *Pacta Conventa*, instead of being a mere check on a

foreign King, was in the end the death-blow to all central authority, as it practically relieved the nation of its duty towards the King if he attacked the nobles.

Stephen Batory's reign (1575-86) was a fairly successful attempt to form a strong monarchy. In this he was supported by the Roman Catholic Church and the Jesuits and by the able Chancellor Zamoyski; and their united forces were able to check the growth of internal anarchy, e.g. the rebellion (*rokosz*) of the two magnates, the brothers Zborowski. At the same time, however, the King's prerogative was still further weakened by his surrender of the right of appeal to the King's court and transference of the election of judges to the nobles.

Like his predecessor, Zygmunt III (1587-1632) supported the Roman Catholic Reaction, not so much from bigotry as from the realization of the fact that the Church was the one power left which was capable of checking the disruptive tendencies of the Reformation and the disorderliness of the nobles. The same influence was probably responsible for the Congress of Brest (1596), which created the Uniat Church in Galicia and the Ukraine. A portion of the Orthodox clergy, followed by the nobles and most of the bishops, agreed to a union with the Church of Rome, submitting to the Pope and accepting the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, while retaining the use of the vernacular (Little Russian) in their services, and other local privileges¹. But the towns, many Orthodox priests and the mass of the peasants still remained Orthodox. In the long run this religious difference, added to those which were economic or political, was fatal to Polish influence.

Zygmunt at various times tried to reform the unworkable Polish constitution by substituting the decision of all matters by a plurality of votes instead of by a

¹ For a fuller account, cf. *Russian Poland* (No. 44), p. 56.

unanimity impossible to obtain. But the opposition of the magnates, backed by the *szlachta*, was too strong.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Stephen Batory's foreign policy had been directed towards the strengthening of the Polish power in the regions north of the Black Sea and on the Baltic; and for this purpose he depended upon the development of an efficient army with which to fight Turkey and the Tatars in the south, and Russia and Sweden in the north. Batory was the first to organize the irregular border troops in the Ukraine (called the Cossacks) into regiments of cavalry, thus creating a precedent which was later on to be adopted on a successful scale by Russia. He further increased his army by ennobling many of his soldiers and even peasants. His Baltic policy, however, was interrupted by a Russian invasion of Livonia. The Russians were defeated in 1582, and Poland recovered Livonia and gained the Duchy of Polotsk. Batory's reign was too short to be permanently beneficial.

At the accession of Zygmunt III the general political situation was favourable to Poland. Germany was submerged in the Thirty Years' War; Russia was torn with internal dissensions. Here was a chance for Poland to develop her control of the regions adjoining the Black Sea, restore her influence on the Baltic and make herself the chief power in Central Europe. The chance was lost, not from lack of a consistent policy on the part of Zygmunt, nor of brilliant generals (Zolkiewski, Chlodkiewicz and Koniecpolski), but from continual disorders among the *szlachta* and the destructive powers of the magnates, who by their private raids often involved Poland in unnecessary wars. At the same time the dynastic struggles with Sweden, beginning with the election of Zygmunt's uncle as Charles IX, caused a

waste of resources which would have been invaluable elsewhere.

The first Swedish war had to be abandoned unfinished, in spite of a brilliant victory by Chlodkiewicz in 1605, owing to lack of financial support.

In Russia the chaos which followed the death of the so-called Tsar Demetrius allowed the Poles to intervene during the period 1606 to 1613. They took the fortress of Smolensk—a half-way house between Moscow and Warsaw, which could be used as a buttress against future Russian aggression—and at the invitation of the Boyars occupied Moscow. The Boyars were induced to accept Zygmunt's son Wladyslaw as Tsar. But the combination of Roman Catholic Poles and Russian Boyars united the Moscow townspeople, the Orthodox Church and the Cossacks, who together were strong enough to evict the Poles and elect their own Tsar Michael Romanov.

A war with Turkey followed; in which, though the Poles were not victorious, they did great service to Austria by blocking a Turkish invasion at a critical period in the Thirty Years' War. Peace was restored in 1621.

Meanwhile the second Swedish war had broken out. Charles IX's successor, Gustavus Adolphus, occupied Livonia in order to obtain the control of the Baltic Sea, and advanced into Poland as far as Thorn. By the intervention of France and England a six years' truce was arranged at Altmark in 1629, the terms of which allowed Sweden to keep her Livonian conquests and parts of the Baltic shore, controlling the principal trade-routes.

It should be noted that Zygmunt III in 1618 confirmed the right of the Brandenburg Electors to the succession in East Prussia. (See also *infra*, *Causes of Downfall*, p. 17.)

PERIOD II

1632—1668

THE COSSACK WARS

INTERNAL AFFAIRS

Internally this period is characterized by a political tendency towards décentralization—the country being divided into a series of independent administrative units—by the growth of the power of the magnates and their systematic exploitation of the Ukraine, which involved Poland in the Cossack wars. The ambition of the magnates and the lawlessness of the *szlachta* paralysed the executive. Complete collapse was only prevented by the conservative influence of the Roman Catholics and especially of the Jesuits.

Wladyslaw IV (1632–48) saw that the only hope of Polish regeneration lay in increasing the power of the throne. This he hoped to do by means of a policy of concession at home and victory abroad. A victorious foreign policy might enable him to strengthen the Polish Constitution upon Swedish or English lines. Unfortunately his foreign successes merely roused the jealousy of the *szlachta*, and from 1635 onwards they devoted their efforts to thwarting every scheme of the King.

John Kasimir (1648–68) continued the policy of reform from the throne, but the only result was to increase the disorders among the nobles and play into the hands of short-sighted demagogues like Lubomirski, who was able to form a “confederacy”—at a time when unity was vital to Poland—with the mere object of securing

complete licence for the *szlachta*. Government became a farce, and John Kasimir resigned.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Soon after the accession of Michael Romanov to the throne of Moscow war broke out between Russia and Poland; it was brought to a triumphant conclusion by Wladyslaw at the Treaty of Polanov (1634), by which Poland obtained the provinces of Seversk, Czernigov, and Smolensk, and the surrender of all Russian claims to Esthonia, Livonia and Courland. At the same time Wladyslaw recovered parts of the Prussian provinces and the Baltic littoral from Sweden, and in the south came to terms with the Turks and Tatars over the perennial question of raiding by the Cossacks. The early years of this reign mark one of the highest points in the whole history of Polish foreign policy. Wladyslaw had schemes for founding a Polish navy; and the future of Polish influence in the Baltic seemed bright. Everything, however, was negatived by the jealousy of the *szlachta*, who by their policy of obstruction paralysed the army and the executive. The truth was that, apart from their insane dislike of discipline and their jealousy of their own privileges, the interests of most of the magnates, and also of large numbers of the *szlachta*, had come to be concentrated in the south and south-east of Poland. Their policy of peasant exploitation and religious persecution was causing widespread discontent in these regions. As a last resort, Wladyslaw hoped to turn this smouldering discontent to his own purpose by leading the peasants and Cossacks against the Tatars in the Crimea and against the Turks through Moldavia, but he died before the scheme could be matured.

Under his successor, John Kasimir, a series of Cossack wars raged over large parts of Poland. Roughly speaking, the Cossacks claimed four reforms: (1) religious

freedom, with the abolition of the Uniat Church; (2) autonomy of the western parts of the Ukraine; (3) increase of the number of registered Cossacks (i.e. Cossacks acting as regular cavalry), who were to rank as Polish *szlachta*; and (4) amelioration of the condition of the peasants. The wars tended to be a combination of peasant revolt against the magnates and a religious crusade; throughout they were conducted on the Cossack side by Chmielnicki, a Polish nobleman.

The first Cossack war broke out in 1648. A united army of Cossacks and Tatars, soon joined by thousands of peasants, invaded Poland. A general massacre of Ukraine gentry and Uniat and Roman Catholic priests ensued. Chmielnicki defeated the Poles near Pildawa but wasted valuable time in besieging various Polish forts.

The second Cossack war broke out in 1649, after the failure of John Kasimir's attempt to come to terms with the Cossacks at Pereyaslav. Poland was again saved by the strength of her isolated fortresses. A treaty was arranged at Zborów in 1649, by which Chmielnicki was recognized as *hetman* of the Dnieper Cossacks, whose registered numbers were raised to 40,000; a general amnesty was granted; and in future all officials in the Orthodox palatinates of the Ukraine were to be Orthodox gentry. For eighteen months Chmielnicki ruled the Ukraine from his headquarters at Chigirin.

In 1651 the third Cossack war began. John Kasimir won a brilliant victory at Beresteczko, but owing to a rising of the peasants in Poland was unable to exploit it fully. A new peace was settled at Biala Cerkiev in 1651, by which the registered Cossacks were reduced to 20,000, Kiev Province was to be the only self-governing Cossack area, and Orthodox and Uniats were to have the same rights.

These wars opened the eyes of the Poles to the serious-

ness of Cossack opposition. The Cossacks on the other hand perceived their inability to conquer Poland unaided, while the attention of Russia was drawn to the extreme internal weakness of Poland. The result was a *rapprochement* between the Cossacks and the Russians. By the Treaty of Pereyaslavl (1654)¹, the Ukraine became a part of the Russian Empire, the numbers of registered Cossacks were increased, and Cossacks received a measure of autonomy. From this, another war with Poland resulted, known as the fourth Cossack, or the Thirteen Years', War.

At this crisis Sweden, whose power in the Baltic had been considerably increased in 1648 by the Treaty of Westphalia, determined to consolidate it at the expense of Poland. Charles X invaded Poland from the north, while the Russians and Cossacks were invading it from the east and south-east. The Elector of Brandenburg entered West Prussia "to protect it." Polish resistance collapsed owing to the treachery of the nobles, who deserted to Charles in a body. John Kasimir had to fly from the country; and Poland for the first time ceased to exist as an independent nation. A Partition was only avoided by quarrels among the victors and by a sudden revulsion of religious enthusiasm and patriotism which swept over Poland. The great Polish general Czarniecki was able to recover most of the provinces taken by Sweden and, after the peace of Oliva (1660), by which Livonia was ceded to Sweden, was free to turn against the Russians. During the next four years Poland recovered most of the eastern provinces, which had been occupied by Russia. Internal dissensions, however,—in particular the revolt (*rokosz*) of Lubomirski—forced Poland to accept terms advantageous to Russia at the Treaty of Andruszowo (1667).

¹ This Treaty is sometimes referred to by Ukrainians or Little Russians as justifying their claims to autonomy.

Poland received back Vitebsk, Polotsk and Polish Livonia, but ceded Smolensk, Seversk, Czernigov and the east bank of the Dnieper. Kiev was to be occupied by the Russians for two years, and the Dnieper Cossacks to be under joint Russian and Polish control. Russia, however, never restored Kiev; and from this time onward Russian influence became paramount, first in the Ukraine and then in Poland itself.

PERIOD III

1669—1772

RUSSIAN ASCENDENCY TO THE
FIRST PARTITION OF POLAND

INTERNAL AFFAIRS

This period is characterized by the complete exhaustion of Poland resulting from the previous wars, by the selfish egoism of the ruling classes, by the prominent part played in Poland by the European system of diplomatic competition, together with the unscrupulous use of secret service funds introduced by Louis XIV, and by the paramount influence of Russia in Polish affairs, supported at critical moments by the cynical aggression of Frederick the Great. It is the period of the abuse of the *liberum veto* on the one hand, which was used to foster political anarchy in the interest of foreigners, and frantic religious intolerance on the other, which, as was the case with France and the Huguenots, deprived Poland at a critical period of an important part of her population. These tendencies together played directly into the hands of Russia with its centralized government and single religion.

The nation as a whole was unable to learn the lessons of previous failures. The election of Wisniowiecki (1669) was a protest against foreign control in Poland, but only a partial one, as Sobieski raised a rebellion in opposition and appealed for help to the French, just as at a later period (1792) rebels appealed to Catherine the Great. When Sobieski was himself elected King (1674), he proved equally unable to prevent internal

dissensions. He was the last king to attempt to secure a large permanent army with a view to Poland's playing a central part in the inevitable struggle between Prussia, Russia and Austria. But the jealousy and selfishness of the *szlachta*, supported by a section of the magnates, were insuperable obstacles, and the Polish army was actually reduced.

The election of Augustus II (1698) was the last which was even nominally free. Subsequent elections were held under control of foreign bayonets.

During the Great Northern War (1700–21), Swedes, Russians and Saxons lived on Poland and plundered it systematically. At the end of this period Poland was ruined materially and politically. Agriculture, commerce and industry came to a standstill, education was non-existent, cities were depopulated, and the position of the peasants became increasingly intolerable. After the defeat of the Swedes by the Russians at Poltava in 1709 Russia definitely intervened in Polish affairs, reduced the Polish army, and forced what was known as the First Dumb Diet to pass a series of laws unfavourable to the Poles. Augustus II, realizing the actual state of affairs, even himself proposed that Prussia and Russia should divide Poland between them.

On his death the Russian government appointed Augustus III king (1734). He was a mere nonentity; and during his reign Poland became the area of a clan struggle between two Parties—known as the National Party and the "Family." The "Family" was the name given to the Czartoryskis, who were pro-Russian, but at least had a policy of qualified internal reform. The National Party consisted of the Potocki and other wealthy Lithuanian and Ukrainian families, who had no constructive policy, but under the guise of patriotism showed the usual jealous tenacity of privileges and obstruction to all reform, typical of the Polish *szlachta*.

A last chance of creating Polish unity occurred at the election of Stanislaus Augustus in 1764. Europe was then exhausted by the Seven Years' War. But the "Family" and the National Party were unable to unite, and Frederick the Great was allowed time to recover and come to terms with the Russian Empress Catherine.

The "Family," in order to carry out their reforms, were more or less forced to invite Russian troops to occupy Poland (1768), and with their support succeeded for the moment in passing various salutary measures for the administration of justice, police and finance, and in limiting the absurd powers of some of the higher offices of State.

Genuine reforms were not, however, wanted by the Russians. The result was that the Russian minister Repnin deliberately introduced the question of giving all Dissidents full political and religious liberties. This, as Russia well knew, was impossible at the time; but it would be certain to raise prejudice against the Czartoryskis and all their reforms, and in that case Russia could intervene and restore the old regime of legalized disorder, which sooner or later must lead to partition. This was precisely what happened. A protest was made by the middle-class gentry against the pro-Russian policy of the Czartoryskis; and a "confederacy" was formed at Bar in 1768, which appealed for help to France, Austria and Turkey. Turkey alone went to war against Russia and was worsted. In consequence, Russian power was increased to such an extent that it seemed for a time as though Austria and Frederick the Great might have to combine against Russia. In 1770 Frederick surrounded the northern Polish provinces with a military cordon, nominally to keep out the cattle plague, whilst Austria had for some time been steadily encroaching on Galicia. On the suppression of the Bar confederacy, however, Frederick and the Empress

Catherine came to terms. Between February 6th and 17th, 1772, the First Partition of Poland was signed at St Petersburg, and in August Austria was admitted to a share of the spoil¹.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

During the first part of this period Poland was engaged in a series of wars, first with Turkey, then with Sweden and Russia. Although Sobieski won signal victories, and by the defeat of the Turks at Vienna in 1683 saved western Europe from a Mohammedan invasion, these only weakened Poland and exhausted the Ukraine. The Russo-Swedish war, which followed in 1700–21, completed the exhaustion of the country. Hence, during the latter half of the period, Poland was entirely under the control of the Russians, who deliberately prevented all Polish attempts at reformation. The obstacles to partition had practically ceased to exist; it simply depended on an agreement between Russia, Prussia and Austria.

¹ For details see below, p. 20.

CAUSES OF DOWNFALL

The downfall of Poland can be attributed to the following causes.

(1) The policy of Russia (see in particular pp. 13-16 *supra*) hindered Poland from setting her own house in order.

(2) The aggressive policy of Frederick the Great finally robbed Poland of her most vital provinces.

(3) With the exception of the Carpathian range in the south, and possibly the marshes on the east and north-east, Polish frontiers were strategically weak. The central position of Poland made the country liable to simultaneous attacks from different sides. Moreover, Poland was not content with her ethnological frontiers. The proper Polish sphere of expansion lay in the west and north, in the Polish spheres of Silesia, Pomerania and Prussia, facing the Baltic Sea. Instead of concentrating attention here, Poland committed the twofold mistake of weakening her hold upon this region by accepting, as far back as 1563, the Union of Brandenburg with East Prussia, which was bound to make for instability, and by forming the unfortunate Union of Lublin (with Lithuania) in 1569, which, in spite of certain advantages, forced her beyond her ethnological limits and committed her to a policy of expansion south and south-eastwards to the Black Sea. Henceforward Poland was distracted between interests in the Baltic and the Black Sea. The task was too big for her. She failed to assimilate Ruthenia and the Ukraine, or to populate them with sufficient Poles to withstand Russian pressure, while at the same time her colonizing efforts here tended to cause a serious decrease of

population in Poland, which had a disastrous effect upon the commercial and political history of the whole country. The Union of Lublin in fact hindered the centralization of Poland at the very time when neighbouring states were developing their armies and centralizing their governments.

(4) Society in Poland was badly balanced. In the country all power lay in the hands of the nobles, in the towns in the hands of the Jews.

The nobles were a personal caste, nobility consisting of privileges of birth apart from wealth or property. They were more independent and more numerous in Poland than anywhere else in Europe. In the seventeenth century, for example, they numbered 800,000 out of a population of some ten millions, i.e. 8 per cent. (as compared with 1 per cent. in France). They were divided into three categories: magnates, the middle or landed gentry, and the rank and file of the nobles, called *szlachta*. Power wavered from one group to another, but the nobles as a mass had little idea of governing and were consistent only in securing their own class-interests. It was an unfortunate accident that throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries there were remarkably few distinguished individuals to help the king and an orderly government. At the end of the period the great nobles on the Polish frontiers possessed an almost international position (see above, pp. 13-16) and by their financial and traditional control over the *szlachta* were able to interfere disastrously in Polish history.

Even in the earlier history of Poland the growth of a Third Estate was hampered by the thinness of the population, by German colonization in the north, by chronic wars and the national preference for agriculture. At the outset of the sixteenth century the country was becoming Polish again, but in the latter half of that period a

vital change was produced by an invasion of the Jews. Nowhere else in Europe were they given such complete autonomy. The result was that they soon ousted the native Poles and completely controlled the towns. By favouring the nobles they destroyed the equilibrium of power. There was no Third Estate, as in other countries, to preserve the balance between king and nobles. Moreover Jewish control of trade and commerce so prejudiced these pursuits in the eyes of the Polish upper classes that they became practically a Jewish monopoly, and there was thus created a wide gap between the upper and lower classes.

(5) Political principles were in advance of the times and were often antagonistic to the whole trend of contemporary theory and practice. Moreover they were not genuine principles. Poland's republican tendencies were purely nominal; in reality she was a turbulent oligarchy. And at the same time they were unsound, being based on the assumption that liberty and equality were correlatives. In practice Polish liberty meant licence.

PERIOD IV

1772—1815

FIRST PARTITION, 1772

The First Partition of Poland put into the form of a treaty between Russia, Prussia and Austria a state of affairs which practically had existed for some time. Since 1768 Russia had been in military occupation of more than half Poland. Austrian troops had long been penetrating Galicia. Frederick the Great had gradually extended his military cordons round the Polish districts in the north.

The size of the lots obtained by the three nations proved uneven. Russia gained a large part of White Russia, including the towns of Dvinsk, Polotsk, Vitebsk and Mohilev, with 1,600,000 inhabitants, the new frontier being formed by the Western Dvina and the Drut, a tributary of the Dnieper. Prussia obtained Polish or "Royal" Prussia with the exception of the towns of Danzig and Thorn, and the enclave of Warmia (Ermland), with 600,000 inhabitants. Austria gained the whole of Galicia, with the salt mines of Wieliczka and 2,600,000 inhabitants; this territory was annexed directly to the Austrian Crown under the names of the Kingdoms of Galicia and Lodomeria. Poland in fact lost nearly a fifth of her population and a fourth of her territory. The loss of White Russia was relatively unimportant, but the loss of Polish Prussia and Galicia was vital, as Poland lost by the one her only outlet to the Baltic, and by the other her only real natural frontier. Poland however was too exhausted to resist, and the Partition was ratified by the Diet and the King in 1773.

POLISH INTERNAL REFORMS

The loss of a fourth of their territory brought about a radical change in the policy and general outlook of the educated classes, the Church and the nobles. Though a minority were still in favour of the old anarchy, the majority were determined to introduce internal reforms. Hence during the period of 1773 to 1791 there was a noticeable economic and intellectual revival in Poland. Although Prussia blocked the Vistula by excessive dues, the development of the Black Sea littoral by Russia gave an outlet to Polish exports. Banks and new industries were started. Canals were built. Agriculture was improved, and many magnates confirmed their peasants in the possession of land and even freed them. French civilization made itself felt in Poland. Polish literature and language and Polish history were actively studied. Education—after the suppression of the order of the Jesuits—was for the first time in European history entrusted to a special Commission. The universities at Cracow and Vilna were revived, and secular schools sprang up, with the special object of inculcating the duties of good citizenship and patriotism. Science and art made progress.

But in all their attempts at political reformation the Poles were faced by the opposition of Russia, who could at the same time calculate on interested Prussian support. After the First Partition Russia imposed on Poland a Constitution still further weakening the King and strengthening the nobles, and guaranteed its maintenance. Hence it was practically impossible for the Poles to alter it until a new general political situation arose.

During the decade of 1780–90 there were great changes in the international position. Prussia under Frederick William II quarrelled with Russia and

Austria, and the last two countries became involved in a war with Turkey. In 1788 Frederick William II offered a definite alliance to Poland. For the moment Poland refused, but at the same time was encouraged to abrogate (January 1789) the Constitution which had been imposed on her by Russia. However, Russian and Austrian successes against Turkey induced Poland to accept a renewed Prussian offer and to conclude a defensive alliance in March 1790. But on the succession of Joseph II to the Austrian throne Austria retired from the Turkish war, and Prussia cynically ceased to value her alliance with Poland. The Poles, nevertheless, went on reforming their Government.

Although some political reforms had been passed by the Four Years' Diet (1780-84), such as a tax on the property of nobles and the abolition of the *liberum veto*, it was not until Russia was temporarily occupied that the larger question of the Constitution could be touched. A new Polish Constitution was promulgated on May 5, 1791. It won universal approval, except in Russia and among a small minority of reactionary Polish nobles. It restored the privileges of the King and increased his power, vested executive power in the King and six responsible ministers, confirmed the abolition of the *liberum veto*, increased the self-government of towns, giving them representation in the Diet, granted full religious liberty, and declared that after the death of Stanislaus Augustus the Polish crown should pass to the Elector of Saxony and become hereditary.

The success of the Constitution depended in the last resort on Russian acquiescence, but the policy of Russia continued to be deliberately aggressive. Though the Empress Catherine disapproved of the Revolution in France because of its destruction of royal power, she disapproved equally of the strengthening of royal power in Poland. In fact Russia was determined to crush

Poland. The opportunity was offered by the action of the Polish minority, who, led by Felix Potocki, Branicki, and others, formed a confederacy at Targovica early in 1792 and appealed to Russia for military support against the new Polish Constitution. Poland had no allies ready or willing to help her. Austria was for the moment involved in a new war with revolutionary France, and Prussia was bought off by Russian promises of a fresh share in Polish territory. Russia entered Poland with an army of 100,000, against which the Poles could only muster 45,000. King Stanislaus Augustus went over to the Russian side. Most of the ministers responsible for the 1791 Constitution fled the country. The Polish Commander in Chief, Prince Joseph Poniatowski, resigned his command. Russian troops occupied Warsaw and abolished the Constitution of 1791.

SECOND PARTITION, 1793

The secessionists who had formed the confederacy at Targovica now hoped that the old oligarchic, unworkable Constitution would simply be restored. Instead, Russia and Prussia came to an agreement, over the heads of the secessionists, for a second partition of Poland, in January 1793.

Prussia gained the cities of Danzig and Thorn and the whole of Great or West Poland up to a line running practically north and south some 25 miles west of Warsaw, territory which included the original kernel of Poland, i.e. the country lying between the Oder and the Vistula, containing the Polish cities of Gniezno (Gnesen), Poznan (Posen) and Czenstochowa.

Russia acquired half of Lithuania, a huge slice of country including the remaining part of White Russia, a large part of Black Russia (the country between the Pripet and the Niemen, west of the Berezina), and the

whole of Little Russia or the Ukraine west of the Dnieper. The southern boundary of this territory was the river Dniester, the eastern the rivers Dnieper, Drut and western Dvina; to the southeast, between the Dnieper and Dniester, the new territory marched with the new southern provinces of Russia (Novorossiia), and on the west the boundary was a more or less straight line running from Dvinsk in the north through Pinsk to Kamenets Podolski in Podolia in the south.

Poland was left with a third of her original territory, an area of some 95,000 square miles and a population of 3,500,000.

The First Partition had been justified to a certain extent by the existence of anarchy in Poland: the Second was brazen robbery of a helpless neighbour, which was at the moment for almost the first time in her history in possession of a stable form of Government and had made a notable advance towards national regeneration.

POLISH RISING

Difficulties arose over the ratification of the Partition Treaties by the Poles. The Russian Treaty was (under Russian threats) ratified by the Diet in August 1793. But the Prussian Treaty was a more serious matter to Poland. The Poles tried to make a special commercial Treaty with Prussia, avoiding a cession of territory. There was a great difference between the territories claimed by the Russians and by the Prussians. The former, however valuable economically to Poland, was in the first instance largely Russian. Polish civilization was mainly on the surface; underneath it was Russian or Lithuanian or Lett. But the latter was the cradle of the Polish race, and the Polish State as such could not survive its loss. However, Russian and Prussian troops forced the so-called Second Dumb Diet to sign the

Prussian Treaty in September 1793. In October 1793 the old unworkable Polish Constitution was restored.

Meanwhile various elements in Poland were preparing a final effort to free the country from foreign domination. The head of the movement was Kosciuszko. An insurrection was proclaimed at Cracow in March 1794 and war declared on Russia. This "people's rebellion" however was poorly supplied with money and material; and the army was small and badly armed. Preliminary success indeed enabled a Provisional Government to be set up at Warsaw, largely composed of the men who were responsible for the 1791 Constitution. But the Prussians took Cracow, and then joined the Russians in besieging Warsaw during the summer of 1794. A sympathetic rising in Great Poland and in Lithuania saved the situation for the moment; but the Russians and Prussians soon received reinforcements, and Austria suddenly declared war on Poland. Kosciuszko found himself threatened on three sides, by Prussians and Russians in the west, by Austrians in the south, and by another Russian army under Suvorov marching on Warsaw from the east. In October 1794 Kosciuszko was completely defeated, and in the following month Warsaw surrendered to Suvorov. Kosciuszko was imprisoned and the other Polish leaders exiled to Siberia.

THIRD PARTITION, 1795

On January 3, 1795, Russia and Austria, and on October 24, 1795, Russia and Prussia, settled the details of the Third Partition. Prussia obtained all the country lying between the Niemen and Vistula, including the capital, Warsaw. Russia gained territory which included Courland and the parts of Lithuania and Black Russia not included in the Second Partition. Austria gained a triangular piece of territory north of Galicia (including

Cracow), bounded on the north by the western Bug. The Niemen thus formed the boundary between Russia and Prussia, and the Bug that between Russia and Austria. The Third Partition finally destroyed the Polish State. But in so doing it recreated the national consciousness, which from henceforth attained a unity hitherto unknown, and has been the characteristic feature of subsequent Polish history, whether under Russian, Prussian or Austrian rule.

EVENTS BETWEEN 1795 AND 1807

Many of the most influential Poles left the country and took service abroad. In the long run they rendered invaluable service to Poland by focusing the attention of Western Europe, and particularly that of France, upon the Polish question and establishing a definite, if unrequited, claim upon the gratitude of foreigners (in the same way that Cavour did at a later date by means of the Italian participation in the Crimean War). The most far-sighted of the Poles saw that their best hope of recognition lay in France; and in 1797 Dombrowski raised the famous Polish legions which fought first for the French Republic in northern Italy and subsequently for Napoleon in various parts of Europe. Though their numbers dwindled, they created an imperishable tradition.

In Russian Poland a new political situation resulted from the accession of the Tsar Alexander I, who was a personal friend of Adam Czartoryski. A pro-Russian party arose in Poland, aiming at the unification of all Poland under Russian rule, which implied that Russia must abandon friendly relations with Prussia. Unfortunately the Tsar's increasing dislike of Napoleon, and the Polish connection with France, proved an insuperable obstacle. There followed the wars between Napoleon and the Third Coalition, of Austria, Prussia and

Russia, resulting in the battles of Austerlitz, December 2, 1805, Jena, October 14, 1806, and Friedland, June 14, 1807, which made Napoleon master of Europe. During the Friedland campaign Poland served as a useful base for Napoleon, and fresh Polish legions raised by Dombrowski gave the French valuable assistance. The result was that at the Treaty of Tilsit, July 1807, the Duchy of Warsaw was created—in effect a Fourth Partition, but one which at least allowed the existence of a truncated Poland.

DUCHY OF WARSAW

Napoleon permitted Prussia to keep her share of the First Partition, while losing all that she had gained by the Second and Third. Danzig became a Free City. Russia obtained Bialystok and Bielsk, or northern Podlesia. The Duchy (i.e. the new Poland) recovered Thorn, and was obliged to join the Continental System. The Saxon King Frederick Augustus became Duke. Though the new territory only included an area of 64,500 square miles with a population of 2,400,000, it implied a significant rebirth of Poland; and the guarantee of free navigation for the Poles on the Vistula to the Baltic was intended to secure to them the possibility of self-sufficiency.

Poland was now irrevocably tied to Napoleon and shared in the fluctuations of his fortunes. Under French control a new and more democratic Constitution, together with the *Code Napoléon*, was introduced. Serfdom was abolished, but a mistake was made in failing to provide the peasants with any land, an omission which led later to a large peasant exodus. Commerce, trade, and education revived, it is true; but the economic and general regeneration of the Duchy was checked by the war between Austria and Napoleon in 1809. During this war the Polish army conquered

Galicia; and, when Napoleon's victory at Wagram ended hostilities, Galicia should have been restored to the Duchy. Owing, however, to the usual Russian intervention, only Western Galicia as far as the San, with the Zamosc district and part of the Wieliczka salt mines, comprising some 33,000 square miles with 1,500,000 inhabitants, came back to the Polish State. Austria kept the rest of Galicia, and Russia was given the Circle of Tarnopol. Polish hopes were finally shattered in 1812 by the failure of Napoleon's campaign in Russia, after which the country became the base of Prussian operations against the French.

CONGRESS OF VIENNA, 1814-15

Owing to the influence of Russia, to Poland's loyalty to Napoleon, and to quarrels among the Allies, the Congress of Vienna sanctioned a new partition in 1814, which was finally completed in 1815. Poland was again divided between Prussia, Austria, and Russia, with the exception of Cracow, which became an independent Republic (annexed by Austria in 1846). Poznan and Gniezno with a population of 810,000 were left to Prussia. Austria retained Galicia (including Tarnopol) with 1,500,000 inhabitants. Lithuania and the Ruthenian palatinates remained incorporated in the Russian Empire. The remnant, called the Congress Kingdom, was constituted under the Russian Tsar.

Four-fifths of the Poland of 1772 thus came under Russian rule, the remaining fifth being almost equally divided between Austria and Prussia. The complete severance of the political bonds uniting the Polish people was mitigated on paper by various provisions, the two most noticeable points being that the inhabitants of the Poland of 1772 were guaranteed complete freedom in social and economic intercourse within the 1772 boundaries, and that transportation and naviga-

tion on all rivers and canals were to be unrestricted. In theory this meant that the Poles had the right of free navigation, *via* Danzig, to the Baltic Sea. In practice it would have necessitated the creation of a special Prussian tariff zone on both sides of the Vistula. The vital question of Polish access to the sea was balanced against very considerable, if not impossible, tariff difficulties on the side of Prussia. The same situation obtained on the Austrian and Russian boundaries of Poland. The interests of the stronger Powers prevailed, as was bound to happen, once Poland had been partitioned. Henceforth Polish political and economic life developed under three separate and often antagonistic systems.

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For ethnography, see the "Ethnographical Map of Central and S.E. Europe" (sheet "Poland") issued by the War Office (G.S.G.S. No. 3703 *a*) on the scale of 1:1,500,000; also the sketch map, with same title (G.S.G.S. No. 2824), issued by the War Office, 1916.

RUSSIAN POLAND
LITHUANIA
AND
WHITE RUSSIA

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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.

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I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

RUSSIAN POLAND

(1) POSITION AND FRONTIERS

RUSSIAN POLAND, with an area of 49,000 square miles, lies between $50^{\circ} 3'$ and $55^{\circ} 6'$ north latitude and $17^{\circ} 38'$ and $24^{\circ} 16'$ 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, Łomża, Płock, Warsaw, Kalisz, Piotrków (Petroków), Kielce (Kyeltsi), Radom, Lublin (Lyublin), and Siedlce (Syedlets). In 1912, however, a new Government of Chełm (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 Podlasiian 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 Łęczycza (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 $62\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ 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 $17\frac{1}{2}$ to $23\frac{1}{2}$ 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 $9\frac{1}{2}$ 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, Witkowyszki (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
Łomża	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 (<i>gminy</i>)	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 $53^{\circ} 15'$ and $57^{\circ} 27'$ north latitude, and $20^{\circ} 27'$ and $32^{\circ} 56'$ 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 Polyasia 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 watershed 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 Polyasia 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, Rzeżyca (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.
Święciany :		
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 Siedlee. 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 Paskiiewicz, 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 Pozńania. 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 Poland¹ 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 land-owning 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 sequestered.

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 RUSSIA¹

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 Płotsk (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 Toleration 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 Lithuania¹ 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 1916¹ 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 6½ 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 Ivanogorod, 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 Wierzbolów (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 Granitsa¹ 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 $4\frac{1}{2}$ 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 Wyszaków (Vishkov), and from the Warsaw-Łódź trunk line to Skierniewice, Błonie, Milanówek, 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 small¹ 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 2s. 6d. 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 (*chłopi*—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 Czeszochowa.

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 Żyrardów. 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, stock, &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 counter-balanced 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 2s. 1½d., 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 (Shechara), 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 Drina* 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 Byelovyėj 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 *via* 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 *via* Volkovisk and Slonim to Baranovichi; (3) southwards *via* 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 Wierzbołów (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 7s. 6d. to £1 12s.) 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
<i>Nadyel</i> 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
Townspople 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 rouble, equivalent to 2s. 1½d., 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 rouble 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 $4\frac{1}{2}$ 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 $4\frac{1}{2}$ 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 XVIII^e 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.

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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.

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I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

(1) POSITION AND FRONTIERS

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

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

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

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

(2) SURFACE AND RIVER SYSTEM

Surface

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

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

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

River System

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

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

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

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

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

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

(3) CLIMATE

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

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

(4) SANITARY CONDITIONS

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

(5) RACE AND LANGUAGE

Statistics

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Distribution

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Language

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

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

(6) POPULATION

Distribution

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

Towns and Villages

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

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

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

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

Movement

The birth- and death-rates are both high. In 1913 they were 34·4 and 17·3 per thousand per annum respectively, as opposed to those of the whole kingdom, which then stood at 29·0 and 15·8. The birth-rate being relatively higher than the death-rate, the excess of births over deaths is also above the average, viz. 17·1 as opposed to 13·2.

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

		<i>Birth-rate.</i>	<i>Death-rate.</i>	<i>Excess of births per 1,000.</i>
Poles . . .	{ 1900	47	25	22
	{ 1911	40·4	19·7	20·7
Germans . . .	{ 1900	37	26	11
	{ 1911	29·7	17·9	11·8

II. POLITICAL HISTORY

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

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

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

(1) THE PERIOD FROM 1815 TO 1870

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

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

1815-30. *Polish Nobles retain Political Power*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1840-8. *The Period of Concessions*

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Emigration ; Insurrectionary Movement of 1846

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1850-70. *The National Struggle quiescent*

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

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

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

Alterations in the Structure of Polish Society

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

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

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

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

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

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

(2) THE PERIOD FROM 1870 TO 1914

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Specific Attack on Polish Language

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The National Conflict extends to the Land Question

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

Attack on Polish Landownership; the Colonization Commission

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

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

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

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

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

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

Polish Defensive Measures in the Land Struggle

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

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

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

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

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

The Eastern Marches Association and the Hakatist Policy

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

The strength of this Imperialist party in the country

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

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

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

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

(3) GENERAL SUMMARY

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

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

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

Poles are practically excluded from posts in Govern-

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

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

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

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

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

III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

(1) RELIGIOUS

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

The Jews of Poznania, as distinguished from their co-religionists in other parts of Poland, have sunk into a position of insignificance. At the beginning of the nineteenth century they formed 6 per cent. of the population. In the course of the century they dropped to one-third of that percentage, and in 1910 included only 1·2 per cent. of the population.

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

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

(2) POLITICAL

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

West Prussia	3
Poznania	11
Upper Silesia	5

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

East Prussia	1
West Prussia	5
Poznania	3
Total	9

in addition to the 19 now held by Poles.

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

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

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

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

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

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

(3) EDUCATIONAL

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

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

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

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

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

IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

(A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

(a) Roads

IN 1912 there were 1,888 km. of provincial and 3,189 km. of district (*Kreis*) roads in Poznania, making an average of 17·5 km. to 100 square km., as compared with an average of 24·2 for the whole of Prussia. These roads, as is the case throughout Prussia, are well maintained, and in many parts are bordered with fruit-trees, the yield of which is applied to their upkeep; but in view of the adequacy of the railway system they are only of secondary importance in the economic life of the province.

(b) Rivers and Canals

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(c) Railways

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

In 1912 the total length of line was 2,666 km., equivalent to 12·7 km. for every 10,000 inhabitants, and 9·2 km. per 100 square km. of territory. By 1913 there were 1,293·21 km. of main and 1,487·55 km. of branch lines, the main lines being heavily laid double tracks and the branches of normal gauge but not so heavily laid.

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

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

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

(B) INDUSTRY

(I) LABOUR

(a) Supply of Labour; Emigration and Immigration

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

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

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

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

(b) *Labour Conditions*

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

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

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

be taken as typical illustrations of present conditions :

(1) In money the foreman-labourer receives for himself an annual wage rising from 120 marks to 150 marks ; for his wife, 60 pf. daily at harvest and 40–60 marks for the year ; for extra farm hands, allowances varying from 60 pf. to 1·20 marks daily in summer and from 50 pf. to 1·10 marks in winter ; as harvest bonuses, 1 mark per *morgen* ($\frac{5}{8}$ acre) of rye, 30 pf. per *morgen* of meadow and clover, and 12 pf. per bushel of potatoes. He also has a one-roomed dwelling-house ; wood and coal valued at 45 marks ; free medical attendance and drugs ; one cow with free stallage and pasture, or else an allowance of milk ; one to three pigs ; two to six geese ; five to ten hens ; half a *morgen* of potato land yielding $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 tons ; a quarter *morgen* of garden ; one ton of rye, and if he engages additional farm hands, an extra allowance of up to 16 cwt. ; three tons of potatoes, and with 15 cwt. to 3 tons extra for the farm hands.

(2) The foreman-labourer receives 120 marks yearly and an allowance of 240 marks for a ploughman to do 300 days' ploughing ; free dwelling ; four cubic metres of wood and 2·4 tons of coal ; free medical attendance ; fodder for one cow and accommodation for cow, pigs, and fowls ; a potato patch ; and 1·4 tons of rye ; the estimated value of the whole, including profits from live stock, being 1,300 marks yearly.

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

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

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

The large annual immigration of cheap labour, to which reference has already been made, impedes efforts to raise the economic condition of the permanent labour supply. The daily wages paid to Russian Poles are: to mowers, 2·20 marks during harvest and 1·70 marks at other times; to other adult male labourers, 1·80 marks and 1·40 marks; to women and boys, 1·40 marks and 1·20 marks. Russians from the east of Thorn are paid at a far lower rate, mowers getting only 1·50 marks at harvest, while Galician Poles receive still less. Piece-work rates are sometimes higher, and there are also payments in kind which may amount to 40–60 pf. per diem.

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

(2) AGRICULTURE

(a) *Products of Commercial Value*

The total surface area of Poznanian is 2,899,300 hectares, of which in 1913 63·7 per cent. was arable land, 10·4 per cent. meadow and pasture, 19·9 per cent. forest, and 6 per cent. put to other uses or left uncultivated.

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

Cereals.—By far the most important crop is *rye*, which in 1914 occupied over 40 per cent. of the arable land. The average yield per hectare (1910–14) is 1·54 metric tons, which is slightly higher than the average for the whole of Prussia.

Wheat, *barley*, and *oats* are grown on a much smaller scale, occupying 4·5 per cent., 7·1 per cent., and 9·3 per cent. respectively of the arable area, and showing in each case a lower average yield than that for the whole kingdom; but whereas between 1892 and 1912 the area under wheat decreased by some 20 per cent., the area under barley and oats as well as that under rye considerably increased, and, owing to the adoption of intensive methods of farming, the output of all four crops showed a marked advance: that of rye from 502,000 metric tons to 1,231,000 metric tons, that of wheat from 126,000 metric tons to 176,000 metric tons, that of barley from 64,000 metric tons to 288,000 metric tons, and that of oats from 107,000 metric tons to 365,000 metric tons. In 1913 the production per hectare was: of rye, 1·93 metric tons; of wheat, 2·35 metric tons; of oats, 2·24 metric tons; of barley, 2·38 metric tons; these returns, as were also those for potatoes and sugar-beet, being higher in every case than the corresponding returns in any other Polish province, whether under Prussian, Russian, or Austrian rule.

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

Potatoes are grown extensively, the area covered in 1912 being 17·1 per cent. of the arable land and the harvest weighing 4,565,000 metric tons, while the average annual yield of 15·36 metric tons per hectare (15·7 in the district of Posen and 15·03 in that of Bromberg) compares favourably with the general average for Prussia of 14·59. Potatoes are used exclusively in the Poznanian distilleries.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(b) *Methods of Cultivation*

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

(c) *Forestry*

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

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

(d) *Land Tenure*

Large estates, relics of the old feudal tenures (*Rittergüter*), were, and still are, characteristic of the Polish lands; but of recent years the tendency has been towards a subdivision into smaller units. This tendency is less marked in Poznań and West Prussia than in the Kingdom of Poland and Galicia, but between 1905 and 1907 estates in the former province of more than 100 hectares were reduced by 250,246 hectares, and between 1882 and 1907 by 11·4 per cent. of their total agricultural area; the land thus lost to the great owners was for the most part split up into peasant holdings of from 2 to 20 hectares. More than half the area of Poznań is now held in estates of less than 100 hectares, the majority of which are between 5 and 20 hectares; but in 1907 there were some 138,900 holdings of under 5 hectares, the owners of more than 100,000 of which found their chief means of livelihood in working on the more extensive estates of others. A distinction is to be drawn between these small freehold properties and the allotments granted by the large farmers to their labourers as part wages (see above, p. 40).

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

The Colonization Commission (1886) was one of the

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

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

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

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

(3) MINERALS

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

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

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

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

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

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

(4) MANUFACTURES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(C) COMMERCE

(a) *Towns*

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

Posen (population, 154,811 ¹) is the chief town of the

¹ The population figures are those of 1910.

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

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

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

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

(b) *Organizations to promote Trade and Commerce*

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

(c) *Exports*¹

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

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

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

(d) Imports

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

(D) FINANCE

(1) *Public Finance*

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

(2) *Banking*

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

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

¹ For details see *Rhenish Prussia*, No. 38 of this series.

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

(E) GENERAL REMARKS

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

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

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

APPENDIX

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

A. <i>Kreise of Western border.</i>	i.	ii.
Kolmar (Chodzież)	18·9	23·6
Czarnikau (Czarnków)	29·2	34·7
Filehne (Wieleń)	30·1	35·3
Birnbaum (Międzychéd)	51·1	58·8
Schwerin (Skwierzyna)	8·6	25·5
Meseritz (Międzyrzec)	22·9	27·7
Neutomischel (Nowy Tomysł)	54·2	61·1
Bomst (Babimost)	50·7	58·2
Fraustadt (Wschowa)	31·9	41·1
Lissa (Lézno)	38·3	47·0
Rawitsch (Rawicz)	57·8	70·7
 B. <i>Kreise of Bromberg district.</i>		
Wirnitz (Wyrzysk)	49·0	52·1
Bromberg (Bydgoszcz) urban	18·9	34·8
Bromberg rural	39·0	43·8
Schubin (Szubin)	56·3	57·8
 C. <i>Kreise of Polish territory proper.</i>		
Hohensalza (Inowrazław)	63·2	71·3
Znin (Żnin)	72·8	75·8
Wongrowitz (Wągrowiec)	68·8	73·1
Gnesen (Gniezno)	61·8	70·3
Mogilno (Mogilno)	70·8	74·2
Strelno (Strzelno)	80·2	83·1
Witkowo (Witkowo)	83·3	85·7
Obornik (Oborniki)	59·7	64·5
Samter (Szamotuły)	74·3	79·3
Posen (Poznań) urban	57·8	78·6
Posen West	82·8	85·6
Posen East	71·2	78·1
Grätz (Grodzisk)	83·5	87·4

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

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MAPS

Prussian Poland is covered by four sheets (Berlin, N. 33; Warsaw, N. 34; Vienna, M. 33; Krakau, M. 34) of the General Map of Europe (G.S.G.S. 2758) published by the War Office.

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

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I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

(1) POSITION AND FRONTIERS

GALICIA, the largest province of the Austrian Empire, with an area of 30,300 square miles, lies between $47^{\circ} 43'$ and $50^{\circ} 49'$ north latitude and $18^{\circ} 57'$ and $26^{\circ} 28'$ east longitude, and is bounded on the west by Austrian and Prussian Silesia, on the north by Russian Poland, and on the east by the Little Russian (Ukrainian) governments of Volhynia and Podolia. The eastern end of the southern frontier touches Bessarabia for a short distance, while the rest of the southern boundary is formed by the Bukovina and Hungary.

The boundaries of the country are for the most part very clear, following as they do natural barriers of mountain and river. The southern boundary line runs through the Carpathian Mountains for its whole length of 300 miles, usually following the watershed more or less closely. The western frontier, at its southern end, also lies in the Carpathian chain, but farther north is marked by the line of the Biała river, a right-bank tributary of the Vistula. After the junction of the Biała with the Vistula, the western boundary of Galicia is carried north-eastward along the line of the Vistula itself to near Oświęcim, and then up the Przemsza to Myslowitz. Neither the Przemsza, the Biała, nor the Vistula at this early stage of its course is of a size to form an important natural line of defence.

The northern frontier of Galicia runs at its western end through the Heights of Cracow, which form part of the plateaux of Little Poland north of the Vistula. The general direction of the ranges is from south-east to north-west, so that the frontier, running roughly from west to east, cuts across the valleys and follows

no river until eastwards of Cracow, where it turns south to meet the Vistula, which once more becomes the boundary line as far as the junction of the Sanna at the northernmost part of Galicia. Here the boundary leaves the Vistula, and runs in a general south-easterly direction roughly parallel to the course of the River San, which it touches for a while near Kreshov (Krzeszów). The eastern part of the northern frontier follows no river line, but goes through broken country, to the north of which lie the Lublin Heights and to the south the marshy plains of Galicia.

The eastern frontier is in its northern section drawn across similar country which becomes more undulating as it proceeds eastwards. After crossing the watershed between the streams flowing north to the Pripet region, and those flowing south to the Dniester, the boundary runs down the deeply-eroded valley of the Zbrucz, ending at the junction of the Zbrucz with the Dniester. The extreme south-eastern corner of Galicia is enclosed between these two rivers, both flowing through deep wooded defiles.

(2) SURFACE AND RIVER SYSTEM

Surface

For purposes of more detailed description Galicia may be divided into four main areas :

(1) The Heights of Cracow, which fill the north-western corner of the country north of the Vistula as far east as Cracow.

(2) The Plains, which stretch almost uninterruptedly from the foot-hills of the Silesian Highlands near the western frontier to the San, and eastward of that river through the whole of north-eastern and parts of south-eastern Galicia.

(3) The Podolian (or Black Sea) Plateau, which fills the greater part of eastern Galicia as far west as Lemberg, and divides the north-eastern plains from those of the south-east.

(4) The Carpathians, which extend through the whole of southern Galicia.

The Heights of Cracow.—Only the southern ranges of these heights lie within the boundaries of Galicia. The Vistula is their southern boundary nearly everywhere, although they cross the river in the neighbourhood of Cracow itself, and run southward across the Galician Plain to join the foot-hills of the Carpathians. This is one of the only two points at which the Polish heights are directly connected with the Carpathians.

The Heights of Cracow are much broken and divided from each other by deep valleys. The most remarkable formation in these mountains within Galicia is the limestone chain, the northern end of which reaches to Wieluń in Russian Poland, while at its southern end, as has been said above, it passes Cracow and extends across the Vistula. This region is known as the Cracow breach of the Vistula, and is famous for its beauty, its highest points reaching 1,300 ft.

The Plains.—At their western end the plains of Galicia are closely bounded by the plateaux of Little Poland on the north and by the Carpathians on the south.

That part of the Galician depression which lies to the west of this high ground is known as the Oświęcim Plain, and extends from Oświęcim (Auschwitz), which lies near the western frontier of Galicia, on the eastern edge of the Silesian elevation, to the Cracow breach of the Vistula. At Cracow the Galician Plain proper begins; it extends eastward to the River San, and its shape is a triangle, the points of which are Cracow, Sandomierz, and Przemyśl. On the south this area is bounded by the Carpathian foot-hills. The average level along the southern part of the plain is about 700 ft., sinking to below 500 ft. at the junction of the Vistula and the San near Sandomierz.

