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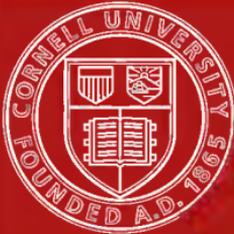
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**THE POLISH PEASANT IN EUROPE
AND AMERICA**

**VOLUME IV
DISORGANIZATION AND REORGANIZATION
IN POLAND**

THE POLISH PEASANT MERICA

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INTRODUCTION

In the first two volumes of this work we have studied the traditional primary-group organization of the Polish peasant as it has been handed down to the present generation from many past centuries. We noticed that this organization has been rapidly changing during the last fifty years, so that there is probably not a single peasant community where it could be found in a pure and unmixed form; everywhere new types are combined with it. In our third volume we have followed the life-history of an individual who, living amidst this process of change, finds in his environment no place for himself, for his fundamental attitudes correspond entirely to the old type of social organization whereas by his social status he no longer belongs to this organization and is thrown without any permanent guidance into various new conditions to which he can adapt himself always only partially and imperfectly.

We shall now try to determine in detail those new types of social organization which substitute themselves for the old ones, and investigate the process by which this substitution occurs. Although limited to the Polish peasant, our investigation will endeavor to reach conclusions which may serve as hypothetical general sociological laws, to be verified by a comparison with other societies. For the specific evolution leading from the primary-group to a social organization based upon rational co-operation is a very general phenomenon.

The primary-group is found not only in savage societies and among European peasants; it is not a survival of the past, but a spontaneous institution, found in all societies, in all classes, on all stages of cultural development, sometimes more, sometimes less isolated from the more complex and rational social systems, seldom, if ever, completely absorbing the interests of its members, but still constituting the most important form of social life for the immense majority of mankind. We must realize that only in a few large cities scattered over the world the primary-group has lost its importance, and even there this loss begins to be felt as a rather dangerous effect of social evolution, as is shown by the recent attempts to reconstruct the community in American cities. Of course, the relative influence of the primary-group as compared with the higher forms of social organization is stronger in the case of the savage than in that of the peasant, stronger in the case of the peasant than in that of a half intellectual inhabitant of a provincial town, and is reduced to a minimum in the life of a business man in a large city, of a politician, a scientist, an artist; but it is still only a matter of degree. Innumerable human interests all through the world are still on a stage where their pursuit is chiefly dependent on the direct social response and recognition of the primary-group which constitutes the individual's immediate environment. It is therefore most important, both for theoretic and for practical purposes, to study the social process by which these interests become independent, economic, political, moral, intellectual, religious, æsthetic aims, pursued for their own sake, and social groups become rationally organized for the purpose of an efficient common pursuit of these aims. Our

civilization, when taken not only in its highest manifestations but in its totality, is still in the midst of the same process of change which began half a century ago among the Polish peasants; it is on the average much more advanced, much more distant from the exclusive predominance of the primary-group type, but it is still very far from a thoroughgoing teleological systematization of values and a rational control of attitudes.

The evolution of the Polish peasant has with reference to this problem the specific importance of a social experiment in which certain essential processes are given in a relatively simple and isolated form—not merged in such a complexity of interfering phenomena as similar processes occurring in culturally more productive classes or in cultural centers with a more heterogeneous population, a richer stock of traditions, a more intense economic, political, intellectual life. We have even found that a further limitation of our subject in time and space was indispensable for methodical purposes. We are actually taking into account only a period of twenty to twenty-five years—the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries—and, except for certain important points where we use for comparison data collected in Posen under German domination, our materials are territorially limited to what was before the War Russian Poland, and in particular to that part of it which formed a separate administrative unit since the Congress of Vienna and was known as the Congress Kingdom.

During the period and in the territories which we are taking into account, the social evolution of the peasants went on, of course, in continual interaction with the wider social milieu with which the peasant com-

munity was getting more closely in touch. The gradual disappearance of the old isolation of these communities, the growing participation of the peasant in nationwide and even world-wide social processes, his slow but progressive incorporation into Polish national and general human civilization, constitute the most essential features of this evolution. If we could leave out of consideration the dependence of the community on the state as manifested in tax-paying, military service and criminal prosecution, and ignore the few outside elements which the country nobleman, the priest, the merchant brought into community life, we might say that some 50 to 75 years ago a large part of the peasant communities in Poland were almost entirely self-sufficient. Their social organization, their intellectual and religious life, their economic activities would have been immediately very little affected if the rest of humanity had suddenly progressed or regressed two thousand years. Of course, there had been a continual infiltration of outside influences, particularly due to the contact with the higher classes; but this infiltration was so slow that the social values, though imperceptibly changing and broadening the content of social life, were completely assimilated by the community without requiring any reflective and planful adaptation and readjustment, without calling for institutional organization of the relations between the community and its wider social environment. All organization which existed within the community was exclusively concerned with the internal life of the latter and ignored the social world outside of its limits.

Under these conditions, the first result of the growing connection between the community and the outside world is naturally a more or less far-going process of

disorganization; new attitudes develop in the members of the group which cannot be adequately controlled by the old social organization because they cannot find an adequate expression in the old primary-group institutions. The group tries to defend itself against this disorganization by methods consciously tending to strengthen the influence of the traditional rules of behavior; but this endeavor, often efficient as long as the outside contacts remain limited to some particular field of interests, loses more and more of its effectiveness when these contacts continue to develop and extend gradually to all fields of social activity. The problem is then no longer how to suppress the new attitudes, but how to find for them institutional expression, how to utilize them for socially productive purposes, instead of permitting them to remain in a status where they express themselves merely in individual revolt and social revolution.

This problem is evidently common to all societies in periods of rapid change. We find it in a savage group brought in contact with western civilization, and in the most extensive and highly complicated modern national group where the rapid growth of new attitudes is no longer the effect of external influences but of the internal complexity of social activities. But in the case of the peasant community the solution of this problem is much easier than in the case of the savage group or in that of a whole complex national society. For the peasant community, however much isolated socially from its immediate environment, is territorially an integral part of a wider modern political unit, and the peasant class belongs culturally to a race whose upper strata have already produced a full national civilization. These

upper strata possess ready social institutions based in a large measure upon differentiated cultural interests, not merely upon primary-group attitudes, and therefore able to overcome any primary-group isolation. They include many individuals who consider the social isolation and the relatively low cultural level of the peasant communities an undesirable phenomenon, who tend to raise this level and to make the peasant participate in the cultural life of the nation, who are conscious of their aims and of their methods and thus able to become the leaders of the peasant class in social reconstruction. This is precisely what we find in Poland. Evidently, such a condition is only temporary, and one of the most interesting problems of the future is whether the growing cultural development of the peasants will lead to their unification *as a class* with their own specific interests and their own class-leaders, or to their gradual fusion with other classes. Both solutions seem possible; in political life, we find at this moment the first solution already clearly outlined and a powerful peasant party constituted, but at the same time, in spite of the politicians, in social life the old class system is slowly but continuously yielding to a new, more complex and more flexible one, in which there is no place for a peasant class but only for professional organizations.

The materials which we are using in this volume have naturally a much less direct and personal character than those used in the first three volumes. Most of them come from popular newspapers and institutions; some have been collected by ourselves in personal investigation; some are systematically presented by other writers. Almost every document, even a peasant letter written to a newspaper, was consciously made by its au-

thor to bear on some particular question, is a product of a more or less methodical reflection about social phenomena; none is as naïve and unreflective as, for instance, a family letter. While this character of the documents makes their understanding relatively easy for the reader, it forces us to rely much less than in the earlier volumes on the intrinsic value of each document in particular and much more on their selection and systematic organization.

PART I
SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

CHAPTER I

THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

The concept of social disorganization as we shall use it in this and the following volumes refers primarily to institutions and only secondarily to men. Just as group-organization embodied in socially systematized schemes of behavior imposed as rules upon individuals never exactly coincides with individual life-organization consisting in personally systematized schemes of behavior, so social disorganization never exactly corresponds to individual disorganization. Even if we imagined a group lacking all internal differentiation, *i. e.*, a group in which every member would accept all the socially sanctioned and none but the socially sanctioned rules of behavior as schemes of his own conduct, still every member would systematize these schemes differently in his personal evolution, would make a different life-organization out of them, because neither his temperament nor his life-history would be exactly the same as those of other members. As a matter of fact, such a uniform group is a pure fiction; even in the least differentiated groups we find socially sanctioned rules of behavior which explicitly apply only to certain classes of individuals and are not supposed to be used by others in organizing their conduct, and we find individuals who in organizing their conduct use some personal schemes of their own invention besides the traditionally sanctioned social rules. Moreover, the progress of social differentiation is accompanied by a growth of special in-

stitutions, consisting essentially in a systematic organization of a certain number of socially selected schemes for the permanent achievement of certain results. This institutional organization and the life-organization of any of the individuals through whose activity the institution is socially realized partly overlap, but one individual cannot fully realize in his life the whole systematic organization of the institution since the latter always implies the collaboration of many, and on the other hand each individual has many interests which have to be organized outside of this particular institution.

There is, of course, a certain reciprocal dependence between social organization and individual life-organization. We have discussed in Volume III the influence which social organization exercises upon the individual; we shall see in this and in the following volumes how the life-organization of individual members of a group, particularly of leading members, influences social organization. But the nature of this reciprocal influence in each particular case is a problem to be studied, not a dogma to be accepted in advance.

These points must be kept in mind if we are to understand the question of social disorganization. We can define the latter briefly as a *decrease of the influence of existing social rules of behavior upon individual members of the group*. This decrease may present innumerable degrees, ranging from a single break of some particular rule by one individual up to a general decay of all the institutions of the group. Now, social disorganization in this sense has no unequivocal connection whatever with individual disorganization, which consists in a decrease of the individual's ability to organize his whole life for the efficient, progressive and

continuous realization of his fundamental interests. An individual who breaks some or even most of the social rules prevailing in his group may indeed do this because he is losing the minimum capacity of life-organization required by social conformism; but he may also reject the schemes of behavior imposed by his milieu because they hinder him in reaching a more efficient and more comprehensive life-organization. On the other hand also, the social organization of a group may be very permanent and strong in the sense that no opposition is manifested to the existing rules and institutions; and yet, this lack of opposition may be simply the result of the narrowness of the interests of the group-members and may be accompanied by a very rudimentary, mechanical and inefficient life-organization of each member individually. Of course, a strong group organization may be also the product of a conscious moral effort of its members and thus correspond to a very high degree of life-organization of each of them individually. It is therefore impossible to conclude from social as to individual organization or disorganization, or vice versa. In other words, social organization is not coextensive with individual morality, nor does social disorganization correspond to individual demoralization.

Social disorganization is not an exceptional phenomenon limited to certain periods or certain societies; some of it is found always and everywhere, since always and everywhere there are individual cases of breaking social rules, cases which exercise some disorganizing influence on group institutions and, if not counteracted, are apt to multiply and to lead to a complete decay of the latter. But during periods of social stability this continuous incipient disorganization is continuously neu-

tralized by such activities of the group as reinforce with the help of social sanctions the power of existing rules. The stability of group institutions is thus simply a dynamic equilibrium of processes of disorganization and *reorganization*. This equilibrium is disturbed when processes of disorganization can no longer be checked by any attempts to reinforce the existing rules. A period of prevalent disorganization follows, which may lead to a complete dissolution of the group. More usually, however, it is counteracted and stopped before it reaches this limit by a new process of reorganization which in this case does not consist in a mere reinforcement of the decaying organization, but in a production of new schemes of behavior and new institutions better adapted to the changed demands of the group; we call this production of new schemes and institutions *social reconstruction*. Social reconstruction is possible only because, and in so far as, during the period of social disorganization a part at least of the members of the group have not become individually disorganized, but, on the contrary, have been working toward a new and more efficient personal life-organization and have expressed a part at least of the constructive tendencies implied in their individual activities in an effort to produce new social institutions.

In studying the process of social disorganization we must, of course, in accordance with the chief aim of all science, try to explain it causally, *i. e.*, to analyze its concrete complexity into simple facts which could be subordinated to more or less general laws of causally determined becoming. We have seen in our first volume (Methodological Note) that in the field of social reality a causal fact contains three components, *i. e.*, an effect, whether individual or social, always has a composite

cause, containing both an individual (subjective) and a social (objective) element. We have called the subjective socio-psychological elements of social reality *attitudes* and the objective, social elements which impose themselves upon the individual as given and provoke his reaction *social values*. If we want to explain causally the appearance of an attitude, we must remember that it is never produced by an external influence alone, but by an external influence plus a definite tendency or predisposition, in other words, by a social value acting upon or, more exactly, appealing to some preexisting attitude. If we want to explain causally the appearance of a social value—a scheme of behavior, an institution, a material product—we cannot do it by merely going back to some subjective, psychological phenomenon of “will” or “feeling” or “reflection,” but we must take into account as part of the real cause the preexisting objective, social data which in combination with a subjective tendency gave rise to this effect; in other words, we must explain a social value by an attitude acting upon or influenced by some preexisting social value.

As long as we are concerned with disorganization alone, leaving provisionally aside the following process of reconstruction, the phenomenon which we want to explain is evidently the appearance of such attitudes as impair the efficiency of existing rules of behavior and thus lead to the decay of social institutions. Every social rule is the expression of a definite combination of certain attitudes; if instead of these attitudes some others appear, the influence of the rule is disturbed. There may be thus several different ways in which a rule can lose its efficiency, and still more numerous ways in which an institution, which always involves several regulating schemes, can fall into decay. The causal ex-

planation of any particular case of social disorganization demands thus that we find, first of all, what are the particular attitudes whose appearance manifests itself socially in the loss of influence of the existing social rules, and then try to determine the causes of these attitudes. Our tendency should be, of course, to analyze the apparent diversity and complexity of particular social processes into a limited number of more or less general causal facts, and this tendency can be realized in the study of disorganization if we find that the decay of *different rules* existing in a given society is the objective manifestation of *similar attitudes*, that, in other words, many given, apparently different phenomena of disorganization can be causally explained in the same way. We cannot reach any laws of social disorganization, *i. e.*, we cannot find causes which always and everywhere produce social disorganization; we can only hope to determine laws of socio-psychological becoming, *i. e.*, find causes which always and everywhere produce certain definite attitudes, and these causes will explain also social disorganization in all those cases in which it will be found that the attitudes produced by them are the real background of social disorganization, that the decay of given rules or institutions is merely the objective, superficial manifestation of the appearance of these attitudes. Our task is the same as that of the physicist or chemist who does not attempt to find laws of the multiform changes which happen in the sensual appearance of our material environment, but searches for laws of the more fundamental and general processes which are supposed to underlie those directly observable changes, and explains the latter causally only in so far as it can be shown that they are the superficial manifestations of certain deeper, causally explicable effects.

In the next section, "Disorganization of the Family," we offer an explicit illustration of our method, analyzing in detail the problems raised by every document and showing the process by which the conclusion is reached. It would be, of course, superfluous for the professional sociologist and tiresome for the amateur reader if we pursued this exposition of the technique of research throughout the whole volume; in the following sections we state therefore only the general conclusions with just enough particular suggestions to make the bearing of the documents quite clear.

CHAPTER II

DISORGANIZATION OF THE FAMILY

We have met in our first three volumes many cases of partial family disorganization. We did not attempt there to explain them completely but limited ourselves to a few general indications of their probable factors. In none of these cases did disorganization go farther than a loss of active solidarity and sometimes quarrelling. This is, of course, the usual situation; our materials represented an average picture of peasant life. Perhaps they even showed more disorganization than is found on the average among Polish peasants, since they were selected from letters written by emigrants and to emigrants, and wherever there is emigration, dissolution of the family is progressing more rapidly than in groups whose members remain territorially united and live in the same conditions as their forefathers did. In fact, even a rapid survey of the materials published in the preceding volumes shows clearly that emigration of individual family members abroad and emigration of whole families from the country to the city are the two main factors of familial disorganization. But it is evident that this generalization is too vague and superficial to be anything more than a starting-point of scientific research. Change of conditions is a factor, but not a cause of social happenings; it merely furnishes influences which will produce definite effects only when combined with definite preexisting attitudes and is a cause only together with the latter. In individual

emigration and in changes from country to city life certain new attitudes are produced by new social values acting in combination with certain preexisting attitudes and these new attitudes are the ultimate social realities which underlie family disorganization and which we must determine and explain causally. But these new attitudes often fail to appear in spite of changed conditions, and other attitudes, which do not undermine family life but only modify its form, may appear instead; on the other hand, attitudes which are back of family disorganization appear not only in individuals and families that have moved to the city or abroad, but also in many of those who are still living in the country, in their old communities, so that influences similar to those which affect family life in the city or abroad must be also active in country communities. The fact that family disorganization is less general in the latter than among individuals and families living outside of their primary social milieu admits two different explanations—either the influences which, in connection with certain preexisting attitudes, produce disorganization are less widely spread and less continuous in old country communities than in cities or foreign milieux, or the process of disorganization is there more efficiently counteracted by efforts of social reorganization. As a matter of fact, the two reasons coexist in various proportions.

The cases which we shall analyze show disorganization either verging on or passing into crime. Such cases are, of course, relatively rare. We have had almost none in the preceding three volumes; it must be added that we could hardly expect to receive any such data which collecting documents directly from the authors or the relatives of the authors. A large quantity of criminological materials is contained in some popular

✓ newspapers. This is due to the social function of the popular newspaper destined particularly for the peasant class. As we shall see in detail later on, the peasant newspaper is a concrete bond unifying all the peasant communities throughout the country and creating a nation-wide peasant social opinion partly by imitating, partly by modifying the type of social opinion found in the primary community. It has regular or occasional peasant correspondents in every community who describe whatever things and events they consider important. As everybody knows, nothing stirs a primary group so much as a crime, precisely because of its social abnormality. It is not strange, therefore, that crimes constituted, particularly during the early period of the development of the peasant press, the main content of the informing letters which an editor received from his peasant correspondents. He had to publish them, for the peasant press in the beginning was forced to adapt itself to the attitudes of its public in order to obtain an influence which would permit it gradually to modify these attitudes. Thus, in the Congress Kingdom, only after 25 years of intense development some peasant newspapers could stop publishing news about crimes; this coincided with the constitutional evolution of 1905 and the following years, which gave some freedom of political activities and, by partly removing the prohibition of writing about political matters, permitted the popular newspaper to offer a more constructive and material to the curiosity of its readers.

The data contained in popular newspapers are, of course, not very detailed, but this disadvantage is partly offset by the fact that they have been furnished by only the most important members of the respective communities and every fact is described as seen by the community ideal

not by an outside observer. A few selected examples follow:

1. When the father keeps the farm and has 8 children, then he has bread enough, and moreover beautiful horses, cattle and model farming. But this cannot last for ever, for when the children grow up, the father thinks how to give them dowry. And when the time comes, he gives some 500 roubles to one child; for another he has perhaps only 100 or 200 roubles, so he borrows money and gives the dowry to this daughter and son, and the rest of the children remain at home. And so, when death comes and orders him to go to eternity, he leaves perhaps four or five children at home. They have everything in the granary and barn; quite enough. Then they begin to farm [in a new way]. One takes some sheaves from the barn secretly, before the second; the second snatches a bushel or two of corn from the brother, the brother snatches anything else before the sister and so the farming goes on in a way that is painful to see. One brother keeps a hog, the other brother keeps a second hog, the third brother keeps a foal, the sister keeps some chickens and geese for herself and so: "This is mine, and that is yours." And then they sell this "their own" and give the money away to Jews for German clothes, hats, watches. But when it becomes necessary to repair anything in the farm outfit, a cart, a plow, a harrow, then [everybody says]: "I am not the farm-owner." When the village-elder comes for taxes, Bartek sends him to Maciek, Maciek to Paweł or Gaweł, etc. At last the elder sees that he will not come to the end, and he levies on the farmstock, takes a horse or a cow. Then the farm-owner must show himself and pay. . . .

¹ Letter from the archives of the newspaper *Gazeta Świąteczna*; un-
tion blished.

are, In the foregoing the writer is evidently describing nonetypical situation, not a particular case. Such cases that cur almost regularly now when the parents die and which children are left together (see Vol. II, p. 158 ff. for or thnilar case). If the mother is alive, her presence acts crimia check on the process of disorganization; even if she

is not the real manager of the farm; she is at least a bond keeping the group unified and solidary. When mother or even father is alive, there may be incipient or partial disorganization; only the latter is counterbalanced in its manifestations by other attitudes.

The situation here is very clear and very instructive. Disorganization is limited to the economic field alone. It consists in a decay of the institution of economic family solidarity which, as we know from Volume I, consisted in an actual (though never abstractly formulated) common ownership of property and common use of income. Here property is still common though individual members do not show as much interest in it as each would if it were his personal property, which is a sure sign of the decay of the spirit of communism that in its original unreflective form implies no conscious separation of individual and social interest. In the matter of income we find a complete individualization; every member tries to set aside as "his own" as large a part of the common income as possible. Under the old family system the normal tendency of the peasant was to have as many goods as possible pass from a lower to a higher economic category, to turn all property into land and as much as possible of income into property, whereas here the tendency is just the opposite: goods which would normally be classed as property (farm-stock) are treated as income, *i. e.*, are sold and the money used for personal expenses.

The fundamental attitudes back of this social disorganization are *new personal needs*. The personal character of these needs is due to the fact that they either are *hedonistic*—the individual wants pleasures which he cannot share directly with others without diminishing his own part, such as new and more varied

kinds of food, alcoholic drinks, tobacco, etc., or consist in a demand for social recognition based no longer on the importance of the family, but on the individual's "showing off" by fashionable clothes, jewelry, etc. These are then the attitudes whose origin must be explained in order to understand causally this type of family disorganization.

We remember that the process of disorganization of the old peasant social system has come as a result of the breakdown of the isolation of the peasant community. New needs are thus produced by the mere acquaintance with previously unknown values which appeal to certain preexisting attitudes. Thus, the new kinds of food, drinks, tobaccos which are obtained in the neighboring industrial center or during season emigration in Germany, by rousing previously unknown hedonistic reactions, develop a hedonistic tendency, a search for sensual pleasure for its own sake, which in matters of consumption makes the individual disassociate his own interests from those of his family, whereas these interests remained united as long as food was merely to satisfy hunger and restore strength. Perhaps also the mere fact of eating and drinking alone, away from the family group, contributed to the individualization of these needs. In the other type of needs—those developed on the ground of the desire for recognition—the break of community isolation acts in two ways. First, the individual who brings with him from the city or from abroad new clothes, jewels, etc., experiences recognition within the community (mixed in the beginning usually with unfavorable attention) which goes to himself alone, since it is known that his family had no share in obtaining these goods, as they had before wage work developed. The recognition which the

individual gets is æsthetic rather than economic and makes his appearance a purely personal matter and not an expression of family wealth. Secondly, the broader the field of the individual's social relations, the less can the family standing be relied upon as means of social recognition; outside of the community, where the individual's family is not known, he has to use ostentatious, external marks of distinction as means of obtaining recognition from strangers. Thus, interest in personal appearance takes more and more the place of the interest in the social rating of the family.

2. It is difficult to understand why lawsuits have become such a fashion. Everybody sees that hardly ever any benefit comes from them; on the contrary, the man who loves to ramble into the courts in most cases will ruin himself, will lose his time, will become lazy and a drunkard. And still there are people who can not live without law-suits. What the result is we can see from the following example.

In a certain village in the vicinity of Radom, a farmer before a notary public willed to his son a farm of 13 morgs; he had also married off his two daughters and given them dowries. He was quite wealthy and had some cash besides, so he gave them so much each as was just. They even agreed to the willing away of the farm to their brother. Everything was all right so long as the parents lived. They were old people of 90 years, so they could not work any longer, but their son supported them in an adequate way until their death. Suddenly, after the parents had died, the elder sister, who had married a drunkard and who herself liked to rinse her own throat, explained to her younger sister that the parents had harmed them, that the brother had received more and she instigated her to start a suit against the brother. The younger sister agreed and both brought a suit in the communal court for a partition of the farm. The brother did not defend the suit and the court, knowing nothing about the deed made in the presence of the notary, ordered an auction sale and a division of the proceeds between the brother and sisters. But the brother appealed and showed the deed, proving his title to the

farm. So the higher court reverses the decision and gives judgment for the brother. The sisters begin again to threaten a suit in the next court for an annulment of the deed. Thereupon the brother says, "Stop that suing; let us rather settle. Since you think you have been harmed, I will pay you a certain sum and we will live in peace." The younger sister sold her claim for 65 roubles, but the elder one still desired to go into court. So again she started a suit in the circuit court and since the deed had been made in another district and had not been confirmed by the proper judge just as the law requires, the circuit court set aside the deed. A new action was started in the communal court for a partition of the farm. A judgment of the same kind as the first was issued. Again the brother wants to buy the claim of the sister, but the sister asks 300 roubles. Seeing that a settlement is impossible, the brother appeals anew. The case has been dragging along nearly two years; the brother and sister have spent about 150 roubles each on lawyers, on costs and on journeys, they have lost a lot of time and have spoiled their health. . . . In reality sooner or later it must come to a partition, but as the proverb says: Before the sun rises, the dew ruins the eyes.

Gazeta Swięteczna, 1895, 4.

In the above case disorganization has gone much farther than in the preceding one. It begins also with economic attitudes, but it is the traditional attitude toward family property instead of only the one toward family income which is broken. According to the old custom, the son in this case had the right to keep the farm, however disproportionate might have been the daughters' shares; indeed, in certain communities of Galicia, the dowry was gradually reduced by custom to an almost nominal sum. The matter was not to be put on the ground of abstract justice but on that of the welfare of the family as a whole, which in certain conditions might be better fostered by an equal division of the property, in other conditions by a concentration of the property in the hands of one. Money was never

considered the equivalent of land; and the very idea of selling the farm and dividing the money thus obtained is in complete opposition to the traditional standards.

Further, starting a lawsuit against a family member means breaking almost irremediably the original solidarity of the family group, for it not only introduces the element of fight but makes strangers and—what is worse—an abstract political institution, an arbiter of family relations.

There are clearly two different attitudes underlying this process of disorganization. The first, explicitly stated in the text, is indeed of the type we have characterized in the preceding note; it is a hedonistic attitude expressed in alcoholism. The "bad sister" and her husband are both drunkards, and it must be noted that such a hedonistic need acquires a particular power when it is shared by several individuals—husband and wife, parents and children, brothers and sisters, etc., for this gives it a kind of social sanction. Besides, alcoholism, by the physiologically destructive changes it produces, favors still more the disorganization of social traditions. This is a case where individual demoralization and social disorganization do go hand in hand, and it has been noticed that among peasants *in the country* drunkards furnish a disproportionately large number of socially disorganized individuals, whereas in cities the rôle of other factors becomes more important and alcoholism loses some of its predominance. Of course, drunkenness, except on ceremonial occasions, is itself a sign of partial social disorganization; it does not start the latter, but favors its further growth.

The other attitude which we find in this case is the feeling of having been wronged. In fact, this feeling

is always present in peasant quarrels, disputes and lawsuits, on both sides. Social relations are no longer controlled by one system of norms, but two, or even more, different systems coexist in social consciousness and the individual subconsciously takes the standpoint of the system which makes his claim appear as justified. In our case the two systems are that of peasant custom and that of law. The acquaintance with the legal standpoint of abstract individualistic justice has contributed in a very large measure to the decay of the family tradition, and the development of litigation has been the consequence. This is particularly marked in Galicia, where acquaintance with law is older than in the Congress Kingdom. Exactly similar is the effect which the American laws on marriage, support of wife, divorce, etc., have in helping dissolve the Polish family life in this country, chiefly by giving the wife an exaggerated conception of her "rights."

3. In the village Soki lived the peasant family Kilijan, composed of an old mother and two sons, Jan, 50 years old, and Józef, 30 years old. It was a rather well-to-do family, religious and sober, but the greed and impetuosity of the older brother destroyed everything. On August 29th, Jan, after his morning-prayer, got angry with his brother for having used an unsuitable expression about his wife. He took a recently sharpened knife, rushed frantically at Józef and in the presence of the old mother and of the maid . . . in the twinkling of an eye cut his stomach open. The wounded man died the same day amidst terrible sufferings. The cause of the hate of Jan Kilijan toward his brother was the fact that their father, who died last year, bequeathed in the presence of witnesses the better *bryczka* (vehicle) and the new barn to his younger son Józef, whom he loved more. Neither their cousins nor their neighbors succeeded in reconciling the [brothers] at variance, and hate led to crime. . . .

4. In a certain village, whose name had better be unknown, lived a father with two sons. The old father bequeathed the ground to the sons, but not justly. The older son got the smaller part, and furthermore, he was obliged to give his father some bushels of grain every year as a pension. The father did not claim his corn as he was not in need of it and the son did not give it to him as he did not feel obliged to. This lasted for some time. Suddenly the brothers, living in one neighborhood, got angry with each other. The younger brother, desiring to annoy the older, instigated his father to get the overdue pension by going to law. The unwise father agreed to that and gave the younger one an authorization for the law-suit. The court evidently adjudged the pension overdue. The older son, hearing that the younger was glad of the judgment, told him: "You drew from me my grain, but you will gather yours all over the world." Watching the proper moment, he set on fire the farm-buildings of his brother and sent all his property up in smoke. The brother ruined by the fire must go to friends and collect grain and straw in order to support his husbandry, as the older brother foretold him. However, he says aloud that he will not forgive his brother the harm and that he will shoot him at the first opportunity.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1898, 47.

Documents 3 and 4 show the effect of maladjustment between the old and the new attitudes. The trouble starts with the two fathers who divide their property unequally without—as in case 2—any family reasons for such a division. Neither the old standard of group welfare nor the new standard of individual justice is complied with. The result is that the sons who have received the worse shares have an unmitigated feeling of being wronged: there is no recognized moral bond between them and their rivals who instigated the unjust division, which from the standpoint of the primary group psychology means that revenge, provided it is not excessive, will appear as justified.

This being established, the chief problem which pri-

mary group morality faces in these, and in all similar situations, is the problem of equivalence between original wrong and revenge. Every individual is inclined to exaggerate the wrong done to him in the measure in which his subjectively vital interests are affected, and thus we find, as in case 4, excessive revenge leading to reciprocal, also exaggerated retaliation, and so on up to the farthest limits of criminality—the typical indefinite progression of the vendetta. Now, in Polish peasant life there is no socially sanctioned vendetta system; the community, if still strong enough, takes the matter in its hands, limits revenge to what is in its opinion a proper compensation and prevents any further return of the injury, for its main interest is, just as was that of the political bodies in the Middle Ages, the preservation of “public peace.” The vendetta principle appears thus among the Polish peasants only when the community is powerless, either because the vendetta takes a form sanctioned by the state—the form of indefinite litigation—or because public opinion has lost its influence in general. The latter seems to be the case in example 4.

But the intensity of the reaction in both examples still seems incomprehensible. In order to have a relatively slight injustice provoke a criminal reaction it must affect some very important interests, important at least subjectively. Now, the attitude manifestly predominant in each situation is that of “cupidity”; and this will be found the most important factor of family and community disorganization. We must try to define it and explain its origin now, when we meet it for the first time in its pure and complete form. In the preceding three cases it may have been present in some measure, but subordinated to other attitudes. For we cannot call

"cupidity" desire to obtain means for hedonistic or vanity satisfaction; economic values are here not independent aims, but instruments for the realization of other aims. In the exact sense, cupidity should be defined as desire for personal possession of economic values. There exists also what we may call "social cupidity"—the desire to see economic values possessed by the subject's social group—and this was very marked as family cupidity among the peasants under the family system. The chief differences between personal and family cupidity taken in their full development in Polish peasant life are: 1) family cupidity has full sanction in the opinion of the community as long as it does not interfere with the minimum of duties of solidarity supposed to exist between families belonging to the same community, whereas personal cupidity is still very distinctly disapproved of on moral grounds; 2) family cupidity attaches itself mostly to present, concrete economic values—a definite piece of land, a head of cattle, an agricultural implement, etc.—and the growth of family wealth is rather a gradual accumulation of values which are right within reach from moment to moment than a realization of wider economic plans; on the contrary, personal cupidity in the measure of its liberation from family bonds and of its own development, tends to express itself in far-seeing plans of economic advance and takes prevalently the form of a desire for the most abstract economic value—money. At a certain stage of the evolution from family to individual economy, cupidity becomes personal instead of social, in the sense of being a desire for personal, not for family possession, and yet it preserves some of the characters of family cupidity; it is, just as the latter, a desire for concrete values—land, stock, etc.—rather than for money, and

the individual whose moving spring it has become has no feeling of guilt connected with even the most radical of its manifestations, feels as righteous in pursuing his own personal profits at the expense of his environment as he would if he worked for the maintenance and prosperity of his family group. This is the stage where cupidity assumes in peasant life a surprising importance and power, dominates all other emotions and tendencies; and this is precisely the stage which we find in our two examples.

5. Maciej B., a wealthy farmer in his days, having given his son and daughter an equal share of his property, had a provision made whereby each of the children was to give him support until his death. As long as he was able to work both the son and son-in-law welcomed him, but as soon as he became feeble they began to upbraid him with being an unnecessary burden. He spent the latter part of his life at the home of his son. As he became ill and it was apparent that death would claim him almost any day, the wicked son, instead of calling a physician and a priest, removed the aged man secretly to an open field and left him to his fate. The unfortunate father, not being able to summon aid, lay on the ground nearly frozen to death. A boy from a neighboring village happened to pass by and at Maciej's request notified the daughter concerning the vile act of the son. Her father's condition did not excite her compassion and she was loath to take him to her home. Finally the neighbors, who learned the details from the boy, insisted that the son-in-law fetch the father home and give him a warm and comfortable bed, but instead he laid him on a bundle of brushwood in the stable. Others, taking pity on the old man in distress, brought bed-clothes and food and closed up the crevices in the walls to protect him against the cold. At last one of the neighbors decided to take the old man into his home, but the aged man breathed his last at the moment when he was about to be moved from the stable and died without receiving Extreme Unction. The old man would probably not have received a decent burial, had it not been for the village bailiff who ordered

the son to do so. This deed has provoked the entire parish to such a degree that they are threatening to bring a lawsuit against Maciej's children.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1894, 46.

6. In the village Bary, the farmer Michat Kapuściński had two years before married his daughter to Władysław Grabowski and willed to the young people his whole fortune—6 morgs of arable land and 4 morgs of forest. But he made the reservation that up to his death he would farm himself. It is evident that from such a will discord could easily arise. Kapuściński had during his whole life managed his property at will and thus even now, without asking his son-in-law, he started to cut trees in the forest. The son-in-law was angry with his father-in-law for arbitrarily dealing with his [the son-in-law's] goods. Quarreling and a hell began at home. Once, when Kapuściński was plowing in the field, a neighbor's runaway horses ran against him and nearly killed him. The son-in-law and the daughter, forgetting the fourth divine commandment, were secretly rejoicing at their father's accident, thinking that perhaps he would not bother them any longer. But nothing happened to the old man and in a few days he again went to plow. Then a terrible thought occurred to the son-in-law: "Since my father-in-law is so strong, he may even live longer than I; it is useless to wait till he dies himself, he must be removed from the world." He announced once to the village that he was going to his relatives a mile away and would stay there over night. He went indeed, but returned at night, crawled into the basement through a hole made for potatoes and having found in the dark his sleeping father-in-law, struck him with all his strength with an axe. But he hit the sleeping man upon the right hand instead of the head and cut three of his fingers off. The father-in-law became a cripple and the worthless son-in-law was condemned . . . to a settlement in Siberia to the end of his life.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1894, 46.

7. Jan Lewiński, a boy scarcely 19 years old, son of the mayor of the commune Brudno near Warsaw, . . . behaved badly and would not listen to any admonitions. His father told him that he would disinherit him and presently bequeath the whole

fortune to strangers. The son, fearing that his father would fulfill this threat, rushed upon him at night when he was asleep and killed him with an axe. The unhappy old man tried to defend himself and called for help; the murderer was afraid that the call was heard by the maid who slept in the kitchen and killed the maid also. But all this was of no avail; the next day it was discovered that he was the murderer . . . and when he saw what proofs were against him, he confessed his crime.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1907, 18.

8. In the village Krzczonowice . . . lives an old man, owner of a well-managed farm of 12 morgs. Wanting to rest in his old days, he divided the farm between his children. He bequeathed one-half of the land and the building to his son, having reserved only one morg for himself and lodging until his death, and resolved to divide the rest between three daughters. But . . . two married daughters began to incite their father to leave his son and move to either one of them, for they hoped that the father would feel obliged to reward the one with whom he lived and would deprive the third unmarried daughter, a cripple, of her part. The father listened to these instigations, quarrelled with his son and went to live with one daughter. For some time everything was all right, but soon both married sisters began to urge their father to bequeath the part of the third sister to them. The father refused to agree [saying they had enough land already] . . . He went to the lawyer and bequeathed the whole 6 morgs to the crippled girl, having reserved here also one morg for himself, and after taking from this daughter 500 roubles in cash, gave to the two married daughters instead of land 200 roubles each and kept a hundred for himself. The daughter with whom he lived and the son-in-law, though dissatisfied, did not cease fawning upon their father in order to wheedle from him the 100 roubles and to sow the two morgs that he had reserved for himself. The father allowed them to profit of the land, but he did not give the 100 roubles; he wrapped them in a rag and concealed it in a barrel under feathers, saying to himself: "If the daughter is good to me, after having plucked the feathers, let her take the money." But the impatient daughter and son-in-law tried to guess where he had concealed the money and came to the conclusion that he gave it to a neighbor to keep. Hell

began at home, until finally things went so far that the unworthy son-in-law beat the old man. The poor fellow lay for about half an hour before he came back to consciousness. . . . He then took the money, went upon the street, called witnesses, unwrapped the money and said to his son-in-law and daughter: "You were wrong in reproaching me with having given the money to a neighbor. . . ." Then the son-in-law and the bad daughter began to wring their hands and to reproach each other until, finally, they had a fight. And the old father lay for a long time sick with his daughter, the cripple, where he has at least solicitous care.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1909, 10.

9. Friday, June 12th, some strangers passing with a wagon through a forest near the village Pyry left an impotent, sick old woman that she might die there from hunger. Passers who saw it from afar but could not stop the wagon informed the inhabitants of the village about the old woman, and the latter was brought to the commune-office in Wilanów. It proved that the old woman could no longer stand on her feet or speak, so they could not learn from her who had left her in the forest. In spite of this they have already found the trace of these cruel people. It seems that they are the own children of this unhappy old woman. The impotent mother was a burden for them in their house, so they took her out and left her in the forest like a useless thing.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1908, 25.

10. The farmer Antoni Kalinowski, from the village Olszanka, married a son in November past year and bequeathed to him his entire property consisting of over 20 morgs; for himself he reserved only support for life. . . . On the 25th of March, precisely Annunciation Day, when all the inmates were at church, the son choked the old father in the barn and to conceal the murder hung him, dead already, upon a rafter. This was discovered only the following day. The elder soon came with a physician from Wyszaków, with clerks and police. The physician examined the corpse and decided that the old man did not commit suicide. . . . The son suspected of the murder of his father is now in Pułtusk locked up awaiting the final trial and sentence.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1904, 21.

The common feature in 5 to 10 is the reversion to the primary attitudes of family egotism when the community loses its influence. The father or mother who has ceased to perform a really useful function in family life is treated as a burden of which the family group tends to rid itself. In most cases (particularly in 5) we see the community interfering, though usually too late—a proof that social standards enforcing family solidarity are still vital, but social opinion does not follow the doings of the community members closely, and the group is not aroused to enforce its rules until the offense has grown very striking.

Cases 6 and 8 present a slight variation of the same motive. In both the father has lost—or rather deprived himself voluntarily of—only a part of his family function, since he still partly controls the property. But according to the idea of the other members, he should resign all control; the fact that he is considered an unnecessary member and yet persists in keeping some hold on the estate is felt as incongruous and gives an additional reason for the display of group egotism.

The latter, however, is now seldom found in its original form; it is combined with the relatively more recent individual egotism—clearly in 6, 7 and 8, probably in 5 and 10 also—whose background is that attitude of individual cupidity which we have analyzed in note to 3. If family egotism gives the offenders a certain subconscious feeling of moral sanction for their behavior, individual cupidity furnishes the motive power which pushes the individual as far as crime.

It must be noted that crime seems often to play in peasant behavior the rôle of a means of redress or self-help, when the individual sees no other way of obtaining what he thinks he is entitled to have. The “habitual

offender" is relatively rare among the peasants. Most of the crimes we do find seem to have some moral justification in the eyes of the criminal himself. There is a tragic element which is entirely lacking in the behavior of habitual criminals, which we shall study later.

11. An instigation of Satan has been followed in the village of Teodorówka . . . province of Lublin, by the peasant family of the Fiedoreks, constituted by a father, a mother, a son Łukasz and a daughter Maryanna. Nine months ago the son got married. But the young daughter-in-law did not know how to conciliate the husband's family. At home there were continual quarrels. Not long ago some neighbors, digging potatoes in the field, heard the mother-in-law reproaching Kasia, Łukasz's wife, about something and Kasia saying with tears: "I don't know anything. I beg you only, give me back my cow which you have sold without my knowledge. Why, it is my whole dower." Thursday night Łukasz, evidently at the instigation of the evil spirit and with the help of the cruel Marysia, beat the poor Kasia until she died. Then both of them carried her into the house. Here, after a deliberation with their parents, they put the dead one upon a bench, covered her with a piece of cloth and went calmly in the morning each to his work. . . . Everybody wondered why Kasia was not going with them. The next day . . . the blacksmith's wife informed the village-elder. The elder came to Fiedorek and asked: "And where is your daughter-in-law?" "She died this morning," answered the old man. "I have to make a coffin, but I have no boards." The following day he went to the police, took a certificate, and they were already preparing to send the body [to the church]. But her mother came, examined her Kasia and found bruises upon her entire body. She stopped the exportation, went to the communal office and declared that her daughter had been killed. The communal authorities came, began to examine well the body, and it proved that the dead one had been killed. The murderers were taken at once to the commune's office and thence to Zamość to jail. Sunday morning, the peasants gave the old man a good lesson with ropes. They searched for his wife also, but she ran away and is hiding up to this day. Horror seizes everybody at

the idea of this crime, for the miserable man killed . . . not only his wife, but at the same time his child.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1907, 44.

We have here a reversion to the primary family egoism showing that the norm of "respect," which in normal conditions regulates the relations between husband and wife and prevents any bad treatment of the new and imperfectly assimilated member by the rest of the family, is a product of communal life where the families of both husband and wife are dependent on social opinion and each can stir social opinion against the other in case of any break of solidarity. In this case the community seems still able and willing to interfere; but it must be noticed that the family Fiedorek lives in a locality where Poles are mixed with Ruthenians, and is itself, judging by the name, of Ruthenian origin. Now, among the Ruthenians and still more among the Russians, there seems to be—as many data of their folklore show—a much more complete subordination of the wife to the husband's family than among the Poles, where husband and wife are socially almost on a basis of equality and where certainly the wife is not incorporated in the husband's family, but both wife and husband form a new nucleus belonging to both families, intermediary between them and growing with time in importance and in independence from both.

12. In Warsaw lived a certain Pawel Miziarski, who, having lost his job, had not for a long time worked honestly for his bread, but took it by theft and robberies. And it was not enough that he occupied himself with robbing, but he taught his two sons, young boys, and accustomed them to crime. . . . Miziarski's second wife and his daughter were leading as scandalous a life. Miziarski's oldest son, Roman, who lived honestly, working for his bread as a printer, could not look calmly upon all this. He

frequently admonished his father to come back to the right way and cease to be a disgrace to the world, but the father did not mind the requests of his son and did as he pleased. At home there were, as a consequence of this, frequent quarrels and fights. The son, seeing that his requests had no effect and that his family was falling deeper and deeper into thieves' life, began to lose his reason from despair. He began to threaten that he would kill all of them if they did not live honestly. . . . On the evening of April 23rd, he came home with a revolver and shooting everybody in turn, killed his stepmother and [step] sister and wounded very severely his father and his 17 year old brother. Then he ran away and wandered the whole night about the city, until finally toward morning he killed himself with a revolver-shot.

Gazeta Święteczna, 1908, 18.

Under no conditions can the mere lack of social control characterizing city as against country life account for such a far-going demoralization as that shown by the majority of the Miziarski family. Active social factors, at least a continuous contact with a criminal milieu, are necessary to explain the decadence of Pawel and his wife, whereas other active factors, probably permanent contact with some idealistic professional group, explain the high moral standards of Roman. The fact that the whole family is no longer entirely enclosed within one community but its members participate in different groups with which they are connected by work, pleasure, religious or political interests, etc., is the main reason for the divergent evolution we notice here.

And yet, in spite of this divergence, the family solidarity is too strong yet to let the disagreeing members break the family ties and go their own way. Most of the family tragedies arise from this conflict between the social unity of the family and the attitudes which individuals have developed in connection with the outer

world. In our particular case the difficulty of the situation is increased by the fact that the individual who, under the old social system, would obtain the help of the community and could have a social pressure brought upon the disorganized members, is now entirely isolated and powerless to modify the attitudes of his family. Under these conditions only two ways are open—appeal to the power of the state or the way which Roman took. The former would be even worse than leaving the family, for it would not only isolate the individual, but bring upon him some of the shame which society would heap upon his relatives; besides, it would appear as quite “unnatural,” a sin against family solidarity as bad as real crime. The second way was thus the only one psychologically possible and there is no need of assuming temporary insanity, as the writer of the document does.

13. In Widzew, near the city of Łódź, in a small lodging in an attic, lived a widow with three daughters, 19, 16 and 12 years old; there also lived a roomer, a girl 25 years old. All the girls with the exception of the youngest, Stanisława, were workers in Hajncel and Kunicer's factory, a wiorsta distant from the house. The Sunday after Christmas . . . the widow was informed that her oldest daughter who lived in Łódź was taken ill; she warned the girls to take care of themselves and she herself left . . . intending to stay with the sick one a few days. The oldest of the remaining daughters at home, invited the same evening a fellow, 19 years old, a worker in the same factory, Jan Król, who like many other fools changed his name to Królikowski. The guest arrived and stayed. The youngest girl, who slept with Agnieszka, could not stand the unworthy behavior of her sister. She started to reproach her, to remind her of God and warned her that she would tell everything to her mother. But those warnings did not help. And more strange and sad is the fact that the two other girls did not blame the oldest sister and did not drive out the guest, but got angry at the worthy and

unspoiled little sister for mixing in the actions of her oldest sister and said that Jan could beat her. In the end the girls fell asleep. At three o'clock at night, Jan moved the clock hand, woke the middle sister and the roomer and showed them that it was 5 o'clock already. Both of them got up and went to the factory. Then Agnieszka woke the youngest sister and begged her to swear not to say anything to the mother. But Stasia would not swear, saying it would be a sin to hide the bad actions from the mother. Then Agnieszka grasped the pestle from the mortar and beat the sister on her head and when she had made her senseless, she handed a knife to Jan. He threw himself on the unfortunate child to kill her completely. He cut her throat, cut off an ear, cut her face and head. After all this both murderers choked the bleeding child in pillows. When they thought that she was no longer alive they opened the window so that others should think that some stranger murderer had entered the house. They took from the mother's trunk a few roubles and, locking the door, they went to the factory. They threw the key on the road. [The murder was discovered and Jan and Agnieszka were taken to Łódź to prison.] . . . Then a crowd of people went to meet her and all of them threw stones in her face until it looked like a mask. They wanted to beat her to death; the police were hardly able to defend her.

Gazeta Święteczna, 1903, 2.

This family could not have moved to the town where they live very long ago, since Łódź began to develop only in the middle of the past century and its suburbs are of a still more recent origin. They probably are, like most factory-workers in this part of Poland, peasants from the nearest districts, children of poor farmers or manor-servants. Disorganization comes much faster in such purely industrial centers than in old cities, for the latter, however much industrialized, have some remnants of primary social cohesion left; moreover, in cities with an old civilization the general intellectual, moral and æsthetic level is much higher, owing to the

existence of a numerous intellectual class which not only sets the standards, but which, particularly in Poland, has been very active in organizing the lower classes. An individual away from his family group in a city like Warsaw, though he cannot find any one group equivalent to the country community which used to satisfy all the interests left imperfectly satisfied by family life, nevertheless finds numerous and diversified social organizations which give satisfaction each to some particular type of interests, and has a good chance of having the level of his cultural life raised, new ideals put into him. Of course he may also get into a criminal milieu like the family Miziarski (case 12); but, on the average the inevitable disorganization of the old system is there more likely than not to be supplemented by a new and culturally higher system, if not in the first, at least in the second generation.

In new cities whose population is mainly composed of factory-workers, with a small number of hardworking intelligent specialists, without a highly cultivated and socially active leisure class, without art, literature or science, the individual finds no social milieu which could give him any positive ideals to supplement at least in part the lost connections with a strong primary group, except for religious centers, whose influence, particularly in the Catholic Church, is continually decreasing. Only political, particularly socialistic organizations fulfilled this task; but these were forbidden by the Russian government, had to work secretly and were thus necessarily limited in their membership. We shall study later the attempts made since 1905, when cultural organizations at least were permitted, to struggle against the growing social chaos by economic, educa-

tional artistic associations; we shall see also the efforts of the Church to maintain its social supremacy as a morally constructive institution.

The case here described precedes all these attempts. We see the old system still persisting in the community by the acquired power of many centuries, but the process of decay going on rapidly in particular individuals of the young generation, with no new influences to offset it. The contrast between the attitude of the youngest girl, evidently still under her mother's authority, and that of the three other young people, shows clearly that the source of disorganization lies outside of home, probably in the general social atmosphere of those social meetings of young factory workers of both sexes which are sought continually as a necessary relaxation after days of hard and monotonous work and in which the normal desires for recognition, response and new experience take socially destructive forms of unlimited display of sexual vanity, sexual relations unmotivated by either family or romantic reasons, alcoholism and search for excitement and pleasure.

There is one striking point in this story; the girl incites her lover to murder her sister for fear that the latter will tell the mother about her misbehavior. Thus a remnant of family attitudes—fear—still persists after the disorganization of all others. We can perhaps explain it by the fact that with respect to sexual morality the mother is the representative and has the unrestricted backing of social opinion and that social control of sexual life remains in power longer than social control of any other human activity.

14. A certain farmer was courting a girl with the help of his *swat* [matchmaker]. In the beginning he succeeded well enough and banns were even published. But later something

turned wrong and the whole affair broke down. What did this courting farmer do? Well, he calculated how much all his calls on the girl—for he had more than 2 [Polish] miles to go—and also the banns had cost, and sued the father of the girl for this money in the communal court of Maków. The court rejected all the traveling expenses and awarded only 2 roubles as cost of the banns. Then the father of the girl, unwilling to bear the loss, sued the bridegroom in turn for the cost of all the entertainment. There was not much of this, so the court awarded only 30 copecs. . . .

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1903, 31.

This case is significant for the beginning disorganization of the traditional marriage system. The breaking of a marriage agreement is, indeed, a very grave offense to the dignity not only of the suitor, but of his entire family and that of the *swat*. But precisely therefore suing for the costs appears as doubly abnormal. First, it brings the offense before a larger public, whereas the normal attitude would be trying to check the gossip. This shows that the attitude of family pride is completely decayed. Secondly, it gives the matter the character of a money proposition, which should be felt—and unconsciously is felt by the writer—as a degradation of a social value which in the past had been sublimated by the social and religious ceremonial connected with it. The explanation must evidently lie in the general decrease of the feeling of the importance of traditional social values, due to the increasing acquaintance with new values.

15. In parishes near the Prussian frontier it often happens that girls, and even widows, who went to Germany to work, bring thence their companions of work, compatriots, boys or widowers, in order to tie up in matrimonial bonds with them. More than one girl has actually bought wedding-clothes for such a boy or widower brought from Prussia and coming from a different part of the country; she bears all the cost of the wed-

ding and festival herself only in order that he should marry her. But it does not always end in marriage. For among such candidates to matrimony there happen to be worthless fellows and sometimes even rogues, married men pretending to be bachelors or widowers. Such a rogue, having wheedled his betrothed out of as much money as he can, disappears before the banns or during the time of the banns, and does not return any more.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1907, 5.

The situation here described is a result of the specific conditions created by intense emigration and is found in districts where emigration to America and season emigration to Germany coexist. The former takes away many men of marriageable age, the latter develops personal independence in both boys and girls and establishes connections between individuals from different, often far distant communities. Personal independence in the girl goes far enough to contract an engagement of marriage without consulting her family or even to begin sexual relations before marriage, but not to forego marriage altogether; the latter is always felt, as long at least as the girl remains in her community, as a social necessity, and not being married, even independently of the question of illegal sexual relations, still is a disgrace. Only in cities, among housemaids, this attitude is sometimes, slowly and gradually, dropped. It is therefore perfectly natural if a girl is willing to make any sacrifices, to accept even a man of unknown origin and without fortune rather than incur the shame of old maidenhood. The behavior of the men is explicable, first by the fact that season emigration more than anything else helps develop those hedonistic tendencies which we have characterized in our note upon document 1 and thus acts in a demoralizing way in general and makes marriage in particular,

with the regular life-organization which it implies, appear as an undesirable hindrance to future search for pleasures. Secondly, the demoralizing effect of those unregulated hedonistic tendencies is facilitated by the individual's isolation from his own community. When all moral rules have been psychologically associated with the social opinion of a particular group, the individual, when brought into another community in which he does not intend to stay, is often inclined to feel free from all restraint, particularly if there are strong motives pushing him in this direction. Besides, we can safely assume that the man actually intends to marry in the great majority of the cases described here, and only later decides to run away.

16. In the town Narva lived a certain Skowroński with his only grown-up son. The son intended to marry and the banns were already being published, but the father was evidently opposed to it for he would not give him money for the wedding. This was a cause of discord between them. Once the son, having come home late at night from his betrothed, took an axe and struck his sleeping father in the head so that the latter on the spot gave his spirit to God. The patricide wrapped the murdered man in rags so as not to leave any traces of blood and carried him to the pantry and . . . the following night dug a hole in the floor of the house which his father had recently built, put the body into a sack and buried it. Then he informed constables that his father had gone to the city and was lost. Two weeks later the criminal, after a sacrilegious confession, married his betrothed and arranged the wedding-festival. . . . But meanwhile, after a vain search for the old Skowroński, people began to guess the truth. The unnatural son was taken to jail and there he had to confess that he killed his father because the latter would not give him money for the wedding.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1903, 14.

The crime would not be sufficiently understood if we assumed only disappointed love as its background. In

a half-disorganized traditional system certain attitudes, more persistent than others, become factors of a behavior which from the standpoint of the system is abnormal. Individualization of the attitude toward marriage is here complete as far as the family goes; it has not even begun in matters pertaining to the opinion of the community. The main attitude is fear of social opinion. The bans are being published; it would be a disgrace if because of the obstinacy of the father the wedding could not be celebrated properly for lack of money. We need hardly say that, both here and in case 13, the individual when performing the crime which, he knows, is more radically condemned by the community than anything he may ever do, expects the crime to remain undiscovered. The choice seems to be between disgrace and crime, and crime is chosen, just as in other cases it may be suicide.

✓ 17. Józef Pawłowski, blacksmith from the village of Parchocin, after bidding good-bye to his young wife and two little children, had to go, as soldier of the reserve, to the distant war in Manchuria. The woman was pretty and, what is worse, fickle. Temptations came; she could not resist and went the wrong way. Having colluded with her lover, a young boy, she sold whatever she could—cows, pigs, grain from the barn—obtained a passport for [a journey] abroad and, taking the money and the bed-furnishings, ran away at night from her children sleeping in a cradle. She covered them with straw and left them so without pity. It seems that she went to America. . . . The husband did not perish in war; six weeks ago he even sent 50 roubles home.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1906, 89.

✓ Sexual love alone is not back of the woman's behavior. We must assume a strong desire for new experience which not only induced her to leave home and children but probably prepared the way for her new love.

It is desire for new experience, stirred up by the possibilities which the break of the community isolation offers, that accounts for at least 50 per cent of the emigration to America and of season-emigration to Germany—desire for economic advance being the other important factor. And, while a young girl or a man has many ways in which his desire for new experience can be satisfied, a married peasant woman with children is practically forced to resign all aspirations in this line unless the whole family emigrates.

18. Last year, on the day of the Transfiguration of our Lord, the wife of Wojciech Przydatek, farmer in Lipcówka, . . . disappeared somewhere. The astonished neighbors began to ask her husband, but he gave them such explanations as that his wife had always intended to go to Częstochowa or to Prussia to work and evidently had gone now. But some weeks passed and the woman did not return although she should have hastened home, for everybody knew that the family Przydatek was about to increase. Then people began to whisper that the affair was not clear. Authorities interfered and the husband of the lost woman and his two sons, her step-sons, were arrested. They were kept in jail in Tarłów and examined, but it was difficult to learn the truth. Only lately in March, some indications were found and the older stepson confessed that he had killed his step-mother. . . . Przydatkova was a good and honest woman and everybody regrets her. Her husband and step-sons seem to have coveted her fortune and this was the cause of the crime. The murderer asserts that his father and brother are not guilty, that he committed the crime alone.

Gazeta Święteczna, 1910, 14.

The case can be compared with 11, as it implies misadaptation between the family and the new member who came in by marriage, and we know from Volumes I and II that in second marriages assimilation is more difficult than in first. But here the situation involves also evidently an economic factor which characterizes it as

not only regression to the primary family-egotism but also as a disorganization of marriage under the influence of cupidity. Marriage among the peasants is becoming more and more a business proposition on the side of the man because the rapid growth of the country population and the limited amount of land which each peasant family has force a peasant who wants to go on farming like his fathers and his grandfathers to count on a large dowry in order to preserve the hereditary farm undivided and pay his brothers and sisters in cash, or in order to purchase a fragment of some parcelled nobility estate in addition to or instead of his share of the parental farm, or finally, in order to have the capital necessary to pass to a more modern and intensive form of farming. Of course the individual has other ways of solving the difficulty, season-work, emigration, gradual improvement of farming, etc., but the use of these methods shows a certain break with tradition, an individualization of economic attitudes more far-going than in the present case; and it is precisely when this individualization is only beginning that, as we have seen above (cases 4 and 5) cupidity is most powerful. The economic motive for killing the woman is evident; she was going to have a child who would have been heir to her property, whereas after a childless death the property would be inherited by the husband.

19. In the village Kąkolewnica . . . the farmer Jacek Duda married very young and soon after the wedding was taken to the army. The young wife did not pine for him very long; she hired a *parobek* and began to farm, not desiring at all her husband's return. . . . But after returning home he soon found out that something was wrong. He dismissed the *parobek* at once and told his wife he would not tolerate any scandal. The *parobek*

hired himself at a neighbor's and began to persuade Duda's wife to poison her husband and marry him. He bought arsenic in Radzyń and gave it to her, inciting her not to be long about it. [She gave it to him in sour milk and he died. The neighbors informed the authorities. The inquest showed he was poisoned and the wife and *parobek* were arrested and confessed.]

In the same way two people in the village Cadowa . . . went to prison instead of the altar. The farmer Wincenty Makowski, forgetting the ninth divine commandment, fell in love with the wife of Wojciech Koziół and began to hate his own and to reflect how to get rid of her. Finally . . . he put arsenic into his wife's food and the woman after short sufferings died. The dead one was buried and it did not even occur to anybody that it was her husband who removed her from this world. But soon after this Wojciech Koziół died, also after short but violent sufferings. His wife arranged the funeral very soon, but the neighbors guessed that the business was not quite clean and informed the village elder. . . . At the inquest the widow confessed that she had poisoned her husband with arsenic at the instigation of Wincenty Makowski who also had furnished her the poison. Then people recalled that Makowska also somehow died suddenly. By order of the authorities she was taken out of her grave and it proved that she had been also poisoned with arsenic.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 31.

20. In the village Hela lived the family Kozłowski. He went every year to Lipawa to work during the summer and his wife and children stayed at home. A few years ago people began to say that Kozłowska was behaving badly. The friends of her husband told him about this, but he did not pay attention to this talk and continued to leave every year. He was an honest man . . . Kozłowski's wife rewarded him badly for his confidence and fearing lest this be discovered, decided to get rid of her husband. Once, being with him in the town, she kept him there under various pretexts till evening and searched for a bandit who would undertake to kill her husband for money. And such an unnatural being was found. He was a certain Malejszko, a young man, married a few years ago and father of three children. For three roubles he agreed like a wild beast to seek the life of a man

against whom he did not even bear a grudge. . . . In the evening when the Kozłowskis were returning, Malejszko followed them from afar and having selected a proper place overtook them and began to beat Kozłowski with a piece of iron upon the head. The unnatural wife stood behind a tree and when Malejszko had done his job left her hiding-place and gave him two roubles which she had not paid before. The bandit returned to the town while she ran to the neighboring village Mackiany with the news that some man rushed out of the forest and killed her husband. . . . But people did not believe her story. They guessed that it was her work. She was imprisoned and told everything at the inquest. . . . Malejszko was condemned to 10 years' hard labor, Kozłowska to 12 years.

Gazeta Suięteczna, 1903, 4

Sexual love is evidently the emotional background of all three crimes here described, and its appearance in a form not only dissociated from, but opposed to the family organization, is a clear sign that for the individual the family has ceased to be the milieu satisfying all his *intimate* personal needs, that the individual no longer identifies his personal life with family life. But, for the peasant, family and marriage still preserve for a long time all their objective social reality even when they no longer satisfy him; they are still felt as wielding a power of coercion which does not permit the individual to ignore them and go his own way; he must either yield or break the bond entirely and it depends on his temperament and on other social conditions which he will do. Crime here, as in several former cases, marks thus a stage of incomplete disorganization, when the old institution has ceased to determine individual attitudes in accordance with social demands and social schemes are no longer voluntarily accepted by the individual as his own, but the institution still provokes fear and the social schemes, owing to the external sanction

attached, still impose themselves upon the individual as something undesirable and hateful but real.

We can now draw certain general conclusions from our data which we shall hypothetically propose as sociological laws, to be verified by the observation of other societies.

