

Toruń along with the area of the Toruń county discussed here were occupied by Prussia for more than 100 years. This affected not only the political and administrative situation of this area, but also the economic situation and the professional, religious and national structure. An important moment turned out to be World War I and regaining independence by Poland. The incorporation of the discussed area into the Polish state entailed a number of changes in society.

The aim of the article is to present national and religious changes that occurred in the society of Toruń and the Toruń county, both in cities and in rural areas. It is to show how important the creation of the Second Polish Republic and new political conditions was. The aim of the author is to determine how these conditions affected the national and denominational structure and to discuss the demographic and economic development of individual cities, rural communes and manorial areas. Toruń is given particular attention here. An attempt was made to find the answer to the question: what was the position of the city both under Prussian rule and later in the interwar period, and what influenced its condition.

The article contains an analysis of statistical material obtained from various types of sources. For the period of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to 1914, statistical compilations for individual counties of West Prussia for 1871, 1885, 1895, 1905 and 1910 were used<sup>1</sup>. Infor-

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<sup>1</sup> *Die Gemeinden und Gutsbezirke des Preussischen Staates und ihre Bevölkerung. I, Die Gemeinden und Gutsbezirke der Provinz Preussen und ihre Bevölkerung: nach den Urmaterialien der allgemeinen Volkszählung vom 1. December 1871, bearb. und zusammengestellt, Königlichen statistischen Bureau, Berlin 1874; Gemeindelexikon für die Provinz Westpreussen: auf Grund der Materialien der Volkszählung vom 1. Dezember 1885 und anderer amtlicher Quellen, bearb. vom Königlichen statistischen Bureau, Berlin 1887; Gemeindelexikon für die Provinz Westpreussen: auf Grund der Materialien der Volkszählung vom 2. Dezember 1895 und anderer amtlicher Quellen, bearb. vom Königlichen statistischen Bureau, Berlin 1898; Gemeindelexikon für die Provinz Westpreussen: auf Grund der Materialien der Volkszählung vom 1. Dezember 1905 und anderer amtlicher Quellen, bearb. vom Königlich Preussischen Statistischen Landesamte, Berlin: Verlag des Königlichen Statistischen Landesamts, 1908; Gemeindelexikon für die Regierungsbezirke Allenstein, Danzig, Marienwerder, Posen, Bromberg und Oppeln: auf Grund der Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 1. Dezember 1910 und anderer amtlicher Quellen, H. 3, Regierungsbezirk Marienwerder, bearb. von Königlich Preußischen Statistischen Landesamte, Berlin 1912.*

mation from the publication of L. Belzyt, who used Prussian statistics for the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, was also used<sup>2</sup>. For the interwar period, the censuses of 1921 and 1931 were extremely helpful<sup>3</sup>. Naturally, Prussian sources have a completely different character from the interwar censuses. Nevertheless, both were used here to show, as far as possible, the fundamental changes in the population structures that occurred in Toruń and the Toruń county over the period.

The Toruń county was established in 1818 as a result of a new administrative division of West Prussia, where the Kwidzyn region was divided into 13 counties (Table 1). This condition continued throughout the Prussian period, although in 1887 part of the Toruń county was included in the newly created county of Wąbrzeźno, and in 1900 the Toruń municipality was created<sup>4</sup>. In the interwar period it was part of the Pomeranian Voivodeship. Toruń itself was a municipal county; it also played the role of the capital of the Voivodeship<sup>5</sup>.

Toruń came under Prussian occupation in 1793, after the second partition of Poland. The population of the city of Toruń at the beginning of Prussian rule constituted below 6000 people. However, due to the influx of clerical staff and the development of the garrison (the influx of not only soldiers but also members of military families), which resulted in the economic recovery, the population began to increase

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<sup>2</sup> L. Belzyt: *Sprachliche Minderheiten im preussischen Staat 1815-1914. Die preussische Sprachenstatistik in Bearbeitung und Kommentar*, Marburg 1998, p. 106.

<sup>3</sup> *Pierwszy powszechny spis Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z 30.IX.1921 r. Województwo pomorskie. Mieszkania. Ludność. Stosunki zawodowe*, Warszawa 1926; *Skorowidz miejscowości Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, T. XI, Województwo pomorskie, Warszawa 1926; *Drugi powszechny spis ludności z dnia 9. XII. 1931 roku. Mieszkania i gospodarstwa domowe. Ludność. Stosunki zawodowe. Województwo pomorskie*, Warszawa 1938.

<sup>4</sup> S. Salmonowicz, *Podziały terytorialne i ustrój polityczny ziem pomorskich w latach 1815-1850*, [in:] *Historia Pomorza*, vol. 3 (1815-1850), part 1: *Gospodarka, społeczeństwo, ustrój*, red. G. Labuda, Poznań 1993, p. 55-176; idem, *Administracja i prawo w prowincjach pomorskich*, [in:] *Historia Pomorza*, vol. 4 (1850-1918), part 1, *Ustrój, gospodarka, społeczeństwo*, ed. S. Salmonowicz, Toruń 2000, p. 31-69.

<sup>5</sup> S. Salmonowicz, *Podziały terytorialne i organizacja administracji w województwie pomorskim (1920-1939)*, [in:] *Historia Pomorza*, vol. 5 (1918-1939). *Województwo pomorskie i Wolne Miasto Gdańsk*, part 1: *Ustrój, społeczeństwo i gospodarka*, ed. Sz. Wierchosławski, P. Olstowski, Toruń 2015, pp. 72-74,77.

Table 1  
Population in the Toruń county in 1871-1931

Years	Toruń	Chełmża	Podgórz	Communes and manorial areas	Total
1871	16619	2982	50839 (Podgórz - 1108 inhabitants)		70440
1885	23906	4968	48537 (Podgórz - 1972 inhabitants)		77411
1895	27894	7579	57221 (Podgórz - 2945 inhabitants)		92694
1905	43658	10007	3619	44904	102188
1910	46227	10612	3638	44815	105292
1921	39424	10648	3232	39893	93197
1931	53993	16180		44023	114196

Source: *Die Gemeinden und Gutsbezirke*, s. 434-443; *Gemeindelexikon für die Provinz Westpreussen: auf Grund der Materialien der Volkszählung vom 1. Dezember 1885*, p. 112-119; *Gemeindelexikon für die Provinz Westpreussen: auf Grund der Materialien der Volkszählung vom 2. Dezember 1895*, p. 108-117; *Gemeindelexikon für die Provinz Westpreussen: auf Grund der Materialien der Volkszählung vom 1. Dezember 1905*, p. 138-145; *Gemeindelexikon für die Regierungsbezirke*, p. 76-83; *Skorowidz miejscowości Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, p. 56-60; *Drugi powszechny spis ludności*, p. 35.

up to 9000 civilians, including military families<sup>6</sup>. The good economic situation took place in Toruń after the Congress of Vienna and lasted until the second half of the 1820s. It was associated with intensive fortification works, reconstruction after the war damage and extension

<sup>6</sup> K. Mikulski, *Początki zaboru pruskiego (1793-1806)*, [in:] *Historia Torunia*, ed. M. Biskup, vol. 3, part 1: *W czasach zaboru pruskiego (1793-1920)*, Toruń 2003, p. 9, 15-30.

of the Toruń garrison infrastructure<sup>7</sup>. The expanding fortress, a growing number of permanent troops along with numerous German officials settling down in Toruń seriously affected the city's character. It became more and more a garrison and a clerical city<sup>8</sup>. From 1816 to 1826 the population increased from 7000 to 10 000. The economic stagnation of the 1830s and 1840s along with the uncertain economic situation caused a reduction in the number of immigrants and a decrease in the birth rate, which entailed a reduction of the population to 8000 in 1832<sup>9</sup>. In the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Toruń was a craft and trade center. Few plants operated here, mainly distilleries and breweries. The largest brick factory was located in the suburb of Bydgoskie Przedmieście. It was not until the 1840s that the population began to increase again. In 1841 it exceeded 9000<sup>10</sup>.

In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the economic development in Toruń was noticeably faster than before. The foundry and machine building plant of E. Drewitz, successfully founded in 1842, along with the plant of Born & Schütze in Mokre, founded in 1856, were growing. It should be noted that these two enterprises maintained their monopoly in this branch of industry in the city until the period of the Second Polish Republic. Orders related to the expansion and reconstruction of the Toruń fortress in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were very important for those trades' development in this industry. Steam sawmills were also created – in 1910 there were already eleven of them in Toruń. Construction carpentry plants were also set up. The opening of a wood port in 1904 constituted an impulse for the develo-

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<sup>7</sup> K. Biskup, L. Narewski, *Prusko-niemiecka twierdza Toruń (1815-1914)*, [in:] *Historia Torunia*, vol. 3, part 1, p. 162-167.

