

Krzysztof Lewalski

The Attitude of Christian Churches  
in the Kingdom of Poland  
toward Jews in 1855–1915

**Studies in Jewish History  
and Memory**



**PETER LANG**

The book is the first attempt in historiography to present the attitude of Christian Churches (Catholic, Evangelical, and Orthodox) in the Kingdom of Poland towards Jews at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. The work is based on a rich and varied source base, it presents many new facts and introduces unknown or unused sources. The monograph deals with the issues of extremely important historical significance, often remaining at the center of the updated historical and political disputes. Despite the difficulty and complexity of the topic, the analysis of the source material, the narrative, and the conclusions contained therein were not involved in these disputes. The work is an important step towards understanding Christian-Jewish relations and Polish-Jewish relations.

Krzysztof Lewalski is a professor of history at the University of Gdańsk. His research interests cover: religious life in the Polish lands in the 19th and 20th c., the Christian Churches and the Jews, the history of the Roman Catholic Church in the Polish Kingdom and Russia, everyday life of the clergy at the turn of the 19th and 20th c.

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## List of Abbreviations

AA Lub – Archdiocesan Archive in Lublin

AA War – Archdiocesan Archive of Warsaw

AD Kiel – Diocesan Archive in Kielce

AD Łom – Diocesan Archive in Łomża

AD Pł – Diocesan Archive in Płock

AD Sand – Diocesan Archive in Sandomierz

AD Wł – Diocesan Archive in Włocławek

AGAD – The Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw

AMSW – State Archive in Warsaw

AP Biał – State Archive in Białystok

AP Cz – State Archive in Częstochowa

AP Kiel – State Archive in Kielce

AP Lub – State Archive in Lublin

AP Pł – State Archive in Płock

AP Rad – State Archive in Radom

AP Siedl – State Archive in Siedlce

BMSL – Library of the Metropolitan Seminary in Lublin

BŻIH – *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego w Polsce*

Khtz – *Kholm'skaya tserkovnaya zhizn'*

Khnl – *Kholm'skiy narodnyy listok*

KhVyv – *Kholm'sko-Varshavskiy yeparikhal'nyy vestnik*

CWWKP – Central Religious Authorities of the Kingdom of Poland (Centralne Władze Wyznaniowe Królestwa Polskiego)

CzAM – Metropolitan Archive in Częstochowa

GW – *Głos Wiary*

KH – *Kwartalnik Historyczny*

PK – *Przegląd Katolicki*

PKiSR – *Przewodnik Kółek i Spótek Rolniczych w Królestwie Polskim*

RGIA – The State Historical Archive in St. Petersburg

Vyl – *Varshavskiy yeparkhaľnyy listok*

ZE – *Zwiastun Ewangeliczny*



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# Introduction

“Strange thing! For several years I have been talking with ‘biting sarcasm’ about priests and noblemen, our merchants and craftsmen, or German industrialists, and yet none of these gentlemen accused me of anger or spreading superstition and hatred. But when I first touched on the Jewish position, I was immediately warned.”<sup>1</sup> “It seems impossible to address the Jewish question without causing clamor and resentment. Everything can be criticized, even mathematical certainties, everything can be mocked, only the Jewish question must be stroked in the right way and still with a very delicate hand, in a velvet glove”<sup>2</sup> – Bolesław Prus wrote in his *Chronicles* (1889).

What these words reveal, apart from the personal bitterness of the author and the historical context, is how delicate the matter itself remained and how hard it was to discuss various aspects of the Jewish question *sine ira et studio*. Even today, historical Polish-Jewish relations spark a great deal of controversy. Bolesław Prus’ statement sounds like a warning, but it also forces us to ask the following question: what is important to remember for a historian, who studies the complicated Polish-Jewish relations and – in the case of this work – the attitude of Christian Churches toward Jews, not to fall into the trap of simple generalizations or black-and-white schemes? This is certainly not an easy task. It seems that an important condition for avoiding this threat is, on the one hand, the adoption of the *longue durée* perspective in research to maintain a necessary distance, and on the other hand – the understanding of the examined issues with a reference to a wide and complex socioeconomic and religious backdrop of a given epoch.<sup>3</sup>

This book deals with the relationship between the Roman Catholic, Evangelical, and Orthodox Churches and Jews in the Kingdom of Poland from 1855 to 1915. I should immediately emphasize that it is not about the Church understood in the institutional sense or as a community of the People of God. None of these models corresponds to the essence of the account presented in the work. Rather, I shall seek to analyze the opinions, statements, programs, and actions concerning Jews undertaken by clerics as the “people” of the Church. Indeed, their voice had a profound influence on the formation of the social-religious consciousness of the

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1 B. Prus, *Kroniki*, ed. Z. Szwejkowski, Vol. 12, Warszawa 1962, p. 79.

2 Qtd. after T. Jeske-Choiński, *Historia Żydów w Polsce*, Warszawa 1919, pp. 274 ff.

3 Cf. R. Wapiński, “Problemy warsztatu historyka dziejów najnowszych,” *Przegląd Humanistyczny* 1996, No. 1, p. 37.

whole masses of the faithful. In addition, I refer to various opinions of lay people connected to the Church. The following analysis of source material gives insight merely into some Christian and ecclesiastical circles of influence. Nevertheless, it seems representative.

I have decided to take the middle of the 1850s as the initial caesura. The death of Nicholas I in 1855, followed by the death of Ivan Paskevich, Viceroy of the Kingdom of Poland, a year later, and the defeat of Russia in the Crimean War of 1853–1856 were the announcement of changes in the current policy toward the Kingdom of Poland. The increase in hope for political changes with Alexander II's ascension to the throne created a favorable atmosphere around actions aimed at changing the legal status of Jewish population living in Congress Poland. The period of dissent, which lasted until the granting of equal rights for Jews in 1862, revealed that the position of Polish opinion-forming circles on this issue was unclear and had an impact on the evaluation of the results of the emancipation and equality of Jews in the Kingdom after 1863.

The final caesura, the year 1915, does not require any further justification. The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 forced the Russian administration to leave the borders of the Kingdom of Poland in August 1915, thereby initiating various processes which sparked profound changes in the hitherto existing social, political, and economic conditions in the region.

The issues addressed in this monograph are still poorly recognized in the Polish historiography. In the interwar period, neither Polish nor Jewish historians had dealt with this issue.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, the same applies to the post-war period.<sup>5</sup> Noteworthy, the collection of works of the Jewish Historical Institute, which had operated in Poland since 1947, lacks a single text concerning this period. The overwhelming majority of the Institute's work deals with the history of Jews in 1939–1945. In the 1960s–1970s, Artur Eisenbach had studied the history of Jews in the nineteenth century, which resulted in a series of quality works. The author,

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4 A. Eisenbach, "Historiografia żydowska w Polsce w okresie międzywojennym," in: *Środowiska historyczne II Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. J. Maternicki, Warszawa 1987, pp. 235–291; J. Maternicki, E. Cesarz, "Zainteresowania twórcze historyków warszawskich w latach 1918–1939," in: *Środowiska historyczne II Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. J. Maternicki, part 5, Warszawa 1990, pp. 7–35; J. Maternicki, "Elita warszawskiego środowiska historycznego 1918–1939," in: *Środowiska historyczne II Rzeczypospolitej*, part 5, pp. 36–90.

5 See S. Kieniewicz, "Powojenny dorobek historiografii okresu powstań narodowych," KH 1987, No. 1, p. 157; L. Trzeciakowski, "Historiografia dziejów popowstaniowych 1864–1914," KH 1987, No. 1, pp. 159–194.

however, focused mainly on the internal structure of Jewish population, its legal status, and the participation of Jews in Polish national uprisings.<sup>6</sup>

It is worth mentioning an interesting polemic that broke out in the *Kwartalnik Historyczny* in the first half of the 1980s and exerted an inspiring influence on the discussion of some of the issues addressed in this book.

The polemic was triggered by Stefania Kowalska-Glikman's article, entitled "Małżeństwa mieszane w Królestwie Polskim. Problemy asymilacji i integracji społecznej" (Mixed Marriages in the Kingdom of Poland. The Problems of Assimilation and Social Integration), which covered the period of 1815–1870.<sup>7</sup> The article met criticism from Jakub Goldberg, who accused Kowalska-Glikman of neglecting the issue of marriages of Jewish converts<sup>8</sup> arranged by the clergy, while also demonstrating that the guidelines regulating this process developed by Charles Borromeo in the second half of the sixteenth century were still valid in the nineteenth century. In light of these guidelines, the clergy was responsible for arranging marriages between Jewish neophytes and born Catholics.<sup>9</sup> In her response to Goldberg's remarks, Stefania Kowalska-Glikman argued that she never found any sources from the period under study which would prove the programmatic and organizational activity of the Catholic Church in the field of arranging mixed marriages.<sup>10</sup>

Without dwelling on the subject matter of this dispute, one should simply note that the arguments employed by the adversaries, and the very fact of their disagreement, indicate the need for a broader discussion of the attitude of Christian Churches toward Jews in the Kingdom of Poland.

The changing political situation in the country since the second half of the 1980 created a favorable atmosphere for dealing with "difficult themes." It also

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6 See A. Eisenbach, "Prawa obywatelskie i honorowe Żydów (1780–1861)," in: *Spoleczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego*, Vol. 1, Warszawa 1965; A. Eisenbach "Mobilność terytorialna ludności żydowskiej w Królestwie Polskim," in: *Spoleczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego*, Vol. 2, Warszawa 1966; A. Eisenbach, *Kwestia równouprawnienia Żydów w Królestwie Polskim*, Warszawa 1972; A. Eisenbach, *Z dziejów ludności żydowskiej w Polsce w XVIII i XIX wieku. Studia i szkice*, Warszawa 1983; A. Eisenbach, *Emancypacja Żydów na ziemiach polskich 1785–1870 na tle europejskim*, Warszawa 1988.

7 KH 1977, No. 2.

8 KH 1980, No. 4 (*Czy małżeństwa neofitów i neofitek z urodzonymi katoliczkami i urodzonymi katolikami świadczyły o zaawansowanym stadium ich społecznej integracji i asymilacji?*).

9 KH 1980, No. 4. See also KH 1984, No. 1 (*Konwersja i mariaż*).

10 KH 1982, No. 4 (*Jeszcze raz o małżeństwach mieszanych w Królestwie Polskim*).

encouraged more extensive research on the past of Jews in Poland. This was reflected in a considerable number of works and articles on Jews and Polish-Jewish relations published over the last fifteen years.<sup>11</sup> Particularly helpful for the discussion of this subject are academic works which discuss the issues of assimilation,<sup>12</sup> anti-Semitism,<sup>13</sup> and religious conversion.<sup>14</sup>

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- 11 *Żydzi i judaizm we współczesnych badaniach polskich. Materiały z konferencji, Kraków 21–23 XI 1995*, ed. K. Pilarczyk, Kraków 1997, pp. 15–55; *Juden in Ostmitteleuropa. Von der Emanzipation bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg*, hrsg. v. G. Rhode, Marburg an der Lahn 1989.
  - 12 J. Lichten, “Uwagi o asymilacji i akulturacji Żydów w Polsce w latach 1863–1943,” *Znak* 1988, No. 5/6; A. Cała, *Asymilacja Żydów w Królestwie Polskim (1864–1897). Postawy. Konflikty. Stereotypy*, Warszawa 1989; J. Holzer, “Asymilacja i akulturacja Żydów galicyjskich,” *Więź* 1989, No. 4; T. R. Weeks, “Poles, Jews, and Russians 1863–1914: The Death of the Ideal of Assimilation in the Kingdom of Poland,” *South East European Monitor* 1996, No. 3; R. Kuwałek, “Pomiędzy tradycją a asymilacją. Walka o wpływ i władzę w lubelskiej gminie żydowskiej między ortodoksami i asymilatorami w latach 1862–1915,” in: *Żydzi i judaizm we współczesnych badaniach polskich. Materiały z konferencji, Kraków 21–23 XI 1995*, ed. K. Pilarczyk, Kraków 1997; M. Sobczak, “Zwolennicy koncepcji asymilacyjnej Żydów wobec rozwoju syjonizmu w Polsce na przełomie XIX i XX w.,” *Prace Naukowe Akademii Ekonomicznej we Wrocławiu* 1997, No. 752 (Nauki Humanistyczne 3).
  - 13 J. Tazbir, *Protokoły mędrców Syjonu. Autentyk czy falsyfikat*, Warszawa 1992; H. Bałabuch, “Zajścia antyżydowskie w 1881 i 1882 r. na Lubelszczyźnie w ujęciu władz gubernialnych,” *BŻIH* 1993, No. 3/4; S. Wiech, “Echa afery Dreyfusa w polskiej prasie prowincjonalnej (na przykładzie ‘Gazety Kieleckiej’),” *BŻIH* 1993, No. 3/4; P. Zawadzki, “*Protokoły mędrców Syjonu* w polskiej myśli antysemitycznej,” *BŻIH* 1993, No. 3/4; A. Żbikowski, “Rozwój ideologii antysemitycznej w Galicji w 2. połowie XIX w. Teofila Merunowicza atak na żydowskie kahały,” part 1: “Przegląd piśmiennictwa,” *BŻIH* 1993, No. 3/4; T. R. Weeks, “Polish ‘Progressive Antisemitism’ 1905–1914,” *East European Jewish Affairs* 1995, Vol. 25, No. 2; T. R. Weeks, “Fanning the Flames: Jews in the Warsaw Press” 1905–1912,” *East European Jewish Affairs* 1998–1999, Vol. 28, No. 2; T. R. Weeks, “The ‘International Jewish Conspiracy’ Reaches Poland: Teodor Jeske-Choiński and His Works,” *East European Quarterly* 1997, No. 1; K. Lewalski, “Problem antysemityzmu na łamach *Przeglądu Katolickiego* w latach 1863–1914,” *Nasza Przeszłość* 1995, Vol. 84; D. Libionka, “Poglądy historyków na pogromy w Rosji w latach 1881–1906,” *BŻIH* 1997, No. 1.
  - 14 W. Kowalski, “Stopnicki rejestr konwertytów XVII–XIX w.,” *Nasza Przeszłość* 1991, Vol. 76; K. Lewalski, “Szkic do dziejów misji chrześcijańskich wśród Żydów na ziemiach polskich w XVIII–XX wieku,” *Studia Historyczne* 1993, No. 2; K. Lewalski, “Przyczynek do problemu konwersji Żydów w Królestwie Polskim na przełomie XIX i XX wieku w świetle materiałów archiwalnych,” in: *Między Odrą i Dnieprem. Wyznania i narody*, ed. T. Stegner, Gdańsk 1997; A. Penkalla, “Z problematyki zmiany wyznania wśród Żydów



Among the works concerning assimilation, one should mention especially Alina Cała's *Asymilacja Żydów w Królestwie Polskim (1864–1897)* (The Assimilation of Jews in the Kingdom of Poland 1864–1897). Referring to a rich source base and large body of literature on this subject, the author provides a suggestive if sometimes one-sided explanation of factors and mechanisms which conditioned the assimilation process.

A vast majority of the works dealing with the religiousness, location, and activity of Christian Churches in the discussed period concerns the Roman Catholic Church and the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession. In the first case, one should mention studies on religiousness, its manifestations and conditions, and the social-religious teaching of the Church. The works of Daniel Olszewski deserve special attention, especially his *Polska kultura religijna na przełomie XIX i XX wieku* (Polish Religious Culture at the Turn of the Twentieth Century).<sup>15</sup> This is the first historical work which sets the problems of Polish religiousness in a broader context, exploring rich source material. It is worth noting that the author does not limit his account to Catholicism. He also recognizes the role of other Christian denominations and Churches in the process of shaping this religion. Also Ewa Jabłońska-Deptuła<sup>16</sup> and Edward Walewander<sup>17</sup> take up these themes.

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na terenie guberni radomskiej w latach 1867–1914,” in: *Naród i religia. Materiały z sesji naukowej*, ed. T. Stegner, Warszawa 1994; T. M. Endelman, “Jewish Converts in Nineteenth-Century Warsaw: A Quantitative Analysis,” *Jewish Social Studies* 1997, Vol. 4, No. 1.

- 15 See D. Olszewski, *Polska kultura religijna na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, Warszawa 1996. See also D. Olszewski, “Zagadnienie modernizmu i integrizmu w Polsce,” *Summariusum* 1974, no.3 (23); D. Olszewski, “Książka religijna na terenie Królestwa Polskiego w XIX wieku,” *Rocznik Świętokrzyski* 1989, Vol. 16; D. Olszewski, “Polska religijność na przełomie XIX i XX wieku,” in: *Uniwersalizm i swoistość kultury polskiej*, Vol. 2, ed. J. Kłoczowski, Lublin 1990; D. Olszewski, *Ks. Ignacy Kłopotowski. Życie i apostołat*, Warszawa 1996.
- 16 E. Jabłońska-Deptuła, “Religijność i patriotyzm doby powstań,” in: *Uniwersalizm i swoistość kultury polskiej*, Vol. 2, ed. J. Kłoczowski, Lublin 1990.
- 17 E. Walewander, “Problematyka społeczna w życiu Kościoła na ziemiach polskich w 2. połowie XIX w.,” in: *Kościół i społeczność. Rewolucje, demokracje, totalitaryzmy. Studia z dziejów XIX i XX wieku*, ed. J. Walkusz, Lublin 1993; E. Walewander, *Wychowanie chrześcijańskie w nauczaniu i praktyce Kościoła katolickiego na ziemiach polskich w 2. połowie XIX w.*, Lublin 1994.

In turn, Czesław Lechicki,<sup>18</sup> Ireneusz Kaczmarek,<sup>19</sup> and Jan Mazur<sup>20</sup> have studied the problems of Catholic journalism in the discussed period. One should content, however, that despite this absence of a work – with the exception of Jan Mazur’s study on the theme of “Catholic Thought” – which would analyze the content of Catholic writings against a broader socioeconomic and ideological backdrop of the epoch, thereby providing a better insight into the type of mentality dominating in the community of Catholic writers and journalists.

Stanisław Litak,<sup>21</sup> Daniel Olszewski,<sup>22</sup> Stanisław Kotkowski,<sup>23</sup> and Stanisław Gajewski<sup>24</sup> discuss the social structure of the clergy, especially its intellectual formation and social activity. In addition, it is worth mentioning Aleksy Petrani’s studies<sup>25</sup> on the policy of the tsarist authorities toward the Church, Adam Stanowski’s thesis, Bolesław Kumor’s fundamental work on the organizational and territorial structure of the Church in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries,<sup>26</sup> and Franciszek Stopniak’s work on the Church in Lublin and

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- 18 C. Lechicki, “Rzut oka na sto lat polskiego czasopiśmiennictwa katolickiego (1833–1939),” *Novum* 1975, No. 1–3.
  - 19 I. Kaczmarek, “Pamiętnik religijno-moralny (1841–1862),” *Przegląd Tomistyczny* 1984, Vol. 1; I. Kaczmarek, “*Przegląd Katolicki w latach 1863–1915*,” *Przegląd Tomistyczny* 1987, Vol. 3.
  - 20 J. Mazur, *Tygodnik „Myśl Katolicka” (1908–1914). Problemy religijne, społeczne i polityczne*, Kraków 1994.
  - 21 S. Litak, “Duchowieństwo diecezji lubelskiej w okresie międzypowstaniowym (1835–1864),” in: *Spółczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego*, Vol. 3, ed. W. Kula, Warszawa 1968.
  - 22 D. Olszewski, *Struktura społeczna duchowieństwa diecezji kielecko-krakowskiej (1835–1864)*, in: *Spółczeństwo polskie XVIII i XIX wieku*, Vol. 6, ed. J. Leskiewiczowa, Warszawa 1974; D. Olszewski, *Ks. Ignacy Kłopotowski*.
  - 23 S. Kotkowski, “Formacja intelektualno-duszpasterska alumnów seminarium duchownego w Sandomierzu (1841–1926),” *Studia Sandomierskie* 1980, No. 1.
  - 24 S. Gajewski, “Duchowieństwo w Królestwie Polskim wobec towarzystw rolniczych 1897–1914,” *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 1990, No. 2; S. Gajewski, *Spółczna działalność duchowieństwa w Królestwie Polskim 1905–1914*, Lublin 1990; S. Gajewski, “Izidor Kajetan Wysłouch wobec ruchu ludowego i inteligencji liberalnej w Królestwie Polskim,” *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 1995, z. 2 (*Historia*).
  - 25 A. Petrani, “W sprawie obsadzenia stolic biskupich w zaborze rosyjskim (1880–1883),” *Prawo Kanoniczne* 1962, No. 1/2; A. Petrani, “O wywiezieniu biskupa Konstantego Ireneusza Łubieńskiego z Sejn w 1869 r.,” *Nasza Przeszłość* 1967, Vol. 27; A. Petrani, “Kasata klasztoru SS. Felicjanek w Warszawie w 1864 r. w świetle źródeł rosyjskich,” *Nasza Przeszłość* 1971, Vol. 35.
  - 26 A. Stanowski, “Diecezje i parafie polskie w XIX i XX wieku,” *Znak* 1965, No. 11/12 (137/138); B. Kumor, *Ustrój i organizacja Kościoła polskiego w okresie niewoli narodowej 1772–1918*, Kraków 1980.

Podlachia regions.<sup>27</sup> This last study deserves a special credit for its strong reliance on archival materials.

There are not many works concerning the history of the Evangelical Church in the Kingdom of Poland. These are mainly the studies by Eduardo Kneifel,<sup>28</sup> Woldemar Gastpare,<sup>29</sup> and Tadeusz Stegner.<sup>30</sup> The works of the first two authors, however, are more textbook and factual in character, for they neglect a broader socioeconomic background and do not go into a deeper analysis of the Protestant community itself. Still, these deficiencies find compensation in the works of Tadeusz Stegner, who shows the evangelical community not only as a religious group but also in the perspective of social, political, and national processes which took place in the Kingdom of Poland.

In turn, the history of the Orthodox Church in Poland has been rarely discussed and largely overshadowed by research on the Uniate Church. The works of Henryk Suchenko-Suchocki<sup>31</sup> published before the war, or those of Janusz

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- 27 F. Stopniak, *Kościół na Lubelszczyźnie i Podlasiu na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, Warszawa 1975.
- 28 E. Kneifel, *Geschichte der Evangelisch-Augsburgischen Kirche in Polen*, Niedermarschacht 1962; E. Kneifel, *Die Pastoren der Evangelisch-Augsburgischen Kirche in Polen. Ein biographisches Pfarrerbuch mit einem Anhang*, Neuendettelsau [1965].
- 29 W. Gastpary, *Historia Kościoła. Okres nowożytny*, Vol. 3, Warszawa 1975; W. Gastpary, *Historia protestantyzmu w Polsce od połowy XVIII wieku do pierwszej wojny światowej*, Warszawa 1977.
- 30 T. Stegner, "Pastorzy ewangelicy w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1815–1914," in: *Inteligencja polska XIX i XX wieku*, Vol. 6, ed. R. Czepulis-Rastenis, Warszawa 1991; T. Stegner, *Pastorzy Królestwa Polskiego na studiach teologicznych w Dorpacie w XIX wieku*, Warszawa 1993; T. Stegner, *Ewangelicy warszawscy 1815–1918*, Warszawa 1993; T. Stegner, "Pastorzy i ich rola w społecznościach protestanckich w Królestwie Polskim w XIX wieku," in: *Aktywność społeczno-kulturalna kościołów i grup wyznaniowych w Polsce XIX i XX wieku*, ed. M. Meducka, R. Renz, Kielce 1995; T. Stegner, "Kształtowanie się ideologii polskiego protestantyzmu w XIX i na początku XX wieku," in: *Protestantyzm i protestanci na Pomorzu*, ed. J. Iluk, D. Mariańska, Gdańsk–Koszalin 1997; T. Stegner, "Miejsce zborów protestanckich w społecznościach miejskich Królestwa Polskiego," in: *Wspólnoty lokalne i środowiskowe w miastach i miasteczkach ziem polskich pod zaborami i po odzyskaniu niepodległości*, Toruń 1998; T. Stegner, *Bóg, protestantyzm, Polska. Biografia pastora Leopolda Marcina Otto (1819–1882)*, Gdańsk 2000.
- 31 H. Suchanek-Suchocki, *Państwo a cerkiew prawosławna w Polsce i w państwach ościennych*, Warszawa 1930.

Woliński<sup>32</sup> and Waclaw Zaikyn,<sup>33</sup> certainly do not fill this gap. The same applies to more recent studies by Mirosława Papierzynska-Turek,<sup>34</sup> Anna Frączek (Krochmal),<sup>35</sup> and Witold Kołbuk.<sup>36</sup> Only Anna Frączek's studies are entirely devoted to the discussed period. The others, valuable and informative as they are, focus merely on the general situation and role of the Orthodox Church in the Kingdom.

The source base of this book consists of materials of various provenance: the Russian State Historical Archive in St. Petersburg, all national and diocesan archives, and the Jasna Góra Archive, which gathers sources from the territory of the Kingdom of Poland. The State Historical Archive provided information on the location of Jews in the Kingdom of Poland in the early 1870s (Teodor Berg's report) and on the state of Jewish education. They constitute an interesting source of information about the central authorities' policy toward Jews in Congress Poland and personal opinions of the authorities concerning the Jewish question. It is important to emphasize that because of both time limitations and the enormity of the source material, the presented analysis is based on a partial query.

The material stored in national and diocesan archives does not exemplify mass tendencies and remains largely incomplete. The reason behind this state of affairs might be the loss of archival sources caused by the turmoil of the wars. For instance, files from Kuyavian-Kalisz diocese were destroyed in 1920, while those from Warsaw Archdiocese burned down in 1944. Similarly, the majority of the files of religious orders – which were confiscated after the dissolution of monasteries by the tsarist authorities in 1864, and which were reclaimed through revindication after the First World War and transferred to the Warsaw University Library – vanished during the Warsaw Uprising.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, the condition of

32 J. Woliński, *Polska i Kościół prawosławny. Zarys historyczny*, Lviv 1936.

33 W. Zaikyn, *Zarys dziejów ustroju Kościoła wschodnio-słowiańskiego. I. Podział na okresy*, Lviv 1939.

34 M. Papierzynska-Turek, *Między tradycją a rzeczywistością. Państwo wobec prawosławia 1918–1939*, Warszawa 1989.

35 A. Frączek (Krochmal), *Duchowieństwo prawosławne diecezji chełmsko-warszawskiej w latach 1875–1905*, Lublin 1989 (unpublished MA thesis). Parts of this thesis appeared in A. Krochmal, "Prawosławne duchowieństwo diecezji chełmsko-warszawskiej pochodzące z Galicji (1875–1905)," *Rocznik Historyczno-Archiwalny* 1989; See also A. Krochmal, "Działalność prawosławnego duchowieństwa w diecezji chełmsko-warszawskiej w latach 1875–1905," *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 1993, No. 2.

36 W. Kołbuk, *Kościół wschodnie na ziemiach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej 1772–1914*, Lublin 1992.

37 R. Prejs, "Źródła do dziejów zakonników Królestwa Polskiego po kasacie klasztorów w 1964r. Szkic zagadnienia," *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* 1997, Vol. 67, p. 339.

the sources in some diocesan archives leaves much to be desired, making it very difficult to conduct an effective query. This applies especially to the archives in Siedlce and Sandomierz.

Particularly noteworthy are the materials stored in the Main Archive of Historical Records in Warsaw and in the Archives of the Capital City of Warsaw. They shed light on the missionary work of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession among Jewish circles in the Kingdom of Poland and of the Congregationalist London Missionary Society. In addition, by analyzing these materials, one can at least partially learn about the difficulties encountered by the Catholic Church in its evangelizing efforts among Polish Judaists. In this case, a clear caesura can be established – the year 1864, when the activity of many religious orders in the Kingdom of Poland was suppressed.

An extremely interesting document, which sheds light on the conditions of the missionary activity of the Catholic clergy in the Jewish community of the Kingdom of Poland before the mid-1950s is the manuscript of an anonymous author found in the Diocesan Archive in Kielce.<sup>38</sup> The only thing we know about this author is that he was a priest, most likely with higher education; he came from Warsaw Archdiocese and was well versed in the issues he discussed. However, it is difficult to figure out what was the purpose, and who were the intended recipients, of this text.

The sources stored in the Diocesan Archive in Łomża provide interesting information not only about social unrest in the Suwałki Governorate against the backdrop anti-Jewish incidents which occurred in 1881–1882 but also about the attitude of state and ecclesiastical authorities toward this issue.<sup>39</sup>

The sources from other archives, regrettably scarce, give us a better insight into some issues related to the process of converting Jews into Christianity. They reveal, among other things, the complexity of various factors that have conditioned this process. In this respect, the most interesting source is the correspondence of Catholic clerics concerning Jewish neophytes (the Jasna Góra Archive, the State Archive in Włocławek, and the Archdiocesan Archive in Lublin). In addition, the archival query provided, unfortunately also fragmentary, statistical data concerning religious conversion of Jews.

This book largely refers to social-religious periodicals and diocesan magazines, in particular: *Przegląd Katolicki* (Catholic Review; 1863–1914),

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38 ADKiel, *Akta ogólne*, sig. R–55, pp. 11–28.

39 Here, I wish to thank the Rev. Prof. Witold Jemielity for his valuable comments and advice, which guided my query in the Łomża Archive.

*Polak-Katolik* (Pole the Catholic; 1908–1914), *Posiew* (The Seed; 1908–1913), *Zwiastun Ewangeliczny* (The Evangelical Annunciator; 1876–1882, 1898–1914), *Głosy Kościelne w sprawie Kościoła Ewangelicko-Augsburskiego* (Church Voices Concerning the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Poland; 1884–1890), *Kholmisko-Varshavskiy yeparkhal'nyy vestnik* (Chełm-Warsaw Diocesan Annunciator; 1877–1905), *Varshavskiy yeparkhal'nyy listok* (Warsaw Diocesan Newspaper; 1906–1915), *Kholmiskaya tserkovnaya zhizn'* (Chełm Church Life; 1906–1913), *Kholmiskiy narodnyy listok* (Chełm People's Newspaper; 1906–1913), and *Izraelita* (Israelite; 1866–1914). They were a rich source of insight into the clergy's views on the Jewish question, not only from a religious point of view, but also from a social and post-liturgical point of view. In addition, the book refers to lay journalism, memoirs, and diaries. Unfortunately, memoirist publications are rare – a lack felt most acutely in the case of clerical writings. It is worth noting at this point that the book explores rarely discussed sources such as collections of homilies, parish teachings or textbooks on pastoral theology used in Catholic seminaries. They are an extremely valuable supplement to the material from other archives, as they shed light on the mentality of certain ecclesiastical circles.

The book consists of five chapters. The first chapter discusses organizational structures of individual Churches with close attention paid to the political conditions of their functioning and, above all, to their intellectual potential. The latter issue has influenced the clergy's attitude toward Jewish issues in various respects. The second chapter describes the Jewish community with close attention paid to its increasing socioeconomic differentiation – a process which manifested itself especially at the turn of the centuries. This chapter also presents the policy of the partitioning powers and the position of Polish opinion-forming circles toward the Jewish question until the mid-1880s. The most important problems addressed in the third chapter include the issue of anti-Semitism and anti-Judaism, including the clergy's stance toward the pogroms of Jews in 1881–1882 and 1903–1906 and the phenomenon of the blood libel. The fourth chapter discusses first of all the activities of Christian Churches aimed at attracting Judaists to Christianity, motives leading them to change their faith, and the image of Neophytes emerging from the press at that time. The last chapter presents the attitude of Christian Churches toward the Jewish question against the backdrop of social, political, and economic transformations taking place in the Kingdom, especially at the turn of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries.

At the end of the book, the Annex to Chapter 4 is attached. It is a selection of archival materials, chronologically arranged and dating from 1854–1913. They provide interesting information about the difficulties associated with the

evangelization of Jews. They also reveal various aspects of the conversion process, e.g. they shed light on factors which influenced individual decisions to change one's confession.

The scope of the problematics addressed in this book certainly does not cover all issues designated by its title. The author is aware that some issues are merely touched on, while others still await proper examination. It is necessary to conduct extensive queries which will broaden the archival resources available for research in this field. Unfortunately, this task goes beyond the capabilities of an individual researcher.

It is very important to continue research on the social origins of Christian spirituality in the Kingdom of Poland, its intellectual formation, recognized authorities, socioeconomic attitudes, and the mentality of the clergy.<sup>40</sup> Results of this research will certainly bring us to a better understanding of many phenomena and processes which indirectly affected the relationship between Christian Churches and Jews in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The same applies, perhaps even more so, to the need for examining the attitude of Jewish opinion-forming circles toward Christianity in the discussed period. However, one should be aware that the Hebrew and Yiddish languages – the languages of archival materials and the press – still constitute an important barrier for researchers of these issues. I hope that this work will make up, at least partly, for the severe gap in Polish research and encourage further studies.

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40 D. Olszewski, "Podstawa źródłowa do badań mentalności kleru w XIX wieku (na przykładzie akt konsystorza kieleckiego)," *Summarius* 1974, No. 3 (23), pp. 115–117.





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# CHAPTER 1: The Situation of Christian Churches in the Kingdom of Poland in 1855–1915

## The Organization and Number of Christian Churches

The structures and administrative divisions of particular Churches in the region were conditioned by the political situation that emerged as a result of the partitions of Poland in the second half of the eighteenth century. To be sure, various social and demographic changes, especially those initiated in the mid-nineteenth century, also played a significant role.<sup>1</sup>

The territorial organization of the Catholic Church in the Kingdom of Poland (Warsaw metropolis) was established in 1818 with a bull of Pope Pius VII. It consisted of Warsaw Archdiocese and dioceses of Sejny, Podlachia, Płock, Włocławek, Sandomierz, Lublin, and Krakow. The latter was divided into two parts in 1849. The first one included the district of the former Free City of Krakow, the second one – the area within the borders of the Kingdom.

Such a situation persisted until 1867, when the authorities dissolved Podlachia diocese and subordinated the area to the Bishop of Lublin. In 1880, a part of Krakow diocese located outside the borders of the Kingdom was excluded from the Warsaw metropolis and subjected directly to the Holy See. The rest of the area came under the jurisdiction of Kielce diocese in 1882.<sup>2</sup> This division remained until the end of the Russian rule in the Kingdom of Poland.

In turn, the territorial and organizational structure of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg (Lutheran) Confession in the Kingdom of Poland was established by the tsarist ukase (decree) of 1849. The highest authority in the Church was the Consistory, which included clergymen and lay evangelical activists. Initially, there were four dioceses: Warsaw, Kalisz, Augustów, and Płock. In 1901, Piotrków diocese was founded. All of them formed the Consistory District of Warsaw.<sup>3</sup>

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1 A. Stanowski, "Diecezje i parafie polskie w XIX i XX wieku," *Znak* 1965, No. 11/12 (137/138), p. 1610.

2 B. Kumor, *Historia Kościoła. Czasy najnowsze 1815–1914*, part 7, Lublin 1991, pp. 138, 364, 399.

3 T. Stegner, "Kształtowanie się ideologii polskiego protestantyzmu w XIX i na początku XX wieku," in: *Protestantyzm i protestanci na Pomorzu*, ed. J. Iluk, D. Mariańska, Gdańsk–Koszalin 1997, p. 39; J. Gryniakow, *Ekumeniczne dążenia protestantyzmu*

As distinct from the Churches discussed above, the organizational structure of the Orthodox Church had no historical continuity in the Kingdom of Poland. The reason is quite simple: the Orthodox faith had been virtually non-existent in this area. A few Orthodox believers who lived in the Kingdom of Poland until 1825 were subordinated to the Orthodox Bishop of Bukovina. In 1825–1827, they came under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Minsk, and from 1827 the Archbishop of Volhynia. In 1834, in order to raise the status of the Orthodox Church in Warsaw, a bishopric was established in the form of a vicariate of Volhynian diocese.<sup>4</sup> Finally, in 1840, an independent diocese of Warsaw and Nowogeorgiyevsk was established.<sup>5</sup> This organizational structure survived until 1875, when the diocese was renamed as Chełm-Warsaw diocese as a result of the dissolution of Uniate Chełm diocese on the territory of Lublin and Siedlce governorates and its inclusion into the organizational structures of the Orthodox Church in the Kingdom of Poland in the form of the Lublin vicariate headed by the priest Markyl Popiel.<sup>6</sup> In 1905, it went through another reorganization. The independent Orthodox Chełm diocese replaced the former Lublin vicariate office. The new diocese was headed by Bishop Yevlogy, who also received the title of Bishop of Lublin. The name of Chełm-Warsaw diocese has also changed to Warsaw-Vistula diocese.<sup>7</sup> This organizational structure of the Orthodox Church in Poland lasted until the outbreak of the First World War.

The largest Christian community in the Kingdom was the Roman Catholic Church. In the discussed period, Roman Catholics constituted about 75 % of the total population of the country, and their distribution was quite even. Among

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*polskiego od Traktatu Warszawskiego 1767/68 do II wojny światowej*, Warszawa 1972, p. 61; W. Pruss, *Spółczesność Królestwa Polskiego w XIX i początkach XX wieku*, part 1: "Narodowości, wyznania, sekty, organizacje kościelne," *Przegląd Historyczny*, 1977, Vol. 68, No. 2, p. 270; E. Kneifel, *Die evangelisch-augsburgischen Gemeinden in Polen 1555–1939*, n.d., n.p., passim.

- 4 P. Paszkiewicz, *Pod berłem Romanowów. Sztuka rosyjska w Warszawie 1815–1915*, Warszawa 1991, pp. 26, 51.
- 5 *Iz vlecheniye iz Otcheta ober-prokurora Svyateyshego Sinoda 1840 za 1840 god*, St. Petersburg 1841, pp. 7–8; *Spisok arkhierereyev iyerarkhii vserossiyskoy i arkhierereyskikh kafedr*, St. Peterburg 1896, p. 91; W. Kołbuk, *Kościół wschodnie na ziemiach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej 1772–1914*, Lublin 1992, p. 69; W. Zaikyn, *Zarys dziejów ustroju Kościoła wschodnio-słowiańskiego. I. Podział na okresy*, Lviv 1939, p. 101.
- 6 I. Smolitsch, *Geschichte der russischen Kirche 1700–1917*, Bd. 1, Leiden 1964, pp. 705, 708; I. Ihnatowicz, *Vademecum do badań nad historią XIX i XX wieku*, 2, Warszawa 1971, p. 227.
- 7 *Varshavskaya yeparkhiya*, Warszawa 1907, pp. 15 ff.

the followers of Catholicism, about 95 % were Poles, while the rest belonged almost entirely to the Lithuanian population living mainly in the Augustów Governorate. In 1859, ca. 250,000, i.e. 40 % of the total number of inhabitants of this Governorate, were Lithuanians, while Poles constituted the second largest group (37 %).<sup>8</sup> At the end of the nineteenth century, Lithuanians constituted 52 % of the total population of the Suwałki Governorate,<sup>9</sup> 71 % in the Sejny district, and 87 % in the Kalwaria district. The districts of Marijampolė and Władysławów were inhabited almost exclusively by Lithuanians.<sup>10</sup>

The followers of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in the Kingdom of Poland were mostly descendants of former German immigrants, who populated this land especially since 1815, establishing craftsmen's settlements and agricultural colonies.<sup>11</sup> Thus, the largest groups of Evangelicals appeared in Łódź and the Łódź district, in Warsaw and in the North-Western part of the Kingdom.<sup>12</sup>

Favorable settlement conditions, especially at the time of independence, facilitated the processes of Polonization of the Protestant community. It should be noted that German Evangelicals mostly lived in rural areas, while the majority of Polish Evangelicals inhabited Warsaw. At the end of the nineteenth century, they constituted 47.9 % of Lutherans in Warsaw. At the end of the nineteenth century, however, only 7.6 % (32,000) of all Lutherans in the Kingdom of Poland declared their commitment to the Polish language. However, their elite consisted mainly of Polish Evangelicals from the upper class, intelligentsia, or wealthy bourgeoisie, who were usually descendants of the first or second generation of German emigrants.<sup>13</sup> According to the census of 1897, 421,000 Evangelicals lived in the Kingdom of Poland, of which only 2 % – Calvinists, mostly Polonized – belonged

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8 S. Chankowski, "Ludność żydowska w Augustowskim wobec powstania styczniowego," BŻIH 1967, No. 64, pp. 55 ff. As a result of the new administrative division implemented in 1867, it included most of the former Augustów diocese.

9 W. Pruss, *Spółeczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego*, part 1, p. 265.

10 T. Stegner, *Ewangelicy warszawscy 1815–1918*, Warszawa 1993, p. 21.

11 T. Stegner, "Pastorzy ewangelicy w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1815–1914," in: *Inteligencja polska XIX i XX wieku*, Vol. 6, ed. R. Czepulis-Rastenis, Warszawa 1991, p. 108.

12 T. Stegner, *Kształtowanie się ideologii polskiego protestantyzmu*, p. 40.

13 T. Stegner, *Pastorzy ewangelicy*, p. 109.

to the Evangelical Reformed Church.<sup>14</sup> In the whole population of the Kingdom, Evangelicals constituted ca. 4.5 %.<sup>15</sup>

The number of Orthodox believers ranged from 285,000 in 1870 to 484,000 in 1913 and did not exceed 5 % of the total population of the Kingdom of Poland (save that in the period of 1875–1905 their number increased significantly due to the growth of the local Greek-Catholic population – the former followers of the dissolved Uniate Church).<sup>16</sup> Until 1875, Orthodox believers in the Kingdom of Poland were mainly Russian immigrants, who served in the state administration or the army. They lived mainly in the Warsaw, Lublin, and Siedlce governorates.<sup>17</sup>

### The Authorities' Policy Toward Christian Churches

The situation of particular Churches in the Kingdom of Poland depended to a large extent on domestic and foreign policies of the tsarist authorities. This concerned especially the Roman Catholic Church, which – because of the number of Catholics in Polish population and the fact that Poles recognized this Church as a national institution, a relic of the Polish statehood at the time of dependency – was heavily exposed to repressive acts of the partitioning government.

