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Molik, Witold; Makowski, Krzysztof

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BREAKING OF SOCIAL BARRIERS AS AN EXPRESSION OF THE EMERGENCE OF A MODERN SOCIETY IN THE MID-19TH CENTURY - BASED ON THE EXAMPLE OF SELECTED POLISH TOWNS -

Witold Molik, Krzysztof Makowski(*)

Abstract: One of the most important symptoms of the emergence of modern societies was the phenomenon of the breaking of social barriers. Keeping this general characteristic in mind, we examine the specific nature of the breaking of social barriers in the Polish territories. The limited nature of this paper does not permit us to answer fully this question. Therefore, we concentrate on presenting the most objective measure of the elasticity of social barriers functioning in modern societies, i.e., the selection of a wife. By comparing the professions of husband and wife we can observe on the one hand the disappearance of old social divisions and on the other the emergence of new divisions typical of capitalism. This same factor also forced us to limit our research to the population of Poznah and Warsaw. The selection of these cities enabled a comparison of the phenomenon of the breaking of social barriers in the main urban center of an agricultural province (Poznah) with the analogical process in a city which was the capital of a dynamically developing industrial region (Warsaw).

Comparing the development of modern societies in 19th century Europe, it is not difficult to observe that social transformation in Poland displayed a noticeable difference. Above all, two factors determined this difference: the lack of an independent state and the specific system of feudal relationships characterized by a large number of "szlachta" (10% of the society) as well as by the economic and political weakness of the townspeople.(1) Despite the growing systematic interest of historians in the emergence of modern Polish society, we are still nonetheless a long way from a full reconstruction of the process of this emergence. Such a reconstruction will be possible only after the completion of complex analytical research.

One of the most important symptoms of the emergence of modern societies was - as is well known - the phenomenon of the breaking of social barriers. Together with the development of capitalism the feudal structure gradually disappeared. In its place a new class structure emerged. These transformations produced an increase in social mobility on a heretofore unencountered scale. In turn, this dramatic increase in social mobility created changes in social mentality. A consequence of these processes was the loosening of existing social divisions. Keeping these general characteristics in mind, we should now examine the specific nature of the breaking of social barriers in the Polish territories.

The limited nature of this paper does not permit us to answer fully this question. Therefore, we shall concentrate on presenting the most objective

(*) Address all communications to: Witold Molik, Krzysztof Makowski, Instytut Historii UAM, Marchlewskiego 124-126, 61-874 Poznah, Poland.

measure o£ the elasticity of social barriers functioning in modern societies, i.e., the selection of a wife. By comparing the professions of husband and wife we can observe on the one hand the disappearance of old social divisions and on the other the emergence new divisions typical of capitalism.

Mainly registry documents provide information on this topic. The use of such documents in historical research necessitates the overcoming of a series of practical difficulties. Above all, sheer number of such documents limited our archival research. This same factor also forced us to limit our research to the populations of Poznah and Warsaw. The geographical positions of these cities as well as the general positions which they occupied among urban centers in the Polish territories determined their selection as examples.

Poznah was in the center of Great Poland - the region which towards the end of the existence of the independent Polish state was at the forefront of precapitalist industrialization, and which after renewed occupation by the Prussians in 1815 declined economically as the result of a loss of markets for its goods. Despite the early completion of enfranchisement of the peasantry in 1823 and the elimination of the remnants of feudalism in the cities in 1833, the processes of industrialization in the Grand Duchy of Poznah continued slowly. The Prussian authorities did not create favorable conditions for the influx of foreign capital and simultaneously checked the development of internal accumulation. As a consequence of these policies the Grand Duchy of Poznah became in the first half of the 19th century an agricultural province, one of the slowest developing in Prussia.

Warsaw on the other hand was the capital of the Kingdom of Poland, which, within the structure of the Russian Empire, enjoyed until 1830 a great deal of autonomy and which could conduct its own protective economic policy. Furthermore, the Kingdom of Poland possessed unlimited markets for its industrial goods in the central and eastern provinces of Russia. In this situation, despite the limitations resulting from the existence of a serf-estate economy - enfranchisement of the peasantry did not occur until 1864 - a quick development of industry took place.

The selection of Poznah and Warsaw therefore enabled a comparison of the phenomenon of the breaking of social barriers in the main urban center of an agricultural province (Poznah) with the analogical process in a city which was the capital of a dynamically developing industrial region (Warsaw). In the course of our further deliberations we shall also attempt to determine whether the processes of industrialization or the elimination of the remnants of feudalism had a greater influence on the tempo and direction of this phenomenon.

On the basis of knowledge acquired from materials other than primary sources, we have assumed that differences in the tempo of social transformation in the two cities mentioned above were most evident in the middle of the 19th century. At this time the process of industrialization in the Polish Kingdom had already a high level, while in the Grand Duchy of Poznah the realization of enfranchisement was almost complete.