Some distance to eastward of the San the Galician Plain is divided into a northern and a southern portion by the wedge of the Podolian Plateau, which thrusts itself westwards from across the Russian frontier. To

the north of this wedge the plain extends in a narrow strip from the San to the Bug, bounded on the north by the Lublin Heights (which form part of the plateaux of Little Poland). This northerly part of the Galician Plain is divided into two distinct portions by the Roztocze ridge, and eastwards from this ridge to the north-eastern frontier of Galicia the country is a flat monotonous stretch of bog, sand, and pine-woods.

In the southern portion of the East Galician plain the Carpathian foot-hills project northward near Przemyśl, where they form the watershed between the San and the Dniester. The valleys of the Dniester and its right-bank tributary the Stryj are very liable to floods, and are too marshy for agriculture in their present undrained state.

The Podolian Plateau.—Within Galicia the northern boundary of this plateau runs along a line which passes from Brody to Lemberg through Złoczów. Upon this northern edge the plateau falls abruptly to the north-eastern plain, except where the narrow ridge of Roztocze, mentioned above, runs between Lemberg and Tomaszów.

The western limit of the plateau runs along a line drawn south from Lemberg to Mikołajów, while the southern edge runs down the north bank of the Dniester to a point below Halicz, where it crosses the river and continues southwards to the frontier between Galicia and the Bukovina, there joining the Carpathians. This is the second of the two points at which the Heights of Little Poland are connected with the Carpathians by high ground, which is here continued across the whole breadth of the widest part of Galicia by means of the Roztocze ridge.

The highest altitudes of the Podolian Plateau are in the westerly region known as Opole, where the average elevation is more than 1,300 ft. above sea-level. From here a great number of rivers run southward to the Dniester, flowing in wide valleys liable to frequent floods, so that a great part of the surface is marsh-land.

The area lying immediately to eastward of Opole, between the rivers Koropiec and Sereth, is known as Western Podolia. (This Sereth, a left-bank tributary of the Dniester, must not be confused with the Sereth, a tributary of the Danube.) Western Podolia is full of marshy open valleys in the north, but its rivers in their lower courses run in narrow ravines; the country between them is flat, and to a great extent treeless, and begins to assume the characteristics of the steppe, which become more marked east of the Sereth. The region beyond this river is known as Eastern Podolia, and that part of it which lies within Galicia contains a wooded limestone ridge, rising in places 300 ft. above the plateau level, and running right across it from the northern border to Husiatyn.

In the small south-eastern area called Pokucie, south of the Dniester, the Podolian Plateau merges into the Carpathians. The soil of this district is fruitful and richly cultivated.

The Carpathians.—The mountains in Galician territory belong to the outer of the two parallel zones into which the whole Carpathian range is divided. The only part of the inner zone which falls within the Galician frontier is the High Tatra group, which lies near the western end of the frontier, and differs much from the other hills in structure and appearance. Otherwise the chains show little variation, and their wooded sandstone ridges stretch from one end of the country to the other, their summits being everywhere low in comparison with the average altitude.

The ranges between the western frontier and the River Poprád are known as the Western Beskids. The Tatra also lies in this section, to the south of the Beskids; the frontier line, curving sharply south and then north, includes this group. The northern mountains belonging to the Western Beskids contain the line of picturesque limestone crags known as the Carpathian cliffs, which form a narrow zone about 100 miles long.

The Eastern Beskids begin east of the Poprád and

extend to the Lupków Pass, although the name is sometimes used for the hills as far eastwards as the Uszok Pass. They then merge into the Eastern or Wooded Carpathians.

The Tatra itself rises like an island from the sandstone formations which surround it. It is about 30 miles long and 10 miles broad, with an average altitude of over 6,500 ft., and peaks reaching to over 8,500 ft., the highest to be found anywhere in the Carpathians, while many glacial lakes lie in its valleys. The sides are wooded up to a height of 5,000 ft., where the forests are succeeded by a zone of bushes and pastures, and above this rise the bare granite peaks.

River System

Galicia lies mainly in the basin of two great rivers, the *Vistula* and the *Dniester*, the first emptying into the Baltic, the second into the Black Sea. All Western Galicia belongs to the *Vistula* basin, and Eastern Galicia to the basin of the *Dniester*, except in the south-eastern corner, where the rivers flow southward and thus belong to the Danube basin. Both the great rivers receive a very large number of tributaries, so that the whole surface of the plains and the Podolian Plateau is cut at frequent intervals by valleys. In the present unregulated condition of the streams, floods are a constantly recurring hindrance to agriculture in nearly all parts of the country.

The *Vistula* rises in the Barania range in Austrian Silesia. Thence it flows north-eastward, and continues in that direction after it enters Galicia. At this point its course runs through the wide glacial valley known as the Oświęcim Plain, alluded to above, where it first becomes liable to the sudden violent floods which are characteristic of it throughout the rest of its course. It turns east before reaching Cracow, and here it becomes navigable for steamships.

Taken in order from west to east the chief affluents of the *Vistula* are the Dunajec, the Wisłoka, and the San. The Dunajec, which is navigable for boats in

its lower course, receives in its upper waters one tributary, the Poprád. The San is the most considerable of any of the Vistula tributaries within Galicia, and becomes navigable at a little distance below Leżajsk. It may be noted that the Bug in its upper waters flows southwards through north-eastern Galicia.

The *Dniester* rises in the middle of Galicia, among the low hills, in the plain south of Przemyśl, and flows at first north, and then in a general south-easterly direction. It is a frontier river only for a short stretch at the south-east of Galicia before it passes into Russia. It runs through the centre of Eastern Galicia, receiving a large number of tributaries on both banks. Its fall is slight, and in its upper waters it passes through a wide valley, with large marshes on either side, this area constantly being inundated.

On the right bank of the Dniester the largest tributaries, named in order from west to east, are the Stryj, the Swica, the Łomnica, and the Bystrzyca (Bistritz). The most important of these is the Stryj, which in its lower waters resembles the upper Dniester, into which it flows, in its wide and frequent floods.

The chief of the left-bank tributaries, which run parallel to each other southward through the Podolian Plateau, are the Złota Lipa, the Strypa, the Sereth, and the Zbrucz. None of the Dniester tributaries are navigable for boats.

Only a corner of the country, watered by the upper course of the Pruth, lies outside the basin of one or other of the Vistula and Dniester.

(3) CLIMATE

Galicia has a severe climate, owing partly to the general northward aspect of the country, which is shut off by the Carpathians from the south winds. It consequently lies exposed to the north and north-east. There are great variations of temperature between winter and summer, at Lemberg the mean January temperature being 24° F. (—4½° C.) and the July temperature 66° F. (19° C.). In the Carpathians

the mean annual variation is 39° F. ($21\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ C.), the difference between 21° F. (-6° C.) in January and 60° F. ($15\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ C.) in July. The winters are long, and are followed by short wet springs. There are, however, many places in the mountains which are sheltered and sunny and have become well known as health resorts.

In the Carpathians the average yearly precipitation is 38 inches, and at Cracow 24 inches. Over 60 per cent. of the total falls between the months of April and September, both in the mountains and in the plains. In the mountains more than half of the winter precipitation falls in snow.

The mean annual rainfall of the greater part of the Podolian Plateau is only 19 inches, but on its northern border it is considerably more. Here again more than 60 per cent. of the total falls in the six warm months. This comparatively heavy summer rainfall is common to all parts of Galicia, and contributes greatly to its fertility, although at the same time it is one cause of the floods which are the great hindrance to agriculture. Droughts are in fact almost unknown.

Galician rivers generally freeze in the first half of December, and remain frozen till about the middle of March; 108 days is a normal period for the upper Vistula to be under ice.

(4) SANITARY CONDITIONS

The medical service of Galicia is partly provided by the public health authorities. Eight hundred doctors are in State service, out of a total of about 1,400 fully qualified physicians and 75 surgeons. This works out at about one doctor to every 5,400 of the population.

There are nearly a hundred hospitals distributed throughout the country. Some sixty of these are paid for out of charitable funds, six of them being in Lemberg and seven in Cracow. Many are Jewish institutions, but the proportions seem to show that more is attempted for the sick poor in general than is the case in Russian Poland. The provi-

sion of hospital beds is, however, far from adequate, being only one to every 1,250 people. The death-rate for all the Hungarian provinces is very high, and Galicia in this respect resembles them. Malarial diseases flourish in the marshy plains, and diseases due to bad conditions, such as tuberculosis and pneumonia, are common.

(5) RACE AND LANGUAGE

Race

According to the last official census (1910) Galicia contains 8,025,600 inhabitants (Western Galicia 2,689,800, Eastern Galicia 5,335,800). Of the total number 4,672,000 are entered as habitually speaking Polish, 3,208,000 as speaking Little Russian, and 90,000 as speaking German. The proportions of nationalities thus calculated are Poles 58·6 per cent., Little Russians (also called Ruthenians or Ukrainians) 40 per cent., and Germans 1·1 per cent. The Jews, although they speak Yiddish among themselves, are entered as speaking the language of one or other of the above races (generally Polish) and are therefore mostly counted among the Poles. The religious census of 1910 puts the Jews in Galicia at 872,000, or about 11 per cent. of the total population, which may be taken as representing the number of unassimilated Jews in the country.

Galicia thus contains two races approximately equal in numbers, the Poles belonging ethnologically to the western Slavs, and the Little Russians to the eastern Slavs, being therefore akin to the Great Russians and the White Russians.

These two main divisions must be taken here to cover the smaller distinctions of race among the Goralians or Carpathian mountaineers. These include a number of separate groups, who from their isolated position have kept many interesting characteristics of dialect and custom. In the Tatra, for instance, there are some thirty villages inhabited solely by the Podhalians, a Polish-speaking tribe, of mixed origin, while the

Eastern Beskids are the home of the Hutsulians (Huzuls), the largest of the Little Russian groups inhabiting the mountains.

The racial distribution of Poles and Little Russians is extremely simple in Western Galicia, where the Polish-speaking population forms 96 per cent. of the total. Of these 8 per cent. are professing Jews, who are mostly settled in the towns, while Little Russians make up less than 3 per cent. of the population. The latter are found chiefly in the comparatively thinly populated Carpathian districts bordering on the River Poprząd and the upper valley of the Dunajec, where the Lemki (or Lemkians), mountaineers of Little Russian origin form 10 to 25 per cent. of the inhabitants. They number less than 80,000. With this exception Western Galicia is solidly Polish.

In Eastern Galicia, east of a line between the River Wisłoka and the San, the ethnographical map is more complicated. The Little Russian population is in a majority of 59 per cent., and the proportion of Polish-speaking inhabitants is 39 per cent. Professing Jews number 12 per cent. of the total population and live chiefly in the towns, being also found in the oil-belt at the foot of the Carpathians. The census returns probably under-estimate the numbers of Little Russians in Eastern Galicia; Jews are frequently called Poles in the language statistics, and the Roman Catholics among the Little Russians are probably also calculated as Poles.

Although Poles are in a minority when Eastern Galicia is considered as a single area, there are a number of districts in which they form more than half the population. This is the case in the four political districts of Sanok, Brzozów, Przemyśl, and Jarosław (Jaroslau), all of which extend eastwards across the San, as well as in the adjoining political district of Cieszanów, on the northern frontier, eastward of the San. These provinces form the eastern limit of the solidly Polish territory in Galicia, and in the north are bounded by the equally Polish territory in Lublin and Chołm. Poles

form the majority of the population only in two other isolated localities in Eastern Galicia ; in the political district and town of Lemberg, and again in three political districts (Tarnopol, Skałat, and Trembowla) which lie on or near the eastern frontier.

The areas in which Little Russians are in a great majority lie, broadly speaking, in the south of Eastern Galicia, along the Dniester valley and in the Carpathians. There is, however, one solid block of Little Russian nationality in the north of Eastern Galicia, composed of the districts of Rawa Ruska, Żólkiew, and Jaworów, lying to north and east of Lemberg. In these districts the Little Russians compose from 69 to 78 per cent. of the inhabitants.

Language

The two languages in common use in Galicia are both Slavonic. Polish belongs to the western group, and is thus allied to Slovak, Czech, and Wendish. Little Russian (or Ruthenian) is a dialect of Russian, and forms with Russian and the White Russian dialect the eastern group of Slavonic languages. Galician Jews talk Yiddish among themselves.

In Galicia Polish and Little Russian are both recognized by the Austrian Government as *Landessprachen* (languages of the country), which involves their right to be used in administrative assemblies and in schools.

The true facts are obscured by the absence of adequate nationality statistics in the Austrian census, for no inquiry is instituted as to the 'mother tongue', the returns being based instead on the 'language in common use'.

(6) POPULATION

Distribution

In 1910 the density of the population of the country as a whole was 265 to the square mile, being 300 to the square mile in Western Galicia and 248 in Eastern Galicia. This is a very crowded population, especially

in view of the scarcity of big towns and the large majority of agriculturists among the people. The figures for the purely agricultural areas are 227 to the square mile in Western Galicia and 182 to the square mile in Eastern Galicia. The most thickly peopled districts lie in the plains, and in Western Galicia in the coal-bearing areas round Chrzanów, while the mountain districts have the smallest population.

In Eastern Galicia the population is thickest on the right bank of the Dniester, along the oil-belt at the northern foot of the Carpathians, also in the neighbourhood of Lemberg and along the southern half of the eastern frontier. The plateau region in the north-east is less densely peopled.

Towns

Galicia has two important towns: Cracow, the capital of Western Galicia, and Lemberg (Lwów), the capital of Eastern Galicia. Both these are governed by their own municipal councils: all the other towns are under the administration of the political districts in which they are situated.

The population of Cracow (including Podgórze, which adjoins it on the right bank of the Vistula) is 174,000. The population of Lemberg is 206,000. The next largest town is Przemyśl (54,000 inhabitants). No other Galician town has a population attaining 50,000. There are twelve between 20,000 and 50,000, lying mostly in the south and centre of the country. There is no large town eastwards from Cracow near the northern frontier; and the north-eastern districts have no big centres at all except Brody on the eastern frontier (21,000 inhabitants).

Increase

The population of Galicia increased by 216 per cent. between the years 1816 and 1910. This is a lower rate of increase than is shown in any other part of the territories of the old Polish State over the same period.

In the years between 1900 and 1910 the mean rate of increase was just under 16 per thousand. The following table shows the difference in the resident population between the natural and actual increase in the separate years of the decade, caused by the losses from emigration:

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Total population.</i>	<i>Births.</i>	<i>Deaths.</i>	<i>Natural increase.</i>	<i>Actual increase.</i>	<i>Actual increase per 1,000</i>
1901	7,245,000	322,000	187,000	135,000	90,000	12
1902	7,335,000	327,000	210,000	117,000	71,000	10
1903	7,406,000	315,000	198,000	117,000	71,000	9
1904	7,478,000	323,000	202,000	121,000	74,000	10
1905	7,552,000	312,000	213,000	98,000	51,000	7
1906	7,602,000	329,000	200,000	128,000	80,000	10
1907	7,683,000	321,000	196,000	125,000	75,000	10
1908	7,758,000	317,000	191,000	126,000	76,000	10
1909	7,834,000	317,000	204,000	113,000	62,000	8
1910	7,896,000	310,000	193,000	117,000	65,000	8

The above figures are for the total population of Galicia. When the rates of natural increase of the two nationalities are compared, it is found that the mean rate per 1,000 for the years 1900 to 1910 is 17 for the Poles and 13 for the Little Russians. These figures show the Poles to be the most prolific of all the races in the Austrian Empire.

II. POLITICAL HISTORY

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

1815. Treaty of Vienna. Fifth partition of Poland. Cracow proclaimed a Republic.
1817. Estates of Galicia created by Austria.
1846. Peasants' rising. Cracow annexed to Galicia.
1848. Revolution in Vienna.
Formation of first Polish National Committees in Galicia.
First open demands for constitutional rights.
1859. Austria defeated at Magenta and Solferino.
1860. October Constitution with promise of autonomy.
1861. February Constitution adopted. First Galician Diet.
1866. Austro-Prussian War.
1867. Dual Monarchy established.
1868. 'Galician Resolution' submitted to the Emperor.
Administration begins to pass into Polish hands.
1873. Introduction of direct voting for Reichsrat elections.
1896. Extension of the suffrage.
1907. Universal suffrage introduced.
1914. Enlargement and reorganization of Diet.

(1) INTRODUCTION

THE history of Galicia from the Congress of Vienna in 1815 up to the outbreak of war in 1914 falls into two distinct portions. The first extends from 1815 to 1866 and may be described as the period of government from Vienna. The second may be called the period of autonomy.

The distinction between the two is sharply marked, for the second was not a gradual development from the first, but the result of a complete reversal of policy imposed upon Austria by the series of events which followed the revolution of 1848 and culminated in her defeat by Prussia in 1866. Therefore, the incidents of

the years before 1848 have little bearing upon present conditions, except in so far as they contribute towards deciding the subsequent attitude of the different classes in Galicia towards each other and towards the State. After 1848, however, in spite of phases of reaction, some sort of autonomy became obviously necessary, although the precise form in which the Austrian Government eventually granted it to Galicia was decided by the European position after the Austro-Prussian War. Therefore the period of Centralist Government may be conveniently divided into two parts—the first being between the years 1815 and 1848, when Austrian treatment of Galicia was almost uniformly repressive, and the second between 1848 and 1866, during which that treatment was unwillingly modified.

(2) PERIOD OF CENTRALIST GOVERNMENT, 1815-66

Period of Repression, 1815-48

The fifth Partition of Poland, made at the Congress of Vienna, brought comparatively little gain of territory to Austria, who had already received her share at the first Partition in 1772. She now increased it by the two districts of Tarnopol and Zbaraż in Eastern Galicia, and a district in Western Galicia. Cracow was not annexed until 1846. The Vienna Treaty of 1815 made the city and its immediate surroundings an independent republic under the protection of Russia, Prussia, and Austria; and it existed thus for thirty-one years as the last vestige of the old free Poland.

The dismemberment of the Polish State in 1815, therefore, brought few political changes to Galicia. All the partitioning Powers promised to grant constitutions and to recognize the nationality of Poles in the Polish territories which they acquired by the Treaty of Vienna. Austria fulfilled her pledge in 1817 only to the extent of reviving the Constitution which had been given by her to Galicia in 1775. This set up a sort of parody of a Diet, drawn principally from two classes of the people, the nobles and the clergy, with a few representatives of

the towns. This body was entrusted with practically no functions beyond recording the Imperial decrees by which the Government in Vienna dictated its will as to taxation, recruiting, and police in Galicia. There was little legislation of any other kind between 1817 and 1848. The non-German territories of Austria were passive under the rigidly centralized system of Metternich, which deliberately made local enterprise and economic development utterly impossible.

There does not appear to have been much desire for either on the part of Galician Poles, at any rate before 1830. In these respects Galicia was the most backward part of Poland. This may have been partly due at first to the fact that the country came under the deadening influence of Austria at the first partition, and therefore had no active share in the struggles which stirred other parts of Poland during the period of the later partitions and the Napoleonic wars. Galicia had as yet practically no middle-class. Society was divided into two groups, the one composed of the great mass of the peasants (of whom those in the eastern district were chiefly of Little Russian or Ruthenian,¹ those in the western of Polish race) who were still serfs, subject to forced labour, unable to hold land, ignorant and unorganized: the other composed of the landlords (*szlachta*), in other words of the nobility great and small, who were almost entirely of Polish origin. These last lived as the members of their class had done in all parts of Poland in the eighteenth century. The Galician gentry kept their old traditions long after more modern influences had begun to work among their equals in Russian and Prussian Poland. They lived in lavish plenty on their estates, too indolent and ignorant to initiate any constructive political work. National feeling and aspirations they had, no doubt, but they had imagined no way of re-establishing Poland except

¹ In this section the word Ruthene or Ruthenian will generally be used as equivalent to Little Russian, and means that part of the population which is identical in race and language with that of the Ukraine.

by the overthrow of her oppressors. The idea of strengthening her from within had not yet occurred to them. As regards internal reforms the conservative spirit, which in the period of autonomy earned for them the favour of the Government, and thus admittedly brought great advantage to their country, led merely to apathy in the first part of the earlier period.

This attitude suited Metternich's wishes perfectly, by preventing the consolidation of national feeling which would have resulted from interest taken by Polish landlords in the welfare of Polish peasants and in the economic progress of the country. During the whole period of Centralist Government the consistent policy of Austria was to foster ill will between classes in Galicia. Thus when in 1842 the Diet, beginning to show some consciousness of the peasants' requirements, petitioned that they might be allowed to own land, the Government disregarded the request. Until after 1846 the *corvée* system was upheld from Vienna as a valuable means of keeping class hatred alive.

The mere fact that petitions for peasants' rights should be forwarded from Galicia caused disquiet in Vienna. The political unrest which was thereby indicated had, however, been partly caused by Vienna's own handling of the Polish question in connexion with foreign politics. The Government did its best to destroy Polish life within Austria, but it was not unwilling to use its Polish subjects as a menace to Russia. Thus the Polish rising in the Kingdom of Poland in 1830 caused a relaxation of political oppression in Galicia. Reaction set in again almost immediately, but meanwhile Polish hopes had been roused. Secret societies sprang up. The most important of these was the Union of the Polish People, which was organized in Cracow (then still a republic) and aimed at educating the masses of the peasants. This appears to have been the first effort of the kind in Galicia. It was discovered by the police in 1838 before it had had time to produce much effect. The events of 1846 showed that it was as yet easier to rouse the peasants (more particularly the

Little Russians) to hatred of their landlords than to hatred of their invisible foreign rulers.

The Peasants' Rising of 1846 was deliberately encouraged from Vienna, but it would not have taken place if the bulk of the upper class in Galicia had not still looked for the salvation of their nationality only by way of revolution aided from without. The rebellion in Galicia began as a Polish rising against the Austrian Government. It was planned by Poles in Paris, and was to have been part of a much larger insurrection, involving all parts of Poland. The plot was discovered before its organizers started for Poland, where they were to have given the signal for the outbreak. The Russian and Prussian Governments prevented them from crossing the frontier; the Austrians, on the contrary, decided to let the revolt take its course. Metternich is declared to have said, 'Three days' fighting will give us sixty years of peace'. The strict Austrian censorship was therefore for the time being lifted off Galicia, and seditious literature was allowed to circulate freely. Much of the propaganda thus let loose was communistic, inciting the peasants against their landlords. It is said that this was not only allowed, but encouraged by the Government. The gentry had few thoughts to spare for danger from their own serfs. They knew that the rebellion they were pledged to support had failed elsewhere, but nevertheless they determined to do their part at the appointed time.

The rising broke out in Galicia in February 1846; and, although the insurgents were very few, the Austrian troops in Cracow were driven out and retired to Wieliczka. They abandoned this town also, leaving quantities of ammunition and money behind them. The towns were undoubtedly hostile to them, and the attacking Poles were helped by street fighting, but nevertheless the Austrians were suspected of making a feeble resistance in order to allow the rebellion to gather force.

For a few days a Provisional Government of the Polish nation ruled in Cracow, where it was received

with such enthusiasm that the revolutionary columns were encouraged to march out in hopes that the whole Polish population would rally round them. Instead, they were everywhere set upon by the Austrian troops, to whom great crowds of peasants armed with pitchforks had joined themselves. The teaching of the Union of the Polish People referred to above had had little effect upon the masses. The few who had been influenced by it were mostly in the ranks of the rebels; the rest of the people, inflamed against the landowners, supported the Austrian Government against their Polish landlords. Bands of peasants roamed the country burning manor houses and murdering their inhabitants, men, women, and children. The local Austrian officials did nothing to prevent the butchery; the best that can be said of them is that their initiative was paralysed by their habit of referring everything to Vienna. There is no doubt that the army chiefs actively encouraged the peasants to massacre the rebels in arms. They paid 10 florins for the head of each dead Polish insurgent, and 5 florins for each living Polish prisoner. The slaughter lasted for several days.

The immediate political result of the whole episode was that later in the same year (1846) Austria, with the consent of Russia and Prussia, suppressed the Republic of Cracow, where the rising had begun, and incorporated its territory with the rest of Galicia. This violation of the Treaty of Vienna evoked some public indignation in the rest of Europe, especially in France. The English and French Governments both protested against it separately, but did not contemplate taking any joint action, their relations being strained at the time owing to the question of the Spanish marriages.

The acquisition of Cracow was the only advantage Austria gained by her policy in the Peasants' Rising. The temper of the excited peasants themselves at once became a great embarrassment to the Government. They refused to return to work, and demanded release from some of their obligations. Refusal would have

prolonged the crisis, but consent would have brought similar demands from the peasantry in every other province of Austria. Some concessions were made, but revoked almost immediately. Count Stadion, a strong centralist, was appointed Governor in Lemberg, and Galicia was left full of agrarian as well as of national discontent.

Less than two years later the revolution broke out in Vienna, and the centralist system received its first serious shock.

Period of Transition, 1848-66

The first effect of the revolution of 1848 in Galicia was the foundation of Polish National Committees in Cracow and Lemberg, which put forward requests for constitutional rights, recognition of the Polish language, and suppression of the *corvée*. The Governor of Cracow, Baron Krieg, was as strongly anti-Polish as Count Stadion in Lemberg, but the danger in Vienna at the moment was so great that both agreed to forward the proposals. For a short time it seemed as if the Government would be inclined to yield. Polish political prisoners were released, and a National Guard was formed in Cracow under Polish leaders. But the concessions were repented of almost as soon as they were granted. The outbreak in Vienna was suppressed, and the Government returned rapidly to its former policy. Riots broke out in Cracow, provoked by the severity of Baron Krieg's treatment of the National Guard, and Cracow was bombarded by Austrian artillery. The most significant proof of how unchanged the attitude of Austria really was appeared in her response to the requests of the National Committees. No constitutional rights were granted, no recognition of the Polish language was given. The *corvée* was suppressed, but its suppression was not allowed to appear as resulting from the wishes of the landowners; it was done as an act of grace from the Emperor himself, who thereby gained credit especially among the Ruthenian peasantry

as the advocate of their rights against their Polish landlords.

From this year, 1848, the Little Russian or Ruthenian question first assumed political importance in Galicia. It became, however, so much more important in the period of autonomy after 1866 that it will be convenient to describe its early history together with its later development in the section on that period.

The chief interest in Galician history in the ten years after 1848 did not lie in the relations between Poles and Ruthenes, but in the relations between Poles and the Government. The treatment which the Poles had recently received did not seem to open any probabilities of improved understanding between the two; nevertheless, this was the period in which the upper classes of Galicia were first attracted to that policy of steady support of the Monarchy which became their predominant political characteristic a few years later. The foundations were laid by one man, Count Agenor Goluchowski, who was appointed Governor of Galicia in 1849. He was himself a Pole, though a strong opponent of revolution. He had clear aims for the economic improvement of Galicia, which he believed could only be attained by banishing distrust of the Poles from the mind of the Government. He realized also that this could be best accomplished by creating a party in Galicia upon whose loyalty the dynasty could rely. The results of his efforts became visible after 1860, when the Polish Conservative Party came into being.

In 1859 Austria was defeated in the war with France and Piedmont at the battles of Magenta and Solferino and lost all her Italian possessions except Venetia. Her prestige was so shattered in the eyes of her other subject races that centralized government became henceforth impossible, and the constitutional era was opened in October 1860 by the Imperial Manifesto which promised a Federal Constitution. Goluchowski was summoned from Galicia to become Minister of State (*Staatsminister*) in Vienna. The preparation of

the first attempt at a Federal Constitution was in great part his work. This manifesto, usually known as the October Diploma, could not be put into practice, for a number of reasons connected both with external and internal considerations. The Emperor became alarmed at the strength of separatist feeling which showed itself in Hungary; he dreaded to rouse conflict between Germans and Slavs and Magyars. Moreover, the Tsar did not conceal his disapproval of a Federal Constitution being granted to Galicia. It became evident that the October Diploma was unworkable. The ministry which had prepared it was therefore dismissed, and Goluchowski was replaced by Schmerling.

If the October Constitution had become law it would have satisfied the Slav races better than any other of the nationalities in Austria. Its foundations were really federalistic, and would have afforded opportunity in getting rid of the German officials who still filled every administrative post in Bohemia and Galicia.

In February 1861 a Constitution was proclaimed by Imperial Patent. This second attempt was a compromise, keeping to the main lines of the October Diploma, but modifying it in the direction of centralization. By it Diets were instituted in each province, and their members were to be elected by four classes (*curiae*): (1) the landowners, (2) the chambers of Commerce, (3) the towns, (4) the rural districts. The Parliament for the whole Empire consisted of two Chambers, the members of the lower House being chosen by the Diets and not by direct election. This method of voting was altered in 1873. These statutes of 1861 are known as the February Constitution, and remained the basis of the Austrian form of government in spite of many subsequent changes. So far as Galicia is concerned the provisions of the February Constitution do not represent the present system of autonomy, therefore they will not be described here in detail. The date of the February Constitution is, however, an important one in Galician history, as it was under its statutes that the first Diet assembled in 1861.

The assembling of the Diet instantly crystallized the chief political problem of Galicia into the form in which it presents itself up to the present day. The hostility between Poles and Ruthenes found expression. The claims of the two nationalities entered thenceforward into every discussion upon language, education, and religion, as well as into many of the more purely administrative matters of local government in the province. The first proposal for Galicia had been for a Polish and a Ruthenian Diet. Then Bach suggested (1850) a tripartite division of Cracow, Lwów (Lemberg), and Stanislau—the two latter predominantly Ruthenian. In the Diets of 1860 and 1861, however, the Ruthenian question had not yet assumed its modern form, because supremacy had not yet been granted to the Poles. Their relations with the Austrian Government were not yet established on that firm footing of mutual support which was brought about with the help of external circumstances after 1866, and radically transformed Galician politics. The teaching of Goluchowski had not yet had any visible result, and the Polish National Conservative Party was still unorganized.

Before this party came into power there was one more interval of suspension of political life in Galicia. In 1863 the rising in Russian Poland once again roused sympathy among Austrian Poles, and consequent alarm in Vienna. The Diet was dissolved, and did not meet again until April 1865. In 1866 the Austro-Prussian War broke out, and the position in which Austria was left after her defeat in that conflict led to an abrupt change in her policy with regard to her Slav subjects. This was the beginning of the era in Galician history which is described here as the era of autonomy.

(3) PERIOD OF AUTONOMY, 1866-1914

After her defeat in 1866 Austria lost Venetia, and ceased to be a member of the German Federation. Every nationality in the Empire seized the opportunity to press its demands upon the Government. The

Germans desired the continuance of a centralist system as the only hope of preserving their supremacy. The Magyars clamoured for the *Ausgleich*, which would place Hungary in a position of complete independence within the State. The Czechs opposed this proposal, foreseeing that the establishment of the Dual Monarchy would be as fatal to their nationalist aims as to the wishes of the centralists.

The Government was no longer strong enough to choose its own policy. It was forced to seek support from the parties whose enmity would be the most dangerous. It was impossible to defy the Magyars, and in 1867 the Emperor was crowned King of Hungary and the principle of dualism conceded. This was accomplished without any parliamentary sanction, as no Reichsrat had been in existence since the last was dissolved at the outbreak of war. The Magyars demanded that their victory should be ratified by parliamentary approval. This the Government found hard to procure in the face of Slav opposition. However, in the elections in Bohemia the unscrupulous use of influence by the landed proprietors obtained a German majority among the delegates returned. Thereupon the Czech minority declared the elections invalid, and refused to take their seats.

This action gave the Polish vote an importance which it had never hitherto possessed. If the Poles had followed the example of the Czechs the Government could hardly have assembled the emergency Reichsrat required to pass the *Ausgleich*. Both parties saw their opportunity and struck their bargain. The Poles obtained immediately two of their chief demands, being granted some degree of control of the schools and of local administration. In return the Polish delegates attended the Reichsrat and supported the Government.

This was the opening of a new era in Galician political history. The Polish party had felt its strength and its demands continued to grow. In 1868 the Diet submitted the 'Galician Resolution' to the Reichsrat.

It asked for full autonomy, for the appointment of a Galician minister in the Austrian State Council, and asserted the retention of the principle of election to the Reichsrat through the Diet and not by direct voting. These desires were not granted fully or immediately. Local autonomy was increased, but the ministerial appointment, on which the Poles laid great stress, was not made till 1871, and in spite of their strong protests direct voting was introduced in 1873.

The Polish politicians who wrung this measure of concession from the Government were all members of the nobility. It could hardly be otherwise in a country whose economic development had been strangled by centralization. No other sections of the community were as yet strong enough to assert themselves effectively in politics. The unity of class interest which was thus secured to the Polish party gave them power to carry out their programme, which was simply to rule Galicia as an aristocracy, relying for support solely on the Crown and the Government, without being obliged to reckon with the desires or needs of the masses, or with the claims of the Ruthenian population now placed more completely in their power. Their position in Galicia itself was no doubt improved by the undeniable fact that however selfish their attitude might be it had won some degree of autonomy for the whole race of Galician Poles.

The line of action was not adopted unanimously at once by the party, which was divided into two currents of opinion, represented by two leaders, Ziemiałkowski and Smolka. Smolka was a federalist. He appealed to Galician Poles to look beyond the borders of their province and to work for the reunion of their partitioned country, but his ideals found no echo in the Diet. There Ziemiałkowski's arguments in favour of a strong Austria prevailed. He supported them by pointing to the danger which would threaten Galicia if Austria were forced into alliance with Russia. There was a further consideration which influenced the delegates. The *szlachta* majority (i. e. that of the Polish

landowners) was indeed safe in the existing assembly, but unless it could be secured by complete control of local administration, and by a guarantee that the Austrian Government would cease to play off Ruthenes against Poles, future elections might flood the Diet with Polish peasants and Ruthenian clergy who would send a delegation to Vienna which would be a tool in the Government's hands. For these reasons the supporters of the dynasty prevailed, and their triumph gained for the Poles complete power over the Ruthenes.

Thenceforward the internal history of Galicia becomes so largely concerned with the development of the Little Russian or Ruthenian question that it can best be continued in the section on that subject. It will, however, be necessary first of all to go back to the year 1848, when, as has been said above, the Ruthenian movement first became a serious factor in Galician politics.

*The Little Russian or Ruthenian Question*¹

There was no desire for separation among the Ruthenes in Galicia until after the first Partition, when the kingdoms of Halicz and Lodomeria fell to Austria. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century a national consciousness arose. It was felt first among the Little Russians in Russia, and spread from there into Austrian territory. In Galicia the Ruthenian nobility had long since been Polonized, and it is said that the same process was going on even amongst the Ruthenian clergy when the new movement interrupted it. The clergy, however, were the class amongst whom anti-Polish feeling was still strongest, and they became the leaders in transforming a movement which had at first been purely literary into a political force. In 1829 a group of enthusiasts for nationality (which included some young Poles) organized the circulation of books and translations in order to raise Ruthenian to the rank of a

¹ See note on p. 16.

literary language. Their efforts made the revival of a national antagonism easier.

There is no doubt that such an antagonism had existed long before the partitions of Poland. It is therefore untrue to say, as many Polish partisans do, that Austria created the hostility. She certainly exploited it unscrupulously. In 1848 the Ruthenian party were encouraged to oppose the demands of the Polish National Committees. Count Stadion, the Governor of Galicia, received a deputation of 300 Ruthenian Uniat clergy, who laid before him their requests for entire equality of treatment for their language and their Church. They carefully abstained from asking for more. The Ruthenian Council, which was organized at this date, sent up a petition to the Emperor, protesting absolute loyalty, expressing a wish for the separation of Eastern and Western Galicia, but, in marked contrast to the Poles, making no demands for political rights. They did, however, demand equality for their language and the employment of Ruthenes in the Government, and it was in response to this petition that the tripartite administration of Galicia was proposed.

Deep bitterness was thus created between the two nations and the Government allowed it to grow, for the encouragement which the Ruthenes received in Vienna did not go so far as to give them any realization of their desires. Goluchowski, who became Governor of Galicia in 1849, was hostile to the Ruthenes. His reasons are easy to understand from the account of his policy given above (see above, the Period of Transition, p. 21), when it is remembered that the expression of loyalty to the throne in the Ruthenian petition was primarily anti-Polish in motive, while Goluchowski supported the Government because he considered this policy to be in the interest of Poles. He stood for a strong Austria, whereas at this date the Ruthenes were suspected of being Russian in sympathy. One of the chief accusations made by Poles against them was that they took Russian money for their propaganda.

After 1862 a split occurred in the Ruthenian party.

By that date a Ruthenian *intelligentsia* had arisen who represented a nationalist party desiring some form of union with Little Russians outside Galicia (i. e. in the Ukraine). This Ukrainian Nationalist Party was not fully organized, nor known by this name, until 1892, but during the previous thirty years the cleavage between it and the Old Ruthenian party had been growing wider. The difference was fundamentally one of attitude towards Austria. The Old Ruthenians, desiring a united Ruthenia, wished to keep Eastern Galicia outside Austrian politics. The Young Ruthenians or Ukrainian nationalists, pending the full accomplishment of their wider hopes, were prepared to work for the autonomy of Eastern Galicia under Austria. Both sides, however, united in fighting for the claims of their own people against the oppression of the Poles.

There is some truth in the complaint of the Ruthenes that they have been worse off during the period of autonomy than they were under centralist rule before 1868. Ever since that date they have struggled for equal treatment in nearly every branch of administration, and they contend that they have failed everywhere to obtain it.

Their main grievances concern language, religion, education, and the franchise. As regards the first, Ruthenes complain that they are obliged to speak Polish in the Diet, in courts of law, and in mixed schools. Poles in reply point to statutes which enact that the Diet shall be opened and prorogued in both languages, and which direct local officials in Eastern Galicia likewise to use both languages. The Ruthenes retort that the law is often a dead letter.

As regards unfair treatment of the Uniat Church there seems to be less positive evidence to support the allegations of the Ruthenes, which are, briefly, that every attempt has been made to undermine the influence of their national Church. It cannot however be doubted that the Poles have favoured the proselytizing efforts of the Roman Church.

The religious question has been naturally much connected with the question of education, especially in the elementary schools. Here there is no doubt that the Ruthenian grievances are real. An example may be taken from the year 1883, when the school law was revised in Austria. More dogmatic religious instruction was to be given by the teacher, who was in future to be of the same faith as the majority of his scholars. But in the case of Galicia the Polish party persuaded the Reichsrat to omit the last clause, on the ground that in many schools the majority of the children were Jewish. This argument had so much weight that the claims of the schools in which the majority were Uniats were not considered, although the Uniat Ruthenes represent 40 per cent. of the population of Galicia.

Another of the chief causes of friction has been the dispute over the language of instruction in Lemberg University. Ruthenes declare that when the University ceased to be German in 1870 the Austrian Government was already pledged to give it over to them. Poles deny this, and say that the Ruthenes should be content with the six Ruthenian Chairs which have been created for them, as being fully sufficient for their needs. The quarrel became acute in 1900, when the Rector refused to receive any work written by students in the Ruthenian language. The Polish students sided with the University authorities, and violence ensued. In 1901 a body of 600 Ruthenes left Lemberg for other Universities. Nevertheless, the University quarrel has never died down. In 1907 it led to the murder of the Polish Governor Potocki by a Ruthenian student, Šyčinski. In the rioting which followed a great number of Ruthenes were arrested. They organized a hunger-strike in prison, which had a widespread effect on opinion throughout Austria, and drew attention to the strength and seriousness of the Ruthenian—or, as it was now more commonly called, the Ukrainian—movement. Šyčinski himself was smuggled out of prison and into Russia in 1909.

Since the beginning of the war he has been a leader of the Ukrainians in America.

The grievance of the Ruthenes with regard to the franchise and to election abuses is more important than any of those which have been named, inasmuch as its redress would have gone far to set the others right. Moreover in these matters there seems less to be said in defence of the Poles. Throughout the whole period of autonomy from 1868 up to 1907, the assembling of each new Diet and Reichsrat brought a fresh outburst of complaints from the small group of Ruthenian delegates, of under-representation and tyrannical treatment of voters. To cite one instance, in the Diet of 1898 the Ruthenes asked for an increase of their mandates, the proportion at that date being one deputy to every 183,000 of them, to one for every 74,000 Poles. The Poles refused. Malpractices at the election of Government candidates were described by the Ruthenes, who said that many voters had been prevented by the police from going to the poll. The Polish party defended itself against these accusations by saying that the Ruthenes and radicals stirred up strife and began the bloodshed at elections, and that when the police tried to restore order they were said to be forcibly restraining the voters.

The effect produced in Austria by the Russian revolution of 1905 forced the Government to introduce universal suffrage throughout the Monarchy. The Polish Conservative Party opposed the measure for many reasons, one of which was undoubtedly fear of the Ruthenian democracy as well as of their own. The growth of the Polish Peasant Party is described separately below. The Ruthenian hopes of at last getting equality of representation were frustrated. The Poles used their power in the Reichsrat to introduce a system of voting by districts which applied only to Eastern Galicia, and was ingeniously managed so as to give preponderance to the Poles. As a result, Galicia sent to the Reichsrat of 1908 78 Polish deputies and 25 Ruthenes, although on a basis of population

the proportion should have been much less unfavourable to the Ruthenes. Moreover the election abuses are said to have been as bad as ever.

In spite of this inequality, however, the extension of the franchise in 1907 gave the Ruthenes more political power than they had ever possessed before. They were now able to fight the Poles on a number of points of administration, and finally to make a compromise with regard to most of them. This was only accomplished in 1914, and its arrangements will, therefore, be best described in the summary of internal conditions at the outbreak of war. It remains to mention the attitude of the Ruthenes in Galicia towards foreign politics.

In 1908 the Ukrainian National (or Young Ruthenian) Party gave new proof of their anti-Russian standpoint by abstaining from sending delegates to the Pan-Slav Congress at Prague. It is difficult for weak nationalities to take a strong line of opposition to a great Power without being flung into the arms of the chief opponent of that Power. This is the explanation of the pro-Germanism of which the Ukrainian party are accused by Poles. It is more accurate to describe their attitude as anti-Russian. The Germans saw that the Ukrainian movement might become a menace to Russia, and fostered it in every way they could. They supplied money for propaganda, and kept in touch with the leaders of the party in Galicia. Moreover, the large seasonal migration of Ruthenian peasants from Galicia to Prussia was used by Germany as a means of spreading discontent against the Poles. The emigrants returned home laden with inflammatory literature.

The bitterness with which the Poles viewed these proceedings caused a friendly feeling to arise between them and the Old Ruthenian Party, who continued to be Russophil in sympathy. This went so far as to produce an agreement between the Old Ruthenians and the Polish Parliamentary Club with regard to the elections of 1908, with the object of defeating the Ukrainian Party at the polls. This agreement was not openly admitted until 1913. Another proof of Polish

sympathy with the pro-Russians was given in June 1914, when some members of the Old Ruthenian Party, accused of high treason, were triumphantly acquitted at Lemberg by a Polish jury, after a sensational trial.

Rise of the Popular Parties

It has been said above that the Polish Conservative Party feared the introduction of universal suffrage on account of the danger they foresaw from the democracy. This democracy was Polish as well as Ruthenian.

During the last thirty years of the nineteenth century the peasants in Western Galicia had been roused to political consciousness by the spread of education. The process was slow, owing partly to a lack of leaders, for the professional classes in Galicia adhered to the Conservatives, and the trading class was negligible among the Poles. In 1889 the idea of peasant representatives in the Diet was first put forward in the press, and before 1895 four peasant deputies had been elected. This is the more remarkable when it is remembered how far elections were from being free at that date. From 1889 onwards political gatherings in country districts became increasingly common, and before the Diet elections in 1895 the Polish Peasants' Party formulated its programme at a mass meeting. More adequate representation was one principal point, and the Peasants' Party was more concerned with class than with national interests. The Peasants' Party is now a considerable factor in Galician politics.

Other parties with considerable influence are the Social Democrats and the National Democrats. The former require no especial description, and the latter are described in connexion with Russian Poland (see No. 44 of this series), where they are much more powerful than in Galicia.

III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

(1) RELIGIOUS

IN Galicia religious denominations correspond very closely to race divisions. The Poles are almost entirely Roman Catholic, this Church claiming 3,731,000 adherents out of a total Polish population of 4,672,000, while practically the whole of the Ruthenian population belongs to the Greek Catholic (Uniat) Church, which indeed includes a larger number (3,380,000) than is given in the official statistics for the Ruthenian population (3,208,000). It is said, however, that the Ruthenes are even more faithful to their Church than to their mother tongue, and probably the religious statistics give the more exact estimate of their numbers.

The difference between the linguistic and the religious numbers of the Poles is practically accounted for by the Jewish population, which in 1910 amounted to 872,000, or about eleven per cent. of the whole population. Although they have to a large extent remained a separate element in the population, from whom they are further distinguished by the use of Yiddish, 808,000 of them have been entered by the Polish officials as speaking Polish.

There is a small Protestant element, chiefly of the Augsburg Confession, which prevails among the German settlers, an unpopular and now diminishing body.

The Roman Catholics are not only the most numerous but also the richest and most active of the religious communities. Their clergy rely upon their various missions and religious Orders, of which there are more than a hundred, to carry on the propaganda of their faith, and in this work they are always sure of the support of the Polish Government. The Uniats, on the other hand, are a poor and not well-educated body ;

their priests, who are married, are miserably paid, and they have only one religious Order, the Basilians, among them ; it is evidence of the national character of their Church that, in the face of these discouraging circumstances, it should continue to hold its own.

(2) POLITICAL

Galicia is presided over by a Governor appointed by the Emperor. His seat is in Lemberg. Under him there is a Deputy Governor who lives in Cracow. The country is divided into administrative districts, with a *Starosta* (or District Governor) at the head of each. These are State officials, entirely distinct from the officials appointed by the self-governing authority. They supervise the execution of statutes and the maintenance of public order, which includes the police and control of the press.

The Diet sits in Lemberg. Its President is the Land Marshal, who is always a Pole. He has two deputies, one of whom is always a Ruthene. This last condition, as well as the present composition of the Diet, dates only from 1914. They are the outcome of the compromise made with the Ruthenes referred to above. (See above, p. 31.)

The Diet now consists of 228 members. Sixty-two of these are Ruthenian delegates (27·2 per cent. of the whole). The representation is on the class system and is distributed as follows :

Thirteen members sit in virtue of their offices (Bishops, Heads of Universities, &c.). Three of these are Ruthenes, a place being reserved for the Rector of the future Ruthenian University.

Forty-five members represent the great landowners. The Ruthenes have only one mandate in this class, and the facts concerning it throw some light on social conditions in Galicia. The proportion of great landowners of Ruthenian birth is so small that they have no right to any representation. The Ruthenes were, however, anxious to prove that they were not entirely a peasant

community, and the Poles were also desirous that the provincial class (described later) should not be overcrowded with Ruthenes, therefore Ruthenian mandates are spread through other classes in a manner which sometimes gives them representation to which they are not strictly entitled.

Forty-six members represent the towns, twelve the municipalities. The three Chambers of Commerce of Cracow, Lemberg, and Brody have five mandates between them, all of which fall to Jews, owing to the fact that out of 116 members of these Chambers only 38 are Poles and none are Ruthenes.

The fifth class consists of Manufacturers' Associations with two members.

The sixth is the provincial class, the largest of any. It sends 105 representatives to the Diet, 48 of whom are Ruthenes. The delimitation of the electoral districts for this class was very difficult to arrange, owing to the mixed population in many parts of Eastern Galicia. (See above, p. 9.) The best way to have safeguarded the interests of the Polish population there would seem to have been by a system of proportional representation; but that was found to be impossible for various reasons, one of them being the unwillingness of the Ruthenes to acknowledge any Polish rights in Eastern Galicia.

The powers of the Diet do not include control of the revenue from taxes. It is able to levy extra taxation, but this right is nugatory, as almost all the principal sources of revenue from taxation are in the hands of the State. Thus financial control is the weakest part of Galician autonomy.

Galicia has been represented in the Reichsrat by 108 delegates, chosen by direct election from all classes of voters. A Minister for Galicia sat in the Council of State. It has been said above that the appointment of this Minister was one of the chief demands of the Poles in 1868. It was in fact wholly in their interests as opposed to those of the Ruthenes, for the Galician Minister was in a special position, differing from that of

the Czech and German Ministers in the Council. He represented the country as a whole, and not any nationality within it, although he has always been a Pole. Thus the Ruthenes have had no representative in the Council of State.

(3) EDUCATIONAL

The control of elementary and secondary education in Galicia is completely in the hands of the Local School Council, a body of which the Governor is the nominal head, and which has a few representatives of the Ruthenian and Jewish communities among its members.

In 1910 there were 2,967 Polish elementary schools in Galicia and 2,460 Ruthenian elementary schools. The Poles have, however, special advantages in secondary education, there being 56 Polish *Staatsgymnasien* to 6 Ruthenian. There are 14 *Staatsrealschulen*, all Polish.

There are two Universities, one at Cracow, the other at Lemberg. Both are Polish, but there are six Ruthenian Chairs at Lemberg. The foundation of a Ruthenian University was apparently agreed to in 1914.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Parties in Galicia during the War

Up to the date of the Russian Revolution the main current of opinion among Galician Poles was directed by hostility to the Tsar's Government. It was this sentiment that caused the Polish Conservative Party, which held the confidence of the Austrian Government, to ally itself at the outbreak of war with radical and Socialist elements with which it had otherwise nothing in common. From this coalition was formed the National Supreme Council (known in Polish as the N. K. N.), which became the centre of Austrophil sympathies. The N. K. N. took political direction of the Polish Legions which were organized in Galicia and led by General Pilsudski to fight under the banner

of Austria against Russia. The hopes of the N. K. N. were for the union of Galicia and Russian Poland under Austria; and until the Russian Revolution they no doubt represented the most important elements in Galician politics.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 completely changed the balance of opinion in Galicia. A new national coalition was formed excluding the Conservative majority and called the Union of Parties, its aim being the formation of a United and Independent Poland.