1) The real cause of all phenomena of family disorganization is to be sought in the influence of certain new values—new for the subject—such as: new sources of hedonistic satisfaction, new vanity values, new (individualistic) types of economic organization, new forms of sexual appeal. This influence presupposes, of course, not only a contact between the individual and the outside world but also the existence in the individual's personality of certain attitudes which make him respond to these new values—hedonistic aspirations, desire for social recognition, desire for economic security and advance, sexual instinct. The specific phenomenon of family disorganization consists in a definite modification of those preexisting attitudes under the influence of the new values, resulting in the appearance of new, more or less different attitudes. The nature of this modification can be generally characterized in such a way that, while the attitudes which existed under the family system were essentially "we"-attitudes (the individual did not dissociate his hedonistic tendencies, his desires for recognition or economic security, his sexual needs from the tendencies and aspirations of his family group), the new attitudes, produced by the new values acting upon those old attitudes, are essentially "I"-attitudes—the individual's wishes are separated in his consciousness from those of other members of his family. Such an evolution implies that the new values with which the individual gets in touch are individual-

istic in their meaning, appeal to the individual, not to the group as a whole; and this is precisely the character of most modern hedonistic, sexual, economic, vanity-values. Disorganization of the family as primary group is thus an unavoidable consequence of modern civilization.

2) The appearance of the new individualistic attitudes may be counteracted, like every effect of a given cause, by the effects of other causes; the result is a combination of effects which takes the form of a suppression of the new attitude; the latter is not allowed to remain in full consciousness or to manifest itself in action, but is pushed back into the subconscious. Causes that counteract individualization within the family are chiefly influences of the primary community of which the family is a part. If social opinion favors family solidarity and reacts against any individualistic tendencies, and if the individual keeps in touch with the community, his desire for recognition compels him to accept the standards of the group and to look upon his individualistic tendencies as wrong. But if the community has lost its coherence, if the individual is isolated from it, or if his touch with the outside world make him more or less independent of the opinion of his immediate milieu, there are no social checks important enough to counterbalance disorganization.

3) The *manifestations* of family disorganization in individual behavior are the effects of the subject's attitudes and of the social conditions; these social conditions must be taken, of course, with the meaning which they have for the acting individual himself, not for the outside observer. If the individual finds no obstacles in his family to his new individualistic tendencies, he

will express the latter in a normal way; disorganization will consist merely in a loss of family interests, in a social, not anti-social action. If there are obstacles, but disorganization of the primary-group attitudes has gone far enough in the individual to make him feel independent of his family and community, the effect will probably be a break of relations through isolation or emigration. If, however, the individual meets strong opposition and is not sufficiently free from the traditional system to ignore it, hostility and anti-social behavior are bound to follow. In the measure that the struggle progresses, the new attitude of revolt becomes a center around which the entire personality of the individual becomes reorganized, and this includes those of his traditional values which are not dropped, but reinterpreted to fit the new tendency and to give a certain measure of justification to his behavior. In the relatively rare cases where both the new attitude is very strong and the obstacles from the old system are powerfully resented and seem insuperable because the individual is still too much dependent on this system to find some new way out of the situation, the struggle leads to an internal conflict which may find its solution in an attempt to remove the persons by whom the old system is represented in this situation rather than in a complete rejection of the system itself.

4) It is evidently impossible to revive the original family psychology after it has been disintegrated, for the individual who has learned consciously to distinguish and to oppose to one another his own wishes and those of other members of his family group and to consider these wishes as merely personal cannot unlearn it and return to the primary "we"-attitudes. Reorgan-

ization of the family is then possible, but on an entirely new basis—that of a moral, reflective co-ordination and harmonization of individual attitudes for the pursuit of common purposes.

CHAPTER III

DISORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNITY

It is difficult to draw an exact dividing line between facts illustrating the disorganization of the community and those showing family decadence, since, as we have seen, the community keeps control over family life and overstepping the principles of the latter means also offending against social opinion. The community is the bearer of all traditions and in view of this the break of tradition in any line by its members may be interpreted as showing a decay of its influence. On the other hand, however, the standards of the community as a whole may evolve and the latter may drop certain traditions while remaining strong and consistent. It is not therefore the preservation or dissolution of any particular rule of behavior which is indicative of the status of a given community, but the question whether there are common rules and how well they are observed. The community is vital when social opinion concerns itself with all matters, outside happenings or individual acts, which possess a public interest, when its attitudes toward these matters are consistent and able to reach approximate unanimity, and when any common action considered necessary to solve the situation as defined by social opinion is carried on in harmonious cooperation. When the community is decaying social opinion degenerates into gossip, that is, instead of being interested in matters of a public character, it becomes absorbed in details of private life. Of course, the cri-

teria of privacy change from epoch to epoch and from group to group, but for any time and for any community it is easy to draw the distinction, for the interest in private happenings as shown in gossip is of an æsthetic rather than practical character, and is not accompanied by the feeling that the community should interfere. Further, the decay of the community shows itself in inconsistency and disharmony of its attitudes; if social opinion hesitates between opposites from moment to moment or if it remains divided on important problems without being able to come to an agreement, much of its vitality is gone. Finally, an equally certain sign of disorganization is the inability to pass from appreciation to action, from common definition to common solution of the situation.

All those phenomena show that the attitudes underlying community life have been modified. In primary-group psychology all interests are fundamentally social and only secondarily economic, intellectual, religious, etc. When the community is in full power, it is more important to have the approval of others in defining and solving any particular situation than to define and solve this situation in a way which may be more successful, more adequate if judged exclusively from the economic, intellectual, religious, even hedonistic point of view. It is not that the individual consciously chooses between social recognition and practical efficiency, between group standards and objective economic, intellectual, religious, hedonistic standards; it is that, dominated by the desire for recognition, he unreflectively considers the way of defining and solving situations by which recognition is obtained the only right way and uncritically refuses to believe that other ways, not sanctioned by social opinion, can be more efficient practically in the long run—

refuses to see the validity of any standards than those of his group.

Disorganization of the community starts in fact as soon as its members begin to define situations exclusively as economic, intellectual, religious, hedonistic, not as social, when their need for success—success, of course, as they see it themselves—in any specific line becomes more important subjectively than the need for social recognition—when they dissociate social opinion about a case from the merit of the case.

Thus some disorganization of the community is unavoidable as soon as the latter gets in touch with the outside world and becomes acquainted with other standards than its own. This incipient disorganization can, however, be in a large measure counteracted if the members of the group have a special interest in maintaining its unity. Up to a certain degree the new tendencies may be simply suppressed. This happens mostly when they are radically opposed to the traditions of the group and, if left free to develop, would be socially destructive. When not distinctly anti-social but merely different from the set of attitudes sanctioned by tradition, the new tendencies are very often, after a period of struggle, simply left outside of the sphere controlled by public opinion, are treated as being of private concern. Thus the more intense and extensive the contact between a community and the outside world, the wider usually becomes the sphere of privacy which its members are allowed to have.

The interest by which members of a primary group are moved to keep the group together in spite of disorganizing external influences is the same general interest which underlies family life, that is, the desire for response, manifesting itself in unreflective social soli-

darity. Family life is, as we know, the chief means of satisfying the desire for response, whereas the community is the main milieu in which the desire for recognition is satisfied; but the difference is only a difference of degree, and a primary group member wants response from other members of his community, even not belonging to his family, just as he claims from his family recognition in addition to response. Accordingly, as we have seen in the first volumes, social solidarity, *i. e.*, reciprocity of those emotions and acts through which social response is obtained, is expected to bind members of one community in the same way, though not to the same degree, as members of one family. Whatever may be the disorganizing factors which tend to destroy the unanimity of a social group, the latter can struggle victoriously against them and, even while changing the content of its opinion, preserve its coherence as long as it remains socially solidary and its members need each other for emotional response and practical help. Its decadence is definitive only when this unreflective, primary solidarity is broken, and then the only remedy is to reconstruct the community not as a primary group, but as a cooperative organization on the ground of some special egotistic purposes which each individual can better attain for himself if all of them act together.

In short, disorganization of the community includes both 1) decay of social opinion and 2) decay of communal solidarity, and the problem of causal explanation of the respective phenomena implies a) the causal explanation of the attitudes which make the individual neglect the recognition of his community for the sake of other personal aims; b) the causal explanation of the attitudes which make the individual act in antagonism to

other members of the community and thus break the communal solidarity; c) the study of the relation between these two types of causal processes.

21. [From the village Ozarowice in reply to request for a comparison with description of the village published forty years before.]

There is no music and revelry on Sundays as there was none then, forty years ago, but if it happens somewhere occasionally, one cannot notice mothers watching their daughters as carefully as it was written in that paper *Kmiotek* 40 years ago. There is no tavern, thanks to God, but there is sometimes even too much strong drink which kills the body and the soul. It happens that people do not begrudge it to themselves, treat themselves with it up to their ears, particularly the youth who go to hired work. There reigns also card-playing for money. In summer, when you pass through the village, you see sometimes a crowd of people upon the lawn. . . . Perhaps they read some book or newspaper? Far from it. They play cards so that they whiz in the air, and so they waste the vesper-time till night. I do not except myself; from the example of others I have been accustomed to these stupid cards, but I do not play for money.

And so, alas! things seem to have turned worse here as compared with what was forty years ago. The girls here mostly go under Prussian domination for work. How much they earn there I do not know, nor what is their life there; but everybody will guess what a girl can commit without parental care. Therefore German women laugh that a Polish girl earns more in Prussia than a Polish man. To tell the truth we have here already two such German acquisitions, which girls brought from Prussia to Poland as seeds [as if for propagation purposes].

Forty years ago there were fewer farmers and thus everybody had a more liberal quantity of land than now. Therefore their daughters did not go to Germany to work and were under better supervision of their mothers. And yet even among strangers one can have self-respect, keep one's self from ignominy and not bring shame upon the whole family.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1903, 13.

22. The old folks dress modestly in this locality but the same can not be said of the youth. It is pitiful to see so many girls who as soon as they see a stylish skirt or jacket or bobbed hair worn, by one of the worst kind perhaps, want to dress accordingly, but do not realize that it is shameful and disgraceful for the village youth. There are, I dare say, some good-for-nothing boys who, having donned a pretty, nice looking overcoat or a stylish suit of clothes and shoes, not only would not salute reverently one who wears a peasant's coat, but would not even stop to converse with him. Every one of these profligate boys reflects thus: "I dress better than that one does, I may possess a bigger fortune; then why should I speak to him." Should you visit his home, however, you would never suppose that such a dressy young man lives there, for the house is filled thick with dirt and filth. Such was not the state of affairs in Ostrów years ago. Therefore it is not to be wondered at that Roch Soczewka, during his stay here several years ago, did not find any elegance and reported to the *Gazeta* that all the inhabitants of Ostrów dress modestly. Today nearly one-half of the girls dress above their means and there are also several who are not worthy of mention.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1893, 5.

23. The common folk in our community are quite discreet and well developed. The youth might be termed a promising one, except that great opportunities for corruption are afforded across the German boundary line. As soon as spring comes every boy, girl and even married women, go across the boundary to seek work and stay there throughout the summer without any protection from evil. They do as they please; consequently the girls return home ruined and corrupted and the boys addicted to drinking.

Their parents are aware of the corruption but they do not mind it as long as their children give them their earnings. Decent girls refuse to go to work the next season because they cannot attend to their religious duties properly, must eat meat on Friday and Saturday, are coaxed into an immoral and indecent life and compelled to work until noon on Sunday, etc., etc. Priests plead and beg from the pulpit at every opportunity that

parents see to it that their children are morally and religiously reared, but their words have no effect whatever.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1892, 11.

23a. Our girls don't know how to dress. When one of them enters the church, the dress rattles upon her. She does not kneel suitably before the holiest Sacrament, only knocks once with her knee, as a mere matter of custom, and does not even think what she is doing, for she is interested in something else: she pushes her companion with her elbow, showing how some other girl is dressed. But I don't speak of all of them; on the contrary, there are in Samorządki modest and good girls and women who can be an example for others.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1910, 41.

24. Some young men, sons of the best known parishioners [in Osiek] came to the Pastoral Mass [on Christmas], stood in the middle of the church, put their hands in their pockets and looked around, and whenever they saw a bald-headed old man or a girl in a hat, they took a handful of peas from their pockets and threw it upon them. . . . It was difficult to believe that Christians, Catholics, dared to amuse themselves in such a way in the church.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1909, 3.

25. They play [cards for money in the commune Sarnów] every day, but particularly from Saturday to Sunday. They sit at cards over this whole divine night; they break up only when the sun begins to rise. After coming home they go to bed and sleep during the whole time of the divine service . . . and whoever did not go to bed, angry and sleepy, quarrels at home and fights with his wife. And this is not yet the end of it; more than one such card-player takes his son to this devilish amusement, a boy hardly 16 years old, makes him sit at his side, takes the tobacco-bag out and treats him with a cigarette. Cards are spread out, the father plays and the son plays. . . . How will this son respect his father in his old days?

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1909, 52.

26. Some years ago we read in *Przyjaciel* some correspondence from the neighborhood of the town Krynki. There were

complaints about the wildness and ignorance of the people, instances were quoted of theft and even banditism, under the influence of drinking; but we hoped that time would bring a change for the better, that the parents, seeing such sad happenings, would try to educate their children better. Instead of this it is a shame to say that there is no change in this respect for the better.

In a village of this parish . . . only old people are decent; they are the only ones who "praise God" when meeting any one and with whom it is possible to converse. And the young have gone completely wild; they regard it as an amusement to throw stones at the passers-by. They have no respect even for their parents, to say nothing of other old people, no obedience at all, and they practice habitually the most shameless theft. Many of them go to work in a leather-factory at Krynki; they are well paid and could dress well and live better and put something back for later years. Instead of this they spend their wages in drinking and rioting in the town and in the village. Even among children no good heart can be seen. Some poor crippled children cannot show themselves in the village; the others laugh at them so and deride their deformity.

To a large extent it is the fault of the parents who raise their children like pigs, not caring about their souls, not developing virtue in them. So long as the children are small they fondle them; but when they can walk the parents don't concern themselves much about what they are doing. Many parents say to themselves: "People will teach them." But if the child has no good principles implanted at home and sees no good examples . . . neither people nor school will teach him. We have a proof of it, because in the village about which I write, there has been a school and its pupils are growing worse and worse.

Przyjaciół, 1913, 46.

27. We have very little fruit in our neighborhood [Stobiecko] because we care little to plant trees and a nasty custom prevails among us; the young people do not respect the property of other people. When fruit is ripening on the trees the owner has unpeaceful days and nights, because the boys wander in gangs at night and where there are apples or pears ruin them and destroy branches. Scuffles often happen at night and sounds of swearing are heard many times in the air. Then they are

dragged into courts and carry on law-suits. . . . [The parents allow the young people to smoke cigarettes and to dance.] Many a girl who danced in her youth lost her garland [innocence] and lived to see herself disgraced. But her parents care very little and to such a disgrace they agree willingly. They rather get along, as they say, without bread, provided their children have everything they need. But there are people who bring up their children perfectly; they don't allow them to go to any revelries. When Sunday comes the young people amuse themselves under the observation of their parents reading the *Gazeta Świąteczna* or singing religious songs in church.¹

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1904, 27.

28. Fairs for children . . . take place in Kolno. Of course . . . the children are not bought and sold, but hired for work. . . . From villages in the neighborhood fathers and mothers come to Kolno with their children and gather before a tavern. To such a crowd come Prussians who want workers under age and ask how much one boy or another costs. If the boy is 12 years old, the Prussian gives for his work thirty or forty roubles, three suits of clothes and a pair of shoes. The parents of the boy don't agree, ask fifty roubles; they clamor and bargain up to the last, until finally the agreement is concluded. Then they go to seal it in a tavern and the Prussian offers liquor that not only the parents, but also the little hired servant drink.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1909, 18.

29. The ground in Skomlin is good, but there is enough misery, and this is because there is not enough enlightenment and too many leeches who live on the weakness of their neighbors. These leeches are the tavern-keepers and the dealers who teach the country boys to steal, giving them cigarettes or candy for things taken by stealth from their parents. . . . The young people, growing up, go to Prussia to work and they return entirely demoralized. In the winter time, having no occupation, they spend their days and evenings in the shops and waste all their earnings. . . . And all that the father harvests during the summer from his grounds is eaten up by the "Prussians" during the winter and it is necessary to borrow money for taxes. And

¹The original is in verse.

in this way a greater and greater misery steals into our village. Strangers come flowing, buy the land and the local inhabitants go down. . . .

The worst defect of the peasants of Skomlin is stubbornness and jealousy when there is a question of the public good. A few weeks ago, for example, the priest and the owner of the estate of Skomlin at a meeting advised a vote for a general survey and unification of the farms, because each farmer has lots scattered in 6 and even in 8 places. . . . Persuaded by the priest, the majority of the farmers had signed their names; but after leaving the office some stirred up the others against it. The local shop-keepers, Jews, contributed to this a great deal because they were afraid that in a unified village they would be unable to get a dwelling and that their trade would be ruined.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1903, 27.

30. The young people of Zagnańsk have been lately committing doings worthy of penalty. They break windows, throw sheaves out of the barns, tear clothes, fight among themselves, etc. When I asked once a farmer, "Whose fault is it?" he answered me: "Money's." It means that in our country increasing earnings and increasing license go together.

Zaranie, 1913, 37.

31. There are here [Ulany] store-keepers who teach children to steal. For gingerbread, candy, they take barley by the quartern. And when the child is accustomed to it, he will take a bushel. When the "rogues" notice that he is a sincere rogue, they take him "in company." They steal together, they drink together. . . . [Continuous thefts are reported from another village in the same community. The community represents a purely traditional stage of cultural development and a rather low one; no reconstruction, no schools, poverty. But costumes have changed, which proves disintegration.]

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1904, 22.

32. Our youth [of Duba] is getting very spoiled. Young boys steal grain from their father and give it away for liquor, for in every village here clandestine tapsters trade in liquor. In Perespa boys in a drunken state cut one another with knives, and one of them will probably pay for it with his life. All this

is caused by liquor. In the same Perespa live 17 Jewish families, of whom only 3 have small shops and 14 trade in liquor.

Gazeta Święteczna, 1909, 12.

33. In one village near Frampol . . . frequent robberies began to occur lately. Robbers attacked even on the roads people returning from fairs or from the town. And in the village nobody was sure of his property, for not only linen left to whiten did not stay, but even what was hidden in the pantry under a lock was not secure. . . . The farmers, older men in this village, are honest, well-to-do and laborious. . . . The father works and the son steals, for he wants to dress in the city fashion, he wants to revel, whereas everything is expensive and the father gives no money for luxuries. So they collude to rob. And this succeeded for 3 years, but finally it broke down. One of them went by night to a wealthy farmer and broke open a whole window, with the frame. The farmer threatened that the thieves would remember windows, but with iron bars. He brought constables from Frampol and the investigation began. And it was not difficult to discover the thieves, for they called to each other: "You took this," and "You took that" . . . One got one year of prison, another half a year and three of them three months each.

Gazeta Święteczna, 1903, 25.

34. In the first days of this month the provincial court in Kielce judged a case of 33 persons accused of having belonged to a gang which, about 1890, was for a long time the fright and plague of the inhabitants of the province. . . . The investigation disclosed that in the district of Włoszczowa alone during a few years more than 700 robberies were committed. In some villages the farmers, as they now testified in court, "for several years did not get out of dung," because, fearing for their stock, they had continually to spend their nights in horse or cattle stables. In spite of this, in the village Balkowo, commune of Radków, during 3 years 35 horses and 5 cows were stolen, in the village Lachów near Włoszczowa during 6 years 22 horses and 4 cows, and in the little village Belnów during only one year 8 horses. The thieves were robbing unpunished because if anybody among the wronged people complained about one of them the others went to court as witnesses and testified falsely in favor of

the accused one, and the court on the ground of these testimonies had to set him free. And the plaintiff was badly off, for the robbers in revenge let his property go up in smoke. Thus people finally preferred to bear their wrongs in silence rather than risk a still greater loss. Having stolen a horse or a head of cattle, the robbers kept it usually for some time in the forests of Nieznanowice or Włoszczowa, particularly near a tavern in Belina. There the wronged people brought them ransom. More than one had to pay 25 roubles or more for his own horse or cow. If the ransom was not paid soon, the robbers sent the stolen horses and cattle to [more distant towns]. This lasted long, but finally the measure was too full. Twelve of the bolder robbers were imprisoned and an inquest began which lasted for nearly 3 years and was finished only recently. The court had examined more than 200 witnesses and gave the following verdict [23 condemned—all peasants apparently—to penitentiary or hard labor in Siberia from 2 months to 2½ years]. Having settled the case of the gang of Włoszczowa, the same court will judge five more robber gangs which were doing harm in other parts of the province of Kielce. The largest one of these, from the neighborhood of Jedrzejów is composed of 90 participants.

Gazeta Święteczna, 1898, 44.

35. I have lived for more than 12 years uninterruptedly in my native town. I manage a small work-shop on my own account. Drinking is developed in the whole environment of Działoszyn and Pajęczno. How the clergy has worked here, particularly the actual priest in my parish! In 1910, at the beginning of March, holy fathers came here on mission—the Pauline Fathers from Jasna Góra—and worked strenuously not only against drinking but also to develop reading, that is, reading of good books and papers. In 1911 our priest organized “recollections” [preparation for the obligatory annual confession at Easter]; he invited the Father Capucines from Nowe Miasto, and the movement in the church was enormous; for whole days people stayed in the church and all other life was stopped; the sick lay at home without care, because everybody who was healthy listened in the church to the fiery teachings of the Father Caupucines. Three thousand people took an oath, that is, renounced liquor; they bought patents of temperance and put them behind the pic-

tures [holy pictures on the walls of their rooms]. But unhappily, they are returning gradually to their former habit and manner of life. A year has not yet passed since they renounced liquor and I know a dozen who drink as they drank before, and others who regret very much that they parted with their dear liquor. Poverty reigns in the country, the darkness [ignorance] is terrible, the lack of schools is very noticeable. Because only enlightenment can have a good result and it is just what we lack.

How reading is increasing the fact quoted below will illustrate. Once I tried to persuade a farmer that he ought to subscribe to a paper: "You have grown-up sons, the evenings are long, let them read, they will learn many things," etc. But he answered me: "My oldest son must go to 33 weddings, for each I must give him a rouble, and on the last Sunday [of carnival] we are going near Kielce; it will cost us about 10 roubles. We have no time to read papers, because in the summer all the young people go to Prussia."

The editors of the *Dziennik Łódzki* proposed a series of questions concerning drinking. One workman in the introduction speaks [these] words of holy truth—that our factory-owners prefer workmen who are drunkards; and I who write these words add that only a small percent of the people prefer a workman or a craftsman who is not a drunkard. . . . A drunkard has friends because he treats them. The drunkard is entrusted with hiring workmen and he receives money for treating. This about the factories. If you are a small tradesman in a village, the friends of the glass [of drinking] send you their acquaintances; wherever you throw a stone [wherever you turn] you meet a friend of the glass. At the present time there is often work at the school [building]; if you don't use alcohol, surely this work will get by you, because you have no friend in the committee, and there they are waiting for a treat and a bribe from you. Only if you are strongly protected by the priest or the teacher you can do without treating and graft. The drunkard agrees to work much cheaper, and if afterwards it does not pay him, he leaves his work, goes to the tavern and drinks; the committee drinks with him and they talk over a raise in wages.

When you live in a small town, live only on the work of your hands, have a numerous family and don't occupy yourself with alcohol and cigarettes, people throw stones and thorns under

your feet, because the proverb says: "You came among the crows, you must croak as they do"; and if you don't wish to croak as they do, you will be avoided, because you are a modernist, a *mankietnik* [popular name for members of the new sect *Mariawita*], a mason, etc. . . .

I know still another example. A father, a very devout man, had three sons. One of them was not busy (as they call it here) with alcohol, and because he was more instructed—which he owed only to himself—the dear father did not give him any money at all, saying: "He will give advice to himself" [get on]. And when once this son, this "paper-man" [paper-reader] did not go to his father's name-day and did not take a bottle of brandy, [the father said]: "What! is he angry with me for not giving him money?" He took a club used to mash potatoes for the pigs—he was drunk already—and went to his son, who lived near, and broke his four windows and his door. Happily this son was not at home, because surely he would have been killed with the club. The youngest son of the same family stole corn from the barn and the garret, sold to the Jews whatever he could and drank by night with his companions. But he received from that papa more than a thousand roubles, while the other children received only four hundred each. Often, when he was drunk, he clinked with a chain above the heads of his parents [threatening them] to make them will him the farm; and he was only 20 years old. More than one, when he drinks and becomes bold, is a bandit. And I could quote many other facts from this country, how children get their old parents drunk in order that their papa may will them his fortune, neglecting the other children or wronging them. When a father gets sick in our country, the children who are with him think only about the notary, how to bring him and have the will; then about the priest, and then he can quietly go to the other world. Speaking about the same parish where people renounced liquor; the monopole [government liquor-shop] earns 500-600 roubles a day—of course now, during the carnival. At the poorest funeral a large bottle for 5 roubles is emptied. Often I remark to the people: "What is the use of it?" They answer: "There would be nobody to sing and to carry the corpse." And it is almost so, in fact. . . .

Letter to the Editor of *Zaranie*, 1913.

36. Nowhere is there so much evil as here in Sosnowiec and the neighborhood. Full of scandal among young and old. Parents educate their children badly. Often one can hear a father or mother tell the children to steal wood and coal which is brought to the houses of factory employes and foremen. Children 5 years old, while playing, sometimes threaten one another with knives and later grow to be "knifemen," of which there are more and more. In factories can be found some girls so spoiled that nothing will ever turn them upon the right way. And almost every girl prefers to go to the factory than to a home as a maid.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 5.

37. There grew up in our village [Porąbki] an immense number of thieves, gamblers, bandits [*nożowcy*, literally knife-carriers, popular term] and so on. . . . Not long ago a wild young boy killed in our village . . . a woman 45 years old.

The native inhabitants of Porąbki are good and quiet but the newcomers, called by the local people "*pichacze*" [pushers], are unpeaceful and stormy, and their example already influences the youth of our village.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1903, 26.

38. [Priest's opinion of the character of industrial life; see document 39 for answer by a workman].

The whole district of Będzin, peopled by laborers who work in factories, mines, manufacture-shops, is completely different from localities in which farm-laborers, farmers or hired people work. It is difficult to get accustomed to such a life which has neither charm nor beauty. Money, factory-job, is all upon which the human soul feeds here. For the sake of this money the daughter leaves her parents and hurries to the factory, where without father's and mother's care she works in day-time and loafs with her suitors at night. The father goes to factory-work, free from household cares, without minding that his children loaf the whole week. The husband returns home unwillingly after a whole week's work and gives his wife the remnant of his pay that he has not spent on drinking with his friends in a saloon or restaurant. And look at these working people! How poor, pale, dried with work and revelry they are! How can we hope that out of them a healthy generation will grow—a comfort and

adornment to the country! . . . It is perhaps better to sit at home and once a day to feed on soup with potatoes than to work in these factories, destroying the health of body and soul. It is not strange that among such a population, occupied only with work for their temporal bread and forgetting about the spiritual bread, any evil incitement, any influence sowing trouble and greed of money is easily accepted. Thence violence done upon people under various pretexts, thence thefts, night attacks, robberies. Gangs of bandits have been formed which attack defenseless people in neighboring villages and towns and deprive them of fortune and life. In Zawiercie, Myszków, Żarki, etc., whole families, known by such knaveries, live on money torn away from wealthier people. The police cannot help, for it is not numerous enough for so many robbers. . . . The bishop of Kielce has published a circular letter ordering prayers with supplications to be performed every Sunday and holiday in the churches. . . . May our Lord Jesus listen to us. People write so much today about various improvements, alleviations, about the bettering of the lot of all classes, but they care little for the needs of the soul. Wealth, welfare, not based upon the Catholic religion, change man into an egotist. . . . Thence so many abuses in the country! It is sad above expression that in our vicinity you never see in the church or at the confessional the managers of the factories, shops and various industrial institutions. The people have no confidence in them, saying: "He is not ours!" And they turn against them at the instigation of any newcomer [socialistic agitator]. More faith, religion and godliness in the upper classes, and it will be well in our whole country.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 35.

39. The letter of the respected priest [above] compels me to express a few remarks.

I do not intend in my writing to prove that there is untruth in that letter. On the contrary, in such a collection of people from various localities as we have here there are various manifestations of life, therefore also such as are described there. But precisely therefore it is impossible to apply the same measure to the whole district.

The district of Będzin differs from many others by the fact

that the soil is here very poor and a farmer with his family finds it difficult to live.

Secondly, many factories have been built and there are many mines and this makes the inhabitants of this neighborhood search for work in them. With me, for example, it was thus. I was fourteen years old when my father fell sick. I was the oldest among the children. At home there was hunger, so I, barefooted little son, started in the direction of Sosnowiec, searching for a job. On the way I saw boys of my own age running merrily after the cattle, and I went, hungry, to search for bread for myself and my family. Did this money, earned in the depth of the mine, constitute for me also everything that my soul wanted? No. And still I had to resign everything for the sake of this money. In the same way more than one daughter leaves her parents and searches here for work in order to help her family and to cover herself. She feeds herself on black coffee and dry bread, for it is cheaper than the fresh; therefore she is emaciated and pale. Moreover, a man who works in the mine is in a tomb during his life, and therefore already he looks sad and is as if blackened.

Such a girl or boy, having spent the whole day in the sultriness of the factory, returns home for the night, where in one room, with some poor family, numerous people live in corners, where children and often sick persons are found. The room is dark, sultry, damp. What has such a poor working man or girl to do? He must go outside of the gate in order to breathe some fresh air. Girls and boys often meet, and, of course, a conversation begins. Well, and sometimes incidents happen. But in what society are there none?

As to those children who loaf, their mothers are occupied with preparing food for their roomers, so they leave the children without care. But what can be done? Have we kindergartens for the children?

As to spending wages on drink, it is true that there are some who spend the money they have earned in drinking, but this cannot be said of all. How many waste their earnings in this way could be ascertained in the savings-banks or after a good investigation of the whole district.

And it seems that we also feel hunger for spiritual bread.

What district can boast such divine houses as ours, founded from contributions of working people? . . .

And Częstochowa could also say something about our companies of pilgrims. And God's glory is cared for with great honor in our churches.

As to thieves, we, the poor, are mostly attacked by them. Rich people have watchmen, but we, going home after work, are frequently robbed on the way of the money that we have earned, and often also beaten. Is it our fault that there are so many thieves in our district? . . .

Self-taught peasant, at present a workman.

Gazeta Święteczna, 1905, 41.

40. Four miles east from Warsaw is the district-town Mińsk Mazowiecki, a locality very suitable as summer-resort and formerly inhabited in summer by numerous Warsawians, but today almost empty, because the government-authorities keep there many so-called "*pobytowy*," that is, criminals condemned to live obligatorily in a locality under the oversight of the police. The town has four or five thousand inhabitants, and as many as 480 of these criminals are kept there. None of them tries to work, and they continue to steal and to rob local inhabitants as well as newcomers, town people as well as peasants in the neighborhood. The inhabitants, continually ruined, petition Warsaw and Petersburg to take the thieves from Mińsk, but they receive no answer. Would it not be possible to send the *pobytowy* into various parts of enormous Russia? . . . But people say that criminals themselves endeavor to be sent to Mińsk and not to be moved thence and they even pay big money for it. Mińsk is a very animated locality, many people pass through it every day by railway, so there is opportunity to rob. Moreover, it is near to Warsaw by rail, so thieves profit from it and go frequently to Warsaw to steal.

Gazeta Święteczna, 1906, 38.

41. Good news sent from this vicinity [Dabrowa, district of Będzin] would not occupy very much space in the *Gazeta* and all the bad news could not be contained for lack of space. . . . The greatest evil in our village is corruption among the youth and a desire for revenge among the elders. At every wedding or entertainment some one is stabbed or shot, frequently to death.

There is a gang called *andrusy* [men hired to beat others] who, in case of an argument between two fellows, are sicked by one onto the other and beat him unmercifully no matter whether he is a pal or a close relative. In one instance seven of these men broke into a man's house and beat him up so badly that he hardly recovered. Once a boy and a girl passing through a small wood were attacked by seven *andrusy*, but the boy, scenting trouble, ran away with all his speed. The scoundrels pursued him to the river, into which he plunged and swam across to the opposite shore, where he notified the authorities about the incident. Several men went to the scene and found the girl so badly bruised and beaten that it was necessary to remove her to the hospital. The assaulters were all caught except one, who had taken pity on the girl. Of the six that were arrested, four were residents of Dąbrowa and the other two were strangers. They were tried in Będzin and three of them, who had previously served prison terms, were sentenced to prison and the others acquitted. . . .

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1896, 4.

42 An evil person is not fond of a good one. In the evening of the first Sunday of this month, in the village of Czerwonka, a man lying in a pool of blood in the street was found by the night watch. When asked: "Who lies here?" the unfortunate one was still able to answer: "Thaddeus Olędzki." He then fell unconscious and never regained consciousness. The skull of the injured man was completely shattered and he barely lived until morning. Olędzki was a young man some twenty years of age, an inhabitant of this very village, Czerwonka. After leaving the organist, at whose home he had spent the evening at ten o'clock, he was attacked and murdered in the street by three grown boys, sons of farmers of the same village. The murderers were discovered by traces of blood found on their boots and clothing; and not denying their guilt, they confessed that they had battered Olędzki's head with stakes. The cause of the crime is said to have been their hatred towards Olędzki, since he shunned their company, not desiring to participate in their drinking bouts and other indecent actions. Besides the three above named fellows, several others were also arrested who are

supposed to be the instigators of the murdering of Olędzki. The villainous father of one of the criminals is one of their number.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1896, 9.

43. [See our remarks on document 2.]

I heard that in one village a peasant wanted to sell his whole farm, composed of a house, farm-buildings and 15 morgs of land. . . . I went to examine this farm. [The farm makes a good impression; it had remained for many generations in one family. The writer asks the proprietor:] "How can you deprive yourself of your father's land? Is not this place dear to you where you were educated, where you and your ancestors have put so much work?"

The farmer reddened and, stammering in the beginning, began to tell how long he *had to* sue his neighbors and his step-son, how they were ruined and he fell in debt, for the law-suit cost on the one hand, the lawyers drew from him money for expenses on the other hand, the Jews also exploited him through interest, and finally things came to this, that nothing could be done except sell the farm.

"Would it not have been better to make an amiable agreement?" I asked.

"But he did not want it," he answered. I offered to give my step-son whatever was due him after his mother's death, and I would have paid his wedding expenses also. But he revolted and said that he would absolutely sue me."

"Is he so quarrelsome, so insolent?"

"No," answered the farmer, "he was even a good boy, quiet and obedient, only people meddled with us. Neighbors instigated him; moreover, there is a certain clerk who is always glad to set people against one another in order to wheedle them out of money for petitions, complaints and advice. It is he, this gypsy, who has ruined my step-son and myself."

"And what was the motive of the neighbors?" I asked.

"What? As usual among neighbors. Quarrels about boundaries, or about some goose or cow doing damage, and thus from a small matter it comes to a bigger one. We disputed about one thing or another, and the clerk incited both of us to sue. My neighbor got his daughter married with my step-son and then instigated him against me."

"So these affairs are frequent among you?" I asked.

"Certainly!" he answered. "Here everybody sues his neighbor in court for the smallest thing and seeks a settlement there."

"Well, and do they settle things in that way?" I asked again. But I did not hear the answer, for it was drowned in quarreling voices. We went to listen and this is what we learned. Yesterday the mother went to the field and left four children at home. The oldest girl could not manage the younger ones. The smallest one cried awfully and the two older ones scratched each other in a fight. So the girl went to call her mother. To shorten her way she ran across the meadow of a neighbor. The neighbor saw it and now came to tell this woman that he would sue them unless they settled the matter and gave him a rouble. The mother of the girl cursed him and reminded him that two years ago his boy pushed or struck one of her children. . . . My host listened with evident pleasure and interest to these shrieks; finally he said, evidently knowing these matters well: "See, now this neighbor will sue the girl for having trampled the meadow and the mother of the girl will sue him for nicknames and insults."

I grew more and more benumbed in listening to all this. That a nice country! Nice brothers and fellow-countrymen! . . . The farm and the soil pleased me, the price was not very high, but why should I get into such brawls, feuds, envy, continual quarrelling and trouble? Perhaps in other villages it is better.

What will you say? I searched and went through a large portion of our land and in no village I found concord among the inhabitants. . . . Everybody rejoices if he can ruin another and make him go with a bag [begging]. He does damage in another's field or even seeks revenge upon his animals. For example, two *kumas* [women related by the fact that one of them is godmother to a child of the other] got angry with each other and Pawtowa, to spite Ignacka, gave a nail to the latter's cow to swallow. Through malice again, one neighbor broke the legs of his neighbor's horse. From this comes wildness and hate among Christians, Catholics, and moreover, near such a holy place [Częstochowa]!

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1910, 50.

44. The farmer W. C., of a village in the district of Grójec, went to the town Góra-Kalwarya to a fair. Having bought what

he needed, he prepared to leave, when a farmer of his acquaintance, J. B., crossed his way with a group of traders and said: "Neighbor, sell me this mare."—"All right," answered W. C., "I will sell it for 280 roubles."—"This is too much," said the other, "take 5 roubles off."—"Well, never mind," said W. C., "I take 5 roubles off and it is a trade!" The buyer took two bills of 100 roubles each and gave them to the owner of the mare. "And 75 roubles more?" asked the latter. "What? It is you who have to give me 25 roubles of change."—"This is a joke, brother," answered W. C. "I see no reason to talk. We don't agree." And he wanted to give the money back. But J. B. refused to accept, saying that this was the agreed price of the mare. Then the wife of W. C. took the money and forcibly slipped it into the hand of J. B.

But he later denied having taken the money and brought an action in court against W. C. for 225 roubles. He put as witnesses those traders who were with him. The traders wanted to swear that J. B. had not taken this money. But W. C. had also one witness and said that he would swear in the church that his wife took this money and gave it back to J. B. A few days passed; then J. B. came to the priest in Słomczyn and begged him to speak to W. C. in his favor and to obtain pardon. The priest ordered both of them to come at a determined hour to the parish-house and here J. B. confessed that he had taken the money back but wanted to cheat his neighbor. W. C. forgave the culprit and later in the court signed that he pardoned him. . . . When W. C. signed, the judge arose and said to the culprit: "Remember not to show yourself before my eyes and not to start any suits in the court, for you are false and I shall not accept any more suits from you." All the people present began to laugh and to point with their fingers at the discomfited J. B.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1908, 5.

45. An old peasant from the parish of Białotary . . . passed the Easter confession with his sons, participated together with them at the Holy Communion, and the next night, also together with them, went to a neighboring village . . . to steal pigs. . . . [The robbers] were fettered and sent to the town. There in jail they will do penance and repent their sins. It is, however, not the first time that the worthy sons have been in

prison for theft. But, is this strange, since their father was giving them such an example and had taught them in such a way the principles of the holy faith?

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 14.

46. The peasants in the village Sanie-Dąb . . . had a quarrel about land with a neighboring village, Golasze-Dąb. The 10th of March, thirty farmers from Sanie-Dąb went with plows to the fields and started to plow the land in dispute. The farmers from Golasze-Dąb noticed this and went in a crowd to drive away the neighbor-plowmen. A stubborn fight broke out; two peasants dropped dead, eight were wounded more or less. Moreover, ten were arrested and shut up in prison. . . .

And then again, what happened at the same time in the region of Płońsk in the vicinity of Płock? A crowd of peasants bought a village, Kozininy-Stare, with money borrowed from the peasants' bank. Only, a small forest belonging to that village was bought, not by a peasant, but by a certain K. . . . But it seemed to the peasants that the forest had to belong to them, and they forbade the proprietor to enter the forest. K. had to sue in court to get his property. The court admitted that it was his, and the apparitor lead him into the place. However, the affair was not settled by this. On the 6th of March, when K. came with a few workers to the forest, a crowd of people among whom were even many women, rushed upon him and beat him violently. He was even wounded. In this murderous way neighbors re-venge themselves for a law-suit, which they lost in court.

Three young people from the village Tokary were hired in Wyszogród for a sailing vessel. They received advance-payments. They left their passports with the owner of the vessel to make sure that they would come to work on the date indicated, and went to their homes to say good-bye. That was the 28th of February. At 10 o'clock at night the boys were crossing a village. The peasants of that village, noticing travelers, encircled them in a crowd with poles in their hands and demanded that the passports be presented. When they found out that the boys had no passports, they rushed upon them and started to beat them without mercy. They cut their heads and faces; and terribly wounded, half alive, they took them to the community

office. There everything was explained; the poor men were immediately taken to Tokary. The murderers were put in jail.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1903, 15.

47. A certain Kurowski in the village Gadka Mała, a very good man, who had no children, adopted a little orphan a few years ago and cared for her as if for his own daughter. The child called him father, his wife mother, and did not feel at all its orphanage. They brought her up to the age of 9 years. During last Advent, both the Kurowskis went to a fair in Tuszyn. He had something important to settle, so he went away without waiting for his wife and she went later with her neighbor who was at the same time her *kuma*. The latter was, as it later proved, a worthless and perverse woman, but she pretended to be a friend of the Kurowskis. . . . On the way this *kuma* says to Kurowska: "Say, go slowly on. I must return home, for I forgot to leave some bread for the children. I will go very fast and will yet overtake you." She ran back, but not home, only straight to the house of the Kurowskis. She thought that they had money at home and was possessed by the sinful thought of robbing them. She rushed into the room and began to turn over all the hiding-places and to search in corners. The little orphan looked at this and finally said: "What is this? As soon as mamma comes I shall tell her that you have been searching so much for something." And this villainous woman jumped at the little girl and began to choke her. She tortured her until the poor child gave her spirit to God. Then she put a noose of string around her neck and hanged her to a drawer-hook of the table—so she confessed the next day at the inquest. The murderess was taken to prison, together with a little child which she was suckling.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1898, 6.

48. The peasant Kuc was for 9 years the village-elder in the village Zaborze. . . . Lately Kuc began to drink, and when he lacked money of his own for liquor, began to spend on drinking the money collected from farmers for taxes. But soon they noticed what was going on; the farm-stock of Kuc was sold to cover the taxes, and the village elected another farmer for elder. This did not please Kuc and he began to threaten that he would

take revenge on his neighbors. And during a year no less than five fires were set in the village. At the last fire people noticed that the incendiary was the former village-elder. He was . . . condemned to 4 years of hard labor.

Gazeta Święteczna, 1909, 10.

49. Thursday, April 20th, a few children from the village Zalesie . . . were pasturing cattle on a meadow near the river Wieprz. Jaś, 9 years old, son of the farmer Jozef Tokarski, began in playing to knock off with a stick parts of the shore which the river had undermined, though other children warned him not to do it. . . . And indeed, a large piece of the shore broke off suddenly and carried the boy into the river. The remaining children began to cry that Jaś was getting drowned. At their calls a farmer came and asked: "Whose Jaś is getting drowned?"—"Tokarski's," answered the children, "save him, save him!" But the farmer somehow was not in a hurry to go to the river. "I have no time," he said, "my horses will get entangled. Let Jaś swim, and you run away or else you will be drowned." Saying this, he turned back and went away. [The boy was drowned]. . . . The revengeful neighbor did not reach his hand to the drowning Jaś because he was angry with his father, having lost a law-suit against him last year.

Gazeta Święteczna, 1899, 18.

50. In the village Strzegom . . . a wedding feast was going on in the house of the farmer Dyl. As soon as the wedding-guests returned from the church, one of them, a boy of 19, drew a package of tobacco from the groom's pocket, probably as a joke. The groom got offended. They quarrelled. The boy, wanting to avoid further dispute, ran out of the house, the groom after him. He overtook him in the field and struck with a knife. The boy, mortally wounded, fell down and in a few minutes ended his life. The groom was bound and almost from before the altar was taken to jail.

Gazeta Święteczna, 1904, 50.

51. In the village Biezanowo, district of Włoszczowa, province of Kielce [the same district in which a gang of robbers existed for 6 years, see document 34] a dissension arose between the neighboring peasants, August Rak and Ziółkowski. Ziółkow-

ski, a rancorous man, decided to burn the house of his neighbor for vengeance. One night he took a bottle of kerosene and matches and went to fulfil his wicked intention. But Rak evidently foresaw what was threatening him and kept a good watch, for before Ziółkowski had the time to set to work the sons of the owner jumped at him and began to beat him so awfully that under the sticks he breathed his last.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 8.

52. In Nasielsk, province of Warsaw, there was a fair. Many people came together and among them were Mikołaj Fabisiak from Psucin, a boy of 21, and Rebecki from Ruszkow, who had a grudge against Fabisiak. When he saw him he burned with a still greater anger and decided to avenge himself. Fabisiak went into a tavern, and Rebecki brought his companions, Welcz and Czyłka, and taking a piece of wood out of the cart, gave it to Czyłka, saying: "As soon as Fabisiak comes out, strike him right away." Czyłka hid himself behind the cart and, having waited for Fabisiak to come out, gave him such a stroke that the skull broke in two places. Fabisiak fell down and the murderers fled. . . . He lived 3 days in great sufferings and Friday gave his spirit to God. The criminals were arrested.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1903, 3.

Among these documents which we have selected to illustrate the disorganization of the peasant community those give us the easiest access to the problem in which the new attitudes of the young generation are described; and at the same time these are perhaps the most typical and have the greatest importance for sociology, since it is everywhere the young generation through which new attitudes mainly penetrate a community and the struggle between social tradition and social novelty always becomes, in some measure at least, identified with the opposition between the old and the young.

If we had to find the most general difference of attitudes underlying this opposition, we should perhaps search for it in the standpoints taken by the individ-

uals toward their personal and social future. Among the members of primary groups the desire for new experience seems to die out much earlier than among those who lead a more complete, more changing and higher intellectualized life; because of the early developing desire for security and because of the relative stability of external conditions the field of new possibilities which the individual sees in the future narrows rapidly. If the individual is transported to new conditions, this field becomes indefinite, for he does not know how to control the future; but, conscious of this inability, he faces the possible new experience with fear rather than with hopeful expectation. And in view of the great dependence of the primary-group member on his social milieu, it is quite natural that his desire for security should extend to his community and he is as much or more concerned about the stability of the community organization as about that of his economic or family situation, and as much afraid of new possibilities appearing there.

In the new generation, on the contrary, the desire for new experience is always stronger originally than the desire for security and becomes checked only by a social training which limits the field of possible novelties. Even in the most conservative primary-group, where the methods of social control are particularly efficient in producing an early stabilization, the period when new experiences outside of the social routine still have a strong appeal for the individual certainly extends beyond the age of twenty. This means that there is a period of five to ten years during which almost every individual is both open to socially prohibited or unforeseen suggestions and able to act in accordance with these suggestions.

When, therefore, the community enters in contact

With the outside world, the youth are naturally the first to develop new attitudes and to import new values. It is evident that under these conditions the movement, if not directed by educated and mature leaders, is not likely to be constructive, since only those attitudes tend to develop and only those values appeal to the individual which he is prepared to accept. The undirected attention of the peasant youth is thus most easily captivated by superficial æsthetic and hedonistic objects—clothes, trinkets, smoking, fancy foods and drinks. Our documents show that the disorganization of the old social system starts in this way. We have also confirmed this while personally investigating the effects of season emigration. Only a small percentage of youth remains uninfluenced by the attraction exercised by foreign dress and foreign pleasures, so that any locality in which this emigration is intense loses after a time all the superficial social traditions. Usually, however, the effects of foreign influences do not go much deeper. At first, indeed, the changes of dress, of manners, of leisure activities, which the young emigrants introduce after their return, arouse a violent reaction of the older generation, and this sometimes has disastrous effects in the fact that the youth, once revolted against tradition and its bearers, may reject not only the superficial and external mores but even those social rules of behavior without which the community cannot exist. After a time, however, we see a gradual reciprocal adaptation between the old and the young generation, mediated by those older members of the group who participate in season work abroad and by those young emigrants who settle and become regular landed members of the community. The young comply with those traditional mores for which they find no substitute in their life abroad and

which therefore appear to them as essential as long as they feel dependent on the primary-group—in particular, with the principles of social solidarity as expressed in mutual help and response. The old accept, not for themselves but for their children, the new æsthetic, hedonistic and ceremonial standards imported from abroad and, as some of our documents note, show a remarkable leniency toward the young generation and a sympathetic interest in ambitions and pleasures which they do not share personally—an interest which is explained by that conversion of personal into familial aspirations which, as we know, usually follows the social maturity of the peasant. The most important permanent effect of this periodical absence of young people is a marked decrease of the seriousness with which the community and family systems are treated by their members when the place of those whose life was completely absorbed in these systems is taken by individuals who have learned to live for certain periods away from a regulated social milieu.

Emigration to America plays a relatively unimportant part in the progress of disorganization of the community. Our documents contain almost nothing bearing directly on this problem, and we know from personal investigation how small is the influence which returning emigrants exercise over community life. This influence limits itself almost entirely to the economic field—a certain improvement of the standards of living—and we may add perhaps a slight democratization of social relations. But emigration to America is much lower numerically (its highest tide, in 1912-1913, reached 130,000 as against 800,000 of season-emigrants), and this number includes a certain percentage of town population, whereas the season-emigration re-

cruits itself exclusively from the country population. Further, no more than 40 per cent of transoceanic emigrants return. Finally, many of these leave Poland at an age when social attitudes are in a large measure fixed, and find in this country a community organization which to some degree at least is a substitute for that of their home communities. Thus, an emigrant returning from America may for a short time attempt to play the rôle of an innovator, but soon becomes absorbed in the life of the group and of his innovations only those have a social influence which bear the tests applied by social opinion. He may contribute to the evolution of the community positively in certain special matters, but can hardly be a serious factor of social disorganization. Transoceanic emigration has indeed a disorganizing effect on the life of the primary group, but in an indirect way, by acting on the imagination of those who remain. The community is no longer the only possible social milieu, in which the individual has to stay for ever, and to which he *must* adapt himself; there are unlimited possibilities outside of it, and he feels much less dependent on it than in the past.

Much deeper, because more permanent, is the disorganization of the young generation in the community when it is produced by strangers who settle among the local inhabitants, bringing with them different mores, and either fail to become assimilated through racial reasons or are numerous enough to be independent of the social opinion of the community. The Jewish shopkeeper represents the first class; city workers near industrial centers, and released criminals sent to settle in a small town represent the second. The Jewish shopkeeper in a peasant village is usually also a liquor-dealer without license, a banker lending money at usury, often

also a receiver of stolen goods and (near the border) a contrabandist. The peasant needs and fears him, but at the same time despises him always and hates him often. The activity of these country shopkeepers is the source of whatever anti-Semitism there is in the peasant masses. We have seen in the documents the methods by which the shopkeeper teaches the peasant boy smoking, drinking, and finally stealing; the connection established in youth lasts sometimes into maturity, and almost every gang of peasant thieves or robbers centers around some Jewish receiver's place, where the spoils are brought and new campaigns planned. Gangs composed exclusively of Jews are frequent in towns, rare in the country; usually Jews manage only the commercial side of the questions, leaving robbing or transporting of contraband to peasants.

Evidently the connection between such a shopkeeper-receiver and the youth demoralized by him remains a purely business proposition; race difference prevents even that solidarity which unifies the members of a gang of professional criminals. On the contrary, the influence exercised upon peasant youth by incomers of Polish origin, particularly by city workers, or by members of the lower middle class, is of a purely personal character and works by imitation. It is interesting to note in this connection that the peasant seldom directly imitates any of the members of the country nobility or of the city middle class; the social difference of degree seems to him too wide so that imitation appears as absurd or meaningless, whereas it is quite normal when the imitated person is only slightly higher in the social hierarchy. The disorganizing effect of this influence of incoming strangers depends, of course, on their character, their number and the closeness of their connection

with the autochthonic group; in the most radical cases, in villages situated near large centers and whose population includes more strangers than original inhabitants, nothing is left of the old community except the official organization of village and commune autonomy from which the incomers are excluded unless they own real estate within the limits of the village or commune. But this invasion and dissolution of the community does not go on without struggle on the part of the old generation, and the point where the resistance of the old community is the strongest is precisely in admitting strangers to land-ownership. Here, in connection with the land problem, the solidarity of the group reasserts itself, leading sometimes even to violent group-action (p. 67). Nevertheless, in the long run the struggle is always unsuccessful; a community which has a continual influx of strangers cannot preserve its integrity and sooner or later dissolves itself into a vague and incoherent social body within which organizations of a completely different type are formed.

Still more radical and rapid is the process of disorganization when the community becomes connected with some industrial or commercial center where the young generation goes to work. This has been a very frequent occurrence during the last fifty years, when in consequence of economic development of many old cities and of the appearance of new ones, innumerable peasant communities became practically nothing but suburbs whose population has a character intermediary between peasants and industrial workers. In such cases the social contacts between members of the young generation working in the city and various city groups become as close or even closer than those which they maintain with the rest of their community; the latter is reduced

to a rôle similar to that of a "neighborhood" in an American city. City mores penetrate rapidly into the community; but as they offer little or nothing which could take the place of the old country mores in organizing individual life, social disorganization is often accompanied by personal demoralization. Those suburban localities usually stand in rather bad repute. Of course this is also due in a large measure to an influx of many undesirable elements from the city. We must also notice that there are interesting exceptions. And perhaps, generally speaking, demoralization is not as far-reaching as might be expected. Even as a mere permanent neighborhood, the community preserves some influence upon the individual and its opinion, divided on secondary matters, remains unanimous whenever the fundamental standards of social solidarity are concerned. There is not only a common human, but a common national stock of morals, and while an individual or a small group may act against it, he can do it only by concealing his doings from his wider social milieu; he may try to fool the opinion of the community, but he seldom dares to defy it. In general, therefore, personal demoralization is much easier among those who have immigrated into the city from more distant villages and find themselves outside of any social control, than among those who still live in their old milieu. What sometimes happens, indeed, is that in certain respects the morality of the whole group is lowered. This concerns in particular honesty in economic matters, and we have tried to explain in Volume I how this happens. Economic dealings between members of a primary group have the character of social relations subordinated to the principle of solidarity, not that of plain business relations subordinated to quantitative impersonal economic valua-

tions. When the peasant begins to deal with outsiders, he usually extends to them at first the principle of solidarity and is more than fair. Later, however, if the relations multiply and he finds that the principle of solidarity is not applied by the outsiders, he goes to the other extreme and implicitly, or even explicitly, assumes that economic exchange is not regulated by any principles whatever, that the only policy is to give as little as possible and to get as much as possible by any means; it takes some time to learn and appreciate business honesty as a method of economic success. And one of the most marked signs of community disorganization is when he begins to apply to the members of his own group the dishonest methods used with regard to outsiders. But this is a problem which concerns rather the old than the young generation which we are discussing now.

A very interesting feature of the disorganization which starts with the youth is that it seldom, if ever, is purely individual but assumes a group character. This is perfectly natural when it is the effect of season emigration, for season emigrants from the same village or the same neighborhood usually go and work together, and thus common interests and memories unify them with each other and separate them in some measure from the rest of the community. But even when the source of disorganization is infiltration of strangers or work in a neighboring city, there is a general tendency of the young people with new and socially non-sanctioned attitudes to form more or less close associations, ranging from a vague group united by mere frequency of intercourse to an organized gang. Moreover, we usually notice efforts to proselyte the rest of the youth of the community and a very marked ill-will toward those who fail to respond. The individual seems to be

able to emancipate himself from the dependence upon the large community only by relying for social response and recognition on a smaller community with congenial interests. This tendency seems stronger among young than among older people, probably because the former are less able to escape the censorship of public opinion by way of concealment, and also because the larger community does not satisfy sufficiently their desire for recognition, whereas in a group of the same age they can aspire for prominence. From the latter standpoint the formation of groups of young people seems almost a social necessity. It was limited until recently by the powerful cohesion of family groups, which prevented any solidarity of the young generation against the old from appearing, so that the youth of a village came together only for amusement, but the decadence of family life going on parallelly with the breakdown of the isolation of communities made the formation of solidary groups of young people for any purposes possible. Of course, these groups, as some of our documents show, are far from possessing the same degree of cohesion and solidarity as the original community. Nevertheless, their importance can hardly be overestimated. As factors of social disorganization they not only help the individual to free himself from the control of social opinion but serve as centers of attraction for those in whom the socially non-sanctioned attitudes have not yet developed. Moreover, through them the field of disorganization is apt to widen; it often happens that the group is formed under the influence of some relatively innocent interest—dress, smoking, games—and gradually its activities begin to extend to more dangerous matters. On the other hand, under proper leadership such groups have been often utilized for purposes of

social reconstruction, as we shall see in later chapters.

> This type of disorganization of the community in which the process starts with the young generation is essentially and primarily a dissolution of social opinion. The community begins by losing the uniformity of social attitudes which made common appreciation and common action possible; the introduction of new values breaks it into two or more camps with different centers of interest, different standards of appreciation and divergent tendencies of action. If the process continues, social opinion degenerates into gossip; public interest centers on matters of curiosity instead of those of social importance, and except in the condemnation of the most radical crimes, no unanimity can be reached on any point. As a consequence of this dissolution of social opinion, unless a new basis of unity is reached, there comes a more or less marked decay of social solidarity, both because divergence of appreciation and action breeds hostility and because most of the forms in which solidarity used to manifest itself are no longer adequately enforced by social opinion and rely only on individual moral feeling or desire for response.

✓ It must be understood, of course, that the process of disorganization which starts with the young generation is a complicated matter. As a certain group of young people grow older and take the place of their parents, they have to moderate their new attitudes in adaptation to traditional problems and to old responsibilities which they are forced to face; they bring indeed a new and discordant element into the community, but not as radically new and discordant as might have been expected judging by their earlier attitudes. At the same time, however, a new group of young people has taken their place as the revolutionary factor; the atti-

tudes of these are different from those of the old generation, but may be also different from those of the preceding young group. And so on, with increasing complexity. We shall see later how this apparently chaotic evolution which, if left to itself, might lead to a complete decay of all social cohesion, is directed into definite channels by conscious leadership and tends toward the formation of a new social system, less rigid, more multiform, wider and better organized than the old one.

A very different type of disorganization of the community manifests itself not in a divergent evolution of the young generation but in a social disharmony within the old generation. Here the unity of social opinion is not originally affected; we find no revolt against tradition, no attempts to contest the validity of old standards. The individual who behaves in a socially prohibited way either has the consciousness of being wrong and tries to conceal his actions from the community, or else interprets the traditional standards in his favor and tries to justify his behavior from their standpoint. There is disorganization of the community only because, and in so far as, the individual members act against the principle of solidarity.

Now, this form of disorganization is not a new phenomenon, does not need external contacts to be produced; it has always existed even within isolated communities. For its origin lies in the original, temperamental attitudes of the individual. Although communal solidarity is psychologically founded on the desire for response which is, for the sociologist, one of the original individual attitudes, this attitude frequently conflicts with other equally original ones, and these conflicts can be harmonized only by an adequate social education.

We have seen in a preceding volume (Volume III, Introduction) that the temperamental attitudes of an individual are not spontaneously regulated in their social manifestations but express themselves from moment to moment, independently of each other, under the pressure of actual personal needs. The aim of social education is precisely to organize their manifestation by subordinating them to rules. Every case of anti-social behavior which is not due to the explicit rejection of social rules but is a lack of compliance in practice with rules which the individual implicitly or explicitly acknowledges in theory, marks a failure of social education, an imperfect organization of temperamental attitudes into a character demanded by the given social environment. And since individual temperaments differ, while the educational methods used by a primary group are rather uniformly applied to all its members, some educational failures are bound to happen in every community, however strong and coherent, and breaks of communal solidarity, more or less far reaching and frequent, have occurred always and everywhere.

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the number and importance of these breaks have greatly increased in peasant communities since the isolation of the latter disappeared. The explanation of this seems to be that the new values introduced from outside into the community life open the way for many new situations which the traditional rules of behavior did not foresee. The social education which the old generation received did not prepare them sufficiently for the difficult task of maintaining their social character in its integrity in the face of all the new suggestions which their more or less changed environment offers. Under these conditions, every individual's life-organization becomes more or less dis-

turbed and his instincts, inadequately controlled, may easily express themselves in anti-social activities. Thus, the economic evolution of the last fifty years brought before the peasant, even the most conservative one, problems which put to a serious test his principles of social solidarity, made him find or accept new definitions of economic situations to which the traditional rules could not possibly apply and which often, directly or indirectly, led to an antagonism to other members of the community. Similarly, as we have mentioned in the preceding chapter, the growing acquaintance with law made the peasant aware of the existence of standards of human relations somewhat different from his own, and at the same time put into his hand weapons of social struggle which he is more and more frequently tempted to use and abuse, particularly if somebody else has already used them against him.

We have seen that the first type of disorganization, beginning with a disintegration of public opinion due to the new values accepted and new attitudes developed in the young generation, brings with it usually a decay of social solidarity. The second type of disorganization, manifesting itself in the beginning as a decay of solidarity between the members of the old generation, cannot fail to affect in turn the unity and consistency of social opinion. As long as anti-social behavior is limited to a few isolated members of the group, the latter continues to treat it as abnormal and has no doubts as to the validity of the standards on which public opinion bases its judgments. But when breaks of social solidarity become frequent and when in view of the changed conditions every individual sees the possibility of situations to which the traditional rules can not be applied, the faith in the validity of the accepted

standards is gradually shaken. The standards are not explicitly rejected, but begin to be treated as mere pious wishes which it would be desirable but which it is impossible fully to realize in practice. Public opinion is not divided at once into opposite camps, as it is when the young generation revolts against the old, but is weak and hesitant in its approvals and condemnations and loses all interest in facts which it does not know how to control, however vital these facts may be for the existence of the community. And, by a curious contrast, while in the first type of disorganization it is usually the superficial traditions—dress, ceremonial, leisure time organization—which begin to decay before all the others, and the fundamental principles of social morality remain often unshaken, in this second type the very foundation of social cohesion is weakened while the formal observances sanctioned by tradition may be kept as rigidly as ever.

