

The Oldest History of Olęder Settlements in the Nekla District,
1749-1793,
by Zbigniew Chodyła
Committee for Renovation of Oleder Cemeteries, Nekla 2005

The book has been published as part of the preparation for Nekla's 600th Anniversary.

The cover: A photocopied section of the agreement between the settlers of Nekla Olędry and Franciszek Odrowąż Wilkoński and Rev. Aleksym Błachowicz regarding payments to the Roman-catholic Parish in Nekla, made on 8 January 1753 at Nekla. From an original kept at State Archives in Poznan (Posen).

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INTRODUCTION

One of the most important types of rural settlements (*based on land annuity*) in Poland, 1527/1547-1864 was Olęder colonization, named after its pioneers – Hollanders, known in the old Polish language as ‘Olęders’, ‘Olenders’ or ‘Holęders’. This type of colonization (or settlement) has been determined neither by the ethnicity of the settlers, or the nature of the land, nor the way of its preparation (amelioration or clearing), but by the Hollander legal system (legislation) introduced by Hollanders and applied by their continuators, Germans and Poles, as well as by the manner of husbandry choosing land difficult for farming, bringing under cultivation one large piece of land and attaching great importance to animal husbandry. According to that legal system, the settlers called olęders, holęders (even if they no longer represented their Hollander nationality), were free landholders who were leasing the land on the conditions of *emphyteusis* (*Latin, for a long term lease of land with the right of harvesting the crops, putting up buildings etc, but without owning the land or possibility of acquiring that right through usucaption*) – at first a long term, and later on (especially in Great Poland) perpetual lease with the right of passing the farms on to their heirs or selling them with the landlord’s permission. After some time rent free in order to help the leaseholders with settling in and becoming productive, they only had to pay the lease (in money and in kind) and in some limited way (although not always) in labour. The settlers exercised limited freedom of how to use their land and as a whole community were responsible for fulfilling the conditions of the lease on time. They had their own hamlet self-government that was to make sure they met their obligations towards their landlord. They exercised limited judicial freedom by having their own hamlet court and only in some criminal and appeal matters had to appear before the landlord’s judicature. The settlers had to make regular payments to the Catholic Church as well as pay state taxes. They were free to trade and enjoyed freedom of religion and the right to establish their own schools that usually were their places of worship. The collective solidarity of the olęder hamlet towards the landlord, the equality of their rights, neighbourly support of each other within the hamlet and the appropriate structure and functions of their self-government were very distinct and characteristic of the olęder colonization that differed from other forms of colonization based on German legislation, such as ‘head of a hamlet’ colonization under which the settlers were given perpetual lease of the land individually and not as the olęders in result of collective agreements with the whole hamlet. (1)

According to the research available, in the years 1527/1547-1864 there were in the First Republic of Poland, and after 1795 in the Three Partitions, at least about 1700 olęder settlements of which at least 300 had ethnic Hollanders of Mennonite faith and their descendants who in part have become Lutheran. Most of those settlements (minimum about 925), were formed (established) in one of the few regions in which olęder colonization had developed – in the Great Poland itself. In the period of the old Polish history, 1547-1793, there were in the eight of nine counties that belonged to two (and from 1768 three) voivodeships (provinces): (Poznan, Kalisz and Gniezno) 725 olęder settlements in a larger sense, and among those at least 686 unquestionable. Those settlements, called in brief: “olęders”, were established on the different types of feudal land ownership: royal, municipal, ecclesiastical (both diocesan and monastic), and in particular nobiliary (of nobility). The settlements in the Great Poland region were inhabited by the immigrant population – the descendants of the Hollander settlers of Mennonite faith from the settlements in Gdansk Pomerania (about 0.8%), in majority (about 54%) by German Evangelical population (mainly Lutheran), and in a large percent (about 38%) by Catholic Polish population, and partly by population ethnically and confessionally mixed (about 7.2%). (2)

Among the settlements originally established and inhabited by the German protestant colonists, and then until 1945 by their descendants, who only to a very small degree had become assimilated, polonized and converted to Catholicism, were the former olęder hamlets established in 1749-1776 in Nekła district on the land that belonged to the nobility. They are listed here in alphabetical order: Barczyzny (formerly Old and New, forming one community), Brzezia (presently Brzeźna), between Siedleczek and Nekła, Gierałtowo, Góreckich Olędrów (presently within town boundaries), Lasek Olędrów (formerly Lasek Zasutowskich, presently parts of Gierałtowo), Mystkowskich Olędrów (presently a part of Barczyzny), Niekielskich Olędrów (presently Nekielki), Siedleckich or Zabrodzia Olędrów (presently Siedlecza) and Zasutowa Olędrów (presently Zasutowa). Right from the time of being established in 1793, all those settlements (hamlets) were located in the old Polish district (county) of Pyzdry (within its boundaries before and after 1791 territorial changes), in the voivodeship of Kalisz bordering with the county of Gniezno, but three of them – Barszczyzna Old and New with Mystkowskich Olędry that belonged to the Czerniejewo estate in the county of Gniezno, were also listed in this county that was a part of Gniezno voivodeship formed at that time from some parts of the voivodeship of Kalisz. (3) At the present time they are found within the boundaries of seven localities: two (Brzeźno and

Siedleczek) are part of the community of Kostrzyn in the Poznan district, and five (Barczykna, Gierałtowo, Nekla, Nekielka, Zasutowo) are part of the community of Nekla in the Września district, in the voivodeship of Great Poland. (4)

Below there is an outline of the beginnings of their history from the time of the oldest location in 1749 and then the next ones (to 1776), until 1791, or nearly 1793, when in the result of the second partition of Poland, they found themselves, together with the rest of the Great Poland, under the Prussian rule. Because of a limited size of this publication we list here briefly the following topics:

1. Chronology, organization (names and social and economical standing of the founders, numbers, names, nationality, religion and origin of the colonizers and the settlers), type of land, living conditions and reasons for establishing settlements
2. The settlements' size, lay-out, building structure, and population in 1789 according to gender, age, social and financial status, as well as profession
3. Legal and administrative state of the Olęder population
4. Economics and social life
5. Interdenominational relations, education and every day culture

There are very few written materials available on the subject of the Olęder settlements. (5) The main sources of this publication are the documents from the archives such as settlements charters (or rather agreements) containing dates, reasons and conditions, internal structure of the settlements and the lease paid by the settlers to the manor (landlord), payments to the Church and the state, agreements between Olęder communities and Catholic parsons concerning their contributions, inventories and inspections, tables (lists) of houses, (podymnego?), *population, also of a donation (offering) of the 10th (20) groschen and the so called 'piling up of grain' ('*zsyпка zbożowa*') in 1789 and 1791. There are some other texts that because of a limited space will not be discussed in detail. (6) However, because of the gaps in those sources, full ascertainties can be done only in relation to some parts of those settlements.

At the end of this publication, in addition to the inferences drawn from the above mentioned characteristics, we will include some of the most important facts from the subsequent 150 years history of the Olęder settlements near Nekla between 1794 and 1945. Towards the end of World War II those settlements had been deserted by the

descendants of the original settlers and resettled by Polish people who were displaced from the eastern parts of the Second Republic of Poland. Those facts however refer only to XIX century. The wide scope of material and time factors of that one and half century long period require separate monographs.

1

CHRONOLOGY, ORGANIZATION, CONDITIONS AND REASONS FOR ESTABLISHING THE SETTLEMENTS

The time of establishing the four out of ten Olęder settlements in the Nekla district can be determined from settlement charters; the time of the remaining ones can be determined approximately from the first references made by other sources (e.g. agreements with parish parsons, inspections, inventories, tax tables). According to those sources they had been established between 1749 and 1776 in the estates of the middle class gentry (that is the owners of a few villages) and by their initiative within the boundaries of three parishes: Siedlec (2), Nekla (6) i Opatówko (2).

The three settlements to be established first (all the three in 1749) were Brzeźno (within the parish of Siedlec), Niekielskie Olędry and Góreckie Olędry (within the parish of Nekla) in the gentry's estates belonging to three different owners.

The establishment of Brzeźno (formerly known as Brzeż) was formalized by the contract (charter) of 27 March 1749 between the founder Antoni Krzycki, castellan of Nekla, squire of Osieka, Wilkonice, Siedlec, Brzeż and others, and the head of the hamlet, Andrzej Arent and Marcin Betkier – the settlers representing the whole future olęder community. They obliged themselves to settle the hamlet with 18 German settlers (17 of those being farmers with the head of the hamlet and *'gościnnie'*(?). To help them with settling down the settlers were granted 5 years free of lease and other payments. The village they were to settle in was most likely partly deserted (vacant). We can gather that from an information that they should pay for 'new buildings' (i.e. quite likely erected earlier by the lord of the manor – the author's annotation) according to the agreement, and that those "who will build new buildings" should erect "adequate homes" within a time frame of five years (7). In 1775 "the village Brzezie" part of the parish of Siedlec numbered 21

houses (households). The names of its other settlers-pioneers are unknown. The official entry of the settlement charter into the town records was done in 1791 by Jakub Arent (the head of the hamlet), Marcin Chwist (or Chwast) and Jan Manka (most likely councilors or assessors and the descendants of the first settlers/colonists) (9).

In the same year (1749) was established Niekielskie Olędry. Its settlement charter, dated 22 October, was issued by the then landlord of Nekla estate, Franciszek Odrowąż Wilkoński castellan of Krzywice. The village was established “in the woods and forests of Nekla” on the land known as “Lisia Woda (Fox’s Water), Muniak and Strzyżewko”. This land has been given for settlement to “the worthy (that is *honest, free* – the author’s annotation) Hollanders”. They were granted 7 years lease and payments free to settle down, that is to clear the land for cultivation, to start cultivate the land and to put up their homes (10).

Most likely at the same time as the two above settlements there was established Góreckie Olędry near Nekla. Their settlement charter, dated 1 May 1751 and written in German, was issued at the manor of (Targowa) Górka by Zygmunt of Stręczno Turno, second lieutenant, general-adjutant of the Polish King August III, the landlord of Targowa Góra estate. The date 11 November 1749 is given as the beginning of the three years (lease and payments) free period for settling down. This settlement is also named “alias (Lat. ‘*otherwise*’, ‘*or*’) (as) part of Sławęcín” or “Sławęcín’s Olędry” and it consisted of 10 *huba* or *włók*, that is 300 ‘*mórg*’ (1 *mórg* – polish land measure equal to 55 ares or 6578 sq. yards or 5600 m²; ‘*mórg*’ from German ‘*Morgen*’ – morning, a piece of land that could be ploughed during one morning, possibly from sunrise till noon). The land to be settled was part of the village of Sławęcín that, being deserted already in the 2nd half of the XVIth century, was overgrown with a new oak forest.

In 1756 or before, one part of the village of Sławęcín was turned into a settlement of Mystkowskie Olędry, situated within the parish boundaries of Nekla. In 1789 the settlement, together with Barszczyzna (Old and New) belonged to Czerniejewo estate and because of that it was also called Czerniejewskie Mystkowskie Olędry. The time of the settlement is confirmed by an agreement made on 20 February 1756 in Nekla between the owner and most likely the founder Piotr Zbyszewski and the then rector of Nekla, priest (abbrev. ks means ‘priest’ and is equivalent of English Rev.) Aleksy Błachowicz (*vel* Błachowicz; *vel.* – Lat. ‘*or*’) regarding the defined below contributions (charges) of the

settlement's inhabitants to the parish parsons of the Roman-Catholic parish in Nekla. They were obliged to pay those charges (contributions) as the land they occupied was part of the deserted village of Sławęcín that used to pay such contributions (12).

Zasułtowo Ol. was most likely established in 1759 or 1759-1761. These years can be deduced from an undated settlement charter (most likely from 1772-1776) according to which the settlers were expected to start paying their lease on 11 November 1766 taking into consideration "the lease free years that had already expired". This settlement was established by Aleksy Lipski, squire of Chwalczyce, Podstolice, Gașiorowo i Zasułtowo, colonel and then general-adjutant of His Royal Majesty (Highness?) on the grounds called Zasułtowo Wielkie (Large) and Małe (Small) in the woods and forests of Chwalczyce, that is on the grounds of the deserted village Zasułtowo of the medieval metrics (register?)(13). For clearing and settling of such terrain the settlers were usually given from 5 to 7 years (as is spelled out by the settlement charters of other Olęder hamlets) (14).