<sup>8</sup> K. Ciesielska, *Ustrój i organizacja władz i kancelarii miasta Torunia w latach 1793-1919*, Warszawa 1972, p. 15.

<sup>9</sup> B. Wachowiak, *Sytuacja gospodarcza Prus Zachodnich w świetle sprawozdania Prowincjonalnej Dyrekcji Podatkowej w Gdańsku za 1840 rok*, Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici, Historia XXX – Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne, z. 322, Toruń 1997, p. 125-134. See detailed information about immigrants arriving in Toruń in the first half of the 19th century: A. Zielińska-Nowicka, *W poszukiwaniu lepszego jutra. Procesy migracyjne mieszkańców Torunia w I połowie XIX wieku*, Toruń 2006.

<sup>10</sup> K. Wajda, *Pod ponownym pruskim panowaniem (1815-1920)*, [in:] *Toruń dawny i dzisiejszy*, ed. M. Biskup, Warszawa 1983, p. 341.

ment of the wood industry. The food industry was dominated by gingerbread factories, e.g. the Weese factory, the H. Thomas factory. There were also: Gerson's grain mill, two dairies, a starch factory, two breweries, a distillery and a rectification plant of the Sultan spirit. The chemical industry included a municipal gas plant, a fertilizer factory, and the Längner & Ilgner oil mill. At the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the printing industry also developed in Toruń. Three printing houses should be mentioned here: the Buszczyński plant, the Dombrowski plant, and the "Thorner Zeitung" printing house. The clothing industry was dominated by the Kunze & Kittel shoe factory. Despite the existence of those enterprises, it can be stated that in Toruń at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, crafts and smaller industrial plants still prevailed. There were also over two hundred establishments in the gastronomy and hotel industry in the city. The second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were a time of favorable economic conditions, which attracted crowds of workers to the city. Those transformations of Toruń in the field of industrialization constituted an important factor influencing demographic processes. The population increased to 46 227 inhabitants in 1910<sup>11</sup>. The population of Toruń after World War I fell to 39, 424 inhabitants in 1921, which was not only the result of the war, but also of the outflow of Germans and Jews, who mostly decided to opt for Germany. However, as early as 1931, there were 53 993 city residents recorded, which was associated with the influx of Poles and Jews from other districts of the country, but it also resulted from the natural increase and migration processes of the expanding city. In 1936, there were 64 700 inhabitants recorded here, while in 1938 – 75 900 inhabitants<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>11</sup> J. Salm, *Przemiany przestrzenne pruskiego Torunia (1815-1914)*, [in:] *Historia Torunia*, vol. 3, part 1, p. 84-91; K. Wajda, *Ludność Torunia (1815-1914)*, [in:] *ibid.*, p. 99-141; idem, *Życie gospodarcze miasta (1815-1914)*, [in:] *ibid.*, p. 142-159. See also: A. Zielińska, *Przemiany struktur demograficznych w Toruniu w XIX i na początku XX wieku*, Toruń 2012.

<sup>12</sup> R. Sudziński, *Spółeczeństwo międzywojennego Torunia*, [in:] *Historia Torunia*, ed. M. Biskup, vol. 3, part 2: *W czasach Polski Odrodzonej i okupacji niemieckiej (1920-1945)*, Toruń 2006, p. 41-45.

In 1831, the population of Chełmża amounted to 1185 people. In 1871 Chełmża was inhabited by 2982 people. A very important date for Chełmża was the year 1882, as it affected considerably the city's economy and demographics. At that time a sugar factory was opened in the city. The launch of the sugar industry was successful, after the end of the first sugar campaign a further expansion of the sugar plant was planned. Favorable conditions such as good sugar prices on the market, cheap labor, appropriate wheat and beet land guaranteed high yields. In 1885, the results of the campaign were so good that the sugar factory in terms of production became one of the largest within the borders of the territory of the Prussian partition and the German state<sup>13</sup>. The launch of the sugar factory in 1882 opened a new period in the history of Chełmża. The city was transformed from a craft and trade center into a local industrial center. In 1904, a great fire broke out in the plant, which led to the forced reconstruction and extension of the sugar plant, as a result of which the Chełmża sugar plant became one of the largest in Europe<sup>14</sup>. This new situation had a significant impact on the population development of Chełmża and the socio-professional and ethnic composition of its inhabitants. The population increased very quickly to 10 612 people in 1910. Among new settlers there were Germans connected with the technical management and administration of the sugar plant, entrepreneurs, merchants and craftsmen. At the same time, a great wave of Polish workers from the surrounding area flowed in, which made Chełmża take on the character of a workers' city. In 1894 the railway line Bydgoszcz-Uniśław – Kowalewo was built, and in 1901 the railway line Chełmża-Mełno started to operate. In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, other factories also developed in Chełmża. In 1875 a steam dairy was established, and in the 1880s a machine-building plant of August Lorcki was set up. In 1886, the Richert brothers' tar paper factory began operating. Georg Roth's construction company with a sawmill was also established here.

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<sup>13</sup> M. Bartko, W. Lau, *100 lat cukrowni Chełmża 1882-1982*, Chełmża 1982, p. 25-31; K., Wajda, *Chełmża pod zaborem pruskim (do 1914 r.)*, [in:] *Dzieje Chełmży*, ed. M. Wojciechowski, Chełmża 1994, p. 86, table 6, p. 106, table 18.

<sup>14</sup> L. Belzyt, *Dzieje Chełmży w okresie międzywojennym (1920-1939)*, Toruń 2001, p. 48.

In 1907, apart from the sugar factory, there were 2 brickyards, 3 steam sawmills, 2 roofing felt factories, 2 machine-building factories, a brewery and a dairy. Until World War I, however, the sugar factory maintained its leading position in the Chełmża industry<sup>15</sup>. Just after the end of the war, in 1919, the population of Chełmża amounted to 11 756 inhabitants. In the 1921 census, only 10 684 people were recorded, which is probably partly the result of the outflow of Germans from the city. It was noted that by 1926 about 2000 Germans had left Chełmża. In 1931 Chełmża was inhabited by 11 443 people, while in 1938 there were already 12 837 people<sup>16</sup>.

From 1818, Podgórz belonged to the newly established Toruń county. As a result of the introduction of a new ordinance for cities in Prussia in 1832 and a referendum held in 1833, Podgórz became a rural commune. It lost the city rights received in 1611. From 1845 it functioned on the basis of the city statute, but without the formal restoration of the city rights. The modification in the functioning of this solution took place in the years 1874-1894, when a new statute was approved of for the "commune" of Podgórz; according to the statute the organization of the authorities followed the model of the city, but still without restoring the city rights<sup>17</sup>. As a result, in the statistical materials of 1905 and 1910 Podgórz was listed among towns.

The population of Podgórz in the 19<sup>th</sup> century dealt mainly with cattle breeding, agriculture and crafts. There were also taverns, small shops and a water mill. However, there was no industry. Positive changes occurred in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century after the introduction of the railway connections, the creation of the Central Station and the expansion and reconstruction of Toruń's fortifications, which allowed many residents of Podgórz to find work in the railways or in the army. Military units and refugees from the Russian partition were more and more attracted by Podgórz. These changes brought economic development of Podgórz. Before the First World War, R. Thoms's brewery, sawmills, and trade and craft developed here. There were 2 mills,

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<sup>15</sup> Wajda K., *Chełmża pod zaborem pruskim (do 1914 r.)*, p. 75-144.

<sup>16</sup> Z. Karpus, *Chełmża w okresie międzywojennym*, [in:] *Dzieje Chełmży*, p. 172, table 1.

<sup>17</sup> K. Ciesielska, T. Zakrzewski, *450 lat toruńskiego Podgórza 1555-2005*, Toruń 2005, p. 63.

a cigar factory, chemist's plants, inns and taverns. In 1907 a new town hall was built. Teachers, city clerks, railway workers and military officials lived here. In 1910 the population increased to 3638 people. In the First Census of 1921, after World War I, Podgórz appeared as a town, although according to documents it was not until 1923 that it received a new statute; in 1924 the Council of Ministers finally granted Podgórz the city rights. This situation persisted until 1938, when Podgórz was incorporated into Toruń<sup>18</sup>. At that time, in 1921, Podgórz had 3232 people; 4760 people in 1927; and 4,863 people in 1932, including 4728 Poles. When Podgórz joined Toruń, it had about 2000 more inhabitants<sup>19</sup>.