This decay of the active moral control which the community exercises over its members results in turn in the growth of a specific form of social disharmony which we have already mentioned in the preceding chapter—the tendency to individual self-redress. As long as the community is efficient and its standards generally believed and applied, the individual who is or imagines himself wronged can obtain redress through his group, and either voluntarily accepts or is forced to accept whatever redress the group thinks justified. But when the community is inactive or its standards are no longer seriously and unhesitatingly acknowledged by its members, its judiciary and executive authority can no longer have any influence. According to modern ideas, of course, the individual should seek redress through the state, and in most cases the peasant does this. But we

must remember that during the period of Russian domination the state was run by an inefficient, corrupt and nationally foreign, even hostile, bureaucracy. Naturally therefore, there were many cases in which the peasant, not trusting in the ability or the justice of the state authorities, took redress into his own hands. Then, of course, he measured his revenge by his wrong and his wrong by his subjective grievance. Moreover, he had little choice generally as to means and forms of redress and often took the first opportunity to avenge himself, however disproportionate the vengeance might have been as compared with the wrong. This explains the numerous cases of arson and murder through vengeance which we find in popular press and of which we have quoted a few. A similar explanation will be found, in Volume V, with reference to similar cases among the immigrants in this country, where the state jurisdiction, though less inefficient, seems even more unfamiliar to the Polish peasant than the Russian system. We may also add that a primary-group member, when passing from the community control under the state jurisdiction, is never satisfied with the standards of justice and the forms of redress which he can obtain, and there are always cases in which he will be inclined to resort to self-redress; compare, for instance, the long survival of duels.

It must be realized, of course, that the two types of disorganization of the community which we have tried to analyze and to explain separately, *viz.*, the disorganization which affects the young generation and begins by a disintegration of public opinion, and the disorganization which bears directly on the old generation and begins by a decay of social solidarity, usually go on simultaneously, though either may prevail in a given

community during a given period. There are communities, indeed, particularly along the Western border of the Congress Kingdom and in Western Galicia, where as a consequence of season emigration the first type is pushed very far, whereas the old generation seems to remain solidary, perhaps precisely because it feels the need of it to defend its prestige and position in the community. In some other communities, where the contact with the outside world is maintained chiefly by the old generation, communal solidarity is breaking up, whereas the young generation does not think of revolting against the old. But, since the new influences do not fail to penetrate the whole community sooner or later situations such as described are usually only temporary.

We must say, however, that the entire process of disorganization is only temporary. For social disintegration in whatever form never goes as far as to destroy entirely in the group the demand for a regulated, organized and harmonious social life. Thus, social disintegration is bound to rouse not only reflective attention of the group, but also, among some of its members at least, conscious efforts to remedy it.

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CHAPTER IV

STRUGGLE FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE OLD SOCIAL SYSTEM

When the disorganization of a social group becomes the object-matter of reflective attention on the part of its members, the spontaneous tendency immediately arising is that of strengthening the existing social system against the process of decadence. The phenomena of disorganization appear at first as a mere negation of the traditional order, and the problem which faces the group seems to be a simple alternative—either the old order or complete chaos. It is only later, when, as a consequence of a closer contact with other social milieux or of the growing realization of new forms of social life a different social order appears as possible, that the problem loses its seeming simplicity and discloses itself as a very complex and very difficult problem of social evolution, offering an indefinite variety of more or less satisfactory solutions. From this broader standpoint disorganization itself is a secondary matter, a social symptom rather than a social factor. But as long as viewed exclusively with reference to the existing system which is being disorganized, phenomena of disorganization are judged to be *the* real and important matter, the social evil which the chief task of society is to overcome.

Such judgments are found not only in primary peasant groups; they constitute still the main content of social reflection in the most complex and most civilized societies, they are the backbone of all coercive and repres-

sive legislation and of almost all "social reform" activities. The difference between a peasant primary group and a modern complex and fully civilized society is in this respect mainly a difference in the degree of sophistication. The attitude of the peasant community is more naïve both in appreciating the evil and in trying to deal with it, and the entire machinery of repression and reform is incomparably simpler, its motives are more transparent and their expression more sincere. Even when, as in our present case, the struggle for the old system is carried on partly under the influence and with the help of higher developed and more sophisticated social agencies which are interested in the preservation of most of the traditional values in peasant life, these agencies, while dealing with the peasant, use less refined methods and show their motives more explicitly than they do when they are in contact with higher educated and more critical social classes. For all these reasons, the study of the struggle for the old system in peasant communities should permit us to reach conclusions which, though they can not without additional investigation be assumed to apply to more complex and differentiated societies; may nevertheless serve as a basis for a general hypothetical characterization and explanation of conservatism in its relation to social disorganization.

In studying these questions, however, we must keep in mind the fact that the Polish peasant class is not an entirely independent and isolated society but is in contact with other classes—the clergy, the nobility, the lower and middle city class—which tend to influence its evolution. As long as the peasant community is strong and coherent and preserves its traditional system of values, it does not seem to need any initiative or leader-

ship of members of other classes; its social life runs with very little reflective attention, its evolution—for, of course, it is never entirely stationary—goes on by imperceptible, almost continuous changes, and isolated phenomena of disorganization are dealt with by the majority, in which the active power of social control is vested. But when the process of disorganization continues at an accelerating rate the peasant community becomes less and less able to deal with it by its own means, outside help and initiative are needed even to defend the old system against decay. It is the Church which supplies this need, and we shall see in this chapter by what methods and with what effects. The leadership of more conscious and higher educated social elements is even more indispensable to direct the evolution of peasant communities toward the formation of a new social system; but in this case it will prove that the very progress of this social reconstruction tends to develop a new kind of autonomy of the peasant class, an autonomy due to the growth of a leading minority within this class itself.

53. [Here the power of traditional social attitudes is directly opposed to social disorganization. With such a psychology, crime against persons is possible only either as reaction against some real or supposed break of solidarity, or as an individually, not socially, abnormal phenomenon—the result of a temporary or permanent disorganization of the personality.]

Last fall, in the village of H—, some unknown murderers killed a farmer, Maciej Tryka. The trial did not disclose the delinquents and the crime remained unpunished. Suddenly, a few days ago, Michał Olszówka and Jan Sprysak, peasants of the vicinity of Krzeszów, came to the judge who had the inquest in charge. . . . They came voluntarily to confess that it was they who killed Tryka. Nobody knew anything about their connection with the murder . . . but their conscience would not give them peace until they decided to return to confess their crime and to do penance for it.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1900, 4.

54. [An example of a community which remains organized on a purely traditional basis in spite of new influences. It indicates the epidemic character of disorganization.]

We are attached to our native place [Lubochnia] and it very seldom happens that anybody leaves his land and his country home. . . . In our neighborhood some farmers have scarcely three or even only one morg of land, and yet they do not leave their village. [The parish is backward.]

But our people deserve also some blame, for they do not try any handicraft, but everybody wants the land. Even if somebody inherits only one morg from his father, he will not sell it to his brother, but will farm upon it himself. And this is bad, for farms are divided into smaller and smaller parts, and are moreover so scattered around that the farmers simply have no place to build. . . .

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1904, 25.

55. [Old social principles preserved in industrial life.]

The sugar-factory Michałów . . . has existed for almost half a century and only once changed its owner. Its managers also changed very seldom, and steady workmen do not often give their places to new ones. There still lives a retired workman who receives a life-pension and who dug clay for the bricks for the construction of the factory. . . . The families of steady workmen are frequently unified with one another by marriages. As a consequence of all this, the workers here are attached to the place, a thing which seldom happens among people who do not have land of their own . . . [and live very respectable lives]. And therefore the factory accepts only unwillingly, forced by necessity during the time when beets are prepared, a few wandering, homeless workmen, because they often make trouble in factories.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1900, 8.

56. In the village Olszewica . . . a few Jewish families settled, supporting themselves by trade. The father of each family opened a poor little shop in which there was sometimes scarcely a few roubles worth of goods. The trade therefore did not go very briskly; however, in the evenings, in every store it was populous and noisy. The half-grown boys of the village as-

sembled there for a chat and for cigarettes, which the dealers willingly gave to every one even on credit. Besides, they treated every one with candy, not for profit but just as if for politeness. When one of the boys had already taken enough cigarettes, the store-keeper would tell him politely: "My dear, I know that it is hard for you to get money; therefore I do not ask you for it. Bring some eggs, or a small measure of grain; from a good acquaintance, I take even such pay. . . ."

The farmers could not manage their sons and their *parobeks*; finally they decided to join hands and conquer together the evil. The elder of the village . . . convoked a village assembly and it was unanimously resolved to establish a common-store in the village and to lease it to an honest Catholic, and henceforth not to buy a thing from a Jew, in order to compel them to leave the village. The owners of houses in which there were Jewish stores promised not to renew the leases with the merchants and to refuse them the dwelling.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1898, 9.

57. On May 21st, the farmers of the village Czermno . . . in the presence of the mayor, decided at a meeting to request the authorities for permission to remove from the village a certain family, as dishonest, litigious people, doing much damage and bringing shame upon the whole village and parish. The father of this family and one son do knaveries together. Another son does them on his own part. What did these people do, for example, during the exchange of land [in order to unify farms]. They used the most wicked means to hinder the exchange, for it was easier for them to take other people's property when their neighbors had land in small mixed parcels and far from home. More than one person's sheaves were then lost while standing on the field and heaps of hay disappeared. And how much damage they did on the meadows! . . . But strange to say, everybody suffered, complained, but was afraid to tell it openly, for the scoundrel threatened vengeance. . . . And so this father and his sons went unpunished for years and were the fright of everybody. But finally the measure was overfilled. The inhabitants of Czermno made a resolution that they did not want to have such neighbor-thieves among themselves. They sent this resolution to the commissioner [for peasant affairs]

of the district. . . . Not only neighbors, but even relatives of those outcasts signed the resolution.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1898, 26.

58. I asked one of the farmers [of the village Kòwałówka] why nobody there is afraid of theft and he said: "Formerly there used to be awful thefts, particularly they were stealing horses; but we decided at a communal meeting that whoever committed a theft would be for ever excluded from the commune, and if he did not want to leave voluntarily his property would be sold at auction, the money would be given him and he would be driven away. Since that time there has been no stealing in our commune."

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1903, 7.

59. In Makoszyn. . . . Andrzej Lekarczyk with the help of his son Antoni, beat with flails his father-in-law, a white-haired old man, Józef Majda. The wronged Majda brought a complaint against his son-in-law and his grandson and the court condemned Andrzej Lekarczyk to 3 months and Antoni to 3 weeks' imprisonment. But Majda begged the court to commute this punishment to a church-penance. And so it was done. In conformity with the demand of Majda, the Lekarczyks stood for three Sundays in the parish church . . . during the divine service with the flails with which they had beaten the old man, in such a place that everybody could see them. It was a great shame for them. Now people laugh at them, point at them with their fingers and will remind them for a long time about their disrespect for gray hair. You should see the Lekarczyks running home from the church with their flails hidden under their coats. They ran without looking around; only dust rose behind them.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 9.

60. In our part of the country [Kurow] it is customary for priests every year in January to call on their parishioners, and this is called going with the *kolenda*. They do not omit even the poorest hut, provided it is inhabited by Catholics. When the priest is expected to come, the inhabitants of the house look out for him, wait for him with joy, and from this joy and good-will they offer him the so-called *kolenda*, composed

of several *garniec* of grain, usually of three kinds, packed in three vessels. . . . They give rye, barley, oats, buckwheat, or else other things to eat, such as eggs, apples, etc. The priest, coming in, praises the Lord God, and the boys who go with him sing one stanza of a *kolenda* [here Christmas-song]. . . .

"Well, in this village the priest vicar was going with the *kolenda* and that man, J., as an acquaintance of the priest, was following him with his team in order to collect after him whatever people offered. He went a rather long stretch, for the priest visited a score of houses. When his cart was full, another team, the village-elder's, came and that man J. went to his farm-yard under pretext of giving the horses a drink. But in fact this was not what he wanted. He immediately approached the cart and began to rob. . . . But probably Divine justice ordained it so that he took all the oats. When finally he and others went back to the priest's house and took the *kolenda* off the carts, the priest gave them a treat and ordered them to give oats to the horses. But there were no oats. They inquired where the oats were and J. said that nobody gave oats. The priest said: "Why, I saw how they loaded oats as *kolenda* in more than one house." "Well," said J., "they loaded but they did not carry them out [to the cart]." The priests were astonished but they did not doubt that J. told the truth, for he was always considered pious and god-fearing and was acquainted with the priests. Thus suspicion fell upon the village-group, that they were cheating people in this way.

But when the farmers learned this, they said: "We must take the elder with us, walk from house to house and ascertain who gave oats and how much. Why should this wretch stain the whole village if he has stained himself?"

Well, after verification it proved that there should have been nine bushels of 9 *garniec* each of oats. They then said: "Let us go to him, let him give back two *korzec* [8 bushels] oats, for one bushel was perhaps eaten by the horses, and let him pay 100 roubles for the church." Having so decided among themselves, they went to J. and said: "Give back the oats that you have stolen and give 100 roubles for the organ, or otherwise we will bring at once constables, an indictment will be written and we will give you up to the court for a greater shame." J. was con-

fused and said: "I will give 10 roubles and 6 bushels of oats." But the farmers did not agree to this, only remitted 50 roubles. But he begged them so much to let him pay only 30 that finally they agreed to this. Only they demanded that he should carry [this money] to the priest. A few farmers went with him to be witnesses. . . . The priest counted and there were only 29 roubles. . . . And J. said: "Let it be this much I beg, priest curate." But the priest answered: "No, what the village-group decided must be."

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 15.

61. There are such communities where a handful of robbers keep the honest people in terror and fear; everybody knows it, everybody knows where and with whom the stolen thing can be found, and still nobody dares to say a word, for he fears that they will burn his house or avenge themselves in some other way. And it happens also that even denouncing the thief does not help, does not free the community from him, for he has associates precisely among those whose duty is to defend the population from thieves. This was the case, for example, for some time in the district of Bedzin, where a year and a half ago the authorities had to dismiss 40 country constables, for it proved that they simply belonged to a gang of thieves. It is not strange that in such conditions people come sometimes to exasperation and look upon the thief as upon their worst enemy. But up to the last few years, accustomed to bear in humility and silence every oppression, they were forced to bear also this oppression of thieves; it very seldom happened that the hate of thieves pushed the community as far as crime. It happened very frequently only during the last two years and it happens even now. People tolerate the thief up to a certain time, but finally fall into such a terrible anger that, without minding the heavy sin that they take upon their souls, they catch the thief and torture him like executioners until he gives up his spirit. So it happened [in the following case] . . . about which a farmer writes:

In the village Żelechlin . . . 6 sheep were stolen at night from the farmer Reska. Other farmers, having learned it in the morning, went straight to a thief well-known in the community, Jan Michniewski, of the village Świnikierz, and started the matter sharply at once. Then Michniewski led them to the neighboring

village Węgrzynowo, to his friend Józef D., known in the community under the nickname Beneturek. He said that there were in his home last night well-known thieves, a certain Mela, who is hiding himself, Klimczak and Jozef Michniewski. The inhabitants of Żelechlin searched the farm of Beneturek and found a spade stolen some time ago. . . . They took Beneturek and led him to the district-town Rawa. But on the way they "judged" him so that finally in Rawa they had to take him to the hospital and asked for a doctor and medicine. . . . The unhappy man ended his life in the hospital. Before dying he confessed that he had stolen the sheep himself.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1907, 6.

62. [The *Gazeta Świąteczna* published an account of a beating given by farmers to two of their neighbors suspected of horse-stealing. One was beaten to death. Two letters were received claiming these men were innocent, that the horses found with them really belonged to them. The *Gazeta* published one of the letters, that of J. J. The farmers replied by a collective letter as follows:]

For two years already the inhabitants of Romanowo, Józef Pytka, Piotr Owczarski, Józef Owczarski and Antoni Domański had suspected Jurga of keeping stolen things, but they could never catch him. Last year in winter two cows were stolen during a wedding-festival from one of these farmers. The suspicion fell upon Jurga, but it was impossible to prove. The cows were found. Andrzej and Antoni Domański, Adam Kwiatkowski and Grzegorz Chachula searched for them. Against all of them threats were uttered by Jurga and also by Mateusz Labuk, a well-known thief living in Budziszewice, district of Rawa. Once these two came to Klima [to steal] his cow or horses. Józef Klima saw them, recognized and frightened [them] away, but he feared to speak about it. After some time Labuk brought a pair of horses which stood, together with a cart, for a week in Jurga's [stable]. The neighbors knew it, but they feared to betray it. Moreover, horses were brought and taken away at night and at night also Jurga went to the pasture with them as far as Modlica.

In the spring Jurga set the house of Józef Owczarek on fire, having quarrelled with him about a horse. . . ; he had threatened

him before very much and he fulfilled his threat. He did not succeed in trying to put fire to the buildings of Antoni Domański.

When the mayor and clerk from Rzgów came to make an investigation concerning the fire at Owczarek's and began to inquire about evil people, thieves, incendiaries, the inhabitants answered that there was no thief among them. When the authorities left, people said: "There is no question but we must bring the thieves to order." So, at the request of the community, the village-elder Szychowski sent next day (in July, 1905) the information [to the authorities] through the watchman that there were three strange horses with Tomasz Śliwkowski and Antoni Jurga.

Constables came at once from Rzgów. Jurga ran away, to Labuk in Budziszewice, to get certificates for the horses—this is, at least, what the inhabitants of Romanowo think. The horses were taken, one from Śliwkowski, one from Jurga. When Jurga returned home and did not find the horses he walked at night through the village and threatened the whole village, saying that he would burn, hang, roast like crayfishes all the inhabitants, and he promised the village-elder that he would hang his bowels upon the poplar-tree. Before going to Jurga, the farmers went first to Tomasz Śliwkowski, whom they long ago suspected of taking part in the thieves' work or keeping stolen goods at least, but whom they feared to touch. When they stood before evening on July 9th and deliberated how to make order in the village and cleanse it from thieves, Klima remarked that in Śliwkowski's [stable] for some days there stood a *bryczka* [vehicle] on springs, and Depiński added that there were horses too. They all started, called the elder and went to inspect. They began with Śliwkowski. They asked him where were the horses and the *bryczka*. "What the devil! It is none of your business"; and he refused to show what he had in his stable. When they rushed upon him and beat him a little, he opened the stable, where stood a strange horse and another one that Śliwkowski had since spring. When asked where the *bryczka* was, he answered: "What the devil! It is none of your business." Then he said that he had sold it. "To whom?"—"Who had the money bought it." Somebody saw a knife in Śliwkowski's hand. Then they rushed upon Śliwkowski and beat him; they inflicted a few wounds on his head and broke the thinner bone in his forearm. Having taken

the horse from Śliwowski, they went to Jurga. But before this they had gone to Władysław Bajer, whom they also suspected and asked him to show what he had got that was not his own. Bajer opened everything and they found nothing. This had strengthened their suspicion about Śliwowski, who refused to show.

The next day, July 10th a doctor came to Śliwowski in the morning to dress his wounds. He found him sore and beaten. During the night before July 11th Jurga walked through the village till morning and uttered terrible threats. He was at the elder's house, but did not find him. Finally people got impatient, they ran out and killed him with sticks. In this affair the whole village took part and takes the guilt upon itself as a whole. Now in Romanowo there is such order and such peace as there never was for years. We guess who J. J. is. He defends Śliwowski, but it is probably because he is his father-in-law. Śliwowski has a relative in Łódź who brings him stolen goods, and he passes them on.

All this that we write is true, and we sign it. [14 signatures, among them those of the men quoted in the letter.]

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 38.

63. In Chotcza-Dolna, . . . since the introduction of the governmental liquor sale no intoxicating drinks were sold at all. The inhabitants of this village broke off from the habit of drinking whiskey and beer and found that they were succeeding much better in this way. Therefore, when this year the authorities wanted to open a governmental liquor shop in this village, as it is situated near a highway, the farmers did not agree to this. They said: "During the whole past year we had no liquor, but instead we had peace in the village; there were no fights, no revengefulness, no lawsuits or other troubles, and everybody put something aside into his box. If liquor found itself among us again, the old sins would come back with it and we do not want this."

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 9.

64. Until a short time ago smoking was very much developed here. You could not pass through the village without meeting some snotty fellow inhaling bad-smelling smoke of *machora* [lowest quality of Russian tobacco]. But this year at a communal meeting it was decided that everybody who saw a half-

grown boy with a cigarette in his teeth should inform the village-elder about it, and he in turn should inform the proper authority. The responsibility would evidently fall not upon the youthful smoker but upon his father. They made also another resolution—not to permit ungrown people to come together to dances, music and indecent amusements. The host of the house in which such young people gathered to play would be held responsible and punished. . . .

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 28.

65. [Disorganization remedied by direct personal appeal to the desire for response which gives a new vitality to group solidarity by introducing into it an element of voluntary individual initiative and reaction.]

In our village [Wylazłów], as far back as we remember everything was peaceful, quiet and pleasant. All the neighbors lived in good concord and respected each other. But suddenly things began to get spoiled. Neighbors began to look askance at each other, here somebody quarrelled with someone else, there a neighbor brought another one to court. And what proved to be the matter? A restless and revengeful man was found among us. He did not know how to live in peace with everybody, like us, the people of Wylazłów, so he quarrelled with one and another and began to incite others against these. He spread gossip, he incited, he abetted people against each other, so that it ended in real anger and quarreling. And nobody knew where was the beginning of the trouble. Finally slandering reached a man who was prudent and had been reading for a long time the *Gazeta Świąteczna*. This one, instead of slandering his neighbors in turn or getting indignant at them, resolved to discover whence came the gossip. And thus, as soon as he learned that somebody was spreading bad gossip about him, he went there himself and in a good way inquired why these people bore a grudge against him. And thus, as the proverb says, he found the clew by following the thread. His example was followed by all his neighbors. They begged one another's pardon and found out who was inciting them against one another. Now all of them live in concord and do not listen to any bad gossip, and all began to despise that one unworthy neighbor. Seeing that he would not attract any longer anybody to his side here, he began to spread

gossip in other villages so as at least to make the people there angry with us. But even in this he will not succeed, for we all have grown wiser and we are trying immediately to detect the gossip and to bring the truth to light. Therefore I beg you to print these words in the *Gazeta* so that people may not believe any gossip and slander thrown upon our village.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 25.

66. [Model of common decision of temperance.]

We the undersigned inhabitants of the village Boryszew . . . voluntarily agree not to smoke tobacco and not to drink vodka, and as a proof of this everybody signs here with his own hand. If any one signed upon this obligation which we have decided to take, smokes a cigarette or drinks vodka, he will pay 50 copecks fine the first time, the second time 1 rouble, and the third time he will go for one day to jail. This decision binds us, the voluntarily undersigned, from May 1st, 1905 [for one year].

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 26.

67. [Boys in the village Blizocin ceased to smoke under the influence of the *Gazeta*. Thirty boys in the village of Niedźwiedź in the same neighborhood then foreswore smoking. Their argumentation was]: "Why should others be wiser than we? Cannot we do the same as the boys of Blizocin? Let us stop smoking tobacco, for this disgusting stuff ruins our health and costs much. And how can we now waste money on tobacco when so many of our brethren are suffering misery after the flood? . . ." The priest . . . proclaimed this act of the Niedźwiedź boys from the chancel in order to encourage others in his parish to follow their example. . . . The boys decided to plant in the spring three fruit-trees each to commemorate [this decision] and to join at once the Rosary fraternity in order to have God's Mother obtain for them God's help for steadiness in the good.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1904, 23.

68. [Illustrating power of religious attitudes, which seem to be the last ones affected by change of milieu. Cf. religious life of the immigrant in this country. It seems that often in new conditions religion, as the only value left almost unchanged, becomes the center of all conscious or subconscious longing for the past.]

To the priest Kasprzykowski, curate in Gorzkowice . . .

came a poor woman working in one of the factory towns and without telling her name deposited a thousand roubles as a contribution for the church which is being built in this parish. She had put these thousand roubles aside from her earnings in ten years. The priest tried to persuade her that she should leave something for herself in case of a sickness, lameness or loss of strength, but she answered: "Let all this go to the glory of God! God will remember [take care of] me for this in the future."

Gazeta Święteczna, 1898, 47.

69. [Another example of the power of religious attitudes.]

A laborer named Stanisław Dutkowski and others were engaged cleaning hides in Adler's tannery in Radom. As soon as he had one cleaned he immediately cut off an ear and laid it near him in order to know how many hides he had cleaned. He was suddenly called away from his work and upon returning counted the ears and it seemed to him that there was one missing. He then turned to Wojciech Kraszewski, who was working nearest to him, and began to scold him for stealing an ear. Kraszewski tried to explain that he did not take it, but the former continued to scold. Kraszewski enraged called the other workmen to act as witnesses and said: "Swear that I have stolen it." Dutkowski took the oath without hesitation. . . . They counted the hides lying in a heap and counted as many hides as there were ears. Dutkowski, realizing that he had taken a false oath, immediately became insane and in a week's time had to be removed to a hospital. . . .

Gazeta Święteczna, 1894, 21.

70. [One of the classical means of strengthening the influence of religion by connecting it magically with the most important practical interests of the community. Of course, these ceremonies are a survival of primitive magic but now used by the clergy quite consciously as a means of social control.]

The winter crops in this neighborhood promised in spring to be very good, but then as a consequence of April colds they got worse. . . . The summer crops look better). . . and if only rains come from time to time, we shall not have to buy oats for our horses this year. . . . But we know that good luck and good harvest depend not only on work but also on God's grace, which like a vivifying stream flows down upon us from heaven. There-

fore people, as if inspired with an unheard-of eagerness for good, try now to correct their errors. . . . In these times there are divine services performed among us in order to obtain a lucky harvest by prayer. . . .

- The village people prepare for this with particular solemnity. The day before the divine service women and girls weave garlands, adorn crosses with them and the outside walls of the houses, so that the village looks like one garland woven of green, within which here and there a beautifully dressed altar is seen. After the service ordered by the whole village a procession comes from the church, walks around the borders of fields and meadows, and the priest who leads it consecrates the dwellings, the fields, the meadows and the whole property of the farmers. . . .

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 27.

71. [In Gomulin] there were formerly innumerable thefts; now there are almost none. Once they stole a cow from a poor carpenter. Then the priest Langier gave the wronged man his own and only cow, ordered general prayers in the parish on account of this crime, and appealed to all parishioners for help in the discovery of the thieves. The cow was brought back the same night. Many other thefts were discovered. Thus the wrong-doers began to feel so sultry that they ceased to steal.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1904, 46.

72. [The use of leisure time in accordance with traditional principles was long ago found one of the most efficient remedies against disorganization, particularly of the youth.]

. . . I want to tell how our youth amused itself formerly on Sundays and holidays. . . . In autumn and winter they gathered themselves in houses where nobody ever took it into his hand the *Gazeta* or any book, but they amused themselves with gossiping, slandering and laughing at people, and deliberated how to annoy somebody with words or even acts. Once, for example, this trick was played on a farmer. A bucket which was near the well was put one evening upon the top of the crane. The farmer got up in the morning and could not find the bucket. He took another bucket and started to draw water, when suddenly something fell from above upon his head and struck him so heavily that he reeled. [They broke open a barn and drove

the cattle from the stable into it one dark night. The neighbors gathered around thinking there were thieves in the barn.] Another time they threw into somebody's well a dozen thick poplar-logs. Then again they took to pieces some fences along the road and made a fence across the road, so that anybody going at night could not pass. [They put stones in the middle of the road.] They poured naphtha into the well of another farmer. Elsewhere they took washed linen from ropes and hung it upon trees along the road. . . . On Sunday none returned home after the service in the church, but late at night with noise and cries, often with swearing, so that it was unpleasant to listen. And how many fights there were. . . . It could not go on either without stealing from parents, for Szulc or Szmul [German or Jewish shopkeeper] did not give liquor for nothing, but for money or grain.

But now I can boldly write that it is better. . . . Fifteen of us formed a "Garland of the Living Rose," and we began to organize different meetings, and good people were found who helped and taught us. We were helped most by our respected priest Paweł Załusak. . . . All this did not please some among those who had mischief in their heads. They laughed at us and nicknamed us, but we were not discouraged. And now if we come together it is no longer in order to slander anybody or plan tricks, but we read papers and useful books, which we take from the Rosary-library in our parish; we say together part of the Rosary, a litany and suitable prayers. Now already ninety people in our village belong to our Garland. Some do not yet keep company with us. . . . Let them do as they wish; we shall not follow their example but shall read *Gazeta Świąteczna* and take our examples from it.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1907, 4.

73. In the parish Słomczyn, near Warsaw, by the endeavors of the priest a musical band was formed to which 32 farmers' sons belong. They have been learning for several months how to play and now they are already playing on holidays during the divine service in the church choir.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1903, 16.

74. [A band of 16 musicians was formed among the youth of the village Mierzwin.] Thus a rather large group of young

people in this village spend their free moments on music, which ennoble a man, makes him a pleasant companion and may even give him a piece of bread in need. The organization of the band of Mierzwin is chiefly due to Mr. Suchecki, the owner of the estate Grudzyn . . . he bought musical instruments and himself undertook to teach the musicians. [The priest is going to buy an organ so that the leader of the band can teach a peasant group to sing church songs.]

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1898, 10.

75. [Failure of leisure time organization because of individualization not accompanied by the development of any particular positive interest.]

[In Klementowice] we lack church singing. There are scarcely a few men and two or three women who sing, and if they do not come to church there is nobody to sing at all. Why, we have so many young men, so many girls! . . . But how shall they sing if they are ashamed of each other, and if one starts, the others immediately laugh at him [saying] either that his voice is not nice or that he does not sing properly. And thus they do not sing themselves and they hinder others from singing.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1898, 39.

76. In the village Łowkowice . . . instead of the old tavern, a popular club was established. The consecration was performed by priest Krajewski . . . and then an entertainment for children was given in the club-room . . . with a Christmas tree. . . . The club is open everyday for guests. [Papers are on the table and Sundays and holidays the neighbors gather for talk.] Travellers can there also rest and refresh themselves, for near the club there is a shop in which always bread, cheese, butter, herrings, sugar and similar things can be found. . . . This is not like in a tavern, where conversation usually ended in quarrels and jokes, in brutality or fights.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1898, 10.

77. [This document shows, from the standpoint of a priest, the methods applied by the clergy to individual members of the peasant community in struggling against the disorganization of the traditional system.]

The Catholic confession, according to the intention of the

Church, is not only a disclosure of sins for the sake of remittance, but also a means of directing the believers, regulating their everyday life according to the Christian principles as they are exposed by the Catholic Church. . . . The activity of the confessor concerns: *sensual life*, *family [and community] life* (relation of husband and wife, education of children), [relation between members of the large family and the community], *economic life* (questions of expenses, wages paid to servants, conditions of work, etc.), *social life* (life in the state—question of taxes, of fulfilling duties; class-relations; relation to Jews, etc.), *national life* (Polish language, national feeling, relation to national enemies), *church life* (fulfilling religious duties). . . .

Sensual life. Sexual questions are indubitably those most frequently raised during confession. . . . The regulation of sexual relations between husband and wife is a field of enormous influence of the priest. . . . The problem of avoiding a new increase of the family steps more and more frequently over the peasants' thresholds. And the priest must more and more frequently answer the questions of women, more scrupulous than men, whether washing the vagina after the coitus or using medicines is a sin or not. He must teach that conjugal onanism, use of pills, condoms, washing of the vagina are immoral, sinful, contrary to nature. In more serious cases, he must teach further what can be done with pure conscience (have relations only at a determined time).

Let us take some examples (I take them here merely from the standpoint of the church).

1. A woman complains that children emaciate her and that a physician told her that one more childbirth will kill her. But the husband does not even want to listen about stopping the sexual relation and orders her to take some pills into the vagina before the coitus. She had doubts for a long time and finally went to the priest for advice. . . . She does not want to die, but she neither can nor will refuse her husband. The priest stands before an alternative. If he says that it is a sin, the woman in spite of all will continue to act in this way, and if he says that it is not a sin, he will act against the moral law and his duties.

First of all, the priest should question the decision of the physician and send her to another. . . . Then—whether her hus-

band considers it sinless. If he does, then the priest must tell the woman not to touch this question with her husband from the moral viewpoint, but to try to influence him so as to make him perform their relation in a natural way. . . . Then he must tell the woman to reject all fears, to try to strengthen herself as much as possible and to have the conjugal relation only at the time when the possibility of fecundation is the smallest (that is, during the period of 10-14 days between one menstruation and another, avoiding sexual relation a week before and a week after the menses), although even this is not an absolute security. . . . The result is a normal life of husband and wife and more children. The physicians exaggerate very frequently or follow the wish of the woman in their decisions. The influence of religion, the belief in Providence often plays a great rôle in dispelling the fear of childbirth. . . .

Sometimes the man has scruples as to whether he can have relations during pregnancy. Particularly among the peasants there is a very strong sexual respect for a pregnant woman. The priest must teach him that it is better to abstain, particularly during the first two months, but if for the man there is *periculum incontinentiæ* he can, but carefully. . . .

Very frequently people come with questions concerning the quantity of sexual life. How often, whether it is a sin to do it while completely nude; whether certain kisses and touches are a sin and when. The rule is that between husband and wife some sexual abuses (lack of continence) can be only a venial sin if . . . the possibility of fecundation is not excluded. . . .

System of treatment of sexual deviations. . . . As far as my personal experience in the confessional has taught me, masturbation is a very rare kind of sexual deviation among peasants, particularly in the country. In towns it happens more frequently. . . . There is a greater tendency to a normal satisfaction of the sexual instinct, particularly among boys, or to bestialism. The sexual intercourse of animals is usually a stimulus to analogous plays of boys in the period of puberty with girls below ten years of age. These offences are habitual in the poorer class of peasants, daily workers, servants, shepherds (mainly), youth as well as older people. Bestialism is relatively rather frequent among the country population. . . . Bestialism happens more fre-

quently in the period of puberty (2%-3%) and then again toward the end of sexual life (1%) than in the period of maturity and happens almost exclusively among men, very seldom among women. . . . Pederasty is very rare among our peasants; it happens almost only among young people of small towns and only in the form of experiments. At least I have never observed it as a habitual vice. Relatively more frequent is Lesbian love among girls, but also only in towns and between servants living together. This manifestation is connected very frequently with a false devotion . . . and limits itself to very unelaborate means.

Intentional abortion . . . happens more frequently in towns than in villages. As far as I was able to observe the causes of this difference, these are: a greater dissoluteness, a looser idea of morality, the question of supporting children, which is more difficult in a town, and finally a greater facility for concealing the offense. . . . Abortion in towns happens more frequently among married women, in the country among girls. . . . On the other hand, there are in the country many vain endeavors to provoke abortion, such as charms, medicines, etc.

The large proportion of illegal children in the country is caused by the greater liberty of intercourse among youth of both sexes, a greater facility of hiding during the sexual relation, a greater intimacy between the master and the servants . . . lack of other distractions. The largest number of illegitimate children is furnished by daily workers and girls serving in manors or with rich peasants, in houses of officials, etc. . . .

Examples: *Masturbation*. A boy, son of a poor farmer, 14 years old, low mental and physical development, father a drunkard. The boy pastures the cattle of the priest. He masturbates when he is in the forest or the field, also in the stables, sometimes as much as three times a day. He thinks continually about it; it is his only amusement and distraction during the long hours of solitude. The priest wants to save him, for this state is even physically dangerous. He orders him to search for other work to learn a handicraft, and helps him to get an apprenticeship with a carpenter, in order . . . to take him from the sphere of dreams into that of activity. The boy scarcely knows how to read, so the priest teaches him, gives him books with descriptions of the world. He recommends also frequent confession

with the same priest, the rosary, and company of strong and merry boys. The boy had a weak will but was easily influenced. He was frightened by the physical consequences of his vice and reformed. In the beginning he relapsed, but more and more seldom. Gradually there began to awaken in him some interest in nature, astronomy, finally in girls, which was at first rather ideal. Within two years the boy was reformed thanks to the continual ethical and intellectual leadership of the priest. He began to grow to be a healthy and strong boy. . . .

A woman, married, over 40 years old. Her husband travelled, trading in pigs, and she could not hold out and satisfied herself, sometimes more than once during the night. She knew that it was bad but could not control herself. The priest ordered her to take her grown-up daughter to bed with her these nights to make her control herself. This helped *almost* always.

Lesbian love. A girl about 35 years old lives with her younger sister, a widow who cannot cease mourning about her dead husband. Both are very religious, belong to church-fraternities and do much good, although they are poor themselves (they have a shop in the village and 2 morgs); they sew dresses for poorer people and for children, etc. The sisters love each other very much and for nothing in the world would they part. They have lived so together for four years. There is only one "but"; they love each other so much that they kiss each other and touch each other everywhere, from time to time even very much, "as it ought not to be." A severe reprimand by the confessor and an explanation provoke only spasmodic crying. . . . When one tries to keep far, the other approaches. Formerly they did not think that it was a sin. One of them scarcely knows how to write and to count, the other [the widow] has not even this learning. They are a farmer's [peasant's] daughters. Later, the maid went to a convent, the widow married for the second time and their relation was interrupted. . . .

Abortion. [Cases of abortion with disastrous results quoted.] In some cases priests succeed in saving the girls from shame and death and direct them on the normal way. For example: A girl served in the manor and yielded to the teacher "of the lord's children." She became pregnant and came to confession. The priest instead of abusing her (as frequently happens), calmed her,

explained that everything could be repaired and asked her permission to use this news outside of the confessional and then he would settle it with the manor-owner. And thus it happened. The girl was sent to the town to the hospital, under the pretext of work; there she bore a child which was given to an asylum. She came back and married a driver, "with the lord's favor" [probably a dowry]. After a year, with the consent of her husband, she took the child home and there was no scandal. "People talked a little" but did not annoy her, and the girl remained a good wife and mother and always thanked the priest for having saved her, "for she already wanted to go to a woman in order to lose it."

Many girls in analogous situations come to confession, but the priests do not always behave to the point and frequently by sharp criticism push the poor girl to a desperate step. The social ostracism is pitiless enough in such cases, and if the last refuge—religion—also condemns her, it is not strange if the girl loses courage and has decided to do anything. . . .

Family [and community] life. . . . People usually confess matters concerning conjugal life or bad example given children, but seldom (almost never) confess negligence in the education of children. For example, a peasant confessed that he beat his wife for not keeping the house and the children clean and not caring for the cattle. . . . The priest teaches him how to handle his wife to teach her order in a friendly way. Evidently the means are various according to the economical conditions. Sometimes advice to bequeath a morg to the wife if she is clean about the house and cares for the stock or to buy a pretty dress, and to give a good example first of all and not leave everything upon the shoulders of the woman, has an excellent effect. . . . But the greatest influence is exercised by the confessor (if he cares to do it) upon the education of children. One of the priests was a master in this line. He knew how to get out of the peasant the hidden sentiment for the child by [appealing to] his economical point of view as to children and by rousing paternal pride. This priest did not hesitate to make such comparisons as: "Why, are you not proud if your neighbors envy you for having some horse or bull whom you have brought up and whom you keep clean and do not overburden with work? And is your own son, your image

and likeness, worse than a bull? Will he not bring more benefit to you later, when he grows up and is strong, wise and courageous, because you have given him plenty to eat, respected him and left him time to study? I don't even speak about his soul, image of God Himself. If you feel responsible for your farm-stock, if you want order and justice to reign upon the earth [if you want] the field, the forest, the cattle to serve you, you must care also that your own son or daughter should grow to love this field, this forest, these cattle; you should not make him tired of life and the world by beating him, cursing him, overburdening him with work."

A peasant confesses that he quarrels with his wife. It proves that the man likes to drop into the tavern, and that his wife does not like it for she likes money. But he wants to have some distraction "and when one is continually with the women, sometimes an ugly word falls out." And when he returns from the tavern she curses him and he curses her, and she does not want to have anything to do with him and drives him out "to clean his mouth from the smell of liquor and then to come back to her." From anger he goes to a *kuma*, whose husband is night-watchman, and sleeps with her sometimes once, sometimes twice a week. Then when he returns home his wife sometimes tries to please him, but then he pushes her away, sometimes striking her, etc.

The ecclesiastical law says that a husband (or wife) who has committed adultery loses the right to demand coitus and only a priest can give him this right back. . . . The priest has to find a *modus vivendi* for them in order to avoid quarrels and to introduce normal relations; he must force the peasant to stop visiting the tavern (pledge not to drink) and try to make each party yield a little. . . .

[The priest acts also as a judge between parties.] The most frequent cases which the confessor must decide are various familial affairs which are either too small or too intimate to carry to the court—"ordinary peasant sins," as once a witty peasant defined them. In these cases the confessor acts not merely as a sacramental judge who decides that something is bad or indifferent and imposes a penance and a satisfaction. Usually he has to hold formal examinations, ask about the behavior of both

parties, investigate the circumstances, the situation, use cross-questions in order to study the essence of the matter and finally pronounce a sentence which determines which person has acted badly and to what extent, and how the person who accuses himself (often he accuses another) has to act in order to redress the wrong done (moral and material) and to settle the familial relations bearably and in a Christian way.

The cause of such quarrels is usually an offence such as the use of something without asking permission, sometimes egotism and an over-developed feeling of the right of property and exclusive use of a thing; the most frequent opportunity is gossip and an inborn coarseness in behavior toward the environment. Such quarrels are more frequent and trifling among women. Among men they occur more seldom, mostly about the use of a harness, a rope, a scythe, etc. Sometimes men take sides with women and the "state of war" embraces the whole household. The most characteristic are quarrels about food—flour, grain, bacon, vegetables, which particularly often break out between old and young people—parents and their married children. . . . Although I cannot propose this as a rule, still I have found that in most cases the old people were guilty, started the war. It is not strange. They had worked their whole lives, had raised their children, so they like to eat the children's bread without any work of their own. [The mother helps herself to her daughter's or daughter-in-law's supplies in her absence; the daughter, discovering it, retaliates.] . . . And thus they rob each other. At confession the priest must listen to a whole store-room-litany and reconcile, moderate the angers. Sometimes the daughter does not discover the loss. Then the confessor has to decide whether the mother shall give it back or not. This depends upon the earnings of the son-in-law or the son and on the economic arrangement on which the old people live with the young. . . .

Material profit is always the reason of quarrels, of friendship, guides beliefs, prayers, etc. I had a case where a woman brought during confession money for a mass that her cattle might grow well and her hens lay eggs. The motive was, as proved later, envy of her sister. . . . "Women have told me that she certainly uses charms, . . . but I prefer to address myself to our Lord Jesus in order to have everything better than she."

It proved that this woman had also tried charms and wasted time on them instead of working. . . .

A profound mistrust and searching for secret motives of behavior of another person, often ascribing this behavior to "hidden forces," characterize our peasant. Moreover, the lack of wider horizons of interest directs his mind to occultism on the one hand, to an excessive interest in the affairs of neighbors on the other hand. Country gossip, which all the peasant women without exception confess and to which even children show a marked tendency, is precisely a mixture of occultistic beliefs and of criticism of the behavior of neighbors and relatives. Gossip gives birth to slandering, usually called "blackening," that is, spreading of invidious news about neighbors. The background of blackening is either envy . . . or hate, frequently caused by trifling incidents—a petty vanity concerning claims on a church-bench, priority in a fraternity or in the community; quarrels of children; refusal to unite two families by wedlock—in a word, hate brought about by considerations of social position.

The use of occult forces is frequently given as a reason of success. There is not any lack either of associations with the devil, charms, etc. A peasant who has given offence to another family must be beforehand prepared for this kind of accusations. In the larger family they are particularly frequent. The motive is very frequently familial diplomacy whose end is material profit—a succession, etc. So again and always—material profit. . . . By what means profit can be reached seems to be an indifferent matter. It is always possible to confess, but it is not always possible to profit—this is the life-theory of the peasant, half cynic (unconsciously), half Christian, . . . full of generous impulses but also of cold calculation. . . .

The peasants believe in the "curse," that is they think that a curse binds not only the world of evil spirits but even God Himself, Divine Providence. But on the other hand they consider it their greatest sin, they are simply struck with terror because of what they have done by having interfered with the world of spirits and they are sure that God would not pardon them "for having been obliged to fulfil their curse." I had a case which clearly shows the state of a peasant's soul in such conditions. An old peasant was dying. He had on his conscience many

things against the seventh and sixth commandments which should have afflicted him first of all. But something else "lay like a stone upon his soul." Some years ago his only son obstinately wanted to go to the [Austrian] army as volunteer. His father would not permit him, but he went nevertheless and served in the artillery. The father, angry for losing help in farming, solemnly cursed him in a letter written to him saying that it should never be given to him to see his native house and that everything which he might have should be wasted in vain. The old man was obstinate and would never see him, although he was promoted to a sergenty. The son married, and toward the end of the twelfth year of his service passed an examination preparatory to civil service and was appointed a court-clerk. He intended to go to his village to boast and to show that he had succeeded well in spite of the curse. Only three days were left for him to serve in the army [when he was killed by an accident]. . . . This broke the father. He neglected his farm, dried up and died. . . . His last thoughts were about the curse which he threw upon his son. He continually said: "Still, the Lord God cannot forgive me this! . . . What business did I have in interfering with God's government" (*sic!*). . . .

Such curses are, of course, frequently not fulfilled. The peasants then explain that they were not said at an opportune moment of connection with the world of spirits. . . .

Christianity requires necessarily interference with the pettiest questions of everyday life in conformity with the principle that it is a doctrine which should not only be recognized but also put into action. . . . The task of the priest in general is to maintain in the mind of the peasant the idea of order in the universe (ascribed to Divine Providence) and to adjust to this idea the performance of all the familial or economical activities. A suitable treatment of the wife, children, parents, servants if there are any at home, must be based upon this great harmony of the universe, be connected into one whole, one accord in this harmony, so that everything shall be to the benefit of the family itself (of the head of the family and his wife in first instance) and to the glory of God. The glory of God in the conception of the priest and also of the peasant lies precisely in preserving and developing the order which is one of the manifestations of

God's thought in the world. . . . Such teaching . . . sows in a mind that has perhaps never before analyzed its social duties . . . a critical sense and view of functions of life as eating, dressing, spending of money, all kinds of economic transactions, the whole system of private economy, the theory of property, and so on. . . .

Examples: Most frequently the Polish peasant has to be taught about the right of property, about applying honest ideas of property also to the state or to the manor, about economical justice toward maids or *parobeks* and even toward his own children.

Thus, a peasant confesses that he took some iron [railroad rails and nails] from the road. It is necessary to know that iron of any kind and leather constitute an invincible temptation for our peasant and even a relatively rich peasant will take it, if it is the property of the state. . . . He does not consider it stealing, for this iron is in any case common property [state—all people, in their language]. . . . As difficult a nut to crack for the confessor is teaching the peasants to apply the theory of property also to the orchard, meadow or field, particularly of the manor and of the priest. . . . Outside of the confessional, the peasant will answer: "God created it for all people," and: "The lord or the priest is rich enough, it won't harm him." . . . In some cases the manor adapts itself to the circumstances. Thus, for example, one manor-owner who had very large orchards could not preserve them from thieves. Even the influence of the priest could not stop the robbery. Then the manor-owner said to the priest: "Put at least in their heads during confession that they should not break the branches and spoil the trees. . . ."

Sometimes the confession of a peasant who likes to make incursions upon the manorial or communal forest is amusing: "I took some sticks from the forest."—"How many were there?"—"About five."—"Was it brushwood or thicker poles?" No answer. "What did you do with this wood?"—"Well, I repaired the pig-sty and made a few pegs for the fence." The priest begins to suspect that it was a rather serious theft, and asks how big and long were these "sticks" [and finally]: "Were they felled or did you fell them?"—"Well, I did. They were about

twice as long as the wagon. But they were communal and therefore also mine." . . . The same applies to the manorial forest, and as to gathering mushrooms and berries (even if it is forbidden), they don't even confess it. The idea that everything is first God's, then people's and only then the individual's, is so strong that the whole pedagogical influence of the priest who proclaims a different principle of property wins very slowly and very few adherents. "The priest talks so because it is suitable for him." These few words illustrate well the relation between the priest and the peasants in this field.

Influence upon the social life of the individual. Christianity as a rule supports the state unless the state fights Christianity, and even then the church is to some extent loyal toward the state. This is the rule for the confessors. But there are some exceptions to this essential loyalty and the confessor teaches in a straightforward way that in such cases it is not necessary to be loyal to the state. Those are cases when the state requires from its citizen or subject a thing either absolutely or relatively unjust. . . . Here belong all the cases of national persecution in Russian and German Poland where the priests freely dispense their parishioners from any duties of obedience to the state in these matters. [The author is a Galician priest and, there being no national persecution in Austrian Poland, has not met this situation in his personal experiences as confessor.]

Then there are the problems of performing official functions, profiting from an official position; . . . the relation to other nationalities in the same community upon the social, commercial, political fields [in border-communities with mixed population]; the relation to the Jews; . . . duties of humanity with regard to fallen people, drunkards, paupers. In general in all the instructions that a priest gives on the occasion of some confession he always tends to emphasize on the one hand the necessity of solidarity among men, and on the other that of maintaining intact the Catholic principles in the spirit and character of the individual and of the community.

For example: N. is secretary of a commune. He confesses after many years that he abused his functions and not only took bribes for a rapid and successful settling of affairs but also forced peasants to give chickens, eggs, money, etc., for various allevia-

tions which he promised to obtain but did nothing. . . . After the death of his wife he broke down and wants now to be honest, but has still many erroneous ideas about the social machine. A soul thoroughly crooked by looking upon the world through the *prisma* of bribery and profit. The priest must influence and teach him, open his eyes to real civic activity, to his bad influence on the peasants whom he has made also corrupt. . . . In a word, the priest had to work for a long time (some years) before he succeeded, with the help of the sacraments and his persuasions, in changing the secretary's ideas about life. .

The relation of the peasant to the Jew. . . . The priests even today maintain, with a few exceptions, the mediæval exemptions against the Jews, trying on the other hand to inculcate the Christian spirit of charity with regard to them also. But in this they have much less success. The peasant cannot be persuaded by any means that the Jew is a man like himself. And even if sometimes theoretically he acknowledges his equality "before God," he never introduces this theory into practice in his relations with the Jews. But poverty or the need of earning make him often a real Jewish slave. From this precisely, from this material slavery, moral depravation and social degradation, the Church wants to save and to preserve its members.

A young boy (about 20 years old) confesses that he behaved indecently. During the examination it proves that he is serving with Jews and that they scandalize him, try to modify his ethical views. Thus, for example, he sleeps in a room adjacent to a Jewish bedroom where two conjugal couples are sleeping. In the same room with him there sleep three young Jews who every evening undress completely in his presence, make fun of the uncircumcised, tell him to listen to what is going on in the conjugal bedroom and persuade him to bring a girl of his acquaintance. They creep upon his bed and touch him, even give him liquor and push him out to bring a girl, etc. Moreover they abuse him at work, tell him to do the dirtiest and heaviest things, call him stupid, treat him with scorn and make him work on Sundays, but also on Saturdays. . . . The priest orders him to search for another place and if he does not find any to come to him, and promises to get work for him. This boy came to the church, but many who have served for a time with Jews never

show themselves in a church, become quite irreligious, and what is worse, grow completely worthless. Sometimes at the end of his life such a moral and material wreck finds himself again in the church and the confession of such a man justifies completely the fears of the Church about the lot of Jewish servants. Therefore priests frequently admonish poor parents who want to give their children to serve not to give them to Jews. They charge the Jews with material exploitation (bad pay, poor lodging and food), contemptful treatment, demoralization and destruction of health. . . . The fathers and mothers of our peasant children are sometimes rather indifferent, if not blind to the danger menacing their children if given to Jews. Getting rid of a burden from home and sometimes the hope of some income make them ignore the possibility of evil and they complain only when the consequences appear and when, moreover, they do not get any money, for the demoralized daughter or son who "spit" on everything that used to be holy for them do not care for their parents who gave them away, and prefer to dress for the few pennies earned with the Jews. Then only begins weeping and complaining: "Why did we not listen to the priest when he told the truth!"

Again a few examples. The penitent comes from a poor family of *komorniks*. She was obliged to go to serve. She went to the Jewish tenant of a farm. One of the young Jews often accosted her but she felt a disgust toward him: "Though a handsome boy, still he is a Jew." Once in winter she got very cold. The housekeeper, formerly a nurse in Jewish houses, gave her tea with arrack and told her to stay in the kitchen near the stove for the night. The housekeeper herself slept in a room near the kitchen. The girl was dizzy after the arrack and she fell asleep "like a log." At night she woke in the embrace of the young Jew, already too late. For some time afterwards he was good to her and she even liked him, "and they slept frequently together." But when the consequences of this love were too marked, he dismissed her and gave her only horses to carry her to the town. Then the fault was put upon *parobeks* and it was said that the girl "frolicked" with everybody in the stable. The child was a typical little Jew; I baptized it myself. But the girl became an ordinary prostitute. She was for a time a

Jewish wet-nurse, and then "she went with everybody," even without money, more than once in a pit near the road. Sometimes she came to confession but she made the impression of being hysterical and she considered dissolute sexual acts something unavoidable. Sometimes she felt that she was behaving badly, but she always was persuaded that "something [inside] was pushing her." Frequently at night she left her house and wandered about the road giving herself to everybody who accosted her. Aside from this she was normal. . . .

Another girl allowed herself to be tempted by a richer Jew, a bachelor, who rented a room from the Jewish family with whom she served. The girl had a weak point; she liked to dress herself. He promised her a dress and also to give her medicine to avoid a child. She received the dress all right, but when he got tired of her he moved away and sent her to his friend. The latter promised to marry her (though he also was a Jew), lived with her for about two months and left her. The girl was very good by nature, she was pained that she had fallen out already it was difficult for her to withstand or to refuse anybody. The Jews have this peculiarity that they teach the appreciation of the body and of sexual relations. They bring into the mental horizon of the Polish peasant girl the erotic element (in spite of the brutality and coarseness with which they treat her) which is unknown to the soul of the Polish peasant and so different from the severe Christian view upon the body and sexual functions. She did not see in her actions the "moral ugliness" which the Christians usually feel, but only the transgression of a law, of a cruel law that forbids her such a good thing and moreover brands her, particularly for the relation with a Jew. (The sexual relation with a Jew is in the eyes of the church a particularly aggravating circumstance in view of the familial connection established by the coitus, the danger of the child being educated in the Jewish religion, and the "mixing" of Christian and Jewish blood.) . . .

Reformatory character of the confessor's influence. . . . Confession is in many cases a powerful reformatory factor in social evils such as alcoholism, theft, immoral behavior, etc. There is marked improvement throughout Poland, particularly as regards alcoholism.] . . . Certainly other social factors play

also a certain part such as more enlightenment, social organization and social action against liquor-shops. But these factors have only a preventive value. Where the problem is how to eradicate an inveterate evil, confession—the force of religious beliefs—must be added to a common social activity if positive results are to be obtained.

The influence of confession is strengthened by suitable sermons and teachings. They prepare also the way for breaking and converting the obstinate. But confession is always the moment of crisis and even if in individual cases it does not bring a definite victory, in any case it undermines the force of the bad habit. This extraordinary influence of confession lies 1) in its ordinary psychological action, 2) in its supernatural, magical "charm," connected with the fear of the judgment of God, the feeling of the unworthiness of the vice and the hope of pardon through confession. The personal force of the confessor's action is also based upon two types of factors—his natural cleverness and ability to influence others, and upon the magical powers which the faith of the penitent ascribes to him. The method of action depends on the individual, on his disposition and on the force of the habit . . . it must be different in almost every particular case. . . . The situation presents itself frequently as a war in which the drunkard fights for his dose, the priest for the physical and spiritual good of this drunkard. But the drunkard fights alone or in alliance with only a few friends, while on the side of the priest stands the whole coalition of the members of the family, the magical forces, the prayers and sacrifices of the wife and children (often heroic), the punishing and excluding hand of the church and the opinion of the majority of the community.

For example: [N. had been drinking 10 years.] The family used to "help" him to get free of his vice, but in a sharp peasant way that only angered him more. Only a daughter, the oldest one, a mild girl who never said a bitter word to him, had some influence upon him. The priest used her to reform her father. . . . First the priest bound all the relatives of the drunkard with the oath that they would never give him anything to drink. Then he taught the man's daughter to tell her father that she would give him brandy herself, for in the

starosta's office they had discovered that the Jew in the village was selling a bad liquor which took the reason away. The priest furnished the brandy, preparing it so that it was weaker and weaker, although it burned the throat. At the same time began an assault of prayers and a scapulary was hung around his neck. Gradually the priest began to call and to express commiseration with him for having been poisoned. Finally the peasant became reformed. . . .

Of course, misery, liquor, demagogues playing on the peasant's passions, and the natural tendency to profit and to property have developed in him a large percentage of criminal tendencies. Still the growth of wealth and education and the religious influence of the priest greatly diminish this percentage. But evidently these tendencies remain latent and in the case of a momentary weakening of the influence of religion violently explode. The peasant perpetrates in such a state murder, robbery, arson, with the greatest facility. He does not hesitate and does not reflect long; at the time of such explosions he shows himself quite a primitive man. . . . For example, arson is for the peasant something quite natural, is a *self-redress*, and does not even bring him dishonor in the eyes of his peasant neighbors. Reciprocal incendiarism is such a frequent manifestation of self-redress that it merits particular study. It is civil war. The peasant considers breaking Lent a greater sin. To stop or at least to diminish the number of arsons the bishops in Poland have reserved [the pardon of] the sin of arson for themselves. That is, an ordinary priest cannot remit the sin of the incendiary, but must appeal to the bishop or send the man to the bishop to confession (in the same way as with murder). But this does not help much. I would define it as a *feud*, a way of carrying on civil war. A peasant whom my father reproached for having set fire to his neighbor's buildings, said: "I have set fire to his barn, but he could have and can still set fire to mine." . . . I have listened to the confession of many even respectable farmers who tried to set fire to their enemies' farm-buildings, only they did not always succeed. . . . The varieties of technique of arson are themselves worth studying. The reason is frequently the loss of a law-suit, the seduction of a woman, etc.

The lack of respect for human life characterizes also our peasants and marks the primitive character of their social organization. Women are not free from this defect. There are innumerable attempts at murder which happily often end in wounds. . . . I do not remember the percentage of deaths through murder in the general number of deaths. . . . But I remember that there are three times as many murders attempted as accomplished.

The priests can do but little to diminish these two plagues of our villages, which is the strongest proof of the lack of real Christianity in our peasant. . . . Once I had a sermon about loving one's enemies. Immediately after the divine service two enemies met and beat each other with stones so fiercely that the skull of one of them was broken. This occurred under the wall of the church, and one of these men had just been to confession and communion. . . .

Written for the authors by a Galician priest who wishes his name withheld.

78. [New method of dealing with disorganization, developed on the ground of the recent co-operative movement. Contrast with old methods.]

A quite different way of dealing with thieves was found by the factory-workers in the town of Tomaszów. . . . First of all, they detected about a hundred professional thieves and threatened them with the punishment of death if any of them did not take up honest work but continued to live by wronging other people. And, in order that none of the thieves could evade the proposition by saying that nobody would accept him for work, the workmen came to an agreement with the managers of the factories in Tomaszów and with their help placed all these thieves in factories, ordered them to work and watched them continually to make them live in an honest way. Some time ago in one of these factories a theft happened. The workmen found out the thief and punished him in this way: They led him about the town with the stolen thing attached to his neck. He experienced shame enough and probably has lost the desire to steal. Thefts and robberies have stopped completely in this town and in its neighborhood.

A good means against thieves, not as cruel as torturing and

killing, was invented last summer in a community of the district of Zamość. The farmers agreed at communal meetings to break all relations with those who steal. They decided not to have any business or work in common with them, not to talk with them at all, not even to answer their greeting when they met—in general to avoid them and to act as if they were not neighbors, as if they did not exist at all. At the same time they pledged themselves to pay 25 roubles fine for any transgression of this decision. . . . In some villages where this decision was exactly carried out, its good consequences are noticed. The solitude has so annoyed the men who have been condemned to it by the community that they promise to improve, begging that this neighbors' excommunication be taken off them. . . .

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1907, 6.

The task of preventing or counteracting disorganization, whether faced by the 'community which wants the individual to behave in accordance with traditional rules, or by the individual who wants to influence the community so as to maintain the traditional system in belief and action, can always be reduced to the following simple formula: "How to make the individual or the community define and solve certain situations in the same way as before, in spite of changed conditions or changed attitudes or both." The documents quoted above give us illustrations of the various ways in which this task may be fulfilled, successfully or not.

The definition and solution of a situation (see Methodological Note, Vol. I, p. 68) is a complex fact in which many attitudes and values are involved, but a certain attitude becomes predominant and determines the main character of the action by bringing forth a definite response to certain of the values included in the given conditions in which the subject acts. Thus, when we expect the individual or the group to act in a certain way, we presuppose the existence of a certain attitude which

will reassert itself and determine the chief bearing of the action whenever certain values are given, even though the detail of the action changes, since neither all the values which constitute the conditions nor all the attitudes are the same from case to case. There could be no continuity of individual behavior and no social organization if the individual or the group did not preserve the same definitions in spite of some changes of conditions and attitudes. The difficulty in preserving the old definition develops only when instead of the attitude which used to determine the action in given conditions another attitude assumes the predominant rôle, or instead of the values which used to provoke a definite response some other values appear in the field of action, or finally, when both the predominant attitude and the conditions of action are no longer the same as before.

The natural and naïve expectation of a social group is that the definitions which have been traditionally accepted and applied to innumerable situations by many individuals will last indefinitely and bear any amount of change. It is not usual for social groups to prepare against possible disorganization except by trying to provide for the repetition of such breaks of rules as have already been experienced in the past; every break of a new and unknown kind always provokes astonishment. The struggle against disorganization is thus prevalently retroactive, consists in efforts to reinforce definitions already weakened rather than to prevent their weakening, to counteract changes which have already occurred rather than to make the existing system more flexible, more apt to withstand changes. Even when the danger of coming disorganization has been noticed—for instance, owing to the observation of groups in

which disorganization had been already growing—its realization usually leads at first only to an additional social emphasis upon the old rules, to their more explicit and frequent formulation and more strict observance.

Other more elaborate methods of defense are usually resorted to only when this one fails to work. And it is rather surprising that this primitive method often does succeed. Thus, for instance, the mere fact of having certain rules formulated and continually repeated makes their transgression assume a character of abnormality. Moreover, many traditional social definitions have become associated so closely with certain very general and fundamental human tendencies that the latter cannot express themselves otherwise than in the traditional ways. Thus, in our case of two men who, after committing a murder return home and give themselves up, the entire set of fundamental social emotions roused by their act and its direct and indirect consequences lead them to the traditional definition of murder as a crime to be confessed and expiated; no other issue seems possible in view of their attitudes, because they do not know of any other way of defining a situation in which these attitudes would find a satisfactory expression. It is also a matter of astonishment that in the midst of a general breakdown of the traditional system, certain groups maintain the traditional system intact for a long time against all changes and without apparently resorting to any special methods of defense. We have quoted two such examples—a peasant community and an industrial community—and there are even villages near great industrial centers (Warsaw or Łódź) in continual contact with them, living a life as patriarchal as a hundred years ago. We do not attempt to explain such cases, for our data are not sufficient. We only point

out that social stability is a problem demanding explanation as much as social change.