Most likely around the same time, or not much later than Zasułtowo, between 1762 and 1765, was established by the same founder the settlement of Laski Olędry located near Zasułtowo. It was a part of the same estate. The settlement had to be established in any case before 1775, as it appears in the table of households and '*podymne*' in the district of Pызdry dated 1775 (15).

According to an inventory of Podstolice estate and others, the following people inhabited Zasułtowo (!) Ol.: the head of the hamlet (no surname given), Jan Lubrens, Gulle (no first name given), Matys (no first name or surname given), the old head of the hamlet (no surname given), Michał Henkel, Zygmunt Henkel, Wanka (no first name given), Fender (no first name given) and Krzysztof Konkol; Laski Ol. were inhabited by Marcin (no surname given), Stelter (no first name given), Krzysztof Boga, Krzysztof Libenc (16).

Siedleckie or Zabrodzie Ol. was settled (established) in 1772 within the estate and the Parish of Siedlec. Its founder was most likely Antoni Krzycki, castellan of Krzywin, squire of Się(d)lec, Iwna, Łęka, Osieka and other estates. This is certified by a document (legal act, title?) transferring this settlement, by the decree of the Royal Tribunal of Piotrków from 1778, to the noble man, Ludwik Ostrowski, who during that time was taking a possession (of the settlement) and lived in the house of the head of the hamlet (without expelling him and his family), and who was to recover from Onufry Krzycki – the son and heir of the

founder, the two and a half year interest from the sum of 10 000 złp (Polish zloty) that he had lent to Krzycki from the lease money paid by Olęders. However, the lease money was due only on 11 November 1779 when the lease free time would expire. The transfer act lists the names of 12 settlers together with the size of their allocated land. They were: Wojciech Mank (head of the hamlet) possessing 1 'huba', Jan Balk possessing one half *huba* and 3 mórg (1 mórg – polish land measure = 55 Ares or 6578 sq. yards or 5600 m²), Jędrzej Cado – one half 'huba', Bogusław Rysner, Marcin Rysner – having three quarters 'huba' each, Bogusław Heyd, Antoni Gaska (Gaska?), Marcin Krys, Krzysztof Szmidt, Jan Hentka – all one 'huba' each, Michał Marcin and Marcin Błach having three quarters 'huba' each. The road and the school, as well as rent paid in poultry, were at the disposal of the Siedlec manor (17). The charter of building a mill in Siedleckie Ol. given on 23 June 1772 to the miller Wojciech Hofmann (18) by mentioned above Antoni Krzycki indicates year 1772 as the beginning of the lease free five year period and the time of the establishment of the settlement. In 1775 Siedleckie "Gburskie Olędry..." numbered 16 households (19).

Before 1775 there was established Gierałtowo Olędry (also known as Chłapowskie Olędry, because it belonged to the Chłapowo estate), in the Nekla Parish, located on the grounds of a village deserted already prior to 1571. The settlement is listed as Chłapowskie Olędry in the Parish of Nekla in the table of households and 'podymne' in the district of Pyzdry from 1775. The number of households was six (20).

Before, or perhaps in 1756 (together with Mystkowskie Ol.) and in 1776 there were established (also in one part of the former village Sławęcín in the Parish of Nekla) the settlements called Barszczyzna (Barczyzna) Stara (Old) and Nowa (New). Being locality- and economy-wise separate settlements, they formed one administrative and judicial community and because of that they were granted one final settlement charter issued on 16 July 1776 in Gutowy by their founder – Antoni Wyssogot Zakrzewski, castellan of Łędz, and before of Santock (?) (1756-1757), Biechow (1757-1772), Krzywín, the squire of Gutowy Małe (Small) and Wielkie (Large), Bierzgliń and Barszczyzna. One of them, however, namely Barszczyzna Stara (Old) must have been established earlier. The "Table of the size of land... of the village Sławęcín known as Olendry..." (prepared by Michał Pieczyński, sworn surveyor), mentioned in this charter and attached to it, enumerates the area of all the 18 farms (among them one for the school teacher) and the amount of monetary lease as well as corvee (seasonal labour required of the peasants during harvest and hay cutting). It also gives the reason for reducing them in accordance with the

decisions of the former rights and privileges [most likely of Barszczyna Stara (Old) – Z.Ch.] that were to be applied to Nekla Olenders (...)" (22), that is the settlement charter of the latter ones of 1749. (23)

In 1776, according to the mentioned above "Table of the holdings' size...", both villages of the name Barszczyna were inhabited by 17 farmers by the names of: Wojciech Brant, Michał Chench, Marcin Fener, Michał Kleiban, Piotr Krygier, Jan Krygs, Jan Lipert, Andrzej Olly, Michał Paul, Jakub Pomaranek, Bogusław Rus, the head of the hamlet, Andrzej Smith, Michał Smith, Marcin Staupel, Wojciech Staupel, Marcin Sweibs, Wojciech Zali and a school teacher (name not given). In 1792 there also lived there Jan Chobernik. (24). In 1789 those settlements belonged, together with Mystkowskie Ol., to the estate of Czerniejewo owned at that time by major-general Jan Lipski (25).

Except for two or three settlements: Siedleckie Oledry (and that not as a whole), Niekielskie Oledry and Laski Oledry that were established on a virgin land (formerly unsettled terrain), the remaining six Oleder settlements near Nekla were established on the place of settlements that had been in existence before, during Middle Ages, and had the same names, but became deserted towards the end of the XVI century and at the beginning of the XVII century. They were in a chronological order from the earliest records: Zasutowo, also known as Czaśotowo (1397), Sławęcín (1400), Gierałtowo (1419) (26), however here in the place of the first one there were established two Ołędér settlements (Zasułtowo and Laski), in the place of the second as many as four such settlements (Góreckie Ołędry, Mystkowskie Ołędry, Barszczyna Stara (Old) and Nowa (New), and in the place of the third there was established only one (Chłapowskie Ołędry). On the other hand, the village of Brzezie-Brzeźno (mentioned for the first time in 1338) was dislodged of old Polish inhabitants most likely shortly before 1749, that is just before it being settled according to the Oleder law by the Germans (27).

In the case of one of the above mentioned settlements – Brzeźno, there are known its individual settlers (*'zasadźcy'*; *'zasadźca'* - *someone, who organizes a settlement*), in other settlements the settlement charter was given to the whole community. Both *'zasadźcy'* and the settlers were ethnically German. This is indicated by their names cited above (however because of their phonetic entries the spelling of those names has been distorted) except for the two or three of them. Their names have been written in this way in the settlement charters of Brzeźno and Góreckie Ołędry (the latter one has been written in

German) (28). The determination of German origin of the settlers is further supported by their evangelical (almost entirely Lutheran) confession that is evident from other historical sources and reliable premises to which we shall refer later on. In two or three cases the names allow presuming that there were among them, or perhaps rather in the next generation, also Polish Lutherans (evangelical), or perhaps even Catholics, or even some assimilated or perhaps even Polonized Germans (29). A good number of them, if not majority, could understand Polish. This can be gathered from the fact that most of the settlement charters and other documents were in Polish. We can't be sure of the places of their origin. The size and type of the land they settled in the villages of Brzeźno and Góreckie Olędry seem to indicate they were colonists from the boarder region of Great Poland and new Marchia (*'nowomarchjski'*); the settlers in the remaining villages could have originated from some older Olęder settlements established in the XVII century and the first half of the XVIII century in the western parts of the former Posen province (voivodeship).

The reason (motivation) behind establishing those settlements was a desire of the feudal founders to increase their income (revenues) by settling and making productive long-deserted, or forested land. By settling the land with Olęders according to the Oleder law and its main principle of the joint responsibility for lease and payments to the landlords, the latter ones could be assured of their regular income. When it comes to Olęders, they were motivated by better than in their homeland or the place of origin legal and living conditions and a religious tolerance and freedom of worship to which we shall refer later. As a rule the settlement charters make no direct reference to those mutual economic benefits, with an exception of a settlement contract for Zasutowo Oledry, in which the landlord (verbally: *'wystawca'* – a person who prepares the contract) gives the following reasons for the settlement charter: “Taking into consideration their (Oleders) supplications (entreaty) and my own revenue and profit, I agreed to have them settled.” (30)

The above mentioned settlements were settled (at least on the Polish side of the border) by free people. The settlement charters of three settlements describe them as “worthy, good men (people)”, that is honest people – a name applied to free peasants, not serfs, who could move from place to place. The two of those charters guaranteed them personal freedom (comp. point No. 3). They also had to have cash (to pay *'okupne'*?) and to have basic livestock and implements for settling down, for erecting farm buildings and for getting the farm going (31).

The initiative to open (start) the settlements was most likely with the feudal lords, the owners of the estates in which the settlements were to be formed. In case of Brzeźno there were the so called 'osadźcy (zasadźcy)' (that is settlement entrepreneurs), whose task was, at the request of the feudal lord, founder of a settlement, to recruit (enlist), to bring over and settle the holdings with a determined number of people. The conditions of settlement were spelled out in the charter issued to the whole community. They were to represent this community and to become its inhabitants (or: to live in this community). One of them has a title of the head of the hamlet. The document has no mention of a gain obtained by the settlement entrepreneurs, but they must have gained some profit without doubt. Only in two settlement charters, one for Niekielskie Oledry and the other for Zasutowo Oledry, there is a general mention of the colonists' initiative: "(...) because the Hollanders got in touch with me and came over to settle down in my woods and forests." (32)

The settlement on the land (also in some deserted and partly destroyed villages) was carried out according to the character of the terrain and the land, as well as following some information concerning other conditions of settlement and farming by clearing forests and amelioration that consisted of digging or deepening the ditches for water outflow (33).

The cost of settlement was most likely carried by two parties with the manor taking care of some of their transportation and providing timber free of charge – more about that later.

2

AREA, LAYOUT, BUILDINGS and POPULATION OF A VILAGE

The area of some Oleder settlements around Nekla at the time of settlement is not exactly known.

For most of them it can be gathered from their settlement charters and other documents showing a number and/or size of the holdings acquired or possessed by the colonists at the time not too distant from the beginnings of the settlements, and for the remaining ones

it can only be estimated according to the overall dimension, information regarding the size of allotments as well as a number of homesteads in 1775 and 1789.

And so in Brzeźno, where 16 out of 18 farmers (peasants) were allocated one *'włoka'* (= 18 *'mórg'*; 1 *mórg*=55 ares), the head of the hamlet – one and a half *'włoka'* and *'gościnnie'* (some kind of an official in the hamlet – no English equivalent) – a half of *'włoka'*, the size of the village can be estimated as 324 *'mórg'*; there is no information regarding the size of the allotment for the house of prayer (church)-school and for the cemetery. (34).

The size of the land of Niekielskie Olędry is unknown. One thing we know is that the individual allotments were one and a half *'włoka'* (of Chełmno?). This allows us to work out from the number of households: in 1775 - 47 and farming households: in 1791 – 37, the size of the land of the village at between 30 and 50 *'włoka'*.

In Góreckie Olędry, the settlers were given 10 *'huba'* (*'włoka'*) and the *'vorleser'* (a teacher and a lector at the house of prayer-church) whose task was to teach children – a half of *'huba'*. The land was to be measured with 9 ell long rod.

Mystkowice Ol. that in 1775 numbered six households, could comprise between 3 – 6 *'włoka'* (the allotments were most likely one *'huba'* or at least one half *'huba'* each.

The size of two settlements: Barszczyzna Stara (Old) and Nowa (New) is known from the "Table of size... of the village known as Sławencin..." and from its payments to the manor. With 18 farms (households) and a school there were all told 449 *'mórg'* and 2985 rods. (38).

