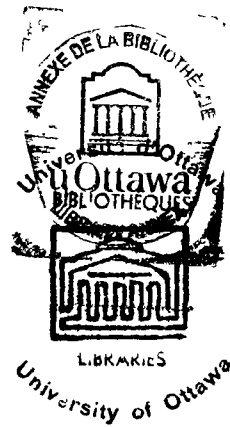


UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA -- ÉCOLE DES GRADUÉS

MAIN ASPECTS OF THE POLISH PEASANT IMMIGRATION TO NORTH
AMERICA FROM AUSTRIAN POLAND BETWEEN THE YEARS OF 1863
AND 1910

by Henry J.T. Dutkiewicz

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CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

Henry J.T. Dutkiewicz, born in New York City on May 20, 1924, spent his early life in Poland. He received his B.S. degree from New York University in October of 1948.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis will attempt to show that the Polish peasant emigration from Southern Poland to North America in the latter part of the nineteenth century was caused by economic, social, and political conditions after 1863. To understand the underlying political and social currents affecting the peasant prior to 1863, a brief review of the historical data from the last Partition of Poland is analysed.

A review of the 1863 Uprising is given in order that the collapse of the romantic ideology in Polish policies and historiography, and the development of positivism may be understood. The positivistic ideals of material well-being reflected themselves in the attitude of the ruling classes of Galicia and in the educational theories of the "Krakow Conservatives". These ideals were also evident in agrarian policies and administrative reforms. The peasant reaction is shown in their increasing class awareness under the leadership of various reformers culminating in the formation of the Polish Peasant Party.

The third chapter will stress the economic plight of the peasant and will attempt to show the introduction of new social and economic concepts into the peasant society through seasonal migration. The statistical data illustrates the progressive increase of seasonal migration and overseas emigration.

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Finally, in chapter four, a brief evaluation of the conditions on the eve of the mass emigration is made. The economically beneficial and ethnically destructive forces are reviewed. The survey of the emigration, its intensity, and the problems encountered are analysed. A summary of various estimates concerning the number of immigrants in the New World are noted.

A résumé of the results in each chapter, the general conclusion, and suggestions of topics of interest to the researcher will constitute the end of the thesis.

For those interested in comparison, this thesis shows the basic differences of the earlier mass immigration and the recent post World War II immigration. To limit the subject, only Southern Poland is used as an example. The thesis also indicates some of the problems created in Galicia by the emigration, and suggests as a topic for further study the sociological and political developments of the descendants of the early emigrants.

A number of historical works have been written on the emigration to North America from Russian, Prussian and Austrian Poland. However, the works dealing with Austrian Poland illuminate the problem of this thesis only to some extent. Whereas Aleksander Świętochowski, in his Survey History of the Polish Peasant (Historia Chłopów Polskich w Zarysie), gives a general history of the peasants, the works

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of others are more specific. For example, Alexander Brückner, in his Annals of Polish Culture, (Dzieje Kultury Polskiej), considers the intellectual and literary aspects. Jan Rutkowski in his Economic History of Poland till 1863, (Historia Gospodarcza Polski do 1864 r.), does not go beyond the year 1864, and Thomas and Znaniecki¹ in their five volume work The Polish Peasant in Europe and America consider only the sociological aspects of the emigrants. Others such as Waclaw Kruszkka, in Seven, Seven year Periods (Siedem Siedmioleci), cover the religious problems of immigrants in the United States, mainly in Chicago; Wilhelm Feldman, discusses the political parties and their programs in Galicia between 1846 and 1906. Jozef Buzek gives a rather complete listing of statutes and laws in his Administration of Social Economy, (Administracya Gospodarstwa Społecznego), and the works of L. Debicki and B. Lozinski present what could be termed as an historical and social record of events and persons in Galicia during the nineteenth century.

Primary sources such as Kalinka, Limanowski, Niemojowski, and Tarnowski, deal with the political aspect

¹ For the complete bibliographical data of the authors referred to in the introduction, see Bibliography.

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existing in that period. Bujak, Caro, Feldman, May, and Jaszi present only a portion of the problem and limit themselves to their particular subjects: those of statistical presentation, a general review of all Austrian problems, or some phase of political life. Other works are included for the purpose of further reading and possible detailed clarification of some of the factors analyzed in this thesis.

Foreign terms, and terms pertaining to the particular problem under analysis are defined in their progressive appearance within the content of the thesis.

This thesis is an attempt to give the first organized historical presentation of the primary causes of the Galician emigration problem. By means of comparing and interpreting historical records and chronological data, an attempt will be made to indicate the main aspects of this emigration.

CHAPTER I

POLISH PEASANT BEFORE 1863

Peasants in Independent Poland

In the eighteenth century the commonwealth of Poland was a union of eastern European nations with predominantly Polish character. It is during this period that the Polish state underwent disorganization and in the 1790's witnessed political reform.

The peasant class was the basis of Poland's agrarian economy. The plight of this group reached its limit in a political system dominated by the nobility. Serfdom in Poland meant socage, restricted rights to land, limited court protection, and poverty for the peasant. Sixty four percent of the land was owned by the nobility. This wealth tended in part to promote the aimless life of nobility, their indifference to the peasant, and their mishandling of the agrarian economy. The indifference of the nobility to the peasant's suffering fostered greed at their cost.¹

Nevertheless, the first steps in the direction of reform were carried out by some of the more wealthy members

¹ Aleksander Świętochowski, Historia Chłopów Polskich, Warszawa, Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1947, Vol. I, p. 225.

of aristocratic families. Having large estates they could afford to manifest charity towards their subjects. Andrzej Zamoyski, from 1765, was eliminating socage and substituting it by rent. Prince Paweł Brzostowski did the same between 1769 and 1791. Stanislaw Poniatowski, on the other hand, concluded agreements with each peasant, and by 1789, the majority of them were working on the basis of a money contract.

Others did not go so far, for example, Joachim Litwor Chreptowicz received one third of the harvest for the use of his land. In this way he assumed part of the risk of production, but at the same time assured for himself a profit from eventual rise in the prices of the products. Princess Anna Jablonowska confined herself to the reduction of levy in kind to somewhat lower rents. Lastly Stanisław Malochowski made certain reforms within the framework of socage.²

The initiative towards reform cannot be attributed primarily to the aristocracy. An important step in this direction was contained in the Order of 1733, issued by the municipal government of the city of Poznan, and affecting the villages of Zagrz and Rataje. The Order states that "Socage was eliminated, personal freedom granted to the

² Jan Rutkowski, Historia Gospodarcza Polski do 1864 r., Warszawa, Książka i Wiedza, 1953, p. 221-222.

peasants, devotion to trades recommended, freedom of trade and work were guaranteed."³ The Law of 1768 took away from the noble the right to inflict the death penalty on the peasant. This Law, however, reflected not so much a desire by the Sejm (Polish Parliament) to improve the position of the peasant, but a desire to remove an excuse for Russian interference in Polish internal affairs.⁴

The sentiment of the Sejm may best be exemplified by its refusal in 1774 even to permit a vote on agrarian reform measure proposed by representative Poniński. The following year August Sułkowski, the governor of Gniezno province, again introduced the bill but was not allowed to speak.⁵

A code of laws was prepared by Zamoyski in 1778, which contained measures aimed at improving the conditions of the peasants. In the code Zamoyski states,

I placed the peasants under the protection of the law, leaving them in agriculture as before. Whoever will read the act about them without prejudice, will admit, that in guaranteeing them freedom and ownership, I ensured for the nation and every proprietor larger and more positive benefits.⁶

³ Świętochowski, Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 226. ("Poddaństwo zostało zniesione, swoboda osobista włościanom przyznana, oddawanie się rzemiosłom zalecone, wolność handlu i wyrobu zapewnione").

⁴ Ibid., p. 242.

⁵ Rutkowski, Op. cit., p. 226.

⁶ Świętochowski, Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 248. ("Oddaniem chłopów" - mówi Zamoyski, "pod praw obronę, zostawiwszy

When finally the Zamoyski project, supported by the king, was brought to the attention of the Sejm in 1780, it was cast aside without being read.

The writings of this period dealing with peasant reforms may be divided into three classes, radical, conservative and liberal. The radical movement exemplified by the pamphlet Practical remarks about Polish subjects,⁷ asking for a mandatory introduction of a rental system for the peasants by the government, had no realistic political basis. The vast majority of the nobles were not interested in any forceful measures on the part of the government. The conservative view, although asking for slight improvements, upheld socage, and represented the large mass of land proprietors. The liberal writings of Popławski, Skorzewski, Staszic and Koźłataj, reflected capitalistic industrial and agrarian interests, and, aiming for a voluntary arrangement of rents between the proprietor and the peasant, asked for the elimination of socage. The proposals presented to the Sejm, and parliamentary discussions, reflected two approaches

ich przy kondycji, jak dawniej, rolniczej. Ktokolwiek bez uprzedzenia czytać będzie o nich artykuł, wyzna, że upewniając im sprawiedliwość, własność, upewniłem dla kraju i każdego dziedzica większe i pewniejsze z nich pożytki^h), quotation from Zbiór praw sądowych, wyd. Dutkiewicza, Warszawa, 1876.

⁷ Rutkowski, Op. cit., p. 231, (Uwagi praktyczne o poddanych polskich).

liberal and conservative, and various opinions of the nobility without any participation of the peasants.⁸

The Constitution of May 3, 1791, was limited in its peasant reforms, guaranteeing personal freedom only to newcomers and an amnesty to returning escapees. The guarantee of the protection of the law and national government concerned only those under written contract with the proprietors. This provision did not effect nine-tenths of the peasant population.⁹

The drive for agrarian reform culminated in the Polaniec Proclamation of Kościuszko on May 7, 1794, consisting of fourteen articles. They contained five important points. The peasant was freed from personal servitude and was given the right to move, was guaranteed a homestead providing he performed his duties to the manor, and was placed under the protection of the national government. The last two points were concerned directly with the uprising. One limited the days of socage for the period of uprising, and the other proclaimed all peasants who took an active part in the uprising free from socage.¹⁰

⁸ Ibid., p. 232-233.

⁹ Świętochowski, Op. cit., p. 281.

¹⁰ Rutkowski, Op. cit., p. 227-228.

However, the failure of the Kościuszko Uprising and the final partition of Poland did not permit the program to be realized. The peasants felt no sorrow for a Poland which had not improved their condition and which had left them only with promises of legal protection. It is not surprising that a half century later the peasants considered the Emperor of Austria their liberator.

Austrian Policies towards Peasants

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Austrian agrarian legislature touched upon the peasant problem from time to time. This legislation resulted from the conflicts between peasants and nobles, and in general favoured the latter. It was not until the last quarter of the eighteenth century that Austria began to hold a unique attitude towards peasant reform.

After the disturbances in the Teschen (Cieszyn) area in 1767, a commission was appointed in the following year to formulate the rights and duties of the peasants. The Patent of 1771 regulated the village affairs. It forbade an increase of duties as prescribed by government register, lowered the duties of peasants located on manor lands to those paying special taxes, and regulated the maximum work days for different levels of peasants.¹¹ This Patent, although

¹¹ Ibid., p. 233-234.

not affecting the Polish peasant, marks the beginning of peasant reforms.

In 1772, when Austria acquired southern provinces of Poland, later known by the name of Galicia, she was ready to enter a radical period of peasant reform. During the reign of Maria Theresa, the subjects received the right to appeal to government authorities and the courts against the judicial decisions of their landlords.¹²

In 1775, a decree called Urbanium dealt exclusively with the peasant problem. This decree contained six major points: the first concerned itself with eliminating purchase of products from the manors and their agents; the second forbade fines in money but permitted flogging in the presence of manor functionaries; the third granted peasants the right of complaint to government authorities; the fourth limiting housework on holidays; the fifth provided upkeep from manors for peasant on longer trips; and finally, days of work were to be in strict accordance with provisions of old registers.¹³ This last point was difficult to apply in practice. Most of the old village registers were private contracts recorded in municipal and provincial ledgers. The

¹² Ibid., p. 290.

¹³ Aleksander Świętochowski, Historia Chłopów Polskich w Zarysie, Vol. II, Lwów, Nak. Wyd. Polskiego, 1928, p. 5.

problem of interpretation arose. However, keeping in mind the decree of 1775, such problems were usually settled by payment of rents. In the majority of cases, these were lower than the actual production by physical labour and in this manner helpful to the peasant.¹⁴

The most progressive reforms were introduced during the reign of Joseph II. In the 1782 Patent the peasants were granted the right to conclude marriage without the agreement of the lord, to learn a trade, and permitted to change their occupation. This Patent was followed by a number of others in 1784. By the provisions of one Patent the right of a noble to act as judge in village courts was eliminated. Instead, separate local justices, after qualifying in government examinations, and paid by the manor, were appointed. This was an inadequate reform because the number of eligible persons was small and districts, consisting of number of villages, were under the jurisdiction of one individual. In the same year local government was introduced in the village. A bailiff (wójt), was picked by the lord. A board of elders was then elected, two representing fifty peasant households. The bailiff and the board acted as a local court for settling petty grievances. Unsettled problems were then brought before the local justice previously

¹⁴ Rutkowski, Op. cit., p. 291.

described. Also, at this time, all extra work performed for the manor was constituted as part of socage.¹⁵

If not the most important, the Patent of 1786 was at least in force for the longest period of time. With small changes and additions, it stood as the basis for all laws governing peasants until 1848. It codified all laws pertaining to peasant duties, eliminated certain levies, and limited serfdom to three days per week. The length of the work day between April and October was regulated to twelve hours, and from October to April to eight hours. The "Robot patent" of 1786 relieved the peasants of certain hardships. However, now the peasant had new duties, as outlined in eighty four articles, such as night watch for manor and parish, and for the first time he had to pay taxes to the central government.¹⁶

The Austrian bureaucracy responsible for the formulation of this patent had little practical knowledge of the agrarian situation in Galicia. The limitation of socage to three days did not affect the great majority. Furthermore, in the same year, forced paid labour was instituted for two days a week during harvest under rates established by the national administration, in order to counteract the three

¹⁵Ibid., p. 291-292.

