

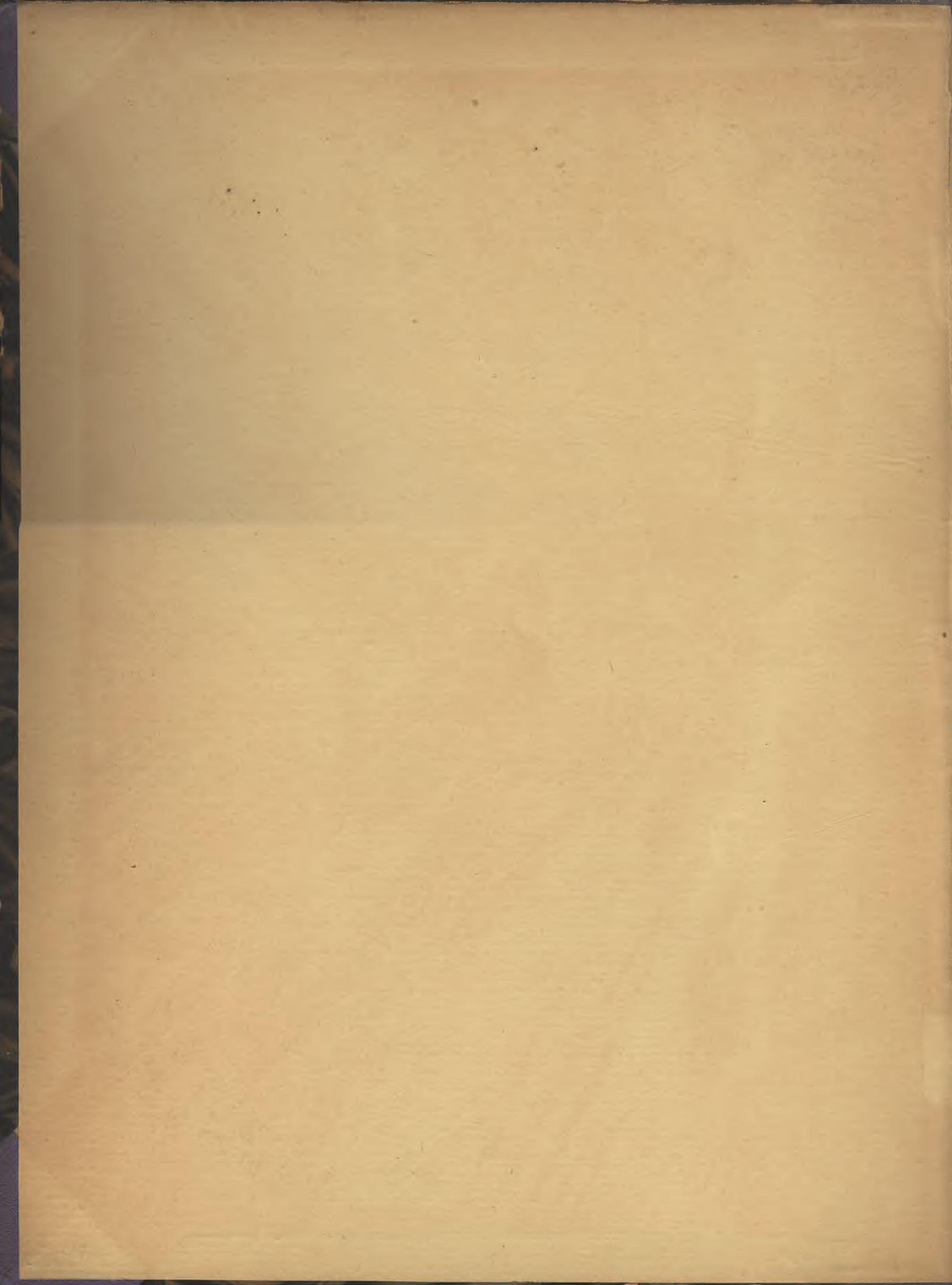
Głaska Biblioteka Publiczna

2062

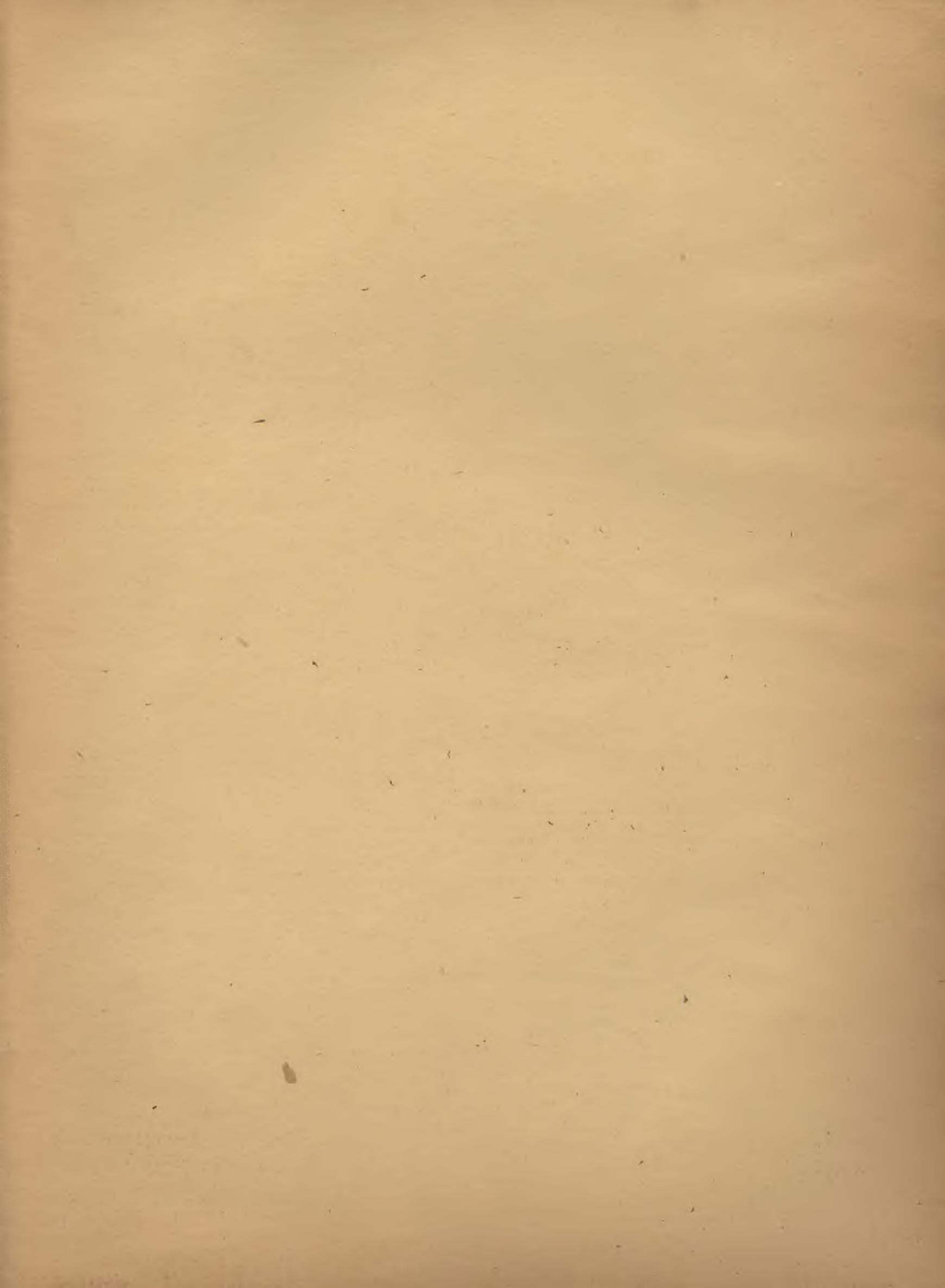
III

*debiel*

SL.







1622  
07  
SP

PUBLICATIONS OF THE SILESIAN INSTITUTE  
KATOWICE, POLAND

---

# SILESIAN AFFAIRS

NO. 1

EDITED BY  
ROMAN LUTMAN



REPRINTED FROM VOL. III. NO. 2. 6. MAY 1937  
BALTIC AND SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES  
PUBLISHED BY THE BALTIC INSTITUTE, GDYNIA, POLAND

# THE SILESIA INSTITUTE, KATOWICE, POLAND

## ORGANIZATION

The Silesian Institute was founded in 1934. It has its seat in Katowice. It is a registered body with a regularly legalized constitution. Its supreme authority is a general meeting of its members, who belong to two categories, ordinary and supporting. Any person accepted by the Executive Board can be an ordinary member; legal bodies accepted by the Executive Board can be supporting members. On April 1, 1937, the number of ordinary members was 130; the supporting members comprised 48 economic and social institutions and the municipal councils of the towns and counties of the Voivodship of Silesia.

The executive of the Institute is composed of a Board of Trustees, an Executive Board, an Auditing Committee and a Director. The Voivode of Silesia, the Marshal of the Silesian Szym and the General Secretary of the Polish Academy of Sciences are *ex officio* members of the Board of Trustees; the latter appoints the Director, draws up the programme of activity of the Institute and exercises control over the actions of the Executive Board.

The Executive Board is the directing authority; it is composed of nine members, of whom five are elected by the General Assembly and four are *ex officio* members, these four being: a representative of the Office of the Voivode of Silesia, a representative of the Society for the Friends of Science in Silesia,

a representative of the Polish Western Association, and the Director of the Institute.

The personnel of the executive bodies of the Institute is as follows:

The Board of Trustees: the Voivode of Silesia, Dr. Michał Grażyński; the Marshal of the Silesian Szym, Karol Grzesik; the General Secretary of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Dr. Stanisław Kutrzeba.

The Executive Board: Engineer Eugeniusz Kwiatkowski, Minister of Finances, (President); Dr. Tadeusz Kupczyński, Head of the Department of Public Education of the Office of Voivode of Silesia, (Vice-President); Dr. Waław Olszewicz, (Treasurer); Dr. Roman Lutman (Director and Secretary); and other members: Dr. Tadeusz Dobrowolski, Director of the Silesian Museum; Stanisław Ligoń, member of the Polish Szym and Director of the Katowice broadcasting station; Jan Przybyła, Head of the Commune of Chropaczów; Dr. Emil Szramek, Canon and President of the Society for the Friends of Science in Silesia; Józef Wojciechowski, Director of the Polish Western Association at Katowice.

Director: Dr. Roman Lutman; Vice-Director: Dr. Antoni Wrzosek.

The budget of the Silesian Institute for the year 1937-38 amounts to 175,254 zlotys.

## AIMS AND TASKS

The purpose of the Institute is to conduct study and research work on problems concerning Silesia, especially those problems which arise from the exigencies of the moment. The Institute serves as a centre for research work on Silesian problems and also organizes such research work itself. For this purpose it maintains regular relations with all centres of learning in Poland, for instance with the Polish Academy of Sciences, the universities and other scientific and research establishments and institutions. At present it has over 200 collaborators —

professors and docents of higher educational establishments and research scholars and specialists in general. It co-ordinates research work on Silesian problems, maintaining contact with all persons and institutions studying such questions both in the Silesian Voivodship and in the rest of Poland. Its field of activity being Silesian affairs, it does not limit itself to problems concerning the Silesian Voivodship, but in addition embraces the whole of historical Silesia, especially the Polish Silesian areas which at present form parts of Germany and Czechoslovakia.

## THE FIELD OF ACTIVITY

The activities of the Silesian Institute fall into three categories:

1. *Organization of Research Work.* In this field, the Institute determines the forms of study deemed necessary for Silesia, puts forward problems which require investigation, and organizes the necessary studies. The work already accomplished in this category includes: the investigation of the state and the requirements of Polish studies on Silesia, the cataloguing of the contents of archives, museums and libraries, the drawing up of a Silesian bibliography, the composition of a Silesian volume of the Geographical Dictionary of the Republic of Poland, the holding of a Silesian census in 1931, the compilation of an historical atlas of Silesia, the collection of material bearing on the history of the Silesian Insurrections, the collection of Silesian folk-songs and dances, the conducting of sociographical, anthropological and psychosociological investigations in Silesia, the compilation of a list of Silesian place-names, and the investigation of the history of the book in Silesia.

2. *Publishing Work.* The publications of the Silesian Institute fall into various series. The principal of these is the 'Records of the Silesian Institute', composed of larger, independently conceived works of learning. The series: 'Silesia: its Land and People' is composed of monographs dealing with Silesian natural conditions, geography, history, economics and

culture. The series 'Library of Silesian Writers' embraces editions of the works of outstanding Silesian writers. The series 'Polish Silesia' is made up of short, original historical and cultural studies. The series 'Economic Problems of Silesia' contains similar studies on economic subjects. The series 'Communiqués' serves to make public short articles on questions of culture, history and economics in Silesia. Further, the Institute issues a quarterly 'Record of Current Literature on Silesia' and a cultural-literary quarterly 'Silesian Dawn'. It also issues other publications not included in the above series, and maps. By the end of 1936 the bibliography of the Institute's publications comprised 63 items. A full list of its publications up to date is presented below. As yet all publications have appeared in Polish. Publications in the English and French languages are in preparation.

3. *Information.* Apart from its work in organizing study and in issuing publications, the Institute has also the task of increasing and extending knowledge of Silesian affairs and of stimulating interest in them. To this end it supplies information to the press, to institutions and to persons who are interested, arranges public lectures and debates and radio talks, supplies answers to questions on all matters connected with the study of Silesia, and compiles a bibliography both of past and current works relating to Silesia.

## PUBLICATIONS OF THE SILESIA INSTITUTE

### RECORDS OF THE SILESIA INSTITUTE.

Vol. I. *Stan i potrzeby nauki polskiej o Śląsku* (The State and the Requirements of Polish Study on Silesia), collective work by Roman Lutman. 1936, pp. XX+525. Price: 15 zł., bound 18 zł.

Vol. II. *Materiały do dziejów Wielkich Katowic* (Material for the History of Greater Katowice), (1299—1799). 5 plans, 13 illustrations. Collected and edited by Ludwik Musioł. 1936, pp. 219. Price 6 zł., bound 8 zł.

Vol. III. *Na Śląsku Opolskim* (In Oppeln Silesia), by Stanisław Wasylewski. 354 illustrations. 1937, pp. XV+286. Price: 17 zł., bound 20 zł.

### SILESIA: ITS LAND AND PEOPLE

Vol. I. *Zarys geologii Śląska* (An Outline of Silesian Geology), by Marian Książkiewicz. 16 illustrations. 1936. pp. 65. Price: 1·20 zł.

Vol. II. *Krajobraz Śląska Polskiego (z uwzględnieniem przyległych krain)* (The Landscape of Polish Silesia, considering adjoining territories), by Władysław Marchacz. 2 maps, 2 synthetic plans, 16 illustrations. 1936. pp. 111. Price: 1·50 zł.

Vol. III. *Zarys klimatologii Śląska* (An Outline of Silesian Climatology), by Jan Moniak and Edward Stenz. 16 illustrations. 1937. pp. 57. Price: 1 zł.

Vol. IV. *Górnictwo Śląskie* (Silesian Mining), by Andrzej Battaglia. 32 illustrations. 1936. pp. 77. Price: 1·20 zł.

Vol. V. *Szafa roślinna województwa Śląskiego* (Vegetation in the Voivodship of Silesia), by Aniela Kozłowska. 28 illustrations. 1936. pp. 53. Price: 1·20 zł.

Vol. VI. *Roboty publiczne w województwie Śląskim* (Public Works in the Voivodship of Silesia), by Stefan Kaufman and Roman Marymarczyk. 24 illustrations, 2 maps. 1937. pp. 70. Price: 1·50 zł.

### LIBRARY OF SILESIA WRITERS

Vol. I—III. *Norbert Bonczyk. Pisma poetyckie* (Norbert Bonczyk. Poetical Works), edited by Wincenty Ogrodziński. Vol. I. *Stary Kościół Miechowski* (The Old Church of Miechów). Fourth critical edition. 1936. pp. LXXX+266. Price: 4 zł., bound 5·50 zł.

Vol. IV. *Walenty Roździeński. Officina Ferraria seu Huta y Warstat z Kuźniami szlacheckiego dzieła żelaznego.* (Officina Ferraria or Foundry and Workshop with Smithies for fine Iron Work). From the unique copy of the Library of the Cathedral Chapter of Gniezno, edited by Roman Pollak with preface and notes. 1936. 9 tables. pp. XXV+113. Price: 3·50 zł., bound 5 zł.

Vol. V. *Jerzy Bock. Nauka domowa i wyjątki z Agendy* (Home Teaching and Extracts from the Agenda). Edited by Wincenty Ogrodziński. 1936. pp. XLI+54. Price: 2·50 zł., bound 5 zł.

Vol. VI. *Krzysztof Winter. Kuźnic Śląskich i kopalń opis i oznaczenie krótkie*, (A Description and Short Account of Si-

## CONTENTS

<p>SILESIA: ITS NAME, TERRITORY AND BOUNDARIES by Władysław Semkowicz . . . . . 1</p> <p>UPPER SILESIA: A GLANCE DOWN THE YEARS by William J. Rose . . . . . 14</p> <p>THE RACIAL STRUCTURE OF SILESIA by Jan Czekanowski . . . . . 19</p> <p>OFFICIAL ALTERATION OF PLACE-NAMES IN GERMAN UPPER SILESIA by Ludwik Musioł . . . . . 25</p> <p>A GEOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL SURVEY OF THE SILESIAN VOIVODSHIP by Antoni Wrzosek . . . . . 29</p>	<p>THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF POLISH UPPER SILESIA AND LOCALIZATION OF POLISH UPPER SILESIAN INDUSTRY by Waclaw Olszewicz . . . . . 36</p> <p>THE EXPORT TRADE OF UPPER SILESIA by Aleksander Szczepański . . . . . 43</p> <p>ENGLAND'S PART IN THE CREATION OF UPPER SILESIAN INDUSTRY by Józef Piernikarczyk . . . . . 50</p> <p>THE POLISH-GERMAN UPPER SILESIAN CONVENTION, 1922—1935 by Stanisław Komar . . . . . 54</p>
---	--

### REVIEWS

<p>KURTZ, HEINRICH: 'Slavische Bodenfunde in Schlesien'. Reviewed by J. Kostrzewski . . . . . 60</p> <p>HOLTZMANN, ROBERT: 'Schlesien im Mittelalter'. Reviewed by Z. Wojciechowski . . . . . 61</p> <p>MEYER, A. O.: 'Die neuere Entwicklung Schlesiens, insbesondere Oberschlesiens'. Reviewed by Z. Wojciechowski . . . . . 64</p> <p>'ZUR WIRTSCHAFTSGEOGRAPHIE des deutschen Ostens'. Edited by Prof. W. Geisler. Reviewed by A. Wrzosek . . . . . 66</p> <p>'WIRTSCHAFTS- und verkehrsgeographischer Atlas von Schlesien'. Edited by Prof. W. Geisler. Reviewed by A. Wrzosek . . . . . 67</p>	<p>ROSE, WILLIAM J.: 'The Drama of Upper Silesia'. Reviewed by R. Dyboski . . . . . 68</p> <p>FRANZKE, K.: 'Die oberschlesischen Industriearbeiter von 1740—1886'. Reviewed by L. Musioł . . . . . 71</p> <p>'THE PUBLICATIONS of the Silesian Institute'. The Communiqués. Reviewed by W. J. Rose . . . . . 72</p> <p>HAHN, R.: 'Entwicklung des Absatzes und der wirtschaftlichen Lage der polnischen Kohlenindustrie in den Jahren 1923—1935'. BLITEK, J.: 'Zarys stanu technicznego polskiego przemysłu węglowego'. (Przegląd Górniczo-Hutniczy). Reviewed by W. Olszewicz . . . . . 73</p>
--	---

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE RACIAL STRUCTURE OF SILESIA by J. Czekanowski . . . . .	76
---	----

2062  
37

SL 3a 1

2062 . 1

III

S. - 7.

Katolicka, kce 20 X 37

x-2554
2062/ III
1/1



20,000,-



# SILESIA: ITS NAME, TERRITORY AND BOUNDARIES A STUDY IN HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

by WŁADYSŁAW SEMKOWICZ

(CRACOW, POLAND)

## I

### THE NAME OF SILESIA

The question of the origin of the names *Śląsk* and *Ślązacy* for the province and people called in English Silesia, Silesians, and in German *Schlesien*, *Schlesier*, has long been a point at issue between German and Polish historians and geographers. The former without exception ascribe to these terms a Germanic derivation, from *Silinger*, the name of a clan supposed to have inhabited central Silesia in the neighbourhood of Mount Sobótka and the later Wrocław (Breslau) before the arrival of the Slavs, to whom this clan subsequently passed on its name; the new-comers called the hill *Ślęż*, after the *Silinger* and the stream flowing past it and joining the Oder near Wrocław they called *Ślęza*; they themselves accepted the name of the *Silinger*, which in Slavonic mouths took the form *Ślężanie*.

German historians assume, as they have already assumed for a century, that the Slavs occupied the area west of the Vistula, that is to say Silesia, only at the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century, and that before their arrival Silesia was inhabited exclusively by Germanic tribes or clans. They base their thesis on the results of prehistorical research and on the direct accounts of Latin and Greek writers of the imperial Roman period who came into contact with the peoples dwelling to the north of the Alps, the Sudetes and the Carpathians.

It should be emphasized that the prehistorical researches which have laid bare the so-called Vandal Culture in Silesia in the first centuries after Christ, really give no decisive answer to the question of the ethnic provenance of the peoples who created certain cultural ensembles or turned them to account. On the other hand, the investigations of Polish prehistorians, and especially of Kostrzewski, point to the indigenous character of the Slavs in the basin of the Oder, as far back as the so-called Lusatian Period, and the recent excavations at Biskupin throw fresh and very interesting light on the Slavonic features of the culture there discovered. In any

case we must for the present regard all conclusions in this connexion which are based on prehistorical researches as premature and hypothetical.

German historians are on surer ground when they base their arguments on the accounts of imperial Roman writers, beginning with Tacitus and Pliny, who mention the names of various Germanic peoples who inhabited the area of Silesia for longer or shorter periods in the course of their migrations. The hill which Tacitus mentions (*Germania* 43) as the scene of pagan Germanic worship under the protection of the *Nahanarvali*, although he gives no indication of its location, is rather arbitrarily identified by German historians with Mount Sobótka, which Thietmar tells us, a thousand years later, was the centre of a pagan cult; as if there could not have been a number of such 'sacred' mounts in the area occupied by the Vandals, whose presence in Silesia during the early centuries of our era is, for the rest, sufficiently proved. Silesia is also nowadays considered, and not without some justification, as the seat of the Vandal tribe of the *Varini* whom Pliny mentioned in his *Natural History* (4. 14. 28. § 99), though it is not till the second century that Ptolemy in his *Geography* gives a fuller picture of the habitation of these parts by various peoples whose names and seats he defines.

In Ptolemy also we find the first reference to the *Silinger*. The text of the passage in the *Geography* presents certain difficulties, however, chiefly because the Greek work of this Alexandrian writer has not been preserved in the original, but only in late eleventh—fifteenth century copies, which differ one from another in a considerable number of passages, especially in the forms of place and tribal names. So it is with the name of the *Silinger*. Besides the form *Silingai* several good and trustworthy manuscripts have *Lingai*. None the less, the former should be preferred, not only because we find it in one of the best extant manuscripts, the *Codex Vaticanus*, but also because the name of the tribe occurs as

*Silingi* independently of Ptolemy in another and later source: Bishop Hydatius, a Spanish writer of the fifth century, of whom more will be said presently.

When we try to place Ptolemy's *Silingai* on the map, we encounter a second difficulty. A careful reading of the text of the *Geography* convinces us that they were not settled in Silesia but in Lower Lusatia. Nevertheless, German scholars, regarding as axiomatic the direct connexion between the name of the Germanic *Silinger* and those of Mount *Ślęż* and the river *Ślęza* and the clan of the *Ślężanie* which later settled thereabouts, try to get over the difficulty of localizing Ptolemy's *Silingai* in Silesia by assuming that the geographer derived his information in this case from an older source, which dates from the first century after Christ, when the *Silingai* were actually occupying Lusatia during the course of their migration southwards. Although this explanation detracts somewhat from the value of the passage as evidence regarding the *Silinger* and their connexion with Silesia, yet it seems to be correct and acceptable, since in point of fact Ptolemy's *Geography* contains many similar inaccuracies, arising from his habit of relying on accounts collected from various sources, of sometimes doubtful veracity and belonging to different periods, so that when we embody his data in a map they are seen to be far from reliable. In view of this very fact, however, we cannot put entire faith in the passage of the *Geography* referring to the *Silingians*, and we cannot exclude the possibility of the *Silingians* having been settled in Silesia in the second century after Christ, supported as this theory is by the striking resemblance between their name and the names of Mount *Ślęż* and the river *Ślęza*.

German historians, viewing the *Silingians* as a Vandal clan from the north of Jutland who had settled in Silesia in the first century after Christ, do not find it easy to trace their further fortunes in the area, inasmuch as the above-mentioned chronicle of Hydatius, the Spanish bishop, describes the *Vandali cognomine Silingi* as having already at the beginning of the fifth century migrated, together with the *Hasdingi* and the *Alani*, to Spain, where the Visigoths completely exterminated them in 418. According to certain German writers, such as L. Schmidt, the *Silingi* left Silesia in the middle of the third century after Christ and migrated to the Main, where they joined the *Hasdingi* and the *Alani*. In any case it is certain that the Vandals, of whom they are accounted part, were already by the middle of the third century settled beyond the Carpathians on the Danube. But at this point the whole question of the *Silingians* becomes perplexing. According to the German thesis maintained by Müllenhoff, the Slavs arrived on the Oder and the Elbe at least a century after the departure of the Germans, namely at the turn of the fifth century. How, in that case, are we to explain the transfer of the name of

the Germanic *Silinger* to the newly arrived Slavs, the former having already long abandoned Silesia? A way has been found. We are bade to suppose, with M. Jahn, that only a part of them migrated from Silesia, leaving behind it the main body, which remained until the arrival of the Slavs and conferred its own name on the Slavonic clan with which it ultimately coalesced as the *Ślężanie*. The discovery near Mount *Ślęż*, or Sobótka, of traces of Vandal culture subsequent to the year 400 is taken to prove that some of the Vandals remained in Silesia after their main body had passed southwards. However, such an argument will not bear criticism, inasmuch as the provenance of a culture laid bare by excavation is not necessarily the same as that of the ethnic group which created or adopted it. A culture is more enduring than its creators, who may themselves have migrated, and bequeathed it to their successors over a long period of time. All the German claims concerning the importance of the Vandal worship on Mount Sobótka as evidence are therefore without valid foundations and belong to the realm of bold assumption (Schwarz). The sole basis for the theory that the Vandals remained in Silesia might be found in the name of the fort *Niemcza*, which Thietmar specially mentions under the date 1017 as *a nostris olim sit condita*. But it is uncertain whether *Niemcza*, originally *Niemcy (Nemzi)*, i.e., 'Germans', was a settlement of Vandal *Silingians* or a German colony founded centuries later. Perhaps the name denoted prisoners of war who settled there during the reign of Mieszko I, as in the case of the *Prusy*, 'Prussians', or *Pieczyni*. It is at least as equally probable that the founders of *Niemcza* were colonists as that they were descendants of the ancient *Silingians*, so that the name furnishes no satisfactory evidence for the indigenous character of the Germanic people in Silesia or of the continued existence of *Silingians* there until later times. Yet German historians require such evidence if they are to reconcile their theory of the adoption of the Germanic name *Silinger* by the Slavonic new-comers with their other thesis that the Slavs reached Silesia only in the sixth century after Christ.

The eminent Czech scholar Niederle has offered another solution of the problem. Admitting the possibility that the name of the Vandal *Silinger* passed to the newly-arrived Slavs, he took this as fresh proof of the early appearance of the Slavs in Silesia, in the third, or even in the second century after Christ. Since it can be proved that the Vandals (and therefore the *Silingians*) were on the Danube in the middle of the third century, and that at the beginning of the fifth they were already in Spain, Niederle concludes that they must have come into contact with the Slavs on the Oder at a still earlier period, in any case before the middle of the third century, if they passed on to them their own name of *Silinger* - *Ślężanie*.

Niederle inferred from unsound premisses his thesis that the Slavs appeared in the districts to the west of the Vistula at an earlier date than German historians usually suppose. However, we have a sure and direct proof of its correctness, in Ptolemy's *Kalisia*, which undoubtedly corresponds to *Kalisz* in Poland. Attention was long since called to the fact that the geographical data given by Ptolemy for *Kalisia* apply remarkably well to the situation of *Kalisz*, and all the old maps and commentaries on the *Geography* identify the two. The site was of importance as lying on the famous amber trade route, and numerous recent finds of coins and other objects of the imperial Roman period confirm its ancient prominence, of which Ptolemy was well aware. As for the name itself, its Slavonic origin was likewise long since recognized: *Kalisz* f. O.Sl. *kalu* = 'lutum', 'palus', Pol. *kał* 'marsh', 'mud'. Certain Slavonic scholars (mainly Germans) have recently attempted to throw doubt on this etymology by pointing to the general Indo-European character of the root, and some, e.g. Vasmer, have even suggested the possibility of an Illyrian (and more particularly Thracian) derivation. These linguists lay their chief emphasis on the root-syllable *kał*, overlooking the fact that the purely Slavonic suffix *-isz* is conclusive for the Slavonic formation of the name.<sup>1</sup> Slavonic *Kalisz* thus invalidates the conclusion of German Slavonic scholars like Vasmer that Ptolemy mentions no Slavonic place-names to the west of the Vistula, and at the same time furnishes strong proof that the Slavs were already established in the basin of the Oder by the second century. *Kalisz* lies on the *Prosna*, a tributary of the *Warta*, and there is thus no doubt that the Slavs had also reached nearby *Silesia*.

This assumption, however, does not necessarily lead us to conclude that the Slavs first appeared in these parts in the second century; in all probability they were already established there earlier, and even if we cannot go so far as Prof. Kostrzewski, who now regards the *Lusatian Culture* as Slavonic, we have good reason to believe that the Slavs were established in *Silesia* even before the arrival of the Germans (which occurred at the earliest in the second century), and that they were accordingly indigenous. The excavations at the marsh settlement of *Biskupin*,<sup>2</sup> by revealing a type of hut construction which is prevalently Slavonic and persists to the present day, have done much to confirm this view.

And if it was so indeed, if the Slavs in *Silesia* are indigenous and the Germanic Vandals later comers, how are we to explain the fact that neither prehistorical remains nor written sources of the imperial age tell us anything about the former, only the Germanic population having left traces of itself behind? The problem is, after all, easy of solution. The native Slavonic population, agricultural and peaceful in character, far from warlike

and with a low level of material culture, fell, during the period of the Great Migrations, under the power of passing Germanic clans, organized for war and culturally superior, who become their masters. In such circumstances the country was represented outside, not by the *Slavi* or *Sclavi*, 'slaves', but by the dominant Germanic caste, which came into contact with the Roman merchants or armies; and so it was natural that the Germanic element and not the subjugated Slavonic clans found a place on the maps of the Roman writers. They also left behind them in the country traces of the rich culture which they had brought with them from the far North, whereas either no traces of the primitive Slavonic culture have been preserved, or prehistorians have hitherto paid insufficient attention to its scant remains. There is no lack of analogues from other Slavonic and non-Slavonic areas, wherever an alien element has appeared alongside the indigenous Slavonic and founded an organized State (as for example in *Bulgaria*). In course of time one or the other element, according to its strength and numbers, has gained the preponderance, assimilated the weaker and forced upon it its own name. Thus, for example, the native Prussians passed on their name to their conquerors and destroyers, the Teutonic Knights, while the conquering Bulgarians, although they coalesced with the Slavonic element, which they organized into a State, yet gave them their Turkic name.

What was the origin of the name *Śląsk*, *Silesia*? German etymologists, as we have seen, ascribe it to the Germanic clan of the *Silinger*, after whom were named, firstly *Mount Słęż*, the centre of a Germanic cult, and the river *Słęża*, and afterwards, from them in turn, the supposedly late comers and settlers in the district, the Slavonic clan of the *Słężanie*.

If, however, we start with the assumption of the indigenous character of the *Silesian Slavs*, we may reverse this question and present it from the opposite point of view, as the present writer was the first to do in the monograph which he has devoted to the problem.

In the first place, there is no doubt as to the direct connexion between the name of the Slavonic clan and the names of the river *Słęża* and *Mount Słęż*, from which it must have been derived. The question at issue is whether the names of the river and the hill should not themselves rather be derived from a native Slavonic root than from the Germanic *Silinger*. The writer believes that they are of purely Slavonic origin and may be referred to the root *ślęg*, *śląg*, to be found in such words as, for example, *ślęgnąć*, 'to become wet, absorb moisture', *ślęganina*, 'rainy season, moisture', *ślągwą*, *śląkwą*, 'damp, foggy weather, bad weather, rain mingled with snow', or *prześlągły*, 'wet through'. The substantive *ślęg*, *śląg*, therefore, once denoted wetness or moisture; and from it were derived, by the addition of the

<sup>1</sup> I owe this observation to Prof. T. Lehr-Splawiński of the University of Cracow.

<sup>2</sup> See *Baltic Countries*, Vol. 1, No. 2, December 1936, pp. 228—232, 'The Excavations at *Biskupin*', by Józef Kostrzewski.

suffix *-jō, -ja* adjectival forms: for the hill, *Ślęż* (sc. *chelm* 'hill'), and for the river, *Ślęza* (sc. *rzeka, woda* 'river, water'), indicating respectively a wet hill (one subject to *ślągwa?*) and a river with wet, marshy banks which it frequently overflowed; and for the whole district, *Śląz-sko Śląsko* (sc. *pole* 'tract'). These names would accordingly indicate the visible characteristics of the geographical objects to which they were given, and it is extremely interesting to find that modern observation justifies them. For Mount *Ślęż* or Sobótka has a very heavy rainfall and its summit, towering 2,355 ft. above the Silesian plain, is frequently wrapped in dark clouds. Its climate was indeed so rigorous and severe that the Polish house of Austin Canons was unable to maintain itself on its summit in the twelfth century and moved, first to its foot and then afterwards to Wrocław. Similarly in the case of the river *Ślęza*, its name corresponds to its physical characteristics, since it has low banks, in consequence of which the neighbouring fields and meadows are frequently flooded, forming wide sheets of water and *prześlągłe* (soaking wet) quagmires. Thus the formation of these three names, *Ślęza*, *Ślązsk* and *Ślężanie*, can be perfectly well explained by reference to a native Slavonic root, without having recourse to the Germanic *Silinger*. Since, however, there is an indubitable etymological connexion between the name of the *Silinger* and those of Mount *Ślęż*, the river *Ślęza* and the *Ślężanie* clan, we may

quite reasonably suppose that the name of the *Silinger* is derived from that of the native Slav *Ślężanie* among whom the Vandal clan settled, rather than vice versa.

It is obviously the business of linguists to decide whether such a derivation may be approved or not. Among Polish Slavonic scholars, Prof. Mikołaj Rudnicki of the University of Poznań has expressed a similar view of the native origin of the name *Śląsk*, independently of, and simultaneously with, the present writer while Prof. W. Taszycki of Lwów and Canon Stanisław Kozierowski, docent of the University of Poznań — but not that Nestor of Polish Slavonic scholars, Prof. A. Brückner — have also upheld its Slavonic character. German scholars have likewise opposed the theory, Vasmer, for example, pointing to the occurrence of *Silinge* as a place-name in Sweden, and also to the circumstance that the root *ślęg* is a later form of *ślęk* and cannot be brought into connexion with the names *Ślęż*, *Śląz* and *Ślęza*.

The etymology of *Śląsk* and *Ślężanie* is therefore still an open question among Slavonic scholars themselves, and under these conditions the present writer will not press his suggestion any further. He is content to hold his own firm belief in the view that the Slavs were already inhabiting Silesia in the second century after Christ, and most probably even before the Christian era, and that they remained for several centuries under the supremacy of migrating Vandal tribes.

## II

### THE GROWTH OF THE CONCEPTION OF SILESIA AS A TERRITORIAL UNIT

The territorial conception of Silesia in history has not always embraced the whole of the area which has borne the name in modern times. In the Middle Ages the conception passed through a period of development in which the following four stages may be distinguished:

1. In the tribal period, before the incorporation of the Oder district with the Polish State, the name of *Ślężanie* applied to only one of the tribes in it; this tribe dwelt on the *Ślęza* river, in the neighbourhood of Mount *Ślęż*, or Sobótka, i.e., in the centre of later Silesia. After the union of the Oder tribes with Piast Poland, this limited conception of what constituted Silesia was still commemorated in the political and territorial organization of the area, the former tribal districts being made into administrative divisions and keeping their ancient names. Thus the *ziemia Śląska*, the *pagus Silensis* of Thietmar, was a limited area in the neighbourhood of Wrocław, the fort of Niemcza and Mount *Ślęż*, on both sides of the Oder.

It is not impossible, however, that in spite of the division of Silesia among various tribes in the early period, there were even then certain bonds uniting all those in the valley of the upper and middle Oder, which

in course of time were incorporated in the Polish State. We have certain indications which lead us to believe that there were religious and even political factors tending to unite the tribes throughout the area. Above all, the Oder tribes formed a compact and distinct ethnic unit, a tribal group with characteristics distinguishing it from the neighbouring tribal groups of the Polanians and the Vistulians. Among other traces of such characteristics are certain linguistic features of the Silesian dialect, differentiating it from the dialects of Little- and Great-Poland. This phenomenon was, of course, closely connected with the original process of settlement in Silesia, which was conditioned by the Oder river system and naturally led settlers of the original clan established in the area to the most remote parts suitable for habitation. Special groups of settlers, occupying separate districts in the Oder basin, developed in the course of time into distinct clans (the Dziadoszyce, Gołęzyce, *Ślężanie*, Bobrzanie, Trzebowianie, and Opolanie); they preserved, however, not only their common dialect and ethnic type, but doubtless also the memory of their common tribal origin, which was reflected and strengthened by their common (pagan) worship. Even in Thiet-



mar's time there was a cult centred on Mount Sobótka, the position of which, commanding the whole Oder valley, made it both the strongest point of defence in the whole region, and at the same time a seat of worship for all the Oder clans, just as the Wawel was for the Vistulians and Mount Lechowa at Gniezno for the Polonians on the Warta.

In addition to its religious significance, a point of this nature undoubtedly played its part as a centre in the political and social organization of the neighbouring and collateral clans. Just as the other western Slavonic peoples, the Obodrites, the Luticians, the Polonians and the Vistulians, retained their consciousness of kinship, so the people on the Oder before their incorporation in the Polish State must have had some kind of inter-

clan organization within the geographical limits of the upper and middle Oder valley. When the diocese of Wrocław was founded in the year 1000, it embraced precisely this area, and all the 'Silesian' clans inhabiting it. Since the new ecclesiastical organization arose on the foundation of pre-existent political forms, we may suppose that the area of the new diocese coincided with that of an already existing political district, formerly united by the bonds of pagan worship, and now of Christian, its centre, however, being transferred from Mount Ślęż (Sobótka) to Wrocław. The latter, under the new political conditions, was a more suitable point, lying as it did on the Oder, the main artery of communication in Silesia, at its junction with the second and no less important route leading from Poland to Bohemia.

2. The rise of the new diocese with its centre at Wrocław must have strengthened those political bonds which doubtless had united the Oder clans in the pagan epoch, and even if there had been no such bonds in times past, the existence of the homogeneous ecclesiastical *provincia* must have inspired a conscious need for their creation. Everywhere, within Poland and outside of it, the seat of a bishop served at the same time as the administrative centre of a considerable territorial district, embracing the area of several clans. The same circumstance doubtless applied to Silesia, which even at that early period, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, formed a similar political unit within the framework of the Polish State, coincident with the area of the diocese of Wrocław. The connexion between the ecclesiastical and political systems in Silesia is most clearly evidenced in the Bull issued by Pope Hadrian IV in 1155. The Bull defined the limits of the diocese of Wrocław by successively enumerating the Silesian forts which engirdled the country, starting from Bohemia on the west.

In Polish and other documents of this period (eleventh and twelfth centuries) Silesia as a whole was designated by the terms *provincia*, *regio*, *ducatu*s *Wratislaviensis* or *Zleznsis*, which shows that the name of 'Silesia', originally assigned to the narrower central district, had now been extended to include the whole area, an intelligible development in view of the part which this political and cultural complex played during the century in the annals of the whole Oder region. The central position of this complex, along the main channel of communication by water, in a district already thickly populated on account of its fertility, enabled it to exert a decisive influence over the whole geographical region and finally to dominate it and give it its own name.

The name of 'Silesia' retained its wide territorial meaning throughout the twelfth century, for this is obviously the sense it bears in Polish documents of that age, whether they refer to the Will of Boleslas Wrymouth, who left the whole of Silesia to his eldest son Ladislas, or to the return of his sons to Poland in 1163, when Boleslas the Curly gave back his brothers their patrimony.

3. In the years 1201-02 the district of Opole (Oppeln) was separated from Silesia and erected into a distinct duchy, under the rule of the younger line of Silesian Piasts, descended from Mieszko the Cross-legged; and from that time the conception of Silesia was contracted to its central and lower parts, round about Wrocław, and Lignica (Liegnitz) and Głogów (Glogau) respectively, which fell as the share to the older line of Silesian Piasts. When, however, in the middle of the thirteenth century, the area was sub-divided into a number of minor duchies, their rulers always prefaced their particular titles, *dominus Glogoviae*, or *dominus Wratislaviae*, by the ge-

neral one of *dux Silesiae*, thereby indicating the previous territorial and political unity of the region now called Silesia in the narrower sense, and distinguished from the Duchy of Opole; whereas the rulers of the latter gave themselves, in addition to their domestic titles, the more general appellation of *dux Opoliensis*, signifying their common origin, and at the same time the separation of their duchy from Silesia proper. Thus in the course of the thirteenth century, Silesia came to be divided into two separate parts, each of which developed independently and lived its own life under its dukes, and the name of 'Silesia' was applied, no longer to the district of Opole, but exclusively to the central and lower part of the Oder region. This state of affairs remained until the Silesian duchies were compelled to pay homage to Bohemia, in 1327.

4. In the year 1327, after an interval of more than a hundred years, the title *dux Silesiae* reappears, being used, but only on one occasion, by the Duke of Opole, Boleslas III. He had previously declared himself a feudatory of John of Luxemburg, King of Bohemia, and intended by the use of this appellation to assert his equality with the other Silesian dukes in face of their common Bohemian sovereign. The title is not used again, either by Boleslas or by any other duke of Opole, in the following decades of the fourteenth century. Only after the settlement of the disputes and quarrels between the various dukes did a feeling of unity and solidarity begin to develop among them in their relations with their feudal lord; and this, added to the influential bond of church organization, centred in the chief town of the whole Duchy of Silesia, could not but lead, as time went on, to the resuscitation of the old territorial and political conception of the unity of the duchy, dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and simultaneously to the extension of its name to cover the district of Opole once more. This process, though it was accomplished by degrees and very slowly, may be traced in fourteenth and fifteenth century documents, where the two territorial conceptions of 'Silesia', the wider and the narrower, are long in conflict. In the second half of the fourteenth century, when the bonds between the upper Silesian dukes and the lords of Silesia proper had begun to tighten, and matrimonial alliances to take place between them, the former, even when they had no property in central or lower Silesia, began to call themselves dukes of Silesia. This happened but sporadically, however, and it was only in the course of the fifteenth century that the conception of 'Silesia' finally covered the upper part of the province, the term being used in that century in a twofold sense; thus we find the expression *utraque Silesia*, while the district of Opole is at the same time designated *superior Silesia*, or *Oberschlesien*, the first occurrence of the term being in a document issued by Matthias Corvinus in 1460.

## III

## HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL BOUNDARIES OF SILESIA.

In the following section the author proposes to trace the territorial range of three elements which go to compose the conception of every historical region in Europe, namely the ethnic, the political and the ecclesiastical; to discover the original boundaries of their respective areas; to investigate the alterations in these boundaries as time went on; and on the basis of this to obtain a picture of the original extent of historical Silesia at the moment when the three areas, ethnic, political and ecclesiastical, still more or less coincided. In view of the important rôle played by geography in the territorial expansion of the historical region, our investigations must also consider the relation between the historical territory of Silesia and the region as viewed from the standpoint of physical geography.