Siedleckie Ol. had in 1781 12 farms of the area mentioned above and covering in total about 10 *'włoka'*. (39)

In Zasutowo, Olędry were given, according to the settlement charter, 13 *'włoka'* 10 of which should be a part of one of three paddocks, that is 30 *'mórg'* in total, measured with an 8 ell rod. (40). According to the table of homesteads and relevant payments of the Pyzdry district, the settlement consisted of 13 households. (41). On the other hand, according to the inventory of Podstolice estate and others of 12 November 1781, the

Olęders who lived there (in addition to the *'gościnnie'* and the forester), had 6 and a half *'huba'* of land. Out of four Olęders, who lived in Laski Ol. two had one *'huba'* each, one had half *'huba'* and one three quarters of *'huba'*; so all the four had three and a quarter *'włóka'* of land. (42)

In 1789 there were in Zasutowo Ol. already 16 farms (one made of one and a half *'włóka'*, and the remaining ones of one *'włóka'*) comprising in total six and a half *'włóka'*, in Laski there were five farms (two made of one *'włóka'*, two – half *'włóka'* each, and one – one quarter *'włóka'*, in total 3 and one quarter *'włóka'*) (43) And so in spite of the change in the number of farms in those settlements, the size of the land belonging to those villages did not change over the eight years period.

In 1789 there were in Gierałtowo 9 households (six farming, two taverns and one *'zagrodnicze'* (cottage?) of unknown exact area – somewhat between one half (in case of the two taverns) and one *'włóka'* in the section of 4-7 *'włóka'*).

Majority of farms in the Olęder settlements around Nekla had their land measured in Chełmiński *'włóka'* (1 *'włóka'* = 16.8 ha) (45), except for Brzeźno and Góreckie Ol. That had their area measured by different measurements. In some villages the number of farms changed in comparison to their original number. This can be asserted by comparing the settlement acts with the information from the table of households from 1775 and 1789. That was caused by different factors, one of which was dividing the farms in result of inheritance.

The number and size of farms determined the status and habitable and economic character of those settlements. A detailed and comparative picture of the status and social structure of their farms according to the categories of that time can be obtained only for 1789 from the tables of households and population originating from the first in Poland (and second in Europe) census. The following table contains those figures.

Tab. 1: The number and socio-economic structure of the households-farms of the Olęder settlements in the Nekla district in 1789.

The number and kind of households

Households

No.	Settlement's name and its affiliation with RC Parish	Manse and other Parish buildings	Taverns	1 farmer	2 farmers	Gardeners	Cottages without land and garden	Craftsmen and manufactures	Total
1	New Barszczyna Ol. see Mystkowskie Ol.								
2	Old Barszczyna Ol. see Mystkowskie Ol.								
3	Brzezie	1	1	16		4	1	1	24
4	Gierałtowo		2	6	1				9
5	Góreckie or Sławęcińskie Ol.		1	8		1			10
6	Laski			5					5
7	Mystkowskie Ol.	Together	1 with	21 Barszczyna	Old and	New			22*
8	Niekielskie Ol.		2	39					41
9	Siedleckie Ol.		1	13		1	1		16
10	Zasułtowo Ol.		1	12		1	1	1#	16
	Total	1	9	120	1	7	3	2	143

Sources: State Archives in Poznan (Posen): A collection of tax tables and illustrations. Tab. 44. Pyzdry, kk. (column?) 298 (Siedleckie Ol.), 301v.-302 (Sławęcińskie or Góreckie Ol.), 407v-408 (Zasułtowo and Laski Ol.); Tab. 45. Pyzdry. kk. 3v. (Brzezie), 6 (Gierałtowo), 9 (Laski Ol.), 10v. (Nekielskie Ol.), 13v. (Siedleckie Ol.; Sławęcín or Góreckie Ol.), 16v. (Zasułtowo Ol.); Tab. 46. Pyzdry, k. 106v. (Gierałtowo), k. 237v. (Nekielskie Ol.); Tab. 35. Gniezno, k. 587 (Barczyzna Old and New, Mystkowskie Ol.).

Explanations: * of those 22 households, 10 were most likely in Old Barszczyna, 8 in New Barszczyna and 4 in Mystkowice Ol., see SAP. Pyzdry, Gr. 115, k. 547v.;
this household is described as (used for) "manufacture".

As indicates analysis of this table, in 1789 out of 143 households (and not counting one belonging to the Parish parson, nine being taverns, 3 cottages without land and garden, 4 belonging to craftsmen and one used as manufacture, out of 125 households spread over

10 villages), majority were one farmer households (120), and so one, or one half *'włóka'* (*'kmiemie'* and *'półkmiemie'*) and a small minority (8 households) were smaller – one with two farmers and 7 cottages with land and garden. The numbers of homesteads in the given villages differed – from 41 in Nekielskie Ol., 24 in Brzeź, 16 in Siedleckie Ol. and Zasutowo, 9 in Gierlatowo and 5 in Laski Ol. The average number of homesteads (households) in the 10 Oleder settlements would be 14.3. With an exception of Old Barczyzna and New Barczyzna and Zasutowo and Laski that had common government, the remaining six Oleder settlements formed the territorially and economically independent units (villages) with self-administration and jurisdiction. Houses of prayer and schools were in most cases individual homesteads with one farmer. Their localisation can still be seen quite clearly in the maps from the XIXth and XXth century, and also even today: they are stone buildings, used mainly for educational purposes, that replaced the XVIIIth century timber huts. Remarkably there were no mills. One water mill is mentioned by the above mentioned contract between Antoni Krzycki, castellan Krzywín, squire of Siędleć, Iwno, Łęć and Osiek, and miller Wojciech Hoffman concerning the construction of a mill on the forested grounds of Siedleckie Ol., with the years 1772 -1776 free from lease payments. (46)

The size of a village indicated certain degree of stability however the number of households could increase due to additional settlements or socio-economic changes of the population in result of farms being divided.

According to the table of grain tax (rye and oats) for the army in 1791 the 10 Oleders (Oleder villages) in the district of Nekła had the following numbers of the farming households: Old Barczyzna – 8, New Barczyzna – 8, Górskie (Góreckie) Ol. – 9, Brzeź (Brzeźno) – 16, Gierałtów – 7, Laski – 5, Mystkowskie Ol. – 4, Nekielskie Ol. – 37, Siedleckie Ol. – 16, Zasutowo – 13 (47). All together there were 118 such homesteads. According to the parliamentary constitution of 1791, a farming household obliged to pay grain tax for the army (amounting to 2 bushels (*'korce'*) of rye and 4 bushels (*'korce'*) of oats) was every household which owner or dweller was cropping the land disregarding the nature of the property or whether he contributed the 10th (20) gr. offering (to the Church?). Because of the different size of the land, it was left to the landlords to set the amount of the tax the farming households were to pay. The households without any farmland and those with only “vegetable... plots” were to be exempted from tax (48). And so the households without land, those belonging to craftsmen, and the cottages were regarded as

non-farming. Also separate dwellings occupied by tenant farmers (*'komornik'*) – single or with families - were possibly considered as such (i.e. non-farming). This seems to be indicated by the information included in the census of houses and population from 1789. By comparing the information regarding farming households from 1791 with the total number of households from 1789 we can gather that there were 25 non-farming households in those settlements. And so in Old Barszczyszna – 2, in Brzeznie (Brzeźno) – 8, in Gierałtowo – 2, in Nekielskie Ol. – 6 (or 2), in Siedleckie Ol. – 3 (or 4) and in Zasutowo 13 (or 12).

There is no information in the settlement charters (privileges) regarding the site plans and type of buildings in the Oleder settlements around Nekla. One can define them only from the later maps and plans. And so the village Brzeźno was divided by streets (lanes) with the form of the old manorial serf village which it had replaced as a settlement according to the Oleder law. Siedleckie Ol., Nekielskie Ol., Gierałtowo, Laski, Old Barszczyszna and New Barszczyszna were arranged in rows (?) with the buildings scattered around. However Zasutowo was in part built along the street (lane) and in part was like the latter villages arranged in rows with its buildings scattered around like in a settlement type. Villages of scattered type had houses and farm buildings situated either in the middle of their land and connected with the main road by narrow lanes, or had houses and farm buildings at one side of the main road, while the land was situated on both sides of that road.

A very important aspect of the Oleder settlements formed their cemeteries. Only one of the settlement charters (privileges), namely the one for Brzeźno, makes a mention of a cemetery. (49) They must have been without a doubt also in the remaining settlements. The sizes of cemeteries were in proportion to the population of the villages, and therefore – with an exception of Nekielskie Ol. – they were small. Cemeteries were located on the outskirts of the settlement, close to the fields and woods. They were surrounded by a low wall and some shrubbery (usually lilac) and trees. Their present look – after the clearing of a thicket and putting up and restoring of a small number of the remaining XIXth and XXth century gravestones or their fragments – confirms that assumption.

The buildings, both habitable (dwellings) and farm buildings, were – like in all villages of that time – built of timber. They included huts with porches (verandas) and farm buildings – a barn, stable, a cow-shed, a pigsty (all under one roof) forming a rectangle and fenced off. In the settlement charters (privileges) for two villages: Brzeźno and Zasutowo Ol. there

are directives that the buildings must be put up within 5 and 2 years from the time of arrival. The houses (dwellings) in Zasutowo Ol. were to be made of logs and have porches. The 30 thaler penalty was set for not constructing the buildings on time. (50)

Population of the ten Oleder settlements in the Nekla district differed. It corresponded with the size of the settlements at the time of location and with the possibilities of their later spacious and economic development. We know the number of the farmer-settlers (heads of the family) at the time of the settlement or the number of farms only for some of them. These data can be worked out from the above cited table of households from 1775. The number and structure of the inhabitants of all the Oleder settlements around Nekla comes from the tables prepared during 1789 census that has been mentioned above. Here they are:

Tab. 2: Population of the Oleder settlements in the Nekla district in 1789

No.	Name of the Settlement	Sex and age	Farms	Tenants Home-workers	Tenant farmers	Craftsmen	Taverns	Servants	Job seekers	Others	Total
1	Barszczyzna Old & New Together with Mystkowski Ol.	Men Sons up to 15 over 15 Women Daughters Total		21 10 11 21 19 82			1 2 1 4	25 9 34	7 3 11 4 25		54 15M 80 11 42 23W 65 145
2	Barszczyzna New, see Barszcz. Old										
3	Brzezcie	Men Sons up To 15 over 15 Women Daughters Total	16 23 7 15 31 92		7 6 15 7 35		3 (a) 3 3 7 16	 7 20 11 38		3 (b) 1 3 3 10	29 39 28M 96 36 59W 95 191
4	Gierałtowo	Men Sons up to 15 over 15 Women Daughters		6 2 2 6 2				2 (c) 2			8 2 2M 12 8 2W 10

		Total		18			4			22	
5	Góreckie or Sławęciński Ol.	Men	8				1		1	10	
		Sons up to 15	12				1			13	
		over 15	6							6M 29	
		Women	8				1			9	
		Daughters	19				1			20W 29	
		Total	53				4		1	58	
6	Laski Ol.	Men	5							5	
		Sons up To 15	9							9	
		over 15	1							1M 15	
		Women	5							5	
		Daughters	10							10W 15	
		Total	30							30	
7	Mystkowski Ol. see Barszcz. Old Ol.										
8	Nekielskie Ol.	Men	38		16		2	2		58	
		Sons up To 15	16		4		1	8		29M 89	
		over 15	2							2	
		Women	38		15		2	50		105	
		Daughters	78		14		1	9		102W 207	
		Total	172		49		6	69		206	
9	Siedleckie Ol.	Men	13		6					2(d) 21	
		Sons up to 15	19		2			10		31	
		over 15	7					4		11M 63	
		Women	13		5				2	20	
		Daughters	21		4			8	2	35W 55	
		Total	73		17			22	6	118	
10	Zasultowo	Men	10		2	1(e)	1			14	
		Sons up to 15	18		4					22	
		over 15	4							4M 40	
		Women	10		3	1	1			15	
		Daughters	20			1	1			21W 36	
		Total	62		9	3	3			76	
	Total	Men	90	27	31	1	8	29	8	5	199
		Sons up to 15	97	12	16		7	25	3		160M 424
		over 15	27	13				24			65
		Women	89	27	38	1	8	61	11	5	231
		Daughters	179	21	25	1	10	28	4	5	269W 500
		Total:	482	100	110	3	33	167	26	16	924

Sources: State Archives in Poznan (Posen) Tab. 44. Pyzdry, k. 407v.-408 (Zasultowo Ol.)