The number of rural communes and manorial areas of the Toruń county changed during the examined period. It was influenced not only by the natural movement of the population or migration processes, but also by the already indicated administrative changes along with the number of inhabitants of Podgórz, which for some time was considered a rural commune. Therefore, the number of inhabitants ranged between 40 000 and 57 000.

When writing about the demographic structure of Toruń, it should be remembered that the military garrison operating in the city strongly influenced not only the city's demographics, but also its economic development and the image of its inhabitants (Table 2). Toruń took on the character of a garrison town, as not only soldiers lived here, but also officers and their family members were stationed in the town. In 1871, there were 1757 military men in Toruń; however, the reconstruction and extension of the Toruń fortress from the late 1870s to the early 1890s resulted in a rapid increase in the number of residents of the Toruń garrison. At the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, military men comprised from 4401 to 5702 people within the city's administrative borders and the military population evinced an upward trend. However, the military population also lived in suburban towns such Rudak, where barracks were located Podgórz, Piaski, Wrzosa and Bielawy<sup>20</sup>.

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 71.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 73.

<sup>20</sup> K. Wajda, *Ludność Torunia*, p. 117-119.



Table 2  
The civilian and military population of Toruń in the years 1885-1910

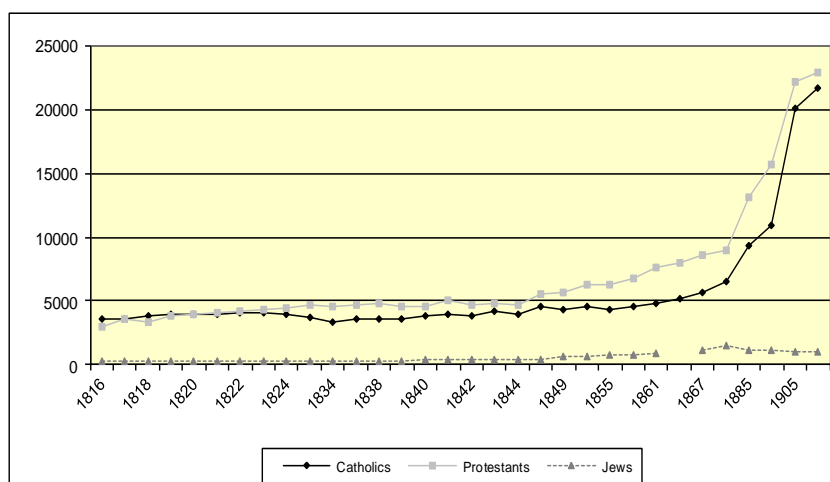
Years	Civilians in total	Military men	Population of Toruń in total
1885	23906	4401	28307
1895	27894	5366	33260
1905	43658	5638	49296
1910	46227	5702	51929

Source: *Gemeindelexikon für die Provinz Westpreussen: auf Grund der Materialien der Volkszählung vom 1. Dezember 1885*, p. 112-113; *Gemeindelexikon für die Provinz Westpreussen: auf Grund der Materialien der Volkszählung vom 2. Dezember 1895*, p. 108-109; *Gemeindelexikon für die Provinz Westpreussen: auf Grund der Materialien der Volkszählung vom 1. Dezember 1905*, p. 138-139; *Gemeindelexikon für die Regierungsbezirke*, p. 76-77.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century Toruń was a city inhabited largely by Protestants (Chart 1). Only in 1816 and 1818 Catholics constituted over 50% of the total population. After the Prussians took over the city, the Evangelicals quickly became the dominant religious group. This situation continued in the following years. Although the real numbers of Catholics increased many times, the percentage decreased because the increase in the number of Protestants was even greater. The influx of Evangelicals was associated with the immigration of officials, officers, Prussian teachers, as well as the arrival of workers for construction works. Particularly in the 1930s, there was a clear drop in the number of Catholics in Toruń – both in real and relative numbers (around 40%), with the growing importance of Evangelicals reaching 55.6%. This situation could be partly the result of the cholera epidemic that struck Toruń in 1831 and caused the death of many Catholics, who were considered to be poorer. However, this was mainly a consequence of the outflow of unskilled people due to the completion of construction works in Toruń. It was not until the early 1840s that Catholics began to

Chart 1

The civilian population of Toruń (along with members of military families) in the years 1816-1910 classified by religion (%)



Sources: The data concerning the size of the population according to denomination of the years 1816-1839, 1841-1844 come from the statistical compilations of the population of the city of Toruń and the suburbs; they comprise the number of civilian inhabitants along with members of military families residing beyond the barracks. Archiwum Państwowe w Toruniu, Akta miasta Torunia, no. 17506; for the years 1840, 1843, 1846-1867 coming from: K. Wajda, *Ludność Torunia*, p. 126, tab. 8; for the years 1871-1910 idem, *Przemiany w składzie wyznaniowym i narodowościowym ludności Torunia w XIX i początkach XX wieku*, [in:] *Mniejszości narodowe i wyznaniowe w Toruniu w XIX i XX wieku*, vol. 3, *Stosunki narodowościowe i wyznaniowe na Pomorzu w XIX i XX wieku*, ed. M. Wojciechowski, Toruń 1993, p. 15, tab. 5; the data for 1905 after the suburb of Mokre was incorporated into Toruń; the data for 1910 with the district of Mokre and after Bielany was incorporated into Toruń.

flow into Toruń again, but the number of Evangelicals continued to increase. “It is undisputed that while the share of the Polish population had fallen by the 1860s [to as much as 36.8% in 1861 – the author’s remark], since the 1880s there had been a reverse tendency expressed in the increase in the share of Poles among residents of Toruń. This

increase was the result of an influx of workers, mainly of Polish nationality, in connection with both the industrialization of Toruń (despite its limited scope) and the lively construction works from the 1870s to the 1890s, associated with reconstruction and extension of the Toruń fortress<sup>21</sup>. In 1910, Evangelicals constituted 50.9% while Catholics 47% of the total population. Jews also lived in Toruń. The first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was the beginning of the emancipation processes of Jews in Prussia<sup>22</sup>. The number of Jews in Toruń in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was about 300-400 people. In the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it increased to 1455 people in 1885, and then began to decline to 1005 in 1910. This was mainly due to the emigration of Jews to western Europe or overseas. In Toruń, one could also meet representatives of the Evangelical Reform commune, members of the Old Lutheran Church, the Greek Catholic Church and Mennonites. In Toruń, there was also the so called Czerski's group – a group of dissidents from the Roman Catholic Church<sup>23</sup>.

The population of Toruń according to religion has been discussed above; therefore, in the context of Table 3 a reference should be made to other areas of the county. In Chełmża at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Catholic population prevailed, constituting 57.8% to 73.9% of the total population (Table 3). The population also increased in absolute numbers, which was caused by the launch of the sugar factory where workers found employment. Evangelicals constituted from 23.3% to 34.2 % of the total population. In Chełmża, there were also more than 200 Jews. There was also a Jewish community here<sup>24</sup>.

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<sup>21</sup> K. Wajda, *Przemiany w składzie wyznaniowym*, p. 24.

<sup>22</sup> See: Z. H. Nowak, *Sprawa emancypacji Żydów w Prusach Zachodnich*, [in:] *Emancypacja-asymilacja-antysemityzm. Żydzi na Pomorzu w XIX i XX wieku*, vol. 2. *Stosunki narodowościowe i wyznaniowe na Pomorzu w XIX i XX wieku*, ed. Z. H. Nowak, Toruń 1992, p. 7-16; idem, *Dzieje gminy żydowskiej w Toruniu (1815-1939). Zarys*, [in:] *Mniejszości narodowe i wyznaniowe w Toruniu w XIX i XX wieku*, vol. 3, p. 27-37; A. Bieniaszewska, *Toruński pejzaż żydowski*, Toruń 2013. Detailed information about the legislation concerning the Jewish population and the status of Jews see: A. Eisenbach, *Emancypacja Żydów na ziemiach polskich 1785-1870 na tle europejskim*, Warszawa 1988, pp. 128-135, 212-223, 265, 553-556.

<sup>23</sup> K. Wajda, *Przemiany w składzie*, p. 18.

<sup>24</sup> See A. Bieniaszewska, *Żydzi w Chełmży*, Toruń 2018.