Keeping this in mind, we divided our quantitative research according to two time periods: 1845-48 and 1858-61. In Warsaw, we conducted research in five Roman Catholic parishes and two protestant parishes (Augsburger Confession and Reformed Church), in Poznah on the other hand we examined six Roman

Catholic parishes and four protestant (two belonging to the Augsburg Confession, one belonging to the Reformed Church, and one to the Old Lutheran Church).(2) In both cities the registers of the Jewish communities were almost completely destroyed; therefore, we were only able to conduct research on the Christian population. In the case of Warsaw 3468 acts represented the basis of our analysis in the first period, while for the second period we used 4720. The comparable numbers for Poznań were as follows: 511 and 555. One must however note that the figures cited above do not correspond to the number of marriages in this time. As a result of the lack of full documentation we were not able to conduct a statistical analysis of all the gathered material. Hence, in the case of Warsaw about 85% of the marriage certificates were quantified, while in Poznań about 50% were quantified. It seems though that the existing shortages of necessary information have not detracted from the representativeness of the results of the research. However, the different degrees of representativeness was not the only cause of disproportion between the number of marriage certificates gathered for Warsaw and Poznań. More than anything, this disproportion resulted from unequal number of residents of each city. In 1848 there were 148 thousand Christian inhabitants in Warsaw, and in 1861 150 thousand. In Poznan in 1848 there were 31 thousand and in i860 36 thousand.(3) Hence, the proportional agreement between the number of residents and the number of gathered acts, despite the differences in representativeness, guarantee the conducted analysis the value of comparativeness.

Where it was possible we sought to compare the results of our quantitative analysis with information contained in memoirs and in the contemporary press.

The analysis of the phenomenon of the breaking of social barrier must be conducted against a background of the hierarchization of society. As the basis of our research we accepted the class structure of society, as this structure had by the middle of 19th century begun to dominate among the population of the Polish territories, eventhough remnants of the old feudal structure were still evident. At this time the landed gentry occupied the top of the social ladder. One grade lower, though on the same level, we placed the intelligentsia, i.e., higher state officials and officers, higher manor officials, clerks, white collar workers and representatives of other intellectual professions (technicians, actors, musicians, elementary school teachers, etc.); as well as the bourgeoisie, which contained bankers, industrialists, merchants and owners of smaller industries. Between the specific professional categories in both groups, there did exist differences in the area of both income and prestige, although social status was almost the same. Beneath the intelligentsia and bourgeoisie was the lower middle class, which contained urban citizens and people living from capital; the army, the gendarmerie and the police; independent craftsmen, small financiers and tradesmen. At the lowest level on the social ladder we placed the representatives of classes which lived exclusively from manual labor, i.e., the peasantry and the proletariat, to which belonged journeymen, members of communal services (caretakers, janitors etc.), servants and workmen. Existing material in the form of publications concerning Warsaw obligated us to accept the internal classifications of the specific classes listed above. In our opinion, the reduced scope of social categories gives a greater clarity to the results. However, the internal differences in each class compel us to be careful when formulating results. As a result, we shall refer to even more specific divisions within these classes when the situation demands it.

ft is important to note that as the result of the placement of Poznah in the system of Prussian fortifications located near the Russian border the city was surrounded by a ring of embankments which until the end of the 19th century limited its territorial development. Hence, during the period concerned no peasant farms were to be found in Poznah. The difficulties connected with the transformation of soccage-based estates into capitalist farms forced the landowners to personally guide production and therefore to live permanently on the land. A few members of the landed class who lived from the rents provided by their land settled generally in Dresden, Berlin and in other cities outside the borders of the Grand Duchy of Poznah. As a result it was also quite rare that a member of the landed gentry would appear at the marriage altar in Poznah. In the period covered by our research we encountered three such incidents. In two cases a member of the landed gentry married a women from his own class, while in the third case the daughter of a higher state official was chosen as wife.(4) These data are not sufficient to permit us to make wider generalizations. However, on the basis of information contained in the contemporary press, private correspondence and memoirs we may assume that members of the landed gentry in the Grand Duchy of Poznah, particulary those who did not possess large estates, often looked for wives among members of lower social groups. They mainly married daughters of the wealthier bourgeoisie, higher state officials and representatives of the white collar professions. For example, several sons of landowners attempted to win the hand of Albertyna Poweska, the daughter of a Poznanian wine merchant who possessed a 50 thousand Taller dowry.(5)