Laski Ol.); Tab. 46. Pyzdry, k.k.21 (Brzezcie, szl.), 106v. (Gierałtowo), 237v. (Nekielskie Ol.), 360 (Siedleckie Ol.), 378 (Góreckie or Sławęcińskie Ol.), 440v-441 (Zasułtowo and Laski Hol.); Tab. 35. Gniezno, k. 587 (Barszczyzna Old, New and Mystkowskie Ol. combined).

Explanatory notes:

- (a) bachelor (*'bakałarz'*), smith, *'gosciny'* with families
- (b) herdsmen (*'trzodnicy'*), forester (*'borowy'*) with families
- (c) farm-labourers, maids (shown under 'men' and 'women')
- (d) *'szkolny'* and *'gosciny'*, their wives and daughters put together in the source (2+2+2). According to the above table, there were in the 10 Oleder settlements around Nekla in 1789 924 inhabitants – 424 males and 500 females. Out of 424 males there were 199 adult men, married or widowers, 165 sons up to the age of 15 and 65 sons over 15 (the latter figure was most likely given smaller because of avoiding recruitment to the army). Out of the female population that numbered one half of all the Oleder dwellers, 231 were women – married or widows, and 269 were daughters – girls and maidens of different age.

While the population numbers of each individual Oleder village in the Nekla district and of all of them together can be established, it is much more difficult to define their socio-economic and professional structure. This can be done to a certain degree by analysing the size of the farms and the amount of disbursements on behalf of the manor, state and Church described above and below. According to the tables, the largest number was made up by farmers and their families – 482 people, and together with 100 home workers-tenants, who despite such misleading name belonged to the same social category – 582 people. Quite numerous were tenant farmers – 110 people, and servants – 167 people, much smaller was the number of taverners families – 33 persons and people without any definite employment (*'luźny'*), 'unattached' – 26. The remaining categories were represented by only small number of persons. The Oleder village community had already during the time of settlement been diverse in respect to jurisdiction, property and profession, and that was the case even more a number of years later. This diversity was related to the size of the land available for the settlement, as well as to the financial situation of the settlers themselves as the amount of *'okupne'* for the land corresponded with the area to be leased on a perpetual lease.

In the first decades of the 2nd half of the XVIIIth century there took place some changes of the ethnic and confessional composition of the village due to personal freedom, sales of the land, relocation of the dwellers, as well as marriages with the people from the

neighbouring villages. This may be deduced from the names (family names) of some of the Oleders. However, in general, there prevailed German and Evangelical population, mainly, but not solely, Lutheran.

3

LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE-JURISDICTIVE SITUATION

The legal situation of the first settlers and the later inhabitants of the Oleder settlements in their relation to the feudal landlord (the founder of the settlement and his heirs), the rules that governed the life within the settlements, the organisation and function of their self-government, and their obligations towards the institutions and third persons (among others, the State and the Church), were defined by the settlement charters (privileges) also called legislations, consents, letters. They were the formal one sided acts issued and signed by the landlords who founded the settlements, and in fact they were the agreements between them and the settlement organisers who represented the whole communities or the total number of settlers. Some times they had a form of verbal or written initial agreements that later on were replaced by the final documents. (51)

Unlike the feudal serfs, Oleders were always personally free. The settlement charter (privilege) for Brzeźno gave them rights not only to sell the farms – after notifying first the manor house, but they were also promised personal freedom: „I would enforce no serfdom on these people.” (52) Their legal dependence from the landlord was limited to land and jurisdiction.

The land dependence of the Oleders (from their landlord) consisted in their real rights to the land, the defined forms of possessing it and conditions of passing it on to their heirs or selling it, the rights of lease (the so called ‘*serwituty*’), and in their dependence on the manor monopoly (consisting in the landlord’s exclusive right to produce and to sell alcoholic beverages within his territory and the obligation on the part of his subjects, including Oleders, to purchase them). The most important of those rights, the right to possess land, was in use in Grand Poland in the XVIIIth century. It had a form of *emphiteuza* – a perpetual, unrestricted by time and tied up by a requirement of buying out the leased land – that after the payment would become a perpetual leasing right (Germ.

Erbzinsrecht). Oleders were receiving the land with the right of passing it on to their heirs. The settlement charters (privileges) for Zasutowo Ol., Old and New Barszczyna Ol. read: "The land measured out is to serve not only them, but also all their successors, by the right of perpetual inheritance." (53) That however was not a full ownership, but only utilitarian and shared ownership, for the owner of the land was always the landlord, who for all that could not remove an Oleder, providing he was using the land according to the conditions of the settlement charter (privilege). An Oleder was obliged to look after the land as if it were his own and was free to do with it as he liked as long as he paid the lease and had paid the required amount of money (*'okupne'*) at the time of taking 'possession' of the land. He was not allowed to terminate the lease unilaterally and leave the farm before the lease ran out without finding a suitable replacement. At the time of entering into an agreement and leasing the land on the rights of *'emphiteuza'*, the settlers had to pay the feudal lord the *'okupne'*, also known as *'wkupne'*, *'gruntowe'*, and also from German: *'Grundgeld'* (land money). In Grand Poland that money was paid only once, at the time of obtaining (securing) the right of perpetual land-lease, as a lump sum, and only in exceptional circumstances by instalments. It was the payment for the land allocated. (54) In doing so the oleder farmers (peasants) were free to pass the land on to their heirs as well as to sell or buy the land on one condition: that they pay the landlord the so called *'wadium'* (deposit) – 10 % of the sale price of the farm. This was clearly stated by the settlement charters (privileges) for Nekielskie Ol., Zasutowo Ol. and Old and New Barszczyna Ol. (55). In the *'emphiteutic'* settlements the right of inheritance belonged to all natural heirs of a deceased farmer, including females, in the order of relationship (56). The settlement charters (privileges) stressed the principle of solidarity and common responsibility for the payments to the manor. The settlement contract for Brzeźno clearly states: "One should vouch for all and all should vouch for one." (57)

The real estate law covered the following points confirmed by the settlement charter:

- the right to use the landlord's land for grazing, the so called *'grazing concessions'* (that formed a basis for rearing cattle), which provided Oleders with a source of income in addition to cropping the land).
- Manor monopoly
- Inconsistent (occasional) economic help from the landlord

In accordance with the grazing concessions, the dweller-farmers in Nekielskie Ol. were allowed to graze the landlord's land with their cattle on a condition that as from 11

November 1749 each farmer would pay 10 *'tynf'* "taking into account seven free years, after which everyone from his live stock should pay eight thalers (...) one half of that from a half of *'wloka'*, and one thaler should be counted as 5 *'tynf'*. Those feeding hogs on their land with acorns could do so also on the landlord's land and in his woods (forest), for an agreed fee." (58) After a change to this settlement charter (privilege) affected on 15th November 1789 by the owner of the Nekla estate, Krystyna of Szembek Turnowa, at the Oleders' request, they were allowed, in the years of abundance of acorns, to feed their hogs on them in the woods of Nekla "up to the road (path) known as *'Rakowska'*" for the fee of 8 złp from one *'huba'* per annum paid to the manor house together with the donation for the day of St Martin. (59) In Zasultowo they were allowed to graze their cattle and swine on the landlord's land for two *'wiertel'* (Germ. *'viertel'* – a quarter) of oats from each farm (household) according to the Wrzesnia measure as from 11th November 1766. The Nekla Oleders however were not entitled to forest concessions. In Zasultowo hunting with a shotgun in the landlord's woods and forests was forbidden under a penalty of 20 thalers. (61)

Inconstant (occasional) economic help of the landlords for Oleders had a form of material and nonmaterial advantage (profit), a short-term or long-term. During the lease free time (*'wolnizna'*) they were allowed to make use gratis (free of charge) of all kinds of timber for building and for heating from the land they were farming, e.g. in Nekielskie Ol., Old and New Barszczyszna, and sometimes, like in Zasultowo, to share building timber with the manor house. (62)

The settlers were also receiving from the landlords who had established their settlements an assurance of exempting them from certain payments and granting them some judicial (legal) protection. In Nekielskie Ol.: "...from contributions, billeting (lodging) of the militaries (soldiers), tithes, other (additional?) taxes and from all kind of labour with the exception of a service for the manor house"; in Zasultowo Ol. "...from contributions and billeting of the militaries with an exception of the time of war, from other (additional) taxes and from all kind of labour apart from a service to the manor house and what is due to the Church in accordance with the agreement"; the same applied to Góreckie Ol. (63)

An elected local government was to make sure that the regular payments to the landlord, the state and the Church were made. This government was also to perform all the administrative functions and to make sure that there was peace and order in all the

settlements around Nekla. It is known that Brzeźno, Nekielskie Ol., Góreckie Ol., Old and New Barszczyna and Zasutowo were given: "For better supervision a head of the hamlet (a village-mayor - bailiff) and two assessors (aldermen), who according to their order and legal custom were to be honest men and beyond reproach (of good repute)..." (64). They were to carry out the administrative functions in their own domain as well as on the manor house's behalf, and were to constitute the local court. In Nekielskie Ol., Old and New Barszczyna the head of the hamlet (village-mayor) and two assessors (aldermen) were to be elected annually by the populace (the gathering of all farmers) from the honest men of good repute, and were to be approved by the landlord and his successors (heirs). Apart from Zasutowo, where the head of the hamlet (village-mayor) and the assessors (aldermen) were elected for the duration of their life, elections for those positions in Nekielskie Ol., Old and New Barszczyna, and most likely in other settlements were to be conducted annually on the day of Pentecost. (65) We do not know whether Laski had their own local government, or whether as a small settlement they elected it together with Zasutowo Ol., or perhaps with Gierałtowo. There is no mention of such a government in the known by us sources. Old and New Barszczyna, and perhaps even Mystkowskie Oledry, had one common local government.

The village court made up of the head of the hamlet (village-mayor, bailiff) and assessors (aldermen) had to maintain peace and order within the settlements, and definitely in Nekielskie Ol. Old and New Barszczyna and Zasutowo. They had to settle any quarrels and disputes. The Oleders had a right of appeal against the village court sentence to the manor that is to the landlord's jurisdiction. The landlord had a reserved right to pass a sentence in the criminal cases (e.g. robbery, arson, manslaughter, grievous bodily harm) and of course all the infringements against him. (66) Such subjection to the jurisdiction of the landlord expressed the Oleders' legal serfdom.

From among the personnel of the village government, the most of the administrative duties were carried out by the head of the hamlet (village-mayor). His main task was to make sure that the whole village was fulfilling on time its obligations to the manor –the payment of lease, statute-labour and other payments to the manor, the Church and the government taxes (comp. point No. 4). Because the whole village was responsible for the disbursements to the manor. The village government (administration and the whole assembly) was obliged to remove an Oleder farmer who was mismanaging the farm and replace him with a different one. (67) That's why the head of the hamlet (village-mayor)

was given an extra half *'wloka'* "ex officio". (68) In Zasultowo he was entitled to two casks (barrels) of beer from the landlord's brewery, but for each of them he had to deliver two *'wiertel'* of barley according to the Wrzesnia measurement." (69)

The founding landlords of the settlements of Nekielskie Ol., Old and New Barszczyna and Zasultowo obliged the heads of the hamlet (village mayors) to read twice a year the decisions (rules and regulations) of the charters (privileges) to the villagers, so that they could not claim ignorance. (70). Money raised from the fines paid by the peasants was to be used for "...the village maintenance, e.g. *'rowy bicia'* and to cover other needs on the land (!) with the notification of the neighbours" (that is giving an account before the village assembly). The documentation of such works should be kept "together with the contracts, settlement charters (privileges) and legal regulations" in a (special wooden) box at the head of the hamlet's (village-mayor's) place, and the keys to the box were to be kept by the assessors (aldermen). (71) The sentences issued by the village court were to be carried out by the head of the hamlet (village-mayor) with the back-up of the landlord. (72) In Old and New Barszczyna and in Zasultowo Ol. the head of the hamlet (village-mayor) and an assessor (alderman) (or assessors) had to check every Saturday all the village chimneys as a fire precaution, and in Zasultowo those who kept their chimneys unswept of the soot had to be fined by the village court. (73)

4

ECONOMIC and SOCIAL LIFE

In the 2nd half of the XVIIIth century 97% of the population in the 10 Oleder settlements around Nekla were working on the land. The statistics from 1791 confirm this fact: out of 143 households in 1789 as many as 120 (81.1%) were recognized as farming. Also for the remaining 25(23) non-farming households occupied by taverners, cottagers (*'zagrodnicy'*), teachers and others, work on the land was an additional or even only occupation.

