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ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL IMPACT OF THE PRUSSIAN ARMY IN SILESIA IN THE YEARS 1815–1848. STATE OF RESEARCH AND RESEARCH POSTULATES

GOSPODARCZE I SPOŁECZNE ODDZIAŁYWANIE ARMII PRUSKIEJ NA ŚLĄSKU W LATACH 1815–1848. STAN BADAŃ I POSTULATY BADAWCZE

ABSTRACT: This study is an introduction to the subject of the Prussian army's impact on economic and social issues in the Province of Silesia in the years 1815–1848. The most important files on the relations between the army and the civilian population have been preserved in the records of Prussian ministries, offices and local authorities, stored in Polish and German archives. The aim of the text is to indicate a catalogue of the most important issues to be investigated, together with suggestions regarding the methods of their reconstruction. The text discusses the problems of the presence and functions of the Prussian army in Silesia and the catalogue of the benefits for the army.

KEYWORDS: Prussian army, Silesia, fortresses, mobilisation

The text presented here is of a postulative and introductory nature. In the Silesian historiography there are no studies on the economic and social implications of the Prussian military organisation in this province in the period from the end of the Napoleonic Wars to the outbreak of the March Revolution in 1848. In the context of the history of the Prussian army, this period has so far interested researchers basically only in connection with the figure of Carl von Clausewitz and the problem of the formation of the *Landwehr*, which was, however, basically limited to the caesura of 1819. The time of peace before 1914 did not receive the

recognition of the relevant institutions of the Prussian armed forces¹, which had a monopoly on the use of records of military character, so only a few studies now describe in detail the organisational changes that took place in the Prussian army during this period². The burning of the Potsdam *Heeresarchiv* in April 1945, as a result of a British air raid, caused the greatest damage to the files of individual brigades and regiments, of which only scraps have remained to this day³. This is probably best illustrated by the example of the VI Army Corps (hereinafter: AC) stationed in Silesia, from whose files only a few of the Commissariat have survived in the collection of the State Archives in Wrocław⁴.

Fragmentary information on economic and social conditions of the Prussian army presence in Silesia can be found today in several categories of studies. The first are monographs on particular regiments stationed in this province, which are based on source material not available today. They are often the only reports allowing for any reference to the interaction of the Prussian army with the civilian population in peacetime, despite the fact that these issues were obviously less important for the authors of the time than the descriptions of the military superiority of the regiments presented⁵. Relevant information is also often found in monographs of individual fortress towns, but the period 1815–1848, which I am interested in, is usually absent or treated in a cursory manner⁶. Monographs on

¹ Curt Jany, *Die preußischen Militärarchive*, "Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preußischen Geschichte", 1924, pp. 67–86; Hans Umbreit, *Von der preußisch-deutschen Militärgeschichtsschreibung zur heutigen Militärgeschichte, I. Teilstreitkraft Heer*, [in:] *Geschichte und Militärgeschichte. Wege der Forschung*, ed. Ursula von Gersdorff, Frankfurt am Main 1974, pp. 33–49.

² Curt Jany, *Geschichte der Königlich Preussischen Armee vom 15. Jahrhundert bis 1914*, vol. 4: *Die Königlich Preussische Armee und das Deutsche Reichsheer 1807 bis 1914*, Berlin 1933, pp. 115–214; Otto von der Osten-Sacken und von Rhein, *Preußens Heer. Von seinen Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. 2, *Die neue Armee. Bis zur Armee Reorganisation 1859/60*, Berlin 1912, pp. 181–371; Dierk Walter, *Preussische Heeresreformen 1807–1870: militärische Innovationen und der Mythos der "Roonschen Reform"*, Paderborn–Wien–München 2003.

³ Heinrich Otto Meisner, Georg Winter, *Übersicht über die Bestände des Geheimen Staatsarchivs zu Berlin-Dahlem*, part. 2: *II.–IX. Hauptabteilung*, Leipzig 1935 (Mitteilungen der preußischen Archiv-Verwaltung, 25), pp. 130, 157.

⁴ Only 40 archival units.

⁵ E.g. *Geschichte des 1. Oberschlesischen Infanterie-Regiments Nr. 22 von seiner Gründung bis zum Gegenwart*, Berlin 1884; Adolf Tiersch, *Geschichte des Schlesischen Pionierbataillons Nr. 6*, Leipzig 1904; A. von Tronchin, M. Naumann, *Geschichte des Infanterie-Regiments von Winterfeldt (2. Oberschlesisches)*, Berlin 1913; Hans von Wechmar, *Braune Husaren. Geschichte des braunen Husaren-Regiments der friederizianischen Armee 1742–1807 und des jetzigen Husaren-Regiments von Schill (1. Schlesischen) Nr. 4 1807–1893*, part. 2, Berlin 1893.

⁶ Np. Tomasz Grudziński, *Między twierdzą a miastem. Obraz życia miejskiego Świdnicy w latach 1815–1870*, Wrocław–Świdnica 2014; Wiesław Maciuszczak, *Twierdza Głogów:*

garrison towns other than fortresses⁷, as well as works on the economic history of Silesia are of surprisingly little use. In all of them, the aspect of the presence of the military remains a completely marginal issue.

With the above in mind, I would like to propose an initial ordering of this area, by indicating a catalogue of the most important issues to be investigated, together with suggestions regarding the methods of their reconstruction. Due to the volume restrictions of the text, this will only be an introduction to the subject matter, covering the issues of the presence and function of the Prussian army in Silesia and the extent of the province's benefits to the army.

The role of the army in the Province of Silesia

In the years 1814–1820 the peacetime structure of the Prussian army was gradually formed. It was composed of 8 so-called General Commands (*General-kommandos*), each one headed by the so-called *Kommandierender General* (KG), whose function was unified in 1820 with that of an army corps commander. Initially, only six such commands were to be established, and Silesia, together with the territory of the Grand Duchy of Poznań (Posen), was to form the IV *General-kommando*⁸. However, for political reasons, already in May 1815 a separate KG position was created there. A remnant of these plans was probably the structure of the local V AC. The 9. Division from Głogów (Glogau), stationed in Silesia, was subordinated to the KG in Poznań and the lack of modification of that situation was motivated by the desire to dilute the Polish conscripts to the army⁹. Thus, the area of the Province of Silesia was more heavily saturated with troops than other Prussian provinces, which usually had a two-division corps plus an artillery brigade and a detachment of pioneers¹⁰.

garnizon i ludzie: 1630–2009, Głogów 2009; Grzegorz Podruczny, Tomasz Przerwa, *Twierdza Srebrna Góra*, Warszawa 2010; Tomasz Przerwa, *Miasteczko poza historią: Srebrna Góra w XIX w. (Part I)*, [in:] *Twierdza srebrnogórska V: Perspektywa miasteczka*, eds. Tomasz Przerwa, Piotr Sroka, Bielsko-Biała 2014, pp. 71–87.