In Warsaw, on the other hand, members of the landed gentry settled in relatively large numbers. Warsaw was attractive for them because of the greater possibility of acquiring state titles and offices which existed there as well as because of its more varied cultural life. Furthermore, in the Kingdom of Poland the serf-estate system meant that the many members of the landed gentry in this area were not forced to live on their estates. According to the information contained in the marriage books only a relatively small percentage of the Warsaw gentry married members of their own class (in the first period 17.1% and in the second 28%). In the first as well as in the second period they selected wives who mainly came from the intelligentsia - daughters of state officials and representatives of white collar professions -, but who were able to demonstrate noble descent. Every fifth member of the landed gentry in the first period and every fourth member in the second period chose a wife from the lower middle class. One should be careful to note, however, that the overwhelming majority of these women were daughters of urban citizens. Thus, we may assume that a large part of these women were of landed origin. There were also cases of misalliances, though limited in number, in which members of the landed gentry married women of proletarian background. All of the marriages of this type were concluded either by the poor gentry or at the most by the middle gentry. In the case of the closed sphere of the Warsaw aristocracy we did not discover a single misalliance.

We posses significantly richer material about marriages made by members of the intelligentsia. The majority of the Poznanian representatives of this social stratum searched for wives outside their own social environment. At the end of the first half of the 19th century the Poznanian intelligentsia still represented a small group; thus it was difficult for them to find wives within their own social group. According to our research, 35-40% of the intelligentsia in both period managed to marry a co-member. Faced with this fact, we must now ask whether the wives of the remaining members of the

Poznanian intelligentsia came from higher or lower classes. On the basis of our research we discovered that at the beginning the percentage of wives coming from the gentry was low (1,8%), but that this percentage systematically increased (to 12% in the years 1858-61). Daughters of the landed gentry most often married higher state officials, lawyers, doctors and gymnasium teachers, many of whom possessed a noble coat of arms. Memoirs also confirm the existence of such marriages. In one such memoir we read that a part of the gentry did not have "great pretensions about marrying their daughters to noble celebrities" and they gladly accepted towns-people - meaning not only merchants but also members of the intelligentsia - as sons-in-law, who "gave them a greater guarantee of maritial happiness than the "szlachta" of average mind and even poorer heart".(6) The majority of the wives of Poznanian intellectuals (52-54%) came from social groups which were situated lower in the social hierarchy, that is, mainly from lower middle class families. This is understandable if we consider that this was a numerable group which was situated closest to the intelligentsia in the social hierarchy, and that the majority of lower officials and elementary school teachers had neither the income nor the social prestige which would have permitted them to ask for the hand of the daughter of a bourgeois or gentryman. To a considerably lesser extent the wives of intellectuals were found from the working class. In the first period women of proletarian origin comprised 7% of such wives and in the second period 16%. It is important to note that the daughters of workers were married almost exclusively by representatives of lower groups of the intelligentsia (elementary school teachers, lower clerks, etc.).

The situation in Warsaw presents itself in a slightly different light, as between the two periods concerned the percentage of intellectuals' wives coming from their own environment grew. This is completey understandable when we consider that in Warsaw the intelligentsia represented a much more numerous and expansive social stratum than in Poznah. In addition, in Warsaw the social barriers between the gentry and the intelligentsia represented a more formidable obstacle than in Poznah. 5% of the intelligentsia in both periods married daughters of landowners. Only high state officials, well-to-do doctors and lawyers - numerically a very small group - were in the position to guarantee gentry daughters the necessary social position. Both contemporary prose and memoirs confirm that members of the middle and lower intelligentsia also sought to marry the daughters of landowners. Enduring their modest living conditions, they dreamt "of beautiful manors and villages".(7) The documents of the civil registry demonstrate, however, that only a small number of them were able to fulfill their dreams. Indeed, almost 44% of the Warsaw intellectuals in the first period and 37% in the second had to satisfy themselves with spouses from the lower middle class. Thus, as was the case in Poznah this social group (next to their own) represented the main source for the recruitment of wives by the intelligentsia. The second similarity existed in the small percentage of wives of proletarian background. In contrast to Poznah there were, however, cases in Warsaw of marriages between intellectuals and peasants' daughters, although they represented only about 1% of the total of intellectuals' wives in Warsaw.

Proceeding now to a discussion of the selection of wives by representatives of the bourgeoisie, we must emphasize that in Poznah this class represented a very small group of people, consisting almost exclusively of merchants. These merchants selected wives chiefly from the spheres of the lower middle class, and mainly from the families of wealthier craftsmen. Hence, we may assume that in reality the social difference between husband and wife in

such a case was not that great. Historical literature tells us that representatives of the most highly specialized crafts had incomes which were comparable to those of merchants. We should pay attention to the small number of marriages taken by members of the Poznanian bourgeoisie within their own class, as this class did not offer many potential candidates for wives due to its small size. Quite often they married daughters of intellectuals (about 20%). This last fact, however, applies above all to German merchants who in many instances found wives in the families of higher clerks and doctors. We should also emphasize the fact that marriages seldom occurred between Poznanian bourgeois and women coming from social groups modest in terms of prestige - the gentry and the proletariat.

