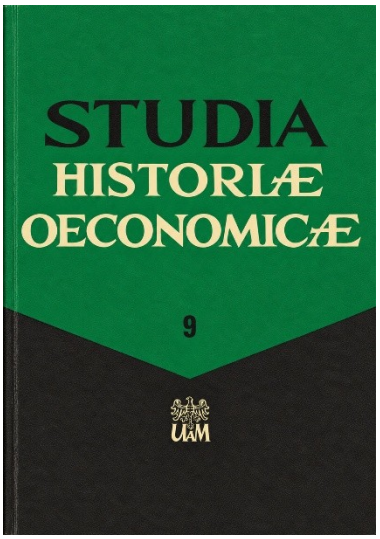


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THE URBANIZATION IN POLAND IN THE YEARS 1870 - 1970

I. *Introductory Note*

The process of urbanization in Poland, Europe and the world is a subject that can boast an immense literature. It has been investigated by many branches of social science. The conference of December 1969 organized by the Zakład Badań Socjologicznych Śląskiego Instytutu Naukowego (the Department of Sociological Research of the Śląsk Scientific Institute) has pointed out that the modern town has become a subject of research for geography, sociology, demography, medicine, anthropology, ecology of man and town-planning[1]. It is such also for history though at that conference its interest was passed over.

Historical research concerning the development of urbanization in Polish lands was not able to adopt creatively the rich questionnaire presented by the related branches of science in connection with the studies over the town. Thus no historians are seen at conferences organized by sociologists. Both the principal branches of humanities examine the town beside each other, but not jointly, taking avail of the mutually permeant methods of research.

There arises then the necessity of a new departure for the present-day historical researches over the processes of urbanization in the form of creative adoption by the historians of the past and present of towns those methods that have been worked out by the related branches. How urgent a problem it is in Poland is to be seen from the growing distance between the level of historical works concerning urbanization and that of the works of the other branches of science.

The present study is a preliminary attempt at exhibiting a few problems of the development process of the urbanization of Polish lands in the nowaday state boundaries with notes on the situation in the so-called Eastern Borderlands which belonged to the Polish State in the years 1918 - 1939.

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[1] See *Miasto jako przedmiot badań naukowych* (The Town as Subject of Scientific Research). Górnośląskie Studia Socjologiczne, vol. IX, Śląski Instytut Naukowy. Katowice 1971.

II. *The Dynamics of Urbanization Processes in Polish Lands in the 19th and 20th Centuries*

In the urbanization development of Polish lands in the 19th and 20th centuries one can distinguish, when considering the social character of the matter, four basical stages:

1) the stage of early capitalistic urbanization lasting in the north-western lands up to the 50s of the last century, and in Central Poland and the so-called Eastern Borderlands to the 60s of the last century inclusive,

2) the urbanization stage of the first industrial revolution which was marked with particular intensiveness in the Polish lands in the last three decades of the last century and lasted until 1914;

3) the years of the first world war were a period which started a stage of stagnation lasting until 1945. Attempts at capitalistic urbanization in the later thirties were brutally stopped by the Nazi aggression and the occupation policy;

4) the stage of socialist urbanization which has been lasting in Poland since 1945. The first period of that urbanization falls on the years 1945 - 1949, that is on the years of intensive rebuilding and administering the so-called Regained Territories. The next period of a big jump in urbanization runs together with the six-year plan of 1949 - 1955. In the following years 1955 - - 1964 attempts were made to do away with some disproportions between the rate of industrialization and the rate of urbanization. Failures in communal investments which have made themselves feel severely until today brought about many problems that affected the following period of 1964 - - 1970. A new strategy of the social and economic development of the country, opened a new period of development to Polish urbanization.

The early capitalistic stage of urbanization reaches back to the epoch of Enlightment when the growing significance of the bourgeoisie led to passing the bill of towns on 18th April 1791. The townspeople received then the right *neminem captivabimus*, regained the right of purchasing landed property, of access to almost all church positions, civil offices and military ranks. The municipal administration was relieved from the jurisdiction of the nobility and submitted to the supervision of the central authorities. "The town occupations were equalized, as to dignity, with those of the landed proprietors. From then on the nobility were allowed to accept citizenship, to fulfil municipal offices, to carry on trade, to keep handicraft without imperilling the forfeiture of the title and the privileges of the gentry... The bill of 18th April 1791 referred only to royal towns and to such private towns whose squires consented to confer land grants. Apart from that the bill was a short-lived one. The triumph of the Targowica confederacy destroyed it almost entirely, just as well as other works of the Big Seym. After the third partition the

question of the towns was resolved by each partitioner at his own discretion"[2].

The loss of independence, a continued passage of foreign troops checked the development of Polish towns thus doomed to the vegetation of inferior provinces within the partitioning states.

In the Eastern Borderlands Wilno which in 1795 had 17 000 inhabitants, one quarter being Jews, could distinguish itself with evident dynamism. In the Austrian Partition in 1807 there were only 90 towns, among which Lwów (46 000 inhabitants in 1815) and Kraków (23 000) achieved the leading position. The other Galician towns, fated to bear the burden of wars between Austria and France and deprived of a larger inland market with no access to the Baltic trade, underwent a profound throwback.

The fall of the Republic degraded first of all Warszawa which in 1800 counted merely 65 000 inhabitants. Gdańsk, too, experienced a deep regression in connection with a check in the corn and vegetable market. The competition of the Prussian craft reduced also many textile centres of Wielkopolska (Great Poland) — Rawicz, Leszno, Wschowa, Zduny, Rogoźno and Bojanowo.

The influx of German merchants and functionaries, on the other hand, favoured the development of Wrocław, germanized with effect already for centuries, and of Poznań, then germanized most intensively though with much more moderate results. The Prussian reforms, enforced in the years 1794 - 1797 (*Allgemeines Landrecht*), diminished the dependence of the inhabitants of private towns on the proprietors and created a system of protection for the German handicraft- and merchant colonization.

The Warsaw Duchy epoch (1807 - 1815) favoured a further political emancipation of the townspeople. The constitution of 1807 eliminated the feudal limitation in relation to wealthy bourgeois circles that gained access to state offices and the right of acquiring landed property. In seven larger towns of the Warsaw Duchy, which according to the census of 1810 summed up 4,334,000 inhabitants (of which 19% lived in towns) within an area of 151 000 sq. km, municipal councils were established their members being elected in respect of income.

At that time Gdańsk being a free town of 37 000 inhabitants vegetated like most of the towns in the Duchy with the exception of Warszawa which developed administrative and military as well as commercial functions and held, in 1810, 78 000 inhabitants.