The main source of the Oleder-farmers' income came from the farms that were of different size and soil quality. The farms were operating according to the three paddocks system that was commonly accepted form of tilling the land. (74) However with a scattered layout of the farms, this three paddocks system was individualized and there was no constrain

(compulsion) of collective cultivation. A low fertility of the land – partly soaked, partly sandy (after the clearing of forests) - the three paddocks cropping and fallow method and a limited fertilizing resulted in poor (low) yield.

The main part of the Oleder farming was growing crops. We can deduce from the payments in kind, which would be dealt with later, that prevailed rye and hay, also oats and barley. They also grew flax (definitely in Zasutowo). (75) Of secondary and supplementary importance was gardening. Substantial part played cattle, pigs, sheep, goats and poultry, and even bees what is confirmed by the quoted above and below sources. The Oleders in Brzeźno were allowed to keep as many cattle and goats as they could feed and only 50 sheep (with an exception of the village-mayor) and bees. (76)

Additional income was provided by some non-farming activities: trade and craft that was practiced by a portion of small farmers (farmers with little land) and landless inhabitants of the settlements. (77) Even that isn't stated by any of the settlement (charters) privileges, the inhabitants must have also been involved in a local and retail trade, by selling the surplus of their farm products, both agricultural and animals, as well as those of non-farming activities, to enable them to purchase other products, e.g. tools (implements), clothes, groceries at the markets and fares in Nekla, Kostrzyn and Września, and perhaps also in other townships and landlords' taverns. That was the only way for the Oleders to get some money to pay their dues to the manor house, the state and the Church. All those expenses plus the unknown costs of their own consumption and investments reduced their gross income.

In exchange for the perpetual inherited use of land the dwellers of the Oleder settlements around Nekla had to pay their landlords the lease (tenure) in money and in kind, as well as carry out statute-labour and a number of duties (fixing the roads, harvesting crops, and other services) which they were obliged to do after their free time of such obligations had run out. They also had to buy drinks from the landlords' taverns as a part of their obligations. In addition there were certain administration fees they had to pay, e.g. when selling their farms.

In Brzeźno their dues to the manor house included: 50 *tynf* lease paid in each year on 11th November over 5 years, and after five years 100 *tynf*, one trip to Wschowo or Leszno, and

in case of not making the trip a payment of 12 *tynf*, lease paid in kind – four chooks, 2 gees, 30 eggs (2 *mendels*; 1 *mendel* = 15), one load of firewood. While building their homes they were to get from the manor brewery a cask of beer in return for 2 *wiertel* of barley according to “the Kostrzyń measure”. The taverner (publican) had to pay lease from one half *wloka* of land, deal in vodka, take (sell?) ‘*świętojanka*’ and the landlord’s beer. (78)

In Nekielskie Oledry the then owner of the estate, Krystyna von Szembek Turnowa, introduced in 1774 at the request of the Oleders some changes regarding their dues to the manor house. For being relieved from ‘service to the manor’ Oleders bound themselves “...when called upon to plough for three days one *mórg* of land for each *wloka*, to cut the crops at harvest time with sickles or scythes for five days, to remove both winter and autumn manure from any sheep pan within Nekla estate, to cart the landlord’s grain to Poznan (Posen).” They also had to pay annually lease of 60 *tynf* in “old Polish coins (currency)”. For the above mentioned work they were to get one cask (barrel) of beer. Also those people who had no land (*‘luźni’*) but lived (boarded) with the farmers “were obliged to help at harvest time.” (79)

In Góreckie Ol. after 7 years of *wolnizna* (being free from service and payments to the manor house) (starting in 1749) the settlers were to pay on 11th November 10 thalers of annual lease for each *huba*, each thaler being 15 coined silver ‘*szóstak*’. (80)

The settlers in Zasutowo paid annually on 11th November lease of 11 thalers for each *huba* (1 thaler being 5 *tynf*) and lease in kind: 2 capons and 30 eggs (2 *mendels*; 1 *mendel* = 15). They also had to cart salt, known as ‘*sucedniowa*’ salt, from a store (warehouse) in Torun (Torn); this service was removed from the last version of the settlement (charter) privilege, most likely because during the First Partition of Poland the salt mines were taken over by Austria. The settlers were to plough for 3 days the landlord’s fallow, to cut rye with sickles for 5 days, with scythes for 5 days, to cart *mierzwa* (straw?) for 2 days, to cart grain: twice to Poznan (Posen) and once to Leszno – one load should be 10 *wiertel* (Germ. ‘Viertel’). In case they were not needed to do the carting, they should pay 4 zl. for each trip they didn’t make. (81)

According to the “Table of assessments...” attached to the settlement privilege, in Old and New Barszczyzna the Oleders paid at least 944 Polish zloty and 18 groschen lease (in this

amount there was also 19 złp paid by the school teacher, though his half *huba* supposed to be free from lease payment), they put 220 days of harvest work (*tłoka zniwna*), for which they were allocated two casks (kegs) of beer. Those who would not put in their working days had to pay the landlord 45 Polish groschen for each day. Lease in kind was to be 2 hens and 1 *mendel* eggs (1 *mendel* = 15). (82) In Siedleckie Ol. on 11th November each farmer paid to the manor house the lease of 50 *tynf* for one *huba*, and proportionally for one half and $\frac{3}{4}$ *huba*, calculating 1 *tynf* as 38 gr.; he also paid in kind with hens and geese. (83)

The Oleders were obliged to pay state taxes: for each household (*podymne*) and for each person (*pogłównie*). In Brzeźno they were to pay for each person (*pogłównie*) according to the former custom. (84) In Nekielskie Ol. most likely also from each person (*pogłównie*). In Old and New Barszczyna they were to pay taxes “that applied”. (85). As from 1789 the villagers, including Oleders, paid additional tax called the tax of the 10th groschen and in 1791 also the so called ‘*zsyпка zbozowa*’ that will be referred to below.

In addition the Oleders, although they were nearly entirely evangelical, were up to 1768 and also after the act of tolerance, obliged to make payments to the Roman-Catholic Church as they have settled the land, previously occupied and deserted later on, that used to be a part of the Parish (within the Parish boundaries). In Brzeźno the agreement was made with the parson regarding the amount of payments and it was entered into the settlement charter (privilege). According to that agreement the Oleders were to pay 1 *tynf* for baptism (chistening), 1 *szóstak bity* for ‘*wywód*’ (putification), 1 *thaler* for wedding; for burial of a farmer or a housewife – 1 *thaler*, of domestics – 4 *tynf*, of children - 4 *bite szóstaki*. In addition they were to pay to the parish Church a tribute called ‘*meszne*’ of 2 *wiertel* of rye and 2 *wiertel* of oats by “Kostrzyn measurement”. (86) This agreement in writing was entered into on the request of the dwellers of Nekla on 12 January 1751 by Franciszek Wilkonski, the founder and owner with *komendarz* (vicar-administrator) of the Parish Church Rev. Jakub Ptaszkiewicz (The agreement forms an annex to the original settlement charter (privilege).

And so as part of *jurae stolae* (Lat.) fees the Oleders were to pay for baptism of a child (both sexes) 4 coined *szóstak* (i.e. 24 silver groschen), for a wedding – 6 złp, for a funeral, both of an adult and a child disregarding age and sex – 9 gr, “and that from each individual”. For the Parish Priest’s special door to door collection (‘*kolęda*’) each farmer was obliged to give 6 Polish groschen, which the head of the hamlet (village-mayor) should

collect (from those who didn't wish the priest to call on them) and deliver in person." (87) This regulation issued at the Oleders' request was ratified on 1st November 1774, with certain alteration affected with the Oleders' consent, by the next owner of the Nekla estate, Krystyna von Szembek Turnowa. This document concerning the tributes to the Parish Church contains the following: "Church taxes – 2 zloty per annum from each *huba* should be paid in two instalments to the manor house: 1 zloty in March and 1 zloty in September. The head of the hamlet (village-mayor) should calculate that from the number of *huba* comprised by the Nekla settlement and deliver it to the manor house." (88) Also the squire ('*dziedzic*') of the part of the Sławencino (Sławęcino) village, that is Mystkowskie Ol. and probably of Old Barszczyszna Ol. entered into an agreement with the Nekla Parish parson regarding the payments of their dwellers to the Parish Church at Nekla. According to that agreement the Oleders were to give each year on 11th November instead of *meszne* in grain, 8 złp from one *huba* as measured by a land-surveyor; in exchange for this the same Parish parson was not to extort any payment for baptisms, weddings and funerals "...from those farmers who were cropping the land". Others however, who had no land, and were boarding with the farmers in Mystkowice Ol., had to pay for those services according to an agreement with the Parish priest. (89) The settlement charter (privilege) for Old and New Barszczyszna from 1776 stated that its inhabitants "were obliged to give *meszne* to the Nekla Church in accordance with the agreement." (90) After 1768 the Oleders from the settlements in the Nekla district were in most cases giving to the evangelical (Lutheran) Church in Wrzesnia. (91)

The inhabitants of the Oleder settlements around Nekla were also paying taxes to the State, what has already been referred to. It can be deduced from the tax report of the 10th groschen donation from 1789 (the amount of that tax was calculated from the average income of the owners for the last 3 years) that the squire (landlord) of the Siedleckie Ol. estate and other, Onufry Krzycki, the castellan of Krzywín, whose average income from Siedleckie Ol. was 889 zł and 12 gr (803 zł 25 gr from lease, from the spirits monopoly: for 26 casks and 51 gallons (*garniec*) of beer – 53 zł and 12 gr, for 58 gallons (*garniec*) and 2 quarts of vodka – 19zł and 15gr) paid from that sum 88zł and 28gr 3 denarius (*denar*) tax. (92) The owner of the Nekla estate Symforoza von Niszczycki Moszczyńska was receiving, through the lease holder Bogusław Horn Rogowski, from the Nekielskie Ol. 3046 złp 4 gr and 16 denarius (lease money from *okupnicy* - 2856zł 17gr, for 60 casks and 65 gallons of beer – 121zł 24gr and 3 denarius, for 263 gallons and 1 quart of vodka – 87zł 23gr and 13 denarius) and she paid tax of 304zł 18gr and 8 denarius. (93) General major

Jan Lipski, the squire (landlord) of Podstolice in Laski Ol. had income of 265zł 15gr and 9 denarius (lease money – 261zł 7gr and 9 denarius, 2 zł 20gr – lease paid in poultry, 1zł 18gr – lease paid in eggs) and paid 26zł 16gr and 9 denarius tax (the tax called ‘the 10th groschen donation’) His mother, Ludwina Lipska, as the perpetual owner of Zasultowo Ol., had an income of 900zł (lease money – 801zł 5gr, lease in poultry and eggs – 12zł, for 31 casks and 24 gallons of beer – 62zł 20gr, and for 72 gallons and 2 quarts of vodka – 24zł 5gr) and paid to the State treasury 90zł 10gr tax. (95) The tax of the 10th groschen from Sławęcin (that is Old and New Barszczyzna Ol.) was 36 zł 10gr. (96) The lease income from Czerniejewskie or Mystkowskie Ol. that was a part of Czerniejewo estate belonging to the general major Jan Lipski was 342 zł, and tax was 34 zł 6gr. In turn the income of the Nekla parson from *meszne* from Nekielskie Ol. confirmed by oath by Rev. Jan Lemanski, was 152zł 12gr. (98)

5

Confessional (denominational) relationships, education and everyday culture of the Oleders in Nekla district

We can deduce from the existing sources some direct or indirect information regarding confessional relationships, schooling (education) and culture of everyday life (mainly material culture) of the population in the Oleder settlements around Nekla.