If this simple and naïve method of preventing disorganization by ignoring the possibility of change does not work, the social group tends to counteract disorganization by what we may call the method of isolation, *i. e.*, by breaking the connection between itself and those individuals whose behavior is in disaccordance with the traditional system.

Here belong, first of all, cases of actual exclusion of individuals from the territorial limits of the community. For obvious reasons, exclusion is most frequently practiced with reference to strangers settled in the community; it is a tendency of every social group to put the blame for all undesirable phenomena upon strangers rather than upon its own members for whom it feels partly responsible, and the exclusion of a stranger who has not taken root in the community and is not felt to belong there "naturally" seems much easier and less important than the exclusion of a member. But it must be realized that, though the peasant community had legally the right to exclude undesirable individuals, this right was limited in practice by the Russian administration whose permission was needed before a communal decision went into effect, and further, the formal requirements necessary to make a decision legal made the method of exclusion rather difficult to apply. Therefore we find the peasant community often resorting to more immediate and simpler means of action.

In cases where there is transgression of custom but no serious break of social solidarity, no crime, the community spontaneously reacts by interrupting some or all of the normal social relations with the offender, by refusing to respond to his emotional or practical needs.

There seldom is any plan, any conscious and explicit agreement behind this reaction; it seems as if every individual of his own initiative or by imitation of others, tended simply to avoid any close contact with those who have been condemned by social opinion. The explicit motives of this tendency are, the feeling of indignation at the offence and the fear of being accused by social opinion of sharing the attitude of the offender. But further back we can still detect a more naïve, though no longer consciously realized motive—the fear of “contamination,” the unformulated apprehension that there is some kind of evil principle in the offender which in some incomprehensible, vaguely magical way may affect those who keep relations with him. This primitive motive asserts itself more or less clearly in every society whenever it faces a new, inexplicable, “uncanny” kind of behavior. We find in the present collection of materials many incidental mentions of such an isolation of the individual whose behavior is not in accordance with the custom.

When the community has to deal not with a mere nonconformity with traditional customs and mores, but with a break of solidarity verging upon or passing into crime, its reaction becomes a positive and planful repression, varying in intensity from public blame to lynching, according to the importance of the offence as viewed by the group. The facts of lynching, of which many have occurred since 1905 and of which we have quoted some examples, deserve particular attention.

The facts cannot be properly understood if interpreted exclusively as mob acts, as irrational spontaneous outbursts of popular instincts of revenge. There are, indeed, some of the “mob action” attitudes developing during the very process of lynching; but the foun-

dation of the whole performance lies in the essential social needs of an organized community, not in animal instincts. We shall find typical examples of mob action in the next chapter; their background is radically different. They occur in groups which either lack organization entirely—like a city crowd—or whose organization is, in a sense, temporarily suspended, has ceased to work for a time—as in a community struck by a sudden panic-provoking event; they are purposeless, have no general aim to which the present action is subordinated. But the cases of lynching which we find in peasant communities are performed by groups in which the traditional organization is still strong and vital; they are the product of deliberation, sometimes prepared for a long time ahead; they have a very definite general purpose, popularly expressed as “cleansing” of the community. Finally, in the eyes of every member of the community they are morally justified; none of the individuals who participated in them feels that he was acting under momentary excitement but each considers his action as rational and to be repeated if necessary. Thus, lynching in peasant communities appears as a rather primitive, but fully conscious method of struggle against disorganization.

It must be realized, of course, that the conditions under which lynching develops in Polish peasant communities are quite particular and do not permit us to draw any general conclusions as to whether lynching is an original means of repression in primary groups or not. The peasant community was forced centuries ago to surrender most of its judicial and executive functions to other social agencies on whose activities it had little or no influence. Since 1863, when Russia definitively took over all administration and jurisdiction in

the Congress Kingdom, the performance of these functions has been particularly unsuccessful owing to the inefficiency and dishonesty of Russian officials. At the same time, peasant communities, owing to the recent economic independence acquired by the peasants in 1864, began to develop a feeling of their own importance which manifested itself very clearly during the period 1905-1907. And as during this period the Russian police, absorbed in a fight against the revolutionists, neglected more than ever its duties with regard to crime, many communities took the matter into their own hands. And, of course, as they had none of the elaborate means of repression at their disposal which a state can use, lynching was inevitably resorted to just as, for similar reasons, individuals in weakened communities resort to self-redress.

But if thus the conditions in which lynching appeared were rather exceptional, the social attitudes manifested in these acts were essentially the same which always and everywhere constitute the psychological basis of social repression of anti-social behavior; indeed, we find there the whole psychology of "retributive justice." And if we study these cases in connection with their social background, we find that seemingly similar acts of repression have an entirely different significance when performed upon outsiders and when their object is a member of the group.

In the first case, when the offender is an outsider and the victim is a member of the community or the community as a whole, the reaction of the latter is essentially retributive and preventive, with an attempt to exact damages. When the offender is a member of the community these attitudes may also exist in some measure, particularly if the community is partly broken up

into fragments, each of which acts as a separate group that wants to revenge its wrongs and to intimidate aggression. But so long as the solidarity of the community is strong these are not the attitudes which determine the policy of the group as a whole with reference to the offending member. What the community is interested in more than in revenge, more than in prevention of future offences, is, so to speak, the annihilation of the anti-social act which has been performed—some device which will permit it to consider the crime as not having occurred within its limits. Of course these ideas are not formulated in these terms in the consciousness of the group, but this fundamental attitude manifests itself not only in those acts of repression which we are studying, but also in innumerable and various expressions of regret, shame, reproach, etc. Something parallel is found in the religious ideas of "sin" and of the various methods by which past sins are "wiped out." In the peasant community the sources of this attitude are probably several. There may be some vestige of the old notion of common magical responsibility; there certainly is an unreasoned remnant of the mediæval fear of common political responsibility, in some cases revived by the stand taken by Russian governmental officials with regard to communities in which a crime, and more particularly a political offence, has been committed; there is the feeling of shame for the group before its neighbors. In addition to this, there is probably also the dissatisfaction with the very fact that the traditional principles have been broken, rooted ultimately in the desire for security and the feeling that a rule which has been broken has lost some of its reliability. The community hates the very idea that a break has occurred, and there is an intense and fre-

quently voiced consciousness of a "stain" to be removed.

This is the attitude which gives to the action of punishing a member or to any other similar performance, its social justification in the eyes of every member of the group and raises such an action above the level of personal revenge or personal fear. By treating the offender as an enemy the group actively manifests its solidarity against him, disowns him and his crime, tends to treat him as if he had never been a member and to treat the crime as if it had been performed outside of the community. The stain is removed and the traditional system reasserted as unbroken. If, on the contrary, any leniency is shown to the malefactor, there remains a more or less distinct consciousness in the group that this leniency implies a solidarity with him and his crime, and we find communities reproaching each other for not having reacted solidarily and violently enough against some offences which were committed perhaps many years before.

All methods of exclusion or punishment represent, however, the lowest stage of the technique of social self-defense against disorganization, for they tend merely to free the community of individuals who have proved unfit to be its members and dangerous to the preservation of the traditional system, while the main problem—how to adapt or readapt these individuals to the community by making them define in the future their situations in accordance with the rules—is left untouched. It is evident that such methods can be applied only when phenomena of disorganization are sporadic and the socially dangerous individual an exception; they are unworkable if disorganization spreads over a large part of the community. Sometimes, indeed, this spread of disorganization may be due to one or two "bad charac-

ters" who influence the others, and if these are excluded in time, the habitual social atmosphere of the community may be sufficient to have the others drop back into obedience to tradition. Usually, however, the process of disorganization, once started, continues to grow, unless other methods to check it are used.

Since in most cases of disorganization there are some new values introduced into the sphere of interests of the community, the simplest method of counteracting progressive disorganization is to remove these new values out of reach. This is, indeed, the method which occurs to every social group as soon as reflection persuades it that disorganization is no longer an exceptional phenomenon limited to a few "abnormal" individuals but begins to touch a continually increasing number of apparently quite average members. The principle of this method is sound in part. Disorganization consisting in the fact that members of a group define situations in disaccordance with the rules, it may be true that such definitions are only the result of the substitution of some other values instead of those which should predominate in the situation; in other words, disorganization may be chiefly, if not exclusively, due to the influence of changed conditions. The method would be perfectly efficient in preventing certain specific phenomena of disorganization by making impossible such situations as require those particular values; though, of course, it would have no preventive effect on other kinds of phenomena produced by different influences. To prevent disorganization entirely, it would be indispensable to cut the community entirely off from any possible new influences, and this has, of course, been many times attempted and with perfect success for the time being, though sooner or later the internal creative forces

of the community itself produce new values which upset the traditional order. But whatever may be the efficiency of this method for preventive purposes, it certainly is entirely unfit, if used alone, for aims of social reorganization. When the new values have been used as elements of new situations, when they have appealed to the members of the community, the psychology of the latter is no longer what it used to be; new attitudes have developed and tend to find their expression. The mere removal of the undesirable values will not prevent these attitudes from manifesting themselves in a different way. The new manifestation may be as harmful or even more harmful socially than the old, or may be utilized for socially desirable aims.

Thus, the social group in its struggle against disorganization is sooner or later forced to face the most important and difficult part of its task—the reorganization of attitudes. There is, of course, no way of destroying the new attitudes when they have once appeared; the individual or the group cannot have its consciousness pushed back to the stage which preceded the appearance of the new attitudes. The old system cannot be revived with the same psychological background as before. But it is possible to have the individual and the group return to forms of behavior which are in accordance with traditional rules, by developing attitudes which will reinforce the traditional definitions, that is, will both counterbalance the undesirable new attitudes which are the source of the divergent definitions and work toward a practical expression similar to that reached through the old attitudes which have ceased to play the decisive part in determining situations.

This makes it clear why violent repression of anti-social acts often fails to prevent similar acts by other in-

dividuals, or even by the individual punished. Repression does, indeed, develop the attitude of fear which efficiently counterbalances anti-social tendencies, but only if a situation *similar* to that which resulted in punishment presents itself; in other words, it prevents the repetition of similar anti-social acts. But it does not prevent the individual from satisfying his socially undesirable tendencies by constructing *new* situations in which he will try to avoid social repression. In order to have the individual conform in his behavior with definite social rules, it is not enough to frighten him away from certain forms of behavior conflicting with these rules, but it is indispensable to make him positively want to conform.

The peasant community does not, of course, reach this conclusion by an explicit reasoning, but it is conscious of the insufficiency of mere repression for purposes of reorganization and tries to find, sometimes of itself, sometimes in response to outside initiative, more positive methods aiming to develop in members an active wish to conform with the traditional system in spite of both external influences and their own tendencies leading them to undesirable activities. It is characteristic that in almost all the attempts which the peasant community spontaneously makes in this line, whatever the particular aim, the general method is essentially the same. In order to induce the individual to accept a certain socially sanctioned definition in spite of his inclination to define the given kind of situations in a divergent way, an appeal is made to the fundamental social attitudes on which the whole primary group system rests—the desire for response and the desire for recognition. The community implicitly assumes that these attitudes are an inexhaustible source from which, whenever neces-

sary and under any circumstances, active tendencies to conform with socially sanctioned definitions can be derived.

Thus, if the social solidarity of the group is disturbed by mischievous gossip, direct personal appeal is made separately to every individual concerned, which arouses the wish in each to reach an agreement with his neighbors and makes him re-define this situation, taking the social viewpoint toward gossip into account and modifying his statements and offering or accepting redress. Or, if drinking or smoking has spread in the community, an organized action is taken in which the individuals who have developed these tendencies are made to participate; and special recognition is attached to every effort to get rid of the undesirable habit. Every new problem is thus met by a specific new variation of the old "social instinct."

This method is very well adapted to the average psychology of primary-group members; we shall see later how efficiently it can be used for the construction of new social systems. But when its only object is to help maintain the traditional rules, its limitations are evident. Its results, and often the very possibility of its application, depend on precisely those conditions which the process of disorganization tends to destroy or to modify. It presupposes that the community is still solidary and coherent enough to organize for the defense of the old system, that the fundamental primary-group attitudes are still vital and strong in the members who are to be reformed and that the satisfaction of their desires for response and recognition cannot be adequately obtained outside of the community. It is a fact that all individuals who were born and reared in a primary group are so far dependent on the community and always pre-

serve so much of the primary-group psychology that, if demoralized, they can hardly reform without the assistance of primary-group agencies and methods, which thus are a necessary factor of social reorganization. But there comes a time when they cease to be a sufficient condition, when the disorganization has been pushed too far for the primary group to reorganize itself unaided. Then, as the last resource of social conservatism, as the last stronghold of the traditional system, come religion and the church.

The latter cooperates, of course, all the time with the community in struggling against this partial disorganization which accompanies every social organization as a consequence of the necessarily imperfect adaptation of the latter to individual variations. Christianity contains the fundamental elements of a primary-group morality, and thus its teachings for centuries helped to corroborate the traditional system of peasant communities. The differences which existed originally between the rules taught by the church and the social attitudes of the peasants have been gradually attenuated; the peasant system has been deeply influenced by religion, particularly in matters referring to sexual life, and the Catholic Church always knew how to modify the rigor and even the content of its prescriptions in adaptation to the particular milieu in which they were applied. We have seen in Volume I the several systems of religious beliefs, each perfectly consistent within itself, which have evolved out of a combination of the old pagan naturalism with Christian mythology. The system of moral rules which resulted from an interaction between old pagan morality and Christian morality is even more unified and consistent. Our documents show that the influence of the church is not equally successful in all

fields. Among the rules which the church wants to enforce those which lack a traditional background in the social organization of the peasant communities are easily broken; but there is no definite opposition to them and theoretically they are acknowledged by the peasants. Thus, the church and the community were for centuries allies in the struggle against disorganization, though there is no doubt that, whatever the old ecclesiastical documents may say, it was the church which was most in need of the alliance.

Now, however, the relation is changed. When the community is powerless against growing disorganization the church is still able to struggle for the old system. It did not hesitate to declare itself at once in favor of preserving all the traditions and against any innovations whatever, though, adaptable as it is, it learned gradually to accept some new phenomena against which struggle had proved powerless (such as, for instance, season emigration and city dress), limiting itself in these cases to attempts to modify these phenomena in accordance with its purposes. But even when it has to yield, it yields only in the last extremity, fights for tradition as long as it can without impairing its influence. Thus, it is interesting to note that in the parishes in which season emigration was only beginning the priests were usually violently opposed to it, whereas where it was too deeply rooted they objected only to demoralization and religious indifference if found among season workers, and even often helped the latter in controlling their affairs at home during their absence or in trying to find better positions.

The reformatory influence of the church consists in bringing to bear on each traditional definition, whatever it may be, the entire weight of the religious system. The

latter is so coherent, its many various elements are so closely associated with one another in the doctrine and practice of the church and in the consciousness of the believer that the individual cannot reject any of them without rejecting all, unless he has developed a spirit of critical discrimination seldom found among peasants who have not been influenced by educated classes; and even if he tries to discriminate, the church does not let him do it but forces him to make a choice between all religion or no religion, unless it sees the need of relaxing on certain points in view of certain tendencies generally prevalent in society. When thus the church attaches a negative or positive sanction to any definition of a social situation, this situation, even if it has no intrinsic religious significance of itself, even if it has no bearing whatever on matters of religious worship, becomes nevertheless externally connected with the whole system, and this connection is imposed on every member of the church by all the means of control of which the latter disposes. The entire set of religious attitudes is thus more or less involved whenever the individual has to choose between a socially sanctioned and a socially non-sanctioned definition.

The religious attitudes prove, in fact, the most lasting of all the traditional components of the peasant's social psychology. They remain strong even in the second generation of immigrants in this country, and are preserved indefinitely in Polish cities; they survive even the most radical cases of disorganization. There are probably several reasons for this persistence, but the most important one seems to be that while the peasant may find substitutes for other traditional values he is of himself unable to find any adequate substitute for religion. When such substitutes are given to him in the

form of national or social ideals, of science or of art, religion loses much of its power, just as it does with a member of the European intellectual classes. But unless this happens, religion remains the embodiment of all those interests which, being removed from the individual's every day occupations, satisfy his craving for the extraordinary and whatever idealistic tendencies he may possess. Of course, the peasant sees no other possible form of religious life than the one to which he has always been used in connection with the Roman Catholic Church. And since he finds almost wherever he goes Catholic parishes with the same religious ceremonies and teachings, religion never entirely loses its influence upon him.

Under these conditions it seems rather surprising that the church is not more successful than it has been in its struggle for the preservation of the old system, even where there were no influences of the revolutionary type—of which we shall speak in the next chapter—to counteract its activities. The fault should be ascribed to the inefficiency of the clergy, who seldom knew how to make a proper use of the powerful instrument they possessed, and this inefficiency in turn is a result of the lack of sociological knowledge. Just as the failure of legal repression to counteract disorganization is due to the fact that it merely tries to counteract the desire to perform certain socially harmful acts, whereas the problem is to develop the wish to perform only certain socially sanctioned acts, so the incomplete success of the church in trying to counteract disorganization is due to the fact that, outside of the acts of worship, the main emphasis is put on "sins" rather than on "merits," the efforts tend much more toward preventing certain acts from being committed than toward having certain other

acts performed. The whole doctrine of salvation and the entire technique connected with it give this direction to the attention of both the clergy and their flock. Thus, the most successful work of the church has been done quite recently when the clergy began to follow the example of lay leaders in promoting and organizing various kinds of social activities in peasant groups. But on account of the nature of the interests and principles involved, this work has contributed rather toward reconstruction of peasant communities on a new basis than toward the preservation of the old system, and we shall treat it in later chapters.

CHAPTER V

REVOLUTIONARY ATTITUDES

All the cases of social disorganization include an active opposition to the traditional social schemes of behavior; in this respect the rejection of a fashion, a theft or murder, an attempt to overthrow the existing class organization or political order, a religious heresy, are fundamentally similar, being equally the manifestations of tendencies which can find no adequate expression under the prevailing social system and, if allowed to develop sufficiently, lead to a decay of this system. But notwithstanding this general similarity there are certain important differences between the cases of disorganization which we have been studying up to the present and those with which we shall deal in this chapter; the distinction between the terms "revolt" and "revolution" can be utilized to mark this difference.

That kind of active opposition to existing rules which we term revolt is individualistic in its bearing, even if many members of a group happen to participate in it; it implies only, on the part of each individual, personal demands for some values which he could not have under the traditional system. A revolutionary tendency may also involve such personal demands and in so far be an act of revolt; but its essential feature is that it includes a demand for new values for a whole group—community, class, nation, etc.; each individual acting not only in his own name but also in the name of others.

Secondly, revolt does not intentionally and consciously aim at the destruction of the old system in general; its purpose is in each particular case the satisfaction of some particular wish. The break of rules is only, in a sense, incidental to this satisfaction and the decay of the traditional system comes spontaneously, as a result of an increasing number and variety of cases of revolt. Whereas the immediate aim of revolution is to abolish the traditional system or at least some of the schemes of behavior which are its part, to destroy permanently their influence within the given group, and thus to open the way to a general and permanent satisfaction of those needs which cannot be freely satisfied while the system lasts.

In view of these differences between revolt and revolution, the methods which prove more or less efficient in suppressing the former often fail when applied to the latter. Thus it is clear that a peasant community which willingly and of its own accord represses individual revolt against its traditions and mores, can hardly be made to cooperate wholeheartedly with the higher social classes in suppressing those tendencies of its members which aim to modify the existing social order for the benefit of the peasant class. Such a community may, indeed, be opposed to the revolutionary activities of its individual members for fear that a repression from outside will have disastrous consequences for the whole group, or because its desire for security is stronger than the desire for any new values which revolution is expected to bring. But this opposition lacks the moral indignation that accompanies the suppression of personal revolt against those principles which keep the community together; often in this case it is the revolutionary member of the group who draws his energy from

a feeling of righteousness connected with his activities.

Further, we have seen that one of the most efficient means of inducing the individual to accept against his wishes any particular traditional definition is to connect this definition with a wide, coherent and powerful system of emotions and beliefs, like the religious system in which he was brought up. It is evident that this method works only as long as the individual revolts against particular rules which hinder the satisfaction of his particular desires, but does not wish or dare to attack the system in its entirety. Thus it cannot be utilized to suppress a revolutionary tendency whose characteristic feature is precisely that it turns against the domination of a whole traditional system. Attempts to apply this method in periods of social unrest may even hasten the outbreak of revolution, for if the opposition to the traditional system as a whole has begun to develop in social consciousness, it is apt to grow with every act which tends to repress new needs in the name of this system.

The only efficient method of dealing with revolutionary attitudes is, as we shall see later, the substitution of a new and more satisfactory system for the old one—a substitution in which the revolutionary elements of society shall be made to cooperate. And it will prove that this method is successful in dealing with facts of personal revolt, at least in those cases in which revolt is not an expression of individual abnormality, of pathological misadaptation of the individual to the fundamental conditions of social life, but results from the development and growing popularization of new needs. In a word, in so far as disorganization is a social process, not a fact of individual pathology, it is an unavoidable stage of social evolution and cannot be remedied by trying to stop this evolution but by directing it.

Revolution is thus the crucial test of the methods of social reconstruction; any method which, even if it succeeds in suppressing particular cases of personal revolt, cannot prevent the appearance and development of revolutionary attitudes in the sense defined above. It may be useful in periods of relative social stability but should be rejected as soon as social unrest begins to grow, for it only retards the process of reconstruction and contributes to increase the chaos of the intermediary period.

Our study of the revolutionary attitudes of the Polish peasant will be limited to two fields—class revolutionism and religious revolutionism. For several reasons, we cannot study here political revolutionism as manifested in the national uprisings of the Poles against the partitioning states, particularly against Russia. Though within the period which we are taking into account there was a national revolution (partly connected with a social revolution) in 1905-6, the latter was mostly supported by city workmen and the peasants as a class participated in it very little. There has been, indeed, during this whole period a growing national revolutionary movement among the peasants which finally led to their active participation in the last and successful struggle of 1914-1919; but the documents referring to this movement were, for obvious reasons, kept secret all the time. What actually transpired and was accessible to our investigation, was an increasing national consciousness manifesting itself in social organization and cultural cooperation. But this side of the national movement evidently belongs to social reconstruction and will be studied in the last chapter of the present volume.

The revolution of 1905-6 would be, indeed, a very interesting object of study; but it would be absolutely incomprehensible without a thorough analysis of the

psychology of the Polish factory workmen and their leaders, of the economic and political conditions found in Polish industrial centers and many other problems which would lead us far beyond the limits of this work. We therefore introduce here only a few documents concerning this revolution to illustrate some of its effects on the peasants' class or religious attitudes.¹

I. *Class Revolutionism*

The class system in the country was, as we know, very rigid until recently, much more rigid than in cities. This holds true not only of Poland, but practically of all Europe. In particular, the distinction between the peasants and the gentry, the two oldest and most definitely fixed classes, has been maintained for so many centuries, owing to serfdom, that up to the present it often appears to the popular mind as in a sense rooted in the nature of things; the deep differences of culture help at least as much as economic inequality to maintain it. The growth of intermediary elements—ruined nobles, bourgeois settling on land, wealthy or educated peasants—and the contact with the new, different, more flexible social hierarchy which has developed in cities, have done much to diminish this distinction; and yet the latter until recently appeared to the average peasant as the most striking feature of that wider social order of which his community was a part.

But if the class distinction during the last 50 years remains essentially the same as before, class antagonism has certainly decreased in an incalculable measure since

¹It should be understood that our subject-matter is revolutionary attitudes, not revolutionary acts. A revolutionary attitude which manifests itself in a vague dissatisfaction with existing conditions may be more significant sociologically than one which is expressed in an act of overt rebellion—if it is more general and lasting.

the abolition of serfdom. At the time which we are here taking into account, the opposition of interests between the peasant farmers and the large estate-owners reduced itself to two points. The first was the question of servitudes or the rights to pasture peasant cattle on manorial land and take dry wood from manorial forests, which was intentionally left unsettled by the Russian government in order to foment discord between the peasants and the nobility. The second was the more fundamental problem of distribution of land. The growth of the country population has resulted in a division of many peasant farms into lots below the minimum necessary for living, and in an enormous increase of the number of landless peasants, whereas there were yet many disproportionately large private estates of the nobility, and vast territories which the Russian government had either appropriated after the partitions or confiscated after the revolutions of 1830 and 1863. Now, the peasants have from immemorial times cherished the idea—found in all agricultural communities—that cultivated land should belong to those who cultivate it with their own hands while non-cultivated land is nobody's property. In connection with this, we know (*cf.* Vol. I) that the desire for economic advance which developed among the peasants very powerfully during the second half of the last century manifested itself chiefly in a general "land-hunger" which demanded to be satisfied by any means. Naturally, therefore, the tendency to take away and to divide the estates of the government and of the nobility has been continually growing; and the endowment of peasants with land after the abolition of serfdom was easily interpreted as a precedent. This tendency, sometimes formulated but usually concealed from the upper classes, was the most serious

factor of whatever class antagonism found between the manor-owner and the peasant farmer.¹

Much deeper was the antagonism between the gentry and the landless peasants employed by them as manor-servants. The situation of the latter was hardly improved by the agrarian reforms of the nineteenth century; they had personal freedom already (since 1808 in the Congress Kingdom), and the reform of 1864, which for the landed peasant meant freedom from duties toward his lord and undisputed property of his farm, for the landless peasant meant practically nothing except a change from a patriarchal relation with more subordination but more security to a "hired work" relation with more independence but less mutual personal interest. The difficult economic condition of the country under foreign domination, particularly in Russian Poland where the government intentionally tried to ruin the Polish nobility, combined with the conservatism usually characterizing agricultural classes and with the continually increasing offer of cheap labor, contributed to maintain the wages of the manor-servant on a level barely above the starvation limit. The contrast between his situation and not only that of his employer but even that of an average peasant farmer facilitated the development of revolutionary attitudes.

79. The Russian paper *Warszawskij Dniewnik* gives such official descriptions of strikes² in the country: . . .

¹The problem has been recently (July, 1919) settled by the Polish government in accordance with the demands of the peasants. Private estates will be limited to 300 morgs (400 acres) the excess will be bought by the government and sold to landless peasants and poorer farmers on easy terms; all the forests and waters will become state property. This also solves in a large measure the problem of the manor-servants.

²The case quoted is not really a strike as the governmental paper intentionally misrepresents it, but an attempt to obtain by force governmental property which the peasants consider as belonging to them by

"The peasants of the village Żywocin . . . tried on March 15th to pull down a building on the farm Luśniki, belonging to a majorat-estate. The head-forester of the governmental forest informed the chief of the district about it and he sent six watchmen and two country constables to guard the building. The peasants came together, about 400 people, beat the guarding watchmen, pulled the farm-buildings completely down and took the building-material home. Some years ago the peasants had claimed to have some rights to this farm, but the governmental office for peasant affairs in Piotrków and later the Senate also rejected these claims. Since August last year the peasants began to perform illegal deeds upon this farm. They did not allow the forest-guards to do any work in the field and the land of the farm remains up to the present unsowed. A few men, as main inciters, will be tried in court."

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 14.

80. [The objection of the Polish peasant to state ownership of the soil proves that bolshevism could never gain the support of the country population in Poland. The statement of this writer that the peasants do not need *equality* of land is, however, not representative of the standpoint of the average peasant and is probably due to the influence of the clergy. As we mentioned in the preface to this chapter, the majority of the peasants do want equal division of land, but under *individual* ownership.]

Now in our community . . . we do not like it at all that Russian members of Parliament tend to the nationalization of the land with the aim of satisfying the needs of those peasants who possess land or only a little. Whereas we, the peasants of the Polish Kingdom, declare that such a scheme, far from satisfying us, only irritates us more, . . . that through nationalization of the land our existence will not be improved but made even worse, since we do not need equality of land but we do need equality of rights, we need self-government, we need that the land held as government land by generals, by mem-

right, since it consists in estates of Polish nobility which the government confiscated after the revolution of 1863 without giving the peasants the shares to which they considered themselves entitled according to the law of 1864.

bers of the imperial family, or taken from convents, be divided among us as property (I do not say gratuitously, but on convenient terms). . . . Otherwise we will defend our property to bloodshed because we know what farming of communal lands means,¹ and we do not wish to starve, to go as hired workmen to other nations, nor to become beggars for centuries. . . . [But] today we cannot limit anybody as to how much land he should own; we should conform to the proverb: If you work, you will have. . . . [Demand for limitation] only incites the ones against the others and nowadays this is completely unnecessary since we are all the sons of one mother earth and for this reason we should abstain from such statements until we have self-government and then we shall talk the whole matter over in common. This is the opinion of us peasants near Sandomierz.

[Signed] A peasant by the gift of God. Tomasz Kolembasa.

Letter to *Gazeta Świąteczna*; unpublished.

81. In the village Wola Przybylska . . . the village-group and the manor made an agreement for the exchange of servitudes [the peasants resign their rights of pasturing and collecting dry wood on the manorial lands and receive in exchange some land and forest]. But when it came to allotting the forest, it proved that the peasants did not want the lot which the owner of the estate, Countess J., had apportioned for them, but demanded another one which precisely then began to be cut by order of the manor. Having particularly liked this piece of forest, the peasants declared that they would not suffer its destruction, and when in spite of this the cutting was not stopped they went in a crowd to the forest and drove the wood-cutters away. . . . [Interference by the commissioner for peasant affairs, by the mayor and constables came to naught.] Then the head of the country police came to the commune. Having arrested the village-elder and the three most unruly farmers, for four days he talked with every farmer in succession and persuaded them that they had no right to this piece of forest. . . .

¹In Russia all the land not belonging to the crown or to the manor belonged in bulk to the village (*mir*) and was allotted every year for cultivation to the individual villagers who, of course, refused to improve it since manuring, draining, irrigating, etc., required a heavy outlay that the profits from one year's farming would not cover.

The village group calmed down and not only ceased to hinder the cutting of the forest, but many . . . hired themselves to do this work.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 51.

82. In Nasutów, an estate of Count Zamoyski, the servants organized a strike. The *parobeks*, having fed the stock in the morning, did not go to the usual work but came together in the yard and began to consult among themselves. The brewer asked the brewery-workmen not to interrupt the work which had been begun; so these worked till 4 o'clock and then joined the *parobeks*. The manager inquired why they had stopped working. They answered that they had too small wages to support themselves, that their *ordynarya* [allowance of food] was insufficient to give them strength for work. The servants [*posylka*] whom they were absolutely obliged to keep were more and more expensive and exacting, so that the *parobek* had to pay his servant more than the latter could earn. Their own pay was so small that they had hardly enough for shoes and miserable rags for the children, and they could not even think of sending them to school. In case of sickness they were treated by the manorial surgeon-assistant, but if it was indispensable to send for a doctor the *parobek* had to pay from his own pocket. The manager answered that he would talk with the Count and give them an answer. In the evening the *parobeks* again fed the stock and went calmly home. The next day in other estates belonging to the hereditary dominion of Count Zamoyski . . . the servants stopped working . . . [but always they continue to feed the cattle].

In the entire neighborhood people from five estates come together at a time and walk from estate to estate; those who left first go home and new ones join the crowd. Only it is bad that they have not come to an agreement among themselves and do not know themselves what to demand. The owners of the estate would like to come to an understanding with their servants and every one would agree willingly to just demands of the *parobeks*; but the latter do not know what to hold to and either require something different the next day or make such unwise demands that it is impossible to come to any understanding.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 13.

83. *Warszawskij Dniewnik*, a governmental paper published in Warsaw, writes: "In the district of Zamość . . . the movement of country workers began on March 18th, coming there from the neighboring district of Krasnystaw. Crowds of workmen began to go from manor to manor asking the owners for an improvement of their condition, and in case of refusal threatening a strike. When the workmen came to a manor the local workers joined them. They were required to visit six manors and only then were allowed to return home. Whoever did not want to go willingly was forced by violence or threats. Some manor-owners, wanting to keep those workmen without whom they could not get along, payed ransom. . . . Beside this, in every great manor at the request of the newcomers, they had to be given food or 10 copecks per person for food. The workmen asked insisently, nobody knows why, every owner to give them a written certificate that they had called on him. The police with the help of a squad of Cossacks succeeded in suppressing the movement. . . .

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 15.

84. [Letter to Priest Anusz in Parana, Brazil, who was promoting Polish emigration to that country]. . . . And now we take the liberty of describing to you, Reverend Father, our present life. We are serving at the manor and maybe it is not unknown to you . . . how hard it is for us to spend our years of youth on the sweepings of the manor. . . . They call us rascals, asses and other most grievous names and pay us very little for our hard and enduring work, for pouring our sweat over their broad hides of land—only 12 *korcy* [48 bushels of grain], 25 roubles, 200 rods of land including the garden (less than one morg) . . . of the worst sort, and only one cow and such a miserable one that it just drags out its days, for they keep it only to increase their manure and not to give milk to the farmhand. They also require us to keep a servant who must be paid [by us] 30 to 35 roubles a year with board, while the manor pays us for his work by the day (10 copecks per day during 3 months, 15 copecks during 6 months and 20 copecks during 3 months). Therefore please reckon yourself how it is possible to find one's living, Reverend Father. How can they find

pleasure in thus abusing poor people? They rouse you up at 3 o'clock in the morning and you have to work till 9 in the evening, one hour off for dinner; and at every occasion you are scolded: "You rascals, I am paying you with money and not with chaff. Therefore do what you are ordered." At every step they remind you, like a beggar, of their pay. They remind you a hundred times about the penny they handed you, saying: "I don't reproach you, but still I gave it to you." This is the way those who give us work admonish us constantly as if they were giving this miserable living by mercy, whereas one has to work not for what the paltry food is worth but five times its value.

A man would not resent this so much if he were at least treated in a human way . . . and not like a dog. In our country a poor man cannot find any commiseration anywhere, the star of the poor people in the Kingdom of Poland has already vanished. It is a great question if it will ever light up again. Maybe sometime, but much time will have to pass before this people becomes enlightened and establishes one sheep-stall and one shepherd who will show himself a real shepherd and an imitator of Christ. At that time the poor man's star will perhaps begin to shine, but that will not be for us; we must not delude ourselves but must look for people of good-will and must beg them for sincere advice. . . .

We meet people who advise us to start for Brazil but we hesitate to leave blindly because it is a long journey during which we could lose much. In our country a man is already accustomed to his misery. Still when he hears that somewhere with other people conditions are better, for a while he awakes from this deep sleep and thinks that perhaps it is even true. But when he looks over this large world which the eye cannot measure he reckons that there can be no place where a poor man would be better off, and with this thought he falls asleep once more and continues sleeping. . . . People here talk in various ways, some praise and others blame [Brazil]. So we cannot trust anybody, but only believe in you, Reverend Father, that you will write us the truth. Have the kindness . . . to write us under what conditions they give away land, whether they sell it [etc.; 2 pages of questions].

Perhaps this letter is too unpleasant and too tedious for you,

Reverend Father, since it is written so spaciouſly; but we muſt pour out under tears what we feel and think, and tell you alſo our humiliation and the miſery that is oppreſſing us and our depression of mind becauſe it is a hard blow to have to leave this our beloved ſoil, this mother who has produced us and given us the right to life. But life here is ſo difficult and burdensome. Grief ſhakes one's heart when one thinks of it, that we intend to part from this ſoil. How ſad it is, although we do not own one bit of this ſoil, for if we owned only a few acres, we would never ſell them nor would we ever leave this Polish ſoil, ſince we would conſider it our duty to love and cherish it like our bodily mother. But what can we do, unhappy people! We can only direct our longing to this ſoil, wiſhing it might ſtay under our feet and not ſlide away with every new year as this [our leaſed] ſtrip of land does at preſent. One reckons: "Where ſhall I be next year if—which God prevent—they ſhould diſmiſs me from here? This is only half bad as long as I am yet a young man and healthy, but for my old age I am threatened with vagrancy, wearing a wallet and a beggar's ſtick, having no piece of roof of my own over my head under which I could quietly await dear death. And here in the manor beggars are not allowed to enter." I have myſelf ſeen how the watchman by order of the lord conducted a beggar out of the gates, dragging him like a dog by the neck ſo that the pitiful old beggar's bones crackled. I thought to myſelf: "That is becauſe you have ſerved the lords faithfully." The watchman, pointing with his finger, ſaid: "There to the village, old dog. You ſhall not tease the dogs here and anger his lordſhip." Having ſeen this I was dumbfounded for a moment, and afterwards it ſtruck me that the ſame fate was awaiting me for my old days, for though I have children, what kind of ſupport could they give me? Probably the ſame I gave to my parents. It was lucky that God the Hiſheſt called them away to his Glory, ſo that they had it eaſy. . . . How ſhould a child ſupport its parents in their old days, ſince it does not feel any duty toward them becauſe they are all ignorant like ſnuff in a horn [box]. We are forced to terminate this our writing becauſe you would become diſgusted, Reverend Father, from reading all our griefs which are unlimited. . . .

From the archives of *Zaranie*.

85. [People have been discussing in *Zaranie*] whether the lot of manorial *parobeks* is bad or good. But we, the peasant farmers, know very well what is their lot, for we see everything—how they work, how they are treated, and how many of them go begging in villages, having lost their health and strength working in manorial service, and in addition often bear reproaches from farmers and their wives for their former eagerness to serve the lords to the detriment of the peasants. . . . But perhaps the readers of *Zaranie* are curious to learn who are those lords who treat their servants in such a way as described in an issue of *Zaranie*, . . . in particular, the owner of Kurów, where a driver's cow was seized because his father died and he had no *posylka* and so was ordered to pay a fine of 25 roubles for the church. (I have heard that after long bargaining and begging it ended in his paying 5 roubles.) Well, this owner of Kurów . . . and other estates, . . . a magnate so wealthy that building a new church would perhaps make less difference to him than giving one rouble for a church to his driver, . . . a few years ago, when his manor-servants demanded an increase of wages, brought Cossacks against them who drove them to Sandomierz and beat them on the way (happily, in Sandomierz, they were set free). After this incident, as I have heard, Mr. K. . . . fled abroad for fear of vengeance. There he seems to have contributed much toward sending here missionary Redemptionists. Our poor people, encouraged by their priests, came in crowds to the revival, wasting thousands of their bloodily earned money and their precious time. But this was just the thing the K. . . . and others of this kind wanted. . . . When I went to such a revival in Ćmielów, a missionary was preaching. In a soft voice, playing the angel's part, he said: "Lord have mercy. When this soul was in its body it often fasted." And then, imitating the devil, with wrath: "He fasted, for he had nothing to eat, not in order to chastise himself." Thus besides [those times] when you have nothing to eat, you should also fast voluntarily, otherwise the devil may win the case. But the missionary forgot that the worst chastisement is not to have anything to eat and that a workingman must absolutely nourish himself in order to have strength for work, for from nourishment he derives this strength.

Even now the more eager ones among us collect contributions and carry them to Cracow to those missionaries as a reward for their having been here and taught thus. One of those boasted here that when he brought 18 roubles to these missionaries they treated him with wine (for they are poor and do not drink cheap whiskey). No wonder that in the estate of such religious lords as Mr. K. they practice imposing fines for the church; they want to help the *parobek* toward his salvation and send him to heaven as soon as possible.

Letter to *Zaranie*, 1910; unpublished.

86. [One of the many proofs of the solidarity between the landless peasants and the peasant-farmers, in spite of the lack of common economic interests.] . . .

Upon one of the numerous crosses raised by Mr. M., owner of the estate of Włostów . . . these words are sculptured: "Only that one can be great who knows how to be humble." O, you humility, second nature of the Polish peasant! You are the chief instrument in the hands of the "true prophets," it is you who have bred us for centuries. . . . Humble peasant soul, who if not they, those "true prophets," have brought you to such ignorance, humiliation and misery? Did you not groan enough under the yoke of serfdom, precisely at a time when they [the clergy] possessed the greatest power in the world? Who if not they were spreading and confirming your slavery? Is it not they who killed your self-reliance, to which *Zaranie* calls you today?

"Peasant, do not send your daughters to Kruszynek [school]." "Peasant, do not read *Zaranie*," say our benefactors. Do not read, do not learn, do not send children to school, only listen to lords and priests, be humble and you will be "great" in temporal life and after death you will obtain eternal life. This the "true prophets" want for us. And what do we, the peasants, say to this? Will our hungry spirit be satisfied with inscriptions upon crosses, do we need nothing but sermons read from the book, "Sermons for Sundays and Holydays," and repeated from year to year? They put not only our spirit, but even our body to sleep, for who of us does not yawn or even doze when the priest talks to us with a bored, monotonous voice. It cannot be otherwise. Dead words can only rock to sleep. . . .

I ask Mr. M., author of the cross with the inscription "Only that one can be great who knows how to be humble," whether he is joking or really means to indicate the way to greatness, and if this is the way by which he has reached his own greatness—as well as the title of Chamberlain of His Holiness, the Pope. Mr. Chamberlain, how ironic sound those words of yours in view of your own greatness in comparison with those little ones for whom you ordered them to be sculptured on the cross. . . . You have wide estates, palaces, titles. Why, you do not seem to sin by humility! Three years ago you inherited Włostów. Last year you rebuilt the stables on this estate. They look nice, indeed. This year you are extending your palace. But what did you do for the good of the body and spirit of those little ones who work for you? You will answer: "I have built many crosses." This is true. "I have built a hospital for the disabled and crippled." This is true; though not from your own money, still it is true. This hospital is their end, this is their reward, for they are so insignificant, so humble, are bowing so low; there, is this asylum in their old age, exhausted by work, they will reach "greatness."

Fragment of a letter to *Zaranie*; unpublished. Probably from a peasant-farmer.

2. *Religious Revolutionism*

The Polish peasant is not a mystic; religion is for him a matter of social organization on the basis of given mythical beliefs and magical practices rather than of personal mystical connection with the divinity. This is why, as we have already noticed in Volume I, there have never been any popular heresies, for beliefs and practices divergent from those of the church never assumed in the eyes of individuals a sufficient mystical importance to make them break with the social system of the church. Religious revolution became possible only recently when this social system began to be felt as unsatisfactory, and it took the form of a revolt against the social control exercised by the church, not against

the religious dogmas and ceremonies for which the church stands. Divergence of dogmas and ceremonies came secondarily as a rather artificial addition of theologians who participated in the movement. Two interesting examples are taken here to illustrate this new process of growing religious heterogeneity.

The first is the heresy of the *Mariazwtas*. This heresy was started, indeed, in a half-mystical way by a few priests grouped around a woman visionary, Kozłowska, who seems to be vaguely identified by them and by herself with a new incarnation of a vague feminine divine principle whose first and chief personification is Mary—thence the name of the sect. But the real significance of the latter and the source of its popularity lie elsewhere—the vow of poverty which the priests of the *Mariazwtas* make. In the relations which exist between a priest and his parishioners in a country parish money-matters constitute a very difficult situation. The standard of living of the priest is on the average much higher than that of a peasant-farmer. Moreover, many priests, particularly those of peasant origin, consider their profession a career made for the benefit of their families and exploit their flock rather ruthlessly. As long as the prestige of the priest remains unchallenged the peasants interpret his economic demands as necessarily resulting from his position, and the honor of the parish community seems to require that its priest be at least as well-to-do as other priests, just as it requires a church building of a certain size and æsthetic perfection. But, of course, along with this standard there always coexisted the opposite standard of simplicity and disinterestedness, which some of the clergy applied in their behavior. This standard has been lately more and more popularized by the demo-

cratic propaganda, and the *Mariawita* movement is thus in harmony with a certain evolution of popular opinion which may lead to a complete modification of the peasant's attitude toward the clergy.

Another interesting example is the case of the paper *Zaranie*. The latter, a brilliantly edited popular weekly, radically democratic, standing on the exclusive ground of the interests of the peasants as a social class and tending to develop among them class solidarity as against the higher classes, had been for several years attacking on every occasion the abuses of priests. The clergy, after vainly trying to counteract its influence by counter-propaganda, resorted to radical means and simply forbade the peasants to read *Zaranie*. In one diocese the bishop even went so far as to excommunicate the paper and its readers, who were not to receive absolution for their sins until they stopped reading it. Naturally, this action provoked the indignation not only of the radical but even of the moderate elements of Polish society, and among the peasants furnished a pretext for the expression of all those revolutionary attitudes which had for some time been growing in connection with the rôle which the church played in controlling all social life in the country for the benefit of the clergy and of the upper classes.

87. [One out of many like incidents during the first ten years of the development of the *Mariawitas*. Both sides were aggressive, the *Mariawitas* as a new sect, somewhat more. Description somewhat exaggerated.]

Our parish Dobra had almost 3,000 Catholics; but in 1906, on February 6th, a great misfortune befell us. On that day falls the yearly church-festival of St. Dorothy in our parish. About 6,000 persons from the neighborhood were gathered to receive the absolution of their sins and to listen to the word of

God. But then the local priest, Paweł Skolimowski, who is now a *Mankietnik* [nick-name for *Mariawita*], ascended the chancel. Instead of proclaiming the words of God . . . he suddenly—O my God!—begins to throw mud upon our priests and bishops. And as their custom is, he spoke about the holy sacrament. . . . And the people present, except some few, believed him and his wicked words . . . and began to oppress our Catholics. Once all the farmer *Mankietniks* of the village Imielnik met and went to the village-elder, Jan Plucinikowski, demanding of him that he give back the eagle and the seal, signs of an elder, because he was not a *Mariawita*. Plucinikowski said . . . they should accuse him before the chief of the district; if the latter dismissed him, he would gladly give them the signs back. But the arrogant *Mankietniks* resolved to reach their end. Wojciech Góralczyk and Antoni Wiśniewski came forward, bound Plucinikowski with ropes and demanded the signs. Only when the son of Plucinikowski . . . came in and took an ax, they all fled. . . .

Then once, on August 2nd, 1906, on the day of Our Lady of the Angels, Skolimowski proclaimed that it was a holiday. But since immemorial times our parish has never kept this holiday, so our Catholics began to work as on every working-day. But they, the bigot *Kozłowskis* from different parts, whose number reached 7,000, went through the fields, together with the socialists, drove people away from work, and overthrew carts [filled] with grain. But what was worse—O my God—they went to the houses of the true Catholics, put revolvers to their heads and compelled them to submit to the control of the *Kozłowit* priests. And they went in crowds to the house of Żurek, where our orthodox priest lived. . . . [He was away.] They threw his books, clothes, medals and images out of his room and tore two gowns [either because the *Mariawit* priests had abandoned black gowns for gray or because, professing poverty, they owned only one gown each]. . . . It went so far that during 8 days we had to hide ourselves and not spend the nights at home, because the crowd, headed by a certain Słoma, a socialist from the city of Łódź, wished to compel us to fall away from the true Roman Catholic faith. . . . But gradually all this came to an end. On November 28th, 1906, with a committee and the chief of the

district, we took our church back. But it was very sad, because only the four walls were left; the *Mankietniks* robbed us of all the furniture, images, altars, banners, etc. . . .

Among 3,000 inhabitants there are 1,800 *Mankietniks* and 1,200 Catholics. The *Mankietniks* are gradually coming back to their senses and returning to the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church. But in the end I must complain . . . against my brothers the Catholics; . . . they persecute them at every step and so confirm them in their false Kozłowit learning.

Letter to *Gazeta Święteczna*; unpublished.

88. [This is typical of the innumerable letters denouncing the activities of country priests which the paper *Zaranie* received after it had made its anti-clerical position clear. All the accumulated grievances of a public or private character used this opportunity to express themselves. There was also much imitation of the letters already published.]

In our dear *Zaranie* one may read correspondence from different regions, but of our country around Rawa nobody writes. One might believe milk and honey were flowing around us. But here also manifold needs exist, only the people are still sleeping the sleep of the just. . . .

The parish Łęyonice . . . contains 1,000 souls. The people are poor and ignorant to a degree that you would hardly encounter in any other part of the Polish Kingdom. With every step you discover misery. The houses are like booths, the stock is dwarf-like, and if you look at a man, pity grasps you; he looks as pale and ragged as a beggar.

In the year 1905 the curate of this parish was Father . . . Wojewódzki. And since the priest's house was, as he declared, already old and no longer habitable, the parishioners decided to build a new one. Indeed, brother readers, those paupers, under the pressure of the curate's exhortations, erected a parsonage like a little palace, larger than the local church, containing 14 rooms and 12 cellars. The old parsonage they sold to the curate . . . and he transformed this old thing where dwelling was an impossibility into an elegant house for which he received several hundred roubles. And since the workmen had still a claim of more than a hundred roubles, he promised to satisfy them out

of his own pocket, but he never paid them. Would it not have been better to build for this money some schools rather than a priest's house?

Now for more than a year the curate of this parish has been Father Siedlecki and he demands payment of the rest of the contribution [pledged to Wojewówzki], whereas the parishioners, on account of the above mentioned Wojewódzki's obligation and because they can afford no more, do not pay that contribution. Father Siedlecki, wishing to induce the parishioners to pay, one Sunday some weeks ago spoke publicly from the pulpit, after the sermon, the following words: "Wishing that those who refuse to pay the contribution may lose everything but the amount which they refuse to pay, wishing that they may never succeed in making money, wishing that they may pass away miserably, let us pray: Ave Maria. . . ." But this is not the end. Some weeks ago he saw one of his parishioners driving past the church on Sunday, and since the few pennies which the man would have offered on the plate were lost to him, he said the same day from the pulpit: "Wishing that those who avoid this our little church and drive to town instead may encounter a sudden death, let us pray with devotion: Ave Maria. . . ."

In the parish of Łęgonice there is no school, no agricultural society, no coöperative store and the gentlemen-landowners do not care about civilizing the peasant. The benevolent pastor cares equally about it. . . [There are 10 empty rooms in the parson's house where a school could be established.]

Letter to *Zaranie*; unpublished.

89. [However natural and justified may be the indignation of the writer—that the peasants were made to contribute to the celebration but not admitted to participate in it—the attitude which is the source of this indignation is really quite new. Traditionally, there was no connection whatever between contributing to the celebration, which was interpreted as almost a religious duty, in the same way as contributing to a church ceremony, and participating in it, which was a social matter and implied a social equality within at least certain limits. The claim voiced by the writer is thus a sign of revolt against the traditional class system in general and the idea of a class difference between the priest and his peasant parishioners in particular.]

If some one had travelled through Kolno on the fourth day of September, he would undoubtedly have thought that there was some popular convention. Our town was festively decorated and in front of the church everything had been adorned with green. If you looked closer and strained your hearing, you would have heard cries: "Long live our dear priest!" Yes, my dear brothers, priest Kuderkiewicz was celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of his priesthood. Many priests came to attend this celebration and even Bishop Karaś took part in this solemnity. . . . And twenty of them were enjoying themselves with the music of the orchestra and nobody thought about the improvement of the condition of the people. . . . You peasants must be satisfied that each of you had the privilege of giving 5 *złoty*, chickens, eggs, etc. for the jubilee. You must understand that you did not give it for nothing; you had the pleasure of gazing through the window and observing how your benefactors were drinking different liquors and wines together. For your gifts, which you took from your mouth, you were forcibly driven out of the church when you wanted to get in. You must know that only gentlemen with high hats are allowed there, and you peasants are superfluous; your business is to give but not to be present.

Letter to *Zaranie*; unpublished.

90. [Characteristic example of that mixture of genuine personal reflection and artificial, imitative doctrinairism which is very often found in self-educated individuals on all levels of intellectual development who are isolated from direct contact with social circles in which intellectual standards are evolved and maintained and who draw their standards exclusively from reading.]

"My Kingdom is not of this world." When Christ came on this earth he scrutinised the relation of the world [illegible], and after perceiving so many wrong-doings and the falsehood reigning, he was taken with such pity and grief that he was forced to weep. . . . He saw the sons of this mother-earth put to heavy slavery [and] so worn out, emaciated, and starved that, though alive, they looked like skeletons. . . . He saw so many disinherited children of this earth. Looking at such conditions, he spoke these words: "My kingdom is not of this world. I do not want to agree with such a devilish world. I did not come to

build prisons and *katoryga* [for hard labor], but I came to bury the old world, where for a coin they sell people and their strength, and even youth and virtue; [I came] to build, on the contrary, a new mansion for brotherly love. . . ." Christ entrusted to his pupils the fulfillment of the plan for building here on earth the kingdom of God . . . on the foundation of justice and universal love. Two thousand years have nearly passed since the establishment of the foundation of Christ. I ask you [priests] what have you built on this, Christ's foundation. Certainly not the kingdom of God, but the kingdom of wrongdoing, of slavery and of capital. You missed the program of your master. Today every one of you is a capitalist, and nevertheless you dare to maintain that the world that is, is a good world. . . You misled the people from the road of Christian truth; you ruined the Polish people. You could have made the peasants citizens, for crowns were falling off the heads of kings at your voice. But instead you took the side of the great nobility. If some reform was intended to free the people from under the whip, then you were threatening with thunder those who dared to advocate the freeing of the peasant. By these curses which you were casting, you even cast him into slavery in order to protect your own standing, because you are not the sons of the fatherland but the sons of today's capitalistic order. You do not care for Poland, but you care for Catholicism. If Poland had not been tied by the strings of the clergy, she would be today an independent and free empire. You did not care to bring into the Polish fatherland welfare and education, but you cared to strengthen Catholicism. . . .

When one reads history, then he sees that the bravest sons of the fatherland were ruined by your politics. Warneńczyk perishes from the sword of the Turks; Batory comes back from Moscow because there they are promising to accept Catholicism; Sobieski defends Vienna because there Catholicism is concerned. . . . Not long ago Wilhelm, King of Prussia—the devourer of Poles, the headsman, he who tortures Polish children and imprisons priests—was celebrating the 25th anniversary of his reign. For this the Holy Father sent blessings and good wishes to him; and we, the Polish people, are ordered to pray and to be silent. And when the peasant, looking at all that, does not

want to keep silent, then the thunders of anathemas fall on his head, he is not granted forgiveness for his sins, he is threatened with hell.

And what about various pastoral letters? Does it become pupils of Christ to remain in the service of the powerful of this world to fight with this kind of arms in the twentieth century? What did we do to you by allowing you to accumulate treasures, silver and gold! . . . You do not believe and do not profess the ideas of Christ and therefore we do not believe you either. And when you anathematize us, you make yourselves ridiculous, for the peasant does not believe in such fables. We believe in a God of brotherly love.

Letter to *Zaranie*; unpublished.

91. [Typical for a moderate revolutionist. Attempt to interpret the new tendencies as being in perfect accordance with the real essence of those traditional standards which the revolutionist consciously or unconsciously preserves.]

The pastoral letter of His Excellency the Bishop Augustyn Łoziński forbidding the paper *Zaranie* caused a great stir among us and pained the hearts not only of the readers of *Zaranie* but of the whole people. Although they do not step forth openly they murmur secretly among themselves against the priests and this decision. They say that the pastoral letter has set the brothers of one country one against another, divided them into two camps which will disagree and quarrel and fight with one another, all for the benefit of our enemies the *Hakatists* [word formed of the 3 letters H. K. T., which are the initials of the three chiefs of the German nationalists, whose main object was to fight against the Poles. The word indicated this German party; here it is implicitly extended also to the Russian nationalists]; these are not lacking in our country and wish to deprive the Polish people of its land and nationality. But just for this reason Poles need progressive and enlightened men for cultural work, and no retrograde clericals. The way to instruction ought not to be obstructed for the Polish people. Every Polish peasant ought to know well how to calculate and to read; and not only religious books, not only in order to say prayers thoughtlessly on a rosary or to kill his weariness.

Such words I have heard from the people, who speak aloud

among themselves and say that things are bad as they are. The people understand already how it ought to be, but the lords and the priests want the people to be dark [uninstructed] and humble. But it is now impossible to fight against the people with such weapons; all this is vain because the peasants' slavery ended in 1864. Now the Polish peasant, although he is poor because he lacks enlightenment and knowledge, is free and independent of the other classes upon which he was dependent formerly. The peasant of today is becoming enlightened; he does not regard any impediments and prohibitions of the priests who forbid him to read useful books and popular papers. Although he well knows that for reading scientific papers he will be cursed and will not receive absolution, he does not mind it because he says to himself that they would like to drag the people back to mediæval times. . . . The peasant of today tries to read all the books and papers which are forbidden, because these are more interesting to him. . . .

Well, my lords and you, brothers in Christ, spiritual guides, if you would go among this beloved people and share its labors and hardships; if you said to yourselves, as once our Lord Christ said, "I pity this people"; if you pitied this people and did well by them, and instead of wronging them, helped them to knowledge and enlightenment; if you did not wrong them in their pay, working for you as they do from dawn until late in the night for small wages, like the hired laborer or the manor-servants, living in a narrow room among pigs, chickens, geese and rabbits, together with their children, in disagreeable smells and foul air; if you treated this people like men and not like cattle—in this case you would have all the people with you and they would follow you everywhere. But you consider the country people as nothing, you despise them as if they were from another stuff than you; you are ashamed to shake hands with them, though they do not ask it at all. You meddle with them everywhere as a dog with a cat, . . . you cheat them on every occasion, and therefore the people do not believe you and avoid you, not wishing to meet you. Only the dark people follow you still, who wear rosaries and chaplets for the human eye, that everybody may see what true Catholics they are. . . .

If we want to have pure water for our use to drink we must

first filter it of the dirt. The same applies to every man, whether lord or priest or magistrate; it is necessary to filter him publicly—through criticism in papers—of dirty habits, such as cupidity, rapacity, drunkenness and theft, without regard to the position he occupies in the world, in order that he may improve and be purified of these dirty habits. So the criticism which *Zaranie* makes publicly is very useful.

Letter to *Zaranie*; unpublished.

92. [A very good specimen from that class of people who naïvely try to utilize a revolutionary movement for the satisfaction of their personal animosities and the realization of their egotistic aims.]

Farmer Jaroński will not take *Zaranie* into his hands because he says that *Zaranie* is bad, but when he returns from church, instead of taking a good book, or one he considers good and holy, or reciting the rosary, or at least the chaplet, do you know, dear readers of *Zaranie*, what this pious man does? Well, he goes to his Jew to play cards and plays till midnight. . . . And I will also add that whenever there is music going on in another village, the whole Jaroński family drives to that music and the father later brings supper for his children, as if they were at some work. That's what this farmer Jaroński does. And he is village-elder and owns 20 morgs. Dear Editor's office of the paper *Zaranie*, I beg you to print the above letter because people say that the paper *Zaranie* does not write the truth. So let them know that there is truth in this. And please forward me at once 2 copies of it; one I will keep for myself and the other for Jaroński.

Letter to *Zaranie*; unpublished.

93. I inform the Respected Gentleman Editor that to us also our priests want to forbid the reading of our beloved *Zaranie*, which teaches us and strengthens us in religion and the love of the fatherland, develops our muscles [*brains* was intended; in Polish these words have a somewhat similar sound], and makes us real confessors of Christ. When on New Year I was in the editor's office, then Mr. Editor himself asked me whether you [the paper], had not been writing too much against the priests. Our Respected Brother Editor, everyone of the readers says that too little is written, and when we read it to those who are

ignorant and uneducated even they affirm that still more of such work is needed. The priests have kept us in ignorance for centuries; and even lately they touched [the school of] Kruszynek, thinking that they would abolish this our lever [evidently "an uplifting institution"]. But they were mistaken. Leaving this aside—in our commune we have been also working all the time and desiring to establish little schools in the villages, because we do not have as many as we could according to the new law. . . . The priests—especially Priest Pacholski from Żabianka and Priest Rozwadoski from Sobieszyn—were asked to proclaim and to encourage their parishioners to establish primary-schools. The profit was this: At the time of the parish-resolution in Żabianka, Priest Pacholski went out to a neighboring house in order to avoid what is good and beautiful. They know how to use the pulpit for bad purposes, as when he announced that his parishioners should contribute money and eggs on the arrival of the Bishop (and afterwards these eggs had to be thrown into the Wieprz because they became spoiled) but when it comes to education, to enlightenment, then they have their lips closed. And thus the resolution ended. The criers scoffed at those who wanted to sign the resolution for schools, and as there was not enough of the latter, we could do nothing against ignorance. The priests' favorites were claiming: "If these schools were a good thing, the priest would have told us so." And they do not know that our dear priests are as afraid of true enlightenment as the devil of holy water. The following Sunday the same kind of resolution was taken in Sobieszyn as in Żabianka. . . .

And now I inform the editor how priests were fighting against us readers of *Zaranie* in Sobieszyn. I myself have been pushed down from the stairs of the rectory by the priest. It was so: The priest called me and asked: "So you, Miętka, are still reading *Zaranie*."—"I am reading, if you please, Priest." (He had been warning me before.) "O you criminal, O you wretch! I will throw you out of the fraternity." (I am a member of the church committee.) . . . "I will not admit you to confession, I will not impart the sacraments either to yourself or to your family, if you do not stop reading this anathematized *Zaranie*. . . ." Then he pushed me down the stairs so that I almost fell. . . . And

after that he called out [in church] all the readers of *Zaranie*; he wrote letters and sent them through the village-elders to get us to sign these letters promising not to read *Zaranie*.

Letter to *Zaranie*; unpublished.

94. Forgive me, brothers, if I, a peasant of Podlasie, formerly Greek-Unitarian, send my complaints to *Zaranie* that things are getting bad among us, because "they have enveloped us with the narrow circle of a chain and call us to give away our spirits." A struggle began among us for science and spirit. O come, Science, in your white garment and illuminate my brethren with the rays of the torch of knowledge!

During our hard times of struggle for the Uniate faith we went in close ranks, we held the faith of our fathers and we enlightened ourselves. During whole nights by the light of a small oil-lamp, we peasants—some 20 of us—read together *With Fire and Sword*, *The Deluge*, *Pan Wolodyowski*, *Quo Vadis*, and many, many other works. We are not accustomed to read only that which our older brethren allow us to read. When everything moves, earth and sun and stars, when nothing in the universe stands still, nothing says: "Enough of this movement; of this work," we won't stand still either; we wish to know the works of God. We rejoiced that we are also Poles and Catholics, that we should rest after 30 years of struggle [when freedom of belief was granted and the Russian government permitted the Uniates to become Catholics].

