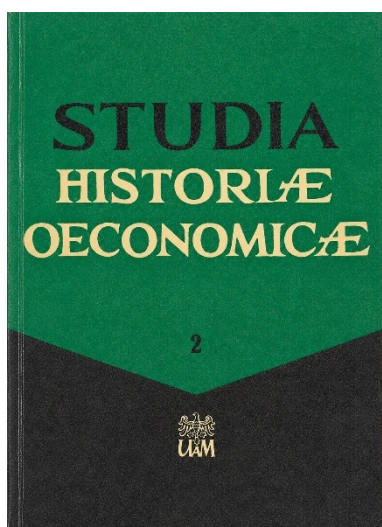




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EMIGRATION FROM THE POLISH TERRITORIES UNDER GERMAN RULE, 1815—1914

1. Long run migrational movements have always shown an economic, social and demographic character. When considering the first mentioned character we find economic determinants of migration, labour force of the migrants, and changes in the labour market of the sending region or of the receiving one, to be the most important phenomena. The strata of migrants according to occupation and division of economy, according to position in occupation and income, whether in emigration or in immigration region, mean the top social aspects while the sex, age and family status distributions mean the chief demographic ones. Let us concentrate our attention on these selected aspects of migrational movement.

It is easy to distinguish four elements in this movement: emigration, immigration, migrational turnover i. e. an exchange of migrants between regions; and migrational increase or decrease of population. The first two are least complex and most fragmentaric elements. The other two are more complex but also more symptomatical for the total migrational movement. Because of limited size of this paper two elements will be discussed only: emigration and migrational increase or decrease of population.

The area under research consists of contemporary Polish territories which from the Congress of Vienna till World War I belonged to the Prussian state and after the war of 1871 also to the Reich. Five former Prussian provinces were chosen as representatives for this area namely: Schlesien, Posen, Westpreussen, Pommern and Ostpreussen. The territories of the first three belong entirely to the present Polish state, the other two only in part. Namely the western strip of the fourth one, in the boundaries of the former Prussian Regierungsbezirk Stralsund, belongs nowadays to German Democratic Republic while the eastern districts of the fifth one approximately in boundaries of the former Regierungsbezirk Königsberg, are parts of the contemporary Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic. Outside the mentioned provinces, there were

five districts of the former Prussian province Brandenburg east of Odra belonging nowadays to the Polish state. In order to simplify the terminology we will define the total area under research as territory east of Odra and Nysa while the other parts of Prussian state and German Reich will be defined as territory, regions, countries of Reich or provinces of Prussian state respectively, situated west of Odra and Nysa. The territory east of Odra and Nysa will be discussed here as divided between three regions: Silesia, equal to the first of the provinces mentioned above, Great Poland, equal to the second one and Pomerania consisting of the residual provinces along the Baltic Sea, between Lower Odra and Lower Niemen (Memel).

The Congress of Vienna made a beginning and the World War I ended the peace lasting on hundred years, in the territory east of Odra and Nysa. In this period of time the boundaries of the defined territory did not undergo any changes, especially the eastern boundary covering the frontier between the Prussian state or the Reich respectively and the Russian empire. This fact hampered to a certain degree the political determinants of migrational movements.

In the 1815—1914 period some processes of economic and demographic character accompanied the migrational movements. On this basis we can distinguish four subperiods, namely: 1815—1831, 1831—1848, 1848—1871 and 1871—1914. In 1815—1831 the compensatory natural increase of population achieved its maximum. After that period the birth surplus was not significant, in some years even a surplus of deaths was noticed. Simultaneously, the economic boom just after the Congress of Vienna was followed by a crisis and by a depression lasting for many years in 1820's. All this converged with the beginning of agrarian reforms, with a world-wide economic crisis and with rising customs and tariffs in the foreign trade, especially between the Prussian state and the Russian empire.

In 1831—1848 after the cholera years at the beginning of this subperiod, high natural increase converged with good economic conditions. The latest had been i. a. accompanied by continuing agrarian reforms and by those started and completed in industry and trade.

In the third subperiod social and national revolutions, wars near the state boundaries, famines and epidemics, have restricted natural increase of population. This situation improved at the beginning and at the end of 1860's.

At last in 1871—1914, high but slowly diminishing birth rates followed a rather good economic conjuncture on the territory east of Odra and Nysa and also a rapid industrialization took place in the other, chiefly in the western parts of the Prussian state and of the Reich.

When investigating migrational movement we have found differences in the regional shares in this movement, in the number of emigrants and in their occupational and demographic structure between the sub-periods. The changing economic situation in the main immigration regions and countries, especially in western Germany, Russia and North America, have also influenced the intensity and the structure of the migrational movements.

2. Source materials concerning migrational movements in 1815—1914 are extremely plentiful and highly differentiated in respect to their completeness and reliability. Because of this aspect and the availability for this research work priority must be given to sources created in emigration regions.

Census materials and the records of births and deaths constitute the first rank sources. In the period of 1816—1822, there were yearly censuses, in 1822—1867, each third year, in 1867—1875 each fourth year and later on each fifth year. The first modern census with information about every person had been organized in 1840. The programme of the 1871 census had been enriched with information about the place of birth and place of stay which constituted a new basis for the studies of migrational movements. In 1907 similar questions have been introduced into the programme of the occupational census. All the census figures were published in journals and in special statistical editions¹.

In 1816—1876 births and deaths of the Catholics and Protestants had been registered at parishes and those of the Jews and of the members of other religious denominations at courts of justice. Yearly summaries have been sent from parishes and courts of justice to the Prussian Royal Office for Statistics. Since 1874 civil status offices registered births, marriages and deaths in the whole country and sent current reports to the Prussian Royal Office of Statistics which elaborated summaries and analytical figures and continued the editorial work.

The appraisals of these figures have been already published in connection with other study based on these sources². It should be added

¹ Mittheilungen des Statistischen Bureau's in Berlin 1848—1859. Hrsg. F. Dieterici (Mittheilungen). Zeitschrift des Königlich Preussischen Statistischen Bureau's (Landesamts) 1—70 (ZKPSB). Preussische Statistik, No. 5—234 (PS). Statistik des Deutschen Reichs, Vol. 2—4, 102—112, 202—212 (SDR). Statistisches Jahrbuch für den Preussischen Staat 1903—1915 (Stat. Jahrbuch).

² S. Borowski, *Zgony i wiek zmarłych w Wielkopolsce w latach 1807—1914*. Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski, 1967. S. Borowski, *Gospodarcze podłoże zmian ludnościowych w Wielkopolsce w latach 1807—1914*, Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych, 1963, Vol. 25, pp. 73—98. S. Borowski, *Kształtowanie się rolniczego rynku pracy w Wielkopolsce w okresie wielkich reform agrarnych 1807—1860*, Poznań 1963 (S. Borowski, *Kształtowanie*). B. Drewniak, *Emigracja*

only that the census and registration results can be used for estimating migrational balances, i. e. for estimating migrational increase or decrease of population in census time intervals for each of the three regions under research. No information on the other elements of migrational movements may be derived from these sources. It is remarkable that this source delivered the most important and reliable information about migrational movements during the total period 1815—1914 although in that time many other sources had been created.

Since 1871 the census informations about the place of birth and the place of stay at census date became a basis for estimating population shifts between provinces of the Prussian state. All the census data contained the total previous emigration from the birth region to the census region but not the emigration in an exactly defined time period. This source has not provided any information about population outflow over boundaries of the Prussian state and over the population inflow from abroad.

Questions concerning the place of birth and the place of stay introduced to the programme of occupational census in 1907 have provided information on population shifts in the whole Reich. As a result there are available figures reflecting the occupational and social structure of the migrants in immigration regions. This source keeps also silence about the outflow of population beyond the Reich's boundaries but informs about the gross inflow of persons born abroad.

More or less detailed figures about the population shifts in the Prussian state resp. in Reich have been published by the Prussian Royal Office for Statistics³ and by the Statistical Office of German Reich⁴.

