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THE EASTERN BORDERS OF POLAND

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THE EASTERN BORDERS OF POLAND

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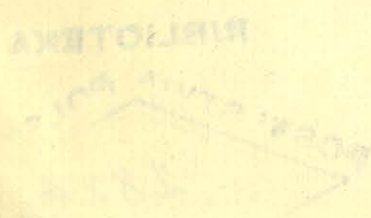
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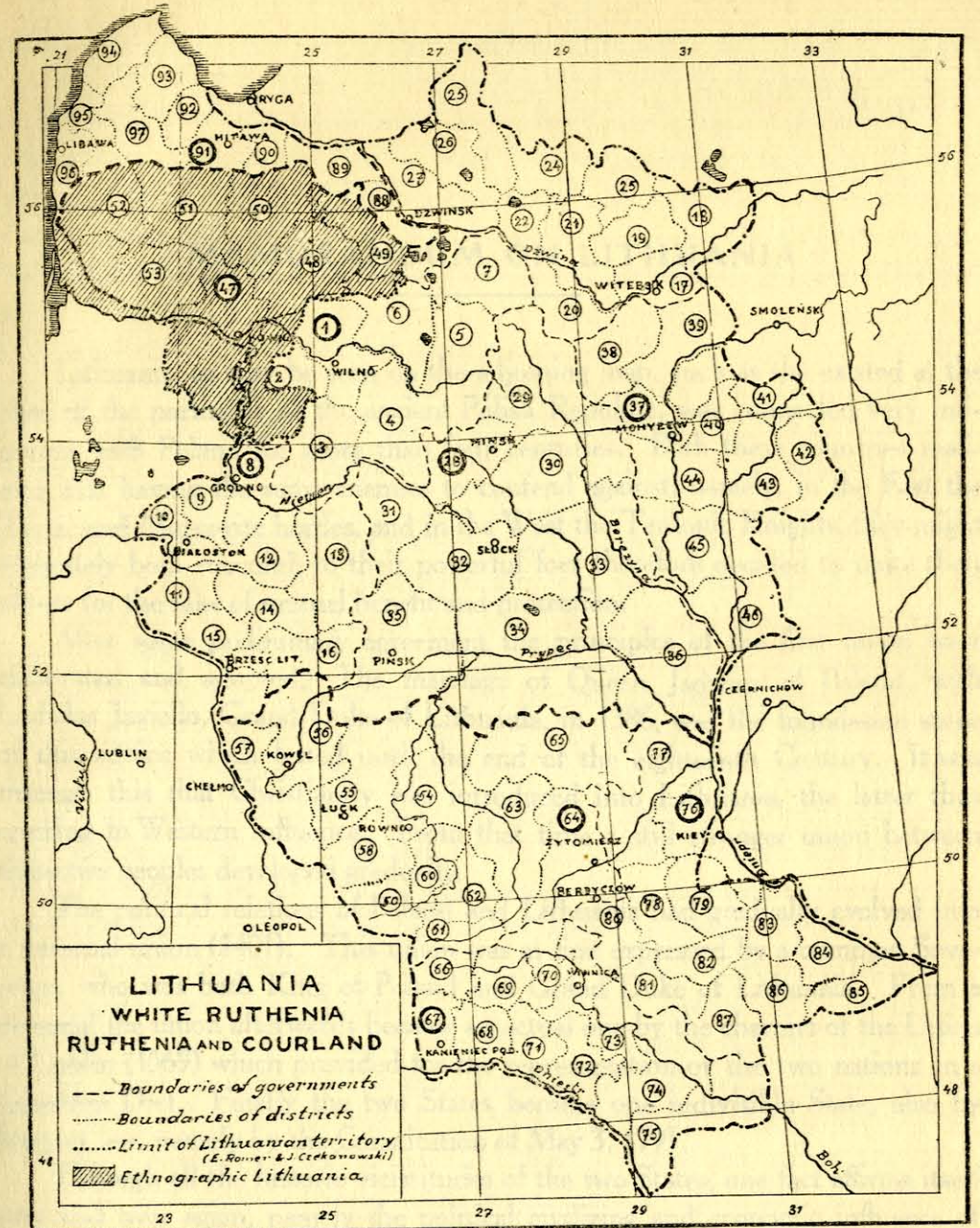
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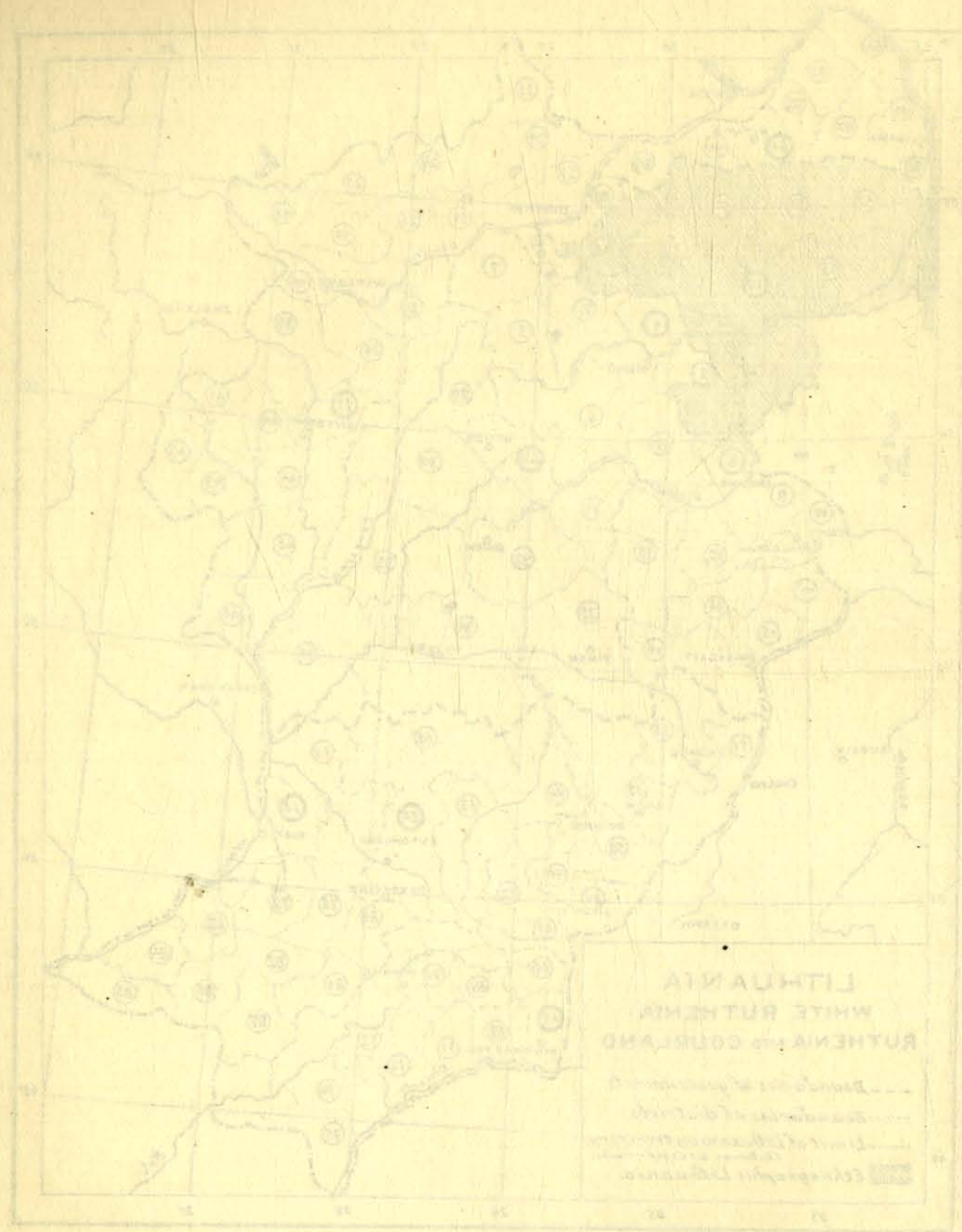
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MEMORANDUM ON LITHUANIA



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MEMORANDUM ON LITHUANIA

Lithuania, as may be seen on the adjoining map, such as she existed at the time of the partitions of the ancient Polish Republic, was connected very intimately with Poland for more than four centuries. Both these countries realizing that having the same enemies to contend against, namely, in the East the Tartar and Muscovite hordes, and in the West the Teutonic Knights, they might separately both succumb to their powerful foes therefore decided to unite their efforts for the sake of mutual benefit and protection.

After some preliminary agreement the principles of the first union were elaborated and adopted. The marriage of Queen Jadwiga of Poland, with Ladislas Jagiello, Grand Duke of Lithuania, in 1386, was the foundation stone of this edifice which lasted until the end of the eighteenth Century. It was through this that Christianity was introduced into Lithuania, the latter thus opening to Western influence. From that time a still stronger union between these two peoples developed gradually.

The political relations of Poland and Lithuania had gradually evolved into a personal union (1401). This union was at first expressed by a common Sovereign, who was both King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania. From a personal the union afterwards became an actual one by the charters of the Union of Lublin (1569) which provided for the representation of the two nations in a Common Diet. Finally the two States became one indivisible State, also by force of law, namely by the Constitution of May 3, 1791.

Through all the historic vicissitudes of the two States, one fact affirms itself over and over again, namely the political civilizing and economic influence of Poland on Lithuania. Through this Lithuania participated in the same constitutional liberties and enjoyed the same industrial and agricultural progress as Poland. Numerous schools were opened, amongst others the Polish University at Wilno, under King Stephen Batory. Elsewhere the relations became even more intimate and they intensified the peaceful and spontaneous Polonization in such a way that at the time of the partitions of the country and subsequent struggles for independence, that is, during the insurrections of the 19th Century,

we had no longer two nations or two different States, but one single State and one single people which defended its liberty and its independence.

During the long martyrdom which followed the partition of Poland, Lithuania suffered perhaps even more than Poland.

The acts of violence committed there by Russian reprisals were even more outrageous and barbarous than elsewhere. Until the beginning of the present war Lithuania was submitted to special laws and exceptional measures preventing her developing normally and holding, as it were, the whole population in a vice. The Polish University at Wilno was suppressed. All Polish schools were closed with the result that the country which had been the cradle of some of the greatest geniuses of which the Polish nation will always be proud, has now the highest percentage of illiterates. To the political persecutions were added the most odious religious persecutions.

The German authorities during their recent occupation, which from 1915 to 1918 weighed heavily on the governments of Kowno, Grodno, and on nearly the whole of that of Wilno, followed the ancient principles of the Russian administration and persecuted Polonism in all its domains, beginning with the schools in which the Polish language was at first introduced but of which the majority were afterwards closed by them and otherwise hampering every manifestation of public life. Many Poles were interned in concentration camps, their sole offence being their patriotic feelings. The Polish clergy met with the greatest difficulties; amongst others the Administrator of the diocese of Wilno, Mgr Michalkiewicz, was arrested and deported. All this was done by the Germans to foster the separatist movement in Lithuania, thus gaining support against the Poles. The dismemberment of Poland by upsetting the European equilibrium became the cause of Prussia's abnormal development and of her undue influence, first over Russia and afterwards over the whole of Central Europe. It is now therefore an absolute necessity in the interests of the whole of Europe, as well as for the maintainance of a universal peace, not so much to punish the nation which took part in this spoliation and which for over a century derived profit there from, as to restore this equilibrium to the fullest possible extent.

A really strong and independent Poland must be established in order that together with the allied Nations, she may contribute to repress her hereditary enemy against whom she struggled for a thousand years, as well as to isolate Germany completely from the East, over which she has exercised a powerful influence since the 18th Century. This all the more so as it is certain that she will always attempt either to influence or to dominate Russia.

It is but elementary justice to reestablish Poland after 130 years of bondage

but it is equally imperative that Lithuania who shared Poland's sad plight, should enjoy with her, liberty and independence. The liberation of Lithuania and her union with Poland are called for not only as a reparation for the crime that was committed, but also because an intimate union would result in a material benefit for the nations inhabiting these two countries and would allow of a complete reconstruction of a really strong and independent State. The mutual relationship of these two peoples has always been so intimate in all its aspects that one would hardly imagine their separate existence in the future as far as their economic, industrial, cultural and other needs are concerned.

Thus Lithuania used to provide Poland in the past with large quantities of raw material, such as flax, hemp, wool and vegetable oils. Now her forests would assist considerably in the developing of the Polish mining industries, Lithuania being completely devoid of her own mines and in which respect she is almost exclusively dependent upon Poland. Hereby the natural waterways and a canal system constructed principally in the 18th Century by the Poles, would facilitate the exchange of different products between the two countries. Again, it was chiefly from Poland that Lithuania obtained coal, manufactured goods, products of metal and chemical industries, machinery, chemical fertilizers and agricultural appliances, and it was in Poland that her young people received their training in agriculture and forestry.

Her commercial relations with Poland were and are of the most intimate and widespread character. A whole system of banking and other financial institutions, syndicates, etc., are run by Poles and have developed in spite of all hindrances.

Lithuania when reunited with Poland would give her, besides her immense river courses, vast uncultivated stretches of land which the Russian Government neglected to improve, but which under good management would bring great returns to Poland. She would give Poland important natural and strategic frontiers, thereby guaranteeing Polish independence in the East. Thus, the Dwina to the Northeast, protected by a series of lakes and marshes on a length of about 100 kilometers; the basin of the Dnieper and the Soge, its tributary on the left bank, and finally the basin of the Pripec with the Pinsk marshes in the South, form this natural and at the same time strategic frontier (behind which the great, railway lines and the most important junctions, such as the Dunabourg, Polock, Witebsk, Orsha, Zlobin and Homel would be secured).

Lithuania, within her ethnographical frontiers, abandoned to herself, too weak to be really independent, would be submitted to the economic influence of the Germans. And the historical Lithuania, mutilated or divided between Poland

and Russia, would furnish neither the one nor the other of the two countries with economic advantages, nor with natural frontiers. Only Lithuania as one whole, or at least within the boundaries indicated above, would represent a very desirable contribution towards the establishing of a really strong and independent State together with Poland. And it is to this natural end that an agreement as complete as possible, must be arrived at.

The nationalities inhabiting Lithuania : Lithuanians, Poles, and White Ruthenians, are distributed as follows : Lithuanians, about two millions, in the Northern part of the Suwalki government, in the Kowno government, and in the extreme West of that of Wilno; Poles, chiefly over a wide strip of territory stretching from Bialystok, towards Grodno, Wilno and Dunabourg, on both sides of the railway line connecting these towns, number about three millions; White Ruthenians, who number about five millions, with more or less important enclaves composed of Poles; furthermore, one and a half million Jews, scattered chiefly in the towns.

The Russians, mostly military, numbered before the war, about six hundred thousand. They have now almost entirely left the country.

The Lithuanians compose the peasant masses of the country they inhabit, 88% of them devote themselves to agriculture. The people are relatively well off, hard working and religious.

The Poles represent the more or less landed class throughout the territory; also the nucleus of the intellectual class. They are at the head of the industries of every kind, finance, newspapers, agriculture, etc...

A considerable portion of the population consisting of petty gentry, or the so-called « Grey-Gentry », (the name originated probably from the grey colour of the home spun garments worn by this class of people), and of peasants, which two groups hardly differ from each other, form a very zealous element as far as Polish education is concerned. This also applies to certain better elements of the middle class and of the artisans and workmen. The Jews devote themselves almost exclusively to trade and small commerce.

The White Ruthenians are grouped chiefly in the Southeast and compose almost entirely the rural population of these districts. (95%.) Their national feeling has not yet developed nor even awakened. Some members of their enlightened class, though not very numerous, have attempted to raise the standard of these people. The White Ruthenians deem themselves to be different from the Russians, whom they generally call by the name of Muscovites. They are still fresh from the various religious persecutions and they feel the attractions of the West of Europe, whence they acquired their civilization and their concep-

tion of liberty. They really wish to separate themselves from Russia, from where in the middle ages came the hordes of the Tartars, and to-day comes the Bolshevik menace. They desire to be forever liberated from the Russian yoke. This way of feeling specially preponderates in the Western part which is inhabited by a mixed Roman Catholic Polono-White-Ruthenian population, where the Poles however are in the majority. The racial amalgamation is rather vague, because one does find here and there islets of one nationality, but on the whole it must be said that an exact definition of these nationalities is at present very difficult owing to the fact that individuals, fearing cruel repressions from the Russian authorities, used to hide their Polish nationality under the pseudonym of White Ruthenian Catholics. In fact, the non-Catholic Poles figured often as Russians. After all the sufferings that the war brought upon Lithuania, after the indescribable conduct of the Russian Army during its retreat in 1915 and its disintegration in 1917 which led to a complete ravaging of the country, the repulsion against the Russians has steadily been growing and, needless to say, the Bolshevik invasion has only intensified this feeling. After all that has been said, it must become obvious that the union between Poland and Lithuania should be of the firmest kind, yet leaving the widest degree of autonomy to the different racial elements, such as would allow of a free development of the respective national individualities.

That part of the country which is inhabited by Lithuanians might form an autonomous State, connected with Poland by conventions to be agreed upon later. But, in any case, the equality of rights for the different nationalities in both countries shall form the basis of the convention. In such a way a new and powerful State could be built up which would have all chances of prosperity, development and political independence.

MEMORANDUM ON LITHUANIA AND WHITE RUTHENIA

Inexact territorial denominations

Between the late Kingdom of Poland, such as it was established by the Congress of Vienna in 1815 on one side, and the essentially Russian territories on the other, there is a vast stretch of country, which, before the war was under Russian domination. It was divided into six governments : Wilno, Grodno, Kowno, Minsk, Witebsk and Mohylew. « Lithuania » and « White Ruthenia » were the usual Polish denominations for these regions, but these terms have not always had the same meaning as they had not always comprised the same territories. This confusion is met with not only in scientific works but also in topical pamphlets and newspaper articles. We feel it our duty, therefore, to devote a few words to elucidate this matter.

Lithuania

The double meaning of the name « Lithuania » is explained by the fact that this term can be used : 1st, in its historical and geographical sense ; 2nd, in its ethnographical sense.

The territory of the six governments enumerated above is nearly identical with that which formed the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, at the time of her delimitation in 1569 when her personal union developed into a still closer union with Poland.

The only difference was that a part situated further West, which has formerly formed the Palatinate of Podlasia, did not belong to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, but to the Crown of Poland.

This part, also known under the name of the district of Bialystok, was not occupied by Russia at the time of the partitions of Poland, but was assigned to her by Napoleon in the treaty of Tilsit in 1807. All other differences between the limits of the ancient Grand Duchy and those of the six above mentioned governments are insignificant.

Thus, in employing the term « Lithuania », a historical and geographical sense is usually implied.



Otherwise the term « Lithuania » which at present is so frequently dealt with, bears an ethnographical significance.