¹⁶ Świątochowski, Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 7-9.

day limitation of socage. This is a typical example of a policy which had in mind the protection of the peasant on the one hand, and the exploitation of the landless and the small farm peasant on the other.¹⁷

Perhaps the most radical and at the same time short lived reform exemplified itself in the Patent of 1789. In this Patent socage was eliminated and replaced by rents based on the gross income of particular land sections. Only through special cases of agreement could the rents be substituted for by work or levy. New rents and new land taxes were to be calculated on the basis of the gross income of the land. Seventy per cent of the income was to remain in the hands of the peasants who were now required to carry the burden of the borough, church, and school taxation. The government taxes were estimated at $12 \frac{2}{9}$ per cent. The gross income to the manor was thus limited to $17 \frac{7}{9}$ per cent. Further limitation on rents collected by the manor was enforced whereby they could not exceed $15 \frac{5}{12}$ per cent on land and lakes, $26 \frac{1}{4}$ per cent from meadows, and $30 \frac{5}{9}$ per cent from pastures and forests.¹⁸

After the death of Joseph II, this Patent was, however, modified in such a way that its provisions applied

¹⁷ Rutkowski, Op. cit., p. 293.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 293-294.

only during the winter months. In this way the most progressive reform of Joseph II was nullified in the interest of the manor.

The Patents which followed, and there were over fifty before 1848, involved only minor changes. During the active Napoleonic period attention was focused on different areas and little if any reforms were considered. It was not until after 1830 that the peasant problem began to receive the attention of the publicists and reformers.

The constitution of the Republic of Krakow, created at Vienna in 1815, promised to uphold the rights of the peasants. This promise was stated in the third article of the constitution. "In the face of the law all citizens are equal and all remain under its protection regardless of state or position."¹⁹

However, the peasant had no representation. In order to qualify for membership in the Senate, a body of twelve men, one had to have property taxable to the amount of a hundred and fifty Polish "złotych" per year. To be a member of the Sejm, one was subject to the above property clause, and had to have full university training. For a period of thirty one years of the existence of the Republic

¹⁹ Świętochowski, Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 16 ("W obliczu prawa wszyscy obywatele są równi i wszyscy pozostają pod równą jego opieką bez różnicy stanów i położenia").

no peasant held an office.²⁰

An attempt to improve the situation of the peasants was undertaken in the Republic by the Peasant Commission ("Komisja włościana"), created to study this problem. In 1843, there were forty two schools for boys and fifteen for girls with a total of 3071 pupils in the Krakow district.²¹ Any further work in this field was cut short when Krakow became part of the Austrian Empire after 1846.

The Years 1846-1848

After a period of rather active movement for peasant reform during Joseph II's reign, half a century of inactivity followed. The Matternich system was now in full effect. After the death of Francis and with Ferdinand I (1835-1848), "... the reactionary and clerical tendencies of the system developed unchecked to full maturity."²²

In Galicia, during the early 1840's, a reform movement became evident among the representative circles of the nobility. As early as 1842, Count Kazimierz Krasicki, with the agreement of the majority of the Galician Sejm, a provincial parliament, submitted a memorandum concerning public

²⁰ Ibid., p. 16-17.

²¹ Ibid., p. 21.

²² Oscar Jaszi, The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy, Chicago, University of Chicago, 1929, p. 85.

affairs. In this memorandum first place was given to socage, the elimination of which was proposed through a system of land division and a credit system of payments for the peasants. The memorandum included a general outline of public works to be done for the welfare of the nation.²³ Under the pressure of the Austrian government, Krasicki's plan was put aside as too general in scope to be practical.

On September 22, 1843, a request was made by Vice-Marshall Wasilewski for formation of a commission to study and improve the conditions of the peasants. In a note from the Emperor, dated July 8, 1844, permission to form the commission was not granted, but recommendation was made for the formulation of a new motion that would state more clearly its intentions.²⁴ However, this did not stop the endeavour, and another motion followed until permission was granted. In its action the government seemed hesitant in permitting the commission to act, but rather tried to prolong the discussion and organizing period.

As a result of the peasant revolt in February 1846, the commission was never formed. Taking advantage of the situation, an official note of the government, in the name

²³ Bronisław Łoziński, Szkice z Historji Galicyi w XIX Wieku, Lwów, Gubrynowicz i Syn, 1913, p. 42.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 49-51.

of the Emperor, dated March 22, 1846, buried the initiative of the Galician nobility.

Regarding the proposals ... dealing with the commission for preparatory work in regulating the land registers of the peasant property, His Majesty has reserved for himself the settling of this matter in an ordinance to be issued at a later date, and decided that the said commission should not start its work until an ordinance concerning this matter is issued.²⁵

Contemporary opinion held that both the government and the revolutionaries of this period did not wish the initiative for reform to come from the landlords.

During this period a movement for the independence of Poland was an actuality, and plans had been prepared for insurrection in all three partitioned sections of Poland. At an early date, while the insurrection was still insufficiently prepared, the leaders were arrested in Poznan, and the bases for the revolt in Russian Poland were eliminated. Krakow alone revolted and the insurrection spread into neighbouring districts in Galicia. The peasant uprising counteracted the national movement. It is the opinion of Polish historians, supported by some evidence, that the

²⁵ Ibid., p. 55 ("Co do wniosków, ... tyczących się komisji dla prac przygotowawczych w celu uregulowania ksiąg gruntowych posiadłości włościańskich zachował sobie Najjaśniejszy Pan na później rozporządzenie, przytem postanowił, aby ta komisya do działań nie przystępowała swoich, dopóki w tej mierze rozporządzenie nie nastąpi."), a passage selected from the Emperor's order.

Austrian government, knowing of the democratic leanings of the insurgents, precipitated the peasant revolt. The explosive material of this uprising was derived from mixing three different elements; first, the feverish and hazardous radicalism of the patriots; second, the dark cruelty of the masses; and third, the vileness of the government.²⁶

The manifesto of the revolutionary government in Krakow promised equality to all, gave to the peasants complete ownership of land worked by them, and abolished serfdom. However, the revolutionary government soon fell into the hands of dictator Jan Tyssowski and eventually surrendered.²⁷ Annexation of Krakow by Austria followed the surrender.

The peasants, under their leader Jakob Szela, were given a free hand by Breinl, governor of the Tarnow district, for twenty-four hours. On the eve of the uprising, Krieg, the provincial president, stated to the worried members of the Galician Sejm, that there was no cause for concern, that the disturbances would at the worst last only three days, and that they would be followed by a hundred years of peace.²⁸

²⁶ Świętochowski, Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 26.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 54.

²⁸ S. Snür-Pepłowski, Obrazy z Przeszłości Galicyi i Krakowa, Vol. I, Lwów, Gubrynowicz i Schmidt, 1896, p. 49.

The terror which followed affected not only the nobility alone, but also local intellectuals, officials and clergy. For example, the priest, Golecki, after being beaten with canes, escaped from a wagon on the way to Pilzno and hid in a cemetery. Next day he was found dead with his head gnawed by dogs.²⁹ About one thousand persons were killed in the uprising and about three thousand arrested. (See table I)

Perhaps the best example of the attitude of the government officials and their part in the peasant uprising is contained in a letter dated February 22, 1846, written by Milbacher, governor of Lwow. This letter was presented as a recommendation by Erazm Blocki, a local justice, when he applied for a new position in the tax and district department.

To the local justice, Mr. Blocki: Call all the peasants with scythes and tell them to capture all rebels; kill those who resist. Those on furlough should help. Commissary Klosson will go there and will help the brave peasants in Horozan. With a hundred peasants you can beat a hundred such ruffians. In the Tarnow district the peasants managed well; they captured 108, among them four counts, and killed twenty-seven of them. You have an opportunity to assert your loyalty to His Majesty which I expect you to do. Bravery and energetic action will lead to the deserved punishment of the rebels. Inform me about everything.

Lwow, February 22, 1846.

Milbacher³⁰

²⁹ Świętochowski, Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 58.

³⁰ Łoziński, Op. cit., p. 334-335. ("Do pana mandatarjusza Błockiego: Zwołaj Pan wszystkich chłopów z kosami i każ im Pan wszystkich buntowników pochwytać, a jeżeliby się

Although the developments of 1846 acted as a brake on the reform movement of the nobility, the movement was not abandoned. The democratic movement in Europe of this period had its influence on Galicia. Hearing of the Vienna revolution, on March 18, 1848, the Parliament at Lwow proposed its own political program. Count Francis Stadion, governor of Galicia, called a meeting of the Sejm, on April 5, 1848, for the purpose of sending delegates to the Parliament in Vienna. The delegates demanded reforms similar to those outlined on March 18, but Count Stadion dismissed these demands as the views of private citizens. This attitude resulted in demands for constitutional reform by the National Council (Rada Narodowa), which had been formed by a number of patriots and supported by the clergy. On the eve of a regular meeting of the Sejm, April 26, 1848, delegates published their views in a newspaper and calls were heard, "There is no Sejm", (niema Sejmu).³¹ Stadion lost his temper, had the

bronili, zgładzić. Urlopnicy powinni pomagać, pan komisarz Klosson, przybędzie tam i przyniesie pomoc dzielnym chłopom w Horozanie. Ze 100 chłopami możesz Pan ubić 100 takich drabów; w Tarnowskim cyrkule chłopci poradzili sobie dobrze; schwytali 108, pomiędzy nimi czterech hrabiów i zabili 27. Masz Pan sposobność do stwierdzenia swojej wierności dla Najjaśniejszego Pana i oczekuję też tego; odwaga i energiczne działanie doprowadza do zasłużonego ukarania buntowników. Donoś mi Pan o wszystkim.
Lwów, 22 lutego, 1846 roku, Milbacher")
(Rebels in the text refer to national insurrectionists.)

³¹ Lozinski, Op. cit., p. 90.

POLISH PEASANT BEFORE 1863

18

Table I. - Statistical report covering eight districts witnessing the peasant uprising³².

District	Raided manors		Number of dead		Arrests ^{a.}
	number	per cent	proved	estimated	estimated
Wadowice	31	21.2	-	-	200
Bochnia	66	36.9	69	250	568
N. Sącz	97	77.5	19	25	185
Tarnów	131	89.1	424	750	543
Jasło	58	36.0	14	30	169
Rzeszów	2	2.0	1	1	122
Sanok	45	19.1	3	3	400
Sambor	1	0.9	8	11	43
Whole Galicia	430	-	538 ^{b.}	1,070	3,000 ^{c.}

a.
Number of arrested insurrectionists.

b.
To this total 101 names should be added; place of residence unknown.

c.
The total is actually 2230, however ten districts were not mentioned.

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Stefan Kieniewicz, Ruch Chłopski w Galicji w 1846 roku, Wrocław, Wyd. Zakładu Narodowego Im. Ossolinskich, 1952, p. 260.

papers of Rada seized, and posted a military guard around the building housing the journal. In retaliation the National Council met, with Bishop Wierchlejski and members of the Sejm attending. Two manifestos were signed by ninety members, proclaiming the Sejm of the estates, (sejm stanów) not representative and declaring themselves for constitutional government. Stadion reacted by surrounding himself with a small group of conservatives, and ruling Galicia with the help of an advisory board called the Beirath.³³

The patriots then decided to proclaim their program, which included the abolition of serfdom, on Easter Sunday, April 23, 1848, choosing this day as symbolic. On April 22, the Austrian government announced that serfdom would cease from the fifteenth of May, 1848.³⁴

The Sejm did not meet in Galicia for a period of over twelve years. In October 1860, an imperial decree was published setting up a centralized government to which the deputies were to be elected from the provincial assemblies. The decree stated that the provincial assemblies were to be revived throughout the realm.

This historical review of the peasant problem provides the basis for understanding developments after 1863.

³³ Łoziński, Op. cit., p. 94-96.

³⁴ Świętochowski, Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 81-82.

These developments revolving around the attitude of the nobility and the policies of the Austrian government will be further analysed.

It is evident that the Polish peasant during the last days of Polish independence received no more than the promise of protection of law. The Polaniec Proclamation of 1794 gave most promise of reform in the situation of the peasants. However, the disastrous results of the Kosciuszko Rebellion ended not only any hopes of the peasants, but brought about the final Partition of Poland. The peasant did not feel sorrow for Poland, Polish nationalism and the manor being indistinguishable in his mind.

The period of reform under Austria proved to be only a passing phase identified with the enlightened absolutism of Joseph II. It was not uncommon to hear the peasant refer to the ruler of Austria as "Our Emperor". Absolutism reached its peak during the system of Metternich. It is in this period that the Austrian government was most suspicious of Polish sentiments, especially after the Insurrection of 1830 in Russian Poland. The Empire followed a policy aimed at widening the division between the peasants and the nobles, the potential leaders of future insurrections.

When it became evident that the nationalistic feelings of the Poles were again at work, radical measures were adopted by the government. Whereas the insurrection in

Krakow was ended by force, local officials kept the peasant in a condition of insecurity by recalling the possible return to complete serfdom in an independent Poland. The peasants revolted under their leader Jakob Szela. The political move of the Austrian government proved successful, for all movements towards independence in the last half of the nineteenth century were viewed with suspicion in Galicia.

The last opportunity for reform was taken away from the nobility in 1848, before the period of reaction set in. The peasant had proved no more than a pawn in the hands of the Austrian Administration. The estrangement between the peasants and the nobles, resulting from the events of the troublesome period between 1846 and 1848, influenced the mentality of the ruling class of Galicia for the next fifty years.

CHAPTER II

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN GALICIA AFTER 1863

The 1863 Uprising and Imperial Habsburg Policy

The Uprising of 1863 was treated with suspicion in Galicia. It began in Russian Poland primarily as a result of propaganda for the armed emancipation of Poland. To a large extent this propaganda was spread by the democratic fraction of the émigrés. The more radical elements of Polish society adopted General Ludwik Mieroslawski's formula for armed conflict as a model for Poland's salvation.¹ The conservative elements in Poland, on the other hand, hoped that the new Tsar Alexander II would liberalize some of the more restrictive policies of the Russian government. This sentiment was based on the sympathetic interest of the Tsar in the affairs of Poland resulting from the early training received from his tutor Zhukovzky. The appointment of Nicholas Gorchakov as viceroy of Poland, and the establishment of the Academy of Medicine as the first faculty of Warsaw University, exemplified the lenient disposition of the Tsar. The newly organized Agricultural Society, under its

¹ W.F. Reddaway, et al., The Cambridge History of Poland, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1951, Vol. II, p. 366.