In the nineteenth century, since the 1830s, the activity of the Catholic Church in the Kingdom of Poland was gradually suppressed. The concordat concluded in 1847 between Russia and the Holy See failed to grant the Church the freedoms it expected. The ban on free contact with Rome, bringing the whole correspondence under political control, was particularly hard for the Church. Bishops were supported by advisory bodies in the form of diocesan consistories.<sup>18</sup> State authorities also had a say in appointing bishops and often used this prerogative as a tool of retaliation for any misbehavior of the clergy. Suffice it to note that, at the turn of 1852 and 1853, there was not a single ordinary bishop in the Kingdom: its dioceses were usually governed by a chapter vicar. In the period of 1855–1915,

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14 W. Pruss, *Spółeczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego w XIX i początkach XX wieku*, part 2: “Narodowości, wyznania, ich rozmieszczenie, struktura demograficzna i zawodowo-społeczna,” *Przegląd Historyczny* 1977, Vol. 68, No. 3, p. 488.

15 Pruss, *Spółeczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego*, part 1, pp. 261–262.

16 Pruss, *Spółeczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego*, part 2, p. 491.

17 Pruss, *Spółeczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego*.

18 T. Włodarczyk, *Zarys historii ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem XX wieku*, Warszawa 1974, pp. 118–121. To be sure, they included clerics, but only those who received the governor's assent. The consistories dealt with financial, judicial, and organizational issues of dioceses.

Warsaw Archdiocese was vacant for twenty-one years, Kielce Archdiocese for thirty-one years, Sejny Archdiocese for twenty-three years, Płock Archdiocese for thirty years, and Lublin Archdiocese for sixteen years.<sup>19</sup>

One of contemporary priests lamented over this situation:

how much damage our Church has to suffer, when it is virtually orphaned and devoid of its helmsman, the true archprelate. Indeed, this is the cause of all the evil troubles which affect our clergy: the absence of confessional comfort in the capital of the Kingdom, the disorder in parish service, the weakening of ecclesiastical obedience in the people, and the lack of canonical discipline in the secular and religious clergy. During the thirty-five years of the existence of Warsaw Archdiocese, nothing could be initiated or established for its sake, because its Archbishop either lived too short or, for his generally decrepit age, was unable to commit himself fully and govern with the strong hand. Apart from its unfortunate location, the ever-interim character of the clerical administration has evidently destroyed both the spirit and the body of the Polish Church.<sup>20</sup>

Striving to turn the Church into a loyalist institution, the authorities made sure that it was headed by weak or very old people, who were therefore easier to control.<sup>21</sup> Father Wincenty Chościak-Popiel, who later became Archbishop of Warsaw, wrote in his diaries: "Being a priest for nearly thirteen years now, I am used to the idea of the bishopric as a *panis bene meritorum* for old prelates – indeed, infirm people were appointed to serve this office."<sup>22</sup>

While until 1863 the Roman Catholic religion, at least formally, "was subject to special care and protection of the government,"<sup>23</sup> the situation changed radically after the defeat of the January Uprising due to the significant support

19 See I. Ihnatowicz, *Vademecum*, pp. 211–223.

20 See Annex, item 1.

21 E. Jabłońska-Deptuła, "Religijność i patriotyzm doby powstań," in: *Uniwersalizm i swoistość kultury polskiej*, Vol. 2, ed. J. Kłoczowski, Lublin 1990, p. 114.

22 W. Chościak-Popiel, *Pamiętniki*, Vol. 1, ed. J. Urban, p. 4. Father Anthony Fijałkowski, Archbishop of Warsaw in 1857–1861, was reaching the age of 80 at the time of accepting this honor. Thus, he described himself as "a useless servant, an old man unworthy of holding such a distinguished office" (W. Przyborowski, *Historia dwóch lat*, part wstępna: 1856–1860, Vol. 1, Kraków 1892, p. 107). However, Fijałkowski did not turn out to be a tool in the hands of the authorities. Indeed, he proved himself otherwise during the patriotic demonstrations preceding the outbreak of the January Uprising. In 1855–1915, there were 27 ordinary bishops in the Kingdom of Poland.

23 Cf. "Ustawa Konstytucyjna Królestwa Polskiego," October 27, 1815, Art. 11; and "Statut Organiczny dla Królestwa Polskiego," February 26, 1832, Art. 5, in: M. Adamczyk, S. Pastuszka, *Konstytucje polskie w rozwoju dziejowym 1791–1982*, Warszawa 1985, pp. 83, 144.

of the clergy for the Polish independence movement. Since the Church was no longer legally protected, the dissolution of monasteries began on a large scale. All monasteries with less than eight members were suppressed, while the rest was sentenced to a slow decay by a ban on admitting novices.<sup>24</sup> In 1865, the tsarist authorities decided to terminate the concordat and issued a ukase which deprived the Church of its benefices (with the exception of 6 morgens for each parish).<sup>25</sup>

Striving to exercise strict control over the clergy, the authorities significantly limited its mobility, which made it extremely difficult to perform pastoral service. In 1867, the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Church in St. Petersburg was extended over dioceses of the Kingdom of Poland, which did not have a canonical sanction of the Pope. All this forced even the most loyalist hierarchs to support various actions banned by the tsarist law.<sup>26</sup> Otherwise, they would not be able to perform pastoral service and follow the principles of canon law. “In some cases,” wrote Aleksy Petrani, “their priestly conscience did not allow them to violate the essential rights of the Roman Church in order to satisfy the demands of secular power.”<sup>27</sup> For these very reasons, and not national ones, Wincenty Chościak-Popiel, the Bishop of Płock, and Konstanty Łubieński expressed their *non possumus* in 1863 and 1868, respectively. As a consequence, they were sentenced to exile, even though they were both well-known for their hostility toward the Polish insurrection of 1863.<sup>28</sup>

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24 R. Prejs, “Źródła dziejów zakonników Królestwa Polskiego po kasacji klasztorów w 1864 r. Szkic zagadnienia,” *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* 1997, Vol. 67, p. 333. The ukase designated the so-called permanent monasteries, which had the right to exist, and even to admit new candidates. This last stipulation, however, became in fact a dead letter, since the tsarist authorities imposed numerous restrictions, which immobilized the admission process. The ukase also set aside a number of so-called “non-permanent” monasteries, which could operate, but without the right to admit new candidates, and only so long as the number of monks in permanent monasteries was below the limit set by the government. Thus, “non-permanent” monasteries were a kind of breeding ground for the human resources of the church.

25 See D. Olszewski, *Polska kultura religijna na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, Warszawa 1996, p. 44; M. Kallas, *Historia ustroju Polski X–XX w.*, Warszawa 1996, p. 279.

26 E. Jabłońska-Deptuła, “Religijność i patriotyzm doby powstań,” p. 116.

27 A. Petrani, “O wywiezieniu biskupa Konstantego Ireneusza Łubieńskiego z Sejn w 1869 r.,” *Nasza Przeszłość* 1967, Vol. 27, p. 216.

28 P. Nitecki, “Biskupi na ziemiach polskich w okresie niewoli narodowej (1772–1918),” *Chrześcijanin w Świecie* 1987, No. 160/161, pp. 154, 164. The first was deported for refusing to send his representative to the St. Petersburg Seminary in 1867, while the



As a result of these policies, in 1870, after the wave of deportations from the Kingdom, there was only one appointed bishop – the Bishop of Sandomierz. It was only after the agreement with the Holy See in 1882 that all vacant dioceses were filled.<sup>29</sup> However, the image of the clergy in the eyes of the tsarist administration did not change. At the beginning of the 1880s, a representative of the authorities wrote:

In this country, the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church plays a prominent role. In political terms, this is a highly unfavorable state of affairs. Polish priests were also utterly committed to service in the last uprising. They always stand against the government and against the Russian order, although, in their Jesuit viciousness, they often guise their activities and are generally known for their cunningness. In fact, they remain zealous advocates of both the papacy and Poland.<sup>30</sup>

This opinion, certainly exaggerated, was an expression of anti-church phobias and a justification for possible restrictions.<sup>31</sup>

In its pastoral activity, the Catholic clergy also had to struggle with other difficulties than those of a political nature. Between 1850 and 1910, as a result of a huge demographic leap, the population of the Kingdom doubled, while the number of priests significantly decreased. At the beginning of the discussed period, there was 1427 parish members per one priest, while in ca. 1910 the figure increased to 2810.<sup>32</sup> The development of the parish network proceeded along the same pathway. In this period, only 61 parishes were established, mostly after 1905.<sup>33</sup>

The situation of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Poland and Lithuania was slightly better. In the Paskevich era, as Tadeusz Stegner claims, there were virtually no conflicts between the Protestant community and the administration of the Kingdom. The fact that the majority of Evangelical

second was deported for withdrawing his initial declaration that he would send such a representative. Cf. W. Chościak-Popiel, Vol. 2, pp. 15, 133 ff.

29 A. Petrani, "W sprawie obsadzenia stolic biskupich w zaborze rosyjskim (1880–1883)," *Prawo Kanoniczne* 1962, No. 1/2, p. 166.

30 P. Kubicki, *Bojownicy kapłani za sprawą Kościoła i Ojczyzny w latach 1861–1915*, part 1, Vol. 3, Sandomierz 1933, p. 64. Similar opinions often appear in the gendarmerie's reports. Cf. *Sytuacja polityczna Królestwa Polskiego w świetle tajnych raportów naczelników Warszawskiego Okręgu Żandarmerii z lat 1867–1872 i 1878*, ed. S. Wiech, W. Caban, Kielce 1999.

31 W. R. [W. J. Gurko], *Oчерki Privislaniya*, Moscow 1897, pp. 42–51.

32 A. Stanowski, "Diecezje i parafie polskie w XIX i XX wieku," pp. 1631, 1635.

33 B. Kumor, *Historia Kościoła*, pp. 371 ff.

priests did not support the November Uprising, because they did not identify with the Polish national interest, was certainly one of the reasons for this state of affairs.<sup>34</sup> However, with time, their attitude had changed, and in 1849 the tsarist authorities, fearing the progressing Polonization processes among the Protestants, decided to dissolve the General Evangelical Consistory, common to both Lutherans and Calvinists.<sup>35</sup> Also some Lutherans themselves influenced this decision.<sup>36</sup> Since then, the Evangelical Consistory has been usually headed by Russian Protestant generals, who rarely interfered in the internal affairs of the Church.<sup>37</sup>

There were also groups of Evangelicals, who participated in patriotic demonstrations preceding the outbreak of the January Uprising in 1860–1861. One of the most prominent representatives of Polish Evangelicalism, pastor Leopold Otto, was particularly engaged in rebellious activity. He was imprisoned in the Warsaw Citadel and forced to leave the Kingdom in 1866. After a nine-year stay in Cieszyn, he returned to Warsaw in 1875.<sup>38</sup>

It is important to observe that, although the significant participation of Evangelicals in the Polish independence movement caused certain concerns among the Russian authorities, they refused to see the Protestant Church as an enemy. After 1863, they treated the Church rather as a counterbalance to Catholicism. Their prior concern was to make sure that it would never become too Polish. Nevertheless, the Polonization processes among Protestants in the Kingdom of Poland did not stop.<sup>39</sup>

The situation of the Orthodox Church was in many respects different from that of all other Churches. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the conjunction between religious and political-national issues was already so strong that it was hardly possible for the Catholic and Orthodox Churches to maintain normal relations. Count Dmitry Tolstoy, the Ober-Procurator of the Holy

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34 T. Stegner, *Pastorzy ewangelicy*, p. 134.

35 T. Stegner, *Ewangelicy warszawscy*, p. 51.

36 A. Tokarczyk, *Ewangelicy polscy*, Warszawa 1988, p. 83.

37 T. Stegner, *Ewangelicy warszawscy*, p. 78.

38 T. Stegner, *Bóg, protestantyzm, Polska. Biografia pastora Leopolda Marcina Otto (1819–1882)*, Gdańsk 2000.

39 The intensification of Polonization processes in the Evangelical community of Warsaw, in connection with the growing Polish-German antagonism which developed since the beginning of the twentieth century, led to a sharp conflict within the Warsaw Evangelical Church.

Synod<sup>40</sup> in the years 1865–1880, made this point quite explicitly: "When I look at the [Orthodox] clergy . . . I see nothing more or less than a powerful force, which wise authorities should control and use for their own purposes."<sup>41</sup>

The dissolution of the Uniate Church in 1875 as a political act did not contribute to the proliferation of the Orthodox faith in the Kingdom. The period of 1875–1905 was marked by intense conflicts between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches in Chełm Land and Podlachia. From the very beginning, the Churches fought against each other to take over former Uniate priests. The atmosphere of competition has only strengthened their mutual prejudices. Catholics hurled insults at Orthodox priests, calling them "schismatics" and "liars," while Uniate priests, who adopted Orthodoxy, came to be described as "renegades," who "are even worse than the Jews." The Orthodox clergy, in turn, treated Roman Catholic priests as the fiercest enemies of the Orthodox Church, describing them scornfully as "papal propagandists," "sons of Loyola," and "jesuits."<sup>42</sup>

Every dissenter from Orthodoxy was by definition a political enemy. Indeed, together with self-government and "official populism," the Orthodox Church constituted the main pillar of the tsarist regime and a tool for strengthening the Russian identity.<sup>43</sup> The mere fact that Orthodoxy was a ruling religion, whose church structures maintained close links with the partitioning power, sufficed for it to be deemed as a tool in the fight against everything Polish and Catholic. Press organs of the Orthodox Church in the Kingdom of Poland served precisely this purpose. *Kholmско-Varshavskiy yeparkhal'nyy vestnik*,<sup>44</sup> published since 1877 on the initiative of the Archbishop of Chełm and Warsaw, Leontii

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40 The authorities have been influencing the church through the Holy Synod established in 1721, which controlled all Orthodox bishops. The Tsar's representative in the Synod was the Ober-procurator (Chief Procurator). Formally, bishops were in charge of dioceses, but they governed them through consistories, which, in turn, were controlled by officers subordinated to the Ober-Procurator. Cf. H. Suchenek-Sucecki, *Państwo a cerkiew prawosławna w Polsce i w państwach ościennych*, Warszawa 1930, pp. 23–25; M. Papierzyńska-Turek, *Między tradycją a rzeczywistością. Państwo wobec prawosławia 1918–1939*, Warszawa 1989, p. 38; cf. also N. Talberg, *Istoriya russkoy tserkvi*, Moskwa 1988, pp. 589, 758.

41 A. Połunow, "Tserkov', vlast' i obshchestvo v Rossii (1880-ye-piervaya polovina 1890-kh godov)," *Voprosy Istorii* 1997, No. 11, pp. 126, 128.

42 A. Frączek, *Duchowieństwo prawosławne diecezji chełmsko-warszawskiej w latach 1875–1905*, Lublin 1989, pp. 103, 120 (unpublished MA thesis).

43 B. Mucha, *Rosjanie wobec katolicyzmu*, Łódź 1989, p. 12.

44 Initially, it appeared twice a month and since 1899 as a weekly. After 1906, it appeared as *Varshavskiy yeparkhal'nyy listok* on the first and sixteenth day of each month.

(1875–1891), known for his anti-Polish and Russification activities, did not enjoy a good reputation. Antoni Zaleski, the author of the then-famous *Letters to a Friend by Baroness XYZ*, expressed a very critical opinion about this periodical: “From is first to is last page,” he wrote, “*Yeparkhal’nye vedomosti* is filled with denunciations against Catholic priests and citizens, who are all listed by names.”<sup>45</sup>

In 1885, an Orthodox priest proposed in *Vestnik* that, in order to strengthen Orthodoxy in the Polish lands, the tsarist authorities should suppress Catholicism and Polonism using the same methods as did Governor-General of Lithuania, Mikhail Muraviov, in North-Western governorates of the empire.<sup>46</sup>

*Kholm’skaya tserkovnaya zhizn’* and *Kholm’skiy narodnyy listok*, published since 1906 within Chełm Orthodox diocese, had a similar character.

The year 1905, which brought a serious shock to the entire Russian empire, was also a bitter moment of trial for the Orthodox Church in the Kingdom of Poland. The tolerance declaration from April 1905 seriously undermined the privileged position of the Orthodox Church. Moreover, the failure of the Orthodox Church in the Kingdom of Poland despite strong state support can be measured by the fact that, for more than 30 years, the Church was unable to solve the problem of the “resistant,” i.e. the former Uniates, who refused to recognize the dissolution of their Church and posed a constant threat to the process of conversion of their fellow believers to Orthodoxy.<sup>47</sup> It is also worth noting, after Alexander Połunow, that the difficulties related to the strengthening of the primacy of the Orthodox Church in the Kingdom of Poland resulted also from the fact that the authorities had to operate through local officials, who – as Konstantin Petrovich Pobedonostsev, the Ober-Procurator of the Holy Synod in 1880–1905, maintained – were recruited mainly from “Poles or Russians, who took on the Polish color (*iz polyakov ili iz russkikh, prinyavshikh pol’skuyu okrasku*).”<sup>48</sup>

As a result of the ukase of tolerance in the Lublin and Siedlce governorates, about 90,000 Orthodox believers (former Uniates and their descendants) converted to Catholicism.<sup>49</sup> In total, according to

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45 A. Zaleski, *Towarzystwo warszawskie. Listy do przyjaciółki przez Baronową XYZ*, ed. R. Kołodziejczyk, Warszawa 1971.

46 Frączek, *Duchowieństwo prawosławne*, p. 117.

47 A. Krochmal, “Działalność prawosławnego duchowieństwa w diecezji chełmsko-warszawskiej w latach 1875–1905,” *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 1993, Vol. 41, No. 2, p. 173.

48 A. Połunow, “Tserkov’, vlast’ i obshchestvo v Rossii,” p. 129.

49 W. Pruss, *Spółeczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego*, part. 1, p. 261.

official data, as many as 168,000 Orthodox believers adopted Catholicism by 1910.<sup>50</sup>

Having lost their parishioners, some priests left the territory of Congress Poland. This not only proves, as Anna Krochmal observes, that the Orthodox clergy got too involved, though not always willingly, in non-pastoral activities but also helps explain why the Orthodox parish network was a largely artificial entity, which depended on a political agenda rather than any real social tendencies.<sup>51</sup>

## Doctrinal Differences and Intellectual Potential

The Roman Catholic, Orthodox, and Evangelical Churches grew from the same roots, but they differed in many respects. The differences concerned the attitude toward the sources of faith, teaching about the Church, forms of worship, sacraments, etc. It is also necessary to remember the mutual hostility between the Churches, more or less violently expressed, resulting from socioeconomic conditions which have often shaped historical relations between Catholicism and Protestantism, and even more so between Catholicism and Orthodoxy.

Doctrinal differences, which appeared in the past and increased over the centuries, did not foster mutual understanding. Catholic dogmas proclaimed after the Second Council of Nicaea (787) were never recognized by the Orthodox Church. These included the veneration of Peter over other apostles, the primacy of the Roman bishop, the origin of the Holy Spirit (*Filioque*), the purgatory, the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the infallibility of the pope.<sup>52</sup> This last issue in particular was a subject of controversy, which stirred fierce debates among parish priests of both denominations in the Kingdom of Poland.<sup>53</sup>

The situation was no different with respect to the interrelations between Catholics and Evangelicals. In this case, doctrinal differences reached deeper and were more fundamental. Both Churches sought to demonstrate their superiority. Protestant clerics emphasized that by rejecting the Catholic tradition and the worship of saints and Mary, they remained faithful to the Bible. They also fervently criticized the institution of the papacy.<sup>54</sup>

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50 D. Olszewski, *Polska kultura religijna*, p. 25.

51 A. Krochmal, "Działalność prawosławnego duchowieństwa," p. 174.

52 W. Krzemień, *Filozofia w cieniu prawosławia*, Warszawa 1979, pp. 42–58.

53 A. Frączek, *Duchowieństwo prawosławne*, p. 103.

54 T. Stegner, *Pastorzy ewangelicy*, p. 125.

At this point, it is worth quoting a passage from memoirs of the Warsaw censor, Christofor Emmausski, concerning pastor Henryk Bartsch, who also worked for some time as a censor at the Warsaw Censorship Committee:

As a zealous Evangelist, Barg [the author wrote Bartsch's name of that way] treated Catholicism badly, he was especially annoyed by the Catholic feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Most Blessed Virgin Mary established by Pope Pius IX. When the news appeared in Polish newspapers that on the occasion of this holiday there would be solemn celebrations in all churches, he said: "What a pity that it is not possible to erase this news."<sup>55</sup>

In turn, the Catholic side accused Evangelicals of the lack of internal unity. "How far Protestants are from the unity of the Catholic Church?" – asked Father Marceł Godlewski to immediately add: "According to their principles, each person translates the Bible himself and believes in what he understands from it. This is where the source of contradictory Protestant beliefs lies."<sup>56</sup> Some authors also sought to demonstrate that, in contrast to the Catholic Church, Protestant Churches lacked historical continuity dating back to the time of Christ, since "before the sixteenth century no one had heard of Protestantism, so it does not deserve the name of the True Church."<sup>57</sup> Polish pastors were also accused of spreading hatred toward the Catholic Church in the name of their struggle against Rome, which had its origins in Protestant Germany.<sup>58</sup>

The most important factors, which shaped doctrinal differences between the Christian Churches in question, included: different understandings of the role of the laity in the overall mission of the Church and educational disparities among the clergy.

As for the first issue, the Protestant Church allowed the impact of lay people on its organization and functioning.<sup>59</sup> In contrast, the Catholic Church granted a dominant role to priests, while the laity, for the most part, was supposed to remain passive. The Orthodox Church, in turn, allowed no such influence.<sup>60</sup>

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55 *Świat pod kontrolą. Wybór materiałów z archiwum cenzury rosyjskiej w Warszawie*, wybór, trans. and ed. M. Prussak, Warszawa 1994, p. 22.

56 M. Godlewski, *Dobry katolik między protestantami*, Warszawa 1898, pp. 20 ff.

57 Godlewski, *Dobry katolik między protestantami*, pp. 32 ff.

58 M. Godlewski, *W obronie Kościoła polemika prowadzona z pastorami luterskimi*, Warszawa 1904, p. 121.

59 T. Stegner, *Miejsce zborów protestanckich w społecznościach miejskich Królestwa Polskiego*, in: *Wspólnoty lokalne i środowiskowe w miastach i miasteczkach ziem polskich pod zaborami i po odzyskaniu niepodległości*, Toruń 1998, p. 92.

60 J. Woliński, *Polska i Kościół prawosławny. Zarys historyczny*, Lwów 1936, p. 132.

Proceeding to the second issue, one should observe that the level of education depended to a large extent on the quality of teaching in seminaries and other clerical universities,<sup>61</sup> and, at least indirectly, on the social background of clerics themselves.

In this respect, the most integrated group of the clergy were Evangelical pastors. Most of them came from middle social strata: the intelligentsia and the bourgeoisie. It also happened frequently that the sons of pastors continued the vocation of their fathers.<sup>62</sup> In the Orthodox Church, belonging to the clerical state was practically hereditary.<sup>63</sup> The majority of the Orthodox clergy, focused on caring for their families, in many respects shared the fate of their parishioners and often struggled with financial difficulties.<sup>64</sup>

As far as the Catholic Church is concerned, since the 1820s the number of burghers in the ranks of the clergy significantly increased,<sup>65</sup> while in the second half of the nineteenth century, as Jan Skarbek points out, there was an increased influx of the lower classes into the clerical state. In the Kingdom of Poland, this phenomenon manifested itself especially in the post-war period. At that time, the clergy ceased to be dominated by noblemen<sup>66</sup> – a change which encompassed the whole Kingdom. One should stress, however, that this concerned mainly the lower clergy, e.g. in Lublin diocese. As Stanisław Litak wrote, in 1863 noblemen prevailed in the chapter and among deans in Lublin, then in 1863–1880 burghers gained dominance, while peasants began to enter the chapter only at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>67</sup>

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61 It is worth remembering that the crisis of public schooling naturally exerted negative effects on the level of pre-seminary education. Cf. R. Kucha, *Oświata elementarna w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1864–1914*, Lublin 1982, pp. 27–35; E. Staszyński, *Polityka oświatowa caratu w Królestwie Polskim (od powstania styczniowego do I wojny światowej)*, Warszawa 1968, pp. 14–20 and 93 ff.

62 T. Stegner, *Pastorzy ewangelicy*, p. 112.

63 B. Mucha, *Rosjanie wobec katolicyzmu*, pp. 17–18.

64 W. Bierdinskij, “Prikhodskoye dukhovenstvo Rossii i razvitiye krayevedeniya v XIX veke,” *Voprosy istorii* 1998, No. 10, p. 134; RGIA, f. 796, op. 442, d. 2076.

65 S. Litak, “Duchowieństwo diecezji lubelskiej w okresie międzypowstaniowym (1835–1864),” in: *Spółczesność Królestwa Polskiego*, Vol. 3, ed. W. Kula, Warszawa 1968, p. 162; D. Olszewski, *Struktura społeczna duchowieństwa diecezji kielecko-krakowskiej (1835–1864)*, in: *Spółczesność Polskie XVIII i XIX wiek*, Vol. 6, ed. J. Leskiewiczowa, Warszawa 1974, p. 181.

66 J. Kłoczowski, L. Müllerowa, J. Skarbek, *Zarys dziejów Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce*, Kraków 1986, pp. 263, 266.

67 S. Litak, “Duchowieństwo diecezji lubelskiej,” pp. 155 ff.

The level of education of the clergy in the Kingdom remained quite diversified. In the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession, future candidates for pastors were required to complete a gymnasium and higher theological studies. In the 1830s, the tsarist authorities, together with the Consistory, decided that only those who had graduated from the four-year program of the Faculty of Evangelical Theology at the University of Dorpat (now Tartu, Estonia) could hold the position of pastors in the Kingdom of Poland. The possibility of pursuing studies abroad depended on the will of the tsar.

According to Tadeusz Stegner's research, between 1830 and 1914 nearly 150 future pastors from the Kingdom of Poland studied in Dorpat.<sup>68</sup> Despite the lack of direct contacts with other centers of Protestant theology, the advantage of such a situation was that the students of the University of Dorpat were a relatively small group of priests with a common intellectual formation. This does not mean that the Evangelical Church in the Kingdom of Poland was utterly unaffected by internal divisions: there were certain, sometimes profound, differences in explaining the principles of faith. In fact, some clerics were proponents of religious rationalism, positing the necessity of a rational interpretation of the Bible,<sup>69</sup> while others championed liberal theology and called for the freedom of Biblical exegesis at the turn of the centuries. However, most of them were based on traditional Protestant theology and the principles developed by Martin Luther and Philip Melancthon.<sup>70</sup>

The quality of teaching in Catholic clerical seminaries in the Kingdom remained generally low, which was partly due to the political situation.<sup>71</sup> Noteworthy, the seminars and their students were under constant supervision of the police. In 1865, the tsarist authorities brought the seminary education under their direct supervision because they considered the seminaries to be the source of all anti-Russian activities.<sup>72</sup> The four-year suspension of the seminary in Kielce in 1893 and the exile of its seven professors to Siberia reverberated through the whole Kingdom and abroad. The pretext was that the seminar, according to

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68 See T. Stegner, *Pastorzy ewangelicy*, pp. 113–115; and his *Pastorzy Królestwa Polskiego na studiach teologicznych w Dorpacie w XIX wieku*, Warszawa 1993.

69 In 1872, pastor Leopold Otto wrote: "False prophets in the Catholic Church have created Arianism, Orthodox Christianity, Jesuitism, and Ultramontanism. In the Evangelical Church, they have nurtured rationalism." (*Listy śląskie do Józefa Ignacego Kraszewskiego z lat 1841–1886*, ed. J. Pośpiech, Opole 1966, p. 205).

70 Cf. M. Janowski, *Polska myśl liberalna do 1918 roku*, Kraków 1998, p. 165.

71 Candidates to the seminary had to be positively verified by state authorities.

72 B. Kumor, *Historia Kościoła*, p. 371.



one of its alumni, used textbooks and Polish patriotic books forbidden by the authorities.<sup>73</sup>

Vladimir Iosifovich Gurko, the son of Iosif Gurko, Governor-General of Warsaw, wrote in 1897 that one of the main tasks of the seminaries in the Kingdom of Poland was to form “priests who would counteract any rapprochement between the Polish and Russian nations and would spread the conviction that the Russian government is an enemy of both Poland and the Church.”<sup>74</sup>

The low level of education of the clergy resulted from the fact that the curricula were hardly adaptable to the changing demands of social life. Moreover, the candidates were usually poorly prepared for priesthood, as it was not required to complete secondary school to become a priest.<sup>75</sup> There were even people who did not know the fundamental truths of faith.<sup>76</sup> This forced the diocesan authorities to organize preparatory four- or even six-year courses in seminaries.<sup>77</sup> Other problems included the small and constantly changing number of lecturers, the lack of appropriate textbooks,<sup>78</sup> and poor living conditions.<sup>79</sup>

Stanisław Kotkowski writes that, in general, graduates of clerical seminars in the Kingdom of Poland did not receive a thorough theological education and lacked the passion for science because these institutions were practice-oriented and deprived of scientific ambitions, focusing on the subjects useful in everyday parish life.<sup>80</sup>

In his memoirs, Zygmunt Szczęsny Feliński, Archbishop of Warsaw in 1862–1863 (formally until 1883), gave the following description of the Catholic clergy:

The group of clerical roustabouts includes the vast majority of the Polish clergy. These clerics, mostly the sons of Lithuanian peasants or the Podlachia lesser nobility, came to seminars knowing merely how to read and write, and after several years of learning Latin and completing a theological course, which hardly exceeded a good catechesis,

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73 W. Urban, *Ostatni etap dziejów Kościoła w Polsce przed nowym tysiącleciem (1815–1965)*, [Rome] 1966, p. 285; W. R. [V. I. Gurko], *Oчерки Privislaniya*, pp. 56 ff.

74 W. R. [V. I. Gurko], *Oчерки Privislaniya*, p. 55.

75 D. Olszewski, *Ks. Ignacy Kłopotowski. Życie i apostołat*, Warszawa 1996, p. 28.

76 W. Urban, *Ostatni etap dziejów Kościoła w Polsce*, pp. 282, 284.

77 S. Kotkowski, “Formacja intelektualno-duszpasterska alumnów seminarium duchownego w Sandomierzu (1841–1926),” *Studia Sandomierskie* 1980, Vol. 1, pp. 40–43; D. Olszewski, *Ks. Ignacy Kłopotowski*, pp. 28 ff.

78 S. Kotkowski, “Formacja intelektualno-duszpasterska,” p. 37.

79 W. Chościak-Popiel, Vol. 1, p. 192, Vol. 2, p. 88; P. Kubicki, *Antoni Ksawery Sotkiewicz, biskup sandomierski 1826–1901. Zarys monograficzny*, Sandomierz 1931, p. 174.

80 S. Kotkowski, “Formacja intelektualno-duszpasterska,” pp. 37 ff.

they received priestly ordination, rushing to return to the modest folk realm, which brought them up, where they most often spent the rest of their priestly lives. Having drawn their ardent faith and sincere attachment to the Holy See from the womb of the pious people, they preserved these fundamental virtues and, without delving into any deeper debates, simply believed and lived in a Catholic manner . . . It is to this powerful wave of simple people that our nation owes its sincerely Catholic spirit and adamant conscience, which fights off every attack against the faith of our people.<sup>81</sup>

The invader's struggle against the Catholic Church as an institution and community of the faithful had profound consequences. As Bohdan Cywiński observes, "struggling for several generations with the destructive activity of the tsarist authorities, the Church had to give up its ambitions regarding a broad intellectual development, deepening of catechesis, or shaping of Polish elites. Alas, there was not enough room for that. All efforts had to be concentrated on performing basic pastoral tasks, which were extremely difficult to fulfill."<sup>82</sup>

Recalling after many years the situation of the Polish Church in the Kingdom, Julian Antoni Nowowiejski, Bishop of Płock, wrote:

Seminaries in Poland under the Russian rule were strongly interrupted in their activities. Their possessions were confiscated, so they remained at the mercy of the clergy and the laity. Bishops had a limited say on the appointment of professors and the admission of alumni. There was even a willingness to control the content of teaching. Their lost contact with the Catholic West and its scientific movement. It was an almost super-human task for ordinary bishops to make these schools more efficient in the face of the growing outflow of priests, which the Russian government witnessed with delight.<sup>83</sup>

Despite repressions of the authorities, bishops made attempts to raise the level of education in seminaries. This was particularly visible in the dioceses of Warsaw and Włocławek.<sup>84</sup> On the scale of the whole Kingdom, such efforts, in more favorable conditions, were made in 1906 at the First Episcopal Conference of the Warsaw Governorate.<sup>85</sup>

Apart from seminaries, there was only one theological university in the Kingdom, which operated until 1867: the Roman Catholic Clerical Academy

81 Z. S. Feliński, *Pamiętniki*, ed. E. Kozłowski, Warszawa 1986, pp. 403 ff.

82 B. Cywiński, *Rodowody niepokornych*, Paryż 1985, p. 195.

83 [J. A. Nowowiejski] Hospes, *Konferencje episkopatu prowincji warszawskiej 1906–1918*, Włocławek 1927, pp. 13 ff.

84 W. Urban, *Ostatni etap dziejów Kościoła w Polsce*, p. 284; Kotkowski, "Formacja intelektualno-duszpasterska," p. 38; Chościak-Popiel, *Pamiętniki*, Vol. 1, p. 17; P. Kubicki, *Antoni Ksawery Sotkiewicz*, pp. 55, 86, 93.

85 [J. A. Nowowiejski] Hospes, pp. 13–16.

in Warsaw, which had the privilege of awarding degrees. Its graduates could continue theological studies only at the Imperial Roman Catholic Theological Academy in St. Petersburg. It is important to note that clergymen who graduated from both academies received far better education than the rest of the clergy and, in line with the authorities' intentions, were supposed to become higher church officials in the Kingdom.<sup>86</sup> They formed the narrow elite of educated clergymen in Congress Poland.<sup>87</sup>

We should supplement the above picture with the fears, which burgeoned in the Church especially at the turn of the centuries, of various socioeconomic developments such as growing social conflicts, the radicalization of the socialist movement, the rise of political parties, and the increasing anticlericalism of the intelligentsia. This last phenomenon emerged as a response to the harsh criticism of the positivist doctrine by Catholic journalists, who saw it as a negation of everything Christian, a source of atheism, materialism, and fatalism. This opinion has been repeatedly voiced in the *Przegląd Katolicki* (Catholic Review), a semi-official periodical of Warsaw Archdiocese.<sup>88</sup>

Polish Catholic writing of the second half of the nineteenth century is of rather low quality. As Andrzej Gałka notes, this is a result of the long-term interference of the state administration into the life of academic centers and a severe shortage of well-educated Catholic professors, writers, and journalists, who would be able to meet the challenges of the times and build a substantive alternative to the growth of secular movements. The apologetic language of this writing was no longer sufficient.<sup>89</sup>

The quality of positivist journalism also left much to be desired. As Bohdan Cywiński points out, "the tone of these articles, always contemptuous toward Christianity, was often scurrilous."<sup>90</sup> Maciej Janowski adds that radical positivists,

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86 W. Urban, *Ostatni etap dziejów Kościoła w Polsce*, p. 290.

87 It is worth pointing out that the low average level of education was also a feature of the Catholic clergy in western countries. Cf. R. Aubert, "Kościół katolicki od kryzysu 1848 roku do pierwszej wojny światowej," in: *Historia Kościoła*, Vol. 5: "1848 do czasów współczesnych," trans. T. Szafranski, ed. R. Aubert et al., Warszawa 1985, pp. 56, 65, 77, 79; and K. Górski, *Zarys dziejów duchowości w Polsce*, Kraków 1986, p. 273.

88 However, some priests, such as Franciszek Krupiński, defended positivism against the accusations of atheism and materialism, emphasizing intellectual values of the positivist doctrine. See B. Skarga, "Pozytywizm," in: *Uniwersalizm i swoistość kultury polskiej*, p. 152.

89 A. Gałka, *Archidiecezja Warszawska za rządów arcybiskupa Wincentego Chościak Popiela (1883–1913)*, Vol. 1, Lublin 1982, p. 334.

90 B. Cywiński, *Rodowody niepokornych*, pp. 237 ff.

besides using violent anticlerical vocabulary, have also introduced anti-religious language. Thus, the commitment to positivist ideas implied a certain worldview, which could not be reconciled with the notion of a good Catholic.<sup>91</sup>

All of the above phenomena contributed to the fact that the church lost its decisive role in shaping the public opinion on social and political affairs, all the more so because it tried to solve problems of society using merely religious and moral means. In addition, a significant number of priests, seeking isolation from society, distanced themselves from all day-to-day concerns of their parishioners.<sup>92</sup> With all this in mind, one should agree with Tadeusz Łepkowski, who claims that moderate anti-reformist tendencies prevailed in the Polish Church in 1855–1915.<sup>93</sup>

This became evident at the beginning of the twentieth century, together with the development of the Mariavite movement (1906–1909). The inability of higher hierarchs to make proper use of this new phenomenon to reform church life has led to the emergence of a distinct religious organization, which evolved toward Old Catholicism.<sup>94</sup> In 1907, various misunderstandings and disagreements between Polish bishops hindered the development of so-called “Honorat’s Congregations” – secret tertiary associations, which at the beginning of the twentieth century gathered more than 7,500 people, mostly women. Their founder was Honorat Koźmiński (1829–1916),<sup>95</sup> a Capuchin friar, who established twenty-six such congregations in 1855–1895. Their main task was to work in neglected communities threatened with demoralization, such as female workers in factories or petty peasantry. The honorary movement played an extremely important role after 1864, when monastic life in the Kingdom was virtually doomed to extinction. However, in the new socioeconomic conditions after 1905, that is to say, after the first experiences of Mariavites and the

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91 M. Janowski, *Polska myśl liberalna od 1918 roku*, pp. 170 ff.

92 T. Krawczak, “Rewolucja 1905–1907 a życie społeczno-religijne. Ruch mariawitów,” in: *Spółczesność i polityka – dorastanie do demokracji – Kultura polityczna w Królestwie Polskim na początku XX wieku*, ed. A. Żarnowska, T. Wolsza, Warszawa 1993, pp. 117–119.

93 T. Łepkowski, “O katolicyzmie i kulcie maryjnym w społeczeństwie polskim XIX stulecia,” *Studia Claromontana* 1987, Vol. 7, p. 44.

94 D. Olszewski, “Polska religijność na przełomie XIX i XX wieku,” in: *Uniwersalizm i swoistość kultury polskiej*, p. 223; D. Olszewski, *Polska kultura religijna*, pp. 58–61; D. Olszewski, “Źródła i tematyka teologiczna w warsztacie badawczym historyka: refleksje, sugestie, oczekiwania,” *Summarius* 1984, No. 13 (33), p. 132.

95 Beatified in 1988 by Pope John Paul II.

“modernist movement” in the form of the so-called “szechism,”<sup>96</sup> the Church hierarchy started to raise more and more doubts concerning the canonical purity of this movement.<sup>97</sup>

At the same time, the Catholic Church lost much of its integrating function with respect to the most active social groups. In the period of rapid democratization and the growth of social activism, it was political parties and associations that largely took over this function, responding to the aspirations of their proponents. Even the National Democracy, probably the closest movement to the Church, did not accept its independent political role.<sup>98</sup> In fact, this change led to the instrumentalization of Catholic religion in the service of national ideas. Catholics showed a tendency to identify with the Church through religious behavior rather than doctrine.

The position of the National Democracy toward religion and the Church was formulated by Roman Dmowski in 1903. While recognizing the Roman Catholic Church as a national institution, Dmowski believed that the nation should control all its actions which exceed matters of faith.<sup>99</sup> He also pointed out that wherever the Catholic clergy tries to subordinate the state to the interests of the Church and Rome, there is a threat that the nation may become an easy prey for Freemasonry and Jews. Some church circles, in turn, saw Dmowski’s doctrine as “the highest expression of Freemasonry” and “the undermining of the social foundations of the Church’s existence in cooperation with Freemasonry.”<sup>100</sup>

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96 This term was used to describe the views of Fr. Izydor Kajetan Wyslouch (1869–1937), a Capuchin (he left the Order in 1908), who published under the pseudonym Antoni Szech. He accused the Church for its conservatism in social matters and understanding of the idea of religious progress. Cf. Z. Poniatowski, “Antoni Szech (I. Wyslouch) i modernizm katolicki w Polsce,” in: *Studia o modernistach katolickich*, ed. J. Keller, Z. Poniatowski, Warszawa 1968, pp. 178–224; D. Olszewski, “Zagadnienie modernizmu i integryzmu w Polsce,” *Summariusum* 1974, No. 3 (23), pp. 124 ff; K. Górski, “Polscy integryści. Nieznana karta dziejów katolicyzmu polskiego,” *Znak* 1980, No. 5/6 (311/312), p. 729.

97 [J. A. Nowowiejski] *Hospes*, pp. 20–25; B. Kumor, *Historia Kościoła*, p. 335; J. Kłoczowski, L. Millerowa, J. Skarbek, *Zarys dziejów Kościoła*, pp. 243 ff; D. Olszewski, *Polska kultura religijna*, p. 237.

98 Cf. R. Wapiński, *Narodowa Demokracja 1893–1939. Ze studiów nad dziejami myśli nacjonalistycznej*, Wrocław 1980, pp. 127 ff.

99 T. Mistewicz, “Rola religii i Kościoła rzymskokatolickiego w świetle publicystyki polskiego ruchu nacjonalistycznego (do 1905 r.),” *KH* 1984, No. 4, pp. 783 ff.