Our survey of the boundaries of Silesia will begin in the west, the side where a wide gateway of low country opens between it and Lusatia. The boundary here is in consequence elusive and difficult to trace, and in the course of centuries may easily have been shifted. In later times it was fixed on the line of the Bober and its tributary the Kwisa (Queis), but there are clear traces showing that it once ran farther west, along the Lusatian Nisa (Lausitzer Neisse), which issues from the Sudetes (at the point where they turn from north-west to south-west), and falls into the Oder at Szydłów (Schiedlo). Thus the boundary forms a natural continuation of the lower course of the Oder, which at this point turns northwards. On the Nisa, ancient border fortifications have been found which are undoubtedly older than those on the Bober and the Kwisa and date from the end of the tenth century or the beginning of the eleventh. It is possible, therefore, that the Nisa marked the earlier western boundary of Silesia before the invasion of the Germans, who first appeared here about 990. Further evidence that this boundary reached the Lusatian Nisa is to be found, undoubtedly, in those wedges of Silesian territory which in later times extended westward across the Bober to the Nisa, one at Krosno (Krossen), the other at Żegań (Przewóz, i.e., 'passage', corrupted in German into Priebus). The ecclesiastical boundary running between the dioceses of Miśnia (Meissen) and Wrocław did indeed follow the course of the Bober and the Kwisa; but, as it was fixed only in the year 1000, when the Polish dioceses were founded, and the political frontier of Boleslas the Brave's Poland already rested on those rivers, it constitutes no evidence for earlier times. On the other hand, certain linguistic data gathered on the Polish-Lusatian border throw interesting light on the original ethnic range of the Silesian tribe and show that traces of Polish are left on the farther bank of the Bober right up to the Nisa near

Gubin and Żarów. Thus we must regard the Nisa not only as the natural geographical boundary, but also as the earliest tribal boundary between the Polish and the Sorbo-Lusatian clans. Accordingly, the political and ecclesiastical boundaries along the course of the two rivers, Bober and Kwisa, apparently constitute evidence of an early Polish withdrawal eastward from the line of the Nisa, doubtless occasioned by German pressure at the end of the tenth century.

The farther course of the Silesian frontier, to the south-west, the Bohemian side, presents a natural orographical boundary: one of the oldest and most stable in Europe. Here the lofty range of the Sudetes, covered for the most part with dense forest, is composed in places of numerous, frequently crossing, lines of hills, amid which the boundary is shifting and uncertain. The orographical system becomes still more complicated about the sources of the Bystrzyca (Bistritz), where the hitherto unbroken crest of the range divides into a number of parallel ridges, enclosing the Kłodzko (Glatz) basin, i.e., the oval valley of the upper Kłodzka-Nisa (Glatzer Neisse), which here breaks through towards the Oder. Consequently this basin became in historical times a frequent subject of dispute between Bohemia and Poland. Geographically it is connected with Silesia, forming part of the wide tract drained by the Oder into which the Nisa has breached a gateway. It is separated from Bohemia by wooded ridges, but between them are depressions and saddles facilitating passage from one side of the range to the other (the Nachod and the Mittelwalde Saddles). Even in prehistoric times these cols were used for communication, and in the historical period their existence rendered possible at an early date a political and ecclesiastical union between the Kłodzko basin and Bohemia. The coexistence of these two geographical factors, on the one hand the gorge of the Nisa, uniting the district with Silesia, and on the other of the mountain saddles, opening the way into the heart of Bohemia, has from the dawn of history put this frontier region in a position of unstable equilibrium between Poland (Silesia) and Bohemia.

Before the German colonization, which in course of time completely changed the ethnic character of the Kłodzko district, the latter was undoubtedly inhabited by Slavs. Czech historians regard these Slavs as a Czech clan (the Hrvati, or Croats), but we cannot disregard the fundamental fact that Polish settlers moved along the rivers, which naturally connected the Kłodzko basin with the Oder valley, and therefore with Silesia. It is almost certain that Polish settlers from the neighbouring parts of the Oder basin penetrated into the Kłodzko punch-bowl by way of the valley of the Nisa, and then

came into contact with Czech settlers from over the Sudetic passes. Traces of both these Slavonic colonizing elements are to be found in the place-names of the district. The name of the chief stronghold of the valley occurs in early sources both in the Czech form Kladsko and in the Polish Kłodzko. Politically likewise, the region from the beginning of history was an object in dispute, fought for and annexed in turn by Poland and Bohemia. The earliest historical notices, dating from the end of the tenth century, state that Kłodzko belonged to Czech lords of the kin of the Sławniks. By reason of the fact that, when the church organization was established in Poland at the end of the tenth century, Kłodzko belonged politically to Bohemia and was therefore ecclesiastically subordinate to Prague, it was not included within the diocese of Wrocław, and remained outside of it even when it was temporarily united politically with Silesia and Poland. Although the fate of Kłodzko in the first half of the eleventh century is uncertain, it is known that in the second half of the century it belonged to Poland, until, in 1096, it passed for nearly two centuries under the dominion of Bohemia. It was not till 1278 that Duke Henry IV of Wrocław, after the death of King Ottokar of Bohemia, occupied the district of Kłodzko, which his grandson, Henry VI, in 1327 resigned as a fief to the Bohemian crown. Afterwards it remained permanently as such and shared the fortune of Silesia, with which it was incorporated by the act of Charles IV in 1348.

Continuing, the frontier between Silesia and Moravia is naturally formed by the broad, long crest of Jesionik (Jeseniky, Gesenke), which acts at the same time as the watershed between the rivers Oder and Morava, as far as the Moravian Gate. Beyond this it enters the outlying branches of the Carpathians, and following them eastwards, reaches their main chain in the Western Beskids. Whereas the historical boundary in High Jesionik kept to the hill-crests, in Low Jesionik it was liable to shift to and fro. The actual district of Low Jesionik, coincident with the later Duchy of Karniów (Krnov, Jägerndorf) - Opawa (Opava, Troppau), was the former area of the Silesian clan of the Gołężyce, who are mistakenly classed by Czech historians as settlers from Bohemia, although a considerable number of historical facts indicate that they belonged to the Polish zone. They are included among the Silesian clans by the 'Bavarian Geographer' in the ninth century; ecclesiastically their territory belonged at first to the diocese of Wrocław, from which it was only detached in the thirteenth century, to be incorporated with the diocese of Ołomuniec (Olomouc, Olmütz); and the ancient place-names of the neighbourhood — which is nowadays inhabited by the Czech clan of the 'Lachs', whose name and features of dialect indicate their Polish origin — testify that the old tenth and eleventh century boundary

of Silesia passed through it: e.g., the name of the town Granice (Hranice, Mährisch Weisskirchen), situated in the Moravian Gate. Politically the district of the Gołężyce (i.e., of Opawa) was early separated from Silesia and Poland, in 1038, and incorporated by the Bohemian duke Bretislas with Moravia, with which it remained united for three hundred years, until, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the bond began to be loosened, and it was once again joined to Silesia (in 1318). The amalgamation of Opawa with Silesia was finally completed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and provides an interesting example of the influence of geographical conditions on the political fortunes of districts naturally united but artificially divided and torn from the parent stem, to which after centuries they return.

The southern or Carpathian boundary of Silesia, nowadays marked by the Jabłonków Heights, was originally formed by another chain, running parallel with them to the south: namely the Jawornik Ridge and its eastern continuation as far as Mount Wielka Racza. A breach in this chain is made by the Kisucza (Kisuča), a tributary of the Wag (Váh, Waag). The whole area of the upper Kisucza as far as this gorge, forming the district of Czaca (Čaca), so-called from the town of that name at the entrance to the gorge, is inhabited by people of Polish stock, whose ancestors came from the basin of the upper Oder and the Vistula, from Silesia and the district of Żywiec, by way of the Jabłonków and Zwardoń passes. These Polish settlers, arriving probably in the fourteenth century, preceded the Slovak settlers in the area, who were advancing up the Wag and its tributaries from the fertile lands behind, but found their course checked by lofty mountain ramparts. It was this ancient Polish population of the valley of the Kisucza which advanced the political boundary of Silesia to the crest of Jawornik. But when, later, at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century, Hungarian colonists from the great estates on the Wag (Budatyn and Streczno), began to make their way into the basin formed by the upper Kisucza, prolonged disputes began for possession of the area originally colonized by Poles around Czaca; disputes which were only ended at the beginning of the nineteenth century by the advancement of the Silesian-Hungarian frontier northwards to the chain of the Jabłonków Heights. Here also, then, the line of the watershed came, as at Kłodzko and Opawa, to prevail over others and to be accepted as the political boundary.

The earliest eastern political boundary of Opole Silesia was absolutely coincident with the boundary between the dioceses of Wrocław and Cracow, which in this section, notwithstanding political changes, remained unaltered from the year 1000 to the beginning of the nineteenth century. It ran from Mt. Wielka Racza along the

Białka to the Vistula, where it went up river a little and then again turned northwards, along the watershed between the Oder and the Vistula, until it reached the sources of the Małapanew (Malapane) and the Liczwarta. Accordingly, the castellanies of Oświęcim and Bytom (Beuthen) were originally independent of Silesia; they were incorporated within the district of Cracow, and only at the end of the twelfth century passed to Mieszko, Duke of Racibórz (Ratibor), by way of donation. The Duchy of Oświęcim was regained by Poland by purchase in the second half of the fifteenth century. It is noteworthy that the ancient ecclesiastical and political boundary here described coincides with the present-day dividing line between the Silesian and the Cracow dialectal areas; which suggests that it is at the same time the primeval tribal boundary between the Ślężans and the Cracovians, which here followed the line of the Cracow—Wieluń jurassic ridge.

From the sources of the Liczwarta, near the town of Woźniki, the Silesian boundary ceases to run north-east, and turns almost at right angles to the north-west, following at first the line of the Lubliniec-Kłobucko Forest, and then the course of the Liczwarta, until the latter makes a sudden turn to the east, when the boundary crosses over to the source of the Prosna and accompanies that river for a certain length. It is noteworthy that throughout this whole stretch the political and ecclesiastical boundaries coincide, though they deviate somewhat to the east from the natural line of the watershed. They mutually diverge, in fact, only in one sector: the district of Ostrzeszów being included within the boundary of the diocese of Wrocław, which continues to follow the Prosna, whereas politically it forms part of the district of Kalisz in Great-Poland. Apparently the political frontier was altered in favour of Great-Poland and at the expense of Silesia, the stabler ecclesiastical boundary indicating its original line. When this happened is uncertain, and we can only conjecture that the present situation is the result of changes which took place in the early thirteenth century, when there were conflicts between the dukes of Silesia and of Great-Poland, which reached their culminating point in the time of Henry the Bearded and Henry the Pious.

The frontier of Silesia changes its direction again at the source of the Barycz (Bartsch), which bifurcates and empties a portion of its head-waters into the Prosna while its main stream flows westwards and discharges into the Oder. The valley of the Barycz, which even today is full of marshes and lakes, once marked the strong natural boundary between Great-Poland and Silesia, and had doubtless been the tribal boundary between the Polanians and the Ślężanie. The famous Gniezno Bull of 1136 mentions the Barycz as the boundary of the diocese of Gniezno. In the year 1000, i.e., when the dioceses were founded, the boundary was

identical with the then inter-provincial (inter-tribal) line. Later, however, we find that the ecclesiastical boundary, and with it the political, no longer followed the actual course of the Barycz, but ran parallel with it to the north, at a distance of some five or six miles. This circumstance may be explained by the supposition that the strip of land on the right bank, being dry and fertile, came to attract settlers from both of the neighbouring tribes, the Silesian and the Great-Polish, the Silesians endeavouring to occupy the whole right half of the Barycz basin, while the Great-Poles strove to get possession of the marshy river throughout its course, from its source at Ołobok to its mouth near Wschowa (Fraustadt). Thus we may account for the very confused course of the boundary between Great-Poland and Silesia in this portion, and thus also for the instability of the political boundary and the alternate annexations of territory: the conquest of the district of Poniec by Henry, Duke of Głogów (Glogau), in 1310, and the incorporation of Wschowa within Great-Poland in 1343.

Farther on, both the ecclesiastical and political boundaries of Silesia run north-westwards along the watershed between the Oder and the Warta, the chief rivers of Silesia and Great-Poland respectively. Only where the watershed becomes indistinguishable in the marshes of the Putrid Oder do they begin to meander, keeping, however, in general to the course of the marshy Odrzyca until it turns to the Oder. Here the ecclesiastical and political boundaries diverge, the former, which is undoubtedly the original tribal and political pale, taking in the area of the town of Cylichowa (Züllichau), but leaving Świebodzin (Schwiebus) in the diocese of Poznań and consequently in Great-Poland. The boundaries converge again only at the great bend of the Oder, near Szydłów, where four dioceses — those of Wrocław, Lubusz (Lebus), Poznań and Miśnia — meet, and at the same time four provinces (Silesia, Lubusz, Great-Poland and Miśnia).

Passing for a moment to the problem of the Lubusz district and its relation to Silesia, we first of all observe that its situation at the confluence of the Warta with the Oder gives it cardinal importance, for on the one hand, lying as it does on both sides of the Oder, it forms to some extent a continuation of Silesia, while on the other its situation on the Warta makes it a continuation of Great-Poland. In a word, the district attracted colonists from both these provinces, who followed the respective courses of the Oder and the Warta, meeting here at right angles. To its situation, therefore, at the confluence of these two rivers the Lubusz district owed its territorial and constitutional detachment. It formed a distinct ecclesiastical unit — the diocese of Lubusz — which doubtless was moulded on an originally distinct territorial and political, i.e., tribal unit. It may therefore be conjectured that before the division of Poland into

provinces on the death of Boleslas Wrymouth in 1138 Lubusz was not considered as belonging either to Silesia or to Great-Poland, but formed a detached district, which was elevated into an ecclesiastical diocese by Wrymouth. The question of the overlordship of Lubusz therefore did not become urgent until 1138 and the provincial conflicts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. We do not know to which province it was assigned by Wrymouth's settlement. German historians regard it as having been from the beginning united with Silesia, yet the earliest historical notice, dating from 1209, asserts that Lubusz was dependent, not on Silesia but on Great-Poland. In later years it passed from hand to hand as an object of dispute between the two provinces. At the time of the expansion of Brandenburg and the New Mark towards Great-Poland in the middle of the thirteenth century, Lubusz, as a key-point, became the special goal of the margraves' endeavours, and after its occupation they easily penetrated along the Warta and the Noteć deep into Great-Poland, as far as Santok (Zantoch). These conflicts, therefore, resulted in a closer union of Lubusz with Great-Poland than with Silesia, from which, for the rest, it was separated by the strong, fortified banks of the Oder at Szydłów and Krosno.

The above discussion of the establishment of the original boundaries of Silesia and their relation to the terrain leads to the conclusion that they were greatly influenced by the nature of the latter. To the south and east orographical features determined the line, which rested to the south on the mountain barrier of the Sudetic and Carpathian ranges, and to the east on the edge of the Cracow-Wieluń jurassic ridge. In other parts, where the shape of the ground was not so strongly marked, hydrographical features took the place of orographical — on which, indeed, they are dependent. The territory of Silesia, embracing the basin of the upper and middle Oder, was bounded by the watersheds separating the latter from the basins of the neighbouring large rivers, the Elbe, the Vistula and the Warta. To the east there is a certain expansion beyond the watershed, whereas to the north, on the Great-Polish side, the line of the main watershed was early abandoned in favour of the marshes of the Barycz, which offered a natural defence, part of the strip of territory on the right bank of this river being occupied later. Similarly in the west, the boundary was withdrawn, at the outset of historical times, from the Lusatian Nisa to that of the Bober and the Kwisia.

#### IV

### GENERAL REMARKS ON THE GEOGRAPHICAL CONDITIONS UNDERLYING THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SILESIA

Of the geographical factors exercising a decisive influence on the historical development of Silesia, the situation of the province relative to the rest of Europe deserves special attention. Silesia lay on the ancient 'amber route' between the Adriatic and the coasts of the Baltic, at the entrance to the famous Moravian Gate. Squeezed in between the barrier of the Sudetes and the Little-Polish uplands, it opens upon the great plain of northern Europe, of which it forms an inlet. To this situation it owes the historical rôle which it has played from prehistoric times, throughout the Roman period and the Middle Ages, down to modern times. For already in prehistoric times the district formed a gateway through which passed the peoples migrating in either direction across the mountain barrier of the Carpathian and the Sudetic range. Moreover, the routes from east to west likewise passed through it, lying as it did at the northern foot of the mountain rampart which stretched, parallel with the lines of latitude, all the way from the reservoirs of population on the Black Sea steppes to the rich centres of culture near the Atlantic coasts. The route is defined by the narrow but almost or quite unforested belt of loess, remarkably favourable to communication, which starts from the extensive plains of the Ukrainian and Podolian black-earth region and

runs westwards along the northern edge of the Carpathian-Sudetic scarp: until in Silesia it forks, one bifurcation leading southwards through the Moravian Gate towards the Danube, and the other across Silesia, along the left bank of the Oder at the foot of the Sudetes, and through the Lusatian Gate into the basin of the middle Elbe. It was along this belt of loess that the Tartars penetrated to the field of Lignica in 1241, and retreated again after their defeat by way of the Moravian Gate and the second belt into Hungary. There must have been more than one such mass migration in prehistoric times to account for the intermixture and variety of prehistoric cultures in Silesia, the infiltration of diverse influences, the vestiges of northern and southern, eastern and western peoples, Celts, Germans and Slavs, and finally the number of Roman and Arabian coins found scattered over the province.

The social convulsions which afflicted Europe in the early centuries of the Christian era, in the form of irresistible advances of roving tribes, did not spare Silesia, through which various Germanic peoples rolled in the course of their migrations from north to south and from east to west, and where some of them remained for two or three centuries. Yet underneath this super-

ficial and turbulent Germanic stratum there doubtless persisted the ancient Slavonic, Lechitic element, long rooted in the soil. Finally it survived the storm and maintained itself on the ground where it was to fulfil its historical destiny as part of the Piast monarchy, which arose in the tenth century in the basin of the Vistula, and ultimately included all the Lechitic, and therefore the Silesian, clans in one political organism.

Besides its geographical situation, a second powerful factor influenced the fortunes of Silesia, namely its mountain features. For the clearly marked range of the Sudetes and the Beskids gave it a natural frontier to the south-west, in part impassable, which has endured unchanged to the present day. Such a boundary could be crossed only at those points where there were gaps in the mountain chain, more easily accessible for the inhabitants, and at the same time for their neighbours. These gaps facilitated communication, but also facilitated inroads by organized armed bands, so that the peoples on either side were constrained to strengthen their natural defences at such points by artificial strongholds, watch-towers and clearings. Accordingly, a characteristic feature of Silesia is the series of ancient fortresses extending along the foot of the whole Sudetic and Carpathian barrier, each planted at the entrance to a mountain pass: Cieszyn (Teschen) on the way to the Jabłonków gap, the Gołężyce fort of Grodziec at the entrance to the Moravian Gate, Warta in the gorge of the Kłodzka-Nisa, Kłodzko at the Nachod and Mittelwalde gap, Świn at the Kamienogóra (Landeshut) gap, and so on.

Again, the fortunes of Silesia were affected by the fact that, at both ends of the Sudetic bulwark against the attacks of alien neighbours to the west and south, there existed two wide gateways for invasion: the Lusatian to the west and the Moravian to the south. It was mainly through these two passages that alien ethnic elements and political influences penetrated into the country: German from the west and Bohemian from the south, gradually obliterating the bonds which united it culturally and politically with Poland. These bonds were weakened also, it is true, to a certain extent by the intervention of an orographic feature, namely the Cracow-Wieluń jurassic ridge, which, although it was by no means such an obstacle as the Sudetes, yet throughout its length formed a natural barrier between Silesia and the rest of the Poland — all the more, since it was covered by a broad belt of primeval forest. Thus we may say that Silesia was held to Poland by two strong links: the above-mentioned belt of loess connecting the district of Cracow, on the Vistula, with Upper Silesia, and the dry and sparsely wooded passage along the Prosna connecting Middle and Lower Silesia with the Polanian districts on the Warta. These links sufficed to hold Silesia to Poland as long as the latter was

compact and strong. But when in the thirteenth century the forces holding the Polish provinces together began to relax and even to dissolve, the result could not but be felt in Silesia, the more so that the same period saw the increase of ethnic and political pressure by the neighbouring peoples to the west and south. Germany was at the time in much the same state of discord and political division as was Poland, and yet the expansive force of the German nation increased rather than diminished, while the famines which repeatedly visited the country compelled the inhabitants to seek refuge in neighbouring Poland, and above all in Silesia. This explains in part the thirteenth century *Drang nach Osten*, which brought new settlers at first into Lower Silesia and then into Middle Silesia by various routes, but mainly through the Lusatian Gate. On the other hand Bohemia, which was politically stronger, developed its attack from the south, by way of the Moravian Gate and Lower Jesionik, which it succeeded in occupying as early as the eleventh century; and the political pressure exerted from the south, mainly upon Upper Silesia, led at the end of the thirteenth century to the separation of Opole from Poland and its incorporation as a fief with Bohemia; while at the beginning of the fourteenth century, when Silesia was politically divided and national feeling was weak, a number of dukes similarly paid homage to the Bohemian Crown.

These, then, are the chief geographical features which combined with other causes to loosen the bonds between Silesia and Poland. But this bond was strengthened by a further factor: the network of waterways which unite all the Polish provinces into one closely knit geographical and historical complex.

Hydrographical features — dependent in any case on the physical configuration of the area — have left an unusually strong mark on the history of the province. Silesia is indeed identical with the valley of the Oder, and it may confidently be asserted that there is scarcely any region in Europe so closely and exclusively dependent on its water system. The Oder has accordingly exerted a strong influence on its historical development, and above all has decisively affected its habitation and its boundaries. The Polish settlers who found themselves in the basin of the Oder, spread along the natural routes provided by its symmetrical waterways, and the river-system led them to the remotest corners of the country. The original Polish pioneers, pushing up the Oder and its tributaries on either side, chose at first only those sites for settlement which were free of wood and easy to cultivate, and stopped at the edge of the forests which encompassed the region. It was not till later, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, that settlers began to penetrate into the forest and bring new areas there under cultivation. Pushing ever farther

up the rivers, they reached the lower slopes of the hills and climbed them until they reached the watersheds, where they stopped, in contiguity with settlers on the farther side who had come from the neighbouring basins of the Elbe, the Morava, the Vistula and the Wag. Here and there, however, they met no such alien settlers on the watershed, and therefore crossed it — as in the Czaca district — and found their way into a neighbouring river basin. Here and there, again, they were unable to reach the watershed, since it had already been occupied by a neighbouring clan, — as perhaps was the case on the Lusatian Nisa and at Kłodzko. In this way the watersheds of the Oder came to constitute the ethnic border of the area inhabited by the Silesian clans, and when the latter created a political organization for themselves, its limits extended with the advance of settlement until they embraced the whole of the Oder basin. Later, when the territory of this political organism became, c. 1000, the basis of a new, ecclesiastical, organization, the area of the diocese of Wrocław was made coincident with the basin of the Oder, and its boundary was defined by the same watershed which marked the limit of Polish habitation and was concomitantly the political boundary of Silesia. This fact becomes most clearly evident where the terrain shows no strong natural features: that is to say, in the plain. Historical Silesia may therefore without exaggeration be called a distinct physiographical unit contained within the watershed of its mother river, the Oder.

But the same Oder, to which Silesia owed its geographical and historical unity, also served under certain conditions to divide it. Where its waters, swollen by numerous large tributaries, were broad and deep, it might for a time form so great an obstacle as to determine not only the line of defence of an army, but even the boundary of a province. We may recall how many German and Bohemian inroads in the Middle Ages were held up by the line of the Oder, and how the impassability of its channel was celebrated by the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in his letter to Wibald, Abbot of Corvey, in 1157. And again, how the Oder is mentioned as the border river in the earliest documents defining boundaries, as for example in the famous deed called *Dagone iudex*, or the forgeries of the diocese of Miśnia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which fix the eastern boundary of the diocese as the whole course of the river from its source. Still, these were either very general definitions of limits, which took the river as the one obvious geographical feature in the plain, or simply expressions of the pious hopes of Poland's neighbours on the west. The Oder river system proved itself stronger as a bond, not only for Silesia but for the whole area draining into the Baltic.

For the Oder river system is remarkable — as Polish geographers such as Romer have pointed out —

inasmuch as it forms a hydrographical link with the basin of the Vistula, and entirely lacks connexion with the Elbe to the west. The most numerous and the largest of the tributaries of the Oder are on its right bank, those on the left being confined to the Lusatian Nisa, which itself receives no notable confluent from the left. The watershed between the Oder and the Elbe thus runs quite close to the Nisa and the prolongation of its line in the lower Oder; and it is accordingly no mere chance that the watershed marks at the same time the ethnic boundary between the Lechitic tribes on the one hand and the Lusatian Sorbs and the Polabians on the other.

The eastern tributaries of the Oder, however, extend their long branches straight towards the basin of the Vistula, and their sources are no great distance from the sources of the left-bank tributaries of the Vistula. The watershed on this side being comparatively low, there are a number of hydrographical features which bind the two valley basins into a compact and distinct unit, and must have strongly affected the course of the original settlement of this part of Europe. Indeed the valleys of the Oder and the Vistula present not only a geographical but also an ethnographical unit, which naturally became, in the earliest historical period, a political unit also.

From the above, then, it is clear that throughout the course of its eastern border Silesia is closely united by its rivers with Poland, and there can be no doubt that this fact has tended to promote the close association of the two districts and has continued to do so throughout history in spite of the counteracting influence of the natural features of the scenery and the configuration of the ground. It has been pointed out above how the jurassic ridge forms a serious physical obstacle between Silesia and the district of Cracow, as indeed is evidenced by the fact that after the former had become separated from Poland the latter's western boundary was shifted from the Sudetes to this ridge, where it remained until the decline and fall of the Polish Commonwealth. But the ridge would never have divided the two political entities, had it not been for the existence of the further factor, which we have called the natural features of the scenery: that is to say, of the primeval forest which covered the slopes and crest of the ridge with an impenetrable mantle of scrub.

Of the distribution of forests and unforested tracts respectively at the dawn of history we can only form a general picture. It suffices to say that forests were general on the outskirts of the district, whereas treeless or sparsely wooded tracts extended mainly along the left bank of the Oder, beginning from the Moravian Gate and the mouths of the Ostrawica and the Olza, and thence crossing to the right bank of the Oder and uniting with the treeless tracts of the upper Vistula and of Oświęcim. These tracts coincided, as has been

shown above, with the deposits of loess, which made very fertile soil yet were not favourable to the growth of forest.

The forests, then, on the outskirts of Silesia fulfilled the extremely important function of *silva liminaris*, in addition to the already salient mountain features. The latter, whether they were the crests and slopes of the Sudetic range, the summits of the Beskid chain, or the rocky steps of the jurassic ridge between Cracow and Wieluń, would never have constituted the serious barriers which they did, had they not been clothed with that mantle of dense forest which still covers them to a considerable degree. Thus, the significance of such a forest mantle increases where the morphological factor loses in force owing to a relatively lower altitude: that is to say, where there is a pass or an opening in the hills, as at Low Jesionik, or to some extent on the jurassic ridge; but most strikingly at the Lusatian Gate, on the borders of Miśnia and Lusatia, by the Lusatian Nisa and the Bober. The *silva liminaris* here is mentioned in the *Dagone iudex* document of the end of the tenth century. We have already spoken more than once of the barrier formed by the belt of virgin forest on the borders of Silesia and the district of Cracow; this was one of the geographical reasons for the gradual loosening of the bonds between the two districts, and the subsequent complete separation of Silesia.

Besides this outer ring of forests, however, Silesia had large wooded tracts within its borders. The most continuous belt stretched from the Sudetic forests along the right bank of the Kłodzko Nisa to its junction with the Oder, and then, crossing to the east bank of the latter, continued between the Stobrawa (Stober) and the Małapanew till it joined the jurassic forest. There were, of course, originally a number of gaps in this belt, facilitating communication between Upper and Middle Silesia, and these rendered it possible at certain periods to maintain the political unity of the province. But they might at any moment be artificially blocked, and communication between the two parts of Silesia interrupted. This forest belt, therefore, between Upper and Middle Silesia encouraged political separatism in the two sections; and there were moments in history when this separatism took practical shape, for example in the tribal epoch, when the two clans of Opolanie and Ślę-

zanie came to be distinguished, and again in the thirteenth century, when the Opole district was to all intents and purposes a separate and independent unit. At this period, in the reign of Henry the Bearded, the ancient abatis (*przesieka*) was restored along the whole southern border of true, i.e., Wrocław, Silesia. This *przesieka* consisted of artificial barriers of fallen tree-trunks, strengthening the natural defences provided by the belt of forest wilderness which (according to *Liber claustris in Heinrichau*) encompassed the whole of true Silesia, wherever it was interrupted by open rides or glades. It is safe to suppose that this forest belt along the Silesian Opole border resisted the pressure of the Germans who threw themselves upon Lower and Middle Silesia in the thirteenth century, although German colonists had begun to penetrate into the wilderness at the beginning of the same century, notwithstanding the dukes' prohibition of any violation of the border. On the other hand, again, the clearance of the forest and its obstructions by these same colonists may have been a contributory cause of the decay of Opole separatist feeling, and the growth of the new and enduring political union of the district with the rest of Silesia in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In any case the wave of germanization broke on the Opole border forest, of which considerable patches remain till the present day; so that perhaps it is no exaggeration to say that this latter contributed in some degree to the preservation of the Polish character of Opole. Similarly, the treeless belt of loess connecting Upper Silesia with the district of Cracow facilitated communication between the two regions and strengthened the bonds which endured notwithstanding the passage of centuries, so that to-day, by the workings of historical destiny — based, for the rest, on geographical actualities — at least portions of these Polish regions, after long separation, have returned to their allegiance.

An analogous process is to be observed on the border between the district of Kłodzko and Silesia, where likewise the belt of forest and its obstacles fell beneath the axe of pioneers, in some places as early as the thirteenth century; as a consequence of which the region was speedily germanized, but on the other hand the political consolidation of Kłodzko with Silesia was hastened.

# UPPER SILESIA: A GLANCE DOWN THE YEARS

by WILLIAM J. ROSE

(LONDON, ENGLAND)

Some peoples have been, more than others, the prey of unkindly forces over which they could have no control. When a whole nation experiences such a lot the world gets as a rule to know something of its nature; but when only a province or a region is affected the extent of the suffering may pass unnoticed.

Among the causes of this sort of misfortune geographical circumstances are prominent. It has often happened simply because of the position of the area in question on the map. Not a few cultural and economic groups have been placed by fate 'betwixt and between', so that for various reasons they do not belong rightly either to the one or the other neighbour nation. They are as a result subjected to the good or ill will of both. All such regions have had more than their share of visitations down the ages, while on the other hand many another has escaped the furies of war or pestilence almost entirely.

Two such exposed lands occur to every informed reader at once — Lombardy and Flanders. Both of them are plains, both of them are unusually fertile, and both of them have been for milleniums 'homes of cities and of men'. Perhaps for just this reason they have been the prey of warring princes, and have paid a bitter toll. But of even greater significance, because culturally

more knit together, are two other regions — Alsace on the Rhine, and Silesia on the Oder. At least in this respect they are similar, that rival States have claimed them for centuries, that they have been repeatedly ravaged by war and that they themselves have not been to blame.

We are concerned here with Silesia, and in particular with the upper reaches of the Oder basin, lying far beyond Breslau and reaching into the western Carpathians. Our interest has grounds that are both old and new; the newest because of the difficulty with which a settlement was made after the Great War of the frontier between the German Republic and the new Polish State. In no place was the frontier so hard to delineate as in the Upper Oderland, chiefly because during the nineteenth century that land had become one of the biggest and most complicated industrial areas of the Continent. This change was wrought under German leadership and with German capital, but the work was done by Polish workmen. Few people realize that the post-War strife was only a prolongation of an ancient struggle, whose origins go far back and whose acuteness was felt at different times since modern industry began. The purpose of this article is to throw some light on the whole matter.

## I

### SITUATION OF UPPER SILESIA

An eminent Breslau professor published an essay a generation before the War on the *Sonderstellung* of Upper Silesia. By this he meant the peculiar position of the province inside the Prussian State: which, in the hands of wiser leaders, would have evoked special treatment. Unfortunately there was no desire to understand this position, rather the will to hide it, so that things went steadily from bad to worse. The peculiarity of Upper Silesia was a mixture of all possible cultural, economic and physical elements.

From the Renaissance onwards German historians have not failed to distinguish 'Polish' Silesia from 'German' Silesia. By 'German' Silesia they meant the

lower and middle reaches of the Oder which, being more accessible and far more fertile, had been colonized during the later Middle Ages by Frankish and German emigrants. 'Polish' Silesia signified the remoter or higher parts of the Oder plain, a region which was isolated in a curious way by the dense forest belt that stretched out eastwards from the Grandfather Mountains to the later Russian boundary. Being mostly sandy wastes, and in part marshes, this flat plain had no attractions for settlers, and remained almost wholly in possession of a sparse, indigenous, Slavonic population, whose cultural level was lower than that of their western neighbours.

These facts stood out, when Frederick the Great made it quite clear that he had no wish to annex this plain east of the upper Oder, though he took with enthusiasm all the rest of Silesia from Maria Theresa. The *silva liminaris* had helped to do the work, and the Prussian King knew well that he could have little comfort and a lot of trouble with the people beyond it.

In retrospect we can see the significance of the fact that apart from a few settlements placed by Frederick along the northern fringes of this land, there were at best only two or three German communities east of the Upper Oder; and that until well into the nineteenth century there were not even decent towns to be found anywhere. Worse still, there was no road through the wilderness; and the few landed proprietors, most of them with huge estates, did as little as possible to

improve the status of their serfs.

The truth was known long ago, though not spread abroad, that Upper Silesia was for Prussia (indeed for the Reich after 1870) little more than a colonial possession — to be exploited to the full. What Goethe wrote of it in 1790, when he made the long journey by coach to Tarnowskie Góry (Tarnowitz) to see the first steam engine at work on the Continent of Europe, was still true a century later:

'Fern von gebildeten Menschen, am Ende des Reiches,  
Wer hilft Euch?'

In actual distance it was, and of course still is, nearly twice as far from Berlin as from Warsaw. By the canons of what we now call 'social distance' it was much farther.

## II INDUSTRIALIZATION

We come now to the salient facts of the history of this curiously situated land, which help to account for its Sonderstellung. They may be summed up as follows: Separation from the Polish Crown in the fourteenth century, and union with Bohemia; incorporation into the domain of the Habsburgs in 1526; transference almost as a whole to the Prussian Kingdom when seized by Frederick after 1740; restoration in part to the now restored Poland in 1922.

These political events were of far-reaching significance, especially the seizure by Prussia, which gave the province for the first time a restless and able overlord, who took an interest both in the people and the land they dwelt in. Scarcely was Frederick the Great's hold on Silesia confirmed by the Treaty of Hubertsburg in 1763, when he began to plan improvements and reforms. Above all he set about assaying the natural resources, and soon had reliable reports as to the mineral wealth of the barren plains, of which some toll had been taken in Reformation times. The result was the reopening of lead and iron pits — lying near the surface, and the erection of crude smelting furnaces. Prussia was now to have her own mills for turning out guns and munitions.

To combat the troublesome water in the shafts, the moment they had begun to go deeper, Wilhelm Reden brought from England by water the first steam-engine to be seen in Silesia, setting it up in 1789. With this begins the Machine Age in Central Europe. Constant experimenting enabled those in charge to develop methods of smelting iron by the use of coke (instead of the charcoal used hitherto); and at once use was found for the neighbouring, literally inexhaustible stores of coal. The closing years of the eighteenth century and the first of the next saw something approaching

modern blast furnaces rise in the heart of what is now the mighty Industrial Triangle, and from that moment Upper Silesia became 'the pearl of the Prussian Crown'.

All this happened just in time. After Napoleon's victory at Jena in 1806 Prussia was robbed of all her western possessions, though there was as yet nothing in sight of the Westphalian industrial supremacy. To the infant Upper Silesian enterprises fell the task of refitting the land to take up the struggle with Napoleon. Actually the 130 cannon that took part in the Battle of the Nations in 1813 were all provided by the Upper Oderland.

From this time on events took their logical course. Recovery was slow after the Congress of Vienna, and the next landmark was the coming of the railways in the forties. This was the second milestone in the modernization of what had been an isolated land and people. Along with it went, as a result of the upheaval all over Central Europe in 1848, the long hoped-for emancipation of the serfs, already planned and executed on paper forty years before by Stein, but blocked in its fulfilment in the Oderland by the selfish and all-powerful land barons.

The fifties saw two kinds of advance. The one was the freeing of industry in general from State control and State competition; the achieving in short of an open field of competition and expansion for private initiative. The other was the beginning of new processes of producing steel from pig-iron; a greatly needed article now that all Europe began to be covered with a net-work of steel rails. But the plunge forward that completed the industrialization of Upper Silesia came after 1870.

With the indemnity taken from a beaten France, Prussia set about the capitalization of her industries.

What had until then been mostly enterprises owned and operated by Upper Silesia's own aristocrats (often with the help of Breslau capital), now became great joint stock companies whose invested capital became the property more and more of absentee owners. Two significant changes were at hand: the end of what had been quite largely personal relationships between the employer and his employees, and the fast-progressing

proletarianization of the workers. It is from this time that the influx of German managers and foremen, of German public and private officials, and of German banks and schools, etc., began to be seriously felt. In the new German State the Oderland was destined to provide more than its quota of millionaires, at the price of ruthless exploitation of the fast-multiplying Upper Silesian people.

### III DRAMA OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Not many more striking examples of the drama of social change can be found than the one which took place in Upper Silesia. In order to appreciate its power, we must suggest its working. In other words we must offer a 'logic' of change, and one which will come as nearly as may be to fitting all adducible cases.

In a very real sense medieval Europe can be said to have known a static social order. By this is meant that in whatever station men and women were born, in that they lived and died. What is more, the lines of the occupational elements in the social structure were rigid. Of progress in the modern sense of the word there was no notion.

The beginnings of change date far back to the rise of the medieval towns in Lombardy and Flanders. They gathered force as nation States emerged out of universalism, and as the Age of Discovery revolutionized human concepts about the earth and man's life on it. Slowly but surely the static in society became replaced by the dynamic. Not only did the fact of constant change force itself on minds that had never faced it before, but the concept of change came to be recognized as something not unlike a social law.

By 1750 the forces of change had hewn out for themselves the name of Progress. Now progress is achieved when what is gives way to what ought to be; in other words, when more or less open conflict is seen between the latter and the former. And this is precisely the picture presented to us by western Europe from the time of the Crusades onwards. Where once was stability, not to say stagnation, there came movement in the form of change. The companion of it all was conflict, and the nations have faced enough of it during five centuries and more.

But where forces are in conflict the logic of things demands a solution. This may be attained easily or only by sweat and blood. Often the process is a trying one, a veritable agony. Thus we see social history develop from the static to the dynamic through stages which may be summed up as: inertia, change, conflict, and solution. Let us see how nearly this analysis fits the Upper Silesian drama.

In general we can say that change came to Upper Silesia with the onset of Prussian control and exploit-

ation. Before then so little of external influence had touched the Upper Oder plain that it scarcely knew of the passing of time from the days of the Tartar invasions. Now everything was in flux. The land that Reden first saw had little to show of what was there when he left it.

With these changes went conflict. Not that there was none before, but whatever there had been was mild and inarticulate by comparison with the new forces. Silesia shared them of course with the rest of Europe. The serf was being set free in France, feudalism was drawing to a close in the west, and modern Europe was being born. Scientific experiment was winning its way as the method of the schools; the citadels of the 'sacred' and 'revealed' were beginning to fall before the oncoming tide of secularization. No longer were princes to rule by divine right, but the people.

In Upper Silesia the march of industry provided work and well-being where before there had been mostly idleness and poverty, but the course of events did not provide equal justice, as it well could have done. It gave more to those who had, but left those who had not just where they were before. It accentuated the already-felt cleavage between those in power and those not, between the landed and the landless, between the 'classes' and the more and more exploited masses. The story is a long one, and has its bitter episodes. What is more, there were things about it peculiar to the Silesian situation. The people on the Upper Oder had not only to go through the same struggles as their fellows experienced elsewhere in Europe before winning their way to recognition as human beings and citizens, but they had their own special battles to fight in addition. The main stages of this series of conflicts must suffice for us here.

(1) First we must deal with what may rightly be called the class struggle. This made itself felt long before industry began to be known as a power, in the form of bitter risings of the serfs against their landlords. These risings were bolder after Prussia had established her rule, not so much in protest against the new régime as against the defiance shown by the landlords of that régime. There is no doubt that Berlin wanted to curb the abuses of serfdom, but it never succeeded in doing

this, with the result that the folk of the Upper Oder plains were worse off than they had been under Austria. After 1789 they learned of the new order that was being ushered in, and must have known that even Poland set about freeing her serfs in 1791. The result was a succession of revolts, of which the story has never been written, that left a trail of resentment behind them.

This resentment could have been nullified in 1807 if the freedom conferred on the masses in the rest of Prussia had been realized also in Upper Silesia, but as we have seen it was delayed here for half a life-time, and the disappointment was keen. Later, it is true, the uprisings were replaced by law-suits, but the temper of the latter was one of unrelenting antagonism. To heap insult on injury, when the emancipation did come, it left most of the now freed people landless. They were thus in as bad a way as the emancipated negroes of the American South after the Civil War.

Then came the crowning misfortune, from the social point of view. The years following 1850 gave increased opportunity for these liberated but landless peasants to find employment in the mines and foundries — but in effect on the employers' terms. The result was the replacement of one kind of subjection by another, before the victims could get their breath or accustom themselves to their new status. Passing in a decade from a way of living where they had hardly seen money from one season to another, they now earned wages — but had no idea of how to use their earnings. Many of them earned a good deal, but like children they squandered it. Thus, though they seemed to be well off, they were really as helpless as ever, if not more so. This fact facilitated the process of proletarianization, when it was effected in the late seventies and the eighties.

Thus the stage was set for wide-spread antagonism of the workers to their employers in the whole Industrial Triangle. True, this bitter did feeling not take the form of organized Social Democracy, as it did elsewhere in Germany, the reason being two-fold, viz., that the folk were devoted Roman Catholics, and that they knew little or no German. But these two facts prepared the way for a hostility that was quite as fierce as that of Marxism, and in some ways more fruitful.

(2) The seventies saw this class struggle develop into a cultural conflict of the first magnitude, when Bismarck began to attack the influence of the Roman Catholic Church in education and on public life in general. The May Laws roused Catholics everywhere in defence of what they held to be their sacred privileges; and among the Poles of the eastern marches the cause of their mother-tongue was bound up with that of their faith. The Iron Chancellor could not foresee that he would be challenged in Upper Silesia by a common school teacher, whose courage and resource were such

that the whole nation stood amazed. Karol Miarka, with his editorial pen, became the spokesman of hitherto inarticulate masses, whose numbers went into millions; and though he could not win the conflict on the spot he made the Prussian triumph a Pyrrhic one indeed. The Upper Silesian worker, whether on the land, or in mine and foundry, discovered now that he had a double cause for mistrust of his betters. They meant to exploit him as an employee, and they were out to rob him of his spiritual heritage as a Pole and a Catholic. True, the threat in the latter direction was modified in part, but his fears once roused could not to be allayed, and the German cause reaped a generation later the bitter harvest of Bismarck's blunders.

(3) From the combination of class and culture conflict, it was but a short step to politics. It was natural that the awakening Polish-speaking elements in the Upper Oderland should come in time to join forces with their brethren of Poznan and Pomerania. By the same token it was inevitable that they should hear echoes of the efforts made by their fellow-Poles across the frontiers in Russia or Austria to publish abroad their unflinching faith that somehow the nation would be reunited, and that liberty would again be its portion. No less a prophet than the Iron Chancellor himself had given the Poles their cue in 1854 in a notable pronouncement in which in effect he foretold precisely what was to come to pass in 1918-19. It is amazing that Bismarck's successors should have been so blind to the writing on the wall. Whether from ignorance or from the Hybris that of old was said to bring down the mighty from their seat, they ran, but refused to read. The result is known to all.