Professor F. Dieterici, director of the Prussian Royal Statistical Office in 1834—1840—1859, recognized very early the importance of relationships between the economic development and migrational movements. As a result of his initiative in 1844 the district heads (landrath) began to deliver to county presidents (Regierungsbezirk-Präsident) and the latter to the Prussian Royal Office of Statistics, information about the number of persons who received the administrative permission to go abroad permanently and about the number of persons authorized to

z Pomorza Zachodniego 1816—1914, Poznań 1966. Z. Dulczewski, *Niektóre aspekty migracji na Ziemiach Zachodnich w okresie przed II wojną światową*. Przegląd Zachodni 1964, No. 2. G. Labuda, *Historiograficzna analiza tzw. niemieckiego naporu na wschód*. In: *Wschodnia ekspansja Niemiec w Europie środkowej*, Poznań 1963. W. Rusiński, *Ucieczka Niemców ze wschodnich prowincji Rzeszy przed 1939 r.* Przegląd Zachodni 1947, No. 4. J. Szaflarski, *Ruchy ludnościowe na pograniczu polsko-niemieckim w ciągu ostatniego wieku*. Gdańsk 1947.

³ PS, No. 30 and fol. ZKPSB, 1907—1908.

⁴ SDR, No. 210. 1.

settle down in their districts. Apart from that the district heads' reports contained the number of persons having exported resp. imported capital goods and value of these goods in talars. The destination region for emigrants were defined very generally, as a rule only the continent has been mentioned.

Starting from 1855 the number of emigrants leaving the country without the administrative permission was estimated and among them since 1856, also the number of men liable for military service. In the same year and in the following ones government acts had been issued in order to limit the illegal emigration.

Ernest Engel, since 1860 the director of the Prussian Royal Office for Statistics and an excellent scholar, enlarged the hitherto prevailing programme for observation of migrational movements. Migrating persons and families were considered as statistical units. The number of migrants' characteristics to be observed highly increased and contained i. a. sex, age, marital status, occupation and social position, value of capital goods exported or imported, immigration and emigration region — the latter defined in terms of countries or country groups. It was possible, of course, to observe all these characteristics in the case of migrants having received administrative permission for leaving the country.

In 1862 the observations of exported or imported capital goods were stopped. In 1873 the observation programme of migrational movements was changed again. The cases of naturalization acts of immigrants and the latest citizenships became statistical units of these observations.

In spite of restrictive measures the number of illegal emigrants continually increased. In 1870's this number became many times higher than the number of emigrants having received the proper administrative permission. Therefore in 1888, shortly after director Engel's death the detailed observations of migrational movements were stopped. The numerical results of the described observations in 1844—1887 were published by the Prussian Royal Office of Statistics⁵.

Simultaneously statistical observations of overseas emigration were begun. All persons going to overseas countries through harbours belonging to the German Customs Union (*Der Deutsche Zollverband*) were registered and in 1872 this registration has been extended in all the harbours in the Reich. Some economic and demographic characteristics of the migrants had been recorded, especially sex, continent or the

⁵ Mittheilungen 1848—1859. PS, No. 5—121. Festschrift des Königlich Preussischen Statistischen Bureau's, Part I and II Berlin 1905. F. Dieterici, *Über Auswanderungen und Einwanderungen, letztere in besonderer Beziehung auf den preussischen Staat*, Berlin 1847, Viebahn, *Statistik des zollvereinten und nördlichen Deutschlands*, Berlin 1862. ZKPSB No. 1—30.

more important overseas countries of destination, and in 1844—1887 also the other characteristics mentioned previously. Figures concerning the migrants to the European countries available from this source are not complete evidently, those concerning the migrants to other countries are approximate to the true figures; a small number of emigrants also went to overseas countries through non-German harbours⁶.

Beside statistical figures published by the Prussian Royal Office of Statistics and by the Statistical Office of the German Reich there exists a lot of unpublished records about migrational movements. In 1816—1822 the county presidents used to prepare reports for the Prussian government, called *Zeitungsberichte*. After reorganization of territorial administrative bodies in the 1830's, district heads used to prepare similar reports for county and province presidents. At the end of 1850's and at beginning of 1860's many of the district heads elaborated monographs of their districts including information about migrational movements. All these source materials are not complete, a part of these, in form of manuscripts, is kept in voivodship archives⁷.

Summarizing this survey of source materials, created, preserved and available in emigration regions we will stress that the most complete and reliable ones are population censuses and registration of births and deaths which constitute a sufficient basis for estimating the migrational increase or decrease of population. Information about the place of birth and the place of stay at census date constitute the source materials of the second rank. They mean an approach to numbers of emigrants and immigrants in the territory of the Prussian state and the Reich. As a source of the third class we consider the registration of overseas migration.

We can have a concise appraisal of these sources when comparing the results presented in the tables 1—4, 13 and 20. An analysis of sources available in immigration areas could also shed some light on sources already discussed.

Areas west of Odra and Nysa in the Prussian state and the Reich, Polish territories under Russian and Austro-Hungarian rule and many other European and non-European countries were immigration regions in the period under our research. West of Odra and Nysa the Prussian

⁶ Ibidem and PS, No. 188, Stat. Jahrbuch 1903—1915.

⁷ Archiwum Państwowe m. Poznania i woj. Poznańskiego, Naczelne Prezydium XXVI, B 2, Vol. V—VI; B 4, Vol. VI—VII; B 8, B 9. Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Bydgoszczy, Rep. 2, 1, 1025, 2817, 3018, 3042. Stahlberg, Statistische Darstellung des Kreises Adelnau... 1861, Ostrów 1863. Statistische Darstellung des Kreises Buk, 1860—1864, Wolsztyn 1865, and other monographs. Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe, Szczecin, Rep. 60, 65 and 66. S. Borowski, Kształtowanie, pp. 502—511.

state had the best organized statistics of migration. Mutatis mutandis our previous remarks about the value of sources for emigration regions remain also valid for immigration regions within the Prussian state. After 1871 we find similar sources for emigration regions east of Odra and Nysa and immigration regions inside the total Reich.

Among the other receiving countries the United States are of greatest importance. They had begun the regular registration of immigrants in 1820, while the earliest records on immigration in Europe were written in 1822. A detailed analysis of available statistics on international migration, with occasional estimates for missing items, has been prepared in the USA, by the National Bureau of Economic Research, under the direction of Walter F. Wilcox, in cooperation with the International Labour Office and a score of international experts⁸.

3. Let us examine the migrational increase or decrease of population in 1815—1910. This increase has been calculated for cumulated intervals between censuses according to the formula:

$$C_{i+1} - (C_i + \sum b - \sum d) \text{ where:}$$

C_i = census population at census date i ,

C_{i+1} = census population at the next census date: $i+1$

$\sum b$ = total live births in time interval $(i, i+1)$

$\sum d$ = total deaths in time interval $(i, i+1)$.

We were able to find all partial increases in time period under research which are presented as yearly average increases, also per 1000 average population and as percentages of natural increase (tables 1—2). Until 1840 we can mostly observe positive and rising values of increase in the total area under research as well as in each region. In 1820's yearly increase in the total area was 12.9 thousand, of which over 5 were noticed in Great Poland, over 4 in Silesia and 3 in Pomerania. In the following decade we can observe a yearly migrational increase of 43 thousand in which Silesia's share was one half, the Great Poland's one — $1/6^{\text{th}}$ and the Pomeranian share $1/3^{\text{rd}}$ (table 1).

Observing relative numbers we may see an analogous migrational increase. Total increase per 1000 average population rose to 6.1. We may also observe the quickest increase in Silesia and the slowest one in Pomerania. Because of famines and epidemics the migrational increase as percentage of natural increase failed to show any regularities, whether in the time run or in regional cross sections (table 2).

⁸ W. F. Wilcox, *International Migrations*, Vol. I, New York 1929. W. S. Woytinsky and E. S. Woytinsky, *World Population and Production Trends and Outlook*, New York 1953, pp. 72—80.

This migrational increase was favoured by economic reforms carried on in the total area under research. At first there were the agrarian reforms, the most important ones because of their impact on population movements. They have been followed in 1830's by reforms in industry, trade and by a new order in urban areas. In 1815—1840 there were also noticed some population movements caused by setting new boundaries just after the Congress of Vienna and because of the November national rising in 1831.