In 1871, Mokre was the most populated rural commune with 2375 people. Among them 1426 people were of Protestant religion, 926 Catholics and 23 Jews. Numerous municipalities also included: Podgórz – 1108 inhabitants and Kowalewo (1234 people with a predominance of Catholics), which in 1871 belonged to the Toruń county, and in 1887 it became part of the newly created county of Wąbrzeźno. In the territories of manorial areas, Ryńsk dominated (just like Kowalewo it was situated in the county of Wąbrzeźno) with 1227 inhabitants (1156 Catholics). It was followed by Grabie – 1210 people (771 Catholics) and Turzno – 1055 people (1029 Catholics).

In 1885, Mokre still remained among the largest rural communes with 6826 inhabitants (including 3671 Protestants; 3073 Catholics; 75 Jews). Podgórz had 1972 inhabitants (1216 Protestants), Wrzosey – 1234 people (645 Protestants), Siemoń – 1091 people (only 94 Protestants), Grębocin had 1135 people (most Protestants), Lubicz – 1167 people (564 Protestants and 576 Catholics). Grabie, Ostaszewo and Turzno, still belonged to the most numerous areas of manorial areas with 1160 inhabitants (739 Catholics).

Table 3  
Denominational structure in the Toruń county in the years 1871-1905

Toruń											
Years	Evangelicals	%	Catholics	%	Other Christians	%	Jews	%	Others	%	Total
1871	8929	53,7	6474	39,0	41	0,2	1175	7,1	–	–	16619
1885	13101	54,8	9329	39,0	21	0,1	1455	6,1	–	–	23906
1895	15675	56,2	10927	39,2	106	0,4	1180	4,2	1	–	27889
1905	22211	50,9	20062	46,0	220	0,5	1164	2,7	1	–	43658

Chełmża											
Years	Evangelicals	%	Catholics	%	Other Christians	%	Jews	%	Others	%	Total
1871	1021	34,2	1725	57,8	2	0,1	234	7,8	–	–	2982
1885	1626	32,7	3063	61,7	–	–	279	5,6	–	–	4968
1895	2073	27,4	5216	68,8	11	0,1	279	3,7	–	–	7579
1905	2336	23,3	7395	73,9	11	0,1	265	2,6	–	–	10007
Podgórz											
Years	Evangelicals	%	Catholics	%	Other Christians	%	Jews	%	Others	%	Total
1905	2496	69,0	1099	30,4	13	0,4	11	0,3	–	–	3619
Rural communes											
Years	Evangelicals	%	Catholics	%	Other Christians	%	Jews	%	Others	%	Total
1871	16012	52,9	13654	45,1	117	0,4	468	1,5	–	–	30251
1885	18345	54,7	14644	43,7	253	0,8	277	0,8	–	–	33519
1895	21794	53,2	18657	45,6	261	0,6	237	0,6	1	–	40950
1905	16882	54,8	13736	44,6	141	0,5	55	0,2	–	–	30814

Areas belonging to noblemen											
Years	Evangelicals	%	Catholics	%	Other Christians	%	Jews	%	Others	%	Total
1871	4407	21,4	16114	78,3	10	–	57	0,3	–	–	20588
1885	3129	20,8	11848	78,9	16	0,1	25	0,2	–	–	15018
1895	3836	23,6	12375	76,1	12	0,1	47	0,3	1	–	16271
1905	3105	22,0	10981	77,9	4	–	–	–	–	–	14090

Source: *Die Gemeinden und Gutsbezirke*, p. 434-443; *Gemeindelexikon für die Provinz Westpreussen: auf Grund der Materialien der Volkszählung vom 1. Dezember 1885*, p. 112-119; *Gemeindelexikon für die Provinz Westpreussen: auf Grund der Materialien der Volkszählung vom 2. Dezember 1895*, p. 108-117; *Gemeindelexikon für die Provinz Westpreussen: auf Grund der Materialien der Volkszählung vom 1. Dezember 1905*, p. 138-145.

In 1895, Mokre still continued to dominate among rural communes, which at the moment had 10 496 inhabitants, including 4883 Evangelicals; 5479 Catholics; 93 Jews and 41 other Christians. Large rural communes also included: Podgórz – 2945 inhabitants with a clear majority of the Protestant population (1930 people); Rudak – 1977 inhabitants, including 1037 people belonging to the military population and 1572 Evangelicals; Grębocin – 1442 people, predominantly Evangelicals; Wrzosy – 1390 people with a predominance of Protestants, Lubicz – 1145 people with a predominance of Catholics; Siemoń – 1131 inhabitants with a majority of Catholics. In 1895 Grabie with 1123 inhabitants again belonged to the largest manorial areas of a clear Catholic character.

In 1905, Podgórz obtained a status of a town with a clear majority of the Protestant population. This religious structure was the result of an increase in the number of residents of German nationality, primarily officials and workers who were employed in the construction of the station, railways and fortifications. It also entailed the need to establish

an Evangelical school, which was built in 1865<sup>25</sup>. Rudak was again among the largest rural communes, where 2737 people lived, including 1791 military men. Such a population structure in Rudak meant a large number of Evangelicals – 2127 people. Grębocin had 1683 people (1085 Protestants and 578 Catholics); Lubicz had 1169 people (652 Catholics); Siemoń numbered 1197 people (1108 Catholics); Wrzosey was inhabited by 1074 people (599 Protestants); in Stawki there were 1006 inhabitants (842 Evangelicals). Grabie, which had 1371 inhabitants (including 937 Catholics) still belonged to the most numerous areas of manorial areas, as did Ostaszewo, Turzno, Dybowo and Gierkowo.

For 1905 and 1910 we have more accurate data concerning religion and the mother tongue (Tables 4 and 5). However, the correlation of these data is difficult because the arrangement of the tables for both years is different and in the data for 1910 there was a large, non-religious group of people speaking in German and other languages. Although it is possible to guess their religious affiliation, it should be assumed that they were mostly Catholics<sup>26</sup>; yet, from a statistical point of view they remain a non-denominational group. In 1905, among the Evangelicals in cities and in the rural areas of the county, there prevailed persons declaring German as their native language. Evangelicals declaring a different language, including Polish, constituted a marginal minority. Most of them – 103 people – lived in Toruń.

Among Catholics, the proportions regarding language were even similar. Most declared Polish to be their native tongue, but in every area there was also a large group of people speaking German. In Toruń, this group consisted of 5835 people. In addition, a large group of Catholics declared German and other languages to be their mother tongue. This is valuable information in the context of the data of 1910.

Jews were also recorded in the Toruń county. There were 1164 Jews living in Toruń, and 265 in Chełmża. In Toruń and in rural communes, there were also many people belonging to other Christian denominations.

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<sup>25</sup> K. Ciesielska, T. Zakrzewski, *450 lat toruńskiego Podgórza*, p. 68.

<sup>26</sup> Such a thesis appears in the article by K. Wajda: *Przemiany w składzie*, p. 23. Wskazuje na to również L. Belzyt, *Pruska statystyka językowa*, p. 132-133.

Table 4  
Denomination/the mother tongue in the Toruń county in 1905

Area	Evangelicals				Catholics				Other Christians	Jews	Others	Total
	German	Polish	Another language	German and another language	German	Polish	Another language	German and another language				
Chełmża	2306	1	20	9	338	7022	3	32	11	265	–	10007
Podgórz	2487	5	2	2	404	629	0	66	13	11	–	3619
Toruń	22055	103	32	21	5835	13835	43	349	220	1164	1	43658
Rural communes	16769	40	11	62	1030	12630	6	70	141	55	–	30814
Manorial areas	3072	20	9	4	363	10460	6	152	4	–	–	14090

Source: *Gemeindelexikon für die Provinz Westpreussen: auf Grund der Materialien der Volkszählung vom 1. Dezember 1905*, p. 138-145.

In 1910 the situation was similar, although the form itself had a different layout (Table 5). Evangelicals declaring the Polish language to be their mother tongue were marginal; they appeared only in Toruń and in rural communes and manorial areas. In Chełmża and Podgórz, only German-speaking Evangelicals were recorded. In turn, among Catholics, Polish-speakers prevailed, but the number of German speakers was also considerable<sup>27</sup>. It is worth emphasizing that virtually all Jews declared German as their native language. People identified as belonging to other Christian denominations also spoke German. It is worth underlining the already mentioned group of 1142 people recorded as

<sup>27</sup> See K. Wajda, *Polacy i Niemcy w Prusach Zachodnich w XIX i początkach XX wieku*, [in:] *Mniejszości narodowe i wyznaniowe na Pomorzu w XIX i XX wieku*, vol. 6: *Stosunki narodowościowe i wyznaniowe na Pomorzu w XIX i XX wieku*, ed. M. Wojciechowski, Toruń 1998, p. 7-22.



declaring German and other languages to be their mother tongue. It should be assumed that they were mostly Catholics declaring both German and Polish to be their native languages, the so-called “bilingual”.