100 Qtd. after T. Mistewicz, “Narodowa Demokracja i Związek Katolicki w latach 1905–1908,” *KH* 1989, No. 1/2, pp. 148 ff. Cf. *Wiadomości Pastorskie* 1907, No. 6 and 11;

The Orthodox clergy constituted the most diversified group in terms of education. This was largely due to its territorial origins. In this respect, one may distinguish three groups of priests. The first group are former Uniates from Galicia, who came to the Kingdom already in the 1860s. After 1875, they became the first target of the authorities' policy of "converting" Uniates to Orthodoxy.<sup>101</sup> The second group are Orthodox priests from the Russian Empire and the third one is the local Orthodox clergy, mostly recruited from former Uniate priests, who after the dissolution of their Church adopted Orthodoxy. According to data from 1886, for 352 priests of Chełm-Warsaw diocese, 135 came from Galicia, 111 from the Empire, and only eighty-three were local inhabitants (the other twenty-three had unknown origins).<sup>102</sup>

After graduating from high school, the clerics from Galicia studied in Uniate seminaries in Przemyśl, Lviv, and Chełm. In the latter city, they proved much better educated than the local clergy. In addition, they had the opportunity to receive higher education at theological faculties in Lviv, Krakow, and Vienna.<sup>103</sup> However, most of the local priestly candidates graduated from gymnasia in Biała, Hrubieszów, Szczepleszyn, Zamość, and Chełm to join the Uniate Seminary in Chełm, which after 1875 was converted into an Orthodox one. The quality of teaching at the seminary left much to be desired; it became even lower with the increase of Russification. Since as early as 1865, all subjects were taught in Russian.<sup>104</sup>

The last group of priests, who came to the Kingdom from the Empire, began their education in parish or monastery schools. Later they went to seminaries, which usually did not offer good education and struggled with serious staff and material shortages. The candidates themselves were also very poorly prepared. In addition, card games, smoking, and drunkenness were a common plague among seminary students.<sup>105</sup>

P. Stachowiak, *Korzenie „katolicyzmu endeckiego”. Nacjonalistyczna wiara religii i Kościoła w Polsce w latach 1887–1927*, pp. 27–35, 41–44.

101 A. Zaleski, *Towarzystwo warszawskie*, p. 514.

102 *Spisok tserkvey i dukhovenstva kholmnsko-varshavskoy yeparkhii s ukazaniyem blagochinnicheskikh okrugov, guberniy, uyezdzov, dereven vkhodyashchikh v sostav prikhoda, kolichstva prikhozhan i tserkovnoy zemli*, Warszawa 1886, pp. 88–193.

103 A. Frączek, *Duchowieństwo prawosławne*, pp. 56 ff.

104 A. Frączek, *Duchowieństwo prawosławne*, p. 59.

105 A. Suszko, "Dukhovnyye seminarii v Rossii (do 1917 g.)," *Voprosy istorii* 1996, No. 11/12, pp. 110 ff.

Seminaries in Lithuania, Vladimir, Yekaterinoslav, and Volhynian seminaries had a fairly good standard of teaching. Indeed, most of the priests working in Chełm-Warsaw diocese graduated from these seminaries, others graduated from one of three clerical academies: Kiev, Moscow, or St. Petersburg.<sup>106</sup>

As in Catholic seminaries, the teaching process was focused on practical matters, ignoring any deeper theological considerations. The percentage of priests with higher education in 1886 reached only 7 % of all Orthodox clerics living in the Kingdom of Poland.<sup>107</sup>

The image of the Orthodox clergy, which emerges from various sources, is not very favorable. In 1868, General Baron Platon Fredericks, the Deputy Head of the Warsaw Gendarmerie, in his report to the Head of the Third Department of the Chancellery of His Majesty, criticized the Orthodox clergy in the following way: “Sadly, military chaplains often lead lives that are not appropriate to their status.”<sup>108</sup>

In 1877, the Chełm-Warsaw Archbishop, Leon, wrote with outrage that some groups of clerics avoided their duties, playing cards or drinking during the holidays.<sup>109</sup> Also Vladimir Iosifovich Gurko, whom I have already cited above, expressed a negative assessment of the Orthodox clergy in the Polish Kingdom. As he wrote:

The life of our pastors fails to conform not only to their status and dignity but sometimes even to the most fundamental moral laws. Intemperate in satisfying all desires of their bodies, not only do they not bring glory to the Church but, even more so, strip it of its holiness in the eyes of the people who are wavering in faith.<sup>110</sup>

Another observer of the life of the Orthodox clergy, Józef Pruszkowski, a Catholic parish priest in Wąwolnica, noted ironically in 1897:

This clergy bears the mark of carelessness, decay, and mental limitation. It is a small wonder that most of them are slaves to addictions and Jews, to whom they are in debt up to their necks, with no hope for escape.<sup>111</sup>

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106 A. Frączek, *Duchowieństwo prawosławne*, pp. 62 and 64–65.

107 *Spisok tserkvey i dukhovenstva kholmko-varshavskoy yeparkhii*, pp. 88–193.

108 S. Wiech, “Raport naczelnika Warszawskiego Okręgu Żandarmerii o sytuacji politycznej Królestwa Polskiego w 1868 r.,” *Przegląd Historyczny* 1998, Vol. 89, No. 1, pp. 99 ff.

109 A. Krochmal, “Działalność prawosławnego duchowieństwa,” pp. 170 ff.

110 Qtd. after K. Dębiński, *Z przeżytych chwil*, part 1, pp. 261 ff., sig. MS 982, BMSL.

111 P. J. K. Podlasiak [J. Pruszkowski], *Janów Biskupi czyli Podlaski. Z dawnych i współczesnych źródeł*, Kraków 1897, p. 371.

Noteworthy, such extreme opinions did not concern the clergy in general. As Anna Krochmal is right to observe, many clerics tried to fulfill their duties as diligently as they could, but they were too absorbed with non-pastoral activities, such as providing for their families, and therefore could not fully engage in the religious life of their parishioners.<sup>112</sup> It is also important to remember about internal conflicts which affected the Orthodox clergy living in the Kingdom of Poland. Many such conflicts stemmed from inevitable differences in origin, education, and customs. Moreover, the fierce and exhausting competition among clerics for the best parishes and church positions significantly weakened their ability to perform basic pastoral tasks. Another source of internal antagonisms was the tsarist policy which, especially since 1875, favored clerics from Galicia over others.<sup>113</sup>

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112 A. Krochmal, "Działalność prawosławnego duchowieństwa," p. 174.

113 A. Frączek, *Duchowieństwo prawosławne*, pp. 45–47.



## CHAPTER 2: Jews in the Kingdom of Poland in 1855–1915

### The Size and Distribution of Jewish Population

The entire population of the Russian Empire in 1897 amounted to 130 million with 5.2 million Jews (4 %), which constituted a significant part of the global Jewish diaspora. The population of Jews was not evenly distributed: almost 4,900,000, i.e. 94 % of all Russian Jews, lived in Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, and the Kingdom of Poland. 300,000 (6 %) inhabited the remaining territory of the Russian Empire: the European part of Russia, Siberia, Asia, and the Caucasus. The reasons for such a distribution are related to the historical conditions and in the legal situation of the Jews. As a result of the partitions of Poland (1772–1795), Jewish migrants began to settle down in central Russia, where they developed commercial activity, which soon became extremely dangerous for Russian merchants. It was out of their initiative that Catherine II issued an ukase restricting settlement rights of Jews to selected areas. The borders the Jewish settlement zone were finally defined in 1836 and remained unchanged until 1917. It included the following provinces: Grodno, Volyhnia, Podolia, Bessarabia, Kaunas, Vilnius, Minsk, Kiev, Kherson, Vitebsk, Mogilev, Chernihiv, Poltava, Yekaterinoslav, and Taurida. Naturally, apart from these areas, Jews could settle in all the governorates of the Kingdom of Poland.<sup>1</sup>

Further steps taken by the tsarist authorities regarding Jewish population resulted in a growing influx of Jews into Congress Poland. In 1868, the authorities released Jews from the obligation to obtain permits to settle in the Kingdom. This turn of events led to the emergence of the so-called Lithuanian question, connected with the influx of Jews from Russia and Lithuania, who differed from the local Jewish population in terms of social background, customs, and education. They were often Russified and aroused resentment not only among Poles but also among local Jews, who perceived the newcomers as dangerous competitors

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1 P. Wróbel, "Przed odzyskaniem niepodległości, zabór rosyjski," in: *Najnowsze dzieje Żydów w Polsce w zarysie (do 1950 roku)*, ed. J. Tomaszewski, Warszawa 1993, p. 19; M. Waldenberg, *Kwestie narodowe w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej. Dzieje. Idee*, Warszawa 1992, p. 142.

in commerce. The attitude of Jewish conservative circles (Orthodox and Hasidic) was particularly suspicious and cautious toward Lithuanians.<sup>2</sup>

This process gained intensity since the 1880s. The “temporary laws,” which Alexander III enacted in May 1882, imposed new restrictions on Jews living in the Russian Empire. These discriminatory regulations remained in force until the end of tsardom in 1917. They forbade Jews to own and lease land, live in the countryside, change residence, work on Sundays and Christian holidays, and sell alcohol.<sup>3</sup> The wave of pogroms of 1881–1882, the promulgation of the May “temporary laws,” and the expulsion of Jews from Moscow in 1891<sup>4</sup> resulted in large waves of Lithuanian immigration to Congress Poland.<sup>5</sup>

In 1855, the Jewish community constituted 12.1 % (566,000) of the total population of the Kingdom of Poland (4,647,000). After a one-day census conducted in 1897, the number of Jews was estimated at 1,321,000 (14.05 % of 9,402,000). By 1913, the figure increased to 1,955,000 (14.9 % of 13 million).<sup>6</sup>

Between 1816 and 1913, the population of the Kingdom of Poland grew by 381 % and the number of Jews by 822 %.<sup>7</sup> A similar trend continued throughout the Russian Empire until the 1880s, when the number of non-Jewish population increased as a result of the increasing emigration of Jews. Between 1881 and 1914, more than 2 million Jewish citizens emigrated from Russia.<sup>8</sup> Arthur Eisenbach claims that, between 1827 and 1862, the number of Jews in the cities of the Kingdom increased four times faster than the number of non-Jews.<sup>9</sup> In turn, according to Piotr Wróbel, in the last thirty years of the nineteenth century

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2 J. B. Marchlewski, *Antysemityzm a robotnicy*, Kraków 1913, pp. 71 ff; M. Fuks, *Żydzi w Warszawie. Życie codzienne. Wydarzenia. Ludzie*, Poznań–Daszewice 1992, p. 258.

3 P. Wróbel, *Przed odzyskaniem niepodległości*, p. 23; A. Eisenbach, *Z dziejów ludności żydowskiej w Polsce w XVIII i XIX wieku. Studia i szkice*, Warszawa 1983, p. 254.

4 S. Dubnow, *Historia Żydów*, trans. Z. Erlichowa, C. Słapakowa, Kraków 1939, p. 261.

5 P. Wróbel, *Przed odzyskaniem niepodległości*, p. 26; P. Wróbel, *Zarys dziejów Żydów na ziemiach polskich w latach 1880–1918*, Warszawa 1991, p. 23.

6 W. Pruss, *Spółczesność Królestwa Polskiego w XIX i początkach XX wieku*, part 1: “Narodowości, wyznania, sekty, organizacje kościelne,” *Przegląd Historyczny* 1977, Vol. 68, No. 2, p. 280; A. Eisenbach, *Z dziejów ludności żydowskiej*, p. 138.

7 P. Wróbel, *Przed odzyskaniem niepodległości*, p. 25.

8 P. Wróbel, *Przed odzyskaniem niepodległości*, p. 30. Cf. also Waldenberg, *Kwestie narodowe*, p. 143.

9 A. Eisenbach, *Kwestia równouprawnienia Żydów w Królestwie Polskim*, Warszawa 1972, p. 70.

**Table 1:** The number of Jews in the Kingdom of Poland in 1855–1913.

Year	Population (in thousands)		
	Overall	Jews	% of Jews
1855	4674.0	565.9	12.1
1865	5336.1	719.1	13.5
1884	7692.0	1087.2	14.1
1897	9402.0	1321.0	14.0
1913	13,055.0	1955.0	14.9

Source: A. Eisenbach, *Z dziejów ludności żydowskiej w Polsce w XVIII I XIX wie-ku. Studia i szkice*, Warszawa 1983, pp. 138, 282; W. Pruss, "Społeczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego na przełomie XIX i XX wieku," Part 2, *Przegląd Historyczny* 1977, Vol. 68, No. 3, p. 488.

the number of Jews in the country's 11 largest cities increased by 450 % (2000 % in Łódź, 500 % in Warsaw, and 600 % in Kielce).<sup>10</sup>

These population changes depended on many factors, among which it is worth mentioning the high birth rate and significant migration flows from Western and Central governorates of the Russian Empire, let alone the progressing urbanization of the Kingdom itself and the policy of the authorities which sought to displace Jews from rural areas. Nonetheless, one should emphasize that the figures quoted above, referring to the Jewish population of the Kingdom of Poland, may provoke erroneous conclusions when taken apart from a multiplicity of complex conditions, which define their historical context. It is therefore necessary to read these figures very carefully, especially given the unsatisfactory state of research on the reliability of official statistics from the discussed period.<sup>11</sup> Still, the overall growth of Jewish population in the Kingdom of Poland throughout the second half of the nineteenth century was certainly more dynamic than in the case of Christians, even if the figures for particular years remain more or less questionable.

10 P. Wróbel, *Przed odzyskaniem niepodległości*, p. 27.

11 Indeed, it raises many doubts when it comes to drawing any specific conclusions. See A. Penkalla, "Żydzi na terenie guberni radomskiej w latach 1815–1862," *Biuletyn Kwartalny Radomskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego* 1991, Vol. 28, No. 1–2, p. 10.

During the first years of Alexander II's reign, interest in the demographic aspect of the Jewish question increased significantly among state officials and journalists. In fact, it did not weaken until the end of 1915. Between 1857 and 1861, Ludwik Wolski published statistical data on the dynamics of population growth in the Kingdom of Poland in 1816–1856. There was a very rapid increase in Jewish population, he wrote alarmingly and predicted that it would double within half a century. According to Artur Eisenbach, Wolski's articles remained highly dubious, while his predictions were mere propaganda. The aim was to create a sense of threat and provoke a specific reaction in the Polish society. This was due to the fear that emerging liberal tendencies might loosen the restrictions, which discriminated Jewish population in many areas of life. In this way, opinion leaders also sought to influence the government's policy toward Jews and justify the necessity to maintain the status quo in terms of the Jewish question.<sup>12</sup>

Still, when it comes to the number of Jews in the Kingdom of Poland, we cannot fully agree with Arthur Eisenbach's view that the large size of Jewish population had nothing in common with the difficulties concerning the emancipation of Jews in the Polish lands. As Roman Wapiński is right to observe, the number of Jews "played a significant role, all the more so because it went hand in hand with a very strong orthodoxy."<sup>13</sup>

Until 1862, the territorial distribution of Jewish population in the Kingdom of Poland fell under the regulation of laws, which, on the one hand, did not utterly suppress the Polish legislation on Jews from before the partitions, and, on the other hand, created a new legal situation. In fact, the partitioning power often used these laws as a political tool in its relations with the Jewish community and citizens in general. Many conflicts ensued between municipal and central authorities regarding the question of Jewish immigration: the former welcomed the inflow of Jews, which could satisfy the economic needs of their regions, while the latter responded to social fears and pursued restrictive policies against Jewish population. However, this was not always a conflict with such clearly defined sides: in Kielce, for instance, some rich Christian inhabitants, mainly tradesmen and craftsmen, supported the discrimination of Jews by central authorities. In some cases, however, mainly in small towns, where the majority of Christian population was occupied with farming, local authorities were eager to make compromises with Jews.<sup>14</sup>

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12 A. Eisenbach, *Kwestia równouprawnienia Żydów*, p. 78.

13 R. Wapiński, *Polska i małe ojczyzny Polaków. Z dziejów kształtowania się świadomości narodowej w XIX i XX wieku po wybuch II wojny światowej*, Wrocław 1994, p. 157.

14 A. Penkalla, *Żydzi na terenie guberni radomskiej*, pp. 25–27.

Among key factors which determined the emergence of centers of Jewish immigration, one should list not only administrative actions but also the process of urbanization. For example, in the Radom Governorate, the highest concentration of Jewish population concerned its most urbanized areas, namely the Old Polish Industrial Region and the Polish Jurassic Highland.

According to Adam Penkalla, the territorial distribution of Jewish population until 1862 depended on various historical factors: above all, the economic significance and size of the city or town, and whether it had the *de non tolerandis Iudaeis* privilege. In the areas taken over from by the state from the Church, the concentration of Jews remained low. The situation was slightly different in former royal cities, but it was private cities which became the largest centers of Jewish population.<sup>15</sup> Typical migration pathways of the Jewish diaspora led from villages to towns and cities. This process gained momentum especially after the enfranchisement, when it received additional support from the state administration. In the Kingdom of Poland, as Artur Eisenbach observes, before the January Uprising the Jewish population, chased away from both the countryside and cities, which called for honoring their former privileges, migrated mostly to the North-Eastern part of Congress Poland, where it was easier to settle. It was only in the mid-1860s that Jews started to migrate from North-Eastern governorates to more industrialized and economically advanced areas of the country.<sup>16</sup>

In 1865, 91.5 % of all Jews in Congress Poland inhabited urban areas, the rest lived in the countryside. In 1884, about 87 % of the population lived in towns or cities – which amounted to 46.2 % of the whole urban population – while the percentage of Jews in the population was 2.5 %.<sup>17</sup> It is worth remembering that the largest Jewish center in the Kingdom of Poland was Warsaw. In the nineteenth century, Warsaw Jewry became the largest religious community the world. In 1864, Jews constituted 32.2 % (72,000) of the city's population, in 1887 – 34.3 % (150,000), and in 1910 – 39.2 % (306,000). This increase gained further momentum by virtue of immigration, mainly from the East.<sup>18</sup>

Until 1863, an increase in the number of urban inhabitants of the Kingdom of Poland depended mainly on a significant influx of Jews, who tended to concentrate in larger towns. It was particularly visible in the Warsaw and Augustów

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15 A. Penkalla, *Żydzi na terenie guberni radomskiej*, pp. 133 ff.

16 A. Eisenbach, *Z dziejów ludności żydowskiej*, p. 139; W. Pruss, *Spółczesność Królestwa Polskiego*, part 1, p. 279.

17 A. Eisenbach, *Z dziejów ludności żydowskiej*, p. 283; A. Eisenbach, *Kwestia równouprawnienia Żydów*, p. 74.

18 P. Wróbel, *Przed odzyskaniem niepodległości*, pp. 28 ff.

governorates. This situation changed after the enfranchisement. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, the percentage of Jews in the urban population of the country decreased. This was connected, among other things, with the decreasing rate of growth of the Jewish population in 1865–1897 in relation to the rest of the population of towns and settlements. The additional factor was a growing influx of peasants. A large number of Jews emigrated from the Suwałki and Kaunas governorates; the most common destination country was America.<sup>19</sup> From this, Maria Nietyksza draws a conclusion that, in the second half of the nineteenth century, there emerged a tendency “to equalize the share of Jews in the urban population of the Kingdom of Poland, strengthened by an intense appeal of the largest urban centers and the most rapidly urbanizing regions.”<sup>20</sup> Nietyksza adds that in larger cities, apart from Warsaw and Łódź, there was a relative decrease of the number of Jews in total population.<sup>21</sup> This finds confirmation in the census data from 1909–1910, when Jews amounted to 49 % of the whole population of towns and cities up to 10,000, i.e. 91 % of all urban locations in the Kingdom of Poland.<sup>22</sup> Thus, most Jews resided, not in large urban centers, but in small towns, so-called *shtetls*, where they often constituted a majority.

In 1913, Julian Marchlewski gave the following description of this population:

A vast majority of Jews are small-town dwellers. This, of course, has an impact on this social type: the Polish Jew is not a metropolitan citizen, driven by the pulse of the capitalist life, but rather an inhabitant of some “mudhole,” which remains intact by the flow of life, immersed in complete stagnation.<sup>23</sup>

It is these towns that Ewa Kurek-Lesik describes, writing:

one could be born a Jew, graduate from school, and live an adult life without feeling a need to learn the Polish language. It was possible to be born a Jew and live one’s whole life – study, pray, and work – in a purely Jewish community, where Polish was hardly in use. Therefore, a great majority of Jews in Poland knew only Polish professional vocabulary. This has been the case for centuries. . . . The large population size, life in urban

19 M. Nietyksza, *Rozwój miast i aglomeracji miejsko-przemysłowych w Królestwie Polskim 1865–1914*, Warszawa 1986, p. 213.

20 Nietyksza, *Rozwój miast*.

21 Nietyksza, *Rozwój miast*, pp. 220 ff.

22 W. Pruss, *Spółczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, part 2: “Narodowości, wyznania, ich rozmieszczenie, struktura demograficzna i zawodowo-społeczna,” *Przegląd Historyczny* 1977, Vol. 68, No. 3, p. 497.

23 J. B. Marchlewski, *Antysemityzm a robotnicy*, pp. 36 ff.

**Table 2:** Jewish population in the Kingdom of Poland in 1884, 1897, and 1913 in particular governorates.

Governorates	% of Jews in total population		
	1884	1897	1913
Kalisz	9.0	7.7	8.9
Kielce	10.8	10.9	11.0
Lublin	13.6	13.6	14.6
Łomża	17.2	16.4	16.4
Piotrków	12.2	15.3	15.7
Płock	11.8	9.4	10.2
Radom	14.4	13.9	14.1
Siedlce	16.3	15.7	16.6
Suwałki	16.7	10.3	11.3
Warsaw	17.6	16.9	20.2

Source: A. Eisenbach, *Z dziejów ludności żydowskiej*, p. 282; W. Pruss, "Społeczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego na przełomie XIX i XX wieku," p. 492.

communities, own language, religion, dress, customs, and tradition, independent professional life – all this made up a culturally closed circle.<sup>24</sup>

## Socio-Occupational Structure

In the Polish lands, where the history of Jewish settlement was long, sometimes dating back to as early as the Middle Ages, the occupational structure of Jewish population remained relatively fixed. A majority of Jews worked in trade and craft. In this respect, their occupational structure differed significantly from that of the rest of population (a "reversed pyramid" relationship). This was influenced not only by laws, which limited career opportunities for Jews, but also by their own professional preferences. The fact that they were not allowed to purchase land made them search for employment in non-agricultural professions. Finally, it was the nineteenth century's rapid urbanization which petrified this structure. According to Arthur Eisenbach, its main characteristic was the fact that

24 E. Kurek-Lesik, *Gdy klasztor znaczył życie. Udział żeńskich zgromadzeń w akcji ratowania dzieci żydowskich w Polsce w latach 1939–1945*, Kraków 1992, p. 13; A. Cała, "Żydowska prowincja – ewolucja więzi społecznej w małych miasteczkach żydowskich," in: *Wspólnoty lokalne i środowiskowe w miastach i miasteczkach ziem polskich pod zaborami i po odzyskaniu niepodległości*, Toruń 1998, pp. 183 ff.

in 1825–1862 almost 96 % of the Jewish population in the Kingdom of Poland worked in non-agricultural professions. The widespread belief that trade, as an unproductive activity, is based on exploitation, gained force because of the averse attitude of Christian population toward Jewry. In the future, this will lead to an aggravation of Polish-Jewish relations.

Aleksander Wielopolski, a proponent of the legal emancipation of Jews, saw them as the seed of the “third estate” that was to play a significant role in the economic development of the country. Wielkopolski stood against changing the occupational structure of Jewish population; he only believed that society should learn how to benefit from it. He expressed this position in a speech to a Jewish delegation in 1861:

Do not be afraid, gentlemen, that I might share the position of those who somehow advise you to cease being what you mainly are, to leave the ranks of tradesmen and grasp a plough. The peasant vocation is honorable, and I wish that you could also have your part in it, but we have always had enough farmers; what we have lacked, dear gentlemen, is the so-called third estate, whose seed which the Providence has planted in you, seems to be falling into decay. Let us work together to revive and cultivate this seed.<sup>25</sup>

The number of Jews working exclusively in agriculture remained small, which was closely related to the project of Jewish rural settlement, aimed at encouraging at least part of Jewish population to engage in agriculture. In the 1860s, the experiments at agrarianization of Polish Jews, already conducted for more than two decades, had ultimately failed. According to incomplete and sometimes unreliable data, the number of Jewish individual farms in Poland amounted to 1298 in 1855, and six years later to 1455. In 1860, the number of Jews working in agriculture amounted to 27,971.<sup>26</sup> Adam Penkalla points out that the Jewish agricultural settlement was, to a certain extent, connected with a relatively wealthy group of Jews whose only occupation was agriculture.<sup>27</sup> Another researcher in this field, Julian Bartyś, admits that Jewish farmers could also count on financial aid from wealthier Jews.<sup>28</sup> In addition, Penkalla also distinguishes a category

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25 A. Eisenbach, *Kwestia równouprawnienia Żydów*, p. 424; I. Schiper, *Dzieje handlu żydowskiego na ziemiach polskich*, Warszawa 1937 (reprint, Kraków 1990), p. 460.

26 A. Eisenbach, *Emancypacja Żydów na ziemiach polskich 1785–1870 na tle europejskim*, Warszawa 1988, p. 289.

27 A. Penkalla, *Żydzi na terenie guberni radomskiej*, pp. 64 ff.

28 J. Bartyś, “Poziom gospodarstwa wiejskiego w żydowskich koloniach rolniczych w niektórych guberniach Królestwa Polskiego w okresie przeduwłaszczeniowym,” *BŻIH* 1963, No. 47/48, p. 51.



of small farmers, who had also additional occupations, such as milling, bakery, lease of taverns, and pottery.

However, neither the authorities nor the Jews were content with this situation. Over the years, the number of Jewish farms began to decrease. This was a result of natural disasters and inconvenient rent payment terms. The farms were often located in areas located outside the most important routes, cities, and commercial centers. In addition, the soil quality left much to be desired.<sup>29</sup> Julian Bartyś draws attention to the anti-Jewish circles in the administrative authorities and among some landowners.<sup>30</sup>

The occupational structure of rural Jewish population depended primarily on the policy of the authorities, which aimed at excluding Jews from the scope of propination laws.<sup>31</sup> As a result, in the 1860s almost all innkeepers disappeared from the countryside. Nonetheless, according to the March 1886 report on the situation and structure of Jewish population in the Kingdom of Poland, drawn up by the Warsaw Stock Exchange Committee, most complaints against Jews were provoked by the tavern business, which “is already forbidden to Jews, and we only wish that the relevant regulations would be more strictly enforced.”<sup>32</sup> One may add that, in order to circumvent these burdensome regulations, Jewish traders ran taverns through Christian “plants.”<sup>33</sup> Apart from that, Jews virtually dominated dairy farming in landed estates, there was also a widespread image of a Jewish leaseholder of manor orchards. The report proved that the Jewish tenant or factor in rural areas and nobility’s estates was an indispensable element of various economic and trade ties between villages and urban locations.<sup>34</sup>

Already in 1882, the Polish writer Eliza Orzeszkowa was well-aware of this fact. In her work, *On Jews and the Jewish Question*, she points out the deficiencies the occupational structure of the Christian population:

In order to replace the Jews, who work in rural industry, we need Christian tenants and leaseholders. Where are they? In what sphere of our society do you see candidates for these jobs, both willing and skillful? . . . I see no people who can replace Jews in rural industry, in vodka or milk production, or in horticulture. So, I honestly say: end the exclusions! This measure, by itself evil and unjust, cannot bring even a short-term

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29 J. Bartyś, “Poziom gospodarstwa wiejskiego,” p. 50.

30 J. Bartyś, “Poziom gospodarstwa wiejskiego,” p. 52.

31 A. Penkalla, *Żydzi na terenie guberni radomskiej*, p. 67.

32 A. Eisenbach, *Z dziejów ludności żydowskiej*, p. 276.

33 W. R. [V. I. Gurko], *Ocherki Privislaniya*, Moscow 1897, p. 109.

34 A. Eisenbach, *Z dziejów ludności żydowskiej*, pp. 272 ff.

practical benefit here! When society reaches a certain stage of civilization, there is a minimum of certain economic activities that must be preserved.<sup>35</sup>

Eliza Orzeszkowa's opinion was rather exceptional. The general tone of journalism concerning the Jewish question remained unfavorable. Nonetheless, the practice and necessities of everyday life in the Polish countryside – which in the post-enfranchisement era, let us remind, went through serious changes in both the economic and social realms – often forced peasants to rely on Jewish intermediaries who had excellent knowledge of the domestic market. On the one hand, Jews distributed and popularized various products of developing industry among peasants, and on the other hand, they helped with selling farm products to towns and cities. Besides, they provided an easy source of credit.<sup>36</sup>

Trade remained the main occupation of Jews, although, from the 1890s, they became increasingly more active in crafts and small industry. This was the result of a process of productiveness that the Jewish community of the Kingdom of Poland underwent in the second half of the nineteenth century. In fact, this process was part of more general social and economic transformations which took place under the Russian partition. It consisted in the transfer of small traders, leaseholders, and people with no permanent jobs to work in crafts and larger production plants.<sup>37</sup> Jewish trade in the Kingdom of Poland was based mainly on trade with Russia. The abolition of customs barriers between Congress Poland and the Empire in 1850, the Crimean War (1853–1856), the construction of the St. Petersburg Railway, and the emancipation of Jews in 1862 – all this brought impetus for the development of Jewish trade.<sup>38</sup> For example, in the Augustów Governorate, according to its governors' reports from the mid-1860s, the whole cross-border trade was concentrated in the hands of Jews.<sup>39</sup> On a national scale, they almost entirely monopolized grain, wood, leather, fur, metals, machine, weapons, wood, stationery, clothing, and cattle trade.<sup>40</sup>

Among the factors which influenced the increase in the share of Jews in the trade, one should mention the influx of Litvaks (Lithuanian Jews) to the country since the 1880s.<sup>41</sup> They played a significant role in the distribution of Polish A.

35 A. Żbikowski, "Rozwój ideologii antysemitki," p. 49.

36 A. Eisenbach, *Z dziejów ludności żydowskiej*, pp. 272 ff.

37 P. Wróbel, *Przed odzyskaniem niepodległości*, p. 38; Pruss, *Spółeczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego*, part 2, p. 510.

38 I. Schiper, *Dzieje handlu żydowskiego*, pp. 458 ff.

39 I. Schiper, *Dzieje handlu żydowskiego*, p. 471.

40 P. Wróbel, *Przed odzyskaniem niepodległości*, pp. 38 ff.

41 W. Pruss, *Spółeczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego*, part 2, p. 507.

h products of Russian and Eastern markets by cooperating with local Jewish communities. It was thanks to the Jewish intermediaries that cotton products from Congress Poland were exported to the edges of European and Asian Russia, the Caucasus, Siberia, and even Persia.<sup>42</sup> However, only a small percentage of Jews working in trade belonged to the class of large traders; most of them were medium and small traders, stallholders, travelling or door-to-door salesmen, innkeepers, porters, etc.<sup>43</sup>

At the turn of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, with the development of capitalist relations of production and intense urbanization processes, an increasing pauperization and unemployment began to affect Jewish population. Already in 1863, the authors of the quoted report on the situation of Jews in the Kingdom of Poland drew attention to the poverty and destitution which persisted in the Jewish community.<sup>44</sup> Arthur Eisenbach is right to observe that the Jewish bourgeoisie, which quickly assimilated to Polish culture, was just a small part of the entire Jewish population, but the fact that it constituted a significant percentage of the whole bourgeoisie living in Congress Poland gave rise to legends about Jewish wealth, attributed to the entire Jewish community.<sup>45</sup> These legends were undoubtedly reinforced by the large percentage of Jews working in banking<sup>46</sup> and the stereotypical figure of the Jewish usurer, which played a significant role in the economic life of Polish towns and villages.<sup>47</sup>

In general, a Jewish laborer had no access to the grand industry, which developed in Congress Poland. It did not matter much whether the owners were Jewish or not. In this case, it was social and religious factors that played a major role.<sup>48</sup> Referring to this issue, Jakub Szacki observes that Jewish factory owners

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42 I. Schiper, *Dzieje handlu żydowskiego*, p. 510.

43 P. Wróbel, *Przed odzyskaniem niepodległości*, p. 38; A. Eisenbach, *Z dziejów ludności żydowskiej*, p. 286; I. Schiper, *Dzieje handlu żydowskiego*, p. 510.

44 A. Eisenbach, *Z dziejów ludności żydowskiej*, p. 271.

45 A. Eisenbach, *Kwestia równouprawnienia Żydów*, p. 221.

46 P. Wróbel, *Przed odzyskaniem niepodległości*, p. 39; I. Schiper, *Dzieje handlu żydowskiego*, pp. 483, 508, 512

47 D. Rzepniewska, "Drobny kredyt i lichwa w Królestwie Polskim XIX wieku," in: *Drobnomieszczactwo XIX i XX wieku*, Vol. 1, ed. S. Kowalska-Glikman, Warszawa 1984, p. 102; J. Kazimierski, *Miasta i miasteczka na Podlasiu (1808–1914). Zabudowa, ludność, gospodarka*, Warszawa 1994, p. 152.

48 J. Kazimierski, *Miasta i miasteczka*, p. 225; A. Tartakower, "Ruch proletariatu żydowskiego w dobie przedwojennej," in: *Żydzi w Polsce Odrodzonej. Działalność społeczna, gospodarcza, oświatowa i kulturalna*, Vol. 1, ed. I. Schiper, A. Tartakower, A. Haftka, Warszawa [1933], p. 534.

were reluctant to employ Jews in their factories because of the question of free Saturdays and familiar relations between Jewish manufacturers and workers. Besides, the memory of Jewish workers, who organized first strikes already in 1853, was still vivid.<sup>49</sup>

Arjeh Tartakower lists also other factors, such as “lack of adequate physical strength,” “unwillingness to work in large environments,” and anti-Semitism.<sup>50</sup> According to data from 1884, there were 1219 factories and plants owned by Jews, which employed 17,658 people, including just 0.8 %, i.e. 138 Jews. There was only one place which employed Jews exclusively: a Jewish printing house.<sup>51</sup> At the end of the nineteenth century, there were 12,380 Jewish factory workers, that is, 0.9 % of the whole Jewish population of the Kingdom of Poland.<sup>52</sup> Most of them preferred smaller factories; the larger an industrial plant was, the less Jews worked there.<sup>53</sup>

When discussing the occupational structure of the Jewish population, we should also consider two other groups, namely the clergy and teachers. Jewish clergy amounted to 44.1 % of all clergymen of the Kingdom of Poland in 1897. Because of the extensive network of Jewish religious and vocational schools, Jews constituted 52.9 % of all education employees.<sup>54</sup> It is also important to mention

49 J. Szacki, “Rola Żydów w życiu ekonomicznym Warszawy w latach 1863–1896,” BŻIH 1959, No. 30, pp. 23–28. It is worth quoting Julian Marchlewski, who observed in this regard that: “We do not see Jewish workers hired in big industry. What are the reasons? The most important reason – indeed, the decisive one – is the Sabbath. Jews do not work on Saturday and partly on Friday (the Sabbath starts on Friday at dusk, which is early afternoon in winter). This custom is difficult even for a factory that employs only Jewish workers (and such factories remain the exception, as it is impossible to find workers and technicians of all categories among Jews). In large factories with mixed workforce, it is utterly impossible to follow this custom. It must be remembered that a factory is not a self-contained entity, independent of the rest of the world . . . In mixed factories, such as those mentioned above, the whole production chain is disrupted if some workers are absent for one and a half working day on a regular basis. These factories, in order to make use of Sundays, on which the Jews work again, would need to double its technical and administrative staff. Such obstacles are virtually insurmountable” (Marchlewski, *Antysemityzm a robotnicy*, p. 47).

50 A. Tartakower, “Ruch proletariat żydowskiego,” p. 534.

51 A. Eisenbach, *Z dziejów ludności żydowskiej*, p. 293; Cf. also his “Materiały do struktury i działalności gospodarczej ludności żydowskiej w Królestwie Polskim w latach osiemdziesiątych XIX wieku,” BŻIH 1959, No. 29, pp. 72–111

52 A. Tartakower, “Ruch proletariat żydowskiego,” p. 536.

53 P. Wróbel, *Przed odzyskaniem niepodległości*, p. 37.

54 W. Pruss, *Spółeczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego*, part 2, pp. 504 ff. See also Nietyksza, *Rozwój miast*, p. 257.

**Table 3:** The percentage share of Jews in selected fields of occupation in the Kingdom of Poland in 1897.

<b>Selected fields of occupation</b>	<b>% of Jews</b>
Administration, courts, police	1.0
The army	5.3
Clergy and ecclesiastical service	44.1
Pedagogical classes	52.9
Scientists, writers, artists	19.6
Agriculture	0.6
Industry - Craft	24.0
- mining	1.3
- textile	17.0
- metal	14.4
- confectionery	55.6
Merchanting	77.6
- general trade	83.1
- cereal trade	94.1
- itinerant	91.4
Transport – Railroad	1.8

W. Pruss, "Społeczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego na przełomie XIX i XX wieku," Part 2, *Przegląd Historyczny* 1977, Vol. 68, No. 3, p. 505.

the role of women in Jewish families: besides taking care of children and household duties, they were often Moreover employed.

The occupational structure of the Jewish population naturally affected its social structure. Most Jews employed in trade and craft remained poor. They constituted nearly half of the entire Jewish community in Congress Poland. Only some belonged to the wealthiest class.<sup>55</sup>

## The Religious and Sociopolitical Life of Jewish Population

The basic unit which organized the religious life of Jews was the qahal. It was headed by a rabbi, who was, in fact, an elected employee of the religious community. His duties included, first of all, upholding the truths of faith and

55 A. Cała, "Kobiety wobec tradycyjnych norm życia rodzinnego w społecznościach żydowskich w Polsce międzywojennej," in: *Kobieta i kultura życia codziennego wieku XIX i XX*, Vol. 5, ed. A. Żarnowska, A. Szwarz, Warszawa 1997, pp. 92–94.

religious customs of the entire community. In addition, he also preached, supervised teaching in *cheder* schools maintained by the faithful, and presided over weddings.<sup>56</sup> The number of such officials depended on the size and wealth of the community. Apart from the rabbi, the most important officials were: a precentor (*hazzan*) who led songful prayers in the synagogue and a ritual butcher (*shakter*) responsible for the ritual slaughter of animals. Other officials included the sexton of the synagogue (*shammes*), the precentor's assistant (*hazzan sheni*), the teacher (*melamed*), the writer (*sofer*), and the *mohel*, who performed the circumcision ceremony (*brit milah*). In smaller and poorer communities, one person often performed several functions or some positions simply remained vacant.<sup>57</sup> The bodies representing the Jewish community before the state authorities were the qahal authorities called the synagogue board (Polish: *dozór bóżniczy*). They also had the right to impose taxes and to carry out social and cultural activities.<sup>58</sup>

Jews in the Kingdom of Poland formed a closed and isolated community. This was due to a number of external and internal reasons, which to a large extent contributed to the strengthening of its difference from the Christian community. Undoubtedly, the legal discrimination of Jewish population, enforced in the Kingdom of Poland until 1862, influenced the degree of their isolation. However, apart from external factors, internal factors played an important if not decisive role. Artur Eisenbach's claim that these factors did not significantly affect the preservation of Jewish identity in the nineteenth century does not seem particularly convincing.<sup>59</sup>

Religion and tradition, language, clothing, customs, education, and the organization of social life, which played a fundamental role in the integration of the Jewish community, certainly strengthened the sense of its distinctness among other groups. After all, as Artur Eisenbach himself admits, Judaism – with its holidays, the ban on mixed marriages, and the whole system of ethical regulations and rituals – was a factor which isolated Jews from the Christian community.<sup>60</sup> Just as Christians in the past, formulating the doctrine of Jesus Christ as the Son of God, Messiah, and Savior of humanity, found themselves

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56 A. Penkalla, "Rabini na terenie guberni radomskiej w XIX wieku (1815–1914). Próba charakterystyki," in: *Między Odrą a Dnieprem. Wyznania i narody*, ed. T. Stegner, Gdańsk 1997, p. 55.

57 A. Unterman, *The Jews: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices*, London 1981, pp. 204–206.

58 W. Pruss, *Spółeczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego*, part 1, p. 281; A. Eisenbach, *Z dziejów ludności żydowskiej*, pp. 236–237.

59 W. Pruss, *Spółeczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego*, p. 238.

60 W. Pruss, *Spółeczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego*, p. 231.

outside the synagogue, so Jews, in rejecting Christian truths, which they considered heretic, found themselves not only outside Christianity but also outside its cultural circle, which has had a dominant influence on the socioeconomic life of Europe throughout many centuries.<sup>61</sup>

Another extremely important factor isolating the Jewish community was the Yiddish language<sup>62</sup> used by a vast majority of Jews in their everyday life within the community, in both private and public communication. Some scornfully called it a jargon, barbarized German, dialect of the ignorant, or even thieves' cant, thereby denouncing its status as language. Others, in turn, saw it as a rich and beautiful language, which gave the fullest expression to Jewish culture and tradition.<sup>63</sup> Curiously enough, the Yiddish language was despised not only by non-Jews but also by educated strata of the Jewish community. To be sure, some Jewish writers used that language, but they usually did so for anti-Hassidic reasons.<sup>64</sup> The canon of modern Yiddish literature emerged between the 1860s and the outbreak of the First World War in the works of Mendele Mocher Sforim (Szalom Jaków Abramowicz), Sholem Aleichem (Szolem Rabinowicz), and Isaac Leib Peretz (Icchok Lejbusz Peretz). Noteworthy, at the beginning of his career, Mendele Mocher Sforim was ashamed to admit to his Hebrew-writing fellows that he used Yiddish.<sup>65</sup>

However, it is important to remember that Yiddish had also a positive impact on the development of Jewish culture, theater in particular, and even science. From the 1880s, Yiddish began to play a significant role in shaping the self-awareness of Jews, becoming an element of their national self-identity – a process which manifested itself especially after 1905 in the rapid development of the Jewish press.<sup>66</sup>

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61 H. Wahle, *Wspólne dziedzictwo. Judaizm i chrześcijaństwo w kontekście dziejów zbawienia*, trans. Z. Kowalska, Tarnów 1993, p. 64; A. Unterman, *The Jews*, p. 46.