With this our story is told. There remains only to sketch briefly the tragic nature of the social and cultural situation thus created for about two million people. One may venture the statement that scarcely any feature of it was natural; it was at best artificial and oppressive.

Neither as a man, nor as a citizen, nor as a Christian can the average Upper Silesian peasant, whether tenant or proprietor, or the workman in the mine and foundry, be held, at the turn of the nineteenth century, to have led a normal existence. Only as a wage-earner did he count at all — unless as a soldier in war-time. Even as a wage-earner his status was far inferior to that of his fellows in other parts of the Reich, a fact which brought him the constant temptation to migrate. Further, when he was earning fair money, he had no idea of how to use it. Lack of proper education on the one hand and the presence of every incentive to waste his wages on the other, made it long odds against the prevalence of thrift among the masses.

Again, as a man he was, in nine cases of ten, of Polish extraction and speech. It may be that he was scarcely aware of what this meant, but the fact was

soon brought home to him. Experience taught him in school, in the army, and in the mine or the workshop that there was a stigma attached to everything not German. No 'Polak' could aspire to promotion in this world, and his chances of salvation in the next were little better. The epithet used of him was *Halbmensch*, and he was openly treated as such. What was worse, when he accepted this ruling, and sold himself in an effort to be more Prussian than the Prussians, he could never shake off the reproach of his origin.

As a citizen he was even worse off. The Three Class Suffrage, as an instrument, was calculated to keep him in his place in the body politic, and it certainly succeeded. Only by supreme effort of organization, which invited persecutions and tension, could the masses of workmen hope to make their will felt at all. Prussia hated and feared freedom of speech and opinion more than anything else, and under the triple imperialism prevailing in Upper Silesia — political, economic and cultural — they virtually ceased to exist. The whole matter can be put into a single question: what can be the prospects anywhere at any time of men and women, as a major community, whose bread and butter is dependent on the will, one may say the caprice, of a group of absentee employers; whose institutions are the work of absentee legislators, whose mental *pabulum* is prepared for them by absentee educators: so

that their very being can be secured or jeopardized at any moment by 'owners' who know nothing about them and care just as little?

Finally, as a Christian, whether rightly or wrongly the Upper Silesian was convinced that his Catholic faith was under constant threat of infraction. Memories of the *Kulturkampf* were still alive. He saw about him the growing efforts to force him say the Lord's Prayer in a foreign tongue. He saw that Lutheran faith and germanism were held to be identical terms; and that in practice no Catholic could get a higher position either in public life or in business. Discrimination was the ruling principle — an attitude that poisoned the springs of the cohesion without which no society can rightly function. With the rise of the level of popular intelligence thanks to the common school and the spread of the daily newspaper, how could this fail to breed bitter resentment with the years? What sort of a psychology could result? Sowing the wind, how could people not expect to reap the whirlwind?

Such facts are clear proof that the social order in the Upper Oder plainland was never a natural one, and that the farther the Prussian régime went the worse things got. Hence the naivety of those in Upper Silesia who hoped from the settlement of 1922 an immediate adjustment of their woes, a speedy healing of their wounds.

#### IV SOLUTION

We have seen how out of the comparative stagnation of ages there came a new order—that of change. With this came conflicts, and for these a solution had to be sought. So long as the alternative to Prussian dominion was Russia, there was no attraction there. But when the colossus of Tsardom was broken, and the promise of a restored Poland was held before their eyes, the Upper Silesian peoples would not have been human had they remained indifferent. The five bitter years of the War alone would have made them responsive.

Actually the final solution satisfied few. Both parties complained. As yet we are too close to it to pass final judgments, but one thing is certain. The critics are confounded who said that neither the new frontier nor the economic adjustments would work. Thanks to the untiring efforts of realists on the spot, both leaders in politics and leaders in big business, thanks to the help given by the agencies of the League of Nations — the Mixed Commission and the Tribunal of Arbitration,

thanks also to the will of the masses of Upper Silesia to go about their daily task of earning a living and to accept a situation which (so far as the world depression will permit) gives them a chance to do it, the area with the densest population in Central Europe has survived fifteen post-War years with less unrest than most of those familiar with its problem would have thought possible.

It goes without saying that mistakes have been made. It was inevitable that much hardship should have been imposed on individuals, both Germans and Poles, as a result of the change. But it has been worth while. To those of Polish sympathies the whole drama has looked like a great, if tardy, restitution. Germany looks at it otherwise; but at least we may say that a situation was thereby relieved that promised only trouble for the Reich, and in proportion as anything like friendly relations continue to exist between the German and Polish Republics, the new order is better for all concerned than the old.

# THE RACIAL STRUCTURE OF SILESIA

by JAN CZEKANOWSKI

(LWÓW, POLAND)

## I

### THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACH

In the domain of anthropology, very little progress has been made towards the dissemination of exact and reliable data in regard to the racial structure of Silesia. For this reason, it will be necessary to consider the matter from the viewpoint of the general anthropological composition of Europe. So treated, it will be seen that Silesia is the heart of one of the most characteristic anthropological regions of Europe, and merits thorough research on purely theoretical grounds alone. The importance of Silesia has not been adequately appreciated in this connexion, as most of the relevant investigations have been undertaken for purely utilitarian, economic, or political reasons. Yet Silesia constitutes a distinct anthropological unit, the study of which is essential for a proper understanding of racial conditions in south-western Poland, Bohemia and Central Germany.

It may be stated, in the most general sense, that the population of Europe consists of four races: the Nordic, Mediterranean, Armenoid, and Lapponoid or Alpine. Anthropological differences found in the various parts of the Continent of Europe are thus primarily due to the different relative admixtures of each of these four component races, although all four are present in all the populations of Europe, as a result of their having lived together for thousands of years within a comparatively small territory. Alien elements are found only at the extreme eastern or southern borderlands of Europe, or among immigrant intruders, who have remained isolated, as a result of cultural or religious differences, from the autochthonic peoples.

The cult of racial purity, considered to be the most essential condition for the highest degree of cultural development, has recently been propagated under the influence of German racial theory. In this connexion, however, it should be remembered that the regions inhabited by the most racially pure populations are pre-eminently the peninsulas of the European Continent, which constitute geographically isolated regions. Thus

the most marked preponderance of the Nordic race is to be found in Scandinavia, and that of the Mediterranean race in the southern part of the Appenine Peninsula. The western part of the Balkan Peninsula is characterized by a high proportion of Armenoids, whilst the Kola Peninsula, at the far North, is inhabited preponderatingly by Lapponoid elements. During the past few thousand years a constantly expanding central zone has been forming, in which all four racial elements are represented approximately to an equal extent.

This process has not yet, however, covered the whole of Europe, although it extends far down the Appenine Peninsula, as well as in France where formerly, as in England to-day, the Nordic and Mediterranean provinces came into contact. The German and Polish lowlands, extending as far as France, still constitute a territory characterized by a definite preponderance of Nordics, demarcated from the central zone with its preponderance of Lapponoid strains. The Nordic zone of the German and Polish plains represents a Continental complement of Scandinavia and is also very probably the place of origin of the Scandinavians. Present-day Scandinavia was only colonized in relatively recent times and still more recently Nordicized. Analogously, the Continental Lapponoid territory is probably the place of origin of the Lapponoid population of the Kola Peninsula. During the early Stone Age this race appeared in Continental Europe, as the Ofnet finds demonstrate, where it existed in similar concentration as to-day in Kola, on the West-Carpathian foot-hills, and in Lusatia.

In the light of the above review, the fundamental difference between the views of German and of Polish anthropologists with regard to the racial structure of Silesia is that the former consider Silesia to be a part of the Nordic lowlands of Germany. They do not, however, appear to take into consideration the fact that a prevailing Lapponoid zone stretches from the Polish Beskid mountain range, through the Sudetes, and far into

Central Germany. According to our findings, Silesia is an integral part of this zone, and racially appertains very closely to the western Sub-Carpathian regions of Poland. Conclusive arguments supporting this view are furnished by the results not only of Polish, but above all of German anthropological surveys, which can by no means be suspected of being tendentious, the more so that they were made many years ago. The most eminent

authority on racial conditions in Germany, H. F. K. Günther, has now adopted a view very close to that held by Polish investigators. Thus since 1934 he has supported the opinion that the Lapponoid race preponderates to the west and the Nordic race to the east of the Oder. These two racial elements are considered by him, as also by us, to be the chief constituent elements of the population of Silesia.

## II

### CRITICAL REMARKS

No definite opinion as to racial conditions in Silesia was adopted in Germany until about ten years ago. Günther, in the tenth edition of his *Die Rassenkunde des Deutschen Volkes* (1926, p. 227, 228), confined himself to the statement that to the east of the River Saale, particularly in Saxony, Silesia, and far into Poland, Nordic-Lapponoid racial mixtures are so numerous that Deniker considered them to be a secondary race, which he called the 'Vistulan race'. Two years later Prof. Ewald Banse, in his *Rassenkarte von Europa*, identified the southern boundary of the Continental area occupied by Nordics with that of southern Silesia. In accord with this view, Günther, in the twelfth edition of his work (1928, pp. 437, 440) limited the area inhabited preponderatingly by Lapponoid elements to Upper Silesia and the Czech-German borderlands, and took into account the emanation of Dinaric<sup>1</sup> elements from southern Poland and the Carpathians. Günther, however, was unsuccessful in his attempts to elucidate the racial affinities of the resulting mixtures. E. von Eickstedt, Professor of Anthropology at Breslau, did not adopt so extreme an attitude in his anthropological map of Europe (Meyer's *Atlas*) as did Banse and greatly modified the map of the latter author. Thus, between the Elbe and the Oder he placed the southern limit of Nordic territory almost as far north as Berlin; this is obviously a concession in favour of the Polish conception of the anthropology of Germany (J. Czekanowski, 1930, p. 577). However, von Eickstedt held more intransigent views as to Silesia, where he shows a wedge of Nordic territory, extending along the Oder to the frontier of Poland, but including only a narrow strip of the lowland areas on the left bank of the Oder. A further innovation consisted in his delineation of a zone of Dinaric race surrounding the point of the Nordic wedge, and extending from Hungary through the Moravian Gateway into Silesia. This zone includes Polish Upper Silesia, which he thus racially separated from the rest of Poland. In his sixteenth edition (1934, p. 275), Günther takes the Oder as the south-western boundary of the Nordic area, in

accordance with the findings of Polish anthropologists. E. von Eickstedt, in his latest work (1936, pp. 169, 171) which he devotes exclusively to Silesia, considers German Silesia, except for a zone lying along the Polish frontier, to be prevalently (over 45 per cent.) Nordic in composition. On the other hand, he considers that the admixture of 'Dinaric' elements does not exceed 15 per cent., even in the frontier zone; thus the Hungarian-Moravian Dinaric zone has shrunk to practically nothing. These changes of views must be considered as very great, the more so that they emanate from the most distinguished German scientists; this is particularly the case with the opinions of the Director of the Breslau Anthropological Institute, who is probably the greatest German authority on the anthropology of Silesia.

These vacillations are readily comprehensible if we take into account that the studies published on the anthropology of Germany exhibit certain notable contradictions. Thus H. Goellner (1932), examining the natives of Friedersdorf in Lauban (a part of Lusatia), found that they had lighter-coloured eyes than the mean of the school-children of the whole circle (*Kreis*). On the other hand, it is a well known fact that the pigmentation of the eyes, as well as of the hair, becomes darker with age. The conclusion which should be drawn from Goellner's work is that he selected a village the inhabitants of which were distinguished by their light coloration. Further, it is peculiar that these very blond individuals were at the same time extremely brachycephalic and platyrrhine, and had faces of a breadth greater than is ever encountered in the mean data for any county (*powiat*) in Poland. Yet, according to the views of German anthropologists, the admixture of Nordic race in Poland is much lower than in Germany. The results of studies on populations in Bavaria, differing only slightly in their cephalic index,<sup>2</sup> are even more self-contradictory. Thus K. Saller finds in natives of northern Bavaria a combination of most inexplicably broad faces with exceptionally narrow noses, whilst H.A. Ried states that South-Bavarians are characterized

<sup>1</sup> 'Dinaric type' as used in the present paper is limited to Armenoid-Nordic hybrids.

<sup>2</sup> Cephalic Index is the ratio (or percentage) of the breadth of the head to the length, the latter being taken at 100.

The Cranial Index is the corresponding ratio for the skull and is taken to be about one unit less than the Cephalic Index. The terminology usually given to this index is: up to 75, dolichocephalic; 75-80, mesaticephalic; 80 and over, brachycephalic.

by very narrow faces in conjunction with very broad noses. Bearing in mind that such high values for breadth of face are not encountered in any mean county statistics in Poland, and that such narrow noses are found only exceptionally, and then invariably in Nordic or Dinaric territories, characterized by narrow faces, we are logically forced to question the validity of the data on which the German authors have based their generalizations. It is evident that the technique used in Germany for collecting anthropological data on large numbers of subjects still leaves much to be desired. Under such conditions, the source-material requires very critical examination; the statistical method, which has already been successfully applied to the interpretation of Polish anthropological data, could be used for the purpose, the more so that earlier Polish anthropological material presents the same difficulties as the German, since it was likewise collected on the mistaken principle that the number of observations recorded is of greater importance than their careful selection and accuracy.

Our objections apply, however, not only to the technique adopted by our German colleagues in collecting their data, but also to their methods of interpreting the material. This applies in particular to the determination of the racial elements of the populations examined. We cannot concede that in an area in which the German investigators find, as in Silesia, a mean cephalic index of 84.7 (W. Kruse, 1929) or even 86.2 (C. Roese, 1906), the ratio of Nordics can exceed 45 per cent. Yet this is now stated by von Eickstedt (1936, pp. 167, 169), in accordance with Banse's map (1928) and in disagreement with his own earlier conceptions. To maintain that so decidedly brachycephalic a population possesses

such a high percentage of Nordics, without previously disproving the generally accepted view that the Nordic race is characteristically dolichocephalic, must be considered a literary fantasy. According to the present state of our knowledge of the subject, von Eickstedt's view is unacceptable, for it is in conflict with the basic, accepted tenets of anthropology.

The necessity of eliminating such arbitrary procedures from science has led us to base our views regarding the racial structure of the population of Silesia on determinations of correlations between the percentage racial composition and the mean cephalic index, and also on the systematic examination of individuals. The ratios in question are a mathematical consequence of the laws of heredity, and permit of the correlation of the data yielded by observations and of their synthetic interpretation. In such wise, it at length becomes possible to undertake scientific criticism upon a firm and assured basis.

In the given case the use of our control method should elucidate the anthropological character of the territory situated to the north of the Sudetes, for which a cephalic index of 84.7—86.2 had been reported by the earlier German workers, whilst F.G. Parsons, in England, found a cephalic index of 84.6 for German prisoners of war of Silesian origin. It should, in addition, be noted that a study of school-children, conducted under the direction of R. Virchow and published in 1885, under the auspices of the Berlin Anthropological Society, reported a relatively dark pigmentation of the children. On the basis of these data it should be possible to state to what extent such a population and territory can be considered to be Nordic.

### III

#### RACIAL STRUCTURE OF CENTRAL EUROPE

The racial structure of the territories around Silesia is illustrated by Table I, which is based on the results of analyses carried out by the present author (1936).

It follows from Table I that three very distinct racial formations exist in Central Europe, which are sharply differentiated in composition. The formations, in addition, have entirely distinct geographical locations, so that there can be no question of the more general significance of the differences indicated by the table. These formations are: Beskid-Sudetic, Sub-Nordic and Central Mixed.

The Beskid-Sudetic formation is characterized by a distinct preponderance of Lapponoid elements, due chiefly to the inconsiderable admixture of Mediterranean and Armenoid elements. This formation is found chiefly in the Beskid and Sudetic regions, and extends eastwards to the Central Carpathians, where the high percentage of Mediterranean elements found amongst the

Carpathian Boyki mountaineers (Sambor county, voivodship of Lwów) serves to mark the limit of its extent. Farther to the east lies territory the racial structure of which has been strongly influenced by the Balkan Peninsula. The western boundary of this undoubtedly very ancient anthropological formation has not yet been demarcated, but in all probability it includes the whole of that part of Central Germany in which the mean cephalic index exceeds 84. Thus it would comprise, apart from Silesia, not only Saxony, but also north-eastern Bavaria, in which K. Saller found a combination of brachycephales with very broad faces.

The Sub-Nordic formation is characterized by a considerable increase in the content of Nordic at the cost of Lapponoid elements, the content of which is slightly lower than that of the former. Of the two remaining, numerically inconsiderable elements, the proportion of Armenoids is somewhat greater than that of Mediter-

**Table 1**  
**Anthropological Formations of Central Europe**

Series of observations	Races (percentages)			
	Nordic	Mediterranean	Armenoid	Lapponoid
Ofnet, south German epipaleolithic . . . . .	14.4	31.4	0.0	54.2
Boyki mountaineers, Carpathian slopes, Sambor county, Poland	18.2	22.6	13.4	45.8
Cracovians . . . . .	19.4	12.3	10.0	58.3
Friedersdorf, circle ( <i>Kreis</i> ) Lauban (Lusatia) . . . . .	25.0	7.0	13.0	55.0
Conscripts, Lubliniec county, Polish Upper Silesia . . . . .	39.4	9.3	13.1	38.3
Conscripts, Katowice county, Polish Upper Silesia . . . . .	38.5	12.1	14.8	34.6
Conscripts, Pilzno county, voivodship of Kraków . . . . .	35.4	12.5	17.7	34.5
Conscripts, Końskie county, voivodship of Kielce . . . . .	33.1	13.4	16.4	37.0
Prague, skulls (13th—16th centuries) . . . . .	28.3	15.7	2.00	35.4
Prague, skulls (18th century) . . . . .	24.3	21.7	24.3	30.0
Baden, skulls (16th—18th century) . . . . .	26.4	19.7	25.6	28.6
Styria, district of Marau . . . . .	33.0	22.5	25.0	19.5

ranians. This is noteworthy in that farther to the north, where there is a larger percentage of Nordic population, the admixture of the Mediterranean element is much greater than that of the Armenoid. This would suggest the presence of Oriental affinities in the Polish Sub-Carpathian districts, which are in this respect sharply differentiated from the Polish lowlands. This preponderance of Armenoid over Mediterranean elements is connected on the one hand with the racial structure of Polesie and the south-eastern borderlands of Poland, and on the other with that of the Upper Danube basin.

The Central Mixed formation is characterized by the practically equal participation of all four racial elements. The Lapponoid element is the most considerable in the region to the north of the Danube, and constitutes probably the characteristic feature of the population of Central Germany, to the east of the Rhine. This is pre-

sumably evidence that the latter originally formed part of the Beskid-Sudetic formation.

The facts demonstrated above enable us to establish certain very characteristic regularities in the racial structure of Central Europe, and to limit considerably the range of possibilities which we have to consider in formulating our conjectures as to the anthropological structure of Silesia. These possibilities lie, roughly, between the Beskid-Sudetic formation, on the one hand, and the Sub-Nordic formation, which is so prominent a feature of the Polish Silesian counties of Katowice and Lubliniec, on the other. Were Silesia to contain regions in which the Nordic element shows a marked preponderance, these would necessarily have to be compensated by regions having a still greater preponderance of the Lapponoid element, in view of the high mean cephalic index established for Silesia by previous German investigators.

#### IV

### RACIAL STRUCTURE OF SILESIA

The probable racial structure of the populations of Central Europe may be estimated, with a fairly high degree of accuracy, on the basis of the arithmetical mean of the cephalic indices, provided that the proportion of the Mediterranean element is known. The estimate becomes very accurate if, in addition, we know the ratio of brachycephalic elements, viz., Armenoid and Lapponoid. This follows from the arithmetical mean cephalic index rule, formulated by the writer (1930). The rule is based on the Mendelian laws of inheritance, and has been tested by about 150 analyses of racial structure. In fact, this rule offers the only quantitatively grounded basis for our conclusions, based on arithmetical means as to the racial composition of a population.

Conclusions based on other premisses must be regarded as only subjective estimates.

As we have already stated, three mean values are available for Silesia as a whole, the lowest being 84.6 and the highest 86.2. The highest value was found for Silesian conscripts examined at Dresden. Since these recruits originated chiefly from Lower Silesia, which still stands in close economic connexion with Saxony, we may conclude, as did W. Kruse, that this mean value will be higher than that for the whole of Silesia. The mean applies only to conditions similar to those established by H. Goellner in the circle of Lauban (Lower Silesia). We may conclude, therefore, that the admixture of Mediterranean race is barely 7 per cent., as compared

**Table 2**  
**Hypothetical Racial Structure of the Population of Silesia**

Mean cephalic index	Percentages			
	Nordic	Lapponoid	Mediterranean	Armenoid
84.6	37.25	39.75	10.00	13.00
86.2	22.00	58.00	7.00	13.00

with about 10 per cent. for the whole of Silesia, whilst the proportion of the Armenoid race amounts to 13 per cent. We may put forward, then, on the basis of the arithmetical mean cephalic index rule, the hypothetical racial structure for the Silesian population shown above.

The percentages for the mean cephalic index of 84.6 indicate a structure very close to that established in the Polish-Silesian county of Lubliniec by the Polish Military Anthropological Survey; those for the index of 86.2, however, are practically identical with that of Cracovians, as found by J. Talko-Hryniewicz. It should be noted, however, that a proportion of over 45 per cent. of the Nordic race, even with only 7 per cent. of the Mediterranean, is attainable only in counties where the mean cephalic index falls below 83.8. Where the admixture of the Mediterranean element is higher, the mean must drop correspondingly. We see, therefore, that the racial structure of Silesia is strikingly similar to that of the Polish Western Carpathians and their foot-hills. Areas in which the proportion of Nordic element exceeds 45 per cent. are compensated by other areas having less than 30 per cent. of this race.

E. von Eickstedt's contention that the south-eastern borderland is a part of the Dinaric territory must be considered as being absolutely unsubstantiated. This territory includes the counties of Lubliniec and Katowice, which S. Mydlarski has scrupulously investigated. On the basis of his data we know that the ratio of Armenoid race cannot exceed 15 per cent. in these districts, and hence is much lower than that of the Nordic and Lapponoid elements, each of which exceeds

30 per cent. There is therefore no justification for regarding this formation as being Dinaric, even if the element which we have termed Armenoid be called Dinaric. It should be remembered that in the terminology adopted by the writer the term 'Dinaric type' is limited to Armenoid-Nordic hybrids; the percentage of Armenoid elements in a given population is calculated by adding half the sum of hybrid Armenoids to the number of pure Armenoids. This procedure is justified by the results of B. Rosiński's genetic studies of over a thousand Polish families in county Pułtusk (voivodship of Warszawa) and in Texas, U.S.A. Anthropological material of this kind, referring to human genetics, as well as anthropological mass surveys of the whole country, do not exist in Germany, for which reason our conclusions as to racial conditions in the borderland territories under examination may be accepted as being much more accurate than those of our German colleagues, which are based on very fragmentary data.

The originators of the hypothesis of the Dinaric nature of the population of the south-eastern borderlands of Silesia very soon abandoned their view; it is to be hoped that the theory asserting the Nordic character of Silesia will be similarly discarded. The abandonment of this theory, which has caused so much confusion in connexion with the question of racial conditions in Central Europe, will undoubtedly facilitate the acceptance of the view that the admixture of Nordic elements in Silesia is not evidence of the originally Teutonic nature of its inhabitants, or of the former existence of Germanic colonization in this region.

## V

### CELTO-SLAVONIC THEORY AND RACIAL ORIGINS IN SILESIA

In the second half of the nineteenth century it was commonly believed that the ancient Germans were extremely dolichocephalic, fair-haired, blue-eyed giants, i.e., typical representatives of the Nordic race, and this view is still expounded in popular anthropological publications. It was supposed, on the other hand, that the Ancient Slavs and Celts were distinguishable by the dark pigmentation of their hair and eyes, low stature, and round heads; this conception is known as the Celto-Slavonic theory. The theory was based on the incontrovertible fact that extremely dolichocephalic skulls were found in early historic graves in Germany, whereas in

the most thoroughly investigated parts of Europe at that time (the Slavonic territories of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, and France) the brachycephalic characteristics of the Slavs and of the descendants of the old Celts were established. The Cracow school of anthropologists, including its most eminent representative, I. Kopernicki, subscribed to the Celto-Slavonic theory, and considered that the dolichocephalic skulls found in early-historic burials in Poland were those of Slavonicized Germanic tribesmen.

The Celto-Slavonic theory was, however, very soon challenged by two eminent scientists: R. Virchow in

Germany, and A. Bogdanov in Russia; they upheld the view that the Slavs were originally dolichocephalic. The most important work in connexion with this view was carried out by the eminent Czech anthropologist, L. Niederle (1891), who conclusively established the Nordic character of the original Slavs. The first Polish anthropologist to accept this view was K. Potkański (1902), since L. Krzywicki did not adopt any definite position with regard to this controversy in his book, published in 1897. (Incidentally, this fact shows how great and lasting was the authority of Kopernicki, who adhered to the French school — the chief supporter of the Celto-Slavonic theory.)

To-day the Celto-Slavonic theory has been dismissed as a baseless hypothesis. It broke down firstly on linguistic grounds, since a closer resemblance to the Slavonic and Lithuanian linguistic groups is to be found in Germanic, and not in Celtic, languages. Further, it can no longer be doubted that the original Celts were preponderantly of Nordic race, and that anthropologically they probably bore a greater resemblance to the Germanic than to the Slavonic peoples. The brachycephalic characteristics of the present-day Continental descendants of the ancient Celts, and of the majority of the Germanic and Slavonic peoples, is a consequence of their absorption of the autochthonous population of Central Europe. Thus the theory that a close connexion originally existed between Slavs and Celts is supported by no former linguistic, ancient cultural, or anthropological affinities. The Celto-Slavonic theory is a relic dating from the times when the French prehistorians mistakenly imagined that they could perceive Celtic traces all over Europe.

One of the most important discoveries of Polish anthropology, and a material complement to the theory of the originally Nordic nature of the ancient Slavs, is that certain differences served to distinguish the early-historic Slavonic from the Germanic peoples. These differences consisted in the circumstance that, apart from the quantitative predominance of the Nordic element, with the Slavs the Lapponoid was the strongest and largest admixture, whilst with the Germanic tribes the Nordic and the Mediterranean admixtures were quantitatively the strongest, the Nordic predominating amongst the northern Germanic and the Mediterranean amongst the western Germanic peoples. The same ratio is still to be found amongst the Anglo-Saxons.

The predominance of Mediterranean elements amongst the early-historic western Germanic tribes is the only possible explanation of the extremely dolichocephalic features found in skulls from the *Reihengräber*. It is, moreover, in accord with the testimony of Scan-

dinavian sagas, where the dark hair of the heroes is so often mentioned, although the Mediterranean element was less pronounced amongst the Scandinavians than amongst the western Germanic peoples.

In view of the predominance of the Mediterranean element amongst the ancient West-Germans, any influence they had on the population of Silesia would have resulted in a high percentage of the Mediterranean race. Since, however, Silesia is characterized by an exceptionally low content of the Mediterranean race, we may conclude that no traces of ancient Germanic occupation exist in Silesia. In view of this, it is possible to state that the Nordic admixture now found in that region is not traceable to early-historic Germanic conquests, or to Germanic colonization during historic times. This negative conclusion is supported not only by the observation that the content of Nordic element increases the farther north-east we go. The colonization of Silesia by Germanic stock took place above all from the neighbouring territories of present-day Central Germany (evidenced by the character of the German dialects of Silesia) and for this reason could not differ anthropologically from the autochthonic Silesian population. We may conclude, therefore, that the admixture of Nordic elements in Silesia is evidence only of the profound influence of the Slavonic stock on the racial structure of the population under examination.

This conception of the anthropological effects of ancient Slavonic expansion and, during historic times, of the colonization of Silesia and of the neighbouring regions of Poland, is confirmed by the very significant discovery made by W. Kruse, who has shown that in the county of Szamotuły, and probably also throughout the voivodship of Poznań, the Polish population is more markedly dolichocephalic than are the Germans settled in that district. Moreover, in the provinces of Poznań and Pomorze Polish school-children were found to have a lighter pigmentation than those of German stock (R. Virchow, 1886). Thus this German investigator has established that in the transition area between Poles and Germans, the former are more Nordic than the latter. His finding strongly confirms the view that the Slavonic formation is associated with the Nordic element. The same fact, of course, applies to Silesia.

\* \* \*

The above review shows that we now have a very clear and detailed conception of the racial structure of Silesia. It has elucidated the relative proportions of the racial elements which constitute the population of Silesia, and has further shown that this population has the closest affinities with that of the Sub-Carpathian districts of Poland.

# OFFICIAL ALTERATION OF PLACE-NAMES IN GERMAN UPPER SILESIA

by LUDWIK MUSIOŁ

(KATOWICE, POLAND)

## I

### ORIGINS AND EVOLUTION OF SILESIAN PLACE-NAMES

The study of names in an area where two national cultures are in contact deserves special attention for various reasons. The separate structures of the conflicting linguistic cultures and the influences which they mutually exert leave very clear traces in such an area, in the form of characteristic place and personal names: two elements which are found to endure even after the complete disappearance of the vernacular and its replacement by the idiom of the invaders. Such a typical area of mutual cultural penetration is to be found in present-day Silesia, which is divided politically among three separate States. By far the larger part has been for 170 years under Prussian dominion, or within the sphere of Germany; while the two much smaller sections belong to the Polish and the Czechoslovak Republics respectively. The Polish part, consisting of the voivodship of Silesia, came to be united with Poland as a result not only of the plebiscite of 1921, but also of the rising of the population against Prussian rule in the same year. To Czechoslovakia belongs the southern part of historical Silesia, that is to say, the territory of the former Silesian Duchy of Cieszyn (Teschen) together with the whole district of Opava (Troppau).

At the period, however, with which the following onomastic observations are concerned, i.e., the twelfth century, the whole of Silesia politically formed part of the Polish State. Until the end of that century historical sources represent it as thoroughly Polish, not differing ethnically from any of the other districts of the ethnic Poland of that day. About the year 1200 the frontiers of historic Silesia contained only one small *enclave* in the south which could not unhesitatingly be regarded as Polish, namely the area of the present-day Czech Silesia, lying westward of the river Ostrawica but extending to part of its right bank, and including even a small part of present German territory. Early twelfth century sources describe this area as the seat of the

*Gołężycanie* (med. Lat. *Golenzici*) clan, who may be regarded ethnically as half-way between the Moravians and the Poles.

Excellent evidence as to the ethnic character of early-medieval Silesia is furnished by its place-names, which, we may say at once, are absolutely Polish without any admixture of foreign elements. Every charter or other written document of the period mentions only Polish place-names throughout the area of historic Silesia, and it may nowadays be taken as certain that Silesia had been inhabited from far-off times by people of Slavonic, Polish, stock, and retained its exclusively Polish character unaffected by foreign immigration down to the end of the twelfth century.

The first non-Polish, German place-names appear in Silesia only at the period of the so-called 'German colonization', which was a migratory movement of the early thirteenth century, based, not on conquest by force of arms, but on the systematic policy of settlement pursued by the Polish dukes in the province. It was a movement designed to promote agricultural and administrative reform, but in a comparatively short time it was transformed — owing to the excessive number of immigrants — into a (peaceful) foreign invasion. Settlement on this large scale subsequently changed the fundamental ethnic character throughout extensive areas, and from this time forth we note the growth of two cultures in Silesia: the original Polish and the introduced German. It is true that we find scattered German place-names even earlier, towards the end of the twelfth century, in monastic documents, especially such as proceeded from German monasteries, for example at Lubiąże; but these are not names of German settlements, but Polish names translated into German, 'Dobrogostendorph' and 'Godekendorf', names which occur in a document of 1178, probably represent original Polish forms, *Dobrogość* (or *Dobrogostów*) and *Godzieków* (or *Godź-*

*kowice*), the German element '-dorf' being suffixed. Accordingly, such names, coined in the chancelleries of the monasteries and used only by the German inmates of the monasteries, have been suitably styled 'chancellery names'. The Polish population was not acquainted with them and did not use them, being ignorant of the German language in general. The earliest German names actually coined and used by German settlers are met with only in the first decades of the thirteenth century, i.e., at the period when German settlers were beginning for the first time to occupy their own villages, which they had built by their own labour. In these early days of German immigration into Silesia it is found that the new-comers only then coined a new, German name for a village if it was an entirely new settlement of their own; whereas they retained the original Slavonic name, though strange-sounding in their ears, when their own new settlement was based on an already existing Polish one, or in other words, when the German settlement was only a continuation of an older Polish one. The new-comers also retained the names of the more striking natural features, running waters, hills and forests, for which the native Polish population had already names consecrated by centuries of use. The Germans only coined their own designations for such features if they found no native Polish name, i.e., in thinly populated or almost uninhabited districts. Such procedure on the part of the new-comers bears witness to a certain regard for priority, a recognition, as it were, of the rights of authorship, and resulting therefrom, the right to give a name to a particular creation or phenomenon according to one's own choice and judgement.

We have mentioned how the German settlers, when basing their new village on a pre-existing Polish one, took over the Polish name. They did not, however, simply adopt it, the Polish sounds offering difficulties to strangers who were completely ignorant of the Polish language, but adapted it to German pronunciation. Some typically Polish sounds were assimilated to their nearest German phonetic equivalents; names were abbreviated, Polish roots were given German descriptive suffixes, such as '-dorf', and so on. The variety of methods by which Polish place-names were thus germanized is great; nevertheless, they can perfectly well be arranged in a system. A few illustrative examples may be given, although this is not the place for a demonstration of all the ways in which Polish names were modified by German tongues. The name of the prehistoric Polish fortified camp of *Jawor*, for example, went through the following simple stages of assimilation: in the first period the German settlers adopted it without any phonetic change, fourteenth century German documents still showing it in the form 'Jawor'. As the German vowels underwent phonetic change, so did those in this name, which we next find in the form 'Jawer'; and from the

sixteenth century onwards the present form of 'Jauer' is found. In Polish the name *Jawor* is identical with that of the maple, and must therefore have been a primitive designation, referring to characteristic vegetation.

In connexion with the above we should add that all these adapted and germanized names have no sense as German, for the simple reason that they are of Polish formation; and on the other hand they can all easily be traced back to their primitive Polish form, even when these latter are not cited in our documentary sources.

In the area of Silesia which has been so far germanized, the majority of names have been thus adapted, and were accordingly originally Polish. Among the names of towns, pure German ones form a very small proportion. Purely German place-names are in the majority only in the sub-montane districts of the province, that is to say, in regions which, before the coming of the colonists in the thirteenth century, were comparatively sparsely inhabited by the Polish element, and where the German settlements were founded mainly in unoccupied lands ('Neuland').

By way of example, we may cite the names of the best-known towns in German Silesia, first in their original Polish forms and then in their germanized modifications: *Wrocław* (Breslau), *Zgorzelec* (Görlitz), *Lignica* (Liegnitz), *Opole* (Oppeln), *Trzebnica* (Trebnitz), *Oleśnica* (Öls), *Nisa* (Neisse), *Strzygów* (Striegau), *Bolesławice* (Bunzlau), *Namysłów* (Namslau), etc.

In the sixty-one administrative circles of German Silesia nearly all the chief towns have preserved their Polish names, while for nineteen of them the Germans have coined new and purely German names which are in use beside the Polish. All the others are adapted from Polish formations. Of the 130 or more towns in German Silesia, only six have failed to keep their Polish names and possess exclusively German ones, namely Friedeberg, Gottesberg, Greifenberg, Hohenfriedeberg, Deutsch-Wartenberg and Schmiedeberg.

The toponymic appearance of Silesia to-day is not, however, exclusively due to the first wave of colonization in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; events in later centuries have also left their mark upon it. These further changes, however, have affected not so much Lower Silesia, i.e., the north-west section, as Upper Silesia, in the south-east, which was less intensively settled by German immigrants in the earlier period, and contrived to preserve its ethnically Polish character until the eve of modern times. The compact Polish element even contrived to absorb numerous ethnically German groups, among which were all the towns, with the exception of the so-called Neisser (or Bishop's) Land, which had already been too successfully germanized. Upper Silesia may therefore be regarded as a district which remained thoroughly Polish until the period of Prussian domination in the second half of the eighteenth century; and its

Polish character is evidenced both by the prevalence in it of the Polish language and by the Polish cast of its place-names.

The period of Prussian domination saw the beginning of attempts to modify the homogeneous Polish character of Upper Silesian place-names. The policy of settlement initiated by the Prussians in 1773 brought with it the imposition of several hundred new German names on freshly-founded 'colonies'. The word imposition seems justified, since although the majority of these settlements were occupied by Poles their names were with few exceptions German. In Upper Silesia alone, between 1740 and 1806, 153 purely German new place-names were introduced.<sup>1</sup> Further new German names were introduced when part of Upper Silesia became industrialized. These were principally designations of mines, iron-foundries and industrial establishments, the German names of which were afterwards extended to the groups of workers' dwellings which grew up around them. It

was at this time, about the middle of the nineteenth century, that the first cases occurred in which Polish place-names were actually altered into German ones. As time went on, these cases became more frequent, and after 1873, inspired by the new and powerful current of anti-Polish policy in Upper Silesia, a plan was formulated for systematically germanizing every Polish-sounding place-name in the district. This design was not so successful as it might have been, since it was but half-heartedly supported by the local authorities; it ended for the most part in a more ruthless corruption of Polish names than had been customary before, which yet was not sufficient completely to disguise the primitive Polish forms. For example, *Goczalkowice*, hitherto spelled 'Goczalkowitz', was now written 'Gottschalkowitz'.

Only about fifty places had their names actually altered, by substitution of a purely German one for the former Polish, in the period between the middle of the nineteenth century and the outbreak of the Great War.

## II

### A NEW WAVE OF GERMANIZATION

In 1934, however, the systematic and radical germanization of Polish place-names in German Upper Silesia was undertaken on a scale hitherto unknown. From that time hardly a week passed without some Polish name in the Oppeln (Opole) district being changed into German by decree of the *Oberpräsident* of Silesia. Since, however, such a method would have entailed the passage of years before the last Polish name disappeared from the official lists, from New Year, 1936, onwards recourse has been had to more drastic measures. Names are now germanized wholesale, an entire administrative circle being purged at once. German writers euphemistically call this process 'Die Bereinigung unserer Ortsnamen'. Thus, for example, under a regulation issued by the *Oberpräsident* of Silesia dated February 12, 1936, all the remaining Polish place-names of the administrative circle of Tost (Toszek) - Gleiwitz (Gliwice), 64 in number, were germanized at one stroke. Between the beginning of 1933 and March 23, 1936, 133 names were completely germanized.<sup>2</sup> Since that time this wholesale process has been repeated several times, and the number of names thus forcibly altered during the year 1936 amounts to several hundred.

In the light of these facts, what is the meaning of the declaration made by Herr Hitler on May 21, 1935, to the effect that 'We shall not order the germanization of Polish names; on the contrary, we do not desire

it.'<sup>3</sup> When the alteration of Polish names in Oppeln Silesia was first undertaken on a large scale, attempts were made to justify it in the German press by the following arguments: the Polish spelling of place-names in Silesia causes the Germans difficulty in pronouncing and writing them. Since — in the opinion of German circles — the germanization of the Polish population in Silesia has of late made such progress that 'the large majority of that population now uses only the German language', Polish names are felt by that population to be foreign, and their replacement by German names is desirable in the interests of administrative efficiency. The close and almost homogeneous network of names in German Upper Silesia no longer corresponds — in the opinion of German circles — to the present ethnic structure of the population of the province. It is stated that the place-names of German Upper Silesia give it the appearance of a Polish ethnic area, whereas in fact it is a German one. Finally, many present-day Polish names have replaced German ones which are to be found in medieval documents and are now being restored.

What are we to say of such arguments? Passing over the assertion that the population of German Upper Silesia has been germanized, which seems to us greatly exaggerated and an unjustifiable generalization (for it is a far cry yet to the complete germanization of the inhabitants of Oppeln Silesia), it seems to us that the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Herbert Schlenger, 'Die friederizianische Siedlung in Schlesien', *Der Oberschlesier*, 1936, Parts 6—7.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the article 'Na pobjowisku polskości' (On the Battlefield for Polishness), in *Awangarda Państwa Narodowego* (The Vanguard of the National State), Poznań, Vol. XIV, p. 335. The above figures are taken from the *Amtsblatt der preußischen Regierung in Oppeln*. Cf. also Hellmuth Unger, *Ortsnamen-*

*karte mit den selbständigen Gemeinden der Landkreise Tost—Gleiwitz und Beuthen—Tarnowitz*, 1936. (Based on the official announcements of place-name alterations.) And *Verzeichnis der im Regierungsbezirk Oppeln umbenannten Ortschaften*, 1937.

<sup>3</sup> Cited in *Ostland*, June 1, 1935, p. 126: 'Wir geben keine Anweisung für die Verdeutschung nichtdeutscher Namen aus, im Gegenteil: Wir wünschen dies nicht.'

line of argument does not in fact justify the wholesale alteration of Polish place-names. Until recently the Germans in Upper Silesia have managed more or less successfully to pronounce them, and their official spelling has been already so far assimilated to the German that it gives Germans no difficulty either in pronunciation or writing.

The German argumentation, however, does not clearly bring out the real motive, but it may be read between the lines. The motive is, in fact, of a purely political nature. For the efforts which are being made to germanize Silesia are closely connected with the emphasis which is now laid on the 'Polish peril' ('die polnische Gefahr'), or, in other words, the anti-Polish measures are made harsher in proportion as the Polish population in German Silesia becomes more conscious of its national origin. The existence of the resurgent Polish State and the fact of the incorporation in Poland of a portion of Upper Silesia by the will of its Polish inhabitants, after a bloody struggle for freedom from Prussian domination, have given real significance to the old catchword of the 'Polish peril'. And to this is added a further motive: the Third Reich has formally rejected the 'old slogan of germanization', putting in its place 'the purity of the race'; it aims at uniting within its borders all the Germanic peoples, but has no desire to include foreign national elements. Yet rather than admit the fact that in German Upper Silesia (and not only in German Upper Silesia) there is a compact mass of Polish population living within the boundaries of the Reich, all external traces of the existence of that population must be obliterated. For it is easy to understand that no one will believe in the German character of an area studded with homogeneous Polish place-names. Such a state of affairs would render obvious the basic Polish character of the area. In German Upper Silesia there is the further fact that behind the Polish names exists a Polish population, and this to some extent explains the haste to germanize those names. For although wide areas in eastern Germany are to-day still studded with Slavonic, and especially Polish, place-names, no one proposes to replace or alter them (the names have already been corrupted on German tongues), since the population of the areas in question has long since been completely germanized. No 'Polish peril' threatens there, such as constantly threatens — in the opinion of German circles — in Oppeln Silesia. The almost completely Polish aspect of the place-names of German Upper Silesia offered a constant denial of the thesis, upheld by the Germans, of the German nationality of the province. Accordingly, it was thought necessary

to discard half-measures, and at one stroke to change the aspect of the whole façade from Polish to pure German. Thus long lists of place-names were drawn up according to a certain simple rule: compounds for the most part of a personal name and a second element such as '-berg, -felde, -wald, -wiese, -tal' or '-brück', the artificiality and monotony of which are in striking contrast to the variety of the former Polish names, evolved in ancient times.

After such a drastic transformation it may be safely asserted that the toponymic aspect of German Upper Silesia is now more German than that of any other section of the Reich. Throughout the extent of the Reich there is no such set of place-names consistently formed from modern German speech-material as there is now in German Upper Silesia. Only, this new homogeneity betrays its artificiality at the first glance, differing as it does so remarkably from the variety observable in other, really German, sections of the Reich, where historical names are everywhere to be found, very often of non-German derivation, and in any case free from the savour of the stencil and the dictionary which clings to those imposed upon Silesia.

In the part of Upper Silesia assigned to Poland, that is to say most of the voivodship of Silesia, the authorities have had no need to resort to a like operation. The place-names have remained untouched, for the good reason that all of them have been Polish since the earliest times, with the exception only of new industrial formations; though, of course, they are entered in the official gazetteer with their correct Polish spelling, and not in their corrupt German forms: no longer, for example, 'Schoppienitz' but *Szopienice*, not 'Zarzetsche' but *Zarzecze*, not 'Orzesche' but *Orzesze*, and so on.

