

RECENT WEST GERMAN STUDIES ON SETTLEMENTS IN ROYAL PRUSSIA IN
THE 16th—18th CENTURY

German historians' interest in problems of settlements in Royal Prussia dates back to pre-war years. Mention should be made of F. Mager's¹ and E. Bahr's² work devoted to this question, and of other studies relating to the problem of Netherlandish settlements, as e.g. a study by H. Penner.³ These problems were studied, for that matter, not only for the purpose of noting basic changes, but also (or perhaps above all) with a view to demonstrating the decisive part played by the German element in the colonization processes in Royal Prussia.

A marked enlivenment in these studies of West German historians was noted after 1945, greatly with the help of J. G. Herder-Institut in Marburg. On this occasion, for only too obvious reasons, emphasis was laid on ethnical and nationality questions. This tendency clearly transpires from a study by M. Aschkewitz,⁴ and particularly from a work by G. Dabinnus, where the author, working on a wide range of sources (the so-called Frederician survey), endeavours to emphasize, in an exaggerated manner, the predominant role of the German element in the rural

¹ F. Mager, *Geschichte der Landeskultur in Westpreussen und dem Netzedistrikt bis zum Ausgang der polnischen Zeit*, Berlin 1936.

² E. Bahr, *Die Verwaltungsgebiete Königl. Preussens 1454—1772*, 'Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins', vol. LXXIV, 1936.

³ H. Penner, *Ansiedlung mennonitischer Niederländer im Weichselmündungsgebiet von der Mitte des 16. Jh. bis zum Beginn der preussischen Zeit*, Danzig 1940.

⁴ M. Aschkewitz, *Die deutsche Siedlung in Westpreussen im 16., 17. und 18. Jh.*, 'Zeitschrift für Ostforschung', vol. I, 1952.

settlements in Gdańsk Pomerania, towards the end of the eighteenth century.⁵ However, these works did not give a synthesis of the transformations of settlements in Royal Prussia from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, in spite of the existence of a relatively wide range of sources and preparatory studies. It was W. Maas, well known for his studies on Netherlandish settlements in Wielkopolska (Great Poland) and partly in Royal Prussia,⁶ who made an attempt (in 1958) at presenting a synthetic study of the problem. His studies belong to the historical-geographical type and very often the geographer gets the upper hand over the historian. He mostly uses Polish and German monographic studies and only on rare occasions refers to the sources. On the other hand, as a representative of the tendency prevailing in the works of his predecessors, he tries to connect geographical and historical problems with ethnical ones.

Thus equipped and with his interest centred on this line of study, W. Maas made an attempt at presenting a synthetic work on settlements on Royal Prussia in the years 1466—1772. The first fragment of these studies (which had started as early as 1936) consisted of a work devoted to settlements in the Czluchów (Schlochau) region. The author pointed to the part played by morphological factors in the formation of Prussian settlements and strongly underlined the role of the German element, even in the days of Polish rule.⁷ The work was included in a larger synthetic study on Royal Prussia settlements published in 1958 in a series of the Herder-Institut publications.⁸

The main purpose of the work is to show the interrelation of geographical and historical elements in Prussian settlements (p. 8). In order to give a detailed illustration of this interrelation, the author repeats his above mentioned study of the Czluchów region settlements (p. 8—15). At the same time, however, he connects the question of settlement with the problem of nationality of the inhabitants of the region. It appears that this problem is in fact another, principal object of the work. Efforts to connect these two aspects are evident throughout the work.

As the area of his studies the author chooses West Prussia 1466—1772, but what he has in mind first of all is the Prussian province in the 1878—1920 frontiers (p. 170). In fact, however, he deals with West Prussia in 1466—1772 frontiers, that is Polish Royal Prussia, since he leaves out the district of Susz and, in principle, the district of Kwidzyn which did not belong to Poland at the time. On the other hand, he includes the districts of Wałcz and Złotów (within the frontiers prior to 1914) which, though decidedly situated in Wielkopolska, were incorporated in the West Prussian province after 1772. One cannot help getting an impression that we have here an anachronistic confusion of historical elements resulting from an attempt at making the frontiers of the late nineteenth century fit the earlier divisions. The author failed to notice that the southern boundary of the former Malbork voivodship, i.e. the later boundary of the Sztum district, did not correspond to the frontier prior to 1914, since after 1772 the Prussian authorities moved it northwards and left the area of Tychnowów (Tiefenau) with Bystrzec (Weisshof) in the Kwidzyn district.⁹ In consequence, this region (part of Royal Prussia for centuries) has been entirely