Similarly Warsaw bourgeoisie, considerably more numerable than their Poznanian counterparts, also selected wives chiefly from lower classes, and mainly from the lower middle class. In contrast to Poznah, they chose not only daughters craftsmen, but also to a large degree daughters of urban citizens. In their own and in similar classes they found about 40% of their wives. Even more seldom in Warsaw were examples of marriages of representatives of the bourgeoisie with the daughters of peasants and proletarians (mainly servants and workers) on the one hand, and with the daughters of landowners on the other.

As opposed to the bourgeoisie members of the Poznanian lower middle class (the majority of them were craftsmen) found wives principally within their own social stratum. In the first period they represented 60% of lower middle class marriages, and in the second period 54%. A portion of the representatives of this social sphere also attempted to marry women from higher social classes (gentry and intelligentsia), but these attempts did not always lead to the desired results. 15% of lower middle class wives in the first period came from these two classes, while in the second period only 5% were of gentry or intellectual origin. On the other hand, the percentage of marriages between members of the lower middle class and members of lower social groups - mainly of the proletariat (servants dominated in this group) - increased from 23% to 41%. Marriages with peasants' daughters continued to be rare within this social group. The process described above - characterized by the decrease in the number of wives coming from higher social classes and by the increase in the number coming from lower classes - we regard as a sign of the pauperization of the Poznanian lower middle class. This pauperization resulted from the import of higher quality goods from other Prussian provinces as well as from the growth of internal competition which gave a decisive advantage to enterprising and well-skilled craftsmen. The tendencies discussed above applied to all occupational groups belonging to the lower middle class. The only difference consisted in the fact that craftsmen's wives of intellectual origin were mainly the daughters of clerks and white collar workers, while the urban citizens' wives of intellectual background were most often the daughters of higher state officials (assessors, councillors etc.).

In Warsaw, analogical processes took a slightly different course. Certainly in Warsaw there existed constantly high percentage (40%) of lower middle class wives coming from their own social environment, but in comparison with Poznah the percentage of wives coming from higher social classes, especially from the intelligentsia, increased systematically from 10 to 16%. On the other hand the percentage of lower middle class wives of proletarian origin decreased from 45 to 39%. A small portion of representatives of the lower middle class married women of peasant background (from 2 to 4%).

The relatively high percentage of wives coming from higher social classes requires explanation. In the first place this was the result of the social composition of the lower middle class. Urban citizens represented the top of this social stratum together with independent craftsmen. In terms of both social prestige and income these urban citizens often achieved a level comparable to representatives of higher social classes; hence, they had greater chances of finding wives within such groups than poorer independent craftsmen. In addition, there were also urban citizens who found themselves at the marriage altar with gentry daughters. We did not, however, discover any examples of policemen, non-commissioned officers of craftsmen who succeeded in winning the hand of a landlords' daughter. As a side comment, we should note that the social ambitions of many representatives of the Warsaw lower middle class often exceeded the limits of their own social stratum. One of the contemporary writers critically described for example the social aspirations of one wealthy Warsaw craftsman who, although he succeeded in marrying his daughter to an urban citizen, had dreamt of a son-in-law from the higher intelligentsia.(8)

The Poznanian proletariat, on the lowest rung of the social ladder, consisted mainly of journeymen, dayworlcers and servants. Due to the lack of large factories, there existed only a very small number of industrial workers during the period concerned. We must note that the difference between journeymen and poor craftsmen was not very dramatic. In the light of this, the fact that journeymen often married women from higher groups, especially from the lower middle class, is understandable. Workers and servants were in a much more difficult position, since because of their low social prestige and income they found themselves on the lowest rung of the social ladder. There were also examples of servants and journeymen who married the daughters of intellectuals (mainly elementary school teachers and lower clerks) and, even less often, women from the bourgeoisie. In total, 50% of the Poznanian proletariat took wives from higher social classes in the first period, and 33% in the second period. We see, then, that the frequency of such marriages decreased dramatically. This drop resulted from internal transformations within the working class: the percentage of dayworkers and workers grew quickly while the percentage of journeymen declined. Despite relatively numerous marriages with representatives of higher social classes, marriages within the same, i.e., proletarian, class or with representatives of an equal, i.e., peasant, class continues to be the most frequent (50% in the first period and 67% in the second period). Simultaneously, we should emphasize that dayworkers most frequently married within their own social environment (65-70%). The contacts between the proletariat and the peasantry deserve a few separate remarks. As we already stated above, no peasant farms existed in Poznah during the two periods concerned. Nonetheless, a portion of the proletariat, which had come to the city from the land, did not completely sever its contacts with the village and often looked for wives there. Yet not all of them were in the position to pretend to the hand of the daughter of a wealthy peasant. The latter often took into consideration both the prestige of the candidate as well as his income. Therefore sons-in-law from the same social environment were most eagerly accepted: "a peasant - we read in one accounts - when giving his daughter or son in marriage must give them a piece of land or several hundred Taller before the wedding. Rarely does the son of prosperous peasant marry the daughter of a poor dayworker ...".(9) Among representatives of the Poznanian proletariat, mainly members of communal services and journeymen, i.e., people who could some day in the future become independent craftsmen, had the greatest chance of finding a spouse among the peasantry. Hence, together with the decrease in the percentage of these groups in the working class the total number of

marriages between members of the proletariat and the peasantry also decreased.