Table 5  
Mother tongue/denomination the county of Toruń in 1910

Area	German				Polish				Cash.	Others	German and other languages	Total
	Evangelicals	Catholics	Ot. Chr.	Jews	Evangelicals	Catholics	Ot. Chr.	Jews	Catholics			
Toruń	22764	6237	510	994	41	14842	–	6	6	158	669	46227
Chełmża	2263	346	21	238	–	7623	–	–	–	49	72	10612
Podgórz	2461	365	19	9	–	706	–	–	–	–	78	3638
Rural communes	17427	910	247	45	24	13044	–	–	–	30	113	31840
Manorial areas	2779	401	10	2	9	9507	–	5	–	52	210	12975

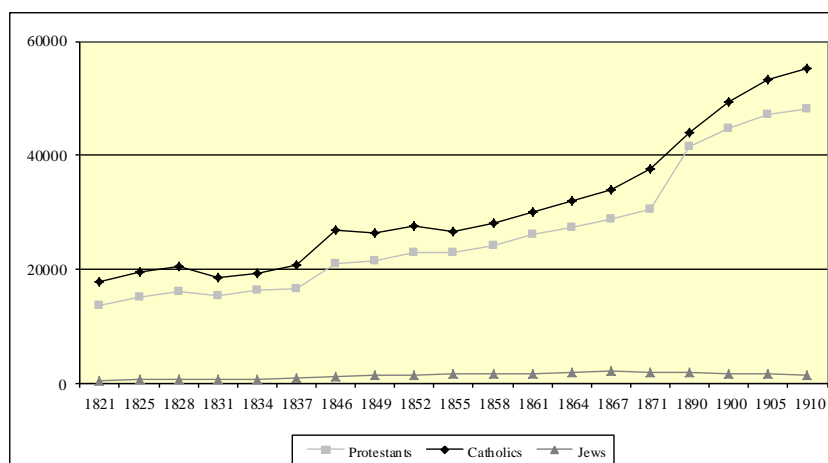
Ot. Chr. – Other Christians, Cash. – Cashubians.

Source: *Gemeindelexikon für die Regierungsbezirke*, p. 76-83.

Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the numerical superiority of the Catholic population over the Evangelical population is still visible (Chart 2). The number of Evangelicals throughout the Toruń county fluctuated from 13 652 in 1821 to 48 219 people in 1910. The percentage of this denominational group also increased from 42.9% to almost 48% of the total. Absolute numbers of Catholics also rose from 17 733 in 1821 to 55 171 in 1910, but the proportion of Catholics fell from 55.8% to 50.1% of the total population in 1890, then rose to 52.3% in 1910. The number of Jews in the county, especially in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, was small. This community consisted of 423 people in 1821,

Chart 2

The population of the Toruń county according to the denomination in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries



For 1905 and 1910, the data for the county and city of Toruń.

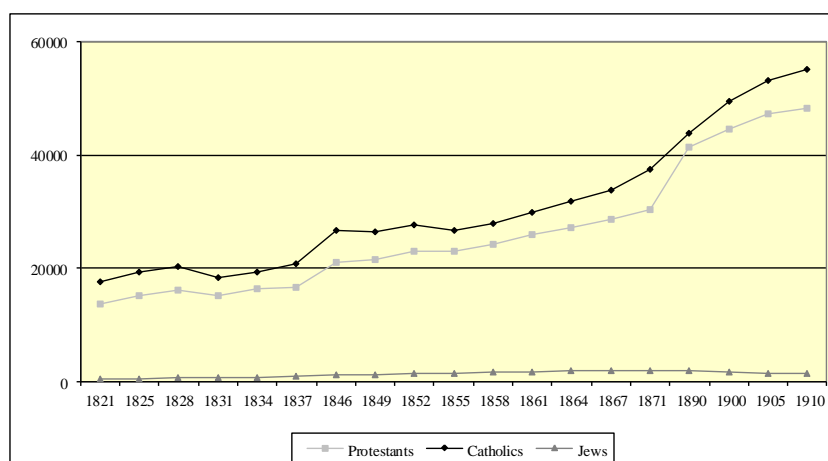
Source: L. Belzyt, *Sprachliche Minderheiten im preussischen Staat 1815-1914. Die preussische Sprachenstatistik in Bearbeitung und Kommentar*, Marburg 1998, p. 115.

and the number rose to 1232 people in 1849. A further inflow was recorded in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century until 1867. The value for 1890 is already lower and amounts to 1834 Jews, while for 1910 it is even smaller – 1334.

An analysis of the language structure of the Toruń county indicates a large group of people declaring German as their native language. In addition, this group increased in number over time (Chart 3). In 1846, there were 16 922 people having German as their mother tongue, and the number increased to 58 256 in 1910. Relative numbers remained at the level from 44 % to over 55%. The number of people who spoke Polish increased from 17 290 in 1834 to 45 927 in 1910, but the percentage share of this group ranged from 56% to about 41% of the total

Chart 3

The population of the Toruń county classified according to the mother tongue in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries



Data for the Toruń county for 1905 and 1910.

Source: L. Belzyt, *Sprachliche Minderheiten im preussischen Staat 1815-1914. Die preussische Sprachenstatistik in Bearbeitung und Kommentar*, Marburg 1998, p. 115.

in a clear downward trend. In 1890, 1900, 1905 and 1910 there were also people declaring two languages (German and Polish) to be their mother tongues – in 1900 there were 2239 such people. In 1905 and 1910 there were also people declaring another language. It can therefore be concluded that the denominational and national structure (determined on the basis of the mother tongue) overlaps only to a certain extent. As indicated by the statistical data, some part of the Catholic population declared German to be their native language<sup>28</sup>. This was also done by the Jewish population.

<sup>28</sup> See more about the Germanization in the field of culture and religion in the Prussian provinces: E. Alabrudzińska, *Stosunki religijne w Toruniu (1815-1914)*, [in:] *Historia Torunia*, vol. 3, part 1, p. 404-406.

However, when analyzing the language-nationality data from the Prussian censuses, it should be taken into account that these data are not entirely reliable. Prussian censuses were burdened with falsifications. This is indicated by L. Belzyt, who compares these data with the results of school records in the Toruń county. On this basis, he concludes that the percentage of the Polish-speaking population (also in Toruń) was higher than the official statistics show, largely when it comes to the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. He concludes that “from 1831 to 1910, the Germanization process made little progress there”<sup>29</sup>.

As a result of the partitions, many Germans lived in Toruń and in the Toruń county at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Huge national and religious changes took place after the reincorporation of Toruń and the Toruń county into Poland. Dynamic migration movements occurred here, which caused an exchange of people and important alterations in the national structure in favor of Poles. The Germans left Toruń and the county for political and legal reasons as well as and due to economic conditions. These areas were re-Polonized. Changes in the nationality structure resulted in modifications in the religious structure, which can be clearly seen in Toruń and in the towns and villages of the Toruń county (Table 6).

In 1921 in Toruń alone, Catholics constituted 85.3% of the total population, while in 1931 as much as 93.4%. The percentage of Evangelicals (in the vast majority consisting of followers of the Evangelical Church) fell from 13.2% to 4.8%. The situation was similar in other towns of the Toruń county (Chełmża<sup>30</sup>, Podgórz), where the percentage of Evangelicals fell from 9.7% to 3.1%, while the percentage of Catholics increased from 89.6% to 96.2%. The same tendencies were observed in rural communes and manorial areas, where the percentage of Evangelicals fell from 28.8% to 15.5%, while the percentage of Catholics increased from 70.8% to 83.9%. The United Church, which

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<sup>29</sup> L. Belzyt, *Pruska statystyka językowa (1825-1911) a Polacy zaboru pruskiego, Mazur i Śląska*, Zielona Góra 2013, p. 131-134.

<sup>30</sup> L. Belzyt, *Dzieje Chełmży*, p. 43, table 5. The author presents the denominational division of the population of Chełmża in the years 1926-1931.

throughout the entire time of the partitions had dominated and enjoyed privileges, now was losing its believers; it also lost its position for the benefit of the Roman Catholic Church<sup>31</sup>.