In October 1918 all the Polish parties declared their resolution of leaving the Reichsrat, and formed a National Council in Cracow, until such time as the freely-elected Parliament of a United and Independent Poland shall be assembled.

A separate Ukrainian National Council was also set up in the same month, its members including representatives of the Ruthenes in the Bukovina and Galicia.

IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

(A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

(a) *Roads*

THE total length of the roads in Galicia in 1911 was 15,240 kilometres. They are divided into four categories: imperial roads (2,887 km.), roads made and maintained by the autonomous Galician state (1,872 km.), district roads under the care of the district authorities (2,612 km.), and communal roads (7,869 km.). The roads of the first two categories are of first-class macadamized surface, with bridges and culverts of stone. They have been built with an eye to strategic possibilities, and are of a minimum width adequate for military requirements. The district roads, while generally narrower, are well maintained and have a good surface. The communal roads are partly maintained by district funds where their importance warrants it; otherwise the communes provide for their upkeep as their funds allow. Galicia has 19.4 km. of road to every 100 square km. of its area, and in this respect is much below the average for Austria generally, which has 45 km. per 100 square km. The deficiency is most noticeable in the case of the district roads. The northern part of the country bordering on Poland and Volhynia is almost destitute of roads.

The Carpathians are crossed at several places between Galicia and Hungary by important roads. The road over the Delatyn Pass connects south-eastern Galicia with north-eastern Hungary. Lemberg and central Galicia generally are joined to the upper basin of the Tisza by a road over the Vereczke Pass. Farther to the north-west there are three passes, the Uszok, Lupków, and Dukla, each with a good road. In the north-west corner of Galicia the Cracow district is connected with northern Hungary by a road over the Jablunka Pass.

(b) Rivers and Canals

Communication by water is on a very restricted scale in Galicia. In former times the *Vistula* with its tributaries and the *Dniester* were of considerable importance, but since the era of railways both rivers have been much neglected. The usefulness of the *Vistula*, however, if the stream were properly regulated and the channel deepened, has always been incontestable. A convention for carrying out the requisite works was signed by Austria and Russia in 1864. This convention was not ratified until 1871, and the subsequent history of the undertaking has been a melancholy tale of delay and failure. By 1909 only about 64 per cent. of the work had been completed in Galicia, and since then little has been done. In consequence of the bad state of the river, traffic is decreasing. On the Austrian section the number of vessels passing down (including and mainly consisting of timber rafts) fell from 10,095 in 1908 to 8,699 in 1912, each successive year showing a decrease. In the same years the weight of traffic showed a similar drop from 313,000 tons to 221,000 tons, the latter figure showing a slight increase over those of the two previous years. Timber accounted for over 40 per cent. of all the freights during the period, coal and coke for about 20 per cent., lime for about 10–15 per cent., and other minerals for 5–10 per cent. More valuable types of freight are conspicuous by their absence, which is due to the dangerous state of the river and the unduly high rates which rule. The vessels employed are mainly small barges which only make one voyage, down-stream, and are then broken up.

The *Dniester* is only used in Galicia for rafting timber. During the period from 1908 to 1912 inclusive, an average of 379 rafts with a gross weight of 28,000 tons were floated down annually. The figures show a tendency to decrease.

The total length of navigable river in Galicia is 1,261 miles, officially classed as follows: 772 miles suitable

only for rafting, and 489 miles suitable for vessels, of which 382 miles are navigable by steam vessels. The whole of this mileage is upon the Vistula, its tributaries, especially the San, for short distances, and the Dniester. All the rivers are frozen for three or four months of the year, and in late summer a period of very low water usually causes navigation to be suspended for at least six weeks. There is no public steamer traffic at all, the few small steamers belonging to the river authorities, and little or no up-stream traffic of any kind.

A canal to connect the Vistula and the Dniester, which would have the effect of joining the Baltic to the Black Sea by a continuous waterway, was legally sanctioned in 1901, but construction has not been commenced. No other navigation canals exist in Galicia, and there are no projects to construct any.

(c) Railways

There were in 1911 4,120 km. of standard-gauge railways in Galicia, a figure which shows 5.13 km. of railway to each 10,000 inhabitants and 5.24 km. of railway per 100 square km. These proportions are lower than those for Austria taken as a whole, for which the figures are 7.96 and 7.58 respectively. There were in addition 61 km. of narrow-gauge railway. Owing to the configuration of the country the main lines run from the north-west to the south-east. The principal line is that from Cracow *via* Tarnow, Jarosław, and Przemyśl to Lemberg, a distance of 212 miles, and thence *via* Złoczów and Tarnopol to Podwołoczyska on the Russian frontier, 120 miles from Lemberg; from Podwołoczyska there is direct connexion with Kiev and Odessa. From Lemberg a branch line runs south-east *via* Chodorów, Stanislaw, and Kolomea to Sniatyn, 143 miles from Lemberg, where it enters the Bukovina, making direct connexion with Moldavia and central Rumania.

The lines above described constitute the only through

main routes in Galicia. The connexions in a westward and northward direction from Cracow are as follows: a line runs westward for about 25 miles to Trzebinia, where three main lines break off (1) northward to Czestochowa (Chenstokhov) and Warsaw, (2) north-westward to Breslau and Berlin, (3) south-westward to Oderberg and Vienna. The first two lines cross the frontiers of Poland and Prussia respectively at a few miles distance from Trzebinia. The line to Vienna crosses into Austrian Silesia at Dzieditz, some 55 miles from Cracow.

Roughly parallel with and some 30–40 miles south of the Cracow–Podwołoczyska line there is another route across the country from Bielitz on the Silesian frontier in an easterly and subsequently south-easterly direction to Stanislau. It passes the following important stations or junctions: Saybusch, Sucha, Chabówka, Nowy Sandec (Neu Sandez), Jasło, Sanok, Chyrów, Sambor, Stryj, and Dolina. There is no through traffic on this line, but it serves as a cross-country connexion between various points.

The remaining lines in Galicia are short stretches, which are almost all to be included under the following three headings: (1) those connecting the two cross-country lines described above, and chiefly running from north to south, (2) those running to the Russian frontier from various points on the Cracow–Podwołoczyska main line, and (3) lines running south and south-west over the Carpathian passes into Hungary.

The lines under heading (1) are chiefly of local importance. An exception is the line which joins Przemyśl and Chyrów, which is part of a through double line connecting Budapest and Lemberg *via* the Lupków Pass.

(2) The lines which run to the Russian frontier from various points on the Cracow–Podwołoczyska line are eight in number, and have obviously been constructed mainly with a strategic end in view. With the exception of the line from Lemberg to Brody, which continues over the frontier to Dubno in Volhynia, none of

them have a corresponding line on the Russian side, and they terminate at places of no commercial importance.

(3) The Carpathians are pierced at several points by railways connecting Galicia and Hungary, which may most conveniently be enumerated in order from west to east :

(i) From Saybusch over the Jablunka Pass into north-west Hungary.

(ii) From Chabówka through the Tátra also into north-west Hungary.

(iii) From Novy Šandec up the valley of the Poprád and through the Beskid Mountains to Kassa and central Hungary.

(iv) From Sanok *via* the Lupków Pass to Miskolcz and Budapest.

(v) From Sambor over the Uzsok Pass to Ungyar.

(vi) From Stryj over the Vereczke Pass to Munkacs.

(vii) From Stanislaw *via* Delatyn and the Jablonica (Jablonitsa) Pass to Máramaros-Šziget.

These lines have all more or less strategic importance. It is noticeable in this connexion that the line No. vi, which is used for through traffic from Lemberg to Budapest, is of single track throughout, while line No. iv has a double track, although it is not normally of so much commercial importance.

There are, unfortunately, no figures as to the carrying capacity of the Galician lines, statistics being only available for the Austrian State railways as a whole. Nearly all the lines are single track. The following, however, are double-track lines, viz. the main line from Dzieditz *via* Cracow to Lemberg and thence to Złoczów on the Podwołoczyska line, together with a short loop-line from Oświecim to Cracow; and the line from Przemyśl to the Hungarian frontier over the Lupków Pass.

The greater part of the railways in Galicia are the property of the Austrian State. The general management is in Vienna, but there is a certain amount of decentralization, the three local centres of management

being at Cracow, Lemberg, and Stanislaw. In addition to the lines which are purely State property there are 1,215 km. of local railways belonging to private companies. These are almost without exception worked by the State railways, and are mostly situated in the eastern half of the province. The total length of all railways owned or worked by the State in Galicia is 4,035 km.

The principal private company in Galicia is the Lemberg-Czernowitz-Jassy Railway Co., which owns an international line running in a south-east direction from Lemberg into Moldavia. The section Lemberg-Czernowitz is held under a 90 years concession granted in 1864, on the termination of which it reverts to the State. The length of this section is 266 km. Its relations to the State are complicated, as the line was sequestered at one period, and there have been various protracted disputes between the company and the Austrian and Rumanian Governments. The present arrangement appears to be that the Austrian State works the section situated in its territory and makes an annual payment to the company, the amount of which is dependent upon the returns for the year.

There are further 15 private railway companies, some financed or guaranteed locally, and some promoted in Vienna, all of which are worked by the State on terms varying with their individual concessions.

No official figures for the finances of the Galician sections of the Austrian State railways are published, but the average returns are higher and the expenses lower than in the other provinces, and the net revenue, after subtracting interest at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the construction capital, is estimated to be about 11,500,000 kronen. Private railways are officially divided into main lines (*Hauptbahnen*) and local lines (*Lokalbahnen*). The Lemberg-Czernowitz-Jassy Railway alone falls under the first category. The company has a share capital of 27,000,000 silver florins (it was floated in 1864, many years previous to the currency reform), and made two loan issues in 1884 of 52,755,000

silver florins and a further loan issue of 20,000,000 kr. in 1894, all at 4 per cent. The shares are quoted in Vienna, Amsterdam, Berlin, Frankfurt, Leipzig, and London, and the loans in Vienna and the larger German centres.

The 15 local railways have an aggregate share capital of 44,740,200 kr., and a 4 per cent. loan capital of 31,978,000 kr. The most notable are the Lemberg-Tomaszów Railway, with 8,280,000 kr. share capital; the Chabówka-Zakopane Railway, with 5,540,000 kr.; the Lemberg-Stojanów Railway, with 4,828,000 kr.; and the East Galician Local Railways, with 4,000,000 kr. All stand in close financial relationship to the State.

Complaint is made by various authorities that the Galician railway system is not adequately developed, nor suitable to the needs of the country. This complaint appears to be justified. Although the existing mileage of railways is, per head of population and per square kilometre of area, below the average for Austria as a whole, it would probably have sufficed for the needs of a province which is predominantly agricultural in character, and promises industrial developments only in certain well-defined parts, had it been constructed with a purely economic purpose; but much of it, including some of the most costly stretches, consists of strategic lines through the Carpathians and to the Russian frontier, which economically may be said to have no value. The doubling of the secondary line between Bielitz and Stanislau and the connecting of the lines which terminate on the northern frontier with the Polish railway system, are probably among the first tasks to be undertaken in the expansion of the Galician railways.

(d) Posts, Telegraphs, and Telephones

The State authorities control the entire postal, telegraphic, and telephonic systems. There were in Galicia in 1911, 1,519 post offices of various classes, being one office to every 52 square km. and to every

5,368 inhabitants. In comparison with Austria as a whole, these figures represent a very poor service, as the average for the whole Austrian postal area in the same year was one office to every 31 square km. and to every 2,959 inhabitants. The number of letters dispatched is also proportionately very low, being 26·9 per 1,000 inhabitants, as against an average for all Austria of 66·8. In the use made of the facilities for transmitting money by post, Galicia is second only to Lower Austria, accounting for one-fifth of all the money paid out by the Austrian postal authorities. This is probably due to the large amount of money sent home by emigrant Galicians in other parts of Europe and in America.

There were in 1911, 8,108 km. of telegraph lines in Galicia, about one-fifth of the whole Austrian system. They are not very freely used by the public, the number of messages per 1,000 inhabitants being the lowest in Austria. The lines have, therefore, probably been laid largely for official and military purposes. The length of the local telephone lines in 1911 was 15,848 km., and of the inter-urban lines, 2,066 km. The local lines were only about one twenty-fifth part of the Austrian system, but this is sufficiently accounted for by the fact that the centres of population, except Lemberg, Cracow, and the industrial district near the latter, are in general too small to make telephones remunerative.

Cracow has an automatic telephone exchange.

(B) INDUSTRY

(I) LABOUR

(a) *Supply of Labour; Emigration*

Galicia has the densest agricultural population in Europe. According to the census of 1900 there were 100 agriculturists per square km. of the agricultural area, the western half of the country being the more densely populated. It is quite impossible for this supply of labour to find local employment; and a large

surplus remains which must resort to emigration or become absorbed in industry. The former process goes on extensively; the latter alternative gives little relief owing to the small development of industry in the province.

The occupations of the people stated in percentages are as follows: agriculture, 76 per cent.; industries and mines, 8.8 per cent.; commerce and transport, 5.4 per cent.; private service, 3.3 per cent.; public offices, liberal professions, 2.3 per cent.; others not specified, 4.2 per cent.

Agricultural labour is partly supplied by small proprietors who own less than 5 hectares and are obliged to eke out a living by seeking employment elsewhere than on their own holdings. In 1902 this class of small holders numbered 358,776, and a large proportion of them also worked as hired labourers. At the same date 184,034 persons were employed as farm servants and 52,696 as agricultural day labourers. There appears to be small prospect of improved methods and more intensive cultivation absorbing more agricultural labour in the future.

A system of public labour exchanges (27 in 1913) has been erected under a provincial law of 1904, and maintains relations with similar institutions in Germany, Denmark, Sweden, France, and Bohemia, but is still far from providing satisfactory machinery for finding employment for labour.

Owing to the economic pressure thus created emigration from Galicia assumes large proportions. It takes two forms, seasonal and permanent.

The seasonal emigrants are almost all agricultural workers who go for the summer and harvest to Prussia and other parts of Germany, Denmark, and France. Their numbers are variously stated, owing to the difficulty of tracing all their movements. The tendency for some years past has been for the 'season' to increase in length, and for part of the emigrants to engage in industry for some weeks before and after the active period for agriculture. Formerly all these

seasonal workers were compelled to quit Germany for at least a month or two in each year. This regulation still holds good for Poles, but is suspended for Ruthenes, who in many cases now remain abroad for the whole year when work offers. The average number of seasonal emigrants to all quarters who passed through the two principal frontier stations during the years 1909-11 was 311,000. In addition 12,000 emigrants passed yearly through Oderberg, of whom it may be estimated that a third came from Galicia. The total seasonal emigration from Galicia may thus be placed at 315,000 persons per annum, and this figure is confirmed by the statement of a Polish authority that the number of Austrian Poles who annually emigrate for seasonal work is 240,000, coupled with Prussian statistics, which show an annual seasonal immigration of 75,000 to 80,000 Ruthenes. Galician Poles and Ruthenes appear to receive 30 per cent. less wages than are paid to Russian Poles in Eastern Germany, and are the lowest paid of all immigrant agricultural workers. Seasonal workers are stated to bring back in money some 30,000,000 kronen annually to Galicia.

Permanent emigration takes place on a large scale to various parts of the New World. The principal destination of the emigrants is the United States. During the period 1908-12 inclusive, an annual average of 53,000 Austrian Poles and Ruthenes entered the United States. Large numbers have also emigrated to Canada, and at certain periods to Brazil, but no separate figures are available. The total volume of emigration to all parts cannot, therefore, be stated, but a good authority alleges that in 1913, which was a year of agricultural failure in Galicia, 400,000 persons, i. e. 5 per cent. of the population, emigrated. There is, however, a reflux of emigrants, principally Poles from the United States, who bring considerable sums of money back with them and buy land. During the period 1908-12 an annual average of 14,750,000 kr. was thus brought back by returning emigrants. It may even be said that Polish emigration, as distinct

from Ruthenian, is largely temporary, a great proportion of those who better themselves in the New World returning in less than five years to their native country.

(b) *Labour Conditions*

In consequence of the excessive supply of labour, the conditions of industrial employment in Galicia are bad. According to the returns for those classes of workers who are subject to workmen's accident insurance, wages are lower for every occupation than in any other part of Austria. The average daily rate is 2.45 kr. as against an average of 3.53 kr. for all Austria, including Galicia. Hours, judged by the figures for coal and other mineral mining, would seem to be long, if not excessive. Shifts of over eight hours accounted for six-sevenths of the time worked in mines in 1911 and shifts of over ten hours for one-fifth. In 1910 the social democratic trade unions had 16,923 members in the province, and the Christian social unions 4,050 members. The concentration of industrial labour is small. It is only in the three districts of Lemberg, Chrzanów, and Drohobycz that groups of workmen are to be found exceeding 10,000 individuals.

The hours, wages, and conditions of agricultural labour vary greatly in different parts of Galicia. Payments in kind form an important part of the actual wage. In 1905 the money wages of a farm servant on a large estate in Western Galicia averaged 82 kr., and the value of the goods received was about 273 kr., making a total wage of 355 kr. per annum in addition to lodging. In the eastern districts the average annual wage in money and goods was about 315 kr. Writers on Galician conditions agree in complaining of the exploitation of the labourers by the Jews, to whom the large estates are often so heavily mortgaged as to give them control of their management.

(2) AGRICULTURE

The soil of Galicia is distributed as follows :

	<i>Hectares.</i>
Total acreage	7,849,252
Cultivated fields	3,799,878
Forests	2,021,280
Meadows	875,045
Pasture	716,849
Gardens and orchards	108,818
Alpine grass land	33,419
Lakes	20,859

The area under cultivation represents rather more than one-third of the total cultivated area of Austria.

(a) Products of Commercial Value

The principal cereal crops in order of importance are *rye*, *oats*, *wheat*, *barley*, and *maize*, which together occupy slightly less than two-thirds of the cultivated area. In the years 1909–13 the average crops in tons of these five cereals were as follows: rye, 792,826; oats, 741,442; wheat, 628,893; barley, 380,332; maize, 71,619. The yield per hectare in 1912 was 1·23 tons for rye, 1·02 for oats, 1·34 for wheat, 1·17 for barley, and 1·00 for maize. These figures are slightly better than the corresponding figures for the Kingdom of Poland, but very much below those for Poznan, West Prussia, and Prussian Silesia, where general conditions of soil and climate are much the same. The yield of *buckwheat* in 1912 was 46,300 tons from 61,000 hectares, and of *millet*, 14,320 tons from 17,800 hectares.

Potatoes are sown over a large area. Over 500,000 hectares were planted in 1912, with a yield of 5,388,000 tons or 10·65 tons per hectare. This constituted more than two-fifths of the total Austrian potato crop. *Pulses* (peas, beans, and lentils) yielded in the same year 108,697 tons from 129,217 hectares. Other crops of importance are *fodder roots*, 822,000 tons from 29,070 hectares in 1912; *sugar beet*, 147,500 tons from 6,450 hectares; and *rape*, 7,300 tons from 5,380 hectares.

Flax and *hemp* are cultivated fairly freely, the yield in 1912 being of flax, 3,900 tons of seed and 4,540 tons of fibre from 9,433 hectares ; of hemp, 8,170 tons of seed and 10,293 tons of fibre from 15,683 hectares. *Tobacco* is raised in Eastern Galicia, mainly by small cultivators, and 2,254 tons were harvested in 1912 from 1,437 hectares. The *hay* crops are of great value. The area under clover and meadow hay in 1912 was 1,245,000 hectares, which yielded a return of 2,438,800 tons. Small quantities of *pumpkins*, *chicory*, and *poppy* are grown as field crops.

Fruit-growing is fairly extensive, considering the severity of the climate. The crop of hard fruit in 1912 was 30,870 tons and of stone fruit 11,353 tons. *Hop*-gardens yielded a crop of 1,156 tons in 1912.

The geographical distribution of certain of the crops is as follows. Maize is grown in the south-east between the Pruth and the Dniester ; buckwheat mainly in northern Podolia and the adjacent north-eastern regions ; tobacco is confined to the south-east of the province ; rape and hops are cultivated in the north-east and in several districts to the north-west of Lemberg.

Great attention is given to *live-stock*, particularly *horses*. Love of horses is inbred in the people, and large studs are raised by the wealthy landowners without regard to profit. Galicia has always bred riding horses, and new strains of blood have continually modified the native stock. The most recent developments have been the introduction of English and Oriental strains in order to produce a cavalry type. Three classes of horse may be distinguished : (1) The better-class riding animal, used for pleasure and for army remounts. These horses are bred in the State stud-farms, by large landowners, many of whose establishments are of world-wide reputation, and by the smaller landowners and the more prosperous peasants. (2) The ordinary draught animal for farm use, which is a degenerate type owing to its being worked too young. It is bred mainly in the centre

and east of the country. It is of mixed breed, but hardy, and an untiring worker. (3) A kind of hill pony has been developed by the Huzuls in the mountainous districts of south-east Galicia, and serves as a valuable transport animal in the Carpathians. The stock of horses increased from 765,570 in 1890 to 905,807 in 1910. The latter figure constituted just over half the total horse stock of Austria, and the number of horses per 100 inhabitants in Galicia was much above the average for the country in general.

The *horned-cattle* stocks of Galicia are well up to the average for Austria in general. Before 1882 the province was flooded with cattle from Bessarabia and Rumania, and the indiscriminate import brought disease and degeneration in its train. A complete embargo was then established, and strong measures, including State subventions for cattle-breeding through the agricultural societies, were taken to improve the stock. In particular two new strains were introduced, the Oldenburg animal for the lowlands and the Bern-Simmenthal for the mountainous districts; and efforts, which are stated to have been successful, were made with three native breeds, two Polish and one Podolian. The cattle industry is now in a flourishing condition. The 1910 census showed a total of 2,505,012 animals, of which 1,591,548 were cows. Of the male cattle over three years old, which numbered 28,666, close upon 20,000 were used as draught animals.

Sheep-breeding is on the decline. The stock fell from 631,000 in 1890 to 359,000 in 1910. Attempts to produce merino sheep have been unsuccessful; and practically the only type now reared is a coarse-woolled variety which produces sheep-skins and wool for making coarse tufted carpets. The animals are principally kept in the mountain districts and on the Podolian steppe, and in the summer are driven to the higher pastures, where they are milked for cheese. They belong mostly to small farmers, who are reducing their flocks with the adoption of intensive methods of agriculture.

The stock of *goats* at the 1910 census was 19,200.

The *pig* is a favourite with the small holder everywhere except in the mountain districts. There is a local breed noted for its long and strong bristles and the good quality of its meat. Its improvement has nevertheless been sought, and the Lemberg Agricultural Association has imported much pedigree Yorkshire stock, and established breeding farms in Eastern Galicia to strengthen the race. The stock in 1910 numbered 1,836,000 head, about one-quarter of the total in Austria.

Poultry-keeping is conducted on an extensive scale, especially by small holders, but no proper efforts are made to maintain or improve the stock. In 1910 Galicia possessed 10,300,000 fowls, 582,500 geese, and 386,600 ducks, and accounted for one-third of the fowls, over one-quarter of the ducks, and three-fifths of the geese of all Austria.

Bee-keeping was at one time an important industry, providing wax for lighting and honey for brewing *meth* (mead). During the nineteenth century the demand for both products fell, and bee-keeping suffered considerably. A growing demand for honey has revived the industry, and the number of beehives increased from 261,000 in 1890 to 382,200 in 1910. The production of wax in the latter year was about 3,000,000 lb., but the production per hive is low in comparison with other parts of Austria.

(b) *Methods of Cultivation*

Galician agriculture is still backward in its methods, but much improvement has taken place in recent years. The nineteenth century saw the disappearance of the three-field system on all classes of property and the general introduction of more intensive cultivation. The use of artificial fertilizers has increased, and the growing of fodder roots, clover, and fodder-grasses has greatly diminished the extent of fallow. The season 1911-12 showed a 30 per cent. rise in the productiveness of the soil as compared with the average production of

the years 1899-1908. In comparison with neighbouring countries which enjoy similar natural conditions, Galicia has thus made a considerable advance. Poznanian and West Prussia, indeed, more than doubled their production in the same period, but Poland had an increase of only 25 per cent. and the Russian provinces bordering on Galicia made a still smaller improvement. Further progress is seriously hampered by the excessive subdivision of the land, which outside the huge estates of the big landowners is parcelled into innumerable holdings too small to provide their owners with the means of making improvements and often insufficient to maintain them without their working elsewhere as labourers, to the consequent neglect of their own fields (cf. pp. 46-7). The yield per hectare is lower on the small holdings than on the large estates, and they are thought not to be taking their proper share in the general advance. The distribution among different classes of holding is shown by the following table :

Farms cultivated entirely by owners and their families	863,202
Farms worked with resident labour	84,378
Farms worked with both resident and outside hired labour	52,540
Estates employing permanent workmen and officials	8,421

The methods of cultivation and the proportion of plough-land to pasture vary greatly in different parts of the country. The south-east between the Carpathians and the Dniester has an average of 22 per cent. of the agricultural area under plough, and contains districts such as Kosów with 4 per cent., Kutny and Delatyn with 6 per cent., and Dolina with 8 per cent. The districts with the highest proportion of plough-land are the north and east bordering on Volhynia and Podolia, which are of a steppe character, and have an average of 74 per cent. arable land, with an extreme of 84 per cent. in one or two neighbourhoods. The western hilly country, which has Cracow as a centre, is the most intensively cultivated area in Galicia. It has an average of 58.2 per cent. arable land. The

watershed between the San and Dniester and the neighbouring country is generally fertile, but has some bad areas of marsh and clay. It has 47 per cent. of arable land. The district between the Vistula and the San is considered poor, and has 46 per cent. arable land.

Irrigation is not needed in Galicia. The productivity of some parts of the country, more especially in the valley of the Dniester, is curtailed by the excessive moisture retained in the soil; and drainage works on a large scale are necessary. From 1883 to 1912 the sum of 6,611,520 kr. was expended on State drainage schemes, but a much greater capital outlay would prove remunerative.

(c) *Forestry*

Galicia as a whole is not so rich in forests as many other parts of Austria, although it contains a part of the Wooded Carpathians. The distribution of the forest areas is uneven, large tracts being very sparsely wooded; and the district between the Dniester and the Russian frontier quite bare of timber. The chief forest lands are the slopes of the Carpathians, of which the eastern and western ends are well clothed with timber, while the central ranges have only scattered forests. Fir, spruce, stone-pine, and juniper are the commonest trees in these mountains. Outside the Carpathians, the districts of Złoczów, Brody, Kamionka, and Sokal contain the best forests. The neighbourhood of Cracow is well wooded, as is also the district east of the San up to the Polish frontier. Another good timber district lies south-east of Lemberg in the direction of the Dniester. The principal timber trees in the lowlands are Scots pine, beech, oak, silver fir, larch, ash, sycamore, and aspen.

The total area under forest in 1910 was 1,993,900 hectares, or about 25 per cent. of the whole area of the country. Private owners possessed 70·6 per cent., the State 14·1 per cent., communes 5·2 per cent., and 3·8 per cent. was Church property. The small remainder

was split up among companies, district authorities, and trustees of entails.

As in so many parts of eastern Europe, the nineteenth century with its rapid industrial development witnessed in Galicia a reckless exploitation of forest wealth. Timber standing near to means of transport, such as rivers, was cut down wholesale and the clearings burnt and cultivated until their fertility was exhausted. Not until 1852 did the law intervene, and until towards the end of the century its administration was very lax. The country is now divided into 49 forestry districts, each with a staff of inspectors and woodmen, much of whose work is described as preventive, as bad methods of cutting, excessive deforestation and the like still prevail. In the mountain districts a natural self-renewal of the forests takes place if the cutting is done rationally, and only here and there is artificial replanting necessary. The Carpathians, especially in their eastern section, still contain some large areas of primeval forest. Its worth as timber is, however, small; and the land is being gradually cleared and replanted.

The State forests appear to be well managed. The net profit has recently averaged 6·80 kr. per hectare annually, and the administration expenses 2·81 kr. per hectare. The corresponding figures for Austria as a whole are 5·20 kr. and 3·32 kr. There are further a number of very large private forest estates which are stated to be conducted on model lines.

(d) *Land Tenure*

Serfdom was abolished in Galicia in 1848; and a decree of 1853 purported to settle the questions affecting land which were raised by the emancipation, but its principles have not yet been everywhere carried out. Legally the land is either 'tabular' or 'non-tabular'. Tabular land is that which was registered in the land registry (*tabula*) of Lemberg in 1780, and consists of State and ecclesiastical land and the estates of the old nobility (*szlachta*). Privileges, now abolished,

in the shape of forced labour by the peasants, various administrative and juridical powers and exemptions from taxation, were attached to tabular land. On the other hand, rights of common, meadow, and forest were enjoyed by the peasants. Under the decree of 1853 these rights were to be commuted for small holdings, but the change is still incomplete, and in 1902 rights existed on a considerable scale on many tabular estates. Apart from its conversion into peasant holdings, tabular land loses its character on passing to persons who do not own other tabular land, and its amount is therefore decreasing. The official figures for the distribution of land between the various classes of owners in 1902 are :

<i>Type of Property.</i>	<i>Area.</i> <i>Hectares.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i> <i>of total</i> <i>area.</i>	<i>Percentage</i> <i>of total</i> <i>agricul-</i> <i>tural</i> <i>land.</i>		<i>Forest</i> <i>land.</i> <i>Hectares.</i>	<i>Per-centage</i> <i>of total</i> <i>forest</i> <i>land.</i>
			<i>Agricul-</i> <i>tural</i> <i>land.</i> <i>Hectares.</i>	<i>land.</i> <i>land.</i>		
I. Public tabular land (State-owned, ecclesi- astical foundations, re- ligious funds) . . .	485,000	6.4	78,000	1.4	407,000	20.4
II. Private tabular land (property of gentry) . . .	2,152,000	28.4	972,000	17.4	1,180,000	59.2
III. Land owned by communes or otherwise collectively . . .	439,000	5.8	317,000	5.7	122,000	6.1
IV. Peasant land . . .	4,500,000	59.4	4,215,000	75.5	285,000	14.3
Total . . .	7,576,000	100.0	5,582,000	100.0	1,994,000	100.0

Economically, the outstanding feature of land ownership in Galicia is the absence of agricultural holdings of moderate size and the great subdivision of the peasant land. The typical peasant-holding is from 1 to 5 hectares, an acreage insufficient to maintain its owner without resort to seasonal employment elsewhere; and there are about 200,000 holdings of 1 hectare or less. On the other hand, the private tabular agricultural land (excluding forests), which comprises 17.4 per cent. of the total agricultural land, is divided as follows: 19.4 per cent. *latifundia* or

giant estates ; 19·3 per cent. large estates ; 38·8 per cent. medium-sized estates ; 22·5 per cent. farms of 100–500 hectares. The distribution of fertile land into holdings of various sizes was in 1902 :

Size of holding in hectares	Under 0·5	0·5 to 1	1–2	2–5	5–10	10–20	20–50	50–100	Above 100
Number of holdings	75,400	128,532	240,104	366,622	145,478	361,470	7,923	2,464	5,278

The effects of the excessive subdivision of the peasant land are aggravated by the intermingling of lots. On the average a peasant property consists of twenty or thirty scattered lots, which is in itself a bar to anything like rational cultivation. The joining of lots is, however, now proceeding fairly rapidly.

(3) FISHERIES

The waters of Galicia are stated to be well stocked with fish. The country has two principal river basins, those of the Vistula and the Dniester, which run to the Baltic and Black Sea respectively. Fish common to both basins are various *salmonidae* and trout, pike, perch, carp, barbel, roach, shad, and sander. Peculiar to the Vistula basin are salmon, eel, and common sturgeon, and to the Dniester the stellated sturgeon and sterlet, bream, and ruff. Two species of crayfish are fished for in both river basins.

Pond fisheries are of old standing in Eastern Galicia, but they are conducted on out-of-date lines, and no special effort appears to be made to develop them. In Western Galicia pond fisheries have been worked on industrial lines, and first-class results have been achieved. Besides those of the large concerns, 300 hectares of fish-ponds are possessed by small holders. Carp, a fish much esteemed locally, is principally raised in the ponds.

Fishing is in general a subsidiary occupation, auxiliary to some branch of agriculture. A great deal of value is obviously attached to the crayfish,

which is a luxury commanding a good price, and an article of considerable export. There is in Cracow a fishery company which maintains breeding-grounds and stocks the rivers.

(4) MINERALS

(a) *Natural Resources and Output*

Galicia contains valuable mineral deposits. These are found almost entirely in the west of the province, and consist of coal and lignite, salt, petroleum, iron, zinc, and lead.

Coal.—A small part of the Silesian coal-field lies within the boundaries of Galicia. The existence of coal has been known for over a century, but it has been systematically worked for only about 40 years. Trial shafts have recently been sunk to a depth of 3,200 ft., and estimates have been made which place the Galician coal reserves at 24,900,000,000 tons of workable coal. The deposits which have been worked are all in the extreme north-western corner of the province, north of the Vistula, and within a few miles of the Russian and Prussian frontiers. Jaworzno, Tencznek, and Krzeszowice are three colliery districts lying close together; another district in the neighbourhood of Oświęcim lies somewhat farther south. Galician coal is inferior to that mined in Austrian Silesia, a fact which accounts for the later development of the Galician field. Its content of water and ash is high on the whole, and it does not coke very well. The quantity mined in 1911 was 1,636,000 tons, valued at 12,124,000 kr., and in 1912, 1,910,000 tons, valued at 15,264,000 kr. This represented about 11·1 per cent. of the total Austrian production, but only 8·4 per cent. of the total value. The bulk of the coal is consumed within the province; a small part is exported across the frontier into Russian Poland.

Lignite is mined on a small scale. The production in 1911 was 30,000 tons, valued at 364,000 kr., and in 1912, 35,000 tons, valued at 453,000 kr. The lignite

deposits are situated in various parts of the country, notably near Debica, on the railway between Cracow and Przemyśl, near Żółkiew north of Lemberg, and south and east of Kolomea on the borders of the Bukovina. The lignite industry would appear to be decaying, as the production had been decreasing from a maximum output of 69,000 tons in 1901.

Salt.—Galicia has some famous salt-mines of vast extent. They are situated in the district between Cracow and Tarnow, and the mining centres are Wieliczka and Bochnia. The salt is in broad layers which are frequently 60 ft. thick, and in some places even reach a thickness of 150 ft., where several are superimposed on one another. Three kinds of salt are produced: a naturally pure table salt of coarse grain, a fine salt which contains 6 per cent. of impurities and needs boiling, and another coarse quality which also contains 5–6 per cent. of impurities, and is known as ‘green’ or ‘industrial’ salt.

The figures for recent production and value, together with those for all Austria, are given below. Galicia has the greatest production of any province, with about 38 per cent. of the total, and is only rivalled by Upper Austria with 32 per cent.

	1911.		1912.		1913.	
	Tons.	Kr.	Tons.	Kr.	Tons.	Kr.
Galicia .	141,200	18,000,000	168,900	16,900,000	199,700	20,670,000
All Austria	342,700	47,100,000	396,700	47,300,000	359,000	52,000,000

Potassium Salts.—Galicia possesses mines of potassium salts at Katusz. The salts are chiefly *kainite* and *sylvine*. In 1911 the output of kainite was 17,200 tons. The workings were formerly in the hands of the Austrian Government, which is thought to have neglected them, but in 1913 the Provincial Government obtained authority to exploit them, and has formed a holding company for the purpose with a capital of 6,300,000 kr., of which it has subscribed one-half.

Petroleum.—The most valuable mineral product of Galicia is undoubtedly petroleum. The field on which the oil is found is about 220 miles in length and from

40 to 60 miles in width. It stretches from Gorlice at the foot of the Eastern Beskids and continues along the northern slopes of the Carpathians to a point near Kolomea close to the Bukovina frontier. Although oil has been produced in Galicia for some centuries, systematic exploitation only began in 1853, and its real activity dates from 1882, when a Canadian named McGarvey introduced a system of deep drilling which has proved highly successful. The workings are concentrated in one centre, known as the Borysław-Tustanovice district, which lies about 40-45 miles south-west of Lemberg. Borings in this neighbourhood are carried to a depth of 3,000 ft. with great success; and up to 1917 the district, which covers 1,500 acres of workings, had yielded 12,000,000 tons of oil, or 8,000 tons per acre. The oil of the Borysław-Tustanovice district yields 560 kg. of petroleum, 120 kg. of benzine, and 15 kg. of benzine from every 1,000 kg. of crude oil. It forms the standard market grade of Galician oil, and fixes the price for other districts. The output of the Borysław-Tustanovice wells at one time constituted almost the entire production of Galicia (95 per cent. in 1908, 90 per cent. in 1911); but expert opinion considers the deposits to be approaching exhaustion, and activity is being extended to other areas, of which the most notable are near Bitków in south-east Galicia, and near Krosno on the slopes of the Eastern Beskids. The former district was yielding about 35,000 tons of oil annually before the war, and the latter 160,000 tons. Much capital has been invested in these districts, and, with borings deeper than any yet attempted, success is expected.

Galician oil production reached its maximum in 1909 when 2,076,000 tons of crude petroleum were brought to the surface. The output from 1909 to 1917 was :

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Production (tonne).</i>
1910	1,672,000
1911	1,458,000
1912	1,187,000
1913	1,087,000

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Production (tons).</i>
1914	700,000
1915	578,000
1916	898,670
1917	742,060

In 1914 the Galician production was estimated at 3 per cent. of the world's output, and 9 per cent. of that of Europe, including Russia.

Ozokerite.—Ozokerite or solidified petroleum wax is found near Borysław and has been worked since 1860. The main world supply of this material is produced in Galicia. The output reached its maximum in 1885, when 13,000 tons were mined. Since then there has been a decline, partly owing to stringent mining laws with which the smaller mine-owners were unable to comply. There is a second small deposit at Dzwiniacz in south-eastern Galicia. The output from 1907 to 1911 was :

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Production (tons).</i>
1907	3,508
1908	2,592
1909	2,115
1910	No return
1911	1,940

The production in 1911 was about 20 per cent. less than the average for the previous five years, and was valued at 2,614,000 kr.

Iron.—A small quantity of a brown ironstone of somewhat poor content is mined in Galicia in the Cracow district. The production varies greatly from year to year, as the demand is not local, and arises only when supplies are short in Silesia or some other neighbouring province. The figures are : 1910, 4,500 tons ; 1912, 16,100 tons ; and 1913, 18,000 tons.

Lead and zinc ores are mined in the same district as the iron at various spots north of the railway line running due west from Cracow, and are of considerably greater value. The mines have existed for a long time, and as recently as twenty years ago provided a large proportion of the total Austrian output, but are now

much less productive than the Carinthian mines. They have been hampered by lack of capital and by the great difficulty of keeping them free from water, and the industry is more or less stationary. The production in 1911 and 1912 was :

	<i>Production (tons).</i>		<i>Value (kronen).</i>	
	1911.	1912.	1911.	1912.
Lead ore . . .	5,500	7,290	777,200	1,451,000
Zinc ore . . .	1,340	1,570	41,500	70,900

With more intensive working it is probable that a much greater output could be obtained, as the extent of plumbiferous earth in the neighbourhood is large.

Excluding petroleum, Galicia, during the twentieth century, has not kept pace with the rest of Austria in the production of minerals. Her share of the total output has fallen from 12 per cent. in 1905 to 10 per cent. in 1908 and 5 per cent. in 1912, as the following figures show :

Value of Mineral Production in million kronen.

	1905.	1908.	1912.
All Austria	256	341	352
Galicia	30	35	17

The number of mining (including petroleum) enterprises in Galicia in 1910 was 372, with an output valued at 66,000,000 kr., and employing 16,500 hands.

(b) Methods of Extraction

Galician mining enterprises in general present a less attractive field for investment than the superior and more easily worked minerals of neighbouring parts of Austria. They consequently suffer from want of capital and are old-fashioned in their methods. The petroleum industry, on the other hand, has drawn to itself an abundant flow of international capital, and has thus been able to employ the best foreign experts and to adopt every device for profitable exploitation. The bores are very deep, and require the most powerful

type of drill. Special drilling machinery is manufactured in Galicia and exported to the other petroleum centres of the world.

(5) MANUFACTURES

There has hitherto been no considerable development of manufacture in Galicia, despite the presence of important raw materials and of an enormous supply of potential labour. Mining and all other industrial employments together occupy only 8·8 per cent. of the population. According to the reports of the factory inspectors the number of factories was 850 in 1903, 957 in 1908, and 1,183 in 1912, an increase of 39 per cent. in the ten years, but for several previous decades there had been very little progress, and many of the factories referred to are of small extent. The following table shows for the year 1910 the number of works in different industries, the number of hands, and the value of the output. The figures are larger than those given by the factory inspectors, as all workshops, even those which employ only one or two persons, are included.

	<i>Value of production in in 1910. Kronen.</i>	<i>Workmen.</i>	<i>Works.</i>
Food Production	314,122,200	20,774	1,501
Mining	66,150,000	16,501	372
Chemical Industry	52,838,100	5,075	127
Wood-working	52,710,000	12,469	284
Ceramic Industry	41,044,000	21,797	1,455
Textile Industry	33,075,000	5,300	56
Metals (simple)	17,850,000	7,142	98
Machinery and Tool Manufacture	15,750,000	4,087	52
Paper-making	14,430,150	3,380	53
Graphic Crafts	8,662,500	2,225	87
Leather and Skin Industry	8,494,500	1,077	66
Metallurgic Industry	5,406,450	1,224	2
Electricity and Power-works	3,486,000	393	28
Clothing Production	3,312,750	789	27
Celluloid, India-rubber Manufacture	57,750	124	3
Canvas and Linen Manufacture	—	120	3
Mixed Establishments	—	3,513	149
Total	637,389,400	105,990	4,363

The *food industry* occupies the first place, accounting

for nearly half of the total value produced and one-fifth of the total number of persons employed. This is due to the large production of spirit from potatoes and grain, which is carried on in large distilleries and liqueur factories in the towns, and more especially in a great number of stills attached to farms and estates. In the year 1911-12 there were 6 urban distilleries and 878 agricultural stills, which produced 887,374 hectolitres of alcohol, or 49.68 per cent. of the total production of Austrian alcohol. Brewing employs 88 concerns, of which 32 each produce over 10,000 hectolitres annually. The total production is about 1,500,000 hectolitres, which represents some 7 per cent. of the beer brewed in all Austria. Flour-milling accounts for most of the remaining activity in this branch of industry.

The *ceramic industries* employ the largest actual number of workers, who are distributed among many small concerns.

Timber naturally occupies a high place in the list. Every kind of raw timber, from deals to the finest wood for musical instrument making, is furnished by Galicia. Two very large saw-mills are situated at Wygoda and at Demniawyzna near Stryj. The latter produces material for a large match factory in the neighbouring town of Skole. Wooden articles are made in several centres, and this branch of manufacture exists also as a home industry. There is a large bent-wood furniture factory at Buczkowice near Biała; parquet flooring is made in several places, notably in Cracow, Lemberg, and Kamionka; and barrels for the preserving trade and for petroleum are produced in special factories at Mszana Dolna, south of Cracow, and Olszanica, southwest of Przemyśl.

The figure for *chemicals* is swelled by the inclusion of petroleum refining and accessory industries which are carried on near the oil-fields. The principal chemical works of other kinds are the soda factory at Szczakowa, close to the Polish frontier west of Cracow, and the archiducal chemical factory at Saybusch.

The *textile and clothing industries* are of small importance. Biała, a town near the western frontier, has a noted woollen factory, with 25,000 spindles, which produces civil and military cloths, and carriage and billiard cloths; and there is another large woollen factory at Saybusch. A considerable industry, carried on mainly in small concerns of which the largest is in Kolomea, is the making of a particular cloth called *Talles*, which is used in Jewish religious ceremonies, and is exported to all countries. There is a large cotton mill, the only one of importance in the country, at Andrychów, which has 1,000 looms and employs 750 workers. Others of smaller dimensions exist at Biała and Stanislau. Textiles are, to a great extent, a home industry in Galicia, especially linens and woollens, which the peasants have produced from time immemorial for their own wear. The tendency is for the home industry to transform itself into small factory enterprises, employing a few outside hands.

The *metal, machine, and tool industries* are mainly concentrated in the Cracow district. Biała produces electrical apparatus and textile machinery. Sanok, south-west of Przemyśl, has a large works producing railway-wagons and petroleum cisterns as well as petroleum-boring machinery. Other centres are Cracow, Lemberg, Tarnow, and Ottynia, where there are machine and tool works of some size.

Metallurgical activity is confined to two large concerns occupied in working upon the zinc and lead mined near Cracow.

The *paper industry* is accessory to the timber trade, and is fairly well distributed throughout the country.

Considering the great number of cattle and horses reared in Galicia, the poor development of the *hide and skin trades* is remarkable. The raw hides are sent out of the country, which is dependent on outside sources for footwear and other leather goods.

Five *tobacco factories* are in existence for the purpose of working up the tobacco grown in south-eastern Galicia. The largest is in Cracow.

(6) POWER

Steam is the principal source of industrial power in Galicia. At the beginning of the year 1912 there were 5,462 steam boilers subject to inspection. This was about 14 per cent. of the total number of boilers inspected in Austria, but the heating surface was only 9 per cent. of the total heating surface of Austrian boilers. Gas and benzine are used for motor power on the oil-fields. Twenty-eight stations, employing 393 persons, are engaged in the production of electricity, but there is no information as to the quantity used for power.

(C) COMMERCE

(1) DOMESTIC

(a) Principal Branches of Trade

Galicia is but very slightly devoted to commerce, the proportion of the population which is engaged in commerce and transport being only 5.4 per cent. of the whole. With 76 per cent. of the population engaged in agriculture, naturally the products of the soil and the live stock raised are the principal articles of commerce. In view of the fact that 956,000 landholders are possessors of holdings of less than 10 hectares in extent, a large proportion of the production naturally passes into local consumption, and is not dealt with commercially.

The produce of the mining industry brings small commercial benefit to Galicia, as the petroleum, lead, zinc, and iron is mainly contracted for and dispatched from the country. Timber in its half-worked state is a considerable article of commerce.

There is an extensive trade in nearly every class of manufactured goods, as Galicia provides only to the smallest extent for its own wants in this direction, and depends on outside sources for manufactures, machinery, and artificial manures. Clothing, however, is an exception, as the peasants produce this for themselves by home industry.

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

The principal towns of Galicia are Lemberg (population, 206,000), Cracow (population, 154,000), and Przemyśl (population, 54,000). Kolomea, with 42,000 inhabitants, is the only other town with a population exceeding 40,000. There are eleven towns with a population of between 20,000 and 40,000, and twenty-one with a population of between 10,000 and 20,000. Several of the latter are still officially classed as villages, as they owe their size to the presence of petroleum borings, and will decrease again rapidly when the local supply of oil is exhausted.

The Jews form over one-fifth of the population of *Lemberg*; and the trade of the town is mainly in the hands of innumerable petty Jewish merchants and commission agents, whose financial standing is often very bad. The absence of more substantial commercial firms has led to the foundation of several co-operative organizations for the purpose of supplying the rural population with goods and implements and of marketing their produce. Similar conditions exist generally throughout the province.

Cracow is in some respects a busier commercial centre than *Lemberg*, as it is the centre of the principal industrial and mining area of Galicia. The principal trades which carry stocks in or near *Cracow* are those dealing in corn and spirit; other branches of wholesale trade are not strongly represented in the town.

Przemyśl is of little commercial importance.

Kolomea is interested in the grain, timber, leather, and egg trades.

Markets are held at *Chrzanów*, west of *Cracow*, close to the Prussian frontier; *Horodenka*, in the extreme south-east of the country; *Turka*, in the Carpathians, south of *Przemyśl*; and *Rawa Ruska*, north-east of *Lemberg* on the Volhynian frontier.

(c) *Organizations to promote Trade and Commerce*

Chambers of Commerce and Industry are established at Lemberg, Cracow, and Brody. Those of Lemberg and Cracow have paid considerable attention to higher commercial education.

Four important agricultural societies are partly occupied in organizing internal commerce in products of the soil. They are the Commercial Association of Agricultural Circles, Lemberg and branches; the Syndicate of Agricultural Societies at Cracow; the Commercial Section of the Agricultural Society of East Galicia; and the Commercial Bureau of the Dairy Society.

Peasant societies for the sale of produce and the purchase of seed, fertilizers, tools, machines, &c., have long existed, and are now united by central associations. Of these, the Lemberg association appears to cover the whole province; the Cracow association works mainly in Western Galicia in the interests of the Poles; and a third, the *Narodnaya Torhowla* (People's Commercial Association), operates in Eastern Galicia, and is strictly Ruthenian. The latter association is represented in every considerable place in Eastern Galicia by a depot for sales and purchases.

For commerce in goods not strictly agricultural, but produced in the main by peasants, particularly textiles and wooden articles, there exist two 'bazaars' or sales depots in Lemberg and one in Cracow. The Lemberg bazaars are carried on* by private associations, the Cracow bazaar by the town authorities. The efforts of these three concerns are largely directed to breaking the Jewish monopoly of the domestic trade of Galicia; but there is general agreement that the Jews still hold their place, and equally general complaint of their methods of business.

