

## *Friedrich the Great as Founder of German Colonies in the Newly Acquired Territories in 1772*

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To the Reader,

I came across a digital copy of the above titled book back in 2008. I started transcribing and translating it, but it ended up on a back burner due to other things needing more attention. Recently, I realized that turning 80 very soon sort of challenges me to think about the chance of not being blessed with too many more years on this earth. It would be a waste of time if I should wait until the whole book of 132 pages is translated before I submit it to the public, and then death intervenes and the translation work is never made public. So I am going to try and present this English translation in several parts. There seemed to be a natural division after pages 1-54. That is what I am submitting now. With 78 pages remaining to be translated; and hoping to have the ability and longevity to finish the project, I will submit further completed translations as additions to this 1<sup>st</sup> Edition.

Within the translation, if there are square brackets [ ], it indicates that the translator has added a comment. In order to preserve the exact page location in the German book of the translation, I have inserted a small indicator like [Page 1].

**Overview:** This book deals with what Friedrich II, ‘the Great’ (1712-1786) King of Prussia (1740-1786), did with the Polish lands that he annexed during the First Partitioning of Poland in 1772.

Measurements to be encountered in this book:

**Ruthe** - [1 Ruthe = ca. 16 feet / 4.617 meters]

**Centner** - [1 Centner = 200.5 lbs / 100 kilograms]

**Hufen**-[1 Hufen = ca. 120 acres]

**Morgen** – [1 Morgan = ca. 1.3 hectares/3.2 acres]

[Translation Begins]

Title Page:

*Fredrick the Great as Founder of German Colonies in the Newly Acquired Territories in 1772*, by Dr. M. Beheim-Schwarzbach, teacher at the Ostrowo Educational Institution near Filehne, Berlin, 1864. Published by E.S. Mittler and Son. (69 Koch Street)

Dedicated to the historiographer Professor Dr. J.D.E. Preuß, knight and highly esteemed.

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Preface:

As the undersigned turns this small historical work over to the German public, he does so in the belief that it may be of the same interest to them to become familiar with not only the great and grandiose but also the details by way of numbers and names of the great restless efforts of Frederick II in the formerly most uncultivated Polish country. The fact that German workers brought about the development of these Prussian provinces has become a popular keyword, the history of it, for the most part, now indebted to this very special founding.

No one will be surprised that the undersigned has often taken his refuge in statistics, who approves of the words of the meritorious historian,<sup>1</sup> [Page VI] “that comparative cultural history and moral history can hardly take a step without addressing the statistical office for help.” Unfortunately, however, statistics are too young a science to answer all the questions.

If this work only wants to put the country-economic efforts of the great king for the Polish province in the right light, it should therefore not bear any polemical character against the nation whose country was partitioned for the first time during the time of Frederick II.

The author found inspiration for this work in the apt “German potrayals” of G. Freytag, at least in the portrayal that Friedrich the Great shows us.

Unfortunately, a history of these colonies, created by the great king, lacked any preparatory work. Yes, just finding out the names of these colonies was not easy. Of some archives to which the author turned, the respondent even knew that it would not be possible to determine whether Frederick the Great had created colonies in Western Prussia, etc. The only support was that offered by the land registers and advance station tables (*Prästationstabellen*) in the departmental towns, which had at least been recorded in some colonies.

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Since the colonies have mostly been founded in a cyclical fashion, so, since in a location and place there is still a lively awareness of the history of these establishments, it was possible to come to know some of the missing names. Such a journey from colony to colony during the

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<sup>1</sup> Preuß.

outbreak of Polish unrest, at which time the author travelled, did not take place entirely unhindered and free of inconvenience, especially since the Prussian posts in the border villages experienced insurrections here and there on their patrols, and the suspicious German (non-colonist) peasants were easily inclined to suspect Polish spies everywhere. The colonists, mostly of Swabian descent, were as harmless as the northern German peasants. If now more words are devoted to these Swabian colonies, it was to document how southern German blood has been preserved way up in northeastern Germany, and to make a small contribution to the knowledge of the German rural people, which is often mixed from the most colorful elements, whose customs and language are wonderfully different from neighborhood to neighborhood, and thus, according to us, the establishments are often puzzling.

The undersigned requests that his undertaking be kindly accepted, [Page VIII] taking into consideration the difficulty of the subject, and apologies for any inaccuracies or errors; he would gladly accept submissions of corrections.

Pädagogium Ostrowo near Filehne in the Fall of 1864.

M. Beheim-Schwarzbach.

[Page 1]

The first partitioning of Poland in 1772 enlarged Russia's territory by 2,200 miles; Austria received 1,500-1,600 miles, Prussia only 700 miles with 900,000 people, so that Poland kept 9,057 miles at that time.

Now, the area which fell to Frederick the Great forms the present-day West Prussia with the exception of Danzig and Thorn, Ermeland, which was immediately incorporated into the province of East Prussia, and the Netze District, which is now part of the province of Poznan.

Already in the spring of 1772, the king, when he came from the Stargardter Revue, had communicated to the prudent War Counsel and Domain Counsel Schönaberg of Brenkenhof in Bromberg the whole Polish distribution plan, Brenkenhof already authorized the soon-to-take-place appropriation of the Netze District and discussed with him in-depth about the administration and necessary colonization of this new land. Even before the appropriation, the great monarch reflected day and night about the well-being and happiness of his newly acquired province.

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In September of 1772, the actual appropriation proceeded through Brenkenhof. Brenkenhof, who, under the protection of an officer and twelve Dragoon,<sup>2</sup> had to demarcate the Netze and its bank, was urgently requested by his lady-friend, the female general of Skorzevska, an avid friend of Prussia, not without just cause, fearing for her estates in Poland, to continue the prescribed limits beyond her estates, so that Rynarezewo, as determined, not become the boundary line, but that even the Luboczin and Borozin estates be included like the Koczkowa-Hollanders, in which lived almost all Germans and approximately 2,000 families. So Szulitz

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<sup>2</sup> The Austrians commanded several thousand soldiers for this purpose. Brenkenhofs *Leben von Meißner*, Leipzig 1782. S. 110

became the boundary line. The king confirmed and endorsed this in spite of not only Brenkenhof's unauthorized encroachment, but ordered him in February, 1773 to once more "secretly" extend the border, and so with this second move 15 cities, 516 villages with 46,812 souls were smuggled over into the Prussian border, and in 1774, Frederick found that the Netze had its origin at the Komodellen Monastery, also beyond Sempolnos. However, since Friedrich was to receive all the Netze with its banks, the Prussian border had to begin from the original source of this river, and so 13 cities, 350 villages with 18,179 souls also came under Prussian sovereignty.

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And now it was time to patch and put into shape this newly acquired province that this country, which has been wild and neglected during the Polish riots, gains a European and above all a Germanic prestige. "This last land gain of the king, which was so lacking in cannon thunder and victory fanfare, was the greatest and most blessed of all the gifts that the German people were indebted to Frederick II."<sup>3</sup>

This territory, which had been disputed for centuries, was now a free bridge between the isolated East Prussia and Pomerania as well as the Mark, and by Frederick conquering this province for his people, he acquired new terrain for German law, German education, freedom, culture and industry in Eastern Europe. He took great pains to make this strange child native in his national family; "He now washed and brushed it as a mother, dressed it anew, forced it to school and order, and always kept an eye on it," and as it adapted, he hardened this new youngest darling, for Silesia had already grown healthy, and often and bitterly enough it had to experience his officials, the actual sculptors of the wilderness country.

Friedrich's first task was to introduce in place of the hitherto lawlessness and confusion a strictly and precisely operational Prussian judicial system. The new vassal immediately came under the protection of the State and its laws. In particular, serfdom [Page 4] was abolished, the forced labor (*Robota=Arbeit*), the yard service (*Hofedienste*) reduced, the mortgage system of property secured. The king, whose principle was: "That I live is not necessary, but that I am engaged as long as I live," showed his passion, his talent for activity here in the fullest light. His goal was two-fold, agriculturally and politically to make a reclamation of the land and to Germanize it. He recognized the excellence of the new ground and knew that it would be worthwhile to transform the stumps, bogs and uninhabited areas into friendly meadows and broad, heavy soil fields, and to bully out of this wild country new villages and buildings at its own expense. "Among all, the soil enrichment succeeded best, and perhaps the great king felt never more satisfied than when he, standing on the river dikes, said: I have won a province." (Thaer.)

The individual manifestations of his infinite compassion for this Polish possession are manifold and colorful. As most of the cities lay equally in dismal ruins, and strength and active trade were completely worn out and exhausted; so it was determined that in the first twelve years no administration and no district (*Kanton*) should be introduced, so that all places would be awakened by new population, new freshness and new zest for life. New massive, especially

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<sup>3</sup> Gustav Freytag: *Neue Bilder aus dem Leben des deutschen Volkes*. S. 397. ff.

many regal houses were built; that brought money among the people; the old ones had to be repaired as ordered. Municipal money to construct farmyards was granted.

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Nor should this province, after all, be placed under the extensive Chamber Regiment (*Kammerregiment*), but it was immediately under the king's personal supervision; he wanted to speak to this new people himself and embark on a very direct government procedure. One cannot blame him when he hurried with his colonization plans, he still wanted to see here with his own eyes the work of his engaged hands, his working spirit, and his days were measured. On his domains he set up new villages and occupied them with new immigrants; he let the poverty-stricken nobility flow in in significant numbers, some as a gift, some as a long term loan without interest, so that he could also improve his estates and be in a position, as the king, to assist in the soil enrichment. He blessed the farmer with competitive prices of all kinds, when he distinguished himself by modern sheep breeding or horse breeding, by diligence and prudence, or by means of other farming virtues. There was a recognition for every complaint made. Furthermore, there was the improvement of the local sheep breeding by bringing in Spanish rams; the greater amount coming from England. For smuggling even a sheep was the mast of the ship as a gallows. Good horse breeds were obtained from Dessau; new seeds, farming techniques were determined to the smallest detail by Friedrich, even better devices for butter and cheese preparation. He spoke at many cabinet meetings about lupin bean seeds, turnips, alfalfa, flowering plant that grows in sandy and marshy soil (*Haidekraut*), hops, flax, grape vines, especially about the fishery.

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The Mining and Cabin Department (Hüttendepartement), the Forestry Sector were regulated under the judicious leadership of men such as Waitz from Dessau, Freiherr von Eschen from Hesse and Heinitz from Saxony. In foresight, he had large storehouses built in which cereal grains were to be stored against eventual famine and inflation, which was then sold off cheaply. So there were military storehouses and country storehouses. On the other hand, the idea of a produce barrier in times of inflation was not to be called that fortunate, because the grain, as a result of this precaution, continued to mount. In order to promote trade and industry, factories were created, whose owners were encouraged by the king himself and also supported now and again, although often jokingly insignificant. A free trade fair at Bromberg was to lure the merchants from Berlin, Stettin and other Brandenburg merchants to exchange commodities with the Poles. He wished to make traffic with the Poles more lively on the Netze and to draw all raw commodities, such as wax, hides, wool, into his territory, to prepare them and then send them back again to Poland.

His efforts, to promote city and country, were equally big and so it was the principle that he was able to secure for the city as much craftsmanship, factories, manufacturing and trade as possible, to turn over complete concern to the farmer for his field. So he wrote 10 April, 1777: "As it is not to be denied that in both the cities and the flat country of that [Page 7] Province there can still be different **establishments** that can take place and be undertaken; so above all you also have to let yourself engage in the cities useful workers, fabricators and professionals and on the flat land a diversity of farmers and artisans and multiply the population from time to time, especially so as

not to fail that such people, food, service and upkeep will certainly be found, by such establishments, that you will be immensely distinguished by Our Highest Person.”

So many small Polish cities had been misused by this that their inhabitants usually owned a small acreage, which they and the family were supposed to maintain exclusively, and in their bleak laziness they did not care about it, nor did they seek other means of subsistence. Thus trade and technical skill had almost completely disappeared, and as a result laziness and poverty had seized the prolific place. Such hardship and such poor living led to diseases of the worst kind in the wake, and Frederick soon sent masses of doctors, especially surgeons and wound specialists, to this province.

He also cared even more so for the spiritual education of these new subjects than in the rest of his provinces. But here also vigorous intervention was necessary. In the other provinces, perhaps out of austerity reasons, the very cheapest village schoolmasters were employed, who, raw, uneducated, ignorant, often immoral, had to support themselves mostly as cattle herders, tailors, and so forth.

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Being a schoolmaster was only a side office, which was not administered in the summer and was let out on lease in the winter with the most minimum of requirements. Now the preachers were to lead the oversight, but few said anything. Later, a school regulation was worked out to clean up the situation, but the salary of the teachers remained the same; thus, also the old individuals remained, mostly invalid soldiers. But for the new province, an entire company had to be provided by the worthy Semler of well-trained and exercised teachers, sixty in number. The Minister von Hoym came up with forty-four Catholic-Germans, and the Archbishop of Ermeland eighty-three Catholic-Polish teachers. Each of them got the high salary of sixty talers annually and a piece of garden land. “It stirred deeply a real joy for us, says Preuß,<sup>4</sup> the most diligent and important biographer of Frederick II, when we find in the documents almost page after page of the king’s concerns for the schools, to stimulate the concept of human rights among the people and to make preparations for the well-being of the weaker individuals.” True to his old principle, Frederick also immediately wanted freedom of conscience and freedom of belief in the new province. The building of churches was undertaken with pious zeal by the evangelical congregations, which could now breathe a sigh of relief, and often supported by the king’s own means, and in Flatow, Zempenburg, Bandsburg, Lobsens, [Page 9] Schneidemühl, and so forth, church domes gradually arose.

All were given the freedom to create and act and make themselves useful — but for an otherwise tolerant king, only the Jews “were not allowed to be incorporated.” They were restricted, as in other countries, and four thousand were again moved across the border when the land was taken over. On the flat land, as in East Prussia, no Jew was tolerated at all, only in excise levied towns. Around 1772, there were only 2 Jews in Ermeland out of 95,333 souls; in the Marienburg District, 128 out of 83,401; in Kulm and Michelau, 848 out of 96,455; in Eastern Pomerania, 2,629 out of 139,162. And yet these Jews were used, at least the rich ones. They were to drain the trade from the “unfortunately still Polish” Danzig and this is why they were set up in the

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<sup>4</sup> Book IV, p. 63.

Danzig outskirts. Frederick otherwise trusted them little in a comfortable way and even denied their joining the Protestant Church, because they “only joined for outward appearance.”

Another of Frederick's concerns was to divide the landscape into small districts, to have the entire flat ground appraised in the shortest time and proportionately taxed, to provide each district with a district magistrate, a court, a post office and a health police.<sup>5</sup> Digging, hammering, building got started everywhere; the towns were occupied by people; road after road rose from the [Page 10] piles of rubble; the glaring stones were turned into crown lands. Almost every town, every patch, every single square mile reflected Friedrich's foresight. Everywhere one saw busy hands, and as early as 1773 (11<sup>th</sup> Oct.) the great king was able to write to Voltaire: “I abolished slavery, reformed barbaric laws with reasonable ones, opened a channel that connects the Vistula, Brahe, Netze, Warthe, Oder, Elbe [rivers], rebuilt towns which had been devastated since the plague in 1709, dried twenty miles of bog (*Moräste*) and introduced a police force, all this previously unknown to this country.”

This channel, which Frederick speaks of here, is in the achievement indeed a great creation, which he was entitled to emphasize. There was great merit in Brenkenhof having brought this plan to the king. After the already allocated revue, even before the partition of Poland, when Frederick already inquired about all the details of his sought-after province and asked in particular about the possibility of a connection of the Oder and Vistula, Brenkenhof shared with him his detailed connecting plan. He had learned that a private citizen, a certain Malachowski, had earlier begun to strive after a joining of the Netze and Brahe.

Malachowski had to drop the plan due to a lack of money and technical knowledge; but a certain Jawein from Rügenwalde, who was among the technical officials, had theoretically continued to confirm the plan.

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Upon further examination, the possibility of execution was revealed, in that the Netze was at sixty-three feet, one inch higher than the Brahe. As early as 29 March, 1772, Friedrich replied to Brenkenhof's suggestion:

“I would like to thank you for your message to me about Eastern Pomerania and the stretch of land on this side of the Netze, and of which I am immensely satisfied, and in response to your direction, I would like to very much report in confidence how I have already been intentional this year with the creation of the channel that is known to you, so you can show me your preliminary suggestion and also indicate to me how high it would be.”

At the beginning of May, Brenkenhof calculated to the king in Potsdam a cost of 231,180 *thaler* [Thaler/Taler—a European silver coin] 16 *groschen*. Jawein, the Neumark construction director Hahn and the building inspector Dornstein at Müllrose were commissioned to take leadership, and because the work went faster in places, Brenkenhof had to procure workers from Saxony, Anhalt, Bohemia, Thuringia, where famine was present at the time. A lot of wood was taken by Major von Zabelitz as studs from the Tuchola Forest (*Tuchelschen Starostei*) by way of the

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<sup>5</sup> Gustav Freytag: *Neue Bilder aus dem Leben des deutschen Volkes*.

Brahe River. Six thousand workers were procured and had to work day and night. The whole work was carried out with incredible speed, yes, carried out in a hurry, despite the most urgent protest from Brenkenhof, who in rational calm forced a way through in massive locks and above all wanted to spare the life of the workers.

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Because these same people had to stand in the cold, unhealthy tributary water, there were many diseases. But Friedrich did not want to know anything about a gradual slow course of such a construction, and exhortations and bitter rebukes from him in turn accelerated the work in such a way that in sixteen months, at a cost of 739,956 *thaler* (without reckoning the wood from the royal Tuchola moorland) the channel was finished. The channel was 6,924 *Ruthe* [ca. 110,784 ft/31,968 m] long, 5 *Ruthe* [80 ft/23 m] wide, 3½ feet deep and was calculated for an Oder River barge [*Oderkähne*] of 124 feet long, 13½ feet wide with a cargo of 766 *Centners* [153,583 lbs/76,600 kg], and a draft of 2 feet 10 inches in depth. Frederick already watched with joy loaded Oder ships plying the Vistula River in the summer of 1773. Through this channel, the Netze River, from Driesen to Nakel, was also made navigable. The channel was immediately of great use; the estate owners of the area had soon gained thousands by selling their wood and staggered sales of the victuals and drinks, and others were able to make their fields capable of cultivation because of the outflow that was generated through this canal.

Also in military terms, Frederick sought to hold the country by building a cadet school, which was set up in Culm for fifty-six noble titled landowners (*Junker*), “so that the Poles would be withdrawn from the Polish and won over for Prussian service.”

At the Grabauer Camp near Marienwerder, a fortress was established, later abandoned [Page 13] because of the unconquerable Vistula current and so Graudenz was fortified. This fortress played an exceptionally arduous role in 1807 under the fervent Advocate de Courbiere. In addition, military hospitals, storehouses, yard buildings were installed in great number. For the flooding, which especially afflicted West Prussia almost every year, Frederick made available 404,600 *thaler* for 1774-1786. and 203,800 *thaler* for other misfortunes. The otherwise stingy king donated many millions of *thaler* and *groschen* for great institutions of general interest, like for the individual small household. But for everything he demanded accurate invoicing filing, and he was himself an excellent mathematic master.

With a great partiality, however, Friedrich personally directed the immigration of foreigners to this province. He guided them to their destination, provided them with food and drink, gave them their alms (*Viaticum*) and always had an open ear for them. If he could be partisan at all, it was for the colonists.

Frederick saw quite well the almost wild state of the country; things had to be changed. But the Polish farmer was, at least for the time being, not the suitable instrument he could use. After all, the strictness of Friedrich Wilhelm I was not able to succeed in the potato cultivation in spite of physical punishment [Page 14] in its neglect, in the way that afterwards the Salzburg people did voluntarily. Frederick considered a mixture of the population with Germans to be one of the strongest impulses for improving the culture. Yes, even if the Poles were hard workers; if Frederick had not had a need “for Polish economy system and non-usefulness” in working, so to



mention for example, when it came to seeding; if Frederick had not thought it necessary through demonstration of German labor to show them how one could and should work: he had a second reason, which he had already spoken about earlier, “to bring the Polish man to German country,” to put German schoolmasters in small towns and villages and to “mingle” the inhabitants throughout with Germans.

Where these settlers, the actual invigorating robust origins of the lofty colonization plans and germanization plans of Frederick, were located is not difficult to answer. Almost everywhere, in every city, every spot, every village, every domain and new settlements, foreign settlers were quartered; a new young seed of the population was scattered over the whole sparsely populated country; a new labor force was added to the country, which Frederick wisely distributed in the city and country, depending on the suitability of the individuals and the needs of the place. The actually formed part of the newly introduced population consisted in a significant number of officials of each class. These were tough, intelligent people; they had their eyes [Page 15] everywhere, and especially for their efforts we owe the land awakened from its numbness to young fresh life. They did not work in yokes, aware of the impending driving of the king, but they hurried around everywhere, frank and free, and found real, great joy like the miner’s style aspirations, to acquire pure metal from the infinite mass of the country. The second focus was the immigrant who came into the country; the often intelligent craftsman, and also the geographical colonist, at least the Swabian, was not only endowed with greater schooling than the Polish peasants there, but even more so from among the German peasants.

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In distributing the colonists, Frederick remained faithful to his land economy principle and provided craftsmen and merchants, mostly businessmen in the cities, a wide field for their speculative spirit and skill for spreading and improving the industry; and he thought of the farmer and the tedious but rewarding work on the moorland or the arid dusty soil, in dense forests or on cold, empty, treeless steppes, close to larger or smaller cities, or far removed from friendly human-occupied areas. Crowds by the hundreds, who all were friends among themselves, advanced from an area of Swabia or Württemberg, built new villages to live in, or some individual families left for a miserable *Pustkowie* in the middle of the forest or for a further desolate plain.

Generally, Frederick united his two plans, which he carried out in this province, to cultivate the land and to germanize his Polish inhabitants. He provided pure Polish cities with German colonist tradesmen where still today the Czapka [Polish calvary headgear] and the laced skirts are the dominant costume, and he liked especially to place the new villages among the miserable Polish huts. From the cracks of these disintegrated clay huts, from the Polish depression and wilderness, there should be held aloft a new green Germanic diligence, Germanic intelligence, happiness and culture.