⁷ There is little contribution from short studies, e.g. Major Erdlinger, *Gross Strelitz als Garnisonstadt*, Gross Strelitz; Leonhard Radler, *Schwiednitz als Garnisonstadt*, Breslau 1937. Regrettably, Piotr Sput's doctoral dissertation has not yet been published, *Garnizon Racibórz 1741–1919. Zarys monograficzny*, defended on 8th December 2010 at the Institute of History, University of Wrocław.

⁸ *Verordnung wegen verbesserter Einrichtung der Provinzial-Behörden. Vom 30sten April 1815*, [in:] *Gesetz-Sammlung für die Königlich Preussischen Staaten 1815*, Berlin 1815, pp. 85–98.

⁹ Manfred Laubert, *Die Verwaltung der Provinz Posen 1815–1847*, Breslau 1923, p. 97.

¹⁰ Jany, *Geschichte der Königlich*, vol. 4, pp. 126–127.

In Silesia, with its command in Wrocław (Breslau), the VI AC was stationed until 1919. A detailed list of individual units and their garrison locations can be found in Appendix 1¹¹. It shows that infantry and artillery units of both the ACs were principally concentrated in the provincial capital and the strongholds – Głogów, Koźle (Cosel), Kłodzko (Glatz), Nysa (Neisse), Świdnica (Schweidnitz) and Srebrna Góra (Silberberg). However, after 1815, only the first two retained any operational significance¹². In the new geopolitical circumstances, the belt of Frederickian fortifications near the border with Austria maintained its usefulness only as a place of concentration and depots for *Landwehr* battalions¹³. Their stationing areas meant only headquarters and in peacetime, these units would only assemble for 14-day exercises. As a rule, the cavalry regiments were quartered in squadrons, which resulted, on the one hand, from high costs of maintaining a large cavalry unit in a given locality and, on the other hand, from the patrol and shield functions performed by those mobile units. However, the specific structure of the Prussian army, based on the universal military service obligation introduced by the *Wehrgesetz* of 3rd September 1814¹⁴, makes it impossible to determine the number of troops stationed in Silesia in peacetime. For economy reasons, battalions and squadrons rarely reached the prescribed peacetime numbers. In this situation, without specific registers being found, it is difficult to determine how many troops were actually quartered in the province.

The main role of the troops stationed in Silesia was to provide the province with external security. Silesia avoided the devastating effects of warfare in the period 1815–1848, but twice, in 1830–1831 and 1846, mobilisation was carried out in its area. The economic and social consequences of the actions carried out at that time have not been appreciated in military literature. The November Uprising in Warsaw forced a rapid reaction and partial mobilisation of detachments of the corps¹⁵,

¹¹ Romuald Bergner, *Truppen und Garnisonen in Schlesien 1740–1945*, Friedberg 1987; Hugo Sommer, *Preußische militärische Standorte im Posener Lande, in Westpreußen und Oberschlesien*, “Deutsche Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für Polen“, 1933 (25), pp. 51–92. Reprint: *Pruskie garnizony wojskowe w Poznańskim, Prusach Zachodnich i na Górnym Śląsku*, transl. Jarosław Pawlikowski, Oświęcim 2011.

¹² The Secret State Archives Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation (Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, hereinafter: GStA PK), VI. HA, NI H. v. Boyen, No. 334, Instruktion für den General [Karl] v. Grolman über die Befestigung der östlichen Provinzen [copy], 1816 r., pp. 6–8.

¹³ The Berlin State Library (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin), PDK, XXXIII Schlesien, No. 126, Karl von Grolman, *Bemerkungen über die Schloesser Laehn, Bolkenhaim, Schweinhaus, über das Kloster Leubus und über die Schweidnitz, Breslau, Brieg und Glogau*, [copy], 10 VI 1816, n.pag.

¹⁴ *Gesetz über die Verpflichtung zum Kriegsdienste. Vom 3ten September 1814*, [in:] *Gesetz-Sammlung für die Königlich Preussischen Staaten 1814*, Berlin, pp. 79–82.

¹⁵ Wechmar, *Braune Husaren*, p. 80.

according to the regulations included in the first Prussian mobilisation plan¹⁶. In line with it, procedures were implemented to call up reservists, purchase supplies, equipment, *Lederwerk*¹⁷ and horses, and to appoint coachmen, blacksmiths and other craftsmen to service. It should be noted that Silesia also served as the main supply base for forces concentrated both in this province and in Wielkopolska. Sources preserved in the collections of the Prussian *Ministerium des Innern* (hereinafter: MdI) indicate that the availability of provisions and victuals in the Grand Duchy of Poznań (Wielkie Księstwo Poznańskie) was so limited that it turned out necessary to organise supplies from Silesia and the Marches and transport them from Wrocław and Głogów to Poznań¹⁸. At present, we still do not know much about the financial and economic consequences of this undertaking. A preliminary analysis of this problem on the territory of the Grand Duchy of Poznań proves that the financial settlements related to this mobilisation were an internal problem even in 1833 and had serious consequences for the economic condition of the inhabitants of that area¹⁹.

A separate issue is the participation of Silesian regiments in the creation of a cordon protecting the Prussian border from a very specific type of external threat, namely the cholera epidemic in mid-1831. The resulting administrative order and the then need to establish a cordon sanitaire have not yet been sufficiently analysed in historiography, i.e. with the use of military archival sources²⁰. This is most clearly demonstrated by Vana Eftimova Bellinger's unpublished work, "Carl von Clausewitz's Last Campaign Cholera, the Campaign of 1831, and the Lessons Never Written Down"²¹. She found previously unknown correspondence between Clausewitz

¹⁶ The State Archives in Poznań (Archiwum Państwowe w Poznaniu, hereinafter: APP), Supreme Presidium (Naczelne Prezydium), ref. 567, *Mobilmachungs-plan für die Königliche Preussische Armee, Berlin 21 III 1831*.