62 A Jewish language formed in the Middle Ages in German-speaking countries. It uses the Hebrew alphabet. The basic component of Yiddish in terms of vocabulary, as well as morphology and syntax, is German (70–75 % of the vocabulary is of German origin, about 15 % is of Hebrew and Aramaic origin, about 10–15 % words come from Slavic and only 1 % from Romance languages). See M. J. Sitarz, *Z dziejów jidysz – jednego z języków żydowskich*, Kraków 1992, pp. 42–46; A. Unterman, *Dictionary of Jewish Lore and Legends*, London 1991, p. 112.

63 J. Sitarz, *Z dziejów jidysz*, p. 37.

64 Ch. Shmeruk, *Historia literatury jidysz. Zarys*, Wrocław 1992, p. 61.

65 Ch. Shmeruk, *Historia literatury jidysz*, p. 64.

66 I. Schiper, "Rozwój literatury żydowskiej w Polsce porozbiorowej," in: *Żydzi w Polsce Odrodzonej*, Vol. 2, pp. 97 ff.

Apart from religion and language, another factor which distinguished Jews from the rest of the country's population, was the style of dress.<sup>67</sup> The tsarist law of 1844, extended over the territory of Congress Poland on July 1, 1846, imposed restrictions on the traditional Jewish dress in favor the Russian, or generally Christian, style. It sparked enormous outrage and resistance, which, however, made no greater impact. This was a result of the poverty of a large part of the Jewish population, its strong attachment to tradition, and often the indolence of local authorities. The regulations on dress met virtually no resistance from the narrow group of the Jewish bourgeoisie and intelligentsia.<sup>68</sup> As Aleksander Świętochowski wrote in 1882:

This is because their external features contribute quite effectively to their social separation. Especially the Christian people believe that the Jew is a creature dressed in a long gaberdine, with a skullcap or wig on his head.<sup>69</sup>

Representatives of central authorities often voiced similar opinions. Many officials emphasized that Jews in the Kingdom of Poland did not observe the regulations on the Jewish dress enforced in 1850, which also increased their isolation.<sup>70</sup>

Finally, we should also mention the family and school as strong integrating factors in the Jewish community. For centuries, the Jewish family has been the guardian of Judaist traditions and customs, which cemented the whole community. Polish journalists often presented the family life of Jews as an example to follow.<sup>71</sup> In turn, the Jewish religious school system (*cheders*), which was the primary source of education for Jewish children, was generally viewed in a strongly negative light. In 1882, Eliza Orzeszkowa stated that it was one of the pillars of Jewish separation:

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67 M. Końska, "Obyczaję żydowskie w świetle prawa obowiązującego w XIX wieku w Królestwie Polskim," in: *Żydowskie gminy wyznaniowe. Studia z dziejów kultury żydowskiej w Polsce*, Vol. 1, ed. J. Woronczak, Wrocław 1995, p. 43.

68 A. Penkalla, *Żydzi na terenie guberni radomskiej*, p. 90; A. Eisenbach, *Z dziejów ludności żydowskiej*, p. 232; Z. Borzymińska, *Dzieje Żydów w Polsce. Wybór tekstów źródłowych XIX wieku*, Warszawa 1994, pp. 23–25.

69 A. Żbikowski, "Rozwój ideologii antysemitycznej," p. 78.

70 RGIA, f. 821, op. 9, d. 82, pp. 2–11, 65–66; op. 8, d. 551, p. 81.

71 A. Eisenbach, *Z dziejów ludności żydowskiej*, p. 233; K. Lewalski, "Problem antysemityzmu na łamach *Przeglądu Katolickiego* w latach 1863–1914," *Nasza Przeszłość* 1995, Vol. 84, p. 196; *Kwestia ludu starozakonnego w Polsce przez H. Ordyńca z Suwałk*, Kraków 1872, pp. 4–7.



The first and absolute condition for bringing a higher degree of prosperity and morality into Jewish qahals seems to be the abolition of the confessional schools, or cheders, which remain a fatal source of the community's distinctiveness – a sea of fairy tales with just one drop of essentially religious teaching.<sup>72</sup>

It is worth mentioning that, already in 1870, Count Dmitry Tolstoy, Minister of Religious Denominations and Public Education, noted that the authorities did nothing so far in terms of improving the education of Jews in the Kingdom of Poland, while Jewish schools remained in a deplorable state of neglect. The Jewish population was also too insulated from the rest of society. That is why Tolstoy stressed the need to reform the Jewish educational system.<sup>73</sup>

From the above account, one could draw a conclusion that the Jewish community of the Kingdom of Poland was a monolith in the second half of the nineteenth century. Of course, this would be a false view, which repeats the stereotype often found in the journalism of the time. It is true that the Jews, as Aleksander Hertz notes, created “a world on its own. But at the same time, as individuals or smaller groups, they maintained permanent contacts with the external world, they were a component of this world, they played a significant role in it. Indeed, these contacts were frequent, numerous, and multilateral.”<sup>74</sup> Moreover, the Jewish community was not free from the influence of all the factors that led to changes in the socioeconomic and political structure of the entire population of Congress Poland. The social differentiation of Jews has increased since the middle of the nineteenth century,<sup>75</sup> when a group of rich Jewish bankers, merchants, entrepreneurs, and industrial owners emerged. They represented mainly commercial and banking capital, and often had ties to the state treasury. The social stratification of the Jewish bourgeoisie increased rapidly.<sup>76</sup>

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72 Z. Borzymińska, *Dzieje Żydów w Polsce*, p. 86.

73 RGIA, f. 821, op. 9, d. 82, pp. 65–67; d. 83; op. 8, d. 554. On Jewish education in the Kingdom of Poland, see also A. Paperna, “Yevreyskiya obshchinnyya uchrezhdeniya v gubernyakh Tsarstva Pol'skago v ikh istoricheskom razvitii (Nachal'nyya uchilishcha i khedery),” *Knizhki Voskhoda* 1901, Vol. XI, pp. 92–106, Vol. XII, pp. 75–99.

74 A. Hertz, *Żydzi w kulturze polskiej*, preface J. Górski, Warszawa 1988, p. 112. Nonetheless, it is important to point out that these contacts were frequent in the field of economic activity, but they did not occur in political, cultural or family realms. Cf. J. Tazbir, “Obraz Żyda w opinii polskiej XVI–XVIII w.,” in: *Mity i stereotypy w dziejach Polski*, ed. J. Tazbir, Warszawa 1991, p. 94.

75 A. Cała, *Żydowska prowincja – ewolucja więzi społecznej w małych miasteczkach żydowskich*, pp. 185–189.

76 A. Eisenbach, *Kwestia równouprawnienia Żydów*, pp. 220 ff.

Bearing in mind the arbitrariness of all divisions, we can nonetheless distinguish three main branches of the Jewish population in the Kingdom of Poland before the 1890s. The first and the most numerous group was comprised of Jews who remained faithful to traditional customs and cultivated the most conservative forms of religiousness. They belonged to either of the two major religious currents of East European Judaism: Misnagdim or Hasidim. The first group included all those who professed Rabbinic (Orthodox) Judaism, which emerged and developed throughout the Middle Ages in Western Europe, including the Polish lands.<sup>77</sup> Aleksander Hafftko writes that orthodox Jews were a purely religious group. They were raised on the Old Testament, Talmud, and the *Shulchan Aruch* religious code, inaccessible “for the secular notion of humanism, for scientific concepts.”<sup>78</sup> Their attitude toward Hasidism often remained hostile. Orthodox Jews accused the Hassidim of pantheism, “they reveled in ecstatic screams and body twists during prayers, dancing, amusement, and common feasts that would go on until late night as the third Saturday meal.”<sup>79</sup> Still, a large part of the Jewish population of the Kingdom of Poland supported Hassidism.<sup>80</sup>

Hasidism (from the Hebrew word *hasidut*, “piety”) was a social-religious movement initiated by Israel ben Eliezer of Podolia, called Baal Shem Tov (1700–1760). This movement opposed rigorously the intellectual Judaism of rabbis, propagated the joy of life through religious ecstasy, dance, and singing. Hasidic Jews emphasized personal prayer, developed their own ritual, established their own synagogues (*Shtiebel*), but never separated from the mainstream of Judaism.

Hasidim created communities, in which tzadikim, the righteous men, considered by their followers to be mediators between God and people, and surrounded by nearly fanatic worship, played a huge role. From the very beginning of its existence, Hassidism has strived to attract and control masses. All Hassidic centers were established in towns.<sup>81</sup> In the Kingdom of Poland, the most famous centers were Koźnice, Przysucha, Kock, Góra Kalwaria, and Aleksandrów. There

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77 A. Cała, *Asymilacja Żydów w Królestwie Polskim (1864–1897). Postawy. Konflikty. Stereotypy*, Warszawa 1989, pp. 23 ff.

78 A. Hafftko, “Żydowskie stronnictwa polityczne w Polsce Odrodzonej,” in: *Żydzi w Polsce Odrodzonej*, Vol. 2, p. 251.

79 W. Tyloch, *Judaizm*, Warszawa 1987, p. 251.

80 W. Pruss, *Spółczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego*, part 1, p. 282.

81 J. Frenkel, “Rozwój chasydyzmu wśród Żydów w Polsce porozbiorowej (1795–1918),” in: *Żydzi w Polsce Odrodzonej*, Vol. 1, p. 505.

were also many of its followers in Warsaw, Lublin, and Łódź.<sup>82</sup> It was opposed especially by Talmudist scholars and maskilim, representatives of the Jewish Enlightenment: the Haskalah.<sup>83</sup>

Jeremiasz Frenkel believes that the causes of the crisis of Hasidism in the second half of the nineteenth century boil down to the mania of greatness, the pursuit of honors, greed, and, above all, the nepotism of tzadikim.<sup>84</sup> There were also fierce and often disgraceful struggles between different dynasties of tzadikim.<sup>85</sup> The proto-plasts of the most famous dynasties in the Kingdom of Poland were: Yitzhak Meir (d. 1866) from Góra Kalwaria and Chanoch (d. 1870) from Aleksandrów.<sup>86</sup>

Writing about Hassidim, Bogdan Burdziej states that it was “a completely different world, which has never sought contact with Jewish maskilim, let alone Polish goys.”<sup>87</sup> In this context, the following passage from Isaac Bashevis Singer’s memoirs is particularly telling:

In my father’s house on Krochmalna Street in Warsaw, we lived like Jews from more than a thousand years ago. My father taught us only religion. I told him once that I wanted to learn Polish. After all, we lived in Poland. He answered: “The Messiah may come at any time, and you want to learn Polish!” So, I only learned the Bible and the Talmud.<sup>88</sup>

Eastern Europe was the center of Hasidism before the Second World War. Already in the second half of the nineteenth century, Hasidism had ceased to be a reformist movement and became, as Artur Eisenbach contends, “a refuge of backwardness among Jews, it fought against secularizing tendencies and

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82 W. Pruss, *Spółeczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego*, part. 1, p. 282; P. Samuś, “Spółeczność żydowska w życiu politycznym Łodzi w latach 1865–1914,” in: *Dzieje Żydów w Łodzi 1820–1944. Wybrane problemy*, ed. W. Puś, S. Liszewski, Łódź 1991, p. 187.

83 J. Frenkel, “Rozwój chasydyzmu,” p. 504.

84 J. Frenkel, “Rozwój chasydyzmu,” p. 512.

85 Isaac Bashevis Singer gives a subtle depiction of this phenomenon in his novel *The Estate*. Naturally, one cannot overlook the values that Hasidism has brought to Judaism and other intellectual formations. See M. Buber, *Tales of Hasidim*, trans. O. Marx, New York 1965.

86 J. Frenkel, “Rozwój chasydyzmu,” p. 516.

87 B. Burdziej, “Izaak Cyłkow – tłumacz Starego Testamentu, poprzednik Miłosza,” *Znak* 1988, No. 5/6, p. 28.

88 B. Burdziej, “Izaak Cyłkow.” One may add that the knowledge of Russian among rabbis in the Kingdom of Poland was not well. See RGIA, f. 821, op. 8, d. 544, k. 46, 136; d. 559, pp. 41, 78 ff.

sometimes even emancipatory aspirations.”<sup>89</sup> Jerzy Tomaszewski adds that the movement contributed to strengthening the isolation of the Jewish community.<sup>90</sup>

Aleksander Hafftko notes that, although the national issue was not important to orthodox Jews and Hasidim, who never developed a political consciousness, they nonetheless played a powerful role in important political moments.<sup>91</sup> This was particularly evident in the period of social activation and political changes in 1905–1912. Journalists of the time often described this part of the Jewish community as an “utterly benighted” community or “jargonic people, benighted, backward, and nationally indifferent.”<sup>92</sup> Such sentiments resulted from the adopted division criteria. By applying their own measures, positivists were simply unable to recognize the essence of the true divisions which existed in the Jewish community. Describing this group *ex cathedra*, as it were, they fell into one-sidedness, since the most important criterion by which they evaluated the Jewish community was the degree of its enlightenment and assimilation to Polish culture. The positivists, and later also liberals, reduced the Jewish question to the issue of alleged Jewish backwardness in terms of education and culture.<sup>93</sup>

Pointing to the difference between the positions of assimilators and positivists toward Jewish tradition, Helena Datner aptly notes that the former rejected and criticized external cultural influences, which they considered unnecessary, while the latter fought Judaism as such; assimilators distinguished between “pure” Judaism from its “contaminated” versions based on bizarre traditions, which positivists often ignored.<sup>94</sup> The adoption of positivist determinants in the description of the Jewish community would later lead to various revaluations and bitter

89 A. Eisenbach, *Emancypacja Żydów na ziemiach polskich*, p. 47.

90 J. Tomaszewski, *Rzeczpospolita wielu narodów*, Warszawa 1985, p. 169.

91 A. Hafftko, “Żydowskie stronnictwa polityczne,” pp. 251, 253.

92 E. Orzeszkowa, *O Żydach i kwestii żydowskiej*, Vilnius 1882, p. 41; R. Wapiński, p. 178; ZE 1910, No. 2 (*Wiadomości z kościoła i ze świata*).

93 T. Stegner, “Liberałowie Królestwa Polskiego wobec kwestii żydowskiej na począt-ku XX wieku,” *Przegląd Historyczny* 1989, No. 1, p. 72.

94 H. Datner, *Inteligencja żydowska: czynnik postępu czy rozkładu? Z dyskusji nad inteligencją żydowską w Królestwie Polskim*, BŻIH 1994, No. 4, 1995, No. 2, p. 30; T. Stegner, p. 84; T. R. Weeks, “Polish ‘Progressive Antisemitism’ 1905–1914,” *East European Jewish Affairs* 1995, Vol. 25, No. 2; M. Sobczak, “Zwolennicy koncepcji asymilacyjnej Żydów wobec rozwoju syjonizmu w Polsce na przełomie XIX i XX w.,” *Prace Naukowe Akademii Ekonomicznej we Wrocławiu* 1997, No. 752, p. 188.

disappointments, which resulted in so-called “progressive anti-Semitism” of liberals, who waged their fight against Jewish nationalism and obscurantism.<sup>95</sup>

The second group, though much smaller, consisted of Jews, who called for reforms that would lead to the secularization of certain aspects of the traditional Jewish community. They wished to become part of the European civilizational development, to participate fully in the national life of Poland, and to learn the Polish language. The *Hacefira*, a Hebrew weekly founded in 1862 and headed by Chaim Selig Słonimski, became the main advocate of this position in the Kingdom of Poland. The periodical's proponents included maskilim and more temperate orthodox Judaists.<sup>96</sup> One of its main objectives was to popularize knowledge among broader Jewish masses. The *Hacefira* hardly addressed controversial issues, never openly criticized old forms of worship, even though it pointed to the need of a reform. However, it expressed critical opinions about the maskilim, who broke off contacts with their orthodox families, and condemned atheism and their assimilated fellow believers, who violated the principles of Judaism.

This group was relatively small because it consisted of a narrow part of the Jewish intelligentsia, which, taken as a whole, also remained differentiated. It included mainly representatives of the Hebrew religious culture: rabbis, tzadikim, and their students, as well as the proponents of secularization currents, Yiddishists and Hebrewists,<sup>97</sup> and, finally, the smallest group of assimilated Jews, including lawyers, doctors, publishers, journalists, and artists, who often contributed greatly to the development of the Polish culture.

This group also gave rise to the third faction of the Jewish community – Poles of the Mosaic faith. This narrow group strongly supported assimilation tendencies. They published two Polish weekly journals in the Kingdom of Poland. The first one was *Jutrzenka* (Dawn), published in 1861–1863 by Daniel Neufeld, a proponent of the Polonization of the Jewish intelligentsia.<sup>98</sup> The second one was *Izraelita* (Israelite), which appeared almost continuously from 1866 to 1914.

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95 T. Stegner, *Liberałowie*, p. 84; T. R. Weeks, “Polish ‘Progressive Antisemitism’ 1905–1914,” *East European Jewish Affairs* 1995, Vol. 25, No. 2; M. Sobczak, *Zwolennicy koncepcji asymilacyjnej Żyd.w wobec rozwoju syjonizmu w Polsce na przełomie XIX i XX w.*, Prace Naukowe Akademii Ekonomicznej we Wrocławiu 1997, No. 752, p. 188.

96 A. Cała, *Asymilacja Żydów*, p. 36; M. Fuks, *Żydzi w Warszawie*, p. 184.

97 M. Fuks, *Żydzi w Warszawie*, p. 215.

98 M. Fuks, *Prasa żydowska w Warszawie 1823–1939*, Warszawa 1979, pp. 41 ff.; M. Fuks, *Żydzi w Warszawie*, p. 158.

The Haskalah movement, which emerged in Germany in the second half of the eighteenth century, was of great importance for the formation of the Jewish intelligentsia Jews the middle of the nineteenth century. It called not only for strengthening the ties between Jews and the culture of a country, in which they lived, but also for a reform of science, development of Jewish philosophy, press and literature, assimilation, and emancipation.<sup>99</sup> The Haskalah movement also initiated the reform of Judaism, bringing numerous changes to make Jewish rituals similar to Christian ones (including the sermon liturgy, choral singing, and organ music).<sup>100</sup> The decoration of the reformed synagogues resembled the interiors of Protestant churches.

In Warsaw, the first “progressive” synagogue was opened in 1802 on Daniłowiczowska Street. Initially, it gathered mainly Jews coming from Prussia, which is why people referred to it as “German.” In 1857, the community founded another “progressive” synagogue on Nalewki Street, described as “Polish” because Izaak Kramsztyk, to the dismay of orthodox Judaists, preached there in Polish<sup>101</sup>.

One of the most important manifestations of the activity of the Haskalah movement in the Kingdom of Poland was the establishment and functioning of the Warsaw Rabbinic School in 1826–1863. Its main task was to train “young people of the old religious faith to become capable rabbis, teachers of lower schools of the old religious faith, and various officials of the mentioned religion.”<sup>102</sup> However, the school met with severe criticism from orthodox circles, which condemned its alleged promotion of free thinking among students.<sup>103</sup> In fact, some of the school’s alumni proved this reputation to be true. Some of its students declared themselves as atheists, others were characterized by religious indifference, and yet others abandoned Judaism in favor of Christian confessions – ten converted to Orthodoxy, fifteen to Evangelism, and thirty to Catholicism. In addition, the Warsaw Rabbinic School never fully educated a

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99 E. Małkowska, *Synagoga na Tłomackiem*, Warszawa 1991, pp. 10–12.

100 E. Małkowska, *Synagoga na Tłomackiem*, p. 61.

101 E. Małkowska, *Synagoga na Tłomackiem*, pp. 12 ff; A. Cała, *Asymilacja Żydów*, p. 29.

102 M. Fuks, *Żydzi w Warszawie*, p. 103.

103 A. Paperna, “Yevreyskiya obshchinnyya uchrezhdeniya v guberniyakh Tsarstva Polskago w ikh istoricheskome razvitii (Ravvinat),” *Knizhki Voskhoda* 1901, Vol. X, pp. 90–91. The school’s principal, Antoni Eisenbaum, is said to have imitated everything that was non-Jewish to the point of ridiculing himself. For instance, he would require his pupils, future rabbis, to wear the same cassocks as those of the Catholic clergy (p. 89, fn. 2).

single rabbi.<sup>104</sup> Thus, there is no exaggeration in saying that the school did more for the assimilation of Jews to the Polish culture than for its own community.

A symbol uniting the supporters and sympathizers of the Haskalah movement in their pursuit of its ideals in the Kingdom of Poland was the Great Synagogue on Tłomackie street in Warsaw, built in 1876–1878. It was an object of great pride for the part of Warsaw's Jewry identified as Poles of the Mosaic faith. The form of celebrations held at the Synagogue was supposed to change Christian's caricature image of Jewish prayers. As we read in *Izraelita*:

Magnificent on the outside, and with an appropriately arranged interior, the New House of God rehabilitates the unfavorable image of our service to God shared by our Christian fellows, while at the same time gives us an opportunity to refine our own liturgy, as the spirit of the times, and the aesthetic sense of educated believers . . . already require.<sup>105</sup>

Another function of the Great Synagogue to “cast its appealing influence over the backward mass” of Jews to win them for progress.<sup>106</sup>

The end of the nineteenth century brought about serious changes in the division of the Jewish community. Various social, economic, and national developments in the Kingdom of Poland had a decisive influence on its transformation. The birth of Jewish nationalism, as a secular political movement in the form of Zionism and Folkspartei,<sup>107</sup> only increased – and highlighted – the sense of distinctiveness from the rest of the country's population, not only in religious but now also in national terms.

Political Zionism was rooted in the early 1880s, when a wave of bloody pogroms against the Jewish population in Southern Russia led to the creation of the Hovevei Zion (Hebrew: Lovers of Zion) movement, also known as Hibbat Zion.<sup>108</sup> In 1881, the Yesud HaMa'ala association, which called for the colonization of Palestine, began to operate in Suwałki. In 1882, Szmul Mohilewer, a rabbi from Białystok, founded in Warsaw the first large association of the Lovers of Zion.<sup>109</sup> In the same year, Leon Pinsker, a physician from Odessa, published

104 M. Strzemski, “Warszawska Szkoła Rabinów (1826–1863) najdziwniejsza na świecie,” *Znak* 1983, No. 2/3, pp. 362 ff; M. Fuks, *Żydzi w Warszawie*, p. 105.

105 E. Małkowska, *Synagoga na Tłomackiem*, p. 39.

106 E. Małkowska, *Synagoga na Tłomackiem*.

107 Folkspartei, similarly to Zionists, believed that Jews were a nation. However, they did not seek to create a separate Jewish state. They argued that Jews should fight for freedom to cultivate their customs, language, culture, etc. in the diaspora countries.

108 I. Schiper, “Dzieje syjonizmu na ziemiach polskich (do 1918 r.),” in: *Żydzi w Polsce Odrodzonej*, Vol. 1, pp. 521–528; J. Tomaszewski, p. 188.

109 P. Wróbel, *Przed odzyskaniem niepodległości*, p. 41.

his famous brochure, *Auto-Emanzipation*, which had a groundbreaking significance for the movement's development. The author outlined the foundations of the Zionist program.<sup>110</sup> However, it was not until 1896–1897 that a new era began in the development of Zionism, which became a worldwide movement. *The Judenstaat* by Theodor Herzl was published in 1896. A year later, the first Zionist congress took place in Basel. In this way, the Jewish question became global. In the Kingdom of Poland, Herzl's Zionism gained the most supporters in Warsaw and Łódź. They were recruited mainly from former Lovers of Zion, but also, to a large extent, from the youth.

The fact that a vast majority of traditional Jewish circles maintained a distant if not hostile attitude toward Zionism does not diminish the role it played in holding down the processes which threatened the Jewish identity. The Zionist movement, especially at the turn of the centuries, largely contributed to disproving the idea of assimilation.<sup>111</sup> The hostile attitude of Zionism toward assimilation cannot obscure the truth, which Alina Cała accurately describes, when she writes that the ideology of assimilation “became the basis for all other trends in the twentieth-century history of Jews. Both initiators and first activists of the most anti-assimilationist groups were usually assimilated.”<sup>112</sup> Moreover, it was often through assimilation that Jews found their way into the Jewish community. Suffice it to mention Teodor Herzl, Leon Pinsker, or Nahum Sokolow; the latter, which is worth recalling, collaborated with *Hacefry* and *Izraelita*.

Bearing in mind Joseph Lichten's remark that the assimilation of Jews in Poland has never been widespread, one may contend that Zionism likewise failed to gain mass support in the country.<sup>113</sup> In his *Historia Żydów w Polsce* (History of Jews in Poland; 1921), Samuel Hirszhorn claims that Zionism proved less successful in Poland than in Russia.<sup>114</sup> And there was nothing strange about it; after all, Russian Jews had a great contribution to the history of Jewish nationalism. It is also well-known that orthodox Jews maintained unfavorable position toward Litvaks (Lithuanian Jews) who migrated to Congress Poland since the 1880s. They believed that this wave of migration was an instrument of the

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110 W. Tyloch, *Judaizm*, pp. 272 ff.

111 M. Sobczak, “Zwolennicy koncepcji asymilacyjnej,” pp. 187 ff.

112 A. Cała, *Asymilacja Żydów*, p. 324; Hertz, *Żydzi w kulturze polskiej*, p. 183; E. Mendelsohn, *Żydzi Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej w okresie międzywojennym*, Warszawa 1992, p. 46.

113 J. Lichten, “Uwagi o asymilacji i akulturacji Żydów w Polsce w latach 1863–1943,” *Znak* 1988, no. 5/6, p. 74.

114 S. Hirszhorn, *Historia Żydów w Polsce. Od Sejmu Czteroletniego do wojny euro-pejskiej 1788–1914*, Warszawa 1921, p. 354.



state's Russification policy. While Poles saw them as Moskals, Jews saw them as heretics and misbelievers who destroyed the foundations of the holy faith.<sup>115</sup> Indeed, most Jewish religious circles throughout Europe regarded Zionism as a break with the religious tradition of Judaism and therefore strongly opposed it. It was also no secret that many leading figures of the movement remained indifferent to religious matters and considered the movement as religiously neutral.<sup>116</sup>

At the turn of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, the Jewish intelligentsia and youth were not only influenced by Zionism but also largely attracted to the ideals of socialism. Already in 1877–1878, when the first socialist circles in Warsaw emerged, members of the Jewish intelligentsia participated in their establishment and took an active part in their work. In addition, a certain number of Jews were active in the first Polish workers' party Proletariat, but its influence on the Jewish proletariat was scarce. In Łódź, as Leon Baumgarten writes, the party did not spark much interest among Jewish workers, nor did it attract the local Jewish intelligentsia.<sup>117</sup>

The development of the Jewish labor movement at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries revealed how different were the political aspirations of Jews from those of Polish national parties, which strived for social and national liberation.<sup>118</sup> Samuel Hirszhorn was right when he wrote that "Jews participated in the labor movement on two different levels: the Jewish intelligentsia usually belonged to Polish movements, while Jewish masses founded their own movements, either as Jewish branches of Polish parties or as independent organizations."<sup>119</sup> It was precisely the part of the Jewish intelligentsia involved in the Polish labor movement that Samuel Hirszhorn accused of treating the Jewish question merely in terms of assimilation and equality rights.<sup>120</sup>

Established in 1897, the General Jewish Labour Bund in Russia and Poland, commonly known as The Bund, attracted a significant percentage of the Jewish proletariat. Its program was clearly anti-Zionist and remained indifferent to national issues, although this changed together with various political and social

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115 S. Hirszhorn, *Historia Żydów w Polsce*, p. 340.

116 J. J. Petuchowski, C. Thoma, *Leksykon dialogu chrześcijańsko-żydowskiego*, trans. J. Kruczyńska, ed. W. Chrostowski, Warszawa 1995, p. 233.

117 L. Baumgarten, "Rewolucjoniści Żydzi w pierwszych polskich kółkach socjalistycznych i w Wielkim Proletariacie," *BŻIH* 1963, No. 47/48, p. 18.

118 M. Śliwa, "Kwestia żydowska w polskiej myśli socjalistycznej," in: *Żydzi w Małopolsce. Studia z dziejów osadnictwa i życia społecznego*, ed. F. Kiryk, Przemyśl 1991, p. 274.

119 S. Hirszhorn, *Historia Żydów w Polsce*, p. 370.

120 S. Hirszhorn, *Historia Żydów w Polsce*, p. 371.

developments of the beginning of the twentieth century. After 1901, it called for equal rights of the Jewish language, the observance of Saturday holidays, and national and cultural autonomy of Jews, which led to an intensification of its relations with the Polish labor movement.<sup>121</sup> The leadership of the Polish Socialist Party saw these demands as a sign of the strengthening of Jewish nationalism and separatism. Therefore, many Polish socialist considered The Bund as an organization which shattered the “political solidarity of the working people” in their struggle to abolish social inequality, which was the true essence of the Jewish question.<sup>122</sup>

A labor party, which explicitly propagated Zionist thought among Jewish workers, was the Jewish Socialist Workers’ Party Poalei Zion founded in 1906 in Poltava. In the end, it is worth noting that, just like the Zionist movement, also the Jewish labor movement in Congress Poland operated through a network of local centers based outside the country’s borders, mainly in Lithuania and Russia, which certainly influenced the negative attitude of orthodox Jews toward it.<sup>123</sup>

## Policy of the Partitioning Powers and Polish-Jewish Relations

For several centuries, both Poles and Jews living in the vast territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth shared its political and economic fate. However, for various reasons, their interrelations were often difficult. There were many reasons for this. The most important ones included: widespread religious prejudices strengthened throughout the centuries, the Commonwealth’s anti-Jewish legislation, and the resulting occupational structure of the Jewish population. The Constitution of 3 May 1791, the last legal act aimed at repairing the state’s system, did not address the issue of improving the legal situation of Jews. The Law on Towns and Cities of 18 April 1791 did not even allow them to gain urban citizenship.

Poland’s erasure from the map of Europe at the end of the eighteenth century did not bring about a change in the social position of Jews. Of course, the historical storm, which ran across Europe during Napoleon’s period, had an impact on the situation and position of the Jews. By rejecting the remnants of feudalism, French legal tendencies of that time had a huge impact on the legislation of those

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121 M. Śliwa, “Kwestia żydowska w polskiej myśli socjalistycznej,” p. 277; J. Marchlewski, *Antysemityzm a robotnicy*, pp. 75–78.

122 J. Marchlewski, *Antysemityzm a robotnicy*.

123 E. Mendelsohn, *Żydzi Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*, p. 44.

European countries which fell under the influence of the French Empire. This was particularly evident in Prussia, where the process of legal emancipation of the Jewish community began very early. The Prussian urban laws of November nineteenth, 1808 and March 11, 1812, which, among others, regulated the status of the Jewish population in Prussia, removed some of earlier restrictions. The Jews became citizens of the Prussian state (*Staatsbürger*), they were granted the full freedom of settlement and the right to purchase and own real estate in all towns and cities.<sup>124</sup>

The situation of the Jewish community in the Duchy of Warsaw established in 1807 was quite different. On October 17, 1808, despite Napoleon's constitution, according to which "all citizens are equal before the law," the Duchy's authorities issued a decree that suspended political rights of the Jewish population for 10 years. The later Constitution of the Kingdom of Poland did not change the situation: it limited equality of rights to Christians only.<sup>125</sup> Even during the November Uprising, Polish political classes still did not have enough determination to change the legal status of Jews.<sup>126</sup> In the Paskevich period, in turn, the tendencies to unify the laws, institutions, and structures of the Kingdom of with those of the Empire met with attempts to preserve the legislation from the period of the Duchy of Warsaw and the constitutional Kingdom of Poland.

It was not until the end of Nicholas I's era and the favorable political atmosphere, which had developed after 1855, that the Kingdom of Poland regained its hopes for solving many social and political problems, including the Jewish question. However, as Arthur Eisenbach is right to observe, the issue of Jewish legal equality depended not only on the national authorities and the tsarist government but also on the support of Polish political parties and opinion-forming circles, which did not share a unanimous position on this issue.<sup>127</sup> Conservatives were strongly against equal rights and justified their position by defining Jews as an alien and harmful element. In turn, the part of the land-nobility centered around the Agricultural Society had a yet different attitude toward the Jewish question: although they advocated changes in the legal status of Jews, they saw the implementation of such changes as a long-term process. They also believed

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124 A. Eisenbach, *Emancypacja Żydów*, pp. 131–134.

125 M. Adamczyk, S. Pastuszka, *Konstytucje polskie w rozwoju dziejowym 1791–1982*, Warszawa 1985, p. 79.

126 J. Kucharzewski, "Rządy Aleksandra III. Ku reakcji," Vol. 6: *Od białego caratu do czerwonego*, Warszawa 1933, p. 364.

127 A. Eisenbach, *Kwestia równouprawnienia Żydów*, p. 370.

that the scope of equal rights should depend on the degree in which a given group is “civilized.”<sup>128</sup>

Indeed, similar tendencies prevailed in governmental elite of St. Petersburg.<sup>129</sup> The unfavorable attitude to the abolition of legal restrictions imposed on Jews was revealed by the 1859 press campaign, described as the “Jewish War,” which in fact expressed the fears of these circles toward the Jewish bourgeoisie that aspired to an increasingly active and fully-fledged participation in the social and economic life of the Kingdom of Poland. Other circles, which were politically active before the outbreak of the January Uprising, from the Milleners to the Reds, were in favor of equal rights for Jews.<sup>130</sup> Nonetheless, one should not overestimate the importance of the Polish-Jewish brotherhood, which emerged during the religious-patriotic manifestations of 1861–1862, for the removal of mutual prejudice. Indeed, the brotherhood was quite limited in scope and not always an expression of spontaneous actions.<sup>131</sup> For instance, in April 1861, rabbi Abraham Izaak Kahane from Ciechanowiec (the Augustów Governorate) advised Rabbi Ber Meisels from Warsaw what to do in order not to irritate the nobility, on the one hand, and the authorities, on the other. In this case, it was an action of collecting signatures under a petition to the tsar.<sup>132</sup> Rabbi Chaim Cwi from Łęczycza and members of the Jewish community in Janów had similar dilemmas.<sup>133</sup> It also seems that the fears of the Russian authorities<sup>134</sup> regarding the degree and possibility of a Polish-Jewish alliance were seriously exaggerated.

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128 A. Eisenbach, *Kwestia równouprawnienia Żydów*, pp. 370–400.

129 J. Kucharzewski, “Rządy Aleksandra III,” pp. 371 ff.

130 J. Kucharzewski, “Rządy Aleksandra III,” p. 401.

131 Wiesław Caban writes that in there was no service to the Polish well-being in the Radom Governorate’s synagogue. In the sources, in turn, we find many mentions about the hostility of peasants, burghers, and even landowners against Jews (See W. Caban, “Żydzi guberni radomskiej a powstanie styczniowe,” in: *Żydzi w Małopolsce*, p. 184). Besides, it is also worth remembering that the main proponents of Polish-Jewish cooperation, Markus Jastrow and Izaak Kramsztyk, were also supporters of assimilation, which is why they failed to attract larger Jewish masses (F. Golczewski, *Polnisch-jüdische Beziehungen 1881–1922. Eine Studie zur Geschichte des Antisemitismus in Osteuropa*, Wiesbaden 1981, pp. 35–36).

132 S. Chankowski, *Ludność żydowska w Augustowskim wobec powstania styczniowego*, BŻIH 1967, No. 64, p. 59.

133 *Żydzi a powstanie styczniowe*, pp. 21, 29.

134 F. Ramotowska, *Rząd carski wobec manifestacji patriotycznych w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1860–1862*, Wrocław 1971, pp. 101 ff., 312, 347.

The majority of the Jewish population remained passive in the face of the Polish insurrection of 1863. According to Wiesław Caban, who quotes Vladimir Zaycev, a Soviet historian, in the group of 7292 people exiled to Siberia for their participation in the January Uprising, there were only forty-six Jews (0.7 %).<sup>135</sup> The neutral position of the vast majority of the Jewish community, stemming largely from its lack of identification with Polish aspirations, could only deepen mutual distance between Poles and Jews and the latter's sense of alienation, all the more so because, as Roman Wapiński noted, many Poles felt acutely "the indifference of most Jews toward Polish aspirations and national actions."<sup>136</sup>

A considerable part of Polish society saw the increase of anti-Semitism in the 1880s as a natural phenomenon rooted in the persistent religious and social difference of Jews. Many tended to justify anti-Semitic prejudices by identifying the emerging mechanisms of the capitalist economy with the stereotypical features of the Jewish character. Only some commentators noted this practice. For instance, Klemens Junosza-Szaniawski wrote in 1889: "We should not see the terrible Jewish specter, where it is the specter of capitalism that actually looms large in history."<sup>137</sup> However, the approval for anti-Semitism did not translate into support for the drastic methods used in the fight against Jews, such as pogroms.

Some Polish opinion-forming circles began to criticize the effects of equal rights for Jews in the 1880s. In 1887, in his work *Żydzi polscy w świetle prawdy* (Polish Jews in the Light of Truth), Konstanty Wzdulski considered the equality of rights as a "primary economic mistake," which resulted in "exploitation, greed, rip-off, bad faith, deception, and simple deceit" that were "manifestations of the civic sentiments . . . shared by followers of the Mosaic faith for at least twenty-five years!"<sup>138</sup> Also Jan Jeleński, the editor-in-chief of the anti-Semitic periodical *Rola* (Farmland/Role) published since 1883.

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135 W. Caban, p. 189. See also *Żydzi a powstanie styczniowe*, p. 6; W. Śliwowska, "‘Polacy wyznania mojżeszowego’ w ruchu niepodległościowym lat sześćdziesiątych XIX wieku," in: *Żydzi w obronie Rzeczypospolitej. Materiały konferencji w Warszawie 17 i 18 października 1993 r.*, Warszawa 1996, pp. 66–68. Paweł Kubicki lists several examples of Jews who denounced the priests involved in the underground opposition movement to the authorities. But there were also others who appealed to the authorities for releasing an imprisoned priest (P. Kubicki, *Bojownicy kapłani za sprawą Kościoła i Ojczyzny w latach 1861–1915*, part 3, Vol. 2, Sandomierz 1939, pp. 52 ff., 348, 385).

136 R. Wapiński, p. 189.

137 K. Junosza-Szaniawski, *Nasi Żydzi w miasteczkach i na wsiach*, Warszawa 1889, p. 184.

138 K. Wzdulski, *Żydzi polscy w świetle prawdy. Studium społeczne*, Warszawa 1887, pp. 22–23.

These opinions prove that many Polish journalists did not realize, or did not want to realize, that the emancipation ukase of 1862 did not solve the Jewish question; to be sure, the legal process of emancipation was completed, but its actual state was far from completion. Maria Kłańska writes that the legal equality of Jews in Congress Poland did not have a full and unconditional character. Indeed, they were still subject to various restrictions.<sup>139</sup>

This finds confirmation in the report to the Warsaw Chief of Police (Polish: *oberpolicmajster*), Teodor Berg, and the latter's report to the Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1873. Both these reports show that the first decade since the implementation of equal rights did not bring the Jewish community closer to the Christian majority. The location of the Jews also left much to be desired, as they suffered various types of discrimination.<sup>140</sup> The tendency to reduce the restrictions imposed on the Jewish population in the early period of Alexander II's reign broke down with his tragic death in 1881. After his successor's accession to the throne, the situation of Jews, especially in Russia, changed in a negative direction.<sup>141</sup>

In general, the higher tsarist administration in the Kingdom of Poland treated Jews with suspicion and distrust. Nonetheless, there was a substantial difference between the position of Jews from the Kingdom and the position of Jews living in the Pale of Settlement.<sup>142</sup> This difference was sustained by the policy – pursued by at least part of the tsarist administration – which made use of this difference for a kind of blackmail. For instance, the Komissja po ustrojstwie byta Jewriejew (The Committee for Regulation of the Existence of Jews), which operated in Warsaw in the early 1870s, complained about the exploitation of Polish peasants by Jews and recommended the adoption of a restrictive anti-Jewish legislation. The temporary law of 1882 restricted the rights of the Jewish community in the Russian Empire. In 1885, Iosif Gurko, Governor-General of Warsaw, advised Alexander III to extend this law over the territory of the Kingdom of Poland.<sup>143</sup> A year

139 M. Kłańska, "Przemiany w społeczności żydowskiej w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej w XIX i XX wieku w świetle autobiografii niemieckojęzycznych," in: *Żydzi i judaizm we współczesnych badaniach polskich. Materiały z konferencji, Kraków 21–23 XI 1995*, ed. K. Pilarczyk, Kraków 1997, p. 221.

140 RGIA, f. 821, op. 9, d. 99, pp. 1–10, 22–58.

141 W. Diakin, "Nacyonal'nyy vopros v vnutrenney politike tsarizma (XIX v.)," *Voprosy istorii* 1995, No. 9, p. 139; B. Szordykowska, "Kwestia żydowska w Rosji w latach 1905–1907," *BŻIH* 1984, No. 1/2, pp. 5 ff.

142 Ł. Chimiak, *Gubernatorzy rosyjscy w Królestwie Polskim 1863–1915. Szkic do portretu zbiorowego*, Gdańsk 1998, p. 232.

143 RGIA, f. 821, op. 8, d. 551, p. 58.

later, the widely publicized and controversial *Stock Exchange Memorandum* was announced in connection with the tsarist authorities' attempts to enforce the Russian emergency laws on Jews also in Congress Poland.<sup>144</sup>

The *Memorandum* signed by Jan Bloch and Henryk Natanson was an inept attempt to provide evidence for the allegedly huge contribution of Jews to the development of economic life in the Kingdom of Poland. This further complicated the already tensed Polish-Jewish relations.<sup>145</sup> From 1888, Jews had a limited access to schools and state offices.<sup>146</sup> Tsarist official often justified the need for imposing restrictions of the Jewish population with their alleged care for the Polish peasant. In 1898, Alexander Bagration-Imeretinsky, Governor-General of Warsaw, stated that the government could not favor the Jews, but should protect the peasants, who were the most loyal group. To restrict the energetic but untrustworthy Jewish community was often recognized as the state's duty toward indolent but obedient peasants.<sup>147</sup> Sometimes Jews were opposed to peasants together with landowners. A Head of the Land Guard, in his July 1881 report to Vasily Dolgorukov, Governor of Radom, wrote about sentiments prevailing in the local population:

Jews constitute a very significant percentage of the country's population. They have no political aspirations, they will always take the side of the stronger, and they always know how adapt to their changing fate. Their ideal and goal is to get rich by fair means or foul. With this material help, Jews can always circumvent and neutralize everything that they find limiting or inconvenient. The Jewish exploitation of the whole people of the country has gained a foothold. Regardless of this, the local nobility, landowners, and gentlemen in general have become so close to Jews in their bodies and spirits that they cannot move forward in economic matters without the help or advice of Jews. This Jewish exploitation takes place largely to the detriment of a simple peasant, much less capable than a Jew, usually simple-minded and uneducated. Therefore, the struggle of a peasant with the incredible dexterity and cunningness of a Jew is doomed to failure.<sup>148</sup>

Further in the same report, the author also expressed a very positive opinion about peasants: "One may certainly claim that peasants maintain, and will

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144 For more, see A. Eisenbach, *Z dziejów ludności żydowskiej*, pp. 254–262.