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president Andrew Zamoyski, was permitted to function for the betterment of the agrarian situation in Russian Poland.²

The discontent with the rule of Alexander II developed slowly and was heightened by the events taking place in Italy in the spring of 1859. The two main politically active groups in Russian Poland were the "Klemensowczycy" or the "Whites", who aimed at liberty through evolution, and the "Akademicy" or the "Red" revolutionary party. It is of little surprise that the Reds staged a manifestation at the funeral of the widow of General Sowinski, a defender of Warsaw in 1831. The summer of 1860 also marked the low ebb in the spirit of the Poles who were disappointed with the promised educational and political reforms.³

The spirit of the Poles reached a dangerous peak of revolutionary sentiment following numerous manifestations by the Reds and university students, and especially when Russian troops fired into crowds gathered in protest on February 27, 1861.⁴ The Tsarist government deemed it necessary to follow a policy of reconciliation and named Marquis Alexander

² Ibid., p. 368.

³ Ibid., p. 371.

⁴ Bolesław Limanowski, Pamiętniki 1835-1870, Warszawa, Rój, 1937, for detailed description of activities of students in Wilno Manifestation of May 8, 1861 see pages 253 to 270.

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Wielopolski as an advisor to the Governor-General and Viceroy, on March 27, 1861. Wielopolski was chosen for this position because he advocated cooperation with the Tsar as a means of gaining autonomy for the Poles in Russia.⁵

Wielopolski achieved certain important results, although not as great as he wished, concerning the reconciliation of the peasants and the nobility. He staffed government offices with Poles, reintroduced the use of the Polish language, and founded the University of Warsaw under the name of Upper School (Wyższa Szkoła).

After being placed at the head of the Government in 1862, Wielopolski failed to get the support of both the Whites and the Reds. It is obvious that his conciliatory policy took away much hope of independence. The more radical left, the Reds, then proceeded to organize a National Government, a move accelerated by the public hanging of persons charged with the attempt on the life of Grand Duke Constantine, brother of the Tsar.

The conservative Whites were antagonized by the dissolution of the Agricultural Society in September of 1862. As a result of this, the nobles answered Constantine's offer of autonomy with a demand for complete independence for Poland, Lithuania and Ruthenia. The abandonment of the claim

⁵ Reddaway, Op. cit., p. 374.

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to Lithuania and Ruthenia would have been considered an act of treason by both sides.⁶

The Reds were now ready to use armed opposition against Tsarist rule, confident that they would be supported by the nation. Hoping to restore peaceful coexistence, Wielopolski decided, with police help, to draft the young men from towns and cities into the Russian Army. This aroused the opposition of the populace, and the Reds seized this moment to proclaim the uprising on January 22, 1863. The uprising itself was doomed to failure because it lacked money and resources. The Whites, who joined the uprising, were disappointed in their hopes of diplomatic intervention by France, Britain and Austria. The actual fighting consisted of scattered partisan activities which were badly organized, and were generally unsuccessful in spite of individual acts of heroism.⁷

In the last phases of the insurrection, Romauld Traugutt, a dictator, headed the National Government. He believed that the strength of the nation rested in the peasant class. However, he failed to win the peasant over to the

⁶ Ibid., p. 376-377.

⁷ Jan N. Niemojowski, Wspomnienia, Warszawa, Gebethner i Wolff, 1925, p. 544, (Chapter 14 gives in great detail bibliographical sketches of individuals and their activities in the uprising).

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aims of the uprising, because they were still suspicious of the nobility, and because they thought that the Russian peasant enjoyed greater freedom since 1861.⁸

The estimated number of the participants in the uprising was over one hundred thousand, of which twenty five thousand were killed, and seven thousand were taken prisoner. During the uprising 396 death sentences were carried out. Between September 1st, 1863 and May 1st, 1865, 1,184 were sentenced to forced labour, 1,979 sent to Siberia, 2,617 jailed, and 7,447 were sent into the interior of Russia. The above figures do not include deportations without court sentences and court sentences in Lithuania.⁹ These repressive measures decimated the cultural and political elite of the country.

Sent by the Tsar, Nicholas Miliutin arrived in Poland in the summer of 1863 to carry out agrarian reform and thus avoid another uprising of the Polish nobility. Milutin's plan was incorporated in the decrees of March 2, 1864. The peasant was freed from socage and allotted land for eventual ownership. Areas were organized into districts which

⁸ Przegląd Rzeczy Polskich, Paris, Printer L. Martinet, 1861, May issue, p. 48. (See complete manifesto of Alexander II, of March 3, 1861, concerning serfdom).

⁹ Władysław Pobóg-Malinowski, Najnowsza Historia Polski 1864-1945, Paris, Imprimerie de la S.N.I.E., 1955, p. 4.

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granted equal suffrage to anyone who owned land. All problems of the peasants were to be submitted to local officials of the Tsar for settlement. In this way the program featured the Tsar as the friend of the peasant and the protector against the demands of the noble.¹⁰

The news of the 1863 uprising reached Lwow when the Galician Sejm was called to session. The Marshal of the Sejm, Prince Leon Sapieha, postponed the meeting for three days under the pretext of committee work. Meantime, the Koło Poselskie (Circle of Delegates) discussed the problem of the uprising, and decided that national solidarity should not be broken, that the uprising should be extended to other regions, and that help should not be refused. The Kolo also decided to be secretly under the rule of the Central Committee in Warsaw, providing that the autonomy of Galicia was respected.¹¹

Galicia was divided on the subject of the uprising. The conservatives, fearing Red activity in Galicia, agreed to support the uprising financially. Plans were made for the formation of Committees in Lwow under leadership of Prince Adam Sapieha and, in Krakow, under Count Ludwik

¹⁰ Reddaway, Op. cit., p. 382-383.

¹¹ L. Dębicki, Portrety i Sylwetki z Dziewiętnastego Stulecia, Kraków, Spółka w Krakowie, 1906, Vol. II, p. 185.

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Wodzicki. The Reds, on the other hand, carried on agitation for more extensive help, called for manpower and described inactive observers as traitors to the cause of Polish independence.¹²

Slowly the peasants in Galicia became sympathetic to the program of the insurrectionists and a number of them actively participated in the uprising. The Austrian government, following its policy of dividing the noble from the peasant, deemed it necessary to take stern steps. When it became evident that the Reds had planned to carry the armed conflict into Galicia, the Austrian government proclaimed marshal law.¹³ The Austrian government thus joined Russia and Prussia in subjugating Polish nationalism. This move may be attributed directly to the existing sentiment of the village. The revolutionary movement was stifled by mass arrests, the confiscation of arms, and the expulsion of émigrés.

A contemporary writer and a leading figure of the conservative Krakow historical school believed that Galicia needed no democratic party if it was a party of armed resistance, and that Galicia should avoid all uprisings. He

¹² Stefan Kieniewicz, Galicja w Dobie Autonomicznej, Wrocław, Wyd. Zakładu Narodowego Im. Ossolińskich, 1952, p. 59.

¹³ Ibid., p. 76-77. (Complete text of Marshal Law proclamation issued by C. Mensdorff-Pouilly, on Feb. 27, 1864)

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summed up the conservative opinion concerning the unsuccessful uprising in an article dated August 1869: "We regard the year 1863 as a catastrophe, and in spite of many victims and sacrifices, we cannot include the Uprising among the beautiful pages of our history, or among our glorious memories."¹⁴

In 1860, the Habsburg Monarchy entered a period of political transition. Habsburg absolutism represented by the Alexander Bach system based on centralized German control and a spy system, received its first major setback on the battlefields of Magenta and Solferino in 1859. Count Agenor Goluchowski, as Austrian Prime Minister, was responsible for the "October Diploma" (1860), which created a federal parliament whose deputies would be chosen from the provincial assemblies of the empire. The "Diploma" also granted a greater bureaucratic autonomy to Galicia; both the Germans and the Hungarians objected to this. Francis Joseph had the opportunity to return to the system of centralization after the meetings of Emperors in Warsaw, October 22 to 26, 1860. Russia exerted pressure in view of existing sentiments in Russian Poland and Goluchowski was dismissed to be replaced

¹⁴ Stanisław Tarnowski, *Studia Polityczne*, Kraków, Spółka Wydawnicza Polska, 1895, Vol. I, p. 27. ("... Rok sześćdziesiąty trzeci szanujemy tym uszanowaniem, które się należy nieszczęściu, ale mimo wszystkich czystych ofiar i poświęceń, nie liczymy go do pięknych kart naszej historii, ani do wspomnień chwalebnych.")

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by Anton Schmerling.¹⁵

The "February Patent" of February 26, 1861, strengthened the old German bureaucracy in Vienna. Basically, it provided for central political control, the creation of two houses of Parliament, the election of delegates from provincial parliaments with limited powers. Schmerling's plan was to create "Kaisertreuen Patrioten", that is, supporters of the centralized German bureaucracy and enemies of autonomy. Part of his plan was to make the peasant regard the movement of Galician autonomy as a movement instigated by the nobles to return the peasants to serfdom. Basically this system proposed "... to secure the rule of the wealthy and highly cultured German minority above the Slav majority."¹⁶

With the existing dissatisfaction of Hungarians, Czechs and the Poles, the system of centralization began to weaken. This was evident in the formation of a new ministry under Count Belcredi in July 1865. The culminating point, the beginning of a new epoch came with the Austrian defeat at the battle of Sadowa, on July 2, 1866. Austria, now excluded from Bismarck's union of German states, was forced to look to her minorities for support. The December

¹⁵ Wilhelm Felman, Stronnictwa i Programy Polityczne w Galicji 1846-1906, Kraków, Spółka Nakładowa "Książka", 1907, Vol. I, p. 54.

¹⁶ Oscar Jaszi, The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy, Chicago, University of Chicago, 1929, p. 105.

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Constitution of 1867 was introduced, and, in view of the fact that no constructive or true constitutional life was possible with an artificial German majority, the "Ausgleich" or agreement of 1867 was concluded.¹⁷ In reality, this was a compromise between the Hungarian feudal classes and the liberal German bourgeoisie. This move on the part of the German liberals, and the formation of the dual system, was made so that the group should "... secure its own hegemony against the will of the Slav majority."¹⁸

The Habsburg Monarchy was now divided into Austria, Transleithania or Hungary, and Cisleithania or the rest of the Empire. The December Constitution was a disappointment to the Poles who hoped for greater autonomy. However, the conservative groups disagreed with any program of open opposition by the masses to the government. The business interests of the aristocratic families drew them into closer cooperation with the financial world of Vienna. The only opposition to this attitude of the wealthier classes came from the lesser nobility and the urban intelligentsia. These groups eventually led to the formation of the Lwow Patriots, a movement opposed to the conservatism of the Krakow group.

¹⁷ Arthur J. May, The Habsburg Monarchy 1867-1914, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1951, p. 30.

¹⁸ Jaszi, Op. cit., p. 108.

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In their Galician Resolution of 1868, the conservative elements, however, asked for greater autonomy and for provincial self government.¹⁹ The Resolution itself did not bring any positive results, but certain gains were made by the Poles. The Austrian authorities granted a considerable degree of self government to Galicia, thus facilitating the use of the Polish language in public administration, law courts and secondary schools. The use of German was reserved for all military matters and the postal service.²⁰ Polish leaders became more friendly towards Austria after the creation of the Ministry of Galician Affairs in 1871 and the adoption of financial arrangements in Galicia along the lines suggested by the nobility.

Fear of social upheaval could be considered as the reason for co-operation between the Polish nobility and the Austrian authorities. "Over the heads of Polish landed aristocracy the Vienna government held a heavy club, the threat of social revolt, which exercised a restraining influence upon separatist activity."²¹

¹⁹ Kieniewicz, Op. cit., p. 106-109 (complete text of the Galician Resolution dated September 24, 1868).

²⁰ Ibid., p. 114-115 (complete text of decree concerning the use of Polish language dated June 5, 1868).

²¹ May, Op. cit., p. 53.

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The words of Stanislaw Tarnowski, the contemporary leader of the conservatives, seem to portray honest belief in the need for co-operation with the administration. His words indicate satisfaction with the achievements of his group.

... we received through the care of the Sejm and the provincial administration roads and schools ... by the good will of the Emperor, the establishment of the Academy of Arts and Sciences ... the stronghold of our faith and education, ... political benefits that were achieved and utilized, are, we hope, the basis of future action. The hate we feel against the two other partitioning powers, does not exist today against Austria.²²

The philosophy that underlined all political action and penetrated into literary works of Galicia, moving into Warsaw in the last part of the nineteenth century, was motivated by the ideas expressed in the above sentiments.

The early 1870's mark the development of a new political situation in Europe. Bismarck, the Iron Chancellor, dominates the European scene. As a result of his efforts to restore the balance of powers in Europe, a new meeting of the Emperors was called in Berlin during 1872. One of the highlights of the meeting was a mutual agreement to uphold the

²² Tarnowski, *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 116 ("... Zyskaliśmy przez troskliwość i sejmu i wydziału krajowego drogi i szkoły; ... zakład dobrej woli cesarza, to założona przez niego Akademia Umiejętności, ... warownia naszej oświaty i ducha, ... korzyść polityczna, jest stanowiskiem zdobytem i zajętem, i mamy nadzieję, podstawa dalszego działania. Tej nieprzyjaźni, jaka u nas jest do dwóch innych państw rozbiorowych, dziś względem Austrii nie ma.").

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conservative principles of monarchies and to forestall any national movements among subjugated nationalities. A compromise was reached whereby Russia agreed to abandon her Pan-Slavic movement. However, this mutual understanding was doomed to failure because of the Balkan situation. The national uprising in Bosnia and Herzegovina threatened Russian intervention in 1877, under the pretext of protection of the Slavs. British intervention, after the Russian victory over Turkey in March of 1878, led to the Berlin Congress of June, 1878. Russia gave up her claims in the Balkans, and Austria acquired Bosnia and Herzegovina to counter Russian influence in that region.

Poles did not respond to this situation in any appreciable way. In Lwow, Wacław Koszczyc-Wolodzko formed a Confederation of the Polish Nation, with the purpose of organizing national forces for any possible eventuality. He did not receive any response from the populace but was successful in interesting the Turks in his revolutionary plans. A group of more conservative individuals under the leadership of Alexander Giller, formed a "Circle" (Koło), for the purpose of spreading Polish propaganda, diplomatic activity, and hoping for post-war political developments.²³

With the conservative elements in control at Vienna, the trend developed toward closer co-operation with Germany.