The situation in Warsaw was different, as the number of proletariats' wives coming from higher classes in both periods remained constant at about 15 % (12% of which represented lower middle class daughters). The percentage of Warsaw workers' wives of intelligentsia and bourgeois origin remained low (2-3,5% came from the former group and 0,5% from latter). As in Poznah, we did not discover a single example of a marriage between a proletarian and the daughter of a landowner. It would appear then that the distance dividing the working class from the higher classes in Warsaw was considerably greater than in Poznah. The overwhelming majority of Warsaw workers married women from their own social environment (82% in both periods of research). In addition dayworkers (95%) and servants (91%) married almost exclusively within their own social spheres.

As far as peasants are concerned, they appear very seldom in the Warsaw marriage registers. On this basis we may assume that this class represented a numerically small group. In both periods we found records of only 16 peasants, all of whom married women of proletarian origin.

The research conducted above permits us to make a few conclusions of a more general nature. Despite delay in economic development in comparison with Western Europe, social transformation in both cities during the mid-19th century was already well developed in the direction of a modern society. The fact that the breaking of social barriers, of which one of the main symptoms was the gradual disappearance of feudal conditions in the selection of wives and their replacement by new conditions, took place on a capitalist basis proves this. The acquirement of a social position enabling one to marry woman from a higher social class became more and more possible as the result of an increase in one's level of education or through an increase in one's capital. This does not mean that birth ceased to influence one's choice of a wife. On the contrary, a young bridegroom's social origin played the role of a damper of his social mobility. His social and career advance did not automatically open the way to an environment corresponding to his higher career position. On the other hand, social degradation did not always result in the loss of one's contact with his family environment. In addition, upward or downward movement on the social ladder determined to a great extent the internal differences within social classes and strata. For example, to the extent that marriages between representatives of the aristocracy and women from the intelligentsia and bourgeoisie did not occur, marriages between the middle and lower gentry and women from these two social groups often occurred. On the other hand representatives of lower groups of the intelligentsia (elementary school teachers, communal clerks, etc.) could merely dream of marrying daughters of wealthy landowners, while doctors and lawyers belonging to this same social stratum frequently succeeded in marrying exactly these kinds of women. A similar phenomenon also existed in lower situated social classes and strata.

We also learn from the material presented above that the process of breaking social barriers was more extensive in Warsaw, the capital of the Kingdom of Poland, despite the continued existence of the soccage system on the land and other legal and structural limitations which were the result of the reactionary social policies of the tsarist authorities. In Poznah, on the other hand, where the remnants of the feudal system in the countryside had in effect already been eliminated and where there did not exist a strongly developed industry analogical social transformations displayed a more li-

mited character. This process was not accelerated until the 50's of the 19th century after the founding of a few factories. In few of this, we may assert that the development of industry in Polish cities represented the main impetus for social transformation, including the breaking of social barriers. Structural changes and social reforms (enfranchisement of the peasantry, elimination of guild limitations, etc.) played a less important role in the dynamic process of social transformation than industrialization, as clearly seen in the example of Poznah.

SUMMARY

One of the most important symptoms of the emergence of modern societies was the phenomenon of the breaking of social barriers. Keeping this general characteristic in mind, we examine the specific nature of the breaking of social barriers in the Polish territories.

The limited nature of this paper does not permit us to answer fully this question. Therefore, we concentrate on presenting the most objective measure of the elasticity of social barriers functioning in modern societies, i.e., the selection of a wife. By comparing the professions of husband and wife we can observe on the one hand the disappearance of old social divisions and on the other the emergence of new divisions typical of capitalism.

This same factor also forced us to limit our research to the population of Poznah and Warsaw. The selection of these cities enabled a comparison of the phenomenon of the breaking of social barriers in the main urban center of an agricultural province (Poznah) with the analogical process in a city which was the capital of a dynamically developing industrial region (Warsaw).

The Process of breaking social barriers was more extensive in Warsaw, the capital of the Kingdom of Poland, despite the continued existence of the soccage system on the land and other legal and structural limitations which were the result of the reactionary social policies of the tsarist authorities. In Poznah, on the other hand, where the remnants of the feudal system in the countryside had in effect already been eliminated and where there did not exist a strongly developed industry analogical social transformation displayed a more limited character. This process was not accelerated until the 50's of the 19th century after the founding of a few factories. In few of this, we may assert that the development of industry in Polish cities represented the main impetus for social transformation, including the breaking of social barriers. Structural changes and social reforms (enfranchisement of the peasantry, elimination of guild limitations, etc.) played a less important role in the dynamic process of social transformation than industrialization, as clearly seen in the example of Poznah.