(d) *Foreign Interests*

A considerable amount of foreign capital has been brought to the development of Galicia, mainly for the

exploitation of the oilfield. The largest investments in this industry were made between 1911 and 1914, and a rapid fusion of interests took place during that period. The British companies interested in Galician oil which are quoted on the London Stock Exchange are nine in number, with an aggregate capital of £5,890,000. The principal is the Premier Oil and Pipe Line Co., Ltd., with a capital of £3,750,000. Others are the Motor Owners' Petrol Combine, Ltd., with a capital of £890,000, and the Galician Petroleum Producers, Ltd., with a capital of £320,000. A list containing other companies not quoted on the Stock Exchange shows an aggregate capital of £6,500,000, presumably invested by British companies in Galician oil ventures. In using these figures it should be remembered that the capital is by no means always fully paid up, and that some of the companies, although primarily constituted to exploit Galician oil, have invested money elsewhere in oil concerns.

Other British interests in Galicia are represented by branches of British firms which are registered as companies in Austria. One is a branch of the Lincoln firm of Clayton & Shuttleworth, which manufactures agricultural machines in Vienna, and has a depot and repair-works at Lemberg. Another company of British foundation has a factory at Stryj and makes boring machinery for the petroleum fields. No British trading concerns are represented or have money invested in Galicia.

Other foreign interests are small. The Compagnie Galicienne des Mines, a French concern, is the owner of a colliery near Chrzanów. Its capital is 5,500,000 francs.

(2) FOREIGN

(a) *Exports*

Galicia has an exportable surplus of most of the products of the country. Unfortunately there are no separate returns for the foreign trade of the province. The Diet voted the publication of such returns in

1909, but the Central Government refused its sanction. Figures published by various trades in their own interests are therefore the only ones available.

Quantities and Values.—The agricultural exports are live stock and dairy produce, but not cereals or other ground crops. Cattle, pigs, cheese, butter, eggs, poultry, and game are the principal items. The chief export is to Vienna and other parts of Austria. In 1911, 31,000 head of cattle and 532,000 pigs reached Vienna from Galicia. The annual value of the pig exports to all parts is about 100,000,000 kr. Almost all the raw hides and skins produced in Galicia are sent abroad for manufacture. Flax, hemp, and wool are also exported raw. Timber is a very valuable export, and most of it leaves the country in a raw or half-worked state, parquet flooring and bent-wood furniture being the principal exceptions. The amount exported annually in recent years, excluding firewood, is estimated at 2,000,000 cubic metres of timber, valued at 73,500,000 kr. Almost the whole output of lead and zinc is exported, but only a small part of the coal. The export of petroleum and its products to countries outside the Austrian Empire is shown below. An additional amount, for which no figures can be given, is sent to Hungary and to various parts of Austria.

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Export (Tons).</i>
1910	404,348
1911	353,087
1912	560,623
1913	448,573

The ozokerite mined in central Galicia is also largely exported. The figures for the export across the frontiers of the Empire are as follows :

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Export (Tons).</i>
1907	1,813
1908	1,647
1909	2,320
1910	2,584
1911	1,859

Galicia produces a large surplus of spirit, which is exported in the form of liqueurs, brandy, and industrial alcohol.

Countries of Destination.—The destination of the bulk of the exports from Galicia is Germany. Most of the live stock and provisions, however, and much of the wool, hemp, flax, hides, and skins go to some other part of the Austrian Empire. The timber is sent to Germany by way of the Vistula or to southern Russia, where it is in great demand, *via* the Dniester. Bentwood furniture is exported to all parts of the world. The lead and zinc appear to go mainly to Bohemia. Germany takes most of the petroleum, as may be seen from the following figures for 1913 :

Export of Petroleum

	Tons.	£
To Germany	252,200	1,433,400
France	60,000	356,333
Switzerland	25,000	146,187
Italy	5,700	36,548

Germany also takes the ozokerite. | In 1913 the exports to the chief countries of destination were :

Export of Ozokerite

	Tons.	£
Germany	1,419	91,682
United States	315	20,395
European Russia	194	12,555
United Kingdom	97	6,290
France	83	5,360

Galician spirits and liqueurs go mainly to Germany.

(b) *Imports*

Textiles of all kinds are an important item of Galician import. The native production was recently valued at 33,000,000 kr. annually, and the import at 300,000,000 kr. Boots, shoes, and all kinds of leather goods are also imported, relatively little being produced locally. Most of the machinery, iron goods, and glass-ware used

in the province are imported, and a considerable amount of the coal (750,000 tons in 1908).

Corn and flour are obtained from Hungary. The average annual import has recently been about 250,000 tons, or one-fourth of the consumption.

Artificial manures of all kinds are imported, as well as a great deal of seed.

Germany is the chief exporter to Galicia of manufactured goods of all kinds, textiles, coal, iron goods, and artificial manures. Glass-ware is obtained from Bohemia, and leather goods from Vienna and other parts of Austria.

(c) *Customs and Tariffs, &c.*

For purposes of customs tariffs and commercial treaties, Galicia is part of the Austrian Empire. It is alleged that its interests are habitually subordinated to those of other provinces, such as Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Lower Austria.

(D) FINANCE

(1) *Public Finance*

The public finance of Galicia falls under the three heads of Imperial finance, the finance of Galicia as an autonomous province, and the finance of the districts and communes.

Galicia is undoubtedly a valuable fiscal asset to Austria. According to a special estimate of the Imperial Audit Department for the year 1911, the revenues raised in the province by the State Government amounted to 416,513,000 kr., and its expenditure in the province to 308,646,000 kr., leaving a surplus for Imperial purposes of 107,867,000 kr. The budget estimates for 1914, quoted below, show a surplus for Imperial purposes of 124,454,000 kr. Taxes on consumption and duties furnish the principal yield. As successor to the Polish Crown, Austria owns 4 per cent. of the soil of the province, but the receipts from State domains and enterprises are large only when calculated

in the gross. The following tables show as nearly as can be calculated the position of Galicia in the Austrian budget according to the draft for 1914-15. It will be noticed that the appropriations for education and the economic development of the country are very small.

DRAFT BUDGET OF THE AUSTRIAN STATE IN GALICIA
FOR 1914-15

RECEIPTS

	<i>Actual amount. Kronen.</i>	<i>Per inhabitant. Kronen.</i>
1. Receipts of State domains and enterprises	90,427,216	11·27
2. Administrative receipts	8,457,418	1·05
3. Direct taxes	38,964,240	4·85
4. Taxes on consumption and monopolies (salt and tobacco)	120,975,750	15·07
5. Customs (approximate)	33,600,000	4·19
6. Dues and stamps	38,584,298	4·77
7. Tax on railway and lottery tickets (approximate)	9,434,529	1·17
Total	340,443,451	42·37

EXPENDITURE

	<i>Actual amount. Kronen.</i>	<i>Per inhabitant. Kronen.</i>
1. Administration of the country, public safety and justice	42,088,784	5·24
2. Administration of finance and pensions	45,081,753	5·62
3. Administration and construction of public buildings	6,643,663	0·83
4. Interest on capital of State and local railways	48,562,080	6·05
5. Encouragement of agriculture, communications, canalization of rivers, &c.	19,519,031	2·42
6. Education and religion	29,018,116	3·61
7. Share of province in State receipts	20,632,500	2·58
8. Bounties on production of distilleries	4,442,938	0·55
Total	215,988,865	26·90

The financial resources of the autonomous province are limited, being derived chiefly from taxes on consumption and surtaxes on the Imperial direct taxes, and are not sufficient to meet the expenditure without recourse to loans. The Diet devotes comparatively large sums to the development of the province, and its policy in this respect contrasts very favourably with that of the Austrian Government. The total expenditure has risen from 9,780,000 kr. in 1890 to 20,951,000 kr. in 1900, and to 85,108,000 kr. (draft budget) in 1914. In 1911 it was divided as follows: Education, 40 per cent.; public health and poor relief, 10·7 per cent.; communications, 9·6 per cent.; economic development (agricultural and industrial), 22·4 per cent.; other purposes, 17·3 per cent. The draft budget for 1914 was:

DRAFT BUDGET OF GALICIA FOR 1914

	<i>Expenditure.</i> <i>Kronen.</i>	<i>Receipts.</i> <i>Kronen.</i>
1. Public instruction, fine arts, historic monuments	36,773,417	4,826,823
2. Economic improvements, agriculture, mines, industry, canalization of rivers	17,350,127	8,473,072
3. Sanitary service, poor relief	9,726,377	3,983,890
4. Communications	7,818,007	1,140,790
5. Service of the provincial debt	4,916,286	171,008
6. Representation and administration of the province	3,714,529	423,580
7. Public safety	1,549,419	613,429
8. Pensions, gifts, miscellaneous	627,262	105,556
9. Taxes on provincial consumption, and share in State taxes	2,633,400	33,715,500
10. Surtax on State direct taxes and share in State personal taxes	—	25,583,040
Total	85,108,824	79,036,688

The seventy-four self-governing districts and the communes raise revenues for local purposes, mainly roads, from surtaxes on the Imperial direct taxes and

from tolls. Lemberg and Cracow stand outside the district organization, and are financially prosperous owing to their extensive municipal enterprises.

The revenues of all the autonomous bodies (including the province itself) in 1914 were about 168,000,000 kr., or half the State revenues. The revenues of the State and the autonomous bodies together were 508,400,000 kr., or about 63 kr. per inhabitant. The indebtedness of the province and the two towns of Lemberg and Cracow on December 31, 1913, was 186,009,600 kr., a part of which was covered by foreign banks and capitalists.

(2) *Banking*

Despite a marked development of local banking enterprise in recent years, the Galician credit market and Galician banking are still dominated by the credit institutions of Vienna and, to a less degree, by those of Prague. The Austro-Hungarian Bank in particular has a preponderating influence. The turnover of its Galician branches in 1911 exceeded 5,750,000,000 kr., and its share in the discounting of bills (600,000,000 kr. in 1911) gives it a decisive influence upon the extent and direction of this form of credit. Seven other Viennese or Prague banks have one or more branches in the province, and play an important part in financing its enterprises. In addition to this direct activity, the local banks themselves are to an unknown extent dependent upon banks outside Galicia. There appear to be no branches of Hungarian or foreign banks proper in the province. The dependence upon Vienna involves a real risk of the denial of necessary financial support at moments of crisis. In 1907, and especially in 1912, it is alleged, the foreign capital was completely withdrawn without any consideration for Galician interests, and numerous bankruptcies resulted.

The most important Galician banking undertaking is the National Bank of Galicia (*Landesbank des Königreiches Galizien und Lodomerien mit dem Grossherzogtum Krakau*), which was founded in 1883 by the Provincial

Government and stands under its control. It engages in all branches of activity usual to continental banks, including those of a land mortgage bank. The subscribed capital and reserve funds in 1912 were approximately 23,000,000 kr.; the turnover increased from slightly over 1,000,000,000 kr. in 1900 to about 3,800,000,000 kr. in 1912. The largest private joint-stock institution is the Mortgage Bank (*K. K. Privilegierte Galizische Aktien-Hypotheken Bank*), founded in 1867, which in 1910 had a subscribed capital of 20,000,000 kr. and reserves exceeding 9,000,000 kr. The Galician Industrial Bank (*Industrie-Bank für das Königreich Galizien und Lodomerien samt dem Grossherzogtum Krakau*) was founded in 1910 to promote the industrial and agricultural development of the province, with a capital of 10,000,000 kr., of which half was taken by the Provincial Government, one-third by the *Niederösterreichische Escomptegesellschaft*, and about a fifth by Cracow and Lemberg. The Galician Bank of Commerce and Industry (*Galizische Bank für Handel und Industrie*), founded 1869, which provides chiefly for commercial needs, is a comparatively small institution (capital 4,000,000 kr.), and from 1902 to 1908 was in process of reorganization. Among other general banking institutions may be mentioned the Galician Land-Credit Bank (*Boden-Kredit-Bank*) (capital 3,000,000 kr.) and the Agricultural Mortgage Bank (*Agrar-Hypotheken-Bank*), both founded in 1910.

The provision of agricultural credit (mortgages) naturally occupies a prominent place in the operations of the above-mentioned banks. In addition, two institutions exist solely for the purpose, the Land Credit Association (*Boden-Kredit-Verein*), a co-operative organization originally created in 1841, and the Commission for Redeemable Leaseholds (*Rentengüter*), which appears to be a Government relief institution. On December 31, 1913, the issue of mortgage bonds by these two bodies amounted to 284,550,000 kr., the mortgages held by them to 283,500,000 kr., and the reserve funds and other assets to 10,500,100 kr. The

total indebtedness of Galician land in respect of mortgages (mainly upon large estates) is calculated to have risen from 295,000,000 kr. in 1869 to 2,058,000,000 kr. in 1910.

Savings banks play an important part in the economic life of Galicia. The State Post Office Savings Bank, it is true, had only 208,750 accounts open in 1911, or 26 per 1,000 of the population, the lowest ratio of any province, but local savings banks enjoy great popularity. In 1911 there were 47 registered in the province, with over 350,000 depositors and more than 360,000,000 kr. of deposits. The Galician General Savings Bank at Lemberg with 112,000,000 kr., the Cracow Town Savings Bank with 40,000,000 kr., the Cracow District Savings Bank with 25,000,000 kr., and the Tarnow Savings Bank with 13,000,000 kr. deposits are among the largest. The deposits are invested in mortgages and loans to communes. The net profits of the banks are devoted to increasing the reserve capital, and when provision has been made for this up to a certain figure, the residue is devoted to philanthropic or social purposes. A Union of Galician Savings Banks was formed in 1902.

Co-operative credit societies of the Schulze-Delitzsch or the Raiffeisen types have been remarkably successful in Galicia. In 1911, 2,707 such societies existed, with a membership of 1,253,809. Of these 1,648 published balance-sheets showing an aggregate capital of 86,000,000 kr., reserve funds of 24,000,000 kr., and deposits and current accounts of 376,000,000 kr. Each type of credit society has a central bank. The advance which, with the support of the Provincial Government, has been made in the foundation of Raiffeisen loan and saving associations to meet the needs of the rural population is particularly remarkable. Their number increased from 63 in 1900 to 1,382 in 1912, in which year their membership was 288,551 (about 91 per cent. peasants), and the outstanding loans to members amounted to 69,090,000 kr. It is characteristic that the bulk of the loans to peasants

are for land purchase, liquidation of successions, &c. ; in 1909, 83·7 per cent. of the total was for such purposes.

(3) *Influence of Foreign Capital*

Foreign capital, other than Austrian, whose influence is discussed in the previous section (p. 68), has not played any important part in the development of Galicia except in connexion with the oil industry. The oil investments of the foreign capitalist have been in companies registered abroad, whose profits are taken bodily out of the country.

(4) *Principal Fields of Investment*

So long as Galicia remains so predominantly an agricultural country it will attract but little outside capital. The extensive breeding of cattle and pigs offers an opening for cold storage, bacon factories, and by-product factories, which has hitherto not been exploited. The timber and allied industries, such as cellulose and paper-making, would probably repay foreign investment. Further exploitation of the oil is likely to take place, more particularly in the south-eastern district, and would require much new machinery. The development of the coal area west of Cracow might absorb much fresh capital. Such a development, however, would appear to be dependent upon the erection of a tariff against the import of Silesian coal and the creation of a free outlet for the industries of the Kingdom of Poland. The revival of the drooping zinc industry is also stated to be a question of capital, as the workings require a thorough remodelling to make them properly remunerative.

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MAPS

Galicia is covered by two sheets (Krakau, M. 34; and Jitomir, M. 35) of the General Map (G.S.G.S. No. 2758) published by the War Office.

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

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I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

(1) POSITION AND FRONTIERS

FINLAND lies at the north-eastern corner of the Baltic, north of the Gulf of Finland and east of the Gulf of Bothnia: it does not quite reach the Arctic Ocean. The mainland is comprised between $59^{\circ} 45'$ and $70^{\circ} 10'$ north latitude, and $21^{\circ} 5'$ and $32^{\circ} 50'$ east longitude. It has a total area of 144,253 square miles. The neighbouring countries are Sweden on the west, Norway on the north, and Russia on the east.

The present land frontiers of Finland are somewhat arbitrary, and have little relation to physical features.

Except for the Lapps in the north, who pay no attention to frontiers, Finland is racially a unity. The only branch of the Finns who extend beyond the frontiers are the Karelians, but these have been more or less Russified outside Finland. From the linguistic point of view the unity of the country is still more pronounced, despite the Swedish population on the coasts. No suggestions have been made by Finnish writers for any readjustment of boundaries. Outlets to the sea in the north and north-west would be of little value to Finland in view of the long routes they would entail through barren and mountainous country from the inhabited centres of the south. The unproductiveness of Russian Karelia and the shortness of the navigation season in the White Sea preclude the possibility of any route developing to the

north-east. The distinctive features of its physiography and population give Finland a unity and national life which its position intermediate between two strong Powers, Sweden and Russia, has served to accentuate.

(2) SURFACE, LAKES, RIVERS, COASTS, AND ISLANDS

Surface

Of the total area of Finland nearly 12 per cent. is covered by lakes. The country consists of a plateau of hard crystalline rocks, granite, gneiss, and schist, covered in most parts with a thin layer of infertile sands and clays. The drainage is bad and the soil is soaked with water during most of the year.

Three regions may be distinguished: the southern or lake plateau, the northern plateau or Lapland, and the low coastal plains.

The lake plateau has an elevation of about 300 ft., rising to greater heights in the north. There are no mountains, but in the north a few hills rise to 1,000 ft. or more. The most noticeable feature of the southern plateau, especially in the south and south-east, is the large number of lakes.

The northern plateau is much more elevated and rugged; heights are numerous, and the general elevation is over 500 ft. The lakes are mostly small and scattered, though Lake Inari in the north is one of the largest in Finland.

The low coastal plains slope gently from the lake plateau to the sea. The surface of the plains is scored with many shallow valleys of winding rivers draining from the lake plateau. In this region there are few lakes.

Lakes

The lakes of Finland have an important influence upon the social organization and characteristics of

its inhabitants. There are said to be upwards of 35,500 lakes, large and small, chiefly on the southern plateau. Some of these are quite isolated, others are linked one to another in festoons by short channels. It is therefore difficult to distinguish sharply between rivers and lakes except in the northern plateau and on the low plains, for many lakes are merely expanded portions of rivers. Most of them are shallow and studded with islands, but can be used as waterways by small steamers.

The chief lakes lie in three groups, and most of those within each group are linked by natural or artificial waterways. These groups, and the area of the largest lake in each, are as follows: south-west group, Näsijärvi, 106 square miles; central group, Päijänne, 429 square miles; south-east group, Saima, 502 square miles. Among the large solitary lakes are Inarijärvi (Enareträsk, 534 square miles), Oulujärvi (Uleåträsk, 387 square miles), and Ladoga (7,000 square miles, of which 3,100 square miles are in Finland). There are 27 canals or canalized channels connecting lakes or navigable stretches of rivers. Along the lake waterways the Finns originally spread into the interior; and water transit has been a principal factor in the civilization of the country. Its value has been increased by the difficulties of building good and direct roads.

Most of the lakes are frozen over by November, with the exception of the large lakes in the south, which may remain open for a month later. The ice is at its thickest, sometimes as much as 15 ft., in March; and the last lake-ice breaks up during May. Lake Ladoga is obstructed by ice from October to April or May, but its ice is seldom over 4 ft. thick except for ridges of pack-ice which may be 50 ft. in thickness.

Rivers

There are many small rivers, but, unless the lakes be regarded as expanded river-beds, few long ones except in Lapland. Most of the rivers drain to the Baltic; and only a small part of the drainage reaches the Atlantic and Arctic Oceans. There is little difficulty in bridging any river except near the mouth. The rivers are of value for floating timber, but of little use for navigation of any kind.

A total of 1,442 rapids has been mapped and named, but the list is incomplete for Lapland. Many are utilized for water-power; but their partial or complete failure from frost in winter is a great drawback.

Coasts and Islands

Disregarding minor inlets, the length of the Baltic coast-line is 1,000 miles; but so numerous are the indentations and islands that the total length, when they are all taken into account, is over 3,000 miles. On the northern part of the west coast and on some stretches of the south-east coast islands are few, but elsewhere they are numerous. In the south-west they form the Åbo archipelago and its western extension, the Åland archipelago, which stretches to within 10 miles of the islands off the Swedish coast.

The Åland archipelago has a total land area of about 550 square miles, including the island of Åland itself, the extent of which is 200 square miles. It consists of over 200 low islands and many rocks, separated by navigable channels, which in many cases are known only to local sailors and fishermen and to the Russian naval authorities who have studied them in recent years. The Åbo archipelago is of the same nature; but, although it contains more islands, it has a smaller land area.

The coasts behind the islands are low, rocky, and indented with fjords, which tend to become silted up with alluvial matter from the many rivers, yet afford good natural harbours for small craft. The west coast north of Uleåborg is the only coast that is fringed with sand-dunes. None of the fjords stretch far inland. In all cases approach to harbours is difficult and tortuous, but is facilitated by a good system of lighthouses, lightships, buoys, and beacons.

The coastal waters of the Baltic are relatively fresh and so freeze readily in winter. Freezing is further facilitated by the almost complete absence of tide in the Baltic. Most of the Finnish ports are closed to navigation from November or December to April or May. Mariehamn in the Åland Islands and Hangö are, however, open throughout the winter ; and Åbo and Helsingfors can usually be kept open by ice-breakers.

(3) CLIMATE

The climate more nearly resembles that of Arctic Russia than that of western Europe. There is a brief hot summer from June till August and a severe winter from December to February or March. In summer there is almost continual daylight even in the south, and in winter a corresponding period of darkness. In winter the south-west and in summer the south-east are the warmest parts of the country.

The wettest period of the year occurs in late summer and autumn, but there is no marked dry season. The annual rainfall varies from about 30 in. (750 mm.) in the south to about half that amount in Lapland. From October to May practically all the precipitation falls as snow. By March there is usually about 30 in. (0·75 metre) of snow on the ground in Lapland and about 16 in. (0·4 metre) in south-west Finland. The Åland Islands have a milder winter with comparatively little

snow. The winter snow is of importance as it facilitates travelling, especially in Lapland, by means of reindeer sledges. Moreover, to a certain extent it protects the ground from winter frost and so facilitates agriculture in spring.

Sea Ice.—The waters of the south-western Baltic are rarely frozen, although from Öland and Gotland northward to the Åland Sea there is generally enough pack-ice to impede navigation during the winter. The greater part of the Gulfs of Bothnia and Finland are frozen every winter. Freezing generally begins in the north of the Gulf of Bothnia in December, and by January most of the coastal waters of the Gulf, including the Åbo archipelago, are ice-bound. By that time only the extreme head of the Gulf of Finland is frozen. The Baltic ice reaches its greatest extent in March. The whole of the Gulf of Bothnia, except the Åland Sea, and the whole of the Gulf of Finland, except its western end, are then frozen. The south and south-west of the Åland Islands are always open except for a little drifting pack-ice, and it is probably only in exceptional winters that the centre of the Gulf of Bothnia is frozen solid. The Åland Sea was frozen sufficiently firm to allow traffic to cross between Finland and Sweden in only nine winters during last century.

By the end of April the ice has broken up in the Åbo archipelago and round the south and south-west coasts, and during May the Gulf of Bothnia rapidly clears, it being rare to find any ice in June. The Gulf of Finland is clear early in May.

(4) SANITARY CONDITIONS

The climate is healthy. Preventive measures against the few diseases which occur have met with considerable success. The natural conditions of the country are ideal for the mosquito which carries the infection

of malaria, but, although the disease is widespread, it occurs only in a mild form which is not dangerous. Pulmonary tuberculosis is prevalent, particularly along the Gulf of Bothnia.

(5) RACE AND LANGUAGE

Race

About 90 per cent. of the total population are Finns. Most of the remainder are Swedes, with a few Lapps, several thousand Russians, about 1,000 Jews, and 1,000 Gypsies. There were at one time about 2,000 Germans, principally in Wiborg and Helsingfors.

The Finns are generally thought to belong to the Finno-Ugrian family, a people of Mongolian origin allied to the Lapps and Ostyaks and more remotely to the Magyars and Turks. They probably entered Finland twelve to fourteen centuries ago, after a certain amount of admixture with Slavs. One branch of the Finns, the Karelians, is found in the Kem district of Russia on the White Sea. There, however, they are largely Russified. The Finns form the middle and peasant classes in Finland.

The Swedish element, which dates from the days of Swedish rule, is found round the coasts, particularly in the west and south-west, and in the Aland Islands. The Swedes are mainly sailors and merchants, and in the towns, where they form a high proportion of the population, they are the most prosperous section of the community. Admixture between Swedes and Finns has taken place only in recent years ; the racial feeling is still very strong on both sides. Two factors are operating to break it down ; the growing prosperity of the Finns and their consequent mingling with the higher classes, which were formerly exclusively Swedish, and the growth of factories, which has brought many Finns into the towns.

The Russians are mainly to be found in the south-east and south. They mix little with the rest of the population. Across the Russian frontier there is a certain infiltration of Russian Karelians, but this is without effect on the Finnish race, as they are of the same stock.

Language

Of Finnish there are two chief dialects ; the Karelian or eastern, showing Russian influence, and the Tavastland or western, which has been much modified by Aryan influence and contains many Swedish words. The written form of the language has been common to all educated Finns for about a century. Finnish is the sole tongue of the peasants and of most of the lower and middle classes in the towns, and it is understood, though not used, by most of the Swedish population. It is spoken by the majority of Finns, both cultured and uncultured. Most of the Lapps speak Finnish as well as their own allied language. The number of people who speak Swedish only is steadily decreasing. Swedish is understood in all the towns, and in many is the predominant language. Russian is little understood and less used, except in the Wiborg district. Well-educated Finns nearly always understand Finnish, Swedish, Russian, French, and German.

(6) POPULATION

The general poverty of the country has hindered the growth of large centres of population ; and the factors which now stimulate the growth of Finnish towns—the export of wood and the use of water-power for industrial purposes—have been of importance only in recent years. The towns on the sea-coast and for some distance inland, south and west, are Swedish and have Swedish names. But those in the interior

and eastern parts are predominantly Finnish. Nearly all the villages of the interior are on lake shores or river banks.

The densest population is on the southern and south-western coastal plains, but even in the north the coastal plains are more populated than the interior. The population of the interior is sparse and confined mainly to the southern part of the lake plateau. Lapland is inhabited almost solely by nomadic Lapps. The frontier lands, except in the district of Karelia, have few inhabitants.

Of the total population 15 per cent. are urban dwellers, and the proportion is steadily growing. The population of Helsingfors, the largest town, is about 167,000. The total population at the end of 1914 was given as 3,269,401, but this figure is probably too high.

The net rate of increase since 1899 has been very slow, owing to extensive emigration. In 1911 the birth-rate was 29 per 1,000, and the death-rate 16·5 per 1,000. Both these low rates are about the same as in the British Isles.

II. POLITICAL HISTORY

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

- 1809 Oath of Alexander I to maintain the religion, laws, and Constitution of the Grand Duchy (March). Oath repeated in a Proclamation (March).
- 1809-63 Finland ruled by Governors-General and a Finnish Governing Council.
- 1812 Province of Wiborg united to Finland, with similar constitutional rights.
- 1816 Oath of 1809 proclaimed binding on the descendants of Alexander I.
- 1835 The *Kalerala* first published by Lönnrot.
- 1863 Reassembling of Diet.
- 1866 Passing of Primary Instruction Law.
- 1869 Constitution of Finland accepted by Alexander II.
- 1878 Reconstruction of the military system of Finland.
- 1890 Finnish trade unions banded together as a Labour Party.
- 1894 Finnish language placed on an equality with Swedish in the Senate.
- 1895 *Työmies*, Finland's first Labour journal, founded.
- 1898 The Military Law proposed by the Tsar Nicholas II and his advisers rejected in the Landtdag.
- 1899 The Finnish Constitution suspended by an Imperial manifesto. Military Dictatorship conferred on Major-General Bobrikoff. Formation of the Social Democratic Party.
- 1903 Social Democratic Party joined by the Finnish trade unions.
- 1904 Bobrikoff assassinated.
- 1905 Universal suffrage discussed by the Landtdag and the Senate. The Great Strike. The Landtdag reassembled.
- 1906 Bill passed restoring the Landtdag as it existed in 1809. Sveaborg mutiny. Tsar's manifesto conceding national demands.

- 1907 First elections on adult suffrage and proportional representation.
- 1908 Dissolution of the Diet. Measures passed by the Landtdag and Senate of Finland to be submitted to Russian Council of Ministers. Second elections. Coalition Senate formed.
- 1909 The Landtdag reassembled and immediately dissolved by the Tsar.
- 1910 Bill for Imperial Legislation signed by the Tsar and promulgated by the Senate. The Landtdag convoked for a special session. Opposition to the Law for Imperial Legislation. Dissolution of the Landtdag.
- 1912 Imprisonment of members of Supreme Court for resisting extension of Finnish citizenship to Russians
- 1912-13 Extension of Finnish railways towards Swedish frontier.
- 1914 The Great War. Russian censorship established. Finnish battalion in Russian Army. Finnish exiles in German Army.
- 1917 Constitution restored by Provisional Government of Russia (March). Diet summoned. Coalition Senate chosen. Congress of Swedish party. Independence demanded. Diet dissolved (July), but reassembles and exercises provisional supreme power (November). Bourgeois Senate elected. Bolshevik rule in Russia. Intrigues of bourgeois *blot* with Sweden and Germany. Declaration of independence (December). Disturbances in Åbo.
- 1918 Independence confirmed by Russia, and recognised by Sweden, Germany, and other Powers. Trouble in Åland Isles. Social Democrats attempt a *coup d'État*. Conflict between Red and White Guards. Germans land in Åland Isles and in Finland. Complete defeat of Red Guards (May). Landtdag, re-established, votes for a monarchy.
- 1918 Election of a German prince to the Finnish Crown in a secret session of the Landtdag by a vote of 64 to 41. France withdraws her recognition of Finnish independence. The German prince shows no anxiety to mount the throne of Finland. German troops begin to withdraw from the country (October).

(1) *Finland under Swedish Rule.*—There are no historical records of Finland before 1157. The Finns are a people of Mongolian origin, who, according to tradition, had been settled in Finland for many hundred years before King Eric of Sweden undertook a “crusade” into Finland at the instance of Pope Adrian III. He was accompanied by Bishop Henry, of Upsala, an Englishman; and a permanent Swedish settlement was made in 1157, at Åbo, in South-Western Finland. A hundred years later the Swedes fortified Åbo, and built a castle there, which was first held by Bishop Thomas, also an Englishman, and then by a succession of fighting bishops, who gradually extended the rule of Sweden eastward. From 1249 onwards Finland became a Swedish province, and the Finns were subject to the rulers and the laws of Sweden. But they voted through their representatives for the election of a Swedish King in 1362, and were generally treated as Swedish citizens.

(2) *Its Condition as a Swedish Province.*—The Finns came under the common law (the code of Magnus Erikson, 1350, and of King Christopher, 1442). As in Sweden, the law was administered locally by a judge, a president, and a body of peasants chosen by the people, called the *Nämd*. Taxes were collected throughout the counties or districts by *kronofogder*, or Crown bailiffs. All the waste and uninhabited Finnish lands belonged to the King of Sweden, and to this day are known as Crown lands. Settlers upon them paid rents to the Crown, and were able finally to buy their own holdings if they chose.

By the middle of the fifteenth century there were many flourishing towns along the south and west coasts, governed mainly by *Birkarlar*, or guilds of traders. In 1527 the “House of Burgesses” and the

“ House of the Peasantry ” were added to the “ Estates ”; and these often formed a counterpoise to the “ House of Nobles ” and the “ House of the Clergy,” usually acting to the advantage of the King. A native aristocracy of Swedish origin, freely crossed with Finnish blood, was also growing up, firmly established in fortified castles near the various towns. When not fighting abroad, this aristocracy was chiefly occupied, in Finland as in Sweden, by struggles with the Crown or the peasantry. The nobles were perpetually trying to get land at the expense of the farmers and the workers on the soil. Land was often held by these on very unsatisfactory tenure; they paid in service, and were liable to chastisement, but there was no actual serfdom in Finland. Nor was any injurious distinction made between Swedes and Finns. The language of the nobles, the burghers, and the Law Courts was Swedish; and no one could hold any official post without taking a Swedish name. But the peasantry and country folk all spoke Finnish: and in a general way their priests and pastors spoke Finnish with them. On the other hand, it was criminal to publish any book in Finnish except the Bible, the Catechism, and Luther’s hymn-book.

It is worth while to consider these early conditions of Finland in detail, for they form the basis of her present Constitution. John, the second son of Gustavus Vasa, was in 1556 invested, by his father’s will, with the Duchy of Finland, as a vassal of the Swedish Crown. He dethroned his brother, King Eric XIV; and the title of Duke (or Grand Duke) of Finland became henceforth inseparable from the Crown. Finland was a Swedish territory having no constitutional individuality; and the representatives of Finland went regularly to the Swedish Diet, although, on some special

occasions, Finnish local Diets were held. Until the middle of the eighteenth century the Finns generally were quite contented to be Swedes.

(3) *Advance of Russia.*—During the reign of Gustavus Adolphus (1611-1632) Finland extended a good way into Russian Karelia, and included the isthmus of St. Petersburg; but under his successors Russia was allowed to advance until the River Kymmene formed the boundary of Swedish territory. From Peter the Great onward, the rulers of Russia desired to extend their territory westward until it reached open, ice-free water; and in the Great Northern War of 1700-21 they came near to gaining their desire. At the Peace of Nystad (1721) all Finland, excepting Wiborg, was restored to Sweden. In the next war (1741-43) Russia was again successful, and in the Peace of Åbo Sweden had to cede a considerable portion of Finnish territory.

The rulers of Russia since Peter the Great have had two policies regarding Finland, which were generally put forward alternately, according to circumstances—the policy of annexation and the policy of the “buffer State.” The Empress Elizabeth tried the latter in 1742. She issued a general manifesto to Finland offering to establish the country independently “as a barrier and boundary” between Sweden and Russia. This had curiously little effect at the time. But then and thereafter the discontented Finnish nobles were always ready to coquet with Russia.

(4) *Swedish Charters of Liberty.*—In the reign of Gustavus III two important Acts were passed, which defined and modified the Swedish Constitution. The first of these, known as the Form of Government (*Regeringsformen*) of 1772, limited the Royal power; the Act of Union and Security (*Förenings- och Säkerhets-Akt*) of

1789 largely restored it. These two Acts have ever since been the Fundamental Laws on which the Constitution of Finland has been based, their maintenance in full force having been guaranteed to the Finnish people by the Act of Assurance of the Emperor Alexander I, March 17, 1809; and both Acts are expressly mentioned as of binding force by the Emperor Alexander II¹ in the Act known as "the Regulation of the Diet," April 3, 1869.²

The provisions of the Form of Government and the Act of Union and Security show that Sweden (including Finland) was before the Russian conquest a single homogeneous country and monarchy. For instance, three Courts of Law are appointed: one in Stockholm to legislate for "the old Swedish dominion; one at Jönköping for the Gothic dominion; and one at Åbo for the Grand Duchy of Finland." This appears to be the only reference to that country in both Acts.

Gustavus III began another war with Russia in 1788, which hardly lasted two years. Part of the Swedish nobility "struck," because war had been made without the consent of the Estates; therefore, in the Act of Union and Security of 1789, the King endeavoured to legalise his own action by providing, in the first clause, that foreign policy is in the King's hands, and that he alone has power to declare war and conclude peace.

¹ Regulation of the Diet, April 3/15, 1869:—"While we reserve Our Right as it is assured in the Form of Government of August 21, 1772, and the Act of Union and Safety of February 21, 1789, and in so far as it has not been altered by express words in the present Regulation of the Diet, We graciously promise to perform and ratify the Regulation of the Diet as an inviolable Fundamental Law."

² The Finnish Senate, when proclaiming the independence of Finland on December 9, 1917, declared the Diet to be based upon Article 38 of the Form of Government of 1772.

Meanwhile (in 1788) some of the Swedo-Finnish nobles were conspiring with Catherine of Russia, in the hope that she would revive Elizabeth's project of making Finland into a buffer State. But again nothing came of this attempt.

(5) *Russian Conquest*.—In 1808, at the Congress of Erfurt, Napoleon is said to have promised his consent to the incorporation of Finland in the Russian Empire. War began again in 1808. Sweden was too weak to defend her Finnish soil unaided; and, in spite of vigorous resistance, Finland was conquered and formally annexed by Alexander I in 1809. That monarch was inclined to the second of the two policies mentioned above—that of the buffer State; for he expressed himself thus in a rescript to Steinheil in 1816:—

“As regards the condition of Finland, my intention has been to give this people a political existence, so that they may not feel themselves conquered by Russia, but united to her for their own clear advantage; therefore not only their civil, but their political laws have been maintained.”

(6) *Constitution assured*.—Unfortunately, the government of Russia by Alexander I was an autocracy; and the enlightened monarch, who so wisely decided to rule this new portion of his dominions constitutionally, and further (February 9/21, 1816) proclaimed this decision to be binding on his descendants, involved them and their supporters in a legal dilemma. How can one separate portion of the whole autocratic Empire be constitutionally ruled? Finland either was or was not part of Russia. If it were, then the Duchy was subject to the same rule as the rest of the Empire; if it were not, it should forcibly be made one with Russia as soon as possible.

This, briefly, sums up the arguments of a whole library full of books upon the Finnish question from

the Russian point of view. The Finnish case, which has also given rise to a great deal of writing, consists of the actual oath taken by Alexander in March 1809, and repeated by him in a general proclamation of April 1809, and the speech of Alexander II in 1863. The Finns, naturally, have seen nothing specially inconsistent in an autocratic Empire with a constitutional annex.

The conquest of Finland by Russia was complete in December 1808; and a provisional Committee of Government was appointed, with a Governor-General¹ at its head. A Finnish deputation was at the same time called to St. Petersburg, and its members presented a Memorandum containing a summary of the provisions of the Fundamental Laws for the calling of a legal Diet. They also furnished a description of Finland's Constitution, which runs thus:—

“ Finland, which has been from the most remote times united with Sweden, has been governed according to the fundamental and civil laws of the latter. These are founded on three principles:—

“ (1) The country is governed by a King who is subject to law.

“ (2) All the citizens are free and protected in life and property.

“ (3) The nation, through its representatives, has the right to make its own Constitution, dictate its own laws, and stipulate what the contributions [*i.e.*, taxes] of the country are to be. . . . The Estates used to assemble every third year, and even more often, but since the change of rule in 1772 and the Act of Security in 1789 they have been restricted.”

The deputation asked for the convocation of such a Diet; and the Tsar, though he had no legal power to summon a Diet, granted the request. The “ Estates of Finland ” assembled at Borgå in March 1809. These

¹ The appointment of a Governor-General as a permanent institution was forbidden by the *Regeringsform*, Art. 33.

Estates were (1) all the "heads of noble families," making the Order of Nobles; (2) bishops, representatives of clergy, and a few representatives of the University of Helsingfors and of the teachers of the lyceums and public schools, making the Order of Clergy; (3) the Order of Burgesses, representing all the property-holders in the towns; and (4) the Order of Peasants, representing the taxpayers of the rural communes. Before this assembly, meeting in the so-called cathedral of the little wooden-built riverside town of Borgå, Alexander I gave his solemn assent to the "assurance,"¹ which was read aloud in Swedish, and runs as follows:—

"We, Alexander I, by the grace of God Emperor and Autocrat of the whole of Russia, Grand Duke of Finland, &c., do make known:

"That, Providence having placed us in possession of the Grand Duchy of Finland, We have desired to confirm and ratify the religion and fundamental laws of the country, together with the privileges and rights which each class in the said Grand Duchy in particular and all the inhabitants in general, whether high or low, have hitherto enjoyed, according to the Constitution. We promise to maintain all their benefits and laws firm and unshakable in their full force. In confirmation whereof we have signed this Act of Assurance with Our own hand."

This was on March 15/27, 1809. At the opening of the Diet Alexander had made a brief and friendly speech, and on March 23/April 4 he published a manifesto which was also very friendly. The Diet, having done homage to the Tsar on 17/29 March, sat for three months, and was then dissolved. A manifesto of March 15/27, 1810, contains this passage:—

"From the moment when Providence placed the fate of Finland in our hands We resolved to govern this country as a free nation enjoying the rights guaranteed to it by its Constitution."

¹ This Act of Assurance differs but slightly from that which was given by each Swedish King on his accession.

This solemn undertaking was, however, not carried out, as no Diet was summoned to meet for fifty-three years.

(7) *Growth of Finnish Nationalism.*—From this time onward, for about 108 years, Finland was considered part of the Russian Empire, and acknowledged the rule of Russia's Tsars. For some ninety years of this period the Finns were fairly contented with their rulers; and the relations between Russia and Finland, though hardly ever cordial, were quite easily endurable for both sides. But the acquired national characteristics of both nations were, and are, so extremely different that any close intercourse, any sustained common effort, seems impossible. Mongolian though the Finns are if traced to their ultimate origins, they have always looked westward, assimilating Western civilisation, thought, science, art, and scepticism. Formed and educated for 600 years by the Swedes, then thrown by the fortune of war into the lap of a barbaric and half-Eastern Empire, they could not possibly become one with their conquerors. Their Swedish habits of life and thought continued for a time, but the influence of Sweden naturally faded; and then—to put the change in a few words—since they might not be Swedes, and would not be Russians, they became *Finns*.

That awakening of nationalism, which stirred here and there throughout all Europe during the last century, touched Finland soon after the Russian conquest. The Grand Duchy quite unconsciously carried out that alternative policy of Russia to which we have already referred, and became, by the mere development of Finnish national feeling, a buffer state between Sweden and Russia, alien to both and sympathetic to neither. But none of the rulers of Russia after Alexander I were able to comprehend this simple, natural, and beneficial

development. Count Witte, for instance, firmly believed to his dying day that all Finland was burning to be reunited to Sweden.

The actual Finno-Ugrian race is not confined to the limits of Finland. It spreads across a large part of Northern Russia, and reappears in Esthonia, where the language and the mythology of the peasantry are very similar to those of the Grand Duchy. Within Finland itself two racial types are to be found: the Tavastians, or Finns of the west and the Bothnian shore (where the original Finno-Ugrian stock has been largely crossed with Swedish blood), and the Karelians, or Finns of the east, who have inter-married considerably with Russians. The Tavastians are perhaps the ugliest race in Europe; they have fair hair and blue eyes, with modified Mongolian features, and squat, heavy figures. But their faces are nearly always redeemed by fine, intellectual foreheads; and their clumsy bodies answer with extraordinary quickness and accuracy to the rhythm of dance and song. The Karelians are darker, better-looking generally, and livelier in manner, while mentally they have a touch of Slavonic instability. Long before the perils of close intercourse between Finns and Russians could be manifest, certain of the wisest heads in Finland were always strongly opposed to Russian intellectual influences; to Russian political movements, whether Tsarist or Progressive: to the influx of Russians as visitors or residents; and, generally speaking, to fraternisation with Russia in any form. "We are of the West, and they are of the East," these people said.

Finnish nationalism grew up in a condition of double opposition, so to speak; for the original Finnish language had to fight its way into the educated and bourgeois world of Finland against the influence of

Swedish as a general, and Russian as an official, tongue. It began when Elias Lönnrot, a Swedish-Finn physician, first collected the various legends together which form the epic of the *Kalevala*. He was well acquainted with Finnish, and took down these beautiful and remarkable pieces of mythology from the chants of the peasantry on long winter evenings in the lonely forest farms. He first published the whole *Kalevala* in 1835; and this, together with the second edition published in 1849, and the *Kanteletar*, a collection of lyrics which followed, gave a wonderful impetus to the study of Finnish in Finland. On every hand educated and well-to-do people, the bourgeoisie, even the Swedo-Finnish "nobility," were learning again from the lips of the peasantry their own extremely rich and beautiful language. From this period we may trace a genuine and very remarkable Finnish literature, although a number of popular authors in Finland chose (and still choose to-day) to use the Swedish tongue.¹

(8) *Growth of Democratic Feeling*.—The development of nationalism in Finland was accompanied by the growth of democracy, or what passed for it in the last century; that is to say, the power of the middle classes, the intellectuals, and the skilled hand-workers increased, while that of the leisured and hereditary governing classes

¹ Those who wish to understand the conditions of Finland cannot pass over her language and literature, for it was for many years a most integral part of her people's development. The educated class, turning from Swedish to Finnish, entered a new, rich, varied, and poetical world, which was by inheritance their own. Swedish is a language of homely charm and flexible but limited vocabulary; Finnish has endless inflections, and falls naturally into lyric forms which give a winged quality even to its prose, while for subtlety and variety Finnish can hold its own even with English and Russian.

waned. The Finnish noble families, always rather isolated and provincial, found themselves completely cut off from Sweden and Scandinavia generally; and a few of them contracted Russian alliances or went to find power and place at St. Petersburg. Some Russians settled in Eastern Finland, accommodating themselves easily enough to the different atmosphere. Meantime, the majority of the Finnish aristocracy went into commerce, dropped the prefix of nobility, and became, of late years especially, much more powerful as capitalists than they had been as nobles.

(9) *Alexander I and Nicholas I.*—From 1812 onward Finland was ruled by Governors-General and a Council of Finns nominated by the Tsar, and called the Imperial Senate of Finland. A Committee of Finnish Affairs at St. Petersburg transmitted the business done by this body to the Tsar. Alexander I made his celebrated voyage through Finland in 1819, and penetrated far and wide into the land of forest, lakes, and rivers; even, it is said, going down the wonderful cataracts of the Ulea. He won a great deal of easy popularity, and effected the necessary change of the Finnish capital from Åbo, at the extreme western point of the country, to Helsingfors, which commands the magnificent harbour of Sveaborg. He never carried out his intention of giving a Constitution to Finland, but he also never came into serious collision with the Finns. The Governors-General he appointed were of Finnish or Esthonian extraction except one, Count Lakrewski, who took the post in 1823, and drew up a series of ordinances, to which he obtained the Imperial signature without the necessary sanction of the Finnish Senate. This situation (repeated, as we shall see, in 1899) was very suitably dealt with by Alexander I, who obliged

the Governor-General to present his reports through the proper constitutional channels—that is, the Committee of Finnish Affairs.

The Diet was never called together during the reigns of Alexander I and Nicholas I. The latter signed the Assurance of the Liberties of Finland, as his brother had done; and practically nothing was attempted either for or against those liberties during his reign. In 1826 the Committee for Finnish Affairs was replaced by the Finnish Office, with a Secretary of State at its head; but, as Count Reh binder, who held this post for many years, was a man of much intelligence and tact, Finland was governed more or less in accordance with the wishes of her population, though not constitutionally. As will appear later, the office of Finnish Secretary of State was a post of the highest importance to Finland's welfare. Politically tranquil, Finland prospered commercially during the long reign of Nicholas I; and the national life was fostered by the progress of education.

(10) *Alexander II.*—On the occasion of the Tsar's visit to Finland in 1856 it was made known to him that the people desired the reassembling of the Diet. In 1859 the Senate drew up a list of matters which really needed the co-operation of the Diet; and in 1861 the Tsar called, not a Diet, but a "Committee of the Four Orders of Finland." This gave great dissatisfaction; and at last a legally elected Diet met in 1863. The deputies were received at Helsingfors by Alexander, who informed them that he intended to maintain the principle of constitutional monarchy "essentially involved in the character of the Finnish people," and that he wished to extend the rights of the Diet respecting taxation, and to give them the power of legislative action (*droit de motion*), reserving to himself the initiative in all questions touching alterations in the Fundamental Laws.

This speech (the full text of which is given in the Appendix) has generally been passed over in silence by Russian writers upon the Finnish question. If they have considered it at all, they appear to have judged it a regrettable and illegal derogation from autocracy on Alexander's part. The "Constitution of 1863," as it is generally called, did not come into working till after the "Law of the Diet" was passed in 1869. It was the result of the labours of the Diet of 1863, which was assembled according to the Constitution of 1809. As Senator Mechelin says, it was based on the "Form of Government" of 1772, the "Act of Union and Security" of 1789, and the Constitution of 1809. A very complicated and unsatisfactory Constitution it proved to be; but, such as it was, Finland received it with joy, bitterly resented the suspension of it by Nicholas II, and did not even expand it according to modern requirements until 1907.

(11) *Constitution of 1863.*—The electors continued to vote by Estates or Orders. The 'Order of Peasantry' was elected by all owners of real estate paying land tax and by owners of Crown property; and this limited electorate was further restricted by a system of electors of first and second degree. They returned about sixty members, according to the rural communes. The 'Order of Burgesses' was elected by all tax-paying town residents, at the rate of one representative per 6,000 inhabitants. They came to about fifty-five in number. The 'Order of Clergy' was elected by the Lutheran pastors, the professors and officials of Helsingfors University, and the professors and teachers of other public schools. These, with an archbishop and two bishops, made from thirty-four to thirty-six representatives. The 'Order of Nobles' consisted of one

person from each of the "noble families," who were generally over 200 in number. Numerically, this body of landowners and capitalists formed a permanent majority of the Diet.

Such an electoral system left a very considerable part of the population permanently unrepresented. Against this must be set the large amount of local self-government possessed by the rural communes, in which the workers had some voice, and by the municipalities. Also, the general rights of citizens were considerable; there were no class privileges in the matter of military service or admission to Government employment; the public schools (and the university) were open to all classes, and liberty of conscience was recognised. Every Finlander was free to acquire real estate, and had a right to exercise any trade or profession. (After the 'seventies this right was extended to women.) In a word, the ordinary freedom of the individualist State, founded upon a basis of capital, prevailed in a fuller form, socially and practically, than was generally found in Europe at that time.