²³ Pobóg-Malinowski, Op. cit., p. 14.

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This was basically due to fear of Russia following the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the influence of the Iron Chancellor's "Kulturkampf". The alliance with Germany in 1879, followed by the Triple Alliance three years later, showed changes in the Austrian policy after 1866. Austria failed in every major attempt to consolidate the Empire after 1879. The dependence of the monarchy on Germany as a result of the alliance "... led to Empire's disintegration at the side of Germany in the First World War."²⁴

From the year 1880, the Austrian military staff considered Galicia as a possible field of action against Russia, and concentrated troops in this region. The economic development of Galicia was held back because of the new military policy. Some historians, however, attribute the lack of industrial development to transportation difficulties caused by such natural obstacles as the Carpathian Mountains and the lack of navigable rivers.²⁵

The conservative elements in power in Galicia failed or did not wish to face this new situation. The Polish Club in the Council of the Realm continued to foster the idea of co-operation with the authorities. The Austrian government

²⁴ Robert A. Kann, The Multinational Empire, New York, Columbia University Press, 1950, Vol. I, p. 95.

²⁵ Jaszi, Op. cit., p. 189.

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found an ally in the Polish Club and this co-operation continued to the First World War. The solidarity of the Club was strengthened by a rule that no delegate could speak at sessions in Vienna without the approval of the majority of its members. Such a delegate thus was able to express only the sentiments of the Club and only when he was permitted to do so.²⁶

It cannot be denied that the Club made progress in bringing some national advance to the Poles in Galicia. It had the support of popular sentiment. The Austrian authorities needed the Polish vote, notably after the establishment of the dual system in the Empire.

In consequence of the new equilibrium the Poles became the pampered children of the leading circles, the Junge an der Wage, and they were allowed to build up an almost national state in Galicia, which was often victorious over the Central administration.²⁷

It is important to understand that the gains for Poles were on the whole limited to the nobility, the landed aristocracy, and the urban intelligentsia. The peasant, for the most part uneducated, achieved very limited political gains. The nobility felt more secure now that they had the opportunity of occupying important offices and diplomatic positions. In view of these achievements, the nobility

²⁶ Tarnowski, Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 411.

²⁷ Jaszi, Op. cit., p. 389.

remained conservative and loyal to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. This loyalty was accomplished through the strict discipline within the Polish Club in Vienna, limiting all conspiratory thoughts and claiming that national unity depended upon the solidarity of the Club.²⁸

It would be a mistake to assume that the conservatives were unchallenged in Galicia, as it would be wrong to say that the peasants did not have political representation. In opposition to the conservative views, a group sometimes called the "Lwow Patriots", lived in the city of Lwow. A closer analysis of the Krakow conservatives and the Lwow Patriots, as well as the development of political parties will bring to light the political conflicts existing in Galicia.

Positivism and its Influence on Political Development in Southern Poland

Polish romanticism influenced political thought after 1830; it called for gigantic sacrifices, and united with the poets' sentiments the political philosophy of justice. Romanticism culminated in the Uprising of 1863. The shock of defeat penetrated all spheres of Polish society, and alienated them to all teachings of Romantic ideology.²⁹

²⁸ Debicki, Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 194.

²⁹ Wilhelm Feldman, Współczesna Literatura Polska 1864-1917, Warszawa, Tow. Wydawnicze w Warszawie, 1918, Vol. I, p. 7.

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Although loyal to the Roman Catholic faith, the Polish society adopted certain teachings of Auguste Comte, which excluded all, but natural phenomena or properties of knowable things. This positivism exemplified itself in the political thought of this period, and in the desire for personal improvement through study of physical sciences. Tarnowski, one of the future leaders of "Stanczykowcy", a group responsible for fostering coexistence with Austrian authorities, and a creation of the Krakow historical school of thought, severely criticised the 1863 uprising as "... the greatest disaster of Poland..."³⁰

Alexander Wielopolski, Antoni Zygmunt Hercel and Paweł Popiel, prominent and very active in the politics of the Partitioning Powers, can be considered as the fathers of Polish conservatism. Wielopolski was motivated by great ambition and was capable of bitter hatred, as was shown by his attitude towards the Agricultural Society. Hercel, on the other hand, was a sockly individual in love with logical formulae. Popiel, the least accomplished, was influenced by French legitimism and as fanatical about law for law's sake. Paweł Popiel, Adam and Alfred Potocki, and the Krakow group continued to work for the development of dynastic interests. Opposition to this formed in another conservative group

³⁰ Tarnowski, Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 29 ("... uważamy go za największą klęskę Polski...").

centered around the publication Wiadomości Polskie (Polish News), and was led by Kalinka. Basically, their objection was limited to the view of complete loyalty to the Austrian Empire.³¹

However, the Krakow group was supported in their views by a large fraction of public opinion. Thus a younger group of conservatives including Popiel, Stanislaw Kozmian, Ludwik Wodzicki, and Stanislaw Tarnowski began to publish the Przegląd Polski (Polish Review) in July, 1866. At this time they had no clear cut program beyond an historiographical synthesis to fit political situations. The more conservative publication Czas (Times) considered them as liberal upstarts. At that time, the future leaders of the "Stanczykowcy" faction were not yet practical politicians, and did not yet have the necessary experience or ability. Their significance as a political party dates from the creation of the Teka Stańczyka in 1869 (Stanczyk Portfolio), a collection of monographs definitely outlining their aims and political philosophy. A close alliance followed between this group and the Czas faction which eventually merged into one party.³²

³¹ Wilhelm Feldman, Stronnictwa i Programy Polityczne w Galicji 1846-1906, Kraków, Spółka Nakładowa "książka", 1907, Vol. I, p. 116-117.

³² Ibid., p. 133-134.

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Tarnowski, one of the leaders of this group, and propagator of their ideals through the chair of Polish Literature at Jagiellonian University, defended the Teka Stańczyka. He stated that through it an attempt was made to:

Remonstrate against reckless patriotism, which, although wishing well, cannot think or act well; admonish against sentimental but childish patriotism, which accepts pretence for actuality, platitude for achievement; finally to uncover false patriotism, pharisaical persons to whom fatherland serves as a pretext, and whose more or less conscious goal is always the ego.³³

Polish historiography was transformed under the pressure of positivistic ideals. In opposition to the historians of the romantic period, such as Lelewel, the so-called Krakow historical school came into existence. As an example of the historian who set the pattern followed by others, Waleryan Kalinka merits notice. In 1868 he introduced the new views in a work dealing with the last years of Stanislaw August's reign wherein he states that "... the Poles are responsible for their downfall, and all misfortunes which fell on us at the time or later, are well deserved penance for the nation."

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³³ Tarnowski, Op. cit., p. 134 ("Upomiec patryotysm lekkomyśly, który chcąc dobrze, dobrze myśleć i działać nie umie; opamiętać patryotysm sentymentalny, dziecinny, który pozór bierze za rzecz a frazes za czyn, wreszcie odsłonić patryotysm fałszywy, farazejski, któremu ojczyzna służy za pretekst, a celem mniej lub więcej świadomym jest zawsze ja tego lub owego słowieka.").

³⁴ Feldman, Op. cit., Literatura, p. 10 ("... że upadku swego Polacy sami są sprawcami, i że nieszczęścia, które na nas spadły wówczas lub później, zasłużona, są przez naród pokutą.")

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In this spirit, the scholars of the Jagiellonian University in Krakow indoctrinated the intelligentsia in Galicia and their sentiments penetrated into all cultural and social spheres. The views of the positivists did not go unopposed. In Lwow, the ideals of romanticism found refuge in the so-called Lwow Patriots, a group set on perpetuating democratic and patriotic sentiments. Among the more prominent Lwow historians were Henryk Schmitt, Buszczynski, and Szymon Askenazy. Askenazy, as the leading figure in this group of historians, believed that the fall of Poland could be attributed to the voracious nature of Poland's neighbours. The rivalry between the two schools of thought brought to light new material concerning the fall of Poland. However, the Krakow school, exemplified by Michael Bobrzynski and the so-called realists, became victorious in this conflict of ideas after 1900.³⁵

Positivism in Poland was political rather than philosophical. The quasi-intellectuals welcomed translations of Ludwik Buchner, Vogt, Moleschott, and Herbert Spencer. The conservatives of Krakow, however, preferred Church dogmatism and orthodoxy. In the nineties another phase of positivism enters the Polish scene, that of rationalism and enlightened common sense. After 1890, the attraction of positivism ended

³⁵ May, Op. cit., p. 54-55.

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in Europe. The period of common sense failed just as the period of romanticism failed before it. In Poland, the individual gradually lost his ideals. The Krakow Stanczykies and the Warsaw positivists contributed one indispensable factor — that of practical materialistic existentialism.³⁶

The Galician conservatives, being in a position of control, utilized these trends to strengthen their material well-being at the cost of democracy, parliamentarianism, and social reform. Small wonder that, in consequence, the plight of the peasants received meager attention. Any economic and social improvements in the peasant's condition stemmed basically from needs that would bring greater material gains to the landowners. The appearance of political leaders and the eventual formation of parties may be attributed to the agrarian situation of the province. This situation can be summarized by stating that "... there was an enormous gulf between the Polish landlords and the wretched peasantry."³⁷

The cause of the peasantry was led by the Rev. Stanislaw Stojalowski, an editor of two publications, Wieniec (The Wreath), and Pszczółka (The Bee), dating back to 1875. He began his efforts to unite the agrarian and city masses with the Church without any positive political program. More

³⁶ Feldman, Op. cit., Literatura, Vol. I, p. 172.

³⁷ Jaszi, Op. cit., p. 390.

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success in creating a definite political program resulted from the publication of Przegląd Społeczny (Social Review), for the radicals, and the weekly Przyjaciel Ludu (The People's Friend), for the peasants by Boleslaw Wyslouch and his wife Maria. They reached the peasant masses and succeeded in organizing electoral committees, mass meetings, and trained future peasant leaders.³⁸

The socialist movement in a province without extensive industrialization could not have a strong foundation. The success of the early socialist movement was limited to the university students. The socialist propaganda writings of the Daczynski brothers inflamed and increased their ranks. Originally the socialist refused to consider patriotism and remained international. However, at the international meetings, rightist patriotic elements developed in the socialist ranks. In Krakow, beginning in 1892, a socialist publication Naprzód (Forward), was published and served to criticize all kinds of abuses.³⁹

The youngest and the most active group in Eastern Galicia was the democratic faction. They were bitter enemies of the socialists. This group was eventually transformed

³⁸ Kieniewicz, Op. cit., p. 35.

³⁹ Alexander Brückner, Dzieje Kultury Polskiej, Kraków-Warszawa, Wydawnictwo F. Pieczatkowski i ska, 1946, Vol. IV, p. 87.

into the National Democrats with leaders such as Roman Dmowski, Popławski, and Balicki. Their ideas evolved from democracy to nationalism and a program of combating all non-national elements, — the Ruthenians and Ukrainians in Galicia, and the Jews in all parts of Poland. These views were publicized in Dmowski's Przegląd Wszechpolski (All Polish Review) in 1895. He was convinced that strength always overrules right as evidenced in the development of Prussia, and that the greatest danger to Poland, as a Slavic nation, was in the Germanic nations. He thus believed that it was wise to seek Russian protection.⁴⁰

There were other minority parties in Galicia. The Jews and Ruthenians formed several parties. They, like the Poles, were split into factions. The Jews were represented by the Bund, or a radical socialist party, with the goal of national Judaism, and by the Zionists, who opposed assimilation. The Little Russian party adopted the name of Ukrainians.⁴¹

It is interesting to note that the majority of these parties, although having different platforms, belonged to the Polish Club in the Council of the Realm and followed its dictates for the purpose of national solidarity. Thus, in 1911,

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 88-89.

⁴¹ Reddaway, Op. cit., p. 456-457.

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of the 106 Deputies from Galicia the following belonged to the Club:⁴²

Conservatives	-	18	delegates
Populists (Peasants)	-	23	"
Democrats	-	14	"
National Democrats	-	10	"
Remainder	-	41	"

Delegates outside the Polish Club were divided into:

Polish Socialists	-	7	delegates
		2	adherents
Ruthenian Socialists	-	6	delegates
Ruthenians:			
Moscophils	-	2	delegates
Ukrainians	-	18	delegates

The predominance of conservative control and the strict regulations of the Polish Club at Vienna were still in evidence as late as 1911, maintaining its power till the First World War.

When the political situation existing after 1863 is considered, certain facts become evident. The failure of the uprising in Russian Poland heralded the end of romantic period and the beginning of a new era of political co-operation between the Polish nobility and the Austrian state. This co-operation, which was strengthened by the spread of positivistic ideas, led to the economic, cultural, and social poverty of Galicia.

⁴² Ibid., p. 457.

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German centralism, intensified after the Berlin Pact of 1879, and the German offensive against Slav culture, resulted in the treatment of Galicia as a stepchild in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. This attitude may be considered as one of the fundamental reasons for the disintegration of the Habsburg Monarchy.

The political lethargy of the Austrian administration and of the ruling groups called for the development of political parties in the 1880's and 1890's. The economic and social poverty of the great masses was leading to some form of cataclysm. The nationalistic middle classes tried to solve their economic, social and political problems through protests, manifestations,⁴³ and the formation of political parties. The peasant masses, on the other hand, tried to solve their plight through seasonal migrations and overseas emigration.

⁴³ Kieniewicz, Op. cit., p. 166-168 (See complete text of resolution of a mass meeting in Lwow under the auspices of democratic faction, prior to the elections of 1889).

CHAPTER III

DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS
AFTER 1863

The Social and Educational Conflicts

The political situation provoked by the positivistic school of thought had a profound influence on the social and economic conditions in Galicia. The class division between the noble and the peasant, although existing for centuries, was accentuated by economic conditions. These conditions were emphasized by the conservative attitude of the peasants towards education, political and agrarian reform, and by their social and moral condition, bringing about a crisis toward the end of the nineteenth century that ended in mass emigration.

It cannot be denied that an attempt was made to improve the situation of the peasant. The basic necessity for improvement in any social class is education. The elementary school was of great importance to the peasants. It was not until the twentieth century, however, that progress became evident; in this period, "... the number of elementary schools rose from two thousand five hundred to six thousand."¹

¹ W.F. Reddaway, et al., The Cambridge History of Poland, Vol. II, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1951, p. 452.