⁵ G. Dabinnus, *Die ländliche Bevölkerung Pommerellens im Jahre 1772 mit Einschluss des Danziger Landgebiets im Jahre 1793*, Marburg/Lahn 1953. Cf. G. Labuda's review of this work in 'Kwartalnik Historyczny', vol. LXIII, fasc. 2, 1956, p. 108—119, K. Ciesielska's review in 'Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza', vol. IV, 1958, p. 449—460, and M. Biskup's review in 'Rocznik Gdański', vol. XV/XVI, 1956/1957, p. 591—596.

⁶ W. Maas, *Die Häuländerereien im ehemaligen Polen*, 'Deutsche Monatshefte in Polen', vol. VI, 1939 (with a map).

⁷ W. Maas, *Mittelalterliche und spätere Siedlungsräume, dargestellt am Schlochauer Land*, 'Zeitschrift für Ostforschung', vol. V, fasc. 3, 1956.

⁸ W. Maas, *Zur Siedlungskunde Westpreussens 1466—1772*, Marburg/Lahn 1958, 233 p. and 8 maps (Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Geschichte und Landeskunde Ost-Mitteleuropas, hg. vom. J. G. Herder-Institut, No. 32). The most important points were published by the author separately, with lists of localities and maps, in an article *Erläuterungen zu zwei Siedlungs- und Nationalitätenkarten, Die Besiedlung Westpreussens 1466—1772*, 'Zeitschrift für Ostforschung', vol. VII, fasc. 2, Marburg/Lahn 1958.

⁹ E. Wernicke, *Tiefenau*, 'Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für den Regierungsbezirk Marienwerder', vol. LXV, 1927, p. 19. This mistake was made by E. Bahr first of all, op. cit., p. 112, and Maas fully accepts his findings.

omitted by the author. Similarly, the 1466—1772 frontier of West Prussia did not cross the Vistula opposite Toruń, or the Drwęca River, and did not include Dybowo or Złotoria (which belonged to Kujawy, or the Dobrzyń region respectively). Moreover, the year 1466 does not in fact mark any distinct period in the history of settlements in northern parts of Wielkopolska. These are undoubtedly striking anachronisms. Since the author's interest is in any case focussed on Royal Prussia proper (which also results from the scope of available sources and earlier studies) we shall consider the author's findings relating to that historical area only.

In pursuance of his object the author tried to present the morphology of Royal Prussia and the northern parts of Wielkopolska so as to show the transformations of settlements from the fifteenth to the late eighteenth century against this background. His intention, however, was to make a full reconstruction of the distribution of settlements in that area (as he had done before for the Czulchów region), and in the first place to make a list of the settlements which either had been first established in the sixteenth century (so-called *Neusiedlungen* or *Neussassereien*), or had been located anew, particularly after war destruction in the seventeenth century. The last mentioned problem has been connected with the origin of the settlers, above all with a view to showing the influx of the Netherlandish and later German elements.

First of all the question arises what sources were used by the author to ascertain so important changes in the distribution of settlements in the area in question. The bibliography of the subject given on pages 198—203 and the lists of settlements (p. 41 ff) give rise to serious fears that the author has simplified his task a little. We shall, for a moment, get ahead of our further considerations and state that the author mainly used works which had been published in print, particularly the above quoted studies by E. Bahr and G. Dabinnus. Out of the Polish works, apart from the monograph by M. Biskup and A. Tomczak,¹⁰ the most frequently quoted is *The Geographical Dictionary of the Polish Kingdom* (containing detailed articles relating to Prussia, written by Father Fankidejski). While accepting the evident tendency of the author to make a wider use of published sources, we should point out the striking omission of works of A. Semrau on the Sztum-Dzierzgoń region (mainly of the Teutonic Order days but often covering also the Polish times), and particularly of more recent works by B. H. Unruh and H. Wiebe, relating to the problem of Netherlandish settlements in Royal Prussia.¹¹ However, the most serious omission is that of a number of published and easily accessible sources including those published by I. T. Baranowski,¹² A. Mańkowski¹³ and P. Panske,¹⁴ as well as of the reports on church visitations of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, published in 'Fontes' of Toruń. Admittedly, the author used some unpublished parts of the Frederician survey of 1772 (i.e. the parts not includ-