After the Vienna Congress the urbanization process in the Austrian Partition appeared to be most intensive within the area of the Cracow Republic. The number of the inhabitants of Kraków grew from 25 000 in 1818 to 44 000

[2] *Polska w rozwoju dziejowym* (Poland in Her Historical Development). Ed. by S. Arnold. Warszawa 1966, p. 228.

in 1844. The neighbouring town of Chrzanów received, thanks to local development of mining and metallurgy, municipal rights. The mining and metallurgical as well as textile industries were the main town-making factor in Śląsk Cieszyński (Cieszyn Silesia) occasioning the development of both Cieszyn and Bielsko.

In 1870 barely 16% of the population of the southern lands, which in 1918 came into the territory of the Polish state, were town inhabitants.

Much faster than in the Austrian Partition was the process of urbanization in the lands of the Prussian Partition. In 1815 the 145 towns of Wielkie Księstwo Poznańskie (Grand Duchy of Poznań) did not diverge yet with their character from other Polish towns on account of the domination of the wooden structure and owing to trade and handicraft services mainly for the needs of agriculture. In 1837 the small towns of Wielkopolska were inhabited by 304,500 people, and the relation of the townspeople to countrypeople was like 1 to 2.8.

The increase of the population in the Pomeranian towns in the years 1804 - 1849 amounted to 26% while the population in the villages in Pomerania grew in that time to reach the figure of 73%. In 1849 Gdańsk had 58 000 inhabitants, i.e. as much as in 1804. A slight increase as to number of inhabitants could be stated in Elbląg, Toruń and Malbork. The quickest to grow was the population of the smallest towns (Wąbrzeźno, Kościerzyna, Chełmża, Wejherowo, Puck) which made service for the needs of the regional market.

The industrial revolution within the area of Polish lands revolutionized social relations first of all in Śląsk (Silesia) transforming in the first half of the 19th century local villages into town settlements (Zabrze, Siemianowice, Katowice) which attracted many migrants from the villages of Silesia, Galicia and the western part of the Kingdom of Poland.

In the period in question Wrocław transformed itself from a trade- and handicraft town into a large industrial centre which in 1843 counted over 100 000 inhabitants. As dynamically did develop then Brzeg, Głogów, Legnica and Szprotawa. In 1870 the percentage of town population in the western lands which came into the territory of the Second Republic amounted to 21 thus being higher than in southern, eastern and central Poland.

In the years 1815 - 1830 the towns of the Kingdom of Poland underwent serious transformations. The state authorities taking avail of the autonomous rights of the Kingdom tried to introduce a town-planning system by way of building regulations and an investment enterprise. Most dynamically did develop Warszawa, whose population increased from 88 000 in 1817 to 140 000 in 1829 and 276 000 in 1870.

Owing to the policy of protectionism of the government of the Kingdom of Poland an immense advancement was granted to the towns of the Łódź district. Łódź, a little town of 799 inhabitants in 1820, was in 1870 already a big industrial town with a population of about 50 000 inhabitants. Quickly

increasing were also governmental and private towns around: Zgierz, Gostynin, Turek, Pabianice, Aleksandrów, Konstantynów, Zduńska-Wola and Tomaszów. From among old town centres beside Warszawa there were two, Piotrków and Częstochowa, that transformed themselves into centres of the manufacturing industry. The capitalist industrialization at that time brought about the urbanization of the Dąbrowa Basin in connection with the extension of Sosnowiec, Będzin, Dąbrowa Górnicza, Zawiercie as well as of the Staropolski Basin (Radom, Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski, Skarżysko-Kamienna) and the Białystok region (Białystok, Grodno).

The Eastern Borderlands having been deprived of industry and modern communication routes concentrated in 1870 in mostly half-agricultural towns scarcely 9% of the population against 17% of the town population of the central voivodeships which entered into the boundaries of the Second Republic.

Many old historical towns of Great Poland and the Kingdom of Poland, Galicia, the Eastern Borderlands underwent for want of industry degradation to lose municipal rights.

The first stage of the capitalistic urbanization of Polish lands brought in as its social contents a gradual formation of new social structures. "From the tops of wealthy tradespeople, feudal handicraft, strengthened by the influx of nobility and the immigration of foreign entrepreneurs, emerged the trade-and-industry bourgeoisie. On the other hand the plebeian elements and the so-called populace, increased by an intensive recruitment from the country, transformed themselves into proletariat or entered the ranks of the middle class. In comparison with the last years of the Republic considerably larger had become the class of intelligentsia, represented by professional officials, physicians, lawyers, actors, teachers, journalists and writers. In the last decade the beurgeois milieu and the intelligentsia undertook a busy activity in the political movement of the January Uprising"[3].

The towns of the Austrian Partition developed in the period in question very slowly. About 1890 only 20% of the population of Galicia had their living from non-agricultural occupations. The prevalence of farming remained unchanged despite mass emigration of wage-earners and the development of oil industry in the Drohobycz Basin. In 1900 there were scarcely 15 towns that could boast of more than 20 000 inhabitants. Ahead of all was Lwów having 150 000 inhabitants, then followed Kraków (with 85 000), Przemyśl (46 000), Kołomyja (34 000), Tarnów (32 000), Tarnopol (30 000) and Stanisławów (30 000).

The capitalistic urbanization in Galicia at that time did not call into being any new trade-and-industry centres — in evident contradistinction to the situation in Górny Śląsk (Upper Silesia) and the Kingdom of Poland. Well-de-

[3] Ibidem, p. 236.

veloping were the old towns: Lwów, Kraków, Chrzanów, Biała, Bielsko, Cieszyn. The majority of small towns in Galicia had wooden structure with the exception of big cultural and administrative centres and towns sited alongside a scanty few railway lines and on oil-bearing grounds. At the end of the 19th century new industrial establishments were set up in Lwów and in Kraków. These towns received at that time waterworks, representative buildings of administrative offices and cultural and educational institutions. The slow rate of urbanization in Galicia helped the land-proprietors to maintain their dominating position also within the towns. In contradistinction to the clerical staff of many autonomous Galician offices the members of the Polish trade-and-industry bourgeoisie were not numerous. The numerous middle class members, mostly of Jewish nationality, generally vegetated having modest chances of advancement to the bourgeois groups or to the intelligentsia.