¹⁷ Leather items for soldiers' equipment, belts, satchels, etc.

¹⁸ GStA PK, I. HA, MdI, Rep. 77, Tit. 332z, No. 10, Letter from the *Oberpräsident* of the Province of Silesia, Friedrich von Merckel to the Minister of the Interior and Police, von Brenn, Wrocław 19 XII 1830, n.pag.

¹⁹ Jacek Jędrzyak, *Benefits for the Prussian Army by the Inhabitants of the Grand Duchy of Poznań between 1815–1844. Research Status and Research Perspectives*, "Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych", 81 (2020), pp. 225–261.

²⁰ Barbara Dettke, *Die asiatische Hydra: Die Cholera von 1830/31 in Berlin und den preussischen Provinzen Posen, Preußen und Schlesien*, Berlin–New York 1995; Richard S. Ross III, *Contagion in Prussia, 1831: The Cholera Epidemic and the Threat of the Polish Uprising*, Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, 2015.

²¹ I had the opportunity to read the typescript of the work thanks to an invitation to serve as one of its publishing reviewers in June 2018 as part of the project "Recovering Forgotten History", funded by the Foundation for Civic Space and Public Policy; <http://civicspace.org.pl/en/konferencja/16th-conference/> (access: 21 XII 2019).

and his wife in the collections of the Secret State Archives Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation (*Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz*) in Berlin Dahlem. Through it and further queries in the materials of various Prussian ministries, she presented many previously unknown issues related to the different positions of civil and military authorities regarding the fight against the epidemic.

Another major action was the mobilisation and concentration of Prussian troops in the face of the Kraków uprising of 1846. Almost half of the VI AC was gathered at the Austrian border and most of the troops were transported by rail. The whole undertaking was a proof of the strength and efficiency of the Prussian railways²² and a demonstration of the military potential of this new means of transport²³. It should also be noted that the mobilisation of troops took place in accordance with the new operational plan, which came into effect on 10th April 1844²⁴, but has not yet been the subject of any research. An analysis of the issues signalled is certainly possible in the course of research into the archival materials of the Prussian MdI and the files of the civil authorities of the provinces, districts and towns, from the State Archives in Wrocław, Opole and Katowice.

In the context of mobilisation, Bernhard Schicken's postulate concerning the analysis of restrictions imposed on the inhabitants of fortress towns should be regarded as correct. This problem is usually reduced to issues strictly connected with the construction and architecture of individual fortresses and their influence on the urban planning of specific towns²⁵. Meanwhile, as studies on Prussian fortresses in Westphalia and the Rhineland²⁶, have shown, a number of tangible and intangible obligations were incumbent on the inhabitants at the time of putting the fortress into military readiness. The most acute of these were undoubtedly the potential regulations

²² Hence, the reports from it were used for propaganda, among others, in the forum of the German Confederation; The German Federal Archives (Bundesarchiv) Berlin-Lichterfelde (hereinafter BAB), DB 5-I/41, Abzug Bundestags-Protokoll der 2. Sitzung v. 13. Jan. 1848. § 48 Den Einfluss der Eisenbahn auf die Wahrhaftigen des Deutschen Bundes betr., n.pag.

²³ On the course of the transport and the reaction of the population; Jacek Jędrysiak, *Operacyjne wykorzystanie śląskich linii kolejowych w obliczu powstania krakowskiego w 1846 roku*, "Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka", 72 (2017), 3, pp. 87–110.

²⁴ GStA PK, IV. HA, Preußische Armee, Rep. 16 Militärvorschriften, 643, Mobilmachungsplan für die preußische Armee 10 IV 1844.

²⁵ Bernhard Schicken, *Militärische Notwendigkeit und soziale Diskriminierung: Zur Ausweisung von Einwohnern aus preußischen Festungsstädten bei drohender Invasion (1830/31–1870/71)*, "Militärgeschichtliche Zeitschrift", 74 (2015), 1–2, p. 98.

²⁶ *Stadt und Militär 1815–1914: Wirtschaftliche Impulse, infrastrukturelle Beziehungen, sicherheitspolitische Aspekte*, ed. Bernhard Schicken, Paderborn 1998; Alf Lütke, *Police and State in Prussia, 1815–1850*, Cambridge 2009.

on leaving the fortress in the event of a siege. This issue is practically absent from the historiography of Silesia in the period 1815–1848, which I consider to be a lack requiring attention in the light of the two mobilisations mentioned above, which significantly affected the garrisons in Głogów, Kłodzko, Nysa and Koźle.

The issue of fortresses is also linked to the question of the army's influence on the development of the province's railway network²⁷. The head of the Engineer and Pioneer Corps, General Ernst von Aster alerted in 1844 that in his opinion the planned extension of the railway network threatened the importance of as many as 17 fortresses, including Głogów, Świdnica, Nysa and Koźle. Moreover, he pushed for an opinion that railway lines should be built within the second radius of fortress outworks, where they could simultaneously retain their usefulness and remain under control of fortress artillery fire²⁸. These views led to the fact that the station of the Upper Silesian Railway, instead of in Koźle, was located in the village of Kędzierzyn, 4 km away. The Wrocław – Świebodzice (Freiburg im Schlesien) – Świdnica Railway initially bypassed the last town, and problems also accompanied the works in Nysa and Głogów²⁹. Apart from Świdnica, however, in none of these cases was the construction of the entire route or its section prevented. The army slowly began to accept the new mode of transport, and a symbol of change was the introduction in November 1843, on the occasion of the approval of the statute of the Lower Silesia – Marchy Railway, of standards for the rolling stock which was to be at its disposal in the case of mobilisation³⁰. It was a kind of interlude to the already mentioned transport of 1846. The complete lack of analogous studies on the influence of the army on the development of the road network, which is, however, difficult to capture in sources, should be considered a significant shortcoming.

The Prussian army also performed a police function in the province, wrongly marginalised by researchers specialising in social and economic history. Whereas,

²⁷ Jacek Jędrusiak, *Wpływ czynników wojskowych na rozwój sieci kolejowej byłego zaboru pruskiego*, [in:] *Gospodarczy bilans otwarcia polskiej niepodległości*, eds. Tomasz Głowiński, Marek Zawadzka, Wrocław 2018, pp. 227–248.