The inhabitants of those settlements were almost entirely evangelical and probably without exception Lutheran. The character and the manner of their payments to the Roman Catholic Church mentioned above, as well as confirmation by 4 charters (privileges) and 2 agreements with the priests of the Catholic Parish of the existence of schools used as houses of prayer, are clear indication that the people were protestant. The people of Brzeźno were allowed by the settlement charter (privilege) from 1749 to keep a bachelor that is teacher, who at the same time was to carry out some religious duties, and to erect a “building for praying”, that is a house of prayer. This house served usually as school and a dwelling for the teacher and lector in one person. Such house of prayer/school was also in Nekielskie Ol., as their settlement charter (privilege) mentions that the teacher had a similar salary, i.e. one half of *huba (wloka)* of land free from lease and any payments. The piece of land of the same size was given to the teacher in

Góreckie Ol. An undated settlement charter (privilege) for Zasulkowo established before 1766 stated: "they are allowed to keep a bachelor for instructing the children and helping with their church services". The charter (privilege) for Old and New Barszczyna from 1776 mentions that the house of prayer and the bachelor were to have one half of *huba* of land free from payments, and a teacher (no name given) is mentioned by the annex to that charter (privilege) containing "The table of land sizes..." and of dues for Old and New Barszczyna from that year. (99) The duties of a teacher could also be carried out (as it was often the case in the Oleder villages) by one of the villagers, possibly a tradesman or one of the farmers who knew how to read and write. His duties were to teach catechism in preparing children for Confirmation and to teach how to read, write and count. Lessons were held most likely for two years and only – what at that time was a common practice - in winter and Early Spring, as at other times children had to help on the farm with tending the cattle and different chores on the land. Because of his writing and reading skills the teacher was also helping at the village office. (100) At the same time he was carrying out some basic religious duties (officiating at the Sunday Services and conducting funerals). (101) To have a child baptized or to get married the people would call on the pastor from the nearest evangelical church.

In accordance with an agreement with the duke (prince) Adam Poninski, the owner of the Wrzesnia estate, and in accordance with a decision by the seniors of the Posen and Gniezno district from 23rd February 1779, the people of Nekielskie Ol. and its surroundings have become members of the Lutheran Parish in Wrzesnia. Because they lived 15 km away from the place where the church was located, the Parish pastor from Wrzesnia was, according to an agreement between the preacher Schraeck and the delegation from Nekla and Nekielskie Ol. from 23rd April 1799, to conduct church services more frequently in the house of prayer in Nekielskie Ol. that had already been built in 1754. (102)

The protestant confessional character of the Oleder settlements around Nekla is confirmed by the existence of burial grounds in most of them. The settlement charter (privilege) allowed the Oleders in Brzeźno to select a place "for burying their dead, both old and young". (103) However similar cemeteries were found also in the remaining settlements: in Old and New Barszczyna – one cemetery for both villages located on the grounds of the former, in Mystkowskie Ol., in Nekielskie Ol., Góreckie Ol., Laski, Gierałtowo, Siedleckie Ol., and in Zasulkowo. The remnants of those cemeteries can be seen at the present time.

The every day culture of the farmers – the Oleders, their families and the members of other social village groups – was determined by their living conditions, work, dress, food and customs. The content of the analysed here sources makes to them only an indirect reference.

Not only in Brzeźno, but most likely also in the remaining settlements around Nekla the Oleders lived in houses (huts) with porches fronting the road. Inside they had separate rooms, kitchen, hallway and larder. Tenant Farmers (*komornicy*) lived in a larder (*komora*) or in attached to the huts annexes; servants lived in the farm buildings; taverners (publicans) lived in the taverns (pubs); and teachers occupied one part of the hut that served as a school and house of prayer.

The farm buildings (*zagrody*) in the Older settlements around Nekla were arranged in the form of a rectangle and included, in addition to a hut, barns, cow sheds, stables, pigsties - buildings for farm animals (*inwentarz żywy*). (104) Within the parameters of the farm buildings, in the yard or in the garden there were ovens for baking bread and for drying flax. They were built away from the farm buildings (huts) as a fire precaution. The settlement charter (privilege) for Zasutowo ordered farmers to build ovens for drying flax. Flax was to be “rubbed and shaken” next to those ovens. The ovens were to be under the supervision of the head of the hamlet (village-mayor) and assessor (alderman), who at the time of checking the chimneys, “...should inspect them, so that because of some neglect or inadvertence (lack of precaution) with fire, the village would suffer no destruction”, and if a farmer were to dry flax in the hut, he should be fined 15 thalers - 5 to be paid to the Church and 10 to the manor house. (105)

The way the settlers dressed originated from the places they came from. They obviously wore different clothes during the week and different on Sundays. The clothes were home made of flax material and sheep wool, but also of cloth they purchased in cities and towns.

The food of the people who lived in the Oleder settlements around Nekla was similar to that of the moderately well-to-do farmers (peasants). Their basic diet consisted of rye bread and other grain or flour dishes, grits (groats), vegetables, butter, cheese, eggs, and from time to time meat – pork, beef, lamb (mutton?) and poultry; during the time of fasting they most likely ate herrings and other fish, and honey from their own apiaries – they also used honey to sweeten the dishes. They ate fruit and drank beer that was commonly used at that time. For special family celebrations and other special occasions they drank vodka

and beer from the landlord's distillery and brewery, both at home and in the landlord's taverns.

The unknown customs of those people must have been very much like those of the protestant German population of the time, and to some extent also of the neighbouring Polish village population.

CONCLUSION

The presented above outline of the oldest history of the Oleder settlements established around Nekla contains many gaps resulting from the condition and content of the preserved sources. However they allow us to formulate a few concluding remarks regarding their origin, organisation and structure, economic situation and culture.

The main reasons for forming and establishing those Oleder settlements were: the desire of the founders to increase their income by settling and making productive the areas that had before been deserted or covered with forests, and sometimes just unsettled (and because of that fallow); favourable legal and economical conditions; freedom of confession and cult that was guaranteed to the settlers by the settlement charters (privileges), according to the Oleder law (jurisdiction). The founders were establishing the settlements in consultation (or agreement) with the settlement entrepreneurs, who used to individually represent the whole future village (community) (like in Brzeźno) or collectively with a number of villages (communities) issuing for them introductory or final settlement charters (privileges).

The places of origin of the settlers remain unknown, but we can presume on the basis of some above mentioned premises that they hailed from the border region between Grand-Poland and Branderburg and Pomern, as well as from the neighbouring protestant Oleder settlements, and perhaps even from *sołtysie* settlements, generally from the same settlements (what is indicated by their relationship visible from the identical names e.g. as of the two brothers). In regards to their ethnicity they were mostly referred to as German and evangelical, mainly Lutheran.

The Oleder villages around Nekla differed in regards to a number of farms, area, size of the built-up area and population. Size-wise their farms were more than average, and in respect of the area and set-up they were scattered around.

In regards to their numbers, ethnic, confessional, social and property structure, population of the settlements was rather stable. However with the flow of time it became more divers, as some polish and catholic people settled among them, although majority of the population remained protestant.

The main source of income of the inhabitants of the Oleder settlements around Nekla was agriculture and husbandry (keeping of stock). Judging by the kind and value of their payments to the manor house and the Church, we can say the Oleder villages were, at least in part, quite prosperous and wealthy.

In the XIXth century there occurred some significant changes in the confessional and demographic situation of the Oleder settlements in Nekla district. Some of their inhabitants belonged to the Old Lutheran Congregation in Nekla (a part of the Posen Parish) that in 1847 numbered 140 members, and so quite a small percent. They were opposed to the enforced by the State, and mainly by the king Frederick Wilhelm III, union between Lutherans and Reformed (Calvinists) in the State Church of Prussia. Because of that there were conflicts with the Union clergy and State administration. The dissatisfied Old Lutherans were forced to pay their dues to the Evangelical Union Parishes, were denied the right to use parish cemeteries and the Congregations that had not been granted a general concession were left without spiritual care. The strongest protests were voiced by the separatists in Nekla when the local police commissar tried to convert them (with the use of some Bible passages), describing the local clergy as “vagabonds” “in the pay of the pope”. Conflicts like that were one of the reasons for the next emigration wave to Australia that thinned out the numbers of the Old Lutherans in Prussia. Already in 1846 most of the opponents from around Nekla and the near-by Gułty (106), about one hundred in total, left for Australia. (107)

In the 2nd half of the XIXth century there were further changes in the building, population, confessional, and certainly also ethnic proportions of the inhabitants in the Oleder settlements. In the 80th and 90th of that century the number of houses, the number and confessional structure of the population, as well as the level of literacy of the dwellers of 9

of those 10 villages and settlements were as follow: in Barszczyna (Old and New already joined as one) there were 18 houses, 192 inhabitants, 178 evangelical and 14 catholic, 31 illiterate; in Brzezine (Brzeźno) – 36 houses, 389 inhabitants, 324 evangelical and 65 catholic, 61 illiterate; in Gierałtowo Ol. – 20 houses, 98 inhabitants (unknown confession); in Laski Ol. – 6 houses, 56 inhabitants, 30 evangelical and 26 catholic, 27 illiterate; in Mystkowskie Ol. (Mystkach Kolonii, known in German as Rehtal) – 9 houses, 90 inhabitants, 75 evangelical and 15 catholic, 9 illiterate; in Nekielskie Ol. – 51 houses, 484 inhabitants, 392 evangelical, 92 catholics, 193 illiterate; in Siedleckie Ol. – 16 houses, 160 inhabitants, 98 protestants and 62 catholic; in Zasutowo – 27 houses, 251 inhabitants, and among them 117 catholic. (108)

In the XIXth century there occurred in the Oleder settlements around Nekla also some changes of Church organisation. In 1857, the Evangelical Parish in Nekielskie Ol. consisted of Old and New Barszczyna, Nekla, Targowagórka (Góreckie) Ol., Chłapowskie Ol., Laski Ol., Kokoszki, Wołkowice Folwark, Nekielskie Ol. On the 1st October of the same year an affiliated Congregation was formed in Barczyzna. It numbered 639 souls. Worship services were being held here in the school rebuilt in 1893. The school was furnished with so called '*apsyda*' (a rectangular room for an altar). The new church in Nekielskie Ol. was dedicated (consecrated) on 8th October 1884 by the head of the consistory, D. Reichard. Parish Pastors at Nekielskie Ol. were: Theobald Raimund Gesner (from 18 October 1853, 1857, died 6th April 1883), Hugo Barnin (1887 – 30th March 1888) and Franciszek Roeper (1888, and formally from 1889). (109)

FOOTNOTES:

- 1 More detailed information regarding the development and the essence of the Oleder settlements in Poland and Grand Poland is contained in the following works: W. Rusinski, 'The settlements of the so called Oleders in the former Posen district (*voivodeship?*)', Poznan 1939-Krakow 1947 and Z. Chodyla, 'A historical sketch of the Oleder settlements in Poland (1547-1795)', in preparation for print; and of the same author: 'The Oleder settlements (*colonization*) in Grand Poland (1597-1793)', at the printers. The last work quotes extensive Polish and foreign literature on this subject.
- 2 Z. Chodyla, the works quoted above.