Table 6

The denominational structure in the Toruń county in the years 1921 and 1931

Area	Years	Catholics	%	Evangelicals	%	Jews	%	Other Christians	%	Unidentified	%	Total
Toruń	1921	33612	85,3	5223	13,2	354	0,9	224	0,6	11	–	39424
	1931	50453	93,4	2617	4,8	493	0,9	386	0,7	44	0,1	53993
Towns in the county	1921	12431	89,6	1340	9,7	72	0,5	36	0,3	1	–	13880
	1931	15568	96,2	495	3,1	49	0,3	64	0,4	7	–	16183
Rural communes and manorial areas	1921	28227	70,8	11486	28,8	4	–	169	0,4	7	–	39893
	1931	36923	83,9	6831	15,5	4	–	247	0,6	26	0,1	44031

Source: *Skorowidz miejscowości Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, p. 56-60; *Druki powszechny spis ludności*, p 32.

In 1921, the largest rural communes included Grębocin (the population of 1288 people including 785 Catholics); Lubicz – 1026 inhabitants, including 876 Catholics; Siemoń – 1083 inhabitants, including

<sup>31</sup> See E. Alabrudzińska, *Kościół ewangelicki na Pomorzu w okresie międzywojennym. Stosunki wewnętrzne i postawa wobec innych wyznań*, [in:] *Mniejszości narodowe i wyznaniowe na Pomorzu w XIX i XX wieku*, vol. 6, p. 181-200; eadem, *Ewangelicy w Toruniu w latach 1920-1945*, [in:] *Mniejszości narodowe i wyznaniowe w Toruniu w XIX i XX wieku*, vol. 3, p. 135-157.

1051 Catholics. Among the largest manorial areas there were: Grabie, 555 residents, including 267 Catholics and 287 Evangelicals; Nawra 535 inhabitants, exclusively Catholics; Ostaszewo – 604 people, including 581 Catholics; Pluskowęsy – 553 people, exclusively Catholics<sup>32</sup>.

Jews also lived in Toruń and the Toruń county in the interwar period. In Toruń, in 1921 there lived 354 Jews, while in 1931– 493 Jews. On the one hand, German Jews abandoned the territory, but at the same time Jews from the areas of the former Russian and Austrian partitions began to arrive, which entailed an increase in the magnitude of the Jewish community<sup>33</sup>. Jews also lived in the towns of the county (Chełmża and Podgórz); there were individual Jews living in rural areas. In Chełmża, the number of Jews rose from 6 Jews in 1921 to 72 in 1925. In the following years, the number of this population dropped and from 20 to 44 Jews were recorded. As with Toruń, the exchange of the Jewish population occurred here<sup>34</sup>. Other religious groups in Toruń and the Toruń county in the interwar period include the followers of the Polish National Catholic Church, the Orthodox Church, Baptists, Methodists, Seventh-day Adventists, Bible scholars, and Irvingians<sup>35</sup>.

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<sup>32</sup> Skorowidz miejscowości Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, p. 56-60.

<sup>33</sup> J. Sziling, *Gminy wyznaniowe żydowskie w województwie pomorskim w latach 1920-1939*, [in:] *Mniejszości narodowe i wyznaniowe w województwie pomorskim w okresie międzywojennym (1920-1939)*, vol. 1: *Stosunki narodowościowe i wyznaniowe na Pomorzu w XIX i XX wieku*, ed. M. Wojciechowski, Toruń 1991, p. 45-53; Z. H. Nowak, *Gmina wyznaniowa żydowska w Toruniu w latach 1920-1939*, [in:] *Gminy wyznaniowe żydowskie w województwie pomorskim w okresie międzywojennym (1920-1939)*, vol. 4: *Stosunki narodowościowe i wyznaniowe na Pomorzu w XIX i XX wieku*, ed. J. Sziling, Toruń 1995, p. 59-74.

<sup>34</sup> Z. Karpus, *Chełmża w okresie międzywojennym*, [in:] *Dzieje Chełmży*, p. 173-174. See about the Polish-Jewish relations: M. Wojciechowski, *Antysemityzm na Pomorzu w okresie międzywojennym*, [in:] *Emancypacja-asymlacja-antysemityzm. Żydzi na Pomorzu w XIX i XX wieku*. vol. 2, *Stosunki narodowościowe i wyznaniowe na Pomorzu w XIX i XX wieku*, ed. Z. H. Nowak, Toruń 1992, p. 43-59. See Z. H. Nowak, *Z dziejów toruńskich Żydów w czasach międzywojennych*, [in:] *Mniejszości narodowe i wyznaniowe w województwie pomorskim w okresie międzywojennym (1920-1939)*, vol. 1, p. 61-69.

<sup>35</sup> Z. Waszkiewicz, *Stosunki wyznaniowe w Toruniu (1920-1939)*, [in:] *Mniejszości narodowe i wyznaniowe w Toruniu w XIX i XX wieku*, vol. 3, p. 97-119. See *Metamorfozy społeczne*, vol. 5: *Religia a społeczeństwo Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. T. Stegner, Warszawa 2013.

Naturally, the changes were visible in the national structure (Table 7). According to the data of 1921, the Toruń county was dominated by people declaring to be of Polish nationality, which was influenced by the outflow of German people. After 1925, the number of Germans leaving the area began to decrease<sup>36</sup>. In Toruń, 87.1% of residents declared to have the Polish nationality, whilst in Chełmża they constituted as much as 91% of the total population<sup>37</sup>; in Podgórz their number constituted 90.1%. The majority of Germans lived in rural communes, where they constituted 34% of the total population. “The exodus of the majority of the German urban population to the Reich meant that a significant proportion of Pomeranian Germans were residents of rural areas”<sup>38</sup>. Poles constituted 93.1% of the total population residing in manorial areas.

According to the data of 1931, as many as 94.4% of Toruń’s residents (51 006 people) indicated Polish to be their native language, and only 4.5% declared German (2450 people) (Table 8). In other cities in the county, this ratio remained at the level of: 96.5% (15 623 people) to 3% (491 people); in rural communes and manorial areas of the Toruń county at the level of 84.7% (37 286 people) to 15% (6633 people). Re-Polonization, which took place in all areas of life, was very clearly visible in the national structure. In addition to those who spoke these two languages, there were people declaring other languages like Jewish and Hebrew – 311 people, Russian – 152 people, Ukrainian – 70 people, others – 41 people. The Russians living in this area were mainly prisoners of war who had begun to flow into Gdańsk Pomorania immediately after the start of the Polish-German fights during World

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<sup>36</sup> See M. Stażewski, *Rzesza w obliczu migracji po I wojnie światowej – niektóre aspekty kwestii napływu niemieckich imigrantów z ziem byłego zaboru pruskiego*, [in:] *Migracje polityczne i ekonomiczne w krajach nadbałtyckich w XIX i XX wieku*, ed. J. Borzyszkowski, M. Wojciechowski, Toruń-Gdańsk 1995, p. 93-109; M. Wojciechowski, *Emigracja ludności niemieckiej z województwa pomorskiego w okresie międzywojennym (1920-1939)*, [in:] *ibid.*, p. 110-124.

<sup>37</sup> L. Belzyt, *Dzieje Chełmży*. The author presents the nationality composition of the population of Chełmża in the years 1926-1931: p. 41-42, table 4.

<sup>38</sup> P. Olstowski, *Stosunki ludnościowe w województwie pomorskim*, [in:] *Historia Pomorza*, vol. 5 (1918-1939), p. 106.

Table 7

The population of the Toruń county in 1921 according to the nationality they declared

Area	Polish	%	German	%	Other or unknown	%	Total
Toruń	34320	87,1	4923	12,5	181	0,5	39424
Chełmża	9688	91,0	950	8,9	10	0,1	10648
Podgórz	2912	90,1	284	8,8	36	1,1	3232
Rural communes	17634	65,8	9121	34,0	57	0,2	26812
Manorial areas	12175	93,1	892	6,8	14	0,1	13081

Source: *Skorowidz miejscowości Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, p. 56-60.