The years 1870 - 1914 brought a dynamic development of the process of urbanization in Upper Silesia. The town population of Silesia reached in 1871 — 24%, in 1885 — 28%, and in 1900 — 33.6% of the total population of the region. In the Opole regency, which included Upper Silesia proper, the figure as to towns and industrial settlements without municipal rights was about 50% in 1900, and 57.7% in 1918. In the said period the Upper Silesia region had always been, as concerns urbanization, the leading region among all Polish lands.

Thanks to favourable economic circumstances in the years 1849 - 1910 there was a considerable increase of the population: in Gliwice from 8000 up to 67 000, in Bytom from 6000 to 68 000, in Królewska Huta from 700 to 73 000. In that historical period (1855 - 1910) the population of Katowice increased from 2945 to 43 000, and of Zabrze from 3000 to 63 000.

Very fast, too, did Wrocław extend — from 110 000 inhabitants in 1849 to 512 000 in 1910, so did Opole — from 8000 in 1849 to 34 000 in 1910. The main town-making factors in Silesia were mining, metallurgy and various branches of the metal industry as well as a fast developing system of land transport and communication.

The Prussian constitutions of 1848 and 1850 paved the way for equality towards law and the abolition of class privileges. The towns of the Prussian Partition had then autonomy with limited powers which were considerably extended, especially in reference to financial economy, by the bills of 1883 and 1893.

The Silesian towns in the second half of the 19th century took a typically manufacturing aspect — red, long, monotonous barracklike blocks.

In the second half of the 19th century also Great Poland and Pomerania were enveloped by rhythmical urbanization transformations. Poznań's population increased from 44 000 inhabitants in 1849 to 150 000 in 1910. In the same period the population of Bydgoszcz increased from 13 000 to 53 000, and

that of Inowrocław from 6000 to 26 000. At a similar rate were developing Gdańsk, Toruń, Elbląg, Kwidzyń and Tczew.

In 1900 the town population of Great Poland took in 30.1% of the total region, and of Pomerania 36.3%. A modern municipal substruction (waterworks, tramways) was given to Gdańsk already in 1873, to Wrocław in 1876, to Szczecin 1879, and to Bydgoszcz in 1888.

The years 1870 - 1914 make a period of fast and at the same time irregular progress of urbanization in the Kingdom of Poland. Concentration of town population took place first of all in industrial and multifunctional towns (Łódź, Sosnowiec, Częstochowa, Żyrardów, Aleksandrów, Zawiercie, Dąbrowa Górnicza, Warszawa, Lublin). Sosnowiec obtained municipal rights in 1902, and Puławy in 1906.

In the years 1860 - 1910 the population of Warszawa increased five times, and of Łódź fifteen times. The towns of the Suwałki, Łomża and Płock guberniyas showed a somewhat slower development rate. The percentage of the town population (excepting 338 little towns which were turned into settlements) increased from 16.3 in 1874 to 22.9 in 1915. "It has still been the countryside which had the greatest share in supplying the population of the towns. The development of capitalistic urbanization was going on also by way of setting up in the immediate neighbourhood of towns service trade quarters, or even whole settlements which later on were soaked up by the town. The exterior aspect of the towns had changed. Many industrial establishments were located on the outskirts, the building-up of suburban grounds continued alongside railway lines. Besides a tendency to a broadwise extension the town was climbing up... Blocks of flats up to six storeys were rising while at the same time they developed the inside well yards typical of the then municipal upbuilding. There was much spontaneity in the upbuilding of the town and it expressed itself in a chaotic extension of town concentrations, while ramshackle houses and primitive barracks were being built on the outskirts (Łódź, Warszawa)"[4]. At the beginning of this century only Warszawa, Łomża, Płock and Lublin had a water supply net.

Białystok which was outside the boundaries of the Kingdom attained in 1910 the number of 80 000 inhabitants but preserved the character of a half-village town of wooden structures scattered in a limited area. There was a similar situation in the borderland towns of the guberniya.

The tsar's orders of 1866 - 1868 subordinated the town municipalities to the guberniya and district authorities. The autonomy of the municipalities was done away in such lines as budget, education, upbringing, hospital management and welfare activities. Despite these limitations the towns of the Kingdom quickly changed their appearance, the wooden structure was being

[4] Ibidem, p. 242.

forced out by brick-walled many-storeyed trade-and-industry concentrations. A considerable part of the street network received a hard surface and was lighted by gas as well as electricity. The rate of wealth of the inhabitants, of their culture and hygiene rose to a higher level.

The First World War and the Polish-Soviet war cramped the dynamic development of urbanization in Polish lands by putting in a stage of specific stagnation. A great part of Polish towns had got within the scope of front-line operations. Most to suffer were the towns of the Kingdom of Poland, of the Eastern Borderlands and of the eastern and middle parts of Galicia, the manufacturing establishments being taken away, the population evacuated while there were fights and bombardments. The latter took place first of all in Kalisz, Łódź, Żyrardów, Przemyśl, Dęblin and Modlin.

The war caused a considerable part of the population of Warsaw to scatter as it was decimated by epidemics which broke out because of want of provision and fuel. The population of Warszawa decreased (in spite of the extension of the area of the town) from 884.5 thousand in 1914 to 758,4 thousand in 1918, that is by nearly 14%.

Excepting such towns as Lublin, Radom, Kielce, Siedlce, Włocławek, Częstochowa, Płock, Gdańsk, Rzeszów, Lwów and Kraków the war caused a set-back of migration to towns, which seriously limited their economic functions.

The new German occupation authorities being pressed by Polish civil committees and other social organizations while intending to gain their support for the political schemes of Germany had consented to an extension of the administrative areas of Warszawa and Łódź. In 1915 Dąbrowa Górnicza which was developing dynamically on account of the war conjuncture obtained municipal rights. Its population increased in the years 1914 - 1918 by 72.5%. Also Zawiercie which in 1915 counted 30 000 inhabitants and further 66 other seettlements based on trade and industry were granted municipal rights.

An essential novelty in the legal and administrative situation of the once Polish-Kingdom towns of upwards of 20 000 inhabitants was, in 1915, the introduction of new electoral regulations in towns by the German occupation authorities. After the voting based on these regulations the German mayors were replaced by Polish autonomy. The towns of the Kingdom that were occupied by Austrian troops received the same rights as were held since long by the towns of Great Poland, Silesia and Galicia.

The comparatively democratic autonomy limited by the electoral system set in motion, in the towns occupied by German and Austrian troops, immense stores of energy in the Society which having been kept back for years now lived with the vision of an independent Poland and was preparing new institutions and development plans for its country[5].