During the free days of 1905 we saw our different would-be-benefactors and excellencies [aristocrats] when they refused to have their hands kissed, saying that we and they are men alike, only they are more instructed. It is true that before 1905 we did not know them and they did not know us; but today again they don't know us, they are again excellencies, and we are "Hams."

The people of Podlasie wept with bloody tears when some monster, some godless man robbed the miraculous image of God's Mother in Czestochowa. Everybody among us has been there. . . . Where else could the poor Uniate shed the stream of his tears, if not there? He took the last penny with him, a bag of biscuits of black bread, a water-pitcher; he suffered hunger and cold and terror, but for 30 years he went every year

to Jasna Gora [in defiance of the Russian Government]. Nobody guessed who that criminal could be. When the Holy Father offered new crowns, and when we heard of it from our prelate in the church, 1,000 pilgrims went to the crowning-ceremony. The stripped image was shown to us; we could not look at it without indignation and tears. Who are you who could dare to do this?

And then the telegram brought the news that Father Damazy Macoch was the author of it, that he was the bold man. Papers lied in writing that he was a peasant and that only a peasant would dare to do such a thing. . . . But a peasant would rather die from hunger and would not take a penny from Jasna Gora! But it is true, brothers, that the peasant is guilty not only there, but everywhere, in every cloister and church, because he does not spare his bloodily earned money. He gives the last penny and then the Macochs and Komineks arrange wild orgies and sweet idyls.

“Woe to you, learned in the scripture, hypocrites, Pharisees, who eat up houses of widows under the cover of long prayers! Therefore you will bear a hard judgment and your house will be empty.” The priests cry from the pulpits: [“Your dead ones are calling.] ‘Have mercy, have mercy you at least, our friends, because the hand of God has struck us!’ Son, who is calling so from the fire of purgatory? It is your father, your mother. Wife, it is your husband. They left you their fortunes and you forgot them.” And so during the whole year, except on Sundays, the priests stand before altars and set the peasants’ souls free from purgatory—for money! Three, seven, fifteen roubles, must the peasant give. But if some one has not this sum, this mammon—even if he [the deceased] had gone every day to church during his whole life and it was for a small sin he got there in the fire—he may fall down before the priest and implore him to say a mass, but without mammon—let the dead burn there until consumed.

For money the priest prays, for money he makes people base. Yes, we the peasants are guilty, if the Macochs, Starczewskis, Komineks and many, many others, after having gathered mammon for the peasants’ souls, travel to Italy, to Paris and live with the pretty sex.

All the priests ought to have wages, like every other official, and religious services ought to be performed without paying. Is it indeed pleasant for you, priests, when an orphan comes to you begging you to bury her father or mother and you rob her in so sad a moment? The people have grown accustomed to it, you taught them so; [they do not feel] the ugliness of what you say: "If there is no money, let them bury [the dead] without divine service." Even beyond the grave there is for you a difference between a man who has money and another who has none.

And what have you done with this money for the good of the country? See here, every year in Warsaw some one among the great families bequeathes large sums for humanitarian ends, and you? O God! God! enlighten the Polish people! [In one village the priest forbids the reading of *Zaranie*.] . . . And the result is that the people do not want to read anything and scorn those who read. In some villages the life of a somewhat enlightened peasant is a true torture. For many people the results of the work of two young priests who were some years ago in our parish are totally wasted. In many villages a neighbor lives with his neighbor like two dogs, a sister hates her sister, would like to drown her in a spoon of water [proverb], and whoever reads is particularly detested. An example: A young boy came often to me; he had a great wish to read, he took books and read them. His father went to confession and after this forbade him to come to me, although the father himself reads *Zaranie*.

Drinking prevails among young people, developed often during the last few years [and general disorganization]. . . . But not long ago there was a mission [revival] among us, and the people swore to abstain from liquor. It is true that the organist and the liquor-shopkeeper are one and the same person. People see him in the choir singing and playing the organ and after the divine service he hands vodka across the bar to those who want to drink. . . .

In 1906 town-people, Jews and some villagers began to drive wood from the manor-forest, dry wood, as they claimed; in reality they felled thick pines. There have been fights with the forest-keepers. I condemn this, but [on the other hand] the

administration of the estates of Countess Potocka always likes law-suits; there has never been any understanding between the manor and the peasant hut. So it is not strange that the people, wronged for many years by the administration in the matter of servitudes, practiced abuses then. But how and with whose help did the lords suppress these invasions upon their forests? [Probably with Russian soldiers.] Merciful God! We shall remember those our patriots. Why does the Countess Potocka never come here? Why does she never examine this question herself? We do not know. But now the forest-guards do not even allow women to gather leaves for baking bread; they take the ropes of leaves away although these forests are loaded with peasants' servitudes.

Some years ago there was a library in Miedzyrzec for about 2 months, but our elder brothers [priests and nobles] did not want to spread reading among us. The books for this library were offered by some worthy persons, but up to the present about 700 volumes lie shut up in a book-case, because if the peasant (God forbid!) should read, he could learn that he also is a man, while the elder brothers think that he is half a beast. In 100 years there will perhaps be a man from the peasants.

More than once I have asked some older peasant what are these stars which shine on a beautiful night. "Well, these bright ones are souls of bishops, those smaller ones, souls of priests," he said. "And where are the peasant-souls of our forefathers?" I asked him. He answered: "In the fire, in hell." Ten years ago, when a peasant died and his body was carried [to the churchyard], a man who went behind the said train instead of saying, "Eternal Rest," sang: "Four horses were hitched and drew this soul out" [of hell? Allusion to some local belief]. He did not know any other manner of singing. And even now many, many of them have such an idea of the universe.

Here there are some manor-tenants who do not refuse better grain-seeds or any other material help to the peasant; but we need instruction like water, like air to breathe. We need to have a morg produce twice as much as now; but without knowledge there can be nothing. Don't stand in our way, because other nations will laugh at you for pushing your people backwards! Even now in this our country we don't ask you for help, because

for so many centuries there has been none. We don't expect friendship from you. You never entered into our cabins, because an illustrious lord is not the same as a peasant. You will die with a Chinese pride in your hearts. But we address ourselves to those sensible hearts who carry the torch of science. Remember us, brothers and sisters! We want nothing but knowledge, books, that we may know about this earth of ours and other planets, about those milliards of worlds in space, about this drop of dew balancing itself upon a blade of grass on a summer morning, about lightning and cyclones, about the history of nations. Because we have slept much and nobody awakened us. And today, in the twentieth century, they say to us: "Don't read, good peasant, don't read *Zaranie*, because it is a bad paper."

But, Reverend ones, how many are there of those good and religious papers; and up to the present none of them has written even about the notarial alleviations. [The notaries take more than is officially allowed. It is an old custom, which *Zaranie* fought, instructing the peasants how much they had to pay to conform with the law.] . . .

Amend! you priests and lords. Don't play cards. Give the cards to the gypsies; let them tell fortunes to dark [ignorant] people from them. And you yourselves, instead of losing hundreds of roubles at cards, buy books, you priests, for poor children, and you, illustrious ones, for those in your service. Don't sell your lands to Germans nor your houses to Jews. Priests, forbid the smoking of *mahorka* [lowest sort of Russian tobacco] and tobacco, because among us every village spends hundreds of roubles for this poison. Don't check instruction, but spread it with your whole strength and we will help you. And then *Zaranie* will not be terrible for you, because you will work also in a godly spirit, not for yourselves alone, but for the whole country. What even the priests teach already in Warsaw [the popularized results of science] is still a great sin in the country.

Letter to *Zaranie*; unpublished.

In comparing the typical documents here quoted, we notice that the revolutionary attitudes of the peasants seem usually roused by the propaganda of leaders belonging to the intellectual class. This conclusion is fur-

ther corroborated by the history of the revolutionary movements in Poland during the nineteenth century; with few exceptions, the leaders of these movements have been intellectuals, most of them of noble origin. This is, of course, what should be expected in view of the nature of revolution as compared with mere revolt. To start and lead a revolutionary movement a combination of intellectual development, of familiarity with social and political problems and of social idealism was needed which could be seldom found among peasants, for until recently the great majority of those numerous but isolated individuals of peasant origin who received a higher education were too absorbed in their personal careers, too interested in making a place for themselves above the peasant class, or at least too dependent on the newly acquired cultural values and standards of the upper classes, to identify themselves with a peasant revolutionary movement.

On the other hand, the importance of intellectual leadership should not be exaggerated. It certainly plays a much smaller rôle in revolution than in social reconstruction. What it does is merely to formulate and to generalize attitudes which already exist and tend to active expression. It helps to change revolt into revolution by showing that some particular situation which provokes revolt is an integral part of a complex social status which hinders the satisfaction of many conscious or half-conscious wishes, and that the grievances of the revolting individual or community are not private but public grievances, that many other individuals or communities suffer similar wrongs under the same system. But intellectual agitation is powerless unless there are in the masses the attitudes necessary to pass from a dissatisfaction with particular situations to the criticism

of the whole social organization, and from feelings of private wrong to feelings of public indignation.

In our case these attitudes, to which the revolutionary agitation has successfully appealed, are easy to determine. First of all (as we have already mentioned in Volume I, with reference to economic attitudes) during the last 50 to 100 years a very general and deep change took place in the peasant's attitudes toward life, a change which may be best expressed by saying that, while formerly the individual's life organization had only the maintenance of his social and economic status in view, now his attitudes have become organized with reference to a general tendency to advance, of which land-hunger, social climbing, emigration to cities or abroad, are partial manifestations. This tendency is not a matter of personal, temperamental disposition, but a social current spread by imitation and fed by the popularized information about new possibilities of advance. Now the traditional social organization, particularly the class system and the church, was based on the principle of permanence of existing social and economic relations; it made a small allowance for the climbing of individuals but not for the advance of masses. Thus when the tendency to advance became a mass phenomenon the class system and the church were more and more distinctly qualified as obstacles to be overcome; and the fact that many representatives of the nobility and the clergy took *explicitly* a definite stand in favor of the immovability of the social order and against any changes helped the peasants to become conscious of the nature and the reasons of their own originally vague aspirations and contributed to turn an evolution of social forms into a struggle of social classes. And since at the same time, in view of the economic and cultural

situation of the whole country, in certain fields the opportunities for advance were hardly improving at all, sometimes even deteriorating, dissatisfaction with the existing conditions often developed into a general bitterness and depression. Thus we saw what a deeply pessimistic attitude toward life could be found among the manor-servants who had no hopes of ever improving their economic situation. The particular bitterness characterizing the attacks of those interested in intellectual advance upon the clergy is explained by the fact that educational opportunities under Russian domination were exceptionally poor, and that many members of the clergy, instead of cooperating with the efforts of the progressive part of Polish society to promote popular education in spite of the Russian government, counteracted these efforts at every step.

The second general and fundamental attitude which we find back of the revolutionary movements of the peasants can be characterized as the consciousness of the social power and moral righteousness of a solidary community. This consciousness, which sometimes assumes naïvely exaggerated proportions, has evidently its source in the importance which the community originally possesses in the eyes of each of its members, who feels controlled and dominated by it and accepts its judgments as supreme standards of right. When thus a community whose members have still preserved this primary attitude enters into conflict with outside social elements—individuals of other classes, religious or political institutions, etc.—and acts as a solidary unit, it is surprising to see what an almost unlimited faith all the members individually have in the justice of their common standpoint and in the success of their common action. It is almost impossible to persuade a peasant

community which has preserved its primary-group character that its action is wrong or doomed to failure except by breaking it up and discussing the matter separately with each individual. This socio-psychological feature explains the daring with which a peasant group, once resolved to vindicate its claims, often starts and pursues the most radical revolutionary action without apparently the slightest chance of success. It also shows whence comes that feeling of solidarity of wrongs and demands, that consciousness of acting not for one's self alone but for the group, which distinguishes revolution from personal revolt. Later, with increasing acquaintance with the external political and social conditions, the primary peasant community loses its naïve faith in its own righteousness and power; but then, as the contacts between communities grow, there develops a super-communal solidarity, the primary group conceives itself as part of a wider social body, class or nation, and the same unlimited faith is transferred to this new "great community."

We hardly need to emphasize the fact that these two fundamental attitudes underlying the revolutionary movements of the peasants—the tendency to advance and the consciousness of social power and moral righteousness of the community—are by no means socially destructive attitudes; on the contrary, if properly directed, they are, as we shall see presently, the most efficient factors of social reconstruction.

PART II
SOCIAL REORGANIZATION

CHAPTER I

THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL REORGANIZATION

The decay of the traditional social organization is, as we have seen, due to the appearance and development of new attitudes leading to activities which do not comply with the socially recognized and sanctioned schemes of behavior. The problem of social reconstruction is to create new schemes of behavior—new rules of personal conduct and new institutions—which will supplant or modify the old schemes and correspond better to the changed attitudes, that is, which will permit the latter to express themselves in action and at the same time will regulate their active manifestations so as not only to prevent the social group from becoming disorganized but to increase its cohesion by opening new fields for social cooperation.

In this process of creating new social forms the rôle of the individual, the inventor or leader, is much more important than in the preservation and defense of the old forms or in revolutionary movements which tend merely to overthrow the traditional system, leaving the problem of reconstruction to be solved later. For even when the defense of the traditional organization is assumed by particular individuals the latter act merely as official or unofficial representatives of the group; they may be more or less original and efficient in realizing their aim, but their aim has been defined for them entirely by social tradition. In revolution, as we have seen, the individual can generalize and make more

conscious only tendencies which already exist in the group. Whereas, in social reconstruction his task is to discover and understand the new attitudes which demand an outlet, to invent the schemes of behavior which would best correspond to these attitudes, and to make the group accept these schemes as social rules or institutions. More than this, he must usually develop the new attitudes in certain parts of society which have been evolving more slowly and are not yet ready for the reform; and often he has to struggle against obstinate defenders of the traditional system.

We are not concerned here with the methods by which the social leader discovers the new needs of society and invents new forms of social organization; this would lead us far beyond the study of the peasant class. What interests us is, how are new forms imposed upon the peasant communities and what is the social organization resulting? Now, it is clear that in order to have a peasant community consciously accept any institution different from the traditional ones it is indispensable to have this community intellectually prepared to meet new problems. Education of the peasant is thus the first and indispensable step of social reconstruction.

Further, we have seen that social disorganization came as a consequence of the breakdown of the old isolation of peasant communities; the contacts between each community and the outside social world have been continually increasing in number, variety and intensity. It is evident that any attempt of social reconstruction must take this fact into account; a social organization based exclusively upon such interests and relations as bind together the members of an isolated community would have no chance to last and to develop. But, on the other hand, in constructing a new social system those

attitudes of social solidarity which are indispensable to assure a harmonious cooperation of individuals in the active realization of their new tendencies cannot be created out of nothing; use must be made of the attitudes on which the unity of the old community rested. Though no longer sufficient in their old form to organize socially the new interests, they can be changed by proper influences into somewhat different, more comprehensive and more conscious attitudes which are better suited to the new conditions. In other words, the principle of the community has to be modified and extended so as to apply to all those social elements with which the peasant primary group is or will soon be in contact—to the whole peasant class, or even to the whole nation. A wider community is thus gradually evolved and the instrument through which its opinion is formed and its solidarity promoted is the press.

The social system which develops on this basis naturally tends to reconcile, by modifying them, the two originally contradictory principles—the traditional absorption of the individual by the group and the new self-assertion of the individual against or independently of the group. The method which, after various trials, proves the most efficient in fulfilling this difficult task is the method of conscious cooperation. Closed social groups are freely formed for the common pursuit of definite positive interests which each individual can more efficiently satisfy in this way than if he worked alone. These organized groups are scattered all over the country in various peasant communities, but know about one another through the press. The further task of social organization is to bring groups with similar or supplementary purposes together for common pur-

suit, just as individuals are brought together in each particular group.

The more extensive and coherent this new social system becomes, the more frequent, varied and important are its contacts with the social and political institutions created by other classes and in which the peasants until recently had not actively participated (except, of course, those individuals who became members of other classes and ceased to belong to the peasant class). The peasant begins consciously to cooperate in those activities by which national unity is maintained and national culture developed. This fact has a particular importance for Poland where for a whole century national life had to be preserved by voluntary cooperation, not only without the help of the state but even against the state, and where at this moment the same method of voluntary cooperation is being used in reconstructing a national state system. The significance of such a historical experiment for sociology is evident, for it contributes more than anything to the solution of the most essential problem of modern times—how to pass from the type of national organization in which public services are exacted and public order enforced by coercion to a different type, in which not only a small minority, but the majority which is now culturally passive will voluntarily contribute to social order and cultural progress.

Our study of social reconstruction will thus include the following five problems: 1) leadership; 2) education of the peasants; 3) the wider community and the press; 4) cooperative organizations; 5) the rôle of the peasant class in the nation.

CHAPTER II

LEADERSHIP

The problem of leadership in Poland was particularly complicated because of the combination of two factors—class differences (more persistent among the country population than in cities) and the national situation. The peasant class left to itself would have been unable to produce for many years to come constructive leaders in numbers sufficient for its own reorganization, whereas the national situation urgently required a rapid transformation of the peasant class into a nationally conscious and culturally constructive body. Thus, members of other classes had to assume leadership, at least in the beginning; and, indeed, in no other country has the nobility and the intellectual city class shown as much active interest in organizing the peasants as in Poland during the last 50 years. But this advantage of having more than enough educated and nationally conscious men ready to fulfil the functions of leaders as soon as the need of leadership became obvious was offset by serious disadvantages resulting from the fact that these men were separated from the masses whom they intended to lead by all those attitudes and traditions which were the source and the product of the division of classes.

As far as the nobility was concerned, there is no doubt that, if we except a small number of magnates belonging to the international aristocratic *coterie* and spending most of their time abroad, the average country

squire had a wide "universe of discourse" in common with his peasant neighbor or even his manor-servant, in the professional, religious, social fields, so that he could understand him well enough for the purposes of leadership. But on both sides there were deeply rooted traditional prejudices to overcome before real collaboration became possible. The nobleman was too much inclined to treat the peasant as a permanent minor destined to be always the passive object of a more or less benevolent care of the upper classes, and to claim obedience and one-sided respect as due to his social rank or at least to his superior culture. In matters of organization he naturally tended, often quite unreflectively, to preserve more than was possible of the old system and looked with mistrust or even indignation on many of the new tendencies which began to develop among the peasants and whose first manifestations, sometimes irrational or seemingly anti-social, prevented him from seeing the constructive possibilities implied in their further development. On the other hand, the peasant mistrusted the "lords," particularly when their activity was personally disinterested, for he did not understand its motives; he had to be first educated and organized before he could grasp the full significance and appreciate the motive power of the national ideal. Further, his continually growing desire for economic advance, in connection with the remnants of the old attitude toward the wealthy estate owner (who was treated as somehow outside of and above communal solidarity, to whom neither response nor justice was due because he did not need them), often led the peasant to abuse the good-will of the nobleman-leader, and thus discouraged disinterested initiative. Finally, the fact that between the country squire and his peasant neighbors and servants there

were many business relations which gave many opportunities for trouble, constituted an additional obstacle to successful leadership.

With city intellectuals, the difficulty lay elsewhere. While there were no traditional antagonisms, no inveterate class prejudices to overcome, positive bonds between these two classes were very weak and reciprocal understanding difficult, owing to the lack of contact. Only those among the city men understood the peasant more or less who had either spent their youth in the country as sons of nobles or peasants and preserved their early connections, or who were in an exceptional position to keep continual contact with the peasant class. The great majority of city-bred leaders were idealistic young doctrinaires, poorly acquainted with the practical situations of peasant life and inclined to overrate the pace of possible progress. The peasant mistrusted them less than he mistrusted the "lord," but his mistrust of the latter was connected with fear and often respect whereas with reference to the former there was an unmistakable shade of contempt.

In spite of these obstacles, we find a continually growing number of successful leaders and organizers of peasants both among the city intellectuals and the nobility; but this growth has been relatively slow. This accounts for the fact that a third social group—the clergy—has succeeded in playing a rôle perhaps even more important than that of either of the groups mentioned above, although it began quite late to participate in social reconstruction. It is evident that a country priest has the best possible conditions for becoming a social leader of his parish, particularly in the beginning of the process of reconstruction, when the great mass of his parishioners are passive, and willing to follow a

leader who is otherwise acceptable to them instead of trying to be independent and to organize by their own initiative. There is no inveterate class antagonism preventing collaboration, for the priest, as long as he is considered as an essentially religious personality, is in a sense outside of the class system; only when the worldly attributes of the priest begin to predominate in the eyes of the peasant over his sacral character, reflections are made concerning his class connections. There is a certain mistrust resulting from the often exaggerated economic demands of priests; but with goodwill on the part of the latter this mistrust can be easily overcome. And nobody is in a position to know the peasant better than the priest, in most cases himself a peasant or small townsman by birth and in continuous contact with his parishioners. He is, besides, already a leader in all matters connected with religion, and it needs only some effort on his part to extend this leadership to the economic and political fields. Thus it is exclusively the fault of the clergy or, more exactly, of the church as an institution, that we find relatively few priests among peasant leaders up to about twenty-five years ago. The Catholic Church as international institution with wide political plans never, since the Congress of Vienna, favored the Polish national movement, and it did not explicitly sanction the participation of the clergy in lay social activities until 1893 and the encyclical *Rerum novarum* of Leo XIII. But when finally the Polish clergy awoke to the realization of the fact that unless they took an active part in the nationwide movement of social reconstruction they would lose almost all social influence, they were able rapidly to take an important place among the leaders. Their great rôle, however, seems to be only temporary; the spirit of

independence developing among the peasants deprive the clergy of their exceptional prestige which, in less independent communities, makes the leadership of the priest appear as the most "natural" and obvious, while on the other hand the church system imposes limits on their progress, does not permit them to go as far in the new direction as is necessary to achieve the work of reconstruction.

The last in time and as yet the least important, but probably the most promising for the future is that group of leaders which grows up within the peasant class itself—not men of peasant origin who receive professional education, become incorporated into other social bodies and participate in the reconstructive movement as city intellectuals or clergymen, but those who, having achieved an intellectual and social superiority over the average peasant mass, yet remain members of their class and continue to share all the interests of this class. There have been many such leaders during the period we are studying, but the sphere of their influence in most cases has not exceeded the limits of one community or even one village. But the number of those who through the press, through political or economic institutions had begun to influence wider circles has been growing, and their rôle seems to have enormously increased lately, during the formation of the Polish state.

In order to avoid misunderstanding we must emphasize the fact that the documents which we are quoting are not meant to characterize types of *leaders*, but to illustrate the psychology of *leadership*. There are rich biographical materials concerning prominent leaders published in Polish—few societies show as strong an interest and appreciation of individual achievements—but we cannot use them here, for the problems which

they raise are entirely beyond the scope of this work. It must be added that the documents included in other chapters of this volume contain much which has a direct bearing on the problem of leadership.

95. [Typical example of the old-time attitude of the nobility toward the lower classes; willing to help *individuals* to advance but entirely unconscious of matters relating to social organization and the progress of the masses. The reactions of the favored individual are also typical.]

On January 1st, 1883, being 20 years old, I came with my father to serve in the manor Pawłówki. . . . On New Year, 1884, I went with my lord to church instead of his coachman. I must mention that during the year my lord had given me many proofs of his grace and favor. On returning from the church, my lord asked me whether I would like to learn to read and to write. I kissed his hand and said that I would like it very much; so he ordered me to come every evening to his office to learn. On the same day he asked me whether I wanted to be a coachman or to become gradually a farm-steward. I answered, a farm-steward. Therefore with the New Year 1884 I moved to the manor; I received there board, a separate small room; my lord gave me a bed, bed-furnishings and clothes and in the evenings taught me to read and to write, when he was at home. On the one hand I got on well, because I had good board, clothes and the protection of the lord, but on the other hand, I had many griefs and troubles because everybody envied me the lord's favor and teased me terribly. My lord required of me also not to deal with anybody, not to drink liquor at all, not to loaf around in the evening, but to spend all the moments free from work in learning. I had been accustomed to all those things from my childhood, and it was very difficult for me to renounce them all. At that time there was a sister-in-law of one of the manor-servants whom they had for a long time intended me to marry. But I knew that if I married her I would lose the favor of the lord and the career which he promised me. So I tried to guard myself against this marriage, and I succeeded.

Sometimes I was guilty, for I did secretly something which was forbidden me because, as people say, "nature draws the wolf

back into the forest." The lord then scolded me in a fatherly way and explained to me that I ought not to do it. . . I learned to read and to write, I won the confidence of the lord. I assisted him in all the farm-functions, and thanks to his favor I had for my work good clothes and 100 roubles put aside. From March 1st, 1888, I was already a land-steward on a separate farm . . . of the same lord. My lord had long subscribed to the *Gazeta Świąteczna* for me and in free moments I read it and instructed myself. I got so accustomed to the *Gazeta* that the need to read it became second nature. . . . Through reading the *Gazeta* and the books which I got to read I gained instruction and knowledge—how man is obliged to work, how he ought to act and to repay his employer with honest labor and gratitude for lifting him up from the darkness and giving him the occasion to become a useful man. . . .

In 1883 I began my service there as a driver. In 1895 I am manager of an estate of 1100 morgs, with 200 roubles wages and corresponding *ordynarya*. And I owe all this to the protection of a good lord, to instruction and to abstaining from all those bad habits to which I got accustomed in childhood and which all but drew me aside from the way in which my lord put me and on which he led me. Today I have two children and I am trying to educate them. . . May this my record . . . be an example for others. . . .

Letter to *Gazeta Świąteczna*; unpublished.

96. Julian Gościcki, an estate owner in the district of Płock, celebrating on July 2nd the twentieth anniversary of his farming on the estate Lelice, commemorated this day with a beautiful act. After the divine service in the church—for it was Sunday—he invited to his home all the manor-workers with their children and their *posytkas* and the peasant farmers who had done hired work on the estate, and treated all of them copiously. Four among his workers who had served for 20 years in his manor were given a hundred roubles each and advised not to waste this money on useless things but to keep it for their old age or to preserve it as a help for buying a house or a piece of land of their own. All four asked that their money be left in the hands of Mr. Gościcki until they need it for something important. Mr. Gościcki agreed, but gave them receipts for any eventuality . . .

promising that he would pay them five roubles interest on every hundred as long as this money remained in his keeping.

Gazeta Święteczna, 1899, 30.

97. [A very significant failure as compared with preceding case, due partly to the new method—dealing with group rather than with individuals—where some active co-operation is required. The entire social relation between estate owner and servants remains what it was, and the isolated innovation is naturally misinterpreted.]

The young heir of the estate. . . Mr. Bolesław Gorecki, who took the estate after his father's death this year, wanted to commemorate his entrance into his patrimonial estate. He decided to introduce a kind of pension for all the workmen in his manor, teamsters, *parobeks*, etc., in the following way. Every servant . . . whether he stayed on the spot or came from somewhere else, was to receive, about New Year, one rouble of earnest-money. Mr. Gorecki wanted every one of those men to leave this rouble with him and he, the owner of the estate, bound himself to add to this rouble 5 roubles more and to give every man a booklet in which it would be written how much money he had deposited. Those who stayed would not take this money back before at least ten years had passed. Then everyone could take his money together with the interest, and he would have more than 70 roubles, or after 20 years more than 150.

If anyone left his service before this time he would receive only the roubles he had deposited, whereas the 5 roubles a year contributed by the estate owner would be divided among the others. After the death of the husband his wife and children would receive all his dues. This pension would in no way interfere with personal property and every year anyone who wished might leave and take back his roubles.

Well, I happened to be there precisely on the day when all the servants of the estate were called. There were more than eighty, and more than a half of them had been serving for over ten years, some much longer. Mr. Gorecki explained to them his idea, showing how they might secure at least some ready money. I was sure that, having listened to the speech in which the idea was clearly expounded, they would accept this innovation with gratitude. But, O Heavens! all of them like one man opposed

it. "We do not want it, Respected Sir! Let it be as it used to be. If you were so gracious as to give us the earnest-money and those 5 roubles in hand, then all right; but if not, then not." All the most sensible persuasions led to nothing; even words of scorn were heard in the crowd.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1900, 47.

98. By the endeavors of the former vicar of our parish [Tuliszków], Priest Jasiński church song was introduced here and performed by a group of men. Priest Jasiński . . . soon left our town and the direction of the singing was taken over by the organist. But somehow the singing lessons soon began to go on in a completely different manner. . . . Gradually as an addition to singing, beer was introduced and a whole barrel used to be emptied at every meeting. Without the barrel the singing lesson did not begin and with the barrel there was not much time left for it, because the matter of the beer had to be settled. . . . Many singers understood that things were going wrong but nobody wanted to undertake a reorganization of that which was disorganizing. In silence the singers withdrew from the association and the singing-group ceased to exist. So a lack of good leadership destroyed a promising work.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 11.

99. [Entirely new methods of leadership. Interest in social organization, not individual advance. No social relations between the leader and the led which would interfere with his organizing activities by introducing the element of class opposition.]

The leader of the peasants, Maximilian Jackowski [is a nobleman and estate owner. He participated first in the revolutionary movements connected with the national uprising in 1863 and was imprisoned by the Prussian government. When in 1865 he left the prison] he had profited in two respects: First, he had acquired in calm studies a theoretic education in political economy which proved very useful to the great practitioner. Secondly, he was now penetrated by the idea which he defended up to his death against all phantastic hopes to the contrary, that the Poles could develop only if they introduced into the very depths of their nation a social organization that would rouse the purposeless and passive mass to conscious work.

He developed this idea during the following years and published in 1870 a program or declaration of faith: *Views as to Our Principles, Problems and Needs*. It is the ungainly writing of a man whose field was practical efficiency and extensive organization.

But before I speak of this peculiar booklet, let me say a few words about the man himself. When I went for the first time to the province of Posen in order to study the situation, an issue of the *Kuryer Poznański* fell into my hands containing [a paragraph written by Maximilian Jackowski which expressed his approval of an article published by a young estate owner who devotes himself to politics]. Surprised at this peculiar public censorship, I informed myself about the usage and found quite a series of similar public declarations which partly referred to persons, partly to party groups, events, the attitudes of the press or of the [Polish parliamentary] fraction, as for instance:

. . . "I express hereby my recognition to the editors of the *Kuryer* for the dignified and calm form in which they lead political discussion in contrast with the level of newspaper ethics which characterizes the *Dziennik Poznański*. I fully and perfectly agree with the political convictions of the *Kuryer Poznański* and with the form of the proclamations, and I beg the editors to publish this declaration in today's issue of the *Kuryer*."

Nothing characterizes this man better than the domineering, unabashed way in which, until his death in 1905, he publicly judged public happenings. He stood there like a patriarch during the last 20 years of his life (he died at the age of 90) and every declaration which he sharply pronounced—mostly too sharp and too energetic—was accepted with respect, even though the younger leaders were of the opinion that the old Maximilian Jackowski proceeded in a too stormy and undiplomatic way.

Maximilian Jackowski appeared as non-Slavic in nature in so far as he lacked all flexibility and smoothness. In the committees over which he presided he was the committee, for all the others had to be silent or to disappear. When he met serious opposition, he occasionally even made a political use of the peasant organizations which stood behind him. Thus, in 1893 he had the leading organ of the party which opposed him boycotted by the peasant associations, though he had always im-

pressed upon the latter that political fights did not belong to their competency.

However, he would be unjustly judged if he were represented as a kind of rough Hun, for much more prominent than his ruthlessness was his much admired expert knowledge and foresight. The central society of large estate owners which he founded and which his son today leads bears the traces of his influence; the Polish peasant associations founded by him and covering the whole province of Posen like a net have been drafted by him not only in their main outlines but in their smallest details, and in the last years of his life . . . he even interfered with the Polish cooperative system, for he thought that the cooperative societies were assuming a too capitalistic character. The Poles owe it essentially to him that in recent years not only credit associations were founded as before, but also agricultural co-operative societies for buying and selling.

We are tempted to explain the program [published in 1870] of a man who has done so much. . . . In a peculiar mixture of pedantry and vivid experience he discusses the organization of [national] work, basing himself partly on the system of political economy of John Stuart Mill, partly on the practical lesson which Karol Marcinkowski had given to the Poles in his organizations. From these dissimilar elements he draws the conclusion that the Poles should indeed continue to follow the way opened by Marcinkowski but that they should make more definite efforts than before to reach *professional organizations*, in the form of great coherent systems which would be able to embrace the whole country. . . .

In 1873 there were 11 peasant associations, in 1875, 45; in the following year, 61; in 1877, 105; in 1880, 120 associations. Every association was founded by Jackowski himself who during all these years traveled through the country so that the peasants began to worship him as all-present. In his speeches and writings recurred in infinite variations the one idea that a people which has lost its political independence can rely only on the national feeling and that the national feeling disappears when there is no social organization.

In the beginnings of the eighties the nucleus of the peasant class was organized in this way. Every month each peasant as-

sociation had its meeting; once a year the peasant associations of a whole district came together, and every spring took place in Posen the great yearly convention of Polish peasants. Politics was excluded, but the cultivation of the Polish national feeling was not considered politics. Not to let land fall into German hands; to preserve Polish mores and customs; to defend themselves in common against the measures of the Prussian government—these were the main aims of the national organization.

Led exclusively by Poles, the union fostered peasant farming, took care to introduce a rational cultivation of the soil and to apply modern implements, gave advice in matters concerning credit, in questions of insurance. The 13,000 peasants who today belong to this union constitute the nucleus of the Polish "peasant republic" in Prussia.

Prof. Ludwig Bernard, *Die Polenfrage* (1910), 84-96.¹

100. [Good illustration of the attitudes of peasants toward city people. No definite general prejudice, but sharp criticism in readiness. If a city leader's moral character and practical ability are up to the peasants' standards and he knows how to deal with them, there are no further obstacles to his influence.]

The men who have higher instruction and fortune have different relations among themselves, occupy different positions; they are engineers, doctors, merchants, craftsmen, industrials and others. . . . But there are also some who don't do anything but live on their capital and spend their time in walking and reading different papers and books which they like, and finally in playing at different games and in lying long in their beds. In short, there are honest and dishonest people, good and bad ones; there are people who are religious and polite, but there are also scoundrels in the highest degree, such as one cannot even imagine.

Often it happens that in going afoot or with horses you meet some priest who willingly lifts his hat before everybody, even the poorest one, and praises our Lord God. But also you often meet a so-called gentleman who neither says "Praised be [Jesus Christus]," nor lifts his head, nor even turns his eyes. . . .

¹This book, a very thorough study of Polish organizations under German domination, has a particular significance because written in the interests of Germanization by a foreign and hostile observer.

In our country many people come to Nałęczów in summer to save their health. Some of them are good enough and work for the benefit of us, the peasants; they give us good advice, useful teaching and beautiful examples. But there are also those who only sow scandal among their brothers. . . . At least 10 years ago I came to the steady use of my reason and when I knew all this [I saw that] among richer and more instructed people there are many who transgress the sixth and tenth commandments of God. . . .

Among us, the peasants, the opinion is that if a man is rich, instructed and honest, he is worthy of great respect, but if he is not honest, we consider it a sin to have any relations with him. Among rich and instructed people one in a hundred can be found honest, but among the simple peasants . . . one in a hundred can be found dishonest.

Letter to Gazeta Świąteczna; unpublished.

101. [The peasant here realizes the contrast between the idealistic intellectual social leader and the egotistic educated Philistine—an essential step toward selecting and appreciating leaders on the ground of their personal attitudes rather than their social position].

I must confess that I became acquainted with men for the first time when I was on the excursion organized by *Zaranie*. . . . [I have lived] in a village near a town and near a sugar-factory where are intelligent men. But . . . with us they are proud and self-conceited in their haughtiness. Well, when I found myself with such a society [as during the excursion], I did not know how to behave among such people as these; they were so polite and kind it was a pleasure. All were equal, there was no difference—one a lord, another a peasant, one intelligent, another stupid; they did not differ as with us. And there were learned and wise men, lords from high spheres and peasants, teachers, and many, many others, and all of the same spirit and the same idea, but an idea which makes people conscious, unites them and makes them like brothers in mutual love. How pleasant it was to listen when they spoke with one another like brothers.

What! With us a would-be gentleman, when he has a suit for 15 *złoty* and a paper-collar for 6 *groszy* and knows how to read and to write a little, like a hen with her claws, and gets a

place in a factory—well, then you, who are but a peasant, don't come near to him! . . . And about the church or the library he does not wish to hear anything because he knows already all the indecent tavern words without any library. How can we, the peasants, work together with such people for progress and be friends with them, if we do not see among them good examples and reciprocal love? . . . We have no good teachers. In our village there is a teacher from Russia, a *kacap* [contemptuous word for a Russian]. And even if there are some, don't believe that they teach the peasants and speak with them like learned men. They loathe the peasant.

Such a teacher has already forgotten how he herded cows and how we went together to school, how himself and others were sitting on the same bench and were treated in the same manner by their teacher. His parents were richer, so they sent him to higher schools and worked themselves that their son might learn. And at last he became a teacher. . . .

Now, the peasant does not know that he ought to speak more politely with Mr. Teacher, that after every word he ought to say, "Please, Sir." Because the peasant teacher refuses to know that he is a peasant himself and the other does not imagine that, as peasant, he cannot keep company with gentlemen; and therefore he does not know how to speak. Moreover, this peasant believes that if the teacher herded cattle and played with him, now he is not obliged to be ceremonious, but he speaks as with another peasant. And today there are also peasants who do not show a serf's soul before such a peasant teacher; knowledge is not today so totally strange to the peasant. But the peasant teacher does not wish to understand this, because he says that a peasant is a fool and he is a gentleman: He gets every month nearly 40 roubles, sometimes even more. And he does not mind what he gets this money for and who gives it to him. What do ideas matter to him? He is neither for the idea nor for the society. He has learned only in order to be a man who gets his wages the 20th of every month.

And there are also men who don't want to remain with "this rabble" [the peasants] during the winter, but try to screw themselves into the district-administration and to become officials, bureaucrats.

Letter to *Zaranie*; unpublished.

102. [From a woman working in a factory.]

Respected Mr. Editor of *Gazeta Świąteczna*. I became acquainted long ago with the *Gazeta*, for I am an old reader. Although I have not subscribed, I have bought the paper from the newsboy every Sunday. And I loved this paper so much that I desired to subscribe to it, because I came to the conviction that you, Mr. Writer, do not work for your profit or for the sake of conciliating any political party; but this work, in my opinion, is for the sake of the commonwealth, of the whole Polish society.

Respected Sir! I know that my letter will perhaps not reach your hands, because I have known for a long time that God the Merciful has sent upon you a heavy illness. It causes me a great sorrow that this illness lasts so long. I hope with my fellow-readers that God the Merciful will call you back to life. I pray to God that you may still work in the future for us, the Poles, because we are still far away from the end which we ought to have attained already. No paper and no journal has ever been able so to call us to knowledge and enlightenment as you have done by your warm labor in your widely read paper *Gazeta Świąteczna*. . . .

Letter to *Gazeta Świąteczna*; unpublished.

103. There came a moment of true sorrow and regret for the parish Szczeglice because our priest, Count Tarło, bade farewell to our parish, moving to Jastrzab near Radom. . . . We felt that not only a priest, but a true guardian and friend of us all was leaving us. We have had priests in our parish before who did their duty no less eagerly, but only in religious ceremonies, concerning faith; our material life interested them little. Only now we understood what is a priest for his parish and how much good he can do.

The priest Count Leon Tarło came to our parish in February, 1898. We received him as priests are usually received; we were only glad that he was young and would always perform the divine service for us. . . . We were accustomed to speak with the priest only when a religious need arose; feeling always intimidated and constrained in the presence of the priest, we tried to settle rapidly all the religious matters in order to be as short a time as possible together with the priest.

We were very much astonished that our new priest gladly spoke with us not only when business led us to him but at every meeting on the road or in the field; he was interested mainly in our farming and our home affairs. In the beginning we thought that the priest intended to raise the tariff for burials and weddings and therefore wanted to know our material situation. So we avoided meeting the priest and for some years we could not understand one another. The priest evidently understood our conduct, changed his tactics and began to occupy himself with our children, who having no occupation loafed around in flocks. From five years up he took them to his garden and gave them different occupations. He let the older ones pick fruit and the younger ones gather it, talking to them and teaching them how the tree grows, how the fruits are formed, which insects harm them, etc., enjoined them to take care of trees, and after the end of the daily occupation paid some money to all the children. Our children got so accustomed to their priest that instead of loafing around without occupation as formerly, they gathered in the court of the parish-house and waited for their spiritual father to come to them.

We old ones followed the example of our children but so lazily that we understood our priest only after some years. . . . In our parish it is now no longer as it was 15 years ago. We understand what instruction can give. Formerly we felt an aversion and prejudice towards papers, so that the priest subscribed to them at his own cost and begged us to read them; now we have 52 papers of our own. We know the value of artificial manure, of agricultural machines, and also the advantage of changing seed grain. We understand what is love of your neighbor and charity, because our priest gave us the example, performing religious ceremonies for poorer people almost without money and even helping the quite poor ones with gifts. We know what mutual help is, so we will try to organize an agricultural circle and a consumers' association.

Forgive us for not knowing you in the first years which are now lost to us, but it is not our fault if we were dark and neglected. May God bless you and give you health that you may further work usefully for society and may you be understood sooner in your new parish instead of being obliged, as among us, to conquer hearts and confidence through your labors.

Letter to *Gazeta Świąteczna*; unpublished.

104. [Documents 104-110 illustrate various sides of the problem of clerical leadership in connection with the Polish national organization on the one hand, with the Catholic Church hierarchy on the other.]

Parson Wajda, a Polish candidate for Parliament from the election district Pless-Rybnik [Upper Silesia], publishes a proclamation to his electors in which he says among other things: "I am a son of a peasant from the district of Raciborz. At the time of the *Kulturkampf* I was compelled to remain for many years as teacher with one of the most prominent families of Poland. As a Catholic priest who lived at the time of the *Kulturkampf*, I shall defend particularly stubbornly and strongly our holy faith, the rights of our church and its freedom, also the rights of Catholics in the spirit of their full equality before the law with citizens of other denominations.

"You, my dear countrymen, and I as well, are not only Catholics, but by the grace of God also Poles. Since the fight is now directed first of all against everything that is Polish, we must pay the more careful attention to the protection of our nationality. I have never concealed my devotion to whatever makes nationality, that is, to the mother tongue, to our father's customs and mores . . . which is proved by my signature on the proclamation of the clergy which was published nearly a year ago and which you all remember.

"How could it be otherwise! I have grown up under the thatch of a Polish hut, all of my nearest ones are Poles. In remaining a Pole, I have only fulfilled the will of God's Providence, which has commanded me to maintain until my death the Polish nationality."

Umschau im Polenlager, 1908, 8.¹

105. The administrator of the arch-diocese Poznań-Gniezno, Bishop Likowski, incurred the displeasure of all the Poles by pointing out recently in an address to the clergy the detrimental influence of many Polish people's newspapers, which declare themselves to be Catholic and in truth are such only in words.

¹*Umschau im Polenlager*, a German mimeographed publication in Katowice, Silesia, endeavored to collect all current data from Polish periodicals bearing on the Polish national movement, for the information of German politicians, editors, etc.

Lech even improvises a "national song of complaint" in reference to that incident and regrets particularly that the Bishop puts himself in opposition to the immense majority of people by his reactionary behavior, which provokes an outburst from the masses and tends to drive a wedge between the people and its leaders the priests. The Polish newspaper in conclusion expresses the hope that the clergy will now as before remain true to the Polish people.

Umschau im Polenlager, 1908, Sept. 22.

106. By his speech on the occasion of the deliberation on the Appropriation Bill for the Ministry of Education, Priest Kapitza has thrown a very bad light on the whole Polish nation and the Polish party in the Diet and brought upon himself the suspicion of being friendly to Prussia and a hidden Centrist [belonging to the Catholic party].

We read in *Kuryer Śląski*: . . . "One should forgive Priest Kapitza much, be very indulgent with him; he has erred so long on the by-ways of the Centrum that he does not yet understand the Polish tendencies of today. . . . Priest Kapitza has not yet come to an inner conviction as to whether he is a Pole or a Polish-speaking Prussian. Leaning toward the program of the German Centrum party he should not have accepted the mandate of the Polish party. . . . Priest Kapitza said that he is a Prussian without restriction. . . . Had he asked the chairman of the Polish Party, Rev. Jazdzewski, the latter would have told him that it is a matter of course, about which nobody should wonder, that the Polish nation dreams about its national independence and self-government.

"The attitude of Kapitza toward the government is not antagonistic enough; he should thoroughly revise his standpoint. And most deplorable is his attitude toward the national Polish movement. He sees in it an exaltation and a nervousness which make peace with the government and the Empire impossible. . . . There are in Upper Silesia clergymen of the younger generation who do not share the views of Kapitza although they cannot protest against them publicly because of their dependent condition."

Umschau im Polenlager, 1909, 49.

107. Father Zborowski writes to *Gazeta Kościelna*: "The Prussian government is perfectly conscious how enormous is

the influence of the church upon the Polish people. It sees that whoever wins the help of the church may be sure of victory. Therefore it has several times tried to hitch the church to the car of its own policy, but did not everywhere succeed. The aim of the government is clearly outlined. It wants to expel the Polish language from the churches with the help of the Catholic clergy and thus to Germanize the Poles. Will it succeed in that? Probably not. The Catholic clergy will not permit themselves to be degraded to servants of the Hakatish Prussian government."

Umschau im Polenlager, 1908, 46.

108. *Lech* (No. 290) publishes a leading article *Preponderance of the Clergy*, in which it tries to prove that a predominance of clerical influence might be fatal for the Polish nationality. This fear is naturally directed toward the clergy which is friendly to Germany, for it is said at the end of the article: "There is no doubt that the conditions in our dioceses change rapidly. Should there only come to the head of our diocese a Germanizing archbishop who inclines toward the chapter which has become German—we shall see with horror what will happen! From this point of view we must define the clerical predominance as dangerous and make it clear to ourselves in time to avoid being surprised."

Umschau im Polenlager, 1908, Dec. 19.

109. *Naprzód* shows its hatred for the clergy in the following words: "Prussian cynicism is possible only because of the absolute passivity of the Polish people which the clergy leads on a rope. The clergy cannot fight; they understand only how to plot and to make themselves affluent. A painful blush suffuses Polish cheeks when one sees that the leader of the Poles, Prelate Wawrzyniak, organizes a pilgrimage to Lourdes.

"If it is true that the Poles in Prussia want to remain Poles, then they must be prepared for different methods of fighting. Not the priests, who are dependent upon Rome and the government, but brave men determined to fight must unite and organize the Polish forces."

Umschau im Polenlager, 1908, 26.

110. It is well known that the real, almost autocratic ruler of the Polish financial system is Prelate Wawrzyniak, curate of Mogilno and papal chamberlain [of peasant origin].

In Polish financial circles no important decision is taken without his opinion. The final decisions mostly come even directly from him. His authority is not limited to Posen and West Prussia, but in the Polish banks in Upper Silesia also the last word in discussion is the prelate's. He is known equally in Galician financial circles and in Warsaw, and when a few years ago he undertook a journey to America, he was received even there as leader of the Polish financial system.

Wawrzyniak has a big, heavy exterior, a passionate, choleric temperament, apparently a "man of violence," but one who holds himself under perfect control. . . . On unimportant occasions and provocations he becomes recklessly excited, but when the matter requires it he is of a stony calm. . . . Since 1872 he has been in the Polish cooperative movement, which is watched more closely than any other in the world by powerful authorities and must fear a dangerous penalty for every mistake. During these 35 years he must have learned the most careful prudence.

Here he finds helpful his exact knowledge of law, of the decisions of the highest administrative tribunal and of the usages of the Prussian administration. He knows exactly what can be demanded of him and what he can refuse and he will not easily endanger the Polish financial system by an unreflected action. Thus this energetic, violent, autocratic man has become one of the most flexible and prudent Polish leaders.

Legally his position is founded in the following way. The Polish co-operative associations in Posen and West Prussia have consolidated, according to the German model, into one "Union." The board of directors of the Union consists of seven members who elect from their number the "patron of the associations." Since 1892 Prelate Wawrzyniak has been the patron. Formally his power is not particularly great as he is merely the chairman of this group of seven men, among whom are some very influential and experienced gentlemen. . . . Yet for many years the general assemblies have remained under the dominance of his words and ideas, since there was and is no man in the Polish credit system who could judge of financial matters with the same certitude. And in spite of their independence the particular associations must obey him, for the patron is also curator of the Union bank, and this institution gives credit only to such asso-

ciations as the patron declares to be deserving of credit. His rôle in the general assemblies of the Polish Union Bank is similar. Here he acts in the name of many associations which have the rights of shareholders and sometimes he represents in his person the majority, so that he alone decides exactly what should be done.

What are then the deeds which have given the patron such great power? Wherein does his strength rest? . . . It seems to me . . . that the leaders of great associations are real organizers when they criticise, cut down, prevent dangers in order that the healthy strength which lies in popular organizations may freely develop. The history of the Polish associations confirms this opinion. Wawrzyniak's great strength rests ultimately upon *preventing*.

He has prevented the Prussian government from taking back [from the Union] the right of financial control [of the particular associations], which it gave the Poles in a moment of good disposition. He prevented this with difficulty, for the authorities desired to deprive him of this right. Further, he has prevented from penetrating among the Poles also the struggle and envy between the Schulze-Delitzsch system and the Reiffeisen system which has [among the Germans] absorbed men and capital. And he has succeeded in making the Polish cooperative organization a political power which today constitutes the nucleus of the Polish commonwealth.

Bernard, *Die Polenfrage*, 223-226.

III. [Perfectly typical example of a successful rationalization of the agricultural technique of a group under the influence of individual initiative; leadership based exclusively on success.]

In Suchedniów . . . a farmer read in the *Gazeta Świąteczna* how from a morass a good meadow, and how from useless, good and fertile land can be made. Confident in the wise advice, he began at once to dig pits through his wet meadows and marshes. His neighbors laughed at him [saying], that he was establishing a cemetery upon his land and digging graves for his whole family. When finally he began to carry dust from the road paved with chalk-stones and scattered it upon the wet meadows, they shook their heads saying that he was crazy. But later they saw the result of this work. They were convinced that a piece of meadow

from which formerly a small heap of poor hay mixed with moss had been gathered began to give this careful farmer an enormous wagon of hay, half clover. Then they themselves started to dig pits in their meadows and from morning until night they carry dust from the roads. And therefore where up to the present were morasses and marshes there are now meadows that can be mowed twice.

Ten years ago all the hills among the fields of Suchedniów were white with sand. Whatever was sown upon them was burned by the sun and nothing remained. The sun burned stable-manure still worse. So the owners of these poor lands left them fallow and went elsewhere to do hired work. But this farmer reading the *Gazeta* finally learned from it that in our country a plant [*tubin*] was cultivated which strengthened sands and furnishes good green manure. He immediately tried to get some seeds of this plant, and having secured some with great difficulty . . . sowed them in his sand. How much talking and laughing at this farmer there was! [People said] that he had sown little flowers for himself, that he was turning into a child. . . . [But when he produced good rye they followed his example.] Those who used to go to hired work returned "from the world," started to cultivate those despised sands and made of them black soil.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 40.

112. [Success in one line taken as guarantee of success in another. A peasant leader is not treated as a natural leader; he has to show the results.]

It seems that in the recently elected mayor, Jacek Dąbek, from the village Opatkowice, we shall have a good manager of the commune, for he is an enlightened man, has been reading the *Gazeta* for over 10 years and follows its advice. He is an orderly manager of his farm so we can hope that he will be also an orderly manager of the commune. God give him good luck!

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 48.

113. [Here the sanction of acknowledged intellectual leaders helps a peasant to have his leadership accepted by others.]

.. Last Sunday, April 24th, in the village Wysoka . . . died Michał Mosiołek [collaborator of the *Gazeta* under the pseudonym "Radomczyk"]. . . . He was a peasant's son and re-

mained a true peasant up to the end of his life. He always lived in his native village in the house of his parents, who are still living. He was born in the village Wysoka in 1868 or in the following year. He never went to school. He learned almost exclusively and from the very beginning by himself, by his own work, his own investigation, and pushed by his own curiosity. Only for a very short time he profited by the help of the organist, Adamski, whom he always mentioned with gratitude later in his letters. When tending cattle he used to take paper, pencil, a book and a little board to put under [the paper] and profiting by his free moments in the pasture, trained himself in writing.

As a half-grown boy he began to receive the *Gazeta* from the late Błażewicz. And, as he later often related in talk and wrote in his letters, from that time he not only read it but most earnestly studied it. Moreover, he assiduously read various books. And he grew to be an instructed man, really educated, although in his dress and in his life he did not differentiate himself from other peasants.

He was a good farmer and when very young took entirely, for a long time, the place of his father in the house and in the field and improved the paternal farm by his work. He encouraged his neighbors, particularly those of his own age, to read. For his own distraction and to amuse people he played the violin. From a description given in our *Gazeta* he learned how to bind books himself and had some income from this, while he preserved many books in the community from destruction. The village group and the whole commune respected him for his enlightenment, his laboriousness and honesty, and they elected him court-assistant. But when he was offered the office of commune secretary, he did not accept it. For his community he was like a lantern which shines in darkness.

Mosiółek began to write to us while he was still almost a mere boy, and when he had grown to be a young man he continually published in the *Gazeta* letters, news, longer and more serious descriptions. And how he wrote! Few among the men who had finished higher educational institutions could write thus. Anything which came from his pen could be printed without any corrections. . . . He signed himself variously in our *Gazeta*, sometimes with his name or with the initial only, some-

times as "Reader" or "Peasant," and so on. And he wrote to us steadily until the end of his life. We have in store many of his works unpublished up to the present.

When through the *Gazeta Radomczyk* became known in Warsaw and in the whole country, he was asked to write to several other papers also and he willingly contributed his work to these. . . . He was for us a real pride and comfort. He was also the foundation of our hope for the future that, when God orders us to leave, the work will not stop, younger people will undertake it. But incalculable are the decisions of God. Mosiolek began to lose his health, became tubercular, and after long sufferings, scarcely 30 years old, closed his eyes for eternity.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1898, 18.

The general conclusion which our particular data seem to suggest is that leadership, viewed from the socio-psychological standpoint, is not a uniform phenomenon. The apparently simple fact of an individual's influencing the behavior of others in accordance with his will can be the result of several entirely different processes. We distinguish at least three types of leadership which may be called respectively leadership *by fear or hope*, leadership *by prestige*, leadership *by efficiency*.

The first type is the best known and the most general, since it underlies all political and most of economic control. It presupposes that the leader has at his disposal positive or negative values which are the object of the desire or fear of others and which he can at will grant or withdraw, impose or take off. Except in the relatively rare and sociologically unimportant cases of direct physical control among isolated individuals, all such power of distributing values—whatever may be the way in which a particular individual has attained it—rests upon the existing political or economic order; it is institutional, not personal. From this results that

this type of leadership has but little significance for the purpose of social reconstruction in so far as the latter implies the substitution of a new social system for the old one; a leader can use vested institutional power to overcome obstacles which other leaders by virtue of their institutional power put in the way of social reconstruction, but he cannot construct a new system with instruments whose efficiency depends on the preservation of the old system. In our particular case this form of leadership has even less importance than usual, for the Polish leaders at the period we are studying had little power of political control and political parties did not exercise any appreciable positive influence upon the movement of social reconstruction.

The mechanism of leadership by prestige is characterized by the fact that it is the personality of the leader which constitutes in the eyes of those who follow him the sanction for the ideas which he promulgates and for the behavior which he suggests by word or by example. His suggestions are put into action not because any reward or punishment is expected from him, but because they are considered practically or morally right; and they are considered right without being analyzed in reflection or tested in practice, simply because they emanate from him.

Prestige can, as we know, be attached to an individual because he is a representative of a certain class, profession, etc. Thus, the personality of a priest is endowed in the eyes of a believing peasant with a sacral character which is supposed to predominate over his individual imperfections and to impart to him, if not an absolute value, at least a value superior to that which an individual without this sacral character can possess. Superiority of social position is a source of prestige even

independently of any actual power which the superior class may or may not possess. However, it is evident that this kind of prestige is not very secure in periods of rapid social evolution, since it is apt to be impaired by any mistakes which other individual members of the given profession or class can make and which are easily generalized as characterizing the whole group. Thus, we find that with the development of social consciousness among the peasants the prestige which the individual acquires personally as his own particular self is more and more clearly distinguished from and even opposed to the old group prestige; the profession or class is disparaged by contrast with its particular member and the latter exalted by contrast with his class.

Moreover, when the leader relies on the prestige of his profession or class he is forced to keep the traditions and to uphold the *esprit de corps* by which this profession or class tries to maintain its prestige, and this evidently limits his initiative. Finally, purely individual prestige has a much greater influence on the masses because of the particular and well known attraction which everything personal has for the popular mind. For all these reasons, we see that the expansion of the sphere of influence of a popular leader in social reconstruction goes along with a gradual decrease of those sides of his public personality in which his profession, class, etc., are manifested, so that the most important leaders—like Jackowski or Wawrzyniak—can hardly be characterized as priests or noblemen, but simply as individuals, each as a unique personality.

But for this very reason it is impossible to make any generalizations concerning the nature and sources of this purely individual prestige; the characteristic features which make a leader popular may be entirely dif-

ferent in each particular case. Of course, the leader must be judged efficient in his line and must be supposed to be well-intentioned with regard to his followers. But it is precisely the baffling point about leadership by prestige that the judgment of the mass as to the efficiency and good intentions of their leader depend upon the prestige which he already possesses, and that no proofs of real efficiency, sincerity and honesty can give a man prestige unless, for reasons which vary from case to case, his personality happens to become the center of benevolent public attention. For prestige is not the result of a rational judgment of each member of the group individually about the leader *as he is*, but the complex product of a half-intellectual, half-emotional attitude of each member of the group toward the leader *as seen by other members*; the subject of prestige is not the individual as an active personality but the picture of this individual drawn by public opinion.

It is clear that the peasant class constitutes a very favorable ground for the development of leadership by prestige as long as peasant communities preserve their character of primary groups whose members are used to think in social terms and are dependent on public opinion for their ideas and appreciations. This is a very propitious circumstance for social reconstruction, for it permits the leaders to put into effect, by virtue of their prestige, constructive plans whose objective significance is only imperfectly understood by their unprepared followers. In fact, since the very preparation for a new social organization requires social organization and the masses learn fully to understand new social ideals and institutions only in the course of their gradual realization, the process of social reconstruction could not start if the suggestions of the leaders had to be fully

understood and appreciated on their own merits by their followers before being realized in action; the prestige of the leaders, at a certain stage of social evolution, gives to the new and undeveloped social forms that motive power without which the inertia of the masses could not be overcome.

But with the progressing individualization, intellectual development, and critical ability of the peasants, leadership by prestige gradually gives place to leadership by efficiency, in which an individual assumes the leading rôle because and in so far as he is considered more efficient than others—because his ideas and suggestions are judged morally or practically right and are accepted by others on their own merits after reflection or practical test. This evolution naturally occurs sooner in those fields in which the peasant's judgment is less dependent on tradition and public opinion, in which he is better able to define situations rationally from the standpoint of a proper adaptation of the means to the end, instead of defining them from the standpoint of their accordance with traditional rules. Thus, we see leadership by efficiency developing much faster in economic cooperation than in education or politics. It is also evident that the less prestige a leader possesses, the more easily the criteria of efficiency are applied to the activities which he suggests. This explains the fact that sometimes the work of great leaders decays after their retirement; they have carried social reconstruction beyond the point where it should be taken up by minor leaders growing up from the masses. On the contrary, social reconstruction which is carried on by many leaders with relatively little prestige is slower but has an uninterrupted progress.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION

The movement for the education of the peasants began in Poland in the middle of the eighteenth century, in connection with the general movement for national reorganization and under the partial influence of French rationalism and the "enlightenment" ideal. The peasant had to be gradually prepared for freedom and active participation in political life, and public education was to be the all-powerful method of preparation. The wide system of public schools established by the Educational Commission between 1773 and 1791 gave free access to peasant children, and many nobles, in order to encourage education, granted freedom to every serf who learned to read and write. This development was interrupted by the partitions. Under Russian domination in particular the conditions of public education grew from bad to worse, so that in the beginning of the nineteenth century the proportion of children in public schools relatively to the number of the population was smaller by half than a hundred years before. The schools were not only few but poorly equipped; the teachers, mostly sent from Russia, were ignorant and inefficient. Besides, the school was used as an instrument of Russification. Similarly in German Poland where education was universal and obligatory, the chief aim of the public school was to Germanize the Poles. Under both Russian and under German domination private teaching without state control was forbidden alto-

gether (except individually at home), private schools under state control had to teach in Russian or German and even so were continually hampered. Polish society had thus to find some other methods to supplement state education in Russia and to counterbalance both in Russia and in Germany the anti-Polish tendency of state schools. After the revolution of 1863 had failed to give Poland political freedom, "popular enlightenment" began to be considered one of the most vital national problems. The ideas of the eighteenth century were revived, modified and developed. The peasant was to be made not only a "thinking man" and a politically conscious member of the Polish nation, but also taught how to improve his economic condition and prepared for social cooperation. Owing to the abnormal conditions of national life which had hampered the cultural development of Poland, popular education assumed a rôle which it hardly ever possessed elsewhere; it became a universal instrument of social reconstruction.

The only method of spreading education which could be always safely used was that of individual teaching or individual encouragement to self-education. Formal social organization for the purpose of public instruction was possible only in Galicia. In the Congress Kingdom each particular commune could establish primary schools under governmental control, but no educational societies were permitted; one was founded in 1905 but dissolved by the government after a year. Thus the problem was to create an informal social organization by enlisting in each community a few individuals who were willing to be educated and to help educate others, and who thus constituted a local center from which education spread through the community. The success of this enterprise depended upon the development among

the peasants of such social attitudes as would make each individual wish to learn and to teach—not always an easy matter in view of the strong conservatism of the peasant.