We observe, then, a glaring contrast between the Polish procedure and the German. Poland admits to the gazetteer only names which have existed from the earliest times in the mouth of the native Polish population; whereas Germany has had recourse to creating an artificial appearance of German national character in the area of Upper Silesia which she has retained. An example may illustrate the difference. The Polish name *Polomia* was first 'simplified' in pronunciation and spelling to 'Pohlom', and when this form still betrayed its Polish origin, an entirely new name is now invented for the village, the pure German 'Ostwalde'. In the same way almost all the other names have been made to appear German, by a complete breach with the natural laws of nomenclature, and by as it were a chemical transformation of elements an artificial substitute for the Polish has been produced.

# A GEOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL SURVEY OF THE SILESIAN VOIVODSHIP

by ANTONI WRZOSEK

(KATOWICE, POLAND)

## I

### THE POSITION OF SILESIA IN EUROPE

We are concerned here with Polish Silesia, that is to say the Voivodship of Śląsk, one of the sixteen voivodships into which Poland is divided for administrative purposes. Geographically Polish Silesia forms an inconsiderable part of the Silesian region as a whole. The latter is bounded by fairly distinct natural frontiers: to the west the Sudetes, to the south the Carpathians, and to the east — a less clearly marked frontier — the watershed between the Vistula and the Oder and the jurassic ridge between Cracow and Częstochowa; the frontier to the north — also less marked — runs along hills formed by diluvial terminal moraines, and along the wide swampy valleys of the river Barycz.

The axis of the Silesian region is the valley of the Upper and Middle Oder, and the name Śląsk (i.e. Silesia) is derived from that of the river Ślęza (in German Lohe), a tributary flowing into the left bank of the Oder. The historical frontiers of Silesia differ slightly from the natural frontiers given above, but the divergences are not large.

Before passing to a short account of the rise of the Silesian voivodship as we know it to-day, we shall say something of the position occupied by Silesia among the regions or countries of Europe. Silesia lies along the junction of the plains of northern Europe with the mountainous districts of southern Europe, between the Baltic and the Adriatic, at the point where the old Sudetes and the young Carpathians meet. The Silesian landscape is, therefore, very varied in character. There are the hills — afforested or pasture land — of the Carpathians, where natural conditions have favoured the growth of forestry, cattle-breeding and peasant industry; there are the moister and gloomier Sudetes, less suitable for pasture but richer in minerals, where mining and industry have arisen. Part of the former Hercynian mountain system was destroyed by later movements of the earth's crust and worn down so as to form the undulating

upland of modern Silesia. This upland belongs to the ancient Hercynian mountain belt whose rich mineral deposits, easy to exploit by reason of the gently rolling surface formation, provide support for a dense population throughout western Europe. The extension into Silesia of the great belt of European plains is also of importance in view of the facilities for communication and the large agricultural areas which it affords. The varied natural features of Silesia result, then, in a diversity of conditions of economic life within the various parts of the district.

Although bounded to the south and south-west by mountains, Silesia has no definitely marked natural frontiers to the north and east, and is thus able to communicate easily and integrally with the remaining regions of Poland. The Vistula, which is the principal waterway of Poland, has its source in Silesia, and the Vistula valley communicates with that of the Oder so smoothly that the watershed between them is almost imperceptible. At the point where the Sudetes and the Carpathians meet there is a marked natural depression, known as the Moravian Gate. The latter's close proximity to Silesia is of great importance, as it affords access to the Danubian basin; it renders Silesia most fitted of all Polish regions for communication with the south, the rest of Poland being shut off from that direction by the solid wall of the Carpathians. The edge of the diluvial glaciation also runs through Silesia, for the most part along the foot of the hills: this, especially in the northern part of Silesia, has left behind large quantities of sand which are now covered by extensive pine forests. Along the edge of the glacier were formed belts of loess, notably in the southern part of Polish Silesia and thence along the left bank of the Oder from Ratibor to the neighbourhood of Liegnitz. All the ancient waves of migration and colonization followed this belt of loess; for many ages it has been unforested, or almost unforested, and inhabited; it contained the greater part of the population of Silesia

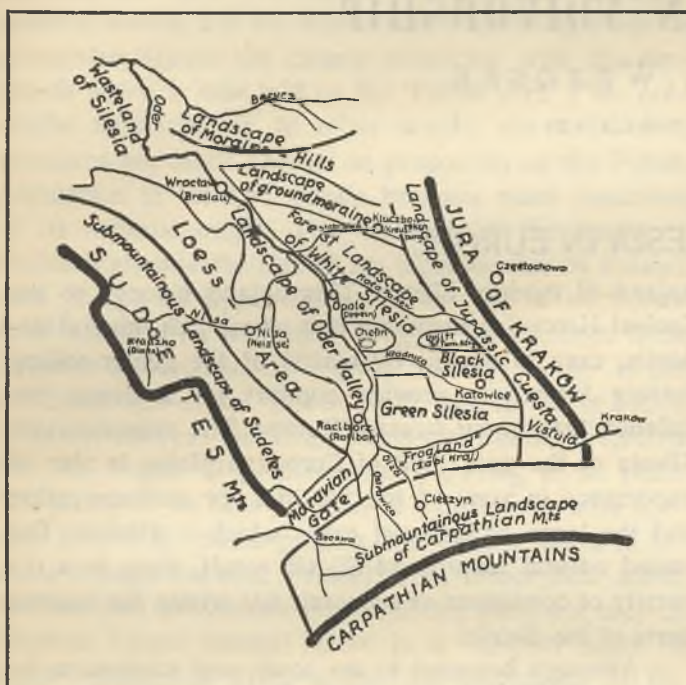
at the time when the areas which are now the modern industrial centres were still under forest.

The focal position of Silesia has a further consequence; it results in a climate combining both maritime and continental characteristics, and alternating between them. The flora and fauna are similarly transitional in character.

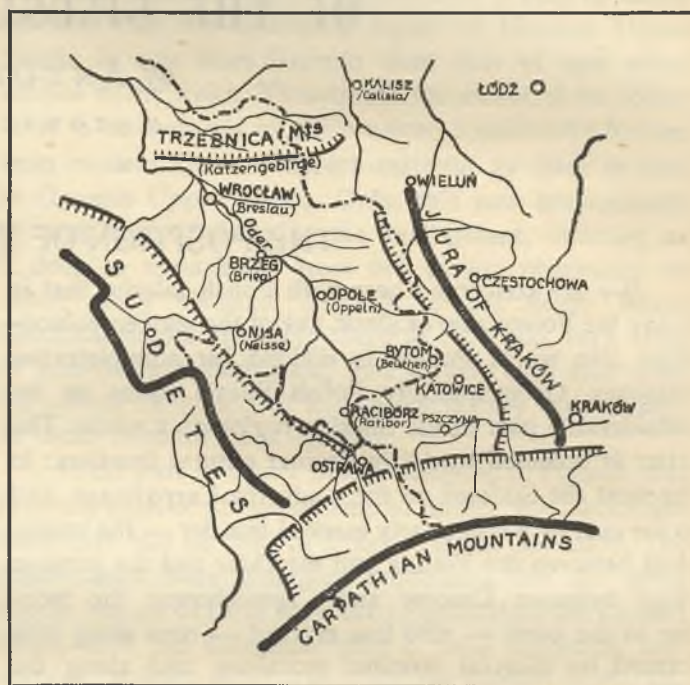
The position and formation of Silesia renders it important as a junction of the greater European trade

Berlin—Cracow—Bucharest, Berlin—Budapest, Lwów—Vienna, and others.

Throughout history Silesia has often been the object of attack, its open position rendering invasion easy and its character as a centre of routes of communication lending it attraction to neighbouring peoples as a base for further conquests. The Mongols made Silesia their route in their assault on the West, and were only defeated by the Europeans at Liegnitz. Polish-German



Landscape Types of Silesia (By W. Nechay)



Natural Borders of Silesia (By W. Nechay)

routes. One route runs from the south, through the Moravian Gate to the Baltic. This route was known in ancient times as the 'amber route'; to-day it serves as a route for trade between the Danubian countries on the one side and Poland and the States of north-eastern Europe on the other. A second ancient trade route used to run from Flanders along the foot of the Sudetes, via Breslau, Oppeln and Tarnowskie Góry, to Cracow and Lwów. Another important route went through the Jabłonków Pass and connected the Balkans and the Hungarian plains with northern Europe. At the commencement of the modern era, trade along these routes was hampered by the distance of Silesia from the sea; later, however, railway construction and the development of river-traffic did much to counteract this disadvantage. At present Silesia is traversed by important international routes, such as Vienna—Warsaw, Prague—Warsaw,

conflicts have taken place to a large extent on Silesian territory. Silesia was an important factor in the Austro-Prussian wars, from the period of the Silesian campaigns of Frederick the Great in the first half of the eighteenth century until the final conflict in 1866. During the Napoleonic wars various armies traversed Silesia and fought battles on its territory. The first shot in the Great War was fired on the Silesian frontier, and strife did not cease there until three years after the official termination of the War.

Geographical advantages are often accompanied by political difficulties. But though the latter may to some extent modify the advantages due to natural conditions, they cannot abolish them. In all probability, then, Silesia will always derive considerable benefit from its favourable geographical position, the existence of political difficulties notwithstanding.

## II

### THE HISTORY AND PRESENT POLITICAL DIVISION OF SILESIA

The rise of the present Voivodship of Śląsk represents the final stage in a long course of historical evolution, of which we have space to refer here only to the

most outstanding features. It is certain that in the earliest period known to history Silesia was inhabited by a Polish clan who were the direct ancestors of the pre-

sent-day Silesian people. During the first period of Polish history the whole of Silesia belonged to Poland, although from time to time it was subjected to German or Czech assaults. In the first half of the twelfth century Silesia disintegrated into a number of principalities ruled by Polish princes of the House of Piast, and towards the close of the same century it underwent its first wave of German colonization. These conditions continued with slight changes until the year 1335, when Silesia abandoned its allegiance to Poland and was absorbed by the Bohemian monarchy. In the fifteenth century Silesia passed for a time under the sway of Hungary and then, after the defeat of the Hungarians by the Turks at the battle of Mohács, 1526, it was acquired, together with Bohemia, by the Habsburgs. The last princes of the Piast dynasty died out in the late seventeenth century. In the Seven Years' War (1756—63) Frederick the Great of Prussia captured almost the whole of Silesia from Austria. The situation then established lasted with brief changes until the outbreak of the Great War.

At the conclusion of the Seven Years' War, Prussia commenced a policy of germanization in Silesia, introducing large numbers of German colonists and enforcing laws and regulations inimical to the Polish population and the Polish language. Between 1763 and 1806 over 100,000 German settlers entered Silesia. Lower and Central Silesia became more and more germanized; Upper Silesia, on the other hand — as represented by the Oppeln Government district (*Regierungsbezirk*) of 1816 — being less urban in character, retained its definitely Polish features, the sense of Polish nationalism growing there in proportion to the pressure exerted by the forces of German nationalism. In the mid-nineteenth century Upper Silesia already had many national Polish leaders, a Polish press, and Polish associations. Then came the Prussian victory over France in 1871. This victory, although it favourably influenced the economic development of Silesia, led to an increase of germanization. Bismarck launched his *Kulturkampf*, directed against the Catholic Church and also aiming at the destruction of Polonism in Prussia; and the Polish language was banned in Silesian schools. The result of Bismarck's policy, however, was to strengthen and increase the organization of national resistance on the part of the Polish population. In 1903 W. Korfanty was returned to the Reichstag at Berlin as the first Polish deputy for Silesia; in 1907 Silesia returned five Polish deputies and in 1912 four. According to the last German census before the War (1910), 52 per cent. of the population of Upper Silesia (the Government district of Oppeln) were Poles, and 4 per cent. were so-called bi-linguals who could also with much reason be counted among the Polish population.

For the Poles of Upper Silesia the outbreak of the Great War occasioned particularly hard conditions and

general poverty. Nevertheless, the amount of property held by Poles underwent no diminution. In 1919 workers' and soldiers' councils declared for union with Poland, and on August 17, 1919, the first insurrection of the Polish population broke out. It was decided that the fate of Upper Silesia should be determined by a plebiscite, and on February 1, 1920, Allied troops occupied the plebiscitary area in order to ensure safety and freedom of voting for the population. Despite the presence of these troops, however, the second insurrection broke out on August 20, 1920. As a result of this the German police force was withdrawn from the territory and replaced by special polling police. German administrative officials continued to remain in Government offices and in industry.

The plebiscite was held at a time when Poland was fully occupied with war against the Soviet, a fact which contributed to the result of the plebiscite turning out unfavourably for her. In no census, and in no elections to Reichstag or local governments, had the Polish element been so small as in the plebiscite of March 20, 1921. After discounting the votes of the immigrants and of the three decidedly German *Kreise* of Leobschütz, Neustadt and Kreuzburg (which were only included in the plebiscitary territory owing to a misunderstanding at the Peace Conference), the percentage of Polish votes amounted to 51.6, and of German 48.4. Then at the end of April a report became current that the Council of Ambassadors had arranged to give only the two *Kreise* of Rybnik and Pszczyna (Pless) to Poland; on May 3, 1921, the Upper Silesian population rose in insurrection for the third time.

The third insurrection had a considerable amount of success, and the final division of Upper Silesia (October 20, 1921) allotted Poland 3,221 sq. km., with a population of 891,669, of which, according to the German census of 1910, 75 per cent. were Poles; this population amounted to 45.9 per cent. of the total population of the plebiscitary area. Germany received a population of 1,050,517, of which, according to the German census of 1910, 57 per cent. spoke Polish as their native language.

The history of Cieszyn (Teschen) Silesia has pursued a course independent of the remainder of Silesia ever since the Peace of Berlin, 1742. By this peace the Duchy of Cieszyn remained Austrian, as also the Duchy of Opava (Troppau) and of Krnov (Jägerndorf). The great majority of the inhabitants of Cieszyn were Poles, only the district of Frýdek at the west having a majority of Czechs. Apart from this there was also a sprinkling of Germans in the towns and in some of the villages. The Poles in this part of Silesia were nation-conscious and strongly organized. After the downfall of Austria in 1918 the 'Polish National Governing Council for the Duchy of Cieszyn' took over authority, and in collaboration with the corresponding temporary

Czech governing body drew up a dividing line strictly in accord with ethnographical frontiers. However, in January 1919 the Czechs broke the agreement and occupied by force a part of the Polish territory. Trouble resulted from this, and the Council of Ambassadors in Paris decided to hold a plebiscite to settle the Cieszyn dispute. But Poland, gravely threatened and fully occupied by the Soviet invasion, had to abandon

the idea of a plebiscite and agree to a partition of the Cieszyn territory drawn up by the Allied Commission on July 28, 1920. By this division 1,009 sq.km., with a population of 139,630, were allotted to Poland, and 1,280 sq.km., with a population of 295,191 (of whom 150,000, mainly inhabitants of the rich coal basin and district of Karwinna [Karwin], were Poles), were assigned to Czechoslovakia.

### III THE SILESIAN VOIVODSHIP

Poland took over her territorial share of Cieszyn Silesia on August 10, 1920, and of Upper Silesia on June 22, 1922. These two areas together form the Voivodship of Śląsk, to which the Polish Sejm allowed con-

which form the centre of the coal basin and are highly industrialized and urbanized. The remaining counties are much more sparsely populated (151—277 persons per sq.km.), the least populated being the counties of

Table 1<sup>1</sup>  
Population of Polish Silesia

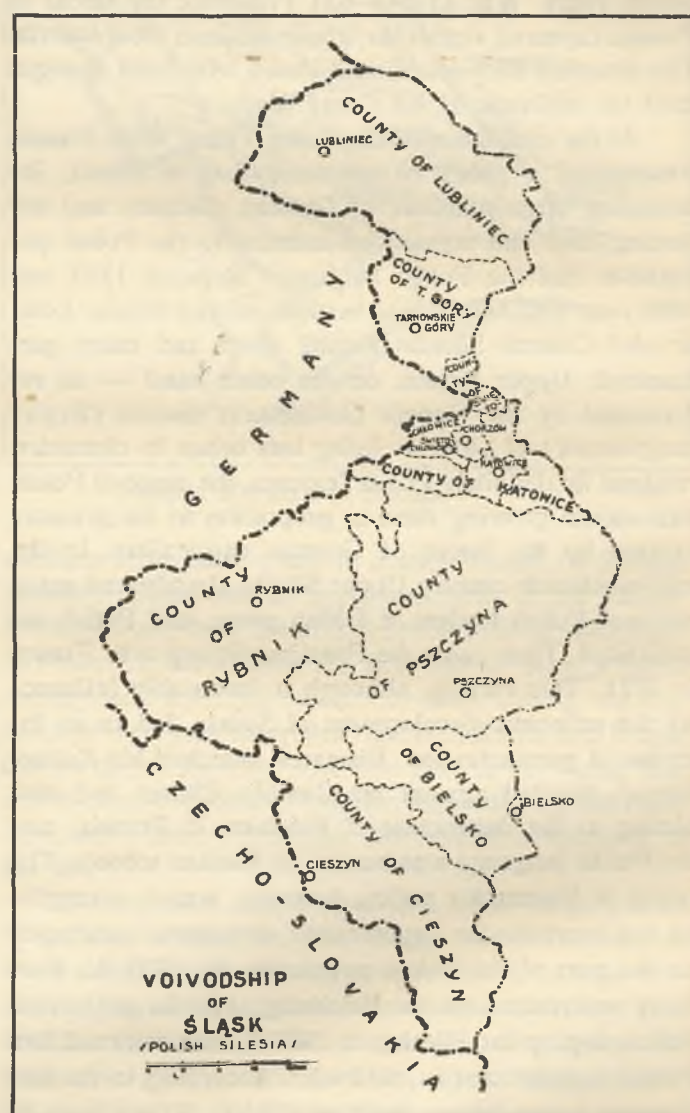
Counties and Urban Boroughs	Area in sq. km.	Population	Density of population per sq. km.
Bielsko (urban bor.) . .	4.96	22,332	4,482
Bielsko (county) . . .	343.9	62,584	182
Chorzów (urban bor.) .	23.4	101,977	4,358
Cieszyn (county) . . .	662.0	81,087	122
Katowice urban bor.) .	40.2	126,058	3,135
Katowice (county) . . .	154.3	215,145	1,394
Lubliniec (county) . . .	714.8	45,232	63
Pszczyna (county) . . .	1,069.2	162,015	151
Rybnik (county) . . .	890.2	212,829	239
Świętochłowice (county)	80.3	201,176	2,505
Tarn. Góry (county) . .	232.7	64,592	277

siderable legislative and economic autonomy by the statute of July 15, 1920. The voivodship was divided into eight counties (*powiaty*)—Lubliniec, Tarnowskie Góry, Świętochłowice, Katowice, Pszczyna, Rybnik, Cieszyn and Bielsko, and three urban boroughs (*obszary miejskie*) — Katowice, Chorzów and Bielsko; and the counties themselves were divided into communes (*gminy*), which include also the former territories of the manorial estates (*Gutsbezirke*). At present the voivodship contains 18 urban and 386 rural communes.

#### AREA AND POPULATION

The Voivodship of Śląsk covers 4,216 sq. km., representing 1.1 per cent. of the total area of Poland, and has a population of 1,295,027, or 4 per cent. of the total population of Poland. The average density of population of the voivodship is thus 307 per sq.km., which is a very high density, and higher even than that of Belgium (270 per sq. km.). Table 1 above gives the population figures for the different counties of Polish Silesia.

Apart from the towns, the most densely populated areas are the counties of Katowice and Świętochłowice,



Lubliniec, which has infertile soil and is largely under forest, and of Cieszyn, which is largely mountainous. The average density of population for the whole Voivodship of Śląsk is almost four times that of the whole of Poland, which itself is by no means low, being 85 per sq.km.

<sup>1</sup> All the figures given in Tables 1—5 are taken from the official census of December 9, 1931.

Table 2  
Population of Polish Silesia according to Mother-tongue

Counties and Urban Boroughs	P o p u l a t i o n						
	Total	Mother-tongue					
		Polish		German		Other languages	
		Number	Percent.	Number	Percent.	Number	Percent.
Bielsko (urban borough) . . . . .	22,322	9,683	43.3	10,220	45.8	2,427	10.9
Bielsko (county) . . . . .	62,584	52,895	84.5	9,059	14.5	516	0.8
Chorzów (urban borough) . . . . .	101,977	88,753	87.0	11,929	11.7	1,254	1.2
Cieszyn (county) . . . . .	81,087	77,717	95.8	2,531	3.1	703	0.9
Katowice (urban borough) . . . . .	126,058	107,040	84.9	16,936	13.4	2,027	1.7
Katowice (county) . . . . .	215,145	202,475	94.1	12,171	5.7	417	0.2
Lubliniec (county) . . . . .	45,232	44,196	97.7	920	2.0	45	0.1
Pszczyna (county) . . . . .	162,015	156,750	96.8	5,037	3.1	131	0.1
Rybnik (county) . . . . .	212,829	207,866	97.7	4,584	2.2	127	0.1
Świętochłowice (county) . . . . .	201,176	189,074	94.0	11,948	5.9	106	0.1
Tarnowskie Góry (county) . . . . .	64,592	59,186	91.6	5,210	8.1	114	0.2

#### LINGUISTIC CONDITIONS

Linguistically the Voivodship of Śląsk is one of the most homogeneous regions of Poland. The last official census (December 1931) showed that 92.3 per cent. of the population spoke Polish as their mother-tongue, 7 per cent. German, and 0.6 per cent. some other mother-tongue (principally Yiddish or Hebrew). Table 2 indicates the linguistic structure in detail.

The above figures show that linguistically the Voivodship of Śląsk is almost purely Polish. There is a certain number of Germans in some districts, mainly in the towns of Bielsko, Katowice and Chorzów, and in a few of the smaller towns and industrial areas. The majority of the communes are entirely Polish. The above table will be made clearer by the list of communes, grouped according to their percentage of Polish-speaking inhabitants, set out in Table 3.

Of the total number of 404 communes, there are only two villages in the county of Pszczyna and five near the town of Bielsko — seven in all — in which Germans are in a (slight) majority (50—60 per cent.); these represent former German colonies of some centuries' standing. On the other hand, there are 113 communes without a single person whose native language is other than Polish.

#### RELIGION AND EDUCATION

With regard to religion, the Voivodship of Śląsk is fairly homogeneous. Table 4 shows, on the basis of the

census of 1931, the absolute numbers and percentages of adherents of different religions.

It appears that the enormous majority of the population is Catholic. Besides the Poles, a certain number of Germans are Catholic. The Protestants are mainly found in the south of the voivodship, in the counties of Bielsko and Cieszyn, and are mostly Poles.

The majority of the Protestants in Polish Upper Silesia are Germans. Jewish elements are almost entirely congregated in the towns, principally in Katowice, Bielsko and Chorzów; in 1931 the total number of Jews in these three towns was 12,957.

Other religious confessions in Polish Upper Silesia are not of sufficient importance to require mention.

The state of education is good. Of those who are over ten years old, 98 per cent. can read and write, 0.5 per cent. are only able to read, and 1.5 per cent. are illiterate. Education is well organized by the authorities and the schools are up-to-date and adequately staffed. There are 684 elementary schools in the voivodship, of which 76 are for the use of the German minority and 32 are general secondary schools. Since Silesia became Polish, the Government has laid particular emphasis on the development of technical and vocational education, so that there are now 80 specialized schools (agricultural, handicrafts, and mining and industrial). Much is also being done to foster the growth of out-of-school education.

## IV

### ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Before surveying the economic conditions of the Voivodship of Śląsk, we should say something about the occupational structure of the population. The most important classes of occupation are shown, on the basis of the 1931 census, in Table 5.

The table indicates that agriculture supports no

more than one-eighth of the population of the voivodship, while mining and industry support over one-half and are, therefore, the basic occupations with regard to providing employment. Geological features — the presence of rich seams of coal and ore — account for this situation. The mineral wealth of Silesia was partly known

Table 3

## Percentage of Polish-speaking Population according to Communes

	100 percent.	99—100 percent.	90—99 percent.	50—90 percent.	Less than 50 percent.
Number of Communes	113	146	121	17	7

a long time ago, and exploited so far as the technique of the times permitted. In the Middle Ages various ores were mined, chiefly in the neighbourhood of the town of Tarnowskie Góry. The presence of forests in the district also favoured the rise of a smelting industry, using charcoal as fuel. Since water-power was then the principal source of energy, industry tended to grow up by the rivers, along which ran also the main routes of communication. Silesian mining was especially flourishing in the sixteenth century; subsequently, however, wars — the Thirty Years' War in particular — and the flooding of the mines ruined mining and industry during the next two centuries. Then in the middle of the eighteenth century coal began to be mined in Silesia; soon afterwards steam engines came into use, and with the commencement of smelting by means of coal at the beginning of the nineteenth century, foundries and industries started once more to flourish in Silesia, their centres shifting from the ore-mines to the coal-mines. New and densely populated centres of industry arose at Beuthen and Katowice. At the same time the construction of railways opened up wider markets for industrial products. By 1910, 118,000 persons were already employed in Upper Silesia mining, in spite of the keen competition of the other German mining areas on the Rhine and in Westphalia. Although the Great War did not actually destroy Silesian industry, it exerted a detrimental influence, introducing an unsystematic and short-sighted war-time economy. The struggles for independence in the years 1918 to 1921 also reacted unfavourably on industry.

The partition of Upper Silesia allotted to Poland the area containing the greater part of the coalfields and the majority of the coal-mines, most of the iron foundries and all the zinc foundries; Germany retained most of the zinc- and lead-ore reserves. As a result the Voivodship of Śląsk was richly supplied with raw materials and took over a well developed half-finished goods producing

Table 4

## Religious Composition of Polish Silesian Population

	Roman Catholic	Protestant	Other Religions (mainly Jewish)
Numbers . . . . .	1,195,036	77,269	22,139
Percentage . . . . .	92.2	6.0	1.7

industry, but received only a very small finished goods producing industry, a branch of manufacturing which it has been necessary to build up under the Polish Republic. The most important raw material of the voivodship is coal. Counting only seams over 50 cm. thick and to a depth of 1,000 m., it is estimated that the voivodship possesses 44,881 million tons of coal. It is chiefly owing to Upper Silesia that Poland ranks as the third richest coal-possessing country in Europe. Upper Silesian coal has the advantage of lying comparatively near to the surface and in thick layers; it is inferior to the product of other coalfields in respect of variety alone, there being no anthracite and little coking coal. In recent years the average annual production of coal in the voivodship has amounted to some 21 million tons, of which about 40 per cent. has been produced for export. At present thirty-eight coal-mines are being worked in the voivodship, providing employment for about 50,000 workers.

Iron-ore, formerly plentiful in Silesia, has been to a large extent exhausted; the remaining supply is estimated at four million tons. There are eleven iron foundries in the voivodship, employing about 24,000 persons, but these foundries work mostly with imported ore, which they treat in many different ways, largely for re-export.

An important branch of Silesian mining and industry is that of zinc and lead. The ore supplies of these metals are together estimated to be 33 million tons. Poland produces about 6 per cent. of the world's zinc, holding the fifth place in the world and the third in Europe in respect of zinc production. The voivodship produces in addition some ten to twenty thousand tons of lead annually and, as by-products, a certain amount of cadmium, silver, and sulphuric acid. Eight zinc and lead foundries are working, providing employment for about 4,500 persons.

Apart from the above, the following are to be classed among the leading branches of Silesian industry:

Table 5

## Occupational Structure of the Population of Polish Silesia

	Total	Agriculture	Mining and industry	Trade and insurance	Communications	Other occupations	Without occupation
Numbers . . . . .	1,295,027 <sup>2</sup>	164,600	707,151	66,799	90,003	103,020	163,454
Percentages . . . . .	100	12.7	54.6	5.2	6.9	8.0	12.6

<sup>2</sup> Total population of the Silesian Voivodship (excluding the Army). All other figures in Table 5, with the exception of the 'without occupation' group, include persons actively engaged in occupations as well as their dependents. The 'without

occupation' group includes rentiers, persons in receipt of old age pensions, persons in charitable institutions and prisons, and persons without specified occupation.

Table 6  
Use of Soil in Polish Silesia

	Total area	FARM-LAND					Forest	Other and barren soils
		Total	Arable	Market-gardens & orchards	Meadows	Pasture		
Hectares . . . . .	421,395	240,301	178,911	5,749	30,846	24,795	137,711	43,383
Percentage of total area	100	57.0	42.5	1.4	7.3	5.8	32.7	10.3

the manufacture of explosives and of artificial manures and other nitrate products; large electric-power stations; and the chemical industry. There is a textile industry only at Bielsko and in its neighbourhood, but the best cloth in Poland is manufactured here, a cloth which is largely exported. The machinery for the textile industry is also produced here.

Industry is the most important branch of economy in the Voivodship of Śląsk, but agriculture with its dependent industries also plays a large part, despite the fact that only a small percentage of the population lives by agriculture. The uses to which the land is put are illustrated in Table 6.

Apart from the considerable percentage of arable land (smaller, however, than that for the whole of Poland, which is 49), one is struck by the large proportion of forest-land. Industry and forest are, indeed, two characteristic features of Polish Silesia. The greatest percentage of agricultural land is found in the south of the voivodship, in the counties of Bielsko and Rybnik, and the highest percentage of forest in the north, in the counties of Lubliniec and Tarnowskie Góry. On account of the density of population and the relative infertility

of the soil, the principal crops are potatoes, rye and oats: wheat and barley being cultivated to a lesser degree. Local agriculture is, of course, unable to satisfy the demands of the population, and it is necessary to obtain food products from other parts of Poland.

Some branches of industry are also connected with agriculture and forestry. About 580,000 square metres of timber are felled annually and sawn in the local mills, part of which is exported and part used for paper manufacture and for pit props. There are a number of distilleries, consuming annually some 100,000 cwts. of potatoes as raw material. Sugar-beet is not widely cultivated in Polish Silesia, thus a single sugar-mill suffices for the needs of this industry. Livestock-breeding is mostly carried on in the southern part of the voivodship, where fish are also bred on a large scale in artificial ponds.

The entire landscape of the Voivodship of Śląsk is strongly marked by the hand of man. Even the mountain forests of the Carpathians bear the stamp of human agencies, and in the industrial centres not only is the surface of the earth covered by dwellings, buildings and roads, but in many cases has itself been changed and re-fashioned by unremitting toil.

TRANSLATED BY A. OSBORNE

# THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF POLISH UPPER SILESIA AND LOCALIZATION OF POLISH UPPER SILESIAN INDUSTRY

by WACŁAW OLSZEWICZ

(SIEMIANOWICE ŚL., POLAND)

## I

### NATURAL AND ECONOMIC BASES OF UPPER SILESIAN INDUSTRY

Upper Silesia was the first province to be severed from Poland and the last to return to her. It remained separate for several centuries and was drawn into the orbit, first of Bohemian, then of Austrian, and lastly of Prussian, life. Nevertheless, its return to Poland was accompanied by no economic confusion or upheaval. The current of Silesian life flowed normally into the general channel of Polish life, thereby disproving the pessimistic auguries of certain world-famous economists.

We can ascribe the smoothness of this transition to two groups of causes, natural and economic, both of great importance as emphasizing the inevitability of the gravitation of Silesia towards Poland, further confirmed by the Silesian population in their insurrections and their reply to the plebiscite.

The natural causes are to be found in the geological structure of Upper Silesia, as also of the Cracow and Dąbrowa coal-basins and of the neighbouring areas of Silesia which are under German or Czechoslovakian rule. The whole of this basin constitutes a coal-field covering 5,400 sq. km. of territory, of which one-tenth has remained German, one-sixth has become Czech, and 3,880 sq. km., or nearly three-quarters, have been transferred to Poland. Of this Polish area, 56 per cent. (2,180 sq. km.), constitute the Upper Silesian part.

**Table 1**  
**Division of the Polish Coalfield**  
(in sq. km.)

Before the War		Present-day		
Countries	Area in sq. Km.	Poland	Germany	Cz. Slovak.
Austria	2,400 (44.4 %)	1,500	—	950
Germany	2,800 (51.9 %)	2,180	570	50
Russia	200 (3.7 %)	200	—	—
<b>Total</b>	<b>5,400</b> (100 %)	<b>3,880</b> 71.9 %	<b>570</b> 10.5 %	<b>950</b> 17.6 %

The structure of the coal-field gradually changes in quality from east to west, from almost flat seams with coal of below 5,000 calories to rolling seams yielding coal of 7,500 calories and in some places, owing to the small percentage of volatile matter, serving as coking coal. This structural transition, however, stands in no relation to the former division by political frontiers, for the best coking coal is only found in the western part of Polish Silesia, in the county of Rybnik.

With regard also to iron-, lead-, and zinc-ore the whole of this area forms a single, homogeneous district. Its natural uniformity greatly facilitates administrative, social and legal unification.

We have remarked that economic causes also promoted the easy absorption of Upper Silesia into Poland. Upper Silesian economic development had always been dependent on the market provided for its products by the territories of pre-partition Poland (Poznań, Pomerania, 'Congress' Poland and Galicia). Upper Silesian trade had always tended to gravitate in the direction of these markets, although this natural tendency was sometimes deflected by the customs frontiers and railway freight policy of the three partitioning Powers. Before the Great War, Upper Silesian products were already known over the whole territory of Poland, and they did not, therefore, need any special advertisement after the political union of Upper Silesia with the Polish State had been effected. On the other hand, Polish products were admirably fitted to satisfy the demands of the Upper Silesian population, mining industry and iron works. Social and commercial relations between Poland and Upper Silesia have always been based on the strong, natural foundations provided by racial and geographical unity.

In Upper Silesia the inter-dependence of natural conditions and technical development is strongly marked. In order to understand present conditions, it is as

necessary for us to be acquainted with the economic history of the area as with its physiography. The coal and ore reserves, which form the natural wealth of Upper Silesia, are widely known, and more especially since the German delegates at the Paris Peace Conference gave prominence to their assertion that these

reserves comprised one of the principal bases of German prosperity. The history of the development of Upper Silesia, however, is less widely known; yet it is essential to an understanding of the present economic structure; in order to realize what Upper Silesia is to-day, we must first realize what Upper Silesia was in the past.

## II

### PRE-WAR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF POLISH UPPER SILESIA

For centuries Upper Silesia has been a mining district. We have records of the extraction of silver in the twelfth century. Lead-, zinc-, and iron-ore were also obtained from the area centuries ago. Already in the Middle Ages a smelting industry was established there, not, indeed, in foundries, but in smithies such as the Bogucka Smithy, to which, beyond question, the great, modern town of Katowice traces its origins; already, too, a localization of industry had taken place, according to the natural distribution of ores as raw material, of running water as power, and of forests as fuel. The presence of water in the mines, however, prevented until the Machine Age the further development of mining. Steam engines on the British model were introduced at the end of the eighteenth century, the first Continental mine to employ them being at Strzybnica (from Polish *strzybło*, *srebro*, 'silver'). Shortly afterwards steam engines were also installed in the collieries, and the small pits which had existed hitherto developed into large mines. The beginning of the nineteenth century signalized further the rise of modern iron works in Upper Silesia. Great plants were set up at Gleiwitz and in the Chorzów district (the latter was formerly styled Königshütte, as being the property of the State; it is now entitled the Marshal Piłsudski Iron Works), which were the first Continental plants to work with coal as fuel and to have the character of great industrial centres. At the same time, under the influence of British inventions, the first zinc was obtained in the neighbourhood of Pszczyna; it was manufactured from calamine ore, the technique of that period having failed to master, as yet, the difficulties presented by zinc-blende. The demand for coal increased enormously to meet the growing needs of industry, communications and population, and the production of coal increased from 40,000 tons in the year 1800 to 40,000,000 tons annually before the outbreak of the World War. The largest increase in the production of iron took place after 1870. The zinc factories, following the example given by Sweden, overcame the problems presented by the manufacture of zinc from zinc-blende and the conversion into sulphuric acid of the gas obtained as a by-product in the process of roasting this zinc-ore. This discovery opened up new possibilities for the Silesian zinc industry and promoted the mining of zinc-ore.

But it would be a mistake to allow ourselves to be fascinated by the mere increase of production, how-

ever remarkable it may have been; for there were certain features which augured disaster to Upper Silesian industry. Thus, competition between the various powerful concerns led to the premature opening of new mines and factories and increase of production. Further, it was not easy for Upper Silesia to find a market for its output, owing to the fact that the area lay within the German frontiers and was thus exposed to fierce competition from the West German mining and smelting industry, which was blessed by more favourable conditions, especially in respect of cheap communications. The West German industrialists wielded a superior influence, and the commercial, customs and freight policy pursued by Germany was injurious to Upper Silesia, both as regards home and foreign trade. In view of the expansion eastwards of the sphere of interests of the West German coal, coke and iron industries, Upper Silesian trade could expand but slightly to the west, and its expansion eastwards was rendered difficult by the Russian frontier and its constantly mounting customs barriers — erected not to protect the industry of the Dąbrowa coal-fields, but in order to obtain bargaining power for the export of Russian agricultural products to Germany. German agriculture, on the other hand, aimed at maintaining high prices for its own products and was opposed to imports from Russia. The growing customs barriers proved such a hindrance to trade that German capital, careless of such national interests as the necessity of increasing employment and production, began to desert Upper Silesia for the former Russian districts of the Dąbrowa coal-basin and Częstochowa, where it financed a number of iron works.

Upper Silesian commercial expansion to the north, towards Berlin, was hindered by the maritime policy of Germany, the aim of which was to increase the traffic of her Baltic ports; for coal freight from Upper Silesia to Berlin was dearer than transport from Great Britain, and furthermore British coal was already three marks per ton cheaper at the seat of its production.

Pre-War Upper Silesian industry, therefore, despite its great natural advantages, encountered grave difficulties as a result of its lack of support from the Government and community in general. It is noteworthy that on several occasions the representatives of German capital warned the Government of Prussia or of the Reich that a crisis threatened to overtake Upper Silesia,

and produced statistics in support of their arguments which showed, for instance, that whereas the total German production of steel had increased by 1,271 per cent. during the period from 1871 to 1912, the steel production of Upper Silesia had increased by only 452 per cent., i.e., almost three times less.

The wealth of such statistics furnished by pre-War memoranda provides conclusive evidence that at the commencement of the twentieth century (1909), Upper Silesia was faced by a crisis from which it was rescued only by the War-time orders; some years even before the outbreak of hostilities the German Government was placing such orders on a large scale, since Germany was making her preparations for war simultaneously to the east and west.

The pre-War situation of Upper Silesia, then, was obviously the result of its territorial inclusion within the

highly-industrialized German State. German industry, and especially the electrical, chemical and machine industries (with particular reference to those of Lower Silesia, Saxony and the western provinces of Prussia) treated Upper Silesia as a source of raw materials and a market for the consumption, both human and industrial, of enormous quantities of manufactured articles. Thus Upper Silesia was forced to serve as a market even for many articles which should have been manufactured locally. The weak development of the Upper Silesian chemical industry, which possessed in the cheap sulphuric acid available a basis for many of its branches, provides us with an example of the conditions which resulted; for even the sale of sulphuric acid was in the hands of Breslau, and not carried on independently by the Upper Silesian zinc producers, great producers of sulphuric acid though they were.

### III

#### PRESENT-DAY INDUSTRIAL STRUCTURE OF POLISH UPPER SILESIA

The assignment of a part of Upper Silesia to Poland marks the commencement of a new era in its economic history. Without Upper Silesia, Poland is beyond doubt a predominantly agricultural State; with Upper Silesia, Poland becomes a balanced, agricultural and industrial State. Upper Silesia is the greatest industrial centre in Poland and the whole of the country has become a market for its products. As a result, the branches of industry which are dependent on the natural wealth of Upper Silesia develop there, and the natural wealth can be fully exploited.

Coal-mining is the basic industry of Upper Silesia. It is the main foundation of Upper Silesian trade, of the railway traffic, of other secondary industrial and commercial enterprises, and of the livelihood of mental and manual workers. In addition, taxation imposed on the coal-mines provides the local government with funds for undertaking public works, and for the development of schools, social welfare and culture generally. There are thirty-eight coal-mines in Upper Silesia, and they employ some forty-five thousand workmen. Taking into consideration the fact that large families are the rule in Upper Silesia, we can estimate that the coal-industry,

in giving employment to this number of workmen, directly supports some two hundred thousand persons. It is impossible to calculate the number of craftsmen, merchants, and other workers who should be added to this number, but we should not be far from the mark in asserting that four hundred thousand Upper Silesian folk (i.e., one-third of the population of the area) are maintained by the coal-industry.

Upper Silesia produces three-quarters of Poland's coal, i.e., about 1,750,000 tons per month. Of this amount, it consumes about 600,000 tons per month, supplies about 500,000 to other parts of Poland, and exports the remainder. Thus, Upper Silesian coal exports amount to 650,000 tons per month—22,000 thirty-ton wagons per month and 700 per day. These figures indicate the importance of coal as an item in the railway freights of Poland, and even so they give only a partial picture, since they leave out of account the amounts transported within the country for home consumption. The coal-mines employ over 3,500 railway wagons daily. Nothing could illustrate better than this figure the rate at which work goes forward in Upper Silesia.

Eighty per cent. of the coal export from Upper

Table 2

Polish Upper Silesian Coal  
(in million tons)

Year	Output	Home Consumption	Export
1931	28.7	15.7	8.7
1932	21.5	12.5	8.5
1933	19.5	12.3	7.7
1934	21.9	13.1	8.5
1935	21.1	11.5	7.5
1936	22.1	14.8	7.2

Table 3

Export of Polish Upper Silesian Coal  
(in thousand tons)

Year	Continental Markets	Other European Markets	Non-European Markets	Bunker Coal	Total
1931	2,643	5,505	76	464	8,688
1932	1,709	6,356	128	277	8,470
1933	1,331	5,962	171	292	7,756
1934	1,300	6,572	310	374	8,556
1935	1,083	5,581	302	539	7,505
1936	875	5,304	428	621	7,228

**Table 4**  
Polish Upper Silesian Iron Production  
(in thousand tons)

Year	Pig-iron	Steel	Rolled Products	Tubes
1931	266·2	767·2	566·4	40·9
1932	148·2	365·0	260·7	19·7
1933	239·1	585·5	404·0	28·8
1934	306·2	578·3	413·3	32·5
1935	299·6	605·8	433·7	32·8
1936	411·8	754·3	544·9	34·9

Silesia is sent via Gdynia and Danzig. Except for the Continental markets (Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Roumania, Switzerland and, to a very small extent, Germany) all the foreign countries import Polish coal by sea from the Polish ports, for which coal constitutes the largest export item.

Upper Silesia leads in Poland's steel industry as well as in coal-mining. Eight of the twelve blast furnaces in Poland and eighteen of the twenty-eight Polish open-hearth furnaces lie in Upper Silesia. Upper Silesia produces three-quarters of the total Polish production of pig-iron, two-thirds of her steel, and two-thirds of her rolled products. The development of the Polish Upper Silesian smelting industry after the return of this province to Poland has taken a new turn. The production of various special, structural, tool and rust proof steels, indispensable for the military defence of the State, as well as for the development of the metal industry, shows a considerable increase. Upper Silesia is particularly well-suited to manufacture these types of steel, electric furnaces being required in the process, and the presence of coal provides cheaper current than is available in other parts of the country.

Of late years Upper Silesia has had a complete monopoly in the mining and smelting of zinc and lead, the manufacture of zinc goods, and the rolling of zinc sheets and kindred industries.

The cheap electric current available in Upper Silesia has led to the rise and development there of industries which require electric power, such as the manufacture of various alloys and the production of electro-cement. These products are also manufactured for export.

A new industry which has been founded in Upper Silesia since the War is that of earthenware and porcelain production for electrical and domestic purposes. The factory where this industry is centred has a market throughout the whole of Poland. It is a typical industry requiring high temperatures and therefore consuming large quantities of coal.