Ethnographical Lithuania, that is to say the country inhabited by the Lithuanian population, is a much more limited notion than the preceding one; territorially she embraces but one entire government, that of Kowno, and that part of the Wilno government which borders on the former: a narrow strip that does not even touch the neighbourhood of the town of Wilno. This latter town, formerly the capital of Lithuania (in the historical and geographical sense) is thus obviously outside the territory of ethnographical Lithuania.

But beside the territories of these six governments, the Eastern part of East Prussia close to the river Niemen also belongs to ethnographical Lithuania, as well as the North-East corner of the late Congress Kingdom of Poland, i.e. a part of the Suwalki government.

White Ruthenia

The denomination of « White Ruthenia » differs from the above in as much as « White Ruthenia » has no historical and no geographical meaning because there has never been a distinct political State constituted of her territories. All the same, this term was and is being employed for practical purposes to indicate the different territories peopled by White Ruthenians, and is applied to a portion of country of varying extensions. And so at the end of the 18th Century the name « White Ruthenia » only appertained to that part which had been ceded, by Poland to Russia through the first partition of that country, that is to the zone situated between the Dwina, the Druż, the Dnieper and the ancient Polish frontier. At present, the name « White Ruthenia » has been agreed upon to embrace the governments of Minsk, Witebsk, Mohylew, Grodno and almost the whole of that of Wilno, with the exception of a strip of land which borders on the government of Kowno, in other words it applies to the whole of the six above mentioned governments, except the ethnographically Lithuanian part of it.

The Polish inhabitants of these territories

The terms Lithuania and White Ruthenia will be henceforth used in this memorandum in their ethnographical sense only. In speaking of France, one thinks of a country inhabited by the French; speaking of Italy one thinks of a territory peopled by Italians; it would be erroneous in our case to employ the terms « Lithuania » or « White Ruthenia », in the same way, because of a great number of Poles that have also inhabited Lithuania and White Ruthenia for centuries. This Polish population is as autochthonous in those provinces as the Lithuanians

or White Ruthenians themselves, and it is not only the large percentage of Poles who reside there that must be taken into consideration, but also the fact that this country is thoroughly impregnated by Polish influence, in spite of Russian domination for over 125 years. Geographical considerations also speak in favour of this country being attached more closely to Poland than to Russia.

Numerical force of the Poles

The Polish population of these provinces forms, as it were, the backbone of the social structure. They form the basis of every class; on one hand as small farmers and as large landowners, and on the other hand next to the Jews, they form almost exclusively the urban population, whilst the Lithuanians and White Ruthenians almost entirely represent the peasant class.

Although the number of Poles is very considerable, it has never yet been possible to determine their exact total. The Russian statistics were distorted to such a degree that they cannot inspire much confidence. To prove this it would be sufficient to compare the official census of 1897 with the figures drawn up in 1909 under the premiership of Stolypin before the introduction of the « ziemstvos » in these provinces. The object in 1909 was to show the numerical superiority of the Polish vote for the « ziemstvos » elections and the census was taken as near as possible to real conditions which proved the evidence usually denied and so dreaded of a great preponderance of Poles. Mention is made of 55% of Poles in the government of Grodno, and 56 1/2% in the government of Wilno. Unfortunately statistics for other parts of this vast territory are not at hand.

Polish character of the White Ruthenians

Whilst attempting an estimate of the exact force of the Polish people, one must not forget to consider part of the White Ruthenian population, which, distinctly comes in as an ally of the Polish cause.

These White Ruthenians have not, as a rule, the feeling of a distinct nationality nor have they ever formed a separate State. That portion of the White Ruthenian population, which belongs to the Roman Catholic Church uses Polish prayer books, have books printed in White Ruthenian but in Latin characters, which amounts practically to being Polish. They consider the Polish language as their own: it is the language of their upper and educated classes, whereas the White Ruthenian dialect is just their idiom used at home. Those White Ruthenians, who often are not capable of specifying more precisely their nationality than just stating that they were born « here », are at bottom, Poles. Although the White Ruthenian language, according to scholars, is part of the same group of languages

as «Great Russian» and «Little Ruthenian» (or Ukrainian), its vocabulary is to such an extent saturated with Polish words, and its formation has been so strongly influenced by the Polish language, that a Pole understands White Ruthenian without the slightest difficulty, in fact even more easily than a Russian does. It must also be remembered that on a certain level of civilization the religion of a people plays a more important part. The Roman Catholic faith is the faith of the Poles, and the White Ruthenian Roman Catholics feel that they belong to the Polish nation by virtue of their religion, the latter entirely replacing any national feeling.

But even that part of the White Ruthenians which belongs to the Greek Orthodox Church is closely bound up with Poland. This part of the population has only been Orthodox for a few decades, because, before the partition of Poland they belonged almost entirely to the Greek Catholic confession, and it was the Russian Government that forced on them the Greek Orthodox faith. This iniquitous procedure culminated in a simple ukase in 1839, abolishing religious union with Rome. By acts of violence, the Government succeeded in enforcing Greek Orthodox rites on one and a half million persons (16,8% of the population of these provinces). Notwithstanding this the Roman Catholic Church, up to the present day, has continued to exercise a strong attraction on the people. The White Ruthenian who became Greek Orthodox by force, went on scrupulously observing Roman Catholic feast days, for example, Candlemas (2nd of February) Corpus Christi, Saint Casimir (Jagellon, son of a Polish king and patron of Lithuania), Saint Anthony, introduced in the country by the Catholic and Polish orders of the Dominicans and Franciscans, were kept with special devotion. On days of Catholic festivals, the Greek Orthodox people still go to the Roman Catholic Churches taking part in the processions and the Easter Resurrection, also observing All Souls' Day, unknown to the Greek Orthodox Church. They also make pilgrimages to holy places of the Roman Catholic Church, for example at Jaszczowka, Bratynicza (government of Mohylew) and Polock (where the Jesuit Saint Bobola lived).

One fact should be brought to light namely, that the Polish and White Ruthenian populations, be they Roman Catholic or Greek Orthodox, live on most cordial terms with each other, so that during the Russian revolution of 1906, there had not been the slightest disorder in these provinces, and no misunderstanding had taken place between the White Ruthenian farmers and the large Polish landowners.

Historic bonds with Poland

The marked preponderance of the Polish element in the White Ruthenian ethnographical area and the considerable importance of this element in the Lithuanian ethnographical area, have their explanation in history.

These provinces which after the partitions of Poland had been divided into six governments formed the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The enterprising Lithuanian tribe had succeeded in building an independent State out of these territories, but they failed to impress their national character on the White Ruthenian people and to resist the onslaughts of the Teutonic Knights, the predecessors of the Prussian State of our days. For this reason the Lithuanian State concluded a personal union with Poland by which in 1386 her Grand Duke, Ladislas Jagiello acceded to the Polish throne. The Polono-Lithuanian victory at Grunwald was the immediate consequence of this political step. When the absolute rulers of the Muscovite State began to menace their Lithuanian neighbours the personal union between Lithuania and Poland was made closer in 1569 by bringing the two States not only under one King but also under one Diet. The liberties Lithuania had obtained were preserved and a distinct administration was given to the two respective States, such as separate ministers, separate treasuries, as well as two autonomous armies, distinct law courts, etc.

The union of the two States became more and more close and intimate by the fact that the «Unions» of 1401, 1413, 1432-34 were not concluded by the sovereigns alone, but by all those who took an active part in political life in the two States: i.e. by all the boyards in Lithuania and by all the nobles in Poland; the following Unions (1499, 1501, 1569) were concluded by the regular diets representing the people in a still broader measure.

The Grand Duchy of Lithuania previously submitted to the absolute rule of a Grand Duke, acquired considerable liberties for her boyards through her union with Poland, the law *neminem captivabimus nisi jure victum*, equivalent to the English *Habeas Corpus*, as well as the institution of diets and dietines; she received also a perfected administration and the excellent agrarian reform, one of the most advanced ones of that period in Europe.

This Union of 1569, besides averting the Muscovite danger also gave new hope to the Lithuanian boyards of limiting the power of their oligarchy and obtaining for them a wider influence in the political affairs of their country, such as was the privilege of the Polish gentry.

This union, founded on the principle of equality for the two States, and

assuring liberties to a considerable part of their populations gave proof of no mean force behind it. The two States lived in such friendship and assimilated to such a degree, that two centuries later (1791) the important political and legal transformation into one homogeneous State passed by general consent.

The whole of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania very soon showed marks of Polish influence to such an extent that it could be considered part of Poland. The principle, recognized by the Union of 1569 that the inhabitants of the two States would fix their abode in whichever territory they chose had the consequence that the Lithuanian and White Ruthenian aristocratic families intermingled with those of Poland, and the towns became populated by the Polish bourgeoisie since the local population was little attracted by commerce and industry.

A few examples will show how strong this inclination towards Polish ways was, although no pressure was used in this direction, since the Lithuanian administration was entirely distinct from the Polish and was in the hands of her own people. It happened that, at the end of the 16th Century and at the beginning of the 17th Century, a good deal of controversial literature had appeared in the country, on the subject of the union of the Greek Orthodox with the Roman Catholic Church. In this discussion, both sides employed mostly Polish. This was the case even on the side of the clergy who had not adhered to the union, as otherwise they would have found no readers. The use of Polish became more and more general also in the law courts, in spite of the fact that White Ruthenian was still considered to be the official language as late as the 17th Century, which ought to prove that the use of Polish was more familiar to the people than any other language. The original of the third Lithuanian Statute was drawn up and printed in White Ruthenian (1588); but since 1614 a Polish translation had been made which was reprinted five times whereas the original White Ruthenian text was not reprinted at all.

The Strength of the Polish Element

The strength of the Polish influence was so considerable in these territories, that Russia, after the partitions of Poland, was unable to destroy it, in spite of applying her whole power in this direction. After each of the Polish insurrections of 1794, 1831 and 1863, she deported a part of the population that showed any national spirit, and confiscated on a large scale Polish property to the advantage of the Russians; she appointed only Russians to governmental posts, forbidding the access to Poles; she even limited to a certain percentage the employment of Poles in the administration of railways, and prohibited the transfer of land to Poles by any means other than by succession *ab intestat*. Finally, she for-

bade the use of the Polish language in the courts of justice, administration offices, schools and even in private conversations in the streets. The Roman Catholic religion being the faith of the Poles, suffered persecutions known to the whole world. The Russian Government confiscated immense Church property, closed all Catholic convents, and numerous Catholic Churches were changed into Greek Orthodox Churches. The Polish spirit though weakened by so many iniquitous measures could not be destroyed. The Polish character of these provinces could not be obliterated and White Ruthenian has preserved this character up to the present day. When after the first Russian revolution, it became possible to build Polish schools, numerous primary, secondary and even high schools sprang up throughout the whole country. It was chiefly in White Ruthenia that the population (including the White Ruthenians themselves) demanded the opening of Polish schools supported by voluntary contributions.

The Weakness of the Russian Element

On the other hand Russia did not succeed in establishing any sympathy between herself and this country, and she remained a total stranger in it from more than one point of view. The White Ruthenians are not Russians, and this is still more so with the Lithuanians who are not even Slavs. Before the war, there was only a very low percentage of true Russians in this country, as can be ascertained by the census of 1897, when Russia still officially proclaimed that a Russian was not a White Ruthenian. All the subsequent censuses did no longer give the number of Russians but showed all Greek Orthodox people under one head, thus insinuating that whoever was Greek Orthodox was a Russian.

However, according to the census of 1897, the percentage of Russians in these provinces was :

In the Government of Grodno.....	5,08%
— — Wilno.....	5,00%
— — Kowno	4,82%
— — Minsk	4,39%
— — Mohylew	3,65%
— — Witebsk	3,32%

And yet, Russia attracted Russians into this territory by offering them land for sale and important financial support, by reserving all governmental posts to them, and by other material advantages, unknown to her people in the provinces of central Russia.

These persecutions and reprisals were applied not only to the Poles, but even more so to the Lithuanians and White Ruthenians.

The Russian Government allowed the limited use of the Lithuanian and White Ruthenian languages in the courts of law and administration but not in schools. It was only from the beginning of 1905 that the Government allowed the use of Lithuanian in religious instruction, as well as the teaching of Lithuanian in the primary and secondary town schools in such localities where the Lithuanian population was in a majority. (Ruthenian was always excluded.) But these trivial concessions were never carried into practice because, at first there were hardly any towns with a Lithuanian majority and secondly because the Russian bureaucracy displayed a good deal of ill will in the application of these regulations.

The Government forbade the printing of Lithuanian books in Latin characters enforcing the use of Cyrillic characters instead (1865). This was almost a death-blow to Lithuanian literature, weak as it was without it. Lithuanian books were since then printed in East Prussia, and were smuggled into Lithuania. Russia also neglected instruction in the country. Considering the agricultural opportunities of the country and the large forests she has not a single school of forestry and only one second rate agricultural school. She had not a single high school since the Russian Government suppressed the Polish university of Wilno in 1831. The distrust which the Russians always harboured towards Lithuania and White Ruthenia was obvious in the refusal by Russia to grant these provinces a provincial autonomy or « ziemstwo ». These latter instructions were accorded to the governments of Central Russia in 1864 whereas they were introduced into these provinces only in 1903. Even then they were introduced not by letting the people vote, but by the Government appointing so called representatives of the population. And when in 1911 elections were finally consented to, it was only in three out of the six governments; Grodno, Wilno, and Kowno never enjoying the same privilege; whilst even in the three first mentioned governments the elections were handicapped in every way, the different nationalities never getting mandates in proportion to their numbers.

But all this policy failed. Russia only succeeded in settling an insignificant number of her people who always remained strangers to the country and who flocked back home whenever an occasion was offered. The appearance of a Russian country given to these provinces was altogether artificial and during the war this character was immediately swept aside when with the retreat of the Russian armies the power of enforcing the necessary measures for maintaining it failed. There can be no doubt that if Russia neglected these provinces up to

the present date she would not be able to treat them differently in the future, whilst on the other hand, their union with Poland would certainly assure for them a rapid development within a very few years.

Economic decline of these provinces, in consequence of their incorporation with Russia

A significant sign of the economic decline of these provinces under Russian domination may be seen in the considerable and gradual decrease of their share in the ancient Russian State Budget. While the revenue of these six governments was in proportion to that of the whole Empire equal to 5,88% in 1881, it fell to 3,2% in 1901; in 1907 and 1913 to 2,9% while the percentage of the population as compared with that of the whole Russian population was 7,5%. And since the expenditure for the needs of these provinces exceeded their revenue, the Empire had to cover the deficit. The liabilities of these six governments which between the years 1868 and 1895 were amounting to 58.000 roubles per year, increased in 1900 to 1907 to 33.000.000 and in 1913 they reached 40 millions.

The production of rye in these provinces was 6 cwts. per hectare (annual average between 1906-1910) while it was 10 cwts. per hectare in the Congress Kingdom of Poland and 15,6 in Posnania. There were only 2,04 kilometers of railways per 100 sq. kilometers; the roads were in an indescribable state. The number of children frequenting the schools has decreased instead of increased; from 111.457 pupils of the primary schools in 1881 it fell to 94.464 in 1893, in spite of the increase of the population. Out of a thousand inhabitants of these provinces there were 37,9 children who attended school whilst the same ratio was 54,3 for the governments of Central Russia. It is not enough to say that Russia neglected these provinces, she actually sapped their economic strength. To protect the production of Central Russia the railway tariffs were combined so that the milling industries of the Lithuanian and White Ruthenian provinces became entirely ruined. The exportation of corn could not stand the competition of the corn imported from the central provinces of the Empire. Also because of the preferential tariffs, and the abnormally high custom duty, agricultural implements became 100% dearer in this country than in Germany.

These provinces situated within the frontiers of the ancient Poland are in no way connected with Russia by natural geographical outlines but they are so with Poland. When considering the waterways of the Lithuanian and White Ruthenian territories, one easily perceives that profit can be derived in a great measure from the navigable courses of the Narew and Bug rivers, tributaries of the Vistula, and that their principal rivers, the Niemen and the Prypec are linked

by canals with the Vistula, so that this country finds an easy access to the sea through these rivers. The Dwina and the Dnieper, formerly the frontier between Russia and Poland, have no important tributaries from the East, that is, on the Russian side, a factor which further advocates a separation of this country from Russia. Lithuania and White Ruthenia mean nothing to rich Russia and are useless to her national economy; there are no mines, the farming country is of a very inferior quality; Russia has no need of Lithuanian timber, and the industry is so to speak nil, the value of the industrial products in these provinces being not more than ten roubles per head. Wholly taken up with her rich provinces Siberia and the Caucasus, Russia does not wish to invest capital in Lithuania and White Ruthenia, the results being not promising enough compared with the possibilities of her other provinces.

The economic relations between these provinces and Poland are very different. Their economic bonds were from the first more intimate than with Russia. Amongst others the banking method of these territories, as well as the average figure of bills of exchange are more the same in Lithuania and Poland, but quite different from Russia.

It is true that the backwardness of the country especially on account of the rivalry of Russia does not allow of any intense exportation of products; still, entering into a complete economic union with Poland they could supply her to a certain extent with corn and with cattle of which Lithuania has super abundance. They could also provide Poland with timber of which Poland has not enough to cover her needs, especially at the present time. Before the war Lithuania exported tobacco and matches to Poland, on the other hand, Poland with her industries could provide textile and metal products, sugar and especially coal, of which Lithuania and White Ruthenia are badly in need.

Conclusion

The results of these investigations are as follows :

1^o The Lithuanian and White Ruthenian territories have been attached to Russia artificially and by violence, whilst they could be linked to Poland by natural bonds.

2^o Russia has no historical rights to these provinces, having taken possession of them by force at the time of the partitions of Poland to whom they had belonged for several centuries.

3^o The numerical force of the Russians is insignificant in these provinces in spite of the governmental endeavours to stimulate artificial colonization by her people. Further, Russia did not know how to win the sympathy of the popu-

lation, she persecuted them and neglected their economic and cultural welfare.

4^o As a set-off the Polish influence predominates in the whole country and leaves a marked stamp on all branches of activity.

5^o In ethnographical Lithuania the Poles are in a considerable minority, but they are in the majority in many White Ruthenian districts.

6^o The White Ruthenians must largely be considered as belonging to the Polish nationality, because their national feeling has not yet sufficiently awakened and they are profoundly imbued with Polish influence.

7^o To give away these territories to Russia would be to condemn them to an economic standstill, because Russia has no real need of them, and this country is not, and never will be of any material advantage to her.

8^o United with Poland a brilliant future awaits these provinces.

9^o White Ruthenia saturated with Polish influence should be attached to Poland.

10^o Ethnographical Lithuania with a high percentage of Poles closely bound to Poland by cultural and economic ties should be reattached to Poland, all the more as she is too weak numerically and economically to resist the German pressure which no doubt will endeavour to force an open door through Lithuania with the object of penetration and expansion towards the East.