In the period after 1863, the overall purpose of the educational program was based on the elimination of idealism. Subservience to the so-called national solidarity as expressed by the Polish Club in Vienna, and to the Austrian Empire, became the sign of virtue in a citizen. Czas, the voice of the Stanczykites, criticized the formation of the "Sokoł" (Falcons), in Krakow, and the proposals for technical schools. The "Towarzystwo Oświaty Ludowej" (Society for Public Education), which did remain inactive, and all cultural activities among peasants were attacked by Czas (Times), in fear of future independent political activity by the peasants.²

At the Galician Sejm the nobility objected to the creation of new schools and school taxes, if the program were to be undertaken at all, the tax should be collected from those affected by it. Jozef Szujski, a historian and Dean of Jagellonian University, speaking as a delegate to the Galician Sejm, held that the peasant schools should be limited to four rather than six classes and that it would be sufficient for them to teach reading and writing; in this way the work of the teachers would be reduced.³

² Wilhelm Feldman, Stronnictwa i Programy Polityczne w Galicji 1846-1906, Kraków, Spółka Nakładowa "Książka", 1907, Vol. I, p. 182-183.

³ Aleksander Świętochowski, Historia Chłopów w Zarysie, Lwów-Poznań, Nakładem Wydawnictwa Polskiego, 1928, Vol. II, p. 359.

The Stanczykites approached the educational situation in Galicia in this spirit. In many cases, stronger sentiments were expressed by individual citizens and delegates to the Sejm. Delagade Grochowski went so far as to suggest eliminating the educational program from the deliberations of the Sejm, and leaving it to private initiative. M. Zybliekiewicz, as a marshal of the Sejm, suggested a plan for the elimination of qualified teachers. Teachers were to be replaced by individuals without educational training but responsible to the district inspector. However, the Austrian government did not ratify this "law".⁴

In 1885, the conservatives again began their attacks upon and efforts to limit the peasants school program. Pawel Popiel, one of the conservative leaders, stated that compulsory education was a monstrosity. "Any provision that lawfully forces a person to study leads to socialism ... and ... in teachers' training colleges candidates should be taught less."⁵ He was supported in his opinion by Czas and Professor Stanisław Tarnowski.

⁴ Ibid., p. 362.

⁵ Ibid., p. 363 ("Ustawa, która ustawowo zmusza człowieka do kształcenia się, prowadzi do socjalizmu... W seminarjach nauczycielskich powinni kandydatów mniej uczyć.")

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It is the view of Franciszek Bujak, a prominent authority on the peasant question, that although each village wished to have a school, the province could not afford one in each village. He goes on to say that in 1900 the ratio between the students and the teacher was a hundred to one. His figures concerning illiteracy in Galicia merit notice for two reasons: they are evidence of progress made over a period of twenty years, and they show the terrifying backwardness of the peasant. (See Table II, p. 51).

Bobrzyński, author of Dzieje Polski (Annals of Poland) held the post of Vice President of the Board of Education for eleven years, and had a decisive influence on its policies. His theory of education concerning the peasants' schools was based on the belief that young people should not be encouraged to aspire to social groups above that into which they had been born. The teachers were forbidden to express opinions about the schools in public or even at conferences, nor could they criticize the teaching program or the textbooks. Those who did not accept these restraints were transferred to less favourable positions. Teachers were reprimanded for teaching patriotic songs, forbidden to speak about the Constitution of May 3, 1791, and were constantly observed to insure that the teaching in peasant schools was limited to the minimum standard, in accordance with the policy of the Austrian government. In 1895, the educational

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Table II. Illiteracy in Galicia .

Year	Number	Percent of population
1880	3,787,298	77%
1890	3,727,175	67%
1900 ^a	3,387,378	57%

^a
Men over six years - 52.27%
Women over six years - 60.71%

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Franciszek Bujak, Wieś Zachodnio-Galicyjska w Schyłku XIX Wieku, Lwów, Towarzystwo Dla Popierania Społecznych Nauk w Krakowie, 1905, p. 92.

program based on the 1884 proposals of the Board of Education was approved by the Emperor. In this way the ideas of the Stanczykites and their program became a reality; its basic object — the keeping of the peasant children in their environment and blocking the road to higher education — seemed assured.⁷

The peasant delegates realized the situation of their class in the field of education. Individuals such as Bojko, Bernadziński and Milan openly attacked the Stanczykites' program. Bojko expressed the opinion that there were some delegates who wished to see peasant children study for no more than church organists or grave diggers. Delegate Bernadzinski characterized the situation as a Holy Alliance formed to keep the peasant in darkness; it is easier to ride a blind peasant than a trained horse, he said. There were others, Wysłuch, the theorist, and Stapiński, who openly fought all limitations imposed upon the peasants.⁸

Among those who tried to improve the lot of the peasants was the Rev. Stanisław Stojałowski. Beginning with the publication of a weekly, he entered active political life in 1875. He fought government policies, the intelligentsia, and village capitalistic interests — which were

⁷ Świętochowski, Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 365-366.

⁸ Feldman, Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 64.

mostly Jewish — whenever they harmed the peasants in any way. He hoped to improve the peasant educationally, economically and socially through a program based on religious faith. As a result of his activities, the first peasants' convention took place at Lwow in 1877. Because of his radical ideas, he was excommunicated and forced to live in hiding for many years.⁹

After Stojałowski's disappearance from active political life, his ideas were perpetuated by others. A group of his supporters formed the "Polski Związek Ludowo-Narodowy" (Polish National Alliance of Peasants), in the year 1909. However, at an earlier date, there occurred a split in the ranks of his followers, and "Towarzystwo Demokratyczne" (Democratic Association), with its official organ Przyjaciel Ludu (People's Friend), was formed in 1894. The leaders of this group comprised of K. Lewakowicz, Boleslaw and Maria Wysluch and J. Bojko. One year later this group changed its name to "Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe" (Polish Peasant Party), with H. Rewakowicz as president. Its opposition to Stojałowski was imbedded in the belief that Christianity was "... an unnecessary star on the forehead".¹⁰

⁹ Świętochowski, Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 393-394.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 397 ("Niepotrzebna gwiazdka na czole").

The Problem of Land Division

The gradual division of the land among the peasants created serious economic problems in Galicia. In 1848, the peasants received the right to own land. Between 1862 and 1869, laws ended the vassalage of the peasant to the noble; it was provided that servitude was to end with the death of the peasant owner living at the time the laws were enacted; also, the privileges of the vassal would be continued for that period. The privilege to dispose of his own lands was also granted to the peasant in this period.¹¹

Thus this elimination of vassalage, and the process of inheritance led to the division of the land. The nobility realized that the growth of population would lead to continuing division of peasant property and would ensure an adequate labour supply for the noble.¹²

The enactment of the law of November 1, 1868, had a profound effect on the agrarian situation in Galicia. This law provided for the revision of all previous political regulations limiting the personal administration of the land. It also stated that the peasant was free to sell his land

¹¹ Jozef Buzek, Administracja Gospodarstwa Społecznego, Lwów, Tow. Nauczycieli Szkół wyższych, 1913, p. 80.

¹² Bujak, Op. cit., p. 59.

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and freed him from personal management of it, thus opening to peasant landowner an avenue to income by the rental of his lands. The ownership was not limited to the land in his possession at the time of the law's passage, giving the peasant the right to purchase additional land. The law of June 27, 1868, forbade the division of land under private contracts or in vassal arrangement with the manor.¹³

The November 1868 law became effective on December 8 of that year and numerous manorial lands were divided for sale. Whereas before the division of manor lands had usually brought colonists from other parts of Austria, this division of land was limited in most cases to neighbourhood sales in Galicia. The peasant, always wishing to own more land, became the victim of land speculators. To get buyers and to raise the price, land was offered for sale on credit. This forced the peasant to borrow money at high rates from the finance companies. Land prices rose so that the peasant was not able to obtain sufficient income and was forced to seek means of supplementing it. Hence peasant emigration, both seasonal and overseas, became necessary.¹⁴ The final result of the law concerning the division of land and inheritance was an increase of economically unsound peasant holdings.

¹³ Buzek, Op. cit., p. 135-136.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 125-126.

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Table III. Farm Labor Per Square Kilometer in Selected Countries of Europe¹⁵.

Nation	Population ^a	Per Cent of Farm Labor	Farm Laborers per sq. kilom.
England	31 mil.	20	27
France	38 mil.	45	32
Hungary	16.3 mil.	66	33
Germany	46 mil.	42.5	46
Poland (German?)	8 mil.	60	38
Bohemia	5.5 mil.	40	44
Ireland	5.1 mil.	75	45
Belgium	5.8 mil.	25	49
Galicia	6.4 mil.	74	60

^a Population figures dating to 1880's.

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Stanisław Szczepanowski, Nędza Galicyi, Lwów, Gubernowicz i Schmidt, 1888, p. 1-2.

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Stanisław Szczepanowski, in his book on the poverty of the peasant in Galicia, which he published in 1888, notes the increase of farm labour in Galicia (See Table III, p.56).

Another factor contributing to the economic plight of the peasants was the backwardness of production methods and the use of obsolete farm tools. The tools in use in 1850 were the same as those used in the eighteenth century. The wooden plough was still standard, and it was not until 1860 that the metal plow was introduced. Antiquated methods and tools produced poor quality wheat, and famines were a common occurrence among the peasants. The failure of the crops in 1847, 1854, 1855, and the famine of 1871-1873 brought about typhus epidemics, decimating the population. Again, the slowness of agricultural progress among the peasants can be attributed to their conservatism and distrust of new ideas.¹⁶

Statistics dealing with causes of death, based on the government report for the year 1900, become notable in view of the fact that this year was considered as a period of considerable improvement in the peasant situation.¹⁷

¹⁶ Bujak, Op. cit., p. 66-67.

¹⁷ Świętochowski, Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 369.

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	Galicja	Bohemia
Diphtheria	- 7141	- 194
Whooping-cough	- 9203	- 1150
Scarlet fever	- 6742	- 596
Typhus	- 467	- 11
Typhoid	- 3199	- 610
Small-pox	- 326	- 11

The law of 1868 eliminated any control on usury, giving the speculators an opportunity to exploit the needy peasants. This led to the creation of private credit and loan companies. The peasants could not use credit for production purposes, but only for personal needs, such as the payment of debts or for living expenses prior to harvest. Many of the loans acquired by the peasants were imprudent ones for such purposes as weddings, christenings and costly court trials. The creditors usually were Jews, wealthier peasants, and landed nobility who charged the peasants one to five cents interest for one złoty per week; this could accrue to a yearly rate of 260 per cent. Many creditors gave loans for the definite purpose of acquiring the peasant lands; promissory notes were devised expressly so that the peasant would be unable to pay, and charges were extorted for extensions. In many cases this procedure ended with the acquisition of the debtor's property.¹⁸

¹⁸ Buzek, Op. cit., p. 699.

The manors developed a system of credit whereby the peasant received money loans. This loan was to be paid back in cash, and the interest in form of work at the manor for one day a week. The loans of the manor were usually between fifteen and thirty złotych. The working day, as payment of the interest, was valued at twenty five cents, increasing the interest rate from forty three to eighty one per cent.¹⁹

Credit loans were not limited to the peasant groups. The manor, to meet its expenses, also borrowed money. However, it was the small property of the peasants that was greatly affected. Perhaps the best example of exploitation at the cost of the peasants is the so-called "Bank Włościanski" (Peasants' Bank), functioning from 1868 to 1884. The first president of the bank, appointed by the Emperor, was the Metropolitan Rev. Spiridyon Litwinowicz. This bank gave peasants loans only on first mortgages. Actually, for every hundred złotych lent, the borrower, after payment of fees, received only sixty-six złotych. It must be remembered that this bank was state controlled and not a private company operated by speculators. Yet, this bank charged twelve to fifteen per cent for late payments; between the years of 1873 and 1883, this bank auctioned 6,572 peasant homesteads.²⁰

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 699-700.

²⁰ Bujak, Op. cit., p. 72.

Private speculators lent money to the peasants, usually at fifty to a hundred and fifty per cent interest. In the majority of cases, interest charges were collected weekly. Village Jews were actively engaged in money loans. Between 1873 and 1888, Jewish money lenders auctioned 9,041 peasant households compared with 3,700 executed by Christian speculators. Thus, from the year 1873, property sales did not diminish and the actual amount of debts increased.²¹

Stanislaw Tarnowski, propagator of conservative ideas, expressed his concern in Przegląd Polski (Polish Review), on July 1, 1876.

To the noticeable impoverishment of the country through numerous uninterrupted elemental defeats, and the promises and bankruptcy of the Vienna stock market, we add the possessions of the nobles in debt, sold in large numbers to the Germans or the Jews. We also add the peasant lands that through misfortune, usury, bills of exchange, passed by thousands into Jewish hands, indicating the slipping away of land from under our feet and from our hands. From these calculations, the results of ten years will be sad; we are defeated everywhere and at all points.²²

²¹ Ibid., p. 73.

²² Tarnowski, Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 121 ("... znaczne zubożenie kraju przez szereg nieprzerwanych klęsk elementarnych, i przez skutki obietnic i bankructw giełdy wiedeńskiej, dodajemy majątki szlacheckie zadłużone, w sporej części Niemcom lub Żydom sprzedane, grunta włościańskie przez nieopatrzność, przez lichwy, przez weksle, przechodzące tysiącami w ręce żydowskie, ziemię usuwająca się nam z pod nog i wymykająca z rąk, a z tego obrachunku pokaże się po latach dieściu smutny rezultat, że jesteśmy pobici, wszędzie i na wszystkich punktach.").

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The economic distress of the peasant, created by ignorance, reckless borrowing and mortgaging of land, and the division of land among inheritors, led to alcoholism and antisemitism. The nobility, struggling for economic survival, exploited the peasant. The shortsightedness of the Austrian legislature did not help the situation.

The attempts to control usury proved ineffective and incomplete. Laws of 1877 and 1881 only concerned money loans. It was understood that a usurer was one who took unfair advantage of the recklessness, inexperience or weak-mindedness of the borrower, thereby increasing his wealth by causing the possible economic ruin of the client. The laws accomplished only one thing, the limiting of the interest charged by companies; however, usury in rural district was not eliminated.²³

Impact of Industry on the Village

The debts, poor land, famines and crop failures led the peasant to seek a supplementary income. At first, the peasant sought employment on the larger homesteads and neighbouring manors. As the population grew, and more peasants lost their lands, farm labour became abundant, leaving many jobless and hungry. The peasant then looked to

²³ Buzek, Op. cit., p. 701.