Another considerable industry based on the cheap coal of Upper Silesia is that of nitrates. The famous State Nitrate Factory at Chorzów was founded by Germany in 1916 for military purposes. When the undertaking passed into Polish hands, its first Polish

**Table 5**  
Polish Upper Silesian Zinc Production  
(in thousand tons)

Year	Zinc and Lead Ore extraction	Production of raw and electrolytic Zinc	Production of refined Zinc	Production of Zinc Sheetting
1931	214·2	123·9	12·3	12·9
1932	240·0	84·9	15·6	7·1
1933	351·0	82·9	15·0	7·6
1934	369·0	92·1	15·0	11·0
1935	316·0	84·8	11·8	13·1
1936	345·0	92·6	10·4	15·5

manager, the present President of Poland, Prof. Ignacy Mościcki, organized it to produce in addition a number of other chemicals which had not hitherto been manufactured in Poland. Among the main and secondary products of the Chorzów factory are ammonium carbonate, sal-ammoniac, ammonia, sodium nitrate, carbide, and oxygen, and it is now one of the largest chemical works in Poland. The Polish import of saltpetre (now discontinued, and replaced by the home production of calcium cyanamide and other artificial nitrate fertilizers) was alone estimated in some years at one hundred million zlotys.

As we have already mentioned, Upper Silesia, especially the western part of the Silesian voivodship, is a producer of coking coal, which is essential for the iron industry. Furthermore coking coal is tremendously important as the basic material for the rapidly developing industry of coal by-products. With the advance of chemistry, the number of coal by-products is constantly increasing and already includes coal-tar, pitch, products for making roofing, lacquers, fuel- and lubricating-oils, and materials for the production of dyes and explosives. The list of such by-products is too long to enumerate here. Among products yielded by the cokeries are photographic chemicals, chemical reagents, medicines, synthetic dyestuffs and aromatic compounds.

The gases obtained in the production of coke are important as the substance used for the production of ammonium sulphate, which is a valuable artificial fertilizer. The manufacture of ammonium sulphate is an admirable example of the inter-dependence of different

**Table 6**  
Production of Coke and By-Products of Coal  
in Polish Upper Silesia  
(in thousand tons)

Year	Coke	Coal-tar	Benzol	Ammonium Sulphate
1931	1,354·7	68·9	22·1	21·6
1932	1,090·9	56·3	18·0	25·1
1933	1,170·7	60·7	29·6	29·4
1934	1,333·5	69·3	21·6	18·2
1935	1,386·7	71·1	23·1	19·7
1936	1,616·0	81·0	26·0	22·0

branches of industry: in addition to the gas obtained in producing coke, sulphuric acid, which is a by-product of the zinc roasting works—another basic Upper Silesian industry — is also required in the manufacture of ammonium sulphate. Thus both by-products, the gas from the coke works and that from the zinc works, together form a product of fundamental importance for the chemical industry. Sulphuric acid is also essential for the pickling of iron sheets, oil refining, the transformation of phosphorites into superphosphates, the textile and other industries. Some branches of industry are developing locally, e.g., the manufacture of superphosphates at Bogucice. Other factories, lying outside Upper Silesia, are supplied with the sulphuric acid from Kato-

wice, the new Polish sales-centre of this product, instead of from Breslau.

These various branches of industry create a constant demand for the installation and repair of plant. Upper Silesia has, therefore, become a centre of workshops and factories for producing the various kinds of apparatus needed by the chemical, electrical, optical and other branches of manufacture. Different sections of industry afford each other mutual assistance and all together provide a constantly growing market for many articles from other Polish regions; at the same time many branches of manufacture have developed in Poland which had no possibility of existence so long as Upper Silesia belonged to Germany.

#### IV

### POST-WAR CHANGES AND DEVELOPMENT IN POLISH UPPER SILESIA INDUSTRY AND TRADE

The fifteen years which have elapsed since the insurrection and plebiscite in Upper Silesia are long enough to enable us to view in a certain perspective the changes which have come over the territory. In 1921 Upper Silesia, although under the control of an Inter-Allied Commission, still continued to remain a part of Germany and subject to her undecided post-War 'transitional economy'. To-day Upper Silesia is an integral part of the Polish State, whose economic policy is based essentially on the maintenance of a stable currency. Fifteen years ago Upper Silesia was still the least favoured part of a highly industrialized State; to-day Upper Silesia belongs to a predominantly agricultural country where it occupies a leading position by virtue of its natural and economic conditions.

Fifteen years ago, when it became clear that a considerable portion of the plebiscite territory would fall to Poland and the heroic struggle of at least a part of the Upper Silesian population gain its reward, Germany launched a strong press campaign in defence of the economic indivisibility of Upper Silesia. The mines, iron and zinc works, factories and railways lying within the Upper Silesian plebiscite territory, or at any rate inside the so-called 'industrial triangle', were beyond doubt very closely, inter-connected and might well have had the appearance of being inseparable. The Germans advanced the most varied arguments in defence of their plea: they instanced the water-supply, the electric current, the means of communication (standard and narrow gauge lines, and tramlines) as evidence of the indivisible unity of the region. Finally, when despite these arguments the territory was divided, Germany secured the establishment of the Geneva Convention, which was to remain in force for fifteen years and secure the intervention of a sort of transitional period between

the period of the region's attachment to Germany and its complete severance from her. Germany believed that during the period of the Convention she would be able to retain her influence in the territory assigned to Poland, and that Upper Silesia would remain in economic dependence on her.

Very few of the Geneva Convention economic regulations, however, have remained in force till the present. Regulations in respect of joint water supply, electric current and railway service soon became of no real importance. The forces of change, gradually making headway, have resulted in the complete absorption of Polish Upper Silesia into the Polish State. Economically Polish Upper Silesia has broken away from the part of Silesia remaining German, and the area no longer needs to profit by the economic regulations of the Geneva Convention. Polish Upper Silesia is completely prepared for July 15, 1937, which is the date fixed for the expiration of the Convention and with it the passing away of all connexions with the politically foreign, although racially to a large extent kindred, districts of German Upper Silesia.

Upper Silesia obtains its water supply from the river Przemsza in the Polish territory of former Galicia. Large, new electric power stations have been erected in the area. A new network of railways which covers only Polish territory has been laid down in order to avoid the injury resulting from their artificial intersection by the political frontier. The narrow-gauge railway lines have been similarly re-laid, and the Upper Silesian tramlines have been linked up with those of the Dąbrowa district. The most important change of all, however, has consisted in the re-orientation of the Upper Silesian trade routes, which formerly ran east and west, but now run northwards to the Polish ports on the Baltic.

The adoption of new trade routes has involved the promotion of new men to the head of Upper Silesian industry and trade. The former leaders of Upper Silesian economic life, foreign to Upper Silesia and its population, could not retain their positions under the changed circumstances owing to their ignorance of the new markets and new conditions of life created. These men have either left their posts or are about to do so, and the lead is now taken by Poles, who have come to Upper Silesia with the ambition to raise it to the highest possible economic level and to take the utmost advantage of the new conditions, favourable as they are to the development of a mining and smelting area within an agricultural State. This does not mean that the new leaders are prejudiced in their outlook and reject the services of foreign engineers or technicians. On the contrary, foreigners with a wide outlook and up-to-date technical knowledge have been and are favourably received in Upper Silesia. Their collaboration in a manner independent of political considerations remains welcome, in proof of which we may quote two instances — the introduction of electro-lization in zinc smelting and of certain new investments in the coal-mines.

After the War, Poland and Upper Silesia found themselves, in common with the rest of the world, facing a state of economic crisis. It was necessary to effect up-to-date technical adaptations, to introduce modern methods of economic control and organization, and to increase output in order to provide employment for men whom rationalization in general had deprived of their work. With these ends in view, entirely new methods were adopted in the mining, sorting and transport of coal, with results that give a just cause for pride. The coal output of about 600 kg. per man per day (1923) has been increased three-fold (1,900 kg. since 1935). The coal seams have been more thoroughly exploited, the output of the various shafts increased, electrical machinery developed, and coal-cutting machines installed for the exploitation of thin seams. The most up-to-date colliery, the President Mościcki Pit at Chorzów, is well-known throughout the European mining-world.

The quality of the coke output has been greatly improved, and in quantity is sufficient to meet the entire actual demands of the iron works. The latter have developed new lines of production, including the production of tin plate and of various kinds of high quality

structural and tool steel, continuous cold strip (Sądzimir patent), ferro-concrete steel (Griffel patent). They have also established new manufacturing departments of refrigerating plant. In the zinc-mines the most productive American methods have been adopted; new departments have been opened up in the zinc and chemical industries, and zinc sheet exports have reached a high figure. The development of the zinc sheet export, as of the coal and iron export, has been very largely pioneer work. Upper Silesian coal now possesses markets, not only in the Baltic and Mediterranean countries, but in South America too. Upper Silesian steel tubes are known all over the world, and Upper Silesian rails are exported to Yugoslavia, Brazil, Palestine, China and other countries. In recent years Polish exports have won a footing in many new markets. Upper Silesia, formerly a producer only for Poland and the Central European countries and for Russia, has become a considerable exporter to overseas countries, and the cargoes which it sends through Gdynia are mainly instrumental in maintaining the sea-going trade balance of Poland.

Poland, like other countries, is obliged to keep pace with the improvements in the technique of production. Without Upper Silesia, this would be slow and difficult of realization; the natural wealth of Silesia, its range of production and the industriousness of its workers, render the process normal. Poland is already beginning to possess her sky-scrapers and enormous steel buildings, of which the most striking examples are in Katowice, though they are also to be seen in Warsaw and Poznań. Silesian producers have played a leading part in the construction of the harbour of Gdynia. The enormous broadcasting tower at Toruń, 145 metres in height, the great aerodromes up and down the country, the powerful bridges flung over road and railway track, all these are principally the work of Upper Silesia, of the Polish workman and the Polish engineer and technician.

Upper Silesia is at the same time of prime importance to Poland as a market: Upper Silesian industry requires iron-ore, pit props and many other articles; its population of 1,300,000 provides a market for flour, potatoes, sugar, etc.; it is a constant market for manufactured goods, furniture, clothing, stationary, medicines, etc., and as such Upper Silesia plays a great part in helping to lessen the effects of the crisis in the country as a whole.

## V

### THE WORKMAN

All the regions of Poland participate in the interchange of products. The great economic differences existing between one region and another are an impulse

to trade, each region being able to supply what the others lack. The wide expanses of territory in the east of Poland and the great wealth of the south-west tend to

create a natural equilibrium. The economic development of Poland must proceed at an even pace over all her territories, and the development of the eastern districts lies especially in the interests of Upper Silesia, to which the Polish market is the most important of all. The Poles of to-day, having witnessed the resurrection of the Polish State, now aim to build up a Poland better and more powerful than when she was first restored, and this ideal derives one of its principal sources of strength from the mining, industry, and productive energy of Upper Silesia.

The welfare of Upper Silesia is founded on the variety of raw materials which it possesses. Few districts are so favourably equipped for the growth of industry as Upper Silesia, where coal and ore exist side by side, and the essential subsidiary materials such as lime and dolomite, etc., provide a basis for a wide variety of manufactures. The growth of manufacturing in Upper Silesia, in alliance with coal-mining and heavy industry, is of great social importance in that it provides work for men who would otherwise have been deprived of their employment as a result of the rationalization of coal-mining and the increased productiveness of the miner. The former (1923) average daily amount of coal extracted by the miner was 0.6 ton; now the average is 1.9 tons (1936). This, the result of favourable natural conditions and of collaboration between workman and engineer, represents one of the best averages in Europe. Although a natural source of pride, however, the increased average output per head has also led to a reduced level of employment in coal-mines, which might have been disastrous had the workers not been absorbed in the new branches of industry which are becoming concentrated in Upper Silesia and the neighbouring counties of the Kraków and Kielce voivodships. Many factories are springing up in Upper Silesia or being transferred there on account of the cheapness of coal, coke, gas and electric current, and on account of geographic, demographic, and other conditions.

Employment statistics throw light on the remarkable pace at which manufacturing has developed in Upper Silesia. During the past two years the number of coal-miners has fallen by 5 per cent., the number of men employed in the iron-works has risen by 10 per cent., and the number of factory workers has risen much more, by 25 per cent.

**Table 7**  
**Workmen employed in Polish Upper Silesia**

Year (Dec. 31)	In Coal Mines	In Iron Works	In Manufacturing Plants
1931	73,658	23,054	34,902
1932	55,683	17,501	27,767
1933	48,781	17,951	27,406
1934	48,467	20,263	30,272
1935	46,076	19,540	34,955
1936	47,203	23,264	38,252

The localization of industry has been accompanied by the localization of the greater branches of trade. Katowice has become the centre of trade in coal, coke, zinc, rolled iron, steel tubes, and many chemical articles. The export trade in these articles is also centred at Katowice in close connexion with the ports of Gdynia and Danzig.

By localization of industry we do not, of course, mean self-sufficiency. Of this there can be no question, for Upper Silesia is a great consumer as well as a great great producer. Both its industry and its population create a market for enormous supplies of prime necessities and auxiliary articles for use in production.

The concentration of heavy industry and manufactures in Upper Silesia should be recognized as an advisable policy, in view of the richness of its industrial reserves, its abundant raw materials, the great potentialities of its plan for expansion, and, a most important factor, the excellence of the Upper Silesian workman. The latter has long been accustomed to industrial work; he is well-disciplined and organized and an intelligent member of trade unions, eagerly defending his earnings and usually supporting a large family. He is fully conscious of his Polish nationality and hardened by the rigours of the former Prussian régime, of which the memory is still vivid. He knows how to defend his rights and stood up boldly for national self-determination in the plebiscite and the Silesian insurrections. His sense of discipline and obedience is a valuable feature in the Polish community. In short, the importance of Upper Silesia in the national economic life of Poland is due, not only to its great natural wealth and resultant potentialities for industrial development, but also to the striking energy of its population. Both factors justify the words of the poet Jaroń, who appropriately styled Silesia 'The Pearl of the Polish Crown'.

# THE EXPORT TRADE OF UPPER SILESIA

by ALEKSANDER SZCZEPAŃSKI

(KATOWICE, POLAND)

## I

### PRE-WAR INDUSTRIAL EXPORT FROM UPPER SILESIA

It would be superfluous to begin this study with an exhaustive survey of the export trade in Upper Silesian mining and industrial products before the World War; but a comparison of the present and pre-War conditions in this branch of trade can help to give us a better understanding and a clearer judgement of its present-day character and extent.

It is not easy to draw such a comparison, if only because the pre-War conditions of Upper Silesian economic development were other than they are to-day. The home market for the industrial goods of Polish Upper Silesia has changed since pre-War days. None the less, a careful comparison can yield us many interesting conclusions. For the purposes of this study we shall take the data for 1911, 1912 and 1913 as giving a typical picture of pre-War conditions in Upper Silesian industry and industrial export.

#### EXPORT OF UPPER SILESIAN COAL

The pre-War output of coal in Upper Silesia was, of course, greater in volume than it is to-day in Polish Upper Silesia, since Polish Upper Silesia forms only a part of the Upper Silesian coal-basin. The coal output in 1911 amounted to 36,623,000 metric tons, 18 per cent. of which was sold in the immediate vicinity, i.e., in the Government district (*Regierungsbezirk*) of Oppeln, over 45 per cent. to other parts of the Reich, and 36 per cent. exported. Apart from sales in the Oppeln district Upper Silesian coal was chiefly marketed in the Government districts of Breslau and Liegnitz; thus most of it was sold in Silesia itself. The home markets which at that time ranked next in importance were Poznan, Pomerania and West Prussia, and finally, Berlin with its suburbs.

It is a most characteristic fact that the Berlin market, although its capacity was naturally great, was too far distant to become a larger buyer of Upper Silesian coal. The competition of Westphalian and Lower Silesian, and above all of British, coal was too powerful.

During the period 1888—1911 the share of Upper Silesia in coal deliveries to Berlin fell from 71 per cent. to 37 per cent. In 1911 even the absolute figures of British coal sales to Berlin exceeded those of Upper Silesian.

It follows that in pre-War years the chief domestic sales market for Upper Silesian coal was the eastern part of the Reich, and that in this respect the (ethnic) Polish provinces held by Prussia occupied a paramount position.

The coal exported from Upper Silesia primarily went to the neighbouring Polish districts held at that time by Russia and Austro-Hungary (Central Poland, and South Poland, or Galicia). Very little was sent to Russia proper, and the amounts sold to Scandinavia, Switzerland, Italy and the Balkans were insignificant. Austria proper, Hungary and Bohemia imported in all about 7 million tons of Upper Silesian coal. The remainder went to Galicia and Central Poland. Thus as regards both home and foreign markets the various Polish territories were the chief consumers of Upper Silesian coal. This affords a striking proof of the Polish national character of the Upper Silesian coal-fields, which are in fact at the very heart of the Polish coal-basin.

During the following pre-War years, in 1912 and 1913, little change took place relative to 1911. The coal output increased in volume and was accompanied by an increase in exports, which in 1913 accounted for 38.5 per cent. of total sales. This shows that before the War there was an over-production of coal which could only be disposed of through export. It is true that Upper Silesian coal took advantage of the British coal-miners' strike of 1912 to improve its position in Berlin in that year, but during 1913 it was again forced to make way for its British rival; its share in the Berlin trade declined and the increased output of the Upper Silesian collieries had to find an outlet in export.

The sales of Silesian coal in the internal German

market fell in 1913 from 45 per cent. of the total volume sold in previous years to 42 per cent. Simultaneously the importance of the Polish territories as the natural sales markets for Upper Silesian coal was still more evident in 1913, which was the last normal year before the outbreak of the World War.

#### FOUNDING, METALLURGICAL AND CHEMICAL EXPORT IN 1913

Pre-War conditions current in Upper Silesia in the metal and chemical industries were fundamentally little different from those shown to have existed in the coal-mining industry. These industries also produced mainly for the adjacent territories — the province of Silesia and the Polish provinces then under Prussian rule; exports were mostly directed to other Polish territories — to Central and to South Poland, after which came Austro-Hungary proper and the Balkans. Non-European and more distant European markets were relatively unimportant buyers. (There were deviations, of course, but we shall discuss these when we deal with the commodities individually.) We shall take the year 1913 as the standard of comparison for two reasons: it was the last normal year before the War; and it was a year of prosperity and favourable business conditions, and as such can be said to give a true picture of pre-War conditions in Silesian industry.

The only data which enable us to analyse the home and the foreign sales of Upper Silesian industrial goods in 1913 are the statistics of goods traffic borne by the German railways in that year. The report published by the Upper Silesian Mining and Founding Association (*Berg- und Hüttenmännischer Verein*) gives statistics only of coal sales. With regard to other branches of industry, the report restricts itself to data on production, and very general remarks on sales conditions; in its references to export the report only deals with changes in the conditions governing that branch of trade.

#### CONSUMPTION AND EXPORT OF IRON

Pig-iron is clearly not a commodity which can be profitably marketed far afield and it is usually consumed in the vicinity of the plants which produce it. In the present case the railways delivered most of the pig-iron output (132,557 tons) within the Government district of Oppeln. Only 34,000 tons were transported to other parts of the Reich; as the Polish provinces were but feebly industrialized, deliveries of pig-iron to them were insignificant.

In 1913 railway freights of pig-iron for export were a little over 10 per cent. of the total freights for home destinations and amounted to 17,500 tons, of which 4,903 tons went to Central Poland, 850 tons to South Poland, and 11,352 tons to the rest of the Austro-

Hungarian Empire. Pig-iron railway freights to the ports of Germany — representing overseas export — amounted in 1913 to only 471 tons.

Bar-iron, profile-iron, and steel of the same types are better able to stand the cost of transport over long distances than pig-iron. In 1913 Upper Silesia produced over 900,000 tons of these goods.

Sales on the home market came to 728,071 tons, of which 299,206 tons were sold to clients in the Government district of Oppeln and 59,835 tons to the Polish territories of the Reich. The exports of bar-iron and profile-iron from Upper Silesia in the same year amounted to 123,103 tons, of which 67,260 tons left the country by land and 55,843 tons via the ports. The amount taken by the Polish provinces thus exceeded that exported overseas. The deliveries of these types of iron goods to Central and South Poland, although very modest in size, took second place in the list of the foreign sales of the Upper Silesian products. Roumania occupied first place with 31,637 tons, Polish territories held by Russia and by Austro-Hungary came second, Austria proper with 9,664 tons third, and so on. The more distant purchasing countries included Denmark, Italy, Switzerland and Russia.

The local importance of Upper Silesia as a producer of train rails was very marked in pre-War times; in this respect, 1913 was neither exceptional nor did it differ from the two preceding years. Two-thirds of the output of rails, i.e., 132,241 tons, were sold in the Government district of Oppeln itself, and sales to other parts of the Reich came to only 71,942 tons. The Polish provinces of the Reich played an unimportant rôle as markets for Upper Silesian rails. Exports, by land and by sea, amounted to less than 1,500 tons in all.

The production of steam-boilers was based on export orders to a much greater extent, but here again the goods were almost exclusively sold to the adjacent Polish territories under Russian and Austro-Hungarian rule. The total internal transport of Upper Silesian steam-boilers on the German railways came to 18,424 tons; steam-boilers amounting to 11,189 tons (or 60 per cent. of internal freights) were sold to foreign buyers; of the latter figure 9,279 tons were exported to Central and 62 tons to South Poland. The only other relatively large customer was Russia, with 1,169 tons. No boilers were exported via the ports. Thus before the War Upper Silesia produced steam-boilers virtually only for local use and for Central Poland (then under Russian rule).

Another product of Upper Silesian industry manufactured notably for export, even before the War, was that of iron pipes and tubes. In 1913, 90,084 tons of iron pipes and tubes were carried on the railways for domestic consumers, 28,755 tons of which were delivered to buyers in the Government district of Oppeln, and

61,329 tons were destined for other parts of the Reich; 48,592 tons were exported to other countries (28,674 tons by land and 19,918 tons via the ports). The Polish territories were not important consumers of this Silesian product, and only 1,218 tons were exported to South Poland. Roumania, in view of the needs of her large petroleum industry, was the chief buyer with 21,322 tons. The fairly large volume exported via the ports is due to the world-wide reputation of the special grades of pipes manufactured by the Ferrum Company and chiefly exported through Hamburg (12,386 tons).

#### ZINC AND LEAD PRODUCTION

The most important branch of the Upper Silesian metal industry was, after iron, that of zinc and lead. In 1913 two-thirds of the sales of zinc were absorbed by the capacious German home market (128,152 tons) and the remainder was exported (66,456 tons). Upper Silesia was the chief supplier of zinc to other parts of Germany (75,514 tons were delivered to railway stations in Germany outside the Government district of Oppeln). Unfortunately the German railway statistics of goods traffic do not make separate classifications of spelter and zinc goods, but group them all under one heading. We can assume, however, that the export traffic was chiefly composed of spelter, since the greater part of the production of zinc sheets was, and still is, absorbed by the home market. As we have mentioned above, 66,456 tons of zinc and zinc goods were exported in 1913; of this amount, 39,937 tons were delivered by land and 26,519 tons via the ports. In respect of the volume exported, Austro-Hungary was the chief

buyer, and Central and South Poland came second with 14,316 tons. The Scandinavian countries were probably the chief overseas buyers, since most of the maritime exports of the metal (16,629 tons) were shipped through Stettin, Stralsund, and Lübeck.

One-third (11,422 tons) of the output of lead was exported and the remainder (21,341 tons) absorbed by the home market. The lead was not exported through any of the ports and the Polish territories took only 1,520 tons in 1913.

#### THE CHEMICAL INDUSTRY

Of the branches of the chemical industry bound up with the zinc industry, the production of sulphuric acid was mostly of local importance. In 1913 about 19 per cent. (27,279 tons) of the total railway freights (146,955 tons) of this product was exported; after Austro-Hungary proper, Central and South Poland were the chief consumers, with 64,051 tons. Virtually none of the sulphuric acid output was exported by sea.

Other chemical products largely local in importance were the raw products of coal distillation (coal-tar, etc.). Of 88,562 tons loaded on the railways in 1913, only 9,266 tons were destined for points outside the Government district of Oppeln. Of the finished by-products of coal, virtually the whole of the export was sent overland, and amounted to 12,638 tons, of which 10,342 tons went to Central and to South Poland. This branch of Upper Silesian production, connected as it is with coal-mining, was Polish in character by reason of the nature of its sales markets, in the same way as coal-mining was.

## II

### POLISH UPPER SILESIA AFTER THE WAR

In accordance with the treaty stipulations accepted by both parties, the allocation between Germany and Poland of the various communes which comprised the Upper Silesian plebiscite area was to depend on the results of the voting. Eventually the area was partitioned between the two countries. The position of industry and mining within the territory ceded to Poland naturally underwent a considerable material change, although the process of change was gradual and it took some years for it to run its full course.

#### NEW CONDITIONS OF SALES

For the industry of Polish Upper Silesia, the change of political conditions was, in principle, favourable. The mines lost some of their natural sales markets, but retained others, and secured some which were new. In addition to part of the Oppeln district, Lower Silesia, Berlin, Prussian Pomerania, and East Prussia were lost. The large local market, and Poznan, Polish Pome-

rania, Central and South Poland remained. New sales possibilities were offered by the extensive areas of eastern and south-eastern Poland to the east of Warsaw and Lublin. The home market for the mines of Polish Upper Silesia undoubtedly became greater; but as a sales market it was a most irregular customer. During the period 1923—32 the annual consumption of coal fluctuated between 16 million and 27 million tons. The consumption per head of population in Poland amounted to 752 kg. in 1931 and to 383 kg. in 1934 (the former was a year of relative prosperity and the latter near the trough of the world-wide economic crisis). Further, the level of coal consumption in the various major sections of Poland showed considerable disparities. A. Jałowiecki, writing in his 'Anglo-Polish Coal Competition on the Scandinavian Markets', gave the consumption of coal per head of population in 1931 (taken as an average year) as 467 kilogrammes in the central voivodships, 2,214 kg. in the western, 288 kg. in the

southern, and only 38 kg. in the eastern voivodships of the country, in all cases excluding the consumption of the railways. This author very justly remarked: 'Having one of the lowest levels of coal consumption in Europe, Poland still possesses great possibilities of increasing her sales of domestic coal; this process will, however, require costly investment works over a prolonged period of time (road construction, extension of railway lines, industrialization, etc.), and, above all, a substantially higher standard of life.' In general, we can state, on the basis of the observations of the last few years, that two factors in the coal trade are quite apparent: Poland's output of coal exceeds her present needs; as conditions improve on the home market, the export of coal assumes a downward trend, and when home market conditions deteriorate coal exports tend to rise.

As regards exports, the position of the Upper Silesian collieries has not fundamentally changed in relation to pre-War times. During the years immediately before the War, when a period of economic prosperity was in full swing, a surplus of coal was produced which could not be placed on the home market in the Reich and which had to be exported: more than 13 million tons of coal were exported from Upper Silesia in 1913. The same necessity exists to-day in Polish Upper Silesia.

#### INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS

At first, this export showed a natural tendency to gravitate towards its natural and customary markets in eastern Germany — after the plebiscite a foreign market for Polish Upper Silesia. But Upper Silesian coal soon became the object of international politics and the latter succeeded in throwing into thorough confusion all the natural outlets for its sale. In fact, the policies of the great Powers which drew up the Treaty of Versailles and the Geneva Convention were far from clear-cut; they were undecided, vague and vacillating, probably owing to the failure of the Powers clearly to understand the nature of their aim.

In accordance with Art. 90 of the Treaty of Versailles and Art. 330 of the Geneva Convention Poland undertook, during a period of fifteen years after the change of suzerainty, to permit the export to Germany of 'coal, coke, briquettes, iron-ore, and zinc- and lead-ores' from that part of Upper Silesia which would be allocated to her.

Although Poland accepted this obligation, Germany, on her part, did not give any reciprocal commitment in return whereby she would bind herself to permit the unhindered import of the Polish Upper Silesian products in question. Art. 268 of the Treaty of Versailles and Art. 224 of the Geneva Convention defined Germany's obligation much more modestly. Po-

land was bound to permit the free export of these mining products to Germany during the period of fifteen years, but Germany was bound to permit the duty-free import of 'natural products or goods manufactured or originating in the Polish part of the plebiscite area' only during the course of three years after the notification by the Allies to Poland and Germany of the new Upper Silesian frontier.

It is obvious that these stipulations were not logically coherent and they therefore gave ground for two suppositions: either the authors of the treaties did not clearly understand the nature of the economic processes which they were trying to regulate, or they acted in the conviction that the economic interests of Germany were from a general point of view more important than the corresponding interests of Poland and therefore more worthy of protection. In any case, the outcome of this legislation soon made itself distinctly felt in the coal-mining industry on both sides of the Upper Silesian frontier.

It was on the basis of Art. 224 of the Geneva Convention that the Polish Upper Silesian mines sent more than 8 million tons of coal — more than three-quarters of their total export—to Germany in 1923. But the Germans knew that the obligation to permit the free entrance of Polish coal was binding on them only for the period of three years; therefore they immediately began to carry out enormous investment works in the coal-mines of German Upper Silesia with the result that at the end of three years they no longer needed Polish coal. The output of coal in German Upper Silesia rose from 8,745,000 tons in 1923 to 14,274,000 tons in 1925. On July 15, 1925, precisely upon the last day of the time limit set by the Geneva Convention, Germany placed an embargo upon the imports of coal from Poland.

Art. 330 of the Convention, however, has remained fully in force. Although Germany has imposed an embargo on Polish coal since July 15, 1925, Poland has been bound up to and including July 15, 1937, freely to permit the export of her coal to Germany should the latter demand it.

#### NEW SALES MARKETS

Once coal from the Polish Upper Silesian mines was barred from Germany, its export to that country fell to 2,708,000 tons in 1925 and to 23,000 tons in 1926. In other words, the export of Polish coal to Germany ceased in practice to exist. The sudden drop naturally affected the total export of Polish Upper Silesian coal, which fell from over 11,144,000 tons in 1924 to 7,797,000 tons in 1925. In 1926, however, the total export rose to 11,998,000 tons in spite of the fact that no coal was sent to Germany at all. The shock evoked by the sudden loss of the capacious German

market had been made good within the course of a single year.

It is now a matter of history that a fortuitous occurrence — the great British coal strike of 1926 — helped the Upper Silesian coal industry at this juncture. But we can also state without fear of partiality that the severe loss caused by Germany's embargo on Polish coal was in a great measure made good by the energy and initiative shown by those responsible for the fortunes of Poland's coal trade. The present writer happened to be in Danzig the day after the British coal strike broke out. It was with surprise that he met there the leading managing-directors of the large coal concerns of Polish Upper Silesia; these gentlemen were about to fly by special aeroplane to Sweden in order to arrange for the delivery of Silesian coal to supplant the British coal previously used there.

The same remarkable energy was shown when the general character of Poland's export trade in Upper Silesian coal was radically changed. We have already mentioned that pre-War coal exports were almost exclusively conducted overland and were restricted to Russia, Austro-Hungary and Roumania. Since 1926 much the greater part of the coal export has been transferred from the land to the sea route. In addition, the geographical range of the deliveries of this coal has been vastly extended. Making use of the Port of Danzig, while Gdynia and the Silesia—Gdynia railway were being rapidly constructed, Polish Upper Silesian coal soon appeared in many distant European and overseas lands. The loss of the German market was shortly after fully compensated by the new markets gained.

In 1934, the old-established sales markets for Upper Silesian coal — Austria, Czechoslovakia, Danzig, Germany and Hungary — absorbed only 16.66 per cent. of the total volume exported by Poland (10 per cent. represented deliveries to Austria). On the other hand, over 75 per cent. of the total export of Polish Upper Silesian coal was delivered overseas: to Sweden and Italy (19 per cent.), to Ireland, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, France, Holland, Finland, Spain, etc.; 3.5 per cent. was shipped to non-European lands — to the Argentine, Brazil, Egypt, Algeria, etc. To-day Polish Upper Silesian coal is sold to thirty-six countries.

In 1934 the total export of coal amounted to over 8.5 million tons — more than 40 per cent. of the aggregate output, which in that year exceeded 21 million tons. In spite of the great changes in the geographical range of the sales markets and the transference from land to maritime transport, the relation of export to output underwent very little change in comparison with the corresponding figure for 1913 (38.5 per cent.).

#### HOME AND FOREIGN MARKETS

It is no easy matter to give an adequate description

of the great efforts which were necessary to effect this change in the character and directions of the Polish Upper Silesian coal export trade. In addition to the efforts of the coal-owners and the administrative and technical staff, a great measure of credit is also due to the coal-miners, who steadily increased the output of their labour besides loyally accepting wage-cuts evoked by the necessity of reducing the price of the coal in order to meet competition. A vital element in this concerted action was the work connected with such large State-conducted construction schemes as the Port of Gdynia and the Silesia—Gdynia railway line. These enormous building undertakings were all the more difficult of achievement in the face of the economic crisis (then still at its height) and of the many obstacles and difficulties impeding progress. The Polish State Railways were forced to make many sacrifices in order to assist the coal export, and goods tariffs for transport to Gdynia and Danzig were cut time after time. The newly-established private and State shipping lines fulfilled an important rôle by facilitating transport to distant countries. Finally the whole public contributed to the success of the policy by paying for coal higher prices on the home market in order to assist its export at lower prices and even, at times, at a loss. The public bore the sacrifice willingly, however, since it realized that, by maintaining a regular influx of foreign exchange, its sacrifice would help to diminish unemployment in the Upper Silesian coal-mining districts, and guarantee the stability of the zloty and of economic conditions. The last point is really very significant, since coal exports represent one-fifth of the value of Poland's total outgoing trade and a credit item of several hundred million zlotys in her balance of payments.

But this does not exhaust the subject. We have only summarized the efforts made within Poland herself. In order to organize the export of coal from Poland it was likewise necessary to make a prolonged and determined effort outside the country. Sales agencies had to be organized and established; the foreign buyer had to be introduced to Polish coal; it was necessary to convince him that it equalled if not surpassed the quality of British and German coal.

It was not a matter for surprise that Great Britain, the leading coal country in the world after the U.S.A., did not remain idle during this invasion of her hitherto exclusive preserves in Scandinavia and other parts of the world. The reduction of the pound sterling rate and the abandonment of the gold standard gave a fillip to British export as a whole which was the equivalent of a substantial export bounty. Political and economic pressure was applied to the Scandinavian countries (the United Kingdom is the chief buyer of their agricultural produce), with the result that commercial agreements were concluded in 1933 thanks to which British coal

regained its predominant position upon those markets. Denmark agreed to buy 80 per cent. of her coal imports from Great Britain, Sweden 47 per cent., Norway 70 per cent., and Finland 75 per cent. The outcome of these agreements was that Polish coal was largely excluded from the Scandinavian market, with the exception of Sweden. This was no doubt a severe blow, but not a fatal one. Other, more distant markets could be and had to be found; Polish coal was sold even to the Irish Free State; several years of negotiations had to pass before an agreement was made in 1934 with the British coal-owners in respect of an allocation of export-markets. Whilst the agreement can hardly satisfy Poland in every respect, it is none the less an important step in the right direction — towards a more durable regulation of the coal market.

To attain this regulation is by no means an easy matter. As A. Jałowicki demonstrates in the work we have already mentioned above, the British coal-mining industry is in the midst of a thorough reorganization under the pressure of competition with Poland. It is striving not only to decrease the cost of output, but also to reduce the cost of marketing the fuel, and to rationalize the selling end of the trade within a single, uniform organization, etc. The Polish coal-owners will undoubtedly be obliged to resume negotiations with their British colleagues after this programme of reconstruction will have been effected: then a period of manoeuvring for more advantageous terms will ensue — perhaps even another period of competitive strife — but a new understanding will have to be arranged. On the other hand, until Germany's accession to the Anglo-Polish coal agreement takes place, the attainment of a satisfactory regulation of the world coal market is problematical, and for the time being there is little chance of the former occurring.

Another factor — a new departure in international trade — is at present contributing to complicate the situation, namely, the now fashionable mode of barter transactions in foreign trade. Thus, Poland has delivered large quantities of coal to Italy in exchange for two modern transatlantic liners built at the Montfalcone shipyards; other countries barter coffee or bananas in exchange for Polish coal; and these are but examples indicating the general trend in foreign trade policies.

#### OTHER UPPER SILESIAN EXPORT GOODS

The export of coke passed through the same process of evolution as coal. In spite of the crisis, the export sales of coke are steadily growing and now amount to about 400,000 tons per annum. Cut off from its natural sales markets abroad — the adjacent or nearby countries — Polish coke is being sent farther afield, chiefly to Italy, Sweden, Austria, Roumania, Greece, and even to Africa and South America. Poland exports coke to

twenty-six countries in all.

The pig-iron produced in Upper Silesia continues to be predominantly a commodity of local consumption on both sides of the frontier. The Polish iron-works export it only to Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

The export of tubes has undergone no change; Polish tubes have maintained their old-established reputation in the whole world and for certain purpose are unrivalled. Thus, of the total export of Polish tubes in 1929, 42 per cent. was sent to Asia, 16 per cent. to South America, about 20 per cent. to Roumania, 6 per cent. to Denmark, etc. The export was nearly double the volume of home sales.

Of the remaining articles produced by the iron industry, the export of commercial and profile-iron has increased considerably since Upper Silesia was ceded to Poland. Before the War, barely 10 per cent. of the production was exported as against more than one-third to-day. Iron sheets (particularly the thinner grades) are an export speciality of Poland and over one-half of the total production is sold abroad. Upper Silesian locomotive rails were not exported before the War; but they are now exported in considerable volume and are even sent to such distant markets as Brazil, Colombia, etc.

The Soviet Union was an important customer for Polish iron and steel goods during the period 1922—1932. Concurrently with the steadily increasing difficulty of financing the long-term credits essential for these sales, the trade later fell off considerably. The output thus set free was sold, as in other cases, in the more distant overseas markets of the world and as far away as the Far East.

The Far East, in fact, is likewise beginning to play an important rôle in another important Upper Silesian industry, the zinc mining and founding industry, which is now also passing through a transition period marked by radical changes in the geographical distribution of its sales markets. As we have already stated, Upper Silesian zinc was sold before the War to Austro-Hungary, the Polish territories, and to Scandinavia. After the War, 65 per cent. of the export of Polish Upper Silesian spelter was absorbed by Germany. But Germany's policy of self-sufficiency in respect of this important metal (coupled with a due regard for equilibrium in the balance of payments) has recently caused a fundamental change in the situation: a large plant for the production of electrolytic zinc has been erected at Magdeburg and a new zinc foundry is being built in the Harz Mountains. In addition, foreign exchange restrictions in Germany have enormously reduced the volume of imports entering the country, and zinc is amongst the commodities adversely affected by this policy. The home demand for spelter accounts for barely one-fifth of the whole production of this metal in Poland. The

defection of the German market, which absorbed over 40,000 tons of zinc in 1934 (for the last time), was therefore a serious blow, and new sales markets had to be found without delay. Some were found, in some cases in the Far East and in South America — but they were insufficient to make good the deficiency in demand, and production has been reduced. During the last few years, Polish zinc sheets have been exported to every continent in the world; Japan and China receive about one-half of this export and the rest goes to thirty other foreign countries.

Of the commodities produced by the chemical industry, sulphuric acid, from its very nature, is unsuitable for long-distance transport and continues to find buyers primarily in the neighbouring countries — in Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Roumania. On the other hand, the by-products of coal are but little in demand on the home market and are sold to more distant countries; thus, ammonium sulphate is sold to Spain, Portugal, and Holland, and with some other products even reaches the markets of northern Africa.

### CONCLUSIONS

In general we can state that the incorporation of Polish Upper Silesia within the Republic of Poland led the industry of that district to seek sales-markets far wider and far more distant than those which it had served in pre-War times. It is still too early to decide whether the change in export policy is a favourable or an unfavourable turn of events. There can be no doubt, however, that the export departments of the Polish Upper Silesian industries have shown more energy and initiative, and have been less local and more international in their outlook, than when the area belonged to Germany. It would be premature to speak in terms of permanence of the directions and geographical distribution of Polish Upper Silesian industrial export. The

present phase is a transitional one, matters are still in a state of flux, and there are too many extraneous, non-economic factors and considerations which influence the shaping of the export trade. But we can at least state with absolute certainty that although export to distant overseas lands is often hardly profitable, and is sometimes conducted even at a loss, it is none the less an essential trade in that it helps to equilibrate Poland's balance of trade and of payments and so tends to reduce the outflow of foreign exchange reserves from the Bank of Poland.

There is, however, another favourable aspect of this trade which we cannot disregard, particularly if we envisage future probabilities. For many countries, not only overseas but even in Europe, the 'Made in Poland' label is something quite strange and new; twenty years ago, Polish goods were known in other lands as German, Russian or Austrian commodities if they were exported at all. The relation of production to the needs of the home market at that time was other than to-day. The output of more than one division of production now exceeds the home demand many times over. None the less, the dynamics of population development in Poland are so powerful that the further industrialization of the country is a categorical imperative; this must inevitably cause a further increase in the output of the industries, and the latter, in their search for new sales markets, will be forced to extend their commercial activities throughout the whole world. It is for this reason that we must accept the expansion of Silesian industrial sales to even the most distant markets as a desirable feature of the present-day trends of Poland's export trade; it is not only fully in line with the general interests of the present national economy of Poland, but it is also doing important pioneering work the significance of which cannot be overestimated in view of the probable development of Poland's industry in the future.

TRANSLATED BY A. TRUSZKOWSKI

# ENGLAND'S PART IN THE CREATION OF UPPER SILESIAN INDUSTRY

by JÓZEF PIERNIKARCZYK

(TARNOWSKIE GÓRY, POLAND)

The Upper Silesian mining and foundry area, in which was laid a century and a half ago the cornerstone of Big Industry, counted at that time barely more than 10,000 inhabitants. To-day it maintains over a million souls. A lion's share in this development belongs to the Englishmen who helped to pioneer the enterprise, and to the native-born Upper Silesian people. Max Waldau, writing in the middle of the nineteenth century, describes these folk as 'clever at anything... They only need to see how a thing is done, and they will do it. Give them a chance, and the means to work with, and these

fellows, who can do anything, will become masters.'

By a curious chain of circumstances England, who has been the great teacher of others, found in Upper Silesia her first and most receptive pupil among all the lands of the Continent. All the English inventions and discoveries in the field of mining, of smelting and of technical progress found immediate echo and application there. In every branch Englishmen took an active part, directly or indirectly. The introduction of the various improvements was hindered neither by the distance involved, nor by any other obstacle.

## I

### PIONEERS OF UPPER SILESIAN INDUSTRY

Upper Silesian industry has known four periods: (1) the coming of the steam engine; (2) the coming of the railways; (3) the perfecting of the making of steel, thanks to Bessemer, Thomas, Siemens and Martin; and (4) the introduction of electricity as motive power for all purposes. It is curious how far England gave the lead in these changes in Upper Silesia, the land which was first to pioneer such things on the Continent of Europe. Two men began, in the eighteenth century, this transplanting of English achievements, and their realization in the Oderland: Reden and Heinitz. Both of them were able economists, and first-class masters of mining and foundry technique in their time. Thanks chiefly to these two officials, Frederick the Great was able to lay the foundations of Prussian power as a factor in European politics.

The providential leader for the province, however, was Reden, who became the founder of the material civilization of Upper Silesia, in the proper sense of the word. Schooled during all his life on English models, he created a second industrial England in the heart of Europe. Thus Lompa, the Polish publicist, could write a century ago that his country was becoming another England; while Heinitz, the Minister of State, could write to the King: '*Graf* Reden is transferring the whole

of English industry, in respect of mining and foundry work, into Silesia.'

Alongside of Reden we must put the Scottish engineer John Baildon, who in a practical way contributed most of all to the rise of big industry in Upper Silesia. He built the first blast furnaces in the land, not only the first of their kind on the Continent, but also the biggest. He welded together the engines and workshops and other essential elements of the forges and foundries into a single industrial unit. Reden was the theorist, but Baildon the practical organizer. Applying their knowledge and experience in Silesia, they laid the foundations of its future greatness.

It was in England that Reden met his uncle, Minister Heinitz, in London in July 1776. Had it not been for the coming together of these two men, the history of Prussia and of Upper Silesia would certainly have developed along other lines; for Reden would never have entered the Prussian service. The two men spent the whole year visiting various cities — Oxford, Bath, Birmingham, Manchester and others, solely in order to see the English industry that was then so much admired. Having got to know the land, which pleased him much more than France, Reden decided to return to Silesia.