²⁸ Hermann Frobenius, *Geschichte des preussischen Ingenieur- und Pionier-Korps von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Jahre 1886: auf Veranlassung der Königl. General-Inspektion des Ingenieur- und Pionier-Korps und der Festungen nach amtlichen Quellen*, Bd. 1: *Die Zeit von 1848 bis 1869*, Berlin 1906, pp. 6–7.

²⁹ Marek Jerczyński, Stanisław Koziarski, *150 lat kolei na Śląsku*, Opole–Wrocław 1992, pp. 31, 34; Przemysław Dominas, *Powstanie i rozwój kolei na Ziemi Kłodzkiej w latach 1854–1914*, Kłodzko 2009, p. 40.

³⁰ *Bedienungen in Betreff der Benutzung der Eisenbahn für militairische Zwecke*, [in:] *Gesetz-Sammlung für die Königlich Preußischen Staaten 1843*, p. 373.

military sources can add to the knowledge on the causes of social crises affecting the population of Silesia. In the period 1815–1848 Prussian troops had occasions to intervene in a number of disturbances. One of the first significant tumults was caused indirectly by the army itself. In August 1817, there was a revolt in Wrocław by burghers conscripted as *Ersatz*³¹ to the 1. Wrocław *Landwehr* Battalion³². This was related to the then ongoing process of transforming the Civil Guard (*Bürgergarde*), in which they had been previously sworn in, into national defence units³³, which apparently met with resistance in the Silesian capital, regarded since 1813 as the cradle of the institution of the *Landwehr*³⁴. The whole matter certainly requires deeper analysis, but it shows that the implementation of the principles of the new military organisation in Silesia was not necessarily carried out with the full acceptance of the local population and the reasons for this are certainly an interesting aspect of the social history of the province. Noteworthy is also the participation of the army in the actions against the anti-Jewish tumult of the weavers in Wrocław on 27th September 1831³⁵. The Prussian army, of course, also played an important role in suppressing the revolt of the Owl Mountain weavers in 1844³⁶. In this case the actions of the army were very decisive, firearms and cannons were used, and there were fatalities. Many participants in the uprising were arrested and imprisoned in fortresses³⁷. Some regimental histories describe it as a rather serious military

³¹ Literally, reserve troops, intended for rear service, which should be distinguished from the reserve force filling in the numbers of units at the time of mobilisation. In this case they were probably treated as a supplement to the *Landwehr* battalion.

³² Friedrich Wilhelm III. an Kriegsminister Hermann von Boyen und dieser an Staatskanzler Karl August v. Hardenberg mit beiliegendem Bericht über Tumult im Breslau anlässlich der Verteilung der Landwehrmannschaft, [in:] Dorothea Schmidt, *Die preußische Landwehr. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der allgemeinen Wehrpflicht in Preussen zwischen 1813 und 1830*, Berlin 1981, pp. 198–201 [Annex No. 17. Substantial resources on: GStA PK, VI. HA, NI. Karl v. d. Groeben, No. I Ca 3, Aufstand in Breslau vom 23. August 1817 und seine Veranlassungen; die Eidesleistung mit dem General Hünerbein, Gneisenau, Boyen, Thile, 1817–1818].

³³ The State Archives in Wrocław (Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu, hereinafter: APWr), Records of the city of Wrocław (Akta miasta Wrocławia), ref. 12249–12252, Acta generalia die Organisation der Landwehr und Auflösung der Bürgergarde in den Städten betr. Vol. I–IV, 1813–1824.

³⁴ GStA PK, VI. HA, I. HA Rep. 77, Tit. 332m Schlesien No. 1, Neue Formation der Landwehr in der Provinz Schlesien.

³⁵ Vanya E. Bellinger, *Marie von Clausewitz: The Woman Behind the Making of On War*, Oxford 2015, pp. 204–206.

³⁶ *Bericht des Langenbielauer Patrimonialgerichts über den Aufstand*, [in:] Christina von Hodenberg, *Aufstand der Weber: Die Revolte von 1844 und ihr Aufstieg zum Mythos*, Bonn 1997, pp. 240–252. See also Krzysztof Pludro, *Powstanie Tkaczy Sowiogórskich (czerwiec 1844)*, Bielawa 2004.

³⁷ *Verzeichnis der Toten and Auszug aus dem Gefangenennrapport* [in:] Hodenberg, *Aufstand*, pp. 252–253.

operation³⁸, a battalion of fusiliers of the 22. Infantry Regiment is said to have even been transported from Wrocław to Świdnica by rail. The very severe repressive actions of the army later influenced the mythologisation of the event, especially in the historiography of the GDR, which affects many aspects of the presentation of its course, also in the context of the use of force³⁹.

Linked to the police role of the army was undoubtedly the role of fortresses as prisons, both for criminal offenders and for those incarcerated for political reasons. At least a few testimonies are known about the last category of prisoners, although of course the whole phenomenon had far wider dimensions. As already mentioned, Nysa was frequently used for this purpose, but the same practices in other Silesian fortifications are evident. The testimony of Moritz Elsner, imprisoned in Srebrna Góra, is especially valuable⁴⁰. Fritz Reuter, a German writer and classic of the Lower German language, was also imprisoned for some time in this fortress and in Głogów⁴¹. From the latter fortress, in an atmosphere of great scandal, General Jan Nepomucen Umiński, who had been imprisoned since 1828, escaped in the wake of news of the outbreak of the November Uprising⁴². The weavers sentenced for the events of 1844 were placed, among others, in Świdnica⁴³. The Kraków insurgents were taken under guard to Koźle and Nysa and interned there⁴⁴.

The police function was not limited to repressive aspects. An important issue, although one which can only be presented here briefly at the moment, was the question of the army's participation in combating the effects of elementary disasters. A trace of such activity is undoubtedly the participation of the 6. Pioneer Detachment in the evacuation by rafts of people, cattle and equipment during the flood

³⁸ E.g. *Geschichte des I. Oberschlesischen*, p. 157; Tronchin von, Naumann, *Geschichte*, pp. 194–195.