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Table IV. Yearly Food Consumption Per Person in Western Europe²⁴.

Country	wheat	potatoes	meat	milk	beer	wine	alcohol	sugar
	Kilograms			Liters				Kilog.
England	200	180	50	200	125	2.5	2.5	30
France	284	255	34	144	22	102	4	10
Belgium	235	310	35	168	145	3	5	7
Germany	200	300	33	184	90	4.6	8.5	7
Hungary	182	100	24	185	4	40	8.5	7
Galicia	114	310	10	120	10	2	7	2

N.B. Statistics date to 1880's.

²⁴Szczepanowski, Op. cit., p. 26.

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the towns, and eventually to neighbouring countries for employment.

The subsistence level on which the peasant existed is well exemplified by Szczepanowski's statistics (See Table IV, p. 62).

Low immunity against epidemics and sickness can be attributed to inadequate food consumption. The poor health of the peasants was a contributing factor to the brevity of the life span in Galicia. During the 1880's, the average length of life in Galicia was twenty-seven years as compared to forty-one in England.

Galicia had the lowest agrarian productivity of Europe in 1883, yet it exported one fourth of its products. This resulted from the lack of industry which forced imports. To be able to import, there is a need for money only acquired through exports. The export of food stuffs aggravated the problem of food consumption at home and indicated the lack of purchasing power of all social classes.²⁵

The latter part of the nineteenth century was a period of great industrial development in Europe — but not in Galicia. It is evident from previously indicated statistical data that the peasant was unable to survive on his land. In desperation he turned toward industry to supplement his income.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 43.

After the Partition of Poland, industries such as stills, paper mills, steel mills, glass works, textile mills, sugar and leather works were supported by the Austrian administration. After 1811, the province of Galicia was seriously considered by the Austrian authorities for agrarian development. This changed after 1830, under the rule of Archduke Ferdynand d'Este and Baron Krieg, when a definite theory of economic exploitation of Galicia was developed. As late as 1850, industry was still a means of support to a number of people in the most western part of Galicia.²⁶

However, by 1870, most of the Galician industry was abandoned. Germans from Westphalia purchased lands rich in coal deposits in the Krakow district only to let them lie idle. Limitations were also placed on the development of oil fields, salt and potassium mining. Agricultural production and forestry were stifled by administrative rules and regulations and by customs and tariffs. The Polish nobility, on the other hand, although influential in Vienna, did not know or did not wish to remedy this situation, being concerned solely with their own position and with the interest of the empire.²⁷

²⁶ Bujak, Op. cit., p. 83-84.

²⁷ Władysław Pobóg-Malinowski, Najnowsza Historia Polski 1864-1945, Paris, Imprimerie de la S.N.I.E., 1953, Vol. I, p. 34-35.

A similar situation developed in the peasant industries which included the production of earthenware, peasant furniture, wooden boards, charcoal, tar, and dry fruits. Rope making, masonry and showmaking were limited to towns and cities that also served as market places for the products of peasant industry. Here the reasons for decline were of a different nature. The introduction of railroads and factories caused its ruin. By the third quarter of the nineteenth century little remained of this peasant industry. To meet demands, foreign products were introduced by agents, and distributed mostly by Jews in the towns and villages. The peasant needing cash to purchase goods became involved with local loan speculators who, at the same time, also distributed goods.²⁸

The natural increase of population definitely increased the peasant problem in Galicia. An estimate for the period between 1864 and 1913 indicates a rise of population from five to eight million.²⁹

All these factors contributed to the emergence of a new peasant class. A member of this class, in the majority of cases, did not own land, and worked as a migratory seasonal farm hand, or an unskilled industrial labourer. The

²⁸ Bujak, Op. cit., p. 89.

²⁹ Jan Tambor, Trwanie Życia Ludzkiego w Krakowie, Krakow, Nakładem Polskiej Akademji Umiejętnosci, 1930, p. 40.

railroads drew peasant communities out of their isolation into contact with the external world. The growth of industry in European cities seemed to provide a partial answer for the problem of the peasants. Emigration necessitated by economic developments gave them new hope for economic advance and opened a way to social ambition. The movement, in itself, proved to be an education for the peasant, who now learned of a new higher standard of living.³⁰

The beginnings of seasonal emigration date from 1850 when the "Górale" (Polish Mountaineers) left their villages to work in the fields of the lowlands of Galicia and Russian Poland. A greater movement of people became evident with the building of fortifications in Krakow between 1864 and 1866, and in Przemyc between 1880 and 1885. However, the 1870's mark a greater foreign seasonal emigration. Polish workers went to German Silesia, Rumania and Hungary to work in the fields, mines, railroad construction, and in brick kilns.³¹

The greatest seasonal emigration from Galicia went to Germany. There, the worker was employed not only in agriculture in the north-east and south which the rise of German industry had deprived of domestic labour, but in many branches

³⁰ Wm. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, Chicago, University of Chicago, 1918, Vol. I, p. 189.

³¹ Bujak, Op. cit., p. 76-77.

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of German industry also dependent on a supply of foreign labour. Two reasons explain why the German farmer imported foreign labour from Russia and from Austria. Basically, the German landowner was afraid that the unemployed city workers would spread socialism while working on the farm; besides, the city workers would not take lower rural wages and live on a lower rural standard. The use of agents was necessary to recruit foreign labour. The agents signed contracts calling for certain number of workers, and then had them shipped to places of employment.

In Silesia, the pay was ninety cents to one mark and thirty cents per day, or about thirty marks per month; in Galicia, the worker would receive for the same labour fifty to sixty cents per day, or fifteen marks per month. Many agents took advantage of this situation and contracted workers for lower pay than the standard called for in Silesia. Usually, the workers were contracted for twenty eight to thirty marks per month, with the provision that the agents should get the money. He then proceeded to pay about fifteen marks, basing the payments on the Galician standard. In 1899 Silesian and Saxon sugar factories made such contracts. The agent was then able to make a profit of about forty five cents daily on each worker. Thus, on two thousand workers supplied, after a period of seven months, the agent profited by about two hundred thousand marks. Above this, the agent

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received money for travelling expenses from both the employer and the employee, and a special commission for signed contracts.³²

The life of a Polish worker was not easy for many reasons. The conditions in which he lived while working for the German employer, and the bad treatment of immigrant workers was a cause of many broken contracts. The whipping of workers and calling them "Polacken" and "Polnische Schweine", were other causes of discontent. Provisions to protect the employers were evident in laws concerning Poles and Czechs coming from Austria and Russia; these provisions stated that Poles could only be employed from February 1 to December 20. In this way the worker had to leave the country, lose his seniority and be rehired at a low wage.³³

It is estimated that between 1906 and 1911, the number of seasonal workers going to Germany totalled 1,394,539.³⁴ Seasonal emigration provided a training ground for the Galician peasant, who now acquired a practical knowledge of foreign standards of living. Overseas emigration provided the most logical solution to the problems of the Galician

³² Leopold Caro, Emigracja i Polityka Emigracyjna, Poznań, Księgarnia Św. Wojciecha, 1914, p. 263-264.

³³ Ibid., p. 277-278.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 52.

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peasant. The problems were due to lack of education, unwise division of land, debts, and the natural increase of population. All these factors contributed to the increase of landless farm workers, and to the poverty of the small peasant land owner, forced to seek supplementary income to keep his family alive. Limitations on industrialization in Galicia, after a pact of mutual co-operation between Germany and Austria in 1879, only aggravated the situation.

The Polish peasant, able to live in an agricultural community for a number of generations, had not undergone any important changes in class, nationality or profession. Industrial development between 1860 and 1910 created an external influence that disturbed the peasant community. Creation of new professions tended to weaken the old regional bonds. The peasant, forced to seek employment elsewhere, entered a new class of workers and, in many cases, a complete break with the old community or even the family followed.³⁵

At the same time, progress was made in awakening class consciousness in the peasant. A number of publications and associations contributed to this. The emergence of the Polish Peasant Party suffices as an example. Seasonal emigration provided another important development in the peasant

³⁵ Thomas and Znaniecki, Op. cit., p. 98-99.

mentality. Awakened from his stupor by economic catastrophe he began to seek improvement. He acquired a national awareness, and in Galicia he became a considerable political force by the end of World War I. His Polish patriotism matured as a result of the treatment he received from employers in other parts of Europe. The process of assimilation in North America played its part on the development of national consciousness in the peasant class. The situation existing on the eve of the great emigration, the actual process of emigration and the problem of assimilation is left for analysis in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

THE GREAT EMIGRATIONS

Situation on Eve of Emigration

Polish patriotism and the struggle for independence under the partitioning powers was limited to the nobility and intelligentsia. Preoccupied with activity in this direction prior to 1863, and with the struggle for cultural survival within the framework of materialistic existence after 1863, this group overlooked the potentialities of the peasant class. The peasant group, considered merely as a labour force, was kept in ignorance, and incapable of harbouring national sentiments. Few reformers realized that the future strength of Polish national survival rested in the peasantry. To combat the conservative views of the nobility and the blindness of the Austrian authorities, reform movements began forming the Agrarian Societies and eventually the Polish Peasant Party.

The Polish peasant, on the other hand, felt bitterly against the nobility and blamed them for his economic plight. The economic catastrophe in Galicia affected the peasant profoundly, producing two distinct results. First, owing to the migratory work of the peasant, he became aware of both the economic conditions and opportunities outside Galicia, and became conscious of his national background. The peasant

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political movement in Galicia, led by various reformers, can be considered as a positive achievement. The second major result may be seen in the great emigration to North and South America.

However, the economic conditions had a devastating effect on the morality of a large part of the peasant group. Alcoholism and theft became popular among the peasants. The year 1898, the time of complete emergence from the remaining bonds of serfdom, left many peasants in abysmal poverty and ignorance. The peasant was immature, indifferent to his class problems and lacked constructive thoughts for his improvement. His singing and dancing came in part from alcoholism. As early as 1863, prior to the greater growth of alcoholism, there was one tavern for two hundred to three hundred people, or one tavern for each thirty to fifty households.¹

In the village, the Jewish storekeeper was usually a liquor dealer, often without license. Exorbitant rate of interest on loans was usually charged by him, and at times he was a receiver of stolen goods. Thomas and Znaniecki, prominent students of Polish peasants, state that "... usually Jews managed only the commercial side, ... leaving robbing

¹ Franciszek Bujak, Wieś Zachodnio-Galicyjska u Schyłku XIX Wieku, Lwów, Towarzystwo dla Popierania Społecznych Nauk w Krakowie, 1905, p. 109.

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Table V. Comparison of Taxation and National Income² Per Person in Galicia With That of Other European Countries².

National income per ^a person	Taxation per person	Taxation as a fraction of average national income
Prussia 200 zł	10 zł	1/20
Belgium 300 zł	19.5 zł	1/15
England 450 zł	46 zł	1/10
Rumania 100 zł	about 9 zł	1/10
France 350 zł	48 zł	1/8
Hungary 100 zł	19 zł	1/5
Galicia 50 zł	9 zł	1/5

^a
Statistics concern 1880's.

²
Stanisław Szczepanowski, Nędza Galicyi, w cyfrach i program energicznego rozwoju gospodarstwa krajowego, Lwów, Gubrynowicz i Schmidt, p. 31.

or transporting of contraband to the peasants."³

The meagerness of income in comparison with other countries, contributed to the poor social conditions in Galicia. The Austrian administration, partly because of ignorance of the situation and partly because of planned exploitation, imposed taxation beyond the peasants' ability to pay. This hardship is quite evident when a comparison of income in relation to taxation is made in fractions (See Table V, p. 73).

Although Hungary's taxation equalled one fifth of the national income per person as in the case of Galicia, there were noticeable differences. The Galician peasant, burdened by debts, was forced to pay higher prices for imported necessities. In this way his purchasing power was limited and his standard of living lowered further.

The love of land and the opportunity of its acquisition after the law of 1868, left the peasant a victim of speculators. To the Galician peasant, the land meant social and economic position. Socialistic and communistic doctrines were thus unacceptable to him.⁴ Knowing this, the speculators exploited the peasant to the fullest; the prices of

³ William Thomas, and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, Boston, R.C. Badger, 1919, Vol. IV, p. 74-75.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 161.

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land increased to a point where sale prices did not meet the productivity value of land. In order to achieve social standing in his community, the peasant went willingly into debt. A comparison of land values throws light on this situation.

Table VI. Comparison of land values of European nations and of Galicia in the 1880's⁵

Nations	Land value per person
France	1600 zł
England	1200 zł
United States	1000 zł
Austria (without Galicia)	500 zł
Galicia	235 zł

Although the figure for Galicia seems insignificant in comparison with those for nations of greater economic wealth, it was relatively high for a poor province, such as Galicia was in the 1880's. The comparison becomes more significant when the national income per capita of that period is analyzed (Table V, p. 73).

⁵ Szczepanowski, Op. cit., p. 35.

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The discontent was growing in the peasant group. Only a small portion of this can be attributed to the agitation of the reformers. The Ruthenian (Ukrainian) peasant strikes of 1901 and 1902 were due to the socialist activity of Daszynski and Ernest Breiter. Although the strikes were more of a political nature against Polish status in the Province of Galicia, they suffice to show how the peasantry, as a class, was able to act in unison. During an investigation following the strikes, it became evident that Breiter visited Ukrainian villages posing as a government administrator urging strikes and promising a division of Polish manor lands without any cost to the peasant. Both Daszynski and Breiter defended their action as a movement against economic exploitation and misery, being critical of Polish and the provincial administration.⁶

The parliamentary reforms of 1905 signify the political emergence of the peasant. The strength of the Polish Circle was weakened and the control of the conservatives slowly passed into the hands of other groups. This arrangement gave the Austrian authorities a greater measure of control in Galicia. Galicia consisted of fifty six peasant districts with seventy-two seats, and fifty-four city districts

⁶ Stanislaw Głabiński, Wspomnienia Polityczne, Peplin, Nak. Drukarni i Księgarni Sp. z O. Odp., 1939, p. 54.

with fifty-four seats.⁷

The economic conditions had the greatest effect on the peasant class, leading to numerous consequences. The political and social aspects have already been analyzed. The seasonal emigration of farm hands introduced new ideas and attitudes into this group. What remains for analysis is the effect of emigration on both the province of Galicia and the emigrant.