114. I am sending a brief remembrance of my youth. There is no interesting adventure in question, but I think it will interest the readers as a proof that if one urgently and perseveringly desires something he attains it in the end, at least in part. I am the son of a peasant farmer. Until 10 years of age I did not know the alphabet, or, exactly speaking, I knew only the letter B. Father did not send me to school. He always used to repeat: "We have grown old and we cannot read nor write, yet we live. So you, my children, will also live without knowledge." Nothing could have suited me better. In the winter I went sledging with the boys and in summer I pastured geese.

Once my mother took me to church. I looked to the right; a boy smaller than myself was praying from a book. I looked to the left; another one just like the first held a book, and I stood between them like a ninny. I went home and told my father that I would learn from a book. My father scolded me: "And who will peel potatoes in the winter and pasture the geese in summer?" I cried then because I felt ashamed that I should grow up and not know how to read.

Once while peeling potatoes, I escaped from my father and went to an old man who knew not only how to read, but how to write well. I asked him to show me [letters] in the primer, and he did not refuse. I went home thinking: "It's too bad! Father will probably give me a licking." And it came true. Father showered a few strokes on me and said: "Snotty fellow, don't you know that, as the old people say, whoever learns written stuff casts himself into hell?" But I stole out to learn more and more frequently. The following winter father did not forbid it and slowly I learned how to read and write.

When I was twelve years old I had already read various books, but only fables, for at that time one could most frequently find in the village books like *Ali Baba*, *Sobotnia Góra*, etc. Once I found an old almanac on the road. I looked at it and on the last page read that there was in Warsaw a *Gazeta Świąteczna*

which people order and receive by mail every Sunday. After that I said to one of the neighbors—not a young man: “Do you know, in Warsaw there is a *Gazeta* which every one, even if not educated, can read!” And that man said to me: “Look at him, the snotty fellow! He wants a newspaper!” He said to my father: “Do you know, *kum*, your son will become a real lord, for he says that he will order a newspaper.”—“Ho, ho!” said my father, “but where will he get the money?”

After some time father turned me from pasturing geese to tending cattle. Once another herdsman told me that there was in Suchedniów, not far from our village, a railroad watchman whose name was Korzec, and that he had the *Gazeta*. I immediately gave my cattle to some one else to tend and rushed to Korzec. When I came in he asked me: “What do you want, boy?”—“I came to see what the *Gazeta* to which you seem to subscribe looks like.” He showed me the *Gazeta Święteczna*. I began to read and liked it very much. All right, but where shall I get the money for it?

I began to make brooms and sell them at 3 *grosz* apiece; I plaited whips, and in this way between spring and St. John's Day I saved 2 *złoty*. But that was not enough. Where could I get some more? It was hard to get away from the cattle to earn something. Once I was pasturing the cattle near a colony in the forest. Some strangers approached and one said to me: “Boy, do you know how to read? I would give you a book with interesting stories.” I answered that I could and thanked him for the book, but at the same time I asked bashfully for a little money. “You rogue,” said the stranger, “what do you need money for?” I said for the *Gazeta*. But he replied: “Perhaps for cigarettes?”—“No,” said I crying, “I have already 2 *złoty* and I need 15 *grosz* more to have 2½ *złoty*, and the carpenter says that he will contribute as much more and that would be just enough for a quarter. . . . I took an oath at my first confession that I would not drink whiskey nor smoke cigarettes until twenty-one years old.” Then that gentleman took out and gave me not 15 *grosz*, but as much as 3 *złoty* and also the book [saying], “Here you will have enough to subscribe alone to the *Gazeta* for a whole quarter. How great was my joy would be hard to describe. I immediately asked a boy to write to the editor for the

Gazeta, and the following Sunday I already had it in the house. As soon as they saw it in the village they began to say various things about it that only lords ought to read the *Gazeta*, that reading takes time. But I did not listen to them and only read with great delight.

I have now subscribed to the *Gazeta* for 8 years. I no longer lack money for it, as for the last 6 years I have been a forester and live on a farm of 15 morgs. I have grown so accustomed to the *Gazeta* that when Sunday comes I have in one hand the spoon and in the other the *Gazeta*. People say that reading the *Gazeta* requires a lot of time. But on a holiday is there not time enough for both praying and reading? . . . And I say that a peasant in the country needs the *Gazeta* more than one who has already been enlightened in school. We certainly can draw knowledge from the *Gazeta*. It is true that there are some newspapers which are not written for everybody, but as if in a foreign language [using learned words]. However, I am speaking about one which every one, even an uneducated, simple man, can understand. . . . I often say: "If it should be necessary to eat only once a day, I will do it, but I will not cease subscribing to the *Gazeta* until the end of my life."

In conclusion, I send a hearty "God reward" to Priest Woźniakowski for having forbidden me to smoke cigarettes. I never learned how to let money go up in smoke. Therefore I am able to subscribe to the *Gazeta*. I also send "God reward" to Marcin Korzec for having shown me the way to the *Gazeta*.

Gazeta Święteczna, 1898, 31.

115. Respected Writer of the *Gazeta Święteczna*! I write to Warsaw with my own hand to subscribe to the *Gazeta* for next year, for I want to continue talking with you through it. Great God reward you for all that you have told us up to the present through the *Gazeta*.

I am the son of a poor farmer in the village Małomierzyce. . . . My father has only 3 morgs of land and that of poor quality; so we, the children, had to leave our home because of poverty. But our father did not let us go into the world without having taught each of us to read and write some. Our father was himself 40 years old and did not yet know how to take a pen into his hand. But now he knows how to write himself and

has taught me, just as you see. My father always endeavored to read the *Gazeta Świąteczna*. He could not subscribe himself but borrowed it wherever possible. In the *Gazeta* he found your advice and bought the *Illustrated Method* of Kazimierz Promyk, the first and second parts and the calligraphic models. From this he learned and taught his children. . . . I am now working hard in a factory.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1898, 50.

116. In the village where I live, the name of which I purposely do not mention, was a farmer about whom no person could say anything good, even if he should wish to. He was an old scoundrel and whenever he had a chance he liked to empty glasses. But it happened that he occasionally borrowed my *Gazeta*. He liked it. He began to borrow it oftener, and then he used to call for it every week and had to read it through. And before we realized it—he became a very orderly farmer.

He renounced whiskey; he is working like every one of his neighbors, he is good, obliging, he goes to church every Sunday and holiday—in a word, it is difficult to recognize the man who formerly did not think of doing any good in the world. Today the old man brought me a rouble and asked me to take it for the payment of the *Gazeta* . . . and related how the *Gazeta* had led him to the proper way in his 67th year.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 53.

117. I also began to learn, although somewhat late; but it is better late than never. But you, especially you, young brother peasants, after reading this paper perhaps you will imitate me, which I encourage you to do. Only you must hurry, because later you will find that your life will not be sufficient to gain the knowledge you want and to learn to love science. This is what I found.

My parents taught me to read at home when I was a little boy; then I learned for some winter months in the village-school. But the farm work did not allow me to finish even an elementary school, so I had to be satisfied to learn a little arithmetic and Russian reading and writing. I read aloud at home with my parents such books as I could get, but my reading then was only mechanical spelling, because I did not understand much and there was nobody to explain to me. I had no difficulty in getting

books, because of a good lady who is yet alive and who lent me as many as she could.

But in later years I had to stop thinking about learning and reading. When I was 17 years old, I left my native nest and went to search for a piece of bread among strange people. [The farm was too small.] . . . In the beginning I served as a *posyłka*. After some time I became a driver. But I did not entirely forget about learning; I thought always that if not now, then later I would learn and not remain in such a position. And I was happy, although sometimes the cold and rain annoyed me; but the hope of a better future gave me strength and energy to work. . . . I could try to become a manor-official. And it was not very difficult, although at that time I regarded the inspectors, land-stewards, clerks and managers as men whom not everybody could equal. I must also make extraordinary progress if I expected to become sometime a farm-clerk. . . .

The land-steward, a good old man, never refused me the *Gazeta Świąteczna* when I asked him. And just about this time there was printed a poem, which I remember up to the present, by Kolibrzyk [pseudonym]. I tried to imitate this and to write verses that seemed like it to me. I hoped that perhaps sometime my name would be printed under some piece of poetry or some tale. So I applied myself to learning and to writing during every noon-rest, and every Sunday and holiday I wrote verses and tales. . . .

Happily, the same year a competition was announced for a collaborator of *Gazeta Świąteczna*. I read the conditions many times; I felt a sincere and strong wish to enter the competition, but at the same time I understood my lack of instruction. Two contradictory feelings began to contend in me—the wish to learn and the fear that my hopes would be deceived. But the first prevailed. I wrote two large sheets full and sent them to *Gazeta Świąteczna*. There were many verses, a novel and news like that printed every week in *Gazeta Świąteczna*. In short, I endeavored to fulfil the conditions of the competition although I did not write in order to receive the prize, but I only wished to know whether I had any opportunity to work and to learn. It seemed to me as if the world pushed me down from the way which led to higher ends into some dark and gloomy gulf, and

I tried with all my strength to tear myself away, because I knew that my work and my learning must bring fruit.

To the first collection of my work in the literary field I did not receive an answer; or rather, I did not see anything that was printed and I do not know [whether anything was printed], because I did not have my own copy of the *Gazeta*, I only borrowed it. I thought first that nobody would pay any attention to my literary samples. But I did not get discouraged. I wrote more, not novels but verses, and I sent them to the *Gazeta*. After some weeks, I was astonished to read an answer full of encouragement.

Emboldened by the printed answer, I said to myself: "I will stop writing, I have still time enough and I will learn more." At last I grew tired of the work of driver in the manor. I went to the village to a farmer, hoping to have more time to learn and to read. And indeed I had more time. I got acquainted with a man, more instructed although a little younger, who had finished a village-school and even wished to go to the gymnasium of Siedlce and become a doctor or an officer, but through the whim of his ignorant parents he had to be satisfied with what he learned in the primary school, and was obliged to complete the most necessary instruction by reading. Then the whole village . . . called him a mayor and me, as more able to write, a secretary. We did not mind idle human talk.

We did not go to hear music, we did not sit at cards, but we spent the whole time free from physical work in common reading and common education. I soon got acquainted with the proprietors of the neighboring manor and got different books to read, with the help of which we developed our minds. In this way we were instructed together. We had always something to talk about, some science or interest, heroes from novels, or historical events. Although we had nobody who could explain difficult passages which we met in reading, still we understood as much as our intelligence permitted. . . .

Next year I was hired as a manor-servant by this gentleman and lady, who lent me books to read. It is true that after New Year I was sad because I had no companion of equal intelligence, but I had books to read and different papers, always fresh ones, many more than before. And I could see my companion every Sunday and holiday, and I told him with pleasure what I

heard and learned in the manor. And I was satisfied; I had small wages, but many books to read. In difficult cases I could ask the lord or lady what I did not understand and they explained with pleasure as well as they could. After 2 years I was so skilful in writing that I could be a farm-clerk. I found a place and accepted it. But the policy of the manager about the treatment of workmen [and the other disagreeable features] did not allow me to remain in this place. . . . I returned to my modest wages under the condition that I shall be able to learn further. Up to the present I have not reached my aim, but I learn, I profit by every moment, hoping to realize my intentions. Ending this article, I inform my readers that I owe to *Gazeta Świąteczna* all the learning that I acquired during these several years.

Letter to *Gazeta Świąteczna*; unpublished.

118. I have been in many different parts of our country, performing the duties of gardener in manors, and I have had the opportunity to observe closely the life of the peasants everywhere. But it happened that only recently I got acquainted with the environments of Warsaw. Well, I never imagined that near Warsaw a deep darkness could be still found. Yet I learned that it is so. Please listen.

[A farmer was having supper at half past four in the afternoon]. . . . Said the farmer: "It begins to get dark outside already, and when it is night one goes to sleep."—"Why, is there nothing to do in the evening?" I ask. "What can one do sir? The women among us no longer know how to spin and whatever threshing we have we do in the day time. . . . Without boasting I am in the fraternity and more than once go to the priest's house. There are various papers on the table and I saw that they are writing something about France, about England and about the Prussians. Can all this be true? Has the one who writes it been in these countries and seen what is going on there? And what use would all these papers be to me if I were buying them? . . ."

I could not bear any more of this unwise talk, though the host wanted to continue. I was seized with the desire to explain to him how information is sent to the papers about France, England and the Prussians, but I thought: "No, he would not believe

this either!" So I only waved my hand and said: "Well, farmer, there are some papers which do not lie and are moreover written in such a way that you would understand every word in them, whereas in those which the priest has for himself you would not be able to understand everything, and perhaps also they would be too expensive for you, for there are some which cost a dozen roubles a year each."—"Oh! oh!" says the farmer, "I could buy a pig for this money."

But I said again that there is the *Gazeta Świąteczna* which costs only 3 roubles a year. . . . And the peasant again answered me: "Why, sir, whether this paper is cheap or that expensive, both are worth nothing. They all know one another in Warsaw and write thus, and silly people pay money." I finally got angry at the man's being so dark. I thought: "What is the use of talking with you? One only spoils one's mouth in vain! . . . What can you demand from an ox?" and left. . . .

I shall add that the girls in this village dress in the city way, but if you look into their heads you will find there neither a single ray of enlightenment nor even the old healthy peasant sense.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1898, 48.

119. We learned that somebody wrote in the *Gazeta* [see document 118] with astonishment about the darkness of country people in the environments of Warsaw. We were grieved because people throughout the whole country will read it. But having examined our conscience, we must confess our guilt, for we are really dark like snuff-tobacco in a horn [box] and are losing much because of this.

Well, we should not conceal it but improve as fast as possible. And therefore we send to the writer of the *Gazeta Świąteczna* subscription money for a whole year and address to which we beg him to send the *Gazeta*, for from now on we want to read it profitably.

Paweł Kawka, Village-Elder.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 5.

120. We resolved upon building a school in the village Koziety. . . . There was [at the meeting] the father of one of the farmers, an old and serious man. He listened to what was said and finally spoke thus: "Well, you only put a great burden

upon yourselves and others, and there will be no profit except for the teacher. . . . But I know who proposed it—those who want to oppress the peasant so that he will never be able to rise.

Once I was riding back from the city. I saw some lordling waving his hand to me: "Stop please, father!" And he asked whether they did not need a clerk for the farm Kozietyły. I said that I did not know. And he spoke on: "Wherever I go everybody tells me no clerk is needed. And what can be done? How live in this world? . . . We are several at home to live and be clothed and there is nothing to buy bread with. It is true that father taught me how to read and write, but if he had rather taught me how to plow and to thresh I would say a prayer for him. . . ."

But what he related teaches only that in giving children an education it is necessary to turn them not into "lordlings," not into "clerks," but into enlightened and sensible farmers.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1898, 1.

121. More than one boasts about [reading] this paper [*Zaranie* and says] that when he did according to its directions and advice, it turned out well for him. I even thought myself that whoever reads *Zaranie* cannot do so without good consequences for himself. But it is not so, for there are many who read papers because he reads only in order that people may say about read. For it cannot be noticed that such readers have introduced any order into their farming either in cultivating their soul or in breeding their cattle. . . . No, it is a pity that such a man reads papers because he reads only in order that people may say about him that he is a learned man because he reads papers. I have talked with many of those who read papers . . . and it sounds as smooth and wise as in a book. But in practice we don't find any examples among them.

And this is mainly so among our peasant farm-owners. As his father and grandfather farmed, he is farming himself. Everywhere is such confusion and disorder that it is hard to believe he reads *Zaranie*. And it is just so, just as I say.

Once my neighbor came to me and asked me: "What is the news from further in the world. What do the papers say?"—"I don't know anything," I told him, "because I have not yet read last week's paper and I have not [a copy of] my own." And

then I made him this proposal: "Listen, neighbor, more than once you have asked me about the news and you are curious to know it. So let us subscribe together to this paper; then you will know how to manage your farm, this paper will teach you everything, and you will have news from the whole world." "It is not true," he said; "don't I see how those are farming who read papers." And he showed me how those who read papers in our village are farming. "One of them," he said, "owns a farm of 30 morgs and I own only 8, but I would not exchange my order and my farm-stock with him." And he spoke the truth.

Letter to *Zaranie*; unpublished.

122. I have been a reader of *Gazeta Świąteczna* since 1882, and therefore I have derived a great deal of knowledge from this dear paper. I could have written many things during so many years, but I never dared because I am self-educated. Now, however, I will try to describe a ludicrous accident which befell me on account of reading the *Gazeta* and also because I encourage others to read.

When I was still a bachelor nobody disturbed me in reading. However they surnamed me "Mr. Newspaperman," and not only in my village but even in the whole vicinity. The people sometimes made fun of me and they did not want to listen to good advice. Once when I was going to church on Sunday, a rich farmer going to church in his carriage overtook me and addressed me thus: "Well, Mr. Newspaperman, the paper does not help you since you must go by foot; it was going to give you everything and still you do not have a horse yet." And I reply: "It is apparent at once that you do not read the paper, although you have a horse. If you read it, then first of all, you would praise God upon meeting [someone], and then you would say something wise."

In spite of that I often hoped that perhaps sometime I should succeed in inducing people to read *Gazeta*. I even found three readers within a short time and I was giving them *Gazeta* every week. I only reminded them not to waste the papers because I intended to compile the whole year's. Once I asked them to return the papers they had read, and here Ignacy began to laugh with full throat. "Look for the ashes over the world," he said,

"all the village has rolled cigarettes out of your papers. . . ."

In the following year I found two others who even paid for the annual subscription for *Gazeta* with me. But it did not last long. Walek got married and his wife has forbidden him to read *Gazeta*. "Only rich [gentlemen]," she told me, "read papers. For the peasant it is enough to read from his book in church."

My other reading partner, Janek, found for himself a wife, a rich girl, Marysia. Once we three were coming back from church and Janek drew near his Marysia and asked thus: "Well, Marysia, is there going to be anything out of my courtship of you?"—"Father has been thinking of you for a long time already," Marysia says boldly, "only they are afraid of your reading papers. That is not becoming to a peasant. Let the gentlemen read papers. For us that is not necessary."

"Eh, Marysia, do not say that," I replied. "Reading good papers and books does not make a man ugly, but ennobles him. And besides this paper teaches us how to farm, how to plant orchards, finally how to behave with bees—and you also like honey."—"Surely I like it," said Marysia, "but my grandfather also had considerable bees and and honey from them although he did not read the papers. . . . You are such a wanderer that it does not matter to you; what you earn by your carpentering you spend for books, papers, Warsaw plants, and you make hives. . . . And girls look at you unwillingly because you never dance in the tavern or at any amusement, only search all the time in those books, and you look at the bees and Warsaw plants as if you intended to marry them."

"O Marysia," Janek says, "you like fun while I am really anxious for marriage."—"If you are so anxious then promise that you will not read *Gazeta*. I will tell daddy and on Thursday you may come with whiskey." Janek was anxious to get a few hundred roubles with Marysia and pay the debts left after his father. And therefore he promised not to take the *Gazeta* into his hand, and all my work went for nothing. Nevertheless I did not lose hope that something would encourage Walek and Janek to [read] the *Gazeta* when they became better acquainted with their wives.

In a short time I found a girl for myself who was consid-

ered the best pupil in the school. I thought that at least I had got a wife who would not disturb me in reading. But not so! Shortly after the wedding my wife began to reproach me for spending money for nothing, because it is possible to do without reading. . . . I could not persuade my woman by any means. But now already I have a kind of peace. Only still when I read the *Gazeta* aloud, then my wife attempts to say her prayers still louder. . . .

Now I come back to Janek. Considerable time had passed since his wedding when once I came to church and after the sermon. . . . Janek approached me, greeted me very sincerely and began to complain that he was longing for the *Gazeta*, for he had grown a little used to it. . . . "I ask you therefore, my Antek, to be so good as to give me the *Gazeta* during the coming year. I will give you one rouble so that we will pay for it in partnership." And he imperceptibly slid his hand into a little bag, looked around at the people as if afraid of something, and violently thrust a rouble into my hand. I did not want to take it at first, but afterwards I made up my mind that my wife would rejoice at saving a rouble on the expense. But not so! "May your eyes creep out on account of this *Gazeta* and this partner!" replied my woman when I told her about it later.

I at once invited Janek to come from church to my house and I loaned him two volumes. . . . I pointed out to him an article about the cultivation of *lubin* [plant] and its good results. Janek threw himself on my neck after reading it. "Why, I have a great deal of such soil," he says, "which I cannot fertilize with manure; and besides I lack manure. I will get the *lubin* at once and sow it." I was rejoicing that my work had not gone for nothing. I did not foresee that sadness would take the place of joy.

Jan's wife was looking at us standing among the people and she saw Janek give me the rouble. And therefore when he came home, Marysia for salutation struck him on the head with the club for mixing [food] for hogs. . . . [Calls him names and beats him.] Janek not wishing to start a fight with the woman went out of the cottage and did not come back until early next morning. In spite of the frost the poor man slept in the barn. Meanwhile, when Janek was not in the cottage, the children had fine

sport with my volumes; they tore them up entirely. When Janek came home early in the morning, he perceived the pages weltering on the floor. He got angry and they say that Marysia was weeping in the corners. Since this time she has been angry not so much at her husband as at me. "You just wait, wanderer!" she exclaims.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1901, No. 1053.

123. My wife did not remain behind Antoni's and Jan's wives. . . . I have not been a reader of *Gazeta* for a very long time; I got it for the first time only in 1895. Then it was easier for me, because then my wife did not understand what this paper meant. But when she perceived a piece of paper, out of which, according to her understanding, there was no profit, she started to make a row. So on every occasion I had always something to swallow. I had taunts and curses: "May you break your neck! May you get blind, you damned newspaperman! . . . Fixes his eyes [into the paper] and looks like a crow at an old bone. . . ."

There were such rumblings and murmurs all the time. But I endured it all. I did not growl with anger, I only laughed at her silly talk. And when she talked too much, I used to withdraw from her sight and I pitied her lack of sense. But what do you require from an ox if not meat? I was not even surprised, because in their family nobody knew how to read and therefore the daughter was brought up like a calf behind a stove.

One year passed; the time came to order the *Gazeta*, and then it would have been impossible to say even "brum-brum" to the wife about that! But the neighbor who was taking my paper to read during the first year said to me: "See, I will pay for this year and we will read it together." Well, and so it happened.

When I brought the *Gazeta* and began to read, my wife always talked with somebody as loud as she could or asked me about something in order to disturb me as much as possible. My friends used to come to me to learn what news the *Gazeta* brought. When they asked me I used to reply: "I do not know. I read hastily so that it did not leave very much in my memory and I had to give the *Gazeta* away at once. But ask my wife.

She can tell you more because she walks quietly, notices everything attentively and can remember well."

In the beginning I got for this many a time a good reprimand from my wife, but if she did not dare to scold me in the presence of the guest she became ashamed and blushed from anger and left the house. Gradually she grew silent during the time of my reading in order to remember something and to tell when asked. It became a little easier for me because my wife stopped scolding me. I began to read to her some funny stories or some adventures described in *Gazeta* and many times she even laughed heartily. Then again I read to her the *Lives of the Saints*, and at these times she was often moved to tears and wept not a little. And I was very glad that it grew clearer in her head and that she began to respect books.

In the fall of 1897 I moved from the country into the town. I bought a house with a piece of garden, but everything had been devastated by my predecessor. I had to prepare everything according to my way and therefore I was glancing continually into my file and I was altering everything possible. But it was necessary to get the paper again so as to complete my education in farming. I asked the wife whether she would allow me [to get the paper]. And the wife answered: "Well, if you want to. Instead of running to town and fooling there, you will stay at home and read. Besides they write there how to cultivate the soil for vegetables so that we can arrange everything ourselves in the garden and everywhere." And she allowed me to order the paper for 1898, but on condition that I should not smoke cigarettes. I consented. . . .

When I received the *Gazeta* I read all the news and told my wife how, what and when to do [things] and we began to work. We planted gooseberries, raspberries, shrubs for grafting, in the garden we made paths, we manured and dug around the soil and we planted vegetables. I also got from the priest some flower seeds. . . . My wife laughs when she hears that people take us for gardeners and rejoices because they praise our work. And all this she owes to the *Gazeta Świąteczna*. She began to learn herself and now she reads not very badly. Even our 5-year-old daughter is beginning to decipher the primer because her mother forces her to, not wanting her to be ignorant

as she was herself until now. And she does not forbid me to use the money not only for the *Gazeta* but even for books, if they are but useful. God forbid that I read it silently! Whenever I read it must be quiet at home and she pays eager attention to everything. . . .

So, let the readers behave mildly with their wives, just as I; let them read the *Gazeta* carefully, intelligently and let them show by example what the benefit of their reading is. Let the woman see how much good may be done by conforming to what good people describe and advise. . . . But if you read the paper under your nose for yourself, or if after reading you throw it into the corner; if you read it only for play, or if you subscribe to the *Gazeta* only to show off before the neighbors, and if after reading nothing is left in your head . . . well, what wonder that the woman scolds?

Letter to *Gazeta Świąteczna*; published, but reference not preserved.

124. I wish to ask you, Mr. Editor, to mediate in this case. There is being felt the lack of education among our young girls and even among the women. We have plenty of schools, thank God! but what of it when there are not enough people to teach our girls? The parents say that knowledge is not necessary to a girl and yet it is the contrary—knowledge is necessary to everyone who wants to get along well. I do not speak of the knowledge of reading and writing, for almost every one of our girls is able to read. We lack other kinds of knowledge. . . . We want our girls to become good wives and good mothers in the future.

Indeed for this purpose and others we have a school in Mirosławice. And I have a candidate for this school in the person of my wife. I am sorry that her parents did not think of this sooner, but we lack enlightenment. . . . Oh, there is money all right for whiskey and cigarettes, but for a paper there is none. . . . So then I beg you, dear Mr. Editor, for mediation in this case. Please find out for me whether the administration of the school in Mirosławice could not accept my wife beginning with the 1st of March. I know that only girls are received there and whether they will accept a married woman I do not know, and that is why I turn to you, Mr. Editor, begging for your mediation.

I am a craftsman. It is a year and five months since I married. And since I have not found in my marriage that happiness that knowledge can give, I have resolved to place my wife in school in Mirosławice, as it is always better late than never. Although her parents brought her up wrong, I expect to accomplish what has been neglected.

Letter to *Gazeta Świąteczna*; unpublished.

125. Formerly the *Gazeta* was unknown here and now in this recent settlement alone [a parcelled estate] there are 9 copies. . . . At first several people shared one copy and now every one wants to have one for himself. I am wondering whether in the future our dear Writer of the *Gazeta* will have enough of it for us all. And we have already discussed among ourselves how it is possible to cover expenses. Why, if I had to write to somebody 52 letters a year and put a 7 copeck stamp on every letter, I should spend 3 roubles 62 copecks, without counting the envelopes and the paper. I know that sending the *Gazeta* by mail costs less than sending a letter, but still printing costs more. How many people work at it and every one must be paid!

Letter to *Gazeta Świąteczna*; unpublished.

126. We lived here like snuff-tobacco in a box. Even if some one went into the wider world and saw some improvements, he had no good idea about them. I did not go anywhere to wander, but read the *Gazeta* attentively and began to work at my husbandry in accordance with its advice.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1904, 2.

127. A few months have passed since we became acquainted with the *Gazeta* and we are reading it with profit. This was due to the good heart of our fellow parishioner, Djonizy Szukalski. He is at present across the ocean, far away from us in a different part of the world where he has to work hard, although not in vain. However, among strangers he does not forget about us here, his brothers and his neighbors. He evidently thinks of our poverty and ignorance and he wants to remedy this. He knows how much education is worth and how much of it the *Gazeta* can impart; and he bought for his hard earned money 25

copies of the *Gazeta* for us, his fellow-countrymen of the same parish. . . .

All of the above mentioned readers receive recently, by order of the same Mr. Szukalski, besides the *Gazeta* a book, *The Orchard near the Cottage*.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 14.

128. The unfortunate man about whom I am writing is 37 years old; for 22 years he has been entirely deaf. . . . He is a son of poor parents. Since he lost his hearing they gave him away as a servant. They did not send him to school at all; since his childhood he has had to work. And thus when he became deaf, he became also blind [unenlightened], as we may say. I felt sorry that such an unfortunate man did not know what the world was and knew little about God. I began to persuade him to learn how to read and write. But he did not believe he could learn.

I bought him Promyk's Primer and a slate, and with great difficulty I induced him by entreaties to study. And I began at once to teach him. I told him to watch my mouth and then I explained [things] to him by the gestures of my hands. It was very hard. Sometimes he gave up entirely and did not care any more; then I begged him like a child and placed the primer in front of him.

People said that a person "deaf as a post" could not be taught anything. But I wanted to accomplish my design and did accomplish it. During the three winter months, mostly in the evenings, for during the day he was helping me in my work, I succeeded in teaching him to read and write. Then he learned the catechism and prayers, and I even took him to confession.

The poor man lives on his daily earnings. If he needs advice he usually comes to me and I explain to him whatever he needs, by writing it down. I also give him the *Gazeta Świąteczna* to read and in this way he knows what is going on in the world. Now he likes reading so much that if he sees a printed piece of paper, he picks it up and reads. He read also about the auditory tubes for deaf people and now the poor man dreams that the doctors may be able to cure his infirmity when he goes to Warsaw.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1903, 44.

129. The good Lord God blessed me this year in my hard work and I desired to show my gratitude to God for His goodness. I have heard from different farmers how much good reading the *Gazeta Świąteczna* does among people. Then I said to myself: Don't let the people in our village be ignorant. Let them also have the advantage of the good information and advice which this *Gazeta* disseminates. And since no peasant in our village has up to the present thought of it, I, a simple woman, from gratitude to God, will pay for the *Gazeta* for our village. [Dictated to an educated woman who forwarded it, with subscription, to the *Gazeta*.]

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1898, 47.

130. A poor peasant girl, Małgorzata, who did not possess anything but healthy hands for work and also a heart which loved her fellow-men, nevertheless in her poverty bestowed upon nearly half a thousand people treasures dearer than gold and jewels.

When in her youth she became a servant in a manor, Małgosia used to listen, from her own desire, to the way her master's daughter was taught to read and write. She quickly recognized the printed signs and began to practise reading; and every one seeing her desire helped her a little. In time she learned to read and write fluently. Understanding what a treasure she possessed, Małgosia resolved to share it with her fellow-men.

She began then to bring together in the evenings not only girls but *parobeks* also, and with the greatest patience she taught them to read and write. When there were no more servants to teach, she turned to the farmers' children, and besides the children she was willing to teach adults and old people, who wished toward the end of their lives to pry out of a book at least.

She wrote down from memory the name of every one who had learned how to read. And now that she has closed for ever her honest eyes, it is found that by her endeavors 496 persons learned to read and write.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1898, 12.

131. I am a country housewife. . . . I have three little children that need continual care. Before the infant school was

opened I had a lot of trouble with these children and could not manage them. They were always running around the roads with other children and paid almost no attention to my calls and threats; they were pointblank obstinate and disobedient. At one time, even in spite of my order to the contrary, they went out on the street and after a while there came to my ears a shriek from the children. The cause of it was that a farmer had run down one of my children. Thanks to God Almighty, the child suffered no injuries.

Always anxious about my children, I had not a moment of ease. At last God took pity upon us unfortunate mothers and caused good people, willing to come with aid to their fellow-men, to take up the idea of establishing an infant school in Pilica. This was done. I am sending two of my children to this nursery. There they remain almost the whole day. There they study to do fancy work and learn to speak little verses. What is most important, they study religion, how to respect their parents and elders and how to be polite. They have attended the school for a year and a half already and every one associating with them admires them and says: "What pleasant and polite children! They are like angels." And there is reason to praise them. When they meet some one they know they will bow and the girls bend their right leg a little; the boys remove their caps.

During long winter evenings the children meet at my house (those that attend the school) and so do the neighbors. The children meet at my house (those that attend the school) and so do the neighbors. The children entertain us for the whole evening. One of them reads, the next one recites, and another displays her fancy-work, still another one sings, and so on. At nine o'clock they all depart, very pleased and happy. This year on my name-day my children presented their congratulations to me. How pleasant it was to hear the recitation of my daughter! How I enjoyed the children's gift! . . .

The school teachers chose from among the children attending the school a few that have pleasant voices, among whom are also my children, and taught them different religious songs. And now they sing in the choir at the parochial church in Pilica. Formerly a few male voices roared coarsely and unintelligibly, and now it is pleasant in our church when the children sing.

Just after the [feast of] the Three Kings *Jaselka* was played for us, and this also by our children. The young actors and actresses played their parts very successfully. The public rewarded them with frequent applause and praise.

We mothers are very much surprised how the teachers of the school can make such polite and obedient children from such obstinate and impolite ones. We know that it must cost them much, very much labor and exertion; therefore, with every prayer we beg God to grant them all graces.

Letter to *Ziemianka*; unpublished.

132. What have we to do to make the future of our nation better?

Well, I, your brother peasant, give you this advice. The best work is to establish kindergartens in villages. Because it is so: What little Jaś did not learn, big Jaś will not know. And moreover, little children are without any occupation, they loaf around and play dog [bad] tricks. Our mothers in the country are often dark, and moreover occupied with housekeeping. But a kindergarten-teacher devotes herself to and cares for the proper education of the children from their earliest years. But to this end it is necessary not to send children to tend cattle, but to send them to the kindergarten summer and winter. One big village or two small ones situated near one another can establish a kindergarten. A teacher in the country costs 15 to 20 roubles monthly and lodging.

For older children there should be a school in the village, a good school managed by an instructed and moral teacher. How does it seem to you? Which is more necessary in a village, a kindergarten and a school or a beer-shop?

We have spoken about children, but we must not forget about the older youth. Even one man, if he wishes, can lead the youth to good. First he ought to win to himself as many boys as he can, two or three, if possible even ten, and organize a society-circle of the youth. These ought to influence others and win more and more boys from the village or even from several villages. Others, the obstinate ones, will also join this, if they see that the greater part of the youth of the village belong to it. Society-circles like these should also be organized among girls.

Those farmers who know how to play on different instruments would do well if they would let young people come to them during winter evenings to listen to music and to dance moderately and decently, for it is known that young people like dances and music very much. But there should be played only holy, religious and moral songs, national and popular songs, *krakowiaks*, *mazurkas*, *kujawiaks*, *polkas*. All this ought to alternate with discussions such as the harmfulness of drinking, good habits, the power of enlightenment, our national history, recreations, learning, and associations organized in different countries, etc. If you want young people to regard the world more intelligently, you must tuck up your sleeves and set to work; otherwise we shall have wild men instead of orderly citizens.

It would be very useful to have in villages voluntary fire-companies and musical orchestras composed of young boys. Popular clubs and libraries ought to be founded, papers taken for the youth. Amateur theatricals would be a good recreation, and it would be well to teach boys and girls declamation. All this must be done on the spot, but it is not enough. It is necessary to send boys and girls to agricultural schools, and those who cannot go should attend at least short agricultural courses.

Dear brothers, let us sincerely set to work. Let us not be the fathers and mothers who say: "Why should I send my boy to learn, since he knows even now how to walk behind the plow." Let nobody say: "Our grandfathers and great-grandfathers farmed without learning." Yes, but your grandfathers and great-grandfathers paid 5,000 *zloty* [\$400] for a farm, and you pay now 5,000 or 6,000 roubles for an identical one; your grandfathers and great-grandfathers built a house for 500 *zloty*; your grandfathers and great-grandfathers walked in shoes for 8 *zloty*, and you pay for your shoes 8 roubles. And then, why do you mind what your grandfathers and great-grandfathers did? It is better to give them eternal rest or to say an *Ave Maria* for their sake, but not to record their doings. Times have changed, and men change, the manner of farming becomes better, and we must change our old-type farming. We must follow the more enlightened countries if we want to exist in the world.

Letter to *Gazeta Świąteczna*; unpublished.

133. We have only one primary school in which, at most, 80 children can find places, whereas there are in the parish 300 more who want to learn. We decided to find some way out, for we know that good learning is very necessary for our children.

So, on Monday, November 13, we came together (all the farmers of the whole parish) in Łobudzice and having discussed it among ourselves, we decided as follows: In the now existing school only such children will be received as already know how to read and write, so that they may learn something else, namely: counting, orthography, about the earth and the world, about the past, and other sciences necessary to everybody.

And for those children who have to learn only how to read and write, we are opening in every village a school for 25 or 30 children; smaller villages will associate in twos so as to have one common school.

For every child going either to the general school or to a village-school the parents will pay 1 rouble, and if this is not enough, we shall all add. We pay the money into the care of a special council which we have already elected. This council will find in each place people knowing well how to read and write and willing to occupy themselves during the winter with teaching, and will choose from among them teachers for the primary schools in villages. Those teachers will receive 15 to 25 roubles each for the winter and will be obliged to teach the children 3 hours a day until May.

Sacred history will be taught in the church once a week, and to that lesson children from the whole parish will come. Then they will also learn a little singing, and while playing useful information will be implanted, as for example, about the preservation of human health, gardening, bee-keeping, etc. We shall pay 4 to 6 roubles for the school rent, every village group will give fuel for itself. Primers, books and writing-pads will be bought for all villages together, for in this way they can be had at a bargain. It seems that we have planned and decided this matter well; certainly we shall have some benefit from it, for we have entrusted the care of our schools to the curate J. Z. and to the teacher B.

Letter to *Gazeta Świąteczna*. Published, but reference not preserved.

134. When, after a few years of absence, I returned to my native community, I noticed here an important progress toward the good. It is evident that the Gozdowians apply themselves to learning and that the spirit of enterprise is developing among them. Parents send children several wiorstas to school and in winter they even take their horses to carry them. Those who live still farther away place their children with relatives and acquaintances so as to have them go to school, or they even take a teacher to their village. The cost and the trouble do not discourage them. And therefore every son of a peasant or peasant noble here knows how to read, write and count.

It is not strange therefore if a score of papers come to the parishioners of Gozdowo. They also read books eagerly. The novels of Sienkiewicz are found in every village. . . . I started to talk with a harvester who was handling his scythe exceedingly well. It proved that this peasant knew almost by heart *With Fire and Sword* and *The Deluge* and other novels, and understood everything he read. . . . He told me that for no money would he go to work in Prussia, where the Germans considered our people almost like working cattle and mistreated them. [He said] that they were not paying there so brilliantly and that those who brought home more money often saved it by suffering hunger. He said that an honest peasant will neither go himself nor send his son or daughter to Prussia. "I prefer," he said, "to work hard on my own bed of land than to be tempted by wages among the Germans." The Gozdowians are not satisfied with learning how to read and write; they endeavor to go to higher schools also. During vacations and on holidays one can meet seminarists here, future teachers and others. Soon a Gozdowian will proclaim God's word to them and another one will teach the young generation. How pleasant it will be to them!

They understand here that it is better for a farmer who has little land to send his sons [as apprentices] to handicraft, leaving one to help him in farming; they know that when a piece of land is parcelled into small pieces, bread also is parcelled into small pieces, and thence result later quarrels and offence to God. They say that giving a boy to apprenticeship does not cost so very

much, and when his apprenticeship is finished, the brother who sits on the paternal land will pay him off; and when the other has enough to establish a shop, he will have a means to live.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 51.

135. The [Polish School] Association [in Galicia] unites 247 branch societies with 24,134 members. It possesses: a Polish teachers' seminary, 36 large schools, 92 smaller schools, 16 houses for students, 6 people's houses, 1496 reading rooms with loan libraries.

During the past year 10,000 children received Polish instruction in the schools and 600,000 readers used the libraries; 200,000 persons attended the 3,329 lectures held in all the districts under the auspices of the Association; 135 new libraries were founded with 13,608 volumes costing 11,061.46 crowns; 3,935.91 crowns were spent in supplementing the already existing libraries; 2,046 volumes were sold for 1,407.17 crowns; 3,360 were edited under the management of the association. The total income of the association for the past year was 31,005.42 crowns, 17,051 crowns less than in the year 1905.

Although the activity of the association is extended over Galicia chiefly, nevertheless it remains in continuous connection with the Prussian Polish provinces, since it supplies Polish libraries there with books and financial support.

Umschau im Polenlager, 1908, Sept. 11.

✓ The various attitudes of the peasants toward education have an almost unparalleled sociological interest, for each of them can be found in all societies and on all stages of cultural evolution. However wide may seem the difference of culture between the legislative body of a modern state, ignoring or taking into account the problem of endowment of scientific research, and a peasant village, refusing or agreeing to subscribe to popular papers; between a wealthy business man despising all intellectual work which does not bring immediate practical results, and a peasant woman scolding her husband for his seemingly useless reading; between a

scientist working his way, in spite of material obstacles and social indifference or hostility to some great discovery, and a peasant boy struggling with poverty and the opposition of his social milieu for a minimum of instruction; between the trustees of a university who fear the destructive effect of science on public morals, and an old peasant who claims that knowledge of reading and writing leads to hell, the fundamental attitudes are exactly the same.

The general unwillingness with which a conservative peasant group usually greets the appearance of intellectual interests in any one of its members can probably be best explained by its aversion to individualization in any form. A man who reads in a non-reading community has interests which the community does not share, ideas which differ from those of others, information which others cannot obtain; he isolates himself in some measure from his environment, lives partly in a sphere which is inaccessible to others and—what is worse—strange and unknown to them; thus, he in certain respects breaks away from social control. The situation is aggravated by the fact that learning has been associated with other social-classes. There may perhaps be also some remnant of the mediæval attitude toward book-lore as having magical connections, either divine or devilish; thus praying from a book in church is highly considered even in communities which are otherwise most averse to education.

When intellectual interests cease to be an exception and begin to be shared by an appreciable part of the community, the feeling of strangeness disappears. But the conservative part of the group often continues to look askance on the spread of instruction, for the latter seems to them to imply indefinite possibilities of change, to

threaten a partial or total dissolution of the traditional social system, and thus arouses opposition from the standpoint of the desire for security.

It is not strange, therefore, if an average member of a conservative peasant community, knowing what reaction to expect from his environment, is not easily induced to become a "paper-man" or "book-worm," unless he has been already made partly independent of social opinion. And even without social pressure, there is not much in learning which appeals to his traditional attitudes enough to justify in his eyes the effort necessary for its acquisition. His average curiosity is satisfied by the traditional channels of personal intercourse with news-bearers and "wise men" to whose information he can apply old and known standards and whom therefore he is often more willing to believe than papers and books, which require standards unknown to him. He does not see how he could apply knowledge to the practical questions which interest him, for this application would mean in most cases a radical change of his traditional methods which he is not prepared to face. In general, as long as he is satisfied with the old type of life there is no inducement for him in new intellectual values.

The development of intellectual interests is closely connected with the breakdown of the isolation of the peasant-community and the consequent disorganization of the old system. The growing contact with the outside world develops in individuals a desire for new experience, and the paper or the book is welcomed both as a partial substitute for real new experiences when the field of the latter is limited by circumstances, and as a means by which the individual can get at least indirectly in touch with men and with possibilities beyond

the narrow circle of his primary-group life. Both motives are particularly strong in young people, where we find the tendency to education often asserting itself without any explicit encouragement or even against discouraging influences. And the same break of isolation which rouses the desire for new experience in individuals weakens also the opposition of the group to the intellectual interests of its members; we have seen in a preceding chapter how the sphere of privacy allowed to the individual increases when the group is no longer able to attain a perfect community of interests and identity of attitudes.

But this spontaneous appearance of intellectual interests in particular individuals and the decrease of the tendency to repress them in the group were not sufficient to spread popular education under such political conditions as existed in Poland. It was indispensable to develop positive appreciation of intellectual values in peasant communities so as to have social opinion encourage every individual effort in this line. This has been done in two ways—by giving to intellectual development a moral significance and by emphasizing the practical applicability of knowledge in connection with economic advance.

The old appreciative attitude toward learning when used for religious purposes gave in most cases probably the starting point for the first method. It was a good thing and a distinction to read a prayer-book in church; even more perhaps to be able to read aloud the *Lives of the Saints* or some other edifying stories at private meetings during Advent or Lent when dancing was prohibited. The passage from religious to serious secular reading was easy; and thus the latter assumed a solemnity and importance which marked its adherents as

serious and decent people, its opponents as lazy or light-headed. More than this: Just as a general moral superiority was supposed connected with religious interests and the knowledge about religious matters, there is a marked tendency on the part of those who show intellectual interests to assume an attitude of moral superiority toward the "ignorant."

A part of the popular literature has encouraged this attitude of righteousness which, though it often took ridiculous forms and provoked strong reactions from the uninitiated, nevertheless helped greatly to raise the standing of intellectual values in peasant communities. The public praise or blame of which individuals or groups are the object in popular papers (on account of their positive or negative attitude toward education) is very similar in its tone to praise or blame on moral grounds and has the same effect of provoking emulation or desire to reform. Further still, in contrast with, though probably not in conscious opposition to the fears of those who see in instruction the threat of social disorganization, we find in the younger generation the popular idea that instruction of itself is the panacea for all social evils, that nothing but lack of enlightenment is the source of whatever moral deficiencies are to be found among the peasants. All this tends to spread the conviction of the meritoriousness of being interested in knowledge, quite independently of its practical utility, and to convert into prestige the originally negative discrimination of which the "paper-man" and "book-worm" are the object. Learning becomes something intermediary between a moral rule and a fashion, not as generally acknowledged as the former but more seriously treated than the latter.

The emphasis put upon the practical applications of

knowledge to economic problems does not in any sense contradict its moral idealization, for economic progress, in particular the introduction of new methods of production and exchange, has been also in some measure morally idealized as contributing to the development of the country. The task of the leaders in this field was rather complex. It was indispensable, first of all, to foster the desire for economic advance and the dissatisfaction with the existing status, since, as we saw, a peasant who is satisfied with his condition does not care about any new practical suggestions. Secondly, this desire had to be partly distracted from those ways which it tends primarily to take—land-hunger and emigration—into entirely new channels; the peasant had to be shown that, even when there was no opportunity of increasing the size of his farm, he could raise its value and increase his income and that, though hired work abroad sometimes was the only way of obtaining any extra capital he needed at a given moment, in most cases more permanent welfare could be reached by using his own and his children's work to develop his farming along new lines.

We shall see later by what specific methods the peasant was induced to consider improvements of his own technique desirable in general; of course, the spreading of instruction was one of the factors of this evolution. But the latter in turn was used to foster the spreading of instruction; it was only necessary to demonstrate to the peasant that he actually could learn practically valuable things from books and papers, instead of merely imitating what he has already seen done. This demonstration was in most communities undertaken voluntarily by some exceptional individuals, more enterprising than the average and more influenced by

the printed word. There were, of course, many failures; but as the experimenter in the interest of his own prestige tried to conceal them, while he boasted widely of every success, the conviction of the practical utility of book knowledge has been developing very rapidly. The method by which those individuals who have already acquired some instruction are made to cooperate in spreading it among other members of their communities, either by teaching them or by persuading them to self-education, also deserves our attention. The tendency to act as a leader and adviser is, of course, a very general one; it is a specific form of the wish for mastery which, as a combination of other social attitudes, plays an important part in social evolution. Now, this tendency is sanctioned and regulated by the real intellectual leaders who more or less explicitly treat the half-educated peasant as their associate and collaborator in the work of educating others, as a member of a new kind of peasant aristocracy on whose efficient social work depends the future of the peasant class. This point will be considered more in detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

THE WIDER COMMUNITY AND THE RÔLE OF THE PRESS

In most European countries the breakdown of the isolation of peasant communities was accompanied—or even preceded—by an incorporation of the peasants individually into the existing political system, so that the main problem of reconstruction which these countries had to face was, how to change the members of primary groups into members of an existing secondary group. But this was not so in Poland, which had no political frame-work waiting to include the peasant as soon as serfdom was abolished. Of course, in Poland, as everywhere, there existed ready economic and cultural institutions of the secondary-group type in which the peasants could and did participate in an increasing measure. But it is evident that none of these institutions can anywhere pretend to control all the members of a concrete social body as does the primary-group or the state.

Furthermore in Poland they were the product of other social classes, inadequately adapted to the peasants' needs, and the necessary modifications and extensions which would make them more useful to the peasant class were in the main impossible under foreign domination. And yet the rapid breakdown of traditional social forms and the urgent need of making the peasants active members of the nation—not only without the help of, but against the efforts of the dominating states—made it even more important for Poland than for other countries that the primary-group organ-

ization should be supplemented by secondary-group system which would both control the individual when the community could not do it and control the community so as to make it cooperate in national activities.

The task which Polish peasant leaders faced was thus as interesting as it was difficult. They had to reproduce under entirely different conditions the fundamental social process by which states have been built, to create a new secondary group from a plurality of primary groups. The main instrument which has always served to realize this aim—military power—could not be used in this case. Nor was any kind of free political union of peasant communes possible, for the partitioning governments were most anxious to destroy all political cohesion of Polish society; the peasant commune was completely isolated politically from other communes and had contact only with the Russian authorities. Religion and the church organization might have been, indeed, powerful means of unifying the peasant primary groups; but they could not be used, partly because of the unwillingness of the central Catholic Church authorities to let the Polish clergy commit itself in national and social struggles, partly because of the suspicion with which the Russian and Prussian governments looked upon the activities of the Polish clergy, partly also because of the undemocratic character of the church hierarchy. Thus the only instrument with the help of which a secondary-group system could be constructed above the primary-group organization was the press, and the only form which this secondary-group system could assume was that of a *wider community*, in which communication through the printed word took the place of direct personal contact, and ab-

stract moral solidarity the place of concrete social solidarity.

The problem was thus, first, to create a nation-wide social opinion, standardized by the leaders, and to subject to the control of this opinion not only individuals but primary communities; secondly, to develop in individuals the consciousness of moral obligation to contribute to the material and intellectual progress of this wider community to which they belonged, regardless of any actual or expected reciprocity of services.

136. [Typical description of a primary group written for the sole purpose of attracting to it the attention of the wider community; this makes it at once a part of the latter.]

Our village . . . is small and in no way peculiar; however, it is a little parcel of our country on which 16 peasant families live, and thus it deserves to have people know about it. . . . As everywhere, among us there are also good and bad, well-wishing and envious people. Mostly, however, the inhabitants of Szklana are laborious, sober and honest. In spite of this, everybody complains about misery more here than elsewhere. This is because the peasants here buy too much land, more than they can afford. . . . The inhabitants of Szklana do not waste money on dress. They wear long white "Cracovian" coats. The heart rejoices when one looks at a stately man dressed in a white shirt, black trousers and waistcoat, a black hat and a white coat.

Almost everybody here knows how to read at least printed matter, and therefore education spreads rapidly. Instead of card-playing or vain and indecent talk, which still could be often heard a few years ago, today reading the *Gazeta Świąteczna* prevails. We have 2 copies of it in our small village. In the beginning, when one of the inhabitants ordered it, it was difficult to persuade anybody to read or to listen. . . . If everything is not described exactly here, please do not wonder, for I am not a writer but merely a peasant from under a straw roof, who is more accustomed to the plow than to the pen.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 25.

137. [Shows some of the motives leading an individual to wish to inform the wider community about his place and his narrower group.]

Although I have often written in our *Gazeta* about this village, and you know it already and are acquainted with it, I have in mind to talk again about it because here I passed my childhood years, knowing neither suffering nor trouble; here I dreamed, an innocent, quiet little boy in this remote village. . . . Oh, how lovely are these whitened cottages, these low thatches lulled into sleep by the sweet stillness of the evening, bathed in the brightness of the moon! Some like better to live in a strange country on German or other [foreign] ground, but for me nowhere shines the sun as in this my native village.

Well, brothers, today I have to pride myself upon our youth who go forward eagerly as best they can and fight already quite well with ignorance. It is true that there is still a good deal of evil but we must not grieve but work until we are at last able to throw out this poisonous plant. . . . I have only one objection to the young people, that they like evening entertainments which spoil the heart and stain the soul, diminish health and . . . repute. Many a one who danced so incessantly went down to the cold grave prematurely; many a one bitterly regretted it. . . . O young people, watch yourselves!

And now, my dear neighbors, I must complain a little about you, because you have so long been deliberating in vain how to unite your lands. Many others did it long ago, because they had the understanding and will. . . . We must not lose even a moment if we want to overcome our hard ill-fortune. But you could not come to an understanding because there was a great lack of concord and on the other hand—say what you will—a great deal of hypocrisy and jealousy. Oh, but for this cursed jealousy that rules the heart of man, before which flees the holy love of our fellow-man as before a vampire, it would be better in the world, brothers; we should love each other, everyone would be as happy as a child, the vain world would become a paradise!

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1911, 16 [in verse].

138. [Here information about the primary community is clearly connected with reformatory purposes.]

Old people say that in the time of their youth the inhabitants of Janów did not care much for progress, did not mind if their town remained far behind others. [Young men married at 18 and did not improve their husbandry. Roads were in poor condition.]

Now much is changed here. Fathers try to educate their children to be enlightened people; they train their sons to be priests, teachers, artisans. We have in town several hand-workers; but most people occupy themselves with masonry. Every spring many Janowians go to work in the larger cities. Their wives remain on their farms and work alone, poor women, in the sweat of the brows. Alone they plant and dig potatoes; without the farmers' help they harvest the rye and bring it into the barns. Only in the fall the farmer returns with some money. It is too bad that women must tire themselves out in farming, but what can be done? We have no other way, we must leave them alone, for here on the spot we have no factories and it is difficult to earn anything.

Formerly our commune office was in the village Złoty Potok, but we burgesses did not like to have our office in a village. We began therefore to exert ourselves to have it transferred to our town. And we have succeeded, though the inhabitants of Złoty Potok were very angry with us. But to say the truth, it is easier for them to come to the town than for us to go to the village, for in town they have the opportunity of buying whatever they need. . . .

We have a good seamstress. . . . Many Janowians send their daughters to her to learn cutting and sewing. In almost every home there is a sewing-machine. Only it is a pity that the girls, having learned to sew, waste too much time in making dresses for themselves. Often it happens that one sees, by the side of a mother going to church in an old woolen dress, a daughter in a hat and pelerine. But they get the worst of this themselves, for nobody wants to take such an over-dressed girl for a wife. The handworker says: "When she becomes the wife of a master, her head will turn still more, she will want to dress still better, and I shall have to work for it." And the country boy seeing such a lady in a hat and pelerine says: "This is of no use to me. I do not need a sluggard. I shall search for a red-cheeked, healthy

peasant girl who will know how to cook cabbage and potatoes, and will be good for work."

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1900, 47.

139. [Attempt to produce a definite reform through the influence of the press.]

We have in our village about 150 morgs of useless ground covered with sand which the wind scatters over the fields. A few wiser farmers would like to plant the place with birch trees; then the village would be in a sort of grove and we would derive some profit.

But the place is common property and must be divided. Our elder, Józef Pawłowski, has consulted us several times, but the meetings resulted in nothing. . . . "I have a right to 5 morgs," cried one. "And I have a right to 10 morgs," cried another. "Some of the land descended to me from my grandfather," "And to me from my aunt" [cried others]. The wiser people are grieved to see such blindness. Our priests constantly remind us that we should do something about the sand. However, the land is not wooded yet. . . . Perhaps this humiliation in the *Gazeta* will finally bring some results.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1900, 49.

140. [Illustration of power of the wider community.]

With great shame I shall tell what my neighbors wanted to do with a young forest which grows on the common pasture of the village. The forest is young—it has grown only 11 years—but very nice; we can have much material from it for . . . [various agricultural implements]. But the trouble is with bad people. When they began to do whatever they wished in this forest they nearly spoiled it; one cut a pole, another needed dry wood, a third went and cut down a whole cartload of young trees. Then all came together in order to find some solution. And it occurred to them to take their axes at once, cut down the forest entirely and divide the wood among themselves.

They called me also to work, but I said: "I have no time, for I must compose in my mind what I shall write to the *Gazeta* about this that you are doing." When I said this they began to reflect a little. They went to the forest, stood and wondered what to do. Then I came and said: "The Lord God will punish

you, for it is a sin to destroy such a beautiful gift of God, such pretty young trees. And the whole world will be astonished at your having done such an injury, for I tell you that I shall write what you do to the *Gazeta*." They said nothing to this, but somehow nobody started to cut. They went home one after another and the forest was saved.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1900, 51.

141. Dear brother readers, participants in this *Gazeta*! Some time has already passed since I made some noise by my letter in which I revealed to all of you some human tendencies full of pride and wickedness. Though I wrote the truth, I provoked the anger of many people, of those precisely who, hearing my words, recognized that the talk was about them. They showed their wrath against me and called me various names: peasant, *ham*, gossip, clumsy versifier [this letter is actually written in a rather clumsy verse], newspaper-meddler. And they also changed the name of this *Gazeta* from *Świąteczna* [holiday] to "*Chtopska*" [peasant], because it accepts whatever silly things a peasant, a *ham*, a clumsy versifier describes. [He lives in a town and its burgesses consider themselves superior to peasants.]

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 33.

142. There were never yet so many readers in Chocianowice as on Sunday, September 5th. Like lightning the news spread in the village that our village was described in *Gazeta Świąteczna* under the title, "Growth of Drinking." Almost everybody, old and young, knew on this Sunday and passed the word that somebody had written to *Gazeta* about Chocianowice. Honest people praised the man who wrote and said he did very well; others cursed and promised to take revenge on the man who wrote. But those who sell the poison were moved most. One shopkeeper took it to heart so much that he resolved to sell this accursed whiskey no more, and did not sell it; when anyone came to buy this poison the man said: "If I am to be described in the *Gazeta*, I will sell no more." So everybody left with an empty bottle and with a full pocket, and with a curse, not against the man who did not give him vodka, but against the one who wrote to the *Gazeta*. That seller did well, but it was done only in order that people who wanted vodka might come to him once more and beg him [to sell].

Then people resolved to guess who was the man who wrote that letter to *Gazeta*, and they decided not to forgive him when they guessed it. Well, after long trouble they guessed the riddle: "It must be that one [the writer] because he has read the *Gazeta* for a long time, he does not drink vodka, and there is nobody else in the village [like him]." Only they have not carried out their threat, perhaps because that [shop-keeper] sold his resolution to them, like Judas. He justifies himself that he is earning his living, and his allies say yes.

And now I confess that you guessed right who wrote [the letter]. You say that I don't smoke cigarettes and don't drink vodka, and it is true, but I owe it to *Gazeta Świąteczna*, because it led me to enlightenment. Now only I know how to live, how to love my Polish brethren, and how to root out drinking. Further, you say that I slander you. But I had never the idea of slandering you; you slander yourselves. It was clearly written in the *Gazeta* that more than a half [of the villagers] are good and honest. Is it my fault if you don't want to belong to these good and honest farmers? I step out openly against my enemy and my enemy is drink. . . . Through drinking you become enemies of our fatherland. So, if you have at least a spark of love for your mother, the Polish land, you will stand together with these honest men and cry: "Away with drinking and revelry in our village!"

Letter to *Gazeta Świąteczna*; unpublished.

143. [This shows how indispensable for individual self-control the backing of the community is, but also how the wider community can be substituted for the primary group.]

In 1887 I read in the *Gazeta* a beautiful and useful article under the title: "To smoke or not to smoke." I read attentively and agreed that it was true. And as I was a habitual smoker—for I smoked $\frac{3}{8}$ of a pound of *machorka* a week—this truth made me reflect seriously. I wondered what to do. "Don't smoke," cried my reason. But how to eradicate the accursed habit?

I tried to persuade my neighbors to renounce smoking; I read to them what good and wise people wrote about it. My neighbors answered that they could not stop smoking, for they were "too much used to it, and the loss does not matter, because those who do not smoke are no wealthier." Some also told

such a tale: A man who smoked ceased to smoke and put aside the pennies which he had been spending on smoking, until he had economized 9 roubles. With this money he bought a pig and used all his grain in feeding him. The pig died and the man suffered hunger.

But I succeeded in persuading the most enlightened one among my neighbors, F. Pr. We read again that article in the *Gazeta* and at the command: "One, two, three," we threw our pipes on the ground. We threw into the fire our stores of tobacco and promised to try not to smoke for two months, or at least to buy nothing to smoke. We kept our resolution, but after two months we began to buy and to smoke. But since that time I have been an enemy of smoking. I smoked, but only because I could not withstand temptation. I went into company; one or another treated me with cigarettes and it was difficult to renounce such a treat. But several times I did not smoke for three or four months at once, from spring until autumn. . . . But none of my neighbors would follow my example, and as in winter they come to my house twice a week to have a talk, I, seeing them smoking, took my pipe too.

Last spring, having read in the *Gazeta* opinions of doctors about the harmfulness of smoking, I took them to heart, explained to my neighbors, and on April 5 definitely ceased smoking. Under the eyes of my neighbors, I carried my pipe to the fire and said: "You were burning, destroying my health. Now I am overcoming you, fiend. Get burned, disappear, be lost!" . . . Two neighbors promise to stop smoking, but somehow they still hesitate. . . .

We readers of the *Gazeta*, though our number is still small compared with those who do not read, although scattered throughout the whole world and not acquainted personally with one another, can boldly consider ourselves real brothers, for we have been educated spiritually and we are taken care of by the one *Gazeta Świąteczna*. Let us then listen to her [*Gazeta* is feminine gender in Polish] advice, explanations and exhortations with childlike faith and confidence. Let us take into consideration that the nineteenth year is already approaching its end since the *Gazeta* began to teach us, showing us good and evil; and thus we are approaching our majority and can think for our-

selves about our lot and one brother ask another: "To smoke or not to smoke?" . . .

I would not write at all about my not smoking, for I do not demand any praise; but I publish this as an example and in order to incite my fellow-readers to do likewise. . . . It would be well if neighbors or even more distant readers gave one another a word, a promise not to smoke. Such an association gives encouragement; in company everybody is more cheerful.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 38.

144. [This document, besides illustrating the emotional background upon which patriotism develops, is interesting as a demand for emotional response addressed to the wider community.]

I feel sad, oh sad, to part with this beloved country, with this beloved Polish land; but the time has come for me to leave it. And I bid you farewell, my fatherland, my native land. Let your glory be spread over the whole world; because I must leave you. . . . I go to a strange country like a wanderer. . . . I bid you farewell, too, my native village where I was born. I bid you good-bye, dear parents. Farewell, mother who bred me and taught me the prayer. Farewell, father, who guarded me and led me to some reason and gave me knowledge. Farewell, my whole family, and I beg your pardon; perhaps I wronged you; then forgive me. Farewell, my companions, and also you who did me wrong; I forgive you everything and don't remember it, because you were like stupid men. Perhaps I am also guilty; then forgive me. Finally I bid you farewell, my enemies, and don't believe that I consider you as my enemies. No, don't think so, I consider you all as my brothers, because one God created us all and we are his children. . . .