¹⁰ M. Biskup, A. Tomczak, *Mapy województwa pomorskiego w drugiej połowie XVI w.* [Maps of the Pomeranian Voivodship in the Second Half of the 16th Century], 'Roczniki Tow. Nauk. w Toruniu', vol. LVIII, fasc. 1, 1955; M. Biskup, *Rozmieszczenie własności ziemskiej województwa chełmińskiego i malborskiego w drugiej połowie XVI w.* [The Distribution of Landed Property in the Chełmno and Malbork Voivodships in the Second Half of the 16th Century], 'Roczniki Tow. Nauk. w Toruniu', vol. LX, 1957, fasc. 2.

¹¹ H. Wiebe, *Das Siedlungswerk niederländischer Mennoniten im Weichseltal zwischen Fordon und Weissenberg bis zum Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Marburg/Lahn 1952; B. H. Unruh, *Die niederländisch-niederdeutschen Hintergründe der mennonitischen Ostwanderung im 16., 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, Karlsruhe 1955.

¹² *Źródła dziejowe* [Historical Sources], vol. XXIII; *Polska XVI w. pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym*, t. XII: *Prusy Królewskie* [16th Century Poland from Geographical and Statistical Point of View, vol. XII: Royal Prussia], ed. by I. T. Baranowski, Warszawa 1911.

¹³ *Inwentarze dóbr biskupstwa chełmińskiego z r. 1614, z uwzględnieniem późniejszych do r. 1759 inwentarzy* [Inventories of the Chełmno Diocese Estates of 1614 and More Recent Inventories up to 1759], ed. by A. Mańkowski, 'Fontes' Tow. Nauk. w Toruniu, vol. XXII, 1927; *Inwentarze dóbr kapituły chełmińskiej z XVII i XVIII wieku* [Inventories of the Chełmno Chapter Estates of the 17th and 18th Century], ed. by A. Mańkowski, 'Fontes', vol. XXIII, Toruń 1928. The most recent publication of inventories of the Chełmno Diocese estates of 1646 and 1676 and 1723 and 1747, edited by R. Miernicki ('Fontes', vol. XL and XLII, 1955—1956) was also unknown to the author, as was *Inwentarz starostwa puckiego i kościarskiego z XVII wieku* [Inventory of the Puck and Kościarska Starostvos of the 17th Century], ed. G. Labuda, 'Fontes', vol. XXXIX, Toruń 1954.

¹⁴ *Documenta capitaneatus Slipchoviensis (1471—1770)*, ed. by P. Panske, 'Fontes', vol. XXVIII, Toruń 1935.

ed by Dabinnus), but only in respect of the Chełmno voivodship and with the omission of the Malbork voivodship (p. 32,70). In general, however, he gave a clear preference to published works and did not trouble to verify or complete E. Bahr's information, or especially outdated Father Fankidejski's articles, valuable as they still certainly are. This would have made it possible for the author to avoid many inaccuracies and errors about which we write below.