FOOTNOTES

1 See Polska w epoce Oswiecenia. Państwo, społeczeństwo, kultura. Pod red. B. Leśnodorskiego, Warszawa 1971.

2 For Warsaw we used the results of research conducted by S. Kowalska-Glikman presented in the following work: "Ruchliwość spoleczna i zawodowa mieszkahców Warszawy w latach 1845-1861", Wroclaw-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdahsk 1971. Quantitative conclusions concerning the population of Poznah are based on marriage registers from the Archiwum Pahstwowe (State Archives) in Poznah (No 0-18471, 0-18473, 0-18478, 0-18491-3, 0-18514) and from the Archiwum Archidiecezjalne (Archidiocesal Archives) in Poznah (No PM 232/18,19,22,23; PM 234/8; PM 236/i6a; mkr. 365,367,369, 377,379-81,386-8,391-4.396,403,409)-

3 S. Kowalska-Glikman, op.cit., p. 21; Cz. Luczak, Zycie gospodarczo-spoleczne w Poznaniu 1815-1918, Poznah 1965, pp. 45 and 47.

4 We present the results of these and further quantitative conclusions in tables and graphs located in the appendix.

5 A. Turno, Dziennik, Biblioteka im. Ossolihskich in Wroclaw (we used the typed copy in the possession of Z. Grot in Pozanh), pp. 842 and 917.

6 Z. Karpihski, 0 Wielkopolsce, zlocie i dalekich podrozach. Wspomnienia 1860-1960, Warszawa 1971, pp. 6-7.

7 S Kowalska-Glikman, op. cit., p. 150.

8 A. Wieniarski, Warszawa i warszawianie, Warszawa 1857 (quoted in S. Kowalska-Glikman, op. cit., p. 164).

9 F. Staszic, Obrazy wielkopolskie, "Tygodnik Ilustrowany", 1860, vol. 1, p. 251; id., Moralny stan wlościan w W. Ks. Poznahskim, "Gazeta polska", 1861, No 201.

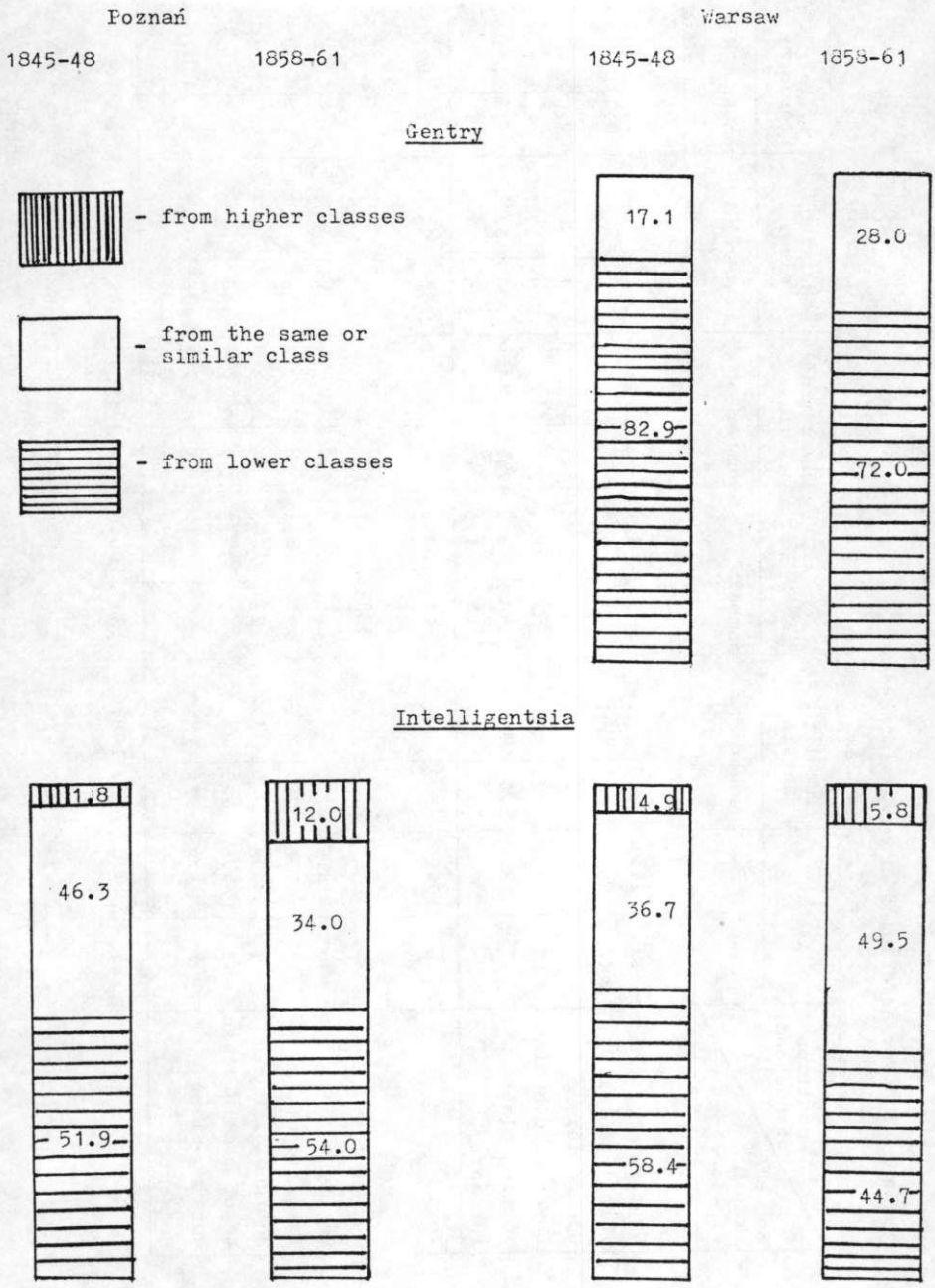
Tabelle li The social origins of wives in Proznań