RELATIONS BETWEEN POLAND AND THE
LITHUANIAN AND RUTHENIAN PROVINCES BEFORE
THE PARTITIONS OF POLAND

RELATIONS BETWEEN POLAND
AND THE
LITHUANIAN AND RUTHENIAN
PROVINCES BEFORE
THE
PARTITIONS OF POLAND

Character and nature of the relations between Poland, Lithuania and Ruthenia

When signed in 1569, the Union of Lublin with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Ruthenia, was a political and legal union of Poland and Lithuania and Ruthenia, which created a new state, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

RELATIONS BETWEEN POLAND AND THE
LITHUANIAN AND RUTHENIAN PROVINCES BEFORE
THE PARTITIONS OF POLAND

Poland's historical claims to Lithuania and Ruthenia

In order to explain and justify Poland's historical claims to her ancient Lithuanian and Ruthenian provinces some documentary evidence has been collected in the following pages, all of which incontestably proves that :

1^o The aim of the Union of Lithuania and Ruthenia with Poland, based on principles of liberty, equality and fraternity, was the common defence against all enemies as well as a healthy evolution for all the people inhabiting the Republic.

2^o This union was spontaneously and legally concluded by the parliamentary representatives of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

3^o Through all the changes which the constitutional forms of this union had undergone in course of time, Poland has scrupulously respected the political peculiarities of the Lithuanian State.

4^o Equally the local autonomy and religious peculiarities were respected, this applied in particular to the Greek Orthodox faith of the Ruthenian provinces.

5^o Although the national feeling of the Lithuanians and Ruthenians was still little developed, yet Poland safeguarded it by means of special measures and protected the rights of their languages.

6^o The Polish influence spreading spontaneously and peacefully in the Lithuanian and Ruthenian provinces, played a civilizing part for several centuries and the results of it are evident in every domain of national life.

**Character and aims of the union between Poland, Lithuania and
Ruthenia**

When uniting his Lithuanian and Ruthenian lands with the Crown of Poland in 1385, the Grand Duke Jagiello «promised to recover all the territories hitherto lost by Poland and Lithuania » and meant to reconquer the lands that were torn

away from his dominions by the Teutonic Order. In 1401, the Poles, Lithuanians and Ruthenians promised each other « unrestricted assistance in case of foreign aggression. »

This understanding was renewed in 1413 « on account of the attacks and intrigues of the Teutonic Knights and their adherents who wished to annihilate Lithuania and Poland ». The people hoped to find in this agreement « council, aid and friendship in all necessities and adversities » and promised each other not to undertake a war without previously agreeing to it unanimously.

In the same act of the Union in 1413 a promise was inserted guaranteeing the inhabitants of Lithuania equal rights with the Poles and « delivering them from the yoke of bondage which until then had oppressed them », and granting them a series of political and social liberties « according to the customs of the Kingdom of Poland ».

The Poles while bringing about the attachment of Lithuania to Poland and admitting their nobility to their Polish heraldry expressly declared that each State should have as its fundamental principle the *Mysterium charitatis* (or love for each other.)

This promise of mutual help was repeated in a series of charters set up between 1432-1440, following a war instigated by the Germans.

Thus, it was against the Germans and more especially against the Teutonic Knights that the Poles and Lithuanians entered upon their alliance « for ever ». Even in the Treaty of 1499 which limited the understanding to only a few points, the union was maintaining before all the character of a perpetual alliance against all enemies, and in 1501, two years later, when still more serious dangers were threatening both countries, a still closer union between Lithuania and her « Polish brethren » was effected. Both popular representations emphasized the importance of a complete harmony between the two countries declaring that the Polono-Lithuanian Union proved to be « not only useful but in the highest degree necessary » and decided that Poland and Lithuania were to form « one single body indivisible and one fraternal people »; promised each other once more entire solidarity in their foreign policy and mutual « council and aid » in order to obtain from their common Sovereign the necessary guarantee for all their constitutional liberties. The final Union of 1569 at last realized this program « for the glory of the two noble nations Polish and Lithuanian for the augmentation of their splendour, honour and majesty, the two countries united for ever as a joint Republic ».

Lithuania ceased to be the patrimony of her ruling dynasty and was to participate henceforth in the parliamentary regime of Poland. A Common Diet,

a legislative body of a democratic character, had thus replaced oligarchy which until then had been deciding the fate of Lithuania. By uniting with Poland « in fraternal love, free with the free, equal with the equal », the Lithuanians gained for themselves the support of Poland which to them became more essential than ever on account of the rising Muscovite danger. Indeed, the Union of 1569 enabled Poland and Lithuania to repel the most desperate attacks of the enemy during two centuries. And even in 1791, before finally yielding to the superior forces of her German and Russian enemies, the Republic had still proclaimed the integral unity of the two allied nations.

II

The share of the Lithuanian and Ruthenian delegates in the work of the Union

The first Union of 1385 was concluded by the Grand Duke of Lithuania in the name of all the members of the ruling dynasty. But soon afterwards Poland secured a more important share in public life for the representatives of the Lithuanian people itself. In 1401 more than fifty leading Lithuanians and Ruthenians signed the Treaty with Poland « in the name of all the nobles and inhabitants of Lithuania and Ruthenia », the rank of noblemen extending rapidly to all those who took part in the defence of the country. This also was the case in 1413 and the Union Acts of 1432-1440 again mentioned the names of a number of Lithuanian and Ruthenian nobles. But in 1499 we see for the first time a treaty being ratified by the Lithuanian Diet, the latter duly representing the people of the Grand Duchy.

And the Lithuanian delegates who concluded the Union of 1501 were also mentioned to have had full power from the Lithuanian Supreme Council. This Council which in reality was governing Lithuania as long as the union with Poland was a purely personal one, was in fact an oligarchy at a time in which the great masses of Lithuanian and Ruthenian nobility had begun to show zeal in taking a share in the management of their affairs, and the demand for a more intimate union with Poland was appearing at the head of their program of democratic reforms. The final Union of 1569 was simply the result of this endeavour lasting for seven years and of discussions in detail for more than six months in the two Diets, of which the Lithuanian Diet, let it be mentioned here, was composed of deputies elected by the people. The declaration of complete Union between Poland and Lithuania, effected in the memorable year of 1791, was part of the same constitutional reform and should be regarded as the last act of legislation regulating the relations between the two countries.

Legal and political individuality of Lithuania are respected

The unification met with no opposition because Poland respected the individuality of the Lithuanian State. The treaty of 1385 having in no way sufficiently defined the legal status of the Lithuanian and Ruthenian provinces, the latter was guaranteed through deeds in the first half of the fifteenth Century, leaving to the country a complete and separate government under the rule of their Grand Dukes. These Grand Dukes at first received their investiture from the Kings of Poland, but very soon afterwards they were allowed to be elected by the Lithuanians and Ruthenians themselves. The Union of 1499 recognised the entire equality of the two States and nothing was changed in this respect by the treaty of 1501, which enjoined the election of a single sovereign common to both countries and recommended « common councils ». After the fusion of the two Diets into one in 1569 Lithuania had still preserved the title of Grand Duchy and kept her own rights as did the Crown of Poland. Also her previous liberties, privileges and offices, as well as a local Lithuanian Government, an autonomous army, her own finances and civil code were left to her. The province of Ruthenia proper (Volhynia, Eastern Podolia and the Ukraine) however, was immediately incorporated into Poland, but nevertheless was also allowed to preserve her local administrative and judicial autonomy.

These last-mentioned provinces which had been a bone of contention between Poland and Lithuania already before the union of the two countries, realizing that Poland could better defend them against the Tartars and could guarantee them greater liberties, immediately confirmed their union with the Crown of Poland by acts of adhesion voted by all their people. There was only a small group which at first opposed this step, fearing the principles of liberty and equality so essential a feature of the Polish Constitution. The rest of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, that is to say ethnographical Lithuania and White Ruthenia, notwithstanding the close Union of 1569 developed their provincial autonomies and obtained further constitutional concessions. In 1588 a new edition of a civil code was introduced in Lithuania and it was passed in 1673 that every third Diet should assemble on the territory of the Grand Duchy under the presidency of a Lithuanian. This liberal conception only hastened the spontaneous assimilation of the Grand Duchy with the Crown of Poland, so much so that all distinctions between these two parts of the Republic became obsolete and disappeared entirely by common consent in 1791.

The rights of the Lithuanian and Ruthenian religions

The Ruthenian provinces showed great eagerness to set aside the inconveniences of too rigid a politic conservatism, but they rested quite contented with the autonomy that the Polish Constitution had given them. The Ruthenian provinces had as early as the fifteenth Century asked for the introduction of the Polish civil and criminal codes. The provinces incorporated directly in 1569 had not even availed themselves of the right to have their own courts of justice, but preferred to plead before the courts of Poland, which vote was passed in 1589. The difference of religion or rite remained alone for centuries the only distinctive feature of those who considered themselves Ruthenians. Poland had thus amply proved her exceptional religious tolerance. No difference of rights between Roman Catholics and Greek Orthodox was ever made on the whole territory of the Republic, not even in the middle ages. In the Grand Duchy of Lithuania the first constitutional charters mentioned the Catholics only on account of a small minority of other denominations and in 1434 « to avoid all internal controversy » the Ruthenian provinces were admitted to the same privileges as the Lithuanian State, no religious distinctions whatsoever being made. Only a few offices had to be filled by Lithuanian Catholics, a restriction which was set aside on the eve of the final Union with Poland in 1569. Soon after the political union an attempt was made to bring about a religious union of the two Churches. This plan conceived in the fifteenth Century was realized much later, namely at the time when the Ruthenian Church was trying to free herself from the fatal influence of Bysantium and Moscow. This religious Union concluded in 1596 brought to light a good deal of Ruthenian literature. Sight should not be lost of the fact that those Ruthenians who wished to do so were free to retain their Greek Orthodox faith without loosing any of their political rights. And it was not until the eighteenth Century, when they had become a willing tool of Russian intrigues in Poland that they were deprived of some of their rights.

The rights of the Lithuanian and Ruthenian languages

The Lithuanian language has never had a literature of its own as it was not used in writing at the time of Lithuania's complete independence, that is before her union with Poland. Public documents were written chiefly in White Ruthenian, less frequently in Latin or German. White Ruthenian was used as the conversational language at Court and in public life, Lithuanian being only used

by the lower classes. As the people have not become Polonized during several centuries of union with Poland one cannot assert that Polish influence was injuring the rights of the Lithuanian language. On the contrary, towards the middle of the sixteenth Century, when Polish influence predominated, the first Lithuanian books were printed. With this started a literary movement weak, to the present day, and limited almost entirely to the publication of a few books on religious subjects. On the whole Lithuanian as a popular dialect played an important part only in the religious life of the country. So far from being suppressed it was even favoured by Poland. The Poles who introduced Roman Catholicism in Lithuania sent there only such priests who understood the language of the country, and when establishing new Churches priests were invited to preach and instruct their parishioners in Lithuanian. It was not until the sixteenth Century that the Lithuanians, both peasants and upper classes, quite spontaneously began to employ the Polish language, whose literary brilliancy and fame played a dominating part throughout the whole of the East of Europe as far as Roumania. White Ruthenian, however, which had been the exclusive language in the administration of the Grand Duchy, so much so that in the different offices and courts those who did not understand it were not allowed to substitute for it either Latin or Polish, maintained its supremacy for some time after 1569 and not only in Lithuania but even in the Ruthenian provinces which had been already incorporated to Poland. Yet, although the use of this White Ruthenian language had been guaranteed in the courts of justice and was the language in which were written the deeds of the Royal Chancery, it was the inhabitants of these provinces themselves who began to introduce the Polish language in public life. However the official or technical formulas continued to be drawn up in White Ruthenian and it was only at the end of the sixteenth Century that it was decided to abandon this custom. In Ruthenia as well as in Lithuania those classes of the community alone had become Polonized under the Polish regime to whom their political and social position dictated this choice. The large masses of people were to retain their nationality up to the present days.

VI

The role of the Polish influence in Lithuania and Ruthenia

The Polonization of the nobility in these provinces could not have sufficed to give that thoroughly Polish character to Lithuania and Ruthenia which strikes everyone who visits those parts. These sparsely inhabited provinces have during several centuries been open to a constant influx of Polish elements. This applies not only to country houses but also to towns and villages. As early

as 1323, that is long before the union with Poland, a Grand Duke of Lithuania demanded of the missionaries whom he invited to settle in this country the knowledge of Polish as well as of Lithuanian and of White Ruthenian. This Polish colonisation which was quite spontaneous and was not backed by the Polish Government, acquired greater impetus in the following century, assisted as it were by the political understanding of the two countries and above all by the necessity of defending these vast territories before invasions of the barbarians, and of developing all their riches. The indigenous population being too thinly scattered, the Poles undertook this task with as much ardour as success. Shedding their blood in incessant expeditions against the Tartars, Turks and Muscovites, they still had enough vitality to found some thousands of towns and villages, to erect Churches and schools, in short to bring these provinces into the sphere of Latin and European civilization. In spite of the long wars of the seventeenth Century which especially in Ukraine ruined much of the results of the long and pacific Polish work, all these Eastern provinces were at the time of the partitions of Poland bound to Poland not only by the wording of the constitution but chiefly by common bonds of civilization. It is this civilization, originated by Poland, which justifies the Polish claims to these provinces. It was on the large estates of Polish or Polonized landlords that agricultural improvements took their course; cloth, earthenware and arm factories everlastingly increased in numbers. Besides the Wilno University, there prospered several schools founded by the Cracow University, also Colleges founded by religious orders as well as the new schools of the « Commission of Education ». The latter type of schools even in the small market-towns of Lithuania and of Ruthenia numbered on an average over 250 pupils. Each town however little important, from Polock, with her ancient College far up to the North, to Mohylew in Southern Podolia, owned its printing plant; Wilno had three of them, so that the Polish intellectual life had the means of developing with the same intensity right up to the extreme frontiers of the Republic. This historical evolution interrupted by the partitions of Poland could not however be totally stopped. It was owing to this that Polish influence came out victorious from the most desperate and brutal oppression that the Russian Government inflicted upon this country.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE METHODS EMPLOYED BY THE
RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT IN ORDER TO WEAKEN
POLISH INFLUENCE IN LITHUANIA AND RUTHENIA

Until the middle of the nineteenth Century all the territories taken by Russia from Poland at the time of the partitions of this country were officially given the name of the « Polish Provinces ». This name alone should testify of their national character.

The Emperor Alexander I of Russia, to thwart Napoleon's plan for the reconstruction of a Polish State, also wished to constitute a new Poland from the same territory (1812). When the formation of the « Congress Kingdom » was decided upon by the Congress of Vienna (1815), Alexander I reserved his right to enlarge this Kingdom by adding to it other Polish provinces from his dominions. This was stipulated by a clause inserted in the text of the treaty announcing, that « His Imperial Majesty reserves the right to give extension to this State... such as he judges expedient ». This declaration repeated in the speech of the throne before the Diet of Warsaw (1818) never was realized and it became one of the chief causes of the Polish insurrection of 1831 in which these provinces took so active a part. The Polish insurrection of 1863 also found a loud echo in all these territories as far North as Polish Livonia. In the insurgents' ranks were found numerous peasants, which gave the Russians a pretext for destroying a great number of Lithuanian villages. In order to destroy the distinctly Polish character of this territory Russia had to resort to violence, to exceptional laws, in short to all kinds of Draconian measures. Her efforts were numerous ; the obligatory use of the Russian language gave an outward Russian appearance to these provinces, it tended to weaken the Polish force numerically and economically, to deprive it of the representation due to her etc...

I

Progressive Elimination of the Poles

Soon after the partitions of Poland the official regulations and the administrative authorities admitted Poles and Russians without distinction to all employments ; the local diets and municipalities, one may say, employed Poles exclusi-

vely. This was the most flourishing epoch for the Polish University of Wilno, for the College of Krzemieniec (in Volhynia), as well as for the Agricultural Institution of Horki (government of Mohylew). In 1840 Polish was replaced by the Russian language in the law courts; the same year it became with a few exceptions the language used in schools, Polish remaining merely a subject of special study. After the insurrection of 1863 Polish was again cruelly persecuted; first it was driven from the remaining schools as well as from the few branches of administration where it still was tolerated (for example, in some accountants and peasant's courts). Russian was introduced as the language for official correspondence and in the books kept by the priests of the Roman Catholic parishes who were regarded to be the civil servants of the State. Order was given to speak only Russian in all governmental offices (1863), its use also became obligatory in commercial books, on sign-boards (1864), in public meetings (1868), theatres, public gardens, shops, except when it was used in strictly private conversations. Though even this last exception was attached by a cavalierly interpretation (1881 and 1893) of the order in question and the putting up in public places of the notorious sign-boards with the inscription « it is forbidden to speak Polish ». Polish libraries have preserved some of these sign-boards as historical documents. It was rigorously forbidden to teach children Polish even in private (1892). Every time the police ascertained this « crime » or discovered Polish school-books, the « culprits » were severely punished. But Polish remains the language of the population in spite of everything, and it is used not only by the Polish but by every other population.

II

Confiscations and Expulsions

The Russian Government used the Polish insurrections of 1794, 1831 and 1863 as pretexts for deporting thousands of Polish families, chiefly by virtue of the orders of June 5th 1795 and of October 9th 1831, confiscating the land belonging to more than 650.000 persons by virtue of another series of orders of September 2nd and 5th 1793, of May 3rd 1795, etc...

After the insurrection of 1831 the Russian Government confiscated 2.889 properties, some of them very extensive (Lubliner « The Confiscation of Polish Properties during the reign of Emperor Nicholas I » Brussels 1861). After the insurrection of 1863 they proceeded to confiscate part of a new series of landed property and ordered the remaining part to be sold to non-Poles. The acreage of land thus sold was nearly 500.000 hectares according to the official account rendered by the Russian ministry in 1907. But in spite of these excep-

tional measures the quantity of land remaining in Polish hands was still the larger of the two. The Russian Government was obliged to resort to still further measures to deprive the Poles of their property. The Poles were submitted to a special tax of 10% on their income. In 1863 the total tax or fine was assessed on all landowners of Polish origin taken together without taking into account the progressive diminution of the number of Polish proprietors, who were in this way submitted to a constantly increasing tax, abrogated only in 1894. In 1865, the Poles were forbidden to acquire land by any means other than by inheritance *ab intestat*, they were not allowed to acquire it by purchase, as a gift, or by free testamentary disposition. Further, the right to lease land was limited to 12 years for Poles, other restrictions for holding land being introduced later (1891). These regulations were applied to large landowners as well as to Polish peasants and when these regulations were abolished (1901) it was stipulated that peasants should henceforth never be allowed to buy more than 60 hectares during their lifetime.