But Friedrich found his plans already thoroughly pre-worked when the Polish province was taken possession of. “Since the thirteenth century, the Germans had penetrated into the Vistula River territory as village founder and arable farmer: Knights of the Order, merchants, pious monks, German noblemen and farmers. Many smaller German cities and village communities were spread throughout the whole territory; the rich Cistercian Cloister Oliva and Pelplin had

also eagerly colonized until the harshness of the German order led to the annexation of Poland to West Prussia in the fifteenth century. The Reformation had also taken root here among Germans like Poland, so that in the slavic eastern Pomerania, for example, for the year 1590, out of a hundred church parishes, about seventy were Protestant. It was later that the Pole, and with him the immigrant German nobility that became Polish, became Catholic, [Page 17] while the simple villagers and farmers remained diehard Protestant and had to suffer much from the faith-base and tribal hatred of the Poles.”

These Germans had also been undeterred, in the German sense, lived at that time busily and actively managing and working simply, quietly, joyfully and defiantly and also acquired something for themselves. They were able to set aside each year their penny savings (*Sparpfennig*), or if there were larger coins (*Geldstücke*), buried secretly, a custom that is still to be found among them today. But it was especially the quiet, sensible, faithful and extremely eager to work followers of Menno who prepared the ground for Friedrich. Immigrant refugees from Holland already lived in the Elbinger District since 1550 and 1565, where they, through reclamation and draining, brought about prosperity in their peaceful manner.<sup>6</sup>

[Page 18] Friedrich, who wanted to receive such workers, promised them in a document (29 March 1780) perpetual freedom from military service in exchange for an annual tax of 5,000 *thaler*. Under Friedrich, according to the 1774 Census, there were: 13,495 Mennonites with 2,177 *Hufen* (1 *Hufen* = ca. 120 acres) of land in West Prussia. In recent times, motions were submitted in the Prussian House of Deputies,<sup>7</sup> which, if they were accepted and realized, could have the result that the State break up the most active workers who desire to set up an even more peculiar dogma as they are in fact doing, to maintain a practical, pure Christianity. Great unrest came to the peaceful multitude through this request; and instead, all of them took their walking sticks in hand, withdrew silently from their private soil, which property did not even belong to them as saleable or expandable, and moved with wife and child to Russia’s steppes, as many had done before them, before they allowed themselves to have impressed upon them the blue uniform and the muskets that their teachings forbade them to bear.

Frederick the Great also had to thank these agile hands and these tried and tested characters, the diehard German and the gentle energetic Mennonites, and the whole Prussian and German nation preparing ahead of time a great part of the culture, draining, reclamation [Page 19] and soil management of the land, as in the breeding of the will, meaning and character, over against the slavic negligence and thoughtlessness.

As has already been pointed out, the new province of the king “of Prussia,” as he has called himself since this acquisition, divided in such a way that Ermeland went to Prussia, or, as Frederick wanted it called, to East Prussia; Culm and Michelau, the Marienburg District and eastern Pomerania formed the Marienwerder Department, and the Netze District formed a

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<sup>6</sup> The place of residences of the Mennonites were located here since antiquity: A. In Tiegenhof District: Platenhof, Tiegenhagen, Tiegenweide, Reimerswalde, Orloffersfeld, Putgendorf, Orlof, Pietzgendorf, Petershagenerfeld. B. In Grossen Marien near Werder: Heusuden, Gurken, Herrenhagen. C. In Kleinen Werder: Kampenau, Schwansdorf, Hohenwalde, Tiensdorf, Balau, Markushof, Wengeln, Eichenhorst, Alt-Rosengart, Rosenort, Reichshorst, Sorgenhorst, Kukuk, Kronnest, Sparau, Schönwiese.

<sup>7</sup> Through a proposal of Deputy Lietz, on 26 January, 1861, Mennonites from the age of 20 were liable prospects for military service.

separate department, Bromberg. In Marienwerder and Bromberg, there were capable men at the helm who themselves took a hand in everything and whose zealous endeavors we owe special thanks for the advances and results of the colonization that we can enjoy today: Domhard, who managed West Prussia, and Balthasar Schönberg from Brenkenhof in the Netze areas. Domhard<sup>8</sup> was born at Allerode in the Duchy of Brunswick in 1712; he distinguished himself as one of the most talented, prudent and zealous disseminators of Friedrich's ideas, and Brekenhof<sup>9</sup> was born in 1723 at Reideburg near Halle on the Saale River, was mainly in Dessau service, later became War Counsel and Domain Counsel with Friedrich. Brenkenhof was a man of original spirit without [Page 20] being scientifically educated, and had a significant effect, with great success and aptitude, for the soil enrichment system<sup>10</sup> in Pomerania and in the Neumark, and then also in the Netze District. These two men, in a personal way, led the colonization system in their departments. Proof of their restless efforts, as they tried to do justice to the wishes of Friedrich, is shown in the following table, which gives information on how actually the whole of Western Prussia and the entire Netze District is a large colony. This list is a compilation of the monthly reports that Frederick regularly obtained "about the actual appointed colonists, a monthly designation, to be accurate and without delay," deserving to be considered for their accuracy.

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#### Information<sup>11</sup>

The inhabited areas, which the immigrant colonists came to from 1772-1786.

(The numbers indicate the number of families.<sup>12</sup>)

Up to 15 September 1774: St. Albrecht 1, Conitz 1, Culm 2, Dirschau 2, Elbing 8, Marienwerder 1, Neuenburg 2, Putzig 1, Riesenburg 2, Schottland 3, Stargard 4, Straßburg 1. Total number of families: 28

From 15 September 1774 to 15 March 1775. Bischofswerder 2, Elbing 3, Marienburg 1, Marienwerder 2, Mewe 6, Schidlitz 2, Schottland 1. Total number of families: 17

15 September, 1775. Christburg 2, Conitz 2, Culm 8, Graudenz 1, Marienwerder 2, Neuenburg 2, Schidlitz 5, Schottland 4, Stargard 1, suburb (*Vorstadt*) Stolzenberg 6. Total number of families: 33

15 September, 1775 to 15 March, 1776. Conitz 2, Elbing 3, Marienwerder 3,

<sup>8</sup> Jester, *Beitraege zur Kunde Preußens*, Band I. Heft 1.

<sup>9</sup> *Brenkenhofs Leben* by Meißner.

<sup>10</sup> New colonies laid out by him: Neuhaferwiese, Brenkenhofswalde, Franzthal, Neu Schoeningsbruch, Schulenwerder, Liegendorf, Friedrichshorst, Aarhorst, Neu Anspach, Schartowswalde, Marienthal, Erpach, Erbenswunsch, Neu Dessau, Neu Belitz, Brand, Neu Vordamm, Muehlendorf, Neu Ulm, Neu Mecklenburg, Neu Larpsow, Lebmannshoffel, Gebrkenberg, Beiersberg, Rehfeld, Sophienthal, Sydowswiese. These colonies existed with 1899 Families. The wealth which most of these Swabian colonists brought with them amounted to 152,995 Thlr., 484 horses, 1604 horned cattle. Still significant colonies were founded on some swamp land on the Warthe, which, until 1776, was comprised of 1796 families.

<sup>11</sup> The larger towns are considered here since the smaller towns and villages are published separately.

<sup>12</sup> Where there is no number after the place, it is still to receive a colonist family.

Neuenburg 1, Schidlitz 1, Schottland 2, Stargard 1. Total number of families:	13
15 September, 1776. Culm 4, Deutsch Eylau 1, Marienwerder 2, Neuenburg 1, Putzig 1, Riesenburg 1, suburb ( <i>Vorstadt</i> ) Stolzenberg 3. Total number of families:	13
15 September, 1776 to 15 March, 1777. Christburg 2, Culm 2, Dirschau 1, Elbing 2, Marienburg 2, Marienwerder 1, Putzig 1, Riesenburg 1, Schidlitz 2, Schottland 4, suburb ( <i>Vorstadt</i> ) Stolzenberg 1. Total number of families:	19
15 September, 1777. Culm 4, Elbing 6, Freystadt 1, Marienburg 1, Marienwerder 3, Schidlitz1, Schottland 5. Total number of families:	21
<span style="color: red;">[Page 22]</span>	
15 September 1777 to 15 March 1778. Culm 4, Culmsee 2, Dirschau 2, Elbing 6, Mewe, Putzig 1, Schottland 1, Vorstadt Stolzenberg 1. Total number of families:	18
On 15 September 1778. Culm 3, Dirschau 1, Elbing 4, Putzig 1. Total number of families:	9
15 September 1778 to 15 March 1779. Culm 3, Elbing 4, Garnsee, Gollub 4, Grandenz 4, Marienburg 3, Neuenburg 1, Putzig 1, Riesenburg 1, Stargad 2, Straßburg 2. Total number of families:	26
On 15 September 1779. Culm 4, Elbing 15, Gollub 4, Graudenz 1, Marienwerder 3, Reisenburg 1, Schidlitz 2, Schottland 4, suburb ( <i>Vorstadt</i> ) Stolzenberg 1. Total number of families:	35
15 September 1779 to 15 March 1780. St. Albrecht 3, Bischofswerder 1, Conitz 7, Elbing 4, Gollub 1, Marienburg 5, Marienwerder 2, Mewe, Riesenburg 1, Schidlitz 2, Schottland 2, Stargard 1, suburb ( <i>Vorstadt</i> ) Stolzenberg 4. Total number of families:	34
On 15 September 1780. Conitz 2, Culm 4, Elbing 5, Gollub, Graudenz 5, Marienburg 2, Strassburg 5. Total number of families:	24
15 September 1780 to 15 March 1781. Christburg 2, Conitz 1, Culm 1, Elbing 4, Graudenz 3, Marienburg 1. Total number of families:	12
On 15 September 1781. St. Albrecht 2, Conitz 1, Deutsch Eylau 1, Dirschau 2, Elbing 19, Gollub 2, Graudenz 4, Marienburg 4, Marienwerder 3, Neuenburg 2, Riesenburg 1, Schidlitz 2, Schottland 6, Stargard 2, suburb ( <i>Vorstadt</i> ) Stolzenberg 5. Total number of families:	56
15 September 1781 to 15 March 1782. Bischofswerder 1, Conitz 5, Culm 11, Dirschau 1, Elbing 2, Gollub 9, Marienburg 4, Marienwerder 5, Putzig 1, Stargard 2, suburb ( <i>Vorstadt</i> ) Stolzenberg 1. Total number of families:	42

On 15 September 1782. St. Albrecht 1, Bischofswerder 1, Deutsch Eylau 1, Elbing 13, Marienwerder 1, Neuenburg 1, Schidlitz 3, Schottland 2, Stargard 2, suburb Stolzenberg 6. Total number of families: 31

[Page 23]

15 September 1782 to 15 March 1783. Bischofswerder 1, Conitz 5, Culm 22, Culmsee 1, Elbing 3, Gollub 9, Grauednz 9, Löbau 2, Marienburg 9, Marienwerder 2, Straßburg 2. Total number of families: 65

On 15 September 1783. St. Albrecht 2, Conitz 2, Culm 10, Culmsee 3, Deutsch Eylau 1, Elbing 6, Gollub 6, Graudenz 1, Marienburg 2, Marienwerder 3, Schidlitz 2, Schottland 5, suburb (*Vorstadt*) Stolzenberg 5, Straßburg 1. Total number of families: 49

15 September 1783 to 15 March 1784. Christburg 1, Conitz 1, Culm 3, Culmsee 3, Elbing 7, Gollub 8, Graudenz 11, Marienwerder 1, Putzig 1, Schidlitz 1, Alt Schottland 2, suburb (*Vorstadt*) Stolzenberg 2. Total number of families: 41

On 15 September 1784. Conitz 2, Culm 4, Culmsee 2, Elbing 5, Gollub 20, Graudenz 1, Marienwerder 3, Schidlitz 2, Schottland 4, suburb (*Vorstadt*) Stolzenberg 1 family. Total number of families: 44

15 September 1784 to 15 March 1785. Conitz 2, Culm 2, Dirschau 1, Elbing 3, Gollub 3, Graudenz 4, Putzig 1, Schidlitz 1, Schottland 3, Stargrad 2, suburb (*Vorstadt*) Stolzenberg 2. Total number of families: 24

On 15 September 1785. St. Albrecht 2, Bischofswerder 1, Conitz 2, Deutsch Eylau 1, Elbing 5, Marienburg 5, Schidlitz 2, Schottland 5, suburb (*Vorstadt*) Stolzenberg 5. Total number of families: 28

15 September 1785 to 15 March 1786. Conitz 2, Dirschau, Elbing 6, Marienwerder 14, Schidlitz 1, Schottland 12, Stargard 3, suburb (*Vorstadt*) Stolzenberg 4. Total number of families: 43

Also accepting colonist families from the larger towns: St. Albrecht 11, Bischofswerder 7, Christburg 7, Conitz 36, Culm 91, Culmsee 11, Deutsch Eylau 5, Dirschau 11, Elbing 133, Gollub 67, Graudenz 44, Marienburg 39, Marienwerder 51, Neuenburg 10, Putzig 9, Riesenburg 8, Schidlitz 29, Schottland 65, Stargard 20, suburb (*Vorstadt*) Stolzenberg 46, Straßburg 11 Families.

[Page 24] Following are other inhabited areas<sup>13</sup> which furthermore took on colonist families:

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<sup>13</sup> These inhabited areas were quite possibly organized after the time of the colonist immigration.

On 15 September 1774. Neumark, Schwetz, Berendt, Mewe, Rosenberg, Zychcze, Nieszorowa, Chelm, Buchta, Millerszewo 2, Gatsch, Lenga, Kowalewo, Lippinken, Barlewitz, Tralauerweide, Tiegenhof, Marienhoff; Total number of families:	47 <sup>14</sup>
15 September 1774 to 15 March 1775. Stuhm 2, Friedland, Schlochau 2, Neuguth, Züthen, Pichowic, Baknowitz, Bagniewe, Liebitz, Cichoradz, Zeiskendorf, Cichoczyn, Malschütz, Czatkau 6, Rummonek, castle (Schloß) Stuhm, Marienhof 2. Total number of families:	42
On 15 September 1775. Kauernik, Lessen, Rehden, Putzig 2, Honigfeld 4, Groß- Lesewitz. Total number of families:	43
15 September 1775 to 15 March 1776. Behrendt, nobility Schönau 2, nobility Buschkau, Cichoczyn. Total number of families:	18
On 15 September 1776. Alt-Schottland 11, Laszewo, Belno, Drausnit, Prust. Total number of families:	28
15 September 1776 to 15 March 1777. Schöneck, Lowinek, Pruskalonka, Bielawi, Pamientawo, Pagdanzig, Meisterswalde, Schönfeld, Domachau 3, Falkenwalde, Thiegenhof 3, Wynoklen, Brzezinko 2, Kaszoreck 2, Suckau. Total number of families:	40
On 15 September 1777. Zasketz, Jademkowo, Radziken, Topolinek, Mockie, Fürstenwerder, [Page 25] Kaszorek 3, Neu-Münsterberg, Fort ( <i>Vorw.</i> ) Brzezinken, Mlynetz 5, Konczewitz 2, Dombrowken, Thiegenhof, Thiegenhagen, Blelawa, Schöneberg. Total number of families:	44
15 September 1777 to 15 March 1778. Schöneck, Friedland, Garnsee, Löwyn, Czapiewice, Groß-Schwenten, Trzanno, Neuguth, Scharschütt, Margenau, Ladekopf, Czeleszinnik 6. Total number of families:	35
On 15 September 1778. Alt-Schottland 4, Pruskalonka 12, Brzezinken, Neumark, Bischofswerder, Pachore, Gutta, Bellno, Blumfelde, Reimfeld, Groszenitza, Lenga 3, Czeleszennik 2, Meisterwalde, Heckenkrug, Blinszinken 10, Erybno 2, Rothhoff 3, Baumgarth 4, Dubiel 4, Rosenberg, Stanislaw. Total number of families:	66
15 September 1778 to 15 March 1779. Mokrihoes Sierotzki 7, Silberhammer, Polanken, Czeleszennik 6, Lemberg, Kruszyn 2, Konajad, Zelmien, Rambau, Russoczyn, Klein-Golmkau 2, Schönfeld, Bunkowitz, Bukowitz, Fort ( <i>Vorw.</i> ) Gollub, Bischofswerder, Malken, Drusing 2, Koszionsken 2, Grzybno 2, Trzebsz.	

<sup>14</sup> The numbers thrown out here are totals of families who immigrated in the same period of time; calculating them by adding these given numbers of families with those of pages 21, 22 and 23 of the immigrant families from the same period of time.

Total number of families: 64

On 15 September 1779. Neufahrwasser, Langenau, Borkau, Roggenhausen, Szepanken, —, Schwerkotowo, Konajad 4, Russoczyn, Goszyn, Laszewo, Parlin, Topolno, Turzno, Dialowo, Storlusz, Plauth, Schedlitz, Bierzgall, Garzebock, Lenga, Brzezinken, Antonowo, Kaszorrek, Luckau, Murzynnek 2, Biskupice, 13 families, [Page 26] Grzywna, Elbinger Territory, Chelmonitz, Mokрилаß 3, Kielpin, Pruskalonka 3, Lautenburg, St. Albrecht, Josephat, Wrotzken, Neudorf 5, Karzewo, Passeika, Chelmonicz 4, Wrotzlanken, Kruszin, Brodden 4, Quaddendorf, Honigfeld 3, Fort (*Vorw.*) Stuhm, Thiegenhagen 2, Trzebsz 9.

Total number of families: 126

15 September 1779 to 15 March 1780. Baldenburg 2, Schönfeld, Stentzkau 4, Kohling 2, Lippinken, Mileszewo, Bahrenhof, 3 families, Antonowo, Elgissewo, Mlinetz, Biskupice, Grzywna, Klein-Kamionken 2, Skompe 10, Fort (*Verwerk*) Fiewo, Groß-Lichtnau, Kuntzendorf, Tansee, Broske, Bisterfelde, Prangnau, Murau, Klein-Lichtnau, Reichfelde, Schonau, Stalle, Fischau, Groß-Laesewitz, Palschau, Klettendorf, Neukirch, Schönhorst, Parschau, Dammerau, Schadewalde, Milenz, Lindenau, Alt-Münsterberg, Königsdorf 2, Thiergart, Groß-Gartz 3, Quartermaster-General's Department (*Intendantur*) Roggenhausen 7, Fort Stargardt 2, Niedziwientz, Kl. Trzebsz 4. Total number of families:

110

On 15 September 1780. Rehden 2, Lautenburg, Löbau, Opaleniza, Kohling 2, Damaschau, Barlonin, Köln, Benckau, Brzezinken 2, Mlynetz 2, Pruskalonka, Okonin, Mokрилаß, Wengerst, Kronsno, Lipnitza, Szeboda, Tyymu, Mühle Kroszotek, Lemberg 2, Groß-Bruszowo, Jaykowo, Gorzenitza, Dombrowken 4.

Total number of families:

57

[Page 27]

15 September 1780 to 15 March 1781. Lessen, Neumark, Reinfeld, Rohling, Lunau, Hohenstein 2, Lenga, Grzywna, Groß-Kamionken 12, Klein-Kamionken 20, Liebenhoff, Chelmonicz, Pavicka, Fort (*Vorwerk*) Gollub 3, Trzanno 2, Przydworz, Czeleszennik. Total number of families:

63

On 15 September 1781. Schöneck, Stuhm, Oppalenica, Gottartowo, Wynislowo, Baukau, Kohling, Sukoczyn, Artschau, Obrowo, Leibitsch, Polish Lunau, Przyszek, Groß-Bösendorf, Brzezinko, Buchta, Elgisewo, Kaszorrek, Uscie, Blotto, Zegartowitz 18, Ostaczewo 2, Okonin 8, Fort (*Vorw.*) Gollub 2, Lissewo, Chelmonitz, Bukowitz, Kruszinski, Fort (*Vorw.*) Straßburg 2, Binsken 2, Wapna, Unislaw 13, Czyste 49, Nalentz, Grzybno, Brosowo 100.