[5] See M. Drozdowski, *Warszawiacy i ich miasto w latach II Rzeczypospolitej* (The

The most developing town of the Second Republic was Gdynia, a port town which was built from the very foundations thanks to the energy of the then Minister of Trade and Industry, and later on the Minister of Finance and Vice-Premier, Eugeniusz Kwiatkowski.

In the years 1921 - 1931 the population of the towns in the western voivodeships increased by 29%, of the eastern voivodeships by 27%, and of those in central and southern Poland only by 10%. The indices of increase were then rather small[6].

In the Pomorze voivodeship there were such towns as Bydgoszcz, Toruń, Włocławek, Grudziądz, Inowrocław and Tczew, that beside Gdynia developed at a quick rate. In Great Poland apart from Poznań, the chief town of the region, a comparatively great dynamic increase was to be noted in Kalisz, Gniezno and Ostrów Wielkopolski. In the Silesia voivodeship Katowice, Chorzów, Siemianowice Śląskie, Bielsko, Cieszyn and Mysłowice were those which belonged to the developing towns. As for the central voivodeships a more serious increase of inhabitants could be noted in such towns as Warszawa, Łódź, Częstochowa, Pruszków, Otwock, Wołomin, Rembertów, Piotrków Trybunalski, Pabianice, Tomaszów Mazowiecki, Zgierz, Kutno, Skierniewice, Sosnowiec, Radom, Kielce, Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski.

In the Lublin voivodeship the population increased in the period in question in Lublin, Siedlce, Chełm, Zamość, Biała Podlaska while in the Białystok voivodeship, apart from its chief town, in Grodno, Suwałki, Wołkowysk, Augustów.

In the borderland voivodeships where the increase of the town population was relatively high, the developing towns in that period were Wilno, Lida, Słonim, Brześć on the Bug and Pińsk. In the said towns industry as a town-making factor played only a slight role in contradistinction to public administrations, the army and culture-and-education-institutions.

In the southern voivodeships there was a more considerable increase of population, apart from Kraków and Lwów, in Tarnów, Biała Krakowska, Chrzanów, Borysław, Drohobycz, Sanok, Stanisławów, Tarnopol, Czortków and Brody.

A lasting crisis and depression of the thirties hampered the otherwise low rate of increase of town population, and its percentage (within the total population) increased from 27.7% in 1931 to about 30% in 1938. The main town-making factors in the second half of the thirties were:

a) the rising demand for armament particularly in the Warszawa In-

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Inhabitants of Warszawa and Their Town in the Years of the Second Republic). Warszawa 1973.

[6] Mały Rocznik Statystyczny 1939 (Short Statistic Yearly 1939), p. 10, tables 2 and 3.

dustrial District, in the Central Industrial District (Centralny Okręg Przemysłowy, abb. COP) and in Upper Silesia;

b) the extension of public administration and institutions for culture and education, mainly in the voivodeship towns and larger district towns;

c) the development of tourist movement towards seaside and piedmont towns;

d) the annexation of the highly urbanized Zaolzie to the Second Republic in October 1938.

The armament demand as well as the vigorous activity of the mayor of Warszawa, Stefan Starzyński, for the Europeanization of the capital of Poland were the principal sources of the development of Warszawa and the settlement of the Warszawa Industrial District.

After many years of crisis stagnation also the Łódź Industrial District with Łódź itself, Pabianice, Zgierz, Ruda Pabianicka and Aleksandrów Łódzki entered a development stage.

As for the rate of extension in the thirties Gdynia, as before, was in the lead, while the towns and settlements of the Central Industrial District within the fork of the river Wisła and the river San were closely after. In 1937 there arose a new town — a symbol of aspirations for a industrialized Poland — Stalowa Wola. The Central Industrial District was to deliver in the years of executing the four-year investment plan (1936 - 1939) 107 000 new working posts of which 55 000 fell to big works, which were mainly built by the state, 36 000 to medium and minor plants, 6000 to handicraft workshops and 10 000 to trade firms. It is worth mentioning that in that time: the number of the unemployed registered in the central voivodeships reached 194 000.

The development of state interventionism and control favoured the extension of the chief towns of the regions, first of all of the voivodeship towns.

The thirties launched a mass tourist movement towards seaside and piedmont towns. It contributed to the extension of Sopot, Wejherowo, Puck, Hel, as well as of Zakopane, Krynica, Szczawnica, Rymanów, Rabka. The annexation of the highly urbanized Zaolzie to the Second Republic affected the percentage of town population in the Silesia voivodeship to increase, mainly thanks to such towns as Cieszyn, Karwina, Bogumin Nowy and Orłowa.

In the years 1935 - 1939 the government made attempts at controlling the spontaneous urbanization processes which resulted from the then functioning economic and social relations. These attempts found a way in the governmental plan for the industrialization and urbanization of Central Poland, in the programme of the town-planning management of the Warszawa region and in other fragmentary urbanization plans whose execution, however, was broken by the Second World War.

That war brought about heavy losses among a considerable part of the

population of the towns within the lands of the Second Republic as well as enormous destruction of property and communal installations.

The main stages of those ravages were

— the September war operations of 1939 and the Nazi bombardments of Polish civil towns,

— the extermination policy of the Nazis against the Jewish population which in 1939 made 26% of the whole of the population of Polish towns and about 9% of the country people,

— the extermination policy against Polish town population, especially in the areas that were annexed to the Reich,

— the devastation of the towns during the front-line operations of 1944 - 1945, including the planned destruction of Warszawa on the fall of the uprising,

— the compulsory evacuation of the population from the Northern and Western Territories by the Nazi authorities in 1945, then the return of a part of the inhabitants and at last the displacement of the German population to the occupation zones by Polish authorities acting on ground of international agreements signed in Potsdam.

As concerns numbers the greatest throw-back of population affected, as a result of the war, the western and northern towns which until 1945 were inhabited for a decided majority by the Germans (Szczecin, Wrocław, Gdańsk). A smaller fall of population was noted in towns whose inhabitants were at a considerable percentage of autochthonous Polish origin (Zabrze, Gliwice, Bytom). A serious fall of population affected also the towns which before the liquidation of the ghettos had a considerable percentage of Jews. To these belonged Białystok, Częstochowa, Kielce, Lublin, Łódź, Radom, Sosnowiec, Warszawa and hundreds of other more or less small towns. The decrease of Polish population in the towns which joined the restituted Polish State — Polish People's Republic — was connected with the mobilization of men to the army (part of whom found themselves on emigration, part in war-prisoners' camps, and part having fallen in the battle-field) and with compulsory displacement mainly of the intelligentsia, intellectual workers, the middle and the lower middle class members. A few hundred thousand inhabitants of Polish towns were removed for compulsory labour to Germany[7]. Finally the economic policy of the occupant, too, exerted an essential influence on the decrease of the Polish town population, as it contributed to a serious growth of the death rate as a result of starving food rations, a worsening of habitation conditions and lack of proper social protection.