III

Artificial immigration of the Russians

Beginning with the year 1831 Poles were being driven from the administration; since 1840 from the courts of law and from the schools. The proportion of Poles employed in the administration of railways was reduced to 50% (in 1886), then successively to 33 1/3% and so on until they were entirely replaced by Russians, complete strangers in the country. Further a considerable number of Russians was attracted by offers of land confiscated from the Poles. The purchase of these lands was exclusively allowed to Russians and was facilitated by credits officially extended for that purpose, to them. From the beginning banks which made their business of lending money on long terms were forbidden to extend these privileges to Poles. To attract the Russian peasants as well to these territories the Russian Government backed the colonization by religious sects (the Raskolniks) whom for other reasons they persecuted in the central provinces of Russia.

To obtain enough Russian candidates for filling governmental posts, great facilities and special advantages were given to Russian functionaries settling here (1864). In short the whole Russian population which inhabited these Polish provinces sprang from quite a recent immigration attracted by the Russian Government and which succeeded in giving these provinces a Russian appearance. All these Russians with no footing in the country disappeared quickly during the war.

Persecutions of the Catholic Church

The rivalry between the Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic (Uniat) Churches in these « Polish Provinces » and which the Russian Government has so cleverly stage-managed, was a particular form of this Russian struggle against Polish influence. Polonism and Roman Catholicism were so to say identical conceptions, and were both opposed to Russian Greek Orthodoxy.

Immediately after the partitions of Poland the free correspondence between Rome and the Roman Catholic Church of Poland was submitted to the control of the Russian State. The Government created a special institution for superintending the whole of the activities of the Church which was named the « College for Roman Catholic Affairs ».

A regular persecution began after the insurrection of 1831. A great number of convents were closed, 89 barely escaping out of the total of 291, and their property confiscated (1832). A great number of parishes was abolished (1839) and the meagre advowson was likewise done away with (1841). Finally after the insurrection of 1863 all the remaining convents that still existed were closed, all the religious brotherhoods save one were abolished, also a great number of parish Churches, so that for example in the government of Wilno out of 404 Churches which existed in 1863 only 292 had remained in 1888.

The construction of new Churches and even the repair of old ones as well as of Chapels was strictly forbidden down to the repair of the crosses on the roads and streets, for which a special authorization was also needed, and which, unnecessary to say, was always refused. All Europe heard of the horrible incidents at the closing of the Church in the parish of Kroze when the agents of the Russian Government massacred a large number of the believers who opposed this iniquitous step. The liberties of the clergy were limited since 1831, ministers of the Church being even forbidden to leave the locality of their official residence without permission. They could not preach without the authorization of the censor (1839) and since 1863 they were even severely forbidden to preach sermons which were not taken from an edition printed for that purpose and passed by the censor. It was also forbidden to have choirboys attending the Holy Viaticum with handbells when carried by the priests to the sick etc., etc...

The passing from the Greek Orthodox faith to another religious denomination was considered a crime and punished accordingly. To assure preponderance for the Greek Orthodox it was forbidden under penalty or invalidation to contract

mixed marriages before any other priests but the ministers of the Greek Orthodox Church. Children born of these unions, with no regard to the wishes of the parents, had to belong to the Greek Orthodox faith. In this way the total number of « Russians » was artificially made to grow in violation of the most sacred rights of conscience.

The Russian Government tried to replace the Polish language by Russian in this part of the Liturgy where the Roman Catholic Church is free to use Polish instead of Latin. But in this respect a most formidable opposition was encountered and nothing could break it, neither punishments nor wholesale deportation of the rebels. (e.g. the Abbot S. Piotrowicz of Wilno and many others.)

All these regulations directed against the Church were applied with an unheard-of brutality. The bishops themselves were not spared ; five were dismissed and deported (three in Wilno, one in Mohylew, one in Minsk). This activity constantly increased since the partitions of Poland, especially after the abolition of the union with Rome was officially and finally decreed, those who opposed it being submitted to imprisonment, corporal punishment and deportation. It will be sufficient to remind the reader of the barbarous measures taken against the nuns of Minsk, several of whom succumbed to the treatment inflicted upon them.

But the attachment which a part of the population preserved faithfully for the union of their Greek Catholic Church with Rome continued to exist in spite of everything even after more than a century of persecutions. When in 1905 the decree of religious tolerance was issued by the Russian Government, more than 100.000 inhabitants of Lithuania and White Ruthenia at once abandoned the Greek Orthodox faith to embrace the Roman Catholic faith, the Greek Catholic rite (Union with Rome in 1596) not being restored to life any more.

Exceptional suffrage laws

Notwithstanding all these measures the Poles have preserved an important numerical force. This preponderance of the Polish population is brought to light by the results of elections to the local diets. These diets have been in existence till 1840 and even partly until 1863 and were always exclusively composed of Poles. It was for these reasons that the Russians have not reintroduced elections in these territories and when they did so they made such arbitrary changes, that the Poles could not possibly obtain the number of representatives to which they were entitled. After 1864 the Russian Government had given autonomous

institutions (ziemstvos) to districts and governments in the interior of Russia but they did not introduce them in these Polish provinces.

It was in 1903 and 1904 that they were introduced, but the members of those boards were appointed and not elected. Even then the Russian Government was obliged to appoint Poles because it was found impossible to find a sufficient number of suitable Russians. At length in 1911, the electoral system was introduced in these territories but it was circumscribed to six governments only, excluding the three governments of Grodno, Wilno and Kowno. To prevent these ziemstwo-boards from having a Polish majority an arbitrary mode of dividing the voters into two separate constituencies, a Russian and a non-Russian one, which was understood to be Polish, was adopted. The latter was assigned only one half or one third of the mandates to which their number entitled them. The number of seats given to the Poles in the ziemstwo representation was limited to one or two seats per district and in several districts (exactly 22) they had no seats at all.

The same methods were applied to the elections of the Douma. When in 1905 it turned out that the number of Polish deputies in the First Douma was considerable, the Russian Government introduced an important modification to the electoral law (1907) by virtue of which the home secretary could form two constituencies in each locality, one Russian and the other Polish, and a number of seats, much smaller than that to which they were entitled arbitrarily, allowed to the Poles.

VI

Conclusion

Every one of these acts of violence, every one of these exceptional laws directed against the Poles, proved how much the Russians feared them ; they showed at the same time how Polish was the main character of these provinces.

But when at last the chains fell, the Polish spirit blazed up again, the wholesale formation of Polish schools to which thousands and thousands of children flocked will serve as the best proof of what the real feeling of the country is.

POLISH INSTRUCTION
IN LITHUANIA AND RUTHENIA

POLISH INSTRUCTION

IN

LITHUANIA AND RUTHENIA

POLISH INSTRUCTION IN LITHUANIA AND RUTHENIA

The influence of Polish civilization in Lithuania made itself felt about the middle of the 13th Century. At the end of the 14th Century it definitely prevailed over any other influence, after the Union which bound the two countries (1386) together.

This influence was brought about by the introduction of the Roman Catholic religion, and the ideas of Western civilization. The influence of the Royal Court, composed chiefly of Poles, and the influence of the University of Cracow, completed Poland's task. In 1570, the Jesuits founded the College of Wilno at the request of the Lithuanian Diet of Grodno. This college was transformed into the University of Wilno in 1579. At the beginning of the 19th Century the University of Wilno, reorganized by the Commission of National Education and placed on a level with the Western European Universities, became the centre of an intense intellectual life, whose influence spread over the whole of Poland. Several scholars, philosophers and poets from this University occupied the highest rank in the records of Poland.

The repressions which followed the partitions of Poland and which particularly affected Polish intellectual life in Lithuania, especially the closing of Polish schools and of the University of Wilno (1831) lowered the standard of instruction during the period of 1831-1861, in which the number of schools in Lithuania fell from 47 to 26. But all these persecutions have not effaced the profound impression Polish influence had left in this country. The Polish tradition, stifled by its oppressors, but kept alive in the heart of the people, was awakened on the recent departure of the Russians and manifested itself through the revival of school work.

In Ruthenia, the Western Latin civilization as represented by Poland came up against the Byzantine, which influence dominated there until the middle of the 15th Century; but after the fall of Constantinople, thanks to the attraction that the University of Cracow exercised on young Ruthenia, the ancient Rutheno-Byzantine tradition began to give way before the new Western ideas. It was the Jesuits and Dissenters who organized the first Polish schools in Ruthenia.

Thus in 1555, the colleges of Dubiecko, Lwow, Przemysl, Jaroslaw, Luck,

Ostrog, etc., were established by the Jesuits; those of Lancut, Ostrog, Bereseczko and Paniowce by the Protestants, and those of Czernichow, Hoszcza, etc., by the Socinians.

As a reaction against Latin culture, the Ruthenian religious brotherhoods founded a high school in Lwow in 1586. This school, as well as that of Ostrog, destined to serve for Rutheno-Greek Orthodox culture, could not compete with the rivalry of Latin schools, and towards 1620 threatened to lose its importance. The Academy of Kiew, on the contrary, founded in 1615 by Peter Mohyla, having adopted the program of Polish academies, outlived all the social and political upheavals, and when Kiew was separated from the Polish Republic (1667) it became the first centre of instruction for the Russian Muscovites. All the schools of Ruthenia in the 18th Century, founded either by Catholics or Dissenters, or even by the Greek Orthodox, had a distinctly Latino-Polish character. After the everlasting disorders originated by the Cossack revolution, we witness a serious revival in the beginning of the 18th Century, due, principally to the Jesuit's activities. This order having been dissolved (1773), the immeasurable properties that belonged to it were handed over to the National Commission of Education. This Commission divided the territories of the Republic into departments: the Ruthenian provinces formed two of these departments; that of Volhynia (centre Krzemieniec) and that of Ukraine (centre Winnica). Thanks to the intelligent activity of this commission, a system of schools was established in each district, in some principal centre.

After the partitions of Poland, the College of Krzemieniec became the centre of Polish learning for Volhynia, Podolia and Western Ukraine, and played the same part there as Wilno did in Lithuania. The fruitful work of these schools outlived their suppression in 1832 as well as all the attempts at Russification of the tsarist government. To-day it has been resumed over the whole extent of the Lithuano-Ruthenian provinces.

The most eloquent proof of the vitality of Polish influence is the spontaneous development of Polish schools during the last years of the war. After the Russian revolution had broken the chains which bound the « Polish Provinces » to Russia, thousands of primary schools, some ten secondary schools, one University (Kiev) and some Polish Academic Institutions sprang up in the course of the first year.

In Paris we are not in a position to quote the exact and complete figures relating to the Polish schools in the nine former Western Russian Governments, but those figures which we are able to quote are enough to dispose of the tale according to which these provinces had entered the sphere of Russian civilization.

Since 1917, 36 colleges and other secondary schools have been founded in Ruthenia (i.e. in the region of Kiew, Podolia and Volhynia) 9 professional secondary schools and 1245 primary schools (507 in Volhynia, 546 in Podolia and 194 in Ukraine) with 73.688 pupils and 1663 teachers.

To-day these civilizing efforts are partly destroyed by the Bolshevist and Ukrainian bands and the population of the Polish localities struggles to save what remains.

The Polish schools in Lithuania were started immediately after the Russian retreat in 1915, under the patronage of such institutions as Oświata (instruction), Światło (enlightenment) etc... A little later, the new German invasion began to abolish these associations which caused the closing of many schools for want of means. In spite of this, in December 1917, 60 primary schools in Wilno with 7000 pupils were maintained. In a part of the government of Wilno there were 200, and in the whole of so-called Lithuania, occupied by the Germans, the total number of Polish primary schools attained the number of 500.

With regard to White Ruthenia, the whole government of Minsk, except the Western districts, that is of Pinsk and the greater part of Nowogrodek, was to the East of the Germano-Russian front of 1915, and accordingly remained in ignorance of Germany's « liberating » efforts. It was the tsarist regime that weighed on this part of White Ruthenia; but after its fall, 243 Polish primary schools were opened there in 1917-1918. To-day this number is double, and further, numerous secondary schools have been opened in the province of Minsk; 7 in Minsk, and one in each of the following localities: Borysow, Lohojsk, Ihumen, Bobrujsk, Sluck, Nieswicz, Mozyrz and Dokszyce. It should be observed that the greater part of the primary schools are supported by voluntary contributions by the Polish peasants themselves. About 200 Polish primary schools exist in the government of Mohylew and two secondary schools at Mohylew and Orsza.

It is perhaps unnecessary to add that the Polish community created this system of schools as it were out of nothing. If the Russian tsarist government did not tolerate a single Polish school in Lithuania and Ruthenia, the Russian revolutionary government did not give a farthing for that purpose. The foundation of all these schools is due entirely to the generosity of the community and to the voluntary contributions of the inhabitants of these provinces.

It remains a fact that the private initiative of the Polish people has opened more Polish schools in Lithuania and Ruthenia in a few months than the Government of the immense Russian Empire had done there for generations.

THE ECONOMIC BONDS BETWEEN POLAND, LITHUANIA AND THE RUTHENIAN PROVINCES

Lithuanians and White Ruthenians were organized by the Russian Government...

THE ECONOMIC BONDS BETWEEN POLAND, LITHUANIA AND THE RUTHENIAN PROVINCES

It is perhaps unnecessary to state that the Polish community created this system of schools as it were out of nothing. If the Russian-Czarist government did not tolerate a single Polish school in Lithuania and Ruthenia, the Lithuanian revolutionary government did not give a helping hand for that purpose. The foundation of all these schools is due entirely to the generosity of the community and to the voluntary contributions of the inhabitants of these provinces. It remains a fact that the private initiative of the Polish people has opened more Polish schools in Lithuania and Ruthenia in a few months than the Government of the unregenerate Russian Empire had done there for generations.

THE ECONOMIC BONDS BETWEEN POLAND, LITHUANIA AND THE RUTHENIAN PROVINCES

Lithuania and White Ruthenia were neglected by the Russian Government, whose economic policy consisted of rather favouring the richer parts of the Empire. Consequently Lithuania and White Ruthenia were unable to make use of their natural riches to their full value, and putting the Russian Treasury to a loss : in 1913, for example, the expenses (140 million roubles) exceeded the revenue by 40 millions (1). In the previous years the deficit was no better.

In order to gain a clear notion of the bad technical equipment of these countries, even as compared with the Congress Kingdom, it is sufficient to compare the extension of railways by 100 km. In Lithuania and White Ruthenia 2,04 km. ; in France 9,3 ; in England 12,0 ; in Germany 11,4 ; in Italy 6,0 ; in the *Congress Kingdom* 2,65.

It is only by their union with Poland that these provinces could develop economically, as they are the natural extension of Poland, and form with her one geographical and economical whole.

Rivers like the Vistula, the Niemen, Dwina, and Dnieper connect these countries with the Congress Kingdom, whereas not one of these rivers is linked up with the Russian waterways.

With regard to agriculture, it is interesting to note that the Polish land estates show the best average crops. But agriculture could not develop as well as it might have developed because the Russian Government, by means of shrewd railway tariffs placed these provinces at a disadvantage as far as the export of corn and flour was concerned.

The Congress Kingdom, put into the same unfavourable position by preferential tariffs, became a market for Russian corn. Yet in spite of the rivalry of the Russian products, the Congress Kingdom made great progress in agriculture thanks to the agricultural associations. This same progress was impossible in Lithuania and White Ruthenia, where the Russian Government, fearing the influence of the educated Polish classes, erected a barrier between

(1) See accounts of the State Control Office.

the Ruthenian and Lithuanian peasant and the Polish landowner. The activities of these associations were handicapped by the suspicions of the Russian bureaucracy towards the Poles who, as is commonly known, were even forbidden to acquire land except from each other. (Not from Russians.)

Lithuania raises cattle on a large scale, part of which she exports to the Congress Kingdom; this exportation is capable of an obvious increase on condition that a tariff frontier would prevent Russian cattle from the « Great Prairies » from inundating the Polish markets.

The Congress Kingdom which before the war, altogether was short of forests (18%), will now have a great need of timber on account of the German devastations, which article could be imported on a large scale from Lithuania or White Ruthenia.

Lithuania and White Ruthenia lack oil and iron-ore: consequently they will not be able to have a metal industry of their own and depend in this respect on the Polish oil and iron ore fields.

Two important products of these countries, namely, tobacco and matches, have been exported in large quantities to the Congress Kingdom, thence on the other hand, they received, besides oil and metal products, sugar as well as textiles, etc. Responsible factory staffs and workmen were largely Polish in all Lithuanian industries. Common industrial associations existed between these countries and the Congress Kingdom, the two forming one single industrial district, supervised by one Russian government inspector. This proves that the Russian Government did recognise the existence of common industrial bonds between these countries and the Congress Kingdom.

We find a new proof of the above statement from the scanty economic records referring to the system of payments. The Russian State Bank published accounts which give us the average value of the funds discounted in all its establishments, in the course of 1907, 1908, and 1909, in the different regions of the Russian Empire. According to these accounts the average value of the bills of exchange was equal to 195 roubles in the Congress Kingdom; in Lithuania and White Ruthenia to 232 roubles. In the other parts of Russia to the following numbers: 508, 571, 638, 645, 697, 710, 724, 864, 1.052, 1.157.

We know that in other sufficiently advanced countries, the development of the small commerce and industry is based, largely, on credit operations. In this respect the Congress Kingdom, Lithuania and Ruthenia contrast, therefore, very strikingly with Russia, and constitute a single economic block, in opposition to the latter.

The lengths of the terms of the bills of exchange make us arrive at the same

The reciprocal advantages of an economic union

Finances, Credit, Institution and Banks

conclusions. Western Europe practices the short-dated bill of exchange, three months at the outside. This is also the average generally adopted in the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, contrary to the custom of Russia.

In the Congress Kingdom, the bills of exchange of three month's duration constitute 85,2% of the total of discounted values. In Lithuania this amount rose only to 66,4%, while in other parts of the former Russian Empire it varied between 30 and 40%. Only in the region of Petrograd did it reach 54%.

It is in the hands of the Poles that the management of the institutions of credit rests; the Land Bank of Wilno is exclusively Polish, and local corporations of long-term credit at Wilno, Bialystok and Minsk are, largely in the hands of Poles. The same may be said of the banks of short dated credit at Wilno and Bialystok. The numerous societies of mutual credit at Wilno, Grodno and Minsk etc..., are chiefly managed by Poles.

The fact that important posts are filled by Poles in the societies of credit in Lithuania and White Ruthenia is easily explained if one considers that there the Poles truly represent the sole active intellectual element, creative and organizing. It is not to be wondered at, then, that Poles are found at the head of all social and economical enterprises which are being opened in these countries; and this fact shows more clearly than any other the existence of the actual bonds which connect Lithuania and White Ruthenia to the Congress Kingdom. The same economic relations make that the Congress Kingdom, Volhynia and Podolia complete each other.

There, also, the Poles are the organisers of economic life, particularly in agriculture and in the beet industry. About 40% of this industry is in Polish hands.

Sugar works at Klembowka and the first refinery at Szepetowka were founded by Poles.