Total number of families:

279

15 September 1781 to 15 March 1782. Löbau, Möwe 5, Neumark, Schwetz 6, Nenkau, Rambeltsch, Barlonin, Bilawen, Fort (*Vorw.*) Fiewo, Lippinken, Baldram, Warschkau, Storczyn. Total number of families:

64

On 15 September 1782. Garnsee, Putzig, Schwarzloin, Mühlbanz, Hohenstein, Hochzeit, Kohling, Deutsch Dzierna, Bielsk 12, Kowalewo 2, Brzezinko 2, Bierzgell, Oschotschke 17, Zegartowitz 2, Bielezynny 7, Skompe 6, Okonin, Neudorf, Wrotzken, Schluchhay, Kronsno, Dombromken 16, Lippinken 2, Dembin 3, Wrotlawken, Wernersdorf, Neukirch, Damerau, [Page 28] Schönhorst, Barendt, Baldram 3, Gogolewo, Renneberg 2, Olivenbaum, Fort (*Vorw.*) Klein-Gartz 6, Barkau, Czychoczyn, Oxenkopf 2, 3 families not yet established, Czeleczenik 4, Groß-Suczyn 40, Gardczau including Schiwialken 34, Kladau, Klein-Trampken 18, Bösendorf 19, Klempin 16, Neudorf 12, Klein-Czyste 9, Trzebsz 7, Grzybno, Unislaw, Brosowo 39. Total number of families: 341

15 September 1782 to 15 March 1783. Kowalewo 2, Lessen 3, Neumark, Schwetz, Friestadt, Friedland 2, Bankau, Hochzeit, Pruskalonka, Kowalewo, Buchta, Brosowo 13, Bielczynny, Chrapice 5, Szepanken, Gorzenica, Lemberg, Hammerstein, Baldenburg, Klein-Radowisk, Lemberg 2, Groczenico 3, Jastrzembic, Schoenkowo, Dombrowken, Isbizno, Pinsken, Burkocziska, Molchen. Total number of families: 117

On 15 September 1783. Stuhm, Riesenburg 2, Rehden, Schönek, Lautenburg 2, Friedland 5, Tuchel, Marienfelde, Möwe 2, Lowinek, Pensau, Przysek 3, Rogowo, Gürstbruch, Bielsk 2, Szychowo 2, Mlyniec, Plaszewo 2, Pruskalonka 3, Ostroschken 3, Zegartowitz 2, Skompe 5, Bielczynny 3, Groß-Kamionken 13, Chrapica 3, Poppowo 3, Brochnowo, Witrembowitz, Okonin, Karczewo, Fort (*Vorw.*) Gollub, Dombrowken 6, Dembin, Baldram, Neßland, Johansdorf, Kramerhoff, Nisewantz, [Page 29] Schwenkotowo 6, Czeleszenik, Pinsken, Schlozewo 3, Trzebsz 3. Total number of families: 146

15 September 1783 to 15 March 1784. Riesenburg, Christburg, Stuhm, Rosenberg, Schwetz 2, Amt Gollub 4, Nestempohl, Artschau 2, Pliwaczewo 3, Zielin, Kowalewo 2, Skompek, Nisewantz. Total number of families: 62

On 15 September 1784. Löbau, Kauernik, Friedland 4, Riesenburg 2, Schwetz 2, Tuchel 8, Christburg, Neudorf, Kowalewo, Mliniec, Bruchnowo, Bielczynny, Grzywna, Groß-Kamionken 2, Skompe 8, Okonin 4, Altendorf, Orlof, Bahrenhof, Polish Brodden 2, Fort (*Vorw.*) Bliszinken, Schwenkotowo, Suczyn, Starczyn, Amt Stuhm 3, Lemberg 13, Trzebsz 1. Total number of familieis: 109

15 September 1784 to 15 March 1885. Kauernik, Schwetz, Tuchel 3, Stuhm, Riesenburg 4, Rakelwitz, Gremboczyn, Neumühl 2, Wengern 4, Liebitzer Fährhaus, Pruskalonka, Bielczynny, Witrembowitz, Neuhöfen, Kurstein, Barlewitz, Lemberg 4. Total number of families: 53

On 15 September 1785. Schlochau, Tuchel 5, Friedland 2, Hammerstein 2, Gurskerbruch, Bielsk 2, Pruskalonka, Baumgarth, Poselgen, Altmork, Fürstenau, Klein-Mausdorf, Groß-Mausdorf, Lupushorst, Krebsfelde, Lachendorf, Rosenort, Blumenort, Struzfon 4, Liessau, Berendt, Groß-Lesewitz, Eichwalde, Tursee,



Lindnau, Jonasdorf 2, Altfelde, Fischau, [Page 30] Marienau, Thiege, Ladekopp, Neuendorf, Poln. Brodden, Klein-Grabau, Groß-Grabau, Kanczken 2, Meichselburg, Groß-Nebrau, Stangendorf, Fort (*Vorw.*) Münsterwalde, Konzie 4, Fort (*Vorw.*) Rehden 11, Langefuhr, Wachsmuth 2, near Riesenburg 7, Buckgorall 2, Subka 7. Total number of families: 114

In 1786. Rosenberg 2, Friedland 3, Landeck, Schlochau 2, Stuhm, Riesenburg 2, Filehne 2, Flatow, Gollanz, Jastrow, Schloppe, Uszcz, Bromberg 3, Fordon, Gembitz 3, Chemlee 2, Strzelice, Parlinek, Bruniewo, Fort (*Vorw.*) Battey, Stodolly 7, Ciechrs 5, Gurszke, Bialken, Bogusch, Oberzehren, Faulen, Babentz, Schönburg, Finkenstein 6, Brzezinken, Bielawa, Lenga, Mlynitz, Pruszonka 3, Buchta, Gesträuch Bielsk, Kaszorrek, Struzfon 2, Dombrowken 3, Münsterwalde 5, Trahlau 2, Gerrey, Pogutken 2, Schweinbude 2, Kliskau 3, Liensitz 3, Neuguth 3. Total number of families: 135

Grand Total Number of Families: 2,203

From this tabulation, we can see how almost every place of the newly acquired land under Friedrich took on new arrivals and, especially as the land needed new strength, the great king created new villages and new tenants. These immigrations [Page 31] certainly received a prominent position in the colonization history of Prussia. After all, these colonists were sent forward to break the way for German life in addition to the equalizing laws with which Frederick intended for his Polish territory, in addition to all the new blessings. In reality, they have paved the way as brave pioneers for future German generations, have often, consciously and unconsciously, had to risk for cultural principles; and especially the rural colonists, they had to let the first rough yet noble works with ax and spade turn sour enough in order to prepare for us a place of soil culture, the fertility of the field, as well as the spirit and formation of its residents which now stand already throughout the German provinces. If one wants to trace on the actual course and success of the life story of these immigration, it is especially very difficult in local reference. There was a troubled element in most colonists. If they wanted to settle down, they often first circled around the place pointed out to them and then flew off again. Often they changed their resting place many times before they found a real one. This is especially true of some urban immigrants, who, mentally not ungifted, believed to have a certain right to be choosy. It was different with the colonists who arrived in larger communal associations, often in their hundreds. If this or that member actually separated [Page 32] from the actual core, many stayed together. After all, most had become weary of the distant road and longed from the heart for peace, to win a firm footing, a second homeland; and they have remained in their descendants to this day on their old place, while the urban migratory birds had also taught their youth to fly, who likewise permeated the whole country. Who is able to follow their indefinite unpredictable flight?

From the above figures, around 2,200 colonist families immigrated. Up until that time the undertaking was with Holsche. It was during Friedrich's reign that 1,333 families of 6,626 souls were brought into the land. If Holsche only had rural colonists in mind, the count is not quite exact, as we shall see later. If we figure 5 souls to a family, we come up with an average of 11,000 immigrants.

Although the list also gives quite accurately the number of immigrants and also the places in which they were accommodated immediately after their arrival, the names of self-founded colonies are often missing in this directory of places. Very often, the colonists had to make do with temporary quarters, because the villages designated for them had not yet been fully built. In most cases, only the name of such interim dwellings is recorded, but not that of the colonies that later took in those immigrants forever. So here we search in vain for the names of Colony Spital, Wonorze, [Page 33] Slawsk, Olsza, and so forth. One is also not able to distinguish whether a certain place for the colonists is a newly established and developed colony, or one that has existed already for a long time.

By colonies, however, we can only mean newly established settlements which were destined to become the places of residence of the immigrants; and although there is still a very vivid consciousness on the spot that this or that village was a colony of old Fritz, that the ancestors of the present inhabitants of this place immigrated here from such and such distant regions, so it becomes quite difficult just to come to know the names<sup>15</sup> of these colonies.

Most of the colonists, except for the newly set up villages, reached the towns of Culm, Graudenz, Straßburg, Schwetz and Conitz. Colonist artisans were accommodated in these towns with varied crafts.

In Culm:	43 houses were erected for them at a cost of	73,233 Thlr.
In Graudenz:	03 houses were erected for them at a cost of	6,324 Thlr.
In Strassburg:	02 houses were erected for them at a cost of	2,223 Thlr.
In Gollub:	05 houses were erected for them at a cost of	7,651 Thlr.
In Schwetz:	04 houses were erected for them at a cost of	5,511 Thlr.
In Conitz:	06 houses were erected for them at a cost of	6,783 Thlr.
	==	=====
	63 houses	101,725 Thlr.

[Page 34]

Moreover, living quarters were prepared in the middle castle at Marienburg for the colonist tradesmen at an expenditure of 4,000 *thaler*. In all these houses provided for them, the colonists managed not only tolerable comfortable homes, but also work places, where all necessary craft tools were abundantly supplied. Some 15 colonist houses were also plotted in Uszcz and Budzyn. In Culm, in need of special improvements and attention, 43 new houses were put up on two streets, Holy Spirit Street and Windmill Street. The colonists were themselves tradesmen, mostly stocking-weavers from Silesia and Württemberg. War Councilor Wasiamski was commissioned by Friedrich to oversee the management of the building of two-story houses. After the construction was finished, Friedrich rode the length of the newly constructed streets, with the War Councilor at his side, and inspected the houses. As he took care “to absorb everything,” so here it also happened that he inspected even the backside of the houses, which was his own idea, despite the forceful protests on the War Councilor’s part. He saw that the

<sup>15</sup> The *Praestationstabellen* and the land registers supply a lot of information if one already knows the names of the colonies, but these are difficult to locate. Moreover, these books are located in various departments in many different forms. In Danzig, many of the old books went up in flames in the 1842 administration building fire and we lost so much useful information.

houses were put up as two-stories in the front, but only one story in the back. The profit trickling down to our War Councilor Saeckel. The irritated monarch is to have put down his crooked-stick in agitation; and ordered that the cheating councilor be immediately led off to the Graudenz fortress prison. The quaint houses, for the most part, are still standing today.

[Page 35]

The cadet school of Friedrich, as already mentioned, also plotted in Culm, was build with the money which had to be raised by the Mennonites due to their exemption from military service. The private homes, which stood on the grounds of the present-day cadet school, were, without much to-do, torn down and the protesting residents were accommodated in colonist housing and at once the hand was put to work.

With regard to what the great king did for each individual town colonizing cannot be noted separately here. The above mentioned towns and the figures in the tabulation may serve as proof how the king cared for these new towns,<sup>16</sup> and how [Page 36] he always had money in reserve, if need be, for the realization of urgent construction and innovations of every kind. Friedrich then selected suitable places for the plotting of new colonies, and most colonies are found, on the one hand, in the sandy soil of Marienwerder District, as well as in the swamps and bogs of the Netze District, and, on the other hand, the loose, impenetrable blotting sandy soil (*Streusandboden*). In flourishing Ermland [Warmia, Poland] there is no greater proof, only a little near Danzig. The Polish border stands guard near Culm, Gniewokowo, and a majority of it is along the length of the Netze [River]. It was especially bad soil that was selected from which the colonists should first achieve, with difficulty, for themselves the cultivation of a land of rich bounty.

The following authenticated large colonies were plotted by Friedrich II.<sup>17</sup>

A. Colonies in the Danzig Department: Schiwialken, Gardczau, Klempin, Klein-Trampken, Groß-Boesendorf, Groß-Sukczyn.

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<sup>16</sup> Culm especially has Friedrich the Great to thank for its present existence. Since Culm was Prussian, it preserved from ancient time the best constructed walls and the stately church, but in the streets, half the house cellars are projected on rotten wood and roofing tiles on crumbling buildings; on whole streets cellar rooms only still stand in whose wretchedness people are still living in them. Of the 40 houses of the great market place, 28 have no doors, no roofs, no windows and no owners. Friedrich gave 2,635 thaler here for street pavement, 73,233 thaler colonist money, 80,343 thaler for citizen living quarters, 36,884 thaler for 15 trade establishment buildings, 5,106 thaler for the repair of citizen houses, 11,749 thaler for church and school, 3,839 thaler for public institutions, 519 thaler for the planting of mulberry trees, 86 thaler toward taxes due. A total of 214,394 thaler. You have to see Culm today to appreciate the adornment of the little town. Graudenz received, besides money for fortification construction, 6,524 thaler for colonist living quarters, 10,021 thaler for the evangelical church, 5,012 thaler for the public school, 54,255 thaler for 55 citizen houses, 8,805 thaler for repairs, 2,097 thaler for guest houses, 7,841 thaler for public institutions. Total 94,555 thaler. Strassburg received 2,220 for 7 massive citizen houses. 5,100 *thaler* for colonist construction and 6 citizen houses; Gollub 5,105 *thaler* for the evangelical parsonage, 10,920 *thaler* for 8 colonist houses, 8,411 *thaler* for a dyeing establishment and tannery, 819 *thaler* for a fulling-mill, which totals to 25,255 *thaler*; Schwetz received 4,000 *thaler* for a fabric business, 5,511 *thaler* colonist funds, 5,500 *thaler* toward business ventures in 5 houses, 1,500 *thaler* for a guest house, 961 *thaler* for civic construction, which equals 14,744 *thaler*. Altogether, 366,779 *thaler* were given for the 6 towns.

<sup>17</sup> Hertzberg (*huit dissertations etc.*) took on a total of 50 newly established colonies and 1,119 settled colonists.

- B. Colonies in the Marienwerder Department: Klein-Czyste, Brosowo, Zegatowitz, Beilczynny, Skompe, Chrapice, Struzfon, Dombrowken, Kamionken, Bielsk, (Dworzysko), Trzebsz.
- C. Colonies in the Netze District: Klein-Murzyeno, Spital, Wonorze, Stodolly, (Groß-Glawsk), Klein-Glawsk, Ciechrs, Krusza Duchowna, Friedrichshorst, Mieruczyn, Parlinek, Olsza, Szczubinek, Canal Colonies A.B.C., Cegielnia, Trzeciewiec, Loblenczyn, Althoff, Sadtke, Romannshof, Raczyn, Nalenz, Schulitzer Schloßholländereien.

Smaller colonies in the Netze District will be mentioned later. Below are recorded inhabited places<sup>18</sup>, colonies entered in the Inhabited Places Department.

Below recorded localities are in the inhabited directories of the departments [Page 38] as Colonies. Some are real colonies, whether by Frederick the Great or later Prussian regents, but some, and most often, private people led localities, and so it has happened that often the dismantling of a single yard with this name is considered without foreign immigrants being added here.

We come across many in the Polish-German territories with the term “Dutch” (*Holländereien*), a name that belongs to the real colonies of the Dutch, who had already immigrated at the time of the knights or later, but in most cases indicating no actual Dutch attachments.

One therefore resorted to a rationalist investigation and concluding that the name Dutch (*Holländerei*) was falsified in such cases; Dutch not being the first inhabitants of such villages, but *Hauländer*, people who are settled earlier or later to cut down the forests. It is true that every

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<sup>18</sup> The following localities were considered colonies in the Marienwerder Department in 1859 which I mention here for the sake of completeness: Abran, Adolphshoff, Albrechttau, Altmark, Antoniendorf, Antoniewo, Arndtsdorf, Arnsfelde, Ober-Ausmaaß, Balan, Babenz, Bärenwinkel, Bagniewo, Besnica, Blessawen, Brinsk, Brobauerkämpe, Brosowo, Buczkowo, Budziska, Büssen, Carlshorst, Compagnie, Czemislaß, Keil Drahnaw, Busch Drahnaw, Dubielno, Dworzenice, Eilenhorst, Eichfelde, Elisenan, Elsenau, Friedrichsbruch, Glodwo, Glückauf, Neu-Glumen, Grabowogura, Hintersee, Hutta, Jastrembka, Jasz, Jassinitz, Johannisthal, Josephsberg, Neu-Juncza, Neu-Jwitz, Kaliska, Kalisken, Katscher-Kämpe, Kelpin, Neu-Klunkwitz, Kollnick, Konefka, Kossowo, Kotzenberg, Neu-Laskonitz, Lassek, Long, Deutsch-Lonk, Luban, Lubcza, Lubinsk, Maronowo, Mittelhütte, Mnigatz, Modrzejewski, Morrbruch, Mosna, Nalenz, Neudorf, Neusorge, Nicolausdorf, Groß- and Klein-Ossowo, Ostrowo, Unter-Ostrowitt, Neu-Ossusnica, Popiagorra, Neu-Prochnow, Przin, Przyasn, Redzitz, Rehberg, Rissewo, Rosenkranz, Rybno, Ruhenthal, Rzepitzno, Santoczna, Saroske, Schönwalde, Smolnik, Stenzlau, Szenika, Teschwoko, Theolog, Topolka, Treul, Tuschin, Klein-Untersberg, Klein-Warenbien, Wenglasken, Wilhelmshuld, Wondoll, Zakrzewiske, Zancysko, Zawadda, Zomschütz.

In the Bromberg Department 1818: Belitz, Czyskowka, Schröttersdorf, Prondy, Schleusen, Trzeciewiec, Freidrichshorst, Birkenbruch, Zickwerder, Sadtke, Netzdorf, Ostrowiec, Polichno, Kunkolewo, Aschenforth, Adolphstein, Budka, Wymalowo, Zachasberg, Buszkowo, Karczewnik, Christinchen, Pauer, Cieschen, Lippe, Lindenwerder, Athanasienhoff, Raczyn, Ralecza, Heliodorowo, Josefowo, Radolin, Theresia, Jägersburg, Marienbusch, Sornitz, Buchwerder, Sophienberg, Romanshof, Georgendorf, Olsza, Mieruczyn, Parlin, Wymslowo, Neu-Sadowiec, Alt-Sadowiec, Mochardsberg, Ulrichsthal, Sturmhof, Golabki, Springberg, Motski, Ascherbuden, Oborka, Braunsfeld, Bedzitowo, Morst, Suchatowka, Cierpitz, Murzyunek, Parchanie, Wonorze, Szpytal, Sikorowo, Louisenfelde, Krusza Duchowna, Bachorze, Chelmie, Wlostowo, Krummknien, Klein-Glawsk, Stodolly, Ciencisko, Ciechrz, Groß-Slawsk.

now and then some colonists have also had to thin dense forests. But neither does one consider these people as a defined belonging together multitude of wood choppers, nor can it be proved that all of the people were called into the country to cut down the wood. If one considers that the first major swarm of rural immigrants had often been Dutch, which deeply impressed itself on the memory of the people, and then new crowds of immigrants came into the country: how much easier, how more natural that the expression Dutch be designated for the rural colonists, so that these last immigrants were again called Dutch. The ordinary man did not know the difference of the fatherland, whether the colonists who immigrated from far away were actually Dutchman or from Württemberg. For him all these new appearances are just repetitions of the old images, to him they are Dutch. So the so-called Dutch are not always real colonists from Holland, but they are from people just baptized with this name already known to them, and the people's conjecture Dutchmen (*Hauländer*) is unnecessarily made.

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With the same incorrectness, with which the German people from time to time attributed to those newly immigrated the common name of Holland, a great many of the Polish or Catholic population called and calls these colonists Mennonites, remembering that many of the first immigrants were Mennonites, a remarkable thing, who were certainly of greater interest and more striking to Catholicism than people by chance coming from Holland. But is it necessary here to also make a bit of a conjecture? One confesses to the fact that both expressions, Dutchman and Mennonite (*Mannista*), are used erroneously, and do not attempt any unnecessary meaning to these names.

With greater correctness, though also still wrong, many, especially larger, connected colonist communities were called Swabian. It is true that most of the settled multitude of rural immigrants are from the Swabian country. But even these Swabians are not always very pure and unmixed villagers. Poland, Mecklenburg and many other countries have also sent their children there. On the spot you also know exactly which families come from Swabia, and which from elsewhere. Also, old documents inform us more precisely and specifically, whose content here is very clear because of a once again illustrating tabulation. We can see from this tabulation which villages and cities, and which zone our King Frederick placed the new vassals. One has to marvel at the [Page 41] unusual selection (*Blumenlese*) in the new province and even more about how these seemingly unnecessary plants were pulled and cared for to bear excellent fruit.

#### Overview

of the area from which the colonists of 1772-1786 immigrated to the new Prussian provinces, as much as possibly ordered after the immigration period.

#### 1772-1780

From beyond German soil: Carlskrona,<sup>19</sup> Denmark 5, Italy 2, Courland, Amsterdam, Holland, Zürich, France, Hungary. Number of families:

14

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<sup>19</sup> The inequality of designations is excusable. One time the whole country, the other time a specific place of this country is given as the homeland of the colonists. If there is no number behind a name, it can always be assumed that only one family immigrated from there.

From Germany: Kiel, Zitten, Mecklenburg 62, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Lauterbach in Bavaria, Alsace, Ipsheim, Vienna, the Palatinate 5, Saxony (Voigtland, Frauenthal, Leipzig) 76, Schweinfurth 4, Anspach 6, Baireuth 6, Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen 6, Ollmütz, Usedom, from the Dittenburg area, Wetterau, Passenheim, Tirol 2, Pommerania 2, Mansfeld, Hesse-Homburg, Lüneburg, Trier 6, Bamberg, Braunschweig 4, Marbach, [Page 42] Westphalia, from the Lüneburg area, Nürnberg 2, Erlangen, Innland 2, Black Forest, Neustadt 2, Hesse-Kassel, Meiningen, Stralsund, Marienburg 2, Bohemia 4, Zerbst, Merseburg, Weimar, Zeitz, Teschen, Mannheim, Hesse-Damstadt 3, Cologne, Chur-Palatinate, Dirschan, Weißenfels, Lausnitz, Anhalt-Bernburg 2, Thuringia, Wittenberg, Mainz 3, Bromberg 2, Moravia 2, Höthen, Hannover, Eisenach, Bavaria, Grafschaft Sickingen, Eichstädt:	249
Especially from Swabia 6, Zwingenberg, “out from the Empire” 8.	15
From Poland: Thorn 21, Lissa, Warsaw, Trebin, Fraustadt, Cracow and Danzig 296; from other areas of Poland 61.	378
From Unidentified Areas	7
	=====
Total [number of families]:	663

### 1780

From beyond German soil: Venice, Petersburg, Warsaw 2, Russia	5
From Germany: Saxony 6, Speier, Prague 2, Baireuth, Edingen, Weißenfels, Anspach, Bohemia, Rosenberg, Moravia, Mecklenburg 2, Schwabach 2, Baden-Durlach, Dessau, Black Forest, Erlangen, Thuringia, the Palatinate	26
Especially from Swabia:	2
From Poland: 17, Danzig 4, Thorn 3	24
	====
Total [number of families]:	57
[Page 43]	
From beyond German soil: Russia	1
From Germany: Saxony 6, Mecklenburg, Prague, Dessau 2, Black Forest, Erlangen, Thuringia, the Palatinate, Hesse-Darmstadt 2, Tirol	17
From Poland: 38, Danzig 7.	45
	====
Total [number of families]:	63

### 1781

From beyond German soil: Courland, Denmark, Sweden	3
From Germany: Saxony 20, Baireuth, Mecklenburg 15, Baden-Durlach 12, the Palatinate 4, Dessau 3, Hesse-Kassel, Darmstadt, Braunschweig, Austria 2, Chur-Palatinate, Frankenthal, Kuben (probably Guben-?), Hesse, Zweibrücken, Mainz	66
Especially from Swabia: 152, Reutlingen	153
From Poland: 24, Danzig 33	57
	====
Total [number of families]:	279

### 1781-1782

From beyond German soil: Sweden	1
From Germany: Saxony 5, Baireuth, Anspach, Baden-Durlach 11, Mainz, Austria 2, Alsace, Lorraine, Cologne, Hannover, Bremen, Nürnberg, Hamburg	28
Especially from Swabia: 15, Reutlingen	16
From Poland: 5, Danzig 13, Thorn	19
	====
Total [number of families]:	64

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### 1782

From Germany: Saxony 7, Baireuth, Mecklenburg 11, Baden-Durlach 5, Dessau, Mannheim 2, Voigtland, Greifswalde, Franconia, Bavaria 2, Braunschweig, Hesse, Chur-Palatinate 21, Mainz	56
Especially from Swabia	258
From Poland: 10, Danzig 17	27
	====
Total [number of families]:	341

### 1782-1783

From beyond German soil: Sweden, Livonia, Ukraine, Hungary	4
From Germany: Mecklenburg 2, Saxony 8, Hamburg, Hesse, Mainz, Anspach 3,	

Landshut, Anhalt-Köthen	18
Especially from Swabia	59
From Poland (including Thorn and Danzig)	36
Total [number of families]:	==== 117