Bujak, an authority on Polish peasant, considered emigration as being very beneficial to the peasant class. He considered emigration helpful for the preservation and development of peasant culture. Galicia itself gained positive benefits from emigration. The workers remaining in Galicia were able to earn a better living and thus could avoid falling into a state of barbaric poverty.⁸ The most productive and educated elements of the peasant class did not emigrate; the majority of the emigrants came from the lower urban and peasant groups.⁹

The Mass Emigration

The backwardness of the peasant was quite evident to the so-called Agents, representing steamship lines and

⁷ Ibid., p. 81 (see pages 75 to 82 on reforms of 1908)

⁸ Bujak, Op. cit., p. 79-80.

⁹ Thomas and Znaniecki, Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 3.

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foreign companies, who encouraged them to emigrate to North and South America. Under their influence, through the example of others, and through his desire for economic improvement, the Polish peasant emigrated to different parts of the world. His ignorance and innocence were exploited in numerous ways even prior to his departure. This was true especially in the beginning of the great emigration dating to the 1890's. The aim of the agents was to send as many emigrants as possible to America. The peasant had to pay a fee for the service of an agent. Furthermore, numerous subcontractors working for the agents exploited the peasants in all possible ways to make a profit. A feeling of antagonism was fostered by them among the peasants against the manors and the clergy who attempted to prevent the emigration.

Typical of exploitation carried on by the agents was that of Jacob Klausner and Simon Herz agency in Oświęcim during 1890. They bribed all the local officials, including police and railway conductors, to facilitate a greater emigration. They charged greater amounts for ocean passage than was required, double for those of military age, sold worthless advertisements as passage tickets, and cheated many in the exchange of money. Peasants who objected were locked in barns and beaten. Abraham Landerer, one of the agents, had his assistant ring an alarm clock, claiming it signalled telephone inquiry about passage; later another

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ring signified the answer, usually affirmative, for which the peasant paid a special fee. He also used the alarm clock to ask the "American Emperor" whether he would permit that particular emigrant to enter. For this assurance, an extra fee was charged. When a swindler, dressed as a doctor, refused to qualify a prospective emigrant, the emigrant was advised to bribe the fake medical examiner. Even peasant dress received special attention; the emigrants were informed that those in peasant clothing would not be admitted to America. Lowenberg, one of this syndicate, had a store full of clothing for this purpose.¹⁰

Missler, a Bremen agent, became publicly known for his transactions. In 1899, he was able to convince 350 emigrants wishing to go to Canada to emigrate to Hawaii for work on coffee and sugar plantations. Their treatment on the ship was as that of slaves, as they were to be sold on their arrival. In the Austrian Parliament, delegate Wielowiejski spoke in 1896, describing the tales that were told to the peasants by agents. The peasants were made to believe that in America there are milk trees — a notch will make the milk flow — and that, for household duties, there were apes

¹⁰ Leopold Caro, Emigracja i Polityka Emigracyjna, Poznań, Księgarnia Św. Wojciecha, 1914, p. 82-84.

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in America available at no cost to the immigrant.¹¹

Another story was used to persuade the Ruthenians to emigrate to Brazil. Agents spread the rumor that Brazil was an Austrian province, ruled by Archduke Rudolph, but that the Poles were making all attempts to keep this from the exploited Ruthenian people.¹²

Before emigration, and at embarkation ports, the peasants provided potential income to local hotels, taverns, and lodging houses. They could be cheated for their lodgings and food, especially in the German ports. People holding Holland-American Steamship Line tickets were able to get better accommodations at ports of departure and on ship. To save money, peasants usually took third class passage. Third class was located at the bottom of the ships, where cabins were small and had little air. Ships travelling to the United States and Canada were known to have better conditions, whereas Austrian ships sailing to South America were known as the worst. The immigrants complained about the food — rotten herrings, uncleaned potatoes, rancid lard, smelly meat, dirty water, and unwashed dishes and silverware — the lack of respect on the part of the stewards and the indifference

¹¹ Karol Wachtl, Polonia w Ameryce, Philadelphia, Nakład autora, 1944, p. 68.

¹² Caro, Op. cit., p. 89.

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of doctors to needy patients. Dr. Emil H. Dunikowski, on his trip to the United States for the University of Lwow in 1892, described third class accommodations. Any one travelling by this class had to stay at the bottom of the ship, "... in dirt and stuffiness, treated like cattle."¹³

The Polish peasant emigration from Austria-Hungary generally went through German ports. There is a definite reason for this movement. In order to understand this, the statistics concerning emigrants should be reviewed (See Table VII).

Table VII. Austro-Hungarian Emigration from German Ports Between 1870 and 1910¹⁴

Place of destination	Number of Emigrants
United States	2,275,733
Canada	68,542
Brazil	22,095
Argentina	18,966
Rest of America	1,517
Rest of the World	2,472
Total	2,389,325

¹³ Emil Habdank Dunikowski, Wśród Polonii w Ameryce, Lwów, P. Starzyk, 1893, p. 7 ("... w brudzie i zadusze, traktowany jak bydło").

¹⁴ Caro, Op. cit., p. 35.

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The cost of passage to New York or to Canada on the Hamburg-Amerika Line was 189 marks. Passage to South America on the Norddeutscher Lloyd Lines, to Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires, amounted to 180 marks; children under twelve years of age were charged half fare. In an overall calculation, the average passage brought 160 marks per emigrant, either child or adult, into the treasury of the shipping lines. Thus 2,389,325 emigrants, at 160 marks per person, brought to the shipping lines in Germany alone, over a period of forty years, 382,292,000 marks. Thus the development of the German shipping lines may in part be attributed to the profit made on the emigrants. Small wonder that the agents made an immense effort to push the emigrants through German ports.¹⁵

Emigration of Poles to various countries created a danger of underpopulation in various districts, and developed the problem of minorities. This was foreseen by few during the period of emigration, but the effects became evident after the First World War and led to the loss of Eastern Poland since 1945. The failure to realize this can be attributed, as far as it concerns the Poles, to the conservatism of the ruling classes. The peasant, being uneducated, without any profound national feeling, and partly demoralized

¹⁵Ibid., p. 36.

by economic conditions, cannot be held responsible. However, would not be fair to place all the blame to the conservatives. The Austrian policy, in order to maintain political and administrative control, encouraged the cultural and national ambitions of minorities. The Poles and the question of their independence were to be kept in check by accentuating the national differences between the Poles and the Ukrainians. In the case of the Ukrainians, the Austrian authorities wished to forestall and eliminate Russian influences by supporting the rebirth of national consciousness. It suffices to say that Polish emigration helped the Austrian government to divide and rule its minorities. Statistics concerned with population losses illuminate the minorities problem.

The population of Galicia rose from five to eight million between 1863 and 1913.¹⁶ However, in comparison with other provinces and countries, it declined in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Austria's natural increase held fourth place in 1880, and ninth by 1910. Thus, during the great emigration, the natural increase was lowered considerably. Meanwhile, the emigration moved from western to eastern Galicia between 1890 and 1914; the early mass emigration came from western Galicia, after 1900 from central Galicia, and after 1910 from eastern Galicia. Statistics concerned

¹⁶ See Chapter III, page 65.

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Table VIII. Estimated Population Losses in Galicia between 1880 and 1910¹⁷.

Years	Population losses in Western Galicia	Population losses in Eastern Galicia		
	All Polish districts ^a	Polish population percentage		
		50%	50-25%	Less than 25%
1880-90	74,218	25,801	4,018	2,511
1890-1900	169,216	10,211	108,978	16,786
1900-10	224,318	29,603	206,979	35,724
Total ^b	467,725	14,013	319,975	55,021
		Total ^c 389,009		

^a Total Polish loss in western and eastern Galicia 605,126.

^b Total loss of all Galicia (Poles and Ukrainians), 856,761.

^c Out of total 389,009 Polish losses 137,374 Ruthenians (Ukrainians)- 251,635.

¹⁷ Caro, Op. cit., p. 25.

with emigration and with birth and death rates indicate that the total loss between 1880 and 1910 amounted to 10.74 per cent of the Galician population. In 1910 the population in Galicia was 7,980,477. The Polish losses in Galicia were estimated at three times as great as the Ukrainian.¹⁸

From a Polish point of view, considering the former size and power of Poland, emigration of the peasant was of profound importance. Caro, a student of Polish emigration, underlined this fact quite clearly.

The weakening of the Polish element in central Galicia (between the Wisła and San rivers), corresponds to the almost catastrophic losses between Przemyśl and Lwów. These losses tend to endanger Lwów with settlements in the eastern provinces by isolation from the pith of Polish western Galicia. Ruthenian predominance is growing here with every day, and if we fail to regulate our emigration, it must lead inevitably to a catastrophe.¹⁹

Figures concerning the actual number of emigrants from all parts of partitioned Poland are not reliable. This is also true of emigration from Galicia. Basically this is due to the lack of statistics, the incompleteness of figures,

¹⁸ See Table VIII, p. 84.

¹⁹ Caro, *Op. cit.*, p. 30 ("Oslabienu żywiołu polskiego w Galicyi środkowej, między Wisłą a Sanem, odpowiadają wprost katastrofalne straty między Przemyślem a Lwowem, zagrażające odcięciem Lwowa i osad w powiatach wschodnich, of rdzenia polskiej Galicyi zachodniej.

Przewaga ruska rozrasta tu z dniem każdym i o ile nie potrafimy uregulować naszej emigracyi, doprowadzić musi niechybnie do katastrofy.").

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the basing of figures on citizenship rather than on national origin.

Buzek, in his study of emigration, offers an estimate of losses based on the difference between emigration from and immigration into Galicia. The loss by emigration between 1870 and 1880 was calculated at only two thousand people, increasing to sixty one thousand between 1881 and 1890. The number increased to 303,000 between 1891 and 1900, and finally to 489,000 people between 1901 and 1910. Between the years 1891 and 1910 the total emigration was estimated at 792,000, of which the Jews constituted 201,000, Roman Catholics 270,000, Greek Catholics 303,000, and the Protestants 18,000. According to these statistics, the Polish emigration was about 270,000, since most Poles were Roman Catholics. The figures further indicate that 27,501 Poles went to South America between 1873 and 1909. The number of Polish emigrants from Galicia to the United States between 1899 and 1909 is given as 372,134 persons. An additional estimate for the years 1910 to 1913 is given — 42,000 emigrants a year.²⁰

Other statistics dealing with the number of Poles landing on the shores of United States are more extravagant. Wahtl quoted statistics which claim almost ten million Polish

²⁰ Buzek, Op. cit., p. 899-900.

immigrants in America for the period between 1863 and 1911.²¹ Dr. Mieczyslaw Szawleski, another student of Polish immigration, reflecting Polish views of the post World War I period, presents somewhat different statistical summaries. Referring to American statistics, the figures for Polish immigration to the United States between 1899 and 1914 from Austria-Hungary reach 594,665.²²

Wladyslaw Grabski, reviewing emigration from Russian Poland, in his statistical analysis of 35,646 emigrants, shows that 28,206, or 79.1%, were from rural districts and 7,440, or 20.9%, were from cities.²³ It seems safe to assume that about eighty per cent of the emigrants were peasants. The discrepancy between the statistics offered by Buzek and Szawleski on the total emigration from Galicia is between ninety to one hundred thousand. The figure of five hundred thousand may be accepted as total emigration for the period beginning in 1899 and ending in 1914. Assuming that eighty per cent were peasants, the Polish peasant emigration from Galicia in the period of great emigration reached roughly four hundred thousand. The remaining one hundred thousand emigrants came from towns and cities.

²¹ Wahtl, Op. cit., p. 57.

²² Mieczysław Szawleski, Wychodzctwo Polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, Lwów, Wyd. Ossolińskich, 1924, p. 16-17.

²³ Ibid., cf. p. 16.

Canada felt the tide of immigration between the years 1880 and 1910, when over 2,200,000 immigrants reached her shores. The reports of the Supervisor of Immigration in Canada for the years 1901 to 1910 indicate 7.25 per cent of the total immigration was from Austria-Hungary, — 105,544 persons. By 1910, the estimated number of immigrants from Austria-Hungary reached 140,000, of which 30,000 were Poles, and 80,000 Ukrainians, mostly from the Galician districts of Mielnica, Brody, and Borszczow. Estimates of Ukrainian arrivals from Austria and from Russia, in this period, raised the number to 150,000.²⁴

The Promised Land

The immigrants, after undergoing numerous hard experiences at the port of exit, and during the transatlantic trip, landed on the American continent suspicious, fearful and helpless. Their attitude can be attributed to the feeling of inferiority brought about by their social status in Europe, and by their limited experience. The trip to America required energy and courage on their part. Upon arrival, they again became the prey of speculators. Many a time they were greeted by their fellow contrymen who, after

²⁴ Caro, Op. cit., p. 183-184.

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winning the confidence of the immigrants, robbed them of whatever funds they had. Other swindlers promised to buy tickets to the immigrants' place of destination, putting the victims on the proper train, but without tickets. A profound problem developed as a result of the disappearance of young unmarried women coming from Europe. By false promises of marriage, many were sent to public houses and others shipped to South America; this came to the attention of the American authorities and the White Traffic Slave Act of 1910 curbed this activity considerably.²⁵

Notary publics, private bankers, real estate agents, lawyers, small mail order houses, and even funeral undertakers exploited the inexperienced immigrants. For example, real estate swindlers sold worthless lots at high prices, claiming that the area was scheduled for industrial development. The Polish immigrants, unable to speak English, had recourse to foreign bankers, acting as employment agents, creditors, notary publics and advisors. Beyond the fact that high fees were charged for services rendered, risks were involved when money was deposited with these banks, due to their frequent bankruptcies; major examples of such bankruptcies were those of Russel, Majerschak, Skrivanic and Gajzowic of Pittsburgh, and Zottis of New York, whose

²⁵ Szawleski, Op. cit., p. 66-67.

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bankruptcy amounted to \$700,000 in savings.²⁶

Many immigrants presented a social problem that came to the attention of the public. Statistical data (see Table IX) indicates in part some of the reasons for this. The percentages of illiteracy show why the immigrants were victims of numerous swindlers.