145 R. Żebrowski, *Dzieje Żydów w Polsce. Kalendarium*, Warszawa 1993, p. 77.

146 T. Jeske-Choiński, *Neofici polscy. Materiały historyczne*, Warszawa 1904, p. 115.

147 T. R. Weeks, *Nation and State in Late Imperial Russia. Nationalism and Russification on the Western Frontier, 1863–1914*, DeKalb 1996, pp. 60 ff.

148 Qtd. after P. Kubicki, *Bojownicy księża za sprawą Kościoła i Ojczyzny w latach 1861–1915*, part 1, Vol. 3, Sandomierz 1933, p. 64.

continue to maintain, unconditional devotion to the government. They are fully reliable.”<sup>149</sup>

*Yevrei v Privislinskom kraye. Kharakteristika ikh deyatel'nosti sredikhristianskogo naseleniya etogo kraya.* (Jews in the Vistula Country: A Characterization of Their Activity among the Christian Community of This Country), a work published by the Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1892 in St. Petersburg, showed extraordinary concern for Polish peasants. The author, hiding behind the initials P.I., sketches an image of the Jew, who mercilessly exploits the rural population of the Kingdom of Poland. He wrote that the Jewish question is so serious, dangerous, and advanced that it should be resolved “wherever Jews live in our vast homeland.”<sup>150</sup> The worst situation, he believes, is in the Kingdom of Poland, “where it has to be resolved as quickly as possible and put under the rule of law; similar measures should be introduced in the purely Russian villages, where the Jewish question is most acute.”<sup>151</sup> In conclusion, the author suggests taking some measures, which may improve the situation throughout the country. According to the author, the government should prepare a distinct and, above all, clear legislation for Jews, because even an experienced lawyer would not be able to master the existing law. Then the author goes on to call for a law, which would inhibit the harmful effects of Jews’ activity in the Christian population. He demands the establishment of special offices dealing with Jewish affairs in all gubernial cities and argues that their first task should be to investigate the finances of numerous Jewish fraternities. Finally, he calls for the abolition of the Jewish educational system as a necessary condition for ending Jewish separatism and religious fanaticism.<sup>152</sup>

The publication of this work was undoubtedly closely related to the efforts of the Ministry of Internal Affairs to limit the legal position of the Jewish community in the Kingdom of Poland in the early 1890s.<sup>153</sup> The birth of the Jewish national movement and the growing socialist tendencies were received with great concern both in St. Petersburg and in the Empire’s provinces. Although, as Theodore Weeks observes, Jewish nationalism before 1905 did not seem to pose

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149 P. Kubicki, *Bojownicy księża*. Cf. S. Wiech, “Raport naczelnika Warszawskiego Okręgu Żandarmerii o sytuacji politycznej Królestwa Polskiego w 1868 r.,” *Przegląd Historyczny* 1998, Vol. 89, p. 89; W. R. [V. I. Gurko], *Oczerki Priwislanija*, pp. 122–123.

150 P. I., *Yevrei v Privislinskom kraye. Kharakteristika ikh deyatel'nosti sredi khristianskogo naseleniya etogo kraya.*, Petersburg 1892, pp. 73 ff.

151 P. I., *Yevrei v Privislinskom kraye*, p. 74.

152 P. I., *Yevrei v Privislinskom kraye*, pp. 265 ff.

153 T. R. Weeks, *Nation and State*, p. 118.



a significant threat to Russian interests,<sup>154</sup> the author of *Yevrei v Privislinskom kraje* warned against the development of the Jewish press in Yiddish:

Due to the shortage, or even complete lack, of people familiar with the Jewish language among Russian officials, the authorities are forced to employ Jews to censor publications written in the Old Hebrew language or the Jewish jargon. It is impossible to control their work. As a result, Jewish literature and press enjoy much greater freedom than their Russian and Polish counterparts.<sup>155</sup>

Thus, as the author inferred, writing could turn out to be a silent – and therefore very dangerous – weapon in the hands of those Jews, who were able to stir Jewish masses to act contrary to the interest of the Russian state. The same author even goes on to accuse the journal *Izraelita* for “its hostility toward everything Russian; every time they write about Russia, it is either a bad or tendentious news.”<sup>156</sup>

However, the actions of the Ministry of Internal Affairs did not bring any changes to the legal position of Jews in the Kingdom of Poland. In 1863–1915, it remained basically intact. It did not change even when the Ministry of Internal Affairs, headed in 1900–1902 by Dmitri Sipyagin, and then until 1904 by Vyacheslav von Plehve, pursued a strongly anti-Jewish policy. Especially the latter supported active political anti-Semitism, which was tragically expressed in the Chisinau, Gomel, Rivne, Kiev, Zhytomyr, Pinsk, and Vilnius pogroms.<sup>157</sup> In 1903, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* appeared for the first time in the St. Petersburg periodical *Znamya* (Banner), and two years later the text was published as a separate brochure in St. Petersburg. In fact, *The Protocols* were a virulently anti-Semitic hoax fabricated by the tsarist Okhrana. The text proved the existence of a Jewish-Zionist conspiracy, which strived to dominate the whole world. It also tried to persuade its readers that the democratic system led to a political anarchy and economic ruin.<sup>158</sup> Another wave of bloody pogroms broke out during the

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154 T. R. Weeks, *Nation and State*, p. 62.

155 P. I., p. 139–140. Cf. J. Kucharzewski, “Rządy Aleksandra III,” pp. 421 ff.

156 J. Kucharzewski, “Rządy Aleksandra III,” p. 129.

157 B. Szordykowska, “Kwestia żydowska,” p. 6; D. Libionka, “Poglądy historyków na pogromy w Rosji w latach 1881–1906,” BŻIH 1997, No. 1, p. 18.

158 J. Tazbir, *Protokoły mędrców Syjonu. Autentyk czy falsyfikat*, Warszawa 1992, pp. 27, 45, 51. Cf. also C. G. de Michelis, “Przyczynek do teologicznego odczytania Protokołów Mędrców Syjonu,” in: *Kultura staropolska – kultura europejska. Prace ofiarowane Januszowi Tazbirowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, Warszawa 1997, pp. 42–47.

reign of Pyotr Stolypin; the most notorious events took place in Białystok (June 14–15, 1906)<sup>159</sup> and in Siedlce (September 7–9, 1906).<sup>160</sup>

Searching for an answer to the question why the authorities in St. Petersburg never decided to change the status of the Jewish population in ten Polish governorates, Theodore Weeks lists the most important factors which influenced the situation. First, the government did not have a justifiable reason for implementing changes. Second, Russian officials in the Kingdom of Poland were simply unable to develop a uniform policy concerning the Jewish population. Third, the government seriously worried about negative economic consequences of restrictions.<sup>161</sup> Fourth, the administration languished in a bureaucratic inertia.<sup>162</sup> In addition, a factor which hampered the implementation of anti-Jewish laws was the fact that it would require large funding and further development of the already overgrown bureaucratic machine.

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159 PK 1906, No. 25 and 28. According to the findings of the accident investigation committee in Białystok, eighty-one Jews were killed and about seventy injured during the pogrom. Apart from that, there were six non-Jewish people killed and twelve wounded. See B. Szordykowska, “Kwestia żydowska,” p. 12. The pogrom in Białystok was widely commented in Europe. The Polish writer, Stanisław Brzozowski, who was then in Lausanne, wrote in a letter to Rafał Buber, a socialist activist from Galicia: “I am still terribly busy. When you hear about such events as those in Białystok, it is only in stubborn and persistent work where you can find strength and willingness to live” (S. Brzozowski, *Listy*, Vol. 1: 1900–1908, ed. M. Sroka, Kraków 1970, p. 211).

160 U. Głowacka-Maksymiuk, *Gubernia siedlecka w latach rewolucji 1905–1907*, Warszawa 1985, pp. 140 ff. The pogrom left 40 Jewish shops destroyed, around 100 people killed and another 100 wounded. Besides, 500 people were arrested (according to Russian documents, 26, 76, and 500 respectively) and two soldiers were wounded.

161 In 1897, Vladimir Iosifovich Gurko wrote that even the enemies of Jews are aware that the deportation of Jews would cause a true economic disaster in the country (W. R. [V. I. Gurko], *Ocherki Privislaniya*, p. 110).

162 T. R. Weeks, *Nation and State*, p. 118.

## CHAPTER 3: Christian Churches and Anti-Semitism

### Anti-Semitism or Anti-Judaism

“Anti-Semitism,” as a term for animosity and hostility toward Jews, appeared in Germany at the end of the 1870s.<sup>1</sup> From the very beginning, it was a very vague term. Nonetheless, we should not equate it with a traditional anti-Jewish or anti-Judaic attitude of the Christian Churches that we can define, in general, as a belief that Judaism is inferior to Christianity. Some scholars use the term “religious anti-Semitism” to define such a position of Christianity toward the Jewish religion. However, this view does not seem strictly justifiable. Despite some important reservations, Hanna Węgrzynek, who wrote a book on blood libel accusations in Old Poland, is right to say that we should not use the term “anti-Semitism” in reference to persecutions of Jews before the end of the nineteenth century, for both chronological and substantive reasons. I would add that we should not use it due to methodological reasons.<sup>2</sup> We have to realize that the term is repeatedly used, often without more in-depth reflection, to describe very complicated and complex processes of social, political, and ethnic character, which manifested themselves more and more powerfully in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century. Besides, we cannot underestimate the impact of the Holocaust experience on the understanding of the totality of phenomena which this term defines. The famous British historian, Norman Davies, even goes as far as to claim that “‘Anti-Semitism’ is an inappropriate term. It is a word which only beclouds the situation.” It is a dialectical term, and its “use leads to absurd consequences. Everything has to be either pro-Jewish or anti-Jewish.”<sup>3</sup> At this point, it is worth citing Anna Landau-Czajka (who wrote a book on the Jewish question in Polish journalism of 1933–1939): “when we

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- 1 In the work of W. Marr (1819–1904), *Der Sieg des Judentums über Germanentum*; cf. H. Markiewicz, A. Romanowski, *Skrzydlate słowa*, Warszawa 1990, p. 417; J. Kucharzewski, “Rządy Aleksandra III,” pp. 427–428; cf. also: F. de Fontette, *Historia antysemityzmu*, trans. M. Mendychowska, M. Mendychowski, Wrocław 1992, pp. 8–10, and A. Haase, *Katholische Presse und die Judenfrage. Inhaltsanalyse katholischer Periodika am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Pullach bei München 1975, p. 55.
  - 2 H. Węgrzynek, „Czarna legenda” Żydów. *Procesy o rzekome mordy rytualne w dawnej Polsce*, Warszawa 1995, p. 10, fn.1.
  - 3 N. Davies, “Polskie mity i europejskie stereotypy,” *Odra* 2000, No. 6, p. 9.

analyze the statements of pre-war authors [before the Second World War], we have to remember that they can (but, of course, do not have to) indicate a much more moderate anti-Semitic attitude than if they were uttered today.”<sup>4</sup> We can make a similar remark regarding the period before the First World War.

These reasons appear to justify a cautious use of this term. Otherwise, a comparative analysis of the phenomena related to traditional anti-Jewish and anti-Semitic attitudes would boil down to listing similarities between the two attitudes. To be sure, one cannot deny the existence of these similarities. Neither can one overlook the fundamental difference between these attitudes without risking an impoverishment and oversimplification of the studied phenomena. The difference in question concerns their ideological foundations. In this respect, it is important to point out that each of these attitudes developed in different historical conditions and different factors affected their proliferation. In the nineteenth century, even anti-Semitism itself was not a homogenous phenomenon. We can talk about economic, social, political, and racial anti-Semitism, and even though they had the same motives, that is, the aversion and hostility toward Jews, each of them used different methods and set different goals.<sup>5</sup>

As Hannah Arendt aptly notes in her study on anti-Semitism, an anti-Judaic attitude went hand in hand with an anti-Christian attitude of Jews.<sup>6</sup> Anti-Christian rulings or statements of famous and respected rabbis greatly influenced the formation of anti-Judaic attitudes, which manifested themselves within the Christianity, particularly when it exceeded the borders of Jewry, understood as a religion and nation, and ceased to be merely “a Jewish sect.” To be sure, Christianity stemmed from – and was deeply entrenched in – Judaism, but the development of a new religion meant the absorption of a non-Jewish element, which in consequence gained prevalence. In the process, Christianity became more and more antagonistic toward its source, that is, Judaism. Early Christianity tried very much to emphasize its specific character. It did so by highlighting the differences, thereby dissenting from Judaism. In a later period, the Church justified the prohibitions of contacts with Jews by claiming that Jews

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4 A. Landau-Czajka, *W jednym stali domu. . . Koncepcje rozwiązania kwestii żydowskiej w publicystyce polskiej lat 1933–1939*, Warszawa 1998, p. 23.

5 Cf. Landau-Czajka, *W jednym stali domu. . .*, pp. 25–28.

6 H. Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Vol. 1, trans. D. Grinberg, M. Szawiel, San Diego, Austin, New York 1976, p. xii.

could easily misguide Christians, and simple people in particular, thanks to their knowledge of the Bible and dialectical skills.<sup>7</sup>

Christian theology became one of the primary vehicles of anti-Judaism. According to theologians, the Church took the place of the old Israel. Therefore, Jews constituted a relic of a distant past, known only from the Old Testament and Christian journalism which – in its apologetic and polemical tone – sought to demonstrate the inferiority of Judaism. Indeed, Christian theology fell into triumphalism and forgot about Judaic roots of Christianity. It regarded the Old Testament as nothing more than a prefiguration of the New Testament and explained all Jewish woes in terms of “God’s anger.” In the Church’s catechesis, the Talmud was declared as Jewish self-defense and response to the emergence of Christianity. Post-biblical Judaism was depicted as a hollow distortion of the Old Testament heritage.<sup>8</sup> Christians forgot that the Jewishness of Jesus connected Judaism with Christianity, they failed to remember about his earthly life in Palestine.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, they burdened Jews with a collective responsibility for almost every wrongdoing in the world, a conviction, which found its deepest origin in the rejection of Christian Messiah by the Jewish nation. The next step was to accuse Jews of deicide: the dispersal of the Jewish diaspora, seen as a well-deserved punishment, became a tangible symbol of this crime.

Christian Church’s crisis and the advent of the Reformation did not bring an essential change in the perception of the role of Jews in Christian Europe. Even Martin Luther’s position on the Jewish question, initially favorable, soon turned into active hostility. In the early phase, Luther wished attract Jews to his vision of Christianity, which he believed to discourage people from adopting this religion. With the passage of time, however, as soon as he realized that Jews would not abandon their faith in favor of Jesus as the Messiah, he radically shifted his earlier position. In 1543, Luther went as far as to write the treatise *On the Jews and Their Lies*, in which he claimed: “you have no more bitter, venomous, and vehement foe than a real Jew who earnestly seeks to be a Jew.”<sup>10</sup> Such declarations,

7 G. Dahan, “Chrześcijańscy teologowie średniowieczni a judaizm,” *Communio. Międzynarodowy Przegląd Teologiczny* 1988, No. 4, p. 103.

8 Ł. Kamykowski, *Izrael i Kościół według Charlesa Journeta*, Kraków 1993, p. 263.

9 W. Chrostowski, “Nowe spojrzenie chrześcijaństwa na Żydów i judaizm – nowa teologia,” *Przegląd Powszechny* 1988, No. 9, pp. 266–273; E. Lévinas, *Difficult Freedom: Essays on Judaism*, trans. S. Hand, Baltimore 1997, p. 124.

10 M. Luther, *On the Jews and Their Lies* (1543), available at [http://jdstone.org/cr/files/martin\\_luther/onthejewsandtheirlies07.html](http://jdstone.org/cr/files/martin_luther/onthejewsandtheirlies07.html) (accessed: 02.05.2019). See also W. Tyloch, *Judaizm*, Warszawa 1987, pp. 222–223; E. Lamparter, *Evangelische*

together with Luther's disbelief in the possibility of converting Jews, had a severe impact on the formation of a negative image of Jews in the Protestant tradition, strengthening anti-Judaic prejudice among all Christians.

Indeed, the longtime hostility toward Jews was an expression of a traditional anti-Jewish attitude. This hostility meant the perception of Jews as an entrepreneurial community, which not only monopolized trade, practiced usury, emphasized its otherness, resisted assimilation, had a perplexing way of life, behavior, style of dress, and language but also clung to its religion. This hostility had many aspects: economic, demographic, cultural, and religious.<sup>11</sup> Among others, it resulted from immanent traits of the Jewish community: Jews themselves wished to maintain their difference from other groups, which was a religiously motivated, conscious, and voluntary isolation.<sup>12</sup>

The anti-Judaic attitude was entrenched in Christian theology and canon law, while the anti-Jewish attitude stemmed from interactions between Christians and Jews, primarily in the economic and commercial realm. Anti-Semitism, in turn, was an ideology that drew inspirations from these attitudes and phenomena, but it can hardly be considered a product of the Church or Christianity. It hinged considerably on the concept of race, which developed in Western Europe in the nineteenth century (Joseph Arthur Gobineau, Eugen Dühring). According to this concept, there were inalienable features that distinguished individual groups of people and determined their forms. As Helena Datner notes, this concept of a race was set against an optimistic concept of assimilation, it made futile all individual efforts and denied free will to the individual.<sup>13</sup> Some scholars tended to explain the emergence of racist ideas in the nineteenth century by pointing to the need for a new, hierarchic world order after the fall of feudalism, in which the Jews had their designated place.<sup>14</sup> Charles Journet, a Catholic thinker and

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*Kirche und Judentum. Ein Beitrag zu christlichem Verständnis von Judentum und Antisemitismus*, Stuttgart 1928, p. 5; J. Delumeau, *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture, 13th–18th Centuries*, trans. Eric Nicholson, New York 1991, pp. 232 and 255–257.

11 J. Delumeau, *Sin and Fear*, pp. 232 and 255–257.

12 H. Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, p. xiii; cf. M. Waldenberg, *Kwestie narodowe w Europie Srodkowo-Wschodniej. Dzieje. Idee*, Warszawa 1992, p. 144.

13 H. Datner, "Inteligencja żydowska: czynnik postępu czy rozkładu? Z dyskusji nad inteligencją żydowską w Królestwie Polskim," *BZIH* 1994, No. 4; 1995, No. 2, p. 25.

14 H. Datner, "Inteligencja żydowska: czynnik postępu czy rozkładu? Z dyskusji nad inteligencją żydowską w Królestwie Polskim," *BZIH* 1994, No. 4; 1995, No. 2, p. 25.

theologian, saw anti-Semitism, especially its versions based on a theory of race, as a reaction of modern nationalism against everything supernatural in the world.<sup>15</sup>

It is difficult to determine the border between anti-Judaic and anti-Semitic attitudes in the opinions about the Jews in the second half of the nineteenth century. In fact, the shape of this border depended on a religious, social, political, or economic consciousness. However, we might contend that anti-Judaism found its place in the consciousness of all those groups of people that lived in traditional social structures, professed traditional values, and did not directly feel the impact of civilizational changes. In other words, these were mainly inhabitants of villages and small towns. However, it is important to remember that the persistence and character of anti-Semitism in these areas depended on local differences, which stemmed primarily from an uneven economic development of various parts of Poland. Anti-Judaism rooted in the Polish plebeian culture, which remained under a strong influence of Catholicism, had, as it were, two poles. On the one hand, Jews were dangerous and had diabolical features, while on the other hand, their existence was necessary and belonged to the realm of the sacred.<sup>16</sup>

Janusz Tazbir writes that “anti-Judaism survived in Poland, particularly in small towns, until the Second World War” and that proponents of the traditional anti-Judaism perceived “coexistence with Jews in one city or town as acceptable, but – under certain circumstances – onerous.” For an anti-Semite, in turn, the Jew always remained “the Jew; and neither a religious conversion nor a strong sense of belonging to a new community, nor even an important contribution to the national culture, could help.”<sup>17</sup>

Together with the political situation, civilizational changes which occurred in Congress Poland, particularly in the social and economic realms, enabled the intensification of various processes that led to the gradual decomposition of the traditional model of society, in which the Church played the role of a guide and teacher. The rise and development of liberal and left-wing political parties, but also the growing labor movement, which rejected the doctrine of social solidarity and expressed the need for class struggle – all this increased the concern of opinion-forming circles associated with the Church. It seems that anti-Semitism most often gained popularity in those social groups that remained most liable to

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15 Ł. Kamykowski, *Izrael i Kościół według Charlesa Journeta*, pp. 131–132.

16 A. Cała, *Wizerunek Żyda w polskiej kulturze ludowej*, Warszawa 1992, p. 119.

17 J. Tazbir, *Protokoły mędrców Syjonu. Autentyk czy falsyfikat*, Warszawa 1992, pp. 19–20.

the consequences of civilizational development, namely inhabitants of industrial areas and larger cities.

Admittedly, neither anti-Judaism nor anti-Semitism existed in their pure form, as none of the discussed groups lived in isolation from the rest of society. For instance, a conviction about the malign impact of Talmud on the Jewish morality, so frequent in the clergy's statements, stemmed from the anti-Judaic tradition, which anti-Semitism eagerly supplemented, thereby revealing the alleged sources of many social problems.

### Anti-Judaism

The Christian prohibition of closer contacts with the Jews stemmed from the conviction about their moral and religious inferiority and the concern that, due to this inferiority, they might have a malign influence on others. The fact that part of the clergy exhorted the laity to avoid contacts with Jews did not necessarily translate into a support for anti-Semitism. It probably stemmed from the anti-Judaic attitude inculcated already during theological studies in a seminary. For instance, Fr. Józef Krukowski's<sup>18</sup> pastoral theology textbook, *Teologia pasterska katolicka. Dla użytku seminariów duchownych i pasterzów dusz* (Catholic Pastoral Theology. For the Use of Seminaries and Shepherds of Souls), used in Catholic seminary teaching in the Kingdom of Poland since the 1870s,<sup>19</sup> explains the clergy's attitude toward Jews in the following way:

The Christian principles did not exclude Jews from the impact of Christian love; nevertheless, they oppose undue encounters of Christians with Jews, making friendly acquaintances with them, or taking up work at their houses, etc. and it is all due to the fact that these principles compel us to recognize the superiority of Catholicism over Judaism, as they know the character of Jews and

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18 1828–1900, Jagiellonian University professor, Dean of the Theological Faculty.

19 On Krukowski's textbook, see D. Olszewski, "Książka religijna na terenie Królestwa Polskiego w XIX wieku," *Rocznik Świętokrzyski* 1989, Vol. 16, p. 154. The textbook had many editions. It was very popular among the clergy, for it provided an account of Polish priestly traditions. Each edition (Lviv 1874, Krakow 1880, 1887, and 1894) had a subject index in an alphabetical order with the page reference. It allowed the reader to quickly find the subject that interested him. Besides, Józef Krukowski's textbook was handier (in one volume) than *Pastoral Theology* by Johann Michael Sailer (1751–1832), a Bishop of Regensburg, translated into Polish and released in Warsaw in 1862–1863 (two volumes). According to Daniel Olszewski, Johann Michael Sailer's work was of no significance in the Kingdom of Poland (Olszewski, "Książka religijna na terenie," p. 154, fn.27).



assume that undue encounters had a malign influence on the character and customs of Christians. . . . Although a parson would willingly encourage his people to live in peace with Jews, so that they set an example to others, still – due to the respect for the laws of the Church – he would not allow the situation when Jews sit in the pews during the Catholic service, when they join Catholic funerals with candles in their hands, or when Christians hire Jewish teachers for their children, get involved in Jewish celebrations, especially during our Lent or the Advent, read newspapers soaked through with Jewish principles, or participate in Jewish services in synagogues. He would exhort his people not to absorb Jewish weaknesses or follow their superstitious customs.<sup>20</sup>

The same textbook goes on to explain that, if a Christian nanny worked for a Jew and nourished his child, she committed a sin, and only a bishop could absolve her. However, it was not a sin to nourish a Jewish child in her own house.<sup>21</sup>

So much for the textbook; but how did practice look like? It is not easy to answer this question. This results from the scarcity of sources that we could use to capture practices in this area. Nevertheless, based on available sources, one may provide a rough description of these practices.

In 1861, the head of the employment office for the service in the municipal office of Suwałki sent a letter to Augustów Consistory, alarming that a considerable number of Christian servants of both sexes worked in Jewish households. According to him, this service was at odds with good manners, morality, and religion. Any attempt to convince those servants to leave this occupation proved futile. Hence, the officer decided to find regulations that expressly prohibited such service. Despite the strenuous research, he did not manage to find any legal document that unequivocally prohibited such work, and the ones he did find only forbade Jews to hire women to breastfeed their children. Therefore, the Consistory asked, “to find such an explicit regulation in this matter in the archive, and to send it to us; moreover, the local parson, honorable canon Wierzbowski,<sup>22</sup> would preach an appropriate sermon to the people from the pulpit in the church.”<sup>23</sup>

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20 J. Krukowski, *Teologia pasterska katolicka. Dla użytku seminariów duchownych i pasterzów dusz*, Lwów 1874, p. 453; Kraków 1880, p. 604; 1887, pp. 671–672; 1894, pp. 671–672.

21 J. Krukowski, *Teologia pasterska katolicka*, 1874, p. 282; 1880, p. 419; 1887, p. 472; 1894, p. 472.

22 Piotr Paweł Wierzbowski (1818–1893), a Bishop of Sejny in 1872–1893; ADŁom, Zespół ogólny (II), sig. 478, k. 9, and 9v.

23 ADŁom, Zespół ogólny (II), sig. 478, k. 9, and 9v.

The Consistory replies in the following way:

Mindful of its own faithful and their life with Jews, when it comes to preserving the dignity of Christianity and protecting its faithful from the threat of revolt, the Holy Catholic Church issued laws that prohibit the Christians from living with Jews, participating in their feasts, using the same baths, work as servants at their homes, and that prohibit Christian nannies from sitting Jewish children. The Church law in this matter can be found in almost every century since ancient times, apart from the others, the Consistory quotes the constitution of Pope Gregory XIII of June 1, 1581, constitution of Sacred Congregation of Councils of March 15, 1612, Pope Benedict XIV's papal bull to the Polish Primate, archbishops, and bishops, and Pope Pius IV's decision that started with the words: *Cum enim* etc., that prohibit the contacts between the Christians and the Jews in the cases mentioned above. The domestic government issued in virtue of the Church laws, corresponding provisions and regulations, that is, Governmental Committee of Religious Denominations and Public Education in the rescript No. 1393/180 of February 14, 1824, addressed toward all the provincial authorities and the municipal office of the city of Warsaw appropriate warning, as this body perceived the hiring of Christians by Jews as something indecent.<sup>24</sup>

A circular related to the upcoming Easter confession issued in 1862 by Zygmunt Szczęsny Feliński, Archbishop of Warsaw, caused public outrage of part of the Warsaw press, since it prohibited priests from absolving the Catholics who were servants at Jewish houses.<sup>25</sup> To clarify his position, Archbishop Zygmunt Szczęsny Feliński sent a letter to the editor of *Gazeta Warszawska* (Warsaw Newspaper), responding to the accusations against him. However, the Warsaw newspaper did not publish the letter, which appeared in the press outside of the Kingdom of Poland, while it in Warsaw circulated in numerous duplicates.<sup>26</sup> The Archbishop wrote:

I did not make any innovation in this matter but only followed the path of respect toward the canon law and synod decisions, developed by numerous saint bishops. . . . so if anyone perceives my act as a crime, that I do not want to mistreat the Christian tradition, as its guard, he must remember that he condemns not only me, but also Woronicz, Fijałkowski families, and all of our other bishops.<sup>27</sup>

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24 ADŁom, Zespół ogólny (II), sig. 478, k. 9, and 9v.

25 A. Eisenbach, *Emancypacja Żydów na ziemiach polskich 1785–1870 na tle europejskim*, Warszawa 1988, pp. 494–495.

26 [W. Przyborowski], *Historia dwóch lat 1861–1862 przez Z.L.S.*, Part 2: *Rok 1862*, Vol. 4, Kraków 1985, p. 201.

27 [W. Przyborowski], *Historia dwóch lat 1861–1862*, p. 201.

During the convention of the clergy of the Archdiocese of Warsaw less than a year later, the archbishop claims during the sitting:

When it comes to the matter of *famulatus apud Judaeos*,<sup>28</sup> the Holy See issued a decision regarding the archdiocese of Lwów. By virtue of this decision, the parsons themselves have to decide on a discretionary basis whether the service at the Jewish houses is an impediment for their lambs to the fulfillment of religious obligations and a threat for their faith. After adjudication, they can absolve such servants and do not force them to leave the service. After all, such doubt can only occur when it comes to domestic service, since the Holy See declared that the service of Christian officials for Jews could be tolerated.<sup>29</sup>

The question of Christian service to Jews became popular in 1902–1904 because of the fierce attack of the Polish weekly *Rola*. In 1902, the weekly indignantly reported that Jankiel Stern, a Jew, left his inheritance for the purpose of funding “rewards” for Christian women employed in Jewish houses. *Rola* considered this inheritance as “the encouragement of Christian women to indecency.”<sup>30</sup> The situation prompted *Rola* to initiate a press campaign against Stern’s movement, all the more so because he authorized the Warsaw Charitable Society to be the executor of his will.<sup>31</sup>

In this case, Maciej Radziwiłł, the Chairman of the Warsaw Charitable Society, asked Wincenty Chościak-Popiel, Archbishop of Warsaw, for an opinion in this matter. Kazimierz Ruskiewicz, the suffragan bishop of Warsaw and closest associate of the Archbishop, responds by procuration. He states that:

the will of deceased Stern does not include anything that opposes Christian faith or morality, or that its falsely incriminated passage on rewarding of the servants does not pose a threat of indecency, if the Warsaw Charitable Society will assign the rewards to those servants that will present evidence of their moral conduct and diligent fulfillment of all religious obligations.<sup>32</sup>

Radziwiłł published the letter in *Kurier Warszawski* at the end of 1903 as an attempt to mitigate the situation, unbeknown to bishop Kazimierz Ruskiewicz. This publication caused the consternation of *Rola*, which continued its campaign. Due to these circumstances, bishop Kazimierz Ruskiewicz published in *Przegląd Katolicki* an article: “Służba u Żydów w Archidiecezji Warszawskiej”

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28 Trans. “employed as a servant at a Jewish house.”

29 Z. S. Feliński, *Pamiętniki*, ed. E. Kozłowski, Warszawa 1986, p. 582.

30 *Ćwierćwiecze walki. Księga pamiątkowa „Roli”*, Warszawa 1910, p. 152.

31 *Rola* 1903, No. 5–11, 13, 15–16 (*O zapis żyda Sterna*).

32 *Cwierćwiecze walki*, pp. 156–157.

(The Service at Jewish Households in the Warsaw Archdiocese) in January 1904. He pleaded the stance of moral theologians and claims that:

thus, when the numerous dignified moral theologians did not perceive the service at Jewish households a criminal act by virtue of custom, why should I perceive it as a misdeed? And that such a custom (*consuetudo*) exists is unquestionable. For such a service of Christians at Jewish households in Warsaw is in practice for over half a century.<sup>33</sup> The priestly authority acknowledges this fact and does not condemn it. Formerly, Christian service to the Jews in the archdiocese occurred only in the diocesan reservations. It has been long since they have been crossed off the list of reservations. Thereby, the authority indicated that we should treat this matter differently. No one is allowed to pronounce judgments in this matter that are stricter than judgments of the authority, which *ex officio* should guard the canon law. . . . Therefore, communication between the Christians and the Jews, apart from the case of indignation, is not a cardinal sin, and in the case of a legitimate reason, it is not a sin at all.<sup>34</sup>

Furthermore, bishop Ruszkiewicz acknowledges Christian service at Jewish households as a normal situation, connected with the excellent dynamics of the socioeconomic changes that forced people to take up various types of works, provided that it does not cause indignation:

The conditions of social and economic life in which we live cause a situation that many people need work and bread, and they search for them where they can find them. And it is not a secret that poorer people struggle to find a job. The need to earn a living forces people to take up the service at the Jewish houses, when they provide them with livelihood and do not hinder the fulfillment of Christian religious obligations. Hence, canon law ceased to be in force due to the need to earn a living and avoid poverty and hunger, since the compliance to it would cause them substantial damage, *grave damnum*.<sup>35</sup>

At the same time, bishop Ruszkiewicz does not spare harsh words for Christian employers: “We often hear complaints about the service today. However, who is responsible for making the service worse and teaching the negligence?” he asks to immediately answer:

The servants observe disregard toward religious obligations, the mockery of their fulfillment, purposeful hindering of the participation in the church service, and finally

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33 In 1872, the mayor of Warsaw and chief inspector of Warsaw wrote in a report addressed to the Viceroy of the Kingdom of Poland: “ni razu ne sluchilos' v Varshave nayma Yevreya ili Yevreyki v usluženie k khristianam, mezhdū tem, kak yevreyskiya semeystva soderzhat u sebya slug-khristian oboyego pola 1236 chelovek,” *Materialy kommissii po ustroystvu byta Yevreyev (po Tsarstvu pol'skomu)*, St. Peterburg 1874, p. 50.

34 PK 1904, No. 4.

35 PK 1904, No. 4.

incitation to debauchery. The priests of Warsaw encounter these problems all the time. Therefore, it is futile to complain about the Jews that they demoralize their servants. The Jews have common sense, and they know that it would cause them harm if they demoralized the servants. Unfortunately, Christians often divest themselves of this common sense.<sup>36</sup>

In the end, bishop Ruszkiewicz wrote referring to the legacy of Jankiel Stern:

If a Christian woman does not succumb to indecency, that is, her faith and morality do not recede, then, the Jewishness of an employer is not an obstacle to take up the job. Shall we beforehand stigmatize with a feature of cohabitation a woman only because she works at the house of a single man? Never. Such a thoughtless reckoning profoundly offends the character of righteous service.<sup>37</sup>

Despite the authoritative tone of bishop Kazimierz Ruszkiewicz's article, *Rola* did not back down. In its view, old legislation of the Church toward the Jews was in force. At the same time, *Rola* claimed that many priests sympathized with its stance.

At the beginning of 1904, *Rola* even went on to announce a "Questionnaire on the Service of Catholic Women at Jewish Households," and then it presented passages from completed questionnaires in several issues. Reportedly, the weekly received feedback from 120 responders.<sup>38</sup>

The presentation began with a reference to the opinion of *Gazeta Kościelna* (Church Newspaper), which was considered an organ of the Lviv Archbishopric. The newspaper did not agree with the arguments of Bishop Kazimierz Ruszkiewicz, defining Jankiel Stern's inheritance as "a slap in the face of the Christian community delivered by the Jew."<sup>39</sup> One of the questionnaire's respondents, a seminary professor, reported that the diocese of Kielce implemented a bishop's reservation policy, which meant that the bishop had the sole the right to absolve penitents who served in Jewish houses. However, he further admitted that he has "not yet been to check the situation in other dioceses."<sup>40</sup>

In turn, "one of the most serious priests of the Kielce diocese" wrote: "I have threatened such Jewish servants from the pulpit that if they continue to resist,

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36 PK 1904, No. 4.

37 PK 1904, No. 4.

38 *Rola* 1904, No. 9 (*Jeszcze o zagubione dusze – Nasz kwestionariusz w sprawie służby katoliczek u żydów*), 1904, nos. 20, 22, 24, 26, 30, 32 (*Odpowiedzi na kwestionariusz w sprawie służby katoliczek u żydów*).

39 *Gazeta Kościelna* 1904, No. 11 (*Brak zasady*); *Rola* 1904, No. 20.

40 *Rola* 1904, No. 22; *Ćwierczwiece walki*, p. 160.

they will not be allowed into the church.”<sup>41</sup> Another priest, “who often speaks very seriously on various public matters,” makes his point as follows:

There should be no doubt how harmful the service of Catholics to Jews is, even though the custom of giving oneself to the Jewish service has unfortunately taken root among us! But the stronger it is, the more we, the priests, should feel obliged to fight this wretched habit, if only because every habit against the law is an abuse.<sup>42</sup>

Coming back to the question posed at the beginning: what was the Church's pastoral practice regarding the discussed issue? Based on the statements above, we may contend that a certain part of the clergy – its actual size is unknown – did not apply old anti-Jewish church legislation. However, it is important to distinguish between survey declarations and practice. This may find confirmation not only in the fact that, in 1861, the Consistory of Augustów Diocese invoked the law of 1824 but also in bishop Ruszkiewicz's statement from 1904 that for over half a century the service of Christians to Jews in Warsaw had not been considered a moral offence. Indeed, it follows that in the second half of the nineteenth century the Church imposed no discriminatory regulations against Jews, but on the contrary, it gradually departed from the old legislation. We should notice that bishop Ruszkiewicz's reservation policy did not necessarily mean a condemnation of all those who served in Jewish households. In fact, everything depended on the priest's attitude and zeal. Discussing Polish-Jewish relations in the Kielce Governorate in the second half of the nineteenth century, Stanisław Wiech writes that “Fr. J. Langier, parish priest from Pińczów, invoked ‘the laws of the Catholic Church and the principles of common sense,’ refusing Easter communion to those Christian who lived under the same roof with Jews and worked for them as private servants.” Sanctions were supposed to be in power until Poles leave Jewish houses and cease working for Jews.<sup>43</sup> In turn, Wojciech Bil, parish priest of Mydłów in the Radom Governorate, refused confession to Wincenty Muroz in 1875, because the latter kept a Jewish servant in his house.<sup>44</sup> Undoubtedly, many priests considered it their pastoral duty to warn the faithful against close contacts with Judaists, seeing them, rightly or wrongly, as a source

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41 *Rola* 1904, No. 26.

42 *Rola* 1904, No. 26; noteworthy, none of the priests taking part in this sort of survey signed it with a name and last name.

43 S. Wiech, “Echa afery Dreyfusa w polskiej prasie prowincjonalnej (na przykładzie „Gazety Kieleckiej”),” *BŻIH* 1993, No. 3/4, p. 43.

44 P. Kubicki, *Bojownicy kapłani za sprawę Kościoła i Ojczyzny w latach 1861–1915*, b. 1, Vol. 3, Sandomierz 1933, p. 3.

of moral corruption of their parishioners. Nonetheless, we cannot rule out that such an attitude could simply have been an expression of personal conflicts.

Fr. Marian Fulman's statement, published in 1905 in *Wiadomości Pasterskie* (Pastoral News),<sup>45</sup> a theological-pastoral monthly for the Catholic clergy the Kujavia-Kalisz diocese, can be regarded as an expression of an anti-Judaist attitude. In his article, "Jews at Church Rites," Fulman discusses the case of the participation of Jews in the funerals of their Christian fellows (precisely speaking, the case concerned members of fire brigades). To the outrage of both believers and clergy, the Jews also performed honorary service to secure religious processions. When asked whether the participation of Jews in funerals, processions, in churches or during bishops' visitations, where they kept order, was decent, Fulman states that moral theology and canon law strictly prohibit dissenters from participating in Catholic religious rites. Even though they could enter Catholic churches and join both liturgical and private services, they could not receive sacraments and sacramentals; nor could they take an active part in the rites. That is why Jews, whose participation in the service was of purely secular character, could not be accused of offence. However, as Fulman continues,

That is what we may say in purely legal terms. Another thing, though, is when we speak about the participation of Jews in Catholic processions from the perspective of our community's outlooks and practical life. We do not see any sufficient reason why our Catholic community would need the help of Jews in order to maintain peace during our religious rites . . . From this angle, it is right to condemn the service of Jews. It would be an unpleasant slap in the face of the faithful delivered by the Church if the latter, having disdained them, called the Jewish unbelievers, be they dressed in impressive uniforms, to the voluntary service aimed at the protection of Christian mysteries.<sup>46</sup>

However, the use of Jewish services did not always lead to offense. Sometimes, it could actually help on one's way to salvation. In this period, there was a striking example of cooperation between a Catholic priest and a Jew: in 1910, Fr. Tomasz Tarczyński, parish priest of Turobin (Lublin Governorate), "announced from the pulpit, addressing the parties of concern, that they should file requests for the registration of their conversion to Catholicism, and directed those who already gave up Orthodoxy to his parish office, where the Jew Mordek Berger wrote these

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45 Father Marian Leon Fulman (1866–1945), dogmatic theology and liturgy lecturer in Włocławek seminary, editor and issuer of *Wiadomości Pasterskie* (1905–1907) and *Kroniki Diecezji Włocławskiej* (1907–1908), cofounder of *Ateneum Kapłańskie* (1909). In the years 1918–1945 Fulman was a Lublin bishop.