The main part of the work, i.e. the lists which serve as the basis for a number of maps, is preceded by introductory remarks. The author begins (p. 1—7) with a short outline of the history of settlements in Royal Prussia on the background of the morphology of the country, and distinguishes four types of settlements: Netherlandish villages, settlements of foundry workers, settlements in waste lands and 'new villages on good lands', i.e. dating from the Teutonic Order days and located anew after war destruction. The figures quoted on page 6 indicate that the development of Netherlandish settlements reached its peak in the years 1550—1650 and 1701—1772; settlements in waste lands and settlements of foundry workers appeared as early as the late sixteenth century, but mostly in the eighteenth century. In his study of settlements in the Czluchów region the author makes a number of digressions (p. 15—17) which deserve special attention. W. Maas accepts the view that the German law in the villages in Gdańsk Pomerania under the Teutonic Order's rule did not mean that their inhabitants were German although, on E. Keyser's authority, he strongly underlines the participation of the German element in the colonization processes in the Teutonic Order's days. In the first place, however, he rejects the common view of former German historians about the 'enforced Polonization' of Prussia after 1466, as contrary to facts (e.g. the absence of Polish schools as centres of 'Polonization'). Secondly, the author is of the opinion that there is no information about any large-scale inflow of Polish (i.e. from the Polish Crown territories) peasants to Prussia (while there was an inflow of Polish noblemen), and that there was a stream of German peasants flowing into Prussia. While not denying the fact of the Polonization of the Prussian nobility and of the progress made by the Polish element in some parts of Prussia, the author is of the opinion that Royal Prussia was more German in 1772 than it had been in 1466. These views expressed in the opening part of the work constitute a remarkable *novum* in West German historiography and are worth emphasizing as breaking with the myth of the enforced Polonization of Prussia. On the other hand, we can hardly accept the thesis about the exaggerated growth of the German element up to 1772. Polish historiography represents a different view, which, however, will have to be better substantiated on our part, as G. Labuda rightly remarked. This will be possible after a study of the 17th and 18th century records of inspections of Prussian districts, and after an examination of a microfilm of the Frederician survey of the whole of Royal Prussia, and a detailed check (on this basis) of the findings of D. Dabinnus. However, the author's view concerning the non-existence of an inflow of Polish peasants to Royal Prussia is unfounded, if only in respect of the southern part of the Malbork voivodship (e.g. Tychonow region) and of the southern part of the Pomeranian voivodship (towards the end of the Teutonic Order's rule).

The author divides rural settlements in Prussia of the years 1466—1772 into four more categories. The first of them consists of Netherlandish villages (abbr. *H*), both those founded and inhabited in the sixteenth and seventeenth century by Dutch settlers (Mennonites), mainly situated on the sea-coast and on the banks of the Vistula (so-called *echte Holländerdörfer*) and the more recent emphyteutic settlements, of a similar legal and economic type, but situated further inland and not inhabited by settlers of Dutch origin (so-called *unechte Holländerdörfer*). This view, in principle, gives no reasons for objections, although it needs some additional explanations (about which see below). The second category consists of new settlements (*Neusiedelungen* — *Neusassereien*) inhabited by settlers of German origin (*deutsche Neudörfer* — abbr. *ND*), and the third of the remaining new settlements inhabited by people whose origin the author was unable to establish (abbr. *N*), at least for the time of their foundation in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. The author assumes that many of these settlements were also inhabited by a German

population, although he has no intention to deny the Polish character of a number of them (p. 23). The fourth category contains the settlements where the majority of the population was German in the 16th—18th century, but the time of their foundation was unknown to the author. To this category the author also assigned the settlements first mentioned as early as the Teutonic Order's days (abbr. *D*). The author points out that a large proportion of these settlements may belong to the second category (*ND*), although he cannot prove it at present. Let us state at the outset that in this classification, resultant from not only settlement but also nationality criteria, the fourth category is the most objectionable. What we should expect here is an account of the rest of the settlements with unbroken existence from the days of the Pomeranian princes and Teutonic Knights, in order to present a full picture of colonization changes in Prussia in the Polish days.¹⁵

On pages 29—33, working on the above mentioned assumptions, the author gives a short account of the development of settlements in different districts, but within the frontiers prior to 1914, which is an anachronism for the historian, and also a departure from the method used even by G. Dabinnus. In his account the author rightly underlines the close connection between the colonization changes on the one hand and the morphology of the country on the other (as in his findings for the Człuchów region), and generally points to the appearance of new settlements, beginning from the sixteenth century, in terminal moraine, glacial drift and marshy areas. At the same time he gives figures for different categories of settlements. For the whole area covered by the study, the total number of the Netherlandish villages (*H*) is given as 372, that of new German settlements (*ND*) — 639, of the other new settlements (*N*) — 692, and of 'German' villages (*D*) — 565, i.e. 2,268 in all. If we deduct the figures for the non-Prussian districts of Wałcz, Żłotów and Kwidzyn, we shall arrive at the following figures: category I (*H*) — 353, category II (*ND*) — 543, category III (*N*) — 623 and category IV (*D*) — 496, making a grand total of 2,015. If we further deduct the figures for category IV, as thematically different, we shall arrive at the figure of 1,519 as the number of newly founded rural settlements in Royal Prussia in the years 1466—1772. This is a considerable number (in the second half of the sixteenth century the total number of all existing rural settlements in Prussia was 2,000 approximately), it should be explained, however, that included in the number of newly founded settlements are many which had existed before 1466 but were located anew in the 16th—18th century, after the destruction caused by military operations or other disasters. In any case, the above shown results, in spite of their hypothetical character and of a number of disputable points present the development trends in the colonization in the Polish times.