War I. They stayed in camps created for them. Most of them returned to their country after the war, but in August 1920 more Russians were sent to Pomerania. It was the result of the victory of the Polish troops near Warsaw. The next wave of Russians arrived in December 1920; they were military men, members of the so-called “3rd Russian Army” created in Poland to fight jointly with the Bolsheviks. Some of them got a job and a permission to reside in Poland. About 220 people from the Toruń camp received such permits. The final settlement of the problem of refugees from Russia took place in 1924. They received Nansen passports and the status of stateless persons<sup>39</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> Z. Karpus, *Jeńcy wojenni i emigracja polityczna z Rosji na Pomorzu w latach 1914-1939 (Procesy asymilacyjne, stosunek miejscowego społeczeństwa)*, [in:] *Migracje polityczne i ekonomiczne*, p. 125-136; see also: idem, *Rosjanie i Ukraińcy w Toruniu w latach 1920-1939*, [in:] *Mniejszości narodowe i wyznaniowe w Toruniu*, vol. 3, p. 81-96.



Table 8

The population of the Toruń county in 1931 according to the mother tongue

Area	P	U	R	B	Ru	Cz	L	G	J	H	O	Nd	Total
City of Toruń	51006	35	8	3	113	10	1	2450	245	27	39	56	53993
Cities of the county	15623	17	–	3	1	–	–	491	37	–	–	11	16180
Communes and manorial areas	37286	18	5	8	38	–	9	6633	2	–	2	30	44023
County total	103915	70	13	14	152	10	10	9574	284	27	41	97	114196

P – Polish, U – Ukrainian, R – Ruthenian, B – Belorussian, Ru – Russian, Cz – Czech, L – Lithuanian, G – German, J – Jewish, H – Hebrew, O – others, Nd – no data

Source: *Drugi powszechny spis ludności*, p. 35.

Ukrainians also lived in Pomerania, including the Toruń county. They came from internment camps for soldiers and, as the camps had closed, they began to settle down and find employment here. According to the data of 1937, there were 140 inhabitants in Toruń and 55 Ukrainians and Ruthenians in the Toruń county. In the whole of Pomerania, there were 1683 of them<sup>40</sup>. It should be remembered that foreigners were also part of the Polish army. There were Ukrainian, Belorussian and German minorities in Pomerania. According to the data of 1936 determining the nationality structure of soldiers of the Polish Army, it can be seen that it consisted of 76.4% Poles, 11.3% Ukrainians, 5.9% Jews, 4.9% Belarussians, 0.9% Germans, and 0.5% of those

<sup>40</sup> Z. Karpus, *Rosjanie i Ukraińcy na Pomorzu w latach 1920-1939*, [in:] *Mniejszości narodowe i wyznaniowe na Pomorzu w XIX i XX wieku*, vol. 6, p. 95-114. See W. Mędrzecki, *Liczebność i rozmieszczenie grup narodowościowych w II Rzeczypospolitej w świetle wyników II spisu powszechnego (1931 r.)*, *Dzieje Najnowsze*, 1983, no. 1-2, p. 231-252.

referred to as others. The data regarding the national composition of the Toruń Corps District Command in 1936 indicated 75.7% of Poles, 17.7% of Belarusians, 6% of Jews and 0.8% of Germans<sup>41</sup>.

A clear decrease in the number and percentage of the German population is also visible on the basis of the statistical data for the inter-war period compared to 1910 for the entire city of Toruń and the entire county of Toruń (Chart 4). In 1910, Germany constituted 66% of the total population of Toruń and 46.8 % of the county's population, while after World War I their percentage dropped in Toruń from 12.5% in 1921 to 3.5% in 1937, while in the county from 20.9% to 11.8% in 1931. It should be noted that Polish-German relations in the interwar period in Toruń were diverse and depended very much on the period. The Germans, who decided to stay in Toruń in 1920, throughout all this time maintained a strong economic position and their linguistic and cultural identity. In addition, financial assistance from the Reich helped them survive difficult times such as the great economic crisis. According to the data of 1935, in Toruń 45% of the largest industrial enterprises and 31% of the smaller ones were owned by Germans<sup>42</sup>.

For both inter-war censuses, we have data concerning the occupational structure of the population. It should be noted, however, that in the case of the 1921 census, we have separate data for Toruń, towns in the county, municipalities and noblemen's areas, while for 1931 we have separate data only for Toruń and the Toruń county (Chart 5, 6). The active population belonging to the professional group: agriculture,

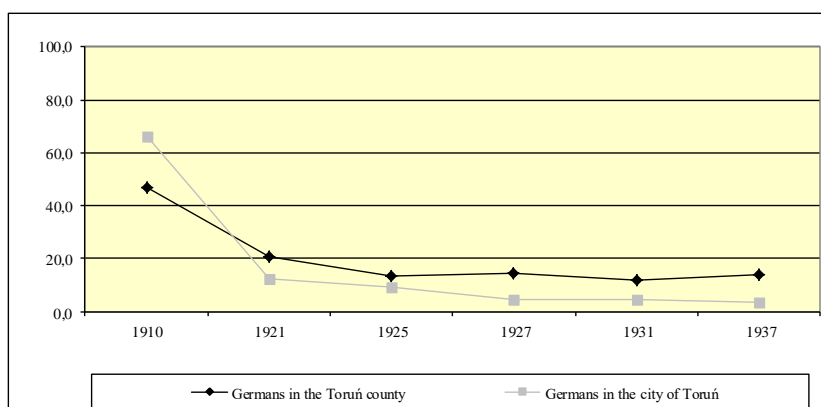
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<sup>41</sup> W. Rezmer, *Mniejszości narodowe w Wojsku Polskim w okresie międzywojennym*, [in:] *Mniejszości narodowe i wyznaniowe w województwie pomorskim w okresie międzywojennym (1920-1939)*, vol. 1, p. 115-141, table 2, p. 122, table 3, p. 122; idem, *Mniejszości narodowe i wyznaniowe w garnizonie toruńskim w latach 1920-1939*, [in:] *Mniejszości narodowe i wyznaniowe w Toruniu w XIX i XX wieku*, vol. 3, p. 121-134.

<sup>42</sup> M. Wojciechowski, *Polacy i Niemcy w Toruniu w latach 1920-1939*, [in:] *Mniejszości narodowe i wyznaniowe w województwie pomorskim w okresie międzywojennym (1920-1939)*, vol. 1, p. 34-35; idem, *Mniejszość niemiecka w Toruniu w latach 1920-1939*, [in:] *Przemiany w składzie wyznaniowym i narodowościowym ludności Torunia w XIX i początkach XX wieku*, [in:] *Mniejszości narodowe i wyznaniowe w Toruniu w XIX i XX wieku*, vol. 3, p. 59-80; idem, *Mniejszości narodowe w Toruniu w okresie międzywojennym (1920-1939)*, [in:] *Historia Torunia*, vol. 3, part 2, p. 195-235.

Chart 4

Germans in the Toruń county and the city of Toruń in the years 1910-1937 (%)



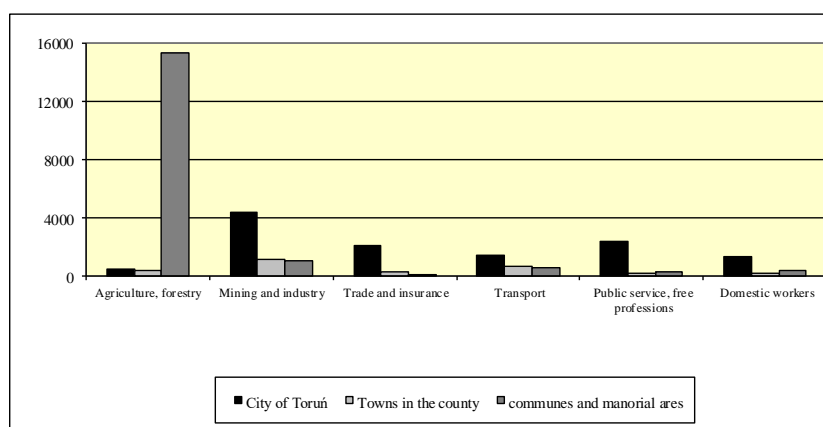
Source: The chart prepared on the basis of the data from: P. Olstowski, *Stosunki ludnościowe w województwie pomorskim*, [in:] *Historia Pomorza*, vol. 5 (1918-1939), table 7.

forestry, gardening and fishing dominated both in 1921 and 1931 in rural areas in the Toruń county. In turn, the population employed in industry definitely prevailed in Toruń, Chełmża and Podgórz. In addition, their number clearly increased from 4369 to 8048 people. It was associated with the developing process of the industrialization of the city, including the dynamic activity of the largest industrial plants.