### 1783

From beyond German soil: Courland, Sweden 2, Riga, England	5
From Germany: Saxony 5, Mecklenburg, Franconia, Anspach, from Isenburg area 3, Neuenburg, Bohemia 2, Prague, Zweibrücken, Dresden, Kulm, Hesse, Chur-Mainz, Helmstädt, Nürnberg	22
Especially from Swabia: 70, “from the kingdom” 12	82
From Poland: 24, Thorn 3, Danzig 10	37
Total [number of families]:	==== 146

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### 1783-1784

From beyond German soil: Courland, Lithuania, Denmark, Italy	4
From Germany: Anspach 2, Mecklenburg 4, Baireuth, Black Forest, Moravia, Anhalt-Köthen 2, Jägerndorf, Chur-Saxony, Saxony 5, Wolfenbüttel, Vogtland 4, Pomerania 2, Dessau, Bremen	27
Especially from Swabia: 8, Ulm, Isenberg	10
From Poland: Danzig 14, from other areas of Poland 7	21
Total [number of families]:	==== 62

### 1784.

Beyond German soil: Courland, Altona, Denmark	3
From Germany: Anspach, Mecklenburg, Baireuth 2, Moravia, Saxony 3, Bierstein 6, Frankfurt on the Main 3, Hesse-Darmstadt, Celle, Prague, Zweibrücken 5, Franconia, Grunbach, Chur-Palatinate, Austria, Altenburg, Darmstadt, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Stralsund 2, Mecklenburg-Strelitz 2, Nothenburg, Coburg, Wittenberg, from the Stolberg area 13	52



Especially from Swabia: 24, Isenburg 7	31
From Poland: Danzig 9, Gnesen, Thorn, from other areas of Poland 11, - 1 from an unidentified homeland	23
	=====
Total [number of families]:	109

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### 1784-1785

From beyond German soil: England	1
From Germany: Baireuth 2, Saxony 3, Zweibrücken 2, from the Altenburg area 6, from the Stolberg area, Lichtenstein, Heidelberg, Lübeck, Bohemia 3, Basel, Geldern, Nassau, Saarbrück, Baden-Durlach, Oftenberg (?)	26
Especially from Swabia	9
From Poland: Danzig 11, from other area of Poland 6	17
	=====
Total [number of families]:	53

### 1785

From beyond German soil: France	1
From Germany: Anspach, Saxony 4, Zweibrücken 3, Elbing, Graudenz, Heilbronn, the Palatinate 3, Ellern, Hamburg, Solm 3, Weilburg, Münchholzhausen, Scharpan 3, Hesse 8, Aulenbach, Chur-Palatinate 17, Heinzenbusch 4, Hochstädt, Baden-Durlach 5, Braunfels 3, Marienburg 2, Hanau	66
Especially from Swabia	15
From Poland	32
	=====
Total [number of families]:	114

### 1785-1786

From beyond German soil: Russia, Denmark	2
From Germany: Mecklenburg, Saxony 21, Austria, Würzburg, Saxony-Gotha, Dessau 2, [Page 47] Lüneburg 4, Hannover, Anspach, Hessen, Darmstadt, Braunsels, Ober-Lausitz, Nassau, Weilburg, Hamburg, Rheinau, Hackenburg 3, the Palatinate,	

Lübeck, Mainz 3, Chur-Palatinate 10, Baireuth, from the Stolberg, Upper Silesia, Hesse-Kassel	63
Especially from Swabia	18
From Poland: 36, Danzig 16	52
	=====
Total [number of families]:	135
<b>GRAND TOTAL [number of families]:</b>	<b>2,203</b>

The then Polish Danzig left us the most colonists; then comes the territory of Württemberg with a hearty multitude; this is followed by Poland, Germany, and the conclusion is the few representatives of the countries outside Germany. It is natural that Poland, especially Thorn and Danzig, has allotted us so many new state citizens. The conditions there were not enviable. In addition, many inhabitants of both cities stood in heartfelt relation to an exactly Prussian part of the neighboring population. From Danzig, as has already been mentioned, Polish trade was also carried out by Jews specifically appointed to it, which led many trade oriented people to emigrate. Frederick had thus achieved his plan and certainly smiled about the successful stratagem.

The distribution of these colonists can be seen from the previous tabulation, and it usually happened in such a way [Page 48] that the Swabians, who marched as small folk alliances in different groups, were left together and reintroduced as a whole community and quartered in neighboring newly founded colonies. Apart from these colonists, there are still the workers who were drawn into the country from foreign lands for large construction, such as the construction of the Bromberg Canal, not to be forgotten those from Saxony, Bohemia, Anhalt, Poland, and so forth. When the work was finished, these workers remained in the country with their families; or died because of the unhealthy jobs and so the wife and the child could not be sent away again. In order to accommodate these survivors, the esteemed Brenkenhof in particular made a name for himself.

With such workers, the Canal Colonies A, B, C, near Bromberg, got to be populated, which received the residents with the prospect of caring for the oversight of the canal.

Frederick saw quite well how useful, even necessary, a mass replenishment through fresh, intuitive, healthy forces. So he had an original plan to ennoble the country through budding youth, an old favorite plan that he had already put into effect in other provinces.

He had especially “to re-populate the country with young boys of 10-14 years, who subsequently served the farmers as youths or hired men, and in the cities as apprentice boys given to craftsmen, transported from [Page 49] the Reich and in this manner provided for in Curmark, Pomerania, Neumark. Now that in these provincial centers of flat land the cities are provided with such young boys,” Friedrich writes on 11 February, 1783, to the Königsberg Chamber, “so you have the challenge to report whether in the Department there (West Prussia) as well as on

the flat land there is a need among the professionals for such young foreign lads and how many of them can be accommodated.”

The Chamber was of a different opinion. While it also believed that people were still required, “the familiarity with the internal conditions already gained from the inhabitants made it necessary for it to decline the proposed means of population by young fellows of this age. The number of professionals sent were too few, who themselves would be unable to provide much and through such bungling (*Stümpfern*), they themselves not having the bread to be appeased (*placiren*), it would end up being unfortunate for the youth. The farmer was directed to populate areas where the soil is quite good, and on the bad side, sometimes due to language, sometimes due to other economical circumstances, religion and lack of schools, due to not being in a position and not *disponirt* from such a colony to make a profit and it could also turn out badly for the farmers such as young people. For a few more years, when the new establishment and therefore the general results (*reussirt*) of the plans were observed, then it (the Chamber) would itself ask for such a planting school of thought.”

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However, after a few years, when the colonization spade was just beginning to bear the first good fruit, the great king died and there was no more talk of this planting school of thought. Truly, it is still to be blessed today!

So Frederick had to open his country to all possible immigrants.

Of course, it was not all the same to him what kind of people came to him, and in a Cabinet Order he counseled “to direct the attention to the people of the Palatinate, Silesia, Thuringia, Mecklenburg and German Poles, who in the call were considered skillful workers, but by no means to accept people of Polish heritage.”

With this desire to move foreigners into his kingdom and to incorporate them with the Prussians, Frederick certainly thought of the fortunate consequences that had arisen from the similar process of his predecessors. The great elector and his successors had kindly received French Protestants, and they had paid for this reception with interest through their diligence, with their industries which were still foreign to us at the time, through patterns of morality, order and frugality. Of similar impact had been the people of the Palatinate and Salzburg, who, especially at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, populated Prussia due to virulent plagues which completely devastated the countryside. These were educated, moral people who, for great noble principles, would rather abandon their fatherland than allow themselves to be robbed of their most prized possession, freedom of conscience. They were also not poverty-stricken and the costs, which they experienced, were soon compensated.

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The current colonists were not of this kind. They were often people for whom the expression adventurer is too good; for the routine, versatility and experience of a person who claims such a designation was missing from them. Most were devoted subjects who depicted for themselves a wonderful life in Prussia, whom the king most urgently invited to the country. In their homeland

they could no longer drift with idleness and ease, perhaps in Prussia, they imagined; they arrived in the delusion, not to work, but only called to increase the population, and, despite the most comfortable arrangement, often found everything so very different from what they imagined, saw that here it called for serious, sweat-driven work, so they often took the first opportunity and escaped. Frederick was greatly angered about these desertions, and his counselors gladly concealed it from him; nevertheless, lists indicate 161 such deserters. Finally, a separate fund was set up for the re-introduction of such refugees, and it can be assumed that these efforts were not entirely without results. As early as February of 1775, Friedrich writes: “So that the established citizens did not plan to secretly desert, try as much as possible to prevent it through the local commissions and especially the magistrates. As a precaution for potential desertion, nevertheless, have them in the rubrics for remarks, indicate what profession are they coming from and for what reason they are leaving and whether [Page 52] the individuals, if they take their children with them, would not be returning again.”

Thus, with every deserting colonist, the reason why he usually disappeared, in addition to his being lazy, he was also a person devoted to drinking. While that may not always have been the case, it ought to give the irritated king a kind of reassurance to be rid of such a subject, and serve as some excuse for the Chamber. Even such runaways were often enlisted for the second time as colonists and handed over to them were new travel and deprivation costs. But once a farmstead was abandoned, it was given over to the first, seemingly best suitable individual, whether a colonist or not. In the first years after the seizure of the new territory, one would have found farmsteads that already housed the fourth foreign generation.

The king was therefore often blamed, believing that he was moving such people into the country, and not populating the colonies with his own country children, the young sons of the farmers and craftsmen whose parents were impoverished, or with the children of those soldiers who died abroad. Especially to the latter, one had to later acknowledge that, “probably the craft of the fathers was chosen and it had lightened the pressing burden of the army reserves.” As daring as this last assertion is; so we have to doubt, even in their correctness, whether the number of these soldier children would have been sufficient for the colonization ideas [Page 53] of Frederick, for the reclamation of the land as he wanted it, especially since they “probably later” availed themselves to the craft of the fathers and thus their energies had not supported the land and its cultivation, even if apart from them the sons of craftsmen had been rural colonists. Moreover, the results of the view of the king was throughout correct, the objective appropriately confirmed. He was a good breeding master. Training qualified native children with good counsel and genuine (*solide*) abilities for the state is not difficult—but to bridle and to harness such thrown together gangs, similar to a stubborn horse so that it subsequently takes off in the gentle trot of a proper battle trained country nag. This is an art that the knowledgeable gray horse rider (*Schimmelreiter*) masterfully understood.

A distinction must be made between the former and later colonists. The first arrivals considered it as a brief time of easy living, then quickly turned around and ran back again to the forests of Poland or to other hiding places, bad rabble; and if they did remain in Prussia, this gang was lazy, insolent, immoral, ravenous and difficult to handle. The later, on the other hand, especially the ones from Württemberg, who waited cautiously and suspiciously for a long time and hesitated until they found confidence, which they first thought through in their community

assemblies, and abundantly weighed the pros and cons and then often the whole village, man, wife and child and cow and cradle [Page 54] moved forward:—This was healthy German blood, which was a force that Frederick sought for his Polish provinces, and door and gate opened up to them in the new lands of Prussia. These are also the immigrants, who still today are to be considered colonists in future generations, while the other mass of those who came into the country is scattered into every wind, and the individual flakes of this flurry can no longer be traced.

About these Swabian objectors, as representatives of all other rural colonists, it is worth saying a brief word.<sup>20</sup>

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Most of the larger colonies listed above are, as already mentioned, occupied by these Swabians. From which villages of Swabia they actually come, they themselves do not know exactly; but many claim that their grandparents come “from Stuckert” (Stuttgart). Every now and then, old wooden, wobbling funeral markers now and then give more details. In the clean churchyard at Sobbowitz, old wooden plaque in neatly carved letters, swept by wind and weather, announces to those who have good eyes that a man named Lehre is buried here. He was born in Igelhausen. And a second plaque close to this grave informs us that his wife, whose parents were called Völkle, comes from Mochstadt. Since the colonists immigrated here together, it can be assumed that many of them moved here from the same area. But such a conclusion is always questionable, and these kind of place names are also an uncertain ones, for even if we are given the real place of birth of the deceased, they may still have immigrated from a completely different region of their fatherland and therefore do not allow us to draw any conclusions about the place of emigration of their companions. In Dombrowken, some colonist descendants still want it to be known exactly that their ancestors came from Pforzheim, Haselach, Haussach, Wolfach and Stuckert. And in the notes of an old family Bible there is literally the following passage: 1782, 13 April, I, Johann Lutz from Neuhausen, Tutlingen Jurisdiction, Duchy of Württemberg, moved [Page 56] to West Prussia, and it also says: this Bible comes from Neuhausen and Johann Lutz brought this Bible with him to the colony of Trzeciewiec in 1782.

In addition, we can see from the overview on p. 41 ff. that immigrants come from Zwingenberg, Reutlingen, Ulm, Isenberg.

Frederick the Great, according to the colonists (to name the descendants as such), would have called on the people in Wittenberg (instead of Württemberg) to come to the country under the most favorable conditions by means of all sorts of newspapers and sheets and notices by government and privately. They have probably read it many times and shaken their heads to it, but no one has dared to suddenly say yes, to pack his traps and wander away with his wife and child. But there the great Fritz sent a man named Roth, who showed them in black and white all

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<sup>20</sup> I have to refer again to the introduction. It is only for this reason that I mention the customs, peculiarities of language and life of these Swabian colonists in the northeast of Prussia, because all this stands out sharply from the whole environment of these colonies, as a peculiarity in the province, a peculiarity, which, however, is known only to the nearest neighbourhood of the colonists themselves, and which nevertheless has enough interest for all and everyone. May this brief description be regarded as a contribution to the endeavor to reveal more and more the life of the people in its individual elements.

the benefits they were supposed to have in Prussia. They believed this and now, persuaded one by the other, moved in flocks to Prussia. Here they came to a large, beautiful city, but were not allowed to stay here long, but were soon sent on to another great city, and here they were told their future residences. This is what the current generation is saying. The truth of this story is probably that Frederick, who seemed to be interested in settling Württemberg colonists, whose efficiency had already been tried and tested in Pomerania and Neumark, often urged them, through Württemberg newspapers and agents, [Page 57] to settle in Prussia. Then, probably, more direct requests came to various municipalities with the signature of President Rohden. This and the overpopulation in the country, for often 3-4 families lived on a few acres of land, as well as the good reception which the people from Württemberg, who had already moved from Brenkenhof to the Prussian country in the years 1760 and following, determined at last to heed the call, and they turned their backs on the fatherland en masse. But it is likely that they did not come into the country on empty promises, but that the conditions were delivered to them in black and white. However, such documents can no longer be found. The “big and beautiful city in which they stayed only a short time” is probably Berlin, and the second in which they were shown their future home, Bromberg or Marienwerder. The other cities which they came into contact with on their long journey have of course disappeared under the many travel impressions of their memory. The first Prussian cities they encountered were usually Halle, Treuenbrietzen or Eller. The colonists usually mentioned Halle, because this is a bigger one on the way to Bromberg, and since the travel money was awarded according to the number of miles, they had lied to a small financial advantage by this information. The omniscient chambers, however, later had Halle certify whether the colonists in question had actually passed through Halle, and later the mileage allowances were cancelled altogether. Incidentally, Frederick had only promised [Page 58] to pay travel compensation to those who wanted to go to the countryside. For this reason, some people often immigrated as farmers, who knew nothing at all about tilling the fields. The travel expenses were calculated

from Württemberg	to Marienwerder at	136 miles,
from Baden-Durlach	“	138 miles
from Churpfalz	“	139 miles
from Sützelfeld	“	140 miles

The mileage allowances were two *Groschen* for the adults and one *Groschen* for the children. It is uncertain what route the people took in order to soon reach a Prussian city, as well as the manner of the journey, whether on foot or on hired wagons, for the administrations and the farmers would not have made the wagons available to them free of charge. Once they had arrived in Prussia, they demanded to be carried on, for they had already made an arduous march and hoped to be welcomed with open arms. When the reception did not always meet their expectations, they demanded transport. At first they were welcomed, but as their numbers rose and increased, and every wagon and horse demanded to be carried away, the Magdeburg Chamber ventured to make the most humble inquiry to Frederick as to whether it would be obliged to supply horses to those colonists with who let it be known that they were not going any further. The answer was in the affirmative. In 1782, the Neumärk Chamber also issued a submissive presentation from Küstrin that 60-100 horses a day would often be required for the colonists. [Page 59] As a result, the villages on the two routes: Küstrin, Landsberg, Driesen, as well as Kartzig, Marienwalde to the Polish province would be so badly affected that the farmers

would not be able to cultivate either land belonging to a lord or their own fields. The proposal was made for a water route as in 1764. The shipping costs were to be assumed by the Electorate of Mark (*Churmärk*) as far as Küstrin, by the Neumark as far as Driesen, and by West Prussia as far as Bromberg. This was flatly rejected “because of the many unforeseeable difficulties”. On the other hand, a third route via Schwedt, Bahn, Pyritz to Bromberg was a possible prospect. The latter route was to be taken by the colonists who needed most of the horses. “Moreover, the rush of the Württemberg people would no longer be so strong, they would no longer arrive in large numbers, but sporadically.” New ideas, new requests from the Chambers. The water transfer is granted, the departments have to bear the costs in such a way that the Electorate of Mark Chamber from Berlin to Küstrin, calculated at 10 mile, came to 19 Thlr. [*Thaler*] 1 Sgr. [*Silver Groschen*] 8 Pf. [*Pfennig*], the Neumark Chamber from Küstrin to Filehne, calculated at 15 miles, came to 28 Thlr. 23 Sgr. 5 Pf.; the Bromberg Deputation from Filehne to Bromberg 36 Thlr. 16 Sgr. 11 Pf.

From Bromberg to Culm or Graudenz, 5 Thlr. had to be paid and also from Graudenz to Marienwerder. And it went quite well. What the Chambers prophesied to Frederick, that this travel opportunity would certainly be much more pleasant for the colonists, was confirmed by the deed. They could rest comfortably, [\[Page 60:\]](#) no longer had to watch anxiously over their meager belongings at every turn; only one “troublesome” (*wüschter*) person was resentful at this kind of transport, demanded wagons and horses, and gave a lot of mischief on the way. But they brought him to his senses. This one case was also reported to the king, who listened to every little thing.

When the colonists arrived in Marienwerder, they were shown their newly built places to live. Often, however, the colonies they were supposed to take had not yet been started, either because of the advance season or because the approved building funds had failed to materialize. Thus, many, often entire communities were temporarily accommodated somewhere, sometimes over the winter-time. There was a lot of annoyance on everyone’s part. And even if there were some houses, the stables, the barns, and so forth were often missing. In September of 1781, the Brosow people complained bitterly that their colony had not been completed, that their revenue (*Beneficia*), for example, that some of their travel money had been paid them only sparsely, and that for some of them had been withheld altogether, that a house only 40 feet long and 26 feet wide could not possibly hold two families, often with 6-8 children each, that they had to bring the produce of their crops to the neighboring office of Althausen. Fifteen *Morgen* [land that could be plowed by oxen in one morning/*Morgen*; 1 Morgan ca. 1.3 hectares/3.2 acres] of land would be too small for a large family that depends only on agriculture. Nor should one find the request presumptuous for sheep farming and some woodland, for a school and prayer house, and especially [\[Page 61\]](#) for speeding up the construction of the barn. To this request, Frederick replied to the Chamber: “One would like to see to it that the people are brought modestly to reason; he could not know the circumstances and could not come up with something from a distance.”

This example among several. By the way, they hurried, and Frederick urged them to do justice to the wishes of the people as much as possible. Accommodation, even if only temporary, was always provided. Furthermore, the colonists were given advance payment by the authorities toward the need for bread and grain “until the fresh harvest”, money for cattle was handed to them, but with the express remark that they would actually use the money for this purpose and

buy good cattle. Three-quarters of the travel expenses were also paid to them. Very often, the colonists received the money with friendly gratitude and disappeared with it, never to be seen again. If the cattle fell, they received new ones, so they often sold them or slaughtered them, pretending that they had died; so it was replaced for them. Often the colonists also pretended that they still had large debts outstanding in their homeland, which they could not now collect. Most of the time this was fabricated, but they knew quite well that the wealthy colonist was better off than the poor. By order of the king, the Privy Councillor Hochstädter had to take care of the collection of local funds. But there was a lot of inconvenience and writing of all kinds. Finally, at Hochstädter's urgent request, each colonist was given a [Page 62] lawyer of his own, or a joint agent had to pursue the claims on behalf of many in their native homeland. But, as I said, in most cases it turned out that the alleged demands were partly completely unfounded, partly exaggerated into enormity.

The Chambers exerted the utmost discernment not approaching the king, who always preached "economy and household" (*oeconomie* and *menage*), too often with new demands for money, but on the other hand also to receive the people whom Frederick sent them in accordance with the promises made to them by the king. If, instead of the promised 135,000 Thlr., Frederick sends only 60,000 Thlr., and at the same time recommends thrift, they sought to leave him alone for the time being, to carry everything out in the most prompt way; so they often looked at each other questioningly, and now and then they would not have been able to resist a little angry sneer at the embarrassing situation in which they found themselves. Instead of the intended number of houses, they now built only half and put two families in one house. Such a house looks odd enough, and in most colonies you can still see some today. "Couple Pot" (*Paartopf*) is what the colonists call them. The length and width of such a house is already indicated. Of course, the exterior is now very dilapidated, crooked and poor. Whether it ever looked tolerable, who can know? The interior is also modest, and how a family with 6-8 children had enough space in such a room belongs to the mystery. The chimney [Page 63] in the middle of the house is common to both families. Such a house contains two parlors, each of which has a door from the outside. These houses were built for 190 Thlr. 17 Sg. 6 Pf. each, the barn for 159 Thlr. 9 Sgr. according to the master builder Korentz, "who did not want to be bargained with."

We are best instructed about the state position that the colonists were to occupy by a cabinet order from Frederick to the Minister of State von Gaudí, 2 May, 1781: "It is my idea also to establish up about 1,000 new families in West Prussia every year, because there could still be 14 m. [million-?] of such small families accommodated there. For the time being, however, the thing is that you first accommodate the many families who have gone from Württemberg and Baden. In your plan for West Prussia you have in fact counted on 70 families, but there are already well over 100 families who have passed through here in a short time. These shall all be placed on the jurisdictions (*Aemtern*) as free people, namely, that they are not slaves, and each shall be given the necessary fields and meadows. And if they have to do services, they do not have to be done more than 2 times a week. And this is my intention with all the new people, because there we can keep it as we want. You also have to encourage these new people to plant gardens and plant trees, apples, pears, cherries and the like fruit, which prospers and ripens there. By the way, [Page 64] I must now know where and in which jurisdictions the people of Württemberg and other colonists who have gone to West Prussia can be best established and what it is going to cost...."