These results are substantiated in more detail in the most important part of the work containing the lists of different categories of settlements (*Ortslisten*, p.37 ff.) which also serve as the basis for the maps.

The lists for category I (*H*) are preceded by the author's criteria for the Netherlandish villages in Prussia. In addition, the author gives a list of 'genuine' villages of this type and of similar villages of the *Häuländereien* type. He also emphasizes the fact that a number of Netherlandish villages in the Żuławy region were established on the sites of old villages of the Teutonic Order times which had been destroyed early in the sixteenth century. In the lists these villages are marked *HN*. It cannot be denied that these views are correct, although we can hardly agree with the author's unreserved identification of all the villages of the *H* or *HN* type with 'new German settlements' because all the Netherlandish or West Pomeranian settlers were eventually to have been Germanized. This thesis seems a gross simplification since it ignores the survival of the Mennonites till the end of the eighteenth century, and the part played by the Polish population.

The lists of the Netherlandish villages in Prussia (p. 41—69) are incomplete, above all. In most cases they do not give details as to the owners of the villages. They also contain a number

¹⁵ On page 32 the author introduces an additional, fifth category *E*, covering the villages where evangelical churches existed before 1772. It is to serve as an additional criterion of the German character of these villages. We shall return to this question later.

of inaccuracies in the dates of foundation where the estimates in some cases cover periods exceeding 100 years and sometimes even 200 years. In some cases no mention is made that the village in question is of the *HN* type. It is obvious that these mistakes result from the insufficient use made of the published and available sources or even studies. This fact also resulted in the omission of some Netherlandish villages. Besides, one is under the impression that the author's interpretation of the sources is not always faultless. It seems necessary, therefore, that Maas's findings should be thoroughly checked in a manner similar to that used by W. Rusiński when he dealt with the author's findings concerning the Netherlandish villages in Wielkopolska, (Great Poland), and modified the results radically enough.¹⁶

As regards the nationality (allegedly exclusively German) of the Netherlandish villages, the example of the village of Stanisławka (No. 306) in the district of Toruń seems significant enough. Out of the village's population of 82 in 1773, Maas himself found only 37 German names (i.e. less than 50%). Similarly, at Michałów in the district of Brodnica (No. 167) there are 38 German names in a population of 123. In the Pomeranian voivodship, according to Dabinnus himself, there were 78 Poles, 8 'Casubians' and 4 Germans in the Netherlandish village of Poledno, Świecie district (No. 219), in 1773. In the village of Bzowo Wielkie, Świecie district (No. 292) out of the total of 486 inhabitants there were as many as 283 Poles (including 74 'Cassubians').¹⁷ These figures, therefore, hypothetical as they are, show that the population of the Netherlandish villages in Prussia cannot be identified with the German element.

The lists are illustrated with a map in black and white (scale 1 : 300,000). In consequence, the only frontiers shown are those prior to 1914, and inland waters are represented as they were in the twentieth century, as e.g. the mouth of the Vistula. Only 372 settlements are shown on the map. No distinction is made between the *H* and *HN* types, or between genuine Netherlandish villages and those of the Netherlandish type. Differences in the dates of foundation of the villages (e.g. for the sixteenth, seventeenth and following centuries) are not shown. There is also no differentiation between forms of ownership. The map gives only a general indication of the concentrations of settlements of the Netherlandish type in the region of Żuławy, in the Vistula valley (the vicinity of Toruń, Świecie, Grudziądz and Kwidzyn) and in the central part of the Chełmno voivodship, i.e. in the present Brodnica district.