The only legal alterations to the Finnish Constitution, apart from the various illegal changes attempted by the Tsars, were made in 1886, in 1907, and in 1917, and did not affect the machinery of the Constitution at all. The electoral basis alone was broadened. In 1886 the burgess electorate was increased, and the Estates were given the right of initiative. In 1907 the Diet was elected by full adult suffrage, with proportional representation; women became eligible for Parliament; and the separate sittings of the Four Orders ceased to exist. In 1917 the Diet, being the only directly representative part of the Government, naturally assumed the supreme political power.

As instituted in 1869, the four Estates, each having the same authority, met in the capital for a four months' session, and by custom they usually met every year. They were convoked by the Emperor, who was not obliged to call them together more than once in every five years, and dissolved them as he chose. Whenever there were disputes with Finland, the Emperors dissolved the Diet (and the Provisional Government of 1917 was so injudicious as to follow their example). The Diet, being assembled, formed five Committees—legislative, economic, finance, extraordinary taxes, and bank. Swedish was spoken in the House of Nobles; Finnish and Swedish in the other Houses. In 1894 the Finnish language was admitted into the Senate on an equality with Swedish. Any member of the Diet might "propose a petition," that is, suggest that the Tsar should introduce such and such a measure; this formula practically meant that the Diet gave notice to the Emperor, the Senate, &c., that they intended to introduce a Bill on some particular subject.

Mechelin says: "The Emperor is assisted in the work of governing Finland by the Senate, the Governor-General, and the Secretary of State's office."¹ The Senate consisted of about twenty Finnish subjects nominated by the Tsar, divided into two Departments, the Judicial and the Administrative. The Judicial Department was the final court of appeal, and nominated candidates for the Justiciary. The Administrative Department included home affairs, financial control, Crown lands and fisheries, the military budget (until the Army was disbanded), public worship and instruction, agriculture and canals. All further matters of

¹ That is, the Senate, confirmed by the Secretary of State, held the executive power.

administrative work were carried out by the *Plenum* of the Senate. The Budget was drawn up by the Financial Department of the Senate, and voted (after 1869) by the Diet. It was generally arranged for a year ahead. Finland has always, from the very beginning of her connection with Russia, been financially independent. She has raised her own revenues and administered them herself for her own needs. This arose, in the early days, from her poverty; Russia, then relatively prosperous, was glad to avoid the burden of subsidising a very poor and war-worn country. In 1869 the situation was different, but even then Finland's prosperity was certainly not such as to cause envy in the great Empire: so the Constitution affirmed the financial independence of the Finns. By 1910 it was clear that Finland's resources would be of considerable value to the Empire, yet the financial part of the 1910 Bill was never put into force. It is remarkable that the Russian Administration, so incredibly corrupt in most matters, has always shown the strictest probity in dealing with Finnish finance. This the Finns themselves readily acknowledge.

The Governor-General was nominally President of the Senate, and was supposed to "supervise the work of the Senate"; but in actual practice he, being usually a foreigner, took no share in administration. After the destruction of the Finnish Army the Governors-General were usually military and official functionaries responsible for Russian troops quartered in Helsingfors and other towns.

There was also a Procurator-General, a kind of judicial head, being the chief of the public prosecutors of the country. Part of his duty was to preside at the sittings of the Senate and see that the rules of procedure were duly observed. He was supposed to be the

coadjutor of the Governor-General, but in practice he had usually little to do with that functionary, and exercised the duties of President of the Senate. These functionaries, like the Secretary of State, were nominated by the Tsar; but during those periods in which Russia and Finland were not at enmity they were chosen on Finnish suggestion. At other times the Governor-General, the Procurator-General, the Secretary of State, and even the members of the Senate were active in their support of Russian interests, to the detriment of the Finns.

The Secretary of State for Finland transmitted to the Tsar all measures passed by the Diet and Senate, and generally acquainted him with the course of public affairs in Finland. Obviously, this Minister had remarkable powers for good or ill over the fate of Finland. In 1908 this duty of the Secretary of State was transferred to the Russian Council of Ministers by an Act of Russian administrative legislation, with the Tsar's sanction; but this change, being made without the consent of the Diet, was illegal and temporary, not affecting the Constitution.

(12) *Finland under the Constitution*.—Finland is a surprising example of the manner in which a nation's will to progress can develop, and even carry into effect material reforms, under a very limited and ineffective parliamentary system. The defects of the Constitution were obvious, but the Finnish people literally loved it; and, when it was suspended by Nicholas II in 1899, the popular cry was not for a new and better form of government, but for a restoration of the old. From the first years of constitutional government the Diet gradually assumed the initiative in legislation; it proposed and drafted measures, and the Senate carried them out. Probably owing to the preponderance of

power lying with the House of Nobles, there were very few serious disputes between Senate and Diet; while within the Diet itself the bourgeois interests of the nobles apparently kept them in harmony with the other Houses.

Between 1869 and 1898 the history of Finland is bare of notable events, but it was a period of rapid social and national development. Finland became a country of prosperous bourgeois, liberal and even radical, but scarcely socialist, in tone. Education reached a very high level, and to a great extent culture determined a person's social status. All those who had been through the university met upon an equal footing; leisured or idle persons were hard to find. The nobility had gone into commerce; and the industry, simple tastes, and intelligence of the bourgeoisie enabled them to develop the resources of the country and provide comfortably for themselves. But there was little that could be called wealth; and the social tone was such that the few wealthy men bore their riches apologetically. Finland was not only a poor country, but a land of wholesome delights and high ideals.

Generally speaking, the country was poor; and, by reason of a series of bad harvests, it was visited with two severe famines. The improvement of agriculture, the intelligence of the farmers and yeomen, and their readiness to learn, made such disasters rare; but it was still true in 1908 to say: "There is always a food shortage somewhere in Finland." The geological fact that the country is slowly rising from the level of the Baltic—some 6 ft. in a century—was disturbing; lakes, and even sea-shore, were liable to become marsh; the course of rivers was altered. Under the very best conditions, Finland can so far, grow five-sixths of her food supply at home; but the general policy of the country

was to produce export wares for exchange. These were mainly timber and paper and dairy produce; and in spite of the Finnish climate agriculture became a source of real wealth. The railways had the advantage of starting under State direction, and were admirably suited to the needs of the very large country and a scattered population. The area of Finland is about 144,253 square miles, one-third of which lies within the Arctic Circle; and the population in 1914 was some three millions. Trains were comfortable, cheap, frequent, and reliable. The lake steamer service was also cheap and excellent, though necessarily suspended in winter. Besides many small canals, there are two which admit large vessels far into the country. The taxes were not heavy; and the tariffs, in spite of many threats from Russia to level them up to her own, were never interfered with, and always remained low.

(13) *Political Parties*.—Class antagonisms, then, hardly showed themselves in the Diet or in Finnish society; but their place was amply filled by very bitter racial quarrels. The "Old Finn" party, which stood for the development of Finland's own language and national character, as opposed to Swedish culture and Swedish language, was first formed early in the 'sixties. Its politics were strictly nationalist, and the group contained both moderate and radical elements. But, in their desire to throw off Swedish tradition, the Old Finns laid themselves open, now and then, to the charge of "looking eastward" and being too ready to accept Russian influence, and even bend to Russian tyranny. The "Young Finn" party was formed after some years to embody a sound nationalist policy which was equally free of Sweden and Russia; it was a party which really did mean Finland for the Finns. A considerable but diminishing number of Finns continued to speak and

read Swedish and to look with affection to Sweden and to the past.¹ In this "Swedish party" the nearest approach to Conservatism might be found. Though at the beginning of the war the Swedish-speaking population of Finland was only one-tenth of the whole, it has of late played an important part. To it belonged the nobility in their new capitalist form, such landlords as remained, and a number of commercial men along the western coast; also, generally speaking, the ultra-bourgeois part of the population. However, it must be remembered that the Swedish group of the Social Democrats is not insignificant. All three parties—Swedish or "Sveckoman," Finnish or "Fennoman," Old and Young, as represented in the Diet—were, of course, purely bourgeois. No Socialists appeared there until 1907: and then they astonished everyone, even themselves, by the size of their representation. Before the period of repression (1899-1905) neither the Diet nor the Finns generally showed any sympathy with the various Russian groups which were struggling to abolish the tyranny of Tsardom.

(14) *Action of Nicholas II.*—Returning to the course of history, we find that, though the Finnish policy of Alexander III was in tendency reactionary, that monarch made no serious attempt to abolish the constitutional liberties granted by his father. A new departure was made by Nicholas II in the closing years of the century. In 1878 Finland's military system had been reconstructed on the basis of a small standing army of 5,000 men and some 20,000 in the *Landvärn*, or territorial force. With the exception of a battalion, known

¹ It must be remembered that in all the towns the majority of Finns are bi-lingual and even tri-lingual, for German is readily understood in all the offices and shops.

as the Finnish Guard, these troops were intended for the defence of Finland. In 1898 Nicholas II decided to impose conscription upon the Finns, who were henceforth to serve in the Russian Army under Russian officers. The Diet unanimously rejected the Bill for effecting this; and it was found impossible to impose conscription in Finland. The result, however, was that the old autonomous Finnish military establishment disappeared, and Russian troops were permanently quartered in all the chief towns of the country.

In February 1899 the Tsar suspended the Finnish Constitution, abolished the Diet by manifesto and appointed a Military Dictator, Bobrikoff, to govern Finland.¹ The people resented this bitterly, and from 1899 to the autumn of 1905 the whole nation carried on a perfectly legal and remarkably effective campaign of passive resistance. There were innumerable official dismissals, illegal arrests, banishments, and so on, but no acts of violence on the part of the Finns save one—the assassination of Bobrikoff by Eugene Schaumann in June 1904. This act was, by its very isolation, more effective than political assassinations usually are; and the strenuousness of Russian rule in Finland was slightly relaxed.

(15) *Revolt of 1905.*—In October, 1905, came the Great Strike, in which the whole civil life of Finland was suspended for five or six days; and the Social Democrats, being organized and prepared to administer, took temporary power. The party was but six years old, having been formed at the Congress of Åbo in 1899 upon a pure Marxist basis from a confederation of

¹ “The Diet,” says this manifesto, “will be abolished, having ceased to be essential to the government of the country. His Majesty Nicholas II will in future legislate for Finland without the latter’s advice or assistance.”

trade unions formed in 1890. There were soon three separate groups—Finnish, Swedish, and Russian—having each its own journal; but *Tyomies* ("the working-man"), founded in 1895, was the representative Social-Democrat paper for all Finland. The party was always uncompromising, strictly Marxist, and in the main anti-militarist; the citizen army had no place on their programme, and force was represented by that dangerous, uncertain, and sometimes inefficient body, the Red Guard—a body of Socialists in military training, but unarmed.

In 1905 the party numbered more than 45,000 members (of whom 10,000 were women), and during all that year it had pressed steadily for adult suffrage. At the time of the Great Strike it was popular in the country, and no resistance was made when it took the provisional government of Helsingfors and a few other towns into its hands. It suppressed the ordinary police and other functionaries of the Government, proclaimed safety of person and freedom of speech and the press, and kept very good order.

(16) *New Constitution*.—On November 4, 1905, came the Tsar's manifesto, conceding all that the nation had demanded through the petition of the Social-Democratic Party. And these demands were studiously moderate. They acknowledged the Imperial supremacy; they left the Senate a co-opted and nominated body with all the executive powers; they did not alter the financial administration or demand the expulsion of the Russian soldiery. They merely established the Parliament of the country on the broadest possible basis—full adult suffrage, regardless of property, class, or sex, coupled with proportional representation based on D'Hondt's distributive principle, which contains elaborate safeguards against the tyranny of the

majority. All measures passed by the Diet had also to be sanctioned by the Senate, and to be conveyed through the Secretary for Finland to the Tsar, to obtain the Imperial assent. Nothing whatever was done to assure the position and character of this most important official link between Finland's Government and the Sovereign.

The old Diet assembled in June 1906, and hurriedly passed a Bill, which was confirmed in St. Petersburg, creating the new Diet. In July 1906 occurred the Sveaborg Mutiny, an abortive revolt in the Russian Navy. The Social Democrats, in general, knew nothing of it, but the Red Guard sympathized actively, came into collision with the bourgeoisie, and was soon after disbanded.

In April 1907 followed the first election with adult suffrage. The 200 representatives elected were divided as follows: 80 Socialists, 50 Old Finns, 26 Young Finns, 25 Swedes, 7 Agrarians, 2 Christian Labourers. Of these 19 were women. In the elections between that date and 1914, when the Diet was last called together before the Revolution,¹ only two factors have been constant, the increase of the Social Democrats and the decrease of the Old Finns. At the election of 1914 the Socialists won more than half of the seats, while the Old Finns and Young Finns together only reckoned 12 per cent.

The old Diet of June 1906 granted a sum of £400,000 to Russia as the first of three payments in lieu of military service. A regular annual sum was finally agreed upon for this purpose—a concession always protested against by the Socialists. After June 1908 measures passed by the Diet and Senate were no longer

¹ There was an election in 1916, but the Diet never met.

presented for the Tsar's approval by the Secretary of State for Finland, but had first to be submitted to the Imperial Council of Ministers for their sanction. This arbitrary interference with the constitutional rights of the country was provocative.

(17) *Political Conflicts*.—The years 1908-10 present a record of conflict and apprehension. Large measures of domestic reform were passed by the Diet and generally accepted by the Senate, sent to the Tsar and never heard of afterwards. Such was the Bill for the total prohibition of alcohol, several times introduced and passed by the Diet, finally accepted by the Senate, sent up to the Tsar as usual, and at last approved (after the Revolution) by the Provisional Government. Two years were allowed the trade for getting rid of stocks and readjustment to circumstances. Other measures related to the care of children, insurance, old-age pensions, education, public health, and the better condition of the *torpare* (the landless workers upon the soil). No legislation, however, in the true Social-Democratic sense was ever introduced by the various Diets. There was nothing calculated to shake the capitalistic and wage-earning system.

Of these proposed reforms only a few became law. Civil marriages were instituted; illegitimate children were placed in a much better position; and the principle of "equal pay for equal work," regardless of sex, was applied in teaching and to some extent in the printing trade, and in 1913 to the General State Service.

(18) *Imperial Legislation Act*.—Early in 1910 the Bill for Imperial Legislation came forward. There is no need to dwell on it in detail, since much of it never came into working; but a summary is given in Appendix III. Briefly, it was a measure for the destruction of Finland's

Constitution and the unification of the Duchy with Russia in language, education, finance, customs, laws, monetary system, press restrictions, rights of meeting, &c. Fully carried out, it would have been a far more dangerous blow to Finnish prosperity than a military dictatorship; but the Imperial Russian Government was, above all, inconsequent, and, having asserted its principles, made little use of the Bill when passed, except in those sections which related to navigation and to the rights of Russians in Finland.¹

However, it roused great indignation in Finland, and even in Europe. While the Bill was pending, a number of international juriconsults met in London at the house of Professor Westlake "to examine the relations between Finland and Russia," and decided that Finland's claim to retain her Constitution was legal as well as just (see Appendix II). Such claim as the Bill of 1910 might have to be in any sense constitutional was based upon the notion that the assurance given by Alexander I to Finland (an assurance made by him binding upon his descendants) depended on the Tsar's autocratic rule, and became null when the Tsar delegated some of his governing power to the Duma. This claim is shown by the signatories of the Westlake Committee to be void in law as well as in equity. An opinion to the same effect (printed below, Appendix II, p. 122) was given by Sir Edward Fry.

In May 1910, when this Bill was under consideration in St. Petersburg, 120 members of the British Parlia-

¹ We may note here that the Jews laboured under civil disabilities in Finland as in Russia. Two or three attempts to remove these were made between 1907 and 1910, all cancelled by the Tsar. In December 1917 a Bill giving citizen-rights to the Jews was passed. Until the great increase of industrialism during the war there were very few Jews in Finland.

ment signed a memorial to the Duma expressing the apprehension with which they regarded the proposal to deprive Finland of her constitutional rights. A German memorial to the same effect was signed by 165 Reichstag members; 150 French deputies and senators addressed the Duma in a similar manner; and so did members of the Italian, Dutch, and Belgian Parliaments. The German National Union of Austria did the same, while many English and German Chambers of Commerce, fearing the disastrous increase of the Finnish tariff which would result from unification with the Russian Customs, begged their Governments to protest. However, the Bill was passed in July 1910. By a curious piece of irony it was sent to the Diet "for consultation," and vigorously and decisively rejected.

(19) *Russianisation of Finland*.—In the summer of 1910 the Finnish pilot system was transferred to the Russian Admiralty. This step created great confusion in the home and foreign coast traffic of Finland, since on those shores, with their myriad islands and constantly varying waterways, piloting is a science to which men must be born and bred. However, the Russian Navy declined to be responsible for accidents; and the Finnish pilots, who had all resigned rather than be under Russian naval rule, were reinstated.

Directly the Imperial Legislation Bill was passed, a crop of difficulties with regard to Russian residents in Finland sprang up. Except in the bad years 1899-1905, there had been no general boycott of Russians, many of whom enjoyed Finnish surroundings and climate, and used Wiborg as a holiday resort. Now the Imperial Legislation Bill gave these temporary residents, military or civilian, full citizen rights in Finland; and this the Finns all opposed to the best of their power. So the years 1910-1914 are a dreary record of official

dismissals, punishments, and exile—very like the years 1899-1905. All the provincial Governors, many of the judges, and numerous other officials were dismissed or imprisoned, and their places filled with Russians. One peculiar and ingenious hardship of this law was that it provided for the trial of Finnish offenders in Russia—which was tantamount to wholesale condemnation. The government of the country was carried on by a packed and russianised Senate; the Diet was occasionally assembled and capriciously dismissed. Everything except municipal work was at a standstill, and the press was subjected to an intermittent censorship.

During the first period of Russianisation (1899-1905) the Finns carried on a vigorous national propaganda in Europe, and won a good deal of sympathy, particularly in England. The press generally followed their doings with sympathy, and gave a reasonably full and fair account of events in Finland and Russia during the Great Strike. But in the second period (1910-16) things were very different. Anglo-Russian relations had become, since 1907, more friendly; and it became more and more difficult to get any account of Finland's oppression into the newspapers.

(20) *First Effects of the War.*—Naturally, the Diet was never summoned after the summer of 1914. Governor-General Seyn was encouraged to whatever acts of political repression seemed good to him; yet on the whole the Finns did not suffer in life and limb during the war as they expected. The most stringent censorship of press, correspondence, and all written matter was instituted, but, with the strange inconsequence of Tsarist tyranny, telephonic communication was not interfered with. Even the Russian authorities themselves were divided; for, early in the war, the Dowager Empress returned

from Denmark by way of Finland, and showed much courtesy and common-sense on her passage. She caused her personal guard to be greatly relaxed, talked to Finns everywhere, and obviously took pains to create a good impression. But, shortly after her return, the Finns were specially and officially warned "not to build any false hopes of restored liberty" upon the friendly demeanour of the Dowager-Empress.

The war rolled on; and, after the first few months, Sweden, Denmark, and Finland began to reap extraordinary commercial advantages from it. There were drawbacks, of course, such as the loss of a considerable amount of Finnish merchant tonnage (reckoned at 40,000 tons) which was sailing under the Russian flag. The export butter and milk trade was completely destroyed; railway fares and telephone costs were raised 25 per cent.; and there was a special 5 per cent. tax on property and mortgage. But the annual military indemnity was not raised, although the garrisons in all Finnish towns were greatly increased; and two lines of trench, covering the chief railway lines, were made across Finland, from Torneå down to Helsingfors, and from Kajana to Kotka. There were, however, very few disturbances or collisions with the military. Some 2,000 Finns volunteered for the Russian Army, with full Red Cross and ambulance provision; they appear to have been formed into companies apart from the Russians, under Finnish officers. They distinguished themselves for valour, as their forbears had done in the Swedish armies. Other Finns enlisted also, but in a different direction; some who were already in exile and many others who were threatened with prison or banishment under Russian rule reached Germany and joined the army there. There were about

2,000 of these; and, when the Revolution was proclaimed, many of them endeavoured to return to Finland, but they were not permitted to do so. They remained in Sweden until the *coup d'état*.

Finland was not able, like Sweden and Denmark, to take advantage of leaks in the Allied blockade; but work was found for all hands in taking up Russian trade. Iron, leather, glass, tobacco, drugs, polishes, celluloid, paper of every kind—these are only a few of the industries which received a gigantic impetus in Finland. Labour streamed in from the country, and wages rose with the increasing price of food, while all the difficulties of the wage-system were greatly intensified. The town life of Finland was a microcosm as it were, of England in the first full swing of the industrial period (child labour excepted); and Finland's sudden industrial prosperity was due to the same cause, a low or non-existent tariff as compared with the highly protected districts that afford her trade. All the country's labour was, with few exceptions, directed to producing riches; and it was not until the third year of the war that Finland began seriously to suffer, because she was not producing necessities. Agriculture neglected for industrial effort, at a time of world shortage and highly effective German sea blockade, eventually brought its own punishment. The conservative parties did not notice this until too late; and the Social Democrats were so deeply concerned with political questions that they neglected economic essentials.

(21) *Russian Revolution*.—On March 15, 1917, the Tsar abdicated; and a Provisional Government was formed which, almost with its first breath, restored the Constitution of Finland. Hitherto the business of the country had been carried on solely by a Senate composed of Russians and Russianised Finns. This Senate was

dissolved and a temporary body of twelve, six of whom were Social Democrats and the remainder apportioned among the bourgeois parties, took up the executive power. This was usually called later the Coalition Cabinet. Governor-General Seyn was removed and M. Stakhovich took his place, which proved something of a disappointment, for the Finns expected to see Baron Rosen, an old and tried friend of the country, there instead. M. Rodichev became Secretary of State for Finland.

On March 29 Kerenski spoke at Helsingfors, saying:—

“The Provisional Government, of which I am a member, only wants to carry out the wishes of the peoples of Russia; and the representative of this Government, the Governor-General of Finland, is going to do all that is necessary for the Finnish people.”

Kerenski also placed a wreath at the foot of the statue of R uneberg, the national poet, and uncovered his head when the Finnish National Anthem was sung.

The former Socialist Speaker of the Diet, M. Tokoi, was nominated President of the Senate. For the Diet a Speaker and two Vice-Speakers were chosen, Kullervo Manner, Lauri Ingman, and Vaino Jokinen. Manner was a young Finnish Social Democrat who had taken a university degree. Ingman, a Swede of the Swedish party and a clergyman, was Vice-Speaker in 1914; Jokinen was a literary Social Democrat, connected, like Manner, with the workman's journal, *Tyomies*.

(22) *New Diet*.—The Diet reassembled on the very date appointed by the order issued before the Revolution, April 5, 1917. It contained 80 per cent Social Democrats, 12 per cent Old and Young Finns, 6 per cent Swedes, and 2 per cent Agrarian Labourers. The usual party differences reappeared at once. The bourgeois group discovered that the Diet (elected in 1916)

was "not really representative," because it had been elected at a time when, representation being only a farce, most people had boycotted the Diet, and only the Swedish party and the Socialists (who never gave up the class war in any circumstances) had taken the pains to be returned.

(23) *Political Problems.*—But the trouble did not lie with the Diet, although it might certainly be considered rather stale; the source of all the recent difficulties between Russia and Finland lay considerably deeper. In the first place, the Constitution of 1863, even as amended in 1906, remained very unsatisfactory. As regards internal affairs, it left all the executive power in the hands of the Senate, which was not even, as recently nominated, a fully representative body. Its legislative and executive powers were dependent on the will of the Russian Government. All Bills passed by Diet and Senate had to be confirmed by the rulers of Russia, whoever they might be; and these same rulers could dissolve the Diet at will, and omit to call it together again even when re-elected.

In the second place, the Revolution, the general unrest, and the very precarious financial condition of Russia were a natural source of alarm to the still prosperous little country which was then united to her. Financial prosperity, as regards the State, was no new thing to Finland. In spite of the threats of the 1910 law, Finland had remained, as she always was from the beginning, financially independent of Russia, raising and administering her own revenues. Also, as we have said, the various Russian Administrations had never taken advantage of their power to mishandle Finnish finance. Even in 1900 there was wealth enough in the Duchy to have paid its debt several times over; and the amount of capital had greatly increased since then.

Thus, during the last three years, capitalism had grown more powerful; and it was the capitalists of Finland who were most anxious to cut off all communication with the huge, bankrupt, and distracted country that lay to the east of them. It might be that the dictates of self-preservation would urge the governors of Russia to swallow up Finland and her gains, legally or illegally, in the effort to stave off bankruptcy; but self-preservation equally called upon the Finnish bourgeois parties to resist such action to the last. Their patriotism and their interests alike demanded it.

The Social Democratic point of view was slightly different. Possibly they believed that a Socialist Government would permanently gain power in Russia, and would be likely to repudiate all the crushing financial obligations which previous Governments had undertaken; possibly also the seizure of Finnish capital would hasten the birth of a co-operative Commonwealth in Finland. However that may be, although both parties have used words signifying "independence" in the loosest manner, the Social Democrats hoped, as will be seen that Finland would hold towards Russia a position more like that of the English Dominions than anything else. They demanded complete internal and economic freedom for Finland, but they were always ready to recognise Russia's supremacy in military matters and in foreign policy.

(24) *Question of Independence.*—The Diet met on April 5; and already, on the 8th, one of Finland's leading moderate papers published a long sober, and explicit article upon the future of Finland. In this every form of autonomy was considered and dismissed as unsatisfactory, and complete independence was distinctly shadowed forth. The ideal of the writer and his party

was a State like Switzerland, whose independence should be guaranteed by the European Powers in their own interest. The whole article was marked by a singular detachment from the war and from European affairs generally; and this characterised a good deal of Finnish journalism at that time. The danger of Finland falling into German hands was never contemplated; and, strange to say, none of the parties then accused each other of intriguing with Germany, though the charge of "courting Russia" was very freely bandied about.

The Finnish Socialists hoped for an autonomy in which they would conduct their own affairs and administer their own revenues in perfect freedom, not even paying a military indemnity, while Russia undertook the duty of keeping up an army to protect them from invasion. Meantime, there was hardly a Socialist in the country who was not Maximalist and anti-militarist, averse even from a democratic Citizen Army, maintained for purposes of order and defence. This forced them into the unpleasant position of "courting Russia"—that is, the Russian garrisons in Finland—and depending upon that uncertain factor, the Russian soldier, to support them in their active differences with the bourgeoisie. For a few months the Russian garrisons did support them: but, as common-sense would have foreseen, this alien army of occupation, starved, unpaid, full of internal dissension, soon began to prey upon the civilian population. Having disposed of their officers and any bourgeois element that remained among them, some of these soldiers entered the Finnish Red Guard, and some wandered about the country as bandits; while the Social Democrats, who had lost reputation and support by trying to cajole these barbarians, were utterly unable to handle them. By September

1917 all parties in Finland had terribly good reasons for desiring to be rid of the Russian soldiery, whether they called themselves Red Guards or not.

Thus the Russian Revolution only increased the internal difficulties of Finland; while the vigorous campaign for autonomy or independence which was at once entered upon neither improved the situation nor united the opposing parties. Unhappily, the Russian Provisional Government showed a kind of weak obstinacy: having restored the unsatisfactory Finnish Constitution, they made it quite clear that they did not mean to grant any further degree of autonomy.

(25) *Domestic Policy*.—The domestic policy of the Diet, that is to say, of the Social Democratic majority, was, in the main, this: not to attempt any large measures of collective reorganization until the economic situation was ripe: to allow the capitalist development of the country to follow its own course, merely introducing reforms such as total prohibition, the eight hours' day, and the democratisation of the municipal councils. Food Control Committees already existed in every commune; maximum food prices were fixed: and a war bonus was added to the wage of all workers, part being paid by the employer and part by the State.

The fuel supply was controlled by the municipality; butter and milk also were subject to control; and bread and sugar cards were in operation. Some of this necessary work had been carried out under the pre-Revolution Senate; the rest was done in the early days of April. On April 18, 1917, the metal-workers' union organized a strike asking for an eight hours' day, with increased wages: and their deputations and their demands were supported by the Russian soldiers. There appears no reason why an eight hours' day Bill should not have been passed through the Diet and the Senate in the

ordinary parliamentary manner, and then, if necessary, have been put into working without reference to Russia; but in these days a passion for strikes and processions had seized the Finns.

A committee representing many Finns and some 4,000 Russian soldiers notified Manner, the Speaker of the Diet, that they were prepared to take charge of all municipal works if the eight hours' day were not at once granted; whereupon the town councillors gave in. This change applied to the iron trade and to all municipal workers; in the paper trade it was already the rule. At the end of May the Diet drew up a proposal for an eight hours' day in all trades (overtime being paid 50 per cent. extra during the first two hours and 100 per cent. extra for any further period). Under the industrial pressure then ruling in the country, this measure did not really mean less work and a healthier life, but only larger wages.

(26) *Strikes*.—Upon the declaration of the Revolution the police force in Finland was greatly disorganised, for many of the gendarmerie were Russian, and some of the others were Finns of doubtful character. All these were dismissed, and their places taken by a body called the "militia," mainly Socialists, and officered, where possible, by members of the old Red Guard. The Moderates then established special constables of their own, and a similar militia called the White Guard. The disturbing strike habit affected this militia, as well as the fire brigades, who demanded better pay and different chiefs. Their demands were conceded. A strong feeling of lawlessness and a desire to reach the ideal co-operative State by short cuts was in the air all over the country. At the end of May (a very disturbed time in Finland) the Social Democrats,

wishing to make quick work with the reform of the municipalities, and not waiting for the completion of the usual parliamentary forms, demanded that 51 per cent. of the town council seats in every town should be given up to them without election. The proportion of their party in all the towns may have justified this demand; but, to its detriment, the movement was supported by the Russian soldiery. In some of the provinces this forcible reform was not successful.

From the middle of May until the end of August almost every trade or committee that could go on strike or resign appears to have done so; and there is no evidence that those of the community who happened not to be striking resented it. A long printers' strike took place; and from the beginning of July to the middle of August no Moderate papers appeared. *Tyomies* and the local Social Democrat journals continued, however, to be published. The Food Control Committee resigned; and finally Tokoi, who might be called the Prime Minister of the Coalition Cabinet, resigned also, for reasons presently to be considered. But, by the end of August, political events became so interesting that economic questions were allowed to rest; and the prospect of the elections for the new Diet took hold of people's minds. Meantime, the course of politics had been as follows.

(27) *Resolutions for Autonomy*.--When Kerenski first visited Helsingfors, at the end of March 1917, a number of proposals were made to him by the Social Democrats bearing on the autonomy of Finland. These entailed the principles we have already described, placing Finland on something like the footing of an English Dominion, politically and economically independent of Russia, leaving only matters of foreign policy and military

control in Russia's hands. There was also a request for the withdrawal of Russian troops from Finland in time of peace, and a suggestion that this relationship of the Grand Duchy to the Empire should be guaranteed by some European Power. Kerenski gave fair words to these proposals, demurring only to the idea of the guaranty from outside.

In a little while the Senate sent up to Petrograd the very reasonable request that the Provisional Government should confirm all measures passed by the Diet and Senate, hung up by the Tsar and his advisers since 1910. To this request the Provisional Government unfortunately returned a vague and dilatory answer. Then, in the last week of May, the Congress of the Swedish Party passed a resolution favouring the complete separation of the Grand Duchy from Russia. At the time, this resolution really only represented the aims of the Swedish and commercial group, but bourgeois opinion generally rallied to it during the following months. About May 24 Burtsev and Kerenski both visited Finland; and the latter was rather stormily received and much questioned. The Finnish Social Democratic Congress of June 1917 made the position of the party quite clear in a long resolution, containing the following clause:—

“As an independent republic, free side by side with the free Russia, Finland may have its right place. The Finnish people is, of course, not trying to isolate itself economically from Russia, and cannot disregard the just interests of the Russian people. By voluntary agreement the economical relations of Finland to Russia may be organised, as in other countries.”

Then, after receiving unexpected support from some of the Russian people's representatives, on July 18 the Diet took a serious step affecting the Constitution. After much discussion, this body assumed to itself the

supreme power in Finland, *i.e.*, legislative and executive, over all matters, political and economic, without reference to the Senate, the Governor-General, or the Russian Government, only leaving to the latter questions of foreign policy and military control. This measure, which was carried by 136 to 55 votes, runs as follows :—

The law of administration of the highest State power in Finland.
Herewith be proclaimed :

The powers of the monarch having ceased, the following statutes are declared to be in force by the Finnish Diet :

(1) The Diet of Finland alone passes, sanctions, and proclaims all Finnish laws, including those which concern the State Budget, taxation, and Customs. The Diet decides ultimately all questions which, according to the statutes hitherto, were decided by the Emperor and Grand Duke. The regulations of this law apply not to foreign politics, and not to military legislation and military administration.

(2) The Finnish Diet assembles for the legal session without a special call, and itself decides its dissolution. Until a new Constitution is ratified the Diet exercises the right to dissolve and proclaim new elections.

(3) The Diet has the right to decide the executive power of the country. This power shall be provisionally exercised by the Economic Department of the Finnish Senate, the members of which the Diet shall nominate and dismiss.

The weakness of the original Constitution was that it left all the executive and much of the legislative power in the hands of the Senate. The Diet, as the only directly representative body, was obviously entitled to the supreme power, as expressing the will of the people. After the reception of their recent request to the Provisional Government, the Finns could hardly have been expected to send this Bill to Petrograd for confirmation; but the question was raised by a Young Finn, and a majority (104 to 86) voted against doing so.

However, an address was forwarded to the Provisional Government explaining the situation, and claiming that, since Finland had always been in relation with the Tsars of Russia, and not with any Russian Government, the dissolution of the Tsardom had automatically set the country free. Yet the Finns were quite willing to enter into new relations with Russia, so long as the claims of the Diet to supreme rule in Finland were recognised, leaving foreign policy and military control to the larger power. But all parties absolutely refused to be represented on any sort of Council of Empire.¹ This matter was concluded by July 20. The Provisional Russian Government met it by passing a resolution very soon after declaring that in no circumstances could they consent to the separation of Finland from Russia.

(28) *The Diet and the Russian Provisional Government.*—At the end of July came a wordy answer from the Provisional Government to the Finnish Senate's Address, dissolving the Diet, and fixing the date of re-election for the beginning of October. Certain *pourparlers* took place between Governor-General Stakhovich and the Finnish leaders, which came to nothing. Meanwhile (August 17 and 18), the Russian Federalist Congress was held at Petrograd. Its object was "to work out a basis upon which the federalists could unite, and then prepare for the elections to a Constituent Assembly." They also hoped to form plans for a Republic of All the Russias, in which the various nations comprised in Russia would unite, having complete autonomy in everything except matters relating to the whole and united Russian State. Obviously, everything turned on the definition of these

¹ The Finns of all parties have from the beginning been most anxious to avoid taking any part in Russian affairs—the Chambers of Commerce excepted.

matters; and the leading Finnish Moderate paper, considering this point, found that the sphere of business "relating to the whole united Russian States" was so large that Finland would hardly be better off than she was under the 1910 law. Unfortunately—for it drew the Finnish Socialists into sympathy with the extreme Russian party—the All-Russian Congress of Workers and Soldiers (C.W.S.D.), meeting early in July, had passed a resolution demanding autonomy for Finland, and requiring the Provisional Government to grant full executive powers to the Diet.

The nation, or rather the townsfolk, were much excited; and by August 16 certain proposals for a "general strike" were carried, against the wish of Manner and Tokoi. It was also decided that the Diet should reassemble as soon as possible; to which the Governor-General retorted by threatening that the doors of the Assembly House should be guarded and sealed. However, the stable elements of Finnish life, the country people and the men upon the land, saw no reason for a general strike: so, after two or three days of disturbances, the ill-considered revolt collapsed.

About the same time the Russian Provisional Government suggested that the Finnish Senate, particularly the Economy Department, should have the supreme power in Finland, and embodied this proposal in a letter on September 2. Tokoi now gave up the unwieldy business of the Coalition Senate, saying that in times of stress and danger no Coalition Government, especially one so evenly balanced as this body of twelve, could carry on affairs. He must have, he declared, a small, strong, representative Government which possessed the confidence of the country. The Social Democrat senators resigned; and, after some trouble, a handful of Moderates was induced to form a Senate to carry on

business. The resignation of the Socialists was most regrettable, for on August 24 the Provisional Government ratified a number of reforming measures passed by the Diet and Senate between 1911 and 1914. However, since it was left to an inimical Senate to carry these out, they proved of small use; and the country had once more cause to complain of ill-considered Socialist action.

The Moscow Conference, held on August 25, passed almost unnoticed. It was practically indifferent upon many matters, but unhappily the members showed briskness and unanimity in expressing a desire to retain all the power over Finland that the restored Constitution might give them.

On August 29 some hundred deputies, mainly Social Democrats, went to the Assembly House, were refused admittance by a sentry and troops, and retired in an orderly way. Manner then lodged a protest with the Governor-General. Afterwards the same deputies returned to the old Assembly House to hold a session. But they were only 79 in number (all Socialists), and not wholly united, since they merely passed, by 9 votes, a resolution declaring that the sitting they held was a legal one. This marks a momentary return to sense in contemporary Finnish politics: for the failure of the proposed general strike showed an abatement of the strike fever, and the affairs of August 29 were conducted in an orderly way, without any endeavour to influence the Russian soldier. Nekrasov was appointed Governor-General on September 20, in place of Stakhovich, but the change made very little difference in the course of affairs.

The country was for the time concerned with two things, the elections and the possible shortage of food. It was easy to see that famine threatened Finland.

Much labour had been diverted from production for use at home to production for exchange and profit; while the great difficulty of getting from abroad the most important produce, corn, has prevented Finland from re-establishing itself on a new basis as an industrial country living on foreign supplies. The problem was aggravated by the presence of at least 20,000 Russian summer visitors, who flocked to Finland in the hope of quiet; and nearly as many more drifted in during the autumn and early winter.

The Swedish party and the commercial elements of Finland went to the country with the cry of "Independence, Law, and Order!" The Swedes, at any rate, were clear that they wanted absolute independence as a free State, guaranteed by the Powers at the Peace Congress. They were not averse from that idea of a Baltic Union (a federation of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Finland) which many friends of the Baltic countries have long desired. The Young Finns, the Old Finns, and the Social Democrats were agreed in one thing—they all opposed Russia's claim to sovereign power over Finland. The attitude of the two former parties concerning absolute independence was not quite clear; at any rate, they did not place this in the foreground. The Social Democrats would have been content with a guaranteed autonomy, leaving foreign policy and military affairs to Russia.

(29) *Diet of November 1917*.—The elections for the Diet, concluded on October 2, 1917, proved a set-back to the Social Democrats. They returned only 92 members to the Diet; while the Old and Young Finns had 61, the Swedish party 21, and the Agrarians, a growing party, 26. These last three parties formed a Moderate *bloc* of 108, in which the

Agrarians were the most uncertain factor. In Finland, as in Russia (although social conditions are very different), the land is the crux of all questions, political and economical. As in Russia, again, there are powerful co-operative societies and a national gift for co-operative action, but the majority of the land workers, although doing lip-service to Marxian economics, had set their hearts on some form of peasant proprietorship. Much Finnish agriculture was carried on under almost feudal conditions; the *torpare* paid rent for their little farms, like the Balkan peasants, in produce and labour, and were nearly starved. Many independent small farmers had been squeezed out by the timber companies, which bought up the forests all round them for wood-pulp, or simply for fuel. Finally, there were the "Crown tenants" on the State lands, holding their farms on good terms. Now, the Moderate parties had for years prevented the Socialists from amending the condition of the *torpare*, while the Socialists were averse from any measures—such as the general allotment of all Crown lands that would bear tillage—tending to increase the small proprietor class. Thus, nothing was done during the summer of 1917 to increase production. All parties looked forward to the winter with anxiety; the Governor-General tried to obtain a supply of wheat from Russia; and Tokoi succeeded in buying 40,000 tons of corn from America, but the difficulties of transport were such that the foodstuffs were not even on their way before civil war began.

On November 1 the Diet assembled, and the Socialists made great efforts to carry out the proposals of the United Trades Unions (*Landes-organisation*) that all food supplies should be inventoried and placed in the hands of the municipal and rural food control com-

mittees, maximum prices fixed, and all untilled or badly tilled lands taken by the State. But the Diet was entirely occupied with the political question, whether the Senate (through its Economy Department) or the Diet should hold the supreme power. It was finally settled in a very long sitting on November 15 that the Diet should exercise the supreme power until further notice. This was proposed by Alkio, leader of the Agrarians; and his party, together with some 25 Radical members of the Moderate *bloc*, carried it. The so-called "communal laws," which put the municipal vote and some of the affairs of the rural communes on a proper democratic footing, were also carried, with a Bill for the eight hours' day. On November 28 the Diet chose a Moderate Senate of eleven members.

(30) *Bolshelik Revolution*.—Meanwhile, events had gone fast and far in Russia. On September 14 the Provisional Government was reconstructed; a preliminary Parliament of the Russian Republic was opened on October 20, and the Maximalists left the Chamber; between November 4 and 15 the Bolsheviks or Maximalists were establishing themselves in power. It was inevitable that the Socialist party in Finland, thrown into sympathy with the Bolsheviks by the regrettable policy of Kerenski's Government, should weigh the pros and cons of a similar *coup d'état*. They considered the matter in sober Finnish fashion, and decided against it. Equally inevitable was it that the Moderate *bloc* should be more determined than ever to break free from Russia. Some of their leaders openly discussed the chances of union with Sweden, and of the adoption of some German prince as Grand Duke. The advent of the Bolsheviks to power made no change in the views of either group; it merely deepened the pro-

Russian sympathies of the Socialists and the pro-German leanings of the Moderates. German arms and explosives were now imported by one side and Russian bayonets by the other.

Seeing the general disorder of the country, and the inability of the Finns to get rid of the Russian troops quartered upon them, it is no wonder that the Moderate press wrote openly of reconstructing the old national army. By December 1 proposals to this effect were made in the Diet, but the Socialist groups, supported by some of the Moderates, combined to reject them.

(31) *Russian Troops in Finland*.—Meanwhile, the condition of Finland with regard to the Russian troops quartered there was simply appalling. These were not paid, and certain Finnish contractors allowed the Russian Government credit while providing them with food and clothing, which they supplemented by looting. Sometimes whole Russian regiments would demand special trains to Petrograd, which were thankfully furnished, and they embarked; but there was no means of hindering their return. And they did return, after helping themselves freely to Government stores in Petrograd, bringing back sugar, coffee, and other necessaries, including rubber, which they sold at fancy prices in Helsingfors, making themselves a little less unwelcome, it is true, by this course of action. Negotiations for getting rid of the Russian troops went on; and both parties were unanimous in the desire to be freed of them. About the middle of December arrangements were made for a considerable loan from Finland to Russia, to be used by the Russian Government in paying off the Finnish contractors; and some 10,000 Russians were sent back to Russia. But shortly afterwards 16,000 Russian soldiers reappeared in Finland as Red Guards—whether to oppose the growing German

influence in the Baltic, or to bring about the Finnish Revolution and so unite Finland and Russia again, who shall say?

(32) *Declaration of Independence.*—Towards the end of November there was much inconclusive talk in the Diet about the form of the future Government. However, all agreed that the declaration of November 15, reaffirming the law of July 18, amounted to a Declaration of Independence for the Finnish Republic. Therefore, on December 6, the leaders of the various Moderate parties drew up and signed a declaration inviting the Diet, as exercising the supreme power, to authorise the Executive to take all necessary steps to make Finland's independence known. The Socialists did not sign this, and proposed instead a declaration which, while recognising the supreme power of the Diet and the independence of Finland, continued: "This independence must be realised by means of a mutual understanding with Russia." They also proposed a Commission, made up of an equal number of Finns and Russians, to discuss a basis for this understanding. But the Moderate majority were in a hurry, and threw out the proposal by 102 votes to 88.

Delegates were thereupon sent to Sweden and Germany, while at the same time a Socialist deputation went to Russia. Trotski told the latter that Russia would be perfectly ready to recognise Finland's independence if this were put before them, in proper order, by the Finnish Executive. Meanwhile, Sweden and Germany both replied that Finland must first obtain a Russian recognition of her independence by applying to the Constituent Assembly. This was not allowed to meet in December; so the Senate and Diet appealed to the Bolshevik Government for a formal

recognition, which was given by January 4, 1918; and Sweden and Germany then followed suit. Delegates were also sent to France, England, and the United States to ask for full formal recognition in both places, but France was the only one of the three which acquiesced.

(33) *Domestic Disturbances.* — The declaration of independence did not eliminate internal troubles. No wheat could be conveyed from the United States, although bought and paid for; and a serious disturbance of several days occurred at Åbo, about Christmas-time, which kept the town in a state of siege, and occasioned the loss of much property and several lives. Trouble had been brewing for a long while. The Socialists, who were anxious to appoint a partisan of their own as Governor of Åbo, took the step of imprisoning the man who held the post, and then the chief of police. The police consisted of two antagonistic bodies—the White Guard or militia, which contained some members of the old gendarmerie; and the Red Guard, a body not specially well fitted in this case to maintain order. However, they went on with their duties for a week after their pay had been suspended by the Moderate powers in Åbo. Then they struck; and the Russian troops and “hooligan elements,” for which neither party would be responsible, seized their opportunity. After some days’ trouble the original Red Guard and some more White Guards from another district restored order. After this it was not surprising that proposals were made in the Diet by Senator Castrèn to form a central body, under command of the Government, to work together with the sharpshooters (part of the White Guard) for the maintenance of law and order. This

was discussed for ten hours, without result, on January 11, and finally agreed to by the 17th.

The forcible closing of the Constituent Assembly in Russia on January 19, with some attendant slaughter, furnished an example which was fatal to Finland; but, even now, the outbreak might have been delayed for a month or two if the question of the Åland Isles had not become pressing. The revelations of Tsarist diplomacy published by Trotski showed that Russia had hoped to see the embargo on her desire to fortify the Åland Isles removed. This meant danger to Sweden. It appears that some important members of the Moderate *bloc* invited the Swedish Government to occupy these isles as a preliminary to landing in Finland, and aiding the bourgeoisie to "crush revolution." Certainly, the leading paper of the Swedish party (which stood to lose much influence and many voters if the Åland Isles went to Sweden) wrote in favour of the cession of these islands to that country.¹

(34) *Outbreak of Civil War*.—On January 29 the Finnish Government—that is, the Senate—addressed to the various countries which had recognised Finnish independence a protest concerning the action of the Russian Government, which was sending arms, munitions, and troops into Finland ostensibly to help the Social Democrats. The Red Guards seized Helsingfors on January 29; and by February 8 White Guards and Red Guards were in full conflict everywhere. Mannerheim, a Russian Cavalry General, and Von der Goltz, a Bavarian, were directing the Whites, with German arms and the promise of German-trained Finnish troops—the remnant of those same 2,000 Finnish exiles who

¹ For further particulars regarding this subject, see *The Åland Islands*, No. 48 of this series.

joined the German Army in the first years of the war. Branting offered to mediate on February 12, but his offer was not accepted. The Germans landed in the Åland Isles on March 3, and in Finland about the 12th. They helped the Whites to regain Tammerfors and Helsingfors, and gradually rolled the Red Army back eastward to Russia. The war ended in the complete victory of the Whites.

In the beginning of June 1918, a Moderate Landtdag was formed, by excluding all Socialists—that is, 46 per cent. of the electorate—from the register; and the Senate brought forward proposals for a monarchical form of government, while a number of smaller steps were taken to bring Finland into close relations with the German Empire. Such opposition as there was came chiefly from the Young Finns; but, in spite of severe press censorship, some Swedo-Finnish journals were able to express their disapproval of this pro-German policy. Early in October a secret session of the Landtdag offered the Finnish Crown to a German prince by a vote of 64 to 41. This personage showed no hurry to accept the position, and signified that he could not enter upon his duties for at least two years. Upon this vote of the Landtdag, France withdrew her recognition of Finnish independence.

III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

(1) RELIGIOUS

“The religion of Finland is Lutheran, and some of the country people are very pious.” Such is the stereotyped answer which was given to any question about the religious feeling of the Finns up to 1914, and it would have been superficially true. Like the other Scandinavian countries, Finland was affected by “Pietism” in the earlier part of the nineteenth century. This was a Protestant revival of strongly ascetic character, which increased the natural sobriety and melancholy of the people. But the pastors of the Church were in the first place, as a rule, State officials; and in the first period of Russian repression they lost influence with their flocks by supporting the Government. After the Russian revolt of 1905, and in the years that followed, it would be nearly true to say: “The religion of Finland is Nationalism and Democracy.”

(2) POLITICAL

The present political conditions (November, 1918) are too confused and unstable to be described here, but the aims and character of the different parties may be gathered from the preceding section.

(3) EDUCATIONAL

The educational standard of Finland has always been very high. It was second only to Denmark in 1908; and certainly 96 per cent. (if not more) of the Finnish inhabitants are literate. (We must exclude the

Laplanders in Arctic Finland and the gipsies.) Education being free, sectarian, and compulsory, scholarships numerous, and the educational ladder a real fact, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that all the bourgeoisie and a good number of the rising proletariat before the war had been through the universities. Besides this there were adult schools on the Danish system for country workers; and the Social Democrats continued the education of their own people, very few of whom entered the universities. Thus there was never a university opinion distinct from popular bourgeois feeling, all the bourgeoisie having been students.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

The sense of common danger seems to have appeased, for the time being, the violent racial differences between the Swedish Party and the Young and Old Finns. In 1908, their mutual recriminations in the press were exceedingly bitter. But in the autumn of 1917 even the Young Finns and the Agrarians never detached themselves from the Moderate *bloc*, nor did they make any effective protest against the pro-German policy of the Government. They fought in the White Army, and few followed the example of Mannerheim in leaving the country when German troops landed.