"Although Poland obtained in exchange for the weakly urbanized areas

[7] See Cz. Madajczyk, *Polityka III Rzeszy w okupowanej Polsce* (The Policy of the Third Reich in Occupied Poland), vol. I, II. Warszawa 1970.

in the east some areas in the west and in the north that were considerably better urbanized before the war, the number of the town population in 1946 amounted to 7.5 million inhabitants against 10.5 million in the same area in 1931. This made about 70% of the prewar population of the towns and about 32% of the population of the whole country"[8].

A dynamic urbanization development of Polish lands on such a scale as in the second half of the 19th century, in the period of the first industrial revolution, takes place now in the years of People's Poland. This is shown by the data of table 1.

Table 1

The town population of Poland according to censuses

Dates of censuses	Total population in thousands	Towns		Inhabitants to the square kilometre
		in thousands	in %	
Within the frontiers of 31 III 1938 Surface 388, 634 sq. km				
1900	25,106	4926	19.6	65
30 IX 1921	27,177	6608	24.6	70
9 XII 1931	32,107	8731	27.4	83
In present-day frontiers Surface 312,677 sq. km				
14 II 1946	23,930	7 515	31.8	77
31 XII 1950	25,008	9 605	39.0	80
6 XII 1960	29,776	14,219	48.4	95
8 XII 1970	32,642	17,064	52.3	104

Source: Short Statistic Yearly 1973, p. 15, table 1.

In the first years of intensive restoration of the country (1945 - 1949) the town population increased from 7,602,000 to 8,920,000, that is to 36,2% of the total population of the country. They were the years of administering the towns of the Northern and Western Lands, of a large-scale reconstruction of Warszawa and other old Polish towns, especially of the big and middle-sized ones. In the years 1946 - 1950 the number of the inhabitants of Warszawa increased by 325 000, of Wrocław by 138 000, of Łódź by 129 000, of Szczecin by 106 000, of Katowice by 76 000, of Zabrze by 68 000, of Gdańsk by 67 000.

After the Second World War the rate of urbanization was highest in the years of the six-year plan. In the years 1949 - 1955 the number of the inhab-

[8] *Polska w rozwoju dziejowym* ..., p. 255.

itants of the towns grew from 8,920,000 to 12,067,000 which then made 43.8% of the total population of Poland. There were various sources of that increase. The intensive industrialization of the country caused a migration of country people to the towns in which new places of employment came into being. They were first of all the towns of Upper Silesia, the Warszawa Industrial District, Nowa Huta, Gdańsk, Gdynia, Szczecin, Wrocław, Wałbrzych, Poznań and Bydgoszcz. While the big industrial and communication centres were developing, many small towns were affected by the nationalization of industry, trade and services and for want of substantial investments fell into regression.

In the period of the six-year plan all Polish towns had a very high rate of natality. The afterwar demographic law of compensation was here at work. In 1950 the birth-rate indicator in the towns amounted to 19.1 that is as much as the birth-rate indicator at the country-side. Let me add that in 1972 that indicator fell to 9.4 in the towns, and to 11.1 in the country[9].

In the said period the area compass of many towns was extended, at the same time former developing town settlements were given municipal rights. Most concerned in this reference were the settlements of the Upper Silesia and Warszawa Industrial Districts.

In 1954 a new class of town settlements was called into being, 150 localities (summing up over 700 000 inhabitants) having been given the rights of workers', health or fishing settlements. In the years 1955 - 1960 the number of the town inhabitants increased from 12,067,000 to 14,401,000, that is up to 48.3% of the then total population of Poland. The lasting high rate of urbanization caused first of all a further increase of the number of inhabitants of the big towns: of Warszawa by 138 000, of Kraków by 53 000, of Wrocław by 52 000, of Lublin by 48 000, of Gdańsk by 44 000, of Szczecin by 39 000, of Łódź by 36 000, of Poznań by 33 000, of Bydgoszcz by 30 000, of Białystok by 24 000. In the next five years, 1960 - 1965, the rate of urbanization decreased. The number of the inhabitants of Polish towns increased at that time from 14,401,000 to 15,681,000, that is up to 49.7% of the total population of Poland. In that period the birth-rate in towns fell, its indicator getting down to 8.0. In connection with impediments in the process of social accumulation the migration of country people to towns fell just as well. In 1960 as many as 307,700 people moved from the country to the towns, in 1965 - 250,900. In many towns owing to the failure of the expansion of modern technical and economic infrastructure and to worsening habitation conditions new places of employment were more and more difficult to be obtained.

The above-mentioned negative occurrences made themselves felt with particular sharpness in the years 1965 - 1970. In that period the number of the inhabitants of the towns increased from 15,681,000 to 17,088,000 that is up

[9] Mały Rocznik Statystyczny 1973, p. 35, table 18.

to 51.5% of the total population of Poland. The indicator of the birth-rate in the towns continued to remain at a low level balancing between 6.4‰ and 7.4‰. A slight upward tendency in connection with the afterwar demographic explosion was shown by the migrations of country people to the towns. In 1966 they took in 234,100 people, and in 1970 — 273,300[10]. The after-December transformations of 1970 opened a new stage of the urbanization development of Polish lands. The accelerated rate of economic and social development effected in the years 1970 - 1972 the increase of the migration of country people to towns from 273,300 to 282,100. In 1972 an increase of the birth-rate indicator to 7.9‰ could be noted.

In a few big town agglomerations (Warszawa, Łódź, Gdańsk, Szczecin) the execution of modernization plans of urban infrastructure, the means for which were wanting before December 1970 was started.

The Governmental Team of Experts for Matters of the Country's Wide-Area Administration Plan worked out, in 1973, a general outline for a further urbanization of Poland. There are forecast among other things a further extension and modernization of nine biggest wide-area town-planning complexes — the agglomeration of Warszawa, of the Upper-Silesia Industrial District, of Łódź, Kraków, Gdańsk and Gdynia, Szczecin, Bydgoszcz, Toruń, Wrocław, Poznań.

Within the frame of regional plans programmes of nine further agglomerations came into being: those of the Rybnik Coal District, the Staropolski Basin, the agglomeration of Częstochowa, of Bielsko-Biała, of Opole, of Lublin, of Białystok, of Kalisz and Ostrów, of Rzeszów, and of Lower Sudetes[11]. In 1972 the town population of Poland was estimated to be 17,663,900 that is 53.1% of the total population of the country.