From 1840 to World War I we can observe a migrational decrease of population in the total area as well as in all its regions. Up to the 1880's the population decrease has become greater and greater, later on a diminishing tendency took place. In the top decade 1880—1890 the total yearly migration decrease amounted to more than 100 thousand in which Pomerania shared in one half, Silesia and Great Poland $1/4^{\text{th}}$. In the first decade of the XXth century the yearly migrational losses of population were almost 78 thousand, in which Pomerania's share was $3/5^{\text{th}}$, the Great Poland's and Silesia's ones about $1/5^{\text{th}}$ (table 1).

The relative numbers show a similar tendency. In the top decade the annual decrease per 1000 average population amounted to 10 and 78‰ of natural increase; in the first decade of the XXth century 6‰ and 42‰ respectively. When examining the regions separately the migrational decrease did not differ widely between Great Poland and Pomerania, but it was approximately three times lower in Silesia (table 2).

The migrational increase in the total area under research, when

Table 1

Yearly Average of Net Migration by Regions, 1816—1910

Years	Number of Persons			
	Silesia	Great Poland	Pomerania	Total
1816—1822	+ 3 957	— 1 157	+ 15 145	+ 17 945
1823—1831	+ 4 448	+ 5 418	+ 3 014	+ 12 880
1832—1840	+ 20 016	+ 7 068	+ 15 993	+ 43 067
1841—1849	— 1 376	— 878	— 1 795	— 4 049
1850—1861	— 1 146	— 1 083	+ 1 055	— 1 174
1862—1871	— 9 551	— 11 111	— 21 672	— 42 335
1872—1880	— 11 456	— 13 883	— 31 747	— 57 086
1881—1890	— 21 068	— 23 294	— 63 163	— 107 525
1891—1900	— 15 102	— 21 813	— 48 011	— 89 925
1901—1910	— 12 994	— 18 028	— 46 908	— 77 930

Source. Calculated from: Mittheilungen 1848—1859, ZKPSB 1861. PS, No. 5—234.

Table 2
Average Net Migration per Thousand Population, and Net Migration in Percentages of Population, 1816—1910

Years	Silesia		Great Poland		Pomerania		Total	
	Per 1000 Population	% of Natural Increase	Per 1000 Population	% of Natural Increase	Per 1000 Population	% of Natural Increase	Per 1000 Population	% of Natural Increase
1816—1822	+1.9	+10.4	— 1.3	— 4.8	+ 6.4	+24.9	+ 3.4	+14.6
1823—1831	+1.9	+17.4	+ 0.5	+100.1	+ 1.1	+ 8.6	+ 2.0	+19.5
1832—1840	+7.4	+84.0	+ 6.0	+55.8	+ 5.1	+50.6	+ 6.1	+ 6.3
1841—1849	—0.5	— 5.8	— 0.7	— 6.3	— 0.5	— 4.8	— 0.5	— 5.4
1850—1861	—0.4	— 4.0	— 0.8	— 8.9	+ 0.3	+ 2.3	— 0.2	— 1.3
1862—1871	—2.7	—23.2	— 7.2	—53.1	— 4.8	—40.9	— 4.4	—36.8
1872—1880	—2.9	—25.5	— 8.4	—51.1	— 6.7	— 4.8	— 5.5	—41.3
1881—1890	—5.1	—49.3	—13.4	—82.8	—12.9	—95.0	—10.0	—78.3
1891—1900	—3.3	—25.4	—11.7	—61.7	— 9.4	—63.0	— 7.4	—49.6
1901—1910	—2.6	—18.9	— 8.8	—45.9	— 8.7	—61.8	— 6.2	—42.4

Source. See table 1.

considered on the background of economic history, may be treated as a result of a slow economic development in comparison with the much faster demographic growth. The area under examination has delivered neither sufficient number of workplaces nor sufficiently high wages. The regions east of Odra and Nysa were situated between extremely underdeveloped areas and those relatively well developed. This situation has caused an animated migrational turnover and migrational losses of population in regions under research. At last the regions east of Odra and Nysa joined the mass emigration movements to other continents, especially to North America in which hitherto the western and north-western countries participated (table 20).

As it was already mentioned the figures of migrational increase presented in tables 1 and 2 have to serve us as measures of reliability of the more detailed figures derived from registration of migrants. A comparison of chosen items from two different sources may be made in table 3. We can easily find that the positive or negative migrational increase calculated from the census data and from the registers of births and deaths is much higher than the same increase calculated from registers of migrational movements. Moreover, the migrational decrease calculated from the first of the two sources for 1862—1871 and 1876—1880 is many times higher than the number of legal and of illegal emigrants taken together from the second source (table 3). It shows us to what degree the registers of migrants were incomplete.

In the total area under research in 1857—1858, the yearly average of illegal emigrants amounted to 3.5 thousand and in 1873—1880 to 18 thousand in which Pomerania's share was about one half. More than 1/4th of the total of illegal emigrants consisted of persons liable for military service. In Silesia the percentage of the latter persons in 1850's amounted to 30 and in 1870's to 47 (table 4).

4. The XIXth century always was a witness of an animated migrational turnover between the regions east and west of Odra and Nysa. In the second half of the century this turnover resulted in population decrease. When examining number of persons born in the regions east of Odra and Nysa but staying in those west of the above mentioned rivers at census date 1871 we can see that the total migrational decrease up to 1871 was rather small. It amounted to almost 120 thousand persons of which about one half was a Pomerania's population loss, 48 thousand were lost in Silesia and 13 thousand in Great Poland. Almost 80% of the total of emigrants settled down in the neighbouring region of Brandenburg and in the city of Berlin but only 6% in the provinces of Rheinland and Westfalen (table 6).

A Comparison of Net Migration Calculated from Two Different Sources

Regions	Net Migration Calculated from Census Data as well as from Registration of Births and Deaths		Registered Migration ^b			
	Number	Per 1000 Population ^a	Emigrants	Immigrants	Net Migration	
					Number	Per 1000 Population ^a
1844/45 — 1853/54						
Silesia	— 24 942	— 8.1	13 485	3 426	— 10 059	— 3.2
Great Poland	— 8 203	— 6.0	3 894	677	— 3 217	— 2.3
Pomerania	— 6 948	— 1.9	12 777	3 719	— 9 058	— 2.4
Total	— 40 093	— 4.9	30 156	7 822	— 22 334	— 2.7
1862 — 1871						
Silesia	— 95 513	— 26.6	16 480	3 643	— 12 837	— 3.5
Great Poland	— 111 113	— 71.3	30 186	1 850	— 28 336	— 18.3
Pomerania	— 216 722	— 47.9	84 713	4 167	— 80 546	— 8.4
Total	— 423 348	— 43.8	131 379	9 660	— 121 719	— 12.5
1876 — 1880						
Silesia	— 111 190	— 28.3	9 762	2 273	— 7 489	— 1.9
Great Poland	— 82 484	— 49.9	16 814	1 043	— 15 771	— 9.5
Pomerania	— 194 576	— 40.8	37 230	3 526	— 33 704	— 7.0
Total	— 388 250	— 37.5	63 806	6 842	— 56 964	— 5.5

^a In the whole period under research, ^b In 1844/45 – 1853/54 legal migration only; in 1862 – 1871 and 1876 – 1880 estimated number of illegal migration included.
Source: Mittheilungen 1848 – 1859, P. S., No. 5 – 65.

Table 4

Estimated Yearly Average of Illegal Emigrants and Percentages of Those Liable for Military Service

Regions	1857—1858			1873—1880		
	Number of Illegal Emigrants	of Whom Liable for Military Service		Number of Illegal Emigrants	of Whom Liable for Military Service	
		Number	Percentages		Number	Percentages*
Silesia	832	657	80.0	1 426	669	46.9
Great Poland	973	161	16.6	5 892	1 405	23.8
Pomerania	1 717	162	9.4	10 729	2 874	26.8
Total	3 522	980	27.8	18 046	4 948	27.4

Source: Mittheilungen 1858—1859, P.S. No. 36—61.