46 *Wiadomości Pasterskie* 1905, No. 9.

requests for a certain fee.<sup>47</sup> As we can see, the aversion to Christian Orthodoxy and the need of the time pushed aside anti-Judaist prejudices. Fr. Sylwester Krombach, parish priest in Tuczno in the Siedlce Governorate, expressed a similar position. One of his parishioners, Ludwika Skorupa, who served in an Orthodox house and did not keep certain fasts, was to say that “it was better to serve a Jew or a Tatar, indeed the devil himself, but not the Russians.”<sup>48</sup>

Anti-Judaist accents can be found in some collections of sermons published in the second half of the nineteenth century. In fact, such sentiments, according to the deans’ visitation protocols, enjoyed a considerable popularity among the clergy in the Kingdom of Poland. Here, one may list Józef Szpaderski and Tomasz Dąbrowski’s collections of sermons<sup>49</sup> and Karol Kowalski’s collection published at the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>50</sup>

In *Homilie i nauki niedzielne do użytku plebanów i kaznodziejów* (Homilies and Sunday Teachings for the Use of Parsons and Preachers), Fr. Józef Szpaderski devotes part of his parish teachings to the rejection of Jews. “This nation,” he wrote, “displays numerous signs of rejection and God’s punishment.”<sup>51</sup> These signs were to be dispersion, vagrant fate, misery, and contempt. In addition, “what is also strange about this nation is the blind, superstitious faith in all kinds of fraudsters, false prophets, and false Christs. This is a new stigma of rejection.”<sup>52</sup> Szpaderski considers Jews to be “the fiercest enemies of Christianity,” those who had distorted their consciences with “Talmudic sophisms.” He calls the gap between Jews and Christian as “the curse of God,” and concludes that “the

47 P. Kubicki, *Bojownicy kapłani*, b. 1, Vol. 2, pp. 270–271.

48 P. Kubicki, *Bojownicy kapłani*, b. 1, Vol. 2, p. 399; cf. also *Sytuacja polityczna Królestwa Polskiego w świetle tajnych raportów naczelników Warszawskiego Okręgu Zandarmerii z lat 1867–1872 i 1878*, eds. S. Wiech and W. Caban, Kielce 1999, pp. 171–172. Noteworthy, in 1907, *Kholmśkaya tserkovnaya zhizn'* (no. 2) included Poles and Jews as enemies of the Orthodox church and Russia in the article „Spaseniye Rusi v slyianii s russkim pravoslavnym narodom.”

49 D. Olszewski, *Książka religijna*, pp. 162–163; J. Szpaderski, *Homilie i nauki niedzielne do użytku plebanów i kaznodziejów przez ks. Józefa Szpaderskiego b. profesora b. Akademii duchownej rzymsko-katolickiej w Warszawie*, Vol. 1–4, Kraków 1875–1876; T. Dąbrowski, *Kazania na niedziele całego roku, opracował . . . katecheta gimnazjalny w Stanisławowie*, Stanisławów 1891, 1894; Wilno 1900; Kraków 1905.

50 K. Kowalski, *Homilie i kazania na wszystkie Niedziele i Święta całego roku . . . napisał . . . Doktor Filozofii, Świętej Teologii i Prawa Kanonicznego, proboszcz parafii Zawidz*, Vol. 1, Płock 1907.

51 J. Szpaderski, *Homilie i nauki*, p. 252.

52 J. Szpaderski, *Homilie i nauki*, pp. 245 and 258.



time will come when they too will receive mercy.”<sup>53</sup> In turn, Fr. Karol Kowalski emphasizes Jewish blindness in matters of faith: “evidences for Jesus’ divinity,” he wrote, “were so obvious and numerous that only a Satanic anger would make one not believe in His words.”<sup>54</sup> Later, he repeats the accusations of deicide and blasphemy, and describes their alleged hatred toward God as “their daily food throughout the ages.”<sup>55</sup>

In turn, Fr. Tomasz Dąbrowski, in his *Kazania na niedziele całego roku* (Sunday Sermons for the Whole Year), raises the issue of usury; to be sure, he describes this practice among Christians, but nonetheless also made it clear that a “usurer” was, in fact, a synonym for “Jew:”

Who are they? What is their name? It is easy to guess. Usury is their occupation, while their name is usurers-stranglers. And if every single one of those usurers was a Jew, I would never bring up this matter from the pulpit; but alas! This favorite Jewish craft already appears among Christians.<sup>56</sup>

Furthermore, Dąbrowski refers to the patristic literature. As he claims,

think of the fathers of the Church, these perfect experts and exegetes of Scripture. It is usury and usurers that they condemn in their strongest terms. There is nothing more shameful, Saint John Chrysostom writes, and nothing crueller than usury. Saint Augustine calls usury a vicious, hateful, and damnable crime. Saint Bernard writes: Christian usurers are baptized, to be sure, but in fact they are not Christians but only Jews. Saint Basil and Saint Ambrose compare usury to wild animals, and snakes, and robbers, and even devils.<sup>57</sup>

Pointing to anti-Jewish accents or motifs in the teaching of the Catholic Church, we should recall the findings of Jerzy Bagrowicz, who argues that he found neither anti-Jewish nor anti-Semitic overtones in one of the oldest Polish catechetical textbooks, Fr. Franciszek Płoszczyński’s *Wzory i przykłady katechizowania*

53 J. Szpaderski, *Homilie i nauki*, p. 261.

54 K. Kowalski, *Homilie i kazania*, Vol. 1, p. 250.

55 K. Kowalski, *Homilie i kazania*, Vol. 1, p. 251. In *Wybór kazań i mów przygodnych księdza K. Antoniewicza, księdza Maksymiliana Kamieńskiego, księdza Andrzeja Mikiewiczza i innych* issued in Warsaw in 1853, there was, among other things, *Kazanie o prawdzie religii chrześcijańskiej w ogólności*, which described Judaism: “We see believers of this religion, who for eighteen hundred years were without a church, an altar, priests, sacrifices, scattered all over the world, yet not assimilating with any nation. Therefore, we can state that God’s curse chaces them because of some great crime of their fathers. God must have chosen different people who would praise him truly.” p. 634.

56 T. Dąbrowski, *Kazania na niedziele*, p. 345.

57 T. Dąbrowski, *Kazania na niedziele*, p. 349.

(Patterns and Examples of Catechesis; Warsaw 1877). In turn, as Jerzy Bagrowicz writes, catechisms in the form of questions and answers – popular in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries – usually did not mention the fact that Jews killed Jesus. Instead, their authors chose to write that he “was crucified.”<sup>58</sup> One should note, however, that so far there has been no comprehensive analysis of the content of the collections of sermons, homilies, and parish teachings published between the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century.

Also Evangelicals expressed traditional anti-Jewish views. For them, too, the Jews were those who “rejected the true God.”<sup>59</sup> Pastor Leopold Otto invokes the idea of God’s punishment for opposing His will and killing Christ to explain the plight of Jews, their dispersion, and the misfortunes that had fallen upon them throughout history:

The people of Israel were blessed and chosen people. They had the pure word of God and holy church celebrations . . . . And yet these corrupt sons did not listen to the voice of this God. They preferred trade profits, their houses and fields, rather than the salvation of the soul. . . . Rebelling against the true God, Israel not only killed the prophets of the Lord but also crucified . . . the son of that King, who brings fortune, it killed Christ. . . . For a long time, God was patient with the people of Israel but, in the end, He punished them terribly, took everything from them, and cast them away from Himself.<sup>60</sup>

In his letter to Józef Ignacy Kraszewski from 1872, Pastor Otto expresses the same idea: “In the history of the world, we see an antithesis everywhere. God and Satan, light and darkness. It is among the Jews that God-man is born, and the Jews crucify him – the people who had the most glorious task.”<sup>61</sup>

In turn, Pastor August Gerhardt describes a “total bankruptcy of Judaism,” the deviation of Jews from the essential content of the Old Testament. “The Jewish question is neither political nor economic,” he claims, “but it is purely religious. This issue itself originates from the crime on Golgotha, where the Jewish people

58 J. Bagrowicz, “Żydzi i judaizm w katechezie Kościoła katolickiego (ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem sytuacji katechezy w Polsce),” in: *Żydzi i judaizm we współczesnych badaniach polskich. Materiały z konferencji*. Kraków November 21–23 1995, ed. K. Pilarczyk, Kraków 1997, p. 136.

59 ZE 1873, No. 1 (*Czy chrześcijaństwo jest przeciwne wolności*).

60 L. Otto, *Dlaczego wielu jest powołanych a mało będzie wybranych. Kazanie powiedziane w 20 niedzielę po Trójcy Sw. 9 października 1864 w Ewangelicko-Augsburskim Zborze Cieszyńskim przez doktora . . . pastora Zboru Ewangelicko-Augsburskiego Warszawskiego, Cieszyn 1864*, p. 7.

61 *Listy śląskie do Józefa Ignacego Kraszewskiego z lat 1841–1886*, ed. J. Pośpiech, Opole 1966, p. 207.

inflicted death upon the Son of God. Thus, it is also on Golgotha where it will find its resolution.”<sup>62</sup>

Similar views appear on the pages of the Orthodox periodical *Kholmsko-Varshavskiy yeparikhhal'nyy vestnik*. It shares the conviction that there is a complete contradiction between the moral-religious foundations of Jewish Mosaism and Christianity. From this perspective, the Talmudic morality of Judaism had nothing to do with the sublime moral assumptions of the Christian religion. Many authors sought to demonstrate that Jews, as distinct from Christians, limited the notion of neighbor to co-religionists. Their prayer was ironically compared to making a deal with God.<sup>63</sup> Others claimed that, “from the religious perspective, the present synagogue is the fiercest heresy in the doctrine of Christ, the Savior of the world; it is a fossilized mummy, an object of archaeology.”<sup>64</sup>

In the article “Żydzi naszych czasów w Jerozolimie oraz rzut oka na współczesną nam kwestię żydowską” (Present-Day Jews in Jerusalem and a Look at the Jewish Question), protoiereus Apollinaris Kovalnitsky<sup>65</sup> explains the plight of the chosen people with the punishment for their rejection of the Sacrifice of Christ and the fulfillment of the prophecy of Moses concerning the dispersion of Jews “among all nations to the ends of the earth,” where, serving various gods, they will know no peace, and their existence will be filled with a constant fear for life.<sup>66</sup>

The Orthodox Church often explained the weak moral condition of its clergy by pointing to Jewish usurious practices. In 1881, *Vestnik* reprinted an article from *Volhyn'skiye Yeparichal'nyee Vedomosti* titled “Żydowska eksploatacja wołyńskich Seminarzystów” (Jewish Exploitation of Volhynian Seminarians), adding that the problem concerned seminarians in whole Western Russia.<sup>67</sup> The

62 A. Gerhardt, “Kwestia żydowska,” in: *Kalendarz dla ewangelików na rok przestępny 1904*, Warszawa 1903, p. 141.

63 KhVyv 1901, No. 40 (*Yevreystvo v otnoshenii k khristianstvu*).

64 Vyl 1910, No. 12 (*Sinagoga i khram*).

65 In the years 1892–1904 he edited *Kholmsko-Varshavskiy yeparkhal'nyy vestnik*, and since 1906 – *Varshavskiy yeparkhal'nyy listok*. In 1867, Kovalnitsky graduated from Kiev Theological Academy. He also lectured ancient languages and the history of Church in Volyn' Orthodox Seminary and served in Kholmsko-Varshavskaya Diocese, cf. *Polnyy pravoslavnyy bogoslovskiy entsiklopedicheskiy slovar'*, Vol. 2, St. Petersburg 1913, p. 1395; *Spisok tserkvey i dukhovenstva kholmsko-varshavskoy yeparkhii s ukazaniyem blagochinnicheskikh okrugov, guberniy, uyezdov, dereven, vkhodyashchikh v sostav prikhoda, kolichestva prikhozhan i tserkovnoy zemli*.

66 KhVyv 1896, No. 19

67 KhVyv 1881, No. 24.

article discussed the consequences of mutual credit and trade contacts between seminarists and Jews. In most cases, the students fell into serious debts, which they were unable to pay off. In fear of the consequences, they started to lie not only to lenders but also to parents, relatives, and seminarian authorities. This destroyed the very foundation of the life of this community, based on truthfulness. The future shepherds of the people came from seminaries, so they were largely demoralized, overcome by the desire to possess and at the same time trained in wastefulness and extravagance. The author of the article argued that the results of such education were visible after graduation from the seminary and had an impact on the future life of the clergy. When a seminarist drowns in debt, he wrote,

then he does not see his future priesthood as an end, but he sees it only as a means to cover the debts with ever-increasing interest. A vocation for holiness is out of question. Who is a priest without vocation! He is not shepherd – he is a mercenary! This, of course, is where all illegal income, extortion, scandals, etc. originate.<sup>68</sup>

He further discusses equally dangerous consequences for the family life. Many of the young men who had finished the seminary wanted to marry well just to pay their debts. Therefore, the author asks:

Isn't it the profanation of marriage, and at the same time a profanation committed by the future guides of the nation?! . . . And what a life such wretches have. The absence of marital love, the inclination to extravagance and other misdeeds, the shortage of money and material deprivation in general, the unrequested visits of intrusive lenders, the perspective of meeting the commissioner of the peace, or perhaps even of court trials with the Jews – where else can it all lead than to family disorder, excuses, quarrels, disbelief, etc., etc. In short, family fire becomes hell. . . . It is highly important that the foundations of the family, which should serve as an example for many other families, indeed for the family of the whole parish, are destroyed: *qualis rex, talis grex!* What kind of example is this for parishioners, when Batiushka and Matushka live in untruth?!<sup>69</sup>

On the basis of seminarian and consistorian files, the author argues that this exploitation of Volhynian seminarists continued from the very beginning of the establishment of the Volhynian seminary. Although the article he pays much attention to the deplorable moral condition of the seminarists, the author, obviously blames the Jews, who were to take advantage of the naivety of these young people and offered them large amounts of money. In turn, having a lot of money at one's disposal at such a young age must have provoked depravation, leading

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68 KhVyv 1881, No. 24.

69 KhVyv 1881, No. 24.

to one's escape from the life of simplicity, strictness, and piety. The consequence was the destruction of both family happiness and the foundations of decent existence in the future.

Another issue, which affected the relations between Christian (Catholic and Orthodox) Churches and Jews was the Jewish trade in Christian objects of worship. Various historical statements concerning this issue provoke the conclusion that, in practice, calls for a ban on this type of trade did not bring any desirable effects. This was particularly evident in Częstochowa, where Jews had a significant share in the Christian devotional trade.<sup>70</sup> It was no different in the Orthodox Church, where, as *Vestnik* reported in 1882, "clerics and monasteries were often selling used, obsolete church equipment, such as liturgical dishes and robes, or even old manuscripts dating back to the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, at a price offered by Jews, in order to raise funds for the purchase of new ones."<sup>71</sup>

In the same year, *Vestnik* quotes the Polish press, which reported on the special instruction of the Warsaw Chief of Police, who explained to police officers that the ban on trade in holy images, crosses, etc. concerned only devotional items of the Orthodox Church, and hence did not apply to objects of Roman Catholic worship. Therefore, *Vestnik* suggests that the instruction must have been jointly inspired by Catholics and Jews, who saw it as mutually beneficial. After all, was there any sound reason for the Chief of Police to explain a clearly formulated ban? *Vestnik* also notices a threat posed to the Orthodox population of Lublin and Siedlce governorates by the Jewish trade in Catholic devotional items. The problem reached even deeper since it was often hard to tell whether a given object belonged to the Catholic or Orthodox realm. Finally, the periodical expresses a fear that Jews would abuse the permission they received by selling these objects also to "the Russian population of the Kingdom of Poland, not educated enough to know the difference between Orthodox and Roman Catholic crosses and images."<sup>72</sup>

To be sure, *Vestnik* means the Uniate population living in the eastern territories of Lublin and Siedlce governorates. To prevent this, he proposes prohibiting Jews from trading in all objects of Christian worship. However, if this

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70 GW 1910, No. 8 (*Zydzi i świętości katolickie*) and No. 1 of 1912 (*Plaga wsi i miast naszych*).

71 KhVyv 1882, No. 19 (*Yevreyskaya trgovlya drevnimi tserkovnymi veshchami i rukopisyami*).

72 KhVyv 1882, No. 21 (*Dozvoleniye yevreyam prodavat' r. katolicheskiye kresty, ikony i pr.*).

proved impossible, it was necessary to inform all Orthodox believers in these governorates that the ban on trade applies only to objects of Orthodox worship. In conclusion, *Vestnik* appeals to the clergy to warn all parishioners against “the Roman Catholic temple passing through the Jewish hands.”<sup>73</sup>

These press reports were not an expression of the fear of profaning Orthodox holiness by unfaithful Jews; nor did it concern anti-Jewish prejudices which probably did not play a decisive role here. Rather, the reports were a symptom of an obsessive fear of Catholic religious propaganda. One may observe that some Orthodox priests used the services of Jews for the renovation of churches. This must have been a quite frequent phenomenon since church circulars often recommended that people should renounce all cooperation with the Jews in this field and explained that the lack of Christian craftsmen was not a sufficient justification.<sup>74</sup> However, life made the Church adopt more compromise solutions. As *Vestnik* reported in 1893, the Czernichów Consistory issued a ban on employing Jews because of repeated incidents of Jewish blasphemy during work. However, exceptions were allowed, but they required the consent of relevant church authorities.<sup>75</sup>

It seems that also Catholic priests did not avoid employing Jewish craftsmen to renovate churches, as evidenced by the complaint of a Christian craftsman from Warsaw to the Consistory of the Kielce Diocese: “in the Kielce Diocese, Jews are hired to construct and restore churches.” Therefore, Fr. Aleksander Kluczyński, Administrator of the Diocese, issued a circular to the clergy: “Because the complaint is right, and because it does not suit the Church to employ Jews, we commend it to the attention of the venerable clergy.”<sup>76</sup>

The phenomena concerning mutual contacts between Jews and Christians show that in confrontation with everyday needs anti-Judaist legislation often remained a mere postulate. In practice, everything depended on the local social, moral, and political conditions. Being a part of the feudal system of Christian Europe, anti-Judaism became somewhat anachronistic at the twilight of feudalism. After all, the anti-Judaist argumentation, based on theological considerations and defining the place of Jews in the social hierarchy, failed to respond to the new times. A secularized society simply needed a different language. As Kazimierz Ruszkiewicz stressed, the old anti-Judaist church legislation had

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73 KhVyv 1882, No. 21 (*Dozvoleniye yevreyam prodavat' r. katolicheskkiye kresty, ikony i pr.*).

74 KhVyv 1894, No. 4 (*K voprosu o remontirovke tserkvey yevreyami*).

75 KhVyv 1894, No. 4 (*K voprosu o remontirovke tserkvey yevreyami*).

76 ADKiel, *Akta konsystorskie. Okólniki Biskupie i konsystorskie*, sig. OA-2/14, k. 38.

to stand down in the face of the challenges posed by the social and economic changes from the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, anti-Judaism never disappeared as a system of religious views. In fact, it was often used for various purposes. Under changed economic conditions, anti-Semitism, which gave a simple and suggestive explanation of the painful phenomena of social life, proved to be a proper instrument for both understanding and describing the new order of the postfeudal reality in which a separate place was reserved for Jews.

### **Anti-Semitism**

The origins of Polish anti-Semitism in the nineteenth century have not yet been thoroughly analyzed by Polish historians. However, thanks to the work of foreign authors dealing with the birth of anti-Semitism in its cradle, that is, in Germany and Austria, we may notice certain analogies and regularities that correspond to the Polish reality of the second half of the nineteenth century. Moreover, in recent years, the American-Canadian historian Theodore Weeks published several interesting articles on Polish anti-Semitism at the turn of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries.<sup>77</sup>

In their texts on anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria, Peter Pulzer, M.Z. Rosenblatt, and Jacob Katz argue that modern anti-Semitism was a weapon of all those who opposed liberalism, secularization, and modernization. It also served as an effective weapon to exclude influential Jews from political, social, and economic life.<sup>78</sup> Discussing the development phases of this phenomenon, Johann Bunzl claims that, "In the history of modern anti-Semitism, we should distinguish anti-Semitism that is a paranoid yet socially conditioned understanding of reality from anti-Semitism that is only a means of politics."<sup>79</sup> The first phase was a reaction of some social groups to the threats posed by new, incomprehensible socioeconomic processes. It was characterized by an increasing, "spontaneous" aversion to the Jewish elite, especially entrepreneurs. The second phase consisted in improving and streamlining the mechanism of this aversion by leaders, who represented certain sociopolitical aspirations. As a result, anti-Semitism

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77 Cf. *Introduction*, fn. 13.

78 A. Żbikowski, *Rozwój ideologii antysemickiej w Galicji w 2. połowie XIX w. Teofila Merunowicza atak na żydowskie kahały*, Part 1: *Przegląd piśmiennictwa*, BZIH 1993, No. 3/4, pp. 58–59.

79 A. Żbikowski, *Rozwój ideologii antysemickiej*, p. 61.

became a theory of a universal “Jewish conspiracy” aimed at “expropriating local nations.”<sup>80</sup>

One may also bring out the determinants of anti-Semitism by comparing the situation in Hungary and the Czech Republic. The socioeconomic structure of the Hungarian society (landed gentry, peasantry, etc.) was an important reason behind the incomplete assimilation of the local Jews. However, as Ezra Mendelsohn notes, on the eve of the First World War, most Hungarian Jews already adopted the Magyar culture, many spoke Hungarian and (were) identified as Hungarians of the Jewish faith.<sup>81</sup> Certainly, this was favored by the fact that, after 1867, Hungarians were a politically dominant nation and generally accepted the acculturation of Jews, who often became zealous proponents of Magyarization. Not without significance was also the fact that, in Transleithania, Hungarians constituted only 48 % of the community (1910), the rest were Romanians, Germans, Slovaks, Croats, Serbs, and Ukrainians. In addition, Romanians and Serbs, who constituted, respectively, 14 % and 5 % of the Transleithanian population, had their own nation states.<sup>82</sup> In this situation, the community of 900,000 was worth the interest of politicians. Besides, Hungarian liberals firmly opposed all manifestations of clericalism, a fact which surely diminished the impact of anti-Semitism in Hungary.

Ezra Mendelsohn also lists the most important factors that curbed the proliferation of anti-Semitic tendencies in the Czech Republic. These factors include the small size of the local Jewish community, its “European character,” the anticlericalism of the Czech intelligentsia rooted in the Hussite traditions, the general reluctance to Catholicism as a religion imported from the Habsburg Monarchy, strong middle estates whose economic prosperity reduced the risk of extremism, and the formation of the Czech national movement in the atmosphere of political liberalism in Cisleithania.<sup>83</sup>

Therefore, the situation in Hungary and the Czech Republic differed utterly from the situation in Poland under the Russian rule, where the intensification of anti-Jewish sentiment was closely related to the rapidly increasing socioeconomic aspirations of the Polish middle class. What made it even worse was the fact the local government hardly opposed political anti-Semitism. In addition,

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80 A. Żbikowski, *Rozwój ideologii antysemickiej*, p. 61.

81 E. Mendelsohn, *Żydzi Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej w okresie międzywojennym*, Warszawa 1992, p. 134.

82 M. Waldenberg, *Kwestie narodowe*, passim.

83 E. Mendelsohn, *Żydzi Europy*, p. 194.



as Theodore Weeks observes, the so-called progressive anti-Semitism in Poland proved the weakness of Polish liberalism and its inability to discover the fundamental causes of social and national problems.<sup>84</sup>

The beginnings of Polish anti-Semitism are connected with the Warsaw pogrom of 1881 and the *Rola* weekly, which Jan Jeleński started to publish two years later in Warsaw. The milieu gathered around the weekly described themselves as right-wing radicals or conservative nationalists who strongly emphasized their Catholicism.<sup>85</sup> The extent to which *Rola* treated Catholicism in purely instrumental terms remains the subject of debate. They certainly saw anti-Semitism as a defense of traditional values and the nobility's patriarchal social system that was becoming a thing of the past. Thus, *Rola* petrified old stereotypes, which prompted the traditional sense of alienation among Jews.<sup>86</sup> Theodore Weeks is right to note that Jan Jeleński's attitude was somehow sincere: it hinged on the real phenomenon of peasants' poverty and their difficult relationships between peasants and Jewish innkeepers, usurers, and travelling salesmen.<sup>87</sup> However, this explanation certainly does not apply to the entire period in which *Rola* appeared.<sup>88</sup>

In the weekly, the cult of the Polish peasant, worker, and craftsman was contrasted with the Polish philo-Semitic aristocracy and capitalists of German and Jewish origin. From this perspective, the enemies of Poland were not only Germans and Jews but also those Poles who differed from *Rola* in their understanding of the national interest, let alone social and economic changes.

Andrzej Jaszczuk believes, not without reason, that *Rola* gave voice to the opinion of the "silent majority:" bourgeoisie, small landowners, officials, lower clergy;<sup>89</sup> in short, all those who were interested in the issues raised in the weekly, but who, for various reasons, did not express their views publicly. However, it would not be right to assume that all extreme views expressed in *Rola* encountered

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84 T. R. Weeks, "Polish 'Progressive Antisemitism' 1905–1914," *East European Jewish Affairs* 1995, Vol. 25, No. 2, p. 68.

85 A. Jaszczuk, *Spór pozytywistów z konserwatystami o przyszłość Polski 1870–1903*, Warszawa 1986, s. 206.

86 R. Wapiński, *Polska i małe ojczyzny Polaków. Z dziejów kształtowania się świadomości narodowej w XIX i XX wieku po wybuch II wojny światowej*, Wrocław 1994, p. 162.

87 T. R. Weeks, "The 'International Jewish Conspiracy' Reaches Poland: Teodor Jeske-Choiński and His Works," *East European Quarterly* 1997, Vol. 31, No. 1, pp. 23–24.

88 T. R. Weeks, "Fanning the Flames: Jews in the Warsaw Press, 1905–1912," *East European Jewish Affairs* 1998/1999, Vol. 28, No. 2, pp. 67–68.

89 A. Jaszczuk, *Spór pozytywistów z konserwatystami*, pp. 207–208.

full acceptance. Certainly, we cannot rule out that some readers only partially identified with the weekly's agenda.<sup>90</sup>

*Podręczna encyklopedia kościelna* (Church Handbook Encyclopedia), published in Warsaw in 1904–1916 under the editorial supervision of Fr. Zygmunt Chełmicki<sup>91</sup> as part of the *Biblioteka Dzieł Chrześcijańskich* (Christian Works Library),<sup>92</sup> defined anti-Semitism as “a modern movement against the Jews that assumed different forms throughout the world.” However, as the definition continued, “the Catholic Church had virtually nothing to do with anti-Semitism.” All anti-Jewish actions that the Church committed in the past were not persecutions, because their primary aim was to defend the Christian community. The encyclopedia further lists the sources of anti-Semitism: the accumulation of significant capital by Jews, religious hatred toward Christianity, and various forms of exploitation, such as usury, illegal mediation, or depravation. It also remarks that the close relationship of the Jewish plutocracy and intelligentsia with Freemasonry, especially in Italy and France, caused a significant number of Catholics to join the anti-Semitic camp.<sup>93</sup>

A separate entry discussed anti-Semitism in Poland. The editors of the encyclopedia considered the anti-Jewish riots known as the Warsaw pogrom of 1881 to be the beginning of anti-Semitism in Poland. According to the encyclopedia, “although these unrests were caused by external agitation, they found a fertile ground in the resentment of the lower classes of the Christian population.” As the entry continued, anti-Semitism emerged “as the result of usury and the various forms of exploitation, both material and moral, practiced by Jews who massively settled in our country.” It also pointed out that another cause of Polish anti-Semitism was the case of the stock exchange memorandum of 1886. In trying to avoid bias and present the matter in a relatively objective manner, the editors felt it important to add that “the memorandum was written in self-defense and falsely described as the Polish people's accusation against the government.”<sup>94</sup> It

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90 A. Jaszczuk, *Spór pozytywistów z konserwatystami*, p. 209.

91 Father Zygmunt Chełmicki (1851–1922) was an active in the social field publisher and issuer of *Biblioteka Dzieł Chrześcijańskich* (Library of Christian Works).

92 The editor team of *Biblioteka Dzieł Chrześcijańskich* included mainly priests and Warsaw Seminary lecturers. *Biblioteka* is considered one of the biggest publishing and science achievements of the Polish Church milieu from the end of Poland's partitioning, cf. D. Olszewski, *Polska kultura religijna na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, Warszawa 1996, p. 230.

93 *Podręczna encyklopedia kościelna*, Vol. 1–2, Warszawa 1904, p. 254.

94 *Podręczna encyklopedia kościelna*, Vol. 1–2, Warszawa 1904, p. 254.

is not hard to see that, to a certain extent, the encyclopedia tended to identify the mechanisms and social phenomena of the capitalist economy with various stereotypes circulating about the activity and character of Jews.

The last decades of the nineteenth century witnessed an intensification of anti-Semitic tendencies in the Kingdom of Poland. The Jewish question became a frequent topic in the Warsaw press. The Catholic Church's attitude toward anti-Semitism manifested itself, among others, in the Catholic press published by the clergy and, hence, connected with the institutional Church. This applies to two weeklies, *Przegląd Katolicki* (Catholic Review, 1863–1915) and *Posiew* (The Seed, 1905–1914), and the daily newspaper *Polak-Katolik* (Polish Catholic, 1906–1914).

Let us remember that *Przegląd Katolicki* was a semi-official organ of the Warsaw Archdiocese. The other two press titles, published by Fr. Ignacy Kłopotowski, enjoyed the full support of the Polish episcopate.<sup>95</sup> Thanks to his personal contacts with Archbishop Wincenty Chościak-Popiel, Ignacy Kłopotowski received financial support for both his initiatives.<sup>96</sup> Bishops in the Kingdom of Poland listed these newspapers among the publications recommended for promotion in parishes. In 1906, Stanisław Kazimierz Zdzitowiecki, Bishop of Włocławek, and Stefan Aleksander Zwierowicz, Bishop of Sandomierz, expressed their support for *Posiew* and *Polak-Katolik*. Likewise, the conference of deans of the Kielce Diocese held in March 1909 decided that the Polish clergy had to subscribe to Catholic periodicals, including *Posiew* and *Polak-Katolik*. In 1913, in his report for the Holy See, Augustyn Łosiński, Bishop of Kielce, included a list of periodicals supported by the diocesan authorities and distributed in the territory of the subordinate diocese. The most widely read newspaper was *Polak-Katolik*, while *Posiew* occupied the third position.<sup>97</sup>

However, the views on Jews presented in these periodicals cannot be identified with the official position of the Church, because they were often private sentiments of the editor or his collaborators. However, we cannot ignore the important opinion-forming role played by both periodicals and the fact that these views were expressed by the clergy.

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95 D. Olszewski, *Ks. Ignacy Kłopotowski. Życie i apostołat*, Warszawa 1996, p. 83.

96 S. Gajewski, *Spoleczna działalność duchowieństwa w Królestwie Polskim 1905–1914*, Lublin 1990, p. 39.

97 S. Gajewski, *Spoleczna działalność duchowieństwa w Królestwie Polskim 1905–1914*, Lublin 1990, pp. 83–86.

*Przegląd Katolicki* hardly opposed the fight against the Jews in the economic, social, and political fields. The newspaper argued that such a fight would put an end to the disastrous, destructive, and corrupting influence of Jews on the Christian community. Nonetheless, it strongly condemned racial anti-Semitism. Hence, Ryszard Bender is not quite right when he writes that *Rola* was a similar periodical to *Przegląd Katolicki*.<sup>98</sup> In fact, they were very different in some respects. For the former was an openly anti-Semitic weekly, which became one of the reasons why *Przegląd Katolicki* often harshly criticized it.<sup>99</sup> To be sure, the program of *Rola* – which called for “the development of the spirit of solidarity, perseverance, entrepreneurship, frugality, and respect for work” together with an economic boycott and isolation of Jews – corresponded to the views promoted by *Przegląd Katolicki*. However, being a Catholic periodical, the latter could not accept the methods which *Rola*’s journalists tended to employ. Indeed, the character of articles and debates published by this periodical largely diverged from established press standards. Although, as Helena Datner observes, *Rola* and

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98 R. Bender, *Spoleczne inicjatywy chrześcijańskie w Królestwie Polskim 1905–1918*, Lublin 1978, p. 113.

99 We can learn about the conflicts existing between the two periodicals from *Ćwierćwiecze walki. Księga pamiątkowa „Roli”*, Warszawa 1910. *Rola* tried to be more Catholic than *Przegląd Katolicki* throughout its thirty years of activity, which, of course, led to various conflicts. *Rola* showed up among other press in the atmosphere of rising antisemitism. *Rola* somehow was a hier of the Warsaw pogrom (1881). The rest of the Warsaw press did not welcome *Rola* readily. We can distinguish two periods in the *Rola*’s history. The first period lasted from April 1909 until the death of its founder, publisher, and editor Jan Jeleński, who was, in a certain sense, a “moving spirit” of the weekly. The second period lasted from April 1912 until the end of the year when Jan’s son, Szczepan, led the weekly. Antoni Zaleski quite accurately described the magazine’s character in his letters written as Baronowa XYZ to a friend that were published in the Cracovian magazine *Czas* in the years 1885–1887 – cf. A. Zaleski, *Towarzystwo Warszawskie. Listy do przyjaciółki przez Baronową XYZ*, ed. R. Kołodziejczyk, Warszawa 1971, p. 44. Zaleski wrote: “*Rola* is an anti-Semitic publishing house run with a great noise by Mister Jeleński.” At that time, *Rola* shared particularly virulent and stirring opinions, and ad personam comments – they concerned even neophytes. After Jan Jeleński’s death, the malignancy decreases, and journalists wrote with less spitefull manner. Szczepan Jeleński could not interest people hungry for sensation and scandals with his journal. *Rola* also missed weekly Kamienny’s column – which was Jan Jeleński’s pseudonym – full of ironic, sarcastic and spitefull comments. The column was often debunking and caused outrage among Warsaw press used to somewhat journalist *savoir-vivre*.

*Przegląd Katolicki* represented the same ideological formation, they crucially differed in terms of the language they used.<sup>100</sup>

Already in 1883, *Przegląd Katolicki* accused *Rola* of “non-Christian tendencies and the apostleship of the animal struggle for existence.”<sup>101</sup> Other allegations concerned the fact that its articles about Jews were often devoid of any substantial arguments, touched on intimate and personal matters, and resembled pamphlets. *Rola* was also condemned for twisting the sense of papal documents to support its own anti-Jewish agenda.<sup>102</sup> In 1896, *Przegląd Katolicki* wrote:

Why are you mocking Jews and harass them for the reader’s amusement? Is this a work of Christian love, a work of building? Would it not make more sense for *Rola* to work positively, developing the principles seriously, e.g. in the form of Fr. M. Morawski’s article on anti-Semitism?<sup>103</sup>

*Przegląd Katolicki* repeatedly addressed the problem of anti-Semitism in *Rola*. In 1887, it published a two-part article entitled *Kilka uwag o antysemitzmie* (A Few Notes on Anti-Semitism).<sup>104</sup> The author described anti-Semitism as one of “monstrous phenomena of the abnormal development of social life,” recognizing Austria as the cradle of anti-Semitism. He went on to say that Jews went through severe experiences throughout the centuries, “but Christian gravity never generally condemned Israelites. We do not know any papal decrees that would present the existence of Jews as irreconcilable with a moral social order.”<sup>105</sup> The aversion toward Jews was caused not only by their religious, moral, and linguistic distinctiveness but also, and above all, by their moral practice based on the Talmud’s regulations. According to the author, there was nothing wrong in anti-Semitism as a reaction to the “abuse of the Jewish capitalist economy.” However, he also saw a different kind of anti-Semitism, growing out of racial hatred. A Catholic could fight Jewish abuse and injustice as much as any other immoral acts but, as the author contends,

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100 H. Datner, *Inteligencja żydowska*, pp. 28 and 34.

101 *Rola* 1883, No. 11. In his diaries, Fr. Ignacy Charszewski quotes Michał Nowodworski, bishop of Płock, on the issuer of *Rola*: “Jeleński is a brute, scandalist, and he bothers people for money and advertisement.” ADPł, b. 28 (from February 20, 1894 to January 16, 1895), note of March 8, 1894, b. 13 i 13v.

102 PK 1891, No. 38 (*Nie tędy droga*); and 1891, No. 41 (*Małe przypomnienie dla Roli*).

103 PK 1896, No. 44 (*Notatki z prasy periodycznej*).

104 PK 1887, No. 44/45.

105 PK 1887, No. 44.

He is not willing to take part in a racial struggle that offends the Catholic conscience and the principle on which it is based . . . Those who take race as an emblem of agitation must reach the conclusion, as anti-Semitism does, that a bit of holy water cannot change the innate character of a tribe. Whoever places race above free will, whoever makes human deeds solely dependent on tribal properties, obviously does not recognize the impact of the Sacrament. Indeed, he must draw the inference that a Jew, whether baptized or not, remains and will always remain a Jew. In light of this doctrine, there is no question of the irremovable mark of God's grace. In other words, all converts of Jewish origin, such as Veith, Ratisbonne, Liebermann, etc., remained Jewish, their conversion to the Christian teaching is an illusion, just a beautiful fairy tale, since nothing could change their racial nature . . . True, thoughtful Catholics would never follow anti-Semites.<sup>106</sup>

In conclusion, the author states that anti-Semitism was born as a result of "Jewish dishonesty in relations with the Christian society" and as a result of the crisis of Christian principles therein. In this situation, he recommended that, on the one hand, Jews should rethink their morality and, on the other hand, Christians should revive the spirit of love.

The author was not a defender of Jews – in fact, he leaned toward economic anti-Semitism – but he strongly rejected its racial version, which denied Jews the status of human beings. In his article for *Przegląd Katolicki*, Fr. Włodzimierz Ledóchowski<sup>107</sup> condemned anti-Semitism in similar terms, adding that, "to avoid anti-Semitism, we do not have to be philo-Semites. Still, because of our religion and national and social interest, we have to guard ourselves against Jews."<sup>108</sup> The Church, in his opinion, has sought to exclude or isolate Jews only insofar as Christian values were in danger.

In 1896, protoiereus Apollinaris Kovalnitsky (Apolinary Kovalnitskiy) addressed the problem of Christians' attitude toward Jews in *Vestnik*. He rejected the violent methods used in the Middle Ages and later in Western Europe. However, he was not a proponent of total indifference to Jews, which, as he believed, was not a result of some deliberate strategy but derived from Christians' far-reaching indifference to matters of faith and the progressing laicization. He also rejected all forms of anti-Semitism which called for persecution. In fact, he rejected these

106 PK 1887, No. 44.

107 Fr. Włodzimierz Dionizy Ledóchowski (1866–1942), Jesuit. In 1896 Ledóchowski became one of the editors in the Cracovian *Przegląd Powszechny*. In the years 1897–1900 he led the column "Sprawy Kościoła," and in 1902 he became the Provincial Superior of Galicia. Since 1915, Ledóchowski was Superior General of the Society of Jesus.

108 PK 1900, No. 6 (*Kronika kościelna zagraniczna*).

forms as beneath the dignity of the follower of Christ. He even went as far as to quote Martin Luther who called “godless those Christians who, in their barbaric attitude toward Jews, have tarnished the very name of Christians.”<sup>109</sup> Kovalnitsky suggests that Christians, “in the name of Christ,” should love Jews as adopted children, which are not always expected to be thankful. Thus, he stressed a need for great caution, because as long as Jews hold on to their beliefs, there is nothing good to be expected of them. After all, he reminded that Jewish beliefs were shaped by the Talmud, which contained both the commandment of love and the commandment of hatred. Therefore, Kovalnitsky claims that, “regretfully, our Jews tend to forget about all the good commandments from the Talmud, while their everyday lives are often guided by hatred to outsiders.”<sup>110</sup>

Kovalnitsky recommended that Christians should embrace a truly religious life as a means of opposing the activity of Jews. The latter, he argued, will sooner or later understand that Jesus Christ was their true Savior. His solution of the Jewish question was not original. Referring to the commandment of love in the society which has been Christian for several centuries, Kovalnitsky only demonstrated the extent to which it remained a mere postulate, extremely difficult to fulfill in our earthly lives. Nevertheless, he aptly noted that the shape of the Jewish question remained under a serious influence of Christian morality, which left much to be desired.

And yet, in the same article, the author supported the government ordinance restricting the access of Jewish youth to Christian schools. For, as he maintained, the years-long practice showed that the hope for bringing Jewish students closer to Christian society was futile.<sup>111</sup> They usually finished gymnasium possessed

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109 KhVyv 1896, No. 24 (*Yevrei nashego vremeni v Iyerusalime i vzlyad na sovremennyy nam yevreyskiy vopros*).

110 KhVyv 1896, No. 24 (*Yevrei nashego vremeni v Iyerusalime i vzlyad na sovremennyy nam yevreyskiy vopros*).

111 During the reign of Alexander II, the authorities, encouraging the assimilation of Jews, involved them in Russian education system. Jews' education concerned the middle level. Marek Waldenberg believes that such efforts brought significant results, i.e., the percentage of Jews among secondary school students (gymnasium and progymnasium). In 1881, in the Odessa school district Jews were 33.4 % of all students, in Vilnius – 26.9 %, and in Warsaw – 12.9 %. Over time, the policy of the authorities changed. In 1881, in the Odessa school district Jews were 33.4 % of all students, in Vilnius – 26.9 %, and in Warsaw – 12.9 %. Over time, the policy of the authorities changed. The policy changed to limiting the access of Jewish youth to secondary and higher education. In the settlement zone the percentage could not exceed 10 % of students, outside the zone – 5 %, and in St. Petersburg and Moscow – 3 % (Waldenberg, *Kwestie narodowe*, pp. 143–144).

by nihilism and indifference to religious beliefs. “In a word,” Kovalnitsky summarizes this issue, “after graduating from a Christian gymnasium, a Jewish young man expresses by his behavior: I abandoned Judaism, but I have not joined Christianity [ya ot yevreystva otstal, a k khristianstvu ne pristal].”<sup>112</sup> While opposing Jewish enrollment to Christian universities, he also criticized the establishment of Jewish schools, where melameds taught in the Jewish language. Their only purpose, Kovalnitsky believed, was to separate the young generation from the Russian state and society. Therefore, he wrote:

I say, you Jews want to live in the Russian state while ignoring its language both in your everyday life and in the synagogue. It is regrettable that you do not see the damage you are inflicting upon both yourselves and upon the Russian society in your desire to build a state within a state. After all, do the sacred history of the Jewish nation and your ancient laws forbid you to pray to God in the language of the country in which you live and obey the laws of that country? Teach children the love for God not only for the Jewish tribe but also for all people, teach them the truths of your religion in the language of the country in which you live, and then you will no longer have to create secret schools.<sup>113</sup>

It follows that, although the author called for the separate education of Jews, he also pointed out that it should be fully subordinated to the Russian education system and its Russification policy.