In the reply of 15 May, 124 Württemberg families are indicated and the question is made as to whether the people are to be regarded as full or half farmers at 1,000 Thlr. or 500 Thlr., as quarter smallholders (*Viertelhofner*) or mere cottagers (*Büdner*) at 400 Thlr. or 300 Thlr.

According to this, the establishments for the Württemberg colonists would require: 1. as full farmers—124,000 Thlr., 2. as half farmers—62,000 Thlr., 3. as quarter smallholders—49,600 Thlr., 4. as cottagers—37,200 Thlr.

Of course, a certain adequate distribution was made here as well, the establishments (in the Bromberg Department, for example) would have been carried out as follows. Year 1783:

**Strzelno Jurisdiction (*Amt*):**

In Farmsteads	In Villages	Farmers	Cottagers	Resident
Bielsko		13	2	1
Ciechos		14		
Groß-Slawsk		18	5	4
Stodolly		26	8	
	Groß-Slawsk	4	1	
	Klein-Slawsk	7	1	3
	Stodolly	2		

**Kruszwice Jurisdiction:**

Kruszaduchowa		12		1
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[Page 65]

Wlostowo		8		
Cikowo		6	5	
	Chelmice	15		
	Sierakowo	2		
	Kobielnika Xiezna	2		

**Mogilno Jurisdiction:**

	Mieruczyn	11	4	1
	Parlin	17	1	

**Murzinno Jurisdiction:**

Szadlowic		19		2
Wonorze		13	6	
Spital		13	5	
Klein-Murzinno		14	4	

Szadlowice	3
Groß-Murzinno	1

**Gniewkowo Jurisdiction:**

Penchowo	16	3
Wiclowies	1	

**Inowraclaw Jurisdiction:**

Szikorowo	1
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**Coronowo Jurisdiction:**

Althoff	20	10
Trzeciewnic	18	5
Lonst	(built up earlier; afterwards	24
Wiskittno	released, so probably only	17
	interim place of residence.)	

[Page 66]

**Bromberg Jurisdiction:**

Cziskowke		12	1
Opplawiec	1		1
Gogolinke	9	2	1

**Podstolice Jurisdiction:**

Rattay		6
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**Rieszewice Jurisdiction:**

Dwirzno	2	1
Nieszewice	2	
Bruniewo		1

**Nakel Jurisdiction:**

Sadtke	21	7
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**Inowraclaw Jurisdiction:**

Zelgniewo			1
Smilowo		1	

[Total]	===	===	===
	351	90	17

It should be noted here that the number of former jurisdictions is now reduced, furthermore that the localities under the heading of village, since they are not always newly created, are not to be called actual colonies according to the above definition, and that, finally, only the most important of the colonies can be taken into account.

Usually the immigrant families had chosen a leader for the journey, usually probably the richest or the most intelligent farmer from their former [Page 67] village, such as old Weigle in Succzyn for the colonies near Sobbowitz, who was only called “Colonist Lord God”, and a certain Böhlinger in some colonies of the district of Kruschwice. Such a leader on the journey often retained his influence and dictatorial vote in his new homeland after the journey. In addition, however, since the colonists stormed the offices of the officials daily, hourly, with questions, grievances and complaints, and they were kept away from their other business because of the endless paperwork and eternal travel, in some offices, such as in Strzellno and Kruschwice, a separate colonist inspector was appointed, to whom a sub-inspector soon had to be added. And that was necessary. Many of the people of Württemberg understood very little about agriculture and housekeeping as it had to be dealt with in their new homeland. The inspectors were now at their side everywhere with words and deeds and showed them practically how they could find their way into their new life situation as quickly and easily as possible.

They were the real intermediaries between the king, the government, and the colonists; they taught them to understand the needs of the land, helped them in their petty domestic affairs, and defended their rights to others.

These rights, these privileges that had become part of them, have been alluded to from time to time. In any case, the greatest concession in Prussia for the colonists and their children was liberation [Page 68] from the military service.<sup>21</sup> This favor attracted several, even rich people, to the new provinces, especially because of the sons. In addition to this entitlement, the following were the most important: travel allowances, free transit through Prussia, the necessary dwelling, barn, stables, cattle in kind or in money, farming equipment and 15 *Morgen* of land per family, for free use. They remained exempt from taxes for the time being, and it was not until the state gave them house and land, inventory, equipment and everything else, in 1798 and later, that they entered into the same rights and duties of Prussian citizens. These inheritance written promise contracts are of some interest because of the prices at the time. An example is the contract with the colonist Gottfried Elias Nitsch [Page 69] at Bösendorf. The wording of this document is almost identical to the other inheritance contracts of the time. He is given the farmyard consisting of 1

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<sup>21</sup> Such favors did not only benefit the rural colonists. In October of 1778, for example, the War Council and Tax Councilor Schrötter reported that there was a great shortage of journeymen, menial laborers and young servants in the cities, and that it was necessary to draw such people into the country from Poland. For this, however, guarantee certificates would be necessary that they should remain exempt from enrollment. Therefore, 300 such guarantee certificates were printed. Other certificates assured the colonists, in addition to the exemption from the enrollment for them and their sons brought into the country, a multi-year exemption from all civil burdens and taxes (with the exclusion of the summons). Later, however, owners in medium sized towns (e.g. the Chamber Lord von Blankensee in Filehne) complained about these favors “insofar as they come too close to the interests of the Dominion and Chamber.” They did not want to grant the free right of citizenship to the new citizens, “because it would lose the revenues of the municipal chambers, from which the magistrates and other public servants are salaried and buildings are maintained.”

Hide (*Hufe*) [an old English measure of land, usually 120 acres, considered adequate for one free family and its dependents—*The American College Dictionary*] 7 Morgen 202 Kulm Ruthen (*Ruthen kulmisch*) [a Prussian unit of length or distance prior to 1872 whose actual value is now unknown] or 2 Hides 25 Morgen 12 Magdeburg Ruthen with the buildings on it such as

- 1) one residential house 30 feet long and 30 feet wide...
- 2) one shed 85 feet long and 30 feet wide.... for 610 Thlr.
- 3) one barn 84 feet long and 34 feet wide....

Furthermore, he received 3 horses for 45 Thlr., one cow for 8 Thlr., one calf for 2 Thlr. 87 Groschen 9 Pfennig, 2 sheep for 2 Thlr., 2 pigs for 2 Thlr., one plow for 6 Thlr. 45 Groschen, one iron harrow with 4 prongs for 2 Thlr. 30 Groschen, one wood [harrow] for 60 Groschen, one wagon for 15 Thlr., one sled for 1 Thlr. 30 Groschen, 2 harness breast-pieces, 2 bridles, 2 yokes, one harness for 4 Thlr., 1 saddle for 2 Thlr., one straw chopper for 4 Thlr. 3 Groschen, one sickle for 24 Groschen, one scythe for 60 Groschen, one hatchet for 1 Thlr., one ax for 1 Thlr. 45 Groschen, one spade for 40 Groschen, one hay fork and one manure fork and one manure rake for 1 Thlr. 15 Groschen.

All this would be left to the colonist “in such a way that he and his heirs, including each owner, would own this farm and use it as they pleased, but economically, and also sell it under observation of the legal regulations and leave his hereditary lease anywhere at all (*quovis modo*) to another (*cediren*), except that he would then position himself again in the royal jurisdiction elsewhere [Page 70] and for this purpose the distance amount received until then, such shall remain in a judicial deposit (*deposito*), just as he must leave it to another colonist in the event of any sale of his farm.” The fortunate man was exempt from troop services and castle services, horn tax and claw tax and bee tax. For all these rights he had to pay “an annual *Kanon* of 20 Thlr. 31 Groschen 4½ Pfennig in *cassenmäßigen courant* and around the Day of St. Martin (*Martini*) promptly and without being reminded to the office of Sobbowitz in question, as well as the butcher’s fees as an annual consignment and the usual harvest drink money of 4 Groschen 12 Pfennig. (Of course, church and school taxes were not absent either.) “He was also to join in (*concurriren*) with the church to be built by giving free manual services and statute-labor with the services of a team of horses and give to the existing mill services.” Of course, he was advised in a special paragraph to “keep all what belonged to him in proper condition, also emphasizing that the buildings had to be assured that in the case in question they would be built and improved and that no adverse changes would be made.” **Forage in kind** or any additional contributions, extra team of horses according to the ratio of the Hides, the emplacement of the people to the construction of the fortress or to the wolf hunt, to the lord of the manor dispatches (*Depeschen*), timesheets, *Cirkulaere*, maintenance of the footbridges, paths, bridges, ditches, and so forth, all this was mentioned in particular, as well as “that definitely all the usual state obligations were to be fulfilled.”

This is an example of the later contracts concluded with the rural colonists, namely the Swabians [Page 71]. These were now all quartered, and in time sufficient dwellings, although still “in pairs”, were created, mostly lying together in royal villages. But also private individuals, manor owners asked for permission to settle such people on their estate and land. With the highest permission, some imperial colonists were handed over to such “landowners, German particuliers, who

wanted to grant them establishment benefits (*Etablissements beneficia*).” Thus an essential service was rendered to the lords as well as to the colonists in general, and the impoverished immigrants, to whom it had already been announced in Berlin, gladly agreed to this that they could only be accommodated as cottagers (*Büdner*) in royal villages.

The actual separation or new colonies were often erected on the land formerly belonging to monasteries. As is well known, Frederick confiscated the spiritual estates. Shortly before, according to tradition, he sent officials to the Catholic-Polish clergy who introduced themselves under the pretext that they were coming to estimate the estates for future taxes. The clergymen, of course, endeavored to give these important gentlemen the most brilliant reception possible, and with a glass of wine and a richly occupied table, a fairly small fee was imposed. Highly satisfied, they parted. Then Frederick suddenly announced that the estates had to be taken by the state, since the clergy were “too much distracted” from their actual professional duties by caring for them; compensation equivalent to the previous estimate [Page 72] should not be denied. The wealth of these confiscated estates was a considerable one. Indeed, the main fund for colonization in the Polish province, and from these former possessions of the monasteries and the clergy, was the source from which most of the colonies were built. Most of the time there was already a peaceful hut, or a completely dilapidated farmstead, or a poor fisherman’s cottage, which determined the place of the new villages and outbuildings; these already existing huts housed Polish figures, who were pushed into the background by the pioneers of Germanic morality and culture, who were urgently needed. Shy and curious, they watched this new activity, uncertain what it meant.

The relationship of these German colonists to the Polish county folk was everywhere different and everywhere subject to great changes and alterations. When the Swabians moved into the country, they were almost all endowed with a good education, a better education than even the Prussian country folk enjoyed. At that time, the schools in Württemberg were flourishing. Almost every one of these immigrants could read, most of them could write. If you look at the old contracts, it is striking that out of about 10 people from Württemberg, 8-9 could always write their name, but often with strange, odd large letters, out of 10 German natives there, seven had to mark their name with a cross and out of 10 Poles all ten. It was natural that the Polish farmers, in so far as they were by nature benevolent and able to adopt foreign customs [Page 73] and examples, often approached the colonists, and often stood willingly by them; but it was also natural that the passions of the often drunken Polish farmers and the arrogant rudeness of the German immigrant often came into serious conflicts.

Even today we find these Swabian country folks in the midst of the Polish and North German farmers in West Prussia and the Netze District. They have survived in their colonies since their grandfather’s time and have more or less retained the peculiar Swabian type that characterized their ancestors before the inhabitants there to this day. Even such a village, inhabited by the Swabian colonists, presents to the attentive eye deviations from the other villages around, in the layout of the whole village as well as of the individual houses, although it cannot be denied that, although there are still some fragments of those initially erected couple pots (*Paartöpfen*) in every colony, the whole exterior of such villages today has gained a reputation as more village-like, friendlier, more cozy. The first huts stood there in desolate disorder, often with cruel neglect of any regularity. Where the hauled timber was randomly unloaded, it was left lying

around and the few beams were knocked together to form walls, a little clay-like quantity was thrown between them and the next house was quickly built. Accordingly, most of these colonists' houses looked as if they had been thrown together by chance, and with anxious haste such a village seems to have been conjured out of the earth in [Page 74] a few weeks. By the way, some villages are cleaner and more defined, even erected according to certain building rules and almost according to measure and guideline. So Brosowo, which, though with preference on one side, stretches for three quarters of a mile, and Friedrichshorst; and so there are several very pretty colonies. Today, of course, in many of these villages you can see the most beautiful massive houses, often equipped with mirrored panes and all sorts of luxuries, (instead of the original huts, some burned down, some torn down or collapsed), pretty flower gardens under the green painted shutters of the red house.

Since Frederick II usually grouped the Swabian colonists who had arrived into villages that were clustered together; so it is thanks to this peculiarity of the series of colonies that some of the originally old, traditional custom and peculiarity of the Swabians has been preserved to this day. For in the feeling of close togetherness, the neighboring colonies held fast to each other from the beginning and to this day marry only in colonist families, so that not only a village or a village of the series is home to relatives, but that this kinship also extends to other village series; and if a colonist marries a colonist today, he usually marries a closer or more distant relative. Lately, however, it has been emphasized with regret by the old spinning mothers that the youth no longer strictly follow this marriage principle, but that [Page 75] the young fellows, interested in money and rich soil, even look for the non-colonists' daughters.

What can be said of these colonists and colonists' children is basically the same as what can be said above all of the South German population. The only difference is that in this transplantation of the South German element in the upper northern parts of Germany, some of the peculiarities special to the South Germans have weakened, that the colonies have knowingly and unknowingly taken on a North German character. After all, it is worthwhile to tell some about these southern German guests.

As far as their appearance is concerned, they are almost universally distinguished, in contrast to their surroundings, by the old South German character. Most often they have black hair and dark eyes; the men are usually slender, the women well-developed. They are physical and often bigoted. They are almost entirely Protestant. A certain outward religiosity marked them from the beginning, and even today in some colonies, especially the people of Sobbowitz, one can see how every now and then on Sunday mornings, now and then when the bell rings, they put their hands on their headgear and bare their heads. Going to church and reading the Bible is their regular Sunday occupation. Yes, it is said that one of their main conditions under which they came to Prussia was to have their own place of worship, and the Sobbowitz colonists demanded their own church. They wanted it granted to them first in one of their six colonies, and to instruct the Catholic Church in Gardiczau [Page 76] to do so, as the talk goes; but they were refused because of religious concerns. Then the church was to be built in Succzyn, but the already mentioned "Colonist Lord God" did not grant it to the people of Succzyn, with whom he lived in feud and is said to have thwarted this project. Finally, the church came to the actual center of the colonies, to Sobbowitz itself. The colony of Struzfon provides us with a counterpart to this anti-Catholic concern. The people of Struzfon gave a *Decem* to the Catholic clergyman in Lissewo,

and asked this gentleman, in the absence of a preacher and teacher of their own, to only hear the word of God, to read the Gospel to them on Sundays; and he came every Sunday, read it to them, and explained it to them.

In addition to this religiosity, diligence and perseverance are to be praised as the main virtues of these colonists. When they moved into the country, many of them did not know how to cultivate this soil. Former brick-layers went to the field assigned to them, with their aprons around their bodies, which was to secure [the seed] for the sowing, and began to cast the seeds in a strange way, while the grains rolled down the leather aprons to the ground. Young women, whose husbands had died on the march to their new homeland, themselves walked behind the plow and furrowed the land that had been given to them as owners. Quite a few farmers, however, had to perish with incomplete knowledge of how to cultivate the field; some wandered away again and gave up country life; some [Page 77] went to the neighbor and requested if he would take (*abbürden*) a part of the new rural property from him. But they have all worked with all their strength and energy, and have certainly conquered and made good the initial ignorance by strong diligence, which was helped by their innate cunning, they have worked heartily, saved and penny-pinching with every piece of land. This effort to be penny-pinching with the land and to extract fruit and harvest from every corner of the earth is clearly evident from the basic books. Each village was given specific paths, streets, and so forth, as community property, and gradually everyone, whose field was bounded by such common land, robbed and widened his boundaries so that now less than half of the former number of *Morgen* constitutes this public land. And when you come to such colonies in the summer, you often waver and do not know how to steer through the high, all-enclosing cornfields to the houses in the middle of them, until a very short road or a footpath that is even too narrow indicates the direction. By such thrift, by such stinginess, they also wrested fortunes from the land. The ground now yields four and five times more than earlier, and many of the colonists are extremely wealthy; because what they have acquired, they hold together, they are understanding, crafty and cunning enough to do so.

They are adept at all things. The butchering is often done by the house father just as well as by a trained butcher; they are no less efficient as bricklayers, [Page 78] carpenters, roofers, and so forth, without having actually learned these professions. It is decidedly an advantage over the other German farmers in the area. They liked to be and still are in the mood for wit and humor, which, however, often expresses itself in a strange way. One colonist visited the other, overwhelmed here, and wanted to leave early the next morning; however, his wagon was nowhere to be found, and looking more carefully, he could see that it was high up on the back of the roof, the young fellows had moved it up there. In a somewhat odd joke, the colonists of Gardczau call the colonists from Schiwiwalken “gnats”, an expression that is supposed to mean a fly, a bluebottle (*Brummer*) [bluefly with metallic blue body that lays its eggs in decaying organic matter]. This innocent word has often become the cause of the most venomous enmities, and the simple gesture of the fly bunny can easily embitter a real Schiwiwalken child. In a similar teasing, the Struzfons are reprimanded by their neighboring colonists that they have let a *Pracher* (beggar) starve to death at their church festival and thereby lost the right to this festival; while the reason that the people of Struzfon do not celebrate a church festival is that the majority of them are from Zweibrücken, who do not celebrate this festival, but [the festival of] *Martini*. And so, of course, there are a thousand jokes and pranks among the colonists, which have become rare in recent

times, since in consequence of the rudeness of their jokes the police and the court have often been called upon by those affected.

[Page 79]

For all their cheerfulness and liveliness, they are to be called moderate on the whole; only when they were settled down did several of them surrender to drunkenness, whether they thought they could drink the brandy as if it were their native grape juice, or that it should be a driver off of sorrow when their farming was going badly. A more distant characteristic is their great patriotism. A Prussian king had summoned them into the country, granted them special rights and the protection of laws, showed great fondness for them, and it was thanks to his wise institutions that they were in a favorable position, partly in a certain comfortable prosperity, and they did not ask for more. For this reason, they have always kept a warm heart for the Prussian kings; this shows up often and publically.<sup>22</sup>

And how many soldiers were there, even sub-officers, even sergeants, a squadron that could, with their ingenious head, probably reach the summit!

[Page 80] They still have an indescribable reluctance to violate what they belong to and to make themselves ridiculous by any conspicuous things. But this feeling is often only too uneasy. What is striking about their other understanding is a deep-rooted superstition, the individual manifestations of which, however, they have often adopted from the Nordic nature.<sup>23</sup> So the product of the “Underground Things” (*Unterirdschkes*). When a child is born, the light must be lit and must be burning, and the woman does not leave the child until the child is baptized. Otherwise, these underground spirits will come, steal the child and lay down a changeling instead of it.<sup>24</sup> The colonists were particularly strong in discussing, and among them some were again preferably skilful, and their names are still fresh in the memory of old and young. There is a big broad tree in Kamionken, and when old Arnold wanted to heal, he went under its shady branches and murmured his customary sayings, and when no one could help and heal, the old Moschheim could certainly do it, even against [Page 81] snake poisoning she is said to have had her helpful words and herbs. Now she, too, is dead, and the present generation does not understand much of these things, although they still have some doubts about such miracles. Yes, some of

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<sup>22</sup> An example from several. In Struzfon, on one Holy Epiphany, a Polish man went from village to village, leading the three kings with him, two on horseback, the third on a donkey. The farmer looked at the dolls from his window with pleasure and called the man into the room to ask him what they meant. “This, was the instruction, is the Emperor of Russia, the second on horseback is the Emperor of Austria.” “And the third one on the donkey?” asked the colonist. “This is the Prussian king,” was the reply. But then the little farmer jumped at him, grabbed him by the collar, dragged him back and forth with the words: “Heathen, I am not going to tolerate this, to shame my king!” and threw him out the door and destroyed the dolls in the most pitiless manner.

<sup>23</sup> It is not my task to examine how far all these character traits derive from their old homeland, or were caused by the influence of their present environment.

<sup>24</sup> “An old colonist told me that he had seen such a changeling himself, he had a huge fat head and big protruding eyes and was always screaming. But now, he added, it rarely happens, everything is different.” These words, spoken with a certain sadness about the waning ghost era, were confirmed by the schoolmaster of the village, who, himself a colonist descendant, seemed to believe half and half in the former rule of these “underground things”.



the colonists are in possession of a complete magic book, which is written in High German and thus increases the impression of the solemn and extraordinary in their eyes.<sup>25</sup>

Another example of their superstition is the fact that in the early days of immigration [Page 82] people often hurried away for fear of the Polish Catholics.

However much of the superstition and other attitudes of the original colonists may have been preserved, so little of the old Swabian costume has been preserved. Already on the march through Germany to Poland they have partly discarded some of their peculiar clothing, and after their present place of residence they brought with them no conspicuous costume, if one does not want to name the former broad brim hats of men, the black headbands of women. Also, from time to time, especially on feast days, the men wore shoes with buckles and long white stockings, the women wore red stockings and short skirts. But that has now been completely lost.

On the other hand, some other peculiarities in customs and language, as they were carried from the homeland, have been more or less preserved in these few colonies and stand out from all the other German neighborhoods.

In the colonies near Culm, Culmsee, Gniewkowo, the people, at least the women and girls, still carry their jugs and baskets on their heads from time to time, especially when they go to the market. Lately, as soon as they become aware of a stranger, they quickly take the vessel off their heads and pass by embarrassed.

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<sup>25</sup> The title of this book is: *Albertus Magnus Proven and Approved Sympathetic and Natural Egyptian Secrets for Man and Cattle* (follows the large list of contents) *for City Dwellers and Country People*. Part I, Braband 1839. (*Albertus Magnus bewährte und approbirte sympathetische und natürliche egyptische Geheimnisse für Mensch und Vieh (folgt das große Inhaltsverzeichnis) für Städter und Landleute. I. Theil, Braband 1839*). It is wonderful that that Albertus Magnus from the 13th century, who, a born lord of Bollstadt in Swabia, as is well known, already had a reputation for sorcery among his contemporaries because of his considerable knowledge, still haunts in the mouths of the Swabians, so that ordinary bookseller speculation, relying on the sound of his mystical name, dares to present a miserable ordinary magic book to the people. This book has been transported to the colony by an agent from Württemberg, and it can only be purchased by richer people, as they often have to pay 8-10 Thlr. for it, which they do with pleasure. The magic formulas are partly in prose, partly in *Knittel* verses [Middle Age Germanic verse meter with consecutive rhyme paired {AABB} with each line having four stresses]. As samples of these conjurations, the following is what was used against the firebrand:

*Jesus und Maria gingen durch ein ganzes Land,  
Er trug das Feuer, und sie trug den Brand,  
Da kam Jesus mit seiner Hand  
Und löschte aus den Feuerbrand.*

Jesus and Mary walked through an entire land,  
He carried the fire, and she carried the burning wood,  
Then Jesus came with his hand  
And extinguished the firebrand.