On taking up the direction of the mining industry

in Silesia, Reden at once sent engineers and specialists to England, knowing well that there they could best find both example and teaching to further their plans in rehabilitating the mining centre of Tarnowskie Góry and the zinc foundries of Gleiwitz. He profited by the counsels of his uncle from Klaustal in Brunswick, who had also become an expert in English methods. The visit of this uncle was a decisive moment for the whole enterprise. On the counsel then given, it was resolved to introduce the steam engine, bringing the first one from England to the Continent. It was loaded on board ship at Cardiff in 1787 and shipped to Stettin, thence by river boat to Kosel, and finally on wagons to Tarnowskie Góry. The price, together with the boiler and all the parts, was 6,976 talers and 22 groschen. In time other steam engines were also brought in for use in newly-opened mines. The second came from England complete, but for the third certain parts were built in Ozimek in Silesia. Hence the boast that already this one foundry was raised to the level of British technical science. English engineers had visited it and it was modelled on English foundries.

Reden had also seen in England how canals and rivers facilitate the growth of industry, and the progress made there in this respect, and he wrote a memorial on *Canals and the Regulation of Rivers, according to English Practice*. The result was that a specialist in river questions in Silesia went to England, a man named Promnitz, in order to see for himself how canals were handled. In 1786 Reden himself went to England again, accompanied by his senior colleague, Baron Stein, the later reformer of Prussian public life. His purpose was to study the use of coke in the blast fur-

naces and in the steam engines. Shortly afterwards Heinitz wrote to inform the King that the secret of getting sulphur out of coal and of using it for smelting iron had been wrung from the English; and that already a thousand centners of coal had been put through this process in Silesia.

Reden and Stein met in England the famous foundry engineer, John Wilkinson, and the King of Prussia invited him to Upper Silesia to give advice on the tests being made in the use of coke, on the smelting of different kinds of ores, and on other experiments. Heinitz proposed to build in the neighbourhood of the newly-discovered coal deposits close to Beuthen a great blast-furnace to be driven by coke, but the new King, Frederick William II, would not agree to this at once, wishing first to consult Wilkinson personally. The audience took place on March 9, 1789, in Berlin. In the King's 'Book of Mines' Wilkinson signed himself 'Maître de forges d'Angleterre'.

While in England Stein had ordered for Tarnowskie Góry a steam blower from Boulton in Soho, near Birmingham. No wonder then that England came to be regarded as the land of miracles; and a knowledge of the technical aids and the whole machinery of industry in use there became the dream of all pioneers in Upper Silesia. Among them was Bückling, who visited both England and Norway in order to see on the spot the pouring of cannon into the new mould. He brought to Ozimek the first horizontal roller from England. In 1783 he also brought from England the drawings and description of the cylindrical blower in the New Willey furnace, which blew air through a reservoir four feet high, and filled with water.

## II

### MINING AND FOUNDRY DEVELOPMENT

Of great significance for the growth of mining and iron foundry in Upper Silesia was a visit paid by two Englishmen, Humphrey and Wilkinson, owners of the largest blast furnaces in England. The former came by invitation in September 1786 and in the next month he visited the furnace in Ozimek together with Heinitz. It was then that he recommended the introduction of cylindrical blowers for the big furnaces, instead of those already in use, since they made possible a permanent inflow of air and served a wider range. Heinitz at once ordered four of these blowers, and had the following inscription put on each one of them: 'Gegossen in Pejnydarran Furnace in Glamorganshire, Sud Wallis, durch Jeremias Homfrey and Comp. 1787'. Humphrey further drew attention to the furnaces with cupolas and to the shaft furnaces from five to thirteen feet in height. Meant for the smelting of iron, they were put together of iron plates or built as one cylinder, with a shaft in the middle from top to bottom of fire-proof material. Further

counsels and suggestions were also made with a view to improving the efficiency of the smelting industry in various ways. In the same way the matter of forging cannon, which was then being tried out in Ozimek, was discussed at length.

Wilkinson visited Upper Silesia in the year 1789 in order to serve with advice and practical help the setting in motion of the steam engines. He inspected first the coal-mines of the land, in order to give his opinions about them. His advice was to take the coal from deeper shafts, driving galleries for the purpose. For the present he counselled the building of only one furnace. He advised the bringing from England of various kinds of equipment still unknown in the land. Further he suggested the use of circular kilns in the separation of sulphur from the coal. Among his eager pupils was Koulhaszcz of Kuczów, the foundry entrepreneur, who is celebrated as the first man in Upper Silesia to make steel.

It was Wilkinson also who advised that lime should be more liberally used in smelting processes. He suggested better methods for getting out the coal, saving wood in the galleries, etc. He was against putting railways into the mines and recommended rather the use of barrows. Reden, however, preferred to handle his product in the English way, with cars on rails drawn by horses. There was scarcely a branch which the great English specialist did not investigate, and where he did not give careful and exhaustive counsels and suggestions leading to surer progress in the still infant industrial world of Upper Silesia. We may safely regard Wilkinson as the chief teacher of the Prussian masters who created industry in Silesia, if not in the whole of Germany. As a mark of his appreciation for his labours, the King of Prussia presented him with a golden snuff-box.

The following years brought permanent contact between the mining and foundry world of Upper Silesia and England. In 1791 the first blast furnace on the Continent was built in Gleiwitz on English models, and English cylindrical blowers were installed. In the following year, a steam hammer, also brought from England, was set in motion in the Gleiwitz foundry.

Meanwhile in 1789 Reden had gone to England again, now however as the Head of Silesian Mining and Foundry enterprises. He wanted to see the whole English industrial system, especially the making and refining of iron, the method of obtaining coke from hard coal, and the building of blast furnaces. He brought

back knowledge which was to serve him in preparing Germany for her subsequent economic battle with England and in making possible conditions under which exports could be sent to the island kingdom with the trade mark: 'Made in Germany'. On his arrival with Heinitz in London in April, Reden took care to establish contact with the best social circles, and to get to know thoroughly the richly developed life of England in different fields. Again he visited the more important cities, including Bristol and Cardiff, Liverpool, Glasgow, Newcastle and the centres of Yorkshire and Derbyshire. In February 1790 he was again in London, this time for his last visit, which lasted only a month.

During these visits Reden came to know the coal-mines, the coke refineries, the porcelain factories, the forges for steel cannon, the rolling mills for steel plate, the steel refineries, and the copper and glass foundries. He observed with care all the methods in use and the experiments which were made, paying particular attention to the rôle of the steam engine and the various new means of communication. He knew very well that without proper roads and canals no big industry can prosper properly. The momentum of English industry made a great impression on Reden, and it is significant that on his return home he could see and declare that Upper Silesia had all the conditions for a no less successful development than had taken place in England herself. It was on his initiative that John Baildon was brought from Scotland to help in the great task.

### III

#### JOHN BAILDON

Baildon left his Scottish homeland in 1795, to carry the advantages of technical science to a distant land. His passport describes him as 'blond, blue-eyed, of tall stature, lean of build, with a pale, oblong face'. He was of the straight, Nordic type. We learn that he had 'the stubborn will and independence of character which had marked his forefathers in Baildon, a tiny hamlet of Yorkshire.' He was born in Sarbet on December 11, 1772, the son of William Baildon, who worked in the famous iron foundries at Caron, near Edinburgh. His training in mechanics and hydraulics, taken under Daniel Mancon of Stirling, gave him skill in the drawing of both simple and complex machinery. Later he learned at his father's side how to smelt and to pour iron.

Baildon changed all this for Upper Silesia, a land of pine and of larches, where marshy stretches shut in the horizon, and the eye grows worn with monotony. Nevertheless there were hidden treasures here, and Heinitz had written to the King that 'this same land will become the most important province of your Majesty's dominion'. The new-comer was to act as technical adviser in the building of two blast furnaces near the

newly-opened coal mines outside Beuthen. He was also to supervise the setting of the plant in motion, with the use of the new blowers. When the great day arrived — November 10, 1796, on which the new furnace was to be fired — the first of its kind on the Continent of Europe (not till 1847 was the first of this kind built in the Ruhr area, near Muehlheim), the engineers succeeded in obtaining a mixture of coke suitable for the purpose, and the furnace burned steadily for twenty-four hours. The pig-iron thus produced proved to be usable for the making of guns, machinery, and for other industrial purposes.

Thus did Baildon transplant the English system of blast furnaces to Central Europe. He was listed in the personnel, not as a member of the regular service, and yet in the pay of the State. In 1798 he took part in the planning of similar furnaces in the Royal Foundry — now Chorzów. By royal prescript he was entered in July of that year as a member of the Prussian State service. He had given proofs of his ability, nevertheless he left Silesia when he saw that his demands in regard to salary were not being met. A letter from the Department of Mines in Breslau followed him to Berlin, pray-

ing him to return at once. He was promised special remuneration, so he took up his work again, providing both designs and estimates of the cost.

The stimulus to the building of the new works was given by the growing demand for pig-iron. Further, wood was becoming scarce, and lastly the State desired to show private enterprise what a model plant would look like. The new King confirmed the project, which was to cost 40,000 talers. Baildon's part of this was 1,000 talers, payable when the work was finished. The problem of communications and transport was met by new roads and by the project of the Klodnitz canal.

It was at this time that Prince Hohenlohe appeared on the scene, as a leader in Silesian industry. With him Baildon was now to be associated, and the field of his activities became wider and freer. The King rewarded him with the Gold Medal of the Academy. As a sample of his new duties, we learn from the book *Baildon and the Baildons*, written by one of them, a lawyer in London, that John Baildon built the first iron bridge on the Continent.

Like a true Scot, Baildon was thrifty. His note-book has the most careful notes as to meals taken, the doings of the servants, and his expenses while *en route*. When in 1807 the Hohenlohe plant was organized he invested in it about 50,000 talers, his savings during fourteen years. Thanks to a marriage with Helena Galli, daughter of a well-to-do Italian in Gleiwitz, his position was reinforced, and he became bound to this strange land. A friend uses these words in congratulating him on his first-born: 'Heaven shows its desire for the multiplying of such wise and learned men as you are; of which we have all too few in our province.'

The unrest of the war-years 1805—09 brought the mobilization of forces on the frontier, the occupation of Gleiwitz by the French, and other influences harmful both to industry and to society as a whole. The workers began to drift out of the country, crossing into 'the

Empire' of Austria to look for employment. Baildon too began to interest himself in the iron industry now developing there. Together with his brother William, whom he had brought out from England, he made contacts with a certain Vincent Homolacz in Friedland, Moravia, and raised his plant there to the level of the newest efficiency. But the collaboration was not a happy one. Baildon complained of gossip and ill-will, and he left the company. The breach was, however, healed, and he found another colleague, Prince Kraeutheim, and took in hand fresh expansion. Baildon managed all this, and for years he was constantly travelling between Upper Silesia and Moravia.

From 1817 he was back again with the Hohenlohe works, which were reorganized. Upper Silesia became his home. He declined invitations from as far away as Hungary, where one of the Counts Andrassy sought his help. The fact was that Upper Silesia gave him quite enough to do. Among other things he was engaged in building the great iron bridge over the Havel at Potsdam, the so-called 'Long Bridge', the construction of which was entrusted to the Royal Foundry. In 1823 he founded the plant at the point on the river Rawa where three parishes meet, which bears his own name and has made him immortal in the annals of big industry. During the following years he devoted his energies exclusively to this enterprise, driving there by carriage from one or the other of his estates.

On August 1, 1846, he made a short note in his diary 'I am sick'; the next day he was 'little better', and the third day 'I am very unwell, and Arthur is coming from Belk.' It was the end. He passed away, far from his Scottish homeland, at the age of seventy-four. His remains were laid in the Miners' Cemetery in Gleiwitz, where a chapel stands in his honour. Past his tomb the miners and foundry-men hurry day by day to their work. And John Baildon is at rest in the midst of all their efforts, with the branches of the trees to shelter him, and fallen-in graves round about like brothers.

# THE POLISH-GERMAN UPPER SILESIAN CONVENTION<sup>1</sup>

## 1922—1935

by STANISŁAW KOMAR

(KATOWICE, POLAND)

On July 15 this year the Geneva Convention, concluded between Poland and Germany on May 15, 1922, is due to expire. The Convention was devised to place Upper Silesia under a special régime during a fifteen-year transitional period of readjustment. Although the Convention was at first of very great importance for regulating legal, social, political and economic matters

in Upper Silesia, it subsequently gradually declined in significance; nevertheless it has continued to the present day to play a useful rôle in the regulation of Upper Silesian affairs, against the background of Polish-German conditions in general. It will be of interest, therefore, and of particular relevance at this moment, to pass in review the provisions of the Convention.

### I

#### BACKGROUND OF THE CONVENTION

The Polish-German discussions which, under the direction of M. Felix Calonder (the present President of the Upper Silesian Mixed Commission), preceded the signing of the Geneva Convention, lasted several months. These discussions were held at a time when Germany had already recovered and reorganized herself after the strain of war and defeat and had begun to regain her former influence in international affairs. Germany pursued the same line of argument as at the Peace Conference, her basic assertion being that, as the partition of Upper Silesia was calculated to cause injury to the economic welfare not only of Europe in general and of Germany in particular, but also of Upper Silesia itself, the future Convention should seek to minimize the ill effects of the partition by preserving the continuity of Upper Silesian economic life and by holding together the two divisions of the territory as much as possible in all departments of life. The real purpose of the German delegation, however, was to establish a state of affairs which would confer on Germany the official right to interfere, through the medium of local international bodies, in the internal affairs of Polish Upper Silesia. The decision of the Council of Ambassadors provided only for the establishment of a Mixed Commission with

special competence to deal with minority questions, and a Tribunal of Arbitration for settling private legal disputes. But on the initiative of the German delegates, the Convention also set up a number of other international agencies: a Conciliation Bureau for Questions of Citizenship, a Bureau for Travel Permits, a German and Polish Labour Commission with power to intervene in trade union questions on either side of the frontier, a Head Committee of Upper Silesian Railways, a Polish-German Rolling-Stock Bureau, and in several places arbiters who were to be appointed *ad hoc* in case of necessity.

Germany viewed her right to interfere in Polish Upper Silesian affairs, through the medium of German members of international agencies, as a means of creating conditions which would in the future facilitate agitation for a revision of frontiers. The wide scope given to the Convention was no less advantageous to Germany in that its provisions applied equally to both parties, for, given equal legal rights, Germany was in a far more favourable position than Poland owing to the marked differences in the respective social structures of the German and Polish population. At the time of the partition of Upper Silesia, the landowners, manufac-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. on this subject: Dr. Aleksander Szczepański, *Górny Śląsk w świetle wykonania Konwencji Genewskiej* (Upper Silesia in the Light of the Execution of the Geneva Convention), Warsaw 1929. Dr. Marek St. Korowicz, *Spór o wykonanie Konwencji Genewskiej* (The Dispute over the Execution of the

Geneva Convention), Poznań 1931. Dr. Władysław J. Zaleski, *Międzynarodowa ochrona mniejszości* (International Protection of Minorities), Warsaw 1932. *La Silésie Polonaise*, a collective work, Paris 1932. Dr. S. Komar, E. Rybarz and A. Szczepański, *Górny Śląsk* (Upper Silesia), Katowice 1933.

turers, office workers, foremen, craftsmen, merchants and artisans were Germans, while the Poles, insignificant as individuals though numerically strong, were the workers, peasants and agricultural labourers. It was obvious in advance that the former of these two social

groups would be much more competent to organize and defend itself than the latter. Only in the light of these social differences is it possible for us to evaluate aright the regulations laid down under the Convention which is now soon to expire.

## II

### THE PROVISIONS OF THE CONVENTION

The Geneva Convention is one of the lengthiest of all international agreements. It is divided into six parts and contains 606 articles, plus another 25 in the concluding protocol, making 631 articles in all.

The first part of the Convention contains the regulations which we summarize below.

a) *Legislation (Art. 1—3)*. It was laid down that Poland should maintain in force, during a period of fifteen years, the German 'dispositions juridiques' (administrative, economic and labour legislation) binding in the Polish portion of the plebiscitary territory on the day of the transfer of sovereignty, except in so far as the transfer of sovereignty should involve changes. Poland was conceded the right, however, of enacting new legislation in the place of existing laws, provided that the former applied to the whole of Poland. It was further stipulated that if such new laws concerned division of the soil or labour questions, they should be framed in such a manner as to replace those cancelled. Germany was given the right to call in question before the Mixed Commissions the adequacy of such new laws to replace those previously existing, and to petition that the new laws should be annulled by the Court of International Justice at the Hague. This purely one-sided clause served merely to limit Poland's legislative rights. Both parties to the Convention were free to appeal to the League of Nations Council in respect of legislation restricting the freedom of action of commercial firms and enterprises. The decision of the Council with regard to such complaints was to be binding.

b) *Protection of Acquired Rights (Art. 4—5)*. Both parties were bound to recognize and respect every kind of acquired rights and all concessions and privileges possessed, prior to the transfer of sovereignty, by private persons, companies and legal entities. Mainly to deal with these regulations an Arbitral Tribunal was set up with power to decide, at the request of possessors of these rights, questions as to whether and to what extent the State should pay indemnity for the abolition or diminution of rights.

c) *Expropriation (Art. 6—24)*. The conditions were laid down under which owners of large industrial undertakings or of landed estates in Upper Silesia could be compulsorily dispossessed. In practice, however, this clause has not proved to be necessary.

The second part of the Convention defines the con-

ditions under which persons connected with Upper Silesia could become Polish citizens or retain their German citizenship, establishes the method of option, and stipulates that the right to remain for fifteen years in their present domicile should be given: (1) to persons who should opt for the other Power; (2) to persons of German citizenship and resident in the Polish part of the plebiscitary territory between January 2, 1908, and January 1, 1922; (3) to persons in Upper Silesia who did not opt but acquired German citizenship in some other way. These regulations were applicable equally to both parts of Upper Silesia, with the sole difference that, in respect of the German part, instead of the period of domicile being stipulated as from 1908 to 1922, the provisions covered persons who had resided for a sufficient period of time in the German part of the plebiscitary territory, the period of residence to date at least from January 1, 1922. For all such persons the right to remain in their present domicile implied not only that they were not to be expelled, but also that they had the right to continue the work in which they were engaged at the time of the transfer of sovereignty. This provision secures the equal treatment of such persons with the citizens of the State in question. Its equitable execution was to be ensured, in the first instance by the Conciliation Bureau for Questions of Citizenship, composed of one Pole and one German, and in the second instance by the Upper Silesian Arbitral Tribunal, the decisions of which body were to be final. This second part of the Convention embraces articles 25—63.

The third part of the Convention (art. 64—158) provides for the protection of minorities, in respect of which the regulations were to be binding for a period of fifteen years on both sides of the frontier. This part includes articles 1, 2, 7, 8, 9 (parts 1 and 2), 10, 11 and 12 of the Treaty of June 28, 1919 concerning minorities, and also a number of executive regulations establishing in great detail the equal rights of the minorities with regard to civil, political and religious matters, public and private, elementary and secondary education, and the use of the minority language in administrative offices and law-courts. In this regard, a point of fundamental importance is the erection, for the first time in the history of international legal relations, of local minority courts. A description of these courts will, therefore, not be out of place.

*The Minorities Bureaux.* Article 148 of the Convention established a Polish and a German Minorities Bureau, the former with its seat at Katowice and the latter at Oppeln. These are internal offices of the States on whose territory they are stationed, and their duty is to consider complaints and petitions made by members of the minority around them regarding the actions of the administrative authorities. Should the Bureau not answer the petition to the satisfaction of the petitioner, in agreement with the head administrative authority of the plebiscitary area, it is bound within forty-five days of the petition being presented to forward it to the Upper Silesian Mixed Commission. In its dealings with the Mixed Commission the Bureau represents the Government of its country, whose point of view it puts forward.

*The Upper Silesian Mixed Commission* has its seat at Katowice and consists of a President (who, from the commencement, has been M. Felix Calonder), two Polish members and two German members. The President and members of the Commission examine (in writing) a case between a petitioner and the Minorities Bureau, hear witness and experts, if necessary visit the scene of an incident, and conduct cases orally. Should they then be unable to induce the petitioner to withdraw his petition, or the Bureau to grant it, the Commission issues a written opinion. In this *avis* the President states how far he considers it should be met by the administrative authorities. Should the authorities (usually, on the Polish side of the frontier, the Silesian voivode, and on the German side, the *Oberpräsident* of Upper Silesia) refuse to accept an opinion favourable to the petitioner, the latter has the right of appeal to the Council of the League of Nations at Geneva.

*The Council of the League of Nations* considers the appeal at a plenary meeting and then passes a resolution (which must be unanimous) instructing the Government in question to settle the matter in some given manner or dismissing the appeal as unfounded. But this is not the only way in which a minority citizen can appeal to the League Council. Article 147 of the Geneva Convention allows him to appeal direct to the League Council, which will either consider his complaint in the manner described above for appeals from an opinion (149), or, considering it to be of insufficient importance, send it back to the President of the Mixed Commission, in which case it may return again to the Council as an appeal under article 149 of the Convention.

*The Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague.* The Council of the League of Nations is a political body, and therefore refers petitions involving complicated legal questions either to a special committee of lawyers formed for the purpose *ad hoc*, or, on the basis of article 14 of the League Covenant, to the Hague Court. The Hague Court considers the problem

in the presence of an established quorum of judges, investigates the case in writing and, if necessary, orally, and then issues an advisory opinion to which the League Council accommodates itself in coming to a resolution. This is not, however, the only manner in which the Hague Court can take action in respect of Upper Silesian minority affairs. Article 72 of the Geneva Convention provides that in case difference of opinion as to law or facts in the execution of international regulations for the protection of minorities (part III of the Convention) arises between a State bound by the minorities clauses and one of the principal Allied or Associated Powers or any other member of the Council of the League of Nations, then this Power or member of the League Council may demand a decision on the matter from the Hague Court.

The above outline of minority procedure in Upper Silesia shows that members of the minorities are very fully protected in their rights by local institutions and by Geneva and the Hague, and that they have at their disposal the entire League machinery of international justice. During the first eleven years of functioning of the Geneva Convention, Polish-German minority disputes at Geneva and the Hague were unfortunately very frequent. The last three years have witnessed a decided improvement in this respect. Nevertheless, the history of these minority complaints and disputes has provided clear evidence of the extent to which so-called protection of minorities can be used by an interested State for the furtherance of its own political ends.

The basic fault in the Upper Silesia system is that it confers a one-sided advantage on members of the minority group. Thus on the pretext of unequal treatment a member of the minority can appeal to international institutions from the decision of the administrative authorities, on the plea that the decision in question has gone against him because of his nationality, even though a citizen belonging to the majority group may have met with a similarly unfavourable decision in an analogous case. This minority procedure introduces confusion into the normal functioning of the administration by withdrawing from the normal course of law cases which can be made minority petitions. At the same time it divides the citizens into two categories, namely the privileged minority who have the right of appeal from the administrative authorities of their State to international agencies, and the unprivileged majority who have only the internal institutions of their State at their disposal and have no right of petitioning. It is obvious that such a state of affairs was bound to leave ample opportunity for interference in the national life of a State under the guise of minority protection.

The situation described above has its legal basis in article 74 of the Convention, which forbids the authorities of a State to investigate or question an individual's

membership of the minority. Thus on the strength of the simple declaration that he belongs to the minority group, an individual has been allowed to avail himself of the latter's rights and to pursue his real or fictitious rights in the privileged manner open to the minority. The inability of the State to investigate the question of nationality, or to base it on the native language of the individual, as an objective criterion, did much harm during the first ten years of the Convention, especially with regard to education; for numbers of children in Polish Upper Silesia were obliged to enter the minority schools although completely ignorant of German, the language of instruction there, either because German employers brought pressure to bear on their parents, or as a result of the influence wielded by German propaganda, based on the large financial resources at its disposal. As we have already remarked, the difference in social structure between the German minority in Polish Upper Silesia and the Polish minority in German Upper Silesia is such that the former is far better able to benefit from the regulations for the protection of minorities than the latter.

Part IV of the Convention (art. 159—215) is concerned with social matters. It guarantees for the period of fifteen years the free functioning of trade unions and employers' unions already existing in the plebiscitary territory at the time of the transfer of sovereignty, appoints commissioners to deal with labour questions, and gives the Mixed Commission competence to arbitrate in all disputes concerning the denial or limitation of the rights of the above-mentioned unions. This part of the Convention contains also detailed regulations concerning insurance, in respect of which the Mixed Commission also has the right of supervision.

Part V of the Convention (art. 216—561) is devoted to economic matters.

a) *Customs Duties.* Both parties were allowed the right to export across the frontier duty-free agricultural products coming from their neighbourhood. In this matter the Mixed Commission was given the power of supervision.

b) *A Special Frontier Zone.* This zone extends for five kilometres on either side of the frontier, and the privilege of free permission to cross the frontier, back and forth, was granted to persons resident in this zone and engaged in agriculture, forestry, industry, the liberal professions and other occupations. These regulations fell into abeyance in 1933, when the Polish-German treaty concerning short-distance frontier traffic settled this matter in a more detailed manner.

c) *Regional Passports.* Regional passports were introduced for the period of fifteen years to facilitate passenger traffic. These passports were to be available for all persons resident in the plebiscitary area since January 1, 1921, at least, and their validity was to extend over

the whole plebiscitary territory. Naturally detailed provisions were laid down as to the other categories of persons who might receive regional passports, the persons who might not receive them, from whom they might be taken away, etc. Right of appeal in this matter was granted from the administrative authorities to the Bureau for Travel Permits, which was composed of one Pole and one German and had its seat with the Arbitral Tribunal at Beuthen. The decisions passed by this Bureau were, if unanimous, to be binding; if not unanimous, and also in certain other clearly defined cases, the Arbitral Tribunal was to pass decision on the appeal of the interested parties or on the application of the Bureau.

d) *Finances.* Special currency regulations were drawn up; these fell into abeyance when Poland introduced Polish currency into Upper Silesia. Special rights were also conceded to certain German and Polish banks on both sides of the frontier.

e) *Coal and Mining Products.* Germany received for fifteen years the right to import free of Polish export duties coal, coke, briquettes, iron-ore, zinc-ore and lead-ore coming from Polish Upper Silesia. Poland received analogous rights in respect of German Upper Silesian like products, and the Mixed Commission was entrusted with the settlement of disputes arising between the Governments in respect of these provisions.

f) *Water.* Provision was made for either party to supply the other with water, and for the joint utilization of certain water-mains.

g) *Electricity.* Among other provisions it was laid down that existing German companies utilizing electric power should be replaced by Polish.

h) *Postal Matters.* Regulations governing postal, transit, telegram, telephone services were laid down, under the guarantee of the Mixed Commission, but only until such time as the Poles should introduce Polish currency into Upper Silesia. Since the latter was introduced these matters have been regulated on the general basis of the International Postal and Telegraphic Union.

i) *Railways.* The standard gauge and narrow gauge railways of the plebiscitary area, styled 'Upper Silesian Railways', were submitted to the control of a Joint Head Committee, with its seat at Beuthen, those on the German side of the frontier being also subject to the German Railway Management, and those on the Polish side to the Polish. The Head Committee was composed of one German member and one Polish. Any disagreement between them was to be settled by an arbiter appointed by common consent, and from his decision either Government had the right of appeal to the Mixed Commission. Together with the Head Committee a Joint Rolling-Stock Board was established to control the jointly owned railway stock. Provision was also made for special privileged transit railway traffic across the frontier at established points, and certain transport pri-

vileges were allowed for Upper Silesian products passing through Germany. Joint railway stations were fixed, the conditions of customs inspection established, and certain rights of the railway employees defined. In all these matters provision was made for legal control, in which the Mixed Commission participated. The above gives only a general outline of the nature of the articles concerning railways (art. 396—561), as they are very detailed.

Part VI of the Convention (art. 562—606) concerns the Upper Silesian Mixed Commission and Arbitral Tribunal, defining their organization and emphasizing the diplomatic privileges and immunity from taxation of their members and heads of offices. The manner of procedure of these two bodies was also laid down, and their presidents empowered to issue special rules of procedure on the basis of these more general rules. In conjunction with the Mixed Commission, a Labour Advisory Commission was established, comprising a chairman and ten members; it was to advise the Commission in labour questions which might be submitted to it. It is important here to mention that in general the Mixed Commission was given the right to pass arbitrary decisions, based on a majority vote, on all matters coming within the scope of the Convention.

On the other hand, with regard to minority protection, (part III of the Convention) the Commission was merely a consultative body and its President had only the right to express an advisory opinion. Two other important powers are accorded to the Commission by articles 585 and 588. Article 585 enables the President of the Mixed Commission to draw the attention of the representative of either State to any circumstances or conditions which have come to his notice and appear to him to be contrary to the provisions of Convention. That is to say, he received the right to initiate action in Upper Silesian affairs, even should the persons interested not apply to him for intervention. Article 588 lays down that if the verdict or decision in an Upper Silesian lawsuit be dependent on the interpretation of the articles of the Convention, each of the litigating parties can demand that, until the end of the hearing by the court of second instance, the question of interpretation should be submitted to the Arbitral Tribunal. In other words, in certain cases the right is admitted to withdraw law-suits from the national courts where they are pending and to bring them before the international Arbitral Tribunal. The interpretation given by the latter is binding on law-courts and administrative authorities.

### III

#### CRITICAL REMARKS

Certain stipulations or groups of regulations contained in the Convention were made binding for a definite period of time, varying from six months to fifteen years, the latter period, as defined by article 24 of the protocol, to come to an end on July 15, 1937. In the foregoing account we have endeavoured to give a general idea of the nature of the Convention, actually limiting our attention to its provisions. This short sketch is sufficient, however, to show the extraordinary degree to which legal conditions were complicated in Upper Silesia, a degree of complication, indeed, which is without precedent in international legal relations. Taking a broad view of the different groups of regulations, we can state in general that the purely legal provisions of the Convention (legislation, and protection of acquired rights), which are for the most part one-sided, so far from simplifying, have actually complicated and tangled the legal situation. With regard to the economic provisions (comprising two-thirds of the whole Convention), these were either fulfilled in the early years of the Convention period, or they fell into abeyance in consequence of the general course of development of Upper Silesian economic conditions. We have already considered the value of the political provisions, of which the principal are those concerning the protection of minorities in part III of the Convention.

The facts of life have afforded a complete refutation of the warnings uttered by the Germans at the Peace Conference and during the Geneva negotiations, as to the lack of organizing ability of the Poles and the economic decline which was likely to overtake Upper Silesia in the event of its partition. The destruction and devastation which Upper Silesian industry experienced during the War, the plebiscite and the insurrections were succeeded by a period of concerted effort and expert work on the part of the Polish Government and community. Industry was rapidly re-organized and its level of production was raised to a higher point than that of 1913. Grave social problems faced the new Government in 1922: lack of dwelling quarters owing to the influx of 40,000 immigrants from German Upper Silesia, the disorganization of the social insurance system, and unemployment. Yet these problems were rapidly solved, although at first it was necessary to create special administrative bodies to handle every problem, as, for instance, that of education. The results of these efforts were such that even in the German press ill auguries for the future of Upper Silesia as a part of the Polish State ceased to appear. Furthermore, German Upper Silesia suffered no economic loss as a result of the partition. On the contrary, before the War German Upper Silesia had been obliged to struggle against

the competition of the Westphalian coal-basin, and therefore the limitation of its productive capacity was an advantage to it within the bounds of the German

State, the more so that before the War three-quarters of the industrial production of Upper Silesia had found a market, not in Germany, but in areas now Polish.

#### IV SUMMARY

An objective review of the Geneva Convention must lead us to the opinion that it was shaped in obedience to political motives and a false representation of facts, and that it was unnecessary and injurious both to Upper Silesian life and to German-Polish relations. A number of the provisions added on to its basic form remained still-born. For instance, the Convention allowed for the multifold competence of the Mixed Commission which, on paper, acquired the character of a permanent body of control and arbitration; but, with the exception of a single case of participating in the regulation of the question of exporting coke (according to articles 323, 334 and 337 of the Convention), and the arbitration of *M. Calonder* allowed by articles 4 and 5 of the Convention in respect of the work of insurance companies in Upper Silesia, the Commission as such was never called upon to handle any matter or to pass a decision. On the other hand, appeals to the President of the Convention in minority matters were very frequent. In short, the facts of life prevented legal conditions in Upper Silesia being complicated to the extent which the Commission rendered possible and its initiators desired. The Labour Advisory Commission also remained still-born.

We may admit the necessity of establishing a certain transition period after the partition of Upper Silesia, but this period should have lasted at the most for only a year, and should not have been prolonged for fifteen years. The task of the Convention was to maintain the

continuity of Upper Silesian economic life for the common good, and to protect minority rights. Within a year of its birth, however, it began more and more to fail in its purpose, and to form an artificial bond connecting two territories belonging to different States and organic parts of them. There were many cases where only the wise action of the local authorities succeeded in removing the ill effects of this state of affairs. The future historian of the Convention and theorist of international law will have ample material for showing what a mass of paradoxes arose from the application to the facts of life and to the interests and will of both States of the too luxuriant provisions of the Convention.

The relations between Germany and Poland embraced by the Convention have been almost entirely regulated by treaty agreement or by actual contact, in points that were important enough to need regulation. The disappearance of this artificial legal creation from the field of contact of the two States will not cause the slightest, even momentary, inconvenience, but will merely remove from the relations between two neighbouring States and nations an element of discord erected on a false and irrational basis.

We can also safely predict that the disappearance of a special constitution, as it were, for Upper Silesia will make for the more satisfactory development of German-Polish relations along the whole of the common frontier, especially as neighbourly relations are already developing favourably between the two Powers.

## REVIEWS

Kurtz, Heinrich: *Slavische Bodenfunde in Schlesien* (Slavonic Remains in Silesia). Breslau 1936, pp. VII + 67.

This book on recently excavated Slavonic remains, written by the young Silesian prehistorian, Dr. Heinrich Kurtz, is the fifth pamphlet published by Priebatsch for the Breslau *Ost-europa-Institut*. The book deals with Polish finds of the Early Historical Period; for the Slavonic population inhabiting Silesia at the dawn of history was — as is well known — Polish. The German prehistorian Oskar Mertins, therefore, in his prehistory of Silesia (*Wegweiser durch die Urgeschichte Schlesiens*), very properly calls the last prehistoric period the Polish Period; but that was long ago, in 1906, and nowadays German prehistorians prefer to pass over this unpleasant fact and to make use of the general term 'Slavonic Culture'; or they try to convince their readers that not Poles but Lechs inhabited the province at the dawn of history — a point of no importance whatever. Apart, however, from the title of the book, its appearance is to be welcomed, for remains of the Early Historical Period have hitherto received but scant attention in Silesia.

More than a third of the book is devoted to the discussion of Slavonic pottery, of which the author distinguishes fourteen varieties. The earliest of them he dates to the eighth, or the beginning of the ninth, century; the latest to the twelfth. This early dating of old Slavonic pottery is of great moment, for it is not long since Prof. Richthofen stated that no Slavonic finds are known which are certainly older than the tenth century. Recently, however, as reported in the latest works of Prof. Eisner of Bratislava, undoubtedly Slavonic ash-graves have been discovered in Slovakia, which may quite certainly be dated even to the sixth century after Christ, and also similar ones in central Germany (Lusatia and Brandenburg). Of great importance, further, is Kurtz's assertion that the change from primitive forms of Polish vessels in Silesia to new types, as well as the adoption of wave pattern ornament and the use of the potter's wheel, are due to Danubian influences, ultimately deriving from the Provincial Roman Culture. On the other hand, in view of the fact that the influence of German culture on Slavonic is frequently overrated, the author's opinion is noteworthy: West-German pottery, he says, does not appear to have exercised any influence on Slavonic, since even in the border region on the Elbe there are no typically German forms to be found.

The next section of the book is devoted to Slavonic arms and equipment. The swords found the author believes to have been manufactured locally after Viking models, or actually to have been imported from Scandinavia, and similarly he believes the forms of battle-hammers to have been borrowed from the Viking or the Hungarian area; but he considers that the Silesian population showed independent ideas in the production of spear- and arrow-heads, and he asserts, among other things, that four-ribbed arrow-heads occur earlier in Silesia than in

western Europe. He gives full treatment to domestic utensils and agricultural implements and handicraftman's tools and appliances, such as knives, tinder-boxes, scissors, sickles, and the enigmatic iron platters, which Grempler took to be forms for baking bread, whereas the author is inclined to regard them as pieces of raw iron of fixed weight. He further describes wooden pails and briefly mentions other vessels and utensils of wood, unearthed in the Oppeln (Opole) fort; then writes of bone and horn implements, some of them richly ornamented; and finally discusses stone objects (querns and whetstones), distaffs, clay forms for baking bread, folding scales, and other rarer appliances.

The author devotes a special section to the dress and ornaments of the Early Historical Polish population of Silesia. Remnants of linen stuff have been preserved in several places, and at Oppeln partly embroidered leather shoes have been found. An important item of dress was the leather belt, fastened with a button of wood or bone, or with a metal buckle. From it was hung the knife and the tinder-box. A favourite ornament of the Polish women was the ring worn on the temples, of which 140 examples are known from Silesia, including four hollow ones of thin plate, of Pomeranian origin. Other feminine ornaments, such as silver necklaces, ear-rings, beads, pendants, etc., found rarely in graves, but in large numbers in hoards of the period, afford evidence of considerable wealth, and of the high standard of the Polish goldsmith's craft; yet the author devotes only a few lines to them, though he pays somewhat more attention to the finger-rings. Next he deals with the buckles, very properly correcting Petersen's opinion that the examples with semi-circularly extended rim are of Baltic origin: in all probability they reached Poland from the east; and finally he discusses the beads and combs.

The author makes some very pertinent observations on the habitation and domestic economy of the Early Historical Period. Notwithstanding the opinion of other Silesian prehistorians, he maintains that, at least from the middle span of the Early Historical Period, agriculture, and not hunting and fishing, contributed the greater part of the food supply of the Slavs; a conclusion supported by the regular distribution of the Polish settlements over the whole of Silesia at the dawn of history, with the sole exception of the hilly districts, and by the numerous finds of grain — rye, wheat, oats, barley and millet — in the settlements of the period. The extent and importance of gardening is indicated by the finds of peas and beans, cucumber-seeds, apple and pear pips, plum, cherry and even peach stones, such as were discovered at Oppeln. All the known domestic animals were kept: horses, cows, pigs, sheep, goats and dogs, as well as poultry — which the author does not mention. He devotes very short paragraphs to open and fortified settlements, truthfully saying of the latter that they were constantly occupied and did not serve merely as places of refuge in time of invasion. He discusses with equal brevity building construction, stating that both log cabins and post-

and-pan houses were in use.

In the section devoted to industry and trade the author opposes the erroneous idea that all handicraft among the early historical Slavs was carried on exclusively in the home, and maintains that there were undoubtedly qualified artisans among the Polish population in Silesia. He treats in more detail the iron industry, the manufacture of granite querns on the slopes of Sobótka from raw material obtained from quarries on the spot, and the production of pottery. Silesian trade in the Early Historic Period was directed, he thinks, mainly northwards, towards the Baltic, and southwards, towards Bohemia and Hungary, whereas the only trace of relations with the Germans in the west is to be found — in his opinion — in a sword from Nasiedlo, imported through the instrumentality of the Slavs on the Elbe.

The last section of the work under review is devoted to burial rites and customs. Here the author distinguishes ash-graves — known only from two places in the Lusatian part of Silesia — which are assigned to the eleventh century; flat skeleton graves, at first with the skeletons irregularly disposed, but afterwards with them disposed in regular rows; and finally skeleton graves in barrows, occurring in Silesia only at Latkowo in the country of Militsch (Mielice). From the observations made so far the author concludes that the population of Silesia proper, excluding the neighbourhood of Görlitz (Zgorzelice) which forms part of Prussian Lusatia, always buried their dead unburnt; but this is surely a premature deduction, and the above-mentioned discoveries of ash-graves in Lusatia, Brandenburg and Slovakia justify the expectation that they will be discovered in Silesia also. Finally, the author maintains that from the thirteenth century onwards the Slavonic population of Silesia gradually became absorbed in the large number of German settlers who migrated into the province, and that the Slavonic culture thus died out. How to reconcile this assertion with the fact that almost the whole of Upper Silesia, and even a small part of central Silesia, has preserved its prevalently Polish character till the present day, not merely in its language, but also in its style of building (log cabins and wooden churches), dress, and popular customs and beliefs, the author does not attempt to explain.

The book is completed by a list of the more important Silesian sites which have yielded Slavonic finds; a short bibliography and list of museums visited; and thirteen engravings and four plates. Unfortunately the illustrations are unsatisfactorily chosen, and are confined to certain groups of objects: pottery, bone ornaments, spinning-wheels, temple rings, and beads. They therefore entirely fail to give a conception of the variety and wealth of Polish culture in Silesia. The absence of a map showing the density of Early Historical population in the province must be regarded as a serious omission, and even the above-mentioned list of sites comprises only such as are mentioned in the text. In spite, however, of these omissions, and in spite of the fact that some of the author's views are unacceptable, the book as a whole is a welcome publication, mainly because the author has treated the Early Historical Polish culture in Silesia much more objectively than other contemporary German prehistorians. He is in agreement with Polish prehistorians in asserting that in the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries, the Polish population of Silesia — which he calls, it is true, only by the generic term 'Slavonic' — was in

great measure agricultural; that long before the arrival of the Germans, there were artisans specializing in certain crafts; and that the Silesian population owed its chief advances in civilization to southern, Danubian influences, German influence being scarcely perceptible. The evidence is so clear that even an unbiassed German scholar cannot oppose it. In this connexion, however, the fact is extremely significant that at a time when prehistorians are much in demand in Germany Dr. Kurtz, the author of the book here reviewed, is unable to obtain a post in his special subject.

J. KOSTRZEWSKI

Holtzmann, Robert: 'Schlesien im Mittelalter' (Silesia in the Middle Ages). *Deutschland und Polen*, edited by Albert Brackmann, Munich and Berlin, 1933, pp. 146—161.

The author of the article under review is a constitutional historian (author among other things of a history of the French Constitution) who for the last ten or fifteen years has interested himself in the history of Silesia. In the 52nd volume of the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte Schlesiens* (1918) he published an article entitled 'Böhmen und Polen im 10. Jahrhundert', and in volume 56 (1922) a sketch: 'Über den Polenfeldzug Friedrich Barbarossas im Jahre 1157 und die Begründung der schlesischen Herzogtümer.'

In the present article he gives us, on the one hand, a comprehensive survey of the history of Silesia, with special reference to all the points of connexion between it and the history of Germany, and on the other attempts an analysis of the influences wielded by Germany and her civilization on Silesia in the Middle Ages.

First of all he mentions the Silingians, who are considered by German historians, and by a number of Polish ones also (of whom Brückner<sup>1</sup> is the most notable), to have originally given its name to Silesia, though nowadays this is by no means so certain — the recent contemporaneous but mutually independent observations of Rudnicki and Semkowicz permit us to see Polish linguistic elements in the name.<sup>2</sup>

We agree, however, with the author's description of the political history of Silesia in the ninth and tenth centuries.<sup>3</sup> That is to say, the wars of Mieszko I with the Czech Duke Boleslas in 990 were undoubtedly wars for Silesia, which Bohemia lost to Poland. The scene of hostilities has nothing to do with Moravia, which some historians take as the object at issue. We see the Czech duke in the territory of the *Selpuli* tribe, who were established on the left bank of the middle Oder, below Krosno. Boleslas endeavoured here to force his way to the place where Silesia marches with the district of Lebus and with Great-Poland. Here accordingly is to be sought that *regnum ablatum* from Boleslas the Czech by Mieszko I, to use the words of the chronicle of Thietmar.<sup>4</sup>

Mieszko I, having made himself master of the mouth of the Oder at latest in 967, pushed up the river twenty-three years later, much as Frederick the Great did after eight hundred years, when he occupied Silesia in 1742 after the previous capture of Stettin in 1721.<sup>5</sup> The occupation of Silesia by Mieszko I was one of the stages in the building of the Polish State by its principal creator.

<sup>1</sup> Al. Brückner, *Dzieje kultury polskiej*, Vol. I, 1930, pp. 40—41.

<sup>2</sup> M. Rudnicki in *Slavia Occidentalis*, Vol. VIII, 1929, pp. 534—5, and W. Semkowicz in the *Historia Śląska* (History of Silesia), Vol. I, pp. 12—16, 1933.

<sup>3</sup> Z. Wojciechowski, 'Dwie tradycje' (Two traditions), *Slavia Occidentalis*, Vol. X, 1931, pp. 7—8.