³⁹ Hodenberg, *Aufstand, passim*; Lutz Kroneberg, Rolf Schloesser, *Weber-Revolution 1844. Der schlesische Weberaufstand im Spiegel der zeitgenössischen Publizistik und Literatur*, Köln 1979.

⁴⁰ Mariusz Kotkowski, *Zapiski więzienne Moritza Elsnera (1838–1839)*, [in:] *Twierdza srebrnogórska III. Miasteczko i fortyfikacje*, Wrocław 2010, pp. 167–166.

⁴¹ Fritz Reuter, *Twierdza Głogów: listy ze Śląska*, transl. and ed. Marcin Błaszczkowski, Głogów 2014.

⁴² Manfred Laubert, *Die Haft des polnischen Generals von Umiński in Glogau und seine Flucht*, "Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte Schlesiens", 55 (1921), pp. 65–76; Bronisław J. Umiński, *General Jan Nepomucen Umiński 1778–1851*, Wrocław 1999, pp. 166–186.

⁴³ *Auszug aus dem Gefangenennarrativ*.

⁴⁴ "Beilage zu No. 55 der Breslauer Zeitung", 6 III 1846, p. 471; "Beilage zu No. 59 der Breslauer Zeitung", 11 III 1846, p. 509.

of the Nysa river in 1829⁴⁵. There may have been more such incidents, but they require a closer look at similar disasters that occurred in Silesia at the time.

Benefits for the Prussian army in Silesia

A study on Grand Duchy of Poznań⁴⁶, allows us to conclude that in the period 1815–1848 the contributions made by Prussian subjects to the army included: service and accommodation for soldiers and horses, supply of troops in garrisons and during marches in war and peace, supply of horses and transport means for training and mobilisation.

The sphere of service tariffs and lodging was generally regulated by an ordinance of 17th March 1810⁴⁷, according to which military men were to have the right to housing in peacetime, to be granted according to the decisions of the relevant authorities. Lodging might take place in royal or municipal buildings, either as lodging or in the form of monetary compensation. It was binding for all towns and villages in the kingdom. The military authorities were responsible for ensuring that the rights were enforced, while the civil authorities and the deputations created by them were responsible for the whole process. The deputations, i.e. commissions, were to be composed of representatives of the magistrate and inhabitants, in the proportion of 2 + 6 to 10 in large towns and 1 + 4 to 6 in medium-sized and small towns⁴⁸. They were supported by the Commissariats, which had been operating in practice since 1828 at each corps⁴⁹. Lodging was generally divided into those for persons and those for animals, mainly service horses. The regulations specified in detail the categories of persons entitled to the benefit, the number of habitable rooms required, and their facilities⁵⁰. As a rule, the entitled person had no right to demand more from the host and the municipal authorities than the regulations stipulated. Obviously, the regulatory requirements had nothing to do with local realities, which sometimes led to problems and complaints.

⁴⁵ Tiersch, *Geschichte*, pp. 49–50.

⁴⁶ Jędrysiak, *Benefits*, *passim*.

⁴⁷ GStA PK, I. HA. Rep. 77, Tit. 332cc, No. 15 Bd. 1, Allgemeines Regulativ über das Servis- und Einquartierungs-Wesen, Berlin 17 III 1810, pp. 2–8.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 4–6.

⁴⁹ *Die Wirkungskreis und die amtliche Stellung der Militair-Intendanturen betreffend*, [in:] *Amtsblatt der Königlichen Regierung zu Posen*, 1828, No. 9, pp. 93–97.

⁵⁰ These requirements are quite well discussed by Grudziński, *Między twierdzą*, pp. 198–199.

It is worth mentioning, however, that at that time local citizens were able to make money on some types of lodging, for example those concerning horses.

In Silesia, the lodging was financed by the so-called service tariff. According to a regulation from 1810, all towns in then Prussia were divided into classes, according to which a tariff was calculated, from which the billeting was subsequently financed. Towns were divided into categories with specific annual tariff amounts: Class I – at least 10,000 inhabitants, 20/25 silver groshes per head; Class II – 3,500–10,000 inhabitants, 15 or 18 silver groshes and 9 fenig per head; Class III – up to 3,500 inhabitants 10 silver groshes/12 groshes and 6 fenig per head. Service claims had to be transferred by the towns each month to the service funds of the provinces, which then distributed the dues. Provinces which were losing out on the balance of the service tariff were to be subsidised in order to compensate for their losses, it is not clear whether Silesia was in this category. In 1815, the service amount for the so-called old provinces was set at 677,790 thalers. The service was financed from various sources, including income tax, which in the opinion of the authorities of the charged provinces increased the burden considerably⁵¹. The authorities of the so-called “old provinces”⁵² strived to change this state of affairs and introduce the financing of the service from land tax, without paying the tariff to the service fund, as was the practice in some of the new provinces. The implementation of this idea was announced in the Tax Act of 30th May 1820, which provided for the introduction of a uniform land tax throughout the country⁵³. Contrary to hopes, however, the previous system was maintained and 393 towns in four eastern provinces were now obliged to pay 721,319 thalers, 8 silver grosches and 8 fenigs annually into the service fund on account of the tariff, of which in Silesia it was respectively:

1. Wrocław *Regierungsbezirk* (55): 103,473 thalers, 10 silver groshes;
2. Legnica *Regierungsbezirk* (37): 52,893 thalers, 10 silver groshes;
3. Opole *Regierungsbezirk* (38): 31,625 thalers, 18 silver groshes.

Moreover, although no uniform rate of land tax was introduced, Silesia was to be obliged to pay, in addition to service, various amounts for other military expenses, which totalled 2,794 thalers, 29 silver groshes and 11 fenigs a year. Dissatisfaction with this state of affairs was the basis for a great push for change.

⁵¹ GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 77, Tit. 332cc, No. 32, Entwurf eines Gesetzes über die anderweite Aufbringung der Servis-Abgabe in den Städten des Östlichen Provinzen, 14 X 1844, n.pag.

⁵² Prussia, Pomerania, Brandenburg and Silesia.

⁵³ GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 77, Tit. 332cc, No. 32, Motive zum Gesetz-Entwurfe über die Umwandlung des Servises in eine Grundsteuer, 14 X 1844, n.pag.

Until the law of 1844 came into force, however, there was no question of a uniform land tax throughout the monarchy⁵⁴.