III. *Some Aspects of the Process of Urbanization of Polish Lands*

A. NOTE ON THE MAKE-UP OF THE TOWNS

The capitalist urbanization in Poland started in circumstances of great dispersion of the town population. According to the census of 1810 in the area of 151 000 sq. km which belonged to the Warsaw Duchy and was inhabited by 4,334,000 people there were 633 towns with 806 000 inhabitants (19% of the total population).

In the Austrian Partition there were 92 middle-sized towns and 188 small towns in 1817 while within the Grand Duchy of Poznań there were, in 1815,

[10] Ibidem, p. 37, table 21.

[11] „Trybuna Ludu" No. 299 of 26 X 1972, p. 5, *Nowoczesny kształt wielkiego miasta* (The Modern Shape of a Big Town).

145 middle-sized and small towns. In 1860 Poland had only one town of over 100 000 inhabitants, i.e. Warszawa which was then inhabited by 158 000 people, Lwów and Wilno had over 60 000 inhabitants each, in Kraków and Poznań the number of inhabitants amounted to 50 000.

The make-up of Polish towns within the boundaries of the Second Republic in the years 1900 - 1931 and within the area of People's Poland is shown in table 2.

"The composition of the town population being characteristic by a great share of minor towns, by underdevelopment of middle-sized towns, and by a rather low, after all, share of big towns testifies on one hand to a still serious part of many small feudal towns in the net of settlement, and on the other hand to the underdevelopment of capitalist relations which have not developed either a sufficient number of middle-sized or bigger specialized industrial or trading towns, or a bigger number of medium and major trade-and-industry centres bound with purchase and supply service for their country bases. This

Table 2

The town population according to groups of town sizes
(regarding each administrative division)

Specification	Total number	Towns counting						
		under 5	5 - 10	10 - 20	20 - 50	50 - 100	100 - 200	200 and more
		thousand inhabitants						
A. Number of towns								
1900	488	291	119	47	22	4	3	2
1921	611	354	146	62	36	7	3	3
1931	636	308	177	83	46	11	6	5
1950	706	393	159	76	50	12	11	5
1960	889	230	137	69	20	20	13	9
1972	886	341	218	170	100	28	13	11
B. Percentage of total population								
1900	17.7	3.5	3.2	2.6	2.6	1.0	1.7	3.1
1921	24.6	3.8	3.7	3.1	4.1	2.1	1.8	6.0
1931	27.2	2.9	3.9	3.4	4.4	2.1	2.4	8.1
1950	39.0	4.3	4.5	4.2	6.2	3.4	6.7	9.7
1960	48.4	4.1	5.5	6.4	7.1	4.4	6.5	14.4
1972	53.4	3.2	4.7	7.1	9.3	6.0	6.1	16.7

Source: Short Statistic Yearly 1939, p. 34, table 30
Short Statistic Yearly 1973, p. 23, table 11.

resulted from a still weak development of the internal market, and particularly from the insufficient yield of marketable agricultural produce throughout almost all the area of internal Poland"[12].

Well characteristic of the processes of intensive urbanization is the permanent percentage increase of the population living in big towns of over 100 000 inhabitants. This percentage increased from 4.8 in 1900 to 10.5 in 1931, and to 22.8 in 1972. At that time also the percentage of the population inhabiting middle-sized towns (of 20 - 100 thousand) increased from 3.6 in 1900 to 15.0 in 1972. In small towns (up to 20 000) 9.3% of the total population of Polish lands were living at the beginning of this century, and 15.0% in 1972.

Relatively in the times of socialist urbanization the role of small towns has reduced in favour of big and middle-sized towns which localize the economy, administration and culture centres.

The concentration of population in big towns has been solved according to a sensible policy of the state which in the endeavour to transform the old town centres into socialist industrial centres located in them a considerable part of new investments (Warszawa, Kraków, Poznań, Lublin, Częstochowa).

B. THE SOCIAL AND NATIONALISTIC FACE OF POLISH TOWNS

The social and professional as well as nationalistic composition of Polish towns was seriously differentiated at the particular stages of urbanization. In the period of precapitalistic urbanization in the first half of the 19th century a considerable percentage of the town population (especially of the small and middle-sized towns) was bound with agriculture either immediately or intermediately in the form of trade and craft services rendered to its benefit. In those towns a high political and social position was held by the aristocracy which maintained a distance towards all the other social classes, together with the then resing bourgeoisie and professional intelligentsia. There was the so-called plebs — workmen, a great number of servants, people of no attachment, all of which made the proletariat *in potentia*. They felt acutely the feudal restraints of the Prussian and Austrian Partitions until 1848, and till 1864 in the Russian Partition. The feudal legal restrictions were becoming a nuisance also to the Jews who were streaming in, more and more, to the towns, to the trade, the banking and the craft. In 1864 the Jew population constituted 32.7% of the total number of the inhabitants of Warszawa. A still higher percentage of inhabitants of Jewish nationality — more correctly, of the Jewish religion — was apparent in the borderland towns and in the small towns of the central voivodeships. The legal restrictions applied by the invaders to the Jews until 1862 hampered a natural evolution of their social make-up, impeded the assim-

[12] *Polska w rozwoju dziejowym* ..., pp. 247 - 248.

ilation processes and caused the rise of separate Jewish centres in Polish towns. In Warszawa such a centre formed itself at Nalewski, Muranów[13].

The early capitalistic urbanization was going on, beside an evident increase of the Jewish population, within the process of germanization of Polish towns. For example in 1840 in Poznań the Poles composed 1/2 of the inhabitants, while 2/3 of the land belonged to the Germans. The process of germanization was still more advanced in Gdańsk Pomerania, Warmia and Masuria. In the first half of the 19th century the Poles constituted barely 30% of the Pomeranian towns, and the Jews — 9%. The percentage of the Poles in Gdańsk, too, vacillated in the limits of 30. In Pomorze Zachodnie (Western Pomerania) and Dolny Śląsk (Lower Silesia) the Polish element was at that time almost entirely supplanted or germanized.

The German immigrants from the Prussian Partition or from Germany played an essential part in the development of Łódź, Pabianice, Aleksandrów, Konstantynów, Zduńska Wola. In the Russian Partition after the crushing of the November Uprising, and particularly of the January Uprising the process of russification of Polish towns was going on in that all more important public posts in schools, jurisdiction, police and the like, were occupied by the tsarist administration machinery.