- 3 Z. Chodyla, 'The formation and the first functioning of the Gniezno district (1768-1774-1776)', in 'Gniezno, historical studies and materials(sources), II, Warszawa-Poznan 1987, p. 5-68.
- 4 Z. Chodyla, 'The Oleder settlements in Grand Poland (1597-1793)' and A Map of the Grand Poland district, scale 1:300 000.
- 5 'Wrzesnia. Land and its inhabitants (people)' – printed by Wrzesnia Academic Society, Wrzesnia (1932); 'The Land of Wrzesnia', edited by J. Deresiewicz, Poznan 1978
- 6 Quoted below.
- 7 State Archives in Poznan (SAP). Grodziec Books. Pyzdry Grodzkie 115, k. 278v.-280 (*oblata* 12 May 1791). In the settlement privilege erroneously: „...proper houses should be erected before the lapsing of five years and they should be built”
- 8 SAP. The collection of the tax tables and illustrations. Tab. No. 7, Koscian, k. 28v.
- 9 Compare footnote No. 7 (in form of *oblata*).
- 10 SAP. Pyzdry. Gr. 113 (years 1789-1790), k. 321-323.
- 11 SAP. Gniezno. Gr. 237, k. 1022-1023v.
- 12 SAP. Poznan. Gr. 1128, k. 493. The settlement of Sławecin is listed as deserted by the Field Tarifs from 1578 and 1620, compare: A. Pawinski (editor), Poland of the XVIth century. Geographical and statistical analysis, by... Historical Sources. Volume XII.: Grand Poland, t. (volume) I, Warszawa 1883, p. 207: Recruitment Register of the Kalisz district 1618-1620, editing and introduction by A.J. Parczewski, Warszawa 1879, p. 163.
- 13 SAP. 'The Books (records?) of Landowners'. Py. Zm. 1 (1792), k. 255-255v., 257 (*obl.* – *oblata* 11 or 16 April 1792).
- 14 Z. Chodyla, 'The Oleder settlements in Grand Poland (1597-1793).
- 15 SAP. Table 7. Koscian, k. 27v.
- 16 SAP. Pyzdry. Gr. 105, k. 387 (*obl.* From 7 May 1792).
- 17 SAP. Poznan. Gr. 1153, k.34v.-35v. (*obl.* 11 February 1779).
- 18 This privilege gave permission to build a water mill (most likely by the river Cybina, or perhaps Maskawa), on the ground to be measured that consisted of 3 paddocks at 5 *mórg* each situated (located) next to each other. The clearing of the land, the digging of the ditches to direct the water to the mill, the building of the homestead, the mill and other buildings were to be carried out at the miller's expense. Because of that he was granted three years free from lease and provided with enough building timber and fire wood free of charge. The landlord promised to give him people with carts to help him to make a dam and also in the future in case of some mishap (misfortune, e.g. flood or fire? – Z. Ch.), an allotment of 1 keg of beer made out of 2 *wiertel* (German *viertel*) large measure of barley while he would build or repair any buildings. The first lease of 200 zł in the present currency he should start paying from St Wojciech Day (23 April) 1776, but the lease in kind (2 gees and 2 hens) he should give on St Martin's Day (11 November), on top of that he should grind the manor house grain without taking a portion of it (*bez brania miarki*) and pay state tax in two instalments of 3 zł. The fish in the pond by the mill was to belong to the landlord, but the miller could stop the flow of the water at his own discretion. He and his heirs were also allowed to sell the buildings and the land to someone else provided they payed the landlord 10 percent of the sale price. SAP. Gniezno. Gr. 225, k. 162. Underneath the text there is a note dated 4 June 1772. "The points of agreement to build a new mill I shall include in the contract at the time of attaching the crest seal."
- 19 SAP. Table 7. Kościan, k. 28v.

- 20 SAP. Table 7, Kościan, k. 22v.; L. Polaszewski, 'Feudal property in Kalisz district in the XVIth century, Poznan 1976, p. 132, not mentioned in 1618 – 1620 (Recruitment Register of Kalisz District 1618-1620, p. 163).
- 21 'The Officials (civil servants?) in Grand Poland of XVI-XVIIth century". Lists prepared by A. Bieniaszewski, Ossolineum Publishing House, Wroclaw 1987, arranged according to personal index.
- 22 SAP. Py. Gr. 115 (year 1792), k. 916-917 (settlement privilege) and 918v.-919 (table); the register (*zapis*) names the honest (men) "Michael Kle[i]ban and Joannes de Fundis Old Barszczyzna and New Barszczyzna seu Sławencin Holandones." This privilege had been printed earlier by the book: 'Wrzesnia. The Land and its inhabitants (people), op. cit. This Antoni Wyssogota Zakrzewski, as the castellan of Santock and the prefect of Radziejow, issued a privilege to establish an Oleder settlement on the site of destroyed village Bierzgliño in Pyzdry district, situated South-East of Wrzeźnia. The settlers were to move in after New Year of 1758, and their free from lease period should run out on 11 November 1761. SAP. Poznan. Gr. 1204, k. 32-33v.
- 23 Comp. footnote 10.
- 24 SAP. Pyzdry. Gr. 115, k.918v. – 919 (This Table was signed by Ksawery Wyssogota Zkrzewski KKG and K., the son of Antoni).
- 25 SAP. Tab. 35. Gniezno, k. 587v.
- 26 K.J. Hladyłowicz, 'The change of the landscape and development of settlements in Grand Poland from the XIVth to the XIXth century", Lwow 1932, p. 146-147. As deserted or partly deserted in 1578 and 1629, they are listed by the registers of the land tax from 1578 and 1620, comp.: A. Pawinski (ed.), 'Poland of the XVIth century (...) Historical Sources. Volume XII.: Grand Poland, t. (volume) I, p. 207 (Sławęcino nobilium, empty), 208 (Zaczułtowo maior nobilium, empty and Zaczułtowo minor from one and a half *śladu*, field); 'Recruitment Register of the Kalisz District 1618-1620', pp. 163 (Sławecin, empty), 165 (Zaczułtowo, empty, Zaczułtowo minus from one and a half *śladu*) or don't mention them, as well as Gieraltów, at all.
- 27 K.J. Hladyłowicz, op. cit. P. 142. As settled in the number of 7 *ślady* (*łany, włóki*) and 3 tenant farmers in 1578 and 7 *ślady* (fields) settled, one *ślad* (field) deserted and two tenant farmers without cattle in 1620, they are listed by the field registers, comp. A. Pawinski (ed.), 'Poland of the XVIth century (...) Historical Sources. Volume XII.: Grand Poland, t. (volume) I, p. 207; 'Recruitment Register of the Kalisz District 1618-1620', p. 163.
- 28 SAP. Pyzdry. Gr. 115, k. 278v.-280 (oblata 12 May 1791); Gniezno. Gr 237, k. 1022-1023.
- 29 They were the names of Krzysztof Konkol in Zasułtowo Ol. in 1781 and Kazimierz Leski, alderman, *wspoloblatający* settlement privilege of Nekielskie Ol. in the (book) register of Grodzko (Grodno?) and Pyzdry in 1790, comp. SAP. Pyzdry. Gr. 113, k. 323-325 (listed in the form of *oblata*).
- 30 SAP. Pyzdry Zm. 1, k. 255-255v. And 257.
- 31 Z. Chodyła, 'The Oleder settlements in Grand Poland (1597-1793).
- 32 SAP. Pyzdry. Gr. 113, k. 323v.; Pyzdry Zm. 1, k.255-255v. And 257.
- 33 SAP. Pyzdry. Gr. 113, k. 323v. – 324 (Nekielskie Ol.); Pyzdry Zm. 1, k. 255-255v. And 257 (Zasułtowo Ol.).
- 34 SAP. Pyzdry. Gr. 115, k. 278v-279.
- 35 SAP. Tab. 7, Koscian, k. 26v.; Pyzdry. Gr. 115, k. 547v.
- 36 SAP. Gniezno. Gr. 237 (year 1788), k. 1022-1023 (obl. Szl. Andrzej Polfus).
- 37 Such assumption is supported (justified) by the information regarding payments from *huba* allotments included in the agreement between the squire P. Zbyszewski and Nekla parson Father A. Blachowicz from 22 February 1756

- (SAP. Poznan. Gr. 1128, k. 423) and the mentioned above number of households in 1775 (SAP. Tab. 7. Koscian, k. 26v).
- 38 SAP. Pызdry. Gr. 115, k. 918v.-919.
- 39 SAP. Pызdry. Gr. 1153, k. 34v.-35v. (obl. 11 Feb. 1779).
- 40 SAP. Pызdry. Zm. 1, k. 255-255v. and 257.
- 41 SAP. Tab. 7. Koscian, k. 27.
- 42 SAP. Pызdry. Gr. 105, k. 387v.-388v.
- 43 SAP. Tab. 44. Pызdry, k. 407v.-408.
- 44 SAP. Tab. 45. Pызdry, k. 6 and Tab. 45. Pызdry, k. 106v.
- 45 T. Wierzbowski, 'Vademecum (Lat. 'a guide', 'guidebook, instruction'). A Textbook for archival studies'. Second Edition, altered and expanded... by K. Tyszkowski and B. Włodarski, Lwów – Warszawa 1926, p. 219. The area of *włoka* measured with 7" ell rod equalled 16.8 hectares; measured with 8 ell rod equalled 19.1 hectares; measured with 8" ell rod equalled 21.6 hectares; and measured with 9 ell rod equalled 24.2 hectares; compare W. Rusinski, "The settlements of the so called Oleders...", p. 67-68.
- 46 Comp. footnote 18.
- 47 SAP. Pызdry. Gr. 115, k. 547v-548
- 48 „Volumina Legum” (Lat. Law Volumes), Vol. IX, Krakow 1889, p. 1889 and following.
- 49 SAP. Pызdry. Gr. 115, k. 278v-280.
- 50 SAP. Pызdry. Zm. 1, k. 255-255v. And 257 (Zasułowo Ol.)
- 51 The existence of such situation in Old Barszczyszna and Zasułowo Ol. seem to be suggested by the content of the later final privileges, that are quoted above and below.
- 52 SAP. Pызdry. Gr. 115, k. 278v.-280 (*oblata* 12 May 1791).
- 53 W. Rusinski, „The settlements of the so called Oleders...", p. 44-45; SAP. Pызdry. Gr. 115 (year 1792), k. 916-917 (settlement privilege for Old and New Barszczyszna Ol.); Pызdry. Zm. 1, k. 255-255v. and 257 (Zasułowo Ol.).
- 54 W. Rusinski, "The settlements of the so called Oleders...", p. 44
- 55 SAP. Pызdry. Gr. 113, k. 323-323v.; Pызdry. Gr. 115 (year 1792), k. 916-917; Pызdry. Zm. 1, k. 255-255v. and 257.
- 56 Z. Chodyła, „The Oleder settlements (colonization) in Grand Poland (1597-1793).
- 57 Pызdry. Gr. 115, k.278v.-280 (*oblata* 12 May 1791), the settlement privilege for Brzezie (Brzeźno).
- 58 SAP. Pызdry. Gr. 113, k. 323-325.
- 59 ibid. (Lat. *ibidem* – herein, therein) therein
- 60 SAP. Pызdry. Zm. 1, k. 255-255v. and 257.
- 61 ibid.
- 62 SAP. Pызdry. Gr. 113, k.323-325; Pызdry. Gr. 115 (year 1792), k. 916-917; Pызdry. Zm. 1, k. 255-255v. and 257.
- 63 SAP. Pызdry. Gr. 113, k. 323-325; Pызdry. Zm. 1, k. 255-255v. and 257; Gniezno. Gr. 237 (year 1788), k. 1022-1023.
- 64 SAP. Pызdry. Gr. 113, k. 323-323v.; Gniezno. Gr. 237, k. 1022-1023v.; Pызdry. Zm. 1, k. 255-255v. and 257.
- 65 SAP. Pызdry. Gr. 113, k. 323-325; Pызdry. Gr. 115 (year 1792), k. 916-917; Pызdry. Zm. 1, k. 255-255v. and 257.
- 66 SAP. Pызdry. Gr. 113, k. 323-323v.; Pызdry. Gr. 115, k. 916v.-917; SAP. Pызdry. Zm. 1, k. 255-255v. and 257 (Zasułowo Ol.); W. Rusinski, „The settlements of the so called Oleders...", p. 42-43.
- 67 W. Rusinski, "The settlements of the so called Oleders...", p. 52. In Nekielskie Ol.: 'The head of the hamlet should keep (maintain) good order at the works, so there would be no arguments (quarrels) with the officials (officers, clerks). Any