Volhynia needs the Polish market for some of her special products such as hops and beetroot seeds, which exceed the local demand, etc.

Podolia might furnish the former Congress Kingdom of Poland with her phosphates of which, up to the present, she was unable to profit herself on account of the bad state of her roads.

The influence of the Poles has been counteracted by the Russian Government which even opposed the opening of Polish agricultural exhibitions. In spite of that, the Poles in Podolia and Volhynia have remained the pioneers in agriculture, just as in Lithuania and White Ruthenia.

TABLE I. — AGRICULTURE

Products	Regions	Extent of cultivated land, data respecting area of the district per cent	Produce per hectare in cwts.
Rye	Congress Kingdom	17,1	10,7
	Lithuania and White Ruthenia .	10,1	7,3
	Volhynia and Podolia	8,8	10,0
Wheat	Congress Kingdom	4,2	12,3
	Lithuania and White Ruthenia..	0,5	9,5
	Volhynia and Podolia	7,5	12,1
Barley	Congress Kingdom	4,1	12,5
	Lithuania and White Ruthenia...	2,2	8,8
	Volhynia and Podolia	4,0	11,1
Oats	Congress Kingdom	9,2	10,5
	Lithuania and White Ruthenia .	4,6	8,7
	Volhynia and Podolia	6,5	10,2
Potatoes	Congress Kingdom	8,5	97,0
	Lithuania and White Ruthenia .	2,7	64,4
	Volhynia and Podolia	2,0	61,7
Sugar beet	Congress Kingdom	2,6	182,0
	Lithuania and White Ruthenia .	—	—
	Volhynia and Podolia	1,6	145,0
Pasture land	Congress Kingdom	7,4	24,7
	Lithuania and White Ruthenia .	11,1	15,1
	Volhynia and Podolia	6,4	13,5

TABLE II. — LIVE STOCK

Number of heads of cattle per km² in 1911.

Regions	Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs
Congress Kingdom	9,6	17,8	7,4	4,7
Lithuania and White Ruthenia.	8,1	16,3	12,9	10,6
Podolia.....	12,8	15,8	9,1	8,9
Volhynia.....	9,8	15,9	8,9	8,6

TABLE III. — FORESTS

(% of the total area.)

Congress Kingdom	18
Lithuania and White Ruthenia.....	32
Podolia.....	9,6
Volhynia	25,6

TABLE IV

Annual surplus of Importation and Exportation (—) or vice versa (+) in the governments of Wilno, Grodno, and Kowno in Lithuania.

(Average for 1909-1911)

I. — Agricultural Products.

(In metric cwts)

Rye.....	— 200	Wheat flour	— 557
Wheat	— 133	Oat-meal and hops	— 127
Oats.....	— 358	Seeds of fodder plants.....	+ 46
Barley	— 69	Miscellaneous seeds	+ 601
Rye flour.....	— 27	Potatoes	+ 101
Peas, beans, kidney beans.....		+ 105	

2. — Live Stock Products.

Cattle (bovine)	+ 2972	Ovine species.....	+ 209
Horses.....	+ 9964	Porcine species.....	+ 29658
Poultry.....		+ 124 thousands of cwts.	

3. — Alimentary Products.

(In thousands of metric cwts.)

Meat	+ 46	Fish, fresh and frigorific....	— 32
Eggs	+ 30	Fish, salt and dried.....	— 11
Butter	+ 8	Herrings	— 226
Cheese	+ 14	Rice.....	— 30
Tea.....		— 2	

4. — Wood.

Unconverted timber	+ 6529	Staves.....	+ 33
Boards and sleepers.....	+ 3992	Firewood	+ 1656
Poles and match wood .	+ 4458	Wooden ware.....	+ 77

5. — Alimentary Industry.

Starch	+ 39	Alcohol	+ 123
Sugar.....	— 279	Tobacco.....	— 36
Molasses	— 37	Cigarettes, cigars.....	+ 7
Beer, porter, hydromel.....		+ 100	

6. — Combustibles, Oils.

(In thousands of metric cwts.)

Coal.....	- 2.291	Naphtha	- 261
Coke.....	- 47	Lubricating oil.....	- 31
Peat	+ 9	Products and residue of naphtha	- 26

7. — Textile Industry.

Flax	+ 124	Cotton thread.....	- 10
Hemp.....	- 2	Flax and hemp textures.....	- 1
Cotton.....	- 3	Cotton textures	- 40
Wool	- 37	Wool textures.....	+ 44
Flax and hemp thread ...	- 0,1	Miscellaneous.....	- 14
Cables, cords, twine.....		- 6	

8. — Iron Industry.

Cast-iron	- 169	Nails	+ 114
Iron and steel.....	- 341	Plate	- 15
Tin	- 5	Wire	+ 6
Screws, screw nuts, rivets and chains.....	+ 79	Miscellaneous iron products.	- 15
		Machines and tools.....	- 58

9. — Ceramic Industry.

Clay, stones	- 14	Plate, glass articles.....	+ 44
Bricks.....	- 24	Articles in china and earthen ware.....	- 14
Cement	- 254	Glasses and bottles.....	- 32
Tiles.....	+ 8		

10. — Animal Product Industry.

Raw hides	- 190	Animal fat	- 6
Tanned hides	+ 90	Soap	- 13
Leather articles	+ 9	Candles	- 10
Vegetable oils.....		- 40	

11. — Chemical Industry.

Acids	- 36	Powdered bone	+ 6
Salt	- 488	Turpentine oil	+ 29
Soda	- 53	Paint and varnish.....	+ 16
Glauber salts	- 4	Tannin	- 100
Phosphoric manure	- 409	Miscellaneous	- 25

TABLE V
Number of Factories and Workmen.

Industries	Lithuania and White Ruthenia		Volhynia and Podolia	
	Factories	Workmen	Factories	Workmen
Textile	330	15.247	22	792
Paper and Polygraphic.....	116	6.987	18	1.865
Wood	298	10.774	115	3.974
Metallurgic	89	7.622	31	974
Ceramic	128	9.715	53	6.931
Animal Products.....	153	4.892	10	344
Alimentary	302	7.094	329	40.808
Chemical	29	3.759	5	243

OF THE DEMOGRAPHIC STATISTICS
OF THE EASTERN BORDERS
OF POLAND

TABLE 7
Number of Factories and Workers

Industry	Factories	Workers
Chemical	129	10,379
Alimentary	100	72,004
Animal Products	133	4,892
Ceramic	128	9,715
Metallic	89	7,622
Wood	298	10,714
Paper and Polygraphic	116	6,987
Textile	230	12,247
Other	22	1,882
Total	1,125	188,008

Industry	Factories	Workers
Cast-iron	149	1,469
Iron and steel	14	1,469
Tin	5	5
Screws, screw nuts, rivets and chains	79	79
Total	247	2,962

Industry	Factories	Workers
Clay, stones	14	14
Bricks	24	24
Cement	254	254
Tiles	8	8
Total	299	299

Industry	Factories	Workers
Raw hides	190	190
Tanned hides	90	90
Leather articles	9	9
Total	289	289

Industry	Factories	Workers
Vegetable oils	40	40

Industry	Factories	Workers
Acids	36	36
Oil	498	498
Salt	53	53
CS compounds	14	14
Explosives, matches	405	405
Total	1,046	1,046

Industry	Factories	Workers
Nails	114	114
Plate	11	11
Wire	6	6
Miscellaneous iron products	15	15
Mechanics and tools	50	50
Total	196	196

Industry	Factories	Workers
Plate, glass articles	44	44
Articles in china and earthen ware	14	14
Glasses and bottles	32	32
Total	90	90

Industry	Factories	Workers
Powdered bone	6	6
Turpentine oil	24	24
Paint and varnish	16	16
Tannin	100	100
Miscellaneous	25	25
Total	171	171

RECORDS OF THE DEMOGRAPHIC STATISTICS OF THE EASTERN BORDERS OF POLAND

There are no accurate statistics of the population in the nine governments of the Western Country, derived from censuses organized by Russia at the time of the three partitions of Poland, and of the districts of Białystok.

Official sources give different population figures for the same territory at different times. The Statistical Bureau of the Russian Empire in 1897 indicates 24,112,000

RECORDS OF THE DEMOGRAPHIC STATISTICS OF THE EASTERN BORDERS OF POLAND

The Russian statistics of the population of the Western Country at the time of the three partitions of Poland, and of the districts of Białystok, are not accurate. With regard to the population of the Western Country, considerable discrepancies present themselves. One looks to the Russian official sources for example, the following percentages of Poles:

District	1897	1904
District of Wilno	20%	17%
District of Troki	17%	22%
District of Kowno	23%	8%
District of Białystok	34%	18%
District of Bielsk	15%	7%

The German authorities, very much adverse to the Poles, ascertained such a great number of Poles in the country, that they decided not to publish the results of their investigations, and in their ethnographic atlas of occupied territories they made use of the figures of 1897 (1). It was only later that the results of the German census were made known.

According to these facts, the estimate of the number of Poles is also exceedingly. The Russian statistics wish to speak only of one and a quarter million. Professor Hirsch (2), the scientific German expert on Russian questions, estimates 3 1/2 million, and Polish statistics arrive at 6 1/2 million.

(1) *Vollständiges Statistisches Jahrbuch für 1907*, Verlag von L. Neumann, Neudamm, 1907, p. 341. See also p. 342.

RECORDS OF THE DEMOGRAPHIC STATISTICS OF THE EASTERN BORDERS OF POLAND

There are no accurate statistics of the nationalities in the nine governments of the « Western Country », formed from territories annexed by Russia at the time of the three partitions of Poland, and of the district of Bialystok.

Official sources give different numbers, even for the total figures of the population. The Statistical Yearbook for January 1st, 1909 indicates 24,189,000 inhabitants, while the police census gives only 22,633,807 on the same date.

The divergence is still greater in the sphere of the confessional statistics. The Russian Prime Minister, Stolypin, in 1906, in his « ziemstwo » project, mentioned 35,39 % of Catholics amongst the inhabitants of the entire country while the census of 1897 gave only 19,3 %.

With regard to the statistics of the nationalities, improbable divergencies present themselves. One finds in the Russian official sources for example, the following percentages of Poles :

	1897	1909
District of Wilno	20%	43%
District of Troki	12%	22%
District of Kowno	23%	8%
District of Bialystok	34%	18%
District of Bielsk.....	35%	9%

The German authorities, very much adverse to the Poles, ascertained such a great number of Poles in the country, that they decided not to publish the results of their investigations, and in their ethnographic atlas of occupied territories they made use of the figures of 1897 (1). It was only later that the results of the German census were made known.

According to these facts, the estimate of the number of Poles varies exceedingly. The Russian statistics wished to speak only of one and a quarter million. Professor Hoetzsch (2), the scientific German expert on Russian questions, mentions 3 1/2—4 million, and Polish statistics arrive at 6 1/2 million.

(1) *Volkerverteilung in West-Russland*, Hamburg 1917, Verlag Von L. Friedrichsen 2-te Auflage.
 (2) Hoetzsch O., *Russland*, Berlin 1917, p. 387, 2-te Auflage.

In default of exact official statistics, it is very difficult to give a precise synthesis of the ethnical ratio in the six governments of the ancient Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

This difficulty is all the greater as the vast country represents a very heterogeneous territory. One can distinguish several ethnical provinces, without definite limits, between which there are large transitory zones of a very mixed character. At the present time the people inhabiting these countries are only in a state of transformation into individual modern nations. Meanwhile there prevails only a confessional differentiation, characteristic for this part of Eastern Europe. It is in this primitive state that one must look for the cause of this lack of clearly determined ethnical limits : and why one can only approximatively distinguish the following four principal ethnical zones.

The Central Zone, with a Polish majority, extending from Grodno to Duna-bourg, including the country of Wilno.

The North West Zone, with a Lithuanian majority, containing the government of Kowno and a bordering strip of the government of Wilno.

The Northern Zone, with a Lettish majority, occupying Polish Livonia.

The South Eastern Zone, with a White Ruthenian majority, with very strong Polish infiltrations in the West.

Only the frontier between the Lithuanian and Polish zones can be fixed with a certain amount of exactitude. The results of the German investigations in 1916 and 1918 (Annex A) and the statistics made by the Catholic Consistory of Wilno (Annex B) render a general survey possible.

Conditions in the other zones, on account of the lack of reliable statistics, can only be studied from the materials furnished by the ziemstwo-project transmitted by Stolypin to the Douma in 1910. In the supplement to the project, one finds the enumeration of the electors according to nationality (Annex C). These figures are very valuable, because they indicate not only the numbers concerning the large landowners but also concerning the representatives of small property. The results of the elections, according to Russian information, furnish us with proof of the way in which the Government realised the strength of the Polish element in the nine governments of their « Western Country ».

In studying these data, it must not be forgotten that White Ruthenians and Ruthenian-Catholics are referred to in the category of the Russian non-Orthodox people ; they have given up their patois and make use of the Polish language in Church as well as in their schools, and consider themselves Polish.

Based on these facts, an approximate idea may be formed of the actual strength of the Polish element in the « Western Country » ; but at a time when

the principle of restitution and reparation has become generally recognized, one cannot forget that the Polish element was weakened by political measures applied by the Russian Government for nearly 150 years. The effects of these acts of violence are great, and their exact extent cannot possibly be taken into calculation.

But, supposing that the principle of restitution and reparation were not applied, and only such a regime were considered which would assure to the inhabitants of this country a certain degree of security and liberty, without distinction of nationality and religion, it will still remain a fact that it is the Polish element that will have chiefly to be relied upon, because the other nationalities, even in Lithuania « proffer no guarantee of order », as was recognised by the Germans themselves. (Annex D.)

ANNEX A



the principle of nationality and reputation has become generally recognized, one cannot deny that the Polish element was treated by the Russian Government for nearly 150 years. The effects of these acts of violence are great, and their exact extent cannot possibly be taken into calculation. It is true that the principle of nationality and reputation was not applied, and only such a vague and general statement would assure to the inhabitants of this country a certain degree of security and liberty without the threat of nationality and religion, it will still remain a fact that it is the Polish element that will have to bear the brunt of the other nationalities.

The Central Zone, with a Polish majority, Russian and German minorities, and a few Poles, including the city of Warsaw.

The Northern Zone, with a Polish majority, Russian and German minorities, and a few Poles, including the city of Lwow.

The Southern Zone, with a White Russian majority, and very strong Polish influences in the West.

Only the frontier between the Lithuanian and Polish States is a certain amount of uncertainty. The results of the 1916 and 1918 (Annex A) and the 1919 (Annex B) general surveys are as follows:

Conditions in the other zones are not so clear as in the Central Zone, and can only be studied from the materials furnished by the various local authorities. In the Supplement to the report on the elections of 1918 (Annex C), the results of the elections according to nationality are given. These figures are very valuable, because they indicate not only the number of voters, but also the number of representatives of each nationality. The results of the elections, according to Russian information, furnish us with proof of the way in which the Government realized the strength of the Polish element in the various governments of their Western Country.

In studying these data, it must not be forgotten that White Ruthenians and White Catholics are referred to in the Russian and Polish language in general as 'White Russians' and 'White Poles' respectively.

From these facts, an approximate idea may be formed of the actual state of the Polish element in the Western Country, but at a time when

No. of Districts	Name of District	Polish	Lithuanian	Total	
				Polish	Lithuanian
BEZIMENNAJA ZONA (1918)					
1	Krasnopol (Krasnopol)	1,000	100	1,100	100
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
		38,900	1,401,874	1,440,774	140,874
BEZIMENNAJA ZONA (1919)					
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
		38,900	1,401,874	1,440,774	140,874
BEZIMENNAJA ZONA (1920)					
1
2
		1,000	100	1,100	100
		1,000	100	1,100	100
		2,000	200	2,200	200