At this point, the three most sacred names are mentioned. And the saying to the rose:

*Rotlaufer Stolz  
Fahr übers Holz,  
Fahr über Dorn und Hecken,  
Bleib an jedem Zaunpfahl stecken.*

Red Runner Proud  
Go over the Wood,  
Go over Thorn and Hedges,  
Remain stuck on every Fence Post.

Another pretty custom has completely come to an end, which was to be found in the Sobbowitz colonies only a few years ago [Page 83], that the fellow gave his secret sweetheart a slender birch tree at Christmas, in the branches on which something was tied, like a pretty handkerchief and ribbons, and so forth, stuck in the snow in front of the window. In more recent times, the trees have become rarer, and no one would like to be drawn by the [type-set unclear].

However, the actual main festival of the colonists, the “Pumpkin Celebration” (*Kürbefeſt*), in spite of a long time, is still celebrated with all the pomp and all the South German extravagances. In the Sobbowitz colonies it is least in vogue, mostly in those near Culm and Gniewokowo. The Pumpkin celebration is the colonist church celebration (*Kirchmeſſe—Kirmeß—Kübnis—Kürbefeſt*). It is usually celebrated around the 14<sup>th</sup> of October. At this time there is a tremendous excitement among the colonist people, the preparations and the anticipations naturally form an essential part of the festival itself. There is butchering and roasting and everything is prepared for the many guests in a dignified manner. Early on Sunday one first goes to church; at the end of the service, the clergyman often drops a significant and not unnecessarily appropriate hint that order and decency ought not be violated at the upcoming celebration, then it is back home and to the actual celebration. A village is always the host for a certain period of time, the rest are the guests. The festival begins with the digging up of the old pumpkin, which was buried last year. Only then is the pumpkin [Page 84] “free,” and there is no end to the noise and rejoicing and dancing for days. But all the great confusion suddenly stops when women or girls, who can sing well, start their “arias”, mostly of religious content, because the colonists are great music lovers. Such arias are, for example:

*Im Himmel, im Himmel, da iſt eine heilige Tuer,  
Da ſtehn alle Morgen drei Engel dafuer u.s.w.*

In heaven, in heaven, there is a holy door,  
Every morning three angels stand there, etc.

or

*Lazarenus, Lazarenus, ſollſt auferſtehn  
Und zu deiner Schwelter Magdalena hiemgehen u.s.w.*

Lazarus, Lazarus, you ſhall riſe again  
And go home to your ſiſter Magdalena, etc.

And theſe women are replaced by the lively old ones, who, when the muſicians have to take care of the neceſſary reſt and gather new ſtrength, ſing their old, neat raſcally ſongs, as they are the moſt cheerful and the moſt exuberant of all. So there is romping and cheering for ſeveral days until it draws to a cloſe. A piece of wood, wrapped with pea ſtraw and colorful rags, is buried as a repreſentative of the deceased pumpkin feſtival that has juſt ended. Everyone follows, and the funnieſt one gives the funeral oration to the deceased. He begins his ſermon with the original pumpkin ſong, which goes as follows:

*Heut iſch Kürbi, morgen iſch Kürbi,  
Bis zu Mittwoch Abend,  
Wenn i zu mein'm Schätzle komm  
Sag ich: Guten Abend!  
“Guten Abend, Liſebeth!  
Sag mir wo dei Bettli ſteht!”  
“Hinterm Ofen, imme Eck,  
Geh, du Schatz, i ſag die's nett.”*

Today Pumpkin-feſt, tomorrow Pumpkin-feſt,  
Until Wednesday evening,  
When I come to my ſweetheart  
I ſay: Good evening!  
“Good evening, Eliſebeth!  
Tell me where your bed is located!”  
“Behind the ſtove, in a corner,  
Go, ſweetheart, I am not going to tell you.”

[Page 85] After the humorous speech, the pumpkin is laid in the grave, and thus the whole festival is symbolically and finally over.

That is how the festival used to be, in all its glory. Although a lively, colorful hustle and bustle has been preserved when *Kürbe* comes, it is never like in the old days. In two days, the whole festivity will be over. The musicians no longer need to lie down to rest during the feast, but even the youth cannot be deprived of the precious night's rest, and only the old, the cheerful old people sing and cheer undaunted.

Another feast, not so magnificent as this one, is in some places even fresher in the memory of individuals and is celebrated even more frequently, the Feast of Pentecost. The course of the same is as follows. In the morning, on the second day of the celebration of Pentecost, the young boys unite and ride from colonist village to colonist village, true to the old custom. At the head rides one with a flag in his hand, then follows the so-called Pentecost ornament (*Pfingstputz*), completely covered with green leaves and decorated with colorful ribbons and because of this heavy clothing usually tied tightly to the horse, so that he does not lose his balance during the rigorous ride. Then follow two by two riders, so that a civil platoon is formed. From village to village it goes in flight, and in every village there is riding from house to house, and the first ride into the front gate themselves. Then the foremost begins to speak, trying to diligently speak good High German on such an important matter: [Page 86]

*“Ich trete ‘rein als ein Fürst,  
Den einen Herrn grüß ich, den andern nicht,  
Darum bin ich auch kein rechter Frühspitz*

*“I step in as a prince,  
The one gentleman I greet, but not the other,  
That is why a real Frühspitz<sup>26</sup> I am not.”*

The Pentecost Ornament:

*“Hollah Mütterle, Pfingstputz bin ich genannt,  
Eier und Schmalz sind mir sehr wohl bekannt,  
Das weiße Mehl schlag’ ich auch nicht aus,  
Da back ich und meine Kamraden Küchle draus.  
Heut reis’ ich über den Rhein,  
Da fällt mir mein Mehlsack mitten ‘nein,  
Zieh’ ich mir meinen linken Strumpf aus,  
Mach ich und meine Kamraden einen Mehlsack draus;  
Heut muss ich durch einen dicken, dicken Wald,  
Kommt der Fuchs und frißt mir’s halb,  
Kommt der Igel und bringt mir’s wieder  
Da hab ich und meine Kamraden mein Schmalzhafn<sup>27</sup> wieder.  
Eier und Schmalz raus!  
Oder ich fahr mit meinem Saebel ins Hehrhaus<sup>28</sup>!”*

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<sup>26</sup> The so-called *Frühspitz* is the one who drives his steeds to pasture first on this day.

<sup>27</sup> Schmalztopf

<sup>28</sup> Hühnerhaus

“*Hollah Little Mother, , I am called Pentecost Ornament,  
 Eggs and lard are well known to me,  
 I do not refuse white flour either,  
 With them I bake cakes for me and my comrades.  
 Today, I am travelling across the Rhine,  
 Among my things, my flour sack is missing,  
 I am going to take off my left stocking,  
 Making a flour sack out of it for me and my comrades;  
 Today, I have to go through a very dense forest,  
 If the fox comes and eats half of it,  
 The hedgehog will come and bring it back to me  
 Here I and my comrades again have my lard pot.  
 Out with the eggs and lard!  
 Or with my saber I will ride into the chicken house!”*

After the Pentecost Ornament, three others follow with an egg basket, a lard pot and a flour sack. Each of them speaks a few words and finally all three in unison:

*“Da kam ein altes Weib,  
 Reiß mir ein Stück vom Leib, [Page 87]  
 Da kam ein alter Mann,  
 Näht mir’s wieder an.  
 Habe Dank, du alter Mann,  
 Daß du so brav nähen kannst.  
 Brr hollah!”*

“There came an old woman,  
 Ripped a piece off my body,  
 Then came an old man,  
 Sewed it back on me again.  
 Thank you, you old man,  
 That you can sew so well.  
 Brr hollah!”

And on it goes. The women have to hurry up and very quickly bring about what is required, because the riders who still have a long ride ahead of them are impatient and do not like to wait long. In more recent times, money is often given instead of goods, and this is rejoiced over when evening comes.

As I said, the ones reciting try to speak as High German as possible. As a rule, however, all these colonists still speak their good “Colonial” (*Colonistisch*). Of course, this language is no longer the old Swabian language. When the first immigrants were addressed in Low German by German farmers in the area, they assured them that they did not understand Polish. After these eighty years, they have learned a lot. In addition to this Colonial, they also speak Low German and partly also High German and Polish. Of course, their original way of speaking has taken on a lot of foreignness, so that now the expressions in their language are mostly Low German or High German, only a little Swabian, but the pronunciation itself is [a mix of] Low German = High German = Swabian, in short *Colonistisch*. This is also shown by their little songs, some of which are still preserved. How much of the original language has survived depends precisely on the greater or lesser continuation of the old customs. Both are often due to the local location of the villages.

[Page 88] The Sobbowitz colonies, which have daily communication with Danzig and Dirschau and are located in the middle of nine Catholic parishes, have lost much of their originality, and also

here there is still a difference. Those localities that come most into contact with foreign farmers, with Danzig and Dirschau, have lost almost all consciousness of their Swabian ancestry. When they talk about the “colonists” or their ancestors, they seem to be talking about complete strangers. They like to talk about their former peculiarities, even if it was their grandparents, they themselves are not affected. Others, whose colonistic peculiarity still flashes from their eyes, which they cannot dismiss, do not like to hear themselves called descendants of the immigrant Swabians, and only reluctantly and self-consciously do they talk about themselves and their ancestors, especially when their language still completely identifies them as Swabian descendants. The Swabian pronunciation has, of course, suffered greatly from the proximity of large cities or from frequent contact with strangers, and yet, when one hears the people speak quickly, one does not understand a word, although the expressions are mostly High German. The teachers and preachers are also often passionately, with fire and sword, against this “terrible language”, and the people themselves try to get rid of any strangeness in their way of speaking, especially those who have been in the military, and want to force their accent to be finely polished German. But for the time being, all this is in vain; the South German [Page 89] does not allow himself to be denied for once. After all, father and mother, when they have secrets from the Low Germans, speak colonistically and teach the children how to do it. But not always; often the father, especially in wealthier families, reaches for the stick when he hears his children talk colonistically. But none of this helps. The pronunciation itself is, by and large, still quite South German. The letter “s” in the initial sound sounds sharp, the “st” is the same, the vowels are lengthened and unclear, and so forth.

With these Swabians, South German songs have also migrated to the Polish provinces, now and then they still can be heard, and even if they are no longer sung as often as before, they are still quite lively and fresh in the memory of the present colonists. Most of these songs are actual dance songs, which are still sung today, especially by the younger old ones, to the minuet-like dance as sounds from the time of their youth.

The little songs found below<sup>29</sup> may [Page 90] bear witness to the fact that the South German folk song knew how to find its way into our cold north, only that it [Page 91] does not really flourish here, and its flourishing will not last long. Only rarely that they are sung.

Most of their songs are mischievous or sensual in nature, but one or the other is also childishly unsung, containing little meaning, but which has a pretty dance beat in its rhythm, such as:

*Hinter mei Vater sei Häusele  
Kribbelt und krabbelt ei Mäusele,*

Behind the little house of my father  
Crawls and creeps a little mouse, (in Klempin)

Another, no less simple:

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<sup>29</sup> The song, which is known and sung in almost every Swabian colony, and which we have long known, like most of the following, as old South German folk songs, is:

*Fahr mir net über mein Aeckerle,  
Fahr mir net über mein Wies',  
Oder i prügle di wetterle,  
Oder i prügle di g'wiß.*

Do not drive over my little field,  
Do not drive over my meadow,  
Or I will thresh you severely,  
Or I will certainly beat you up.

*Ufm Bachofa bin i gseßa  
Haun's Röckli verbrennt,  
Haun d' ganze Nacht g'heirathet  
Und mein Schätzle nich kennt.*

I sat on the baking oven  
Burned my little dress,  
Spent the whole night married  
And did not know my sweetheart. (Klempin)

Evidence that the South German *Fensterln* [small window, or window shutter-?] or *Lädeln* [shutter-?] is still familiar with them, is shown in this sensuous teasing strongly sensuous little song:

*Ei ei, was haun i kickerle,  
Ei ei, was haun i g'than?  
I haun meines Vettters Michele  
Zum Lädli eingeladn.  
Vom Lädli bis ins Kämmerle,  
Vom Kämmerle bis ins Bett,  
Da hat mein Vetter Michele  
Sein Füßli ausgestreckt. (Gardczau.)*

Oh my, Oh my, what have I *kickerle*,  
Oh my, Oh my, what have I done?  
My male cousin Michele, I have  
Invited to the window shutter.  
From the window shutter to the chamber,  
From the chamber into the bed,  
There my male cousin Michele  
Stretched out his feet. (Gardczau)

Another one from the same location is:

*Ich bin gewest im Oberland  
Und habe wolle wive,  
S' haunt alle rothe Röckle an,  
Da hab i's lasse bliwe.*

I was in the highland  
And was looking for a wife,  
They all had on red dresses,  
So I decided not to do that.

Another little dance song is:

*Geld oben auf dem Hackeberg,  
Geld haun i's höre belle,  
Es isch der Teufel hinterm Pfaff  
Und nimmt ihn an die Schelle. (Kl. Trampken)*

Money on top of the *Hackeberg*  
I heard the money bellow,  
It is the devil behind the priest  
And takes him by the little bell /or/ collar.

They also had their drinking songs, and when they had spent a long time in the evening at the jug, and one or the other made a gesture to sneak away, they sang:

*Jetzt gang i nit mehr heim,  
Bis daß der Kuckuck Kuckuck schreit,  
Und mein Weib mir Küchle backt  
Und kein saures Maul mehr macht. (Succzyn.)*

Now I am not going home anymore,  
Until the cuckoo cries cuckoo,  
And my wife bakes me cakes  
And does not make a sour mouth anymore.

A little love song:

*Kraut und Rübe  
Geibt gut Wetter,  
Erbsen giebt gut Sonnenschein.  
So ein Schätzle muß man liebe,*

Cabbage and turnip  
Gives good weather,  
Peas give good sunshine.  
One must love a sweetheart like this,

*Denn es ist schon halber mein. (Zegartowitz.)*

Because it is already half mine.

Or this familiar one:

*Ein nickelnages Häusele,  
Ein nickelnages Bett,  
Ein nickelnages Weibele,  
Das macht sich recht nett. (Desgl.)*

A shiny new nail house,  
A shiny new nail bed,  
A shiny new nail woman,  
That looks pretty nice. (same as above)

or

*Drei Paar Schuh und drei Paar Socken  
Hab' ich schon nach dir verlaufen,  
Gelt mei Schatz, nu g'schieht's nit mehr. (Brosowo.)*

Three pairs of shoes and three pairs of socks  
I have already run after you,  
Be my sweetheart, and it will happen no more.

or

*Jetzt gang i in's Wiesethal hina,  
Sind lauter Batenka durnah;  
Batenka will i breche,  
A Sträußle draus flechte,  
Von lauter Batenka und Klee,  
Jetzt haun i kein Schätzlele meh. (Trzeciewiec.)*

Now I went into the valley meadow,  
All kinds of blue flowers are there;<sup>30</sup>  
I will break off blue flowers,  
Braid a bouquet from them,  
From many blue flowers and clover,  
Now I do not have a sweetheart anymore.

[Page 92]

We find expressions in these songs that a High German hardly understands; in general, there are still some special words peculiar to them, which may find their place here, even if they are impossible to be complete:

*sel*<sup>31</sup> (pronounced *βel*)—meaning: that one, the one there. Christian von Schmidt (*Schwäbisches Wörterbuch 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Stuttgart 1844*) thinks that this word is related to *solus*.

*Selt*<sup>32</sup> = there. Stands in the same relation to the previous word.

*Hafen*,<sup>33</sup> *Hafeläh* = pot.

*Mutze*<sup>34</sup> = bodice, corset.

*Verzwatzeln*<sup>35</sup> = bursting with laughter.

*Wetterle*<sup>36</sup> = very, violently.

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<sup>30</sup> *Batenka*, a blue flower

<sup>31</sup> in *Suczyn*

<sup>32</sup> in Gardczau, Schiwialken, Klempin, Klein Trampken

<sup>33</sup> in Struczfon

<sup>34</sup> in Schiwialken

<sup>35</sup> in Sobbowitz colonies

<sup>36</sup> See previous songs

An old Swabian word:

*Sau, stauh, bleiwe lau?  
Wer die drei Worte nich kau  
Kann nich durch's Schwabeland gauh.*

Run, Wait, Let it be?  
Whoever does not know these three words  
Cannot go through Swabia. (Bielczynny.)

Another song to dance by:

*Schmied, Schmied, Schmied  
Nimm dein Hämmerle mit.  
Wenn du willst ein Pferd beschlagen,  
Mußt dein Hämmerle beitragen;  
Schmied, Schmied, Schmied,  
Nimm dein Hämmerle mit.*

Blacksmith, blacksmith, blacksmith  
Take your hammer with you.  
If you want to shoe a horse,  
You must supply your hammer;  
Blacksmith, blacksmith, blacksmith,  
Take your hammer with you.

[Page 93]

*Hackeberg*<sup>37</sup> is hardly related to our word hoe (*Hacke*). It is more likely that this word is related to the etymology of Prof. Leo<sup>38</sup> of Hackelberg. In Old German mythology, Wuodan, dressed in his gray cloak, rides through the air. Such a hood is called in Old Norse—*hekla*, in Angle-French—*hacele*, in Old High German—*hachul*, and the cloak-bearer *hacelberend* in Angle-French and this is the old name Wuodan, from which the word hackelberg originates, in memory of the wild hunter.

*Hieze* and *dieze*<sup>39</sup> = here and there. In the actually Swabian language *hieza* and *dieza*.

*Gautsche*<sup>40</sup> = swing (*Schaukel*), also *gauntsche*<sup>41</sup>; *couche*—French, carriage (*Kutsche*)..

*Cluse, Cluw*<sup>42</sup> = pin (*Stecknadel*).

*Päterle*<sup>43</sup>, *Potter*<sup>44</sup> = pearls. Actually, the Swabians say *Peterle*. The word comes from the Our Father (Pater noster = rosary). Like *Päterle* from *Pater*, there is another word with the same meaning from the second word of this composition, from **noster**, namely: *Nuschter*<sup>45</sup> or *Nuster* = pearl.

[Page 94]

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<sup>37</sup> See previous songs

<sup>38</sup> Leo, *Lehrbuch der Universal-Geschichte II.*, page 45

<sup>39</sup> Sobbowitz Colony

<sup>40</sup> Gardczau

<sup>41</sup> Klein Czyste

<sup>42</sup> Gardczau

<sup>43</sup> Gardczau

<sup>44</sup> Czyste, Brosowo

<sup>45</sup> Gardczau, and so forth.



*Nickelnage*<sup>46</sup> *Nickel* the same as nail (*Nagel*) (like in the word *Fürnickel*), *nage* probably attaches with *nacke* - only together, also a *nackter*, that is, a shiny new nail (*Nagel*), in figurative meaning: as shiny as a new nail (*Nagel*), as we also say in High German: brand new (*nagelneu*) or shiny brand new (*funkelnagelneu*).

*Dusel*<sup>47</sup> = as an expression of love.

*Heuerle*,<sup>48</sup> *Hairle*, *herrle*, *her* = priest (*Priester*), pastor (*Pastor*), in the beginning of the sixteenth century the mayors in Swabia were also called that.

*Heidenker*<sup>49</sup> is an insulting word.

*Zeine*,<sup>50</sup> *Zaine*, *Zane*, *Zeine*, *Zone* means a small basket. Italian: **zana**, **tina**; Gothic **tainjo**.

*Krompire*<sup>51</sup> = potato (*Kartoffel*). Hardly any other object in the German language is described as differently as the potato. The above name is probably related to ground pear (*Grundbirne*) = earth fruit.

*Reiterle*<sup>52</sup> = sieve (*Sieb*), taken from the verb to shake (*rütteln*).

From *siebe Suppeschnitt*<sup>53</sup>. This refers to a far-flung relationship, and the word is a contraction of the saying: “From seven soups the cut” (*von sieben Suppen den Schnitt*), as a similar phrase is probably better known: “from seven fields the lump” (*von sieben Aeckern den Kloß*). The number [Page 95] seven is striking; in any case, it is not accidental. It is customary to count blood friendship according to the members of the human body, and according to this it is also divided into seven parts, of which the head is the uppermost part, the first member, and the nails the last, which no longer really belong to the body as a firm component.

*Löckle* = little, is derived either from *Locke*, *Löckchen*, or from the English **little**. For the first meaning, the song below would fit.<sup>54</sup>

*Hafe*<sup>55</sup> = Bull (*Bulle*).

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<sup>46</sup> Bielcynany, see previous songs

<sup>47</sup> Suczyn

<sup>48</sup> Skompe

<sup>49</sup> Struzfon

<sup>50</sup> The same place

<sup>51</sup> Schiwialken

<sup>52</sup> Struzfon

<sup>53</sup> Gardczau

<sup>54</sup> *Isch mei Bock mir nich verreckt?*

*Haun kein Löckle Hei mer ghätt.*

*Hätt ich nur ein Löckle ghätt*

*Wär mein Bock mir nich verreckt.* (Skompe)

Is it not true that my ram died?

I did no longer have any hay.

If I only had had a little

Then my ram would not have died.

<sup>55</sup> Skompe

These are only a few remnants of special expressions of language, and these are not always used in the conversation for the High German word in question, but are usually more known than used.

On the whole, almost all the peculiarities in words and expressions have balanced out here as well. Likewise, the colonists have formally transformed their names, which used to have a South German sound, into the form of High German. *Bierle*—became *Bierler*, *Merkle*—became *Merkel*, *Stengeli*—became *Stengel*, and so forth.

Also, the whole inner family life of these people has become the same as that of the neighboring families surrounding them, and almost all the deviations of earlier and later [Page 96] times have worn away. A great bad habit, which is by no means specifically colonistic, but unfortunately widespread throughout Prussia, cannot be reprimanded often and harshly enough. The noblest men, as soon as the eldest son has grown up, leave the whole piece of land to him and contractually secure their so-called old position. Such an old man has his definite hay, his cow, his calves, even his definite salt on the table, and the old man anxiously watches that every title of the contract is strictly followed. Of course, this creates quarrels of the most miserable and worst kind between father and son, in which the whole family must participate. Most of the time, the old-timer could still preside over his farm for decades, yes, it happens that he marries again, and yet he prefers hopeless peace and laziness, breaks up the family relationship and has to litigate all his life. Certainly, the greater blame for any conflict is his. The court tries to prevent any transfer of the property to the son by persuasion and objections, but rarely with favorable success.