In 1870's and in the following decades the number of emigrants and their spatial distribution changed entirely. In 1871—1905 the migrational turnover increased 2.5 times in the total area east of Odra and Nysa as well as in all its regions considered separately. The migrational decrease, however, became 12 times higher in 1905 in comparison with census figures of 1871 and it was unequally distributed by regions, namely it was about only 4 times higher in Silesia, 14 times in Pomerania and 25 times in Great Poland. The neighbouring Brandenburg and Berlin attracted still the greatest part of emigrants. The provinces of Rheinland and Westfalen were becoming industrialized and therefore became the second most important immigration regions. The residual

Table 5

Seasonal Migration Movements of Agricultural Labourers in Great Poland, 1898—1912.
Yearly Average in Thousands

Years	Emigrants* from Great Poland to Western Parts of Germany	Immigrants to Great Poland from:		
		Kingdom of Poland (in Russia)	Little Poland, Slo- vakia and Hungary (in Austria-Hun- gary)	Total
1898—1900	38.6	10.8	4.9	15.7
1901—1903	33.3	10.2	4.9	15.1
1904—1906	31.6	8.9	7.2	16.1
1907—1909	27.2	12.2	9.3	21.5
1910—1912	22.8	12.3	8.5	20.8

* Some Hundreds of Non Seasonal Emigrants Included.

Source. Calculated from Jahresbericht der Landwirtschaftskammer für die Provinz Posen, 1912/13, p. 106.

emigrants settled down near by in Saxony or dispersed in other parts of the Prussian state (table 6).

Following industrialization processes the incomes produced in Brandenburg and in Saxony, in Rheinland and Westfalen rose very fast and the gaps between incomes of those provinces and of regions east of Odra and Nysa became ever greater. Consequently the wages between these space units became more and more differentiated in favour of regions producing higher incomes. These changes were reflected in patterns of migrational movements and they had also some further consequences. Above all not only the surplus but also a part of the necessary labour force has flowed out of the regions east of Odra and Nysa to the high income regions attracted by higher wages in the latter. But the level of wages in Silesia, Great Poland and Pomerania was higher than in the neighbouring eastern regions being in those times parts of the Russian and of the Austro-Hungarian empires. Therefore the labour force from these neighbouring regions began to flow to Silesia, Great Poland and Pomerania, at first in an illegal way and later on in a legal way, in order to get the vacant jobs. In this way we could observe streams of workers coming from the Kingdom of Poland and Little Poland, from Slovakia and Hungary into the regions east of Odra and Nysa. The details of this process have been recorded as concerns the agricultural labourers coming to Great Poland and Pomerania. In Great Poland, there was a remarkable tendency to balance the emigrants leaving for regions west of Odra and Nysa by immigrants flowing in from regions belonging to Russia and Austria-Hungary (table 5). There is also some fragmentaric information according to which the above mentioned balance tendency was also valid for many occupations and for the total east of Odra and Nysa (table 9). Up to 1907 there were settled down 226 thousand of persons born outside the Reich. The country of birth has been hidden in the source. We know, that most of those settlers came from the Polish regions belonging in that time to the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires.

5. After the German countries were united in the Reich under the Prussian leadership in 1871, the migrational movements between those countries and the regions east of Odra and Nysa became more and more animated. But the volume of this migration constituted hardly 1/4th of the total migration between the regions east of Odra and Nysa and the other parts of the Reich. The registration of emigrants leaving for the non-Prussian countries in the Reich has shown the same inaccuracies as the entire registration discussed above. The results of the occupational census of 1907 contain a summary of migrational shifts of population in the Reich and in the Prussian state as well as many economic, social and demographic features of the migrants.

Population Born in the Regions East of Odra and Nysa, Living in Other Parts of Prussian State,
Calculated from Census Data 1871–1905 (in Thousands)

Table 6

Census Regions	Census Years	Census Total	Population of Whom Born Outside Census Regions	Population Born in Census Regions Living at the Data of Census in:								Total Outside Region of Birth	Balance (Column 4 minus Column 11)
				Silesia	Great Poland	Pomerania	Brandenburg and Berlin	Rheinland and Westfalen	Other Prussian Provinces				
				5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12		
Silesia	1871	3707.2	134.3	3572.9	33.5	10.2	108.6	11.1	19.3	182.7	—	48.4	
	1880	4007.9	160.7	3847.2	35.4	12.9	139.0	20.5	29.3	237.1	—	76.4	
	1890	4224.5	187.9	4036.6	39.8	18.8	201.8	38.1	57.5	356.0	—	168.1	
	1900	4668.9	264.0	4404.8	40.8	20.1	253.8	72.6	72.8	460.1	—	196.1	
	1905	4942.6	309.9	4632.7	44.7	22.1	291.1	83.1	83.8	524.8	—	214.9	
Great Poland	1871	1583.8	112.9	33.5	1470.9	31.8	50.8	2.6	7.2	125.9	—	13.0	
	1880	1703.4	122.8	40.9	1580.6	35.2	80.0	7.4	16.9	180.4	—	57.6	
	1890	1751.6	145.4	49.2	1606.2	43.9	132.0	21.4	47.3	293.9	—	148.5	
	1900	1887.3	177.9	59.1	1709.4	53.1	180.9	85.6	62.8	441.5	—	263.6	
	1905	1986.6	218.4	64.6	1768.2	61.0	215.2	122.7	69.3	532.8	—	314.4	
Pomerania	1871	4569.2	143.2	9.4	41.9	4426.0	119.1	9.0	21.8	201.2	—	58.0	
	1880	4879.9	160.9	11.4	46.9	4719.0	191.4	32.4	38.6	320.7	—	159.8	
	1890	4913.2	184.3	15.2	56.6	4728.9	351.2	97.9	90.3	611.2	—	426.9	
	1900	5195.1	251.8	21.5	68.1	4943.3	489.2	237.8	127.5	944.1	—	692.3	
	1905	5356.2	303.2	24.8	77.3	5053.0	585.3	292.5	147.8	1127.7	—	824.5	
Total	1871	9860.2	230.1	3615.8	1546.3	4468.0	278.5	22.7	48.3	349.5 ^a	—	119.4	
	1880	10591.2	261.7	3899.5	1662.9	4767.1	410.4	60.3	84.8	555.5	—	293.8	
	1890	10889.3	294.1	4101.0	1702.6	4791.6	685.0	157.4	195.1	1037.5	—	743.4	
	1900	11751.3	431.0	4485.4	1818.3	5016.5	923.9	396.0	263.1	1583.0	—	1152.0	
	1905	12285.4	537.0	4722.1	1890.2	5136.1	1091.6	598.3	300.9	1990.8	—	1453.8	

^a Outside the Three Regions East of Odra and Nysa.
Source. Calculated from: PS, No. 30–234, ZKPSB 1898–1908.

Of the 14 million persons born in regions east of Odra and Nysa and living in the Reich 2.3 million remained west of the two rivers at the census data. Of these 1.9 million were living in the Prussian provinces and 400 thousand in the non-Prussian countries of the Reich (table 7). There is a great difference in the number of emigrants living in the parts of the Prussian state, west of Odra and Nysa according to the population census in 1905 and according to the occupational census of 1907 which amounted to 0.3 million. May be that the figures of the 1905 census are lower than the true ones.

When considering the problem in the light of relative numbers we can see that of the total population born in regions east of Odra and Nysa and living in the Reich 16.7% were staying in the Reich west of the mentioned rivers, but 14% in the Prussian state, 8% in Brandenburg and Berlin and 3.6% in Rheinland and Westfalen. If we limit our examinations to the population born east of Odra and Nysa being economically active at the census date, we may see that 22% of this population were living west of Odra and Nysa, and 18% in the Prussian provinces. If we limit again the examinations to the persons occupied in industry, commerce, trade and transport born in regions east of Odra and Nysa we can see that 35% of these persons were living west of these rivers (table 7). These percentages illustrate well the economic effects of the population movements for the emigration regions east of Odra and Nysa and for the immigration provinces or countries of the Reich west of Odra and Nysa. Because of the economical underdevelopment the emigration regions lost $1/3^{\text{rd}}$ of the most valuable man power, which could be employed in most progressive divisions of economy. This man power had been employed in the industry, commerce, trade and transport in the western parts of the Reich.