The list of category II settlements (*ND*) is mostly based on the studies of Bahr and Dabinnus. To the findings of the latter the author adds some details relating to the Chełmno voivodship, with the omission, however, of the Malbork voivodship. Assigned to this category are newly founded settlements which, according to Dabinnus, had German majorities in 1773. The author has doubts (p. 70) about the Polish character of a number of category III (*N*) settlements, and suspects that a number of category IV (*D*) settlements really belong to category II. He notes these doubts in the lists of localities, but at the same time he states he 'cannot wait for proofs any longer' (p. 70). The new settlements where only one-third of the population was German in 1773, are also shown on category II lists, marked *ND/3*.

The criteria accepted by the author give rise to some doubts. First of all, the settlements dating back to the times of Pomeranian princes or the Teutonic Order, which had been located anew in the 16th—18th century, should have been separated from the really new settlements which were mostly connected with wastelands, foundries or mills. This would make it possible to get a better idea of the increases in the numbers of Prussian settlements, and provide additional substantiation for the conclusions regarding the association between these really new settlements and certain morphological conditions. The dates given to some of the new settlements seem also doubtful. The author gives preference (p. 77) to rather summary and, as practice shows, incom-

¹⁶ W. Rusiński, *Osady tzw. oledrów w dawnym województwie poznańskim* [Netherlandish Villages in the Former Poznań Voivodship], Kraków 1947, p. 13—14. The author reduces Maas's estimates from 832 Netherlandish villages to 550.

¹⁷ Dabinnus, op. cit., p. 115, No. 49, p. 121, No. 193.

plete lists made by E. Bahr, or to information taken from B. Stadie or from *The Geographical Dictionary*, and does not trust easily accessible sources, particularly the results of the Prussian inspection of 1664. In consequence, there are errors of sometimes one hundred years in the dating of a number of settlements. E.g. Zdroje (No. 860) really existed in 1599,¹⁸ and not only from 1677. Śluza (No. 884) was mentioned as early as 1583.¹⁹ Złe Mięso (No. 1032) was known in the Teutonic Order days, and certainly in 1584.²⁰ The mill at Okiersk (No. 736) existed as early as 1570,²¹ and not only from 1648.

Another serious objection has to be raised against the assignment to this category of the settlements inhabited (according to the author) by Germans, mostly in 1773. The author works mainly on G. Dabinnus's findings, which are regarded by Polish historians as doubtful, giving rise to a number of serious objections and requiring a thorough revision.²² On some occasions Maas treated Dabinnus's findings with some scepticism, but he fully accepted his figures regarding the German population in Pomeranian villages, and even, significantly enough, increased them in a number of cases. And yet, the sources and sometimes even Dubinnus's findings show something different. E.g. the village of Obozin (Locken — No. 616) which existed in 1570 (and in the Teutonic Order days), in 1773 had 40 Poles, 15 'Casubians' and 16 Germans,²³ and yet it is shown in the *ND* group. The author not always knows how to determine which settlements were really located anew, or what was the nationality of their population, and sometimes is inclined to draw conclusions which seem too improbable.

Similar objections can be raised regarding category III (*N*) settlements, i.e. new settlements where there was no predominance or known participation of the German population. These lists require a thorough checking in order to clarify doubtful questions.

Category IV (*D*) consists of settlements both dating back to the Teutonic Order times and those with the dates of foundation unknown (to the author!). This category is intended above all to demonstrate the existence, if only temporary, of the German element in the other settlements in Royal Prussia. For instance, the author marks *E* all the settlements where evangelical churches temporarily existed at the end of the sixteenth century, assuming that German peasants must have lived there. For Polish peasants allegedly could not have been converted to Lutheranism, while German peasants (according to the author) could have remained Catholics, as e.g. the so-called *Kosznajders* (p. 137). The author bases this general thesis upon Father Fankidejski's statements which are perhaps of some importance if applied the nineteenth century but can hardly be accepted as true of the 16th—18th century. For what Maas overlooks is the possibility of Lutheranism having been enforced upon Polish subjects by masters of Pomeranian villages or the King's *starostas*, through handing over Catholic churches to evangelical predicants. By the way, the author himself gives examples of such practices (though he does not want to draw conclusions from them) in villages of the Osiek and Starogard *starostwos* (No. 939) where *starostas* Adam Walewski and Marcin Borzewicz were introducing Lutheranism in the second half of the sixteenth century. Some of the *E* type settlements from these areas, for that matter, show (according to Dabinnus's 'cautions' estimates) a decided predominance of the Polish element in 1773. E.g. Jania Kościelna (No. 1801) at that time numbered 145 Poles and 'Cassubians' and only 13 Germans;²⁴ similarly Barłożno (No. 1614) — 272 Poles and 'Cassubians' and 31 Germans.²⁵