ANNEX A

ANNEX A

NACH NATIONALITÄTEN

NACH KONFESSIONEN

OBER-OST

N. DES KREISES	KREIS	FLÄCHE kmq.	EINWOHNER	LITAUER		POLEN		LETTEN		RUSSEN		JUDEN		DEUTSCHE		VERSCHIEDENE (Nationalität)		ROM. KATHOLISCH		ORTHODOX		MOISAICH		EVANGELISCH		VERSCHIEDENE					
				Zahl	%	Zahl	%	Zahl	%	Zahl	%	Zahl	%	Zahl	%	Zahl	%	Zahl	%	Zahl	%	Zahl	%	Zahl	%	Zahl	%	Zahl	%		
BEVÖLKERUNGSSTATISTIK DES BEZIRKS KOWNO (1918).																															
1.	Russ. Krottingen (Kretynga)	1.605	46.031	42.960	93,3					39	0,1	635	1,4	29	0,1	2.263	4,9	105	0,2			42.526	92,4	29	0,1	2.263	4,9	1.213	2,6		
2.	Siady	2.015	65.702	58.750	89,4					441	0,7	2.043	3,1	617	0,9	3.528	5,4	323	0,5			59.217	90,1	608	0,9	3.528	5,4	2.342	3,6	7	0,0
3.	Okmiany	1.830	43.300	38.630	89,2					145	0,3	3.560	8,2	240	0,6	480	1,1	230	0,5	15	0,0	38.740	89,5	240	0,6	480	1,1	3.840	8,9		
4.	Schaulen (Szawle)	2.945	68.390	63.305	92,6					1.449	2,1	2.386	3,5	188	0,3	676	1,0	366	0,5	20	0,0	64.515	94,3	188	0,3	676	1,0	3.011	4,4		
5.	Johanischkele (Johaniszkiele)	2.430	60.552	55.560	91,8					216	0,4	4.088	6,8	106	0,4	374	0,6	208	0,3			55.776	92,2	106	0,2	374	0,6	4.296	7,1		
6.	Birsche (Birze)	1.850	40.235	36.801	91,5					450	1,1	2.341	5,8	48	0,1	522	1,3	73	0,2			32.739	81,3	48	0,1	522	1,3	6.926	17,2		
7.	Telsche (Telsze)	1.550	44.005	37.433	85,1					490	1,1	13	0,0	585	1,3	5.310	12,1	174	0,4			37.923	86,2	585	1,3	5.310	12,1	187	0,4		
8.	Kurschany (Kurszany)	1.645	38.646	32.591	84,3					1.253	3,2	54	0,1	2.360	6,1	2.048	5,3	180	0,5	160	0,4	34.032	88,1	2.360	6,1	2.048	5,3	206	0,5		
9.	Kupischki (Kupiszki)	1.835	43.943	40.410	92,0					2.252	5,1	9	0,0	154	0,4	1.118	2,5					42.673	97,1	152	0,3	1.118	2,5				
10.	Rakiscki (Rakiszki)	3.425	89.644	75.259	84,0					7.063	7,9	666	0,7	2.609	2,9	3.981	4,4	42	0,0	24	0,0	82.420	91,9	2.618	2,9	3.981	4,4	623	0,7	2	0,0
11.	Wiezajcie	1.470	36.509	32.625	89,4					129	0,4	5	0,0	14	0,0	3.262	8,9	474	1,3			32.559	89,2	14	0,0	3.262	8,9	674	1,8		
12.	Skaudwile	2.050	66.346	57.975	87,4					1.298	2,0	15	0,0	945	1,4	5.142	7,8	956	1,4	15	0,0	58.853	88,7	945	1,4	5.150	7,8	1.398	2,1		
13.	Kiejdany	2.280	52.153	34.426	66,0					15.195	29,1	41	0,1	436	0,8	1.844	3,5	211	0,4			49.618	95,1	437	0,8	1.853	3,5	245	0,5		
14.	Poniewiez	2.130	58.000	45.200	77,9					8.500	14,7	125	0,2	250	0,4	3.550	6,1	375	0,6			53.700	92,6	90	0,2	3.550	6,1	500	0,9	160	0,3
15.	Wilkomierz	2.370	70.444	58.142	82,5					6.700	9,5			320	0,5	5.264	7,5	15	0,0	3	0,0	64.825	92,0	320	0,5	5.264	7,5	35	0,0		
17.	Tauroggen (Taurogi)	1.505	46.614	40.762	87,4					371	0,8	61	0,1	225	0,6	2.751	5,9	2.444	5,2			35.154	75,4	72	0,2	2.751	5,9	8.637	18,5		
18.	Georgenburg (Rosienie)	2.325	72.049	62.733	87,2					1.451	2,0	123	0,2	392	0,5	4.721	6,6	2.629	3,5			63.884	88,7	419	0,6	4.721	6,6	3.025	4,2		
20.	Kowno	1.635	62.311	31.284	50,2					21.773	34,9	70	0,1	764	1,2	7.611	12,2	809	1,3			53.057	85,1	764	1,2	7.611	12,2	879	1,4		
		36.895	1.004.874	844.846						69.215		16.235		10.282		54.445		9.614		237		902.211		9.995		54.462		38.037		169	
BEVÖLKERUNGSSTATISTIK DES BEZIRKS WILNO																															
16.	Uziany (Uciany)	1.550	43.009	39.091	90,9					655	1,5			347	0,8	2.915	6,8	1	0,0	8	0,0	39.699	92,3	394	0,9	2.915	6,8	1	0,0		
19.	Salgudyszki (Sylgudyszki)	2.160	51.224	40.149	78,4					7.950	15,5			771	1,5	2.324	4,5	22	0,0	7	0,0	48.252	94,2	618	1,2	2.324	4,5	29	0,1	1	0,0
21.	Wladyslawow	1.755	61.998	56.232	90,7					227	0,4	85	0,1	33	0,1	2.151	3,5	3.263	5,3			54.679	88,2	33	0,1	2.164	3,5	5.122	8,3		
22.	Koszedary	2.030	61.440	29.033	47,3					27.441	44,7			297	0,5	3.773	6,1	52	0,1	844	1,4	57.257	93,2	297	0,5	3.773	6,1	52	0,1	61	0,1
23.	Szyrwinty	1.960	62.262	13.539	21,7					45.338	72,8			309	0,5	3.046	4,9			30	0,0	58.867	94,5	309	0,5	3.046	4,9	10	0,0	30	0,0
24.	Malaty	1.235	30.159	13.087	43,4					14.587	48,4	6	0,0	353	1,2	1.667	5,5			459	1,5	28.139	93,3	353	1,2	1.667	5,5				
25.	Nowo-Swenzjany [Swienciany]	3.205	91.689	25.259	27,5					55.971	61,2			2.019	2,2	5.276	5,7	39	0,0	3.125	3,4	83.579	91,2	2.437	2,7	5.276	5,7	57	0,1	340	0,4
26.	Wilkowyski (Wilkowyszki)	1.305	64.643	47.804	74,0					1.266	2,0	31	0,0	648	1,0	4.682	7,2	9.993	15,5	219	0,3	49.286	76,2	648	1,0	4.682	7,2	10.011	15,5	16	0,0
27.	Mariampol	2.960	102.231	89.352	87,4					3.190	3,1	188	0,2	112	0,1	6.170	6,0	3.134	3,1	85	0,1	92.815	90,8	112	0,1	6.170	6,0	3.134	3,1		
28.	Olita	4.215	103.765	79.397	76,5					15.495	14,9			197	0,2	8.211	7,9	67	0,1	398	0,4	94.892	91,4	197	0,2	8.211	7,9	83	0,1	382	0,4
29.	Wilno-Land	2.510	74.740	2.713	3,7					68.136	91,2			616	0,8	2.832	3,8	102	0,1	341	0,5	71.096	95,1	616	0,8	2.832	3,8	90	0,1	106	0,1
30.	Sejny	1.840	39.000	19.876	51,0					16.889	43,3	80	0,2	475	1,2	1.510	3,9	144	0,4	26	0,1	36.868	94,5	475	1,2	1.510	3,9	147	0,4		
31.	Wilno-Stadt	80	139.247	2.662	1,9					74.221	53,3	65	0,0	2.849	2,0	58.371	41,9	1.003	0,7	76	0,1	77.034	55,3	9.339	2,0	58.371	41,9	961	0,7	32	0,0
		26.805	925.407	458.194						331.366		455		9.026		102.928		17.820		5.618		792.463		2.848		102.941		19.697		968	
BEVÖLKERUNGSSTATISTIK DER MILITÄRKREISVER- WALTUNG SUWALKI-AUGUSTOW (1916).																															
1.	Suwalki	1.530	63.410	6.068	9,6					47.039	74,2	1	0,0	790	1,2	7.475	11,8	2.037	3,2			49.733	78,4	1.057	1,7	7.449	11,8	5.171	8,2		
2.	Augustow	1.635	40.694	106	0,3					35.251	86,6			363	0,9	3.040	7,5	39	0,1	1.895	4,7	37.049	91,0	363	0,9	3.040	7,5	242	0,6		
		3.165	104.104	6.174						82.290		1		1.153		10.515		2.076		1.895		86.782		1.420		10.489		5.413			

BEVÖLKERUNGSSTATISTIK DES BEZIRKS GRODNO

VOLKSZÄHLUNG I. IV — 30. VI 1916

KREISE	NATIONALITÄT					
	Polen		Weissrussen		Juden	
	Zahl	%	Zahl	%	Zahl	%
Grodno Stadt.	7.609	31.12	465	1.81	15.583	63.70
Grodno Land.	36.245	78.12	2.070	4.45	5.393	11.65
Plauty	12.757	28.82	24.718	55.70	6.695	15.12
Lida	11.173	33.19	14.500	42.89	5.859	17.35
Radun	44.977	87.43	48	0.10	2.002	3.89
Wasiliscki	21.315	57.80	9.923	26.90	3.776	10.20
Zusammen	134.076	56.51	51.724	21.80	39.308	16.57
Evakuierte	2.268					

NATIONALITÄT													
LITAUER		RUSSEN		GROSSRUSSEN		LETTEN		DEUTSCHE		ANDERE			
Zahl	%	Zahl	%	Zahl	%	Zahl	%	Zahl	%	Zahl	%	Zahl	%
113	0.46	570	2.34	67	0.35	21	0.10	31	0.12	1	0.00		
1.099	2.36	1.500	3.26	46	0.10	6	0.01	24	0.05	—	—		
2	—	—	—	72	0.16	—	—	28	0.06	59	0.13		
942	2.78	1.243	3.68	11	0.03	18	0.05	9	0.03	—	—		
4.059	7.90	272	0.52	6	0.01	74	0.15	—	—	—	—		
320	0.86	1.364	3.68	212	0.56	—	—	—	—	—	—		
6.535	2.75	4.949	2.08	444	0.17	119	0.05	92	0.04	60	0.03		

KONFESSION											
Katholiken		Juden		Orthodoxe		Evangelische		Andere		Zusammen	
Zahl	%	Zahl	%	Zahl	%	Zahl	%	Zahl	%	Zahl	%
7.651	31.28	15.583	63.71	1.049	4.29	162	0.66	15	0.06	24.460	
38.615	83.24	5.393	11.63	2.347	5.07	28	0.06	—	—	46.383	
24.623	55.55	6.695	15.10	12.923	29.15	31	0.07	59	0.13	44.331	
16.713	49.44	5.859	17.42	11.168	33.10	15	0.04	—	—	33.755	
49.425	96.09	2.002	3.89	11	0.02	—	—	—	—	51.438	
24.979	67.68	3.776	10.22	8.155	22.10	—	—	—	—	36.910	
162.006	68.28	39.308	16.57	35.653	15.02	236	0.10	74	0.03	237.277	

BEVÖLKERUNGSSTATISTIK DE BEZIRKS WILNO

VOLKSZÄHLUNG MÄRZ 1916

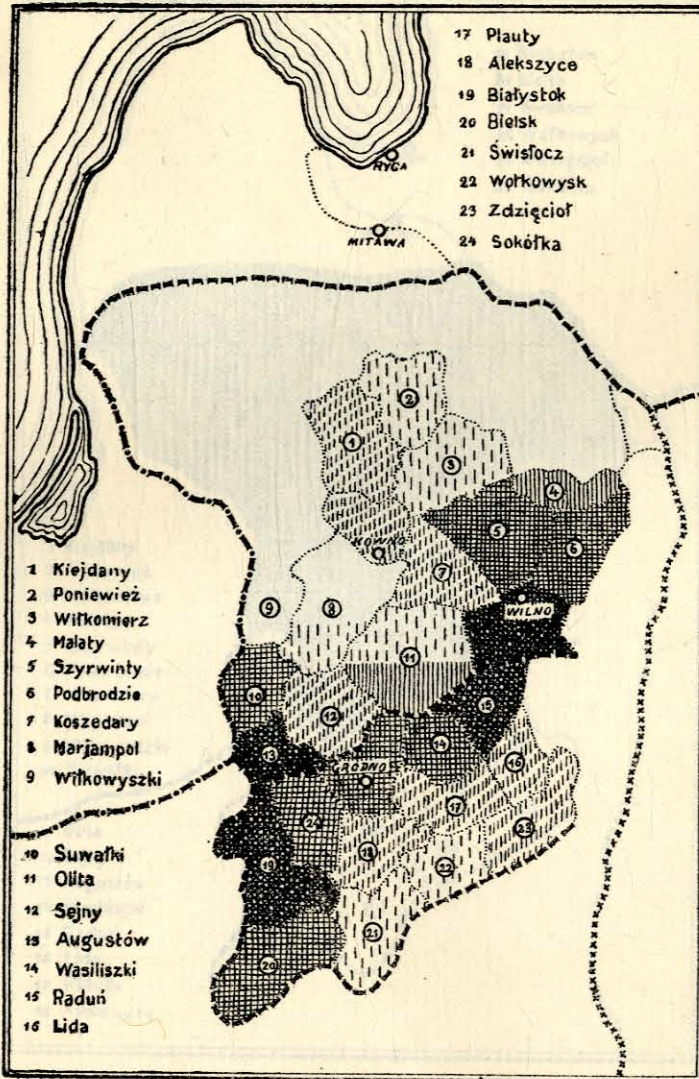
KREISE	Polen	%	Litauer	%	Juden	%
Wilno Stadt.	70.629	50.15	3.699	2.6	61.245	43.5
Wilno Land.	56.632	89.8	2.713	4.3	2.711	4.3
Szyrwinty	42.759	74.23	11.471	19.91	2.767	4.8
Podbrodzie	33.914	72.14	4.709	10.2	4.359	9.27
Merecz	11.940	17.5	49.271	72.2	6.507	9.52
Malaty	14.895	49.3	12.493	41.4	1.583	5.2
Koszedary	32.406	45.1	33.832	47.1	3.955	5.5
Zusammen	263.175	55.0	118.188	24.7	83.127	17.5

Weissrussen	%	Russen	%	Deutschen	%	Andere	%	Zusammen	Zur Arbeit Tauglich	%
1.917	1.36	2.050	1.46	1.000	0.72	300	0.21	140.840	36.664	26
559	0.9	297	0.4	102	0.2	62	0.1	63.076	14.070	22
255	0.44	280	0.49	31	0.06	41	0.07	57.604	13.785	24
3.188	6.78	731	1.55	20	0.04	88	0.2	47.009	10.407	22
139	0.2	82	0.12	39	0.06	241	0.4	68.219	13.581	20
931	3.1	285	1.0	5	—	—	—	30.192	3.627	12
1.074	1.5	425	0.6	59	0.08	88	0.12	71.839		
8.063	1.7	4.150	0.87	1.256	0.26	820	0.17	478.779		

POLES IN LITHUANIA

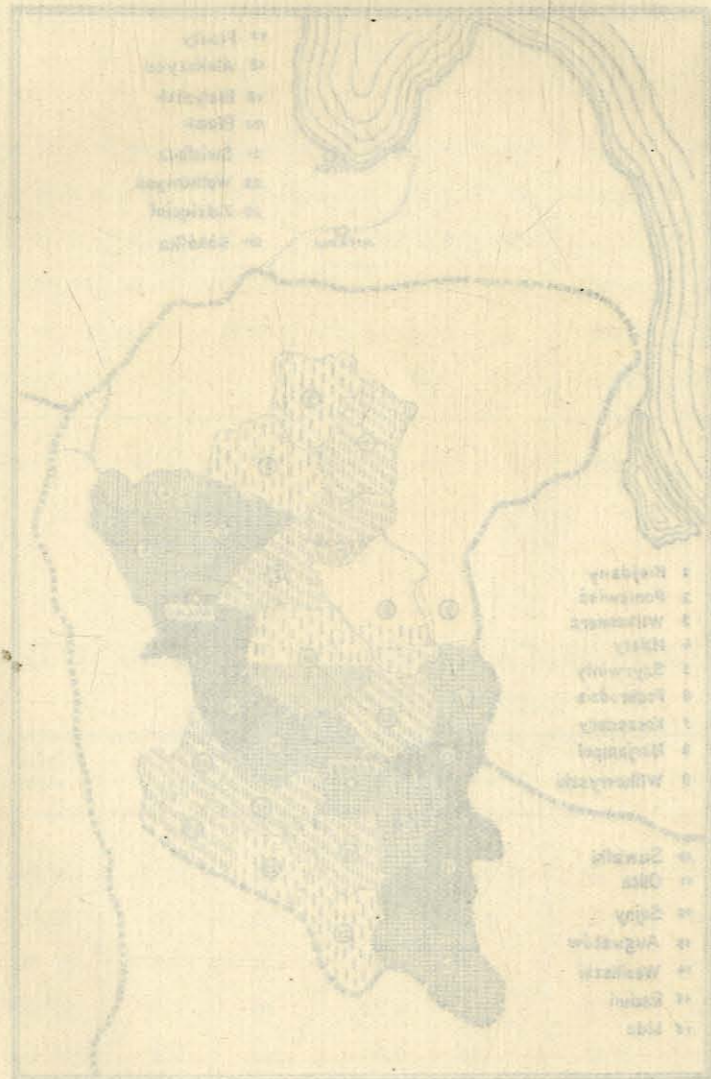
German statistics 1916

Copy of official rough draft

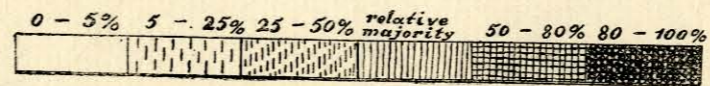
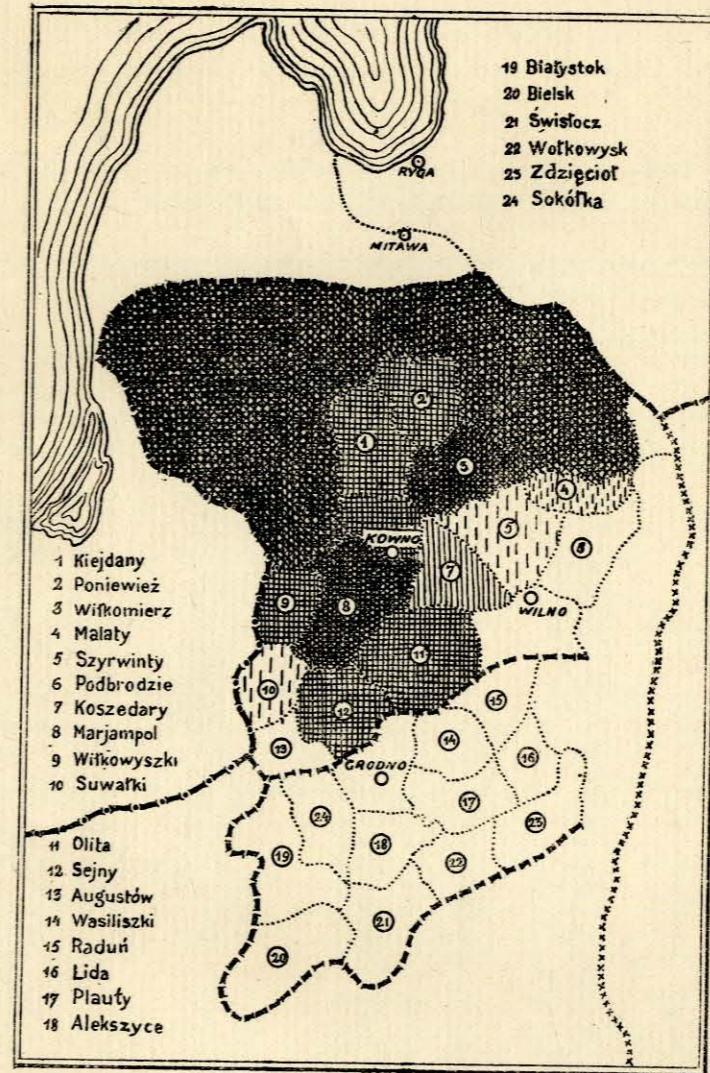


POLES IN LITHUANIA

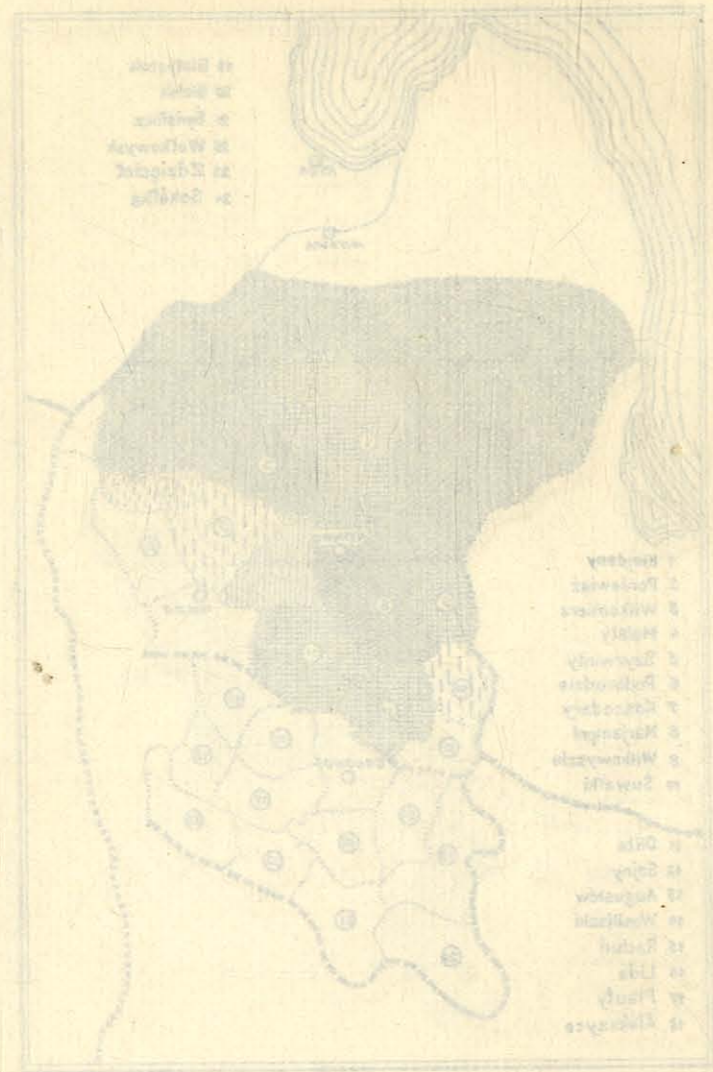
German statistics 1918
Copy of official rough draft



LITHUANIANS IN LITHUANIA
According to German statistics 1918



LITHUANIANS IN LITHUANIA
According to German statistics 1918



ANNEX B

TABLE OF THE CATHOLIC CLERGY OF VILNO
AND THE NUMBER OF LITHUANIANS IN THE LITHUANIAN TERRITORY
AS OF 1918

All the numbers are rounded up or down to the nearest whole number.