In Struzfon, an old man litigated with his son for fifteen years. Then a Polish man took over the estate, kept the terms of the contract, and an intimate relationship arose between him and the old man, the old man loved him as he had not loved his son at last.

And the sons of the colonists have not preserved too much of the paternal inheritance of customs [Page 97] and language, in one respect, in work, they are still quite like the older ones. The fathers have made things sour for themselves, and the children continue to work vigorously.

Even if the conditions were favorable enough from the beginning that diligence and perseverance could achieve fruitful successes. Where in all of Germany did the farmer have such a free position as in colonist farmer? Where could the farmer move so freely, create and work so completely for his well-being, for his property? One had never heard so little of the suppression of the peasants in Prussia as under Frederick's authority; it is true that no peasant was any longer to be called a serf, but his relationship to the state and to the manor, had it not remained the same in the Mark as in Pomerania, Prussia, Silesia, and most of the Westphalia regions? The inherent freedom, the wealth of the individual, was very limited.

It is difficult to decide whether the former Polish serf or the Westphalian so-called "individual owned" (*Eigenbehörige*) were in a worse situation. Thus, this owner was subject to the *Mortuario*, a law according to which, at the death of the owner, the man or woman, a division of the entire property took place between the landowner and the relatives of the deceased. No consideration was given to any debts. Harvests, livestock, the whole farm, furniture and any claims belonged to the separable testator's estate. Hence the proverb that the lord with his own

companions [Page 98] “separates the spoon from the board” (*den Löffel vom Brett*). In addition to this Mortuario, all sorts of other hardships had to be suffered. The colonist had to endure none of all these ugly burdens. He could direct all his concern to the increase of his property, and when he hauled full harvest wagons into the barns, he knew that this profit would benefit him and his family undisturbed. It is clear that under such conditions the desire to work and the ability to work were increased. Under the protection of wise laws, under the biased care of a “well-loved” king, a tolerable grain garden could and had to be grown on profitable ground with diligence and love of work. In this way, the vitality of the colonies could truly be established. If, in order to have proof of their viability, we briefly compare the number of souls in the colonies as it was at the time of their formation and as it is today, we find that the number has not increased significantly in the course of time. The reason is simple.

As we have seen, a certain number of full-time farmers, half-farmers and cottagers were in certain regulated conditions. The number of such farmyards is rarely fragmented; there is a kind of primogeniture (*Majorat*) in the basic civil conditions. In most cases, the eldest son of the old man receives the estate, the other sons either become craftsmen or marry into other farms. Often, however, several such farmyards are pulled together, partly by marriage, partly by purchase. So new families can seldom take up residence in such a village, [Page 99] since there is no land, no land to take in which they could take possession, they would have to just buy it now; but this would displace the former family, so that the number of families would not be increased. If, in spite of the fact that the number of farmer families had increased, but had decreased, the number of souls had increased, it would have to be assumed that the half-farmers and cottagers, also the poor of the village, would have increased, and this could bear witness to the fact that the people were impoverished, for it would then have to be assumed that the fixed landholdings would have been fragmented. But that is not the case either. On average, there are fewer families in the colonies in question than before, and even now there are often non-colonist families among the colonists. However, since the population is increasing in the course of time, an increase in the number of Swabian colonists appointed by Frederick II must also be assumed. This extra allowance of heads, and, as we shall see, a very significant fraction of the original number of immigrants, is no longer to be found in the colony. They have crossed the whole of West Prussia, occupied entire villages, fixed up much of what had been demolished and formed a significant part of the German population, especially in the area of their home colony. There are whole villages, even small towns, which are said to be Swabian colonies, but all of them were occupied by the colonists only later, when their wings grew and the native village became too crowded for them. In large cities, these emigrants [Page 100] naturally disappear into the crowd from the searching eyes of people, and are scarcely recognizable by their names. But it is precisely this circumstance, that the number of families of the owners has mostly decreased, and the number of souls has not remarkably increased, that the colonists have added a considerable number of forces to the rest of the country, is to us, in contrast to urban conditions, a proof that prosperity prevails among this people, that they have worked hard and established themselves.

In a comparison of the old original population and the present one, it may be found that at least half of the old colonist families are preserved everywhere, and, since the number of families in general has diminished, it can be assumed that three-quarters of the original families still make up the inhabitants of these colonies. Most of the newcomers are also colonists from other villages.

As far as a special consideration of the individual colonies in statistical and historical terms is concerned, a more specific consideration of each individual village would probably be too uninteresting. The internal history of a village is usually quite unvaried, and one story looks confusingly similar to the other. Of the three larger groups of colonists, we are content to highlight the most noteworthy in internal and external history.

It has already been mentioned that most of the colonies, when they were founded, their future site was identified by a house or a mill, [Page 101] and, as a rule, these villages were established through the demolition (*Abbauten*) of monasteries or ecclesiastical property in general, and were deliberately laid out in the vicinity of Polish places, the names of which were then used to be attached to them. Hence the striking phenomenon that all these German colonies bear Polish names, such as Klein-Cyste near Groß-Cyste, Klein-Murzynno near Groß-Murzynno, and so forth. By the way, the term small (*Klein*) and large (*Groß*) is totally wrong here, and has emerged from a confusion with old and new, because the colonies have usually been quite important and larger than their neighboring villages of the same name from the outset. The names of the Sobbowitz colonies may not be of purely Polish origin (see above). It is difficult to give an exact etymology of these names, as well as of the others, and it is better to leave the individual derivations in doubt than to make vague assumptions.<sup>56</sup>

[Page 102] The Sobbowitz colonies were partly dismantled from the buildings of an old Grand Commander of a Knightly Order (*Komturei*), in the middle of nine Catholic parishes. The Church has already been discussed. It was built in 1789, but did not live to see its 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary. In 1837, it was closed again because it was dangerous to go inside. In 1843, a new one was built. The community has formed a charity association here, which bought land, built a house with a garden on it and put a doctor in it to treat the sick free of charge. They also intend to build a pharmacy. Here, too, there are extraordinary things that give the good colonists a lot to talk about; such a **Somnambule** in Succzyn in 1850 in the form of a journeyman steelsmith company (*Stahlschmiedegesellen*); here, too, cholera raged, killing 136 people in two months in 1853. These confined districts, too, have had their great men, who are called from generation to generation with equal reverence, and [Page 103] even if no monument is erected to the fallen hero,

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<sup>56</sup> As we will see later, the Polish people love to give the place a name according to the nature or randomness of the soil.

A. The names of the colonies in the Marienwerder Department are mostly Polish. So *Czyste*. **czyste** = clean, pure (Latin - **castus**). **scolo** = subsidiary (*Niederlassung*). *Zegartowitz*. **zegar** = the watch, perhaps after an owner of a similar name. *Bielczynny*, either from *biały* = white, or from **biela**, adjective **bielozany** equal to Bilchmaus. *Skompe*, Polish **Skap**. *Chrapice*, **chrap** = marsh (*Bruch*), swamp (*Morast*), adjective **chrapecina**. *Struzfon*. *Dombrowken* thereby, oak (*Eiche*), **dabrowo**, oak forest. *Bielsk* compare. *Bielczynny*. *Brosowo*, actually *Brzozowo*. **brzoza** = birch (*Birke*), adjective **brzozowy**. Already in the earliest period there is a place *Brese*, in the documents of 1235, which is now also called **Brzoza**, also has taken on a “z”. *Trzebsz*, **trzebic** same as **roden**, to make arable. **Trzebiez** equals **Rodeplatz**.

B. The colonies in the Bydgoszcz Department: *Murzynno* from **mur**, *Mauer* or **murzynek** Moor (*Mohr*)? *Szpytal*, hospital (**hospitale**) (Latin); *Spittel* (German), **czpital** (Polish). *Stodoly*, means barn. *Slawsk* **slava** = glory (?), maybe so named after a glorious battle? *Parlinek*, Parlin or Barlin is probably a Wendish name. Berlin is also said to be related to this. The meaning is: an army for refugees. Mahn thinks it is Celtic. In Halle, there is still a Large and Small Berlin, with the meaning of an enclosed square. *Olsza*, alder. *Cegielnia*, brick kiln (*Ziegelbrennerei*), *Sadke*, **sadek**, **sadka**, a small orchard. *Radzyn*.

such as Jacob Wolf from Succzyn, who fell as a Hussar = sergeant near Versailles, the simple funeral wreath that loving hands have hung in the modest church, assures him of an eternally fresh remembrance among the descendant generations of his homeland, and young and old tell of him, and emphasize that of fourteen Frenchmen who attacked him, he killed eleven with his own hands, and the other three had to stab him with the bayonet. An insignificant event in and of itself, but of infinite importance for the quiet life of a village.

The area in which these colonies are located is different. The field was very poor and meager at first; the hardworking colonist cultivated it significantly. In the Schiwialken colony, urns have been found (as well as in the Sobbowitz district itself), which are about one and a half feet high and one foot wide in the middle. They were found in a vault enclosed on all sides by five or six flat rocks. They stood upright in the ground. The mass was soft when excavated, and therefore easily fragile. In these urns lay small ring-like chains and some ashes. The color of the urns is partly gray-black, partly gray-reddish. The colony of Succzyn is characterized by two mills and an iron hammer (*Eisenhammer*), but especially by its beautiful location.

The colonies in the Marienwerder Department have preserved even more [Page 104] of the former old colonist essence than those of Sobbowitz, the feast of Pentecost, the pumpkin, the wearing of objects on the head, and so forth. What is peculiar is the difference in pronunciation; so here *Potter* (pearls) is spoken, in the former colonies it is called *Päterle*.

In 1830, a Neu-Brosowo was built near Brosowo by the colonists who had bought former forest establishments. Everywhere there is still a vivid awareness of the fact that “outlawed” Swabians are established around Danzig and in Bromberg and the colony of Schönwalken (Schiwialken) is well known to many. The colonies here are much more fragmented than the few near Sobbowitz; those in the Bydgoszcz Department are just as scattered.

Here, the Murzynnek colony has recently received its own elegant church. In Friedrichshorst there are even two churches, but they have the simple character of village churches, one Evangelical-Protestant and one Old Lutheran, the latter being attended by fourteen families of the village. The colony of Friedrichshorst is not a Swabian one; it is completely rebuilt, even the name was created for it. The village is 964 *Ruthen* long, the houses are all located under many trees hiding them on one side of a magnificent birch avenue, with the exception of the two churches. The road is black and boggy. In the past, there was a lot of wild scrub here, and the colonists had to fight for a long time with disagreeable guests, the wolves. Some time ago, a mighty giant antler was found in this swamp. The colonists themselves [Page 105] came from Pomerania, Neumark, and Brandenburg. Until twenty years ago, their descendants had to cultivate crops with spades because the soil was too damp and swampy. The water has been laboriously diverted through dams and ditches, so that now the plow can also pull its path here. Of course, in the past, little grain could be obtained, and people were dependent on garden fruits. Even the hay was and still is bad. Therefore, the livestock is not cheap either, the livestock has to be altered often. Horse breeding is out of the question. Friedrichshorst includes some 3,000 *Morgen*, 10 *Morgen* each on an allotment (*Loos*). The whole plot is divided into allotments, namely thirty. Each allotment includes 2, 3 to 4 farms, who live either in a house with each other or close to each other. Since this division has remained the same according to allotments, it can be clearly seen that each allotment numbers at least one family from those settled under

Frederick the Great. In total, 84-86 farms can be assumed. Also worth mentioning is the beautiful oak forest, which stretches a few hundred steps from Friedrichshorst on the small hills.

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We have now mainly discussed the newly created colonies of Frederick, which can still be proven as such today. The fact that we cannot trace the history of the many others [Page 106] who came into the country individually and settled individually has already been discussed. But they have all diligently created and collected, like the bees, for their own interest and for the interest of the whole German country.

But how did these colonists correspond to the two great plans of Frederick, who wanted to raise and refine the country with their settlement on the one hand, and on the other hand educate its previous Polish inhabitants to German industriousness, German custom and German character? The results simply lie in the history of the present of that region. But if we look at today's soil, and indeed gain a correct relationship between today's national culture and that in the years 1772 and following; if it were really possible to prove statistically how and by what details arable crops flourished to the present flourishing, the question nevertheless arises as to whether we can also gain from this a correct picture, a fair appreciation of the labor of those colonists? But even a reasonably accurate relationship between the soil then and now is difficult, very difficult to determine. It is possible that a scientifically educated farmer will be able to fix the modern arable culture of West Prussia, Ermeland and the Netze district by precise figures of the value of the goods, the forests, the meadows, the livestock, the grain, the wool, the potatoes, the turnips, and so forth; but this would not be a sufficient survey of the actual progress of [Page 107] of the former estate, and so any real comparison is taken away from us. Supposing, however, that we know perfectly well the soil and the state of agriculture of that and present times, we cannot yet draw any conclusion from this to what extent the present flourishing of agriculture is the fruit and result of those rural colonists. There are thousands of middle links in between who have contributed to today's soil culture, thousands that we would first have to subtract in order to see to some extent what is to be thanked exclusively to the colonists in this respect.

They have worked, and dug the field, and tilled their field, and have honestly done their part, in order to cooperate in the great task which Frederick has set as his own for all these subjects of the new country, especially for the immigrants, and by contributing their little bit to it, they have thereby helped the whole province and promoted it to its present prosperity; by bringing their vitality, which they soon inhaled, as a flowing element to the whole country, the colonies have watered and strengthened and flourished the country itself.

And that the colonists were the first under Prussia's rule to stick the spade into the dry sand or the swampy moraines, therefore they deserve to be especially praised for this first sweat that ran from the German forehead in this new province; they have laid a good foundation, made a good [Page 108] start, and have certainly earned a greater merit in proportion than all the subsequent workers there.

It is true that they were only the tools for carrying out a plan of Frederick. But if they have solved and solved well what was in their powers, the task assigned to them, and that each one

should strive with all the strength given to him by God to do his own in his position, that is the highest demand that a person can make on people.

Since, therefore, in the diligent construction of arable and soil cultivation in this former Polish region, as it now stands before our eyes, it is difficult to discern which stones this or that colonist has contributed to it, and which by other workers; so we would rather contemplate the whole structure as it is, and without critical curiosity about the work of the individuals, rejoice in it, and let us rather look briefly at the soil, the terrain of the actual activity of our colonists, at the land for the prosperity of which they, consciously and unconsciously, toiled, and which they lifted up and promoted, by creating and caring for their own well-being, also on West Prussia and the Netze District.

The whole situation of this country is definitely favorable. In the north the Baltic Sea, and in the middle of the water-rich country flows the Vistula with its many tributaries, a stream on which larger cities are located, and which makes cheap shipping advantageous. Fertile lowlands stretch from Torn to the Baltic Sea. [Page 109] The second major current is the Netze (**Notec**); it comes out of Lake Goplo and flows through the Netze District named after it.

Ever since it was connected by Frederick with the Brahe and Vistula rivers through that canal, it has been a river of great importance. Formerly, its rather high banks were entirely overgrown with thickets; now not only was the river navigable, but also the whole marsh, which had until then been inaccessible, was made arable. The Netze marsh goes as far as the Neumark, and is over 20 miles long and over half a mile wide. Now, on both sides of this river, lie the most beautiful estates and famous meadows, where formerly man and animals had to perish miserably in the swamp.

In addition, this province has many land lakes; but of the 2,037 of which there were counted in Prussia at the time of the Ordinance, only a few hundred remain. The country is not uniform at all, as the folk etymology derives the word Poland from **pole** = flat land. The whole stretch is a land that descends towards the Baltic Sea, crossed only by small hills and low areas.

Once upon a time, great earth upheavals seem to have taken place here. In the heights of the banks of the Brahe there are numerous fossils<sup>57</sup> of sea animals and also amber, often in larger pieces. Also [Page 110] there are such petrified items in coarse-grained gravel, which seem to be derived from vegetables such as beans, nuts and other fruits. Likewise, there is no lack of bones, and in the vicinity of Bydgoszcz a petrified horse's head with a neck is said to have been found in the clay, and so forth. The many lakes already mentioned also bear witness to the former upheaval nature of the land, as well as the mineral components of the soil, the lignite on the Netze bank, near Wolsko on the old Vistula bed, on the banks of the Brahe near Stopka, peat in large quantities and good, gypsum marshes near Wapno, and limestone deposits in the marsh meadows of the Schönlancker Forest. The country has rich forests except near Culm and Inowraclaw, and all types of wood, but especially good spruce (*Fichten*). The land and its fertility cannot be called the same all over. Pomerellen has mostly sandy soil, many forests, now many beautiful estates with excellent fields and fertile meadows. The Marienbrug District and the lowlands near Danzig and Elbing also have the most magnificent meadows today, and the field often gives from 12<sup>th</sup> yield up to 14<sup>th</sup> yield of grain. The Marienwerder District, which has

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<sup>57</sup> *Letters from the Prussian Province of Posen in the Grenzboten XXII. Year 1<sup>st</sup> Semester*

few meadows and a lot of sand, is only land of moderate type. The Kulm area, also sandy, now has a decent amount of grain soil. The lack of wood in this stretch is already mentioned. The Netze District is a fairly fertile area, at least in its meadows, but the soil is often very sandy.

It is worth mentioning that the wood is plentiful here, except in the otherwise blessed Kujavia. But there has always been a lack of people in many areas. At Kujavia, [Page 111] for example, under Frederick the Great, about 4,000 people had to come from Poland every year at the time of the harvest, who worked with the farmers for wages of four to six groschen a day and for free food, and even now a disproportionate number of workers from all regions must be accepted for harvest work. The products are the same as those in northern Germany.

The horned cattle, the breed of horses are not bad.

The inhabitants of the lowlands were mostly Netherlands and Hollander colonists, who have always chosen the most fertile areas and knew how to gain land from the water. And in the many lakes, marshes and rivers there is an enormous capital; fishing was insignificant in itself, but the land newly reclaimed from these swamps certainly yielded the tenth yield to date. Domhard, who called Kujavien one of the most prosperous lands, remarked in 1782 against Frederick how this district was greatly affected by the great lakes and bogs, which in relation to the inflow had no sufficient outflow. Kujavia amounted to 25 miles, less the lakes and bogs.

a) Lake Soplo with the Bachorzer Marsh	34,290 <i>Morgen</i>
b) The Parchany Marsh	10,432 <i>Morgen</i>
c) The Marsh from the Strzellno Jurisdiction	2,542 <i>Morgen</i>
	=====
	47,263 <i>Morgen</i>

The cost of a possible partial draining was calculated at 63,103 Thlr. 14 Gr. 3 Pf., and thus a increase of 3,151 head of horned cattle [Page 112] could be achieved. At that time, this proposal was not accepted by Frederick, “because the landowners could not yet trouble themselves with the redistribution because of their poverty.” It was only later that a draining proved a success, and thus the surrounding landowners obtained a few hundred *Hufen* of the most beautiful meadow growth for a moderate price. However, the low-lying lakes are difficult to drain, and with higher ones it is important to level them correctly, by means of breakthroughs with dams. Less difficult is the reclamation of the swamps, which can be easily overcome by simply digging a ditch. As a result of this and by making small flowing currents, the entire Netze marsh has been made arable. Yes, today the landowners are once again trying to artificially submerge their land. The forests, too, grew up through wise preparations and preservation measures.

That is vaguely the ground on which German diligence has worked for a hundred years. One will guess what the individual had to create and do before he could achieve more cultivated conditions on his terrain from the former wilderness. City and country have been lifted up by the work of this one century, but our greatest thanks are to the first workers! They have worked equally well in town and country. We must still consider the relationship between the urban and rural colonists, the artisans and merchants and farmers, in order to obtain a proper appreciation of the colonization of Frederick. Let us see what it was [Page 113] that he first brought to this



country, and which branches of industry extended most fully here, and thus filled town and country with their results.

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[NOTE: At this point, in the original, there exist between pages 112 and 113, two pages of tabulations listing the various professions people claimed, the number of families that came between 1774 and 1786 along with the amount of money they had with them and a list of the animals and equipment they brought along. It took the translator 4 pages to re-create that tabulation; however, it had to be formatted in a landscape orientation which would not fit into this document's portrait formatting. So the tabulation is being offered as a separate down-load under the title: *Friedrich the Great—Tabulation [3<sup>rd</sup> Edition].pdf*. You will need to view that tabulation in order to understand what is going to be spoken of next.]

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The table, if we want to separate rural and urban colonists, gives the following result:

Workers (*Arbeiter*) 73 families, farmers (*Bauern*) 782, lodgers (*Einlieger*) 157, gardeners (*Gärtner*) 64, herders (*Hirten*) 10, domestic servants (*Knechte*) 109, peasant framers (*Landleute*) 17, leaseholders (*Pächter*) 57, shepherds (*Schäfer*) 5, mayors (*Schulzen*) 3, innkeepers (*Wirtschaftler*) 2, in total 1,279 rural colonist families, along with 927 urban [families].

It should be noted here that the designations of the rural colonists often overlap each other, and are probably often arbitrarily set by the officials, such expressions as farmers and peasant farmers, and so forth. Of course, the towns received a greater increase than only through these 927 listed here, mainly through the officials, who are of course not listed here. Next to the peasant farmers came in particularly large numbers:

Shoemakers (*Schuhmacher*) 71, tailors (*Schneider*) 64, gardeners (*Gärtner*) 64, masonry workers (*Maurer*) 60, fabric-makers (*Tuchmacher*) 51, merchants (*Kaufleute*) 44, carpenters (*Zimmerleute*) 36, textile-makers (*Zeugmacher*) 33, bakers (*Bäcker*) 24, butchers (*Fleischer*) 20, so that for all other crafts only a number of 460 remains.

All these tables have, of course, only a minimum value, for it is to be imagined that in the difficulties of the first statistical attempts many a colonist was overlooked, although the officials concerned must have taken pains to carefully investigate the king's command.