However, still more strangely the author assigns to *D* group some settlements in Cassubia

¹⁸ *Visitaciones archidiaconatus Pomeraniae*, ed. by S. Kujot, 'Fontes', vol. I—III, p. 462, Toruń 1897—1899.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 33.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 237.

²¹ *Źródła dziejowe* [Historical Sources], vol. XXIII, p. 202.

²² Cf. the reviews by Polish authors quoted in Note 5.

²³ Dabinnus, op. cit., p. 133, No. 629a.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 120, No. 173.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 121, No. 200.

which had a decided predominance of the Polish population in 1773, even according to Dabinnus. He argues that the population of these villages belonged to the evangelical church and, in accordance with his assumptions, must have been German. It seems that the author, influenced by this thesis, had gone too far, ignoring the sources and refusing to see even the possibility of 'Polish Evangelics' or the population of mixed religious denominations in Cassubian villages.

By the way, a number of localities on this list belong to *ND* or *N* group. In some cases the author makes notes to this effect, but for some unknown reasons he cannot make up his mind to move these localities to their appropriate group. Summing up, the list of category IV settlements is the most doubtful and questionable of all. Undoubtedly it was the nationality criterion that had an adverse influence here.

The lists II—IV are illustrated with a map *Besiedlung Westpreussens 1466—1772* similar (as regards the scale and geographical details) to that of the Netherlandish settlements. The map undoubtedly illustrates the growth of new settlements, particularly in the central part of Pomerania, but it also shows defects resulting from the criteria applied when making out the lists. First of all there is no distinction of new settlements associated with earlier settlements. Secondly, settlements which were predominantly Polish in 1773 (even according to Dabinnus) are marked as German (as e.g. Subkowy, Lubnia and Obozin in the Pomeranian voivodship). In addition, settlements where Germans accounted for at least 50% of the population are marked as German settlements, which naturally considerably increases their number. Some decidedly Polish settlements are marked as German because, as we have mentioned before, they had evangelical churches at the end of the sixteenth century, although they remained decidedly Polish in 1773. The above quoted examples of the villages of Jania Kościelna and Barłożno are significant enough. In this category, too, settlements with Germans forming 50% of the population are marked as entirely German. Moreover, in the Chełmno voivodship even settlements where the German population did not exceed one-third of the total, are also marked as entirely German (e.g. Wichulec — No. 2117, Wądzyn — No. 2130, and Wymysłowo — No. 2134, which is typical *N* category, for that matter). We think we can safely state that the area covered with red markings which denote villages with German settlers (*ND* and *D* types) and so strongly underline the part played by the German element not only along the Vistula but even in Cassubia and the Chełmno voivodship, should be regarded as inaccurate in many cases. It should be stated that in this the author was influenced by the non-historical method he used, particularly the practice of adapting information from the late sixteenth century to the late eighteenth century, and the use of a priori assumptions. For the map is expected to present three hundred years of colonization processes in a single static picture, which is a definitely wrong method. This attempt at giving a static presentation of dynamic colonization processes in Royal Prussia was bound to end in a failure. Only the sectional method (e.g. the first period up to the middle of the seventeenth century, and the second period up to the end of the eighteenth century) could prove successful in this case. As regards the method, it would be more appropriate to give a clear account of the actual proportion of the German element in particular settlements (temporary, 50%, 30%, etc.). The map, as it is now, perhaps contrary to the intentions of the author, mainly demonstrates to the reader the absolute predominance of the German element in the majority of Prussian settlements during the three hundred years of Polish rule. The more so as it ignores hundreds of predominantly Polish settlements. In this respect, the map is simply unacceptable to the historian. It would be much more appropriately called *Deutsche Besiedlung Westpreussens*, since in its present form it entirely ignores the participation of the Polish element.