The Social Democrats have issued a programme of which the chief items are: The removal of German troops; the safeguarding of Finland's independence; the maintenance of absolute neutrality; negotiation with the Western Powers for help in food and clothing; dissolution of the present Landtdag, new elections, and release of political prisoners; reduction of the army to a minimum.

In spite of famine, the Finns have been far-seeing enough to keep the chief necessities of their dairy trade with Denmark ready for use directly peace is proclaimed. For instance, the prize-cattle strains have been preserved. They also count upon resuming their timber trade with England shortly, and have immense quantities of sawn wood ready for shipment. But many look to an expansion of trade with Russia, and an extended railway system which would make Finland the wharf, as it were, of Russian north-western traffic. The Kandaiakskä and Kola Railway is not thought highly of by commercial authorities. It is a military line leading, through country that is not attractive even to sporting tourists, up to a port where the daylight is only four hours long for a good part of the year. These commercial authorities are very anxious to see the great Siberian trunk railway completed, which would connect Sordavala, on Lake Ladoga, with a line running south of Lake Onega and then due east to Samaravskäia at the junction of the Obi and Irtish rivers. Sordavala has already a good connection with the Helsingfors-Petrograd line; and only a very few extra miles of railway are needed to make the Sordavala-Åbo line direct and complete. The Siberian trunk line was planned and concessions had been granted before the war; the concession-holders are ready and anxious to take it up.

IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

(A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

(1) INTERNAL

(a) *Roads*

THERE are 27,500 miles of post-roads in Finland. By an ancient law of the country the landowners are compelled to keep these in order, and in general perform this duty satisfactorily. The obligation to maintain a system of post-stations at fixed charges, with relays of horses, was imposed upon landowners in the sixteenth century, and still exists where passenger traffic by road is the necessary means of communication. Owing to the vast area of Finland which is under water, traffic on local roads is largely transferred to the lakes from April to November. In the winter months cross-country traffic is carried on by means of sledges. As the entire area is solidly frozen over and snow-covered from December to April, traffic can go by the shortest line from point to point over land and water indifferently.

In north-eastern Finland and in Karelia there are tracks known only to the local inhabitants, and no metalled roads exist at all.

(b) *Rivers and Canals*

Communication by water plays a very important part in the internal economy of Finland, under conditions which in Europe are almost unique. The actual length of navigable waterway in the country is 3,560 kilometres. The traffic by water is under State control.

For the greater part of their length the rivers are almost useless for navigation, owing to the sharpness of the fall from the lacustrine plateau, which constitutes the greater part of the country except in the northern regions. The rivers are therefore of strong current, with frequent falls and rock-strewn rapids. These characteristics, however, make them the ideal means of floating timber from the interior to the sea, and this is an important industry (see below, p. 100).

Two other means of traffic by water remain, by canal and by lake. These two are so interwoven in their working that they must be considered together, and divided for purposes of description into a series of systems, usually named after the principal lake-basin.

The foremost in importance is that known as the Saima. Willmanstrand, at the southern end of this large sheet of water, is 59 kilometres from Wiborg, on the Gulf of Finland, with which it was connected in 1856 by a canal, which remains substantially of its original dimensions to-day. It is 59 kilometres long, and has 28 locks to overcome the difference in level between Lake Saima and the Baltic. These locks are 35 metres long, 7·42 metres wide, and 2·67 metres deep, and the tonnage of vessels is restricted to the capacity which these dimensions allow. Connected with this system are other short canals at Taipale, Kounus, Ahkionlaks, and Nerkaa, completed 1867–71, with locks of the same dimensions, which serve to create a continuous chain of waterways from the Gulf of Finland to northern Savolaks. The cost of the Saima Canal in all was Fmk.¹ 23,000,000, and it has been increasingly successful from the date of its opening. The latest figures show that over 10,000 vessels pass through it annually, and it should be recollected that

¹ Finnish marks. See p. 114.

navigation is closed for at least four months every year.

The second system in importance is that of the Lake Päijänne basin. The original project was to connect this system with the sea by canalizing the Kymenne river, but this was abandoned, and the canal was only brought far enough to connect with the railway between Wiborg and Riihimäki. Canals from Lake Päijänne to Lakes Keitele and Konnevesi give this system a total length of 600 kilometres, capable of accommodating vessels drawing from 1·8 to 2·1 metres.

The third important system is that of west Tavastland, with a navigable length of 730 kilometres for vessels drawing up to 1·8 metres.

In Österbotten there is the canalized portion of the river Uleå (Oulu), with locks 22 metres long, 2·38 metres wide, and 1·19 metres deep. This system was instituted to accommodate the pitch and tar traffic, which is carried in oared boats.

To facilitate navigation in the lake portions of the systems above mentioned many hundreds of kilometres of channel are buoyed and lighted.

The average quantity of goods transported annually in vessels on the canal systems from 1908 to 1912 inclusive was 320,000 tons. Besides this, vast quantities of timber were carried, mainly on rafts. The total quantity of all kinds of goods averaged over 2,000,000 tons annually during the same period. These are official figures, to which is appended a note that the totals are in some cases too high, because some of the goods pass through several canals and are thus reckoned more than once.

(c) *Railways*

The Finnish railway system belongs almost in its entirety to the State. Less than 10 per cent. of the

mileage in 1913 belonged to private companies, which, moreover, worked in conjunction with the State lines. This percentage has recently been further reduced by purchase on the part of the State. The State does not lease any lines, but works the complete system itself.

As Finland's situation renders it of high importance in the strategic plans for the defence of the Russian Empire, the Russian Great Staff have the right to take over control of the Finnish railways, if circumstances in their view demand it. In the recent war they have done so. Lately, an extraordinary strain has been thrown upon a large portion of the lines owing to the fact that by these lines alone can goods and passengers be brought into Russia from western Europe and eastern America. Archangel has long been closed to private traffic, and the Trans-Siberian line has been too much congested with war-traffic, and too slow and costly, to be much used. The result has been chronic congestion of the Finnish lines and the putting of the system to a totally different use from that for which it was designed. Briefly, before the war the Finnish railways were of national importance only, with short haulage and sectional working; now, a large portion of the mileage is of international importance, with long hauls (extreme, 1,185 kilometres) and main-line working.

A description of the line from Petrograd to Torneå, the frontier town opposite Haparanda in Sweden, at the head of the Gulf of Bothnia, will make this clear. The full run is now covered by through passenger and goods trains, and all passengers entering Russia from the west use it. Leaving Petrograd in a north-westerly direction, the line reaches the Finnish frontier at Bjeloostrow (20 miles). Continuing *via* Terijoki (the first Finnish station and custom-house), Wiborg is the

first important place. Thence the line proceeds in a westerly direction to Kuovola (with a branch southward to Kotka), thence to Riihimäki (with a branch to Helsingfors). Resuming a north-westerly direction the line passes Tavastehus, Toijala (with a branch to Åbo), Tammerfors (with a branch to Björneborg), and for the remainder of the distance runs in a due northerly or north-easterly direction to Torneå. The principal intermediate stations are Seinäjoki (with a branch to Vasa), Gamla Karleby, Paavola (with a branch to Brahestad), Uleåborg, and Kemi (with a branch to Rovaniemi, a great timber centre).

The work of this line is to carry passengers between Torneå and Petrograd, to carry goods, land-borne in Sweden as far as Haparanda, into Russia, and to carry goods sea-borne from Swedish harbours to Finnish Bothnian ports from the place of landing to the destination in Finland or Russia.

The remaining lines are : (1) from Wiborg *via* Elisevara (with a branch to Nyslott) and along the north-west shore of Lake Ladoga *via* Sordavala to Joensuu ; (2) from Kuovola northward *via* St. Michel and Kuopio to Kajana. The district served is much frequented by tourists.

A new section of line is under construction, the object of which is to create an alternative route between Wasa and other Bothnian ports and Petrograd, and thus relieve the route *via* Tammerfors and Riihimäki. This route runs from Petrograd *via* Hiitola and Kexholm (on Lake Ladoga) to Nyslott, thence westwards to Pieksämäki (between St. Michel and Kuopio on the line mentioned above) and Jyväskylä. In July 1917 it was almost completed, and may be now in use.

The total mileage of the Finnish railways in 1913 was 2,537 English miles. This has been increased

lately by the new lines already mentioned. It is mainly a single line system, but the necessity for doubling all important lines is recognized, and in sections this has been already undertaken. The gauge is 5 ft., the same as that of the Russian railways, the only system with which the Finland lines come into actual contact. The connexion with the Russian system is made at Petrograd by means of loop lines recently constructed in the outskirts of Petrograd. There is no through passenger traffic.

In July 1917 a bridge between Haparanda (Sweden) and Torneå was in a fairly advanced state of construction. Spanning the Torneå river (400 yds. wide) it will, when completed, permit of through traffic and obviate the ferrying or sledging of goods at this point. The Swedish gauge is standard (4' 8½"), so bulk will have to be broken at the frontier. A system of flat-cars and detachable boxes, such as are in use between London and Paris, will no doubt be used to obviate this in the case of the more highly-rated and urgent classes of traffic.

Steam locomotives are at present used throughout, although electric traction with power supplied from large central hydro-electric stations is a probable future development. Up to 1914 coal fuel, almost all imported from Great Britain, was in use, but wood fuel has now had to be substituted, no coal being available. The locomotives have been supplied from Sweden, Germany, Switzerland, and Great Britain, but the most recent are productions of the State workshops at Tammerfors, and include some powerful 4-6-0 passenger-traffic engines, capable of hauling the heaviest main-line trains of twelve to fifteen bogie coaches without double-heading.

Owing to the conformation of the country, which has no heights more than a few hundred feet above

sea-level, no outstanding engineering works have been necessary in constructing railways in Finland. The viaducts at Wiborg, Uleåborg, and Kemi over the rivers at these points are sound pieces of overhead girder construction, but merit no special description. The gradients throughout are easy, there being no serious changes of level or natural obstacles to surmount. Tunnels are rare and of short length. The permanent way is composed of flanged rails spiked to transverse sleepers, and is fairly well ballasted on the main lines. It in no way compares with British permanent way for strength and solidity.

As already mentioned, almost the entire system is the property of the State, the private mileage being of local importance only. No concessions to foreigners have been or are likely to be given, nor are private companies likely to be granted leases to construct railways in Finland. An exception may occur in one district (see below, p. 107).

The capital for the railways of Finland has been very largely raised in the country. State railway loans held abroad amount to £1,719,000. The capital cost per mile is £7,300. As the average for Europe is £27,000 per mile, it is plain that construction has been cheap and cost of land low. The gross receipts in 1913 were Fmk. 58,000,000, and the net income averages 16 per cent.

The average annual amount of traffic carried by the State railways during the period 1908-12 was 4,028,000 tons, of which more than 50 per cent. was timber traffic. The next items in importance were grain, bricks and tiles, and paper with paper-pulp.

Before the war the Finnish railways were fairly well equal to the country's needs. The alternative route above mentioned, from Vasa to Petrograd, was planned and surveyed before the war. A new line is

projected from Abo to Riihimäki, in order to shorten the route from Abo to Petrograd; this is in connexion with the Abo development scheme (see below, p. 80).

Another important new line projected, and according to recent reports partially constructed, is an extension northward of the existing line from Kemi to Rovaniemi to a terminus at Pechenga, which is situated on a bay in the Arctic Ocean, just within the Russian frontier, adjoining the Norwegian province of Finmark. An ice-free port could be made here. It is an old ambition of the Finns to possess this port, instead of depending entirely on Baltic ports, which are extremely difficult to keep ice-free and are for the most part situated a long way from the best timber-producing regions of the country.

Further mileage on any large scale is not likely to be constructed. Main and branch line doubling and widening will be the principal form of expansion. Concessions for construction and working might possibly be granted to foreigners for these lines, but it is improbable. The people are opposed to it, and accumulated capital in the country itself will find here a needed outlet. The rolling stock will require heavy renewals, and opportunity to tender for supply of locomotives, box-wagons, bogies, rails, and other plant is sure to occur.

(d) Posts, Telegraphs, and Telephones

Posts.—The postal system of Finland has up to the present been under Russian control. Russian stamps are in use for all purposes. Finnish stamps for local use are in existence, but Russian stamps can also be used for local correspondence. The parcel-post, money order, international money order, post-office savings-bank and insurance departments are fully developed. The postal cash on delivery is also part of the system.

Either Finnish or Russian money is accepted for all payments except for Finnish local stamps. In general, the staff is Finnish except in the highest grades, and the system is equal to any in western Europe. In 1912 the postal receipts from all sources amounted to Fmk. 7,750,000, and the expenses to Fmk. 6,750,000.

Telegraphs.—These are entirely under Russian control and censorship. The employees are Finns. There is adequate service and prompt delivery internally, but international and Russian telegrams suffer much vexatious delay, having to pass the Petrograd censorship in all cases. The Finnish State railways have a telegraph system of their own, separate from the postal telegraphs, which has the right to transmit private telegrams in the country.

The total length of telegraph line in working in Finland in 1912 was 4,884 miles.

Wireless Telegraphy.—For internal purposes this system of communication plays no part in Finland. Stations exist at Helsingfors and Wiborg, but they are the property of the Russian Admiralty, and no private messages are received or sent.

Telephones.—The telephone system has been brought to a very high pitch of efficiency and cheapness in Finland. It is worked by a series of concessions granted by the State covering local areas. These number several hundreds, and are combined for trunk-line purposes by an agreement which covers the whole country except Osterbotten. The subscriber's fee per instrument varies from 40–60 Fmk. in a large town to as low as 10 Fmk. in a small one, with unlimited calls. Telephones are in very free use in town and country, and public call-boxes in large towns are to be found in squares and streets in great numbers. The standard instrument (of Swedish origin) is handy and efficient; the service is prompt and

correct. Trunk communication with Petrograd is to be had from Helsingfors and other towns, but is bad.

(2) EXTERNAL

(a) Ports

(i) *Accommodation.*—Owing to the great length of coast-line, the ports of Finland are numerous in proportion to the population and importance of the country. They are, in general, difficult of entry, since nearly the whole of the coast-line is fringed with an archipelago of rocky islands and skerries, but in most cases they are safe in all states of weather.

Tide has small influence in the Gulfs of Bothnia and Finland. From December to February the variation at the Gulf entrances is 4 to 6 centimetres only; at the heads of the Gulfs, 12 to 20 centimetres. From June to August the variation is less than 4 centimetres at the entrances and 10 to 14 centimetres at the extremities of the Gulfs. Tidal influence can be said, therefore, to be negligible, and variations of depth in harbours are due more to wind, strong or long-continued wind from any quarter increasing or decreasing depth by as much as 4 ft. in some cases.

The prevailing wind on the Finnish coast is south-west. Registers show that tempestuous winds (8 Beaufort) blow on an average 169 days in the year, of which 77 are in winter. Real gales (9 Beaufort) occur on an average ten times a year, of which eight are from November to March, and last from three to four hours. December is the worst month for tempests.

Ice plays a large part in navigation to and from Finnish ports. The Gulf of Bothnia is generally closed to navigation entirely from December to April. The Gulf of Finland is also closed from December to

March, but at one or two ports ice-breakers are kept. The greatest effort is made at Hangö, for the sake of the important butter and passenger traffic; this port is usually kept open all the winter by the continuous use of large ice-breakers of 3,000–4,000 horse-power. Ice-breakers also work at Åbo and Helsingfors, two specially successful vessels, constructed in England, being in use at the latter port. So far, this expedient has shortened the period of closed navigation, but has never eliminated it.

Helsingfors.—This is the largest harbour in Finland. It is completely land-locked by the skerries and larger islands which fringe the coast, and is safe in every kind of weather. Besides being the principal commercial port of Finland, it is a highly important Russian naval base, to which the largest battleships have access. In the outer harbour there is good holding ground in perfect shelter, but many of the best anchorages are under the control of the Russian navy. The island-fortress of Sveaborg is in the centre of the outer harbour. The inner harbour is divided into several completely separated parts owing to the heavily accidented nature of the coast. The promontory of Skatudden is completely occupied by the Russian navy, and has repairing shops, slips, &c., for lighter craft. On the opposite side of this promontory is a portion of the commercial harbour with bonded warehouses and rails alongside. This is used for merchandise discharged in bond for eventual re-export to Russia. Opposite lies the town quay, where all local vessels from Revel, Petrograd, and neighbouring Finnish ports discharge, as also those from Lübeck, Stettin, Hull, and Newcastle.

On the west side of the town, which in shape is roughly an isosceles triangle with its base to the north, is Sandviken, a semicircular bay with deep-water

anchorage and considerable quay and wharf space. The wharves are used largely by the Russian navy, but at the wooden quay, which has rails and warehouses alongside, timber vessels load.

The town quays have three 5-ton electric movable jib-cranes and two 2-ton travelling transporters. Vessels drawing from 18 to 26 ft. can come alongside the quays. A dry dock $350 \times 56 \times 18\frac{1}{2}$ ft. is in use. The chief imports are coal, iron and steel, machinery, cotton, and cereals; the exports, timber, paper-pulp, paper, and butter. A ship-repairing yard does dry-docking and general ship-repairs.

Hangö.—This port has had special importance hitherto, as it can generally be kept open throughout the winter by means of ice-breakers. The State railway authorities own the port, and have done everything possible to keep it in first-class order.

There are 30 ft. of water alongside the mole, and there is a quay 500 ft. long, with sheds and cranes. Two powerful ice-breakers are kept. There are no port charges. The imports are coal, cotton, and general merchandise; the exports, timber, wood-pulp, paper, butter. A great effort has been made to keep open the passenger traffic to Sweden all the winter by means of a specially-constructed steamer. Owing, however, to unexpected difficulties with pack-ice, which hinders the approach in windy weather, it has recently been decided to incur no further expenditure at Hangö, but to transfer activity to the port of Åbo (see below, p. 80).

Åbo.—This port is 50 miles from the open sea, being deeply inset in a mass of skerries and rocky islands. There are 20 ft. of water in harbour and 18 ft. at the quays, but only vessels drawing up to 17 ft. can get up to the town. A patent slip for repairing will take vessels up to 1,100 tons. The general imports are coal and coke, iron, groceries, cereals, and

manufactured goods. The exports are principally timber and butter. An important project for creating a free port at Åbo is in contemplation (see below, p. 80).

Vasa, also sometimes known as *Nikolaistad*, lies on the north side of a long inlet from the Gulf of Bothnia, and is a well-sheltered harbour, being protected by the island of Valgrund and a fringe of smaller islands. There is a general depth of 20–22 ft. in the outer harbour, where vessels can load by lighter. At the quay in the inner harbour there are 13 ft. of water. Vessels up to 400 tons can be docked and repaired.

Wiborg.—This port is situated on a deep inlet of the Gulf of Finland, and is completely safe in all weathers. Vessels drawing up to 14 ft. can reach Wiborg; those drawing up to 15 ft. can load at the out-port of Drangsund, 10 miles from Wiborg, where there is an 18-ton crane. The imports are general colonial produce, cereals, and manufactured articles; the exports, timber, wood-pulp, and butter.

Björneborg.—This port is now in small use, as there is only a depth of 9 ft. in the Kumo river on which it is situated. It is served by two outports, Räfsö and Mäntyluoto, respectively 18 and 12 miles nearer the sea, and connected with Björneborg by rail.

At *Räfsö* there is good holding-ground in 31 ft. of water in the roads, but vessels cannot load, as it is too exposed. In the harbour there is perfect safety, with 12 to 20 ft. of water. The depth at the quays is 10 to 12 ft. Loading and discharging is effected by lighters.

At *Mäntyluoto* there is a stone quay 984 ft. in length, with rails alongside and three large warehouses, three sheds, and a 35-ton crane. The depth of water alongside is 18 to 22 ft. The imports are coal, coke, chemicals, cereals, and general produce; the exports, sawn wood, pit-wood, and pulp.

Kotka.—This important and well-protected port for the export of wood and wood products consists of three parts: Kotka proper, West Harbour or Keisarhammen, and East Harbour or Halla. All three have separate entrances. The depth at entrance is 54 ft., in harbour 26 to 45 ft., and at the quays 12 to 20 ft. Vessels loading wood always lie at anchor and load from lighters. Wood-pulp is loaded at the quay at Halla, other merchandise at Kotka. There is quay space of 900 ft. with a railway alongside and two cranes of 8 and 10 tons respectively.

Gamla Karleby.—There is a depth of 12 to 25 ft. of water in the harbour, which is safe in all winds, and has a breakwater at the entrance. There are two piers with rails alongside. The imports are coal, cereals; the exports, lumber, pit-wood, and sawn wood.

Uleåborg.—This port lies at the mouth of the Uleå river. The depth alongside the quays is 14 to 18 ft., dependent on wind. The imports are coal, iron, and colonial produce; the exports, tar, pitch, lumber, sawn wood, fish, and butter.

(ii) *Nature and volume of trade.*—The total number of vessels entering Finnish ports in the year 1913 was 11,901 vessels, of 3,696,330 tons. Departures numbered 11,937 vessels, of 3,628,905 tons. In general it may be said that Finnish ports are entered entirely by vessels from western European ports north of the Bay of Biscay. Such goods as are received from greater distances are trans-shipped at Hamburg, Hull, Newcastle, Rotterdam, Antwerp, or a Swedish port.

For passenger traffic, Helsingfors comes first with regular lines to Hull, Newcastle, Lübeck, Stettin, Stockholm, Revel, and Petrograd, besides local traffic to Borga, Lovisa, and other small towns on the Gulf of Finland. Åbo has a regular daily

line to Stockholm. Hangö is especially used in winter when all other ports are closed. For the timber trade, Kotka is prominent, with sailings to all North Sea destinations. Butter traffic goes from Helsingfors, Hangö, and Åbo to British and German ports. Coal from England and timber exports to England are distributed fairly among all the ports. German manufactured goods largely come in at Helsingfors. Cereals and flour, chiefly of American origin, arrive from Hull, Newcastle, or Hamburg at Helsingfors, Wiborg, Åbo, and in less quantities at Bothnian ports.

Domestic traffic is small, and consists mostly of the distribution of imported manufactures, cereals, and colonial produce from Helsingfors to smaller places on the Gulf of Finland. An exception must be made of the local traffic in wood fuel, carried in small sailing vessels of from 20 to 100 tons everywhere along the coast, and loaded and discharged at places of purely local importance with primitive appliances.

(iii) *Adequacy to economic needs.*—The ports of Finland appear to be quite adequate to the needs of the country. The imports and exports of greatest bulk, coal and timber respectively, need little weather-proof accommodation, and can be loaded and discharged cheaply in open harbour. For manufactured goods and cereals imported there is in general sufficient local storage for all needs. Water space is good; shelter is seldom lacking. Docks are not needed, as there is no perceptible tide variation. Additional quay-space and warehouse-room will probably be needed at Helsingfors as time goes on, as this port is likely to develop as a distributing centre for imported raw materials and manufactures. Up-to-date coal-discharging facilities are likely to be required at this and other ports.

An extensive scheme is projected in connexion with

the port of Åbo. More powerful ice-breakers are needed here than at Hangö to keep the port free through the winter, but the latest type of ice-breaker has made this possible. Moreover, the harbour of Åbo enjoys the advantage of two entrances from the open sea, so placed that whatever the direction and force of the wind, one or the other is free from pack-ice. It is proposed to create at Åbo a great free port, on the lines of Hamburg and Copenhagen, with an extensive area for storing goods, duty free, and even with space for the erection of factories. The most up-to-date loading and discharging facilities are to be installed. Great railway ferries of 10,000 tons dead weight are to be constructed, carrying loaded trucks from Åbo to Stockholm. The main object of this ambitious scheme is to transport goods to and from Scandinavia, north-west Europe, and Great Britain *via* Åbo and Petrograd to the interior of Russia without break of bulk and without winter interruption. To obviate the railway gauge difficulty, an extra rail of 5' gauge is to be laid between Stockholm and Gothenburg, and another of 4' 8½" gauge between Åbo and Petrograd, thus allowing trucks of both gauges to run freely throughout. It has even been suggested that ferries might be run between Gothenburg and Hull, whereby it would be possible to ship between the Eastern States of America and Moscow, only breaking bulk once, at Liverpool. A direct new line of railway from Åbo to Riihimäki is projected in connexion with this scheme.

(b) *Shipping Lines*

By far the largest owner of steamers under Finnish registry is the Finska Angfartygs Aktiebolag, of Helsingfors. This company owns steamers of an aggregate dead-weight carrying capacity of 54,000 tons.

It maintains regular services between Helsingfors and United Kingdom ports (Hull and Newcastle), Antwerp, Rotterdam, Stettin, Bremen, and Petrograd, and also *via* Finnish ports to Stockholm. The largest vessels carry passengers to Hull, Stettin, Stockholm, and Petrograd; they are noted for their excellent accommodation and catering.

Other Finnish steam vessels are all of small tonnage and of the tramp class, owned by single-ship companies or private owners. They are mostly engaged in Baltic trade and local coastal passenger services. Sailing vessels form by far the larger part of the Finnish mercantile marine. A list of sea-going ships shows a total dead-weight capacity of 201,145 tons. Many fine steel ships formerly of British register have recently been placed under Finnish register, retaining their English names. The four-masted barque, *Marlborough Hill*, 5,907 tons dead-weight, is one of the largest.

A regular German passenger line ran between Helsingfors, Stettin, and Lübeck. Finnish ports are visited besides by large numbers of tramp steamers, mostly of British or Scandinavian register, with coal, coke, cereals, and raw-iron cargoes. These load timber and wood products, frequently proceeding coastwise in ballast to another Finnish port for this purpose. Vessels discharged at Petrograd, mostly coal-laden, also enter Finnish ports in ballast for loading.

(B) INDUSTRY

(1) LABOUR

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

The general indications suggest that the supply of labour in Finland is ample if not excessive. The population increased in the period 1880–1910 from just two millions to more than three millions. Durin

period the land under crops has not appreciably increased, and there must therefore be an ample supply of agricultural labour. Some movement of the excess country population to the towns of course takes place, but as the total urban population only increased from 173,000 in 1880 to 456,000 in 1910 it is plain that this movement is not rapid and that the demands of industry for labour are not very insistent. Figures published by the public labour bureaux show that during the period 1907-13 inclusive, an average of 43 per cent. of persons seeking for work obtained places through the bureaux, while during the same period 78 per cent. of employers requiring hands secured them by means of the bureaux. These figures point to an adequate supply of labour.

Emigration up to 1899 was on a small scale, averaging for the previous five years under 3,000 persons. From 1899 onwards, in consequence of political and social unrest, the figure has been much higher. For the period 1901-10 the average annual emigration exceeded 15,000 persons, and the figure was increasing. America and Canada were the destinations of almost all the emigrants. Immigrants during the same period averaged 5,000 per annum. These were almost all of Finnish origin and were partly returned emigrants, whose numbers were swollen for a short period during an industrial crisis in America. The industries of Petrograd were supplied very largely with Finnish labour; some of the excess already mentioned was absorbed in this way. The figures were fairly large, but it is not possible to be exact on this point, as the Finnish frontier is so close to Petrograd that thousands crossed it daily going to and from work, while many villages on the Russian side all round the city had a population of purely Finnish breed, although resident outside Finland.

(b) Labour Conditions

The overwhelming majority of the people in Finland are agricultural labourers. The climate and northern latitude of the country combine to make conditions severe. Wages on the land are low, the weekly wage of a labourer being on an average throughout the country rather below than above 10s., without food. Moreover, winter wages are considerably lower than those paid in summer, and the winter period lasts at least six months of the year. Employment upon home industries fills up the gap, but pay in most branches is low. The Finn is industrious and steady, if somewhat sluggish in character, and as he has never suffered from serfdom, he is morally and materially much better off than his Russian neighbour. In general, the peasantry are hardy and laborious; and their life, taking into consideration the extreme climate, is at least as well ordered as that of any similar class in western Europe. The labouring population of the towns is in general well housed and appears to enjoy a comfort and prosperity of a reasonably high level. Strikes and lock-outs showed a decreasing tendency between 1907 and 1913. Those that occurred were mainly in reference to questions of wages, in a very much less degree to questions of working hours. The results of the disputes were heavily in favour of the employers. During the period 1907-13 there were 32 strikes settled by arbitration or agreement, 38 by acceptance of the employers' conditions, and 13 by acceptance of the workpeople's conditions. Almost 50 per cent. of the workers striking belonged to the wood-working trade, the youngest and most rapidly expanding industry of the country, in which conditions have as yet not consolidated.

The following table shows the principal industries of

the country in 1912 and the scale of their operations as regards operatives, wages, and output :

<i>Industry.</i>	<i>Number of workers.</i>	<i>Wages paid in Fmk.</i>	<i>Value of output in Fmk.</i>
Mining and ore-producing . . .	226	126,200	403,700
Foundries and metal works . . .	3,351	3,690,000	39,249,000
Machinery works, including steel shipbuilding	9,531	16,624,900	41,917,200
Making of instruments of precision .	245	218,500	861,300
Stone, coal, glass, clay, and peat industries	11,317	10,677,200	27,236,400
Chemical industries	1,042	611,000	3,839,000
Pitch, tar, and oil industries . . .	494	481,800	7,937,200
Leather and skin industries . . .	2,411	2,577,000	23,214,500
Textile industries	14,548	11,388,100	79,428,000
Paper industries	11,832	12,124,800	97,594,000
Timber industries	31,347	27,981,700	149,693,600
Food products, including breweries, distilleries, and tobacco factories.	11,878	9,000,900	190,488,400
Electric lighting and power . . .	1,025	1,493,500	9,650,500
Printing and allied industries . . .	3,384	4,908,400	12,572,600
Miscellaneous industries	120	98,400	342,200
Total	102,751	102,002,400	684,427,600

(2) AGRICULTURE

Agriculture is carried on in Finland under very serious natural difficulties. The chief of these are as follows: Firstly, the northerly situation of the country, with long winters and short summers, much restricts the choice of crops; cereal crops can only be grown with success in the south and south-west. Secondly, the climate is of a continental type, and is adversely affected by the absence of any large body of ocean water of warm temperature. Hence the winters are severe and the summers treacherous. Disastrous night frosts occur in midsummer, and frequently ruin the cereal crops. Thirdly, much of the soil is poor, and special methods have to be applied to reclaim moor and bog, and so to increase the cultivable area.

Workable land is found in the greatest proportion to the total area of the country in the south-west corner and in the district surrounding Vasa. Its

extent in these districts is 15 to 30 per cent. of the total area. In the remainder of the country it never exceeds 15 per cent., and in the aggregate it has a much lower ratio.

The State has subsidized agriculture in Finland to a considerable extent since the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1910 Fmk. 5,000,000 were allocated for this purpose. Of this sum about one-third was devoted to agricultural schools and one-quarter spent in subsidies to agricultural societies, of which about twenty were at that date in existence.

(a) *Products and Live Stock.*

The principal crops are rye, barley, oats, potatoes, and hay and other fodder grasses. The quantities harvested by no means satisfy the wants of the population. The barley suffices for about half the home consumption, oats for two-thirds, rye for less than half, potatoes for 80 per cent. in good years. Wheat is a small crop, and the wheat-flour used is almost all imported.

Rye.—In the twenty-five years 1882–1907, the ground under rye remained about stationary at the figure of 4,000,000–4,500,000 hectares.

Barley was grown on 2,000,000 hectares, and showed a slight tendency to decrease.

Oats.—The area sown increased from 3,500,000 to 7,250,000 hectares. It should be noted that oats are solely used for animal feeding and not for man's use. Imported American oat products have a certain sale.

Potatoes.—This crop varies enormously from year to year. The area sown is from 4,500,000 to 6,500,000 hectares.

Live Stock.—During the period mentioned (1882–1907) the head of horses increased slightly, and reached 300,000.

The head of male horned cattle was slowly decreasing. Cows, on the contrary, showed a great increase from 800,000 to 1,110,000 head. This is owing to the persistent building up of a great dairy industry, the product of which forms a valuable staple export after supplying a free home consumption. Pedigree Ayrshire and Jersey dairy cattle have been imported from time to time, and a valuable native breed established. Dairying is carried on largely by co-operative creameries. In 1912 these numbered some 350, most of which are situated in the south-western districts.

Sheep have fallen off steadily since 1895 from 1,100,000 head to 900,000 in 1907.

Pigs numbered 200,000 head in 1907 and showed an inclination to increase.

Reindeer have increased from 50,000 to 150,000 in the period under review.

The proportion of live stock per head of the population of the country showed a decrease in every case, except in that of cows.

Dried peat-moss is largely used as stable and byre litter, and returns to the land as a valuable manure. Peat is used as a domestic fuel, and only awaits a practicable commercial method to be largely used as industrial fuel.

With regard to the area upon which the most important crops can be grown, it may be said that rye is cultivable up to the Arctic Circle, oats up to the 65th parallel, root crops generally to a fairly northerly latitude, potatoes even beyond the Arctic Circle. This applies only to the extreme limits, and the general cultivable area is much farther south in each case. Green vegetables succeed only in South Finland, and autumn wheat only in the extreme south-west.

Irrigation is not needed in Finland. On the contrary, drainage of water-logged and even water-covered areas

has absorbed enormous effort and expense, not by any means always with proportionate return for the outlay.

(b) *Methods of Cultivation and Land Tenure*

Methods of cultivation in Finland vary very much according to the district. The most primitive is that of clearing forest-land by fire, using the wood ash as manure, and practising an intensive rotation of crops. This leads to quick exhaustion of the soil, which is then abandoned by the squatters and a further patch submitted to the destructive process. This method is being gradually abandoned, and should eventually be stamped out.

Cultivation of moor and marsh land, and even reclamation of land under water, has been practised to a great extent. After draining the land so as to reduce the moisture to a suitable proportion, clay and sand are brought from a distance and added to the peaty earth, and a cultivable soil thus artificially produced. Nevertheless, it is now seen that much of such reclaimed moorland is really only suitable for afforestation. In the relatively good farming area of the south and south-west districts ordinary methods of cultivation with rotation of crops obtain. The spread of agricultural knowledge is carefully fostered in these districts, and the importation of chemical manures to enrich the land tends to increase. In the northern districts, rotation of grasses, the only possible above-ground crop, is practised. Farms are large, according to European standards, but power-machinery is not much relied upon for cultivating.

Outside the State lands, the bulk of the land is owned in freehold and in large parcels, with tenant farmers paying money-rent. A strong movement is on foot to break up these large estates into parcels of

200–400 acres, with farmer-ownership, and the State is encouraging this process.

Small holdings exist in great numbers, the farm-labourer renting a plot from the farmer and paying rent partly in kind from the produce of his plot.

In the centre and north-east districts some land is owned by agricultural joint-stock companies, principally for dairy-farming purposes.

(c) *Forestry*

The vast acreage of Finland under natural forest, and the suitability of a large proportion of the country for timber-growing, would lead one to suppose that the art of forestry would be ancient and flourishing. This, however, is not the case. The main reasons are, first, that the supposed inexhaustibility of the supplies led to indifference and waste, so that only in recent years have the value of the timber and the possibilities of the wood-pulp and paper-making trades been realized ; and, secondly, that land-hunger and a desire to increase agriculture have overborne the claims of forestry. The forest has been looked upon as an impediment to be cleared away rather than as a source of wealth. During the nineteenth century enormous acreages of land were cleared of forest by firing, the wood-ash being used as manure. Not until after the middle of the century did the Government take measures to restrain this highly wasteful and uneconomic squatting on fire-cleared land, which the squatters left after having exhausted the soil in a few years. The practice still exists, but is receding eastwards.

The first forestry institute was founded in 1859 at Evo. It had small success, and was closed from 1866 to 1874 for lack of pupils. Since then it has made slow but steady progress.

Ownership of forests can be grouped under three heads: (1) State-owned forests; (2) those owned by private individuals and village or urban communities; (3) those owned by industrial companies.

The State-owned forests cover 32,500,000 acres out of a total of 49,500,000 acres of forest land in the country. The value of these forests and the lands adjacent is calculated at Fmk. 317,000,000. Receipts from the State forests show a steady increase in value. In 1870 the expenditure still exceeded the receipts. This deficit was converted shortly afterwards into a profit, which by steady increases reached Fmk. 9,000,000 in 1910. The general average proportion of expenses to receipts for the first ten years of the twentieth century was 29 per cent.

Of the total area of State forests, 90 per cent. is north of the 64th parallel of latitude. North of the 66th parallel they cover almost the entire dry area of the country. The State has recently made fresh purchases in the south and centre. For purposes of organization the forests are divided into 8 inspections and 81 districts. The forest guard corps numbers 800 men. The wood is usually sold by auction, except small parcels for local consumption, which are disposed of by private treaty. Formerly the wood was sold standing, but now much is felled and prepared before sale, to avoid wasteful methods of cutting by the purchasers.

The State has by no means been able completely to protect its property against the depredations of individuals, especially in remote districts. Very wasteful methods of cutting for local fuel and other needs are still practised, and in north Finland the owners of reindeer herds cut down much good fir timber for the value of the lichens on the bark, upon which their animals feed, leaving the wood to rot on the ground. In

general, the tendency is for the land to reclothe itself with forest by natural means, but where bad methods of cutting obtain, or ground becomes waterlogged, this beneficent process is arrested. Where ground cleared by burning for agriculture is subsequently abandoned, the lost forests are succeeded by a crop of alders of very low value.

Of the forest land not owned by the State, the bulk is owned by private individuals, the residue by industrial companies engaged in the lumber, paper, and paper-pulp trades. In both cases the owners have tolerably full liberty under the law to dispose of their property as they prefer. The best economy is practised by the industrial companies, which in general look carefully after the reforestation and rational rate of felling of the timber on their areas.

The methods of procuring wood for domestic purposes leave much to be desired. Excessive cutting and failure to renew growth have had disastrous effects, and the law has not proved powerful enough to restrain effectively these uneconomic depredations. Forest fires are also a source of serious havoc.

The best trees of commercial value are pine (*Pinus sylvestris*), fir (*Picea excelsa*, *Picea obovata*), and birch (*Betulus alba*). Ash, willow, and alder also are found, but have much less general value.

In general it may be said that the fact that in the forests lies the greatest actual and potential wealth of Finland is being increasingly recognized. The desperate efforts to increase the cultivable and pastoral area have been attended by much disappointment, whereas forestry and industries dependent upon wood products, if wisely and energetically developed, are likely to have a great future in the country. The value of the products of the State forests increased from Fmk. 3,300,000 in 1901 to Fmk. 6,412,000 in

1906 and further to Fmk. 11,600,000 in 1910. This includes every class of timber and the value of sales of by-products such as pitch, charcoal, bark, resin, and underwood. It is worthy of note that the value of the wood products used domestically is five times that of the exported product in all forms.

(3) FISHERIES

Considering the length of coast-line and the amount of lake and river water in Finland, the fisheries do not attain the importance that might be expected. As regards sea-fish, this is partly accounted for by the lack of salinity of Baltic water, which is for this reason stocked with limited quantities and varieties of fish as compared with the North Sea or the White Sea.

The most important species is the Baltic herring (*Clupea harengus*), which is fished in good quantities all along the coasts of the Gulfs of Finland and Bothnia. After the supply of home needs, an export of about 5,000,000 kg. goes to Russia annually. Next in importance is the sprat (*Clupea sprattus*), which is found on the south-west coast. The appearance of this fish is very capricious, and the catch varies enormously from 20,000,000 to 200,000,000 kg. from year to year. In good years a large export of this fish in the dried state goes to Russia. Other sea-fish, named in order of importance, are bull-head, eel, salmon, lamprey, and smelt. In 1912 the catch consisted of 107,150 kg. of salmon and 10,480,000 kg. of other fish.

As regards method, the sea-fishing industry is carried on in a somewhat primitive way. The vessels are small, and steam is little employed. The seine net, the large-mesh net, and the line are used.

In the winter, in the Gulf of Finland, a method of fishing with lines under the ice is practised. The fishermen are frequently absent for weeks at a time,

and work out of sight of land, living in huts constructed on the ice. Stormy weather, or an unexpected break-up of the ice, has led to serious loss of life at times. The catch commands a high price in Petrograd, whither all of it goes.

Of the varieties of fresh-water fish found, the most valuable are the *salmonidae* (salmon, salmon-trout, &c.). Other varieties are the fresh-water herring or gwiniad, roach, perch, pike, and eel-pout. The catch in 1912 from river and lake fisheries was 117,380 kg. of salmon and 3,690,000 kg. of other fish.

According to a law of 1902, the rights of fresh-water fishing belong in general to riparian owners, whether they be individuals, corporations, or village communities. An exception is made in the case of certain large lakes where all the owners of the shorelands have common fishing rights in the lake. The State also steps in with regard to the fishing for salmon and gwiniad, which it reserves on all important rivers, and leases to individuals or corporations. Some revenue is brought in by leasing water for angling, but the bulk of the fish is caught with nets and traps. The average annual catch of *salmonidae* is 200,000 kg., 70,000 kg. of which are exported to Russia.

Fishery in the lakes is not important in proportion to the area of water. The lake bottoms are in most cases rocky, marshy, or peaty, and in the two latter cases the water is unsuitable to fish life. A national fishery association was formed in 1891 to improve methods, stocking of rivers, &c., but a good authority characterizes the results as meagre.

(4) MINING AND QUARRYING

The mining industry of Finland is on a small scale, and is in general dwindling. This is in no way due to lack of enterprise, but solely owing to the geological

formation, which almost precludes the possibility of any great development of mining activity. Of the rarer metals, gold alone has been worked, mostly in alluvial deposits on the Kemi river. Dredging for gold still goes on on a small scale at Ivalojoiki. The annual output for the ten years 1903–12 averaged 2,500 grammes of pure gold. Silver is not found. Copper has been mined with varying success at Orijärvi, but the mines are now closed. A new copper mine has been recently opened at Outukumpu, and the ore is smelted at Imatra, where the plant is driven by the great waterfall.

There remains the iron-mining industry. Iron ore is found here and there, but the yield is of so poor a percentage that the workings have had a chequered career. An important deposit occurs, however, near Jussarö, an island in the Gulf of Finland to the east of Hangö. It contains 38 per cent. of iron, but the greater part of the deposit is under the sea and is known only from magnetic survey. When the country was under Swedish rule the ores from that country easily dominated the situation. During the period dating from 1809, when a policy of exclusion of Swedish imports held sway, the industry made some progress, but with a freer intercourse between the two countries during the latter half of the nineteenth century the competition of Swedish ores broke down the native mining, which is now negligible.

A method of extracting free hematite iron from the lake bottoms by dredging has been in practice with moderate results, but this industry is also dwindling, and will probably cease to exist. It has no industrial importance and no statistics in reference to it are available.

No coal is found in Finland.

Under the conditions described it is natural that

no very elaborate code of mining law should have developed. The metals under the surface are considered State property, and concessions are given to work stated areas under regulations as to labour, &c.

The quarrying industry is of some importance. Finnish granite has proved itself a valuable and durable building material. It was formerly exported to Russia for monumental purposes, and the colossal columns of St. Isaac's Cathedral, Petrograd, are built of granite from near Wiborg. It was found, however, that when used in large pieces and polished, certain defects developed, and its use for this purpose has ceased; but used in blocks and in an unpolished state for quays, bridges, &c., the granite has no equal. It makes also good macadam, and, when crushed, a good concrete basis. Hangö granite, however, stands polishing well. At Vehmaa in south-west Finland and at Taivassalo a granite is quarried and much exported to Great Britain. It is known in Aberdeen, where it is worked, as 'Balmoral Red', and is esteemed above the local and other imported granites for building purposes. A grey granite is quarried at Nystad and is known in the trade as 'Birkhall Grey'; this is considered the best grey granite for building and monumental purposes.

It is noteworthy that Helsingfors is gradually being rebuilt of granite structures, a novel and striking type of architecture having been evolved purely through its use.

The average annual value of quarrying and stone-working production in 1910 was Fmk. 2,500,000.

(5) OTHER INDUSTRIES

(a) *Metallurgic Industries*

It is in the production of metal goods from imported iron and steel that Finland has made most progress.

The most important metal works and machinery firms in Finland are combined in an association entitled the Bureau of Metallurgical Industry of Finland. The aim of this organization is to work towards a general union of the mechanical and metallurgical enterprises of the country, with a view to dividing the production in such manner that each firm takes in hand its own specialities and is aided by other firms to undertake every portion of the work with the least displacement of material and labour. For this purpose the association is divided into seven categories as follows: (1) General mechanical construction; (2) boats and marine engines; (3) rolling stock; (4) machines for the paper and allied industries; (5) agricultural machinery; (6) water and heat-conducting materials; (7) electrical machines and apparatus.

The Bureau comprises fourteen of the principal concerns in the country, of which six are at Helsingfors:

1. *Sandviken Works, Helsingfors*.—Makers of boilers, and machines up to 50 horse-power, also of rolling stock, boats, and small marine engines.

2. *Machine and Bridge Construction Co., Ltd., Helsingfors*.—Makers of fixed boilers, bridges, gas motors, wagons, and cellulose machinery. The company owns a dry dock.

3. *Helsingfors Shipbuilding Co.*—Makers of ships and marine engines.

4. *John Stenberg Machinery Co., Helsingfors*.

5. *Robert Hüber, Helsingfors*.—A mechanical workshop.

Both the latter firms make boilers and marine engines, and do marine engine repairs.

6. *Gottfrid Strömberg, Ltd., Helsingfors*.—Manufacturers of electric motors and generating machinery.

7. *Tammerfors Thread and Forge Works*.—Makers of

turbines, marine engines, and locomotives, also of wood-pulp machinery.

8. *Tammerfors Machine Works*.—Makers of steam engines, boilers, pumps, and fittings thereto, steam vessels, wagons and machinery for saw-mills.

9. *Abo Forge, Ltd.*.—Makers of locomobiles, agricultural motors, saws, nails, and safes.

10. *Lehtoniemi and Taipale Works*.—These make boats of all kinds, boilers, &c., and do ship repairs.

11. *Abo Wagon Factory*.—This makes exclusively rolling stock.

12. *Jakobstad Machinery Works*.—These make agricultural machinery.

13. *Fiskars Foundry*.—This makes agricultural machinery.

14. *Högfors Foundry*.—This firm constructs boilers, ventilators, and drying machinery, and undertakes sanitary engineering work.

Other important metallurgical concerns are :

Crichton & Co., Abo.—A first-class firm for ship-building. It has a torpedo factory which works for the Russian Government.

Vulcan Engineering Co., Abo.—Makers of locomobiles and petrol motors.

Björneborg Machinery Works.—Ship and engine builders. They have the distinction of having launched the largest steam vessel built in Finland.

In all, the metal industries are said to employ 13,000 hands, and 2 per cent. of the population is dependent upon them. The value of the output of the metallurgical industries in Finland amounted in 1910 to Fmk. 57,000,000.

(b) *Timber Industries*

The industry which overshadows all others in Finland, both in the value of its product and the number

of people it employs, is that dependent on the greatest natural resource of the country, the forest. The preparation of pit-props, sawn timber, paper-pulp, and cellulose, and paper-making from wood-pulp are all branches of this industry.

The principal woods commercially in use are: (1) Scots Pine. This is shipped in logs, and in the sawn state, under an extraordinary diversity of trade names. (2) Spruce. This is also sent abroad in the sawn state in large quantities. Both (1) and (2) are extensively used in the wood-pulp trade. (3) Birch, which is much used as fuel wood internally. (4) Aspen, used in the paper-pulp trade. (5) Alder. (6) Silver Fir.

The timber is, to a great extent, carried by water from the felling place. Large rafts are formed and towed long distances on the lakes and canals. Special log-floating companies, which undertake the movement of all timber in their areas, carry out the work. On arrival at the places, usually not far from the sea, where the natural fall of water provides cheap power, the timber destined for the saw-mill is brought ashore and treated, and subsequently loaded in barges and placed alongside sea-going shipping for export. The paper-pulp and paper-making works are also situated near waterfalls, and the timber is treated on the spot. Logs to be shipped entire are floated down the rapids to sea-level, collected and loaded direct on sea-going vessels.

Paper-pulp is made by two methods: (1) Cellulose is produced by the sulphite method, by which the wood is chemically treated, the sulphur being imported, mostly from Italy, for the purpose. (2) Wood-pulp is mechanically produced, the material being reduced to pulp by friction against stones. Scots pine and spruce are used for these products, small quantities of aspen being employed for specially white pulp used in certain papers.

The saw-mill industry is the greatest in Finland. The saw-mills number over 500, employ 21,000 hands, and the annual value of the product is in round figures Fmk. 75,000,000. The product of the paper factories is estimated at Fmk. 8,000,000 annual value, that of the cellulose and mechanical wood-pulp factories at Fmk. 2,000,000 and 3,000,000 respectively.

Bobbin-making from birch wood is carried on on a large scale.

Pitch-distilling from wood, formerly a great industry, especially on the Uleå river, is now declining, largely owing to the substitution of steamers for sailing vessels.

(c) *Textile Industries*

The textile industries in Finland, in so far as they are carried on in factories, are of comparatively recent growth. They are dependent, to a very large extent, upon imported raw material.

In 1821 a British subject, named Finlayson, founded the cotton-spinning industry at Tammerfors, and this concern remains to-day the principal one of its kind in Finland. Other mills were started, at Åbo in 1843, at Forssa in 1847, at Vasa in 1850, at Tammerfors in 1899 (the Lapiniemi mills), and at Björneborg in 1900. All these factories have cotton-spinning and cotton cloth-weaving plant, and possess their own dye-houses. A moderate quality American cotton is mostly in use and is imported duty free. The production is steadily increasing. In 1912 the cloth produced amounted in value to Fmk. 32,000,000 and the yarn to Fmk. 10,000,000.