- complaints between the farmers should be settled by the manor house.' SAP. Pyzdry. Gr. 113, k. 324v.
- 68 SAP. Pyzdry, Gr. 115, k. 279-280 (Brzeźno, where the head of the hamlet's allotment should be 1 and " *włóka*, and in Nekla " *włóka*); Pyzdry. Zm. 1, k. 255-255v. and 257.
- 69 SAP. Pyzdry. Zm. 1, k. 255-255v. and 257.
- 70 SAP. Pyzdry. Gr. 113, k. 323-325; Pyzdry. Gr. 115 (year 1792), k. 916-917; Pyzdry. Zm. 1, k. 255-257v. and 257.
- 71 SAP. Pyzdry. Gr. 113, k. 323-323v.; Pyzdry. Gr. 115, k. 916v-917; Pyzdry. Zm. 1, k.255-255v. and 257.
- 72 W. Rusiński, „The settlements of the so called Oleders...”, p. 53
- 73 SAP. Pyzdry. Gr. 115, k. 916v.-917; APP. Pyzdry. Zm. 1, k. 255-255v. and 257.
- 74 W. Rusiński, „The settlements of the so called Oleders...”, p. 67
- 75 SAP. Pyzdry. Zm. 1, k. 255-255v. and 257.
- 76 SAP. Pyzdry. Gr. 115, k. 278v-280.
- 77 Tradesmen are listed by the Population Tables of 1789 (see above); the sources don't make any reference to Oleders participation in trade, because it was obvious. One can deduce that by analogy to other settlements, which information has been preserved, comp. W. Rusiński.
- 78 SAP. Pyzdry. Gr. 115, k. 278v.-280.
- 79 SAP. Pyzdry. Gr. 113, k. 323-325.
- 80 SAP. Gniezno. Gr. 237 (year 1788), k. 1022-1023.
- 81 SAP. Pyzdry. Zm. 1, k. 255-255v. and 257.
- 82 SAP. Pyzdry. Gr. 115 (year 1792), k. 916-917 (plate) and 918v.-919 (table).
- 83 SAP. Poznan. Gr. 1153, k. 34v-35.
- 84 SAP. Pyzdry. G. 115, k. 278v.-280.
- 85 SAP. Pyzdry. G. 115, k. 278v.-280.
- 86 SAP. Pyzdry. Gr. 115, k. 278v.-290 (*obl.* 12 May 1791); the settlement (location) privilege *oblatowali* (was ratified?) by those present: Jakub Arent - head of the hamlet, Marcin Chwist (or Chwast) - assessor (or councillor) and Jan Motyka (or Maika) from the Siedlec estate of Onufry Krzycki - castellan of Krzywín.
- 87 SAP. Pyzdry. Gr. 113, k. 323-325.
- 88 SAP. Pyzdry. Gr. 113, k. 323-325 (*obl.* Bogumil Nosko – head of the hamlet and Kazimierz Leski – assessor (or coucilor)) in their own name and in the name of the remaining Nekla Oleders; „The Land of Września”, edited by J. Deresiewicz, Poznan 1978.
- 89 SAP. Poznan. Gr. 1128, k. 493.
- 90 Pyzdry. Gr. 115 (year 1792), k. 916-917 (the settlement (location) privilege for Old and New Barszczyna Ol.)
- 91 A. Werner, “Geschichte der evangelischen Parochien in der Provinz Posen” (The History of the Evangelical Parishes in the Poznan District), revised by Johannes Steffani, Lissa i. P. 1904, p. 227.
- 92 SAP. Tab. 46. Pyzdry, k. 104 and 152.
- 93 *ibid.*, k. 84v. and 149.
- 94 *ibid.*, k. 131 and 148v.
- 95 *ibid.*, k. 131 and 153v.
- 96 *ibid.*, k. 151v.
- 97 SAP. Tab. 36. Gniezno, k. 4.
- 98 SAP. Tab. 47. Pyzdry, k. 83v.
- 99 SAP. Pyzdry. Gr. 115, k. 278v.-280; Pyzdry. Gr. 113, k. 323-325; Pyzdry Gr. 115, k. 916v.-917 and 918v.-919; SAP. Gniezno. Gr. 237 (year 1788), k. 1022-1023; Pyzdry. Zm. 1. k. 255-255v. and 257.
- 100 W. Rusinski, “The settlements of the so called Oleders...”, p. 114-115 and 117.

- 101 *ibid.*, p. 113, 117-120.
 102 A. Werner, *op. cit.*, (the quoted work, book), s. 227.
 103 SAP. Pyzdry. Gr. 115, k. 278v.-280.
 104 Z. Chodyła, „The Oleder settlements (colonization) in Grand Poland (1597-1793).
 105 SAP. Pyzdry. Zm. 1, k. 255-255v. and 257.
 106 O. Kiec, „Protestantism in the Poznan District 1815-1918”, Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Naukowe *Semper* (Educational Publishing House ‘*Semper*’), p. 94-95.
 107 A. Werner, *op. cit.* (the book quoted), p. 227
 108 Geographic Dictionary of the Kingdom of Poland and of other Slavonic countries (...), Volume I, Warszawa 1880, p. 107,114, Volume II, Warszawa 1881, p. 84, Volume VI, Warszawa 1885, p. 837 and 949, Volume X, Warszawa 1889, p. 507, Volume XIV, Warszawa 1895, p. 454.
 109 A. Werner, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

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APPENDICES (by the translator):

Old Polish (or foreign) words difficult to translate or with no English equivalent

(Listed and explained by translator)

p. 4 *podymne* some kind of tax paid from each household (also pp. 7, 8, 12, 27)

zsyпка zbożowa grain given as tax for the army (also p. 27)

grosz (abr. gr) the smallest coin in Polish currency, equivalent of 1 cent ('groschen' – smallest Austrian coin; 100 groschen = 1 Schilling)

p. 5 *gościnnny* some kind of an official in the village (also pp. 12, 13, 19)

p. 6 *gburska* ?

oblata (official entry into a document?)

huba old Polish measure of land. On p. 8 of the publication 1 *huba* equals 1 *włóka*. And 1 *włóka* = 30 *mórg* (also pp. 8, 12, 13, 26, 27)

p. 8 *złoty (abr. zł)* Polish złoty – the official Polish currency

p. 9 *łoka* corvee; seasonal work during harvest or hay cutting (also p. 25)
łoka żniwna – seasonal work at harvesting crops (p. 27)

surowy korzeń virgin land that had not been cultivated before

wyrugować wieś to dislocate a village

zasadźcy (also *osadźcy*) settlement entrepreneurs (also p. 11)

p. 10 *pogranicze wielkopolsko-nowomarchijskie* border region between Grand Poland and 'New Marchia', see p.12

wystawca person who prepares a contract

okupne money paid to the landlord upon taking possession of the land (also p. 21)

p. 12 *włóka* 18 *mórg*; 1 *mórg* (Polish measurement unit of land) = 55 ares = 6578 sq. yards (also pp. 24, 26)

włóka chełmińska Polish measurement unit of land somewhat different to ordinary

włóka

- pręt marchijski* measuring rod 9 ell long; *marchia* – (medieval Latin from old upper German 'marka') – a border region of the Frankonia State and later German State subordinate of a Graf, an official with special military authority.
- mórg* Polish measurement unit of land equal to 55 ares = 6578 sq. yards
- p. 13 *zagrodnicze gospodarstwo* cottage household (probably a small house with no land)
- p. 15 *kmiecie* and *półkmiecie* bigger farmers and smaller farmers (with bigger and smaller holdings)
- korzec* Polish dry measure equivalent to a bushel
- p. 16 *komornik* tenant farmer, who worked on the farms but had no farm of his own (also p. 31)
- rzędówka* a village arranged in rows
- podcieniowe chałupy* huts with porches
- podcienie* porch, veranda, arcade
- p. 19 *bakalarz* bachelor (Med. Latin: baccalarius) 1. first degree from a University in old times (nowadays only in England, Australia and France)
2. teacher in a parochial school.
- szkolny* teacher
- luźny* a person without any definite employment, unattached
- p. 20 *konses* (German: Konsens, from Lat. consensus – agreement) 1. old: agreement, permission, consent; 2. In the XIXth century Poland: consent for the operation of some business.
- serwituty* pl. from *serwitut* (Lat. servitus, gen. servitutis – service) In the feudal system, the right of using the land both manorial and that of the peasants by peasants and landlords.
- propinacja* (from German: Propination, from Lat. propinatio – drinking to someone) In Old Poland: the right to sell alcoholic beverages; tavern, pub (also p. 26)
- emfiteuza* (from German: Emphyteusis, Emphiteuse, from late Lat. emphyteusis) legal term for perpetual lease of land with the right of harvesting, erecting of buildings, etc. but without the right possession possibility of acquiring that right by usucaption.
- p. 21 *wkupne* the same as *okupne*, p. 10

- gruntowe* the same meaning as *okupne* or *wkupne* – the sum of money to be paid the landlord upon occupation of the land
- wadium* deposit
- serwituty pastwiskowe* grazing concessions, see p. 20
- p. 22 *tynf* kind of obsolete coin (also p. 26)
- wiertel* German: Viertel – a quarter (also pp. 24, 27)
- wolnizna* period free from paying lease to help farmers with settling down and making their land productive
- talar* *thaler* (German: Taler) 1. German silver coin until 1875;
2. Silver coin in Poland prior to the partitions
- p. 23 *sąd dominialny* legal jurisdiction of the landlord
- p. 24 *rowy do bicia* slaughtering ditches?
- zagrodnicy* people living in cottages with no land, perhaps except for a garden
- p. 26 *mendel* 15 pieces of something
- świętojanka* kind of liquor
- a parte* ‘lived *a parte*’ (French?)
- szóstak* a silver coin
- suchedniowa salt* kind of salt named after Suchedniów, the place it came from
- mierzwa* litter, manure; or more likely: straw after threshing any kind of corn
- p. 27 *pogłównie* kind of tax paid from each person
- wywód* purification of a woman after confinement
- meszne* some kind of donation to the Church (also pp. 28, 29)
- komendarz* vicar-administrator
- p. 28 *jurae stolae* Lat. for some kind of church regulation regarding different fees for the services of the priest
- kolęda* home visitation by a priest to receive donation in money or in kind
- dziedzic* squire, landlord
- denar* denarius – ancient Roman and medieval silver coin

- p. 29 *dzierżawca* possessor
 okupnicy those who paid *okupne*, see p. 10, 21
- p. 31 *komora* a separate room to store produce (grain, flower etc); larder
 zagroda farm buildings including a house, barn, stables, cow sheds, pigsty etc
- p. 32 *sołtysie* *sołtysie* settlements – type of settlement with the head of a hamlet?
 Sołtys – the head of the hamlet (village mayor)
- apsyda* Lat. *absida* – semicircular room for the altar at the end of the church
 building (sanctuary?)

Footnotes

- 26 *ślad* unit of cultivated land similar to *fan*, see footnote 27
- 27 *fan* unit of cultivated land (from 7.5 to 32 acres)
- 29 *współoblatujący* a person making an official entry into a document together
 with another person, see explanation of *oblata*, p. 6
- 68 1 and " *włóka* one *włóka* and a portion (?) of it
 " *włóka* a portion (?) of *włóka*
- 86 *oblatować* to make an official entry into a settlement document

Abbreviations

- gr groschen
- Gr. Group? (Polish: *grupa*)
- k. column
- kk. columns
- obl. *Oblata*, see p. 6
- OI. Oleders, of Oleders
- op. cit. opus citatum (the work (book) quoted)
- p. page
- pp. pages
- pl. plate

Py. Pyzdry (locality)

SAP State Archives in Poznan (Polish: *APP*)

szl. ?

t. Volume (Polish: *tom*)

Tab. Table

v. Lat. *verso*, from *versus* – turned over (in medieval manuscripts the other side of a page; this side of a page – *recto*)

zł zloty (Polish currency)

złp Polish zloty

zm. ?

Explanation: Tab. 2 (The heading: because some columns being too narrow, individual letters were separated from the words and put in the next line)