To be sure, the way in which Kovalnitsky’s article dealt with the issue of Christian-Jewish relations exemplifies a distinct type of mentality. This concerns especially his reflections about the specific Jewish smell known to “all Russians,” in particular those from the West and the South. “The Russian expression ‘to smell like a Jew’ [*zhidom vonyayet*],” Kovalnitsky wrote, “conveys not only a moral but also a physiological meaning.”<sup>114</sup> He argued that the particular smell of the Jewish tribe was not the result of low standards of cleanliness among the Jewish community, as people also felt it from those Jews who could hardly be accused of neglecting daily toilet. Therefore, as in the case of the peculiar smell of Negro tribes, one should search for its causes in the specific functioning of sweat glands of Jewish organisms. The sweat of Jews smelled differently than that of Negro or European tribes. It felt unpleasant, the author argues, both in Europe and in the East. To some extent, it was to account for the weakness of Jews and their reluctance to undertake physical work. Finally, it was also to be the reason

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112 KhVyv 1896, No. 21.

113 KhVyv 1896, No. 21.

114 KhVyv 1896, No. 22; cf. also J. Tazbir, “Obraz Zyda w opinii polskiej XVI–XVIII w.,” in: *Mity i stereotypy w dziejach Polski*, Warszawa 1991, pp. 65 and 68.



why Jews, wherever they appeared, played the role of “merciless exploiters.” This was to find confirmation in the Russian reality. Despite their very long stay in Russia, they never accustomed to its climate, taking advantage of the Russian population that conducted the hardest manual labors. In addition, the body of the Jew, as Kovalnitsky argued, required eiderdowns, which could be found in large quantities in every Jewish house in both towns and cities of Western Russia. This became particularly evident, he continued, during the pogroms, when Jewish bedclothes, feathers, and pillows (*yevreyskiye bebekhi*) were lying in the streets.<sup>115</sup> Thus, Kovalnitsky reduced the activity of Jews in the economic field, and its influence on Russian society, to physiological matters.

In 1900, the problem of anti-Semitism returned to the pages of *Przegląd Katolicki* in the extensive article “Coś o antysemityzmie” (Something about Anti-Semitism).<sup>116</sup> The author recognized anti-Semitism as a product of Protestantism, pointing to Martin Luther as its most zealous proponent, even though he admitted that the religious persecution of Jews happened also in the Catholic world, as testified by the gloomy example of Spain. Nonetheless, the papacy has always maintained a correct attitude toward Jews.<sup>117</sup> He considers the equality of Jews to be a mistake, which caused great harm to the Christian society, as Jews were to use it against the Christians:

There is not a single opportunity to undermine Christianity that the Jews would not seize. Be it through anti-Christian publications and newspapers, be it pornography, be it the support of licentiousness and drunkenness, be it human trafficking, be it helping minors deceive their parents, be it bribing private and public servants and officials – all these things are committed mostly, if not exclusively, by Jews.<sup>118</sup>

After these harsh words, the author praised Russia’s stance toward Jews: “After all, the [Russian] government is quite effective in resisting the Jewish conquest of the world.” Later, the text shifts its tone to praise Jews for their true “heroism in the celebration of the Sabbath” and observance of fasts, which were often long and arduous. “They are most scrupulous,” the author wrote, “in celebrating the day of prayer and respite; they possess the wealth of this world and do the most extensive business, and yet this day does not seem to be a problem for them.” In this respect, they differ from Christians who found various opportunities

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115 KhVyv 1896, No. 22.

116 PK 1900, No. 23/24 and 25.

117 And even “sometimes pampered them, because they needed Jews in their financial problems,” (PK 1900, No. 22).

118 PK 1900, No. 23.

and excuses to justify the lack of time for celebrating holy Sundays. The author speaks highly about the organization of the Jewish family:

The absolute domination of the husband and the deep submission of the wife, the discipline and obedience of the children, an exemplary marital life, rare divorces, though so easy to take, and even rarer cases of divorce caused by the licentious life of either of the parties.<sup>119</sup>

The author further emphasized the internal solidarity and generosity of Jews for the benefit of the community and the poor. He invoked the concept of virtue to describe their commitment to faith, customs, language, and lost homeland. However, he also claims that “the Church believes in love – the Jews believe in hatred for the Church. . . . The Jewish power, however, is weaker than the power of Christianity; and vice versa – it grows inasmuch as Christianity weakens in the nation.”<sup>120</sup> In conclusion, he argues:

If it is true that Jews constitute an organism hostile to us, then we can only fight them with those means, within the boundaries of law, of which they make use themselves. Discipline and family love, immense commitment to faith and customs, solidarity manifested on the outside – these are Jewish virtues. It is only by imitating these traits that we can strengthen ourselves, and thereby resist them. Hatred, jealousy – let us remind you – are idle feelings that cannot serve to build anything. Remember, it is not about hating the Jews; it is about loving oneself and one’s folks in a reasonable and Christian manner.<sup>121</sup>

It is difficult to see any consistency and coherence in these statements (indeed, the same applies to the article by Apollinaris Kovalnitsky quoted above). On the one hand, the author accused Jews of almost all the evil existing in the world, while on the other hand, he praised their virtuous life as an example to follow for Christians. The reason for this dualism could be either ill will or, more likely, a misunderstanding of the transformations that took place in the Jewish community, a tendency to view this community through the prism of supra-group solidarity.

Discussing the negative features of Jews, the author described a specific group of people, which he identified as the emissaries of the emerging social and economic system of capitalism. In the view of this author, this concerned especially what he believed to be the Jewish-controlled press, which promoted a lifestyle that could be hardly reconciled with the Christian family’s model of life,

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119 PK 1900, No. 24.

120 PK 1900, No. 25.

121 PK 1900, No. 25.

let alone the morality based on the Church's teaching. According to the author, these newspapers and periodicals played a very important role in shaping the public opinion. He refused to admit that many Jews employed in the press had long since broken their ties with Judaism, the traditional Jewish community, and even their origins.

When the author discussed the positive features of Jews, he quickly referred to the values cultivated in traditional religious communities. Needless to say, he failed to notice that the faults, which he described, resulted mainly from the disintegration of the traditional social structure, which affected not only Jews but also Christians. To be sure, these processes were faster among Jews, but this was only because of their centuries-old occupational structure, which helped them quickly adapt to new conditions. In turn, those who did not succeed tended to blame Jews for their misfortunes.

However, this opinion about the activity of Jews did not prompt the author to promote anti-Semitism. On the contrary, he strongly rejected hatred and recommended that Christians focus all their efforts on preserving traditional values in social and family life. The fight against Jews was understood as a struggle against one's own faults. This last advice – the only one worthy of following against the backdrop of the whole article – certainly could not compel conviction.

In 1902, discussing the condition of the Viennese press, Fr. Jan Gnatowski<sup>122</sup> condemned those journals that spread racial anti-Semitism. This was the case with *Deutsches Volksblatt*, a newspaper which gave voice to the opinions of the Christian-Social Movement:

Of course, they have many decent and honest people in their milieu, and they contributed to the Christian reactionary in Vienna. But they bring discredit upon themselves by their commitment to racial hatred – a contradiction to Christian ethics in itself – and the struggle against Jewry, which comes alongside their frivolous coquetry with all-German influences and a ridiculous fear of being accused of clericalism.<sup>123</sup>

In turn, Fr. Ignacy Kłopotowski championed anti-Semitism as a program of action in economic and social life. In 1914, the editorial policy of *Polak Katolik* was formulated as follows:

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122 Fr. Jan Gnatowski (1855–1925), in the years 1888–1890 secretary in the Apostolic Nunciature in Munich, publicist, preacher, author of novels and novellas published under a pseudonym Jan Łada.

123 PK 1902, No. 6 (*Przegląd tygodniowy spraw kościelnych*).

the cheapest morning newspaper, deeply Catholic and anti-Semitic . . . , which pays special attention to the Catholic movement, or the pressing Jewish question, with an emphasis on stimulating self-dependence and entrepreneurship among the broadest masses of Polish society.<sup>124</sup>

The weekly *Posiew* had a similar character.

Anti-Semitism propagated in these newspapers had its limits. They explicitly rejected any form of racial hatred as a contradiction of the very essence of Christianity. Instead, they treated anti-Semitism as a signpost for Christians in the fight against Jewish domination in various areas of life. *Polak-Katolik* remarked that

Anti-Semitism should be a kind of flashlight, which illuminates darkness. It is not hatred of one's neighbor if we want warn our dear fellows that they should beware of usury and the illicit Jewish advisors, that they should never support trade when it takes all money out of a Polish peasant or craftsman's pockets to stuff the wallets of bankers and gaberdiners [*chalałowcy*].<sup>125</sup>

The authors of such statements knew that anti-Semitism was a very broad concept, which could be used instrumentally to satisfy immediate needs. That is why they often felt it necessary to explain their motivations:

Anti-Semitism is not hatred of one's neighbor. It does not require doing harm to someone else, nor does it call for exterminating or murdering the Jews; after all, no Christian desires it . . . In its most reasonable sense, anti-Semitism does not strike the Jews; in fact, it understands only too well that the Jews will never change, that no one can ever fix or transform them. Anti-Semitism, therefore, should strike us and demonstrate our faults, by which we let the surrounding enemies trample us under their feet.<sup>126</sup>

In this view, anti-Semitism was simply an awareness of our own faults and organizational deficiencies of which the Jews were allegedly taking advantage. The aim was to develop an effective strategy of self-defense. According to the discussed newspapers, this kind of anti-Semitism did not contradict the Catholic spirit and principles. It followed one simple rule: "Do not hit the Jew, but do not let him hit you."

The aversion to Jews started to increase in the Kingdom of Poland at the turn of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. The growing anti-Semitism made *Zwiastun Ewangeliczny* (Evangelical Annunciation) address this issue. In 1906, in his article entitled "Sprawa żydowska w oświećlaniu chrześcijańskim" (The

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124 D. Olszewski, *Ks. Ignacy Kłopotowski*, p. 232.

125 *Polak-Katolik* 1910, No. 77 (*Co to jest antysemityzm*).

126 *Polak-Katolik* 1910, No. 77 (*Co to jest antysemityzm*).

Jewish Issue in the Christian Light), pastor Jan Fabian strongly condemned the anti-Semitism represented by Jan Jeleński's *Rola*. According to Jan Fabian, the slogan "Poland for Poles" was no different from the slogan "Russia for Russians," which was repeated in Russia at the time of the First World War to justify pogroms. He contrasted racial hatred with love for thy neighbor.<sup>127</sup>

In the same period, some Catholic priests and publicists recognized the program of self-defense, which Marian Morawski developed and justified, calling it asemitism.<sup>128</sup> The program appeared in 1896 in *Przegląd Powszechny* (Universal Review), a Jesuit journal from Krakow, and in a separate brochure.<sup>129</sup> Morawski deplored both anti-Semitism and philo-Semitism. He considered asemitism as a social movement supporting Christian initiatives in all areas of social activity, a movement which opposed Christian solidarity to Jewish solidarity, while strongly rejecting any form of violence and racial hatred. The essence of asemitism was to avoid, as far as possible, any contact with Jews, especially in private life. In short, it was a social doctrine which called for a mutual isolation of the Christian and Jewish communities; each of them, Morawski argued, should live its own life.<sup>130</sup>

*Ateneum Kapłańskie* (Priestly Ateneum), a theological journal from Włocławek, supported the program of asemitism. In 1909, right after its establishment, the journal wrote:

Asemitism differs . . . from anti-Semitism: while the latter means a direct fight against the Jews, the former is primarily concerned with the development and strengthening of those national forces and resources whose weakness has been so far exploited by the Semitic element. Asemitism does not call for imposing restrictions on the Jews. They should have all the rights that foreigners enjoy in our country.

In a further part of the article, the author noted that the program gained a growing social resonance.<sup>131</sup> Nonetheless, Fr. Jan Gnatowski argued that, from a Christian perspective, anti-Semitism was a mistake or even a mortal sin.<sup>132</sup>

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127 ZE 1906, No. 8.

128 Marian Morawski (1845–1901), Jesuit, philosopher, UJ profesor, *Przegląd Powszechny* editor in Krakow. Morawski was the author of *Wieczory nad Lemanem*, which is Catholic apologetics and was translated to many European languages. Cf. *Polski słownik biograficzny*, Vol. 21, pp. 736–738.

129 M. Morawski, *Antysemityzm*, Kraków 1896.

130 Cf. *Polak-Katolik* 1908, No. 200/201 and 203 (*Uspotecnić lub odosobnić*), and No. 210–210 (*Jak się od nich odosobnić*).

131 *Ateneum Kapłańskie* 1909, Vol. 2, p. 170 (*Ruch społeczny*).

132 J. Gnatowski, *W kwestii żydowskiej*, Warszawa n.y., pp. 73 and 85–86.

We should note that asemitism was not an original Polish creation. Similar ideas appeared in the circles of the so-called social Catholicism in France. What its proponents meant by “society” was a purely Christian society in which all non-Christians were to be treated as foreign nationalities. The condition for social reforms to be effective was to base them on Christian education, which – from the Church’s perspective – guaranteed a powerful influence of the Church on the functioning of such a society.<sup>133</sup> When asked about the desirable attitude of Christians to Jews, the social Catholics answered that the latter should be considered as foreigners, indeed harmful ones, and therefore Christians should seek to eradicate everything that penetrated into the Christian consciousness as a result of intense mutual contacts between the communities in question. Hence, there was a need to create a social and political system which would make Christians independent of Jews: “Christians and Jews should be two communities which live side by side, but never mix with each other.”<sup>134</sup>

Undoubtedly, asemitism was inspired by the French doctrine of social Catholicism. In practice, it differed from anti-Semitism only in the distribution of accents, deprived of the racial sting. The asemitic doctrine also expressed a desire to return to the old anti-Judaist legislation.

In conclusion, we may contend that the characteristic feature of anti-Semitism in Poland was that it did not have racial roots, but developed out of religious, economic, and political motivations. Let us recall that Catholic newspapers usually condemned the extreme racist version of anti-Semitism, although they accepted various forms of action that could be labeled as economic, social, or political anti-Semitism. Still, it is important to remember that they all expressed, with the approval of bishops, the premises of traditional anti-Judaism, which considered the Mosaic faith to be inferior to Christianity in general and Catholicism in particular.

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133 Here, we can point out to views of Charles de Coux, Armand de Melund, Frédéric Le Play, or Charles Périn; cf. B. Duroselle, *Początki katolicyzmu społecznego we Francji 1822–1870*, trans. Z. Jakimiak, Warszawa 1961, pp. 35, 40–53, 177, 403–404, 557–561, 579.

134 *Ateneum Kapłańskie* 1910, Vol. 4, pp. 143–145. Fr. Antoni Szymański (1881–1942) commented on the social Catholicism in France in the magazine. Szymański graduated from the Catholic University of Leuven, which was one of the most significant centers of Catholic social teaching. In 1909, Szymański defended his doctoral dissertation *Démocratie chrétienne en France*. A year later, under A. Hoffen pseudonym he issued a work *Katolicyzm socjalny we Francji* (Social Catholicism in France); cf. Cz. Strzeszewski, *Katolicka nauka społeczna*, Warszawa 1985, p. 358.

The Orthodox newspaper *Vestnik* adopted a similar position. In this case, however, it was combined with Polono- and Jesuitophobia. Apart from accusing Jews of leading a parasitic life in the body of the Russian nation, spreading demoralization and corruption, *Vestnik* also implied that they conspired with Poles against the Orthodox Church. The newspaper went as far as to equate Judaism and Catholicism as a common formation which seeks to gain sway over the world.<sup>135</sup> It did not bother with any deeper analysis of the phenomenon of anti-Semitism and never condemned it explicitly. As Tadeusz Stegner writes, only Polish intellectual Evangelical circles firmly criticized anti-Semitic views as an obstacle to their Polonization programs and a contradiction to the principles of Christianity.<sup>136</sup>

### In the Face of Pogroms

In the spring of 1881, after a successful attempt on tsar Alexander II's life, a wave of bloody persecutions and cruel murders of Jews took place in the towns of the Ekaterinoslav (today's Dnipro) and Kiev Governorates. Soon it spread to Podolia and Volhynia. As Alina Cała points out, Polish opinion-forming circles in the Kingdom of Poland, which could not explicitly express their suspicions that these massacres were inspired by the government, tried to condemn their direct perpetrators and warn against the anti-Jewish instigators.<sup>137</sup>

Already in May 1881, *Przegląd Katolicki* published "List Administratora Archidiecezji Warszawskiej przestrzegający przed podżegaczami do gwałtu na Żydach" (The Letter of the Administrator of the Warsaw Archdiocese, Warning against the Inciters to Violence against Jews).<sup>138</sup> The letter warned especially against being swayed by people of ill will. It emphasized the universal quality of the commandment to love and was greatly concerned about young people, who could be not only prone to anti-Jewish ideas but also exploited by those who

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135 Cf. A. Walicki, "Polska jako przedmurze" z perspektywy myślicieli rosyjskich dziewiętnastego wieku," in: *Kultura staropolska – kultura europejska. Prace ofiarowane Januszowi Tazbirowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, Warszawa 1997, pp. 76–77.

136 T. Stegner, *Ewangelicy warszawscy 1815–1918*, Warszawa 1993, p. 144.

137 A. Cała, *Asymilacja Żydów w Królestwie Polskim (1864–1897). Postawy. Konflikty. Stereotypy*, Warszawa 1989, pp. 268–270; I. Schiper, "Żydzi na Kresach północnych i wschodnich w czasach porozbiorowych," in: *Żydzi w Polsce Odrodzonej*, Vol. 2, Warszawa 1933, p. 5.

138 PK 1881, No. 21.

wished to make use of youthful temperament in the struggle against Jews. In the end, the letter suggested:

Therefore, my beloved brothers, every time savage or unenlightened people attacked Jews in the old days, the Church has always protected them even though they were infidels. Our Popes have always condemned such aggressors with proper decrees. And today, too, my dear brothers, when various evil people pretend to be zealous believers and try to convince you that it is the time to rise up against the infidels, do not let them deceive you but endure this test of faith and reject all their whispers.<sup>139</sup>

On May 20, in connection with this letter, a delegation of the Warsaw Jewish community sent official thanks to Fr. Antoni Sotkiewicz, Administrator of the Warsaw Diocese, for “the words of love and peace expressed from pulpits in his name on last Sunday.”<sup>140</sup>

Fr. Józef Janicki, Administrator of the Sandomierz Diocese, and Fr. Tomasz Teofil Kuliński, Apostolic Administrator in Kielce, published similar letters to the clergy and the laity of the Church, warning them not to get into disagreements and fights with Jews. Moreover, all bishops and diocesan administrators issued circulars which instructed the clergy to speak in the spirit of love and justice.<sup>141</sup> However, these efforts failed to prevent the Jewish pogrom, which took place in Warsaw on December 25–27, 1881.<sup>142</sup>

Shortly after this event, *Przegląd Katolicki* expressed its regret concerning the anti-Jewish riots:

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139 PK 1881, No. 21.

140 PK 1881, No. 22 (*Kronika kościelna*); A. Cała, *Asymilacja Żydów*, p. 270. As early as May 1883, before Fr. Antoni Sotkiewicz's departure to Sandomierz (preconization for the bishop of Sandomierz), representatives of the Warsaw Jewish community “came to say goodbye, with wishes and thanks for Sotkiewicz's position during the disturbances against Jews in 1881.” After Bishop Antoni Sotkiewicz's death in May 1901, in a funeral procession, “the Jews, still having in mind the the care of the deceased shown in Warsaw to their co-religionists, came with a metal wreath of forget-me-nots.” P. Kubicki, *Antoni Ksawery Sotkiewicz, biskup sandomierski 1826–1901. Zarys monograficzny*, Sandomierz 1931, pp. 105–106 and 229.

141 PK 1881, No. 24/25 (*Kronika kościelna*).

142 A. Cała writes extensively about the Warsaw pogrom in *Asymilacja Żydów*, pp. 268–278. The immediate cause of the anti-Jewish incidents in Warsaw was the tragic panic. It happened during a mass in the Holy Cross church. The cry: “gore! (fire!)” caused the panic. A rumour that the direct culprit was a Jew caught stealing became a pretext for the pogrom.



This [accident in the Church of the Holy Cross] is a sad situation, but this sadness of pain comes alongside another, even graver kind of sadness, which has more far-reaching consequences: the sadness of disgrace that those people of ill or unreasonable will brought to our good city by perpetrating so disgusting crimes, which contradict our nature, traditions, and holy faith.<sup>143</sup>

Despite the fact that many priests condemned these incidents already on December 26, the anti-Jewish violence continued until December 27.<sup>144</sup>

These facts confirm that there was a link between the anti-Jewish incidents and Catholic holidays. For instance, in May 1879 the General Consistory of Kalisz sent the following confidential orders to all churches in the town:

All of you, venerable Priests, know what happened last year during the Corpus Christi procession in Kalisz. After these events, His Excellency the Governor wrote a confidential note to the Consistory, warning that further incidents might break out this year and that He will use the most severe means to appease conflicts if these were to ensue between the Catholic and Jewish communities. The Governor also demanded that the clergy use its whole influence to prevent this, putting His trust into the abilities of the venerable clergy to deal with this issue diligently.

Consequently, the Consistory believes that such a disorder offends the sanctity of the Catholic religion, undermines the principle of loving one's neighbor, incites unnecessary hatred, disturbs social peace, and always leads to unpleasant legal consequences. This year, it can be even worse because the government will immediately resort to repressive means. Therefore, we beseech you, venerable Priests, protect the people from these lamentable consequences at the earliest possible stage and dissuade them, either in private conversations or speaking in your churches, from repeating last year's incidents.

Thus, we trust that you, the venerable clergy, will work in this private realm to wash down the bitterness of anti-Jewish hatred before it breaks out, and use your priestly zeal to influence the people so that they would no longer wish to involve in turmoil nor listen to the disturbers and agitating news that will be spread . . . . And in every church, on every Sunday and before every procession, the preachers will admonish the people, with all seriousness, gentleness, and zeal, to behave calmly. And they will do so in a sensible way, by appearing to both reason and heart, not to incite fear by speaking recklessly. In short, the Consistory entrusts this matter to the venerable clergy and God will bless your efforts to ensure that this year's processions will be guided by due respect and calmness, which such a great feast deserves.<sup>145</sup>

Henryk Bałabuch wrote about the anti-Jewish riots, which broke out in 1881 and 1882 in the Lublin region. He established that most of these gloomy incidents

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143 PK 1881, No. 52 (*Podwójny smutek*).

144 PK 1881, No. 52 (*Podwójny smutek*).

145 ADWł, *Konsystorz Generalny Kaliski*, I 26 (temporary sign.).

occurred between Easter and the Feast of Corpus Christi, on Rogation days,<sup>146</sup> Ascension Day, Pentecost, or Trinity Sunday.<sup>147</sup> However, Bałabuch also observes that the relationship between the anti-Jewish incidents and Catholic holidays “certainly does not prove the existence of a simple and necessary interdependency between these incidents and manifestations of the Polish people’s religious life.”<sup>148</sup> Interestingly enough, the tsarist authorities often emphasized this interdependency.

In turn, no major incidents occurred in the Kielce Governorate. In this period of turmoil, local Catholic priests – who, as Stanisław Wiech notes, hardly avoided expressing anti-Jewish opinions – followed the call of Fr. Tomasz Kuliński, Apostolic Administrator in Kielce, and usually sought to ease civil unrest.<sup>149</sup> *Gazeta Kielecka* (Kielce Newspaper) reported that they “zealously reminded and instilled into people that God’s commandments demand that we treat Jews as neighbors and consider assaults against Jews as a crime against religion and law.”<sup>150</sup>

In April 1881, in the Suwałki Governorate, people spread rumors about the soon coming of a Jewish messiah. Before this event, as the rumor continued, Jews were to murder all Christians in the area. In order to prevent this, Christians were supposed to attack fist. The great slaughter was alleged to take place on the first day of Easter. Piotr Paweł Wierzbowski, Bishop of the Sejny Diocese, considered these rumors to be “ridiculous nonsense and lies.” However, because the news spread rapidly, causing great concern and panic among the uneducated, Wierzbowski feared that a serious unrest may break out again. Therefore, on

146 During the three days preceding the Feast of the Ascension, people organized processions to roadside crosses. Such processions were an appeal for protection from natural disasters. The same name was given to the days starting from St. John of God. The same name was given to the days starting from St. Mark’s Day (April 25th), when roadside crosses were also visited in the processions to pray for an abundant harvest, cf. W. Zaleski, *Rok Kościelny. Święta Pańskie, Matki Bożej, Apostołów, Świętych i Błogosławionych Polskich, oraz dni okolicznościowe*, Warszawa 1989, pp. 270 and 284.

147 H. Bałabuch, *Zajścia antyżydowskie w 1881 i 1882 r. na Lubelszczyźnie w ujęciu władz gubernialnych*, BZIH 1993, No. 3/4, p. 27.

148 H. Bałabuch, *Zajścia antyżydowskie w 1881 i 1882 r. na Lubelszczyźnie w ujęciu władz gubernialnych*, BZIH 1993, No. 3/4, p. 27.

149 S. Wiech, *Echa afery Dreyfusa*, BZIH 1993, No. 3/4, p. 45.

150 S. Wiech, *Echa afery Dreyfusa*, BZIH 1993, No. 3/4, p. 45; cf. S. Wiech, “Kontakty polsko-żydowskie w guberni kieleckiej w latach siedemdziesiątych i osiemdziesiątych XIX wieku,” in: *Zydzi w Małopolsce. Studia z dziejów osadnictwa i życia społecznego*, ed. F. Kiryć, Przemysł 1991, p. 235.

April 11, according to Suwałki Governor's request,<sup>151</sup> he issued the following circular to his diocese's clergy:

On Sunday or a Holy Day, the priest should explain to parishioners that these rumors are groundless, that they are used to incite unrest by people of ill will, who will be held accountable for their deeds, both before God and before men. Therefore, there is no need to believe these people; nor should anyone be afraid of anything.<sup>152</sup>

On May 27, shocked by disturbing news about the incitement of Christians against the Jews in the Russian Empire, bishop Piotr Paweł Wierzbowski wrote a letter to the clergy and the laity of the Catholic Church:

In the Name of God, who commanded people to love Him, thereby commanding them to love their neighbors, that is, all people regardless of their nationality, religion, and condition, we direct our pastoral voice to you and exhort you to resist both external incitements and your own desires to cause disorder; be zealous in fulfilling God's commandments and duties to your neighbors, so that you grow in the virtues of decent Christians. This is what our holy Catholic religion requires from you; and this is what our people deeply desire as a community, which, having gone through many painful experiences, settles into quiet work and seeks to win widespread recognition.<sup>153</sup>

In the end of the letter, he ordered the clergy to explain it to the laity in detail.

On October 7, bishop Paweł Wierzbowski sent another letter concerning Christian-Jewish relations. He expressed regret at the fact that, in his diocese, "such hideous violations and criminal attacks on Jews are beginning to occur during larger indulgence feasts."<sup>154</sup> Bishop Wierzbowski also repeated everything he wrote in his letter from May. Once again, he stressed that the clergy should "preach this document of ours to the assembled people in the language they can understand and explain it in detail, not just once, but repeatedly, as you see fit."<sup>155</sup>

It is hard to determine what was the nature and extent of these incidents. The parish priest of Balbieriški (the Marijampolė district), where on October 2, 1881 anti-Jewish disturbances took place, wrote in a report to the Consistory that

in the eyes of peaceful inhabitants, the incident . . . , which caused so much ado and panic that even people of high position let themselves to be deluded by the disturbing news and contributed to its intensification, was nothing else than a larger-scale public

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151 Sergey Yevgen'yevich Golovin, Suwałki Governor in the years 1869–1882. In the years 1882–1884 the Suwałki Governor was Nikolay Alekseyevich Zinov'yev.

152 ADŁom, Zespól ogólny (II), sig. 478.

153 ADŁom, Zespól ogólny (II), sig. 71, k. 96 i 96v, 104 i 104v, 106v i 107.

154 ADŁom, Zespól ogólny (II), sig. 74, k. 1v.

155 ADŁom, Zespól ogólny (II), sig. 74, k. 1v and 2.

brawl caused by a Jew who traded on public holidays against the police prohibition. . . . The brawl, both caused and publicized by the Jews, did not even make an impression of a planned attack.<sup>156</sup>

A group of appendages armed with sticks broke dozens of windows and demolished some Jewish apartments, throwing things out of windows.

The priest of Balbieriški was puzzled with the attitude of the police, which was simply absent from the incident's scene. In reference to this, he ironically wrote: "I think that за ксендзами [after priests] appeared everywhere, and so also here."<sup>157</sup> It was an allusion to the strict control that the police exercised over the clergy. He further drew attention to young people, who were demoralized and scorned all laws. In his opinion, this is "due to the weakened sense of respect for the clergy as the only guide on the path of truth and virtue." As the priest wrote:

I often found myself in a critical position, and could not find the answer when a parishioner asked ironically: why did so few priests come to the indulgence feast today or why are there no priests at all? Reason makes one cautious about the currently binding law. So we must remain silent, and therefore take the undeserved blame. During indulgence feasts, the parish priest of Balbieriški finds himself in an extremely difficult position. Our church, situated at the very end of the village, separated by forests from the deanery churches, and – due to the existing regulations – prohibited from any contact with the neighboring churches of the Kalwaria Deanery, located only five to ten versts from here, must rely solely on the vicar, who in spite of his greatest efforts, is unable to carry on such work alone, when more people come to the indulgence feast; hence the people's discontent and complaints.<sup>158</sup>

According to the priest, the anti-Church state legislation and the resulting deficiencies in the pastoral care of parishioners, together with the shortage and drunkenness of priests, are the main sources of moral decay and potential social unrest.

Bishop Paweł Wierzbowski developed a similar argumentation in his letter to Piotr Albedynski, Governor-General of Warsaw. He emphasized that, according to the current law, the clergy could not exercise any wider influence on society for fear of being accused of anti-state activity. In response to a letter from the Governor of Suwałki, who accused the clergy of not helping the authorities maintain peace, he insisted that these accusations are utterly unfounded.<sup>159</sup>

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156 ADŁom, Zespół ogólny (II), sig. 478.

157 ADŁom, Zespół ogólny (II), sig. 478.

158 ADŁom, Zespół ogólny (II), sig. 478.

159 ADŁom, Zespół ogólny (II), sig. 478.

Most probably, the Governor of Suwałki considered the clergy's reluctance to cooperate with the authorities to be motivated by the Bishop's negative response to his letter from May 28 (June 9) 1881, which for the sake of safety exhorted the clergy not to organize the processions of Corpus Christi, at least in filial churches. For his part, the bishop argues that

the failure to observe this Holy Day – which Catholics hold in the highest esteem and regard – in a standard order would only fuel their hatred of the Jews. I replied that this cannot happen and suggested . . . that a better solution is to order the local authorities to warn the Jews that they should not leave their houses and shops without reason and show due respect to the Christian celebrations.<sup>160</sup>

Apparently, this argumentation met the Governor's approval since he ordered the heads of districts to implement appropriate regulations, which nevertheless failed to prevent anti-Jewish riots; to be sure, the police often did not take appropriate measures, as in the case of the Balbieriški parish.

On January 4, 1882, Bishop Paweł Wierzbowski addressed the Jewish question for the third time in connection with the December events, which took place at the Church of the Holy Cross in Warsaw. The events had a loud resonance throughout the country. In his letter, he asks the clergy to constantly remind people that “the Holy Gospel commands you to love every neighbor, both Christian and not, as yourself.”<sup>161</sup> Bishop Wierzbowski also recommended priests to remain particularly alert during larger feasts. He highlighted that the churches should not be overcrowded. Moreover, he obliged the parish administration to deliver at the beginning of each year to the district governor a list of all holidays and feasts that could gather a larger number of people, so that the authorities could mobilize the police in advance.<sup>162</sup>

In March 1882, the Governor of Suwałki asked Bishop Paweł Wierzbowski to unite forces to uphold peace in connection with the upcoming Easter holidays, which overlapped with Jewish holidays. Fulfilling the Governor's request, the Bishop obliged priests to “make use of this benign time of Lent, which is part of Holy Penance, and spare no zeal in your efforts, both in the pulpit and at the confessional, to remind the people of their duty to love God and neighbor regardless of the latter's confession.”<sup>163</sup>

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160 ADŁom, Zespól ogólny (II), sig. 478.

161 ADŁom, Zespól ogólny (II), sig. 71, k. 104v; sig. 74, k. 2v; sig. 478.

162 ADŁom, Zespól ogólny (II), sig. 71, k. 104v; sig. 74, k. 2v; sig. 478.

163 ADŁom, Zespól ogólny (II), sig. 71, k. 106v i 107.

Priests, however, could not always effectively oppose the angry crowd. This was the case in the parish of Prienai, where on August 15, 1882, on the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, people demolished and robbed local Jewish shops. According to a report for the Consistory written by the parish administrator, Fr. F. Maciukiewicz, one priest “went to the place of the robbery dressed in a surplice and stole. At first, his presence made an impression, but he soon had to flee as the furious crowd wanted to take his life for defending the Jews.”<sup>164</sup>

The Church also condemned the pogroms of Jews that took place in 1905–1906. On January 25, 1906, *Przegląd Katolicki* published “The Letter from Pope Pius X to the Archbishop and Bishops of Poland subjected to the Russian government:”

Again, a disturbed and ferocious crowd, which feared no punishment, led by people, who were deprived of all moral principles and feelings, perpetrated crimes which even wild peoples would fear; such were, for instance, the slaughters of Jews, so contrary to the Gospel, which advocates love for all and condemns lawlessness.<sup>165</sup>

A few months later, *Przegląd Katolicki* published a shocking report of the anti-Jewish riots in Białystok, describing the incident as a provocation.<sup>166</sup> Symptomatically enough, there was no mention of the pogrom in Siedlce. Similarly, the editorial staff of *Polak-Katolik* published an appeal of the Vilnius Bishop Edward Ropp, which strongly condemned the pogrom of Jews.<sup>167</sup>

On August 15, 1906, *Zwiastun Ewangeliczny* wrote:

There was one day when a threat of a pogrom loomed large over Warsaw. Thousands of Jews, both poor and rich, fled the city to protect themselves from death or disability . . . . Neither the government’s reassuring addresses nor any persuasions helped; panic, caused by rumors and memories of the atrocious pogrom in Białystok, gained sway over the frightened masses. Pogrom – what a terrible word! A hunt of men for men, a time when animal instincts, hidden in the depth of the heart, come to light. What is most terrible is that they hunt for those we call infidels as if they were animals, and the ruthless hunters are those who call themselves Christians.<sup>168</sup>

According to *Zwiastun Ewangeliczny*, pogroms were a matter of “various, more or less known persons, either wearing uniforms or not, who wish to keep the

164 ADŁom, Zespół ogólny (II), sig. 478.

165 PK 1906, No. 3/4.

166 PK 1906, No. 25 and 28.

167 D. Olszewski, *Ks. Ignacy Kłopotowski*, p. 226.

168 ZE 1906, No. 8 (*Sprawa żydowska w oświeceniu chrześcijańskim*).

absolute advantage of the ruling nation over all others.<sup>169</sup> The newspaper considered the huge outflow of Jews from Russia caused by this situation to be a great loss for the country.

It is also worth noting that *Kholmско-Varshavskiy Yeparikhal'nyy Vestnik* never mentioned the pogroms against Jews both in the 1880s and in the early twentieth century.

However, due to insufficient knowledge of anti-Jewish attacks in 1881–1882 and 1905–1906 in the province of the Kingdom of Poland, we should be cautious not to draw univocal conclusions. This lack of knowledge results, among other things, from the lack of a synthetic elaboration of this problem in academic literature. Henryk Bałabuch's research does not exclude the possibility that anti-Jewish excesses were inspired and orchestrated by the authorities.<sup>170</sup> The astonishing ineffectiveness, the lack of energy, and even passive attitude of the authorities had a significant impact on the character of these events. However, all this cannot obscure the faulty relations between Poles and Jews, which resulted from centuries-old prejudices and superstitions.

The “conspiracy theory of pogroms” boils down to the conviction that pogroms were an element of the tsarist authorities' policy alone, which cannot withstand criticism in light of American historians' research, who undermined this traditional position of not only Polish but also Jewish historiography.<sup>171</sup> These historians suggest a revision of past views, showing that “a highly conservative tsarist government could not afford stirring up the crowd or simply disrupting the order.”<sup>172</sup> John Klier also calls into question the view that the press contributed to the emergence of violence. Another historian, Michael Aronson moves away from considering the ideological factors as decisive for the outbreak and course of pogroms. Instead, he highlights geographical and socio-economic factors. It is more instructive to look for the causes of this eruption of mass violence in Russia's new social and economic situation after the abolition of serfdom.<sup>173</sup>

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169 ZE 1906, No. 8 (*Sprawa żydowska w oświeceniu chrześcijańskim*).

170 H. Bałabuch, “Zajścia antyżydowskie w 1881 i 1882 r. na Lubelszczyźnie w ujęciu władz gubernialnych,” *BZIH* 1993, No. 3/4, p. 33.

171 D. Libionka, *Poglądy historyków na pogromy w Rosji w latach 1881–1906*, *BZIH* 1997, No. 1, pp. 16–20.

172 D. Libionka, *Poglądy historyków na pogromy w Rosji w latach 1881–1906*, *BZIH* 1997, No. 1, p. 20.

173 D. Libionka, *Poglądy historyków na pogromy w Rosji w latach 1881–1906*, *BZIH* 1997, No. 1, pp. 21–23.

According to a Polish study on the tsarist political police, it was certainly unlikely that “pogroms took place on the initiative of the highest tsarist authorities, which, however, were responsible both for creating an atmosphere conducive to pogroms and for the attitude of the police.”<sup>174</sup> This finds confirmation in the memories of Christofor Emmauski, a Warsaw censor in the 1880s, who wrote about the Warsaw pogrom of 1881:

[Piotr Pawłowicz] Albedynski was ill and could not muster up enough energy to curb the pogrom, even though he had all the necessary means at his disposal and, most importantly, an enormous army. And this time, too, he showed his usual indecisiveness. Instead of taking immediate action to put an end to the emerging unrest, Piotr Pawłowicz [Albedynski] felt it necessary to consult with St. Petersburg through a telegraph. Even when the order to suppress the pogroms with all available means came from the capital, the governor still acted slowly. Both the army and the police showed little determination; thus, on the second day of Christmas, it was not snow, as the winter was snowless, but feathers and fluffs from Jewish quilts and pillows that covered the whole Warsaw.<sup>175</sup>

On June 9, 1882, Count Dimitry Tolstoy, Minister of Internal Affairs, expressed his anxiety in a circular to governors concerning measures to be taken to prevent the outbreak of anti-Jewish riots. In the Minister’s opinion, all such disturbances were symptoms of a failed development of social life. Therefore, Tolstoy pointed to the need of joint actions by all state and social institutions for one purpose: “bringing about peace and order as the sole guarantors of the development of moral and material powers of our homeland.”<sup>176</sup> He obliged local authorities to use all means necessary to eliminate all possible sources of unrest. Any negligence on the part of the administration and police was to be punished by removal from office or service. Finally, the minister added that violence and lawlessness would not be tolerated and made all governors personally responsible for maintaining order.<sup>177</sup>

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174 E. Kaczyńska, D. Drewniak, *Ochrona. Carska policja polityczna*, Warszawa 1993, p. 84.

175 *Świat pod kontrolą. Wybór materiałów z archiwum cenzury rosyjskiej w Warszawie*, trans. and ed. M. Prussak, Warszawa 1994, pp. 27–28. About the fact that Piotr Albedyński did not prevail “enough elasticity” during the anti-Jewish riot in 1881 wrote S. Krzemiński in *Dwadzieścia pięć lat Rosji w Polsce (1863–1888). Zarys historyczny*, Lwów 1892, p. 175.

176 APBiał, *Kancelaria Gubernatora Łomżyńskiego*, sig. 707, k. 5.

177 APBiał, *Kancelaria Gubernatora Łomżyńskiego*, sig. 707, k. 5.



Already in May 1882, the Governor of Kalisz took action to prevent anti-Jewish excesses. First of all, he activated the clergy. In a letter from May 22, 1882 (June 3, 1882), the Consistory General of Kalisz informed the clergy that

although there is a consensus between Christians and Jews in the city of Kalisz, we expect that this peace will not be disturbed during the Corpus Christi procession in Kalisz. However, His Excellency the Governor insists that priests exercise their beneficial influence on the people and urge them from the pulpits to maintain good order and keep peace during the holy celebrations. Consequently, the Consistory exhorts that, tomorrow after the sermon, all priests speak briefly but concisely and zealously to the people that they should not trust any malicious slanders or false news, and not only condemn the disturbers but also report them to the police without fear, for the government will use all precautions not to disturb peace.<sup>178</sup>

The above facts confirm the view that it was not in the interest of the tsarist authorities to incite anti-Jewish riots. However, for various reasons – e.g. due to the inefficiency or colliding interests of local officials – the orders of the authorities failed to be executed properly. Marek Waldenberg writes that “pogroms were often deliberately provoked by certain factions within the state apparatus and more often than not tolerated by them” and adds that these incidents also reflected the moods of part of the community.<sup>179</sup> Nevertheless, we should not utterly dismiss those historical accounts that suggest the government not only inspired but also orchestrated some pogroms. After all, it is well-known that the Bialystok and Siedlce pogroms were organized and conducted almost openly by the police and army.<sup>180</sup>

## Blood Libel: “True or False?”

The blood libel or ritual murder canard has provoked intense emotions for centuries. However, it was not an invention of the Christian Middle Ages, nor did it concern Jews exclusively. The oldest instances of blood libel can be traced back to ancient Egypt. In ancient Rome, it was often Christians who became the target of such accusations. Ironically enough, sometimes they were put forward by Jews.<sup>181</sup>

Nonetheless, it is since the Middle Ages that Jews became the only group accused of performing ritual murders. Indeed, blood libel claims only reinforced

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178 ADWł, *Konsystorz Generalny Kaliski*, I 26 (temporary sign.).