DIAKONIAI Parishes	LITHUANIANS	
	Number	%
Total	10,000	100
1. Vilnius	1,500	15
2. Šiauliai	1,200	12
3. Kaunas	1,000	10
4. Telsiai	800	8
5. Alytus	700	7
6. Marijampolė	600	6
7. Panevėžys	500	5
8. Radvilaiškis	400	4
9. Širvintai	300	3
10. Utena	200	2
11. Dzūkija	150	1.5
12. Ožkai	100	1
13. Šalčininkai	80	0.8
14. Rokiškis	60	0.6
15. Utena	50	0.5
16. Plungė	40	0.4
17. Radvilaiškis	30	0.3
18. Širvintai	20	0.2
19. Utena	15	0.15
20. Plungė	10	0.1
21. Radvilaiškis	5	0.05
22. Širvintai	5	0.05
23. Utena	5	0.05
24. Plungė	5	0.05
25. Radvilaiškis	5	0.05
26. Širvintai	5	0.05
27. Utena	5	0.05
28. Plungė	5	0.05
29. Radvilaiškis	5	0.05
30. Širvintai	5	0.05
31. Utena	5	0.05
32. Plungė	5	0.05
33. Radvilaiškis	5	0.05
34. Širvintai	5	0.05
35. Utena	5	0.05
36. Plungė	5	0.05
37. Radvilaiškis	5	0.05
38. Širvintai	5	0.05
39. Utena	5	0.05
40. Plungė	5	0.05
41. Radvilaiškis	5	0.05
42. Širvintai	5	0.05
43. Utena	5	0.05
44. Plungė	5	0.05
45. Radvilaiškis	5	0.05
46. Širvintai	5	0.05
47. Utena	5	0.05
48. Plungė	5	0.05
49. Radvilaiškis	5	0.05
50. Širvintai	5	0.05
51. Utena	5	0.05
52. Plungė	5	0.05
53. Radvilaiškis	5	0.05
54. Širvintai	5	0.05
55. Utena	5	0.05
56. Plungė	5	0.05
57. Radvilaiškis	5	0.05
58. Širvintai	5	0.05
59. Utena	5	0.05
60. Plungė	5	0.05
61. Radvilaiškis	5	0.05
62. Širvintai	5	0.05
63. Utena	5	0.05
64. Plungė	5	0.05
65. Radvilaiškis	5	0.05
66. Širvintai	5	0.05
67. Utena	5	0.05
68. Plungė	5	0.05
69. Radvilaiškis	5	0.05
70. Širvintai	5	0.05
71. Utena	5	0.05
72. Plungė	5	0.05
73. Radvilaiškis	5	0.05
74. Širvintai	5	0.05
75. Utena	5	0.05
76. Plungė	5	0.05
77. Radvilaiškis	5	0.05
78. Širvintai	5	0.05
79. Utena	5	0.05
80. Plungė	5	0.05
81. Radvilaiškis	5	0.05
82. Širvintai	5	0.05
83. Utena	5	0.05
84. Plungė	5	0.05
85. Radvilaiškis	5	0.05
86. Širvintai	5	0.05
87. Utena	5	0.05
88. Plungė	5	0.05
89. Radvilaiškis	5	0.05
90. Širvintai	5	0.05
91. Utena	5	0.05
92. Plungė	5	0.05
93. Radvilaiškis	5	0.05
94. Širvintai	5	0.05
95. Utena	5	0.05
96. Plungė	5	0.05
97. Radvilaiškis	5	0.05
98. Širvintai	5	0.05
99. Utena	5	0.05
100. Plungė	5	0.05

ANNEX B

INQUIRY OF THE CATHOLIC CONSISTORY OF WILNO ON THE NUMBER OF LITHUANIANS IN THE LITIGIOUS TERRITORY, EXECUTED IN 1908.

*All the non-Lithuanians are inscribed as Polish, except in the parish W. Soleczniki,
where, besides Poles, 660 White-Ruthenians-Poles are found.*

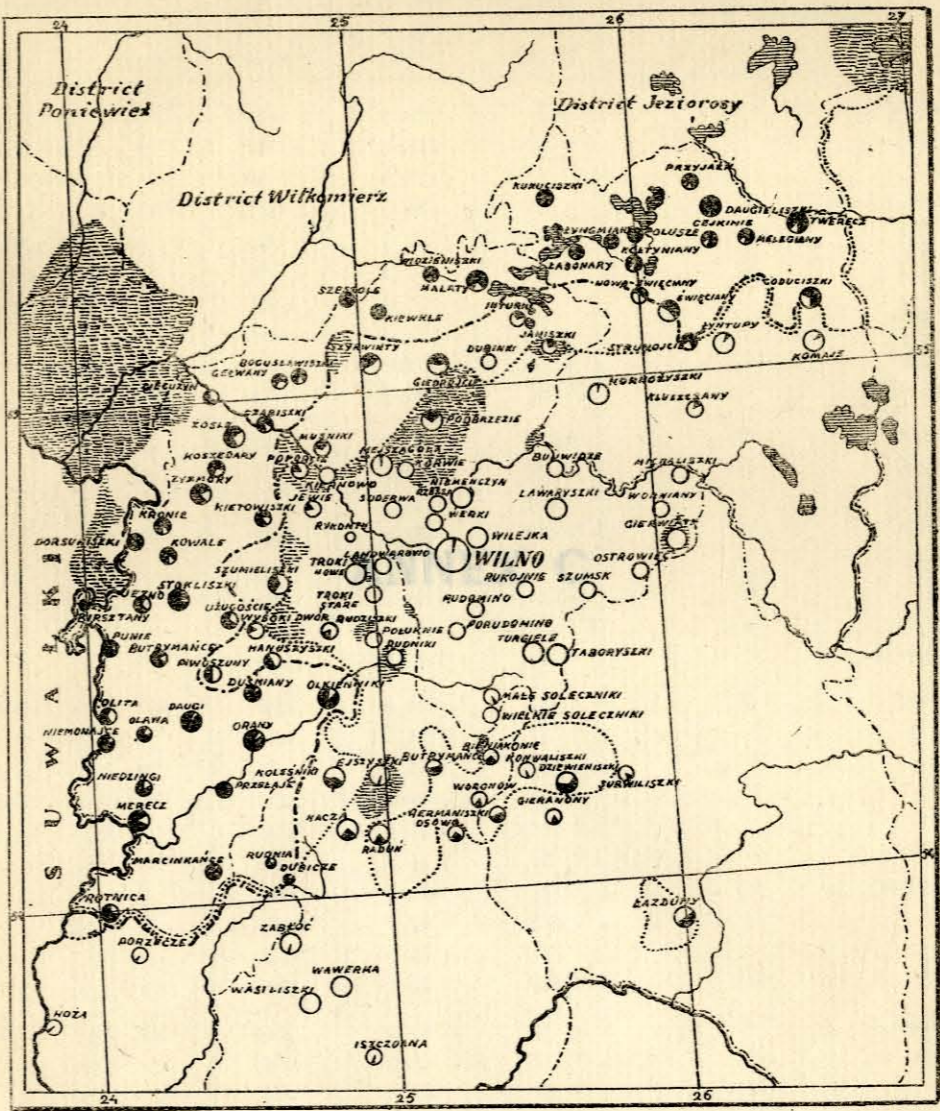
DISTRICTS Parishes	PARISHIONERS	LITHUANIANS	
	Number	Number	%
WILNO :			
Wilno	94.000	2.227	2,4
Boguslawiszki	3.716	3.152	94,2
Bujwidze	5.000	—	—
Czabiszki	2.354	1.984	84,2
Dubinki	4.000	1.000	25,0
Giedrojcie	7.300	3.200	43,8
Gierwiaty	5.606	2.622	46,7
Gelwany	4.486	3.371	75,1
Inturki	3.641	1.103	30,2
Janiszki	4.308	1.500	34,8
Kiernowo	3.030	—	—
Kiewkle	?	2.336	?
Korwie	2.409	—	—
Lawaryszki	5.739	—	—
Malaty	7.199	6.537	90,7
Mejszagola	5.400	200	3,7
Michaliszki	3.060	—	—
Musniki	3.753	1.251	33,3
Niemenczyn	7.805	—	—
Nowa Wilejka	8.357	—	—
Ostrowiec	3.827	—	—
Podbrzezie	5.740	1.913	33,3
Porudomino	2.000	—	—
Rudomino	5.000	—	—
Rukojnie	4.800	—	—
Rzesza	2.415	17	0,7
Suderwa	4.215	—	—
Suzany	3.560	15	0,4
Szeszole	?	2.819	?
Szumsk	4.379	—	—
Szyrwinty	7.077	3.000	42,5
Taboryszki	6.267	—	—
Turgiele	8.562	—	—
Werki	3.730	10	0,3
Widzieniszki	?	5.000	?
Worniany	4.797	—	—

DISTRICTS Parishes	PARISHIONERS	LITHUANIANS	
	Number	Number	%
TROKI :			
Birsztany	1 296	1 281	98,8
Butrymance	2 261	1 905	84,2
Daugi	5 802	5 670	97,8
Dorsuniszki	2 481	2 481	100,0
Dusmiany	3 490	3 030	86,7
Gieguzyn	4 288	2 835	66,1
Hanuszyski	4 311	2 456	50,0
Jezno	4 953	3 766	76,0
Jewie	4 680	880	16,6
Kietowiszki	4 736	3 925	82,8
Koszedary	4 212	2 577	61,1
Kowale	2 861	2 561	89,5
Kozakiszki (Poporcie)	3 225	660	20,4
Kronie	2 452	2 000	89,9
Landwarowo	3 424	—	—
Merecz	6 020	5 168	85,8
Marcinkance	3 100	3 020	97,4
Niedzingi	2 995	2 490	83,1
Niemonajce	3 000	2 850	95,0
Olita	2 971	1 981	66,7
Olkienniki	8 823	7 707	87,0
Olawa	2 868	2 422	84,4
Orany	5 041	4 705	93,3
Piwoszuny	4 726	2 100	44,4
Punie	3 103	2 966	95,5
Przelaje	2 200	2 200	100,0
Poluknie	1 821	—	—
Rotnica	3 097	2 235	72,1
Rudniki	2 380	—	—
Rudziszki	4 104	872	21,2
Rykonty	1 543	—	—
Stare Troki	3 500	—	—
Stokliszki	7 069	6 799	96,1
Szumieliszki	6 642	2 699	40,6
Troki	7 300	—	—
Uzugoscie	3 223	2 382	73,9
Wysoki Dwor	4 100	616	15,0
Zosle	9 231	6 390	69,2
Zyzmory	7 925	5 943	74,9
LIDA :			
Bieniakonie	4 900	1 200	24,4
Butrymance (ad Bieniakonie)	3 055	1 527	50,0
Dubicze	1 009	825	81,6
Ejszyski	10 385	800	7,7
Hermaniszki	3 395	1 813	53,4
Iszczolna	4 310	34	0,7
Kolesniki	5 330	2 234	41,9
Nacza	5 218	1 450	27,7
Osowo	3 590	1 174	32,7
Radun	9 290	2 856	30,7
Rudnia	1 757	1 467	83,4
Wawerka	8 000	1 000?	12,5?
Woronow	2 798	516	18,4
Zablocie	6 781	55	0,8
Wasiliszki	10 500	—	—
W. Soleczniki	3 300	—	—
M. Soleczniki	2 119	90	4,2

DISTRICTS Parishes	PARISHIONERS	LITHUANIANS	
	Number	Number	%
OSZMIANA :			
Dziewieniszki	5 806	3 870	66,7
Gieranony	3 405	500	14,6
Konwaliszki	3 438	200	5,8
Lazduny	5 344	2 672	50,0
Surwiliszki	3 675	604	16,4
DZISNA :			
Dzisna	4 250	214	5,0
Hermanowicze	3 820	360	9,4
Prozoroki	5 450	298	5,4
SWIENCIANY :			
Cejkinie	3 055	2 900	94,9
Daugieliszki	6 673	6 560	98,3
Goduciszki	7 500	5 500	73,3
Kluszczany	2 974	391	13,1
Koltyniany	3 492	3 205	91,8
Komaje	6 080	164	2,7
Korkozyszki	3 676	30	0,9
Kukuciszki	4 321	4 224	97,8
Labonary	4 120	3 920	97,6
Lyngmiany	—	4 556	?
Melegiany	3 821	3 489	91,3
Nowe Swienciany	3 945	2 044	51,8
Polusze	2 626	2 556	97,3
Przyjazn	2 840	2 650	92,6
Strunojcie	3 863	2 746	71,1
Swienciany	9 177	5 395	58,8
Twerecz	7 115	6 266	88,1
Lyntupy	5 600	40	0,7
GRODNO :			
Porzecze	3 914	86	2,2
Hoza	4 138	197	4,8

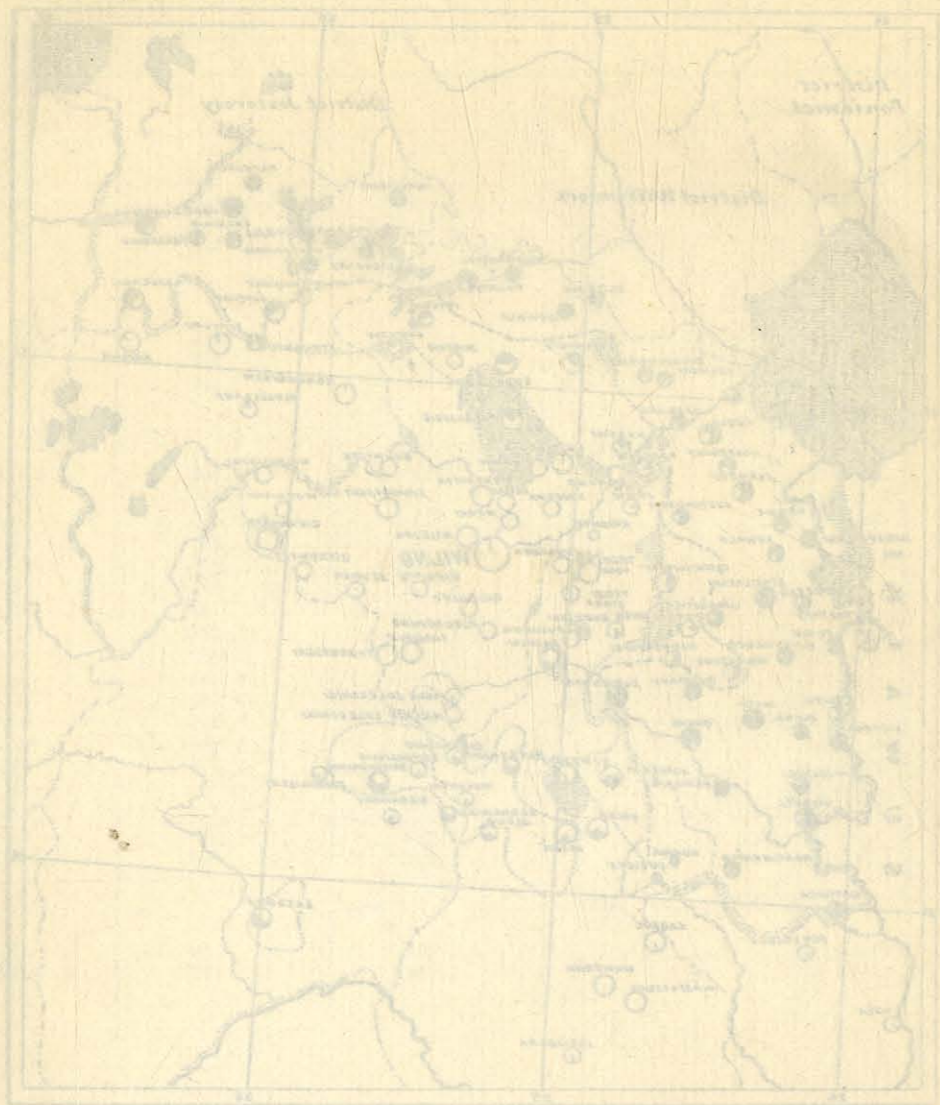
LITHUANIANS IN THE DIOCESE OF WILNO
 Inquirer of the catholic consistory 1908

DISTRICTS	Parishes	Number	Number	Number
OSZMIANA	Dziwiszki	1	1	1
	Gardony	1	1	1
	Konarski	1	1	1
	Ladany	1	1	1
	Sowinski	1	1	1
DASIA	Dzianow	1	1	1
	Hertanowice	1	1	1
	Proszki	1	1	1
SWIENCZYNY	Gajon	1	1	1
	Damulski	1	1	1
	Godulski	1	1	1
	Kasaczany	1	1	1
	Kolysany	1	1	1
	Komary	1	1	1
	Kerostycki	1	1	1
	Kucycki	1	1	1
	Lapanow	1	1	1
	Lipnany	1	1	1
	Mielany	1	1	1
	Nowe Swienciany	1	1	1
	Pokazy	1	1	1
	Prasany	1	1	1
	Swienciany	1	1	1
	Swienciany	1	1	1
	Wierzy	1	1	1
	Lipnany	1	1	1
GRODNO	Pozeski	1	1	1
	Hozki	1	1	1



Black sectors indicate the % of Lithuanians
 White sectors indicate the % of Poles
 Limit of the Lithuanian territory (according to M. Rozwadowski)
 - - - - - Limit of the territory with Lithuanian majority according to the inquiry of the consistory.
 Mixed territory (according to M. Rozwadowski.)