Of the total population born in regions east of Odra and Nysa and of that living there at the census date of 1907, about one half was economically active. But among the emigrants from these regions to the parts west of Odra and Nysa 69% were economically active and in the non-Prussian parts 74%. It means that the emigrants were much less charged with the non-productive persons what also favoured the economic development of the immigration regions.

In regions east of Odra and Nysa the population decrease discussed here means hard losses. Let us assume that the emigrants employed in the progressive divisions of economy in the Reich could be employed in the same divisions in emigration regions. In this case the losses of agriculture would be rather small but those of industry, trade and transport constituted a part of 45% of the total employment in the above mentioned divisions at census date; the losses among liberal

Population Born in the Regions East of Odra and Nysa, Living in Other Parts of the Reich.
Calculated from Occupational Census Data, 1907 (in Thousands)

Economic Activity in Immigration Regions	Sex	Population Born in the Regions East of Odra and Nysa	of Whom Living in Reich:					
			West of Odra and Nysa	Outside the Prussian State	in the Prussian State			
					Total	Brandenburg and Berlin	Rheinland and Westfalen	Other Prussian Provinces
All Occupations	Total	14048.4	2340.4	404.7	1935.7	1116.9	512.7	306.1
Economically Active in: Agriculture	Female	7176.3	1074.4	169.8	904.6	576.4	203.7	124.5
	Total	7321.2	1612.5	297.4	1315.1	767.5	321.3	226.3
	Female	2695.2	445.1	75.8	369.3	268.4	44.4	56.5
	Total	2645.5	146.7	37.3	109.4	53.0	11.7	44.7
	Female	1225.6	66.3	15.4	50.8	22.0	5.5	23.3
Industry	Total	2253.4	790.8	126.4	664.4	332.4	234.4	97.6
	Female	388.0	110.1	17.8	92.3	74.2	7.9	10.2
Trade and Transportation	Total	700.5	244.8	52.2	192.6	144.2	23.9	24.5
	Female	175.5	53.1	9.3	43.8	36.1	3.9	3.8
Professions, Public Admini- stration, Army and Clergy	Total	411.6	138.5	34.8	103.7	59.1	14.8	29.8
	Female	58.2	19.3	4.1	15.2	10.4	2.2	2.6
Labourers	Total	145.3	52.1	5.7	46.4	37.4	3.9	5.1
	Female	93.9	29.9	3.4	26.5	21.6	2.8	2.1
Indoor Domestic Service	Total	321.4	91.4	12.6	78.8	60.3	12.1	6.4
	Female	316.8	89.4	12.0	77.4	59.4	11.9	6.1
Without or Unspecified Occupation	Total	843.5	148.2	28.4	119.8	81.1	20.5	18.2
	Female	437.2	77.0	13.8	63.3	44.7	10.2	8.4
Economically Inactive	Total	6727.2	727.8	107.3	620.5	349.3	191.4	79.0
	Female	4481.1	629.3	94.0	535.3	308.0	159.3	68.0

Table 7
(in Percentages)

Economic Activity in Immigration Regions	Sex	Population Born East of Odra and Nysa	of Whom Living in Reich:					
			West of Odra and Nysa	Outside the Prussian State	in the Prussian State			
					Total	Brandenburg and Berlin	Rheinland and Westfalen	
All Occupations	Total	100.0	16.7	2.9	13.8	8.0	3.6	2.2
	Female	100.0	14.9	2.4	12.5	8.0	2.8	1.7
Economically Active	Total	100.0	22.0	4.1	17.9	10.5	4.4	3.0
	Female	100.0	16.5	2.8	13.7	10.0	1.6	2.1
in: Agriculture	Total	100.0	5.5	1.4	4.1	2.0	0.4	1.7
	Female	100.0	5.3	1.2	4.1	1.8	0.4	1.9
Industry	Total	100.0	35.1	5.6	29.5	14.8	10.4	4.3
	Female	100.0	28.4	4.6	23.8	19.1	2.1	2.6
Trade and Transportation	Total	100.0	35.0	7.5	27.5	20.6	3.4	3.5
	Female	100.0	30.3	5.3	25.0	20.6	2.2	2.2
Professions, Public Administration, Army and Clergy	Total	100.0	33.6	8.4	25.2	14.4	3.6	7.2
	Female	100.0	33.1	7.1	26.0	17.9	3.7	4.4
Labourers	Total	100.0	35.8	3.9	31.9	25.7	2.7	3.5
	Female	100.0	31.9	3.7	28.2	23.0	2.9	2.3
Indoor Domestic Service	Total	100.0	28.5	3.9	24.6	18.8	3.8	2.0
	Female	100.0	28.3	3.8	24.5	18.8	3.8	1.9
Without or Unspecified Occupation	Total	100.0	17.6	3.4	14.2	9.6	2.4	2.2
	Female	100.0	17.6	3.2	14.4	10.2	2.3	1.9
Economically Inactive	Total	100.0	10.8	1.6	9.2	5.2	2.8	1.2
	Female	100.0	14.0	2.1	11.9	6.9	3.5	1.5

Source. Calculated from: SDR, No. 210. 1.

Table 8

Occupational Distribution of Emigrants from the Regions East of Odra and Nysa to Other Regions in the Reich
At Census Date 1907 (in Percentages)

Economic Activity in Immigration Regions	Sex	Population Born East of Odra and Nysa	of Whom Living in Reich:				
			West of Odra and Nysa	Outside the Prussian State	in the Prussian State		
					Total	Brandenburg and Berlin	Rheinland and Westfalen
All Occupations	Total	10.00	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Economically Active in: Agriculture	Female	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Total	52.1	68.9	73.5	68.0	68.7	62.7
	Female	37.5	41.4	44.7	40.8	46.6	21.8
	Total	18.8	6.3	9.2	5.6	4.7	2.3
Industry	Female	17.1	6.2	9.1	5.6	3.8	2.7
	Total	16.1	33.8	31.3	34.3	29.8	45.7
Trade and Transportation	Female	5.4	10.2	10.5	10.2	12.9	3.9
	Total	5.0	10.5	12.9	10.0	12.9	4.6
Professions, Public Admini- stration, Army and Clergy	Female	2.4	4.9	5.5	4.8	6.3	1.9
	Total	2.9	5.9	8.6	5.4	5.3	2.9
Labourers	Female	0.8	1.8	2.4	1.7	1.8	1.1
	Total	1.0	2.2	1.4	2.4	3.3	0.8
Indoor Domestic Service	Female	1.3	2.8	2.0	2.9	3.7	1.4
	Total	2.3	3.9	3.1	4.1	5.4	2.4
Without or Unspecified Occupation	Female	4.4	8.3	7.1	8.6	10.3	5.8
	Total	6.0	6.3	7.0	6.2	7.3	4.0
Economically Inactive	Female	6.1	7.2	8.1	7.0	7.8	5.0
	Total	47.9	31.1	26.5	32.0	31.3	37.3
	Female	62.5	58.6	55.3	59.2	53.4	78.2
							54.6

Source. See table 7.

professions, officials, teachers, scholars and clergy amounted to 25% of employment in 1907, and losses among labourers to 50% of that employment. The losses of the female labour force as a rule have been lower than those among the males (table 9).

The national aspect of the migrational movements is also remarkable. The regions east of Odra and Nysa have been for centuries a field of struggle between the native Polish population and the inflowing German elements. In the years of Prussian rule, and especially in 1815—1914, stimulating immigration of non-Polish population from the Reich and Prussia has always been the main point of germanization policy. A great deal of the inflowing population did not settle down for good or for a long time. They shared the emigration from the regions east of Odra and Nysa to the western parts of Prussian state and the Reich. Following that, and in spite of state boundaries, there always was an inflow of Polish population from the Kingdom of Poland, being under the Russian rule, and from the Little Poland belonging to the Austro-Hungarian empire. These features of the inflowing population are hidden in German statistics although those immigrants constituted not much less than 28.8% of the total immigration into regions east of Odra and Nysa. The inflow of Poles from the East and South was always a subject of complaints of the Prussian administration in regions under research and also of some German scholars⁹.