Farewell, you forests, among which I grew and which vivified me with your perfumes and odors. Farewell also, you poor Kurpie [ancient name of the district]; though you look unshapely and poor, yet you have been my dearest treasure, because I was born and grew up on you. Farewell, every plant which is to be found in my native land. Farewell, you birds which I leave; forgive me and pardon me, perhaps I did you some wrong.

Farewell, my dearest Polish country, my beloved fatherland, because I do not know, perhaps I shall never more come back

to you by reason of death or for some other reason. I am very joyful because of the future glory of my Poland which it will attain now when it begins to have its own management [Russian Poland expected to obtain autonomy after 1905]. I longed for this from my childhood, I aspired to live until I should rejoice with my brothers in our common cause and bear down the foe. But I can hardly wait for this good epoch which I hoped would come because the time has come for me to leave my fatherland. I have lived 20 years and I withdraw lest I should be an enemy of my brothers instead of a helper, lest I should be forced to kill and to be a fratricide. [He goes away fearing he would be called to military service and employed against the revolution.] Please correct it, if I have written something wrong.

Letter to *Gazeta Świąteczna*; unpublished.

145. Formerly there was awful darkness in this community. At moments free from work people came together under a big tree on a hill and there the oldest story-teller related how years ago ghosts frightened people, how vampires of hanged men were flying about forests and pursuing people, how witches used to fly to the Łysa Góra on their shovels and dance with devils. Then again he told about robbers in the mountains of Święty Krzyż, about "bewitched" treasures kept in caves with iron doors and watched by a black dog on a chain, also about bewitched knights who some day will rise from their graves and will take this money for their brethren. Thus people talked formerly. And today?

Today also one can frequently see a group of people in the same place, only they do not tell tales about treasures but some one among them holds in his hand the *Gazeta* and reads how people are now governing themselves, how they go hand in hand and work in common because they have already well recognized that they are in Europe, not in Asia, and that they are men, not cattle, and should not permit all kinds of bad people and cheaters to plow with them.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 26.

146. The *Gazeta Świąteczna* has taught us the statutes relative to commune organization. Now our communal meetings are being conducted in accordance with these statutes. At one such

meeting . . . we elected for plenipotentiary Count J., who together with another plenipotentiary every month verifies the communal account books. We can be sure now that the money which we put into the communal fund will be used for the purposes for which we have designed it. Formerly this was not so. Up to last year—I must confess with shame—the management of our commune was very poor.

Formerly there was also the bad habit of electing the mayor for vodka and beer. This year there will also be elections for mayor, but we hope that now we shall elect differently—without vodka or beer. We begin gradually to break off drinking vodka and beer. In the village Szynmanowice in the house of Antoni Budyta, the first wedding in our community without vodka was performed. In the same village, at a village meeting, they decided not to smoke cigarettes near the buildings and to avoid lawsuits as far as possible. Therefore one can seldom meet anyone from this village in court; the farmers settle all misunderstandings among themselves by arbitration. . . .

Alas! Things are not going in the same way in another village of our commune. I give its name, N——, only for the editor, but please do not mention it in the *Gazeta*. Here a few young men, sons of rather well-to-do farmers, got so accustomed to vodka that on every holiday and at every fair they must get drunk. In order to have money for vodka they steal grain from their fathers, carry it to the town at night, and sell it very cheap to traders. If some neighbor dares to say that this is unworthy, they are not ashamed to threaten aloud that they will pay him with a knife for mixing with other people's business.

I must finally mention with sadness a bad custom which is taking root among us; we are gradually abandoning our ancient costumes and dressing in the German fashion.

Gazeta Święteczna, 1905, 31.

147. Duty urges me to write how much I owe to the *Gazeta* and what advantage it brings to every one who reads it. It is true that a man is not always ready to take up the pen with all his domestic worries and his care about the daily bread. . . . Moreover, a fellow is not used to the pen, but to the plow and the scythe. He does not dare to blurt among people a trifling

word, even as, so to speak, it is not proper to go to church on a holiday in a filthy coat. But you, Mr. Writer of the *Gazeta Świąteczna*, you do not despise my handiwork, and it is a great consolation for me that I can share my thought with many people.

It is only two years that I have been reading the *Gazeta* steadily, and now I even write often for it. I am very sorry that I started to read it so late. As is known to you, Mr. Writer, when I wrote my first letter there was neither order nor construction in it. I did not even dream that my words were going to be repeated in print. But when I saw in the *Gazeta* my awkward writing corrected, I then decided to spend every free moment reading and writing. Many say to me: "What will you get from it?" And I answer that I have already gotten a great deal from reading the *Gazeta*, for it has taught me how to think and write orderly and how to farm well. "You must know," I said, "that a farmer on a 10 morg farm, if he reads the *Gazeta*, surpasses a 20 morg one, because you will find harmony in his house, in his barn, in his field and meadow, and even in his heart he has more fraternal love. Such a person respects the *Gazeta* like his health and is willing to encourage every one to read it, because every one needs education. What is the use of a person's knowing how to read if he does not read? . . . He cannot teach either his children or his servants anything, because he does not know anything himself."

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 40.

148. I arrived [in Pałecznicza] on a holiday and just in time for mass. Leaving at the same time as the others, I stopped before the church, because a man is always anxious to observe the people of a different locality and desires to guess from what he sees with his eyes what kind of people they are and what one should think about them. The inhabitants of Pałecznicza I know a little, as I was there not for the first time; I even have a few relatives in that village. But on Sunday there were many people from other villages. In general I liked these people very much. They dress in country fashion mostly, in the same way as their fathers and grandfathers dressed, without any changes or unnecessary additions. It is pleasant to look at their dress.

I noticed a farmer whom I knew, Szymczyk, a reader of the *Gazeta Świąteczna*. I approached him. We greeted each

other and began to talk. Then others joined us and I convinced myself that I was not mistaken in what I thought of them, for they are pleasant, polite and sensible people. I did not intend to stay long in Pałecznica, but my friends and relatives noticed me, and among them was Mikołaj Laccyk. . . . Finally Laccyk invited me to his house. Szymczyk accompanied us too. The host treated us with whatever he had. Then we began to talk and thus a few hours passed, and none of us felt bored, for we talked about things which interest every one who has only a sound mind and is not too lazy to think. I had a very pleasant time in that house. I had never even suspected that only a few miles away from the village where I lived, I had such well-wishing fellow-farmers.

"Do you remember, neighbor," [the farmer said to me] "that a dozen years ago you visited me, as today, and you reproached me for having a beautiful garden and not planting any fruit trees? And you blamed me also for not wooding my useless grounds. Let us now go to look at that garden and those useless grounds. . . . I do not know yet how much profit there will be this year from the orchard. Last year the trees produced less fruit, but I received 60 roubles for the fruit." . . . "Well, well," said I, "I did not expect that you would manage to do such things." And he answered: "At first your advice, and then the *Gazeta Świąteczna* drove me to it. As soon as you told me that the *Gazeta* would encourage me to progress and that it would teach me how to manage excellently the orchard, the grove and my entire husbandry in general, I immediately began to read it. And you see here what profits I have derived." I saw that he was sincerely thankful to me because I had encouraged him to read. And I thanked him in turn for having listened to my advice and wished him success in his honest work. God bless him!

[Szymczyk had also introduced improvements on his farm, but he had begun later and his success was not as conspicuous as Laccyk's.] . . . There are many farmers similar to these in the village, district and parish of Pałecznica, and their progress in farming is more noticeable since the *Gazeta* and good books have visited many huts.

Gazeta Święteczna, 1900, 52.

149. [Typical, showing how valuable the recognition of the wider community is considered even after death. A poor peasant woman sacrificed her whole life in order to bring relief to her fellow-creatures who were in need.]

. . . She was not looking for recognition for her deeds, and that is why she did not find any reward in this world; she went for it to heaven. We who write this experienced many of her kindnesses and witnessed many of her worthy deeds. Now when she is dead, we call to God: "Father, receive her in eternal glory!" But we would like her virtues and Christian acts to be known to people after her death. Let them be an example for others. Perhaps they will move and warm cold hearts, of which, alas, there are so many in this world. Therefore we ask the *Gazeta Święteczna* to publish this short remembrance of the benefactress whom we shall keep in our grateful memory forever. [Three signatures.]

Gazeta Święteczna, 1903, 45.

150. There are people who like to catch every news in flight and to repeat it as soon as possible. If they have not heard rightly, they guess or even lie in order only to be able to tell something interesting. Why, even to tell is not enough! Many a fellow is ready to describe in a paper something that he does not know at all, that he has heard with one ear from somebody. He has heard a little, he has "sucked out of his finger the rest," as people say, and has sent it to print.

Two weeks ago we read in a paper the news about an earthquake in Rzędkowice. We repeated it as a curious but doubtful thing. And now one of our readers from that neighborhood writes: "I live 2 wiorstas from . . . Rzędkowice and every day I have relations with the local farmers and with Józef Rarański. However, I have not heard from anyone about an earthquake in this neighborhood."

Gazeta Święteczna, 1898, 12.

151. It is the duty of every honest citizen of this country to attract attention to the bad actions of either one man or a community in any locality, for in this way people who do not usually see their defects will recognize them and some at least try to get rid of them. But whoever writes about the defects

and errors of some person should take care that there be only sincere truth in his words. . . .

I have been moved to write about this by a letter about the parish Siemoń which was printed in *Gazeta* No. 1137 and signed with the initials J. S. Because I have lived for several years in this parish I consider it my duty to correct the erroneous news about my parish and my fellow-parishioners.

J. S. complains in his letter about the darkness of our parish. . . . He certainly could not find in our whole parish, which has over 7,000 souls, a single grown-up man who does not know at least how to read, and I do not think he could find two hundred—mostly old—people who do not know how to write. Last year two new brick schools were built in our parish instead of the old ones. . . . Some farmers had to pay 20 and even 30 and more roubles each for the building of the schools. Would people who do not care for the instruction of their children agree to this?

Further, J. S. says, that on Sundays and holidays parents send their children to divine service as proxies for themselves, while they drive the geese to pasture. Probably the one who wrote this went not to the church in our parish but to where glasses [instead of bells] ring. Our church, built twenty years ago, is an adornment to the whole neighborhood and holds about 3,000 souls and on every holiday it can hardly contain the people who participate in the divine service. . . .

J. S. says in his letter that the inhabitants of Siemoń call him a mere fool, supposedly only because he subscribes to and reads the *Gazeta Świąteczna*. But J. S. probably knows well that in Siemoń they subscribe not only for the four copies which he mentions but for three times as many, in addition to the papers subscribed to by our respected priests who lend these also to us. As far as I know, the Siemońians call fools those people who have dealings with various outcasts of society or play lords. For is he not worthy to be called a fool who, for example, when going to visit his parents a dozen wiorstas away carries his rubbers in his hand to show them off and only a hundred steps from the village puts them upon his muddy boots? Nobody will win respect here with the help of rubbers or a curtailed German coat. . . .

Perhaps my signature alone would be sufficient for the Writer of the *Gazeta Świąteczna*, since I am the local teacher. But because I am not the only one who is indignant at the unmerited charges made against the parish of Siemonów, as proof of the truth of my letter others will certify it. [The elder of the village and 6 inhabitants signed as witnesses.]

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1898, 12.

152. [Religious solidarity seems to be the earliest form of the moral solidarity of the wider community.]

I have a great request to the readers of the *Gazeta Świąteczna* from a very unfortunate man, the shoemaker, Młotkowski, crippled by blindness. When he was a little boy his father, angered by something, beat him with a stick and struck his eye. The eye hurt the boy for a long time and gradually he grew completely blind in it. When he became accustomed to his infirmity he learned the shoemaker's trade, and he has earned his bread in the work-shop. At present he is 29 years old. He is married and has a child.

Last week a misfortune happened to him. He was cutting a wire which was stretched taut. Suddenly the end of the wire sprung up and hit his eye, the only sound one. The poor man became entirely blind. . . . In his misfortune he is comforted by the hope that God may still pity him. With tears he asks you, the readers of the *Gazeta*, for a prayer to God that he should let him see with his other eye [which the doctors say is the less hopeless of the two]. Do not refuse his earnest request.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 16.

153. For these working people [of Kielce] a new church is absolutely necessary, but they cannot erect it with their own funds, for there are no wealthy men among them who would help the work by large offerings. But the committee for the construction of the church, without heeding the fact that it had only a small fund collected from the local population, started to build. Having purchased a suitable lot it has already put down the foundation for the future church. For, relying on God's help, it counts upon the support of the inhabitants of the more distant as well as the nearer parts of the country. It expects that the solidarity and reciprocity which manifests them-

selves usually when something is to be done for the public good, and particularly for the spiritual good, will incite every one to help at least with a small offering.

By such brotherly help based upon Christian love and goodwill our generous fellow-countrymen will tighten their fraternal ties with those members of the community of Christ who, being poorer, will draw from the help of others comfort and spiritual food for themselves. Moreover, sympathy manifested for the common good will bear creditable testimony to the maturity and superiority of the public. And the beautiful church of the Saviour erected in this way, will bring down from heaven through the mediation of this love and of the saving power of the Cross a blessing for the benefactors and will implant a steady gratitude and recognition in the hearts of the Christian-Catholics of the city of Kielce.

Gazeta Święteczna, 1905, 8.

154. Seeing in our country beneficent people who try by all means to spread knowledge among us and to improve our situation, I also desire—not as one of them, for I have not as much knowledge or skill—to add as much as I can to that useful work, even if only from afar, and to contribute to the welfare of our society as much as my weak mind and forces can afford. I therefore ask the honorable Writer of the *Gazeta Święteczna* to publish an announcement that I have for sale shoots of apple-trees and of pear-trees of several species. If any reader of the *Gazeta* who lives in the neighborhood of Bilgoraj needs, either for himself or for his neighbors, such shoots for spring planting, let him apply to me no later than May 1st and I will give them to him without charge. I will gladly show him how to plant, if he does not know that.

Gazeta Święteczna, 1904, 13.

155. At the news of the disasters of flood and hail which befell many regions in our country good people were found in the commune of Kubry . . . who took to heart the obligation of helping thier unfortunate brethren. The first ones in that generous deed were the gentlemen Dąbkowski of Racibory and Skarzyński of Romany. They came to me [the mayor of the commune] with the advice that I should call together all the people of the commune and encourage them to make a contribu-

tion from each morg for the people afflicted by flood. I told them that I had thought of it myself. A week later . . . it was decided to give one copeck from each morg, which would make nearly 230 roubles.

Great praise is due the villagers of Łojów-Awisy. Having calculated that a contribution of 1 copeck from each morg would amount to only 3 roubles, they considered it too little for such a generous purpose. And in order to show their brethren more generosity they decided to contribute each as much as he could afford. . . . They brought 11 roubles to me.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1903, 44.

156. Because on the 3d of March of this year forty years had passed since the endowment of peasants in the Kingdom of Poland with land and the installation of communal self-government, the peasants of the commune of Dobra, in order to commemorate this anniversary and in order to obtain from God peace and a speedy end of the war [with Japan], at the communal meeting on this day unanimously decided: From the net profits of the communal loan and savings banks in Dobra, of which 13,587 roubles had been accumulated, to assign 1) 500 roubles for the purchase of a bell for the church in Dobra; 2) for the purchase of chalices for communicants and of ornaments for the churches in Dobra, Szczawina and Stryków in the region of the commune of Dobra, 500 roubles each or 1,500 roubles altogether; 3) to aid local families of soldiers wounded or injured in the war with Japan, 800 roubles besides the 200 roubles at the disposal of His Excellency the Archbishop of Warsaw for Catholic priests sent to the Far East, or together 1,000 roubles; 4) for the hungry brother-peasants in the commune of Bieliny who suffered most from the flood last year, 250 roubles, and the same amount for those who suffer misery in other regions of the country on account of the flood, or together 500 roubles; 5) for the teachers of 5 schools in the community, who work for the good of the younger generation, for their labor and in view of further encouraging them, 50 roubles each, or 250 roubles.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1904, 14.

157. Brother farmers, we all want a better lot for ourselves; every one among us wishes to be happier. This wish is per-

fectly just. But our other demand is unjust; we want somebody else to earn a better lot for us, we demand of some one else to sacrifice himself for our sake, and we do not ourselves deign to reach after even that which is made ready for us. I speak here about our demand when we peasants require different sacrifices for the sake of the people. Let us profit eagerly from what we have already, but as to the future, don't look for anybody who may give us ready-made happiness.

You wish to have a nice house, nice farm-stock, a nice garden, nice clothes, a nice carriage, good and savory food—you wish to be a gentleman. All right, so be it; everybody will be glad when you get on well. Only don't wish somebody who sits upon a height to come down and sit with you in the mud, but rather arise yourself and sit with him upon the height. Since we have sat long, too long perhaps in the mud, we have dreamed in our heads that there is no way out of it. But happily already an important number of the country-dwellers have seen clearly that there is a way and moved along it toward the height. But, alas, there are still many of our peasants who, although they also perceive the way, nevertheless sit in the mud because laziness has got hold of them and they don't want to rise to go with the others.

So I address myself to you, older fathers and mothers. I demand, I adjure you in the name of the youth to which I belong myself, don't keep your children in the mud, let them go and mount upon this height. Send your children to school. . . . You, boys, don't take empty-headed girls for wives. You, girls, don't accept for anything in the world husbands who have nothing but straw in their heads. Let us be proud that we are farmers, but let us be enlightened farmers. I do not doubt that people will yet strive for the honor of being farmers, as you now strive to have your children priests and engineers, who then are often ashamed of their peasant origin. I tell you that the whole future of the people is in the popular agricultural schools. If you, fathers, do not know how to get out of poverty, your sons when they leave agricultural schools will lead you out.

Letter to *Gazeta Świąteczna*; unpublished.

158. I wish to share with all the readers of the *Ziemiańska* [Country Woman] my views about the so-called woman's move-

ment. How pleasant it is to hear anything of the doings of this movement. For instance, they hold a circle meeting in one place, arrange lectures for peasant women in another; again the women's circles establish nurseries, as the one in Piotrowice. . . . Such projects as the establishment of a coöperative dairy are premature here as yet, and it would be advisable to arrange first an excursion to a neighboring one. We can say safely that the entire field of social affairs that are being discussed at the women's circle meetings is still new to us. . . .

You know well the fact that our peasant women have begun to think only since 1905. For a long series of years the home was the only harbor of the peasant woman, as if it were her only right, the right of the home. We all know that the peasant woman was regarded as something lower than man and is so regarded at the present time. Is it her right, this life of slavery? I think not. And let us not think that it is only a matter of a few exceptions. There are many women among us even at present who live entirely without a definite outline of work, without a better purpose in life; nothing outside of their home interests them. The shutters of their souls' windows are tightly bolted and even doubly so, and the dear spark of enlightenment has no access to them. Hence so many errors committed by the weaker sex. . . . They do not realize how annoying to others is their stupidity and thoughtlessness; they do not realize how much their future welfare depends on proper education. Oh, it is a problem that makes the heart of every citizen ache!

Letter to *Ziemiańska*; unpublished.

159. Dear Sisters. We read often in popular papers how our brothers are called to social work and to learning. These appeals are, indeed, very just. But nevertheless in reading them we feel some pain, even some jealousy. Why are only brothers called to work, to learning? And we women, have we the right, ought we to remain in darkness and in social inactivity? Never! It is high time for us women to awake spiritually. Therefore, let us, sisters, call one another to learning and to work for the re-birth of the land. . . . It is a shame for us women that we keep away from such work and even, alas! that we divert our husbands from it.

Who is most to blame that in villages and towns we have

almost no kindergartens and no schools for children? Who is principally guilty that our consumers' associations and Polish shops have little success? Who is at fault that our husbands read little and our children avoid the school? I will say positively: *Only we, the women.* Our women don't care for kindergartens and schools, they pass indifferently by the consumers' shops. We are angry with our husbands and sons when they spend money for papers and books, and often we don't send our children to school and we keep them at home for any trifling reason, for the sake of some work which somebody else could do. If our son or our daughter wants to go to a farm-school, we withhold them because there is work at home and we pretend that we have no money. . . .

Our people is unhappy, dark, powerless, in misery and humiliation. But to a large extent we could avoid our misfortunes, many could easily remove totally their painful penury. For the larger part of our soil is fertile, much wealth is in the earth, much work in the land, but people of strange birth and faith draw all the benefits for themselves, and we, the children of Lech, the children of this soil, which our fathers and grandfathers bathed with their blood, we are in poverty, in neglect, and we look for bread, for wages far away from our fatherland, from our beloved Poland. We, the Polish women, could remedy it if we would and if we knew how to do it. We ought not to boast, but in conformity with the truth we must acknowledge that our husbands respect us and often do as we advise, or simply yield to our claims for the sake of peace—although not all of them.

So we have a great influence in private and in social matters, and therefore it is to a large extent our fault if things go badly with us. But unhappily many women don't acknowledge this fault. Often we care more for nice dresses and hats than for social and national questions, and this is very bad. In this manner we do a serious wrong to society without knowing it. But this unconsciousness does not diminish our fault at all; on the contrary, it makes it greater still because it is the consequence of negligence, of a blameworthy sluggishness and, I dare say, of an aversion to enlightenment and to progress in general.

Indeed, dear sisters, our greatest misfortune is the dislike of

enlightenment. I don't speak about all, because there are women who aspire for good and enlightenment; but the majority even among ourselves, the pupils of the schools of Kruszyna, Mirosław, etc., are such that after leaving school, when we find ourselves in the country instead of awakening and encouraging others we forget totally about our own duties. Let us take this painful truth into our hearts and let us be awe-struck at the greatness of our responsibility. We women can contribute much to the improvement of our people's condition, particularly those among us who consider ourselves wiser and more intelligent.

Zorza, 1914, 10.

160. [This peasant meeting, organized by the National Democratic Party and attended by over 1500 peasants, illustrates the passage from the wider community to the nation.]

The next day after the meeting three participants, elderly men, told us each separately [about the educatory influence of the *Gazeta*]. Here are the words of one of them: "I have belonged for five years to the National Democratic Party. There are in our commune more like me; there are some who have belonged longer, others shorter. There are also readers of the *Gazeta* like us who, however, do not want to belong to the party, and there are others who belong to other parties. We have been called here to this meeting by the National Democratic Party. It rouses us, that is true. I have read that it has been rousing the people [nationally] for 15 years already. But if it had not been for the *Gazeta Świąteczna* none of us peasants would be here at this meeting. We would be the same as our fathers were. Neither would there be speakers like those who have talked. For although the *Gazeta* did not call us to the meeting, it has made us citizens of our country, whereas formerly we were only a dark herd of cattle. The parties would have had nothing to talk with us about. They came to a ready thing."

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 52.

The wider community, as we see from our documents, essentially based on the same social attitudes as the primary community—the desire for recognition and the desire for response. The main difference lies in the

higher degree of intellectualization which these attitudes must acquire in the wider community. Whereas in the primary group the individual obtains satisfaction of his social instinct by a direct reaction of concrete personalities, in the secondary group he must be satisfied with an indirect reaction of an impersonal public. Of course, he does not pass without intermediary stages from the primary-group to the secondary-group psychology. On the one hand, in primary-group life there are many situations which prepare him for the secondary-group stage; on the other hand, in secondary-group life, however great may be the prevalence of abstract and indirect over concrete and direct relations, the latter never entirely disappear, and lend to all social activities some of the vividness and human interest which they possess in primary communities.

Even in a primary-group the individual has often to wait for recognition or response, which may never come if others do not indorse his claims. The peasant sometimes even intentionally postpones the satisfaction of his desires and does not claim at once the recognition or response to which he feels himself entitled, if he expects to get more by waiting or if he sees the possibility of startling the group by some unexpected effect. In all these cases, until recognition or response is actually obtained the individual must supplement by imagination the deficiencies of actual reality. Now, the psychological mechanism through which satisfaction of the social instinct is obtained in the wider community also consists in a large measure in supplementing actually experienced response and recognition by imagined response and recognition. The individual who sees his name or his contribution in print imagines the attitudes of the readers, and this has on him an effect similar to

that which actual experience of these attitudes would have. Of course the individual expects actually to experience the imagined response and recognition when he comes into direct contact with particular members of the wider community, and many of our documents show how much the peasant needs that this expectation shall be confirmed and how eager he is to change indirect into direct connections, to meet the people about whom he knows or who know about him through the press. But the ability to be influenced by mere possibilities of social contact as implied in the printed word grows with the intellectual development of the peasant. This growth is particularly rapid when in a primary-group village or parish the majority begins to be interested in printed matter, because then the individual who has any connection with the press obtains direct recognition from his immediate milieu on the ground of his supposed recognition by the wider community.

More difficult to explain is the influence which the opinion of the wider community indirectly manifested through the press has not upon individuals, but upon whole primary-groups. We have seen examples of the powerful social reaction which the mention in print of a village or parish provokes in all its members. It seems that in this case we find transferred to a wider social plane the same attitude which formerly expressed itself in the dependence of the family upon the primary community. When the social horizon of the peasant was limited to his *okolica* the individual reacted to the praise or blame of his family by the community as if it were his own personal matter; this attitude not only resulted from his family solidarity but was enforced by the social environment which refused to dissociate the individual from the narrower group to which he belonged.

Now when the village or the parish is the object of the social opinion of the wider community, the same phenomenon repeats itself; each member of the narrower group is affected by the positive or negative appreciation of the latter, not as an individual but as an integral part of the whole. In the *esprit de corps* of classes and of professional organizations, in national and race pride, the same attitude is found on a still higher social level; it is one of the most general manifestations of the "we"-psychology. Each member's personal reaction is strengthened by the consciousness of a similar reaction of other members, and the blame or praise to which the group is subjected by becoming the center of outside attention acquires for all its members a significance often quite out of proportion to its real import.

On the other hand, however, the wider community gives to the individual the opportunity to dissociate himself from his primary group by publicly assuming a critical attitude toward it or adopting attitudes different from those which prevail in his immediate milieu. Examples of unjustified accusations brought by individuals against their primary-groups show how eagerly this opportunity is grasped by the rebellious elements in communities where social disorganization has been progressing. Nevertheless, even this tendency to use the press as weapon in local struggles can be utilized for constructive purposes, for it makes it possible for the wider community and its leaders to act as arbiters and to impose their standards upon primary-groups. And propaganda of new ideas among the peasants can be successful only if the individuals who first accept these ideas feel independent of the social opinion of their immediate environment. But the peasant needs some social sanction for his attitudes; he may commit an iso-

lated act of revolt but cannot maintain a permanent line of conduct without being backed by some group. The consciousness that he is a member of the wider community gives him a feeling of security which permits him to struggle for the new ideas against his primary-group; and, of course, he must consider himself superior to his environment as bearer of superior standards, otherwise his reformatory tendencies would have no justification in his own eyes. And even then he usually is not satisfied with whatever encouragement he can get from the wider community and its leaders; he strives to gather around himself a group of friends and followers whose personal response and recognition counterbalance the indifference or antagonism of the rest of the community. Thus, the very dependence of the peasant on direct social contracts make him, once converted, a good propagandist of new ideas.

Small groups of such "enlightened" peasants scattered through the country but concentrated by means of indirect communication around some leaders acting through the popular press have constituted a continually growing nucleus of the wider community with which, through various direct personal bonds, an increasing circle of the population was more or less closely associated. As a matter of fact, at the period which we are investigating there were in the Congress Kingdom several such nuclei separated by political differences but partly connected by the cooperation of their members in various social institutions. The most important were the moderate group of which the chief organ was the *Gazeta Świąteczna* and the radical progressive group of the *Zaranie*. Occasional personal contacts between the members and the leaders, and between members belonging to different primary communities added a character

of intimacy to the informal organization of these groups. Their external structure was similar to that of political parties, but their sphere of interest was much wider, for it included practically everything in which the peasant was supposed to be interested. In this respect they resembled primary communities and differed from other types of secondary groups which are always more or less specialized.

The method by which the feeling of moral solidarity was spread among the members of the wider community was calculated to develop the idealistic elements of their nature by appealing to their feeling of personal importance, and vice versa. It was assumed as self-evident that all those who belonged to the nucleus of the wider community should be actively interested in its welfare and progress, should be the first in spreading education, in contributing to common aims, in promoting new and more efficient forms of economic activity, in establishing new social institutions, in fostering harmonious social cooperation—in short, in helping to raise the whole peasant class to a higher cultural level. And on the other hand, all those who actively participated in the work of social reconstruction were considered belonging to the select minority as real collaborators of the leaders; they were treated as the “advance guard of progress,” as a kind of aristocracy whose prestige was based not on their social function in the past but on their importance for the future.

At the same time, though perhaps less successfully, attempts were made to impart a new moral vitality to the old religious idea of a wide Christian community whose members owed to one another disinterested help independent of any direct social contact between them. It is hardly surprising that this idea did not have much

practical significance for the peasant in the past. His economic conditions made him much oftener the object than the subject of assistance, and even when he was able to help, his primary-group had claims on all his altruism. Moreover, the clergy by the exclusive emphasis it put on purely religious matters reduced the duties of the Christian community to praying for one another and making collections for new churches. Of course, as the few documents referring to these activities show, even this type of mutual help implies altruistic emotions which can be developed and extended to other fields, but this development in so far as it actually occurred was mostly the work of lay leaders. The most efficient way of stirring altruistic tendencies has proved to be the appeal to sympathetic emotions at public meetings when the susceptibility to emotional suggestions is higher than usual, particularly in primary-group members, and the whole matter leaves a deeper impression. Calamities which befell particular communities—fire, hunger, flood—evidently found the easiest response, and more important than the actual help offered was the attitude which was developed by such response and which could be later utilized for other constructive purposes. An interesting point is that, partly as a consequence of this method of appealing to whole primary-groups for assistance, partly because the individual peasant could do but little in the line of altruistic help outside of his village or parish, this type of solidarity assumed the form of obligation of mutual assistance between primary communities rather than between individuals, whereas the organization for cultural progress was, as we have seen, essentially individualistic. This inter-communal solidarity in which the primary-group acts as a unit has not received perhaps all the attention

it deserves and is not being developed sufficiently. For the peasant primary-group is not definitely breaking up; it is only being reconstructed on new foundations. The wider community will thus always be not only an organization of individuals but also an agglomeration of primary-groups, and its unity cannot be complete unless each of these groups as a whole—not alone through its individual members—is actively interested in the common welfare.

CHAPTER V

COOPERATIVE INSTITUTIONS

The organization of a social group would be perfect if all the attitudes of its members could find a socially sanctioned institutional expression, so that none would act as a factor of disorganization, and if the institutions did not interfere with one another. The first condition is neglected both by conservatists and by revolutionists; the former by hindering the creation of new institutions, force new attitudes into socially dangerous channels; the latter, by tending to destroy entirely the old institutions, ignore the old attitudes which persist and thus prepare a reaction. And, of course, there has never yet been any social organization which did not leave some social attitudes without institutional sanction—classifying them as abnormal, anti-social, immoral, etc. As to the second condition, it has hardly ever received adequate consideration, for if we except the unsuccessful attempts to construct perfectly rational state systems, the institutions of any concrete society grow without any common leading principle and thus continually hamper and counteract one another.

In studying the process of reconstruction of Polish peasant communities, we shall keep in mind these criteria, since the reconstruction has been here conscious and planful, actually aiming at the best possible social organization. And thus it is important to learn how far it has been successful. Of course the new system is far from ready; reconstruction has only begun, many

peasant communities are almost untouched by the new movement, many new attitudes have not yet found institutional expression and regulation in any community; finally we do not know yet how war and later the organization of a Polish state have affected the whole process. We can thus judge the principles and methods only by their application in particular cases which may be considered typical in certain respects; we cannot appreciate them unconditionally as applicable to all groups and for all purposes.

As to the old social institutions, the new movement is particularly concerned with the commune. The latter is in principle a politically organized community; but its function under Russian domination was almost exclusively that of an intermediary between the central government and the country population, collecting taxes, sending recruits, and in general executing the orders of the administration. Legally, however, the commune could have been much more than this; it had a degree of autonomy which should have made it a very useful instrument for the internal organization of the community. The traditional passivity of the peasant in political matters contributed as much as the arbitrariness of the Russian executive to deprive this instrument of its utility. Under the influence of Polish leaders, particularly since 1905, the commune began to develop into a really vital institution, though its efforts to prevent the Russian administration from legally unjustified interference with communal affairs were mostly unsuccessful.

Another old institution which the new movement tried to reform was the village as economic body. In spite of the fact that property in the strict sense of the term seems to have always been among the Polish peas-

ants a family, not a community matter, for various reasons which it would take too long to explain the land owned by all the families inhabiting a village is in some measure an economic unit. First, all the houses, each with adjoining farm-buildings (stable, barn, granary, sty, poultry-house, etc.) and usually a small orchard, are concentrated in a village like a small American town. The arable land belonging to all these farms forms one stretch of territory around the village, and the field of each farmer instead of constituting one separate piece is scattered in many small lots over all this territory, intermingled with similar lots of other farmers. Thirdly, pastures, forests and waters are the common property of all the farmers.

Now, this system must be modified in adaptation to the new social attitudes and economic conditions. The concentration of dwellings in old villages cannot be changed; but many new peasant farms—so-called “colonies”—built on land recently acquired from the nobility are isolated. Though this isolation is unfavorable to the traditional gregarious type of cohesion of the village group, it does not hinder the new types of social organization from developing and it prevents innumerable quarrels which result from close neighborhood when the old form of social solidarity has decayed. But even more important both for social and economic reasons was the concentration of the lots belonging to each farm into one piece by means of exchange. The difficulty in the way of this reform was that the law required the unanimous consent of the whole village, and in order to obtain this consent interesting methods were used, some of which are quoted in our documents. Finally, in matters of common pastures, forests and waters, the only solution of the difficulties arising from the individualiza-

tion of economic attitudes was to change from the ancient communism, in which the individual had no direct personal claims to the common property but could use it because he was a member of the group, to the modern cooperative system where the individual has rights to a personal share in the property but voluntarily agrees to have this share remain a part of the common stock because he expects that collective management will be more profitable to himself and to others.

Less efficient and without definite methodical principles have been the attempts to reorganize the most important traditional institution—the family. However, in this respect the situation is hardly any better in the highest cultivated spheres of the western world. The “large family” evidently cannot be revived, and the moral solidarity between the members of the marriage group—husband, wife and children—is but a shadow of the old social unity of the family group. In the peasant class the woman is expected to be the bearer of the new solidarity whereas, as we have seen in the preceding volume, it was the man upon whom the unity of the large family mostly relied. But this movement among the Polish peasant women is too recent to permit us to judge of its results.

The main stress, however, in social reconstruction has been put not upon the reform of the old but upon the creation of new institutions. Among the new attitudes the most general and at the same time the easiest to institutionalize was the desire for economic advance. Here it was relatively easy to show the advantages of common action for men who separately had very small economic means; and the methods of common action and the models of institutions either were ready—in Germany, Belgium, England—or could be

worked out with relative facility. Moreover, the obstacles which the Russian and German governments put in the way of Polish social organization were not as great in the economic as in the political or educational fields. Finally, the poverty prevalent among the peasants made the need of economic progress particularly obvious. The average size of peasant farms in the Congress Kingdom was below 12 acres, whereas an average peasant family counts more than 6 persons, so that only with the most intensive and skilful farming the minimum standard of living could be maintained. For all these reasons the work of social reconstruction during the period which we are taking into account consisted mainly and primarily in organizing economic institutions by which the welfare of the peasant class could be fostered—cooperative shops, loan and savings banks, agricultural associations for common importation and use of expensive machines, of seeds, of high class breeders, etc., commercial associations for common sale of farm-products, industrial associations for common exploitation of raw goods, etc.

All these institutions are run on a cooperative basis and though in fact many of them are still almost absolutely controlled by leaders who usually are not peasants, this control is the result of their social ascendancy, never of their economic supremacy, and active interest and direct personal participation are required of every member. Thus, though founded on an economic basis, these institutions are *social organizations*, not merely business enterprises. This must be remembered in order to understand how these institutions have become the most important instruments of social reconstruction. The institutionalization of other interests—intellectual, political, hedonistic—seems socially successful in the

measure in which it approaches the type of economic co-operation, so that the latter is gradually becoming the model upon which the new form of social organization is moulded.

161. [This document and the five following ones show the development of a consciousness of the need of reforming old and of creating new institutions.]

Our people are ignorant and lazy concerning anything that is good. They do not care for a good administration; there are a mayor and a clerk in the commune; let them worry about this. They are paid, consequently they should trouble themselves. . . . A meeting held not long ago could convince us of this. The clerk—take notice that not the mayor but the clerk—appointed Sunday for the quarterly meeting. . . . One of my friends happened to go to that village precisely where the meeting was held. He met a [peasant] noble who was returning home—there are many peasant nobles in our community. He asked him what was decided. The farmer said that he did not know because he had to hurry home and was unable to wait until the end, so he signed his name. “But why did you sign your name?”—“Well, for that decision.”—“Then they discussed what was to be decided?”—“No, only the clerk told us to sign our names. I signed mine and left.”

My friend went on. He met another one. He asked him whether there were many people in the communal office. “There are enough, though not all.”—“What did you gentlemen decide,” he asked again. “I don’t know a thing about it. The young people are arguing; let them decide. I only signed my name and left. . . . Why did I sign my name? I do not care.” Then my friend met two others and had the same conversation with them. Then he approached the district office. Therein were shrieks and quarrels. He asked some one what the matter was. He was informed that the clerk asked them to sign their names and a few had already signed. Then the clerk said that he had spent a great deal of money for repairing the well and the floors, and that they must repay him. A young farmer said sensibly and politely what was necessary in reply to the speech of the clerk. Then a grey-haired peasant noble cried: “Mr.

Clerk, what is he talking about? He has no vote. Arrest him." The clerk seeing such support ordered the man arrested. And the mayor did not say a word.

Such is the ignorance of some people and the arrogance of others! A clerk has not the slightest right to impose decisions, nor to order them to sign their names before hand, nor to conduct the communal meetings, nor to imprison anyone, nor to inflict any other punishment. For such an abuse of power, the clerk of the commune ought to be called to order and even held criminally responsible.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1904, 10.

162. Somebody once asked an old farmer what a commune was, and received the following answer: "The commune is a cow which the mayor holds by the horns and the secretary milks." And thus it really is in some of our communes. For example, in one commune, not far from the mountains of Święty Krzyż, a meeting was held recently. The secretary informed us that there was a balance of 200 roubles in the office and advised us to divide this money between himself, the mayor, the elders and the constables who took the recruits to the district town. The secretary and the mayor would receive 40 rubles each and the ten elders and the constables 10 rubles each. Only a few farmers were opposed to such a division of the money and the majority agreed with the advice of the secretary.

But is it not a pity for these savings of the commune to be drowned in some saloon in the town? This money might have been spent on something useful for all, for example public baths . . . even if only such as the Jews have. Baths are necessary for the conservation of health and health is the treasure of man. The crosses along the roads are ruined and need repairing or new ones should be raised. . . . Roads are also very bad here and need repairing.

Not long ago there were about a thousand roubles in our savings bank. With this our secretary built a "goat" [slang for prison]. And the "goat" ate the whole thousand, though, as everybody will agree, this whole goat with legs and horns is not worth more than 300 roubles. And where did the 700 roubles go? It is not difficult to guess. The most beautiful farms in

our community are precisely those of the commune secretary and of the tavern-owner.

Thus it happens among us, for the commune-members are dark and among their plenipotentiaries some are also dark, others are painted [not alive, passive]. We have also some wiser men in the commune who seem to have real enlightenment, but I must pin a rag [put some blame] upon them, for, alas, at communal meetings they hide in corners and do not mix at all in the discussion. But good decisions also are made at our meetings. For example, last spring we decided that the protocols of the meetings should be written in Polish and so they are up to the present. Now everybody knows well what and how it is written in the protocol and there are no such quarrels as formerly occurred on this account.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 48.

163. [Typical instance of the difficulty of reforming the old institutions.]

Please, my dear fellow-readers of the *Gazeta*, write how and in what manner you got rid of that vexatious farming on small scattered lots, because here we cannot find any way of inducing our neighbors to unify their land. Following the advice of the *Gazeta Świąteczna*, which we have been reading for over 20 years, we encourage the neighbors to unification. But in spite of all attempts we have been unable to accomplish anything. There was a new survey of land—a governmental survey. How the commissioner and the surveyors encouraged them! But that did not help either.

There are five of them who do not agree to the survey. And because of them all must suffer on scattered pieces. Oh, what work, what labor it costs it is impossible to describe! Perhaps someone is interested [to learn] why these five people do not want to unite their lots. Only on account of their ignorance. One of them is the leader of all five, but even he does not know how to write or read. He repeats at communal meetings: "Just on account of me there will be no colonies, for I will never consent to that." Now please tell me what can be done to such a man? Nothing helps with him, no persuasion, no instances of other villages. He only repeats all the time the same: "There

will be no colonies here because I won't permit it." And thus 56 people can do nothing against those few who are stubborn.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1904, 24.

164. We have a few *włóka* [*włóka*=30 morgs=37½ acres] of common pasture which became the property of the whole village at the time of the distribution of land to the peasants. This pasture was already then covered with a young forest. If this had been wisely protected there would be today fine lumber, fit even for building purposes. But what happened? It is true that for a dozen years the forest grew peaceably. Then when the young trees were fit for poles, the people agreed to cut a score of trees for fences. They cut a few times a score of trees each time, but it was all right; no destruction was noticeable in the forest, for they cut in spots where the trees grew too thick.

But slowly this order began to be spoiled. One or another went first at night, later even in day-time, and did some damage. Others watched, caught the mischief makers, and complained to the court. But the court did not condemn them, for they were co-owners. This was unwise and unjust. When people learned that no punishment threatened them [they cut wood not only for their own needs but to sell to Jews at a score of copecks a cartload.]

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1900, 6.

165. When our lands were concentrated [a new division introduced in order to have each farm on a single spot] a dozen years ago, the forest was intentionally not divided, in order to keep it better for the commune's use, when the time comes to use it. All decided then to protect the grove and not to pasture any cattle there. But now bad neighbors do not regard this resolution of the community; they drive cattle into it, one or another cuts or breaks trees for fire, like a thief, because he has spent in drinking at the fair in Jeżów the money with which he could buy firewood and he will not dig turf, of which every one among us has a piece sufficient for his wants.

Others whose fields are situated further away envy the former and at every meeting urge the community to divide the forest because it seems to them that it will be easier for everybody to protect his own particular piece. You think badly, my dear

neighbors! If we divide the forest to preserve it from destruction, we shall be obliged to sit, all of us, day and night, and every one watch his own piece; but now one man can protect the whole. After dividing it we could not prevent anyone from driving cattle into our own part nor from coming with a cart and cutting. Fearing our part would be cut down, within a month after the division we would all go with axes and fell every tree. What profit should we have then? The trees are still too young, the best would hardly make laths under a roof of straw and bad stakes in a hedge; we should be compelled to burn most of them. You will believe more easily that I say the truth, my neighbors, when you remember that some 20 or 30 years ago we made a division of the same forest . . . and were compelled to cut it down then, precisely because of the division.

May the more intelligent farmers take this matter to heart and repeat no more these words: "Let the stupid people do as they wish." Because the wiser ones are in fact obliged to withhold the stupid ones and not let them do stupid things.

Letter to Gazeta Świąteczna; unpublished.

166. Everywhere people unite in order to work with common strength for the common good. Why, even amusements are now organized in common, for man can amuse himself better in a group. And as to doing something [serious], it is much more difficult to do it alone than when the strength of many is united. We all know this probably; and yet in our town everybody lives and works for himself, does not think about others, and does not want to unite with them. Therefore there is nothing good among us; we live poorly, we work miserably, and in case of misfortune, in consequence of the lack of help of our neighbors we lose our heads and do not know what to do. [Examples: lack of any organization against fire; no organization for common enlightenment and in matters of education, only a minority of individuals working separately; lack of common amusements; no public baths.]

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 28.

167. [This document shows the beginning of initiative but with a prevalence still of the attitude typical of all countries in which the state interferes too much with social life—the ex-

pectation that all evil can be removed and all good brought into existence by means of legal decrees.]

The Committee of Ministers in Petersburg received a petition signed by over 200 peasants. . . . In this petition the peasants of Miechow express the following needs and wishes:

1) That the peasants be granted loans for longer periods, to be repaid in installments;

2) That the communal loan and savings banks should be reformed so that farmers may borrow from them to the amount of one-fourth of the value of their farms and repay them not within one year as now but within two and a half years;

3) That the peasants have the right to dispose of the profits of the communal loan and savings banks for the needs of the communes according to the wish of two-thirds of the members of the communal assembly;

4) That it be permitted to establish in villages elementary schools according to the Imperial Decisions of February 19 and August 30, 1864, and that in these schools teaching in the native language be reintroduced. That punishments for teaching at home without special permission be abolished;

5) That the communal meetings and the members of the commune be left free to perform their activities and to use their rights in accordance with the law. That communal decisions be written in Polish in a way that the members can understand and that this language be used in communal courts;

6) That the commune be free to elect the communal secretary, and that the chief of the district be responsible for the abuses of those secretaries whom he appoints;

7) That the provincial and other roads be placed under the management and care of road-councils composed of men elected by communal meetings and of officials appointed by the authorities;

8) That village meetings have the right granted to them of unifying by means of exchange the scattered lots of farmers, if two-thirds at least of the village-group agree to it;

9) That the decision of all disagreements concerning [various economical relations between manor-owners and peasants which resulted from the endowment of the peasants with land in 1864] be settled by courts instead of [special] commissioners;

10) That out of the funds for mutual fire-insurance peasants be granted loans for the construction of houses of non-combustible material;

11) That communal meetings be permitted to establish night-watches and [keep] order;

12) That the decisions of the Minister of State Lands and of Agriculture concerning the sale of lumber from governmental forests to peasants be strictly enforced;

13) That the village groups get back the tavern land left after the abolition of private liquor trade, in order to be able to build schools upon this land.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 21.

168. [The wider community as factor in the realization of needs and in methods of reconstruction].

The fourth competition for small peasant farmers announced by the Agricultural Section was entered by 42 farmers. [In the first competition 18 farmers took part, in the second 19, in the third 23.] The work undertaken in connection with such competitions meets continually growing response among small farmers. With increasing confidence they describe not only their attempts at improvements made in extremely difficult situations but even the heavy cares of their lives, their hopes and intentions for the future. . . . These competitions are very useful for farmers. Every one who enters the competition must describe his farm exactly and in detail, and tell what he aims to do in his work and what results he has reached. Merely answering these different questions compels people who are absorbed in their work and see little beyond the narrow frame of their daily activities to acquire a better insight into their farming, to reflect about what has already been done and what could be further done and what is worth while doing. The arrival of delegates whose duty is to verify the description on the spot is also very useful. Such a verification is apt to suggest many good ideas, to encourage in one thing and dissuade from another. . . .

From the descriptions there is evident great endurance and consistency in the attempts of people who, though sometimes scarcely able to read and write, grasp a newspaper or a book in order to inform themselves about the world and to improve

their own existence and that of their environment. And having once decided to do something they go on perseveringly, they work years but they reach their aim. Such people shine among others and give to all classes of the nation a good example of work and perseverance. . . . Only attachment to the land and devotion to agricultural work can explain these great efforts on the part of people who are often not encouraged nor personally guided by anybody, but who can read, discover mature articles and understand them to the bottom, and these interest them, stimulate and convince them of the usefulness of good printed advice.

While reading this year's descriptions of farms a few remarks about peasant farming occurred to me. The chief hardship in peasant farming and hindrance in its improvement is that the farm is scattered around on non-adjacent lots. Almost all the participants in the competition complain about such a division of their farms. . . . This scattering and mixing among the lots of the neighbors is felt most by the more active people, by those who advance, who do not lose any opportunity to buy land; they buy a few morgs here, a few somewhere else, here an orchard, there a meadow, and in some other place a few morgs of forest land. With every addition their property increases, but the number of lots which constitute this property increases still more and also the difficulty of managing it and the waste of energy. The chief cause, however, of divided land is the partition [of farms] among families. All those who complain about scattered lots are willing to exchange them for land united in one field, but their efforts usually are fruitless.

"A loan for a long term is very necessary," writes Dąbek, "and at low interest, of course. In our community it is very difficult to borrow money from Catholics. Often a farmer has a debt to the communal bank; the time comes to pay it back and he has no money. There is no other way but trying to borrow from a Jew. Today the Jew can take no more interest than 12 per cent a year. But by no means will he lend money at such interest. What does he do then? When a farmer comes to a Jew and asks him for a loan the Jew pretends that he has no money but he can mediate. 'Well, what will you give me if I find money for you?' The man who needs a loan must agree to any

conditions. For example, he borrows 100 roubles for one month, pays one rouble interest and 5 roubles to another Jew for the mediation."

Our peasant who wants to pay off his brothers and sisters or to buy a piece of land, or finally, to introduce some improvements in his farming must sometimes pay 72 roubles a year interest for a hundred roubles loan. The communal banks do not satisfy the needs of small farmers. . . . These most pressing needs of small farmers could be satisfied only by loan and savings banks (or rather associations) scattered in great numbers all over the country, into which all the money which now lies useless in villages could be put at interest to be used for loaning purposes—associations to which even big city banks would not refuse large loans at small interest and which could lend money to be paid back in installments during a long period (at least 10 years) . . .

The third distinct defect which is manifest from all the competing descriptions is the insufficient education of the farmers in agriculture. The majority when they take their farms have acquired only the habit and practice of doing some things but no real agricultural knowledge whatsoever. Only misery looking into their eyes forces them to search for salvation, that is, for means of increasing their income. The greatest help and advice in matters of his agricultural progression, encouragement and necessary information for improvements, have been found by our small farmer in the newspapers published chiefly for him. And thus out of the 42 competitors, 37 write about those newspapers with great gratitude. . . .

The owners of larger estates have contributed relatively little to the elevation of peasant farming. Their influence upon their neighbors in huts—in so far as one can see from the descriptions of farming—seems small, perhaps because, although daily and continuous, it is superficial, whereas the action of suitable newspapers in which the peasant has complete confidence is deeper, more thorough, and steadily pushes small farmers to agricultural improvements. Besides, those who took part in this year's competition began to improve their farming sometimes 10 or 20 years ago and have become advanced farmers. But now in view of the growing intensity of agricultural work on large estates the influence of the latter will gradually grow. . . .

Besides agricultural education, the lack of which is noticeable among small farmers, the lack of general education is also felt by the more enterprising individuals. . . .

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1904, 10.

169. Not only in one respect but in everything a change seems to have occurred in the community called Długoborze. . . . Formerly, when people there were unenlightened, they had at communal meetings discussions like those of an old man and an old woman who could not come to an understanding because he was talking about an awl and she about a needle. Consequently they usually ended in idle talk and shouting, and they did not know how to decide anything useful.

Today there is more light in their heads. People have shaken off their selfishness, they understand that by common peaceful efforts a great deal can be done. At meetings they discuss sensibly and easily come to an unanimous agreement. They elect honest and enlightened people to manage the commune. . . . The members of the commune of Długoborze, so it is said, boast that in their communal office everything is done without any charge. Well, they have something to boast of and it is an honor for the community if it has a proper administration. A proverb says: "As the owner is, so is the property"; and reciprocally: As the commune is, so is the mayor.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1904, 39.

170. [At a meeting of a certain commune in the province of Kielce it was decided to enforce certain regulations against smoking, so as to prevent fires. In addition to these restrictive measures the following system of mutual insurance was organized.]

The village-elders are obliged to choose in their villages decurions [one man for every 10]. After the harvest every farmer will inform them how much grain and hay he has gathered. In case any farmer's barn burns the same amount of grain, straw, and hay which he had before the fire will be collected from the other members of the commune. To estimate the loss a council will be formed under the leadership of the mayor consisting of the village-elder, two neighbors of the one ruined by fire and two neighboring decurions. After the loss has been estimated they

will calculate on the basis of the hearth-tax how many sheaves and how much hay must be contributed by each village, and the elders, with the help of the decurions, will immediately collect it and hand it over to the injured man.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1904, 39.

171. From the Reverend priest curate of the parish Witów near Piotrków we received the following words: "Thanks to God, we are beginning to care for the improvement of the roads, which is so very necessary for us. Last winter I tried to induce people to make at least a small stretch of beaten road in the direction of Piotrków. Mr. M. willingly offered 400 roubles for this but the farmers would not agree to bring each 3 cartloads of stones to be bought a mile away. Spring came and my endeavors remained without effect.

But I did not become disheartened nor angry at my parishioners. Only I tried to get stones wherever I could and paved several hundred *szęń* [1 *szęń*=2 yards] of the road, beginning from the church. . . . The active youth are beginning to help me. But what is more comforting is the improvement of the roads in every village. For example, in Witów the farmer . . . F. Galas, organized his farm in a model way and repaired the road beautifully. The village-elder Józef Pliwy was the first in the spring to build a strong bridge of cut stone and to fill old holes. Kowalski cleaned and deepened the gutters. Wojciech Magiera repaired the road particularly well. He rounded, straightened, heightened it in the middle, and worked at it strenuously with his whole family.

Perhaps some one may think that I am boring [the readers] uselessly by quoting these names for an insignificant reason. But I beg your pardon, the reason is not insignificant. In our towns mud and holes in the streets are not lacking and in some villages it is difficult simply to cross the road. Therefore one who changes such an obstacle into a nice road is worthy to have his name written even in golden letters. At the example of those mentioned above Michal Wojnecki built a bridge. And thus the example of some incites the others.

The most difficult situation was that of Rogalski. His field lies for over 48 furlongs along both sides of a low road. The rains and wheels hollowed it still deeper until they had lowered

it finally some 3 or 4 feet below the level of the fields, and carriages were unable to pass one another in this strait. In winter the entire pass was filled with snow and the passers-by swore not only at this farmer but at the whole village. Only now the village-group has agreed to take courage and force their neighbor to repair this part of the road. The most eager one, Zieliński, came to me for encouragement. I went to the spot and persuaded the Rogalskis not to hinder us. The village-group plowed down the high sides and threw the earth into the middle of the road. To be sure, the Rogalskis regretted their lawn but they bore it calmly and even invited me to their house to have some fresh milk. Finally the grown-up son of the farmer, Dominik, himself helped to plow and cleaned the gutters on both sides nicely, so as not to have water run through the middle."

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 24.

172. Once in the late fall it happened that I had to pass through the village of Domaniewice. . . . I was astonished to see small groups of people engaged as if in searching for or gathering something in the fields and particularly in the sands. Unable to guess what it was I asked a passer-by. . . . And that man said that the peasants of Domaniewice, of their own free will were planting a forest on their own land, all together and in good understanding because the entire village longed to have a forest and to leave it for those who will live after they are gone. . . . I have never seen our people voluntarily work so hard in crowds for the public good. . . .

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 11.

173. I have succeeded in persuading the community to which I belong to unify all the farms. . . . People who are opposed to the unification of farms are usually stubborn only because unenlightened. But how often such people, even if unenlightened, are especially attached heart and soul to their paternal soil. They do not believe in any new ways of farming but think that since this paternal soil has nourished their ancestors it will nourish them also. Thus they do not want to listen to any change, to any unification of land. . . . And a dark man is always stubborn. But let us remember that we were also dark and good people have enlightened us. Why do not we try to be good in

order to enlighten our neighbors and to lead them to the source whose value they do not know? . . .

[It seems impossible that in a village where one man has been reading the *Gazeta* 20 years there should be found 5 people so dark as to oppose unification (See document 163).] I have subscribed to the *Gazeta Świąteczna* for only 8 years and read it together with my neighbors, yet I have enjoyed [the possession of] a unified piece of land for two years already. And I overcame my stubborn neighbors not by violence but by goodwill. What hard-working, pious people have those stubborn ones become! How they thirst now for real enlightenment!

I shall write here more in detail about one of them. He was the most stubborn of all. And how he was farming! Enough to say that a dozen years ago he became so negligent that he never left his hut to go anywhere. Small children farmed for him. He would never come to village meetings; you would have had to bring him in a sack. He preferred to pay a fine than to show himself to people. Almost everybody had already agreed to unify the farms. But when we went to his hut to persuade him, he ran away from us and hid himself in the barn. This was a riddle for us. What to do with such a man! And the commissioner did not even wish to hear about the survey of the village until all agreed.

Then we found a means. We elected [this man] village-elder. How everybody laughed at us! How the mayor and the constables scorned us! If some one came for a cart [for official business], he had to wait a day and a night before he got it. When we met [at his house] for a village meeting without having been called by the elder, he ran away from us. But when he had been put into prison several times for not fulfilling the duties which the law imposes upon village-elders, he began to listen not only to the district chief, not only to the mayor but even to every neighbor in his village. He had become a different man after a year. He no longer ran away from us but himself began to call us to meetings.

Then I started to read the *Gazeta Świąteczna* to the people assembled in his house. He began to listen carefully himself [and to think and inquire about various problems] . . . And during the 3 years of his eldership he got so changed that he

even wished to become a mayor, but unhappily the commune elected some one else. But he was no longer the same as before. He came to village and commune meetings, looked into the *Gazeta* himself, and after 3 years from a stubborn man had become the most ardent partisan of a survey of the village and a unification of the farms.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1904, 32.

174. On Christmas and the day after we had a very pretty and useful entertainment in the theater of our town [Częstochowa]. By the efforts of the priests of the parish of St. Zygmunt and thanks especially to the activity of the priest chaplain Adam Helbich, the singers' association in the church of St. Zygmunt performed twice a piece entitled *The History of the Birth of God: A Miracle-Play*, in 5 acts and 10 divisions.

The organist of that parish, Stanisław Borowiecki, an educated man, a connoisseur of music and song, composed and wrote it. . . . The conversation of the actors, the songs of the shepherds and the angels in suitable costumes were very much liked by the audience which filled the entire theater. Konstanty Sulczyński, foreman in a factory, represented very well Simeon the church-prophet, and the young shepherds said very nicely all that belonged to them and sang prettily the *Kolędy* and other songs. The income from the sale of tickets for that play was about 200 roubles net.

On this occasion I appeal to mayors, elders, communal court-assistants and people of good-will in general, encouraging them to introduce, with the help of teachers and organists, similar plays in their villages. They could become the initiators of small theaters in the villages which would give worthy and educational entertainments. This is very desirable at present especially because after the abolition of the taverns people have no place to spend their free moments on Sundays and holidays. The plots for such plays could be taken from the Old and the New Testaments, or from the *Lives of the Saints*. No great trouble is necessary. The stage can be divided off from the spectators by a curtain made even from bed-sheets, and simple country music consisting of violins, basses, and accordions or flutes, can accompany songs that are not very well learned. O my brothers in work-shops and in fields, let us change our life for a better one!

Let us get rid of anger, revenge, jealousy and bloody fights, for otherwise extermination here and hereafter awaits us! Let us all wish for ourselves for the New Year: To improve, to educate our consciences, our hearts and our souls.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1899, 3.

175. The *Gazeta Świąteczna* was the first during the last 30 or 40 years, and earlier than any one among us, at least in Warsaw, to advise villagers and people in general in the country as well as in small towns to organize associations. And it not only advised; it showed the way to do it, how to form a company or an association legally. We know a number of corporations and associations which were started thanks to the encouragement and the explanations of our *Gazeta* and to the efforts of its ardent readers. And this was at the time when it was more difficult to obtain permission to organize an association than it is today and when associations were seldom heard of because people did not read quite as much; and what is more important, there were no ready models and no exemplary statutes issued by the government. The corporations and associations got along in various ways, depending on the ardor and skill of their organizers. Some of them have not given a sign of life for a long time; perhaps they have ceased to exist. But others are getting along brilliantly and from modest and small beginnings have grown enormously.

The relation between their origin and the *Gazeta* was, however, known only to a small number of people and today there are even fewer who know about it. Some people have died and the new ones, the younger generation, seldom know exactly what happened before. We have not proclaimed loudly this tie between the commencement of the associations and our *Gazeta*, and we have not tried to spread the report abroad. We rejoiced when people united themselves in work and when they attempted to do something in groups solidarily. . . . We did not desire, nor could we desire any praise or publicity on this ground. To encourage people and to give good advice to those people, our readers, was our simple duty. If some one deserved to be praised, it was only those who carried our advice into action for the general good of their communities.

Let these remarks answer the questions which have reached

us and which may later on arise. We are always greatly comforted when we see that something which was lying near our hearts and to which we encouraged people in one way or another is beginning to be realized either as a result of our advice or independently of it and only distantly connected with it but upon ground which was prepared by us. We wrote with pleasure a few years ago about the appearance and the preliminary activities of the peasant association called "*Jutrzenka*." It was not in fact the first peasant association. There existed and there exist now associations which were established earlier and were more exclusively peasant associations because peasants alone without any active help organized and manage them. They were founded in the legal way which we had recommended for a long time, namely, by an agreement acknowledged before a notary. But they exist within more moderate proportions and limits, within one village or small town, and have not obtained any wide publicity.

The "*Jutrzenka*" of Miechów has members among the peasants of several villages; and people of a different class, more powerful and more influential, have called it to life and taken care of it. Moreover, this association became widely known chiefly because of a prize that it won at an exhibition, which the *Gazeta Świąteczna* reported and then many other periodicals repeated the news. After learning about this "*Jutrzenka*," new associations were continually organized in various communities by the endeavors and under the care of well-intentioned people, following its example and on its model. The aim of every one of these associations is to improve the situation of the farmers, mostly peasants, in three ways: 1) by common purchase of artificial manure, good seeds, tools and other things necessary for agriculture; 2) by obtaining and holding in partnership for the use of the whole community such things as expensive machines which a single small farmer cannot afford, bulls, stallions of good breeds, etc.; 3) by facilitating the sale of agricultural products.

These associations increased in number especially after the exhibition in Miechów. In the month of November alone, so we have been informed, 6 new associations were organized in the Kingdom of Poland.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1903, 48.

176. The useful advice which the *Gazeta Świąteczna* gives to its readers is not wasted. We learned from the *Gazeta* what loan and savings associations are and why people are organizing them. Then we read more than once how such an association arose in some place or other, until finally we decided at the example of others to establish an association for loans and savings in the village Fałęcice. More than 30 persons signed the constitution and the petition to the Minister of the Treasury. . . . Every member contributes as his share 50 roubles, 10 to be deposited immediately upon confirmation of the constitution and the balance within 4 years, 5 roubles every half-year.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1900, 18.