Woollen cloth is produced in twenty-seven factories, mostly on a small scale. The output is purely for the home market and of moderate quality. In 1912 the yarn produced amounted in value to Fmk. 3,900,000

and the cloth to Fmk. 16,200,000. Knitted goods are made in six factories, of which the largest is at Tammerfors. The output is not at all equal to domestic necessities, and there is a large import. The value of knitted goods produced in 1912 was Fmk. 4,600,000.

Linen is a small item. One factory only at Tammerfors makes linen cloth. Two-thirds of the raw material comes from Russia, and a good proportion of the production is exported to that country. The value of the annual product is about 3,500,000 Fmk.

(d) *Miscellaneous Industries*

The chemical industry has small importance in Finland. Raw chemicals for the wood-pulp and paper trades are imported, sulphur and bleaching powder being the most important.

Glass-making is carried on in twelve plants. The output, the annual value of which is from Fmk. 3,000,000 to 4,000,000, is absorbed by domestic demand. The raw materials are imported.

Porcelain and earthenware are produced for local needs only, but the art products of the 'Arabia' factory at Helsingfors have attained a recognized place in modern ornamental ware, and are exported. Porcelain and earthenware products are valued at over Fmk. 2,000,000 annually.

Matches are made in seven factories both for domestic consumption and for export to Russia.

Tanning of leather and the making of leather goods, especially boots and shoes, has one great centre, Uleåborg, where is situated the important firm of Aström Brothers, reputed the largest in northern Europe.

One rubber factory exists in Finland, at Nokia.

Tobacco factories are twenty-six in number, and have an output valued at Fmk. 21,000,000. Two-

thirds of the total weight of raw material imported comes from Russia.

The sea-faring industry employs a good number of Finns. The merchant marine of the country is officered and manned entirely by natives. As sailors in foreign employ, Finns are fairly numerous, and are much esteemed by their employers for their good seamanship and sobriety, though, owing to their taciturnity and certain superstitions concerning them, they are not popular among their mates.

In considering Finnish industry as a whole it should be remembered that factory industries are of comparatively recent growth, and that domestic industry still plays a very important part in the economy of the country. Despite the tendency of the age towards factory industry, the product of home industries during the whole of the nineteenth century was of greater value than that of all factories combined. This activity still holds its own, and even permits of development. The reason is climatic. During a period varying from four to six months of the year the rural dwellers, who form a large proportion of the population, have their outdoor occupations reduced to a minimum by short days and a frost-bound country-side, so that indoor occupation is a necessity for bodily and mental well-being.

Statistics of domestic industry are unreliable, but the actual items of importance are: wool-spinning, weaving, knitting, dyeing, flax-scutching and linen-making, carpet-making, manufacture of soap and candles and of alcoholic liquors, and furniture-making. In general, the products of home industry are absorbed locally, but Finnish furniture goods have a high reputation in Russia, and a special depot for their sale exists in Petrograd.

(6) WATER-POWER

Water-power would appear at first sight to be of great importance in Finland, but, while aiding industry to a considerable extent, it suffers from handicaps which cannot be avoided. The severity of winter frosts and snows and the frequent droughts in summer curtail the period of the year in which a good head of water passes over the falls and rapids where power can be developed. Lack of native raw material and labour also prevents the fullest use of such power as does exist.

The rapids in general are the property of the riparian owners, sometimes private individuals, frequently village communities. The course of one rapid or fall is often owned by a series of separate proprietors. Its use then becomes a matter of arbitration by the State. The great fall at Imatra has been acquired by the State in order to preserve its great natural beauty and regulate its industrial use.

The obvious artificial method of preserving a good head of water in dry periods by dam-building is regulated in the general interest by the State. What is described as the *chenal royal* must be left open by any one holding up water for power storage. This watercourse must be at least one-third of the width of the full natural course at its deepest point, and this must be open all the year. Dams must be provisional only, and removed each year before the spring floods to prevent damage lower down the course by derelict material from a broken dam.

The principal development has taken place in the valley of the Kyminjoki. On its course are many large saw-mills and paper-pulp mills, four paper factories, and a woollen-spinning plant. At Stockfors is a hydro-electric power plant for wood-pulp making. There is

also a bar-iron foundry and forge worked by water-power. The falls of the upper Vuoksen also provide much power. In 23 kilometres of its length the river falls 64 metres, 50 metres being in large rapids. The principal fall at Imatra has a drop of 18 metres in 1,300. The falls of Pyhakoski on the Uleå river have a drop of 57 metres in 20 kilometres, and owing to their length are somewhat costly to use for power.

If the demands of industry require more water-power, it is still abundant and waiting to be tapped. It is estimated that of 3,000,000 horse-power available, only 90,000 horse-power is in use. Of easily accessible power there are on the Kyminjoki river 28,000 horse-power in use out of a possible 274,000. On the Vuoksi and Kumo rivers the proportion in use is less. For a full list of available power with details of every fall and rapid in the country the *Atlas de Finlande*, map 14, should be consulted, with the accompanying text.

Various comprehensive schemes for generating electric power have been proposed, notably one to supply Petrograd industries with power from Imatra, but the Finns are loath to part with their natural forces for any scheme which is not directly to benefit their own people.

(C) COMMERCE

(1) DOMESTIC

Finland is so small a country and the predominance of rural life is so overwhelming that trade has not had the opportunity to develop on any spacious lines. For its own wants the rural population caters largely by domestic industry, while the distribution of imported goods is usually made direct from abroad to the retailer, nearly every importing firm having its agent,

who easily covers the ground, selling as a rule for a number of firms in allied trade branches.

A few wholesale firms exist in Helsingfors for distributing dry goods and ready-made clothing. The distribution of cereals is also effected by wholesale firms in some cases.

The internal trade in timber is large. Houses are largely built of wood, and disastrous town fires necessitate frequent rebuilding; but Helsingfors and other large towns contain many stone buildings. In Helsingfors are some bonded warehouses whence goods are sent to Russia, but the business is on a moderate scale.

(a) *Towns*

Helsingfors, the capital, has a population of about 167,000. It is a first-rate seaport, and a shipbuilding and repairing centre. The official life of the country is centred in it, and a Russian garrison occupies the fortress of Sveaborg in the harbour. It is the principal Russian naval station, after Kronstadt, in the Gulf of Finland. The city has been handsomely rebuilt in granite, and possesses every convenience of a modern European town. Apart from the occupations usual in a commercial and official capital, the clothing and printing trades are of importance. A tobacco factory of considerable size, and the work of the import and distributing trades absorb most of the remaining labour. There is a daily market for provisions, food-stuffs and farm-produce, which does a large business. A retail fish-market on the quay supplies local needs. (For port accommodation, see above, p. 75.)

Åbo, the ancient capital, is an important port, which for some time past has been kept ice-free all the year. Full use of its possibilities has not so far been made, but far-reaching schemes for a free port are planned (see above, p. 80). The town has a university, a relic of

Swedish times. The trade, besides shipping, consists of a sugar refinery, cotton-mills, shipbuilding, and engineering. There is also an oil factory and a cement works. The population is 52,000.

Vasa is an important seaport (see above, p. 77). The town is new, having been built on a new site several kilometres nearer the sea, after a disastrous fire in the middle of the nineteenth century. It was then renamed Nikolaistad, but the ancient name is in more general use. The activities of Vasa comprise a cotton-mill, pitch factory, flour-mill, iron and steel works, lace factory, saw-mills, tobacco factory, and a sugar refinery. The population is 23,000.

Björneborg, a decaying seaport, revived by the creation of its outports, Räfsö and Mäntyluoto (see above, p. 77), has saw-mills, a cotton-mill, engineering and shipbuilding works, a flour-mill, and an electric light and power plant.

Wiborg has a population of 28,000. It has a good harbour (see above, p. 77), the full use of which has not yet been developed. It has saw-mills, soap, tobacco and match factories, and is interested in the export of timber and wood-pulp. It is the outlet to the sea of the Saima canal system, the most important in the country.

Tammerfors, called with pride by the Finns 'the Manchester of Finland', is industrially the most important town of all. It owes its rise to the enterprise of a British subject, Finlayson, who founded the first cotton-spinning power plant in 1821. The falls, which provide a great deal of the power, are 1,100 metres long, with a total depth of 18 metres of fall, in three stages. Cotton-spinning and weaving, paper-making, the manufacture of saw-mills machinery, shipbuilding, and the construction of locomotives and wagons are carried on.

The population was 46,192 at the last census, and is increasing quickly. Tammerfors lies inland, but is on the west Tavastland canal and lake system. The centre of the town has recently been rebuilt in granite.

Kotka (population 11,609) is almost wholly concerned with the timber trade. It is the first port in Finland for timber shipment, and its safety and facilities are first-rate. (For port accommodation, see above, p. 78.) It is the outlet of the busy *Kyminjoki* valley, which teems with saw and paper-pulp mills and paper factories. The town has its own saw and pulp mills, also a boxboard factory.

Uleåborg (population 21,271) is the centre of the leather trade in Finland, its tanneries and boot factories being renowned, both inland and in Russia. The annual output of these industries is valued at Fmk. 2,500,000. Its importance as a timber port lies in its situation at the mouth of the *Uleå* river, down which vast quantities of timber are floated. Its former pitch trade is declining.

Kuopio, the largest inland town in Finland, is a timber centre and the head of a lake navigation system and log-rafting area, there being direct communication *via* the *Saima* canal system to the Gulf of Finland. British capital is interested in a large bobbin factory.

The other centres of population in Finland are small. They comprise the small seaports of *Kemi*, *Brahestad*, *Nya Karleby*, *Gamla Karleby*, *Raumo*, *Borga*, *Lovisa*, and *Jacobstad*, all of which export timber in small vessels. *Hangö* was forced into prominence as the first ice-free port, owing to the efforts made by the State railways, but it is understood that it has only partly solved the ice problem, and *Abo* will be the scene of future developments. The remaining inland towns of Finland are small and of local importance.

(b) Organizations to promote Trade and Commerce

The Finns appear to have a gift for association and co-operation in commerce and industry which is being rapidly developed. The success of co-operative retail trading is assured, although the movement is young. The first co-operative society was founded in 1899. No laws dealing with co-operative trading existed at the time, but a series were rapidly passed in 1901 to settle the legal basis of the enterprise. In 1909 there were in existence 1,816 co-operative societies, having a membership of 180,000 and a turnover of Fmk. 99,000,000. These comprised:

	<i>Members.</i>	<i>Fmk.</i>
354 Co-operative dairies	33,000	29,000,000 turnover
384 Co-operative savings-banks	11,900	3,000,000 loans
506 Co-operative consumers' shops	100,000	52,000,000 sales
568 Other co-operative societies	35,000	8,000,000 turnover

A central co-operative bank was founded in 1902. The Exporting Society of Finland, established in 1891, receives an annual subvention of Fmk. 25,000 in aid of its work.

Other organizations are: the Technical Association of Finland, the Finnish Industrial Chemists' Association, the Association of Industrial Arts of Finland, and the Bureau of Metallurgical Industry in Finland (see above, p. 95).

(c) Foreign Interests

Foreign firms and companies have small foothold in Finland. Without entering closely into the matter, it suffices to say that the Finns discourage the establishment of foreign firms in their country, and have

peculiar methods of attaining their ends in this respect. Foreign life and fire insurance companies do some business, but it is declining owing to severe restrictions. Swedish, British, and German companies are mostly interested. One American office has had some success. The tramway systems of Åbo and Viborg are the property of the Allgemeine Electricitäts-Gesellschaft, of Berlin.

(d) *Methods of Economic Penetration*

For the reasons mentioned above, economic penetration has no appreciable activity in Finland, and the Finns themselves have no surplus population or energy to accomplish any noteworthy penetration into neighbouring countries. It should, however, be noted that an organized attempt to capture the import trade in coal and allied fuel in the interests of Germany was planned shortly before the war. The greater part of these imports has always come from Great Britain, but about 1912-14 a Westphalian syndicate, headed by Aug. Thyssen, the Westphalian coal and iron magnate, had determined to secure a monopoly of this for their benefit, to be followed by a similar absorption of the iron, steel, and manufactured metal trade. The war, however, suspended this far-reaching scheme.

(2) FOREIGN

(a) *Exports*

As an exporting country, Finland is steadily assuming a greater importance; and the annual value of her exports during the last three decades has increased by leaps and bounds. At the same time there is a steady trend of direction of the exports towards western and north-western Europe, the share of

Russia proportionately declining. Thus in 1867, 61 per cent. of all exports went to Russia, whereas the figure for 1887 was 40 per cent., and for 1908 28 per cent.

The principal export is invariably lumber, of which 10,000,000 metric tons in the form of logs, deals, boards, and battens were shipped abroad in 1913. Wood-pulp and paper accounted in the same year for 359,871 metric tons. Butter is a large and increasing article of export, 12,000,000 kilograms being exported in 1912. Ten million kilograms of fish were exported for some years of the last decade. Granite has a good market abroad.

The wood, wood-pulp, and paper trades can be looked to for expanding exports in the future. It is probable that the dairy produce export reached its limit of increase before the war, and its future will be precarious until live stock can be placed on a sound footing again. The tar and pitch trade is steadily decreasing, and glass exports are now almost nil. The production for export of methylated spirit from wood-pulp is looked to as a business with a great future.

In normal times the principal market for Finnish wood exports is Great Britain. France and Germany come next in order. Wood-pulp and paper are mostly distributed between Russia and England. Butter goes almost entirely to England, though a small quantity goes to Germany in seasons when the price rules high, and some produced in the regions near Petrograd is sold there. Other dairy produce, and almost the entire export of fish, go to Russia. Granite goes principally to Russia and Great Britain.

The values of the principal exports in recent years were as follows:

<i>Articles.</i>	<i>Average for 1908-12.</i>		<i>Year 1912.</i>
	<i>Fmk.</i>		<i>Fmk.</i>
Boats and ships	1,500,000		3,000,000
Dairy and farm produce	36,000,000		40,000,000
Fish	5,000,000		5,000,000
Hides, skins, and furs	10,000,000		13,000,000
Machines, motors, and tools	1,700,000		4,000,000
Minerals	3,600,000		5,000,000
Paper and wood-pulp	51,000,000		64,000,000
Woods and woodwork	154,000,000		173,000,000

The value of the exports to the principal countries concerned was in 1912 as follows:

	<i>Fmk.</i>
Russia	98,000,000
Great Britain	87,000,000
Germany	48,000,000
Sweden	15,000,000
Denmark	12,000,000

The chief exports were in that year distributed as follows:

<i>Articles.</i>	<i>Value in thousands of Fmk.</i>		
	<i>Great Britain.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Russia.</i>
Boats and ships	125	197	2,198
Dairy and farm produce	26,445	6,671	9,058
Hides, skins, and furs	11	3,812	5,702
Machines, motors, and tools	19	179	2,309
Minerals	170	79	5,947
Paper and pulp	14,232	5,377	44,040
Woods and woodwork	66,765	32,132	18,386
Woven goods	—	—	6,915

The total exports to all countries for the year 1912 were valued at Fmk. 340,000,000. The average figure for the years 1908-12 was Fmk. 290,000,000.

(b) Imports

Since its entry during the last fifty years into the world of international commerce, Finland has been, for its size and population, a country of large and varied imports, these much exceeding the exports in

value during recent years. As Finland is self-supporting only in timber, stone, and dairy produce, the imports are of every kind. Cereals are the most important and vary according to harvests. In normal times they come mostly from Germany or England, being originally American or Argentine produce. Coal, coming nearly all from Great Britain, is the most important article for bulk, but not for value. Metals and machinery come from Great Britain and Germany. For general machinery and electrical goods the market is monopolized by the latter. Yarns, cloth, and clothing also come from Great Britain or Germany. General food products, chemicals, rubber goods, coffee, and sugar, are entered as coming from Great Britain or Germany generally, but for the most part consist of re-exports from these countries, little or nothing entering Finland direct from distant countries of origin.

The values of the principal imports in recent years were as follows:

<i>Articles.</i>	<i>Average 1908-12.</i>	<i>Year 1912.</i>
	<i>Fmk.</i>	<i>Fmk.</i>
Cereals	87,000,000	87,000,000
Groceries	46,000,000	57,000,000
Machines, motors, and tools	23,000,000	28,000,000
Meat products	10,000,000	12,000,000
Metals and metal goods	32,000,000	44,000,000
Minerals and manufactures		
thereof	20,000,000	25,000,000
Rubber goods	10,000,000	13,000,000

The values of the imports from the principal countries concerned were as follows in 1912:

	<i>Fmk.</i>
Germany	186,000,000
Russia	131,000,000
Great Britain	68,000,000
Sweden	25,000,000
Denmark	12,000,000

The origin of the principal imports in that year was as follows :

<i>Articles.</i>	<i>Value in thousands of Fmk.</i>		
	<i>Great Britain.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Russia.</i>
Cereals	2,543	49,881	37,834
Groceries	898	27,249	23,483
Luxury goods	96	386	352
Machines, motors, tools, and other metal goods	11,485	26,603	6,897
Minerals	14,960	5,430	1,815
Woven goods	4,507	9,619	7,879
	<u>34,489</u>	<u>119,168</u>	<u>78,260</u>

The total imports from all sources in 1912 were valued at Fmk. 470,000,000, and the average for the years 1908–12 was Fmk. 405,000,000.

(c) *Customs and Tariffs*

The customs tariff of Finland may be described as moderately protective. Two separate tariffs are in force: (1) that for goods imported from Russia, which is exceptionally favourable to that Empire; (2) that for all other countries. Tariff (1) has been occasionally modified, especially in the direction of protective duties on spirituous liquors, but in spite of its favourable provisions the imports from Russia tend to decrease steadily in proportion to the whole. The latest modifications took place in 1897. Duties are imposed only on sugar, tobacco, and alcoholic liquors, on which the rates are lower than those imposed on goods from other countries. All other goods enter free of duty. Finnish industrial goods, on the other hand, pay duty on entering Russia, but at a lower tariff than goods from other countries.

(2) The Finnish general tariff is worked out on what are usually considered 'scientific' lines. Raw or partially-worked materials come in free or under low

duties. Higher rates prevail for manufactured goods. Luxury articles are the most highly taxed. Sugar is highly rated for revenue reasons. Alcoholic liquors are very highly rated in response to public feeling against excessive consumption. Food-stuffs in general, especially cereals, are admitted free of duty.

Imported goods are assessed in general by weight, every article of possible import being separately scheduled, the rate per 100 kilograms figuring as the basis of reckoning in the official list, unless otherwise quoted.

The total customs receipts for the year 1912 amounted to Fmk. 58,500,000, and for 1913 to Fmk. 60,464,885.

(D) FINANCE

(1) *Public Finance*

The annexed statistics show the state of the public finances of Finland in 1913. The Budget shows that the principal form of taxation is indirect, revenue from the railways, State forests, customs, post office, and alcoholic liquors accounting for seven-eighths of the total. Direct taxation, in all, accounted for only one-thirtieth. In local taxation, on the other hand, direct taxes (income-tax, legacy duty, &c.) accounted for over one-quarter of the total receipts for the year given.

BUDGET OF THE YEAR 1913

<i>(a) Receipts.</i>	<i>Fmk.</i>
Direct taxes	6,500,000
State properties :	
Lands	1,700,000
Fisheries	92,000
Forests	16,000,000
Railways	58,000,000
Canals	1,000,000
Interest	1,900,000

Indirect taxes :	<i>Fmk.</i>
Customs	58,000,000
Duties on alcoholic liquors and playing cards	13,000,000
Mixed receipts :	
Stamp duties, licences, registration fees	5,000,000
State institutions :	
Posts, lighthouses, hospitals, schools	11,500,000
Sundry receipts :	
Fines, sales of land, prison labour, control of distilleries, &c.	8,308,000
Total receipts	181,000,000

*(b) Expenditure.**Fmk.*

Funds for imperial residences	429,000
Expenses of Diet	682,000
Government :	
Governor-General's salary, Imperial (Russian)	
Senate of Finland, Secretary of State	3,000,000
Justice	5,400,000
Civil administration	15,300,000
Customs, mint, public granaries, stamp offices, bank inspection	4,000,000
Administration of canals and forests	5,926,000
Military contribution to Russia in lieu of military service	14,000,000
Religion, education, sciences and arts	20,950,000
Agriculture and fisheries, schools and institutes con- nected therewith and subsidies	7,700,000
Roads, railways, bridges, canals, posting, pilotage, schools of commerce and navigation	51,000,000
Control of distilleries	7,500,000
Pensions and gratuities	5,500,000
Public debt expenditure	8,027,000
Sundry expenditure	9,286,000
Total expenditure	158,700,000

LOCAL EXPENDITURE AND INCOME FOR THE YEAR 1913

Fmk.

Income of urban authorities	47,000,000
Expenditure of urban authorities	52,000,000
Income of rural communes	28,000,000
Expenditure of rural communes	30,000,000

The total debt of the towns and rural communes amounted to Fmk. 84,000,000. The value of the property owned by them was Fmk. 191,000,000.

The public debt of Finland amounted in

<i>Fmk.</i>	
1911 to	176,000,000
1912 „	174,000,000
1913 „	172,000,000

The loans were raised almost entirely for railway construction purposes. The capital was found by (1) the Bank of Finland, (2) S. Bleichröder, of Berlin, (3) the Crédit Lyonnais, (4) C. J. Hambro & Son, of London.

(2) *Currency*

The unit of currency is the Finnish mark (Fmk.), value approximately $9\frac{3}{4}d.$; the usual exchange on London is Fmk. 25 per £. This currency was finally established in 1860 after an irregular period dating from the transfer, in 1809, from Swedish to Russian rule. The bullion basis was silver, but in 1877 this was altered to a gold basis on the same currency weight as that of the Latin Union. The Finnish mark is divided into 100 pennia.

The only currency notes now authorized are those of the Finlands-Bank. This institution is under the authority and guaranty of the estates of the realm, and is managed by bank deputies, an equal number being elected from each order; the managing director is, however, appointed by the Government. The Finlands-Bank had a power of note issue of £2,800,000, but this must have been increased lately for the recent issue of large numbers of notes of small denomination. Bank-notes are issued for Fmk. 1, 3, 5, 10, 20, 50, 100, 500, and 1,000. They are printed at the bank's own press.

As the Russian officials, soldiers, and sailors in Finland are paid in rubles, Russian money has a certain circulation in large centres ; moreover, railway and postal charges can always be paid in rubles. The normal exchange is Fmk. 2·66 per ruble.

(3) *Banking*

Besides the Finlands-Bank, there are a number of joint-stock banks of purely Finnish ownership. The principal are the *Forenings Banken i Finland*, *Kansallis Osake Pankki*, *Wasa Aktiebank*, *Nylands Aktiebank*, *Nordiska Aktiebank*, and the *Helsingfors Folksbank*.

A number of private banks, largely in the hands of Jews, exist in Helsingfors, with one or two branches. No Russian or foreign banks have branches in Finland, and facilities for opening any are restricted by law.

The loaning capacity of the native banks is fairly well equal to the needs of commerce, but the banks have the reputation of extreme caution and conservatism. Facilities for procuring foreign drafts and for general international banking transactions are complete. Government inspection of working is close. The bank staffs, which consist of a large proportion of women, are usually of high efficiency, and business is quickly and accurately dispatched.

(4) *Influence of Foreign Capital*

The influence of foreign capital in Finland appears to be small, and is likely to remain so, as long as the present restrictive laws against foreign banking and insurance enterprises are in force, and the State control of certain industries and natural power-forces continues to discourage it. The interest and instalment on foreign capital loaned to Finland was in 1913 £600,000.

Some foreign capital has in the past come into Finland in connexion with a new industry or the

development of an existing one, the capitalist foreigner working the business himself. The existence of a number of concerns with British names is evidence of this. These concerns have been usually turned into limited liability companies and bought out by Finns when success was assured. Great caution is needed in endeavouring to introduce foreign capital, especially if accompanied by foreign management or foreign labour, as the Finns are fanatically exclusive, and commercial boycott is a weapon they have not hesitated to use with great effect.

(5) *Principal Fields of Investment*

The timber industry, paper and paper-pulp making, the safety-match industry, and butter-exporting are the activities likely to absorb invested capital in the near future in Finland. All these are certain of good returns in properly managed concerns. Mining is not likely to develop, as the geological nature of the country holds out small prospect of success.

Textile industries may develop, but the growth will probably be slow. Hydro-electric installations are much discussed, as water-power is not lacking, but any schemes will be carefully controlled by the State, and the possibility of foreign investors acquiring an interest in them will be very slender.

APPENDIX

I.—SPEECH OF ALEXANDER II ON THE OPENING OF THE DIET, 1863

Representatives of the Grand Duchy of Finland,—In seeing you assembled around me, I am glad to have been able to fulfil my desire and your hopes.

My attention has long been directed to a certain number of questions successively raised which concern the most serious interests of your country. These questions have remained in suspense because their solution required the co-operation of the Estates. Certain important considerations, the appreciation of which is reserved for me, prevented me from convening the representatives of the four Orders of the Grand Duchy during the first years of my reign. Nevertheless, I took in good time preparatory steps to attain this object; and, now that circumstances are no longer of a nature to cause a further postponement, I have evoked you in order to lay before you, after having previously heard the report of my Senate of Finland, the proposed laws and the administrative business which will require your attention in the course of the present session.

Considering their importance, I have had them examined first by a Committee composed of men enjoying the confidence of the nation. The publicity given to the debates of this Committee has acquainted you beforehand with the object of your deliberations, and you have been enabled thoroughly to examine these projected measures by consulting the opinions and the wants of the country. Consequently, in spite of their number and importance, it will be possible for you to dispose of them finally within the period fixed by law.

The financial statement which will be communicated to you will show that the revenues of the State have always sufficed to cover the current expenditure, and that the substantial increase of

the indirect taxes—a proof of the national prosperity—has made it possible to apply these additional resources to the material and intellectual development of the country.

I have authorised the Government of the Grand Duchy to contract loans solely in order to meet the requirements of the last war, and to cover the expense of constructing the railway between Helsingfors and Tavastehus.

An account of the use made of these loans will likewise be communicated to you, and will show that the present revenue of the State is sufficient to pay off this debt, with its interest, gradually. It is my wish, however, that for the future no new loan be raised without the concurrence of the Estates of the Grand Duchy, unless an unexpected invasion by the enemy, or some other unforeseen national calamity, should make it a necessity for us.

The new taxes that I propose to the Diet are designed to carry out different measures destined to augment the welfare of the country and to advance the cause of popular education. You have to decide as to the urgency and extent of these measures.

Many provisions of the Fundamental Laws of the Grand Duchy are no longer applicable to the state of affairs existing since its union with the Empire; others lack clearness and precision. Being desirous of remedying these imperfections, I intend to have a measure carefully prepared which shall contain explanatory and supplemental provisions. These will be submitted to the consideration of the Estates at the next Diet, which I purpose convoking three years hence.

Whilst maintaining the principle of constitutional monarchy essentially involved in the character of the Finnish people, and of which all their laws and institutions bear the impress, I wish to include in this projected measure a more extended right than that which the Estates now possess as to the adjustment of taxation, as also the power of legislative action which they formerly possessed, reserving to myself, however, the initiative in all questions which affect the alteration of the Fundamental Laws.

You know my sentiments and my wishes for the happiness and prosperity of the peoples entrusted to my charge. None of my acts have been such as to disturb the good understanding that ought to exist between the Sovereign and the nation. I desire that this understanding may continue, as in the past, to be a guarantee of the good relations which unite me to the brave and loyal Finnish people. It will contribute powerfully to the prosperity of

a country very dear to my heart, and will supply me with a new motive for assembling you periodically.

It is for you, the representatives of the Grand Duchy, to prove, by the dignity, the moderation, and the calmness of your discussions, that in the hands of a wise and well-conducted people, determined to work hand in hand with the Sovereign in a practical manner for the development of its well-being, liberal institutions, far from being in danger, become a guarantee of order and prosperity.

I declare the present Diet open.

II.—CONCLUSIONS OF THE WESTLAKE COMMITTEE, 1910

March, 1910.—The proposal of the Bill for Imperial Legislation was now matter of general European knowledge. A meeting of international juriconsults was held in London at the house of Professor Westlake, "to examine the relations between Finland and Russia," and the results of their deliberations is embodied in the following statement:—

We, the following: Gerhard Anschütz, LL.D., Professor of Public Law, University of Berlin; L. von Bar, LL.D., Geheimer Justiz-Rat, Professor of Law, University of Göttingen, Hon. Member and Past President of the Institut de Droit international, Member of the Court of Arbitration of The Hague; A. de Lapradelle, Professeur agrégé à la Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Paris, Directeur de la Revue de Droit international privé, Co-directeur du Recueil des Arbitrages internationaux, Associé de l'Institut de Droit international; Leon Michoud, Professeur de Droit public à l'Université de Grenoble; Ernest Nys, Professeur de Droit international à l'Université de Bruxelles, Conseiller à la Cour d'Appel de Bruxelles, Membre de l'Institut de Droit international; Sir Frederick Pollock, Bart., LL.D., D.C.L., late Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence, University of Oxford; W. van der Vlugt, Professeur de la Philosophie du Droit à l'Université de Leyde; J. Westlake, K.C., LL.D., D.C.L., late Professor of International Law, University of Cambridge, Hon. Member and Past President of the Institut de Droit international, declare:—

Led by our studies to an examination of the relations between Finland and Russia;

Having followed attentively and incessantly since 1899 the different phases of the Russo-Finnish conflict and its variations, in

which, according to the circumstances and the time, the difficulties have seemed now to vanish, as in 1905, now to appear, as in 1908;

Noting that on both sides Finlanders and Russians affirm that the question is not, as one might believe, a political, but a juridical problem;

Appreciating the admirable sentence of M. Stolypin, that in Russia "might cannot go before right";

Holding that questions, even political ones, which can be formulated juridically, are, when so formulated, very near to a solution;

And being impressed by the conviction that a collective study of the Russo-Finnish differences might not under present circumstances be without its value in bringing about a solution of a conflict between two parties in a great Empire; a conflict which, if continued, must enfeeble that Empire;

Having welcomed the suggestion made by a group of Dutch juriconsults to meet in London, in order to examine the arguments adduced on both sides, and to deliberate in common;

After having collected all the documents on the subject which they were able to bring together, both on the Finnish and Russian side, notably the speech of M. Stolypin at the Duma on May 18, 1908, and those of MM. Deutrich and Korevo at the Russo-Finnish Committee of 1909 for drafting regulations on a procedure for common legislations;

And having made, with the help of these documents, an examination of the Russian regulations of June 2, 1908, and of the work of the Russo-Finnish Committee of 1909 on Imperial legislation;

On the Report, expressly approved, of one among our number, and after the Chairman's reading of the opinion of the Right Hon. Sir Edward Fry, ex-Lord Justice of Appeal of England, appended to the present *procès-verbal*;

Have unanimously agreed on the following conclusions:—

(1) The rights of Finland in respect to her Constitution are not a figment of Finnish "imagination," but an historical reality; they do not form a "dogma" in which the Finlanders believe without being able to offer proof, but a juridical truth scientifically demonstrated.

(2) It is not only from Sweden, under the Treaty of Frederikshavn (Article IV), but, as was recognised by the same document (Article VI), before this treaty, from the Finlanders themselves,

that Alexander I, on his solemn promise to them to respect their Fundamental Laws, took possession of Finland.

(3) When, at the Diet of Borgå, the Oath of the four Estates followed on the promises of the Tsar, Finland, "free as regards her internal affairs," "from henceforth placed in the rank of nations," did not enter into the Russian Empire as a conquered province, precariously endowed with temporary privileges, but as an autonomous organism, united by free agreement to a sovereign State, which, on account of this Agreement, is obliged to respect this autonomy.

(4) In whatever fashion authors analyse and define the tie between Finland and Russia, according to their conception of a State and their different modes of classifying institutions of public law, they are, with very few exceptions, all agreed, Russians included, on this point, that Finland has the right to demand that the Russian Empire should respect her Constitution.

(5) The introduction in Russia of a constitutional system could not modify the position of Finland.

It cannot be said, from a practical point of view, that the autonomy of Finland, arising from a difference of governmental systems—autocratic in Russia, constitutional in Finland—has no longer any reason for its existence now that absolutism has ceased in Russia. Finland, whose political education is more ancient, and whose national civilisation is different from that of Russia, requires her liberty, already greater and always "inherent in her customs"; moreover, Alexander I and his successors have not merely guaranteed in perpetuity to the Finlanders their individual liberties, but in order to sustain and vivify these they have guaranteed to Finland the liberty of her people.

Again, it cannot be said, *de jure*, that after the new Russian Fundamental Laws of 1906 (Article 1), Finland, instead of being a part of the Russian Empire (Finland and Russia), is only a part of the Empire of Russia; that in virtue of these same laws (Article 2) the Diet has not the right to legislate on all internal questions that do not touch the interests of Russia—interests of which Russia is the sole judge; and that in the case of a conflict between the new Constitution of Sovereign Russia and the old Constitution of non-Sovereign Finland, it is the first which ought to prevail. The Tsar, in limiting his rights as regards Russia, could not increase them as regards Finland; no one can create a right for himself; being unable to withdraw from the Diet the right to legis-

late, he could not transfer from the Diet to the Duma all, or any part, of this right; no one can give to another more than he possesses.

(6) Being unable, by direct means, to withdraw either from the Diet or from the Finnish administrative organs all or any part of their powers, Russia cannot do so by indirect means, though reserving to herself the right to determine the scope of this competence.

(7) If the superior interests of the Empire demand the establishment of a common procedure for dealing with certain internal affairs, it pertains to the Diet either itself to determine those affairs or to consent to the creation of a body charged with determining them.

FREDERICK POLLOCK.
L. VON BAR.
A DE LAPRADELLE.
GERHARD ANSCHÜTZ.
ERNEST NYS.
W. VAN DER VLUGT.
J. WESTLAKE.
LEON MICHOD.

The following is the opinion of Sir Edward Fry, referred to in the above preamble:—

Failand House, near Bristol,

February 23, 1910.

In my opinion, the transactions at the Diet of Borgå in 1809, including the Decree summoning the Diet, the Tsar's Address to the inhabitants of Finland, March 15, 1809, and his Proclamation of March 23, 1809, on the one hand, and the Oath of Allegiance taken by the members of the Diet as representing the Finnish people on the other, constitute a public act of the most solemn nature, by which the Tsar bound himself and his successors to recognise the autonomy and to maintain the Constitution of Finland, and by which the inhabitants of that country bound themselves to be the loyal subjects of the Emperors as Constitutional Grand Dukes of Finland.

I am further of opinion that the Treaty of Frederikshavn recognises the existence of the previous transaction between the Tsar and the people of Finland, and that as *res inter alios acta* it could in no case rescind the solemn contract of Borgå.

I also think that the autonomy and Constitution of Finland have been recognised as existing, down to a very recent time, by the successive Grand Dukes of Finland. Amongst the most important evidences on this point, I refer to the Proclamation of February 9, 1816, the successive promises made by the successive Grand Dukes of Finland on their accession, the convocation of the Diet according to the ancient usages of the country, and, lastly, the administration of Finnish affairs in a manner independent of Russia and implying the existence of a Constitution.

My conclusion, therefore, is that, from a juridical point of view, the people of Finland are entitled to maintain their right to a Constitution, of which they could only legally be deprived by their own consent.

EDWARD FRY.

A telegram has been received in London from Copenhagen stating that the name of Herr C. V. Nyholm, a former member of the Supreme Court of Denmark, should be added to the list of those signing the joint statement given above.

III.—BILL FOR IMPERIAL LEGISLATION, 1910

The Bill for the destruction of Finland's autonomy, in spite of the attempts of the "Octobrists" to modify the more drastic clauses, was passed in a form substantially the same as that in which it first appeared; consequently the Finns were to be entirely subject to the Imperial legislation upon the following matters (Clause III):—

(1) The participation of Finland in State expenditure, and the institution for this purpose of payments, collections, and taxes; (2) the discharge by the population of Finland of recruiting as well as other obligations for military purposes; (3) the rights in Finland of Russian subjects who are not Finnish subjects; (4) the execution in Finland of decisions, decrees, and sentences passed by the Courts, as well as of the demands of the authorities of other portions of the Empire, also the execution of the agreements and other legal instruments made in the rest of the Empire; (5) the rights, duties, and order of action in Finland of the general (Imperial) institutions and authorities; (6) the establishment of any exceptions from Finnish laws concerning the Penal Code and the course of justice in the interests of the State; (7) the guaranteeing of State interests in popular education; (8) rules concerning

public meetings, societies, and unions; (9) the rights and conditions of activity in Finland of societies and companies formed in the rest of the Empire; (10) legislation concerning the press in Finland and the importation into it of printed matter from abroad; (11) the relations of Finland to other localities in the Empire with reference to Customs; (12) the protection in Finland of trade marks and trade privileges, as also of literary and artistic copyright; (13) the monetary system of Finland; (14) the postal and telephone services, aviation, and other means of communication with Finland; (15) the railways in Finland, so far as they concern the defence of the State and Finland's communication with the rest of the Empire or international communications; the railway telegraphs; (16) commercial navigation in Finland; (17) the rights of foreigners in Finland.

IV.—DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, DECEMBER 9, 1917

The Finnish Diet, basing itself on Article 38 of the Fundamental Law of 1772, has decided to assume the sovereign power, and has consequently chosen an Executive Senate. In consequence of this decision, the heads of the Finnish Government have submitted to the Diet a project of constitutional law, constituting Finland an independent republic.

Appealing to the principles proclaimed by the Powers of the right of all peoples to dispose of themselves, the President of the Senate solemnly declares, in the name of the Finnish Government, that it is the right and the duty of the people of Finland to take their own destiny in hand, and to request the foreign Powers to recognise their independence.

Russia has now no Government. Her representatives having ceased to exercise their functions in Finland, no legal Russian authority remains. The troops stationed in the country are a source of terror, and they incite the revolutionary elements of the populace to revolt. The anarchy in Russia obliges the Finnish people to free themselves from now onwards from all dependence upon Russia. Finally, imminent famine menaces Finland.

Under these conditions, the Finnish Government, being no longer able to appeal to the Allied Powers by the mediation of the Russian Secretary for Foreign Affairs (since the Council of the People's Commissaries has not been recognised), considers that the only means to save Finland from famine and anarchy is to declare

her a Sovereign Power. She will thus be able to enter into relations with other States, and cease to be isolated. Basing itself upon the generous declarations of the French Government concerning the rights of small nations, the Finnish Senate respectfully requests the Government of the French Republic to recognise the Republic of Finland, and to authorise them to send a delegation to Paris.

V.—TREATY BETWEEN GERMANY AND FINLAND

[The text of the peace treaty between Germany and Finland is given by the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, and the *Deutsche Reichsanzeiger*, March 8, 1918, as follows:—]

Inspired by the wish to establish a condition of peace and friendship between the two countries, after the announcement of the independence of Finland and its recognition by Germany, the Imperial German Government and the Finnish Government have resolved to conclude a peace treaty, and for this purpose they have appointed as plenipotentiaries the following:—

For the Imperial German Government, the Chancellor of the German Empire, Dr. Count von Hertling: the Finnish Government, Dr. of Philosophy Eduard Immanuel Hjelt, State Councillor, and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Helsingfors, and Dr. Rafael Woldemar Erich, Professor of State and International Law at the University of Helsingfors, who, after reciprocal notification that their plenipotentiary credentials were found to be correct and in due form, agreed on the following provisions:—

CHAPTER I.—RATIFICATION OF THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN GERMANY AND FINLAND, AND GUARANTEE OF FINLAND'S INDEPENDENCE

Article 1.—The contracting parties declare that no state of war exists between Germany and Finland, and that they are resolved henceforth to live in peace and friendship with one another. Germany will do what she can to bring about the recognition of the independence of Finland by all the Powers. On the other hand, Finland will not cede any part of her possessions to any foreign Power or grant a servitude on her sovereign territory to any such Power without first having come to an understanding with Germany on the matter.

Article 2.—Diplomatic and consular relations between the contracting parties will be resumed immediately after the ratifica-

tion of the peace treaty. Provision for the most far-reaching admission possible of consuls on both sides will be reserved for special agreements.

Article 3.—Each party shall make good the damages done in its territory by its public bodies or population to the life, liberty, health, or property of consular officials of the other party on account of the war, by actions contrary to international law or damage done to the consular buildings of such party or to their fixtures.

CHAPTER II.—WAR INDEMNITIES

Article 4.—The contracting parties mutually renounce indemnification for their war costs, that is to say, the State expenditure for the conduct of the war, as also compensation for damage done by the war, that is to say, those damages done to them and to their subjects in the war zones by military measures, including all requisitions made in enemy country.

CHAPTER III.—RESTORATION OF STATE TREATIES

Article 5.—The treaties which lapsed as a consequence of the war between Germany and Russia shall be replaced as soon as possible by new treaties for relations between the contracting parties, which shall correspond to the fresh views and conditions. In particular, the contracting parties shall at once enter into negotiations in order to draw up a commercial and shipping treaty. In the meantime, the trade relations between the two countries shall be regulated by a commercial and shipping agreement to be signed at the same time as the peace treaty.

Article 6.—Treaties to which, in addition to Germany and Russia, third Powers are parties, and in which Finland appears together with Russia, or in the place of the latter, shall come into force between the contracting parties on the ratification of the peace treaty, or, in so far as the entry takes place later, at that time. As regards collective treaties of a political nature to which other belligerent Powers are parties, both parties reserve their attitude until after the conclusion of a general peace.

Chapters IV-IX (inclusive) deal with "restoration of private rights," "confiscated properties," "compensation for civil damages," "exchange of prisoners," "amnesty," and "merchant shipping."

CHAPTER X.—SETTLEMENT OF THE ÅLAND QUESTION

The contracting parties are agreed that the fortifications erected on the Åland Islands shall be removed as soon as possible, and that the permanent non-fortification of these islands and their treatment in other respects from a military and technical shipping point of view, shall be regulated by a special agreement between Germany, Finland, Russia, and Sweden; should Germany so desire it, other States situated on the Baltic shall also become parties to this agreement.

CHAPTER XI.—FINAL PROVISIONS

This peace treaty shall be ratified. The ratifying documents shall be exchanged as soon as practicable in Berlin. So far as is not otherwise stipulated, it shall come into force with its ratification. Representatives of the contracting parties shall meet in Berlin within four months of the ratification, to make supplementary additions to the treaty, in witness whereof the plenipotentiaries on both sides have signed and sealed the present treaty. (March 7, 1918.)

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MAPS

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There are Russian maps of Finland on three scales, viz., 1 verst, 10 versts, and 25 versts to an inch. The 1 verst map (1:42,000) covers only a small part of Southern Finland. The whole country is covered by 15 sheets of the 10 verst map (1:420,000), and by three sheets of the 25 verst map (1:1,050,000). "Communications of Northern European Russia."

Finland is covered, on the scale of 1:1,000,000, by nine sheets (R. 33, 34, and 36; Q. 33, 34, and 36; P. 33, 34, and 36) of the "International" map (G.S.G.S. 2758).

A special map of Finland, on the scale of 1:5,000,000, has been issued by the Intelligence Department of the Naval Staff in connexion with this series.

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THE
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I. GEOGRAPHY, CLIMATE, SANITARY CONDITIONS AND PEOPLE.

1. *Position and Extent.*—The Åland Islands are an archipelago of about 300 islands, forming a district (*härath*) of the Finnish Government of Åbo-Björneborg. They are situated in the Baltic Sea, at the entrance to the Gulf of Bothnia, between latitudes $59^{\circ} 45'$ and $60^{\circ} 40'$ N. and longitudes $19^{\circ} 30'$ and $20^{\circ} 30'$ E. The western part of the Baltic, which extends from the Högsten lighthouse to that of Långskär and separates the Åland Islands from Sweden, is called the Åland Sea (*Ålandshaf*); between Grisslehamn in Sweden and the most westerly of the Åland Islands, the sea is about 25 miles broad. The sea to the eastward, separating Åland from the coast of Finland, is full of small islands and islets, 80 of which are inhabited. The rest are rocky islets, reefs and skerries. The largest island is that which gives its name to the group, Åland proper (*Fasta Åland*); its length is 23 miles and its greatest width is 20 miles.

The other principal inhabited islands are Eckerö, Lemland, Lumparland, Kumlinge, Vårdö, Brändö, and Föglö.

The total area of the Islands is about 550 square miles. The surface of the small islands is rocky, red granite predominating. On the larger islands the soil is lighter and contains a large amount of lime. In many places there are shell beds, which add to the fertility of the soil. On the island of Åland there are three hills of red granite varying in height from 328 ft. to 492 ft.

The coast of Åland is deeply indented by bays and fjords, which form excellent sheltered harbours for vessels of draught not exceeding 19 ft. The large islands of Eckerö, Lemland and Lumparland are separated from Åland and each other by narrow shallow straits. The islands of Föglö, Vårdö and the archipelago of Geta are more massive, with steep cliffs and a less indented coastline. The open bay of Lumparland lies in the centre of Åland. Many small lakes exist on the larger islands.

2. *Climate*.—In the Åland Sea currents of salt water from the south cause the climate to be comparatively mild and temperate. The seasons pass gradually into each other without sudden changes. The mean annual temperature is 1° C. higher at Mariehamn than at Helsingfors; the average temperature for the year is $+5^{\circ}$ C. The coldest month is February, but the lowest temperature recorded at Bogskär does not exceed -3° C. If we reckon as winter those days when the temperature is below 0° C., the winter is 25 days shorter at the Bogskär lighthouse than at Hangö.

The heaviest rainfall on Åland is usually in October, not in July or August, as in Nyland (on the mainland of Finland). In this respect the Åland Islands resemble Western Europe, *e.g.*, Norway. Snow does not fall, as a rule, to a greater depth than one foot. The summer is temperate, and the autumn long and beautiful. The winds are generally mild and delay the formation of ice. In the eastward sea ice appears towards the end of January; at Bogskär not before February. In severe winters the bays, and sometimes even the Åland Sea, freeze sufficiently hard to allow horses to cross the ice. In the last century it was possible to cross the Åland Sea in sledges between Grisslehamn (Sweden) and Eckerö in 1809, 1836, 1844, 1855, 1871, 1881, 1888, 1893 and 1895.

3. *Sanitary Conditions*.—The climate is healthy. The conditions of life are primitive, but epidemics are rare with the exception of malaria, which has been endemic in the Åland Islands for at least 150 years, and of which several very serious outbreaks are recorded ; the severest occurred in the 18th century and in 1853 and 1862. This prevalence of malaria is attributed to the mosquito *Anopheles claviger*, which breeds abundantly in Åland.

The yearly average of deaths, calculated on the period 1898–1907, of persons 15–60 years of age is, in Mariehamn, 8·1 to 9, and in the rural areas 6·1 to 9 per 1,000 inhabitants. Of these, in 2·1 cases in Mariehamn and 1·6 cases in the rural area, death is due to tuberculosis.

4. *People*.—Of the inhabitants of the Åland Islands, 96·2 per cent. are Swedish by descent and language. They are taller than the Finns, have blue eyes and fair or light brown hair. The only exception is on the island of Kökar, where the natives are brown-eyed and dark-haired. The Ålanders are said to have migrated from Roslagen, in Sweden, but at what period is unknown. The inhabitants of Houtskär claim to have come originally from Dalecarlia. Many relics of the Stone Age, with tumuli and dwellings of the earlier and later Iron Age, have been found on Åland.

The average height of the Åland Islanders is 5 ft. 6 in., 5 per cent. being over 5 ft. 9 in. in height. In Finland the average height ranges from 5 ft. 3 in. to 5 ft. 9 in., according to the district. Like the Swedes, the Ålanders are dolichocephalic.

The Ålanders are industrious, temperate and frugal. The houses are not large, but are well built and well kept. Each house usually contains a kitchen, dining room, bedroom, and one or two attics. In summer the owners often live in small cabins and let their houses to visitors from the mainland. Many of the men of the Åland Islands

have served for a time as sailors in foreign countries. Many emigrants leave the Islands every year, chiefly for the United States. Some of them return in a few years and settle down in the Islands again. For the years 1899-1908 the average yearly rate of emigration per 10,000 inhabitants was : east of Skiftet, 28·4 ; west of Skiftet, 122·4.

Every rocky islet, if there is a landing-place sheltered from tempests, is inhabited by crofters. Towards the open sea there are many crofts with no cultivated ground except little patches of potatoes. The houses on these islands are small and built of wood, and the inhabitants live by fishing. Each family usually has a cow, and in some cases a few sheep and goats.

5. *Administrative Districts.*—The Islands are divided into the following districts,¹ viz. :—

<i>Town</i> —	<i>Population.</i>
Mariehamn	1,264
<i>Rural Districts</i> —	
Eckerö	1,443
Hammarland	2,149
Jomala	3,423
Finnström	2,625
Geta	1,228
Saltvik	2,965
Sund	2,059
Vårdö	1,249
Lumparland	645
Lemland	2,119
Föglö	1,890
Kökar	881
Sottunga	399
Kumlinge	1,027
Brändö	1,262
Total	<u>26,628</u>

The total area of these districts is 545½ sq. miles.

¹ The particulars given in the text are from official sources dated 31st December, 1908.

II. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

1. *Education* is general. There are several primary schools ; a people's high school on the Swedish model, at Finström ; a mixed secondary school and a school of navigation at Mariehamn. Instruction is given in the Swedish language, which is spoken in all the Islands. The Islanders are fond of reading and have public libraries.

2. *Mariehamn*.—This, the only town on the Islands, is on the south coast of Åland. It exports wood, pit-props, and butter. The harbour is safe and commodious, and free from ice nearly the whole year. There are no tides. There are no dry docks, but vessels up to 1,000 tons register can be hauled down for repairs. The only proper loading place is Haraldsby, vessels of 18–19 ft. draught loading there. The town has no sewers and no public water service. Nevertheless, its population has increased from 258 in 1870 to 1,027 in 1900 and 1,234 in 1908. It is a popular sea-side resort and bathing-place.