In the State Archives in Wrocław there are preserved records of the Deputation making annual calculations of receipts and expenditures on account of service to the provincial capital. The table below shows how difficult it was to balance the necessary amount in particular years (rounded to thalers):

Table No. 1: Balance sheets of service tariffs in Wrocław from 1815 to 1848

Year	Receipts	Expenditure	Year	Receipts	Expenditure
1815	-	-	1832	66,493	66,493
1816	-	-	1833	66,250	66,250
1817	-	-	1834	-	-
1818	-	-	1835	-	-
1819	101,512	17,460	1836	-	-
1820	139,897	140,030	1837	3,939	61,591
1821	64,230	64,230	1838	3,631	61,591
1822	64,053	64,053	1839	3,403	60,670
1823	64,343	64,343	1840	3,403	60,670
1824	67,085	67,085	1841	3,403	60,670
1825	66,005	66,005	1842	2,794	60,206
1826	64,913	64,913	1843	2,794	60,206
1827	65,213	65,213	1844	2,794	60,206
1828	67,843	67,843	1845	3,340	61,607
1829	66,793	66,793	1846	2,952	61,347
1830	66,793	66,793	1847	2,875	61,266
1831	66,493	66,493	1848	2,925	5,405

Source: Own preparation on the basis of: APWr, Records of the city of Wrocław, ref. 41557–41558, *Die Einrichtung des Servis Etats*, vol. 1–2, 1816–55.

A precise explanation of the reasons for the changes in the amounts, their structure and significance requires studies in the preserved materials. Particularly interesting is the change in the balance since the 2nd half of the 19th century. It can clearly be seen that between 1821 and 1833 the city managed to achieve a fair balance of tariff income and payouts. Between 1834 and 1837, however, there was

⁵⁴ Friedrich G. Schimmelfennig, *Die Preussischen direkten Steuern*, part 1, Potsdam 1842, pp. 106–111.

a drastic change in the situation, which is not yet explainable without a thorough analysis of the documentation. In a similar way, the service in the other Silesian municipalities remains a subject for very painstaking analysis.

The natural supply of troops in peacetime comprised four main sections⁵⁵: bread supply; food on the march; victuals supply; horse forage supply. In view of the purpose of the study and the lack of sources, I will limit myself here to a few general remarks. The supply of bread was regulated by very precise guidelines as to its quality and baking time. The instruction of 16th March 1819 divided the portions into light and heavy ones. The first was the equivalent of 1/5 loaf of bread per day for 30 days in a month, which meant that a soldier received 6 loaves. The heavy portion amounted to 210 days' rations and was provided in case of prolonged absence from the garrison, or marches, or temporary absence outside the garrison for duty reasons⁵⁶. The feeding of troops on the march was a more complicated issue. It was regulated by a series of instructions and orders of 1819, 1821 and 1827⁵⁷. Soldiers were generally dependent on the hospitality of their hosts and should be content with what they received in their quarters. However, to prevent hosts from lowering standards as well as soldiers from making excessive claims, strict standards were introduced. The due rations included two pounds of well-baked rye bread and half a pound of meat, vegetables and salt. The same amount for lunch and for dinner. Marching soldiers were not entitled to breakfast, nor to request beer, wine or even coffee from their hosts. The relevant authorities were to ensure that provisions of alcoholic beverages were available at stopping places at prices affordable to soldiers⁵⁸. According to the regulation of 1818, in such a case the hosts were to receive four silver groshes a day for the quartered soldier, paid in thalers. Two groshes from a soldier's wages were handed over immediately and a further two groshes were handed over in return for a receipt, with payment specified by day. The remaining two groshes were to come from a special fund. Bearing in mind the time, the towns through which the march was to pass had to be supported by advance payments. It was necessary to ensure that the hosts always

⁵⁵ GStA PK, IV. HA, Preußische Armee, Militärvorschriften, Rep. 16, No. 221, Naturalverpflegung der Truppen im Frieden, n.d., p. 7.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 11–12.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 21v.

⁵⁸ GStA PK, IV. HA, Preußische Armee, Militärvorschriften, Rep. 16, No. 221, Naturalverpflegung der Truppen im Frieden, n.d., pp. 39–40.

received their 4 groshes as soon as possible⁵⁹. From 1822, the hosts were entitled by law to 5 silver groshes⁶⁰, and this amount remained unchanged until the 1840s⁶¹. Separate and equally detailed regulations pertained to the provision of forage for service horses.

We do not have exact data on the quality of food received by soldiers and the functioning of the whole system in the Silesian Province. On the one hand, the above-mentioned actions taken at the end of 1830, when supplies and horse forage were collected in Silesia for the troops concentrating in Grand Duchy of Poznań, may attest to the affluence of the area. On the other hand, Carl Friedrich Riecke, who investigated typhus epidemics in Silesian garrisons, pointed to poor food and unfair practices of food suppliers as one of the main causes of the disease⁶².

The matter of the contingent of work horses and transport means was not sufficiently regulated before the mobilisation plan was approved in March 1831. The regulations introduced stipulated that the horse equipping of line troops was to take place partly by means of domestic deliveries on the royal account, and partly with monetary compensation in the amount of 100 thalers per saddle horse and 80 thalers per gelding. Purchases from foreign suppliers were to be the exception to the rule and each time arranged by a special order. Purchases from foreign suppliers were to be the exception to the rule and in each case arranged by special order. Horses for the *Landwehr* were supplied free of charge. Already in peacetime each government department was to be informed of the need for mobilisation horses, and the detachments and places to which they were to be supplied. This placed an obligation on local authorities to keep accurate records of the number and categories of horses in their district to ensure that deliveries could be made within 14 days of receiving the mobilisation order⁶³. Data on the necessary horses is contained in tables:

⁵⁹ GStA PK, IV. HA, Rep. 16, No. 180, Neuere Bestimmungen über Verpflegung der Truppen auf Märschen bewirkt und Vorspann vergütet werden soll, Berlin 6 VI 1818, pp. 1–2.

⁶⁰ GStA PK, IV. HA Rep. 16, No. 221, Naturalverpflegung der Truppen im Frieden, n.d., p. 43v.

⁶¹ GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 77, Tit. 332z, No. 13 Bd. 9, Ueber die Natural-Verpflegung der Truppen im Frieden, Berlin 1837, n.pag.