Social position of husband / Sociale, origin of wife	Gentry		Intelligentsia		Bourgeoisie		Lower middle class		Workirig class	
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
1845-48										
Gentry-	2	66.7	1	1.8	1	6.2	3	1.3	-	-
Intelligentsia	1	33.3	21	38.9	3	18.8	26	11.4	1	0.5
Bourgeoisie	-	-	4	7.4	2	12.5	6	2.6	-	-
Lower middle class	-	-	24	44.5	10	62.5	139	61.3	105	49.8
Working class	-	-	4	7.4	-	-	45	19.9	83	39.3
Peasantry	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	3.5	22	10.4
Total	3	100.0	54	100.0	16	100.0	227	100.0	211	100.0
1858-61										
Gentry	-	-	6	12.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Intelligentsia	-	-	17	34.0	2	22.2	7	4.7	7	2.0
Bourgeoisie	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.6
Lower middle class	-	-	19	38.0	6	66.7	81	54.7	109	31.3
Working class	-	-	8	16.0	1	11.1	59	39.9	212	60.9
Peasantry	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.7	18	5.2
Total	-	-	50	100.0	9	100.0	148	100.0	348	100.0

Table 2: The social origins of wives in Warsaw.

Social position of husband / Social origin of wife	Gentry		Intelligentsia		Bourgeoisie		Lower middle class		Working class		Peasantry	
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
1845-48												
Gentry	13	17.1	25	4.9	1	1.6	3	0.6	-	-	-	-
Intelligentsia	42	55.3	169	33.3	13	20.3	40	7.4	48	2.1	-	-
Bourgeoisie	4	5.3	17	3.4	15	23.4	11	2.0	7	0.3	.	.
Lower middle class	15	19.7	221	43.6	31	48.4	231	42.9	279	12.3	-	-
Working class	2	2.6	67	13.2	3	4.7	242	44.9	1866	82.0	7	100.0
Peasantry	-	-	8	1.6	1	1.6	12	2.2	75	3.3	-	-
Total	76	100.0	507	100.0	64	100.0	539	100.0	2275	100.0	7	100.0
1858-61												
Gentry	35	28.0	36	5.8	1	0.8	11	1.4	-	-	-	-
Intelligentsia	52	41.6	282	45.3	22	18.4	90	11.2	105	3.5	-	-
Bourgeoisie	4	3.2	26	4.2	27	22.5	24	3.0	12	0.4	-	-
Lower middle class	32	25.6	229	36.8	63	52.5	332	41.5	365	12.0	-	-
Working class	2	1.6	46	7.4	6	5.0	314	39.2	2478	81.4	8	100.0
Peasantry	-	-	3	0.5	1	0.8	30	3.7	83	2.7	-	-
Total	125	100.0	622	100.0	120	100.0	801	100.0	3043	100.0	9	100.0