The second stage of urbanization bound with the industrial revolution and the abolition of feudal restrictions changed the socio-professional and nationalistic composition of Polish towns. A mass affluence of migrants from the country to the expanding industrial towns caused a dynamic development of the proletariat as a separate social class. Intellectual workers and professional intelligentsia were grouping themselves into a separate socio-professional class. The bourgeoisie strengthened its economic position and prestige and started to produce its own culture taking in at the same time into its range the pauperized or economically dependent gentry. Also the middle class could develop dynamically by taking avail of the economic situation, of the growing demands of the village which was taking roots in the capitalistic system. Most feeble were the said transformations in the Eastern Borderlands and in the Austrian Partition. Ever increasing was here, i.e. among the inhabitants of the towns, the role of the Jews who were coming in on being expulsed from some Russian guberniyas. In 1880 the Jews constituted 84.5% of all employed in the Galician trade.

The Jews strengthened their economic and socio-cultural position also in the towns of central Poland. In 1914 people of the Jewish religion constituted

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[13] A. Eisenbach, *Prawa obywatelskie i honorowe Żydów 1790 - 1861* (The Civic and Honorary Rights of the Jews 1790 - 1861), in: Społeczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego, Warszawa 1965, vol. I, pp. 237 - 300.

38.1% of the total population of Warszawa. They dominated in the middle class and among the trade, the financial and house-owning bourgeoisie.

In the towns of Great Poland the Germans and the Jews had to yield precedence, in the second half of the 19th century, to the Polish population. In 1900 the Poles composed almost 56% of the total population of Poznań. According to the German census of 1910 the Poles constituted 67% in Tarnowskie Góry, 53% in Zabrze, 34% in Królewska Huta, 33% in Bytom, 15% in Gliwice and 13% in Katowice. On the whole the years 1870 - 1914 brought a serious strengthening of the Polish element in the towns of the Prussian Partition in connection with a mass migration of the countrypeople to the towns, the flight of a part of the German population to the west and a high birth-rate.

In the years of the Second Republic the changes in the social and professional composition of the town population were, on account of a lasting tendency to economic stagnation, very slow in coming. In the light of the census of 1931 34.3% of the inhabitants of the towns were made up by self-dependent people (the bourgeoisie and the middle class), 11.3% by intellectual workers, 46.9% by workpeople and cottage-workers and 7.5% by others. As for the professional composition of the town population those employed in craft and industry were prevailing (43.2%), the following divisions coming next in succession: trade and insurances, transport and communication, the group of people earning their living without professional work, public service, the servants, health service and social welfare, instruction and culture, agriculture and gardening.

Table 3

The professional composition of the population of the biggest towns of the Second Republic in 1931 (in %)

Towns	Craft and industry	Trade and insurances	Transport and communication	Public service	Others
Warszawa	42.7	20.1	8.9	13.7	14.6
Łódź	62.2	17.1	4.8	8.2	13.7
Lwów	30.0	20.6	10.0	14.4	25.0
Poznań	36.1	17.4	13.7	13.1	19.7
Kraków	30.6	20.8	7.5	15.2	25.9
Wilno	34.7	18.0	10.1	14.7	22.5

Source: *Warszawa w liczbach* (Warsaw in Numbers), 1939, p. 72.

The professional division of the population of the biggest towns in the Second Republic is shown in table 3.

The data of table 3 show that the professional composition of the population of Warszawa was on the whole like that of the inhabitants of the principal

towns of the regions. Only Łódź stood out with an explicit prevalence of inhabitants living from craft and industry.

The years of the Second Republic witnessed a slow polonization of many towns. It was a process which resulted from many factors:

a) a higher birth-rate among the Polish town population than was the case with the Jewish and German inhabitants of the towns;

b) the emigration of the Jews and the Germans;

c) the process of assimilation which was particularly intensive in the bourgeois and working-intelligentsia groups;

d) the domination of the Polish population as concerns inland immigration to towns.

From 1921 to 1938 the percentage of the Germans fell in Bielsko from 61.9 to 40.0, in Bydgoszcz from 25.0 to 7.0, in Grudziądz from 26.0 to 6.0, in Katowice from 85.8 to 12.0, in Toruń from 13.9 to 3.0.

In the central, southern and eastern voivodeships the process of polonization in the towns led to a worsening of the situation of the Jewish town population. In the years 1921 - 1938 the percentage of the Jews decreased in Warszawa from 32.1 to 29.2, in Łódź from 34.5 to 33.4, in Lwów from 35.0 to 31.5, in Kraków from 29.6 to 25.6, in Wilno from 36.1 to 29.3, in Białystok from 51.6 to 42.6, in Stanisławów from 56.2 to ca 40.0%, in Brześć on the Bug from 52.9 to 42.0. In 1935 over 75% of trade establishments of southern and eastern Poland were in the hands of the Jews, who, besides, held in those towns a similar position among the free professions.

In the years of People's Poland the socio-professional and nationalistic composition of the town changed radically. These matters have been analysed in a penetrating way by Hanna Jędruszczak in her assistant-professorship dissertation *Employment and Social Transformations in Poland in the Years 1944 - 1960* (Warszawa 1971). In the present study I rely first of all on her statements[14].

Between 1931 and 1950 employment in industry and the building trade took in within the range of its development first of all the big and middle-sized towns (of over 20 000 inhabitants). In 1931 those employed in industry in these towns made 43.6% while those in the building trade 43.0%. In 1950 those towns employed in the two divisions 52.3 and 51.5% of the professionally active inhabitants (accepting the whole of the professionally active in the given division as 100)[15].

In 1960 all towns concentrated 75.1% of those professionally active apart from agriculture, in 1950 — 70.1%, in 1931 — 66.8%. In 1960 the towns

[14] See H. Jędruszczak, *Zatrudnienie i przemiany społeczne w Polsce w latach 1944 - 1960* (Employment and Social Transformations in Poland in the Years 1944 - 1960). Wrocław 1972.

[15] Ibidem, p. 214.

concentrated the following percentage of those professionally active in the particular divisions: 76.6 in industry, 70.6 in the building trade, 20.0 in forestry, 63.6 in communication, 77.9 in trade turnover, 90.2 in communal economy, 73.5 in instruction, education and culture, 83.9 in health service, 80.4 in administration and social organizations, 77.2 in non-stated divisions[16].