6. In 1815—1914, the emigration from the regions east of Odra and Nysa to European countries, except the Reich, was always of a negligible extent.

After the Congress of Vienna relatively little population from the regions east of Odra and Nysa emigrated to the Kingdom of Poland and Russia. Some events like the deterioration of the economic and political relations between the Prussian state and the Russian empire, an economic crisis and depression in 1820's and the Polish national rising in 1831, were the determinants of the diminishing emigration to the East. The rising possibilities of emigration to the American continent has also limited the outflow to Russia.

In comparison with other European countries a relatively high number of emigrants selected for their settlement the Austro-Hungarian

⁹ See source in the footnote 7. Also E. Bergmann. *Zur Geschichte der Entwicklung deutscher, polnischer und jüdischer Bevölkerung in der Provinz Posen seit 1824* in: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bevölkerung in Deutschland seit dem Anfange dieses Jahrhunderts*, Bd. 1, Tübingen 1883. W. Volz, *Die Ostdeutsche Wirtschaft*, Leipzig 1930. See also J. Buzek, *Historia polityki narodowościowej rządu pruskiego wobec Polaków od traktatów wiedeńskich do ustaw wyjątkowych z 1908 r.* Lwów 1909.

Table 9
 Migrational Turnover and Decrease of Population in the Regions East of Odra and Nysa in Favour of Other Regions in the Reich Calculated from Census Data 1907

Economic Activity in Immigration Regions	Sex	Census Population in Regions East of Odra and Nysa		of Whom Born in the Reich West of Odra and Nysa		Population Born in Regions East of Odra and Nysa Living in Other Parts of the Reich at Census Data		Migrational Turnover		Migrational Decrease	
		in Thousands						Population Born Outside the Reich Excluded		Total Population Born Outside the Reich Excluded	
		Percentages of Census Population									
All Occupations	Total	12293.8	359.6	226.2	2340.4	4.8	2.9	14.3	16.1		
	Female	6356.7	160.5	94.5	1074.4	4.0	2.5	12.9	14.5		
Economically Active	Total	6100.7	210.7	181.4	1612.5	6.4	3.5	20.0	23.0		
	Female	2364.6	52.5	62.3	445.1	4.9	2.2	14.0	16.6		
in: Agriculture	Total	2648.7	41.8	108.1	146.7	5.7	1.6	+0.1	1.5		
	Female	1221.1	15.6	46.1	66.3	5.1	1.3	0.4	4.2		
Industry	Total	1563.9	53.0	48.5	756.8	6.5	3.4	41.9	45.0		
	Female	289.7	6.5	5.3	110.1	4.1	2.2	33.9	35.9		
Trade and Transporta- tion	Total	495.7	31.5	8.6	244.8	8.1	6.4	41.3	47.7		
	Female	130.2	5.9	1.9	53.1	6.0	4.5	34.8	36.3		
Professions, Public Ad- ministration, Army and Clergy	Total	325.8	48.4	4.2	138.5	16.1	14.9	26.4	27.7		
	Female	43.7	3.7	1.2	19.3	11.2	8.5	33.0	35.7		
Labourers	Total	96.5	2.2	1.0	52.1	3.3	2.2	50.7	51.7		
	Female	66.1	1.4	0.6	29.9	3.0	2.1	42.2	43.1		
Indoor Domestic Service	Total	239.5	6.3	3.2	91.4	4.0	2.6	34.2	35.5		
	Female	236.4	6.0	3.1	89.4	4.0	2.5	34.0	35.3		
Without or Unspecified Occupation	Total	730.6	27.5	7.8	148.2	4.8	3.8	15.5	16.5		
	Female	377.4	13.4	4.1	77.0	3.6	3.3	15.8	16.9		
Economically Inactive	Total	6193.1	148.9	44.8	727.8	3.3	2.4	8.6	9.4		
	Female	3992.1	108.0	32.2	629.3	3.5	2.7	12.3	13.1		

Source. See table 7.

empire, especially Little Poland. The number of emigrants rose in parallel to the diminishing distance between the emigration region and the Austro-Hungarian boundary; therefore we can observe the most numerous flow of emigrants from Silesia. From the economic point of view Austria-Hungary and Little Poland were not attractive for immigrants at all. Emigration to these countries is an example to what an extent the nationality and distance between regions influenced the number of emigrants.

In Western Europe — the Netherlands, Belgium and England were the most important immigration regions.

The registration of emigrants to European countries except the Reich was very incomplete and concerned persons leaving the country on the basis of administrative permission only. If we assume that the spatial distribution of those emigrants was representative for the distribution of the total emigration, then we will find in table 10 an approximate distribution of the latter in 1873—1885. From the total area east of Odra and Nysa only 12% per cent of emigrants have left for European countries, from Silesia 35%, and from Pomerania 4%. The outflow from the total area was: to Russia 2%, to Austria-Hungary 6.7%, to the Netherlands 1.5%, to Great Britain 0.3% (table 10).

7. Following the same source, we can observe that in 1870's and in 1880's 88% of emigrants left for non-European continents, of which 85% to North America and 1% to Australia. Comprehensive information about the number and tendency of this so called overseas emigration may be observed in table 11.

Yearly average number of emigrants from the total area east of Odra and Nysa increased from one thousand in 1840's to 45 thousand in 1880's and decreased to 3.5 thousand in the years immediately before World War I. It means per thousand average population less than 1 in 1840's and before World War I, and more than 4 in 1880's. A comparison of these figures with migrational losses of population, calculated from census data and numbers of births and deaths (tables 1 and 2), shows us that the data about the overseas migration are not contradictory to the latter, may be that they are too low. But we have to remember that the figures calculated from census data mean the migrational decrease or net migration including also population movements between regions under research and the other parts of the Reich and also other European countries. Our figures characterizing the overseas migration converge with the tendency of the total migration and with its spatial distribution. Generally Silesia's share in the overseas migration was the lowest one, the share of Pomerania the highest one and even many times higher than those of Silesia and of Great Poland (table 11).

Table 11

Overseas Emigration from the Regions East of Odra and Nysa, 1844—1913

Regions	1844/45 —1849/50	1850/51 —1861	1862 —1870	1871 —1880	1881 —1890	1891 —1900	1901 —1910	1911 —1913
Yearly Average Number of Emigrants								
Silesia	489	1110	418	1709	3615	1399	650	567
Great Poland	172	387	896	5483	12330	5666	2828	1342
Pomerania	496	2079	4693	13449	28662	9108	2775	1582
Total	1157	3576	6007	20641	44607	16173	6253	3491
Per 1000 Population								
Silesia	0.16	0.34	0.12	0.44	0.87	0.31	0.13	0.11
Great Poland	0.13	0.27	0.58	3.31	7.11	3.05	1.38	0.62
Pomerania	0.14	0.52	1.04	2.82	5.86	1.77	0.51	0.28
Total	0.14	0.41	0.62	1.99	4.13	1.40	0.50	0.27

Source. Calculated from: Mittheilungen 1848—1859, PS, No. 5—36 and 188. Stat. Jahrbuch 1903—1915.

Table 12

Sex Distribution of Legal Emigrants from the Regions East of Odra and Nysa, 1873—1880 (in Percentages)

Regions	All Ages		Under 17		17—25		25—50		Over 50	
	Both sexes	Male (M)	Female (F)	M	F	M	F	M	F	F
Silesia	100.0	59.1	40.9	54.4	45.6	65.6	34.4	60.0	40.0	39.6
Great Poland	100.0	65.8	34.2	64.7	35.3	74.9	25.1	60.8	39.2	35.7
Pomerania	100.0	62.2	37.8	53.0	47.0	63.6	36.4	77.7	23.3	46.1
Total	100.0	61.8	38.2	54.3	45.7	65.1	34.9	70.9	29.1	44.5

Source. Calculated from: PS, No. 36—61.