LETUANIANS IN THE DIOCESE OF VILNA
 before of the catholic consistory 1919



Black circles indicate the # of Letuanians
 White circles indicate the # of Catholics
 Dashed line of the diocesan territory according to the consistory of the consistory
 Solid territory according to the consistory

ANNEX C

District	1919		1920	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Stann	112	1.00	112	1.00
Rostow	30	0.27	30	0.27
Orta	44	0.40	44	0.40
Machyn	55	0.50	55	0.50
Stobry	61	0.55	61	0.55
Zimniewic	62	0.56	62	0.56
Honda	63	0.57	63	0.57
Godle	64	0.58	64	0.58
Cerkow	65	0.59	65	0.59
Czarna	66	0.60	66	0.60
Bacyn	67	0.61	67	0.61
Mobyle G	68	0.62	68	0.62
Sien	69	0.63	69	0.63
Kasycy	70	0.64	70	0.64
Pina	71	0.65	71	0.65
Norwold	72	0.66	72	0.66
Mazy	73	0.67	73	0.67
Mina	74	0.68	74	0.68
Lumby	75	0.69	75	0.69
Bosynow	76	0.70	76	0.70
Boroh	77	0.71	77	0.71
Minsk G	78	0.72	78	0.72
Wilnianski	79	0.73	79	0.73
Tork	80	0.74	80	0.74
Szafa	81	0.75	81	0.75
Rosin	82	0.76	82	0.76
Postow	83	0.77	83	0.77
Kow	84	0.78	84	0.78
Jatow	85	0.79	85	0.79
Kow G	86	0.80	86	0.80
Wolow	87	0.81	87	0.81
Sobol	88	0.82	88	0.82
Szawa	89	0.83	89	0.83
Pruski	90	0.84	90	0.84
Kobry	91	0.85	91	0.85
Grodno	92	0.86	92	0.86
Stawo Lidski	93	0.87	93	0.87
Stob	94	0.88	94	0.88
Stajst	95	0.89	95	0.89
Stobry	96	0.90	96	0.90
Stob	97	0.91	97	0.91
Stajst	98	0.92	98	0.92
Stobry	99	0.93	99	0.93
Stob	100	0.94	100	0.94
Stajst	101	0.95	101	0.95
Stobry	102	0.96	102	0.96
Stob	103	0.97	103	0.97
Stajst	104	0.98	104	0.98
Stobry	105	0.99	105	0.99
Stob	106	1.00	106	1.00

ANNEX C

ELECTORS OF THE ZIEMSTWO

GOVERNMENTS — Districts	POLES			RUSSIANS NON-ORTHODOXIES			ORTHODOXIES			OTHERS (LITHUANIANS, GERMANS, etc.)			TOTAL
	Small property		Large property	Small property		Large property	Small property		Large property	Small property		Large property	
	Number	%	Number	Number	%	Number	Number	%	Number	Number	%	Number	
Grodno G.	248	20.1	282	437	35.4	292	492	39.8	452	59	4.8	36	2,298
Bialystok	32	19.0	12	78	46.4	40	31	18.5	37	27	16.1	8	265
Bielsk.	17	11.9	9	78	54.5	39	46	32.2	29	2	1.4	2	222
Brzesc Litewski	37	20.7	17	22	12.3	43	120	67.0	88	—	—	3	330
Grodno	90	41.5	91	40	18.4	17	69	31.8	53	18	8.3	9	387
Kobryn	17	11.0	39	53	34.4	41	84	54.5	83	—	—	2	319
Pruzana	9	9.2	22	30	30.6	19	59	60.2	41	—	—	2	182
Slonim	18	14.4	37	56	44.8	52	48	38.4	58	3	2.4	3	275
Sokolka	2	2.8	—	42	60.9	11	19	27.5	22	6	8.7	1	103
Wolkowysk	26	31.3	55	38	45.8	30	16	19.3	41	3	3.6	6	215
Kowno G.	816	34.0	807	45	1.9	119	191	8.0	235	1,348	56.2	322	3,883
Jeziorosy	97	39.6	118	8	3.3	11	35	14.2	23	105	42.9	17	414
Kowno	172	40.4	96	10	2.3	16	49	11.5	52	195	45.8	76	666
Poniewiez	132	38.5	113	10	2.9	49	11	3.2	33	190	55.4	46	584
Rosienie	165	47.0	149	3	0.9	14	12	3.4	33	171	48.7	24	571
Szawle	119	30.7	152	8	2.1	12	49	12.6	60	212	54.6	41	653
Telsze	19	8.0	59	3	1.3	13	11	4.6	16	205	86.1	55	381
Wilkomierz	112	27.4	120	3	0.7	4	24	5.9	18	270	66.0	63	614
Minsk G.	687	39.3	854	110	6.3	35	913	52.3	584	37	2.1	43	3,263
Bobrujsk	57	21.0	86	1	0.4	1	199	73.4	111	14	5.2	7	476
Borysow	91	41.0	83	32	14.4	10	96	43.2	53	3	1.4	9	377
Ihumen	89	38.4	104	16	6.9	2	127	54.7	63	—	—	4	405
Minsk	111	46.3	110	44	18.3	10	79	32.9	34	6	2.5	6	400
Mozyr	20	14.3	57	—	—	4	118	84.3	46	2	1.4	2	249
Nowogrodek	121	61.7	124	2	1.0	1	66	33.7	36	7	3.6	8	365
Pinsk	35	41.2	112	—	—	1	48	56.5	63	2	2.4	2	263
Rzeczyca	24	24.7	46	—	—	1	73	75.3	117	—	—	—	261
Sluck	139	52.7	132	15	5.7	5	107	40.5	61	3	1.1	5	467
Mohylew G.	420	29.3	554	15	1.0	7	955	66.7	823	42	2.9	40	2,856
Bychow	16	20.0	49	—	—	—	62	77.5	55	2	2.5	4	188
Czausy	10	27.8	19	—	—	—	26	72.2	37	—	—	—	92
Czerykow	33	23.7	52	—	—	—	98	70.5	79	8	5.8	3	273
Gorki	4	11.8	6	3	—	—	24	70.6	31	3	8.8	3	74
Homel	13	8.9	31	3	8.8	1	128	87.7	82	2	1.4	4	264
Klimowice	18	15.8	37	—	2.1	—	96	84.2	133	—	—	—	284
Mohylew	83	31.6	88	3	—	2	177	67.3	124	—	—	—	477
Mscislaw	34	38.2	32	—	1.2	—	55	61.8	66	—	—	1	188
Orsza	91	45.7	86	—	—	—	84	42.2	83	24	12.1	13	381
Rohaczew	36	28.3	37	6	4.7	—	85	66.9	64	—	—	5	233
Sienno	82	40.0	117	—	—	4	120	58.5	69	3	1.5	7	402

GOVERNMENTS — Districts	POLES			RUSSIANS NON-ORTHODOXIES			ORTHODOXIES			OTHERS (LITHUANIANS, GERMANS, etc.)			TOTAL
	Small property		Large property	Small property		Large property	Small property		Large property	Small property		Large property	
	Number	%	Number	Number	%	Number	Number	%	Number	Number	%	Number	
Wilno G	894	47.0	758	476	25.0	68	337	17.7	252	194	10.2	59	3,038
Dzisna	187	53.1	117	70	19.9	13	82	23.3	36	13	3.7	12	530
Lida	151	50.7	87	94	31.5	14	37	12.4	54	16	5.4	6	459
Oszmiana	114	42.2	103	98	36.3	7	43	15.9	27	15	5.6	9	416
Swienciany	102	42.0	89	59	24.3	7	31	12.8	26	51	21.0	11	376
Troki	103	53.4	72	8	4.1	3	17	8.8	27	65	33.7	6	301
Wilejka	92	32.3	146	103	36.1	14	88	30.9	38	2	0.7	1	484
Wilno	145	55.8	144	44	16.9	10	39	15.0	44	32	12.3	14	472
Witebsk G	471	23.8	530	32	1.6	23	1,134	57.3	783	343	17.3	140	3,456
Dryssa	34	50.0	54	—	—	2	24	35.3	37	10	14.7	13	174
Dyneburg	54	22.0	65	1	0.4	2	105	42.7	72	86	35.0	29	414
Horodek	22	21.4	8	—	—	—	75	72.8	27	6	5.8	8	146
Lepel	99	68.3	111	—	—	—	44	30.3	31	2	1.4	6	293
Lucyn	21	12.4	26	5	3.0	—	45	26.6	50	98	58.0	19	264
Newel	15	7.2	22	—	—	5	192	91.9	102	2	1.0	5	343
Polock	61	37.0	51	18	10.9	9	66	40.0	114	20	12.1	17	356
Rzezycza	35	22.4	66	1	0.6	2	83	53.2	81	37	23.7	23	328
Siebiez	33	21.7	41	—	—	1	117	76.4	69	3	2.0	5	269
Wieliz	6	7.1	4	—	—	—	76	90.5	81	2	2.4	3	172
Witebsk	91	18.9	82	7	1.5	2	307	63.7	119	77	16.0	12	697
Lithuania and White Ruthenia	3,536	33.1	3,785	1,115	10.4	544	4,022	37.6	3,129	2,023	18.9	640	18,794
Kijow G	307	14.1	650	29	1.3	27	1,768	81.1	1,021	75	3.4	53	3,930
Berdyczow	76	31.0	125	29	10.5	22	135	45.1	133	37	13.4	8	565
Czehryn	3	4.3	22	—	—	—	67	95.7	82	—	—	1	175
Czerkasy	10	5.8	7	—	—	3	157	90.8	69	6	3.5	6	258
Human	42	18.5	103	—	—	—	181	79.7	97	4	1.8	7	434
Kaniow	8	11.9	34	—	—	1	58	86.6	53	1	1.5	—	155
Kijow	31	5.1	29	—	—	—	561	92.4	176	15	2.5	19	831
Lipowiec	25	26.9	89	—	—	—	68	73.1	44	—	—	2	228
Radomysl	30	13.1	55	—	—	1	191	83.0	157	9	3.9	4	447
Skwira	18	18.2	88	—	—	—	81	81.8	74	—	—	1	262
Taraszcza	23	22.8	61	—	—	—	78	77.2	44	—	—	—	206
Wasylkow	34	21.1	17	—	—	—	124	77.0	38	3	1.9	4	220
Zwinograd	7	9.5	20	—	—	—	67	90.5	54	—	—	1	149

GOVERNMENTS — Districts	POLES			RUSSIANS NON ORTHODOXIES			OTHERS (LITHUANIANS, GERMANS, etc.)			ORTHODOXIES			TOTAL
	Small property		Large property	Small property		Large property	Small property		Large property	Small property		Large property	
	Number	%	Number	Number	%	Number	Number	%	Number	Number	%	Number	
Podolia G.	577	37.8	1,044	8	0.5	17	927	60.8	937	13	0.9	36	3,559
Balta	23	13.1	70	—	—	6	151	86.3	209	1	0.6	4	464
Braclaw	17	29.8	39	—	—	—	40	70.2	45	—	—	2	143
Hajsyn	28	37.8	80	—	—	—	46	62.2	36	—	—	4	194
Jampol	47	45.6	123	—	—	6	56	54.4	58	—	—	3	293
Kamieniec	98	38.1	147	—	—	—	155	60.3	99	4	1.6	8	511
Latyczow	37	44.6	58	2	2.4	1	44	53.0	56	—	—	3	201
Lityn	32	41.6	100	—	—	1	45	58.4	70	—	—	1	249
Mohylow	45	38.1	65	2	1.7	—	70	59.3	85	1	0.8	1	269
Olgopol	29	28.4	73	4	3.9	1	68	66.7	61	1	1.0	3	240
Ploskirow	67	59.3	107	—	—	—	45	39.8	56	1	0.9	—	276
Uszyca	32	38.6	70	—	—	—	50	60.2	50	1	1.2	—	203
Winnica	122	43.1	112	—	—	2	157	55.5	112	4	1.4	7	516
			*										
Volhynia G.	814	34.2	999	4	0.2	4	1,271	53.4	1,260	293	12.3	147	4,792
Dubno	55	32.9	77	—	—	—	82	49.1	60	30	18.0	17	321
Kowel	41	31.1	56	—	—	—	88	66.7	70	3	2.3	—	258
Krzemieniec	38	29.5	55	—	—	—	89	69.0	75	2	1.6	4	263
Luck	71	38.8	73	—	—	—	73	39.9	94	39	21.3	12	362
Ostrog	37	38.1	46	—	—	—	46	47.4	61	14	14.4	3	207
Owrucl	15	12.9	34	1	0.9	—	87	75.0	49	13	11.2	6	205
Rowno	42	41.6	69	—	—	—	35	34.7	75	24	23.8	13	258
St. Konstantynow	34	52.3	105	—	—	2	31	47.7	62	—	—	—	234
Wlodzimierz Wolynski	55	87.7	103	3	2.1	—	77	52.7	92	11	7.5	7	348
Zaslav	39	37.5	63	—	—	—	48	46.2	27	17	16.3	2	196
Zwiahel	97	39.3	93	—	—	—	117	47.4	74	33	13.4	16	430
Zytomierz	290	32.3	225	—	—	2	498	55.6	521	107	12.0	67	1,710
Ruthenia	1,698	27.9	2,693	41	0.7	48	3,966	65.2	3,218	381	6.3	236	12,281
Total	5,234	31.2	6,478	1,156	6.9	592	7,988	47.6	6,347	2,404	14.3	876	31,075

No.	Name	Area		No.	Value
		sq. m.	sq. ft.		
101		100	1000	100	1000
102		100	1000	100	1000
103		100	1000	100	1000
104		100	1000	100	1000
105		100	1000	100	1000
106		100	1000	100	1000
107		100	1000	100	1000
108		100	1000	100	1000
109		100	1000	100	1000
110		100	1000	100	1000
111		100	1000	100	1000
112		100	1000	100	1000
113		100	1000	100	1000
114		100	1000	100	1000
115		100	1000	100	1000
116		100	1000	100	1000
117		100	1000	100	1000
118		100	1000	100	1000
119		100	1000	100	1000
120		100	1000	100	1000
121		100	1000	100	1000
122		100	1000	100	1000
123		100	1000	100	1000
124		100	1000	100	1000
125		100	1000	100	1000
126		100	1000	100	1000
127		100	1000	100	1000
128		100	1000	100	1000
129		100	1000	100	1000
130		100	1000	100	1000
131		100	1000	100	1000
132		100	1000	100	1000
133		100	1000	100	1000
134		100	1000	100	1000
135		100	1000	100	1000
136		100	1000	100	1000
137		100	1000	100	1000
138		100	1000	100	1000
139		100	1000	100	1000
140		100	1000	100	1000
141		100	1000	100	1000
142		100	1000	100	1000
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145		100	1000	100	1000
146		100	1000	100	1000
147		100	1000	100	1000
148		100	1000	100	1000
149		100	1000	100	1000
150		100	1000	100	1000
151		100	1000	100	1000
152		100	1000	100	1000
153		100	1000	100	1000
154		100	1000	100	1000
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157		100	1000	100	1000
158		100	1000	100	1000
159		100	1000	100	1000
160		100	1000	100	1000
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164		100	1000	100	1000
165		100	1000	100	1000
166		100	1000	100	1000
167		100	1000	100	1000
168		100	1000	100	1000
169		100	1000	100	1000
170		100	1000	100	1000
171		100	1000	100	1000
172		100	1000	100	1000
173		100	1000	100	1000
174		100	1000	100	1000
175		100	1000	100	1000
176		100	1000	100	1000
177		100	1000	100	1000
178		100	1000	100	1000
179		100	1000	100	1000
180		100	1000	100	1000
181		100	1000	100	1000
182		100	1000	100	1000
183		100	1000	100	1000
184		100	1000	100	1000
185		100	1000	100	1000
186		100	1000	100	1000
187		100	1000	100	1000
188		100	1000	100	1000
189		100	1000	100	1000
190		100	1000	100	1000
191		100	1000	100	1000
192		100	1000	100	1000
193		100	1000	100	1000
194		100	1000	100	1000
195		100	1000	100	1000
196		100	1000	100	1000
197		100	1000	100	1000
198		100	1000	100	1000
199		100	1000	100	1000
200		100	1000	100	1000

ANNEX D

STATEMENT OF THE POLISH LEGATION
IN BERLIN

TRANSMITTED BY THE POLISH CONSUL
IN BERLIN, JANUARY 1917

ANNEX D

The Poles constitute a compact element in White and in the adjoining districts. In other regions their living conditions are different. The high level of property, as well as the quality of the crops, and the general standard of life in Poland, are only the external appearance of the Polish element but also the intellectual and technical culture. The Russian officials remark that we have found here, and which do not respond to the modern scientific theories, were certainly fabricated at the expense of the Poles, of which the fact has only appeared with more evidence. Our census for 1916 has shown that the ignorance of the Polish element in Lithuania is much more considerable and that the Poles there are able to withhold the valuable physical and creative qualities. — If it is possible to govern without them in times of war, it would seem difficult to us to govern against them in times of peace — difficult and even dangerous, because the other nationalities of Lithuania present no true and stable support at all.



ANNEX D

ANNEX D

**STATEMENT OF THE GERMAN CAPTAIN
V. BECKERATH**

TRANSMITTED TO THE SUPREME COMMAND.

3rd. JANUARY 1917.

« The Poles constitute a compact majority at Wilno and in the surrounding districts. — In other regions they form some important minorities. — The large landed property is entirely in their hands, as well as the majority of the clergy, liberal professions and the financial world. — In Berlin, not only the numerical importance of the Polish element has been under-estimated, but also her political and economical value. The Russian official statistics that we have found here, and which do not respond to the modern scientific exigencies, were certainly falsified at the expense of the Poles, of which the true force has only appeared with more evidence. Our census for 1916 has shown that the importance of the Polish element in Lithuania is much more considerable, and that the Poles there are alone to withhold the valuable political and creative qualities. — If it is possible to govern without them in times of war, it would seem difficult to us to govern against them in times of peace — difficult and even dangerous, because the other nationalities of Lithuania present no true and stable support at all.



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ANNEX D

STATEMENT OF THE GERMAN CAPTAIN
V. BECKERATH

TRANSMITTED TO THE SUPREME COMMAND

3rd JANUARY 1917

Lithuania present no true and stable support at all. —
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 times of war, it would seem difficult to us to govern against them in times of
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 The large landed property is entirely in their hands, as well as the majority
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 * The Poles constitute a compact majority at Wilno and in the sur-

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