A comparison of the social composition of Polish towns after the Second World War with that of the Second Republic is a difficult matter as in the censuses different principles of classification were accepted. We can control, however, the general tendencies of the changes which may be channelled into the following statements:

a) In comparison with the times of the Second Republic the percentage of those employed in craft (who were listed in the censuses of 1921 - 1931 in the industry group) decreased considerably for the sake of those employed in factory industry and the building trade.

b) In trade turnover there was a rapid decrease of employment the socialized trade having pushed aside petty private trade enterprises.

c) Relatively decreased was the percentage of those emloyed in transport and communication.

d) Domestic service, a professional division which was very big before the Second World War, was pushed aside.

e) The highest rate of absolute and relative increase appeared in such divisions as health service, instruction, the building trade and administration.

According to investigations carried out by S. Lewiński in reference to 80 big and middle-sized Polish towns[17] (the employment level of 1921 being taken for 100) the increase indicator showed: 330 for health service, 265 for the building trade, 250 for instruction, 140 for administration, 120 for industry, 107 for communal economy, 94 for transport, and 63 for trade[18].

The economic and political reforms of the first years of People's Poland and with these the socialist industrialization and urbanization brought about revolutionary transformations of the social composition of Polish towns.

"Among the population professionally active — apart from agriculture, H. Jędruszczak is stating — the part of the propertied classes diminished in the years 1931 - 1960 over tenfold (in 1931 - 25.1% professionally active, in 1950 - 3.5%, in 1960 - 2.8%) while at the same time, as a result of the complex of reforms both socio-economic and political, those classes were

[16] Ibidem, p. 206, table XXXVII.

[17] See S. Lewiński, *Zmiany struktur zawodowych ludności na przykładzie dużych i średnich miast polskich* (Changes in the Professional Composition of the Population as Exemplified by Big and Middle-Sized Polish Towns). Instytut Urbanistyki i Architektury. Series of Private Works No. 106. Warszawa 1965. Manuscript right (manuscript duplicated).

[18] Ibidem, p. 72 - 73.

deprived of power and organizational functions in social life, having retained only the auxiliary, but less important in a country developing its industry by concentration of production, section of economic activity"[19].

Essential changes took place also in relation to the position and internal composition of wage-earners. The total number of wage-earners employed apart agriculture increased from 3,433,000 in 1931 to 7,156,000 in 1960, and of intellectual workers from 646,000 to 2,467,000. If in 1931 intellectual workers took 18.8% of the total number of wage-earners, so in 1960 their percentage rose to 34.5. In 1960 workers constituted 82.1% of wage-earners employed, apart from agriculture, in material production, 55.5% of those employed in production services, and 31.6% in social services. The percentage of intellectual workers among wage-earners in the years 1931 - 1960 increased in material production from 4.3 to 17.9, in production services from 27.5 to 44.5 and in social services from 31.1 to 64.4.

The extermination policy of the Nazis against the Jewish population changed radically the nationalistic face of Polish towns by eliminating from them those who according to fascist race criteria were treated as Jews. Most of the people of Jewish origin saved by the Poles or repatriated from the U.S.S.R. (altogether ca 250 000) have left Poland. In 1960 in Poland were about 30 000 Jews scattered about the big towns (Warszawa, Wrocław, Wałbrzych, Szczecin). The largest minority group in Poland was made up by the Ukrainians (180 000) and the White Russians (170 000). They are comparatively weakly urbanized, and so are the 10 000 Lithuanians. In 1960 10 000 Greeks and Macedonians lived in the towns in Poland. The most difficult problem from the point of view of methodology and statistics is what number should be put down for people of German nationality in Polish towns. The declarations of national feeling made by the population in the years 1945 - 1946 were not fully adequate because of the instrumental character of those declarations with a part of the people concerned. This makes it difficult therefore to get a plain statement of the actual number of people of German nationality feeling.

Any attempt at tracing out the demographic and cultural aspects of Polish urbanization must be given up as it does not enter the frame of this study.

C. INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF URBANIZATION IN POLAND

In 1800 the population of all towns of over 5000 inhabitants amounted to 25,000,000 which constituted about 3% of the total population of the world. There were then barely 50 towns of 100 000 inhabitants each[20].

During the 19th century the population of the world increased, on an

[19] H. Jędruszczak, *Zatrudnienie* ..., p. 290.

[20] J. Goryński, *Urbanizacja, urbanistyka i architektura* (Urbanization, Town-Planning and Architecture). Warszawa 1966, p. 61, table X.

average, by 0.6% per annum, in towns at the time four times faster than in the country.

England was a precursor of modern urbanization. Already in 1850 the population of English towns became levelled with the population of the country. England was followed by Germany and other industrialized countries of Western Europe. Within a score or two of years modern urbanization developed in the United States of America and Oceania.

Noticeable, beside the uneven rate development, is the process of "stratification" of the towns — a result of violent growth of the so-called town agglomerations or "metropolitan regions". The number of the inhabitants of towns of over 100 000 in 1850 being accepted as 100, the increase indicator — on the world's scale — amounts to 320 for 1900, and to 1140 for 1950. In that same year there were living in all towns of over 5000 inhabitants 29% of the total population of the world, while in the towns of over 100 000 - 13% (in 1900 - 6%).

In the thirties Poland belonged, in her European sphere, to the countries of medium developed urbanization. In this respect she was outpaced by Czechoslovakia, Germany, Hungary, Austria and the West European countries. After the Second World War, in the years 1955 - 1960 the increase indicator of the town population amounted in Poland, as compared with the period of 1935 - 1939, to 161.6. It was higher than in Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, the G.D.R., Hungary, Austria, France and Great Britain. The remaining socialist countries outpaced Poland as concerns the rate of increase of town population, e. g. the said indicator amounted to 314.3 for Albania, to 196.2 for Bulgaria, to 179.4 for Rumania, 178.1 for the U.S.S.R.

In the 60s Poland had a higher percentage of town population than all the socialist countries, with the exception of the G.D.R., and occupied a medium position on the all-European scale. It should be stressed, however, that the percentage of population professionally active apart from agriculture and forestry (61.4) was in Poland in 1960 lower than in such countries as Bulgaria (66.1), Czechoslovakia (82.1), Spain (70.8), the G.D.R. (87.4), Hungary (74.3), Italy (81.1), the U.S.S.R. (73.7)[21].

As for the analysis of the range of urbanization it does not suffice to rely only on the town-population indicator. An essential problem is to provide the population with modern communal facilities. In this a number of European countries have better achievements than Poland.

The disproportions of the development of urbanization in present-day Poland, pointed out above are only a starting point for further fundamental historical research in the problems presented in the present study.

Translated by:
H. GOLDMANN

[21] Mały Rocznik Statystyczny 1973, p. 314, table 9.