8. From the Napoleonic Wars until World War I the emigration movements were highly selective in respect to sex. The greater part of emigrants was constituted by males but in the run of time the majority of those has become ever smaller (tables 12—14). The share of males in the migrational movements has usually varied according to several determinants: age and family status of the migrants, economic structure of the emigration region and of the receiving one as well as the job perspectives in the latter. Among the youngest and the eldest emigrants the surplus of males has been lower than in the other age groups (table 12). The emigrating families have shown rather equal shares of males and females in comparison to the individual emigrants, of which a higher majority were males.

Among the emigrants leaving the more industrialized Silesia the male surplus was greater than among the emigrants from the agricultural Pomerania (tables 12 and 13). An industrialized area usually attracted more males than females and in areas with settlement and job possibilities in agriculture the attractions for men and women were equal. These differences may be easily seen if we examine figures about the sex distribution of immigrants in such regions as Brandenburg and Berlin, Rheinland and Westfalen in the Reich. Among the immigrants from regions east of Odra and Nysa living in other areas of the Reich at census date 1907 the males employed in agriculture constituted a part of 55% and in agriculture of Rheinland and Westfalen only 53%. Among the immigrants occupied in industry west of Odra and Nysa, however, the male share amounted to 86% and in Rheinland and Westfalen even 97% (table 14).

From all the available sources we may see that the age of emigrants was rather low. Let us assume that the age structure of emigrants, who had left the regions east of Odra and Nysa on the basis of administrative permission in 1873—1880, was representative for all emigrants. In that case emigrants in the age under 17 amounted to 51% of the total, in the age of 17—25 20%, over 50 8% (table 15). There was also a great share of young emigrants among people leaving the country without any administrative permission; the percentages of men liable for military service provides rather good evidence for this. The structure of immigrants living west of Odra and Nysa at census date 1907 also shows a rather high percentage of young men ¹⁰.

Individual emigration was more frequent than the emigration of families. Moreover, the emigration of individual persons was more frequent from industrialized areas than from agricultural ones (table 16).

¹⁰ SDR, Vol. 210.1.

Table 13

Sex Distribution of Overseas Emigrants from the Regions East of Odra and Nysa, 1871-1910 (in Percentages)

Regions	1871-1910			1871-1880		1881-1890		1891-1900		1901-1910	
	Both Sexes	Male (M)	Female (F)	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Silesia	100.0	57.8	42.2	58.0	42.0	58.4	41.6	55.9	44.1	60.8	39.2
Great Poland	100.0	53.0	47.0	54.5	45.5	53.4	46.6	50.7	49.3	51.9	48.1
Pomerania	100.0	52.2	47.8	53.4	46.5	52.3	47.7	50.2	49.8	51.9	48.1
Total	100.0	52.9	47.1	54.1	45.9	53.1	46.9	50.9	49.1	52.7	47.3

Source. See table 11.

Table 14

Emigrants by Sex and Occupation, from the Regions East of Odra and Nysa to Other Parts of the Reich,
According to Census Data 1907 (in Percentages)

Economic Activity in Immigration Regions	Percentages of Males (M) and Females (F)									
	All Emigrants in Regions West of Odra and Nysa				Outside the Prussian State		in the Prussian State			
							Total		Brandenburg and Berlin	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
All Occupations	54.1	45.9	58.0	42.0	53.3	46.7	48.4	51.6	60.3	39.7
Economically Active	72.4	27.6	74.5	25.5	71.9	28.1	65.0	35.0	86.2	13.8
in: Agriculture	54.8	45.2	58.7	41.3	53.5	46.5	58.5	41.5	52.5	47.5
Industry	86.1	13.9	85.9	14.1	86.1	13.9	77.7	22.3	96.6	3.4
Trade and Transportation	78.3	21.7	82.1	17.9	77.3	22.7	74.9	25.1	83.8	16.2
Professions, Public Admin- istration, Army and Clergy	86.1	13.9	78.2	11.8	85.4	14.6	82.4	17.6	85.3	14.7
Labourers	42.6	57.4	39.9	60.1	42.9	57.6	42.4	57.6	28.9	71.1
Indoor Domestic Service	2.1	97.9	4.1	95.9	1.7	98.3	1.5	98.5	1.6	98.4
Without or Unspecified Occupation	48.0	52.0	51.5	48.5	47.2	52.8	44.8	55.2	50.6	44.4
Economically Inactive	13.5	86.5	12.4	87.6	13.7	86.3	11.8	88.2	16.8	83.2
									54.1	45.9
									5.6	94.4

Source. Calculated from SDR, 210. 1.

Table 15
Age Distribution of Legal Emigrants from the Regions East of Odra and Nysa, 1873—1880 (in Percentages)

Regions	All Ages			Under 17			17—25			25—50			Over 50		
	Both Sexes (BS)	Males (M)	Fe- males (F)	BS	M	F	BS	M	F	BS	M	F	BS	M	F
Silesia	100	100	100	35.9	33.0	40.0	19.6	21.8	16.5	38.8	39.4	37.9	5.7	5.8	5.6
Great Poland	100	100	100	40.4	39.7	41.6	22.9	26.2	16.8	32.8	30.3	37.5	3.9	3.8	4.1
Pomerania	100	100	100	42.7	36.3	53.1	20.0	20.4	19.2	28.6	35.7	16.9	8.7	7.6	10.8
Total	100	100	100	40.8	35.8	48.8	20.1	21.2	18.4	31.4	36.1	23.9	7.7	6.9	8.9

Source. See table 12.

Table 16

Legal Emigrants from the Regions East of Odra and Nysa Devided into Families and Individually Migrating Persons, 1873—1880

Regions	Percentages of Administrative Permissions Granted to:		
	All Emigrants	Families	Individual Persons
Silesia	100	38	62
Great Poland	100	26	74
Pomerania	100	55	45
Total	100	48	52

Source. See table 12.

The source informations about the occupational and social structure are not complete and concern the emigration allowed by Prussian administration. But even in this group more than a half constituted emigrants either without occupation and position in occupation or those for which it was not possible to define occupation and status. Of those with specified occupations one half had flowed out of agriculture, the next part constituted of labourers and domestic servants and the third group of persons occupied in industry (table 17). A similar structure of emigrants in 1817—1822 perhaps with more numerous part of craftsmen, was shown in the sources for Great Poland¹¹. Examining the social structure we may see that 3/5th of the specified position belonged to labourers and 1/10th to owners, managers and to highly skilled technicians (table 18).

Poverty has always been the dominant feature of persons leaving the country on the basis of administrative permission. It was likely much higher among emigrants getting no permission at all. Persons intending to export capital have usually asked for such a permission. From the fragmentaric sources it is known to us that the export of capital more often accompanied long distance emigration than the short distance one, more often overseas emigration than the outflow of population to European countries, at last more often emigration from agricultural areas than from the rather industrialized ones. Among the emigrants exporting capital goods, however, their value per capital of emigrants has been the lower the greater was the distance between emigration and immigration region (table 19).

9. The determinants of the mass emigration, of its intensity, destination, selection patterns and other characteristics, may be divided into internal or push determinants and the external or pull ones. Among the

¹¹ See source in the footnote 7.

Table 17
Occupational Structure of Legal Emigrants from the Regions East of Odra and Nysa, 1873–1880 (in Percentages)

Regions	All Emigrants	Agriculture	Industry	Trade and Transportation	Professions Public Administration Science, Clergy	Labourers in Various Jobs and Domestic Service	Without or Unspecified Occupation
Silesia	100	13	13	4	11	3	56
Great Poland	100	20	8	3	6	6	57
Pomerania	100	28	6	1	2	12	51
Total	100	24	8	2	4	9	53

Source. See table 12.

Table 18
Social Structure of Legal Emigrants from the Regions East of Odra and Nysa, 1873–1880 (in Percentages)

Regions	All Emigrants	Proprietors Tenants Managers and High Skilled Technicians	Technicians Professions, Teachers, Clergy	Officers, and Clerks	Skilled and Semi-skilled Workers	Labourers and Domestic Servants	Without or with Unspecified Status
Silesia	100	9	6	1	13	11	60
Great Poland	100	7	4	0	9	21	59
Pomerania	100	4	0	0	6	37	53
Total	100	5	2	0	8	30	55

Source. See table 12.