Table IX. Comparison of Illiteracy, Health Conditions and Relief Problem of Immigrants in the United States.²⁷

Nation	Illiterates at port of entry		Sick within year after entry		On relief within year after entry	
	1901-04	1905-08	1901-04	1905-08	1901-04	1905-08
Germans	3.4	5.1	0.76	0.47	1.56	1.21
Hungarians	9.5	10.5	0.33	0.24	0.47	0.48
Poles	27.5	32.2	0.66	0.55	0.68	0.95
Ruthenians	46.7	55.5	0.90	0.16	0.22	0.83
Rumanians	42.3	35.6	0.25	0.37	0.21	0.12
Italians	17.9	17.6	0.33	0.26	1.10	1.24
Jews	19.7	38.3	2.07	2.12	3.10	5.98

N.B. Percentage per one hundred immigrants.

²⁶ Caro, Op. cit., p. 162-163.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 125.

However, not all immigrants became victims of the swindlers, and many established themselves very successfully. Dr. Emil Dunikowski visited the United States in 1892 as a representative of Lwow University and formed a favourable opinion of the lot of the immigrants. He visited a part of Chicago, called by the Poles Stanisławów, located around Milwaukee Avenue and Noble Street, close to St. Stanislaus Church. This church had the largest number of parishioners (40,000) of all Polish churches in the United States that year.

The Polish section is, as everywhere in America, made of wood and is poor. But this is of no wonder, because our contrymen are here too short a time to be able to afford marble castles. In time, that point will be reached; but at present credit must be given to those people, who, although they are working as labourers, have been able to save enough to build magnificent churches, schools, as well as wooden homes for themselves.²⁸

Thus, the Polish-American colony replaced the old country community and formed its own society. This society found its own amusements in dances and picnics. Its intellectual interests were reflected in lectures, theatrical productions and the publication of Polish language

²⁸ Dunikowski, *Op. cit.*, p. 61. ("Cześć polska jest, jak wszędzie w Ameryce - drewniana i uboga, lecz nie dziw, bo nasi rodacy są tu za krótko jeszcze, aby już mogli byli dorobić się marmurowych pałaców, kiedyś przyjdzie niewątpliwie i do tego, na razie trzeba podziwiać tych ludzi, którzy pracując przeważnie jako wyrobownicy, potrafią tyle złożyć, że wznoszą wspaniałe kościoły i szkoły, a sobie budują drewniane domki.")

periodicals. Its religious activity, perhaps the strongest binding force in this society, revolved around church services and its biggest undertakings, the building of new churches. This society became also a center of information for all newcomers, whether from Europe or from different parts of the United States.²⁹

The immigrants, due to language difficulties and because of their strong faith, tended to center around the Polish church. The priest thus became the educator, the social and spiritual leader. Clinging to the Polish language the immigrants fostered the building of parochial schools for their children. This movement was supported by the Polish clergy. Thus in time a struggle for representation in the church hierarchy developed. The Polish clergy organized an association calling for an appointment of a Bishop of Polish descent. As a result of the third Polish Roman Catholic Congress and the initiative of the association of Polish clergy, a delegation was sent to Rome, in 1903, with a list of ten names. This resulted in the appointment of Rhode and Trobec as Bishops.³⁰

²⁹ Thomas and Znaniecki, Op. cit., Vol. V, p. 40-41.

³⁰ Wacław Kruszk, Siedem Siedmiolec, Milwaukee, Poznań, St. Adalbert Printery, 1924, Vol. I, p. 745.

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The economic difficulties of the Poles in America constitute a rather large field for exploration. The hours of work were long, up to twelve hours per day, depending on the job, and trade union conditions. Numerous accidents accompanied by many unhealthy working conditions faced the Polish immigrant.³¹

The rate of pay was another concern to Polish immigrants. However, in comparison with the wages in Austria-Hungary, the amount was larger and the cost of living lower, giving the immigrant an opportunity to save. The differences in the rate of pay merit notice. Statistics prepared in 1920 by the U.S. Department of Labour concerning union and non-union workers in the steel industry serve as an example.

Table X. Average Hourly Wages in the United States
Steel Industry³²

Years	Unionized Labour	Non-union Labour
1907	88 cents	15 cents
1910	87 cents	15 cents
1914	101 cents	18 cents
1915	101 cents	18 cents
1917	156 cents	29 cents
1919	250 cents	46 cents
1920	283 cents	50 cents

³¹ Caro, Op. cit., (for detailed information and statistical data concerning working conditions, see p. 146-153).

³² Szawleski, Op. cit., p. 61.

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Statistics concerning the number of Poles in America have always presented a problem; numerous attempts have been made at estimating the total in the United States. Figures of three million, six million, eight million and even ten million have been suggested. The same problem must be faced concerning the distribution of Poles in different sections of the United States. It is evident that the concentration of Poles is in New England, the eastern states, and in the mid-west. The Polish Statistical Bureau, organized under the direction of Stanislaw Osada in Chicago, gave its findings in 1921, based on the statistics of Polish parishes. It estimated the number of Poles in America to over three million. On the other hand, the United States census based its findings on the number of Polish citizens and on national background. Limiting the findings to the areas of greatest Polish concentration these figures are compared in Table XI, on page 95.

Poles in Canada found much better conditions and were able to settle on farm land. Upon payment of ten dollars the immigrant received 160 acres of land, providing that he would cultivate at least fifty acres for a period of three years, live on the farm, and indicate his intention of becoming a Canadian citizen. Many Poles settled in Saskatchewan, Alberta, Manitoba; in western Ontario they concentrated in and around Toronto and its industries.³³

³³ Caro, *Op. cit.*, p. 176-177.

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Table XI. Distribution of Poles in Three Major Areas of Concentration in the United States³⁴.

States	New England States		
	I ^a	II ^b	III ^c
Maine	1,717	-	2,706
New Hampshire	3,997	5,950	9,205
Vermont	1,726	3,503	3,722
Massachusetts	69,157	108,335	145,822
Rhode Island	8,158	10,900	16,578
Connecticut	46,623	70,567	97,309
Total	131,378	199,255	275,342
Eastern States (Central Atlantic States)			
New York	247,519	288,790	403,969
New Jersey	90,419	115,004	176,342
Pennsylvania	177,700	374,053	412,211
Total	515,708	777,847	992,522
Mid Western States (Central North Western)			
Ohio	67,579	96,983	138,106
Indiana	17,791	42,168	46,251
Illinois	162,405	418,228	382,101
Michigan	103,926	192,370	251,381
Wisconsin	50,558	149,400	152,063
Total	402,259	899,149	969,902

a
1920 U.S. Census - Poles born in Poland

b
Statistics of Polish Statistical Bureau

c
1920 U.S. Census - People claiming Polish ancestry.

³⁴
Szawleski, Op. cit., p. 30.

However, the cultural ties and Polish nationalism were not developed in Canada as intensively as in the United States. It is only after 1920 that the Polish communities began to grow and have a closer contact with the mother country. The influx of displaced persons and former soldiers of the Polish Army after 1945 brought new elements and problems to the older Polish communities.³⁵

The Polish immigrant settled on the North American continent lived, worked, married and set up a family within the confines of a new society that centered around the Church. This was no more than an attempt to transplant the old country environment to new world surroundings. There were, however, a number of differences. As a timid individual, he tended to preserve the old country communal unity. Socially, it became important for him to own land and he concentrated all his energy to this end. The external world presented him with a conflict which he fought in the way he knew best; this expressed itself in religious unity around the church and in the development of Polish parochial schools.

Due to external pressures, the idea of Poland became more realistic to him, a Poland not identified with the nobility. It now became an economic and social necessity to

³⁵ Bolesław Makowski, *Polska Emigracja w Kanadzie, Nak. Zw. Polaków w Austrii, 1951.* (See p. 27-45 for closer analysis of the mass immigration and places of settlement).

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survive as a group, communicating in the Polish language. Unaware of the fact, he developed a national consciousness that showed effects during the First World War in relief activity, financial support of an independent movement, and active participation on the battle fields.

It is evident that this emigration created new problems in Galicia, and signified the emergence of the peasant class as a social and a political force. The new concepts that the emigrants, forced out of their homeland by economic and other conditions, developed in their new environment will be considered in the conclusion.

CONCLUSIONS

The North American continent witnessed a mass emigration from Europe during the nineteenth century. In the last part of this century a steady flow of immigrants came from southern and eastern Europe. The causes and the results of these migrations are still virgin fields of study and research, although many works have been written about some aspects. This thesis has limited itself to a particular group from a particular region over a given period of time. An attempt has been made to review and analyze some of the aspects influencing the emigration of the peasants from Galicia.

To understand this emigration and the reasons underlying it, political, social, and economic factors have been considered. However, before this was done, the peasant situation was reviewed historically. This review brought to light three important facts: After the partitions of Poland, the reforms of this period, namely the Constitution of May 3, and the Polaniec Proclamation of Kosciuszko, left the peasants only with a promise of change. The reforms during the reign of Joseph II of Austria were no more than a reflection of enlightened absolutism, reforms that were eventually utilized by the Austrian authorities in dividing the Poles over the subject of independence. Finally antagonism to reform, derived partly from the conservatism of the nobles,

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and partly from the official policy of the Austrian authorities, brought about consequences of profound importance.

The failure of the 1863 uprising in Russian Poland, and the influx of positivism in Galicia brought about a period of reaction. This reaction expressed itself in the conservatism of the Stanczykites, the prime supporters of an autonomous Galicia, based on friendly co-operation with the ruling circles in Vienna. Materialism became a way of life and a way of preserving national identity. The ruling group in the Polish Circle at Vienna, was able to gain language concessions for Galicia. The "chłop" (peasant) was not considered a part of the national element, and was exploited as merely a supply of labour.

The failure to reverse Austria's policy of treating Galicia as a military outpost against Russia after 1879, indicated the political weakness and stagnation of the ruling classes in this province. The exclusion of Galicia from the industrial development of the empire only intensified the struggle for the existence of the economically declining manors. Shortcuts had to be devised, the labour force had to be kept in check, and means had to be found to improve the economic conditions of the manor. The first to feel the effects of the new policy were the peasants, the least economically stable group of the community.

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To save on taxes, expenditures on peasant education were strictly curbed. This served to keep the peasant class uninformed, without ambition, and readily available for labour. The plight of the peasants reached catastrophic levels. Oppressed by disease, close to starvation due to an unwise division of land and debts, exploited by the local merchants, tradesmen, money lenders, manor officials and public officials, the peasant began to seek ways to survive. He did so in two ways. Stirred by reformers, he began to take interest and part in the political life of the province. Although limited at the beginning, the peasant political movement strengthened in time and, by the turn of the century, developed into the Peasant Party. The peasant also migrated seasonally to other European countries in search of employment.

It was during these migrations that the peasant, coming out of his rather limited environment, became conscious of different standard of living and of foreign economic progress. Uneducated, dreaming of improvement, he fell victim to the speculators, agents, swindlers who propogandized for overseas emigration with the sole purpose of enriching themselves.

The emigration had two main effects on the province of Galicia: Economically, the peasants who remained in the province had a better chance to improve their conditions.

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Ethnically, emigration resulted in lessening the Polish character of eastern Galicia. The consequences can only be appreciated today, after the Second World War, although they were evident before 1939, where a Polish city like Lwow was cut off from the Polish provinces in western Galicia. Mass emigration can be considered as one of the reasons for this development; this problem should prove of interest to a researcher.

The settlement and reorganization of the Polish peasant in America under the guidance of local clergy should also prove an interesting topic of study. The development of new concepts, such as Polish nationalism, can be attributed to the conditions prevailing on the American continent. It is interesting to note here that although nationalism developed, it functioned and organized its activity in a provincial manner. This nationalism, active during and after the First World War, is not evident in the second and third generation. This can be attributed to various reasons. Basically, this situation results from the lack of cultural and national background of the early immigrant, who regarded Polish nationalism and the manor as inseparable, and at times referred to the Austrian emperor as "Our Emperor". Perhaps the best example can be offered in the case of the Ukrainians. The oppressive economic practices of the manor were considered as the activity of all Poles. The second generation

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of Ukrainians in North America seems strongly patriotic and active in propagation of their cause.

Economic conditions definitely influenced mass emigration. These economic conditions may briefly be attributed to the unwise division of land, and to consequent peasant poverty and debts, to the use of primitive agricultural methods, and to high taxation. The lack of industrial development, due to Austrian policy, also led to seasonal and eventually overseas emigration. To conclude: The fundamental reason for mass emigration of Poles from Galicia to North America was the disastrous economic situation created by political conditions and the conservative Austrian administration after 1863.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis dealt with the main aspects affecting the Polish Peasant emigration from Southern Poland to North America after 1863.

The first chapter gave the historical background of the peasants in the period of the last partition of Poland, the activities of the reformers and their results. A notation was made on the early legislation under Austria. The Peasant Revolt of 1846 was used as an example of definite estrangement between peasants and the Polish nobles. The massacre of 1846 was attributed to the policy of the Austrian administration intending to end existing and future patriotic rising.

The second chapter concerned the Uprising of 1863, its echoes in Galicia, and the reaction of the ruling classes. The development of positivism was discussed as the underlying reason for political theory and practice of the conservatives in Galicia after 1863. The reaction to this conservatism is shown in the works of the "Lwow Patriots" and the peasant reformers leading to the formation of political parties.

In the third chapter, the economic and social problems of the peasants were analyzed. Among these, the problem of education called for review. The economic situation created by unwise division of land, debts, and the

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subsistence level of the peasants, was responsible for seasonal emigration. Introduction of new economic perspectives of the peasants and statistical data were examined.

The fourth chapter concerned itself with a review of the conditions prevailing on the eve of the great emigration. The activities of speculators, agents and swindlers, exploiting the uneducated masses were noted. The actual emigration, its problems and statistics, and the effects, both economically beneficial and ethnically destructive, were considered in this section of the chapter. Finally, the chapter concluded with a review of the places of settlement in North America and the early problems of the immigrants.

The conclusions stated that the peasant emigration was the final result of the historical development of various conditions, such as economic problems caused by the conservatism of the ruling groups in Galicia. These problems in turn, reflecting the theory of materialistic positivism in political applications, definitely influenced the social conditions of the villages. Such specific factors as division of land, the problem of education, and health conditions were some of the other examples.

Recommendations were made for further investigations of the ethnic problems in Eastern Galicia, the economic problems of the immigrants in North America, and the problem of cultural apathy of the second generation to the national heritage of their forefathers.