177. Upon the initiative of Count F. J. and of the communal judge, Mr. A. D., we established 2 years ago an agricultural and commercial association. . . . In the beginning when we were organizing this association some farmers looked at us with mistrust and there were also some who laughed at us, saying that we wanted to play lords. Now they look at us with envy and willingly join our association, for they see that we have some fine species of grain, cheap and good agricultural implements, and in our stables young cattle of good breed from a bull which we imported from abroad. They see that now we do not overpay as formerly for poor and often also dirty and disgusting ware in miserable little shops. Everything which we need in farming and housekeeping we have in our association.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 31.

178. Forty farmers, peasants from the village Deszno and its neighborhood . . . organized an agricultural association with shares. . . . The aims of the association are mutual help of the farmers who belong to it, improvement of the cultivation of the soil and of farming in general, facilitation of the purchase of necessary things and a more profitable sale of agricultural products.

At its very beginning the association bought with the money deposited by the farmers 10 improved plows, a dozen pure-bred calves and 4 carloads of coal. All this being bought in larger quantities for all or for many at once evidently costs much less than if every farmer buys for himself separately. With the

help of the association a modern agricultural system was introduced on 6 peasant farms. The association has also succeeded so well in facilitating the sale of calves that the farmers receive twice as much for them as was formerly paid in Deszno. Now the members are beginning to import better grain for sowing.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1903, 34.

179. Some country weavers, peasants of the village of Srebrna . . . organized a corporation for the manufacture in great quantities of cloth from flax. A great deal of that cloth is bought for the army. If the peasants had not organized a corporation the military managers would not have been able to make arrangements with every peasant individually, nor to buy the cloth in small quantities from each peasant but would have ordered it elsewhere. If any goods are in great demand and the workers want to produce as much of them as possible and to have good profits, they should always associate in a similar manner and elect associates to take care of the sales and deliveries.

Gazeta Świąteczna. Printed, but reference not preserved.

180. There are in Warsaw about 4,000 cabs. . . . Now the cab-drivers are organizing an association for mutual help which will give loans to its members and assistance in case of sickness and for funerals. The membership costs 3 roubles and the monthly subscription 25 copecks. The constitution of the association has already been confirmed by the government.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 11.

181. In the competition article I described the activities of our [women's] Circle in general. At present I want to figure out in detail what it really has yielded to me. I shall begin with expenses. I have belonged to the Circle for 5 years. During the period of these 5 years the payments amounted to 2 roubles, 70 copecks. I bought 13 pounds of wool and 2 pounds of yarn; I paid 20 copecks for the wool and for the yarn, 40 copecks less than here. "Twenty copecks saved on each pound is not great gain," some of the members will say. And yet, it amounted to 3 roubles, 40 copecks to me. Four packages of seeds at 20 copecks cheaper than for non-members amounts to 80 copecks. Now, I have received the *Ziemiańska* [The Country Woman] for 2 years at 50 copecks (it costs a rouble). Altogether this is 5

roubles, 20 copecks. Behold, all expenses returned to me and a little more left over.

But I did not enter the Circle for the sake of financial profits but to gain a little knowledge and experience in husbandry. And I have also partly attained this goal, for during these years I have read 140 books, and it is this that I consider the main gain from belonging to the Circle. My God, when I recollect the past, how I often passed and saw books set out for sale and did not have the means to buy them! . . . I at the time called them "the forbidden fruit," and waited patiently for the establishment of the Circle. And now I am so glad, for Madam President has arranged a library for us and is constantly furnishing new books to us.

Further, listening to lectures and talks is very profitable, for they teach young women how to act in all circumstances. Women often suffer from various ailments because they did not know how to act at certain periods. Most often women suffer because after illness [confinement] they begin to work too soon and later there is a real siege with the doctor.

As for bringing up children, I have convinced myself that mothers torture babies with swathing-bands needlessly in fear of prolapsus. As for me, I am absolutely tranquil since I received the right answer in the *Ziemianka*. . . . But I am young yet, so I would beg the older and more experienced mothers to write us about physical and moral child-rearing; for of this information there will never be too much for us.

Further, our Circle is helpful to me in my husbandry. As yet we have very little information about raising calves, although this task is largely in the hands of women. . . . So when I noticed in the *Ogniwo* [The Link] a short chapter on raising calves, I read it with attention and found some advice. . . . I conformed to the advice and my calves grew up well. As for raising chickens, encouraged by the talk at the meeting about keeping accounts, I convinced myself that those chickens which I had been raising so far did not profit me, so I resolved to change the breed. . . .

But not all housewives understand as yet the utility of the Circle, for they often say: "What do those women in the Circle talk about every two weeks? Oh, I would rather stay in church

and say a bit of prayer during that time." And in the meanwhile they will not stay in church but stand in flocks outside of it and slander the passers-by. So, in my opinion, it is far better to give this time to conversation about one's duties than, while waiting for the Vespers to begin, slander people, which is sinful and indecent. . . . [One should not only attend the meetings but practice the advice given and buy or sell necessary things through the aid of the Circle.]

I cannot pass over in silence that adherent of ours, the *Ziemianka*. From it we can learn about venerable men like the Rev. Skarga, Krasiński, Konopnicka, etc. . . . From it we may learn how to improve in cooking and how to prepare provisions for the winter. In it, lastly, we can express our ideas and share our experiences. What is most important, it is cheap; hence, accessible to every woman. I often cannot wait two weeks to get it and think, "How well it would be if the *Ziemianka* came every week." But when I consider that maybe other women, on account of a higher subscription, would not be able to have it sent to them, then I soon agree to seeing it once in two weeks. But when it comes I am as glad as if I met a good acquaintance. Such advantages I have from the Circle and the *Ziemianka*. I hope I shall have more of them if God allows us to work together longer.

Letter to *Ziemianka*; unpublished.

182. About the middle of the eighties the development of the peasant associations [in German Poland] was slowing up in spite of many attempts to found new ones. In particular, the associations were hampered by being considered merely a subordinate annex of the organization of large estate-owners. The Prussian policy of colonization has brought a very rapid change in this respect. The appreciation of agricultural associations was very rapidly modified, for the organization of large estate-owners was discredited, since it was not able to prevent numerous prominent manor-owners from selling their land to the commission for colonization [of Germans in Polish districts.] Whereas during the same years the peasant associations became popular because Jackowski gave them the slogan: "The peasant associations have to see to it that in their districts not a single acre of land passes into German hands."¹

¹ Cf. biography of Maximilian Jackowski, document 99.

This moral rise of the peasant associations, coinciding with the "degradation" of the large estate-owners, made the peasant organization self-reliant and self-conscious, internally independent of the association of "lords." At that time arose the slogan that the peasant associations must be the "bearers of the national propaganda," *i.e.*, wherever the Polish cohesion leaves something to be desired, either because the Prussian commission has come in or because season-work drives an important part of the population here and there, the peasant associations always make an effort to start at least a foundation for organizing work and only when the foundation is thus laid the credit corporation appears in order to complete the construction. . . .

The entire surface of the province of Posen (the organization was gradually initiated in West Prussia) is divided into 26 peasant districts over each of which stands a "vice-patron." The 26 vice-patrons compete with another in order to be able to report yearly the greatest possible successes from their districts, and as the differences in development are great, in these very differences their lies an incitement to show the districts which are yet loosely organized how tightly the net can be knit.

The center of control is in the city of Posen; it is the seat of the Patronage managed by a permanent secretary who edits the weekly *Poradnik Gospodarski* [Agricultural Adviser], the official organ of the peasant associations, and runs all the affairs of administration, financial matters and business correspondence. His superior is the "Patron of the Peasant Associations," an estate-owner who, following the example of his more prominent predecessor, Maximilian Jackowski, often travels over the province and participates in district meetings and conferences in order thus to assure a personal connection among the peasant associations. . . .

This mechanism functions in such a way that 1) each peasant association holds every month a meeting at which three agricultural subjects are discussed and decisions are taken concerning common activities (common purchases, organization of exhibitions, etc. . . .); 2) once a year occurs a district meeting which belongs to the "events" of the agricultural population. Such district meetings, about which the newspapers always publish information, constitute the proper test of the organizations. For

a clever vice-patron secures 300 to 350 members for these meetings, induces the prominent men of the district to appear, arranges discussions of problems which have a particular interest for the population and gives the patron, who almost always visits the meeting, a vivid picture of the economic situation. An unsuccessful district meeting is a sign of weakness and is mentioned with unmitigated censure by public opinion, by the press and in the yearly statements.

Finally, the third type of meeting is the "General Meeting of the Polish Peasant Associations," which takes place every spring and to which each association sends its president and one delegate. Here appear also representatives of other Polish organizations, in particular of associations of workmen, associations of large estate owners and corporations. . . . The general meetings of the peasant associations in the past years have had an attendance of from 800 to 1,000 persons, and bore . . . the character of reviews of peasants. Their significance does not lie in the lectures to which the assembly only half listens, nor even in the decisions of the majority, but in the fact that a mass of peasants come together on one day and feel solidarily. . . .

L. Bernhard, *Die Polenfrage*, pp. 164 ff.

The examples quoted above are, of course, far from exhausting the wide variety and complexity of social forms produced by the reconstructive movement or of attitudes underlying these forms; but they are fairly illustrative of the most important features of the new social organization of the peasants.

If we compare the latter with the primary-group system which it tends partly to supersede, we notice as its first and perhaps most distinctive characteristic the conscious purposefulness of the formation and functioning of the newly created or reformed institutions. The old primary-group was a planlessly agglomerated product of many past generations and each of its members faced it as a reality which simply was there for

no purpose whatever except its own existence. Its mores and beliefs had grown slowly by innumerable additions and modifications without any regard for consistency, without any idea of subordinating them to some common and general aim. If nevertheless to an outside observer the primary-group does not appear as an irrational chaos but as a fairly well-ordered social organization, it is because of the relative stability of the conditions in which it has grown and of the fundamental attitudes that at any moment determine the situations in which community and family life manifest themselves. By a kind of social selection only those forms of behavior became stabilized which under the given conditions were apt to give a fair satisfaction to the leading desires for response, recognition, security and new experience of the members of the group; but no social institution was consciously created for the definite purpose of satisfying a *need, i. e.*, a tendency which can only be satisfied by certain specific values.

On the contrary, all the new or reformed social institutions are consciously created and maintained for definite purposes, are meant to satisfy certain needs by producing the specific values required. They are organized teleologically. And the method of their formation is always the same. Certain kinds of new popular attitudes, originally more or less vague and expressing themselves rather in dissatisfaction with the present than in positive demands for the future, become defined and formulated by the leaders as the need of certain values, and the plan of a new institution—or of a reform of an old institution—is presented as the only accessible way of satisfying a given need. The difficulties begin when, in order to materialize the plans of the leaders, it is necessary to convince the peasants, first

that they really have the needs which the leaders have formulated; secondly, that the institution planned is the best means of satisfying them; thirdly, that the conclusion which the leaders draw from these premises is right and the establishment of the new institution is really desirable. Nothing shows better the primary irrationality of human behavior, the impossibility of interpreting the primary background of life in terms of a logical selection of means for definite ends, than the fact that always and everywhere it is a strenuous task to make society adopt rational methods in any particular line of activity, and that this adoption is never the result of mere intellectual persuasion.

In our case the source of the difficulties seems to lie in the attitudes of the peasant toward the future. As long as the traditional routine of life remains unchanged, the peasant expects the future to be like the past and any change surprises him greatly. But once this routine is upset, the range of his unreflective desires and fears is much wider than that of a man better accustomed to calculating the future possibilities of a new event, and any attempt to express the situation in rational terms and to control it by a definite choice of ends and means appears to him inadequate because it cannot cover all his expectations. Thus, any formulation of those of his needs which actually can be satisfied is apt to fall short of his intellectually vague but emotionally powerful desire for a general improvement of his condition. The idea that a new or a reformed old institution in which he is called to participate will help him best in satisfying these needs is not apt at first to provoke any enthusiasm because he seldom realizes how the future institution will work and thus does not believe in its efficiency, and because he is not used to pro-

ducing important changes by a slow process of systematic social action but vaguely expects them to come as a *coup de théâtre* managed from the outside, just as in the past the abolition of serfdom seemed to him to have come. And finally, even if he is convinced that the needs suggested to him are real and important needs and that the proposed institution can satisfy them, it does not necessarily follow for him that this institution should be established because, unable to calculate the probable nature and limits of the future effects of a new cause, he is often afraid of the vague possibilities of unforeseen changes which the establishment of the new institution is, in his opinion, apt to produce. We realize therefore how indispensable for the creation and reform of rational institutions are those factors which we have investigated in the preceding three chapters—the prestige of leaders, which makes the peasant accept suggestions even without fully understanding their bearing, popular education which makes him more accessible to intellectual persuasion, and the wider community, working by the pressure of indirect social opinion and by the influence of example.

Although all the new institutions are thus formed with the definite purpose of satisfying certain specific needs, their social function is by no means limited to their explicit and conscious purpose. As we have said already, every one of these institutions—commune or agricultural circle, loan and savings bank, or theater—is not merely a mechanism for the management of certain values but also an association of people, each member of which is supposed to participate in the common activities as a living, concrete individual. Whatever is the predominant, official common interest upon which the institution is founded, the association as a concrete

group of human personalities unofficially involves many other interests; the social contacts between its members are not limited to their common pursuit, though the latter, of course, constitutes both the main reason for which the association is formed and the most permanent bond which holds it together. Owing to this combination of an abstract political, economic or other rational mechanism for the satisfaction of specific needs with the concrete unity of a social group, the new institution is also the best intermediary link between the peasant primary-group and the secondary national system. As concrete associations, the commune, the loan and savings bank, the agricultural circle take root in the peasant community, are recruited from community members, and are themselves in some measure still primary-groups. As institutions for the production of specific social values, they are in business contact with other similar institutions and can become the components of nation-wide organizations.

Another important feature of the new institutions is that the participation in them is voluntary and depends, at least in principle, upon the free choice of the individual. Of course there is a pressure exercised upon the peasants in order to make them join the new institutions—the pressure of social opinion whose power grows with the increasing influence of the wider community. But this pressure, just as the positive inducements which the institutions offer, is meant only to furnish motives for individual will; the individual does not become a member of the organization unless he actually yields to these motives and explicitly chooses to participate. On the other hand, there are some qualifications required from the individual who wishes to join an organization, but again in most cases the individual can

voluntarily acquire these qualifications. On the contrary, participation in a primary-group is dependent upon other factors than the individual's choice; he is included in a given group—and excluded from other groups—either because he is born into a certain family or because he lives in a certain territory. In this respect the primary-group is akin to the state in its traditional and still predominant form. We shall return to this in our next chapter. Meanwhile, however, we must attract attention to one interesting fact. The peasant commune is both a primary-group and a political institution—a miniature state with a limited autonomy. Formally, belonging to a certain commune is not a matter of individual choice; everybody within a fixed territory is in administrative and judicial matters subjected to the communal authorities, and the right and duty to participate actively in communal decisions belong automatically to all those who have a permanent residence and a certain minimum of land in this territory. The form of the commune remained unchanged during the period of social reconstruction; and yet the institution as we found it just before the war was in many cases completely different from what it had been 30 or 40 years before—from a taxation and police bureau it had changed into an instrument for the welfare and progress of the community. This radical change of content was brought about exclusively by the introduction of the principle of voluntary cooperation into the institution, by the fact that the members of the communal group agreed of their own accord to do things which they had not done before and made the institution serve purposes which it had not served in the past. Thus though the commune remained a political, coercive institution in matters concerning the maintenance

of the existing order (judicial and administrative), it became also a social, cooperative institution in matters concerning social reconstruction (education, economic progress, development of moral solidarity, national ideals).

This voluntary character of individual participation in the new institutions makes the entire social system realized by these institutions appear as essentially individualistic, particularly if compared with the primary-group organization. And yet the result of the new movement is an increase not a decrease of social cohesion; the new system represents an advance of socialization not only as against the status of disorganization which we have studied in the first part of this volume but even as against the old system at the time of its full vitality. Though the old passive dependence of the individual on the group tends to disappear, active solidarity is becoming deeper, wider and more continuous, for more aims are pursued in common, more individuals, often scattered all over the country, participate in this pursuit, and the latter has a permanence and a continuity which the common actions of primary groups never possessed. There is no doubt that the development of the new individualistic institutions is accompanied by a growth of public spirit and intelligent solidarity which neither the communistic character of the old primary-group institutions nor the coercion exercised by political institutions is able to produce. The explanation of this phenomenon is easy. Every cooperative institution emphatically pursues a social aim. Of course the main slogan of the cooperative movement is the harmony of social and individual interests, and the appeal to individual needs is one of the leading motives in the propaganda in favor of the new institutions.

But naturally when the individual is once a member of a cooperative organization the common social aim—the development, expansion, perfect functioning of the institution—completely absorbs his personal aim. There are hardly any problems connected with those egotistic interests which the institution helps to satisfy; his share of the common advantages is assured, and as a member he seldom, if ever, can expect to increase his advantages at the expense of the institution. On the contrary, there are many problems concerning the institution, its security and its growth, and the atmosphere which he finds in the cooperative group is imbued with common aspirations. He becomes thus interested in social welfare and progress simply by actively pursuing together with others ends which, as he is continually made to understand, contribute to social welfare and progress. The psychological principle of the new organization is simply the assumption that a social system which the individual voluntarily helps to realize must acquire gradually in his eyes a much greater importance and desirability than a system which is imposed upon him and to whose maintenance his positive contribution does not seem necessary. The cooperative method forms in this respect an interesting contrast to the coercive method; by starting with individualism it develops a positive interest in fostering social welfare and progress, whereas the legal system which starts with absolute social control and which the individual is forced to accept produces only, at the best, a negative interest in not hindering social welfare and progress.

These characters of the new organization which we have discussed above lead us to the conclusion that, however limited and imperfect may have been up to the present the applications of the cooperative ideal, this

ideal is eminently capable of becoming the leading principle of a social order whose possibilities of expansion and improvement are practically unlimited. If we apply the criteria outlined at the beginning of the present chapter, we see that cooperation by the very fact that it is based on free individual association for common aims allows for institutional expression of every individual attitude as far as the latter involves a need for certain positive values that can be obtained by planful common activity. On the other hand, the rational character of cooperative institutions makes a mutual adjustment of their aims possible, so that, instead of interfering, their activities supplement one another.

CHAPTER VI

THE RÔLE OF THE PEASANT IN NATIONAL LIFE

The Poles may claim to be the first modern people to develop into a "nation," *i. e.*, a concrete ethnical group whose political unity was but an expression of a deeper, conscious, social solidarity. The Polish Commonwealth, the *Res Publica*, as Poland was termed from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, in spite of having the form of a Kingdom, signified essentially the concrete totality of the nation, not merely the abstract system of the state. This early origin of national consciousness was due in part to the fact that Poland, which from a monarchy had become in the twelfth century a group of principalities, was reunited, not owing to rulers acting by force but by a gradual voluntary amalgamation of separate political units—a proceeding somewhat similar to that by which four centuries later the German nation was created. But perhaps even more important for the formation of national consciousness was the social structure of the class to which this amalgamation was due—the Polish nobility. The latter at that period embraced all citizens with full rights; their differentiation from the rest of the nation came simply as a result of their participation in political life, from which the poorer elements of the country population were excluded for economic reasons, while the town population (where during the later Middle Ages immigrants from Western Europe predominated) was prevented by its foreign character from assuming the political rôle which it

should have played. Under these conditions the nobility was something more than a class—it was identical with the whole politically active part of the nation which gradually, by taking all responsibility for national interests and treating other classes as “political minors,” almost identified itself with the nation as a whole.

Owing to these exceptional conditions the political evolution of Poland assumed an entirely different character from that of other European countries. While in the West feudalism and in the East despotism destroyed the early clan system, in Poland this system survived the short period of monarchy and in a new form reasserted itself and became the foundation of a unique political structure. The nobility-nation might be schematically defined as an organized social and political synthesis of noble families. The individual was member of the nation because he was member of a certain family; he was a citizen by heredity, not personally a citizen. That is, he was not a citizen merely from the moment of his birth into a certain abstractly defined political status but he was virtually a citizen long before being born because his family was forever a family of citizens. It might be said that the family bore the essence of citizenship and the individual participated in this essence because he participated in the family.

The Polish noble family was itself essentially different in organization from the concrete peasant family as we have defined it in Volume I, by being typically agnatic. On the other hand, it differed also from the ancient and eastern patriarchal systems and from the mediæval western system of primogeniture in the lack of any natural leadership. Originally and up to the fifteenth century the family, or more exactly the clan (Polish *ród*), was determined by armorial bearings; later

the growing clan subdivided itself into narrower groups distinguished by family names (usually adjectives formed from the names of estates). Though the consciousness of the common origin in the clan lasted sometimes as late as the eighteenth century and the identity of arms remained in a few cases a real bond, in the sixteenth century the principle of the noble family was already more fully represented by these divisions of the original clans than by the clans themselves. The typical noble family at the time of the full development of the nobility-nation system comprised thus the totality of the individuals bearing the same family name and having the same arms. As a social group it was independent of time and space. However scattered over the territory of the Commonwealth, its members were supposed to be united by stronger bonds than those which connected each of them separately with the territorial community in which he lived. Nor did time weaken these bonds; all the past and future generations theoretically belonged to the family in an equal degree, all individuals living simultaneously and bearing the same name and arms, brothers or tenth cousins, were equally related to one another. Only the practical impossibility of maintaining the full actual unity of the group beyond certain limits and the individualizing influence of Roman law affected the applications of this principle.

These agnatic family groups were interconnected by innumerable ties resulting from marriage. The connection by marriage had a different name and a character different from the agnatic blood-relationship. Of course under the influence of Christianity the bond between husband and wife and between mother and children assumed a unique character, which was not in accordance with the whole system. But if we leave this

unique bond out of consideration the difference between agnatic kinship and connection through marriage is perfectly clear. Kinship between all the descendants of the same male ancestor was a primary bond which united individual members into one family. Connection through marriage was a secondary bond between whole families. Two families whose members once intermarried remained distinct, did not in any degree become one family but were for ever connected with each other. And this specific connection was very strong—the strongest social link after kinship. Every individual was expected to know for many past generations all the connections through marriage between his family and others, and at least the most important connections of the families connected with his own.

We can easily understand how in consequence of these two principles—the timeless and spaceless unity of the agnatic family and the timeless and spaceless marriage connection between families—the whole nobility constituted intrinsically one unified society, even aside from the common political interest, how this unity favored the development of the ideal of one nation and how the Polish nobility succeeded in absorbing and Polonizing without any political measures the leading social elements of other racial groups federated with Poland—Lithuania and Ruthenia—by extending to them the same principles, treating them as members of the same social body and actually establishing numerous family connections with them. And it is hardly strange that this social structure of the only politically active class has exercised a powerful influence on the political system of Poland. The essential point in which this influence manifested itself was the peculiar character which the relation between the commonwealth and

its members assumed in the measure in which the early monarchical state was superseded by a republican organization. The fundamental tendency of the nobility was to avoid all positive political obligations which the state originally imposed. Taxes were reduced to an almost nominal minimum; military service was obligatory only for defensive purposes; jurisdiction assumed, in fact if not in form, an ever increasing character of arbitration. The whole system of positive obligations of which the nation as a whole was the object was made to rest not upon the state but upon society, developed not into a system of enforced legal duties but into one of free moral cooperation.

Every family was explicitly supposed to contribute to national life to the utmost of its powers, without any determination or limitation of particular duties. The cooperation was free in the sense in which every moral activity is free, *i. e.*, it could not be imposed from the outside but had to be voluntarily undertaken. But the family as moral subject was expected freely and voluntarily to do much more than any state system could ever force its members to do. Complete safety from any encroachments of governmental powers and complete freedom from any enforced contributions to state activities appear thus not as proofs of a lack of public spirit but as the result of an old and deep-rooted desire to be able to claim as morally meritorious any activities performed for the public cause. This desire is quite naturally connected with the familial structure of the nobility. The family being itself a social body, the oldest and primary object of all individual obligations, any sacrifices which its members made for the nation—at first perhaps even any proof of national solidarity beyond the mere refraining from doing positive harm—

appeared originally as morally free and therefore meritorious sacrifices which the family as a whole was willing to make for the larger social unit of which it had become a part. Such sacrifices came gradually to be considered as a moral duty of the family, instead of remaining outside of the sphere of that which is regarded as morally obligatory; and when not an individual but a group is the real subject of national activities, the public spirit cannot take any other form. It is logically and practically impossible for a group, as long as it remains solidary and self-conscious, to reach voluntarily a point where it would agree to have another group—even a nation of which it is a part—forcibly impose any obligations upon its members instead of appealing to the moral feeling of the group as a solidary unity, for this would mean that this group had lost its solidarity and self-consciousness, had resigned control over its members, and in so far ceased to exist as a group.

But if thus, on the one hand, political life in Poland was more than anywhere else formally subordinated to social life and the state was nothing without the free cooperation of society, on the other hand the whole current of social life was more than anywhere else—except perhaps in ancient Greece and in republican Rome—turned into political channels and the state was the exclusive object of social cooperation. This again is explained by the fact that the nobility was essentially a politically active group. It had differentiated itself from the peasants and the bourgeoisie chiefly, almost exclusively, by its participation in political life, and the right and duty of this participation remained its only reason of existence as a separate class. We might say that everything the nobility did was directly or indi-

rectly supposed to have a political bearing, everything the nobility possessed was supposed to have a direct or indirect significance for the state. The principle which is now in all countries applied to special political offices—the principle that a person or group wielding political power by virtue of an official position is not the owner but only the manager of this power—was extended in Poland not only to political functions but also to economic ownership and social influence. A nobleman, even when he did not perform any specific public function, was not a private person; he was in a sense by nature a public official. His person, his activity and his life belonged to the nation; his fortune was national property to be used for public purposes—one of which was to support himself, his family and his dependents; whatever social influence he had was to be utilized for the benefit of the country. At the same time all his obligations were purely moral; no political power could constrain him to do anything he would not do—no authority except social opinion could control the use he made of his person, his fortune, his influence. The most exact parallel which can illustrate this position is the status of the King as defined by Louis XIV. Every Polish nobleman within his limited sphere could say, "*L'État, c'est moi*"; the King of Poland, whose sphere, though more strictly limited by the Constitution, was in fact usually wider than that of any of his nominal "subjects," was only *primus inter pares*, the sovereign presiding over a confederation of sovereigns.

This system worked just as absolute monarchy did—as long as the moral obligation was felt to be binding by the political sovereign, king or nobleman. The decay of public spirit in the second half of the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries was fol-

lowed by a movement of reform which led to the Constitution of May 3, 1791; the nobility limited its own sovereignty by giving some power of coercion to special organs of the state and by admitting the bourgeoisie to political life. But then came the second and third partitions of Poland before the Constitution could be made to work. The situation created by the loss of political independence was quite unique. On the one hand, the consciousness of national unity as not merely political but social was so deeply rooted that there was no possibility whatever of interpreting the downfall of the Polish state as an end of the Polish nation. The latter remained and would have remained a unified and active body under any external conditions. On the other hand, all the national activities of the nobility, though based on free social cooperation, not on political coercion, had the state as their object; with the state gone, there seemed to be nothing to do in common except, indeed, the struggle for the recovery of the state. And for 70 years the nobility relentlessly pursued by diplomacy or by sword this new and supreme political aim—pursuing it voluntarily and freely as it had always acted in the past, but with much greater difficulties and sacrifices than ever before. Every unsuccessful revolution brought death and ruin to thousands of families until, after the last disastrous effort in 1863, the spirit and power of the nobility broke down and its political rôle was finished. Thereafter the military struggle for independence was carried on not by any particular class but by special organizations in which, indeed, men of noble origin played the main part—first the National League, later the Polish Socialist Party, finally the military organization under the leadership of Piłsudski. But meanwhile, in expectation of an ultimate re-estab-

lishment of the Polish state, it was evident that however important the maintenance of a revolutionary spirit was for the preservation of national consciousness, national cooperation could no longer be limited to the political field, since the latter was practically narrowed to racial struggle, inefficient parliamentary diplomacy and secret revolutionary preparations. If the nation were to remain a solidary social body, other common interests had to be used for this purpose.

This, indeed, had been already done in some measure. Thus during the nineteenth century, Polish art, literature and science (particularly history) were instruments through which the æsthetic and intellectual interests of the Poles became unified on a national basis, and were utilized for the preservation of national life and culture. Religion was also in some measure a field of national cooperation, particularly in the southeastern part of Russian Poland, Lithuania and White Ruthenia, where religious and national interests went hand in hand during the persecution of the Uniats. But æsthetic and intellectual interests had but little influence upon the large masses of the population and, as we have seen in the preceding chapters, the rôle of the Catholic Church in Polish national life was limited by its international politics. The most secure and the widest ground of national cooperation lay elsewhere—in the economic domain.

Here the nobility was no longer the predominant factor, as it was in political and even in intellectual life. The function which it performed as economic class was that of large estate-owners, and by the end of the last century, in consequence of several causes—wholesale confiscations following each revolution, economic liberation of the peasants, the financial crisis precipitated

by the importation of Russian, American and Australian agricultural products to Western European markets—the numerical proportion and the economic status of this class, as compared with the city population on the one hand and the peasants on the other hand, had so much decreased, particularly in the Congress Kingdom, that it could not maintain its old supremacy. As a matter of fact, some very successful cooperative institutions, chiefly credit associations, were organized quite early and a few of them, particularly the Land Credit Association of the Kingdom of Poland (one of the best organized institutions of this kind in the world) played an important national function at a period when economic cooperation was practically the only form of social organization permitted by the Russian and German governments in Poland. But in these institutions created by and for the landed nobility other social classes could not participate, partly for political, partly for economic reasons.

It was thus evident that if a national unity on the economic basis could be developed, the nobility as a class would be only one and not the most important element of this unity, though many individual noblemen might be among the leaders in this field, just as in the political and intellectual fields. We find therefore in the last thirty years the question of the landed nobility almost ignored by Polish society—except when, as in Posen, it was connected with the struggle for land between Poles and Germans—and the attention of the nation turned upon the economic organization of the city population and of the peasants. The study of the first does not belong here; we can only mention that this problem presented particular difficulties in view of the large proportion of Jewish population in cities (which for the

most part did not participate in Polish national institutions), and of the competition predominant in trade and industry. No such difficulties were found among the peasants who, moreover, still constitute the absolute majority of the population of Poland and whose economic power—most reliable because based on land—has been continually growing, both because their farming is improving and because a continually increasing number of large estates are sold in small lots and pass every year into their hands. Thus the peasant class began to be considered the future bearer of the economic unity of the nation. By organizing socially and by unifying the economic interests of the peasants through a system of cooperative institutions a vast and coherent social body might be created whose enormous economic and psychological energy could be turned to purposes of national defense and expansion. The peasants would thus become the social foundation of national unity, as the nobility in the past was its political foundation.

That such a plan was by no means chimerical is proved by the results achieved in Posen, where a hostile outside observer, Prof. L. Bernhard, in 1906 employed the words "peasant republic" as the most adequate term to characterize the Polish economic system in this province. Since then the cooperative organizations of the peasants seem to have made an astonishing progress all over Poland, particularly during the war. Lately political obstacles which the German and Russian governments put in the way of Polish institutions have been removed; the division of all large estates among the peasants has been decided by the Polish Diet, and a number of laws favoring cooperative associations have been passed. It is therefore to be expected that the idea of a nation-wide cooperative system, based chiefly on the

peasant class but including probably also the working class of cities, will rapidly progress toward realization.

But in order to have the social organization based on economic cooperation assume a national significance, it is evidently indispensable to implant the national ideal in the masses, to make the national purpose of cooperation conscious and clear. Our documents in this chapter are meant to illustrate chiefly this growth of national consciousness in the peasant.

183. [There were popular prophecies that Poland would be freed about 1913. The belief in such prophecies is very frequent although only half serious. The mystical current of "Messianism" (conceiving Poland as the Messiah of the nations) developed after 1831, the influence of which has lasted up to the present, helped to create an atmosphere in which these beliefs lived. The great Polish romanticists, Mickiewicz, Slowacki and Krasinski, all more or less closely related to Messianism, assume in some of their writings a prophetic character and bear this character in the eyes of the nation, particularly of the youth. Few of the young people with some education fail to be touched more or less by the influence of Messianic ideas.]

We are beginning at last the year 1913, that great year about which our nurses told us when still in our infancy, about which we have read many prophecies, so mysterious but also so dear to our hearts because they showed us the dawn of the future in such beautiful colors. Will these hopes be realized? God knows, for in His Hand is our fate, the future of our families and of all nations.

We must do our share to begin the national work, in order to look with faith and hope toward the future, as he who loses courage is a bad warrior. It is our part to see that this blow [enforcement of the law of expropriation] shall not be deadly but on the contrary arouse us to play the national part and prepare for regeneration. Let us then greet the new year with faith and hope and with the firm decision to work ardently for the Polish fatherland, and God will give us justice and we shall see better days.

Gazeta Polska, 1913, 1.

184. [It is interesting to note how in the middle of the sober and slow process of the construction of the elementary foundations of national life, in the prosaic every-day struggle for existence from which the higher cultural life is almost excluded, the appearance from time to time of an outburst of romantic enthusiasm, a longing for some fuller and more intense self-expression.]

What does the last year mean to us in comparison with the series of those which have passed before the sight of our fatherland? One still deeper scar on the face of this our beloved mother-nation, one more sigh because of her fate, one new delusion with the secret hopes which we began to dream at the beginning of the year which is now passing away.

Yet in spite of all the disappointments, that lapse of time has brought us a new and strengthening faith. It was born last year in the midst of the thunder of cannon in the Balkans and matured on soil drenched in the blood of our brother Slavs. It arose to the admiration of the whole world and comes closer to us, splendid victorious—to cheer us. Its name is heroism!

It is not true that might governs the world! It is not true that the power of the fist can accomplish everything! It is not true that the number of cannon and bayonets decides the victory! It is the spirit which does it, the spirit living in the breast. It is the radiant idea which gives strength and decides the fate of nations. The power of the heroic life of the nation is so violent that it cannot recede even a little from the way once chosen. It is worth while to put ourselves, our love and strength into such service. It is worth while to live the life of a young hero, even if it lasts only for a little while.

Lech, 1913, 1.

185. The proclamation of a "Polish Women's Day" in Beuthen on March 26 . . . says: "In the face of the heavy and injurious blows which have recently struck the Polish population once more, we Polish women in Upper Silesia consider it our duty to announce publicly our common grief and our common hope. We must deliberate together about ways and means of diffusing and strengthening among us the Polish national consciousness, of fortifying our resistance to the Germanization in-

nundation and of warming our hearts for our holy Polish cause.

Therefore hasten here sisters, Polish women from all the towns, villages and hamlets of our ancient Poland. Come all of you and show thus that we are the true daughters of the Polish nation, that we feel heartily, keenly the wrong of our fatherland, and that it is our ardent wish to defend and honor the national ideals which we have inherited from our fathers, and to preserve them intact for the coming generations. Do you appear also, sisters from other Polish provinces and show that we all, from the Baltic Sea to the Carpathians, are children of one mother, of the Polish fatherland."

Kuryer Śląski, 1913, 66.

186. The Convention of the Polish Women in Upper Silesia took place on March 31, in the court of the Polish meeting-house "Ul" [hive], in Rossberg, near Beuthen. Fifteen hundred women attended the meetings. The following resolutions were passed:

"We Polish women from all parts of the country and from all classes, present at the meeting on March 31, 1913 in Beuthen, conscious of the importance of the present moment, do declare solemnly before the sight of God from the depths of our souls:

1) that we wish to devote our utmost efforts to taking care that our children learn to read and write the Polish language, pray only in this language and receive the sacraments, that they love Christ and honor above all the language inherited from the fathers;

2) that we will always speak only Polish and watch after the purity of our native tongue;

3) that we will work on all national outposts conscientiously and persistently, and for the strengthening of this work will join associations;

4) that we will continually and everywhere stand on guard for our national honor;

5) that we will deposit our property in Polish financial institutions and banks;

6) that we will as far as possible carry out the slogan "Kindred to Kindred," *i.e.*, go only to our own kindred [Poles];

7) that we will tend always to more enlightenment, read Polish books and publications in order to learn to know our

[Polish] civic duties and to bring up our children for the glory of God and the benefit of the Polish nation.

This we promise solemnly in the name of the love of our Catholic faith and native Polish tongue."

Umschau im Polenlager, 1913, 38.

187. [This idea originated in the Polish poetry after 1831—patriotism as basis of all human virtues. We find it expressed often in various forms.]

National regeneration is in the innermost circle of our wishes for freedom. We shall be re-born through our love of the fatherland. When we learn this we shall love it without limits. Our national regeneration proceeds very slowly, yet we go forward.

Kuryer Stanislawowski, Dec. 29, 1912.

188. [Immediate and naïve assumption that nationalism is a part of the divine order of the world.]

The Polish nation will beg on its knees the Lord of all Lords to pity its thralldom and put an end to its sufferings. An ardent ray from the hidden sun penetrates the gloomy clouds; this sun is the unconquerable spirit of our nation. God has created all of us Poles. He will not permit our ruin. With Him is our hope.

Gazeta Gdanska, 1912, 157.

189. [Moral effect of national emotions. The Russian Constitution of 1905 provoked in Poland hopes of national autonomy which were not realized.]

In Poddębice . . . the proclamation of the constitution was celebrated with great joy. There were 30 law-suits in the communal court at this time, but all of them except one were ended by the spontaneous agreement of the parties, for people on this joyful day did not wish to quarrel and forgave each other all offences. Only one decree was issued; the court condemned to three months in prison a son who had offended his father and was so obdurate as to refuse to beg his pardon.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 46.

190. [Clear and practical connection of religion and morality with nationality.]

Parents! The time approaches when your children must go to school and not to a Polish one but to the Prussians, which is

very dangerous for you, Poles, Catholics, since it is generally known that Germanization leads to Lutherization. Therefore if you bring up your little children in the mother tongue, in ancient Polish customs, you may be sure that they will grow into men acceptable to God, the Church and the Polish nation, and will not end their lives in prison or under the axe of an executioner as has so often happened recently in Upper Silesia.

Gazeta Ludowa, 1912, 296.

191. [Connection between religious and national attitudes.]

Wohyń is situated on the borderline of that district of Podlasie which is inhabited by the so-called Uniats. God alone knew what went on here during the last 30 years and what we suffered. Every one had to hold his breath so as not to complain aloud nor groan from pain, for he would undoubtedly have perished. Today when after the proclamation of the most high Manifesto of October 30 people from the different parts of the country are beginning to tell what hurts them, we, the inhabitants of Wohyń, wish also to say a few words at least about our life during these three decades.

First the Uniat church here was closed, the Uniat priest removed, etc. Then when the Uniats, having no longer a church of their own, began to go to divine service with us to the Catholic church, our Catholic church was also closed. Our people having no place to pray opened the church in spite of the prohibition. For this enormous fines were imposed upon us by the decisions of the Governor-General Hurko, and troops sent to collect these fines devoured our oxen and cows and destroyed our property. The Uniats paid innumerable fines for burying the dead without religious ceremonies [rather than Greek Orthodox], etc. Mayors were always nominated and not those whom we had elected but such as were imposed upon us. One of those mayors, Stefan Banachowicz, oppressed and actually tortured us and finally, having embezzled the communal funds, ran away. In the school a clergyman of another denomination tried to teach Catholic children in spite of our complaints. Today after the Manifesto of October 30 it is not yet as it should be but it is already different from what it was. Today we are allowed to complain at least.

In gratitude to the Most High God for having sent us a ray of

hope we, poor ruined fellows, though unable to contribute much, have put together at least a few grosz each and collected 34 roubles which we are sending herewith, begging the Editor of the *Gazeta Świąteczna* to send 7 roubles for a holy mass to Jasna Góra [Częstochowa] and to distribute the remaining 27 roubles according to his own discretion among our hungry brethren in Warsaw. The mass in Jasna Góra must be said before the altar of the Beloved Virgin of Częstochowa, the Holiest Mother and our Queen, so that she will deign to intercede in our favor before the Most High Manager of the world for all our permissible requests and particularly that he deign to give us back as soon as possible the opportunity of praying in our church of Wołyń which is still closed up to now, and that at last we be no longer persecuted for having been born and for remaining Poles and Catholics.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1906, 3.

192. [Connection between aesthetic and national interests. Poetry written by a peasant who can scarcely spell and never went to school.]

On the 50th anniversary of the death of Adam Mickiewicz, I desire to sing the first song of my life to the man "born in slavery, chained in his cradle" [quotation from the poem *Pan Tadeusz*], but I feel too weak to sing it worthily. I will take a lute in my hand, it will inspire me.

O Adam, king of song, poet of eternal glory! I am not able to sing you a magnificent song, but in my place let sing these our waters and meadows, our fields covered with corn and our primeval forests. You, who loved us with the whole strength of your soul, may millions of people honor the 50th anniversary of your leaving the world. May your beloved people wreath you garlands of those field-flowers which you loved so much. Accept them from the country people who put them upon your tomb as an offering for your songs which girls sing in turning the spinning wheels. I am poor; how can I express my gratitude for these songs which you poured in my soul, warming my heart? But I will at least consecrate to your memory 50 trees which willing Polish hands will plant with worship; may they blossom every spring for your sake and rustle softly when I sing your songs.

Letter to *Gazeta Świąteczna*; unpublished.

193. On December 14 of this year [1905] at a meeting of the commune Jaczew, district Węgrów, it was unanimously resolved:

"Basing our action on the most high Manifesto of October 30, 1905, we demand the introduction from the present day of the exclusive use of the Polish language into the functions of the communal office, the court and the parish office, and the teaching of our children in Polish by a Polish teacher. If these our demands are granted, we will have gratitude and attachment to the Throne, and the calm which will ensue will not be troubled by any bold instigations or agitations. We beg therefore the local authorities to support this question with the superior authority. As long as the above demands are not fulfilled the communal office will remain inactive."

This decision was signed by 329 persons. Decisions like this one were enacted by the communes Korytnica and Borze in the district Wegrow. When this decision was presented by the communal officials to the chief of the district Wegrow, the chief sent the following circular to all the commune mayors: ". . . 1) The most high Ukaz [law confirmed by the tzar] of March 2, 1864, has not been abolished; consequently no one among the inhabitants of the commune has the right to raise the question of the introduction of the Polish language in the offices of the commune or to forbid the mayor and secretary to manage the official functions in Russian. 2) No one among the inhabitants of the commune has the right to remove the mayor or the secretary or any other person from the administration of the commune and therefore these demands of the inhabitants have no reason whatever. 3) If at present anybody among the inhabitants of the commune shall try to prevent the mayor or secretary from performing the official functions in Russian or shall cause any losses to any officials, or if any disorders arise, all this will assume a political character, as an open revolt against the emperor and the government and will be considered an open breach of the oath taken, and the whole responsibility for all the deplorable consequences will be placed upon each commune as a unit. The question of introduction of the Polish language into the functions of the communal and other offices depends wholly upon the power

of the emperor, and all people who think sanely, are faithful subjects and remember their oath ought not to listen to various scoundrels who perhaps promise them mountains of gold but lead them to destruction. They ought to prove their feelings as truthful subjects and quietly await the decision of higher powers concerning their demands. All the resolutions of the communes mentioned, written in Polish, have been presented to the proper authorities. . . .”

When this circular was read at the meeting of the commune to the persons present on December 18, the commune judged the circular to be illegal and resolved unanimously—400 persons were present at the meeting, all of whom signed the resolution—as follows: “We cannot give any answer to the proclamation of the chief of the district Węgrów for two reasons. 1) The Proclamation is written in a language which we do not understand. 2) As we have been informed, it is written in an offensive manner, calling us “scoundrels.” As we are a cultured people, we do not wish to write to our authorities in a manner equally offensive, but we mention that the proclamation of the chief gives us the right to do so.”

On this occasion we add, in conformity with the decision of today and basing our action also upon the most high Manifesto of October 30, 1905, what we omitted at our last meeting. We demand as follows: “1) The governmental fire-insurance offices shall give us papers written only in Polish. We demand the payments of insurance within a term of no more than two weeks; in case of postponement we demand interest at the rate of 12 per cent a year. 2) We decide to subscribe immediately for every village to the papers *Polak*, *Zorza* and *Gazeta Świąteczna*, and for the commune office to the paper *Dziennik Powszechny*. 3) The police and the gendarmes shall not be given wagons without paying, and positively shall not be admitted to communal meetings. 4) All adult inhabitants of the commune shall be admitted to communal meetings. 5) We request the abolition of the taxes imposed upon butchers, the insurance taxes on cattle, horses and hogs, and also the road taxes, because the government does not care at all about the state of our roads. 6) We demand the immediate liberation of all political prisoners. 7) We express our solidarity with those who demand that the losses which they have

in consequence of the state of war shall be made good to them. 8) We protest against the abolition of the name "Kingdom of Poland" and the using of the name "Land near the Vistula," or any other [name]. We demand the use of the proper name "Kingdom of Poland." 9) Because these our demands can be realized only by a general autonomy of the land, for this reason we demand the autonomy of the Kingdom of Poland with a legislative congress in Warsaw elected by general and direct vote. 10) We commit the execution of the present decision in things which can be immediately executed to the mayor, to the commune representatives and to Mr. Aleksander Głuchowski, elected at the present meeting. 11) The functions in the commune office remain suspended as long as the Polish language is not introduced."

Letter to *Gazeta Świąteczna*; unpublished.

194. The inhabitants of the commune Kaski met to the number of 310 of the 399 who have the right to vote, and under the presidency of the local mayor Jan Puhala [passed resolutions similar to those found in the last document demanding the introduction of Polish and the autonomy of commune administration, and in addition the following which have a more general national significance]: 13) We protest against the beating of our brothers, the workmen and farmers in Warsaw, Kozłowice and other localities, where quite unarmed and innocent people have been beaten. We demand the removal of the Cossacks from the Kingdom of Poland, because they are not a regular army but a band of robbers, stealing, and demoralizing the population. 14) We demand that military service be performed inside the country and be shortened. . . . 17) We demand that all political offenders be set at liberty. 18) We demand that the inviolability of persons and homes, the liberty of speech and of the press, of associations and meetings be put into effect. 19) We demand that a legislative congress be called for the Kingdom of Poland in Warsaw—one for Russia in Petersburg—upon the principle of general, direct, secret and equal suffrage. . . . 22) We demand that governmental lands be distributed among landless peasants. . . .

As long as our demands are not granted, we will not pay any

taxes, we will not give recruits, we will close the court and we will interrupt all relations with the officials and the police. Here ends the present decision and it is signed. [310 signatures follow.]

Letter to *Gazeta Święteczna*; unpublished (1905).

195. Decisions of the peasant meeting in Warsaw.

I. Considering that:

1) The Kingdom of Poland is a separate country, that it has distinct social, religious and national needs, and that from this results the necessity of a separate political organization;

2) that the country can be well managed only if its population is not deprived of voice but decides itself about matters connected with this management;

3) that local authorities can govern skilfully and conscientiously only if they come from the country and from the society itself, and therefore in our country from the Polish population;

4) that forty years of government by Russian authorities have brought incalculable losses to this country;

5) that the present Russian authorities are unable to perform even their primary duty, that is, to assure to the inhabitants safety of life and of property; the meeting of peasants of the Kingdom of Poland decides:

1) Social order and prosperous development are possible in the Kingdom of Poland only after a thorough reconstruction of the political institutions of the country, that is, after the introduction into the Kingdom of Poland of national self-government, *i.e.*, autonomy. This self-government should be based upon the following principles:

a) All laws and regulations for the country should be enacted by a diet in Warsaw, constituted by representatives of the whole country without excluding any estate, any class of the population, that is, elected by universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage of all the inhabitants of the Polish land;

b) The local government must be constituted by Poles and the official language in schools, courts and offices must be the Polish language;

c) Local governments should be responsible to the Diet.

II. 1) Before complete autonomy is introduced the Polish language must necessarily and immediately be made the official

language in all schools, courts and civil offices, and Poles should be called to the civil administration of the country;

2) It is indispensable that the principles of the Manifesto of October 30 be proclaimed not as a promise but as a constitution, and that this constitution be sworn to by the Monarch.

III. 1) The country commune as basis of self-government has great tasks and duties which it must fulfil at every moment, independently of the standpoint of the Russian authorities;

2) At the present moment when disorganization reigns in the Russian government and its authorities do not perform their functions, the commune cannot wait for the call of the Russian governmental offices nor look to them for help but must work with particular zeal, spontaneously satisfying its own needs, extending its solicitude over the inhabitants, and watching for the safety of their lives and property.

IV. The Polish people stand upon the ground of national unity, for only by unity will the work of the nation and her struggle for her rights and welfare be successful. At the present moment when the whole nation must win rights for herself and when the whole nation is in danger, those who incite [her members] against one another in order to settle internal accounts with the help of violence are preparing destruction for her. The Polish peasants will oppose with all their strength all such attempts.

V. The meeting acknowledges that it is the duty of all enlightened citizens of the country to mediate in misunderstandings and quarrels between workmen and landlords, so as to have them settled in good concord and peacefully.

VI. The Polish people, through their representatives at the meeting of the peasants of the Kingdom of Poland, express their attachment to the holy Catholic faith and to their fatherland, Poland, and desire to build the future of the country upon the national and religious principles handed down to us by our fathers.

Gazeta Świąteczna, 1905, 52.

196. [This and the following documents concern the boycott by the Poles of the Congress Kingdom and Galicia of German goods in answer to the Prussian "Law of Expropriation," which gave the Prussian Commission of Colonization the right

to expropriate Polish landowners for the benefit of German settlers].

Kuryer Zagłębia is informed that influential German industrial and commercial circles have represented to the Russian government that they will reply to any further boycott by pressure on the value of Russian securities. With reference to this an answer was received from Petersburg [stating] that the boycott will be prevented from spreading. Yet the Warsaw newspapers declare that no one in Poland is thinking of ending the boycott.

Umschau im Polenlager, 1908, 6.

197. *Gazeta Grudziądzka* encourages the Poles with the following words: "How much Polish money is even yet in German Savings Banks and Raiffeisen Banks! Do not those who place their hard earned savings in German banks put in the hands of the enemy a weapon against their own associates, against their own nation? We adjure all those who possess savings not to deposit them in German banks because they will by that become traitors to their own people. Probably no one wishes to help the Prussian government to expropriate."

Umschau im Polenlager, 1908, 11.

198. Mme. Walewska of Warsaw encourages her countrymen to boycott the Prussian resorts and says that every physician who recommends a Prussian resort to his patients commits a sin against the nation.

Umschau im Polenlager, 1908, 52.

199. *Kupiec*, a tradespaper [in Posen], issued a memorial which shows that the first aim of the [Polish industrial] exhibition is to boycott German commerce. The contents of the publication directly encourage boycotting, *e.g.*, in an article it gives a list of Polish firms only, and it is the wish of the publishing company that a copy of that issue be in every Polish house in order to promote in a more efficient way the national commerce and industry.

Umschau im Polenlager, 1908, 87.

200. The boycott committee which was established some time ago issued a call to the school youth to buy books, supplies and

uniforms from Polish firms only and to avoid absolutely every German store.

Umschau im Polenlager, 1908, Sept. 7.

201. The boycott committee is planning new methods of boycotting German goods in Galicia. The stores which boycott German ware will be marked by special signs if they declare that they will carry out the rules of the organization, give proof that they do not hide German goods, and permit the members of the boycott commission to examine their stores. The committee will also publish the list of such merchants and a list of German stores and the goods which should be boycotted.

Umschau im Polenlager, 1908, Sept. 24.

202. To eliminate German industry from Galicia, the leading Polish circles plan a gigantic move, *e.g.*, an appeal will be made not only to Polish capital but also to the capital of all nations which are friendly to Poland, in order to make it possible to check German industry and prevent the purchase of Polish soil by Germans.

Umschau im Polenlager, 1909, 11.

203. In Cracow a committee of ladies of the highest circles has been formed under the leadership of Princess Czartoryska to promote the boycott of German and Prussian ware in great style, and first of all win for this movement all the women and girls of Galicia.

Umschau im Polenlager, 1909, 51.

204. *Słowo Polskie* of Lemberg, Dec. 28th, 1912, notes with pleasure the fact that the Polish national stamps with the printed watch-word, "Away with Germanism," are continually increasing in circulation in Galicia and that German signs and announcements are less frequent in Lemberg, and "wherever they appear, an invisible and pitiless hand at once tears them down," or, with evident disregard of the embellishment of the city, "covers them with black paint."

Umschau im Polenlager, 1913, 1.

205. The study of the national struggle [in Posen] is so interesting because it discloses a peculiar and striking content in well-known and commonplace . . . forms.

Small loan banks and professional unions are spread over country and town in the traditional way, almost schematically, with sometimes a larger institution on which the smaller, often dwarfish, associations lean. A central bank and central management bind all these together, sometimes receiving the surplus capital and some furnishing necessary help, forming a bridge to the great money market, and giving advice on all questions of organization.

Every country every province has now such a system. . . . Exactly the same [system] has grown up in Posen and in West Prussia since 1860 . . . formed upon the models which had proved successful in more developed provinces, particularly on the Rhine. The same problems are discussed at meetings, and on superficial investigation one does not notice any political interests whatever in this peaceful construction. On the contrary, it is emphatically repeated that all politics should be avoided. "Credit associations cannot be instruments of national struggle," one hears at meetings. "It is to be understood explicitly," says sec. 12 of the program of Polish agricultural unions, "that religious and political problems lie outside of the field of the unions and it is not allowed to discuss such questions at meetings." Besides the Prussian administration takes good care that the Polish associations keep far from everything which could be interpreted as political activity. An association which openly showed political colors would be on the same day denounced to "proper authorities," and as far as I know, it has never been proved by any one that Polish credit associations took an active part, for instance, in Sokol activities or election propaganda, or that they ever used even the smallest part of their income for political purposes. . . .

And yet, in spite of all this, the credit associations and professional unions are . . . the real arsenals in political warfare. . . . The Polish associations are a political power; they have even become gradually the leading political power. This is how the contradiction is explained. The bridge which constitutes the passage from the purely economic business field to the domain of political struggle is called *personal union*. . . . A credit association must keep carefully away from national politics, but the leaders of the credit associations and professional organizations

must take a leading part in national political enterprises. The particular organization stands independent and is limited to its definite business purpose. But the men who stand at the top of the unions and associations are at the same time leaders in political committees and meetings, directors of societies for popular education; they play an important rôle through the press, their influence predominates in preparing the elections, in selecting the list of candidates, in organizing popular Polish libraries, in distributing subventions to students, and thus they unify through their persons the seemingly disconnected public life of the Poles.

The personal union is the living bond of the Polish community. Without the peculiar and extensive application of personal union the mass of Polish institutions and associations would have no real unity. . . . Upon a foundation constituted by credit organizations, unions, and associations stands a group of men which might be characterized as the "government of the Poles." Without possessing any paper constitutional right they exercise real power, so that no important national Polish enterprise can arise which is not decided, suggested or influenced by this "government. . . ."

First the highest leaders of credit organizations belong here. An important decision concerning, for instance, the foundation of a new institution cannot be taken in Posen unless the "patron of the credit associations" has expressed his opinion. It would make a strange impression upon the Poles if this high official of the Polish financial system were not asked for advice, since every one knows that he can estimate financial powers better than anybody else and give warning of dangerous steps. Besides him, the director of the Central Bank and the director of the Industrial Bank play the rôle of advisers in the "government."

Next to these men stands the "patron of peasant associations." Of course he must also be asked, for the powerful organization which follows his leadership is so important for the success of every enterprise that it is impossible to ignore the patron. At his side are the vice-patrons who have distinguished themselves by achieving particular success in their districts. Next to the peasant associations, half rivaling, half patronizing them, stands the old distinguished Central Union of large estate-owners, whose

president together with a few particularly experienced members is considered representative of agricultural interests.

After the agricultural organizations come, with regard to real power, the young workmen's unions, so that the president of the "Alliance of Catholic Workmen's Unions" and the president of the "Alliance of Trade-unions" have an influence.

The leaders of industrial and commercial associations are, on the contrary, provisionally in the background, partly because of their not very imposing personalities, partly because of the weakness of their organizations.

Among the political associations the *Straz* and the *Sokols* put forward their presidents, but the influence of these men should not be overrated, for the activity of these organizations, consisting in agitation and calculating on sudden effects, prevents any rational work. . . .

To these leaders should be added a few high church dignitaries, and a few members of the nobility who through great wealth and national work have won a strong position for themselves. . . .

Thus there are fifteen to twenty men in the "government! . . . Up to the present [the latter] lacks, I might say, official political representation, for the Polish faction in the [Prussian] parliament is incapable and unprepared. . . . Only when the faction is properly cleansed and represents a real picture of the Polish commonwealth will the "government of the Poles" manifest more strongly to the outside world its volitions and tendencies.

L. Bernhard, *Die Polenfrage*, pp. 151-154, 214-217.

The content of the national ideals as imparted to the uneducated classes is not even approximately as rich and multiform as that which we find in the Polish intellectual circles in the nineteenth century, and yet, as we see from the examples here quoted, it is sufficiently developed to become in favorable conditions the supreme principle of both individual behavior and social organization. In fact the psychology of the social activities which we have studied in this volume can be properly

understood only if we realize that each and all of them—struggle for the preservation of the old system, revolutionary tendencies, social re-organization with the help of popular education on the basis of the wider community and through cooperative institutions—either have their source in national aspirations and their ultimate purpose determined by the national ideal or at least are continually subjected to criticism and appreciation from the national standpoint. This national background is in most cases not explicitly formulated, partly because it is accepted as self-evident, as a matter of course, partly because its explicit formulation under the given political conditions was not only dangerous for individuals but also would imperil the existence of those institutions whose preservation or development was considered nationally important.

The way in which the national ideal was made to assume in the eyes of society this character of the ultimate purpose and highest criterion is interesting because it resembles closely the method used in religious propaganda. On the one hand, the national ideal is exalted above everything else. Any preference shown, in the case of a conflict, to any other kind of interests is branded as national treason. Thus an individual who dared to put both hedonistic, economic, moral, religious reasons for doing something which may be harmful to the nation or for not doing something which he is expected to do for the benefit of the nation, would incur the strongest social condemnation. On the other hand, the national idea is interpreted as including everything else. It includes individual happiness; the realization of national aspirations will bring to every member of the nation alleviation of his troubles and satisfaction of his desires, and no individual can or should be happy

while the nation is oppressed. It includes economic security; the fact that the subjection of Poland to hostile states has prevented the normal development of its economic possibilities is fully utilized for national propaganda; the poverty of the country masses, the low standard of wages of city workers, the slow progress of Polish commerce, the enormous rate of emigration, are interpreted as direct effects of foreign domination and the individual's prosperity is shown as directly dependent on national prosperity. Intellectual values are easily included in the national idea—art and literature as dependent for their content and expression upon ethnical factors, science as requiring institutions which can freely develop only under favorable political conditions. The acceptance and pursuit of the national idea is further identified with virtue in general—an identification which is justified in a large measure by the fact that active patriotism under foreign oppression really does require high moral qualities whereas desertion of the national cause almost always indicates a generally undesirable character. Finally, the harmony between the national and religious ideals is achieved by identifying wherever possible Catholicism and Polonism—in particular, on the eastern borderland between the ethnically Polish and the ethnically Russian territories. Where this method does not work, as in the relations between Poles and German Catholics in Austria and Prussia, or with reference to Poles of other religious denominations (Polish Protestants or Polonized Jews), appeal is made to more general principles—nationality is conceived as a part of the divine order of the world in which each nation has a particular mission to fulfil, and whoever hinders national self-determination—be it even an official church—sins against God.

Of course, all these aspects of the national ideal were seldom simultaneously and systematically explained to the peasant; political censorship made open national propaganda through the press and in public meetings very difficult. But in every personal contact with the leaders and members of the higher classes or with nationally conscious individuals of the peasant class, and as far as was possible through the press and by secret agitation, this idea was in every connection emphasized as the highest and most comprehensive value. This gave it an entirely unquestionable authority and produced an attitude of reverence which might not always lead the individual to act in conformity with its demands but at least made him feel that his duty lay in the direction indicated by these demands. The national ideal could become an object of the most intense exaltation, quite equal to that which is found in religious mysticism; at the same time it furnished, like religion, rules for everyday life and endowed the most commonplace activities with a peculiar significance. Just as the religious man refers every act of his to God, so the patriot was supposed to consider every action with reference to Poland. Educating his children in Polish traditions, belonging to a patriotic political organization, going on a pilgrimage to Częstochowa during religious persecutions, reading patriotic Polish books forbidden by the Russian government, teaching neighbors how to read, subscribing to a Polish paper, knowing Polish history, buying a piece of land from a German in Posen, depositing money in a Polish bank, boycotting German ware, contributing to the economic progress of the community, even opening a new business or improving one's farming were treated as meritorious actions from the national viewpoint. But above all the formation and

development of cooperative institutions was idealized as a matter of the highest national importance; each new institution was taken to be a definite step toward the realization of national aspirations. As a result of this attitude, a peasant who did any of these things, perhaps at first for egotistic reasons, or in imitation of others, or under the pressure of social opinion, or perhaps out of consideration for his narrow community, began to ascribe to his actions deeper motives and wider aims than they ever had and thus step by step persuaded himself into actually being influenced by those deeper motives and wider aims. While with the leaders usually the national ideal was the source and the motive of social work, the masses were, on the contrary, led to the national ideal by participation in social reconstruction.

Few subjects of sociological investigation are more interesting and instructive than this evolution by which, during one or two generations the peasant as we have known him in the first two volumes, the member of a primary-group, thinking and acting by tradition and custom with a mental horizon limited to his immediate social environment, becomes a conscious patriot, voluntarily cooperating in the continuous realization of the nation as a morally and practically solidary and culturally productive social body. We have been able only to sketch a few predominant features of this social process which at the moment when our investigation stopped had been achieved for only a relatively small minority of the peasants. The war and the liberation and unification of Poland have introduced into the evolution of the peasant class new factors whose consequences it is

as yet impossible to foresee. All at once the peasant has become the complete master of his destiny; his growing social and economic power, in connection with the fact that he has the majority, may make him the master of Poland. Thus Poland, for centuries a nobility nation, tends at the present moment to become a peasant nation. It will be interesting to see the direction in which this tendency is modified by the future industrial development of this state.