Table 19

Percentages of Legal Emigrants from the Regions East of Odra and Nysa Exporting Capital Goods and Value of Capital per Emigrant, 1845–1858

Regions	Emigrants to European Countries		Overseas Emigrants	
	Percentages of Emigrants Exporting Capital Goods	Capital Value Per Emigrant in Talars	Percentages of Emigrants Exporting Capital Goods	Capital Value Per Emigrant in Talars
Silesia	31	1025	71	117
Great Poland	23	3762	69	142
Pomerania	58	976	88	119
Total	41	1126	80	121

Source. Calculated from: *Mittheilungen* 1849–1859.

internal and external determinants we may distinguish between those of economic, social and demographic character.

Generally, we may define the total of internal determinants as a much too slow economic and social development as related to the demographic one in regions east of Odra and Nysa. Those regions except for some subregions have always had an agricultural character. Therefore the number of work places always was insufficient for the increasing man power; and the produced income was too low and incorrectly distributed in order to provide for proper level wages and especially competitive ones in comparison with western regions. The industrialization of the Silesian region has been also slow and could not provide work and jobs for all the labour surplus in the east of Odra and Nysa. Moreover, since 1840 Silesia always showed migrational decrease.

This total of economic determinants was related to a partly feudal social structure with some thousands of great landowners, with a huge mass of rural proletarians in the middle of the XIXth century and with non numerous middle classes. As a result, the possibilities of social mobility have been very limited for the population living east of Odra and Nysa.

Up to 1840's the population increase has been determined by natural increase and by the migrational one; in the following decade, however, by the influence of the latter only. The natural increase was for a very long time appropriate for an agrarian society which does not try to secure some better conditions of living for the next generation.

Let us examine some more detailed determinants of emigration.

Apart from unemployment and low wages, financial difficulties, debts and bankruptcies of peasants, of craftsmen and of merchants were rather important push determinants. Very often the emigration was the only escape either from the service in the Prussian army which for many, especially for the Poles living east of Odra and Nysa seemed to be a confinement, or from fine or prison¹². From time to time there were some political causes of emigration like fear of Prussian administration after the Congress of Vienna, during Flottwell's regime in Great Poland in 1830's and Bismarck's regime actions called the *Kulturkampf* or after the national and social revolutions in Great Poland and in the Kingdom of Poland.

As examples of external or pull determinants we will mention the enormous possibilities of rural and urban settlements and a permanent and high demand for man power in all the continents except for Asia. The demand for man power used to change following the conjuncture waves, which caused ups and downs of migrational movements. The development of transportation means and as a result easier and less expensive travels were also considerable stimuli of migrational movements. At last the advertising campaigns of shipping companies and direct recruitment of workers by agents of employer corporations have raised the number of emigrants.

10. Emigration from the area east of Odra and Nysa caused important effects of economic, social and demographic character in the emigration regions and constituted an important share in the international population movements.

Above all this emigration influenced the labour market. At first the situation in this market approached an equilibrium of demand and supply for labour force, but since 1870's a rapidly falling supply. It has caused a replacement of outflowing labour force by immigrants from Russia and Austria-Hungary and a slow rise of wages. At the same time it is possible to observe a substitution of labour by capital through capital intensive investments. This process has been of greatest extent in agriculture.

At the beginning of the XIXth century north and east of the Szczecin—Warszawa line, there has been a surplus of males, but south and west of that line — a surplus of females. The selection of males by emigration has accelerated the sex equilibrium and later on a surplus of women in all regions, especially in the most urbanized ones.

Moreover the selection of young generation accelerated the process of population aging in the second half of the XIXth century. In all re-

¹² P. S. „No. 36, 45, 59 and others.

Table 20

Intercontinental Migration: Number of Emigrants from Europe, 1846-1910

Country of Emigration	1846- -1850	1851- -1860	1861- -1870	1871- -1880	1881- -1890	1891- -1900	1901- -1910
in Thousands							
Total	422	2122	2660	3304	7977	7150	12704
Western and Northwestern Countries:	237	1416	1873	2197	4162	2691	3958
Great Britain ^a	199	1313	1572	1674	2559	1743	2841
Ireland	.	.	.	175	700	406	309
France	11	27	36	66	119	51	53
Belgium	1	1	2	2	25	22	43
Netherlands	12	16	20	17	52	24	28
Switzerland	.	6	15	36	85	35	37
Denmark	.	.	8	39	82	51	73
Norway	12	36	98	85	187	95	191
Sweden	2	17	122	103	327	205	224
Finland	.	.	.	.	26	59	159
Southern Countries:	.	53	113	312	1749	2637	5030
Italy	.	5	27	168	992	1580	3615
Spain	.	3	7	13	572	791	1091
Portugal	.	45	79	131	185	266	324
Central and Eastern Countries:	185	653	674	795	2066	1822	3716
Germany-total	183	622	634	626	1342	527	274
Regions West of Odra and Nysa	177	586	574	420	898	365	211
Regions East of Odra and Nysa	6	36	60	206	444	162	63
Austria-Hungary (Little Poland included)	2	31	40	111	436	724	2342
Russia and Kingdom of Poland	.	.	.	58	288	571	1100
in Percentages							
Total	.	.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Western and Northwestern Countries	.	.	70.4	66.5	52.2	37.6	31.2
Southern Countries	.	.	4.3	9.4	21.9	36.9	40.0
Central and Eastern Countries:	.	.	25.3	24.1	25.9	25.5	29.3
Germany-total	.	.	23.8	18.9	16.8	7.4	2.2
Regions West of Odra and Nysa	.	.	21.6	12.7	11.2	5.1	1.7
Regions East of Odra and Nysa	.	.	2.2	6.2	5.6	2.3	0.5
Austria-Hungary (Little Poland included)	.	.	1.5	3.4	5.5	10.1	18.4
Russia and Kingdom of Poland	.	.	.	1.8	3.6	8.0	8.7

^a Includes Malta.

Source: International Migrations, Vol. I, pp. 230-231. W. S. Woytinsky and E. S. Woytinsky, World Population, pp. 66-110. Mittheilungen 1848-1859. PS, No. 5-36 and 188. Stat. Jahrbuch 1903-1915.

gions east of Odra and Nysa, the percentages of population in the age of 60 and more became ever higher and amounted to ¹³:

¹³ Calculated from: ZKPSB 1861, PS, No. 30, 66, 121, 177 and 234.

Years:	1858	1871	1880	1890	1900	1910
Percentages:	5.3	6.4	7.4	8.4	8.4	8.5

In the last quarter of the XIXth century and at the beginning of the XXth, we can observe a convergence of the highest and top emigration intensity and of the falling birth rates. The birth rate curve of the total area east of Odra and Nysa and of each region was similar to a falling convexly parabola arm. The falling birth rates have been caused by many factors: a slow disappearance of natural fecundity, the correlation between birth rates and death rates falling in the same way. There is no doubt that the lack of sex equilibrium and the accelerated aging process as direct results of migrational movements also contributed to the fall of birth rates.

The overseas emigration from the regions east of Odra and Nysa means also an important part of European share in intercontinental migration. In 1846—1910, the absolute numbers of emigrants from these regions have been higher than those for France, in some decades even many times higher. In the 50 years before World War I the share of emigrants from regions under discussion in European emigration was rising, in the top decade 1871—1880 it amounted to 6.2%, later on it fell to 0.5% in the first decade of the XXth century. It is remarkable that the share of regions west of Odra and Nysa, belonging to the Reich, in the European emigration was many times higher (table 20). But we know that a great deal of emigrants from regions east of Odra and Nysa settled down in the Reich in its regions west of these rivers. It is easy to find that they have replaced those western Germans who had left for other countries and continents seeking better conditions of work and wages. The emigration from regions east of Odra and Nysa to the Netherlands, Belgium and Great Britain, although of smaller extent, had the same character as that to the Reich. Therefore the emigration of man power from Silesia, Great Poland and Pomerania and the replacement of that by immigrants from Russia and Austria-Hungary was a part of European and World wide process in the XIXth and XXth centuries: population and man power shifts from lower income regions to those providing higher incomes and wages.