In 1909 the municipal income was 59,297 Finnish marks (25·22 F.M. = £1), and its expenditure 56,857 F.M. The taxable revenue of the town (in 1908) was made up as follows :—

House property and real estate	. 140,000	F.M.
Industries and business	. 450,000	„
Salaries and pensions	. 310,000	„
	<hr/>	
	900,000	„
	<hr/>	

A printing works was established in 1891. There are also a soap factory and sawmills in Mariehamn.

The workshops and factories produced in 1907 goods to a value of 210,000 F.M. yearly.

3. *Means of Communication.*—The only internal means of communication are roads. There are buoyed channels among the Islands. Mariehamn has steamship connection with Åbo and Stockholm all the year, with Hangö, Helsingfors and Petrograd during the summer.

Since 1877 a cable has been in use from Mariehamn to Nystad. There is also a cable between Grisslehamn and Mariehamn. Telephonic connections exist between all the larger islands. The telephone was first installed in Mariehamn in 1892. There are now 164 subscribers in the town, who pay an annual charge of 15 to 30 F.M.

4. *Industry.*—Wheat, barley, oats and rye are cultivated in the Åland Islands—not for export. The corn mills are driven by wind. Cattle breeding is carried on, and there are several co-operative dairies. Butter is exported. There is a co-operative slaughter-house in Åland. From 60 to 80 per cent. of the population are engaged in agriculture, and a few in forestry. The land is farmed by small proprietors. The holdings range from 12 acres to 247 acres.

The average number of live stock per 1,000 inhabitants is as follows:—Horses, 150–200; cows, 500–600; pigs, 50–80. Recently, the breeding of pigs and sheep has received attention.

After agriculture, the chief occupation of the Islanders is fishing. Large quantities of fish are caught off the Islands, the chief being the small Baltic herring and cod. A certain amount of fish, both fresh and dried, is exported. A short time ago, 6,000 barrels (*tonnes*) of herrings were exported yearly.¹

The only minerals found and utilised are granite,

¹ *Grande Encyclopédie, s.v.*

used for building, and clay, from which bricks are made in the tile and brickworks on Åland.

The mildness of the climate and the richness of the soil tend to the growth of a more luxuriant vegetation than that on the mainland of Finland. Pines and firs, birch, aspen, elm, ash, and lime grow, and oaks occur in small woods all over Åland. Timber, which has the reputation of being good for shipbuilding, is exported. There are saw-mills driven by wind.

Flocks of sea-birds live on the rocky islets. Migratory birds are hunted by the inhabitants. The native sea-birds are protected, and their eggs are used as food. On the islets of Lågskär, Klåfskär and Signilskär are colonies of eider-duck ; the down is collected from the nests after the young birds have left it, and is exported.

5. *Commerce*.—The following table gives the exports and imports of the islands in 1908—the last statistics available—the values being in Finnish marks :—

Customs House.	Value of Imports.	% of Total Imports.	Value of Exports.	% of Total Exports.	Total Trade.
Mariehamn ...	858,000	91·7	563,000	47·3	1,421,000
Eckerö	6,000	·6	48,000	·4	54,000
Degerby	71,000	7·7	580,000	48·7	651,000
	935,000	—	1,191,000	—	2,126,000

The Islands west of Skiftet possessed in 1918 a fleet of 229 vessels (including one small steamer), of a total tonnage of 59,843 tons. Of these, 20 were steel ships. Those east of Skiftet had 201 (including six steamers averaging 54 tons), of a total tonnage of 19,561 tons. Twenty more vessels were then in process of construction west of Skiftet.

6. *Finance*.—In 1908 the assets of the Åland Savings Banks were 1,060,000 F.M., belonging to 1,584 depositors.

Four co-operative associations had sales varying from 150,000 to 500,000 F.M., and one had sales between 500,000 and 1,500,000 marks.

The income assessed for taxation per inhabitant in Mariehamn in 1908 was 700 to 900 F.M.; in rural areas, 100 to 200 F.M. In Mariehamn 432 inhabitants were insured for a total sum of 1,610,000 marks.

III. POLITICAL HISTORY.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY.

- 12th cent. Åland Islands occupied by Eric the Saint.
- 1323 Peace of Nöteborg. Finland and the Islands incorporated in Sweden.
- 1284 Finland (including the Islands) constituted a Duchy.
- 1397–1523 Union of Calmar : Danish Ascendancy.
- 1581 Finland a Grand-Duchy.
- 1634 Swedish Constitution : the Islands form part of the Government of Åbo (Finland).
- 1714 The Islands conquered by Peter the Great.
- 1721 Peace of Nystad : Finland (excepting Viborg) restored to Sweden.
- 1743 Peace of Åbo : part of Finland ceded to Russia.
- 1808 War between Sweden and Russia.
- 1809 Treaty of Frederikshamn : Finland and the Islands ceded to Russia.
- c. 1835 Fortress of Bomarsund begun.
- 1854 Bomarsund destroyed by the British Fleet.
- 1856 Treaty of Paris : Convention forbidding the fortification of the Islands.
- 1906 Russian garrison established in the Islands.
- 1907 France and Great Britain requested by Russia to cancel Convention of 1856.
- 1907 Secret Treaty (Russia and Germany) giving Russia a free hand as to the Islands.

- 1908 Baltic Treaty: Declaration of Sir Edward Grey about fortification.
- 1914 Outbreak of the Great War: Russia fortifies the Islands.
- 1917 The Russian Revolution: Finland declared independent. The Islanders by *plébiscite* (25th-29th December), demand reunion with Sweden.
- 1918 Independence of Finland recognised by Soviet Government, Sweden and Germany. Bolshevik force landed in the Islands. Swedish military expedition (February). Germany occupies the Islands (March-October).
- 1918 3rd March, Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. 7th March, German-Finnish Treaty. Agreement (Sweden, Germany and Finland) not to fortify the Islands.
- 1918 Appeals of Islanders for reunion with Sweden—to Finland, Germany and Sweden (March); to United States, France and Great Britain (November 9th); to Finland (18th November).
- 1919 Swedish Government brings the question before the Conference (18th March).

1. *History, 1157-1809.*

The history of the Islands, as of Finland generally previous to the emergence of the present dispute, falls into two distinct periods:—(1) The period of Swedish domination, 1157-1809; (2) that of Russian domination, 1809-1917.

Primitive.—Of the original occupants of the Islands in prehistoric times, and even of their inhabitants prior to the 12th century of our era, nothing definite seems to be known. The matter is not unimportant, for the question whether the present inhabitants are, by descent, pure Swedes

or Swedised Finns, has a distinct bearing on the controversy. The support of archæology is claimed by both sides, but all that the Finns seem able to say, is that it indicates very early relations between the Ålanders and certain parts of Russia. The Swedes, on the other hand, assert that the early remains found in the Islands prove that they were never inhabited by any but a Swedish race, and that no language other than Swedish was ever spoken there. The two assertions are not incompatible. Without going so far as the Ålanders just quoted, an excellent authority, the Swedo-Finnish historian, M. G. Schybergson, says¹:—“ That, even in Pagan days, a Swedish population had set foot firmly in Åland and the neighbouring islands, is proved by the archæological discoveries made there, and by the opening of prehistoric graves.” According to the Finnish memorandum quoted above, some historians say that the Islands were incorporated with Sweden so early as the 10th century, and that their inhabitants were baptized long before those of the Finnish continent. Such statements seem to be unfounded; but it is at least highly probable that the earliest inhabitants who have left any traces on the Islands were of Swedish extraction. The name Åland is Swedish, meaning, apparently, Sea-land.

Swedish Conquest.—The history of the Islands really begins when they were occupied by the Swedes, under King Eric the Saint, soon after the middle of the 12th century.² From Åland, the earlier Swedish immigrants would easily have passed to the mainland of Finland; and, according

¹ *Geschichte Finnlands* (in Heeren and Ukert's series, *Gesch. der europäischen Staaten*), Gotha, 1896; preface dated from Helsingfors. The other leading authority on Finnish history—Yrjö-Koskinen (*Finnische Geschichte*, Leipzig, 1874)—has nothing on this point.

² Réclus (*Nouv. Géogr. Univ.*) says the Swedes had already occupied the Islands in 1130.

to Schybergson (*op. cit.*), "numerous circumstances (place-names, etc.) point to a settlement of heathen Swedes in Nyland," *i.e.*, New Land. Thus the way for an advance was already paved, and the occupation of the Islands was a stepping-stone to the conquest of Finland—an enterprise straightway begun. It thus preceded, by about 70 years, the conquest of Prussia by the Teutonic knights, to which it bears a close resemblance. In both cases the conversion of the heathen was the ostensible motive of invasion, and the justification of conquest. The early acquisitions of the Spaniards in South and Central America afford a close parallel.

The Swedes at first made large and rapid advances, and speedily overran the south and west of Finland. But they met with considerable resistance from the Karelians, and still more from the Russians of Novgorod, whom they might have failed to overcome but for the Mongol invasions about the middle of the 13th century. It is here that we come upon the central and dominating fact of Finnish history—the age-long strife between Sweden and Russia for the possession of Finland, amplified later into the question whether the Baltic was to be a Swedish or a Russian lake. Late in the 13th century the Swedes conquered part of Karelia, but the struggle with the Russians continued for another generation; and it was not till the Peace of Nöteborg (1323), which defined the boundaries between Finland and the Principality of Novgorod, that the Swedish conquest of Finland could be said to be complete.

Finland—as it now began to be called—including the Islands, was thus incorporated in the Swedish Kingdom, but it was not treated like a conquered province. The government of Finland was enlightened and sympathetic; the chief racial or rather tribal divisions of the people obeyed each its own laws; in 1362 the Finns were admitted

to take part in the elections to the Swedish throne. No attempt was made to enforce the use of the Swedish tongue or otherwise (though a university was founded at Åbo in 1640) to "Swedise" the inhabitants. The period of Danish ascendancy during the Union of Calmar (1397–1523) saw apparently no change in these conditions. In short, Finland, though constituted a Duchy in 1284, and a Grand-Duchy in 1581, and preserving a certain unity of its own, with a considerable degree of local autonomy, remained for more than six centuries an integral portion of the Swedish dominions.

The Islands and Finland.—The connection of the Åland Islands with this province was for a long time somewhat loose and irregular. A Finnish partisan allows that:—"At the beginning of [their] history they formed no part of any other jurisdiction; they had their own general assembly and their own laws." Another authority,¹ writing long before the present dispute began, says that in the Middle Ages they were a separate fief of the Crown; that in 1569 they formed a dower-estate for the Queen-Dowager Catherine; and that, so late as 1680, they were similarly given in fee to Queen Ulrica Eleonora. Professor Hamnström asserts that, before 1634, the Islands formed a territory and sometimes a government apart; and that, in spite of the administrative unity then established, there were considerable financial differences between the Islands and the other portions of the Åbo Government. "For long periods" (says M. Sjøstedt²) "the archipelago had a separate Governor, who resided in the fortress of Kastelholm and depended directly on the prefecture of Stockholm. From the ecclesiastical point of view,

¹ Léouzon le Duc (a well-informed writer on Baltic matters), in *Les Iles d'Åland*, Paris, 1854.

² *La Question des Iles d'Åland* (Paris, 1919), p. 10.

the archipelago . . . always [*i.e.*, during the Swedish period] formed part of the diocese of Upsala." As a rule, however, the Islands were combined, for administrative purposes, with Finland; the author of the memorandum cited above quotes several 14th century documents proving this. In 1556 King Gustavus I enfeoffed his son, John, with the Duchy of Finland, including the Islands¹; when the Grand-Duchy was constituted (1581), they were comprised in it; and the Swedish Constitution of 1634, at which date the kingdom was divided into provinces, "states expressly that the Islands form part of the Government of Åbo," to the archbishopric of which they were also ecclesiastically subject. The Swedish negotiators in 1809 attempted to draw the boundary of Finland at Skiftet—the channel dividing the Islands to the east of Åland—but the Russians refused to recognise it. In 1808, during the last war with Russia, the Islands were, for a short time, administratively incorporated in the Government of Stockholm.

The Russian Wars.—Meanwhile the wars between Sweden and Russia for the possession of Finland and (later) of what are now known as the Baltic Provinces, continued. The war with Ivan III, towards the close of the 15th century, lasted for twenty years, but left the frontiers of Finland undiminished. Two wars in the following century—one of two, the other of twenty years' duration—were similarly resultless. During the great days of Sweden, in the 17th century, Swedish power advanced in Finland as elsewhere; but Sweden exhausted herself under Gustavus Adolphus and his immediate successors. The coming of Peter the Great, and his administrative reforms in Russia, turned the scale. In the Great Northern War, which synchronised with that of the Spanish

¹ This is supported by Schybergson (*op. cit.* p. 121).

Succession, Russia made great advances and occupied Finland for seven years. The Åland Islands were conquered by the Tsar Peter in person in 1714. He made them a naval station from which to attack the coast of Sweden. Nevertheless, in the Peace of Nystad (1721) which concluded the war, Finland, together with the Åland Islands—which are not specially mentioned in the Treaty¹—was restored to Sweden, excepting Wiborg, a place necessary for the defence of Petersburg. In the war of 1741–3 Russia was again successful; and in the Peace of Åbo (1743) Sweden was forced to cede a considerable portion of Finnish territory. The war of 1788–90 made no change, but that of 1808–9 brought the long struggle to an end.

Russian Conquest.—This war was due to the refusal of Sweden to join the Continental System. She thus incurred the enmity of Napoleon, who, at the Congress of Erfurt (1808) promised his consent to the incorporation of Finland in the Russian Empire. In the war which followed Sweden could make little resistance; and the whole of Finland, together with the Islands, was speedily conquered. Nevertheless, the Åland Islanders made a stout resistance, and in May, 1808, aided by Swedish reinforcements, took prisoners the Russian troops occupying the Islands. Next year, however, the Russians, crossing the ice from the mainland, drove out the Swedes; and Sweden gave up the contest, ceding all Finland to the Tsar. In the Treaty of Frederikshamn (September 5–17, 1809), the Islands are specifically mentioned as

¹ Given in Dumont, *Corps Universel Diplomatique*, Vol. VIII, Part II, p. 36. See Article V.—

“Sa Majesté Czarienne s’engage en échange et promet de restituer et évacuer à sa Majesté et à la Couronne de Suède . . . le grand Duché de Finlande, excepté la partie qui en a été réservée ci-dessous dans le Règlement des Limites, laquelle apartiendra à Sa Majesté Czarienne.”

included in the ceded territories; and it is perhaps noteworthy that the phrase, "The Government of Åbo and Björneborg," appears not to be regarded as necessarily including them.¹ Professor Hamnström, in the pamphlet mentioned above (F.O. Paper 409) shows ground for believing that Napoleon had not originally contemplated the annexation of the Islands as well as of Finland, and that he was only induced to consent by the wish not to alienate Russia during the Austrian War. At the Finnish Diet of Borgå (March, 1809) the Islands were not represented, the Islanders refusing to send representatives; and in the same year a member from Åland sat in the Swedish Diet.

2. *History, 1809–1917.*

The Islands under Russia.—With this treaty the second period of Swedish history—that of the Russian domination—begins; it ends with the establishment of Finnish independence as a consequence of the Russian Revolution of 1917. The efforts of the Finns to maintain or to recover their constitutional rights during this period do not

¹ *Article IV.*—"Sa Majesté le Roi de Suède . . . renonce . . . en faveur de S.M. l'Empereur de toutes les Russes . . . à tous ses droits et titres sur les Gouvernements ci-après spécifiés, qui ont été conquis par les armes de Sa Majesté Impériale dans la présente guerre sur la Couronne de Suède; savoir les Gouvernements Kymenegård (*sic*) de Nyland et Tavastehus, d'Åbo et Björneborg avec les Iles d'Åland, de Savolax et Carelie, de Wasa d'Uleaborg, et de la partie de Westrobothnie jusqu'à la rivière de Tornéa, comme il sera fixé dans l'article suivant sur la démarcation des frontières . . ."

Article V.—"La mer d'Åland (Ålando Haf), le Golfe de Bothnie, et les rivières de Tornéa et de Muonio, formeront dorénavant la frontière entre l'Empire de Russie et le Royaume de Suède. . . ."

"A distance égale des côtes, les îles les plus rapprochées de la terre ferme d'Åland et de la Finlande appartiendront à la Russie, et à la Suède celles qui avoisinent ses côtes."

(Martens, *Nouveau Recueil* (1817) I, pp. 23, 24.)

concern us here ; but it is the breach of the political connection with Russia following on that revolution that has raised the question of the Åland Islands in the acute form in which it exists to-day.

Fortification of the Islands.—During most of this period the history of the Islands was uneventful ; they shared the fortunes of Finland under the sway of the Tsars. The Russians, who (as we have seen) used the Islands as a naval station during the war of 1808–9, were well aware of their strategic value. Hence the erection of the fortress of Bomarsund,¹ so called from the fiord which it commanded. The fortification was apparently begun about 1835²; Léouzon le Duc says (*op. cit.*) that the works were in progress for twenty years. A recent writer asserts³ that “forts were planned and built comparatively early (after 1815) ; but, representations having been made by Great Britain about the undesirability of such fortifications, Russia undertook to discontinue them.” Be that as it may, they were completed by the middle of the century. They did not, however, amount to much in the end, and were easily knocked to pieces by the British Fleet, under Admiral Napier, in 1854. In a special convention between Great Britain, France and Russia, dated 30th March, 1856, it was stipulated (Art. I) that “the Åland Islands shall not be fortified, and no military or naval establishment shall be maintained there.”⁴ By Article XXXIII of the Treaty of Paris, signed the same day, it was agreed that this convention

¹ Its name in the Islands is Skarpans, from the village close by. The inlet is described (*Grande Encyclopédie, s.v. Åland*) as “a safe and magnificent harbour.”

² Sjøstedt (*op. cit.*, p. 14) says that in November, 1833, the British Government, interested in the growing supply of wood from Sweden to England, called the attention of the Swedish Government to the danger.

³ Hugo Vallentin, in *The New Europe*, No. 71, p. 185.

⁴ Hertslet, *Map of Europe by Treaty*, Vol. II, p. 1272.

should be regarded as part of the Treaty.¹ The writer of the Finnish memorandum already quoted says that in the Congress of Paris (1856) the Swedes demanded (1) the cession of the Islands, or (2) their neutralisation, or (3) the prohibition of their fortification. Had the first of these courses been adopted, or even the second, this paper would probably have been superfluous.

For fifty years after the Peace of Paris nothing of note seems to have happened in, or in connection with, the Islands. But in 1906 the Russians began again to contemplate the possibility of fortification. In that year a Russian garrison of 750 men was established, ostensibly to prevent the import of arms. In 1907, says Mr. Vallentin (*op. cit.*), the Russian Government—taking the opportunity of the negotiations which led to the Anglo-Russian Entente—requested France and Great Britain to cancel the clause of the Treaty of Paris prohibiting fortification; but they were less successful than they had been in a somewhat similar demand in 1870. Trotski has recently revealed the fact that Germany, hoping perhaps to prevent or damage the Entente, gave Russia, in the secret treaty of 1907,² a free hand regarding the Islands. In the

¹ Hertslet, *Map of Europe by Treaty*, Vol. II, p. 1272.

² According to Sjästedt (*op. cit.*, p. 23) this Treaty was signed on 31st October, 1907; and he quotes from an article in the *Temps* (February 10th, 1918) relating to it. It was believed in Sweden that France had similarly consented; and it is to be observed that M. Pichon, in his reply to an interpellation in the Chamber of Deputies on 27th December, 1917, did not deny this. What he repudiated was something quite different. "You know," he said, "that nothing could be more ridiculous than the idea of representing us as having left Russia free to seize a portion of Swedish territory, of the Åland Islands, or of Poland, . . . In truth, in the documents published by Trotski, nothing has been found that can be interpreted as involving us Frenchmen in self-contradiction, as revealing aims on our part that could not be proclaimed," etc.—(*Journal Officiel*, 28th December, 1917.)

Baltic Treaty,¹ made between Russia, Germany, Sweden and Denmark, in April, 1908, nothing was expressly said about the Åland Islands; but the memorandum appended, taken in conjunction with the above-mentioned permission on the part of Germany, appears to point to the maintenance

¹ "Sa Majesté le Roi de Suède, Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Allemagne Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark et Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies reconnaissant que leur politique, par rapport aux régions de la Mer Baltique, a pour objet le maintien du *status quo* territorial actuel;

"Leurs gouvernements déclarent par le présent acte qu'ils sont fermement résolus à conserver intacts les droits de Sa Majesté le Roi de Suède, Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Allemagne Sa Majesté le Roi de Danemark et Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies sur leurs possessions continentales et insulaires respectives dans les dites régions. . . .

"*Mémoire*.—Au moment de signer la Déclaration en date de ce jour, les sussignés, d'ordre de leurs Gouvernements respectifs, croient devoir préciser que le principe du maintien du *status quo* consacré par la susdite Déclaration ne vise que l'intégrité territoriale de toutes les possessions actuelles, continentales et insulaires, des hautes parties contractantes dans les régions de la Mer Baltique; et que, par conséquent, le dit arrangement ne pourra d'aucune manière être invoqué lorsqu'il s'agira du libre exercice des droits de souveraineté des hautes parties contractantes sur leurs possessions respectives susmentionnées."—Fait à St. Petersburg le 10/23 Avril, 1908. (*State Papers* 101 (1907, 1908), pp. 974, 975.)

According to Sjøstedt (*op. cit.*, p. 21), this particular phase of the question opened with the recognition of the new Kingdom of Norway, and of its integrity, by the Treaty of 2nd November, 1907, between France, Germany, Great Britain, and Russia. This led to the negotiations which ended in the above-mentioned treaty, and to another signed on the same day between Germany, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Holland and Sweden. These Powers, "recognising that their policy with regard to the regions bordering on the North Sea (*Mer du Nord*) is directed to the maintenance of the existing territorial *status quo*, declare that they are firmly resolved to preserve intact and mutually to respect the sovereign rights which their countries at present (*actuellement*) enjoy over their respective territories in those regions." There is in this treaty no such limitation as is conveyed in the Memorandum appended to the other treaty.

of Russia's intention to fortify. Mr. Vallentin, however, says—on what authority is not clear—that “the signatories [to the Baltic Treaty] appear to have been in agreement that this [clause] would not concern” the continuance of non-fortification.

Sweden and the Fortifications.—Be this as it may, the rumours of these projects seriously alarmed the Swedes; and early in 1908 a unanimous protest was made in the Swedish Parliament. The matter was taken up in the English Press; and a question was asked in the House of Commons which led to a declaration by Sir Edward Grey that Great Britain was opposed to the Russian demand. Nevertheless, when the recent war broke out, the Russians lost no time in fortifying the Islands.¹ In January, 1915, the Russian Minister at Stockholm assured the Swedish Government that the fortifications were only temporary. This assurance was repeated in writing in the following year, and was confirmed by the British and French Ministers. Nevertheless, the Swedish press attacked Russia and England; and a Swedish general advocated an immediate occupation of the Islands. The agitation² became so violent that a crisis was hardly avoided. It died down, however, but was renewed at intervals during the next twelve months. The Russian Revolution introduced a new period in the history of Finland; and the question of the Åland Islands, no longer one of fortification merely, became acute.

¹ W.O. Paper, J.2. Mr. Vallentin says (*op. cit.*, p. 187):—“There is no doubt that when the war broke out the Islands were fortified.”

² In reply to this agitation, M. Sazonof, in a declaration to the Press, May 27, 1916 (*Times*, May 29), repudiated the idea that Russia had any designs on Sweden. “I hope and believe (he said) that the recent agitation in regard to the Åland Islands will prove the last error or suspicion of the Swedes in regard to Russia that this century will live to see.”

IV. THE ÅLAND ISLANDS QUESTION.

1. *The Question, 1917–1919.*

Swedish Alarm.—Swedish interest in the Åland Islands was revived by the Bolshevik Revolution and the consequent disintegration of Russia. It was stimulated by the publication by the Soviet Government of the secret treaties, especially the Treaty of 1907 (referred to above), and of communications between Petrograd and Paris, from which it appeared that the French Government “was prepared to recognise Russia’s unrestricted rights with regard to the regulation of her western frontier.”

The Islanders and Sweden.—The Åland Islanders themselves now enter on the scene. On 20th August, 1917—that is, three months before the fall of Kerenski—a communal assembly was held in the Islands, to consider the question of reunion with Sweden. After a discussion, four representatives were chosen, with instructions “to convey to the Swedish Government and Parliament the lively desire felt, for special reasons, by the people of Åland, that the Islands may be incorporated in the Kingdom of Sweden.” Four months later, on 25th to 29th December, 1917, a “*consultation populaire*”—i.e., a *plébiscite*—was held in the Islands, at which 95 per cent. of the adult male and female inhabitants voted for reunion. An appeal (dated 31st December, 1917, and signed by 7,135 inhabitants) “to the King and People of Sweden” was accordingly drawn up,¹ in which the Islanders, after declaring that their devotion to Sweden, so apparent in the war of 1808, had

¹The appeal is printed in a pamphlet entitled *Les Aalandais sur la Question d’Aaland*.

not been extinguished by the Treaty of 1809 or by any later events, state the grounds of their demand for reunion, and end by expressing to the king, personally, the hope that a solution of the difficulty may be found "in concert with free and independent Finland."¹ This petition was presented in Stockholm by a deputation headed by the Mayor of Mariehamn, on 2nd February, 1918. The king, in his reply, reciprocated this desire and took note of the hope expressed by the petitioners that a solution would be found in accord with Finland. "I consider (he said) that this would be the best course."

Action by Sweden.—Meanwhile the Swedish Government, doubtless apprised of the movement in Åland, had sent a Note to the Governments of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey (23rd December, 1917) requesting that the Åland question should be considered in the negotiations at Brest-Litovsk, "in order to safeguard vital interests of Sweden in those islands." Some important members of the bourgeois *bloc* in Sweden were urging their Government to occupy the Islands, with a view (as they put it) to use them as a point of vantage for crushing the revolutionary forces in Finland. Apparently to anticipate such a movement, a Bolshevik force of 2,000 men had, some time before, been landed in the Islands; and these were joined by a certain number of "Red Guards" from Finland.² Outrages on the inhabitants were committed; succour was demanded from Sweden; and the Swedes, acting on humanitarian motives, as the Finn, Dr. Holsti, admits, sent a military expedition (February, 1918) to protect their co-nationals there.

¹ The independence of Finland, claimed on December 6, 1917, was recognised by the Soviet Government on January 4, 1918, and shortly afterwards by Sweden and Germany.

² Islanders' Appeal to Finn Senate, etc.

They appear to have forced the Russians and the "Reds" to retire; but shortly afterwards, the "Whites" in Finland having implored aid from Germany, German troops landed on the mainland (3rd March), and three days later occupied the Islands. The Swedes thereupon withdrew, but German troops remained in Åland till October, 1918.

Brest-Litovsk.—To return to the Brest-Litovsk negotiations. On 28th January, at Brest, von Kühlmann stated that it would have to be settled whether the question of the Åland Islands should continue to be dealt with by Russia or by Finland; and that Germany desired that to any new agreement on the matter the Baltic nations, and especially Sweden, should be parties.¹ Sweden appears to have fully expected an invitation to discuss the matter at Brest; and, despite the obvious objections to such a course, which were urged by the Allied Ministers, the Minister for Foreign Affairs gave Sir E. Howard to understand that such an invitation would be accepted. Since, however, the Germans did not proceed to invite Swedish representatives, a difficult situation was avoided; while by Article VI of the Brest Treaty itself (3rd March, 1918), in addition to Russia evacuating Finland and the Åland Islands, the fortifications on the latter were to be removed as soon as possible, and a special agreement as to their permanent non-fortification was to be made by Germany, Russia, Finland and Sweden; the other Baltic States also to be consulted. A similar clause was

¹ On February 9, in the course of the discussions, the same speaker said: "As regards the much discussed question of the Åland Islands . . . if he were asked what was his maximum aim in this connection, this was contained in the proposal at which he had often hinted, namely, to bring about the complete neutralisation of these islands, in co-operation with the peoples bordering on the Baltic Sea."—*Deutsche Reichsanzeiger*, February 15, 1918.

contained in the German-Finnish Treaty of the 7th March, 1918.¹ On 8th May it was announced that the Swedish, Finnish and German (but not the Russian) Governments had agreed to open negotiations at once for the demolition of the Aland fortifications; but the commencement of these was delayed until 27th June, and again till the 21st August.

Agreement about Fortifications.—On 4th November, 1918, Swedish papers announced that the negotiations had been concluded, and that a treaty would shortly be signed. On 18th November it was stated that the Swedish Senate was discussing the proposed treaty for the demolition of the fortifications. On 31st December an official communiqué was issued, stating that an agreement had been signed in Stockholm between representatives of Sweden, Finland, and Germany with regard to the demolition of the Aland fortifications, and that it was to be ratified at once. On 24th March, 1919, a telegram from Sweden stated that the new Aland expedition

¹ Article XXXVI of this Treaty runs as follows:—“The contracting parties are agreed that the fortifications erected on the Aland Islands shall be removed as soon as possible, and that the permanent non-fortification of these islands and their treatment in other respects from the military and technical shipping points of view, shall be regulated by a special agreement between Germany, Finland, Russia and Sweden. Should Germany so desire it, other States situated on the Baltic shall also become parties to this agreement.”—*Deutsche Reichsanzeiger*, March 8, 1918.

Referring to this treaty, Herr von Kühlmann said in the Reichstag (June 24, 1918):—“A diplomatic agreement has been reached that fortifications erected contrary to treaty on the Aland Islands should be removed. A final decision has not yet been reached about the future of these islands. We hope and desire that this important question will be so settled that the maximum of guarantee can be given that, to the advantage of all dwellers by the Baltic, the non-employment of these islands for military purposes will be a certainty for all time.”—*Deutsche Reichsanzeiger*, June 25, 1918.

under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Wikner would leave Stockholm on 31st March to commence the destruction of the fortifications.

Attitude of Finland.—During the early part of 1918, the attitude of the Finn Government, as shown by official utterances, was somewhat enigmatic, but, as a rule, it showed no sign of yielding. Apparently wishing to conciliate the Islanders by granting some sort of autonomy, the Government, on 9th March, 1918, issued a decree declaring their intention of forming the Åland Islands into a separate province, under a civil and a military governor. The decree did not produce the effect desired; on the contrary (we are told), it excited lively apprehension among the inhabitants.

Appeal from the Islanders.—It seems to have been on this occasion that the islanders addressed an appeal to the Senate of Finland, the King of Sweden, and the Emperor of Germany. It was in the form of a telegram, and was signed by 15 inhabitants, whose names are appended to the document.¹ The petitioners rely on the promise made by Germany, together with other belligerent States, “that the peoples liberated by the war from their political dependence should have the right to decide themselves on their future lot.” They point out that large parts of the Russian Empire have been granted this right, and that Finland itself has recovered its liberty in the same way. After a reference to the *plébiscite* of 25th-29th December, 1917 (*see* p. 21) and to subsequent events (described above) they express the “almost unanimous” desire of the Islanders for reunion with Sweden, and end by declaring their intention to hold another “*consultation populaire*,” while Swedish and German troops are

¹ This document is referred to in *The Times* of March 14, 1918.

still in the Islands. To this appeal the Finnish Senate replied as follows: "Without for a moment discussing a movement which has led to the landing of Swedish troops without Finland's consent, it is necessary to issue a grave warning against any action inconsistent with the integrity of Finland, as such action cannot be tolerated."¹ What reply, if any, was returned by the other Powers concerned does not appear.

Second Appeal.—No further steps seem to have been taken by the Islanders for some eight months—owing, probably, to the uncertain conditions of military affairs in general—except that, in July, they refused to obey the order of the Finnish Senate, which called up the classes of 1892 and 1896 to take part in the civil war; and a number of them emigrated to Sweden to avoid such service. But on 9th November, 1918—*i.e.*, two days before the signature of the Armistice—they made another appeal. This was in the form of a letter signed at Mariehamn, in the name of the Landsting of the Aland Islands, by six inhabitants forming the Executive Commission of that body, and addressed to the President of the United States, the President of the French Republic, and the Government of Great Britain. The petitioners rely, as before, on the acknowledged right of self-determination; and they refer to their previous appeal to Sweden (*see* p. 25), while expressing "the ardent desire and the unbreakable will of the people that the former (*ancien*) county of Aland should be reunited to Sweden."

Petition to Finn Government.—Having, presumably, despatched this appeal, the Alanders applied, on 18th November, 1918, to the Finn Government, "asking to be allowed to give expression

¹ *Arbetet*, March 16, 1918.

to their desires"; but this petition met with no success. In reply to their efforts, Dr. Holsti, the Finnish representative in London, drew up a memorandum dated 1st December, 1918, in which the "irredentist" movement in Åland is attributed to accidental circumstances, especially the presence (in the spring) of Swedish troops in the Islands.¹ The movement (he says) is without any real foundation, and the fear of denationalisation is groundless. He adds that Sweden "has proposed to Finland a *plébiscite* in the Ålands—a suggestion to which Finland had made no reply." On the other hand, the Government is preparing a Bill to safeguard the interests of the whole Swedish population in Finland, including the Ålanders. Whether as a first instalment of this measure or not, the Government of Finland announced, on 16th January, 1919, the appointment of a Commission "to draft proposals for administrative measures calculated to promote the economic and cultural (educational) interest of the Åland Islands."

Deputation sent.—It was not likely that this sop would appease the Islanders' hunger for reunion; and early in February, 1919, a deputation² of five persons proceeded to Paris,³ to lay their case before the Powers. About the same time General Mannerheim discussed the question with the King of Sweden, the Swedish Prime Minister, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

¹ As the foregoing narrative shows, it dates from much further back. Dr. Holsti's general arguments will be dealt with later.

² There are said to have been several previous deputations to Stockholm.

³ According to the *Temps* of March 18, the Delegates, on their return, were forbidden by the Finn Government to leave Åland, under pain of imprisonment

Question submitted to the Conference.—Finally, the Swedish Government suggested, in a Memorandum dated 18th March, 1919, that, as no reply has been received to the proposal made by it to the Finn Government in November, 1918 (see p. 26), the Peace Conference should take the question of a *plébiscite* into consideration, along with that of the recognition of Finnish independence.

(2) ARGUMENTS AND CONSIDERATIONS.

Having traced the history of the dispute about reunion down to a recent date, we pass to the arguments which have been brought forward by the parties concerned, and to certain general considerations which have a bearing on the problem.

(a) *Historical.*—The Alanders claim that from the beginning of their history down to 1809 the Islands were part of the kingdom of Sweden; the Finns, that throughout their history they have been part of Finland. In a sense, both are right. Except for brief periods, the Islands have always been administered as part of Finland;¹ but for more than six centuries Finland itself was part of the Swedish kingdom. Strictly speaking, however, the Islands have never “belonged” to Finland, for Finland was never an independent or sovereign State till two years ago. The Islands have “belonged,” first to Sweden, and subsequently to Russia.

It may be argued—though it does not appear that the Finns have made this point—that the Russian (Soviet) Government, when recognising the independence of Finland, transmitted to the Government of Finland its rights—rights derived from conquest—over the Aland Islands. The

¹ But see what is said below (p. 30) about early maps, and *supra*, p. 14.

rights of Russia are, or were, clear enough, for they were unconditionally recognised by Sweden in 1809. But this is a point of law rather than of history.

(b) *Geographical*.—It is argued by the Finns that the Islands are geographically part of Finland; and it can hardly be denied that, at least geologically, they are so. The sea between Åland and the mainland of Finland is nowhere more than 60 ft. deep, whereas Åland is separated from Sweden by a channel of great depth—the Ålandshaf—sinking in parts to 900 ft. Moreover, Åland is connected with Finland by a large number of rocky islets—about 80 of which are inhabited. Further, the sea to the eastward, being very shallow, freezes every winter, so that communication by means of the ice is, at that season, generally easy; whereas the deep sea to the westward does not freeze, on the average, more than about once in ten years.¹ These facts point, undoubtedly, to a close geographical connection between Åland and Finland.

On the other hand, it should be observed that, while Mariehamn is equidistant from Åbo and Stockholm (70 miles), Åland is far nearer to Sweden than to Finland. The western sea is only 25 miles wide at its narrowest point, while the eastern is at least twice that width. Moreover, while the eastern sea is so studded with rocks and islets that navigation cannot but be somewhat dangerous except in clear weather and daylight, the western sea is unobstructed, and large vessels can make the passage to Mariehamn in safety by day or night and in any weather. The consequence is that Åland, while linked—under water—with Finland,

¹Ackermann (*Beiträge*, etc.) says the western sea freezes almost every winter, but he appears to be wrong in this respect. See also *supra*, p. 2.

is actually more in touch, for commercial and other purposes, with Sweden.

It is also to be remembered that between Åland and Finland there is a comparatively deep channel, called Skiftet, which divides the archipelago into two parts.¹ It runs nearly north and east, passing to the west of the Kōkar group and east of the Brandö group. In a map of Åland,² dated 1714, this channel is marked as the boundary (in the northern part of its course), between Åland and Finland; but in the southern part the boundary deviates from the channel and includes the Kōkar group in Åland. In another map of Åland, dated 1789, Skiftet is marked as passing to the east of the Kōkar group. It is noteworthy that in this map, as well as in two other old maps³—one of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, the other of Denmark and Sweden—the Åland Islands are coloured like the neighbouring province of Sweden, and unlike Finland.

(c) *Ethnographical*.—The population of the Islands is variously reckoned at from 25,000 to 27,000. These are almost all of Swedish descent (see above p. 3), the only exception worth mentioning being a few Finns who inhabit some of the islands in the south-eastern part of the archipelago.⁴ Dr. Holsti, in the Memorandum already referred to, allows that the population is Swedish,

¹ Brockhaus (*Conv. Lexikon*) says that this channel "separates the Islands from Finland."

² A facsimile of this map is given in the pamphlet, *Les Alandais sur la Question d'Åland*.

³ *Ibid.* These maps are undated, but the contents and titles show that the first was made before 1721, and the second between 1714 and 1721. Similar colouring is used in two other maps, one dedicated to Peter the Great, the other nearly contemporary.

⁴ The *Grande Encyclopédie* says that Mariehamn contains 3,000 inhabitants, "almost all Russians"; but this, if it was ever correct, is not so now.

but regards them as only a small portion of the total Swedish population of Finland, from which (he says) they are not to be distinguished ethnographically any more than geographically.

(d) *Economical*.—The trade of the Islands is mostly with Sweden. The authors of the Memorandum already quoted state that the relations of the Islands with Sweden since 1809 have been much closer than those with Finland, and that most of their produce is sold at Stockholm. Fresh-water fish is mostly sent thither; salted herrings go to Finland and Reval as well as to Stockholm.

(e) *Strategical*.—The danger for Sweden of a naval base on the Islands in the hands of a hostile Power is obvious; and such considerations were all that counted in the Åland question from 1809 to 1917, when that question was merely one of fortification. When one considers that fast torpedo-boats stationed at Bomarsund could reach Stockholm in four or five hours, and that the capital of Sweden could be bombarded by a *grosse Bertha* placed at the western extremity of Åland, it is clear that the Swedes have some cause for anxiety.

It is not, however, for Sweden only that a navalised Åland constitutes a danger. The Island holds the key to the Gulf of Bothnia, for submarines lurking in its many fiords could absolutely close the entrances to that sea, which extends northwards for nearly 400 miles. Moreover, if Bomarsund, Reval and Libau were in the hands of a single naval Power or confederation of States, they would appear to constitute one of those triangles to which naval strategists attach such importance, and would dominate the whole of the Baltic.

Lastly, under this head, it is argued by the Finns that Sweden has no more right than Finland

to control the Gulf of Bothnia, the shores of which are equally divided between them. This may be conceded; but the argument cuts both ways. The two rights cancel each other, and leave the field open to other arguments.

(f) *Self-determination*.—The wishes of the population most nearly concerned have been generally recognized, in similar cases, as the most important factor. Of the nature of these wishes there can be no doubt. Writing in 1854, Léouzon le Duc says (*op. cit.*): “Swedish by origin, the Ålanders are so at heart. They love Sweden, which gave them their language, their institutions, and their religion.” From this attitude they have never swerved. Their desire for reunion with Sweden has been shown by the all but unanimous vote of the people and has been expressed in numerous appeals. So far as has transpired, no voices in Åland have been raised on the other side.

It appears that the Svecoman population in Finland, numbering some 400,000 souls, objects to the separation. This is not surprising, for, though the Islanders form but an inconsiderable accession to the Swedish *bloc* in the Diet of Finland, the Swedish vote would, *pro tanto*, lose by their secession.

It is also argued on the Finnish side that to apply the doctrine of self-determination to so small a district and to so minute a fraction (one seventeenth) of the Swedo-Finn population is to reduce the doctrine to an absurdity; and that, if applied on behalf of the Ålanders, it should also be granted to the Svecomans. Such an application would obviously be impossible.

APPENDIX.

UTTERANCES OF PUBLIC MEN IN SWEDEN AND FINLAND.

- (1) KING GUSTAV V. Speech from the Throne, Riksdag, January, 1918.

“The Government gladly recognise the independence of Finland, and it is their hope that Finland will unite with the other Scandinavian countries in the cause of peace and progress, and that the independence of Finland will contribute to a satisfactory solution of the Åland problem.”

- (2) HERR TRYGGER (Swedish Opposition Leader). Speech in Riksdag, 23rd January, 1918.

“The Government’s first duty is to solve the question of the Åland Islands in the only way which accorded with Swedish interests and with the wishes of the inhabitants themselves, who had declared that they desired to be incorporated with Sweden.”—*Times*, 25th January, 1918.

- (3) HERR TRYGGER (Swedish Opposition Leader). Speech in Riksdag, 23rd January, 1918.

“Åland in foreign hands is a danger to Sweden. The Treaty of Paris has proved worthless. A new situation has now arisen, and a solution in accordance with the wishes of the Islanders may be hoped for.”

Afton Bladet, 24th January, 1918.

Dagens Nyheter, 23rd January, 1918.

- (4) HERR BRANTING (Swedish Socialist Leader). Speech in Riksdag, March, 1918.

“The final settlement of the Åland question should be left to the General Peace Conference, and not treated as a matter which concerns only the Baltic Powers. The Swedish working classes and many others are opposed to the idea of taking sides in a civil war or giving armed support to the Swedish element against the Finns.”

Afton Bladet, 6th March, 1918.

- (5) HERR EDEN (Swedish Prime Minister). Speech, March, 1918.

“As to Åland, the Government never entertained the dishonourable idea of converting an expedition intended for the protection of the Islanders into an instrument of annexation. The petition of January last, which made clear the wishes of the population for reunion with Sweden, has placed the question on a new footing, and though the Government have been unwilling to press the matter during the present crisis in Finland, they stand by the answer given by the King to the deputation, viz., compliance with the wishes of the Islanders, provided that a free Finland consents to that solution.”

Stockholms Dagblad, 21st March, 1918.

- (6) HERR LÖFGREN (Swedish Minister of Justice). Speech, July, 1918.

“The Åland problem is a complicated one. It is the aim of the Government to bring about by agreement with the Powers concerned such a settlement as may conduce, as far as possible, to Sweden’s security. If that can be achieved by the fulfilment of the wish of the inhabitants for reunion with Sweden, so much the better. The limited objects which we have, up to now, set before us have been attained. The Islanders have been preserved from the horrors of civil war, and an agreement has just been reached with regard to the demolition of the fortifications constructed by the Russians during the war.”

Dagens Nyheter, 23rd July, 1918.

- (7) KAPTEN FRIHERR PALMSTIERNA (Minister of Marine, Sweden). Speech, 28th July, 1918.

“The issue in regard to the Åland and Finland problems has been obscured because they have been used by the Activists in furtherance of their plans for inducing us to take sides openly with Germany. As regards Åland, the most important point is the demolition of the fortifications. On this we have throughout insisted, and are now in a fair way to carry our point. For the rest, all democrats must sympathise with the aspirations of the Islanders, but these can only be realised by agreement with Finland. . . . Finland is alive to the danger of getting out of touch with Scandinavia, and this explains the great efforts which have been made to attach Sweden to Germany. This line of policy is quite comprehensible, but it does not accord with our interests. What is now happening on the Murman coast should serve as a warning.”

Social Demokraten, 29th July, 1918.

- 8) DR. A. LILLE (Swedish Party in Finland). Article, *Svenska Dagbladet*, July, 1918.

“Finland desires friendly relations with Sweden, but she cannot possibly part with Åland. Sweden has done nothing to justify her claim to the Islands, and to speak of self-determination in this connection is a *reductio ad absurdum*. Nationalities cannot be split up into small fragments. War between Finland and Sweden is inconceivable, and Finland would oppose any attempt to use the Islands as a base for an attack on Sweden. The existing arrangement, therefore, involves no danger to Sweden, especially in view of the recent convention between Germany, Finland, and Sweden. For the same reason, a powerful Finland, including Russian Karelia, would be an advantage to Sweden.”

Svenska Dagbladet, 29th July, 1918.

- (9) HERR ISAKSSON (Finnish Governor of Åland). Proclamation, July, 1918.

“I am convinced that no official will venture on any step which might tend to destroy the friendly relations between Finland and Sweden, or involve the Swedish Government in the difficulties which might arise from a Chauvinist agitation in that country in regard to the so-called Åland question. That Government—to quote their own words—has not the slightest intention of disregarding the principle, so frequently asserted during the present war, of the rights of small nations, or of dishonourably abusing their power by forcibly annexing the Åland Archipelago, which constitutes Finland’s outlet to Scandinavia and the West, and, as a matter of history, has always from a legal and administrative standpoint formed part of Finland.

“Neither the Swedish Government nor any right-minded person in Sweden or Åland, however much some people may be impressed by this false picture of Fenoman tyranny, can respect an official, who, forgetful of his oath and his duty, persists in maintaining a disloyal attitude towards his own country and its lawful Government.

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MAPS.

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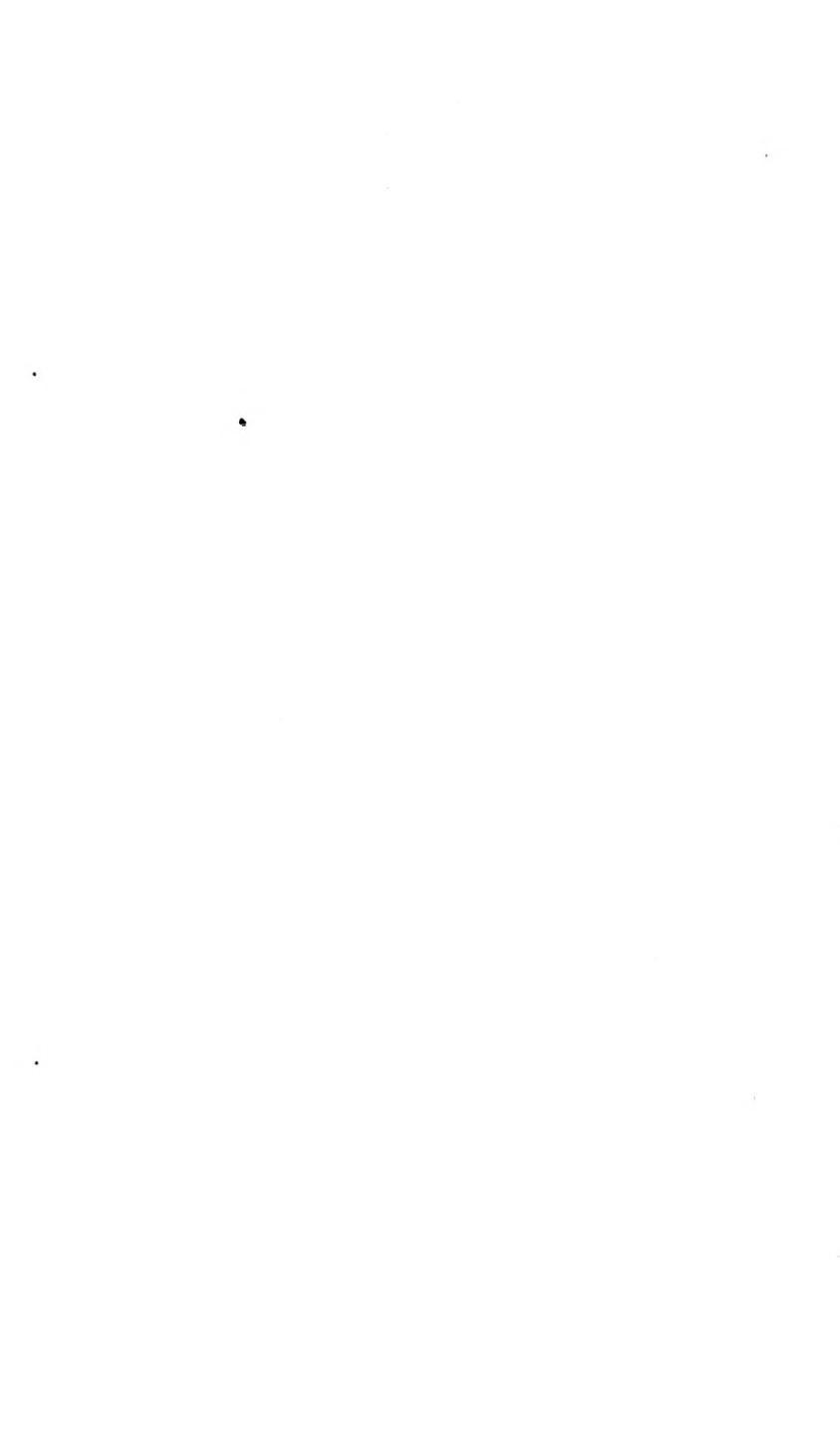
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