To his work the author adds a number of appendices in which he comments on or polemizes with recent findings of Polish scientists, geographers and historians in particular. He also gives a useful list of foundry workers' settlements in Prussia and points to the vicinity of Kartuzy and Kościerzyna (in Cassubia) as the main centres of iron and glass works.

On pages 182—187 the author polemizes with my views on the origin of noblemen — land-

owners in the Pomeranian voivodship in 1570,²⁶ and maintains that the thesis about a larger influx of noblemen from the Polish Crown territories to Prussia also applies to the seventeenth and eighteenth century. This correction could be accepted, but the view that the autochthonous Slavonic element was predominant among the Pomeranian nobility in the sixteenth century still holds true. It was necessary to underline this view very strongly in my work because of the simplified opinion of earlier German historians who believed that immediately after 1466 a large-scale inflow had begun of Polish noblemen who displaced or replaced the noblemen of the Teutonic Order times.

On pages 188—192 the author gives his commentary on G. Dabinnus's nationality map. He makes here, very discreetly, a very important correction, namely he does away with the artificial distinction between 'Cassubians' and Poles which is so strikingly inappropriate in Dabinnus's work, and puts them into one group of Slavonic population. On this basis he produces a simplified 1 : 1,000,000 map. It shows the distribution of rural settlements in Gdańsk Pomerania in 1773. Predominantly Slavonic settlements are marked in red and predominantly German ones in black. Various shapes and sizes of the signs indicate the number of inhabitants. We must state that the result is very interesting indeed. The red signs dominate the whole area with the exception of the Człuchów and Świecie regions, the Gdańsk Żuławy, and partly the Kościerzyna and Puck regions, clearly indicating the Polish character of the Pomeranian countryside. Although the author explains in his commentary that many of the Polish settlements were small forest settlements, while the predominantly German settlements were as a rule larger (particularly in the Świecie region), the latter were certainly counterbalanced by larger Polish peasant villages such as e.g. in the vicinity of Nowe (villages of the Osiek *starostwo*) or of Starogard. So, the author has made the first important correction of the fabricated findings of Dabinnus. This correction should now be followed on our part by a check of his nationality statistics.

It should be remarked that on this occasion the author overlooked an important circumstance, namely that this map constitutes a revision and correction of his own *Besiedlung Westpreussens* map, reducing the range of the German element in the formerly doubtful or misrepresented cases. Through his full representation of the distribution of settlements and the proportion of the Polish element (reduced by Dabinnus), though Maas unintentionally provided an important supplement and a self-imposed correction to his former findings. It should only be regretted that the map is not of the same scale as the earlier one (1 : 300,000) and that it does not show more details.

It is far from easy to judge the results of Maas's work. Many years of the author's research should undoubtedly be appreciated, and the importance of his work for the history of colonization in Royal Prussia should be emphasized. The author made the first attempt at presenting the changes in the colonization processes, and undoubtedly proved the association between them and the morphological factors. It seems, however, that the task the author-geographer had set to himself proved too hard. Both the inadequate standard of preparatory work and the omission of available source-material, as well as the apriority of assumptions, particularly with regard to nationality questions, and finally the static representation of more than 300 years of the development of colonization and ethnical processes in a single cartographic picture, have resulted in the incompleteness or doubtfulness of a number of findings. The combination of two research aspects: the geographic-historical and the ethnical, has proved not so fortunate, since the second factor dominated the first.

We think that Maas's work should above all provide encouragement for Polish historians to begin at last thorough studies of the colonization changes in Royal Prussia from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, with full use of the wealth of source-material in our archives, or of the microfilm of the Frederician survey which is now in our possession. It is only against this back-

²⁶ M. Biskup, *Rozmieszczenie własności ziemskiej województwa pomorskiego* [*The Distribution of Landed Property in the Pomeranian Voivodship*], p. 38.

ground that they should, *sine ira et studio*, assign proper parts to various ethnical elements in the settlements and structure of the whole of Royal Prussia.

Marian Biskup