<sup>4</sup> Z. Wojciechowski, 'Pomorze a pojęcie Polski piastowskiej' (Po-

merania and the Conception of Piast Poland), offprint from the *Rocznik Gdański* (Danzig Annual), Vol. VII-VIII, p. 7. This contains a reference to J. Widajewicz, who reverts to the old suggestion of Potkański and dates the recovery of the district of Cracow to 990, which would make intelligible the phrase *regnum ablatum*, the term *regnum* denoting the Vistulan district, which at that time already had a history.

<sup>5</sup> Z. Wojciechowski, *loc. cit.*

In connexion with his theory of Norse inroads the author puts forward one arbitrary hypothesis after another. Thus we read with pure astonishment — not to say amazement — that the inhabitants of the later Great-Poland 'only received the name of Poles, from Pol. *pole*, 'field', that is to say, 'inhabitants of the fields or low country', about the year 1000 from the Silingians, once German, but in the meantime to a very considerable degree slavonized, who lived at Sobota and in the Sudetic Mountains.' The whole absurdity of this statement becomes evident when we recall the Kiev Polonians: was their name also given to them by the Silingians? or the Elbe Drevianians and the White Russian Drevianians? and so on. Again, the author writes: 'Differences of an ethnographic nature persisted in the Polish State. Even to-day the fact that the inhabitants of a considerable part of Upper Silesia are called *Wasserpolicy* ('Water-Poles') testifies to the conviction that they are not true Poles (Great-Poles), but a branch transitional between them and the Slovak group.'

Here the author has composed a tissue of absurdities. The term *Wasserpolicy* was not intended to denote any ethnographic variation between the Upper Silesians and the rest of the Poles, but arose from the 'watering' of the Upper Silesian dialect by the admixture of German words, and its differentiation from the Polish literary language, which is sufficiently explained by the six hundred years of Silesian history since the beginning of the fourteenth century. As regards the strict affiliation of the dialect, however, every one knows very well that it forms a homogeneous linguistic group with the Great-Polish and Little-Polish, contrasting with the Masovian group.<sup>6</sup>

Nor is this the end of our criticisms. Speaking of the relation of Mieszko I to the Empire the author gives the information, drawn from we know not where, that in the course of his endeavours to loosen the connexion between them he transferred 'the capital from Poznań to the more easterly situated Gniezno, where there was no German bishop.' Everything we know of Poznań goes to show that the exact opposite was the case, and that it gradually rose to importance in Piast Poland at the expense of Gniezno. The Piast princes set up the modern Poznań, possessing neither pagan nor political nor ecclesiastical traditions in opposition to pagan Gniezno. For Poznań, as prehistorical researches show, 'appears as an isolated settlement. It cannot have been of outstanding importance in the tribal epoch. . . . To the west of Poznań as far as Mogilnica and Międzychód on the Warta extended an area containing numerous forts. . . . Poznań was not an organic part of this concentration, being surrounded with forests on every side. It was originally a border stronghold at the crossing of the Warta, and only in historic times began to rival Gniezno in influence, until it finally gained the supremacy.'<sup>7</sup>

Doubts are further raised by what the author writes concerning the dependent relation entered into by Mieszko I towards the Empire. For our historians in general distrust Thietmar's account of the connexion of Geron's action in 963 with Poland, which is followed by the author.<sup>8</sup> And even those who accept it interpret the well-known expression about the tributary dependence of Mieszko on the country 'up to the Warta' in a sense quite different from the author's, when he regards the territory on the left bank of the Warta as dependent on the Empire.

On the other hand he is correct in regarding the *Dagome iudex* document as an expression of Mieszko's endeavour to obtain a position of dependence on the Papacy as a counterpoise to his dependence on the Empire. We doubt only whether the author is correct in interpreting it as excluding Upper Silesia. Surely just the opposite is the case. The mention of Alemure (Olmütz, Pol. Olomuniec) as a border point (on the Czech side) indicates that the document included the whole of Upper Silesia, together with the district of Gołczyce, which was afterwards to be partitioned between Bohemia and Poland.<sup>9</sup>

The author writes pertinently of the part played in the evolution of the conception of 'Silesia' by the ecclesiastical province. Yet we do not agree with him when he wishes to ascribe to that Silesia a separate status in Poland at the turn of the eleventh century. Speaking of the so-called Gallus's account of Polish-Czech relations, he adds: 'But the chronicler shows us something else, though by chance and without expressly intending to do it: the independent status which Silesia at that time possessed within the framework of the Polish territories. At the time of the Polish duke Ladislas Herman (1079—1102) . . . the Polish palatine Sieciech, long the duke's right hand, was one of the people most hated by the Silesians. They several times rose in open rebellion against him, and even succeeded in winning over to their side Count Magnus, the governor of Breslau. Sieciech endeavoured to oppose this state of things, and presently had recourse to intrigue and bribery, for which purpose he returned *aus Polen, wohin er geflohen war (reversus interim de Polonia, quo fugerat)*. This expression of the chronicler's clearly indicates that Silesia and Poland proper were separate geographical concepts.'

What does the author here intend to contrast? If Silesia with the rest of Poland, he is certainly wrong, for *Polonia* is here used with the meaning Great-Poland, and might equally well be contrasted with Masovia. The term here has a narrower sense, besides the wider one which it had long possessed. However, what have designations such as 'Silesia', 'Poland', 'Masovia' to do with differences of 'geographical concepts', and on what does the author base his assertion of 'the independent status of Silesia'? Let us refer him to Gallus again, where in another passage he will find: *Boleslavus (Ladislas Herman is speaking) legitimus filius meus in Wratislaw et in Cracovia et in Sudomir sedes regni principales obtineat*.<sup>11</sup> Silesia was administered in the same way as other provinces of Poland at that day: Count Magnus, who governed the whole of Silesia, a little later *Mazoviam regebat*.<sup>12</sup>

Proceeding, the author deals with the history of Silesia in the twelfth century, and comes to the time of Ladislas II. He erroneously states that the homage paid by that prince to the German emperor is a fragment from the local history of the province. 'For only one local duke', writes Prof. Holtzmann in his article, 'sought closer union with Germany on his own impulse, forced by the hostility to him of his younger brothers, and thus inaugurated a policy which was to end in the passing of Silesia to the German State.' But Ladislas II acted in this case as Polish *princeps* and not as Silesian local duke!

After dealing with the political history of Silesia in the early Piast period, the author turns his attention to its economic development. What he says of the large estates is apposite: their origin was not connected only with the spread of coloniza-

<sup>6</sup> K. Nitsch, *Mapa narzeczy polskich* (Polish dialect Map), pp. 1—2.

<sup>7</sup> Wł. Kowalenko, 'Osadnictwo grodowe Wielkopolski wczesno-histerycznej' (Fort-settlements in Early Historic Great-Poland), *Strážnica Zachodnia* (The Western Watch-Tower), Vol. XI, 1932, pp. 452—3.

<sup>8</sup> Most recently K. Tymieniecki in his review of J. Widajewicz's work on *Wichman* in the *Kwartalnik Historyczny* (Historical Quarterly), Vol. XLVIII, 1934, pp. 135—6.

<sup>9</sup> J. Widajewicz, *Wichman*, pp. 74—6, Poznań 1933, where the author

refers also to his own earlier works. See also M. Z. Jedlicki, 'La création du premier archevêché polonais à Gniezno', *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 1933, pp. 674—7.

<sup>10</sup> Z. Wojciechowski, 'Dwie tradycje', p. 6.

<sup>11</sup> *Gallii Anonymi Chronicon*, ed. Finkel and Kętrzyński, p. 49.

<sup>12</sup> Z. Wojciechowski, *Ze studiów nad organizacją Państwa Polskiego za Piastów* (Studies in the organization of the Polish State under the Piasts), pp. 62—3. Lwów 1924; and *Historia Śląska*, Vol. I, pp. 152—4.

tion; German law was one of the ways by which exemption from jurisdiction was introduced on to Polish soil. Yet however much truth there is in this last statement, it would require the spilling of much ink and the use of much type on the Polish side to procure the acceptance of this view of the relation of immunity to German law, on the other side of the frontier.<sup>13</sup> We believe the author is right, following Górká, in regarding the Lubiąż document of 1175 as authentic, but we have grave doubts whether the instruction of Halle addressed to Środa should be dated as early as 1181. It is true that the same view was expressed not long ago by Erich Sandow in his work *Das Halle-Neumarkter Recht*,<sup>14</sup> but we believe it is mistaken, and agree on this point with the opinion of A. Schaubé, who would put the date of the instruction at the beginning of the thirteenth century.<sup>15</sup>

The story of the germanization of Silesia will remain for long years yet the subject of stubborn monographs. For our own part, we already sincerely question the supposed early-medieval *rasch voranschreitende* germanization of the province.<sup>16</sup> We believe also that, when speaking of the factors supporting German immigration, it will be necessary to introduce a clear distinction between the diocese of Wrocław (Breslau) and the policy of the German religious orders. Here it is a fortunate circumstance from the scientific point of view that the author, though he contrasts the lower level of the civilization of the local inhabitants with the higher level of that of the German new-comers, nevertheless observes that 'the economic situation [of this local population] has hitherto been imagined as too primitive.' Perhaps therefore we may count on the gradual acceptance of the Polish point of view as regards germanization. Further, the author expresses the opinion that 'the new German law was occasionally conceded also to Slavonic peasants.'<sup>17</sup>

Peculiar interest attaches to the general judgment issued by the author on this question of the colonization of Silesia. It was possible, he thinks, only because of the absence of friction between Poland and the Empire. 'It is quite certain', he says, 'that the interference of the German central authority would only have disturbed the peaceful and natural course of German colonization in the east, which penetrated Silesia and overflowed deep into Poland. The Silesian and other local Polish dukes would have been full of suspicion and reserve, if not actually hostilely disposed to it, and opposition and national instincts would have been aroused on both sides.' By uttering this opinion the author takes sides in the great quarrel

between German historians about the suitability to its aims of the Italian policy, which in the opinion of many German scholars, including G. von Below, led only to the loosening of the inner structure of Germany. The view propounded by Prof. Holtzmann approximates to that of another authority on this question, Prof. J. Pfitzner of Prague.<sup>18</sup>

We doubt only whether one may speak of the absence of national conflicts in Silesia in the Middle Ages. Our sources give a different picture.

In the later medieval period the author's attention is captured by the policy of Henry IV. Relying on the account of the feudal relation which united this prince with Germany, the author claims that *er ist ein deutscher Reichsfürst geworden*. And if he has anything to remark besides this, it is only that the further history of Silesia stumbles along in dependence, not on Germany but on Bohemia.

The author completely misunderstands the history of Silesia in the time of Henry IV. We may not go as far as Balzer, who emphasizes that there is no mention during the life of Henry IV of his feudal relation to Germany, and that such information as we have is connected with the feudal disposition he made for the event of his death, whence he draws the conclusion that this disposition was not due to a personal feudal bond obliging Henry IV, but to the general conception held by the Empire of the dependence of the Polish territories on it.<sup>19</sup> One may agree with Prof. Grodecki, who regards the disposition as evidence nevertheless of Henry IV's having entered into a relation of dependence on Germany during his lifetime.<sup>20</sup> But nowadays, after the publication of numerous exhaustive Polish works on the subject, it is inexcusable to be ignorant of the real political plans of Henry IV, who aimed at obtaining the Royal Crown of Poland, and employed his relation to the Empire as a means to that end — as indeed Henry the Bearded had done before him.<sup>21</sup> Prof. Holtzmann's method of presentation is far from scientifically objective, and can only be explained by ignorance of the Polish literature on the subject.

Every sentence in the concluding section of Prof. Holtzmann's article invites contradiction. For example, his assertion that Polish claims to Silesia were extinguished with Casimir the Great, or that in general the Polish history of the province ended with its formal separation from Poland. We imagine Polish historians will still have much to say on this subject.

Z. WOJCIECHOWSKI

<sup>13</sup> See the discussion of this question with R. Koeber in the *Historia Śląska*, Vol. I, 1933, pp. 674—5, the footnote on p. 673, and also the latest work of K. Tymieniecki, entitled 'Napływ Niemców na ziemię polskie' (The Influx of Germans into Polish Territories and the Significance of German Law in Poland in the Middle Ages). *Roczniki Historyczne*, Vol. X, 1934, pp. 226—244. For the question before us cf. the author's observations on p. 226.

<sup>14</sup> Stuttgart, 1932, p. 176.

<sup>15</sup> See the *Historia Śląska*, Vol. I, 1933, p. 720, and the same author's work entitled *Urkundliche Geschichte der Gründung und ersten Entwicklung der Stadt Brieg*, Breslau 1934, p. 65.

<sup>16</sup> See the *Historia Śląska*, I, 803.

<sup>17</sup> It is characteristic that in Prof. Holtzmann's article, as in a number of other German works, we never hear of 'Poles' in Silesia, but only of 'Slavs'. So here, he does not speak of 'Polish' peasants, but only of 'Slavonic'. Inversely, the Silingians who are assumed by the author to have stayed in Silesia, he calls not a 'Germanic' tribe, but a 'German' one, p. 148.

<sup>18</sup> J. Pfitzner, 'Entstehung und Stellung des norddeutschen Koloniallandes', *Deutsche Hefte für Volks- und Kulturbodenforschung*, Jahrg. II (1931-32), pp. 225—241. Cf. on p. 240: 'Geben wir einen Augenblick dem Gedanken Raum, das deutsche Königtum hätte nicht die schwere Bürde des Kaisertums auf sich genommen und nur Ostpolitik betrieben. Im günstigsten Falle hätte es die Elbslaven früher, dann die Tschechen und Polen, vielleicht auch die Ungarn niedergedrungen trotz des unentwegten blutigen Widerstandes. Hätte dieses siegreiche Königtum in seiner Kolonisationspolitik anders gehandelt als die deutschen Territorialfürsten? Wäre ihm nicht die Stärkung der Staatsmacht und Wirtschaftskraft, nicht aber Nationalitätenpolitik obenan gestanden? Der Siedermangel hätte in diesen weiten eroberten Gebieten ein national noch unendlich gemischteres

Bild ergeben, als es tatsächlich der Fall war. Und dem deutschen Reiche wäre mit der Aufnahme noch größerer fremdvölkischer Massen national nicht gedient gewesen, da der nationale Haß in diesen Gebieten nur noch früher, elementarer und unversöhnlicher entbrannt wäre. Wir fürchten, in diesem Falle hätte es wohl eine beachtliche Tat deutscher Könige gegeben, aber keine ebenbürtige Tat des deutschen Volkes im Osten. Ein aggressives deutsches Königtum hätte den nationalen Widerstand in den Staaten des Ostens verdoppelt und jeden Gedanken an eine Kolonisation mit deutschen Menschen in diesen Reichen im Keime erstickt.'

<sup>19</sup> O. Balzer, *Krölestwo Polskie*. Vol. I, pp. 65—7. 1919.

<sup>20</sup> R. Grodecki in the *Historia Śląska*, I, pp. 283—4 and 291—2.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 283. The coronation plans of the Silesian dukes were closely connected with the problem of the mutual relations of their small duchies, which — taken together — formed the patrimony of the Piast house. In the thirteenth century these duchies were divided, but legal bonds of union between them were recognized throughout the century and made possible a future unification. Silesia also in the thirteenth century was included in that possibility, and in fact the idea of the unity of Poland maintained itself longest, as is well-known, in just this province. Therefore we cannot agree with the opinion of Prof. Holtzmann, who asserts of this century: 'Im 13. Jahrhundert kann von einer staatsrechtlich wirksamen, mehr als nominellen Zugehörigkeit Schlesiens zu Polen kaum mehr gesprochen werden.' In any case this is an advance compared with the position of those German authors who cut the legal and administrative bonds uniting Silesia with the rest of Poland in 1202. I return to Silesian affairs in the thirteenth century in 'Udział Śląska w dawnym zjednoczeniu ziem polskich' (The share of Silesia in the ancient union of Polish territories), which was published by the Instytut Śląski (Silesian Institute) at Katowice as the text of a lecture delivered there on November 30, 1934 (1935, p. 25).

Meyer, A.O.: 'Die neuere Entwicklung Schlesiens, insbesondere Oberschlesiens' (The later Development of Silesia, in particular of Upper Silesia). *Deutschland und Polen*, edited by Albert Brackmann, Munich and Berlin 1933, pp. 162—171.

This article on the modern history of Silesia, with special reference to that of Upper Silesia, comes from the pen of Prof. Meyer of Munich University, who in the course of his scientific work has written on this subject before. In the years 1903 and 1904 he published two studies on ecclesiastical affairs in Silesia in the sixteenth and at the beginning of the seventeenth century,<sup>1</sup> and in 1926 he wrote an obituary notice of Felix Rachfahl for the *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für schleswig-holsteinsche Geschichte* (pp. I—XVIII).

The author begins his study with the Habsburgs, that is to say, with the year 1526; nevertheless he expresses the opinion that neither the political union of Silesia with the Habsburg provinces, nor its ecclesiastical dependence on Gniezno, affected the appearance of the region, 'which both ecclesiastically and politically lived its own life, and that life had a preponderantly German stamp.' It is difficult to engage here in a detailed controversy as to when Silesia took on a decidedly German character: very close examination of the problem is still required. It must suffice us to quote K. Dobrowolski and to remind the reader that in the sixteenth century 'the Polish language was still employed in Lower Silesia at the court of the dukes of Ziemlice (Münsterberg), nor was this an isolated fact. The denationalization of the Silesian nobility did not proceed with uniform speed; even at the beginning of the nineteenth century a certain section of Silesian nobility living in Upper Silesia had not lost its Polish character. The same holds true of the *bourgeoisie*. It is true that a considerable part, which had immigrated from the west, was German from the beginning, yet in those places which existed before the German colonization we may trace the remains of the former Polish population, as for example at Wrocław (Breslau). Further, in numerous towns of southern Silesia, inhabited from their foundation by the Slavonic element, the Polish character was preserved for whole centuries. From them came most of the Polish secretaries of the chancelleries and the Polish teachers of parish schools. Nevertheless, the most prominent part in the maintenance of the Polish educated class in Silesia was played by the lower clergy, both Catholic and Protestant. The Catholic clergy in particular, who sprang from the people and lived among the people, and were in part educated in Poland, showed strong powers of resistance to German influences. Evidence of this may be found in Frederick II's decree of 1762, imposing on numerous parish priests of Upper Silesia, who were ignorant of German, the duty of learning that language. The monastic clergy also in some cases contrived to retain their Polish character as late as the eighteenth, and even at the dawn of the nineteenth, century. This was more than once not the result of chance, but of a conscious struggle, as in the case of the convent at Trzebnica (Trebnitz). These facts are closely connected with the conservatism of the peasants, who remained true to the language of their forefathers. In contradistinction to the other classes, they held most strongly the

land of the Piasts and marked the ancient extent of Polonism in the western borders, strengthening the towns with their increase.' We may close these remarks with the same author's words: 'An important task for our historians is to trace the Polish-German linguistic frontier in the different centuries.'<sup>2</sup>

Prof. Meyer then discusses the economic development of the Silesian towns, especially Breslau. The statement that in the eighteenth century the undertaking of constant navigation on the Oder began to play a part in the history of the province leads the author to the conclusion that 'the union of Oder Silesia with the Oder dominions of the Hohenzollerns had a better basis geopolitically than its union with the Danube dominions of the Habsburgs.'

This problem has been treated, since the publication of *Deutschland und Polen*, in the German literature on the subject and especially in geopolitical works. We are here thinking of an article by Erich Maschke entitled 'Preußen und die polnischen Mutterländer' written in comment on our work 'Rozwój terytorjalny Prus w stosunku do ziem macierzystych Polski' (The territorial Development of Prussia in relation to the Mother-lands of Poland), published by the Baltic Institute, Toruń, in 1933. In that work we endeavoured to show that Piast Poland (Mieszko I, Boleslas Wrymouth, and the plans of Casimir the Great before his death) formed a geographical and political unit on the Oder and the Vistula,<sup>3</sup> which in course of centuries began to be the object of Prussia's political desires. In particular the Oder section of the former Polish domain gradually became occupied by Prussia between 1648 and 1740. The routes along which first Poland and afterwards Prussia advanced into and finally occupied the whole of the Oder basin were identical: for the point which was decisive for the later Polish possession of Silesia was the occupation of the mouth of the Oder in 967,<sup>4</sup> and in the same way the capture of Stettin from Sweden in 1721 was the beginning of the Prussian conquest of the province, a territorial success which rounded off Prussia's gains from the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.<sup>5</sup>

These observations met with fundamental opposition from Dr. Maschke, who even took up our term 'the Polish motherlands' (*ziemie macierzyste Polski*) and rendered it into foreign words: *die polnischen Mutterländer*. He admits that we are rights 'only' with regard to the essential importance of the district of Lebus, whereas in the chief matter he expresses the opinion that 'the Pomeranian lower course of the Oder and the Silesian upper course do *not* form an organic whole, in spite of their former appurtenance to "Piast Poland" (as Wojciechowski says). Silesia remains closely united to the Sudetic area; . . . the lower Oder and the mouth of the river are the objects of a Polish policy directed to the south- and north-west, to the Czech and Baltic area (*Raum*): which policy, however, will *never* succeed in establishing a homogeneous political unit along the Oder facing Germany.'<sup>6</sup>

Dr. Maschke's views are contradicted by historical facts. The eastern policy of the Empire, in so far as it aimed to subjugate the Polish Oder territories, only testifies to the Empire's fears concerning Poland's possession of the Oder territories. Thus in the first half of the twelfth century the Empire brought into dependence Oder Pomerania (taken by Boleslas Wrymouth in fief to the Empire in 1135), and in the

<sup>1</sup> *Studien zur Vorgeschichte der Reformation, Aus schlesischen Quellen*, Munich and Berlin 1903, p. 179; 'Zur Geschichte der Gegenreformation in Schlesien, Aus vatikanischen Quellen', *ZVGSchl.*, Vol. XXXVIII (1904), pp. 343—361.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters of Józef Lompa to J. I. Kraszewski in 1860—62*, edited with an introduction by Kazimierz Dobrowolski, Katowice 1931, pp. VIII—XI. This introduction, with its bibliographic data collected with unusual industry, is of fundamental importance to students of Polonism in Silesia.

<sup>3</sup> See on this question also Wł. Semkowicz, 'Geograficzne podstawy Polski Chrobrego' (The geographical Bases of the Poland of Boleslas the Lion-Hearted), *Kwartalnik Historyczny* (Historical Quarterly), Vol. XXXIX

(1925), pp. 261—2.

<sup>4</sup> The last will of Casimir the Great, had it been carried out, would have had the same significance for the history of Silesia, uniting the mouth of the Oder once again with Poland. On this question see also my paper: *Udział Śląska w dawnym zjednoczeniu ziem polskich* (The Share of Silesia in the ancient Union of Polish Territories), publ. by the Silesian Institute at Katowice, p. 25.

<sup>5</sup> See Z. Wojciechowski, 'Pomorze a pojęcie Polski piastowskiej' (Pomerania and the Conception of Piast Poland), *Rocznik Gdański* (Danzig Annual), Vol. VII—VIII (1933—34), p. 7.

<sup>6</sup> E. Maschke in the *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, 1934, p. 264.

second half Silesia became the land paying tribute.

If we deny that Maschke is right, we must at the same time admit that Meyer is. Incidentally, it is impossible to overlook the circumstance that in this case Meyer's positive judgment concerns a period in which the Oder zone belonged to Prussia, whereas Maschke's opinion relates to the historical period when it belonged to Poland.

Speaking of the occupation of Silesia by Prussia, the author mentions the legal titles put forward by Prussia, without however attaching to them any great importance. More significant, in his opinion, as a justification for the conquest of the province, was the mission of Prussia to protect the Silesian Protestants.

The author deals at length with the economic benefits conferred upon Silesia by Prussian rule, namely the grant of credits for the heavily indebted landed estates and the development of mining and smelting. In the interval after the Thirty Years' War, and particularly in the concluding years of the reign of Frederick the Great, he sees the third important period in the development of Silesian mining. He directs attention to the influence of that development on the prosperity of the towns in the province and reminds his readers of the fact that 'this land of iron gave the people arms in its hour of need. At the time of the Wars of Liberation, Upper Silesia for the first time played an important part as the seat of war industry.'

The author regards the delimitation of the frontiers carried out at the Congress of Vienna as having been decidedly advantageous for Silesia, inasmuch as in the first place the province obtained extended territorial contact with the Prussian State through the part of Saxony which was annexed to Prussia, and, further, the State itself was enlarged towards the east by the annexation of the Duchy of Poznań.

He regards the development of the railways as having been of the first importance for the province. Thanks to this process, Silesia became the second chief centre of German heavy industry, alongside of the Rhenish and Westphalian area. With the development of industry he connects the rapid growth of population, and remarks that 'the extraordinary growth of the Upper Silesian population was preponderantly due to the virility of the inhabitants, and only in a very minor degree to immigration.' He also emphasizes that the turn of the nineteenth century was marked by an increase of the average earnings of the Silesian worker.

At this point the author passes to contemporary political problems, by way of a lengthy quotation from Partsch's well-known book, *Schlesien*. The latter writer feared lest the same fate might befall Upper Silesia as befell the ancient world: 'The more complex became the conditions of life, the more quickly was that life undermined by the attacks of the barbarians.'

The author characterizes the partition of Upper Silesia as having split 'one flourishing whole into two parts leading with difficulty a stunted life.' Upper Silesia was torn away from the Oder system and attached to the Vistula State of Poland, where it became an artificial feeder for the 'corridor' port of Gdynia, without which the latter could not hold its own.

As Upper Silesia formed an economic unit, it ought to have remained with Germany, over 60 per cent. of its people

having voted for that country — the author says. He concludes with the opinion that 'the population of the district, as a result of century-long mutual penetration, has become a mixture of German and Slav, and all the advantages which the province has gained in the course of its development it owes to the Prussians and the Germans.'

This is a distorted reflection of the picture, and the final conclusion is frankly not true. The population of Upper Silesia has not become at all a mixture of German and Slav (the author avoids the expression 'German and Polish'; the Poles in Silesia are merely 'Slavs'). In the northern part of the province it has been germanized, but in the south it has remained Polish, as it has been for centuries. Nowadays we are in a position not only to define the course of this Polish-German frontier (and its changes) in the nineteenth century,<sup>7</sup> but more than that, relying on German historical-geographical researches, we can perceive how sparse was Frederickian colonization on the right bank of the Oder, in contrast to the extent of native habitation.<sup>8</sup>

Prof. Meyer's deductions avoid altogether the great question of the awaking of Polish national consciousness in Upper Silesia in the nineteenth century. It is difficult to treat this question at due length here. If we mention it, it is in order to bring out the extraordinary partiality of Prof. Meyer's article, and to illustrate the typical handling of this question by German historical writers.

In his excellent sketch dedicated to Józef Lompa, Dobrowolski pertinently remarks that 'while the last few voices in our political literature of the sixteenth century — the eyes of which were turned principally towards the east — treated the question of Silesia from the point of view of our historical rights, the nineteenth century for the first time begins strongly to emphasize ethnographic principles. This is the everlasting merit of Hugo Kołontaj. It was he who, at a time when the land of Silesia was so forgotten that even T. Święcki made no mention of it when enumerating the former Polish tracts, clearly and emphatically announced the political programme which ripened and met with clearer understanding in our community only at the turn of the nineteenth century. Proceeding from the supposition that 'ruling and ruled ought to understand one another and speak to one another in one language', and that 'all the districts on the right bank are Slavonic; the Silesians from the sources of the Oder to the border of Brandenburg speak Polish', he includes in the area of the future Polish State (to be founded by Napoleon) not only Polish Silesia, but also the Polish parts of the New Mark and East Prussia, not counting the territories taken away at the time of the partitions' (p. XXXII).

The fall of the State brought the national problem into the foreground. This raising of the question to a national level enabled the Poles to discover themselves again after centuries of oblivion. On these political bases was supported at the turn of the nineteenth century the policy of the National League, which extended its activity into Silesia.<sup>9</sup> One of its results was the dramatic course of the elections in 1903.<sup>10</sup>

This problem has been most recently treated in the work of Ilse Schwidetzky entitled *Die polnische Wahlbewegung in Oberschlesien*, Breslau 1934, p. 109. One of the principal theses of this book is that the native Silesian element had but

<sup>7</sup> The materials permitting the definition of this frontier have been collected by K. Dobrowolski, loc. cit. pp. XI—XIV and LVI. An important source is also the 'Schematismus oder Statistik des Bisthums Breslau', for 1842 and following years, set out in Loeve, *Bibliographie der schlesischen Geschichte*, Breslau 1927, p. 200 (Loeve does not mention the annual volume for 1855, p. 185). The 1842 volume and some of the later ones give the language used for sermons in particular parishes.

<sup>8</sup> See the *Geschichtlicher Atlas von Schlesien*, published by the Historical Commission for Silesia, Part 1: 'Friderizianische Siedlungen rechts der Oder bis 1800', edited by Herbert Schlenger, Sections 1. Kreuzburg, 2. Oppeln, 3. Pszczyna (Pless), 1933 (and supplement to the 1st).

<sup>9</sup> See Jan Jakób Kowalczyk, *Odrodzenie Górnego Śląska (Wspomnienie)* (The Renaissance of Upper Silesia: Reminiscences), Katowice 1932, p. 86. These reminiscences of Kowalczyk were known to Ilse Schwidetzky and utilized by her in her work mentioned below. It may be added that we have traces from the year 1890 of an attempt to found branches of the Polish Treasury and of the Polish League in Upper Silesia; see a letter from I. S. Ziemia to Miłkowski, in the Rapperswil Library, Warsaw MSS, Vol. II, No. 229, ii (P—Z), papers of J. Sołtys and of A. Wołyński (conclusion of the letter).

<sup>10</sup> See the impressions written down by Antoni Plutyński, *Walka na Górnym Śląsku* (The struggle in Upper Silesia), p. 46. Lwów 1905.

little share in the re-birth of the country, which was due chiefly to the Poles outside Silesia, who were either the active agents, or played the part of educators of the young Upper Silesians; only thanks to this were the latter able to take their share in the political activity in Upper Silesia.<sup>11</sup> The authoress further emphasizes the interweaving of the concept 'Polish' with the concept 'Catholic', and in consequence ascribes an important part in the awakening of Polish feeling in Silesia to the Bismarckian *Kulturkampf*. Apart from this she attaches great importance to social antagonisms, in which, together with the Catholic question, she sees the chief causes of the Polish successes at the polls. She emphasizes the weakening of Polish action to be noted in the elections of 1907. 'Thanks to German counter-action in the fields of politics, economics and culture', we read in the concluding pages of this book, 'in which the Centre Party at last, though not without previous hesitation, took part, a change is observable at the last elections. There was, however, no time for it to make itself felt. But there is no direct connexion between the Polish successes in the Reichstag elections and the plebiscite of 1921. In the meantime had occurred the Great War, in which the Upper Silesian regiments gave proof of their loyalty, the defeat of Germany, the revolution, and the Polish terror. The pre-war Polish political movement, however, in so far explains the result of the plebiscite, that only thanks to it was a bridge built between the Upper Silesian-Polish dialect and Polishism in general' (p. 107).

We have, then, to choose between Prof. Meyer's 'mixture of German and Slav' and the reduction of the nationality question in Upper Silesia to the level of a language question which supposedly only developed into one of nationality under outside influence.

Both theories are inapposite. It is however permissible to suppose that in the Germany of to-day, which lays such stress on problems of nationality, the Upper Silesian question will at last be objectively and critically judged.

For this question was from the beginning not a linguistic but a national one. It has been recognized that at the time when the union of Silesia with the Polish State system was ended, i.e., at the end of the fourteenth century, the Polish nation was already in existence and launched upon its course of development. The rise of that nation, however, as of others, was affected on the one hand by bonds of kinship which afterwards grew into clan and tribal unions, and on the other by the organization of the Piast State, which introduced the factor of compulsion. A group so formed possessed its common experiences and its common political tradition; and the consciousness of its own individuality was built in no small degree on contrast with and opposition to its neighbours, principally its German neighbour.

The consciousness of this state of things, or the national consciousness, as we may call it, first began to show itself in the highest classes, and above all in the ruling line,<sup>12</sup> afterwards among the clergy and gentry, and last among the peasant class. But a clear distinction should here be made between the *conscious* recognition of the state of things and the *instincts* implanted by centuries of historical development. This national instinct was innate alike in the Great-Polish, Silesian and Little-Polish people.

<sup>11</sup> Ilse Schwidetzky, op. cit., p. 53: 'Beide, Kowalczyk sowohl wie Korfanty, waren also gebürtige Oberschlesier, in ihrer Gesinnung aber durchaus Produkte Posener und polnischer Erziehung. Die von polnischer Seite oft betonte "Bodenständigkeit" der nun einsetzenden Bewegung ist also schon aus diesem Grunde höchst zweifelhaft.' But on p. 48 we read (with reference to the turn of the XIXth century): 'Gewiss erkannte man auch von seiten der Regierung den Unterschied der beiden Provinzen und die fremde Wurzel der polnischen Bewegung in Oberschlesien. Aber man glaubte, der Infe-

Silesia, by being torn away from its Polish trunk, lost that class which had national consciousness. There remained to it only the people, in whom Polish national instincts were innate. It is, therefore, perfectly comprehensible that the creation of a national consciousness had in large part to be accomplished from those centres of Polish feeling in which it already fully existed, and occasionally, as at elections, passed into the ardour of patriotic ecstasy. But it is ridiculous to talk as if the awakening of national consciousness in Silesia were comparable to some kind of black magic. It is equally ridiculous to try and shift the centre of gravity to religious or social problems.

'There is no evil which may not turn to good' (Good may come of evil). The same may be said of the partitions, and particularly of the Prussian annexation. Thanks to the circumstance that there were within the framework of one State a nationally conscious and very active Great-Polish section and a Silesia which had been torn from Poland five centuries before, Polish feeling in Poznań began to react very particularly on Upper Silesia.

And one thing more became clear: namely that in a nationally unhomogeneous State a parliamentary system is deadly for national unanimity, inasmuch as it creates a legal and political base, sanctioned by the State, for the centrifugal aims of the various nationalities.

This conclusion, however, is not to be found either in the article by Prof. Meyer or in the above mentioned work of Ilse Schwidetzky's.

Z. WOJCIECHOWSKI

Zur Wirtschaftsgeographie des deutschen Ostens. Edited by Prof. W. Geisler; Vol. 4, G. v. Geldern Crispendorf: *Die Grundsteuerreinerträge des Ackerlandes in Schlesien*, 1933; Vol. 5, A. Haase, H. Briese, A. Krininger: *Die landwirtschaftlichen Einheitswerte der Provinzen Nieder- u. Oberschlesien*, 1933; Vol. 7, G. v. Geldern Crispendorf: *Die wirtschaftsgeographische Struktur der Landwirtschaft Schlesiens*, 1934. Volk und Reich Verlag, Berlin.

These three volumes of a series inaugurated by Prof. W. Geisler at Breslau and later transferred to the Volk und Reich Publishing Institute of Berlin, contain a great deal of interesting data on the economic life of Silesia and hence merit notice. All three works, in addition, are useful complements and appendices to the agricultural section of Geisler's Atlas of Silesia, the more so that they contain much valuable cartographical material.

The interest in Volume 4 is centred in a map (1:750,000) showing mean land-tax assessments for all the rural communes (*Landgemeinden*) of pre-War Prussian Silesia, supplemented by an analogical but smaller map giving these data by circles (*Landkreise*). The land tax was levied on the basis of the law of 1861 and of a somewhat later classification of the farmholdings; this tax has long since fallen into abeyance, but none the less continues to offer a satisfactory evaluation of the land in the various districts of Silesia. Thus the map clearly indicates the agricultural value of the Silesia of the eighteenth-seventies. Some changes have taken place since that time, and in particular the value of the black-earth district around Breslau

tion [our emphasis] steuern zu müssen durch Abgrenzung der Krankheitsherde, statt durch Immunisierung der Gesamtheit. Erst später setzt mit der "kulturellen Wohlfahrtspflege", und mit dem Versuch, durch wirtschaftliche Hilfe die Seelen zu gewinnen, eine wirksamere Defensive ein.'

<sup>12</sup> Stanisław Zakrzewski, *Bolesław Chrobry Wielki* (The great Boleslas the Lion-Hearted), Lwów 1925, p. 347. 'In general in our sources the Lion-Hearted is the first person to be called a Pole.'

has risen in connexion with the growth in sugar-beet cultivation. The text is a lucid, concise and excellent commentary which helps the reader to obtain a proper understanding of the conditions illustrated by the map.

The second work under review contains maps (of the same type as in Volume 4) which afford data on the mean money-yield per hectare of the farm-holdings in the rural communes of German Silesia, the material being based on the classification of the income of farm-holdings according to the law of 1925. The information furnished by this work resembles that given in Volume 4, but it is more up-to-date and varied; it not only gives data on the value of the land itself, but also on the live-stock, equipment, buildings, improvement works, etc. The accompanying text presents an analysis of the conditions illustrated on the maps and an exhaustive explanation of the objects and methods of the classification adopted.

Volume 7 is a much larger work than the two reviewed above. It represents the first part of a geographical monograph on the economy of Silesia; it is an ideally arranged description of agrarian relations in that province, and well supplements the maps in the agricultural section of Geisler's Atlas. The work is interestingly written and, apart from a few gratuitous political thrusts at Poland and Polish relations, stands on a high level of scientific inquiry and impartiality. The introductory section contains a brief plan for the division of Silesia into economic zones and a discussion of matters concerning population. The author has quite rightly excluded all data which are not closely bound up with agricultural affairs. The second section deals with the basic factors of agricultural development, such as soil, climate, land-improvement, size and distribution of farm-holdings. The third section gives information as to the utilization of the land, a detailed description of the type of agriculture practised (types and size of crops, systems and distribution of tillage, etc.), and data on cattle, poultry and fish breeding. The concluding section of the book is devoted to the problems of surpluses and deficits in the various branches of agricultural production in Silesia.

A. WRZOSEK

*Wirtschafts- und verkehrsgeographischer Atlas von Schlesien*, edited by Prof. W. Geisler. Breslau 1932, pp. VI + 29 + 50 Plates.

The economic atlas prepared under the direction of Prof. W. Geisler is of such importance for those interested in Silesian affairs that it merits some notice even at this rather late date. Like all works of this type, the Atlas represents an enormous amount of work, evidenced by the fact that no less than twenty-three scientists collaborated with Prof. Geisler in its production. It contains 119 maps and a number of diagrams on the fifty plates following the short introductory and explanatory text: thirty-four maps deal with the general bases of Silesian economy, forty-four with agricultural relations, twenty-seven with mining and industry, and fourteen with commerce and communication.

The first map shows the surface configuration of Silesia. The contour lines are very exactly marked and this, coupled with praiseworthy restraint in giving place-names, makes the physical details very legible — a most useful feature in the case of the hilly and mountainous regions. The inset cartogram shows the economic area served by Silesia.

The second plate, depicting the relative hypsometry of the province independently of height above sea level, is most instructive and affords an excellent idea of the variety of surface

configuration. There can be no doubt that this map can prove of use to agriculture and communication, although the picture it gives is rather distorted owing to the fact that the calculations have been based on regular rectangular plane-table surveys. The inset map depicts the economic zones of Silesia which serve as the constructional basis for a number of the following maps.

A map of the soil zones of Silesia appears on the third plate. The black-earth, loess and loams can be regarded as good soils — the remainder are either poor or merely fair in quality. The distribution of the soils in the voivodship of Śląsk (the map includes Polish Upper Silesia) is, however, given erroneously and this cannot but weaken confidence in the accuracy of the map as a whole. The inset gives a review of the basic types of soil.

Utilization of the land is shown on Map 4, which depicts the distribution of coniferous and deciduous forests, grass formations, tillage areas and piscicultural waters. This map can be of service to those engaged in forestry, game-breeding, hunting, and fish-breeding. Barren and waste lands are not shown and the areas under crops have been exaggerated at their expense. The inset cartogram shows the distribution of fruit-trees. All the above maps also cover both German and Polish Upper Silesia; the latter is, however, excluded from further maps with the exception of Plates 5 and 50.

Plates 5—9 depict climatic conditions. The various maps show: the multiannual mean (for thirty-five years) of atmospheric precipitation, annual isotherms, duration of winter, duration of vegetative periods, duration of temperatures over 15°C and over 10°C, characteristic maxima and minima of monthly rainfall, and cartograms of the health elements of the climate.

Plates 10—12 provide demographic data. A well-drawn map shows density of population according to economic zones, supplemented by an inset furnishing the same information according to administrative circles (*Kreise*). The advisability of expressing such data by economic zones appears here with striking force: when given on the basis of administrative divisions, the data are distorted and much less lucid. The maps show the demographic structure of natural increase, actual increase, migrational balances during 1910—25, religious denominations, and occupational structure (percentages of population engaged in agriculture, industry and commerce). All these maps present their data on the basis of circles, according to the General Census of 1925. This section of the Atlas closes with a map (Plate 13) which reviews the data on the economic structure of Silesia: the elements of land utilization are shown, the chief crops under cultivation, breeding regions, distribution of industrial centres, and the principal highways. The inset appears to have political aims apart from any economic idea it purports to represent, in that it shows how the post-War frontier cuts the highway system between Leszno and Rychtal.

The section devoted to agriculture (Plates 14—28) begins with a map illustrating the distribution of farm-holdings; four insets give data on the distribution of large, medium, small, and 'dwarf' holdings according to circles in percentages of total farmland. In identical fashion, Plate 15 gives percentage information according to circles in respect of forest-areas, farmland, meadows, and arable land. Plate 16 illustrates the general level of agrarian culture; soil improvement and consumption of potassium fertilizers according to circles are shown on one map and an inset cartogram gives comparative data on the money yield of farm-holdings in the various provinces of the Reich. The inset map showing consumption of nitrate fertilizers on the basis of Government districts (*Regierungsbezirke*) gives too general a picture and hence its practical utility is open to

doubt. Plate 17 has cartograms on dairy farming in Silesia.

Plates 18—23 deal with the cultivation and yields of the principal plant-crops. Maps according to circles and economic zones present data on wheat and rye (the data on harvests on the circle maps are given as mean values for five-year periods; those on the zone maps as annual values). The maps dealing with barley, oats, potatoes and sugar-beet give the data only according to circles. The incomparably better picture yielded by the presentation of data on the basis of economic zones (as against the old system of material given according to large administrative divisions) fully justifies the enormous amount of extra work this entails.

Plates 24—27 depict the production of the principal plant-crops in relation to consumption. The data are given on the basis of economic zones and of administrative circles, so lucidly as greatly to facilitate understanding. The contrast between areas of surplus production and those of insufficient crops is well brought out; most characteristic are the insufficient harvests of wheat in the poor soil areas, of rye and potatoes in the hilly districts and on the fertile soil of the wheat and sugar-beet lands, and of all the plant crops in the industrial and urban centres. Data on animal breeding is given on Plate 28 — a map according to circles giving the number of horses, cattle, pigs and sheep per 100 hectares of farmland in 1929.

The industrial section of the Atlas opens with two plates showing the location of all the mines and utilizable rock formations, classified according to economic worth; the whole is supplemented with references to deposits under exploitation and a list of place-names. The maps show very clearly the wealth of mineral resources contained in the Sudetic mountain chain.

The water economy of Silesia is shown on Plate 31. In addition to watersheds, the system of waterways, ports, hydro-electric plants, dams, irrigation fields, seats of land-improvement associations, etc. are shown. The next plate deals with the problems of power supply. The main map depicts the state of electrification during the operating year 1929-30, with data on the electric railways, the circuit stations and their output of current, and the grids of transmission systems. The inset shows the extent to which Silesia is supplied with lighting-gas.

Plates 33—38 concern the regional distribution of the various branches of industry and give data on the employment conditions in 1929. The industries covered are: the stone, glass and ceramic industries, the mining, metal, machine, chemical, textile, paper, timber, leather and agricultural industries. Finally, there are cartograms of the economic life of Breslau and a map of unemployment according to circles (per 1,000 head of total population in 1929).

The last section of the Atlas deals with trade and communication. Commercial relations are shown on two plates. The first contains a number of cartograms (drawn after the method of Thiessen), illustrating the import and export of eleven of the most important commodities in Silesian trade, whilst the second gives cartograms of goods traffic on the railways.