⁶² Carl F. Riecke, *Der Kriegs- und Friedens-Typhus in Den Armeen: Ein Beitrag Zu Einer Künftigen Gesundheitspflege in Den Kriegsheeren. Mit Besonderer Rücksicht auf die Königlich. Preuss. Armee*, Potsdam 1848, pp. 134–138, 145–149.

⁶³ APP, Supreme Presidium (Naczelne Prezydium), ref. 567, Mobilmachungs-plan für die Königliche Preußische Armee, Berlin 21 III 1831, pp. 204–205.

Table No. 2: Repartition of horses from Silesia by army corps

Army Corps	<i>Landwehr</i>	Line troops	Guard	Total
III	145	252	46	443
IV	29	52	6	87
V	1,615	2,634	-	4,249
VI	2,982	4,673	-	7,655
Total:	4,771	7,611	52	12,434

Source: GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 77, Tit. 332r, No. 7 Bd. 3, Anhang XXVIII, Repartition der bei einer Mobilmachung der Armee von den Regierungs-Departements zu stellenden Pferde, Berlin 11 IV 1831, n.pag.

Table No. 3: Repartition of horses for the VI Army Corps by *Regierungsbezirk*

Regierungsbezirk	<i>Landwehr</i>	Line troops	Total
Wrocław	1,308	2,050	3,358
Opole	1,674	2,623	4,297
Poznań	237	576	813
Total:	3,219	5,249	8,468

Source: GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 77, Tit. 332r, No. 7 Bd. 3, Anhang XXVIII, Repartition der bei einer Mobilmachung der Armee von den Regierungs-Departements zu stellenden Pferde, Berlin 11 IV 1831, n.pag.

Silesia thus provided a total of 12,434 horses, of which 7,655 were for VI AC, the rest being transferred to other corps *Regierungsbezirks*, yet it should be borne in mind the specific nature of the 9th Division, which was stationed in Silesia and which certainly received the bulk of the 4,249 horses allocated to V AC. The economic significance of this procedure requires increased attention, as does a study of the regulations introduced by the next mobilisation plan in April 1844⁶⁴. Unfortunately, no more precise data are available on the issue of the transport means and the mobilisation of the so-called *Trainsoldaten*.

The impact of the above contributions on the provincial economy, including the opportunities for Prussian subjects to benefit from it, remains an open question. In this aspect there are unfortunately no authoritative studies. Certainly an important element of military organisation were orders for uniforms, leather equipment,

⁶⁴ GStA PK, IV. HA Rep. 16 Militärvorschriften, No. 643, Mobilmachungsplan für die preußische Armee 10 IV 1844.

boots, belts and all sorts of smithing and related services. This is an issue which is difficult to capture in sources, usually occurring in the context of conflicts and litigation. Recognition of this issue certainly requires a careful analysis of existing guild records and the press of the period⁶⁵.

Conclusion

As Jerzy Maroń rightly pointed out, military history is also social history⁶⁶. The functions of the Prussian army and its impact on Silesian society and economy are undoubtedly areas which require wider exploration. The catalogue of problems discussed in the text probably does not exhaust the issue in a holistic way. However, it indicates the main research directions which, in my opinion, should be developed in an attempt to inscribe the Prussian army in the social and economic landscape of Silesia in the 1st half of the 19th century. Fortunately, the main corpus of archival sources can be found today in the collections of the Ministry of the Interior, the Provincial Presidium and municipal records in Poland and Germany. Therefore, even the destruction of military records does not exclude studies on this issue, in which the main areas of research include the questions of population's contributions, the mobilizations of 1831 and 1846 and the presence of the army in the space of garrison towns.

STRESZCZENIE

Prezentowane opracowanie stanowi w zamierzeniu wprowadzenie do tematyki wpływu armii pruskiej na kwestie gospodarcze i społeczne w Prowincji Śląskiej w latach 1815–1848. Jest to zagadnienie często ignorowane w literaturze, co ma związek z dokonywanym przez wielu badaczy ograniczaniem obszaru zainteresowania historii wojen i wojskowości jedynie do kwestii organizacyjnych i tych związanych bezpośrednio z prowadzeniem działań zbrojnych. Optyce tej umyka szereg aspektów związanych z interakcją między armią i społeczeństwem w czasie pokoju. Dodatkowy problem stanowi niedobór źródeł proveniencji wojskowej, w dużej mierze zniszczonych i rozproszonych w 1945 r., powodujący wrażenie, że badanie dziejów armii pruskiej w XIX w. jest niemal niemożliwe. Na szczęście najistotniejsze akta dotyczące relacji wojska i ludności cywilnej zachowały się w aktach pruskich ministerstw, urzędów cywilnych i władz lokalnych,

⁶⁵ I would like to thank Professor Wanda Musialik for her valuable comments in this regard, expressed during our discussion.

⁶⁶ Jerzy Maroń, *Wokół teorii rewolucji militarnej. Wybrane problemy*, Wrocław 2011, p. 13.

przechowywanych w archiwach polskich i niemieckich, co umożliwia prowadzenie studiów w tym obszarze badawczym.

Celem tekstu jest wskazanie katalogu najważniejszych do przebadania zagadnień, wraz z sugestiami dotyczącymi możliwości ich rekonstrukcji. W tekście omówione zostały problemy obejmujące kwestie obecności i funkcji armii pruskiej na Śląsku oraz katalogu świadczeń na rzecz wojska, obejmujących kwaterek, zaopatrzenie w żywność oraz kontyngenty koni i środków transportu. Scharakteryzowana została także specyfika struktury organizacyjnej armii pruskiej w prowincji.