It should be noted here that the industry in Toruń suffered heavy losses during World War I due to the export of a large part of machinery and equipment by German manufacturers and owing to the switch from of war production to production in the times of peace. In the 1920s, small factories and enterprises predominated in Toruń. The most important branch of industry here was the food industry represented by gingerbread factories, cereal mills, meat and potato factories, vegetable fat factories, spirit rectifications and breweries. The largest factory here was the gingerbread factory of Gustaw Weese, founded in 1773, which had operated in the suburb of Jakubskie Przedmieście

Chart 5

Active professionals in the most numerous professional groups in the county of Toruń in 1921



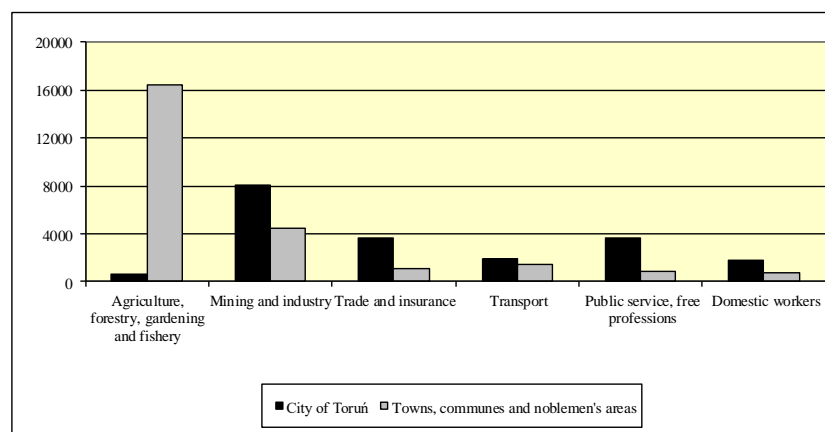
Source: *Pierwszy powszechny spis Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, p. 213-217.

since 1914. A starch factory had operated since 1910 and in 1921 it was taken over by the Lubańska Potato Products Factory “Lubań-Wronki”. The Toruń Pasta Factory of Sichtau and S-ka, founded in 1874, also occupied an important place. The Toruń Steam Mill of Leopold Rychter, formerly Gerson, founded in 1887, was one of the largest in Pomerania. The oil industry also developed in Toruń. Two of the four Pomeranian oil mills were located here. These included the Franciszek Woyton Oil Mill and Refinery, and the Langner and Illgner Oil Mill. The bacon and ham factories of Stanisław Jaugsch and S-ka, two breweries, vodka and liqueur factories as well as spirit rectifications, e.g. the Waclaw Maćkowiak Plant, formerly the Sułtan and S-ka company founded in 1858, should also be mentioned. The machine and metal industry also developed in Toruń. The Machinery and Boiler Factory and the Iron Foundry “Born and Schütze” were founded in 1856, whilst the E. Drewitz Iron Machine Factory and the Iron Foundry were established in 1842. In 1920, the Gas Meter and Apparatus Factory was founded; it was later renamed the Polish Water Meter and Gas Meter

Factory. There were also printing plants in the city, including the Józef Buszczyński printing house operating since 1866. The chemical industry was represented by the Graphic Printing Factory “Atra” established in 1922. In 1932, the Polchem chemical plant was launched. The largest factory of the textile industry was the Linen Processing Factory “Len Pomorski” founded in 1921. Despite the existence of these enterprises, Toruń gave way to the cities of Bydgoszcz and Grudziądz in every respect<sup>43</sup>.

Chart 6

Active professionals in the most numerous professional groups in the county of Toruń in 1931



Source: *Drugi powszechny spis ludności*, p. 293-296.

When writing about the industry in the Toruń county in the inter-war period, Chełmża should definitely be mentioned. The largest plant here was still the sugar factory, employing up to 2000 people in the mid-1930s. Despite its extensive modernization, the sugar factory was

<sup>43</sup> R. Sudziński, *Gospodarka Pomorza Nadwiślańskiego w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, [in:] *Historia Pomorza*, vol. 5 (1918-1939), p. 201-207. See idem, *Życie gospodarcze*, [in:] *Historia Torunia*, vol. 3, part 2, p. 73-110.

also affected by the interwar economic crisis. There were even breaks in its work. There were other smaller industrial plants in the city: a comb factory founded in 1922, agricultural machinery factories, a factory of tar paper and tar of the Pichert brothers, three brickyards, a vinegar factory, mills. Crafts, trade and services also developed in the city. There were hotels, restaurants and taverns. A municipal slaughterhouse and a dairy cooperative operated in the city<sup>44</sup>.

In Podgórz in the interwar period, crafts continued to develop; there were also a brewery, water mills, a dairy and restaurants. The number of residential houses increased. The development of public transport, in particular the launch of bus communication from the market in Podgórz to the slaughterhouse in the district of Jakubskie Przedmieście in 1925 had a significant impact on the development of its economy and population. Very important moments for Podgórz occurred when the road bridge was put into service over the Vistula in 1934 and a tram line connecting the centre of Toruń with the Main Railway Station was launched<sup>45</sup>.

In 1921 as many as 2450 people were employed in the public service and free professions in Toruń. Until 1931 their number increased to 3619 people. The number of people in this occupational group in the county also increased from 518 to 850. The next group in terms of the number of employees was: trade and insurance. The number of those engaged in broadly understood trade increased further from 2139 to 3617 in Toruń, and from 523 to 1049 in the county. There was also a large group of people employed in communication and transport (in Toruń in 1921 – 1416 people, and in 1931 – 1928 people. In the county the numbers were 1293 and 1444 respectively. In the domestic service, in the case of Toruń the number of employees also increased from 1365 up to 1816 people.

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<sup>44</sup> Z. Karpus, *Chelmża w okresie międzywojennym*, [in:] *Dzieje Chelmży*, p. 176-180; see also: L. Belzyt, *Dzieje Chelmży*, p. 31-32, 45-56.

<sup>45</sup> K. Ciesielska, T. Zakrzewski, *450 lat toruńskiego Podgórza*, p. 74. See R. Bugowski, *Miasto w ruchu*, Toruń 2018. The author discusses the spatial-economic conditions and the development of the internal communication system of Toruń from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century to 1939.

In Toruń, like in the entire county, the economic situation deteriorated during the great economic crisis. Small and medium-sized enterprises were liquidated and production in larger plants was significantly reduced. In March 1929, there were 1650 unemployed people recorded in Toruń. However, job seekers still arrived in the city, which paradoxically resulted in even more unemployment. In March 1930, there were already 2500 unemployed people; in December 1930 – 3100; in March 1932 – 4300; in February 1934 – 3300 registered unemployed persons. However, taking into account that not all the unemployed were registered, it should be assumed that the unemployment rate in the city was even higher<sup>46</sup>. Unemployment during the Great Depression also became a problem for Chełmża. In the mid-1930s, around 2000 men were unemployed at the time, so along with their families they constituted about 7000 jobless people from Chełmża and the surrounding areas<sup>47</sup>. “In the years 1930-1932 a group of constantly unemployed people was formed. They did not belong to workers, but to the group of the poor requiring constant support”<sup>48</sup>. There were also unemployed people in Podgórz. In 1932 there were 158 jobless people, while in the winter of 1932/33 there were a total of 568 unemployed persons in Podgórz and Stawki, which even caused clashes with the police<sup>49</sup>.

In the interwar period, Toruń was one of the most important Pomoranian centres of crafts, trade and industry, although its strong competitors were Grudziądz and dynamically developing Gdynia. Bydgoszcz, incorporated from the Poznań Province and Włocławek, incorporated from the Warsaw Province, also developed very well. Nevertheless, it can be said that Toruń continued its pre-war traditions in terms of economic and social development. It still served as the capital of the county, and additionally, after the First World War – as the capital of the Voivodeship. What is more, the military garrison was stationed here. These elements definitely played a city-forming role.

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<sup>46</sup> D. Wojnarski, *Powszechna historia gospodarcza*, Warszawa 2004, p. 201. Consequences of the unemployment: R. Sudziński, *Spoleczeństwo międzywojennego Torunia*, p. 59.

<sup>47</sup> Z. Karpus, *Chełmża w okresie międzywojennym*, [in:] *Dzieje Chełmży*, p. 176-180.

<sup>48</sup> L. Belzyt, *Dzieje Chełmży*, p. 37.

<sup>49</sup> K. Ciesielska, T. Zakrzewski, *450 lat toruńskiego Podgórza*, p. 73.

From the short review of the statistical and demographic information about Toruń and the Toruń county for the interwar period, there emerges a picture of huge changes in the religious and national structure of the population, where the momentous points were World War I and Poland's regaining independence.

*Translation Agnieszka Chabros*