Plates 43—50 are devoted to problems of communication. An excellent map illustrates the traffic in imported and exported goods at every railway station in Silesia. Goods traffic on the railways and the principal highways is shown on another most instructive map, followed by one indicating the passenger traffic at each of the railway stations in the province. The cartograms on Plates 46—48, showing the passenger traffic at the most important railway stations, are less geographical in character. The last two plates provide data on the frequency

of passenger traffic on the railway and motor-bus lines, equidistances of railway stations, and the density of the system of railway lines. Plate 50 bears a large map giving the isochrons of Breslau on the basis of railway and motor-bus connections. Polish Upper Silesia also appears on this map but the data are hardly reliable as the isochrons are fantastic in their course. To give only one example, Brzezinka is shown as being an hour's ride from Szopienice; in reality, it is only fifteen minutes.

The Atlas is undoubtedly a publication of value, for it provides an excellent picture of a number of the features of human life and economy in Silesia, and the errors it contains do not seriously detract from its worth. The method of preparing and presenting the data merits praise on the score of a most purposeful innovation: the old system of presenting material on the basis of such relatively large territorial units as administrative circles (*Kreise*) has been abandoned in favour of a delimitation of economic zones based on analysis of the smallest administrative units — the communes (*Landgemeinden*). There are about 4,600 communes in Silesia: if this be borne in mind, in conjunction with the fact that numerical values had to be computed for each zone by the application of various mathematical operations to the enormous mass of communal statistics, some idea will be gained of the vast amount of work which was necessary. The distinguishing of typical regional individualities is of course a relatively easy task, but it is more difficult to demarcate their exact limits, and in this respect differences of opinion must inevitably arise regarding details in these boundaries. The chief aim of geography is to determine the regional composition of a country, and in the present case this has been fully attained. Other welcome features of the Atlas are the discreet colouring of the maps, and the fact that only three scales have been used, whilst all the main maps are on a scale of 1:750,000.

A. WRZOSEK

Rose, William J.: *The Drama of Upper Silesia*. Stephen Daye Press, Battleboro, Vermont, U.S.A. 1935, pp. 350. — Williams & Norgate, London 1936.

When the present reviewer expressed his satisfaction, on two recent occasions,<sup>1</sup> at the appearance of an increasing number of books on Poland and her problems, written in English by British and American writers, he was referring to publications whose authors had indeed visited Poland and acquired considerable first-hand experience of Polish conditions, yet were obliged to rely, in the matter of printed authorities, exclusively on materials published in languages other than Polish. In Dr. Rose's elaborate and scholarly work on the history and problems of Upper Silesia, we are glad to welcome a book of a different category altogether, inasmuch as the author is thoroughly master of the Polish language, and his ample bibliography, covering a dozen pages at the end of the book, contains a most judicious assortment of Polish as well of German and other publications on the problems with which the work is concerned.

The way in which Dr. Rose became not only well acquainted with the country but familiar with the language of its people, is another example of those wildly improbable yet perfectly true human life-stories which War-time and post-War conditions have produced in such variety and abundance. Coming out of the distant West of Canada — from Winnipeg, with its forty-one officially recognized languages of emigrant groups among the population — he was deputed by the

<sup>1</sup> See *Baltic Countries*, Vol. II, No. 1, May 1936, p. 134, and *Baltic and Scandinavian Countries*, Vol. III, No. 1, January 1937, p. 156.

Canadian Government to make a study of conditions among the Polish people in their own country, with a view to carrying out afterwards social welfare work among Polish emigrants in Canada. His sojourn in the Austrian sector of Poland was unexpectedly prolonged by the international events of 1914—1918, when he found himself under Austrian police supervision as an 'enemy alien'. After the War, he remained voluntarily in the new Poland and soon became widely known for his beneficent activities among Polish University students on behalf of the American Y.M.C.A. and some other international institutions. He also found time — after his pre-War courses of study at Manitoba College and at the University of Oxford (where he held a Rhodes scholarship) — to complete an entire academic course in history at Poland's oldest university, Cracow, and to obtain, in 1925, a Ph.D. degree there by virtue of a thesis on Poland's great eighteenth century educational reformer St. Konarski (published in English by Jonathan Cape, London 1929). Dr. Rose afterwards held, for several years, a chair of sociology at Dartmouth College, New Hampshire, U.S.A., and now holds the post of Polish Reader in the School of Slavonic Studies, London University. His book on Silesia is the outcome of a total of about nine years' residence in Poland; its completion was rendered possible by special assistance from the Social Science Research Council in America.

Dr. Rose's book is a history of Upper Silesia during the last two centuries, and one-half of it is concerned with what post-War young people contemptuously dismiss as 'past history'. If a work of such wide historical scope has been called by its author not 'the Epic of Upper Silesia', but 'the Drama of Upper Silesia', there are good reasons for this choice of a somewhat startling title. Dr. Rose, being a historian with a sociological cast of mind, always has his eye on the relation of the past to the present, and on the 'unity of action' discoverable in any given sequence of events. The essence of drama is conflict, and it is a very distinct conflict between the opposing forces of the Prussian Government and the Polish people of Silesia which develops quite early in the story. In the course of his book, the author even uses the words 'tragedy' and 'tragic' to describe the mistaken, and therefore unsuccessful, efforts of Prussian administrators to effect the wholesale assimilation of the Polish element.

It is on this point — the first one of several — that Dr. Rose, as a result of his careful researches, finds himself at issue with views which, no doubt, are very widely held by those familiar only with the German side of the case. Silesia having since the early Middle Ages been subject to wide and deep German influences, it is arguable that even the part of it which, after four centuries of political separation from Poland, had remained predominantly Polish-speaking, viz., Upper Silesia, was, at the moment of its annexation by Frederick the Great, ready for prussianization; and that this process, carrying beneficial progress of all kinds with it, would have been entirely successful, if the new force of nineteenth century Polish nationalism, coming from outside, had not roused the people into opposition. Dr. Rose assembles his facts to prove that Polish opposition was a growth of native soil and sprang up very soon in consequence of Prussia's administrative methods. That the seeds of conflict were inherent in the original situation of 1742 was, in fact, realized by Frederick himself, who displayed notable hesitation before incorporating the large Polish-speaking and Roman Catholic population of Upper Silesia into his German-speaking and Protestant kingdom.

When Frederick had overcome his hesitation, he resorted to measures which, at almost every point, foreshadowed the methods of late nineteenth century Prussian bureaucracy in its

treatment of Poles under German rule. Dr. Rose, discussing the 'Frederickian system', calls the bureaucratic centralism characteristic of it by the very modern name of 'planning'. And as the community 'planned' by Frederick and his administrators was a State of the Spartan type, the Prussian Sparta needed its helots, and their part was assigned to the Polish-speaking peasantry both of East Prussia and of Upper Silesia. The province, in fact, became, like East Prussia, a colony of the Prussian kingdom, and was exploited in the most approved mercantilist manner of the eighteenth century. It was through the services of the 'helots' that the great process of industrialization of the coal-mining area of Silesia was effected — not without material benefit to the 'helots' themselves, as is duly emphasized by Dr. Rose, who draws a comparison between the career of a self-made Silesian industrial magnate of peasant origin (Charles Godula) and that of Andrew Carnegie.

The spiritual inheritance of the peasant people being represented by their Roman Catholicism and their Polish speech, these spiritual values were bound to suffer under the Frederickian system. The introduction of elementary school education was tantamount, under the circumstances, to the beginning of systematic efforts at germanization; while the relation of the free-thinking Frederick to the Roman Catholic Church in Silesia reminds us of the *Kulturkampf* of later times, in the same way, indeed, as much in Frederick's attitude and language remarkably anticipates the ways and gestures of Bismarck.

The year 1848, 'the springtime of nations' in Continental Europe, is called by German historians the year of the 'discovery' of Upper Silesia for modern Germany. As Dr. Rose shows, it is also the year of the 'discovery', not so much of Silesia by modern Polish nationalism, but rather of Poland as a national background and a source of historical tradition for the awakening consciousness of the Silesian people. Dr. Rose does full justice to the propagandist activities of writers on both sides, — not merely to those of the famous German novelist Gustav Freytag (himself a Silesian by birth), but also to those of modest and obscure Polish-Silesian *literati* such as the journalist Joseph Lompa, or the provincial poet Father Bonczyk, whose achievements Dr. Rose's book brings for the first time to the knowledge of non-Polish readers. It was at this moment of history that Prussian policy definitely and deliberately chose the wrong road, which led to ultimate failure. In Dr. Rose's view, the harmonious co-existence of Polish-Silesian subjects and Prussian rulers was, even then, still a possibility; for, on the one hand, even leaders of the Polish language revival, such as Father Ficek or the better-known Charles Miarka, were loud and sincere in their declarations of loyalty to the Prussian State; and on the other hand, good Prussian patriots like Bishop Bogedain and Squire von Koschuetsky advocated the teaching of Polish in schools and the free use of it in official relations as the means of securing the permanent allegiance of the people. No practical steps, however, were taken to realize their endeavours.

But political methods were not the only source of growing antagonism. Dr. Rose carefully analyses the social and economic factors represented both by rapid industrial growth and by rural conditions. He tells the sad story of the drudgery of the peasant in his state of serfdom, and shows convincingly that the abolition of serfdom in Upper Silesia (different in this respect from the more fortunate, neighbouring Prussian-Polish province of Poznan) was managed so entirely to the advantage of the German landowning nobles, that the resultant pauperism of the 'free' peasant inevitably drove him into the equally oppressive slavery of ruthlessly exploited industrial labour. In conjunction with bad harvests and epidemics in the

'hungry forties', and with slum development in the industrial areas then and later, this process naturally introduced bitter class hatred into the fundamental relations of the Polish workers to their German masters.

When Bismarck took over the reins of authority, his resolute all-round anti-Polish policy, at first closely connected with his campaign against Catholicism in Germany, had the effect of bringing the Poles of Poznan and the Silesians together, and of creating active fellow-feeling among the Poles of the Russian and the Austrian sector for all the Poles under Prussia. It was Bismarck, indeed, who was instrumental in causing modern Polish nationalism to penetrate into Upper Silesia from without, and to provide its people with leaders and organizers.

During the period when the *Kulturkampf* and the anti-Polish policy were still associated with each other, the leaders and organizers had at first been largely clergymen. But with the ultimate triumph of the diplomacy of Pope Leo XIII over Bismarck's efforts, the *Kulturkampf* came to an end, and the Polish movement in Upper Silesia gradually became purely secular in character. This is expressed by such significant facts as that *The Upper Silesian* replaced *The Catholic* as the most popular Polish paper in Upper Silesia, and that the former clerical leaders were succeeded by such lay politicians as Napieralski and after him Korfanty, prominent as a member of the Reichstag before the War, and later to become internationally known as the organizer of armed insurrection in the plebiscite days. The strong professional organization of the large community of Polish miners in the Westphalian coal-basin, gaining members in the Upper Silesian mining centres, lent some of its influence to the Upper Silesian Polish masses: the great Upper Silesian coal strike of 1913 was a political warning signal, which, however, passed unheeded by the German Imperial administration. And the fatal mistakes of the servants of the Empire were inherited and continued by the Weimar Republic of early post-War days.

With the collapse of the Empire in 1918, we pass into the sphere of contemporary history, a kind of history which is notoriously more difficult to write than any other. It becomes Dr. Rose's task to analyse the conduct and results of the plebiscite and the delimitation of the frontiers based upon it; the three waves of insurrection which swept Upper Silesia in the course of the plebiscite also call for historical comment from the author. Dr. Rose has discussed all these highly controversial subjects with the utmost fairness, and given due consideration to every factor which influenced the situation. Previously, in 1933, an American student had published a comprehensive analysis of the plebiscites held in post-War Europe;<sup>2</sup> hence perhaps the comparative brevity of Dr. Rose's treatment of this part of his subject. All the more elaborately does he discuss the Geneva Convention and its working in Upper Silesia: this chapter of the book will no doubt carry particular appeal to students of current political problems, since the Convention expires during the present year, and the modifications to be introduced into the order of things established by it in Upper Silesia are now coming up for international discussion. Dr. Rose's general conclusion is of a somewhat philosophical nature and deserves the notice of theoretical sociologists as well as of practical politicians: it is that questions of technique and of mechanism, relating to such matters as communications, trade and industry, and agriculture, were not thrown, by the division of Silesia, into the chaos clamorously prophesied by German propaganda, but that the issues in which the human factor, with all its incalculable complexities, came into play, turned out to

be particularly difficult of organization and adjustment.

This profound truth is fully borne out by the survey of conditions in Polish Upper Silesia since 1922 which fills the remaining chapters of Dr. Rose's book.

The author deals first with the economic problems of industry and agriculture. The foreign reader may have been inclined to share Mr. Lloyd George's opinion, expressed when the 'industrial triangle' of Upper Silesia was assigned to Poland, — that the Poles were just as likely to mismanage these complicated industrial organizations as a monkey was likely to mismanage a watch confided to it. These forecasts, in spite of deliberate German efforts at sabotage, have been controverted by such examples of Polish industrial management as the conduct of the chemical factory at Chorzów by Prof. Mościcki (now President of the Polish Republic). What is more, it becomes convincingly apparent from Dr. Rose's presentation of the matter that new vistas of expansion were opened up before Upper Silesian industry by its inclusion in Poland. Even prior to the War, the Upper Silesian coal-basin had begun to feel the competition of Westphalia very keenly, and it was for the economic benefit of Upper Silesia that its industrial magnates, in the early stages of the World War, urged the German Government to incorporate the whole of Russian Poland into Germany. Now that their wishes have been fulfilled, though in somewhat different political form, the economic potentialities of the case for Upper Silesia are essentially the same, and the area would profit by them much more fully if the dilemma between economic interests and political inclinations did not constantly hamper the action of the great German industrialists in Polish Upper Silesia, and did not so often induce them to act against the obvious advantage of the industries in question. Under the circumstances, it is not to be wondered at that the Polish Government shows a tendency to take the control of Upper Silesian undertakings out of German hands, and to use State capital for the purpose, as in the recent case of the *Interessengemeinschaft*. It must at any rate be admitted, after fifteen years of trial, that the division of the industrial region between the two States has not resulted in ruin but in adjustment to the new political conditions.

In agriculture, there has been less change than in other domains, because the provisions of the Geneva Convention interfere with the operation of Polish Land Reform on the large German estates in Upper Silesia. It is not to be doubted that, in this field as in that of industry, the expiration of the Convention will accelerate Polish efforts to bring more property under Polish control.

As regards the lot of the industrial worker in Upper Silesia, the Geneva Convention undoubtedly secured for him a new foundation of social rights. But the protection of labour has since passed increasingly into the hands of Polish Government authorities; and Polish labour legislation having repeatedly earned international recognition for its enlightenment, Dr. Rose has nothing but praise for what has been done in these matters in Polish Upper Silesia, and he dwells in particular detail on the measures taken to remedy the evils of unemployment since the coming of the world crisis.

In the chapter on problems of political administration, we are on volcanic ground once more: the vexed question of national minorities, which has caused so much excited controversy all over post-War Europe, is the principal source of trouble here. It was found impossible to give clear-cut rules in these matters in the Geneva Convention; hence the many perplexities and difficulties to which President Calonder was exposed in the conduct of his jurisdiction as head of the Tribunal

<sup>2</sup> Miss S. Wambaugh, *Plebiscites since the World War*, Washington 1933.

of Arbitration; hence also the frequency of appeals to the League of Nations, often on points which must appear ridiculously insignificant. Dr. Rose, who has made a special study of a number of border districts of mixed population in other parts of Europe besides Silesia, is well qualified to describe the essential difficulties of the situation — such as the immemorial existence, in a border district of this kind, of a large class of people who are as indifferent to nationality as others are to religion; and the equally indubitable existence of a spirit of Silesian regional separatism of very old standing, which tells against complete assimilation either with the Polish or with the German element.

It is almost a relief to turn from these acutely controversial problems to the subject of spiritual values and their fate in the new Polish era of Upper Silesia's life. The domain of education is perhaps the one in which Polish rule can boast of the most conspicuous record of progress, as many fine new school buildings all over the province most eloquently testify. Of course, the field of education is not free — as no field of Silesian social life is — from the intrusion of politics: Geneva has heard much of the pressure brought to bear by employers on their workers in the matter of the choice of schools for their children, and Dr. Rose devotes careful attention to this painful aspect of the subject. In adding an encyclopaedic account of agencies of popular education other than the schools — such as libraries, theatres, educational associations and institutes, and the periodical press — he again does not shrink from pointing out the detrimental influence of politics on these vehicles of progress: the passionate tone of party controversy in the Polish press, in particular, comes in for some outspoken comment, which must be admitted to be entirely well deserved.

Political passions have also played disastrous havoc with the religious life of Upper Silesia. The dividing line which separated the German capitalist and town-dweller from the Polish working man and peasant, coincided with the religious contrast between the Protestantism of the Germans and the Catholicism of the Poles. The framers of the Geneva Convention, in their anxiety to safeguard the rights of Protestants, created for the Protestant clergy in Polish Upper Silesia a position of exceptional privilege. Dr. Rose, who — a Protestant himself — is occasionally very eloquent in his approval of the part played by the Roman Catholic Church in the Polish national movement, does not hesitate, on the other hand, to condemn some of the political activities of the Protestant pastors as causing harm to Protestantism in Poland, particularly because they created an open conflict between the German Protestants of the former Prussian sector of Silesia and the old-established Polish Protestant community in the former Austrian sector (the onetime Duchy of Cieszyn, or Teschen).

Dr. Rose's final chapters are concerned with events still fresh in our memory: the advent of Hitlerism in Germany and that international surprise — the Polish-German Peace Pact of 1934. The first of these events stirred up divisions and ferments among the German minority in Poland, which still continue. The second one had at first a calming effect on Polish-German differences in Upper Silesia, and resulted in resort being more often had to the local Minority Office, and less frequently to the Arbitration Tribunal or the Mixed Commission, to say nothing of the League of Nations, since Germany seceded from it. Dr. Rose finished his book in 1934, and he was accordingly able to end it on a note of confidence in the continued improvement of political relations between Poland and Germany, for which growing economic intercourse could indeed provide a sound basis. More recent developments have

unfortunately introduced new factors of political trouble into the situation — wide-spread Hitlerian propaganda in Polish Silesia, unfair treatment of the numerous Polish population in Prussian Silesia — but even after all this, and with new clouds of danger accumulating on the European horizon, it is impossible to dissent from Dr. Rose's general conclusion that, given a prolonged period of peace, the political friction in Upper Silesia would no doubt gradually diminish and the much maligned Versailles settlement prove entirely workable in this particular danger zone of Europe at least.

That conclusion is only one of several important rectifications which the dispassionate research work of Dr. Rose has introduced into current views on the Upper Silesian problem. As the reviewer has repeatedly emphasized in the above summary, Dr. Rose's painstaking studies in the little-known history of Upper Silesia during the last two centuries have thrown entirely new light for all non-Polish readers on the historical foundations of Upper Silesia's unbroken Polish tradition and her remarkable modern Polish renaissance. Dr. Rose has also revealed the causes of the necessary failure of Prussian policy in Upper Silesia, and given well-deserved publicity to the creditable achievements of Polish rule since the War, without concealing any of its errors and shortcomings. His treatment of the ten years' record of the present Governor of Polish Silesia, Dr. Grażyński, is a particularly good instance of the balance of his judgment.

Being able, through his knowledge of Polish, to gain full insight into the Polish as well as the German case in every disputed issue, Dr. Rose has presented all the controversial problems of Silesia in a spirit of rigorous impartiality and with the strictest observance, in each case, of the rule *audiatur et altera pars*. And what is no less vital to the success of his book, he has written an elaborate, comprehensive, encyclopaedic and solidly documented work in vivid and interesting style. The importance of the publication of such a book in English cannot, indeed, be overrated. With the guarantee of objectivity which is constituted by its author's British nationality and overseas origin, this meritorious work will convey reliable and exhaustive information on one of the most complex problems of post-War Europe not only to the British and American world, but to all those innumerable readers in other countries for whom the English language, in these days, is the principal medium of general instruction.

R. DYBOSKI

Franzke, K.: *Die oberschlesischen Industriearbeiter von 1740—1886* (The Upper Silesian industrial Workers, 1740—1886). Published by Osteuropa-Institut, Neue Reihe Heft 4, Breslau 1936, pp. 128.

According to the publishers' preface, this work was issued in view of the scientific value inherent in 'this attempt to integrate the extensive special literature on the subject'. Many studies of the Upper Silesian industrial worker have been made, but they have been, as it were, fortuitous in nature — more or less exhaustive or thoroughly prepared divisions contained within the structure of problems of much wider scope. Perhaps the most important of these monographs — one which still retains much of its value — is that written by Solger, who dealt with the mid-nineteenth-century Upper Silesian working-class in the circle (*Kreis*) of Beuthen (Bytom), then the most industrialized part of Upper Silesia.

Dr. Franzke's work is really a first attempt to deal with the entirety of the subject throughout a century and a half of

its development. The study is not, however, brought down to our times: it breaks off at the year 1886 since, as the author explains, it was then that the first social legislation was enacted. This seems hardly a satisfactory reason, particularly as the characteristic formation of modern labour relations in Upper Silesia has taken place during the last fifty years.

The subject is, of course, by no means a simple one; evidence of this is furnished by the mass of fragmentary, component problems which go to make up the matter as a whole. But it will be of interest to note some of the more important conclusions yielded by the study. The Upper Silesian industrial worker is a direct descendant of the farm-labourer of the times of serfdom. In the first phase of his economic evolution, the workmen employed in the then primitive industry of Upper Silesia were really still serfs: the only difference was that, instead of working on the land, they were forced to work in the industrial undertakings of their masters. Dr. Franzke devotes a whole chapter to a description of the psychological evolution of the Upper Silesian workers, from the period when they tilled the soil as serfs until the second part of the nineteenth century, when they acquired the status of personally free, vocational industrial employees. The author endeavours to distinguish and analyse the factors which exerted influence upon the industrial working-class of Upper Silesia, and enumerates in this connexion the State, the Church, the schools, the press, and conscript service in the army. The juridical, wage, housing and social relations of labour are discussed against the background of the material development of Upper Silesian industry.

The author gives much space to an attempt to determine the national allegiance (as opposed to State citizenship) of the Silesian working-classes. The author, in fact, has sacrificed two whole chapters to what he calls 'Polish propaganda activities' in Upper Silesia prior to 1886. He strives to determine the causes of this movement and ascribes its rise to the pro-Polish school policies of Bogedain. Before this 'propaganda' broke out, Dr. Franzke asserts, the population of Upper Silesia — including the industrial working-class — had passed from a state of absolute national ignorance and indifference at the beginning of the nineteenth century to 'a loyal attitude towards the Prussian State', manifested during the fifties of that century in 'a lively feeling of allegiance' to Prussia. Yet this alleged loyalty to the Prussian body-politic was not strong enough to enable the whole power of the Prussian Government and local authorities to check the renaissance of Polish national feeling in Upper Silesia at a time when the possibility of restoring Polish independence seemed to be virtually non-existent. Dealing with this matter, Dr. Franzke refers to Polish press opinions, but only indirectly, since in such cases he merely quotes from German publications.

Dr. Franzke bases his findings on a fairly abundant literature (virtually solely German), on Prussian State archives, and on the records of several large private industrial concerns under German management. He has, however, made very little use of the Polish literature on the subject, and this neglect is especially to be noted in view of the wealth of material available in the columns of the Polish press of Upper Silesia.

His neglect of these sources is highly regrettable, for he would have found in them abundant and important data, a different point of view, and enlightenment upon many points with regard to which he is distinctly hazy. The frequently expressed opinions and demands of the Upper Silesian workers which are published in this Polish press convey an excellent idea of the conditions and aspirations of those times. It is not surprising, therefore, that we find much to criticize in Dr.

Franzke's picture of the last thirty or forty years of his period. Indeed, the amount of source-material collected for this period is already quite adequate, and it should not be very difficult to give an accurate account of the actual conditions then obtaining. Proof that this can be done has already been afforded by W.J. Rose (*The Drama of Upper Silesia*, 1935) and J. Piernikarczyk, whose *Historia górnictwa i hutnictwa na Górnym Śląsku* (History of Mining and Founding in Upper Silesia) contains an abundant amount of quotations from the Upper Silesian press to which Dr. Franzke could have referred with profit to his work and his readers. Thus, as a result of these omissions and a certain lack of impartial judgement apparent in his work, Dr. Franzke's book hardly carries the conviction and stamp of accuracy which the importance of the problems discussed should have merited.

L. MUSIOŁ

The Publications of the Silesian Institute: The *Communiqués*.

'Wishing to promote and quicken interest in Silesia, the Silesian Institute. . . is proceeding to issue a periodical whose purpose will be, so far as possible, to include a Register of Polish and non-Polish printed materials concerning Silesia, and, in particular, that part of it belonging to Poland. This Register will include both original publications, and papers or more important reviews which have appeared either in composite works or in journals. It will also report newspaper articles of more lasting value, but limiting itself only to certain Polish periodicals.'

The paragraph quoted above is taken from the Introduction to No. I of the Record of Publications of the Institute, bearing the date January—March 1935. This Record falls into eighteen sections, and numbers 192 items. Every field of human interest is covered by the sections, from religion to geology, from language and folk-lore to music or botany. Scattered up and down it are the titles of the *Communiqués*, as they are called, issued from time to time by the Institute; being smaller or larger pamphlets, from 2,000 to 6,000 words as a rule, dealing with particular phases of various scientific problems, and written by experts. All in all the present writer has some 75 before him, fifty of them making up Series I, the remainder being a part of Series II, in process of publication.

The pamphlets are all published in Polish, so they are meant for 'home' consumption and not for export. (Of course there are a good many people in other Slavonic lands, who will be able to make use of them without great trouble.) But the word 'home' is interesting, since it applies to the whole of Poland — a pretty big field. And the ignorance of Poles generally about this most densely populated and richest of their provinces is extreme. Hence the need.

This ignorance is no reproach, at least no great reproach; though it will be in time, unless it is dissolved. The truth is that although Upper Silesia was easily the wealthiest region in Central Europe before the War, and had been that for at least a century, it was the most hidden and unknown — with the single exception, perhaps, of Slovakia, where linguistic difficulties contributed to isolation. And the obscurity of Upper Silesia was in great part premeditated and deliberate. Neither were the Prussian authorities anxious to have visitors on the Upper Oder for more than a day or so, nor were the industrialists eager to welcome any guests at all, except purely business ones. They might have discovered too many undesirable things had they stayed and moved among the people — things that the authorities wanted to keep quiet. Hence neither the

German press, nor German scientific, e. g., historical, agencies, showed any very deep interest in the region or its culture. They preserved a great conspiracy of silence.

As for the Poles, very few of them visited Upper Silesia in the nineteenth century, chiefly because they were not wanted there, and they had troubles enough of their own. Hence the almost universal ignorance with regard to everything that concerns the past and present of this richest of Polish lands; and not only the richest, but one whose past goes back to the roots of Polish tradition (the first Polish books were printed in the long-since germanized Breslau); and not only the region with the longest cultural genealogy, but one the richness of whose heritage — in religion, in the arts, in social and economic relations — is a veritable mine of treasure for the student of human affairs.

There is still another feature of interest. The Upper Oderland is one of those frontier zones in Europe, which are the anxiety of the politician and the builder of international peace, but the joy of the social psychologist. (The present writer keeps on comparing it constantly in his mind with Alsace, though there are striking differences.) Whether it is a true *Zwischenland* or not, or whether it ever was one, need not detain us here. It suffices to say that in our day of study and controversy over the meaning and mission of nationalism, in particular over the part played in its maintenance and nurture by such factors as speech, faith, and the daily wage, there is no more revealing field for observation than Upper Silesia in the whole of Europe.

It is easy, then, to see what opportunities the Silesian Institute has before it. What their predecessors neglected, the Poles have set to work on — a thoroughly commendable step, and of undeniable significance for the nation and the State as a whole. The charge that the Poles have set back the clock of history is still made by some; and it is levelled at those who ventured at all to tamper with the frontiers of Upper Silesia after the World War. This accusation raises a big question indeed; as to which of the two contributions to the Silesian situation as found in 1920 — the Prusso-German or the Polish — was the more organic, the more nearly related to the soil and to the soul of the people.

Certainly the contribution of Prussia in respect of material things was enormous, though the wealth of the near-by territory of former Austrian Silesia shows that such material advancement might well have come without the Prussians being there at all. But there are grave doubts as to whether the Prussians brought anything spiritual or intellectual into the Upper Oderland — not even the common school system was a success. What can be established, and so surely documented as to defy denial — thanks for which are not the least due to work done even a century ago by pioneers like Joseph Lompa — is the vitality of the indigenous, though mostly quite inarticulate, folk-culture of the peasants and workers in the mines and foundries of the plainlands east of the Oder; who went on their way virtually untouched either by the Prussian administration or by the land-barons, most of whom were industrial magnates as well. They kept their speech, their folk-songs, and their folk-beliefs, waiting until the time should come when they could enjoy them and show pride in them without the gendarme standing at their elbow to warn them.

One other word. These *Communiqués* quite naturally represent the Polish point of view, and there is no harm in that. Not a few of them are criticisms of or replies to German studies or claims, and in that case their wish is to get nearer the truth. All such publications are likely to be suspected of partisanship, even of propaganda. Such a charge would be out of place in

respect of these *Communiqués*. Nor need there be any special pleading at all in the Upper Silesian field; for the Polish case is strong enough to maintain itself without the uttering of a loud cry. Simply then to get at the truth, that is, and should be, the wish of Dr. Lutman and his helpers.

W. J. ROSE

Hahn, R.: 'Entwicklung des Absatzes und der wirtschaftlichen Lage der polnischen Kohlenindustrie in den Jahren 1923—1935' (Development of Sales Market and economic Situation of the Polish Coal-Mining Industry 1923—1935), in *Ostraum-Berichte*. Ost-europa-Institut, Breslau 1936, pp. 1—222.

Blitek, J.: 'Zarys stanu technicznego polskiego przemysłu węglowego', in *Przegląd Górniczo-Hutniczy* (Mining and Founding Review). Katowice 1936; and as an Offprint, Sosnowiec 1936, pp. 66.

These two works, appearing almost simultaneously and both dealing with coal-mining, the one from the commercial point of view, the other from the technical, might well have supplemented each other in many respects. That they fail to do so is due to two fundamental reasons. First, J. Blitek has studied the Polish coal-mining industry as a whole, whereas Herr Hahn has throughout his monograph reviewed the coal-fields of Polish Upper Silesia in the light of their contrast to those of the Dąbrowa and Cracow regions. Secondly, the Polish author has tried to analyse the causal factors which determine the status of coal-mining in Poland, whereas his German colleague has largely devoted himself to the hardly current question of the merits or demerits of the economic arguments advanced fifteen years ago when Upper Silesia was partitioned between Poland and Germany.

It is quite true that economic considerations played an important part upon the international stage at that time, and both sides, Polish as well as German, applied them. But in the advancement of the Polish case they played a distinctly secondary rôle — the decisive argument being the insistence of the Upper Silesian population on its right to choose its national and State allegiance in accordance with the principle of the self-determination of peoples. None the less, although economic arguments were not given pride of place in the outlining of the Polish case, they drew attention to the community of interests between Upper Silesia and Poland, and lent strong support to the Polish claims. Further, the Germans themselves provided convincing material which gave no less conclusive support to the economic arguments of the Polish spokesmen. We refer to the series of confidential memoranda and petitions presented to the Chancellor of the Reich, during 1915—17, by the well-known *Berg- und Hüttenmännischer Verein* of Katowice and the Oppeln Chamber of Commerce. These represented proposals for the annexation by Germany of part of the former 'Congress Poland', in order that the needs of Upper Silesia should be satisfied both with regard to coal and iron sales in the area to be transferred, and to the supply of pit-props, ores and foodstuffs from that territory. The Polish delegation to the Peace Conference revealed the existence of these confidential ('streng vertraulich') memoranda, and one of its publications — *La Haute Silésie, son union économique avec les autres territoires de la Pologne*, issued in Paris, March 1919 — cleverly synthesized the German arguments into a vindication of the Polish thesis. The author of this (anonymous) publication was the late Dr. Szczepański, then head of the economic department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs,

and a member of the Polish Economic Delegation to the Paris Peace Conference.

But after the War, the Germans ceased to press the views expressed in these frank though strictly confidential memoranda. In fact, when the Poles incorporated them within their own economic arguments, the Germans strongly opposed them. The arguments which Germany presented during the peace negotiations were quite different in character. Her spokesmen proclaimed that Upper Silesia and Poland had no mutual interests and shared nothing in common; they accepted as axiomatic the indivisibility of Upper Silesia and the vital need for leaving it as an intact whole within the frontiers of the Reich — for the benefit, not only of Germany, and not only of Silesia itself, but also of the victorious Allied and Associated Powers. For the latter were threatened with the alarming prospect that Germany would otherwise declare herself unable to pay the full sum of war reparations which had been demanded of her. It was stated that Germany, bereft of Upper Silesia, would be crippled and inordinately wronged, and that Upper Silesia would be condemned to the loss of its prosperity. Later events disproved these arguments; Germany herself placed an embargo on Polish (including Upper Silesian) coal at the earliest possible moment after the plebiscite; yet Polish Upper Silesia lost none of its prosperity.

The Council of Ambassadors framed its decision with a view to reconciling the various points of view, and among other problems it gave due consideration to the need for providing the Polish Upper Silesian mines with an assured sales market. The conclusions drawn by Herr Hahn from his study of the subject are, however, of an entirely negative character; he considers that the partition of Upper Silesia failed to secure an adequate home market for the collieries of the Polish section of that region owing to the low level of coal consumption in Poland — so low indeed that the output of the Dąbrowa and Cracow coal-fields would alone suffice to satisfy the whole Polish demand. And adding to this the fact that Polish Upper Silesia exports much of its coal, he asserts that its assignation to Poland was quite unnecessary. The author does not, however, apply the same criterion to German Upper Silesia, which is also 'condemned' to export much of its coal output under conditions analogous to those in Polish Upper Silesia, owing to the inability of the German market to absorb the vastly (and artificially) increased output of the German Upper Silesian coal-mines.

It would be appropriate at this point to supplement Herr Hahn's study with some data which he has not given. The collieries of German Upper Silesia increased their extraction of coal from 8.7 million tons in 1923 to 22.0 million tons in 1929, i.e., about two and a half times as much. During the same period, the export of this coal rose from 60,000 tons to 1,368,000 tons, i.e., twenty-three times as much. The domestic coal sales of German Upper Silesia shrank from 21 million tons in 1929 to 18.1 million tons in 1935, but exports rose from 1,368,000 tons to 1,728,700. Similar conditions have existed in the Polish part of Upper Silesia: the economic crisis has forced down home sales, whilst exports have risen. Herr Hahn thereupon sharply criticizes the Polish coalmasters for raising output beyond the needs of the home market and for pressing export sales at low prices, to the detriment of the domestic consumer, who has to pay higher prices. Although exactly the same state of affairs exists in German Upper Silesia, the author in this case withholds his criticism, which appears to indicate some measure of inconsistency on his part and a lack of scientific objectivity.

In 1929 the maximum consumption level of coal in Poland

per head of population was 1,010 kg., after which the economic crisis reduced this figure. The slow but steady return to normal conditions now under way, however, justifies the conviction that the 1929 level will shortly be regained. The home sales would then amount to about 33 million tons; should at the same time coal extraction return to the 1913 level, the surplus remaining for export would be about 8 million tons. But for the German embargo on coal imports from Poland, dating from July 15, 1925, it would be possible to export three-quarters of this surplus to the Reich. The necessity, indeed, for exporting Polish coal overseas might justifiably be considered to be a consequence of this embargo and, were we to seek the culprit in the same determined fashion as Herr Hahn, we should be inclined to draw his attention to those responsible for framing this decision of the Reich's. We are not of the opinion, however, that such a method of argument can serve any useful scientific purpose. More important matters await attention and methodical study, such as an analysis and explanation of the real facts, and a determination of the conditions under which Poland has transformed the geographical range of her coal export trade.

The construction of the Port of Gdynia, tentatively commenced in 1920 and officially recommended for execution by the law of September 22, 1922, was finally effected on the basis of agreements signed with the contractors on July 4, 1924 — one year before Germany closed her frontiers to Polish coal. These chronological data show us how accurately the new trends of Poland's foreign trade were foreseen by those governing the destinies of the country. Herr Hahn makes no mention of these achievements, but he deeply deplores the fact that the enormous cost of building the Port of Gdynia and of forming a merchant fleet has to be borne by the Polish taxpayer; that the Polish taxpayer has to shoulder the huge burden of financing cheap railway transport to the sea-ports at the cost of high railway goods-tariffs between inland points; and that, finally, the Polish public pays high prices for coal in order to facilitate its export at below cost-price. In this connexion we must observe, however, that Poland's coal and transport policies find their counterparts in many other countries. It is interesting to examine the views of British coal-mining experts who in 1930 investigated the coal problem in Poland and published their impressions in British periodicals, notably in *O'Connell's Coal and Iron News*. The late Mr. Albert W. Archer, an internationally famous coal-mining authority and one of the most eminent mining directors of Great Britain, at that time frankly admitted the skill of the Polish engineers and gave unstinted praise to them and to the Polish authorities for all they had done to develop the Polish coal industry.

It is indeed a pity that the arduous labour of collecting a great mass of statistical and other data on the Polish coal trade has enabled the author to arrive only at such findings. Without proving a single point, he wrings his hands over Polish 'wastefulness' ('Verschleuderung') and unhesitatingly rejects as sophistry ('Trugschluß') the arguments for Upper Silesia's adhesion to the Polish Republic. In spite of the mass of statistics, graphs, and hundreds of quotations with which the book is furnished, its undertone of anti-Polish bias stamps it not as a scientific study, but rather as a tendentious pamphlet.

The second work under review is from the pen of a practical engineer and is quite different in character from the preceding work. It is primarily concerned with the technical aspect of Polish coal-mining, and no such exhaustive study on this subject has appeared since A. Stein's economic outline of the Polish coal industry (in *Przegląd Górniczo-Hutniczy*, and

as an offprint, Dąbrowa Górnicza 1928). Blitek's monograph is, however, a more searching study of the internal organization of the collieries than Stein's.

The sources used by the author consist of material secured as the result of direct inquiries which he has very carefully worked up and analysed. The writings of S. Czarnocki, A. Makowski and others have acquainted us with the geographical and natural conditions of the coal-fields; W. Paszkowski, A. Olszewski, E. Rose, A. Jałowicki and other have depicted the economic conditions, organization and sales markets of the Polish coal trade; J. Blitek has now given us a detailed description of technical conditions in the coal-mining industry of Poland. He presents numerical and other data on the equipment and installations of the collieries, and explains the reasons why the various methods and types were adopted. It is evident that the Polish coal-mines are not only favoured by excellent natural conditions for work, but have into the bargain a vast apparatus at their disposal, coupled with up-to-date, comprehensive scientific organization in many departments. This does not mean that the author sees everything in rosy colours: he also finds cause for criticism, but in both cases he dispassionately indicates the inherent nature of conditions and relations as he clears up point after point in his monograph.

Thus, the reader is given an interesting explanation for the small amount of mechanical extraction in Poland compared

to the predominance of this system in the countries of western Europe; 96 per cent. of the coal in the Ruhr district is cut by machines as against only 28 per cent. in Poland. This does not prove that mining conditions in Poland are backward: it merely indicates that the Polish engineers have to adapt themselves to another type of seam and a harder coal, for which blasting is the most suitable method. In fact, the coal-mines in German Upper Silesia for the most part use the same system, and extract barely 19·4 per cent. of their total output with coal-cutting machines.

The author also provides a satisfactory explanation for the small use made of mechanical loading and haulage of coal underground in the Polish mines. The reason is that most of the coal must be won by means of the post-and-stall method, whereby short coal faces are worked, and thus no large quantities of coal are loaded at any one spot. Another contributory cause is the influence of the safety regulations, which are more stringent in Poland than in western Europe in regard to the required density of timbering: the relatively larger number of chocks and props demanded by law renders haulage by heavy power-trams and cars impossible. These are but a few of the many matters explained in J. Blitek's study — a work which we can unhesitatingly recommend to everybody interested in the study of the Polish coal-mining industry.

W. OLSZEWICZ

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

## THE RACIAL STRUCTURE OF SILESIA

SUPPLEMENT TO ARTICLE (PP. 19—24) BY J. CZEKANOWSKI

- Banse, E.: *Rassenkarte von Europa*. G. Westermann. Braunschweig 1928.
- Czekanowski, J.: 'Das anthropologische Mittelwertgesetz'. *Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für physische Anthropologie*. Vol. IV. Stuttgart 1930, pp. 15—20.
- Czekanowski, J.: *Zarys antropologii Polski* (An Outline of Polish Anthropology). K.S. Jakubowski. Lwów 1930.
- Czekanowski, J.: *Struktura rasowa Śląska w świetle badań polskich i niemieckich* (The Racial Structure of Silesia in the Light of Polish and German Research). Publications of the Silesian Institute. Odczyty i rozprawy (Lectures and Studies). No. 25. Katowice 1936.
- Eickstedt, E.v.: 'Rassenkarten'. *Meyers Großer Handatlas*. Leipzig 1933.
- Eickstedt, E.v.: 'Rassenuntersuchung Deutschlands'. *Zeitschrift für Rassenkunde und ihre Nachbargebiete*. Vol. III. 1936, pp. 162—171.
- Goellner, H.: 'Volks- und Rassenkunde der Bevölkerung von Friedersdorf (Kreis Lauban)'. *Deutsche Rassenkunde*. Vol. IX. G. Fischer. Jena 1932.
- Guenther, H.F.K.: *Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes*. 10th edition 1926. 12th edition 1928. 16th edition 1934. Lehmann, Munich.
- Kopernicki, I.: 'Czaszki i kości z trzech starożytnych cmentarzysk zdobione kółkami kabłączkowymi (Hakenringe)' (Skulls and Bones adorned with Crotchet-rings (Hakenringe) from three ancient Cemeteries). *Zbiór Wiadomości do Antropologii Krajowej* (Collected Reports on the Anthropology of the Country). Vol. VII, 1883, pp. 1—40.
- Kruse, W.: *Die Deutschen und ihre Nachbarvölker*. G. Thieme, Leipzig 1929.
- Krzywicki, L.: *Systematyczny kurs antropologii* (A Systematic Course in Anthropology). I. Rasy fizyczne (Physical Races). Warsaw 1897.
- Niederle, L.: 'K otázce o původním typu slovanském' (Problem of the Genuine Slavonic Type). *Atheneum*, 1891, p. 193.
- Parsons, F.G.: 'Anthropological Observations on German Prisoners of War'. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*. Vol. LXIX. 1919, pp. 20—35.
- Potkański, K.: 'O pochodzeniu Słowian' (On the Origin of the Slavs). *Kwartalnik Historyczny* (Historical Quarterly). Vol. XVI, pp. 243—261. Lwów 1902.
- Ried, H.A.: 'Miesbacher Landbevölkerung. Eine rassen- und volkskundliche Untersuchung aus Oberbayern'. *Deutsche Rassenkunde*: Vol. III. Fischer, Jena 1930.
- Roese, C.: 'Beiträge zur europäischen Rassenkunde und die Beziehung zwischen Rasse und Zahnverderbnis'. *Archiv für Rassen- und Gesellschafts-Biologie*. Vol. III. 1906, pp. 42—134.
- Saller, K.: 'Die Keuperfranken. Eine anthropologische Untersuchung aus Mittelfranken'. *Deutsche Rassenkunde*. Vol. II. Fischer. Jena 1930.
- Talko-Hrynciewicz, J.: *Krakowiacy współcześni* (Contemporary Cracovians). *Prace Komisji Antropologii i Prehistorji Polskiej Akademji Umiejętności* (Studies of the Commission for Anthropology and Prehistory of the Polish Academy of Sciences). No. 1, pp. 1—130. Cracow 1927.
- Virchow, R.: 'Gesamtbericht über die von der deutschen anthropologischen Gesellschaft veranlassten Erhebungen über die Farbe der Haut, der Haare und der Augen der Schulkinder in Deutschland'. *Archiv für Anthropologie*. Vol. XVI. 1885, pp. 275—475.











Biblioteka Śląska w Katowicach

Id: 0030000714015



III 2062