The whole result of this colonization, as it certainly is, remains far behind Frederick's actual [Page 114] Colonization Project. To an inquiry of the great king of 7 June, 1780, as to how many inhabitants and souls were in the province there, and how many more could be assessed, the West Prussian Chamber answered:

Souls present:

a) Male 173,666

b) Female                    172,063  
 =====  
                                   345,729

and still more could be added on:

a) To cottager ( <i>Büdner</i> ) families.....	1,025 families
b) For the demolition ( <i>Abbau</i> ) of the not yet invested in 289 bad hereditary-farm ( <i>Erbpacht</i> ) farmsteads of about 5 families on average on a farmstead.....	1,445 families
c) For the dismantling of the hide land ( <i>Huben</i> ) in which 3,520 villages belonging to the councils, cities and districts, for the present about 3 families in a village.....	10,510 families
d) To fill the vacant positions, in these cities, if such will be built on.....	1,214 families
e) To be used for the development of the quarries without danger.....	500 families
	=====
	14,744 families

That was in the year 1780, when 585 of the 2,206 colonists were already settled; after that, the actual Colonization Project would have extended [Page 115] to 15,329 families.<sup>58</sup> But it is difficult to believe that the 13,123 families missing from this number in the course of the time of Frederick II's successors were added to in those [Page 116] countries acquired in 1772. It cannot be proved, and yet, as already mentioned, there is still a shortage of people everywhere.

<sup>58</sup> Here is another sample of how the money granted by Frederick for colonization was used. In 1781, for example:

1) For the construction of 36 farmhouses at 190 Thlr. 17 Gr. 6 Pf.....	6,866 Thlr.	6 Gr.	0 Pf.
2) To build 9 barns at 159 Thlr. 9 Gr. 6 Pf.....	1,434 Thlr.	9 Gr.	0 Pf.
3) For animals, like 2 horses and 2 oxen per family at 15 Thlr. per horse and 8 Thlr. per ox including the fodder money.....	5,371 Thlr.	0 Gr.	0 Pf.
4) Provisional travel allowances 2 Gr. for a big and 1 Gr. for a little person.....	5,066 Thlr.	0 Gr.	6 Pf.
5) Pardon payments to which colonists settled in the cities for the operation of their craft.....	198 Thlr.	16 Gr.	0 Pf.
6) For bread and seed grain.....	1,813 Thlr.	4 Gr.	1½ Pf.
	=====		
	20,749 Thlr.	11 Gr.	7½ Pf.

So it went one year after the other. By 1 June, 1784, Frederick had given away 391,000 Thlr. for 1,468 colonist families, namely: 1781—60,000 Thlr., 1782—91,000 Thlr., 1783—200,000 Thlr., 1784—40,000 Thlr.

In 1784—105,400 Thlr. 2 Gr. are stated to be still necessary for the accommodation of these families; and for the colonists, who have arrived in the meantime, another 30,113 Thlr. 11 Gr. is demanded, thus a sum of 135,513 Thlr. 13 Gr., that is, in total up to 1784 including an amount of 526,513 Thlr. 13 Gr.

The Württemberg rural colonists alone, who were estimated with 587 families, called for a total of 159,291 Thlr. 21 Gr. According to Hertzberg (*huit dissertation* etc.), Friedrich gave West Prussia altogether 6,686,225 Thlr.

By the way, later attempts were made to consider South Prussia with a similar Colonization Procedure. Here, too, Swabians were called in and the following colonies were populated with them: Hellefeld with 30 families, Rosenfeld 38, Heinrichsfeld 9, Jungfeld 7, Ludwigsburg 14, Rosenfelde 9, Brunefelde 8, Oborka 8, Moschardsberg 2, Ulrichsdal 2, Lautersbruch 2, Sturmhof 3.

As to Frederick's Second Plan for his new province, to Germanize the inhabitants of it, the results of his attempts are also very difficult to clarify. Frederick, through his laws, by all his institutions, certainly worked for this no less than through his colonists, whom he distributed among the Poles.

And what did not the later Prussian rulers do for this Germanization. Yes, one can say that with almost every new authority in these countries a new way of Germanizing was created and introduced. We cannot here examine which of these methods would be the most appropriate <sup>59</sup>, and in general we can only touch on [Page 117] Germanization in general. Here, too, we lack all the absolutely necessary statistical [Page 118] material.<sup>60</sup> The oldest statistical information is too

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<sup>59</sup> But one thing is worth mentioning. The surest foundation for Germanization is certainly already laid in the education of young people. So then, there was a Non-denominational Grammar School in Posen, which accepted Germans and Poles alike. The consequence of this was, it may well be said, a cordial approach between the various national elements brought together. Friendships for life were made here. In the young minds a mutual understanding, a liberal and humane respect for the various interests necessarily developed. Later, probably out of religious concerns, this Grammar School was divided into two, a Catholic and a Protestant, or, what is almost identical in these provinces, a Polish and a German. Since the national and religious antagonisms were now again unexpected and hostile to each other, the inevitable consequences were dissension and quarrels of all kinds, under which both nations, and indeed the more cultured classes of them, become, so to speak, big accusations. Through such an exclusive position, the Pole will never be reconciled with the German, the German will never be able to understand and appreciate the Pole, and such a creation of a common planting for the youth is certainly no means at disposal for Germanization. But simultaneous schools would not only be desirable for the Germanizing forces, no, for the Pole himself. Of course, it must be important to all Polish patriots to educate themselves with as much capable intellectual strength as possible. But just look at the spiritual powers that are educated at these Polish Catholic Grammar Schools! Of course, there must be an equal distribution of the students, of the small part of the Poles, among all the principal branches of science, if the Polish nation wishes to gain benefit, fame, and honor in them and through them. But what do most of the Polish youth study? They become Catholic clergy. All due respect for this venerable state. But certainly most of these young people study theology only because the study is so infinitely easier for them, but not out of pure, inner devotion. Even at school, if they declare that they want to become theologians one day, they are brought up freely, and they are also doctored and admitted and co-financed free of charge for the three years after they have passed the school-leaving examination, and soon afterwards they have a single job that can support not only them, but also their relatives. But even if they all determined themselves to the spiritual state in the inner urge of the heart, to their fatherland, to their Polish fatherland, they do not thereby bring the blessing, not the spiritually uplifting, awakening element for which it demands!

<sup>60</sup> The distribution of the Polish Catholic student youth is illustrated by the following small table. They are from the Catholic Grammar School in Posen in the years 1855, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62 and from the Catholic Grammar Schools in Trzemesno and Ostrowo in the years 1855, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62.

Departed:	
from Posen	104
from Trzemesno	204

incomplete, and the newest ones are not to be regarded without suspicion [Page 119]. Just remember what the Polish Political Representative von Niegolewski said in the Chamber! He asserted that he and his Polish comrades present in the Chamber were not listed as Poles, but as Germans, and that means only people who could not speak German at all, also the Stock Poles (*Stockpolen*), were consider as Poles. As far as we know, this has not been denied. The government may have its good reasons for such a procedure, which we do not want to investigation here, but it does not help for an exact statistical proof to our work.

Now, even if the figures of the Poles in Prussia were given exactly, and even if we could give a correct numerical relation to the then and present Polish population of West Prussia and of the Netze District, the real cultural history of Germanization does not lie in the simple results of

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from Ostrowo	111
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	419

Dedicate Themselves to:

	<b>Catholic Theology</b>	<b>Language Studies</b>	<b>Theology &amp; Language</b>	
Posen	51	7	---	
Trzemesno	125	6	1	
Ostrowo	53	3	2	
	<b>Evangelical Theology</b>	<b>Philosophy</b>	<b>Philosophy of Law</b>	
Posen	1	1	21	
Trzemesno	0	1	18	
Ostrowo	1	312	12	
	<b>Medicine</b>	<b>History</b>	<b>Mathematics</b>	<b>Machine Building</b>
Posen	7	1	2	0
Trzemesno	27	0	4	1
Ostrowo	17	0	5	0
	<b>War Science</b>	<b>Physical Science</b>	<b>Architecture</b>	
Posen	1	1	3	
Trzemesno	0	4	2	
Ostrowo	0	1	3	
	<b>Forestry</b>	<b>Military Science</b>	<b>Post Office &amp; Taxes</b>	
Posen	1	1	0	
Trzemesno	0	4	0	
Ostrowo	0	3	4	
	<b>Commerce</b>	<b>Engineering</b>	<b>Agriculture</b>	
Posen	1	1	0	
Trzemesno	0	4	0	
Ostrowo	0	3	4	

From the sum total of the departed pupils, a few academics are still to be deducted; unfortunately, their number can only be seen from the programs of the Grammar School in Trzemesno (and from a few from Posen, not at all from Ostrowo) = 20; we can assume at least an equal sum for Posen and Ostrowo, so that instead of 419 out of 379 Catholic (Polish) pupils, 229 devoted themselves to Catholic theology.

these figures. We should be able to state with the greatest precision how many students, how many craftsmen, how many landowners, how many peasants, how many rentiers and the German and Polish population are counted here [Page 120]. But even the general statistical data let us down, as at first the more specific ones!<sup>61</sup>

For this purpose, a brief comparison of the years before 1772 and the present day is necessary. So much and of significance has already been said about this that we want to be modest about giving what is necessary in the shortest possible time, and that free from taking any side.

The political (*staatlichen*) conditions of the Republic of Poland are well known, and we must confess that where such conditions could persist for a long time, it was impossible for a free, active, healthy national life to flourish. Trade, industry and science had to lie inactive under these conditions.

It cannot be easily asserted that this unfortunate political situation was merely a consequence of the divided national spirit; many external relations have contributed here, not least the efforts of Russia and Prussia; but an unavoidable one, the [Page 121] main blame was borne by the egotistical partisanship of the leaders. They lacked political insight, strength, unity in every respect.

The people were also to blame, as they were difficult to be open to higher interests. Not a single fist reached for the sword when Poland was divided for the first time. Only later was the slumbering energy stimulated, and the old guilt of lack of energy has since been atoned for a thousand times, even if often to the extreme, turning into sparkling passion. But the unity of the efforts and the means were almost always lacking among the nobility, the middle class (?) and the peasants.

The judgments of the greatest men about the Poles of that time sound harsh; today's Pole will not want to read them without anger and shame in his heart, but he cannot and will not be allowed to call them out for vain slander without further fuss and noise.

G. Forster<sup>62</sup> calls it “a mishmash of Sarmatian [large confederation of ancient Iranian nomadic people] and almost New Zealand crudeness and French exclusively niceness, a completely tasteless, ignorant and yet completely immersed in luxury, gambling sickness and fashion. Even the nobles have been educated on the whole French footing, that is, very superficial and relating to all branches of knowledge (*encyclopädisch*).”

And Frederick the Great<sup>63</sup> says of them: “They are vain, proud in happiness, crawling in misfortune, capable of anything [Page 122] for the sake of the money they afterwards throw away, frivolous, without judgment, always ready to take sides or to leave a party without reason, and to plunge themselves into the worst position by the consequence of their conduct. The women conduct their intrigues and rule over everything, while the men get drunk.”

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<sup>61</sup> Polish life cannot always be strictly contrasted with German life; the terms German and Polish often merge into each other, they are too fluid to be strictly separated. Many a person with a stock Polish name, who speaks Polish or German incomparably better, is more Prussian than Polish in his heart, and still others with a good German name try to be quite fanatical Poles.

<sup>62</sup> *Briefe* 1, 467, 491, 494, 555.

<sup>63</sup> *Histoire de mon temps* I. 70.

These judgments may be a little too harsh and too one-sided; but when such harsh rebuke is pronounced on a whole nation, it is certainly not entirely unfounded.

An unyielding urge for freedom was and is the main characteristic of Poland; but a desire for freedom that not only hates every really oppressive compulsion—but which often turns against every determination and every law—by which the individual is to be limited in his option (*Willkür*). This freedom and option, called only in the noblest sense the urge for freedom, which has always been a source of great evil for Poles, can only apply to the educated, or rather to the Polish nobility. But option wants to have an object, and so option was often directed against option, but often and especially the less strong, the peasant, was the object of impulse and individual despotism. Thus in Poland excessiveness and servitude grew wildly side by side, and the possible healthy plants of the middle class were thereby nipped in the bud.

The nobility counted for everything, the nation nothing; it alone had all the civil rights in its hands. In addition, the right of the sword (**jus gladii**) was still a privilege of the nobility. As late as 1754, a magnate had five [\[Page 123\]](#) middle class people, whom he found on the dam of his pond, and who had taken from there five white fish, which they found outside the pond in the count, hanged without further fuss or noise. Another had five women burned<sup>64</sup> for witchcraft in 1763. In 1768, this right was taken away from the nobility; but who would call them to account if they did not allow the sword of the option to be snatched from them? In the same year, a number of Protestant professionals fled from Czarnikau to Driesen, because there a nobleman had had the head of a Protestant fabric dyer cut off through no fault of his own, merely for the sake of his fortune.<sup>65</sup>

Furthermore, each hereditary lord could increase his income at will in his hereditary estates. Hence the enormous burdens that rested on the hereditary cities.

National education was also non-existent. As G. Forster already remarked, the lofty nobleman had enjoyed a thoroughly French education. French *Gouverneurs* educated him and accompanied him on his travels. Here he became familiar with the customs of foreign residences, so that the “probably peculiar and national traits in him would be completely blurred. He lived quite like a marquis and lord in the most elegant luxury, not as a noble Pole, but as a lofty nobleman.” The envious nobility already showed more peculiarities. Although considerably poorer than the *Hraba*, the simple *Szczlachcic* tried to equal it at least in elegance and luxurious [\[page 124\]](#) way of life.

The most brilliant carriages with six horses, at noon several rounds with bowls of silver; but the houses in which the people of *Szczlachcic* lived were miserable wooden huts covered with clay, the windows covered with paper, colorful, bad, torn wallpaper, fragile chairs and tables. Yet this nobleman is very proud, and hospitality is one of his main virtues, like bravery, fatherland and love of spouse. On the other hand, his harshness towards subordinates, and above all his drunkenness, is great. By the way, he is not intellectually untalented, only that a proportionate education was lacking.

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<sup>64</sup> Kausch, *Nachrichten über Polen* I. S. 183 u. ff.

<sup>65</sup> *Brenkenhofs leben* von Meißner S. 65.

The care of this education was in the hands of the clergy. This had always played a leading role in Poland, with the archbishops and bishops at the top. After all, the clergy presided over the entire royal election and decided on this. Since the Middle Ages, the spread of education and sciences was left to the monks, who of course taught theology first, and only incidentally the other sciences, so that people suffered greatly from it. Especially medicine. For example, how often drunkenness was characterized primarily as cramps. Later, the Jesuits appeared as teachers, who were decidedly more educated, but their method remained one-sided. After their abolition, Stanislaus August declared that their goods should be confiscated, but not used for domains, but for the education of the youth; and so, in a commendable effort to disseminate the sciences, an education fund was created, which, however, was later transferred to the powers [page 125] shared in Poland. The *Piaren* teachers [Piran Minorite Monastery] at that time were again monks; but they had been educated to be capable schoolmen, and taught with great skill. The two universities in Poland, the Krakau and the Zamojski, had many colonies, that is, schools, from which they trained and supplied teachers. These institutions may have been pedagogically useful, and the teaching staff proficient; but whether it was due to the stormy times, whether it was because the interest of the nobility was too small for the quiet and certain flourishing of these institutions, or whether there was some other reason: important men, noteworthy scholars of European renown, few have come out of these schools, unless one would have to mention Naruszewitz, the translator of Tacitus, and Zamojski, the new legislator of Poland.

On the whole, these schools were also relatively underattended. After all, Poland lacked the real state element which usually supplies the schools with the healthiest and most receptive forces—the middle class.

To be sure, vigorous development of the golden age of peace belongs above all to this class.

Trade and industry laid down, no law helped them up, no energetic protective hand spread over them. The poorest nobleman would never have humbled himself to tread the golden soil of the trade, and the peasant, the serf, had neither sense, nor time, nor permission to rise from the dust of slavery to the freest class, the [Page 126] craftsman class. The only, though necessary, surrogate of the middle class, if we want to identify the middle class with the craftsmen, was the Polish Jew; but he was more a shopkeeper and merchant than a real craftsman. There were no professionals at all in the Polish cities, at most in the region which had formerly belonged to Prussia, and which was never entirely depopulated by Germans. All these cities were miserable, and the terrible devastation of the plague of 1709-1711, by which the cities almost died out, and still lay in ruin and wreckage in 1772, had completely snatched away the little vitality, the little moral courage, and a bold self-confidence. Brutality, inconsiderateness, and ghastly dullness had usually taken the place of these masculine virtues.

And the peasant? His chief characteristic was laziness. After all, his work never benefited him, the serf. For that reason, his apparent satisfaction with his lot, even his reluctance to come up out of it, because otherwise he would have had to be more active and take care of it himself, which was now his master's duty, if he did not want to lose a part of his inventory. We do not want to show the individual traits of his laziness and his dullness, but rather name as his good

sides only his obedience, his chastity, honesty and religiosity, which, however, borders strongly on superstition. But the register of his failures is decidedly larger.

One more thing must be mentioned in order to characterize the unrestrained and inconsiderateness of the Poles at that time, the [Page 127] Pole as a Catholic, and his relation to Protestantism.

We have already seen that the clergy were entirely the only spiritual nourisher of the people, and can therefore easily measure their influence on the passion and limitation of the Polish people. The Jesuit schools raised proselytizing fanatics, and it is not difficult to guess how these conversions of the Protestants turned out.

Especially in West Prussia, the Protestants were ravaged with fire and sword,<sup>66</sup> churches were confiscated, torn down, the wooden ones set on fire; if a church was burned, the village then lost the right to bells. German preachers and school teachers were chased away and mistreated. “Trouble the Lutheran, make him pay money” (*Vexa Lutheranum, dabit thalerum*) became the usual slogan of the Poles against the Germans.

A rich landowner, a Mr. von Unruh, of the House of Birnbaum—Starost of Gniezno, was condemned to death, with tongue torn out and his hands cut off, because, from German books, he had written in a notebook biting remarks against the Jesuits. In 1768, the Polish nobleman Roskowski had the hands, feet and finally the head of the Protestant preacher Willich cut off in Jastrow, and his limbs thrown into a bog. Law and protection no longer existed in Poland at that time

What the Prussian government, from Frederick II onwards, has done for conquered Poland has already been carried out; the institution, which was of particularly important and far-reaching consequences, is in any case the equality of the entire new population with the other Prussian subjects before a valid law based on moral principles and carried out with severity and impartiality. Just think! that Szczechcic, who had only recently been able to wield his sword with the greatest arbitrary action, now was allowed by every peasant to prosecute him in court if he had taken even one beehive from him illegally. This was bound to awaken the immediate self-confidence, the feeling of power, and the personal consciousness in the peasant, and at first had to embitter and fill with anger the annoyed, presumptuous nobility, who now saw their hands tied. The different impression which these quite new, never dreamed of relations made on the great and small nobleman and the peasant is well to be understood. But the peasant did not at once perceive what freedom, what weapons against the previously sanctioned arbitrary action he had suddenly got into his hands. He had to accustom himself gradually, like one who awakens from a deep dream, to the certainty, to the confirmation of these facts, and this lasted for a long time, since the peasant, in the past, as a Catholic of the German and Protestant governments, distrusted the nobleman and clergyman.

The nobility and the clergy can never forgive Prussia's Frederick for committing a vile robbery of Poland; they can never forgive the fact that they have sunk from their former importance and actual autonomy to ordinary citizens, who are closely watched and who would never be allowed

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<sup>66</sup> Gustav Freytag: *Neue Bilder aus dem Leben des deutschen volkes* S. 398 ff.



to have arbitrary transgressions, memories of former greatness, happen without being punished. Incidentally, there are certainly many among the educated nobles, and probably also among the clergy, who do not fail to recognize that there is a more prosperous life under the laws of Prussia than under the lawlessness of the former Poland, but who will never forget that Prussia has dismembered their fatherland. Throughout their lives they waver between the undeniable fact that the regulated Prussian conditions are preferable to the former disastrous Polish economy, and between the feeling that they can never and must never be pleased on old Polish soil to be under a foreign yoke. This wavering produces in them a sorrow and a pain which, as long as it remains free from false sentimentality, we must respect and honor!

Incidentally, the really high Polish nobleman is only sparsely represented in Prussia; he has partly withdrawn to the "Kingdom of Poland," the proper seat of the still flourishing Polishness, or he lives, as before, in Paris or elsewhere on a journey.

On the other hand, under the protection of Prussian laws, another class has formed among the Poles, which was formerly lacking, the middle class. Earlier, the nobleman did not work at all, and the peasant did not work in the joy [Page 130] of self-employment. Now the small nobleman, who stands almost on the same level as the peasant in regard to wealth and culture, has often lost the proud, arrogant consciousness of his nobility, which no longer grants him any preferential rights. And it is fitting for work, trade and commerce.

From another perspective, this middle class is formed from the forces supplied by the peasant people, inasmuch as here, too, as in the case of the German peasant, not all the sons of the peasant become farmers, but some enter into economic service situations, some learn a trade. And the crown and top of the middle class terminates, as it does with us, with landowners, scholars, rich merchants, and so forth, except that many of the Poles, whose position is after all a middle class one, like to insist on their nobility and have often lost the knowledge that the little word "von", which they place as a sure sign of their nobility in front of their name, is a German one. Since this middle class, especially the craftsmen, usually has to toil mostly in the cold, in smelly sweat for the maintenance of himself and his family; thus, under the work of the day, he more or less, according as he is educated or uneducated, loses the feeling that he, as an original Pole, must hate Prussia. Such abstract questions of nationality seldom occupy him, and then only when a suggestion from outside energetically urges him to do so. The exclusive nobility, the clergy, especially the passionate youth, as well as the enthusiastic women, will always remember that they are only compelled by force and cunning to be called Prussian [Page 131] citizens; but the middle and peasant class, of which the former grows more and more every day, bask in the protection of the laws which enable them to lead a secure life, and they do not long too ardently for new uncertain conditions, which would certainly not grant them greater comforts in life; they bless equality before the law, while the nobleman in particular demands not only an exclusive position of the Poles in Prussia in general, which is promised, but also certain privileges of his caste. Besides, a high nobleman and the low, and the democracy and the peasantry of the Poles are still in perpetual feud with each other, and only external pressure still holds them all loosely together.

Of course, all colonization and Germanization institutions have always been received differently by the Poles; the latter were probably never greeted joyfully, and the former only partially; for

the educated Pole sees very well that every attempt at colonization, even every improvement of the field and the Polish terrain in general, is an effective piece of Germanization.

But the Polish nature and life, and the Polish customs are not completely undermined, and before this solid masonry, which is bravely enough defended, is taken, it will still cost much work and pondering, and will roll along for many, many years. The hatred of the Pole toward the Germans, of the Catholic against the Protestant, has taken too deep root!

[Page 132] To describe all the Polish customs and practices, the Polish goings-on and life, the thousandfold relationship of the Pole to the German and to the Prussian government, which is different for each individual, that would be a separate task, but it would be very difficult, because one could not talk about it quite freely, without taking sides. In addition, the old Polish life is often deliberately forced into the eye, in short, the whole material for such work is still too close to the present.

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[Translation Ends]