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Appendix 1: List of garrison towns and units stationed in Silesia between 1815 and 1848

Garrison town	Stationed units	Dates of stationing
Brzeg (Brieg)	Fusilier Battalion of the 11. Infantry Regiment	1810–1860
Bystrzyca Kłodzka (<i>Habelschwerdt</i>)	part of the 11. Invalids Company	1808–1819
Bytom (Beuthen)	4. Squadron of the 2. Uhlan Regiment	1819–1860
Chojnów (Haynau)	1. Squadron of the 4. Dragoon Regiment	
Gliwice (<i>Gleiwitz</i>)	Staff and 1. Squadron of the 2. Uhlan Regiment	1819–1919
Głogów (<i>Glogau</i>)	5. Lower Silesian Pioneer Detachment	1808–1819
	5. Lower Silesian Artillery Brigade	1808–1873
	Command of the 9. Division, 17. Infantry Brigade, 9. Cavalry Brigade, 9. Field Artillery Brigade, 2. Pioneer Inspectorate	1820–1919
	11. Garrison Battalion	1810–1860
Głubczyce (<i>Leobschütz</i>)	part of the 2. <i>Landwehr</i> Uhlan Regiment	1820–1860
Grodków (<i>Grottkau</i>)	Staff, 1. and 3. Horse Battery of the 6. Artillery Brigade	1808–1919
Jawor (Jauer)	1. Battalion of the 7. Infantry Regiment	1820–1861
	Fusilier battalion of the 7. <i>Landwehr</i> Infantry Regiment	1830–1919
Jelenia Góra (<i>Hirschberg im Riesengebirge</i>)	2. Battalion of the 7. <i>Landwehr</i> Infantry Regiment	1820–1860
Kłodzko (Glatz)	Fusilier Battalion of the 11. Infantry Regiment	1808–1860
	a company of the 6. Silesian Pioneer Detachment	1808–1860
	staff and two battalions of the 22. Infantry Regiment	1808–1883
	3. fortress artillery companies	1808–1860
	1. Battalion of 4. <i>Landwehr</i> Infantry Regiment	1808–1860
	23. Infantry Regiment	1844–1860
	38. Infantry Regiment (reserve)	1818–1819
Kozłe (Cosel)	11. Garrison Battalion	from 1808
	two artillery infantry batteries	from 1818
	a pioneer company	from 1819
	two battalions of the 22. <i>Landwehr</i> Infantry Regiment	from 1819

Garrison town	Stationed units	Dates of stationing
Koźuchów (<i>Freystadt in Schlesien</i>)	2. Battalion of the 6. <i>Landwehr</i> Infantry Regiment	1819–1860
Krapkowice (<i>Krappitz</i>)	1. Battalion 23. <i>Landwehr</i> Infantry Regiment	1808–1821
Legnica (<i>Liegnitz</i>)	1. and 2. Battalions of the 7. Infantry Regiment	1808–1919
Lwówek Śląski (<i>Löwenberg in Schlesien</i>)	3. Battalion of the 7. Infantry Regiment	1819–1859
	Silasien Invalid Company	1819–1860
Lubań (<i>Lauban</i>)	2. Battalion of the 9. Infantry Regiment	1808–1919
Lubin (<i>Lüben</i>)	Staff, 4. and 5. Squadrons of the 4. Dragoon Regiment	1815–1919
Mikołów (<i>Nikolai</i>)	2. and 4. Squadrons of the 6. Uhlán Regiment	1819–1860
Namysłów (<i>Namslau</i>)	4. squadron of the 4. Hussar Regiment	1808–1860
Nysa (Neisse)	Staff, 1. and 3. Battalions of the 10. Infantry Regiment	1808–1819
	Command of the 12. Division, 12. Infantry Brigade, 12. Cavalry Brigade, 6. Pioneer Detachment,	1819–1919
	Staff, 1. Battalion and Fusilier Battalion of the 23. Infantry Regiment	1819–1823
	1. Battalion of the 23. <i>Landwehr</i> Infantry Regiment	1820–1868
	Two companies of the 11. Garrison Battalion	1820–1859
Oleśnica (Oels)	1. Squadron of the 4. Hussar Regiment	1819–1823
	2. Battalion of the 10. <i>Landwehr</i> Infantry Regiment	1820–1868
Oława (Ohlau)	1. and 2. squadrons of the 4. Hussar Regiment	1819–1850
Opole (Oppeln)	headquarters of the 2. <i>Landwehr</i> Uhlán Regiment	1819–1860
	3. Battalion of the 23. <i>Landwehr</i> Infantry Regiment	1819–1860
Prudnik (<i>Neustadt an der Prudnik</i>)	2. and 4. Squadrons of the 6. Uhlán Regiment	1819–1859
Pszczyna (Pless)	a squadron of 2. Uhlán Regiment	1808–1919
Racibórz (Ratibor)	3. Squadron of the 2. <i>Landwehr</i> Uhlán Regiment	1819–1859
	3. Battalion of the 23. <i>Landwehr</i> Infantry Regiment	1819–1859
Srebrna Góra (Silberberg)	Infantry Company of the 6. Artillery Brigade	1819–1860
Strzelce Opolskie (<i>Groß Strehlitz</i>)	2. Battalion of the 10. <i>Landwehr</i> Infantry Regiment	1817–1820
	part of the 23. <i>Landwehr</i> Infantry Regiment	1820–1861

Garrison town	Stationed units	Dates of stationing
Świdnica (Schweidnitz)	battalions of the 11. Infantry Regiment	1816–1817
	3. Detachment of the 5. Artillery Brigade	1817–1844
	23. Infantry Regiment	1829–1844
	battalions of the 10. Infantry Regiment	1843–1849
Wołów (Wohlau)	3. Squadron of the 2. Hussar Regiment	1818–1859
Wrocław (Breslau)	Command of the VI Army Corps, its institutions, Command of the 11. Division, Command of the 22. Infantry Brigade, 11. Cavalry Brigade, 11. Artillery Brigade, 11. Infantry Regiment, 1. Cuirassier Regiment. Two infantry and three horse batteries of the 6. Artillery Brigade	1813–1918
Ząbkowice Śląskie (Frankenstein)	a horse artillery company	1819–1860
Zgorzelec (Görlitz)	5. Jäger Battalion	1830–1887
Ziębice (Münsterberg)	3. Battalion of the 10. <i>Landwehr</i> Infantry Regiment and part of the 4. <i>Landwehr</i> Hussar Regiment	1819–1860

Source: Own elaboration based on Romuald Bergner, *Truppen und Garnisonen in Schlesien 1740–1945*, Friedberg 1987; Hugo Sommer, *Preußische militärische Standorte im Posener Lande, in Westpreußen und Oberschlesien*, “Deutsche Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für Polen”, 25 (1933), pp. 51–92 and regiments’ monographs (quoted in the footnote no. 5 and others).