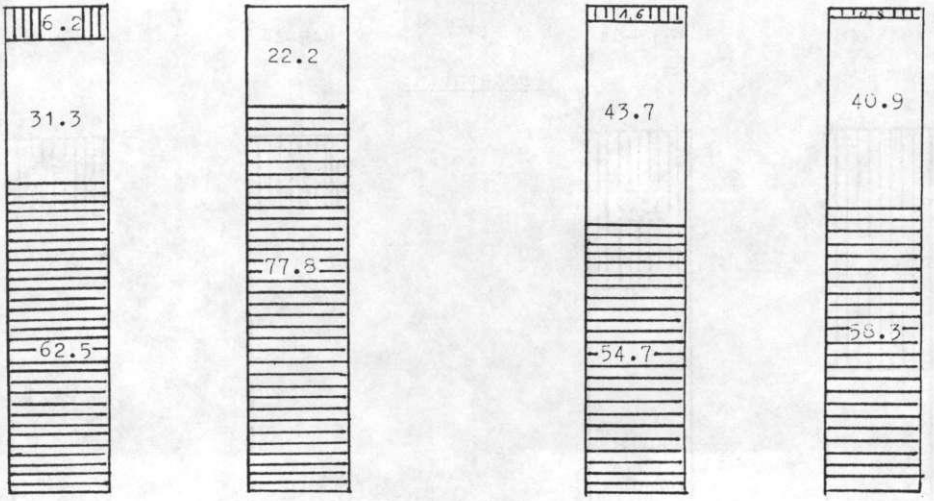
1. Selection of wife.



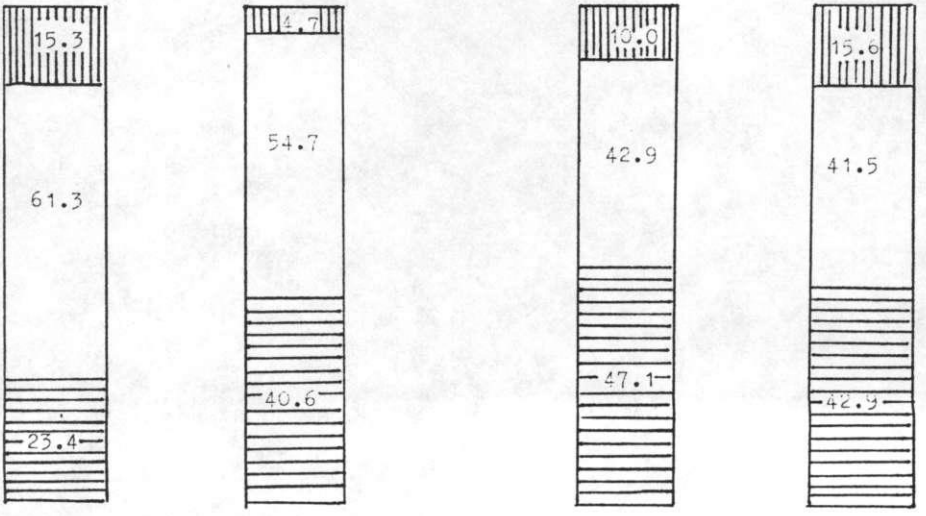
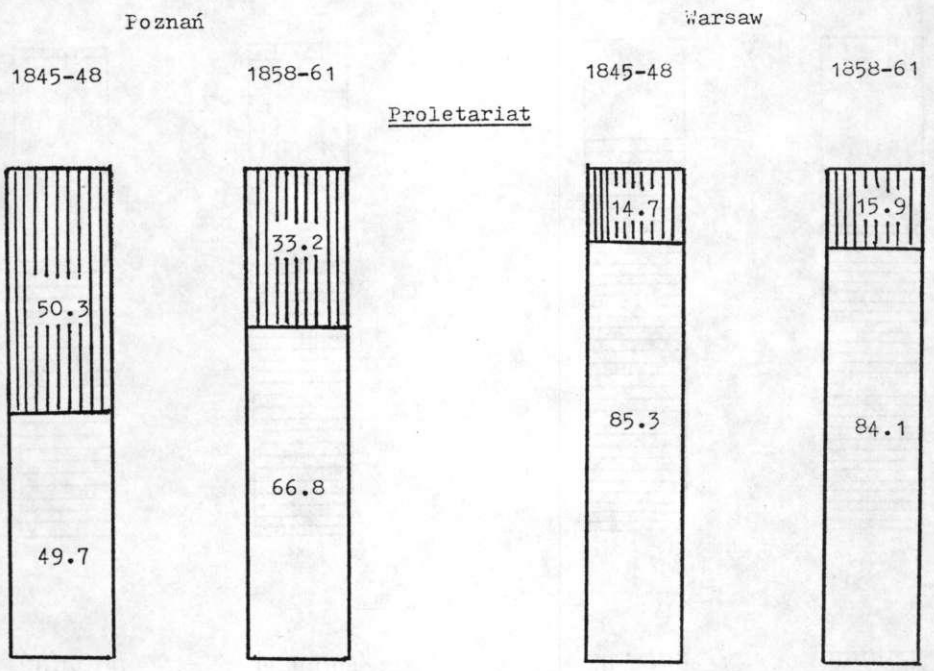
1a. Selection of wife /cont./

Poznań		Warsaw	
1845-48	1858-61	1845-48	1858-61

Bourgeoisie



Lower middle class



1b. Selection of wife /cont./