179 M. Waldenberg, *Kwestie narodowe*, p. 145.

180 E. Kaczyńska, Drewniak, *Ochrona*, p. 84.

181 Z. Guldon, J. Wijaczka, *Procesy o mordy rytualne w Polsce w XVI–XVIII wieku*, Kielce 1995, p. 7.

anti-Jewish superstitions among Christians and led to dangerous tumults, often with tragic consequences. Therefore, it was not without reason that Jews treated every suspicion as a threat to the entire community. In turn, Christians, both simple and educated, often seemed strongly convinced that the rumors about ritual murders were true;<sup>182</sup> despite the official position of the popes, who in many cases took the side of Jews, defending them against unjust accusations of using human blood for ritual purposes.<sup>183</sup>

Many studies appeared about the phenomenon of the blood libel. Indeed, they may serve as basis for many thriller short stories. For some, the ritual murder was a phantasy created by fierce enemies of Judaism and an indispensable element of the stereotype of the Jew as the emissary of Hell. Others considered it to be a fact confirmed by many cases in the course of history and described in detail by church writers. As Hanna Węgrzynek aptly demonstrates, in Poland before the partitions, accusations of ritual murders often hinged on economic factors. Apart from economic conflicts, other causes concerned the crisis of the Church and the Reformation in the sixteenth century and the political situation of the Polish state in the seventeenth century. As Zenon Guldon and Jacek Wijaczka show, various sources from 1547 to 1787 mention eighty-two cases of accusations and trials related to the blood libel in Poland.<sup>184</sup>

People pointed to many different causes behind the alleged practice of ritual murder. According to the most common explanation, Jews made use of a Christian child's blood in the preparation of matzah for the Passover, a feast which nearly overlapped with Christian Easter. Moreover, people believed that the blood of Christians served for healing purposes, circumcision rites, as an addition to Jewish baths, "to get rid of stinking mange, or rather, scabs," and for many other purposes.<sup>185</sup>

There were no major ritual murder trials in the area and period that this book concerns. However, this does not mean that no such accusations were put forward against Jews.<sup>186</sup> Referring to the reports of *Izraelita*, Alina Cała observes

182 H. Węgrzynek, „Czarna legenda” Żydów, p. 169

183 Z. Guldon, Wijaczka, *Procesy o mordy*, pp. 7–9.

184 Z. Guldon, Wijaczka, *Procesy o mordy*, p. 94.

185 K. Bartoszewicz, *Antysemityzm w literaturze polskiej XV–XVII w.*, Warszawa 1914, pp. 45–48; Z. Węgrzynek, „Czarna legenda” Żydów, p. 91.

186 In his work on Hasidism's history until the first half of the nineteenth century in Poland, Ignacy Schiper writes: "Until the end of the period in question the case of "ritual" murders was Jews' nuisance" (I. Schiper, *Przyczynki do dziejów chasydyzmu w Polsce*, ed. Z. Targielski, Warszawa 1992, p. 108).

that trials of Jews related to the blood libel happened in Krakow (1885), Gdańsk (1885), and Kiev (1913), although they were not as notorious as the Tiszaeszlár affair (1883) in Austria-Hungary. She gives the example of the trial in Uniejów (1879), which ended with the acquittal of all defendants.<sup>187</sup>

Noteworthy, there is no sufficient evidence for the Church's active contribution to blood libel claims, be it in the fifteenth, sixteenth, or seventeenth century, or in the period discussed here. However, the attitude of some parts of the clergy was neither impartial nor indifferent. Undoubtedly, the views of various clergymen and Catholic journalists, expressed in periodicals and other publications supported by the Polish episcopate, influenced the public opinion on the issue of ritual murders.

In *Homilie i nauki niedzielne do użytku plebanów i kaznodziejów* (Homilies and Sunday Teachings for the Use of Parsons and Preachers) published in 1876, Fr. Józef Szpaderski, head of the Department of Patrology and Homiletics at the Warsaw Theological Academy in 1858–1867 and a censor in the Warsaw Consistory, wrote that he was very interested in the issue of ritual murders, especially because, as he explained, "being a young fellow, I heard about a famous trial in the Sandomierz court against Jews for the murder of a Catholic child in Ivansk; it was under the pastorship of Bishop Burzyński."<sup>188</sup>

Józef Szpaderski rejects the thesis that all Jews were responsible for this bloody ritual: "I do not condemn all Jews, since even the popes defended them against that accusation." And yet, he further notes: "perhaps, there is some dark fanatical sect among them . . . , which uses Christian blood to extinguish the desire of revenge, or to satisfy its fanatic superstitions."<sup>189</sup> These statements prove that even the clergy did not have clear knowledge about this issue. In fact, Fr. Szpaderski's views are based on presumptions that could be neither confirmed nor denied. This was surely a fertile ground for speculation, rumors, and fear, especially among the uneducated.<sup>190</sup>

187 A. Cała, *Asymilacja Żydów*, p. 183.

188 J. Szpaderski, *Homilie i nauki*, p. 248. Adam Prosper Burzyński, the bishop of Sandomierz in the years 1819–1830.

189 J. Szpaderski, *Homilie i nauki*, p. 248.

190 In *Kazania adwentowe, wielkopostne i nauki majowe* published in Warsaw in 1893, the author, Fr. Kajetan Szymkiewicz describes an example of three sacramental breads profanation, allegedly done by Jews in 1399 in Poznań: "Christ's executioners, having the Savior in their hands, gather in the basement of Świdziński's tenement, put three sacramental breads, and wanting to find out if they contain real blood, hit them with knives. The holiest blood spouted so abundantly that it flooded the whole table. The blood spouted on the walls and faces of blasphemers who cannot wipe it in any way"

Between 1882 and 1883, the majority of public opinion in Austria-Hungary was immersed in the Tiszaeszlár affair, a trial against Jews for a ritual murder of a fourteen-year-old Christian girl, Eszter Solymosi. The trial went on for many months and ended with an acquittal. A Vienna correspondent of *Przegląd Katolicki* considered this verdict to be a result of pressure from the strong Jewish lobby in Vienna and Pest, although he also admitted that “many decent minds felt it necessary to moderate the horror of the actual situation for fear of new violent conflicts and public unrest.”<sup>191</sup>

Already during the trial, the editorial board of *Przegląd Katolicki* expressed the following opinion: “We think that, at this point, both Christians and Jews are in sin; the former, when they too hastily generalize the offenses of some fanatical individuals; the latter, when they do not even allow a suspicion that a burning fanaticism could ever commit a ritual murder.”<sup>192</sup> Shortly before the verdict, *Przegląd Katolicki* wrote:

Whatever the court’s verdict will be in this case, we cannot attribute the use of Christian blood for ritual purposes to the Jews in general, but we can do so only to the fanatical, unique individuals among them. . . . For there is no doubt that there are historical facts that quite convincingly confirm this practice, despite all attempts to erase their traces and weaken their credibility.<sup>193</sup>

*Przegląd Katolicki* also expressed a conviction that many Jews were unaware of the existence of such fanatical practices among their fellow believers. On another occasion, the weekly argued that ritual murders were a historical fact, but “this form of fanaticism is now a thing of the past and cannot be feared today; it is therefore better to bury it in silence than revive it through discussions.”<sup>194</sup>

Fr. Franciszek Brzozowski, parish priest in Opoczno, had a different opinion on this matter. In 1880s, he “said in a sermon that, due to the requirements of their ritual, Jews must use Christian blood during their Easter holidays. For this act of ‘fanaticism’ and disregard for government regulations.” The priest was transferred to a small rural parish with a warning that if he continued to say such things, he would be deprived of his office as a parish priest.<sup>195</sup>

(K. Szymkiewicz, *Kazania adwentowe, wielkopostne i nauki majowe*, Warszawa 1893, pp. 87–88).

191 PK 1883, No. 36 (*Sprawa Tisza-Eszlarska*).

192 PK 1882, No. 52.

193 PK 1883, No. 5 (*Zpowodu sprawy tisza-eszlarskiej*).

194 PK 1886 No. 15 (*Kronika kościelna zagraniczna*).

195 P. Kubicki, *Bojownicy kapłani*, Part 1, Vol. 3, p. 4.

In 1905, the complete rejection of blood libel claims was met with a strong reaction from *Kwartalnik Teologiczny* (Theological Quarterly), a Catholic theological and philosophical journal supervised by Fr. Antoni Szaniawski.<sup>196</sup> The book reviews section discussed a Polish translation of the work by Fr. F. Frank, *Mord rytualny* (Ritual Murder). The author dismissed the belief in the existence of ritual atrocities as a manifestation of superstition, hatred, and ill will of Christians. The reviewer, Fr. Aleksander Zaremba, a professor at the Seminary in Płock, who lectured on the Scripture, dogmatic theology, philosophy, Hebrew, and Greek, suggested that the work was a mere mystification and listed numerous examples of blood libels from the past, including the Tiszaeszlar affair.<sup>197</sup> Zaremba also dismissed Frank's argument that among defenders of Jews were popes, bishops, and monks, by claiming that they received the "privilege of innocence" by paying influential people at the papal and monarchic courts. Moreover, Zaremba writes that "also today Jews use this collection of protective documents, including counterfeits, during the persecutions caused by infanticide."<sup>198</sup>

Once again, the question of ritual murder became notorious in 1911–1913 during the trial of Menahem Mendel Beilis in Kiev. Beilis was a Russian Jew accused of killing a twelve-year-old boy. In the article "O 'mord rytualny'" (Seeking "Ritual Murder"), *Przegląd Katolicki* called attention to the strong pressure of Russian nationalists on the judiciary to classify the Kiev crime as ritual murder, stating that the question of ritual murders was not completely clear or resolved. The author did not rule out the possibility that such murders could happen as a reaction to the oppression, of which Jews were victims for centuries. Some ritual murders from the past were described as a folk legend, which "is not always history." In conclusion, the author expressed the conviction that Jews should not be afraid of trials because they could only demonstrate their innocence: "We think so, because we do not believe that the Jewish religion contains a provision on ritual murder."<sup>199</sup>

In turn, the trial of Menahem Mendel Beilis caused serious indignation among the Polish evangelicals. *Zwiastun Ewangeliczny* published an article titled

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196 Hieronim Wyczawski writes, that *Kwartalnik Teologiczny* pursued a high level, cf. *Słownik polskich teologów katolickich*, Vol. 4, ed. H. E. Wyczawski, Warszawa 1983, pp. 245–246.

197 *Kwartalnik Teologiczny* 1905, b. 1–2, the review was signed with a pseudonym "Dr A. Barmarcin."

198 *Kwartalnik Teologiczny* 1905, b. 1–2.

199 PK 1911, No. 20.

“Nieśmiertelny przesąd” (Immortal Superstition), which strongly condemned the blood libel:

accusing Jews of ritual murder is a superstition and slander, which stimulates the worst instincts of the dark masses and incites to shameful excesses . . . . We Evangelicals are not allowed to believe in the legend about Jewish ritual murders. The truth and our Evangelical faith protect us from it.<sup>200</sup>

The author expresses his disapproval about the attitude of some groups of Christians by condemning those “[w]ho try to reconcile the spirit of the Gospel with the accusation against Jews of impossible crimes, those who, due to their racial hatred, incite to pogroms and murders, that there are such people like Fr. Pranajtys<sup>201</sup> who defend the suspicions of ritual murder based on weak and one-sided information.”<sup>202</sup>

As early as in 1900, *Zwiastun Ewangeliczny* emphatically argued that the faith in this kind of deed resulted from ignorance and superstition. The article referred to statements by well-known professors of Protestant theology, Franz Delitsch from Leipzig and Herman Strack from Berlin, who explicitly claimed that these allegations were absurd.<sup>203</sup> However, it is striking that *Kholmisko-Varshavskiy yeparkhal’nyy vestnik*,<sup>204</sup> the press organ of the Orthodox Church in the Kingdom of Poland, did not address the subject of ritual murder.

Among various opinions on the subject of ritual murder, there were also those that described it as a fact beyond the pale of doubt. Fr. Jan Władziński<sup>205</sup> a book *Semici i semityzm* (Semitism and Semitism), published in Warsaw in 1913 with

200 ZE 1913, No. 8.

201 Justyn Pranajtis (1861–1917), a Catholic priest, professor of the St. Petersburg Roman Catholic Theological Academy, author of *Christianus in Talmude Judaeorum* (1892). It was this work that anonymous author invoked in the work *Żydzi, mordy rytualne a Kościół Katolicki (Z powodu sprawy Bejlisa)*, pp. 10–11.

202 ZE 1913, No. 8.

203 ZE 1900, No. 5.

204 Noteworthy, in No. 12 of *Vestnik* published in 1913, in the article *Prazdnovaniye Paskhi u sovremennykh yevreyev severo-zapadnoy Rossii* discussing Jewish beliefs and traditions linked to Pesach there was no claim suggesting the existence of ritual murders among Jews.

205 Fr. Jan Marian Piotr Władziński (1861–1935), the rector of the church of the Nuns of the Visitation in Lublin since 1902, in the years 1905–1935 the president of the Macierz Szkolna (Educational Society) financial section, author of works in the field of practical theology, social activist.

the imprimatur of the Bishop of the Lublin diocese, Franciszek Jaczewski. The book dealt with Jewish rituals and religious customs. Jaczewski wrote as follows:

Finally, the most disgusting expression of Jewish hatred for Christians are ritual murders described criminal chronicles of all countries. It is a hereditary vengeance, an eternal vendetta of the sons of Jacob against our Aryan race and the cross, which they consider a tangible cause of all Jewish misfortunes. In large cities, Christian children, kidnapped by the Jews, die in mysterious circumstances. In order to obtain as much blood as possible from their victims, the Jews torture them in a devilish way, stab them in the brain or neck, inflict wounds, and generally torment the poor victims. Ritual murder is prescribed by the Kabbalah, which calls it the dogma of blood. According to this dogma, every Jew should consume blood in Easter matzah. The law forbids Jews to kill, so they stab and cut their victims with a sharp instrument to take blood out of them. This terrible secret – ritual murder – is passed from father to son, in some Jewish families under oath. This is supposed to be the most pleasing offering to Jehovah.<sup>206</sup>

With the presented details and terminology, Fr. Jan Władziński's statement did not leave any doubt that ritual murders were an integral part of Judaism. In fact, Władziński's views concerning the existence of ritual murders boiled down to the accusation of entire Judaism. The perpetrators of such murders did not belong to some fanatical sect, but they formed an initiated group of followers of the Mosaic faith, guarding its greatest secrets.

There were also opinions which undermined the statements of popes and bishops rejecting the blood libel. People who shared such opinions often pointed out that the position of the Church on this issue was either paid for or falsified. Others, in turn, argued that it was not so much a position of the Church as an expression of some clerics' private opinions. For example, in response to the argument of the *Izraelita* weekly that Georg Kopp, Bishop of Fulda, dismissed the belief in ritual murders as a canard, *Przegląd Katolicki* wrote:

Father Kopp, Bishop of Fulda, is a venerable man and, in the matters of faith, he is also, as a bishop, a very serious witness. But the issue here is not, at least to us, a matter of faith, but it is a matter of history. And in such a matter, the bishop's position means as much as any other, that is to say, it should be judged by the arguments it gives. Well, Bishop Fulda fails to provide any arguments. One would need a long series of such arguments to disprove the long series of facts, which the opposite position invokes. Bishop Fulda's statement only means that the venerable shepherd does not think that the Jews use Christian blood for ritual purposes. However, this is not a peculiarity, because there are many who share the same opinion on this dark issue.<sup>207</sup>

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206 J. Władziński, *Semici i semityzm*, Warszawa 1913, pp. 65–66.

207 PK 1883, No. 13 (*Notatki z prasy periodycznej: W kwestii rytualnego używania krwi chrześcijańskiej*). In an anonymous brochure published in Warsaw in 1914 entitled

As I have mentioned, not all priests dealing with the issue of ritual murder blamed all Jews. The prevailing belief, as it seems, was that there was a fanatical sect within Judaism. Referring to the trial of Menahem Mendel Beilis, *Polak-Katolik* expresses the view that ritual murder was doubtlessly committed “by some fervent Jewish sect, but this does not make all Jews responsible for the crimes.”<sup>208</sup> Another article, this time in *Przegląd Katolicki*, argued that the question of the use of Christian blood by Jews for religious purposes was not finally resolved and remained a mystery, which only scholars, historians, and researchers of Jewish writing could illuminate.<sup>209</sup> However, *Posiew* wrote in 1913 that

[t]he accusations of Jews of perpetrating ritual murders to get Christian blood have no historical grounds and nothing so far proved their correctness. Moreover, the Catholic Church (i.e. the teacher) has never put forward this charge against Jews . . . Nevertheless, there were several such cases, usually no guilt was proven, but they still rise doubts.<sup>210</sup>

In the same period, Fr. Jan Gnatowski, in his article for in *Przegląd Katolicki*, “Co sądzić o mordzie rytualnym” [What to Think of Ritual Murder], wrote:

but if ritual murder does not exist, as a general superstition and general crime of Jews, can we firmly claim that this crime never happened, if only as a separate act of individual fanatics who belong to the Jewish sect? . . . We do not claim that this is the case: we claim that this might be the case and, let us stress, this mere presumption does not stand in contradiction with our faith, nor does it deviate from the wording of papal bulls, and we think that a discussion about this issue without prejudice can bring no harm.<sup>211</sup>

At this point, we should quote the entry “Talmud” from *Encyklopedia kościelna* (Church Encyclopedia): “Certainly, some allegations against the Talmud go too far; it is impossible to derive the Jewish practice of infanticide, or ritual murder, from the Talmud itself, although there are some facts that confirm it.”<sup>212</sup> As we can see, there was no single binding interpretation of the blood libel. The belief or disbelief in its existence did not belong to the dogmatic realm, so no attitude toward it diverged from the doctrine of the Church. Consequently, despite the

*Żydzi, mordy rytualne a Kościół Katolicki (Z powodu sprawy Bejlisa)* its author stated that ritual murders were a strictly historical issue, which had “no connection with pope’s power, as well as with Catholic doctrine, and morality,” p. 12.

208 *Polak-Katolik* 1914, No. 49 (*Moralność żydowska*).

209 PK 1913, No. 44/45 (*Legenda o mordzie rytualnym*); and No. 47 (*Rozstrzygnięcie pytania, co sądzić o mordach rytualnych and Po wyroku*).

210 *Posiew* 1913, No. 45 (*Głośna sprawa*).

211 PK 1913, No. 43.

212 *Encyklopedia kościelna*, Vol. 28, Warszawa 1905, p. 167.



univocal papal statements on this issue, various speculations and insinuations could easily provoke confusion and spread the conviction that Jews really committed ritual crimes among a considerable part of the Polish society.

An analysis of the abovementioned statements raises the following question: Why did some priests – educated in philosophy, theology, and Scripture – claim that ritual murder was practiced, if not by all Judaists, then at least by an unidentified Jewish sect? In this respect, we may point to several factors.

First, the average level of education of the clergy was not high. There were many reasons for this state of affairs (for a detailed discussion, see Chapter 1), including the insufficient quality of teaching in the seminaries of the Polish Kingdom.

Second, traditional anti-Judaism combined with anti-Jewish attitudes in the social, economic, and political areas provided a fertile ground for this type of accusations, as has been the case in previous periods.

Third, the "testimonies" of Jewish converts, which confirmed the existence of the murderous ritual practice among Judaists, were often the crowning argument for those who believed in the blood libel. In this context, Jean Delumeau aptly writes that "throughout European history, the actions of neophytes have had disastrous effects for Jewish communities."<sup>213</sup>

In Poland, people who suspected Jews of ritual crimes often invoked the dispute between Frankists and Rabbis, which took place in Lviv in 1759. The former, willing to defeat their opponents, allegedly found passages from the Talmud that backed the use of Christian blood as part of Jewish ritual practices.<sup>214</sup> The matter gained publicity when Aleksander Czołowski – a well-known historian of Lviv, from 1891 an employee of the Lviv Archive, and editor of *Pomniki Dziejowe Lwowa* (The Historical Monuments of Lviv) – published the results of an archival query on the subject. However, not everyone believed the testimonies of the converts.<sup>215</sup>

In 1911, *Przegląd Katolicki* wrote:

It is difficult not to notice that among the large group of converts from Judaism there was not a single credible testimony which confirms "ritual murder." . . . Among these people, many knew the Talmud, yet none of them knew about the ritual prescription that demanded, contrary to both the letter and the spirit of the Mosaic Law, that blood

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213 J. Delumeau, *Sin and Fear*, p. 270.

214 A. Kraushar, *Frank i frankiści polscy 1726–1816*, Vol. 1, Kraków 1895, p. 152; K. Lewalski, "Szkieł do dziejów misji chrześcijańskich wśród Żydów na ziemiach polskich w XVIII–XX wieku," *Studia Historyczne* 1993, b. 2, p. 188, fn. 15.

215 PK 1911, No. 20 (*O „mord rytualny”*).

be used to prepare matzah. This seems to be compelling evidence that the Jewish people in general have never accepted nor performed this atrocious practice.<sup>216</sup>

There were also people who believed that the behavior of Jews concerning the accusations only confirmed that they were not unfounded. The proponents of this view were amazed especially by Jewish solidarity, influence on the press, public opinion, and judiciary, and the power to stigmatize as anti-Semites all those who believed in blood libel accusations.

However, this behavior of Jews was justified by their historical experience. For every precedent in this case posed a serious danger to them, which is why they tried by all means to demonstrate the absurdity of these accusations.<sup>217</sup> For example, in the former Republic of Poland, the Jewish Sejm Waad Arba Haaracot established a special fund to defend Jews accused of ritual murder. The money was used to bribe the officials of municipal and voivodeship courts.<sup>218</sup> This method of exoneration was certainly effective, but it was also an argument used to reinforce the belief in the existence of ritual murders.

Another issue was the uncritical attitude toward historical accounts of the blood libel<sup>219</sup> and the strong influence of church writers. For example, Fr. Piotr Skarga's *Lives of Saints*, which popularized in old Poland the story of an alleged ritual murder of a the-year-old boy, Simon of Trent (1475),<sup>220</sup> were often reprinted in large numbers in nineteenth century; only until 1882 there appeared

216 PK 1911, No. 20 (*O „mord rytualny”*).

217 J. Tazbir, *Świat panów Pasków*, Łódź 1986, p. 219.

218 H. Węgrzynek, „Czarna legenda” Żydów, pp. 152–154.

219 For example, Paweł Fijałkowski writes that “at the time of the Sochaczów church makeover in 1877, people found a pine coffin binded with parchment under the altar. There were bones of a child inside the coffin, and the parchment had a sign “Hic iacent ossa infantis Jacobi, filii Simeonis et Margarite sartoris occisi a Iudaeis in Sochaczowie, Anno 1617 die 12 Juli” . . . which means: “Here lie bones of a child named Jakub, son of Szymon and Małgorzata, murdered by Jews in Sochaczów on July 12, 1617.” In the church archive, there was a document describing the events of 1617. The document also mentions about two earlier times when the coffin was moved. Now the bizzare finding is built into the wall behind the main altar, and the forgotten past events again took permanent place in habitants’ awareness. . . . Certainly, the finding did not positively influence the relations between Christians and Jews” (P. Fijałkowski, “Żydzi i chrześcijanie w Sochaczewie w latach 1864–1914. Z dziejów współistnienia,” in: *Rozwój prowincji naszej. Życie społeczno-kulturalne ośrodków lokalnych ziem polskich w dobie popowstaniowej 1864–1914*, ed. M. Adamczyk, A. Notkowski, Kielce–Warszawa 1993, p. 89).

220 Cf. Z. Guldon, Wijaczka, *Procesy o mordy*, p. 8.

twenty-four editions of this work.<sup>221</sup> However, as Hanna Węgrzynek rightly indicates, no cult of these children, allegedly slaughtered by Jews, developed in the Polish lands, nor were there any pilgrimage centers established at the victims' graves.<sup>222</sup>

The uncritical attitude toward historical or press reports finds partial justification. All of them pointed to at least two facts: the victim of the murder and the cruel way in which it was committed, often under mysterious circumstances. Nor could one firmly assert that Jews were innocent in all cases described as ritual murders. The children allegedly murdered by Jews were often victims of unfortunate accidents, deviants, and rapists.<sup>223</sup> It is also important to remember that the fields of knowledge such as psychology, criminology, and medicine, which could explain the motives and mechanisms of these murders, were only in their infancy.

Moreover, Jews spread rumors about Christian superstitions and macabre magical practices.<sup>224</sup> Based on the information on the beliefs of Galician Jews in the nineteenth century, Hanna Węgrzynek observes that "their prejudices sometimes took extremely bloody and cruel forms."<sup>225</sup> One of such centuries-old myths concerned the figure of shepherd, who performed magical practices, often served as folk healers, and had quite extensive knowledge of veterinary medicine. This knowledge, passed down from generation to generation, had the status of secret knowledge. According to circulating stories, the shepherds sought to get certain parts of Jewish children's corpses to perform certain rituals and thereby ensure the success of their practices.<sup>226</sup>

Benjamin Piotr Paweł Szymański, Bishop of the Podlachia diocese, emphatically condemned these practices in a pastoral letter to the clergy and the laity of his diocese from the end of 1865.<sup>227</sup> In October 1865, 3-year old boy with his head, hand, and leg cut off was found in Wróblewo (the Sieradz district) in a

221 J. Brynkus, "Legenda księdza Piotra Skargi w edukacji historycznej i literaturze popularnej XIX w.," *Nasza Przeszłość* 1994, Vol. 82, p. 190.

222 H. Węgrzynek, „Czarna legenda” Żydów, pp. 170–171.

223 H. Węgrzynek, „Czarna legenda” Żydów, p. 171.

224 About some spread superstitions among Christians in the Kingdom of Poland cf. D. Olszewski, *Polska kultura religijna*, pp. 138–140.

225 H. Węgrzynek, „Czarna legenda” Żydów, p. 171. J. Tokarska-Bakir is critical about Węgrzynek's statement in *Legendy o krwi. Antropologia przesądu*, Warszawa 2008, pp. 91–93.

226 B. Baranowski, *W kręgu upiórów i wilkołaków*, Łódź 1981, pp. 237–238.

227 ADSiedl, Akta Rozporządzeń Władzy Diecezjalnej (1865–1866).

local sheepfold. The body parts were placed in a watering can and drenched in water. The investigation found that the corpse came from the Jewish cemetery in Grójec (the district of Warsaw). In the course of the investigation, the local shepherds testified that “there is a feeling among them that, in order to protect the sheep from being poisoned by shepherds from neighboring areas or other damage, it was necessary to soak some of Jewish body parts in water and to pour such water on the floor of sheepfold.”<sup>228</sup>

Prejudices, superstitions, or stories about bloody magical practices appeared on both sides, often stimulating people’s imagination, for which the existence of such a thing as ritual murder did not necessarily seem impossible.

It is not easy to determine which of the discussed factors had the greatest impact on the views of average priests. Nevertheless, in light of the above sources, it appears that a considerable part of the clergy either believed in blood libel or did not know what to think about in the matter. Moreover, because priests enjoyed high social prestige, they often helped spreading the superstition, which haunted the Christian community since the Middle Ages.

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228 ADSiedl, Akta Rozporządzeń Władzy Diecezjalnej (1865–1866).

## CHAPTER 4: The Project of Assimilation as a Solution to the Jewish Question

### What Kind of Assimilation?

Assimilation is a process in which the individual generally relinquishes his or her previous way of life. The process is connected with the adoption of a new, specific system of values, which is dominant or more attractive than the previous one. The factors that determine this process are immensely complex since, apart from the historical, economic, and demographic factors, there are psychological and sociological ones that become crucially important.<sup>1</sup> According to experts on the subject, assimilation of ethnic minorities begins with acculturation which, as a result of close cultural connections, leads to the adoption of behavior patterns and moral norms of the dominant community.<sup>2</sup> The degree of acculturation largely depends on the openness of the assimilating majority.<sup>3</sup> For instance, Artur Eisenbach agrees with Stephen Sharot, who claims that the degree of assimilation of Jews was higher in those societies where the dominant religion was syncretic and lower in Catholic societies.<sup>4</sup>

However, it is not quite right to focus on the role of Catholicism as an obstacle to the process of assimilation. It becomes clear especially when we take into consideration the whole variety of factors that influenced this process. For instance, according to Jerzy Wiatr and Dorota Górecka, the impact of assimilation is bigger when: 1) the assimilating minority is less numerous, 2) the minority constitutes a smaller percentage of total population, 3) the dispersion of the minority is smaller, 4) the minority and the majority have more in common in terms of race, culture, and language, 5) the minority easily finds a similar social class within the majority, 6) the majority and the minority are more open.<sup>5</sup> It seems that the

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1 Cf. M. Kula, "Kilka uwag o asymilacji w świetle doświadczeń latynoamerykańskich," in: *Założenia teorii asymilacji*, ed. H. Kubiak, A. K. Paluch, Wrocław 1980, pp. 40–47.

2 H. Kubiak, "Teoria, ideologia i polityka asymilacji," in: *Założenia teorii asymilacji*, p. 15.

3 A. Eisenbach, *Emancypacja Żydów na ziemiach polskich 1785–1870 na tle europejskim*, Warszawa 1988, p. 102.

4 A. Eisenbach, *Emancypacja Żydów na ziemiach polskich*, p. 102.

5 J. J. Wiatr, D. Górecka, "Asymilacja a dystans społeczny," in: *Założenia teorii asymilacji*, pp. 177–178.

factors mentioned above were at least equally important as Catholicism. Indeed, in the Polish lands in 1855–1915, they might have played a decisive role.

While an objective process, assimilation was also an ideology, a project that aimed at solving the Jewish question. The end of the eighteenth century witnessed the emergence of a wide-ranging program of assimilation of Jews. Contemporary reformers of the Polish state saw assimilation as a one-way process. The same applies to positivists. Most often, they demanded that the Jews were no longer “a nation within a nation,” learn the Polish language, and reject everything that differentiates them from the Christian community; interestingly enough, the reformers did not expect Jews to renounce their religion.<sup>6</sup>

Since then until the era of Jewish emancipation in the Polish lands of the nineteenth century, two different conceptions referred to the role of assimilation within the process of legal emancipation of the Jews. The first conception assumed that the assimilation was a precondition for the emancipation, while the second one assumed that the assimilation would be the result of emancipation. What reflected this dichotomy was the position of Polish political forces in the Kingdom of Poland on the eve of the Jewish emancipation and the outbreak of the January Uprising.<sup>7</sup>

According to Roman Wapiński, the attitude of the majority of Polish opinion-forming milieux toward the Jewish question after the defeat of the January Uprising until the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth century drew on already shaped views: they favored the assimilation of Jews, whom they perceived as a denominational group.<sup>8</sup> It does not mean that the question of the extent of assimilation did not arouse controversy both in Polish and Jewish opinion-forming circles. For instance, the Jewish elites centered around the weekly *Ha-Tsefirah* claimed that the assimilation has its end at the stage of acculturation. According to Alina Cała, the newspaper championed “moderate assimilation,” that is, a form of assimilation in which the limits of acculturation into the Polish culture were determined by the preservation and development of the Hebrew language,

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6 A. Cała, *Asymilacja Żydów w Królestwie Polskim (1864–1897). Postawy. Konflikty. Stereotypy*, Warszawa 1989, p. 216; H. Ordyniec, *Kwestia ludu starozakonnego w Polsce*, Kraków 1872, passim; E. Orzeszkowa, *O Żydach i kwestii żydowskiej*, Wilno 1882, p. 45.

7 A. Eisenbach, *Kwestia równouprawnienia Żydów w Królestwie Polskim*, Warszawa 1972, pp. 370–401.

8 R. Wapiński, *Polska i małe ojczyzny Polaków. Z dziejów kształtowania się świadomości narodowej w XIX i XX wieku po wybuch II wojny światowej*, Wrocław 1994.

the maintenance of traditional values that constituted the virtue of Jewish family, and the continuation of “pure” Judaism deprived of folk influences.<sup>9</sup>

In turn, a desirable model of the assimilated Jew for the ideologists of Polish positivism was that of a Pole of the Mosaic faith. The weekly *Izraelita* promoted such a model of national assimilation. Its founder was Samuel Peltyn, the leading ideologist of assimilation in the Kingdom of Poland. *Izraelita* saw as its main task “the combat against ignorance and backwardness” and the promotion of educational issues in a broad sense. *Izraelita* was primarily addressed to those Jewish circles which embraced the ideas of assimilation of Polish-Jewish fraternization, that is to say, the wealthy plutocracy and intelligentsia.<sup>10</sup> The very fact that the weekly was in the Polish language became a sufficient reason for the conservative circles not to read it; in turn, the radically liberal elements accused it of the lack of liberalism.<sup>11</sup> There were various attitudes toward *Izraelita* even among assimilationists. Some claimed that the weekly’s position lacked a Polish element and was too Jewish, while others claimed that it lost its ties with the general Jewish community and was insufficiently Jewish.<sup>12</sup> Throughout the entire period of its activity, *Izraelita* rejected the idea of religious assimilation, as it did not fall within the ambit of the formula of “Poles of Mosaic faith” promoted by the newspaper. However, the tone of some articles certainly aroused doubt whether *Izraelita* had an unambiguous stance in this matter. Staff members of *Izraelita* continued to explain what they understood as assimilation, they kept elaborating this concept, as it were, and they did so every time someone accused them of betrayal of Jewishness.

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9 A. Cała, *Asymilacja Żydów w Królestwie Polskim*, p. 44.

10 M. Fuks, *Prasa żydowska w Warszawie 1823–1939*, Warszawa 1979, p. 89.

11 M. Fuks, *Prasa żydowska*, pp. 90 and 93. On the struggle between Orthodox Jews and assimilationists, see: R. Kuwałek, “Pomiędzy tradycją a asymilacją. Walka o wpływ i władzę w lubelskiej gminie żydowskiej między ortodoksami i asymilatorami w latach 1862–1915,” in: *Żydzi i judaizm we współczesnych badaniach polskich*, ed. K. Pilarczyk, Kraków 1997, pp. 227–247.

12 J. Lichten, “Uwagi o asymilacji i akulturacji Żydów w Polsce,” *Znak* 1988, No. 5/6, pp. 54–55. In the work published in 1892 and signed with initials P.I., *Jewrei w Priwislanskom kraje. Charakteristika ich dejatielnosti sriedi christianskogo nasilenija etogo kraja*, the author wrote that *Izraelita* “is not popular among the Orthodox Jews, while those Jews who had European educational background also despise it, so rather small circle of its readers is almost limited to the youth that seriously seek to escape this world of Orthodox Jews and join the group of their colleagues in frock coats, but they have no courage to do that due to the fear of the parental anger or other reasons” (pp. 129–130).

Apart from “moderate” and national assimilation, the “radical” assimilation through baptism aroused the greatest controversy. Of course, traditional religious Jewish circles saw it as a negative phenomenon; assimilationists associated with *Izraelita* also rejected proselytism, claiming that it hindered any reform of Judaism, demonized the educational system in the eyes of Orthodox Jews, and in some ways “devastated” the Jewish community.<sup>13</sup> In turn, some Polish opinion-forming circles, mostly Catholics, claimed that only baptism could solve the Jewish question. The group of people who proposed such a solution included Marcei Daszewski, Adolf Dygasiński, and Teodor Jeske-Choiński. In his work *Chrześcijananie i Żydzi* [The Christians and the Jews], Marcei Daszewski wrote that conversion was an indispensable condition for the Jews to “blend with” the Christian community; he admitted, though, that this was not an easy way.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, Adolf Dygasiński and Teodor Jeske-Choiński saw baptism as the most effective form of assimilation.<sup>15</sup> In 1887, Konstanty Wzdulski pessimistically wrote that “the assimilating force that we possess in relation to other nations, proved insufficient in relation to the Jews.” That is why he proposed baptism as the only solution.<sup>16</sup> It is necessary to emphasize that the proponents of assimilation through baptism rejected the idea of assimilation without conversion as “theoretical fantasies,” “utopia,” and “hypocrisy.”<sup>17</sup>

The circle of Polish Evangelicals also claimed that the conversion of Jews to Christianity was the proper form of assimilation, although some of them did not demand a complete Polonization of Jews, but they were not numerous. *Zwiastun Ewangeliczny* repeatedly emphasized that one should never combine the notions of nationality and religion.<sup>18</sup> It was along these lines that pastor Jan Fabian stated that one could remain a Jew even after the conversion. Fabian also emphasized that no one should demand from the Jews to reject their culture and history altogether; and he simultaneously condemns “those fanatics of assimilation”

13 “Projekty rozwiązania kwestii żydowskiej podane przez Postępowca,” in: *Izraelita* 1886, No. 11; “Do bilansu,” in: *Izraelita* 1887, No. 50; “Rodzaj dewastacji,” in: *Izraelita* 1900, No. 12.

14 M. Daszewski, *Chrześcijananie i Żydzi*, Warszawa 1881, p. 26.

15 S. Hirszhorn, “Dzieje Żydów w Królestwie Polskim,” in: *Żydzi w Polsce Odrodzonej. Działalność społeczna, gospodarcza, oświatowa i kulturalna*, Vol. 1, ed. I. Schiper, A. Tartakower, A. Hafftko, Warszawa [1933], p. 474; *Rola* 1883, No. 19.

16 K. Wzdulski, *Żydzi polscy w świetle prawdy. Studium społeczne*, Warszawa 1887, p. 15.

17 Series of articles written by Bol Szymański “Dzieci jednej ziemi. Uwagi i fakty z asymilacji żydowskiej,” *Rola* 1883, No. 19 and 1900, No. 16–17, 20–25, 27–35.

18 “Narodowość i religia,” in: *ZE* 1898, No. 5/6.



who wanted to provide the Jews with “comfortable life at the expense of rejection of holy ancient traditions.”<sup>19</sup> In turn, pastor Rudolf Gundlach claims that overlooking the religious question was a mistake made by part of the Jewish assimilationist current, since

it offered the Jews too little for their denationalization: it admittedly offered a new homeland, but only a worldly one. What it failed to offer is that which we have considered as the environment and the axis of the Jewish question, that is to say, the Messiah. Assimilationists did not even touch the core of the matter, as they tried to solve the Jewish question without the Messiah.<sup>20</sup>

Pastor Rudolf Gundlach emphasized that the Evangelical Church required neither the denationalization nor the assimilation of Jews: “we only wish and expect that they merge with us and form one big Christian family, in which each nationality has both its own reason for existence and a particular vocation.”<sup>21</sup>

According to Klemens Junosza-Szaniawski, the attitude of part of Polish society toward the assimilation of Jews, even the converts, was far from perfect. In 1889, he wrote:

The backward, dirty Orthodox Jew is described as a scoundrel and people feel repulsion toward him. In turn, people say that the Jew who left his community, received European education, and just wants to work is an intruder and arrogant person, and they also feel repulsion toward him. Finally, the Jew who ceased to be a Jew, broke all his ties with the Jewish community — was baptized and became one of us — is described as a mehes [convert], and we still feel repulsion toward him, and even toward his children.<sup>22</sup>

Therefore, Junosza-Szaniawski ironically asks: Who was supposed to assimilate? “[A]n ignorant and dirty Jew, isolated from society by the wall of superstitions and separateness, or a Jew isolated from Jewry but rejected by Christians, or, finally, a converted Jew, whom people will never pardon for his high-bridged nose?”<sup>23</sup>

Aleksander Hertz explains that the Polish aversion toward assimilated Jews was the result of “the excessive Polishness” that some Jews manifested in order to prove that they ceased to be the members of the old caste. However, some people saw this kind of demonstration as suspicious and even as a proof that they were not assimilated.<sup>24</sup> For instance, Fr. Ignacy Kłopotowski went as far as to

19 “Sprawa żydowska w oświeceniu chrześcijańskim,” in: *ZE* 1906, No. 8.

20 “Co począć z Żydami,” in: *ZE* 1902, No. 6.

21 “Co począć z Żydami,” in: *ZE* 1902, No. 7.

22 K. Junosza-Szaniawski, *Nasi Żydzi w miasteczkach i na wsiach*, Warszawa 1889, p. 124.

23 K. Junosza-Szaniawski, *Nasi Żydzi*, p. 124.

24 A. Hertz, *Żydzi w kulturze polskiej*, foreword J. Górski, Warszawa 1988, p. 164.

claim that neither educational background nor civility, nor fluency in the Polish language is sufficient to call someone a Pole, because “the Jewish spirit would always come out like a cat from a bag.”<sup>25</sup>

Even *Kholmisko-Varshavskiy Yeparkhial’nyy Vestnik*, though admittedly for different reasons, accused the Jews of failing to assimilate. Therefore, as the newspaper went on to suggest, the authorities should deprive the Jews of the rights granted by the ukase of June 1862. An article from 1897, “*Plody żydowskiego równouprawnienia w Przywiślańskim kraju*,” [“The Results of the Jewish Equality in the Vistula Land”], cited a figure that was to prove that the alleged Jewish expansion seriously threatens the Christian population in demographical, economic, industrial, and financial terms.

The Christian population of the Vistula Land has less than tripled [as compared to 1816], while the Jewish population expanded by six and a half times. . . . In ten governorates, Jews own almost 40,000 morgens of agricultural land which passed in their possession under notarial deeds, not to mention those parcels which they acquired without any documents. . . . Until now, no less than 650,000 morgens of manorial lands passed into the Jewish hands. . . . Today, they own more than 1,500 factories and craft enterprises that are worth 20 million rubles.<sup>26</sup>

The newspaper also reported an increase of organized crime as a result of Jewish equality.<sup>27</sup>

Polish-Jewish relations visibly changed at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth century. Sociopolitical mobilization in both Polish and Jewish communities engendered an escalation of tensions between them. And their mobilization did not lead to the adoption of any joint program; on the contrary, their programs were often mutually exclusive. Even the proponents of Jewish assimilation in the 1870s and 1880s, such as Eliza Orzeszkowa or Bolesław Prus, began to call into question the possibility of reaching this goal.<sup>28</sup>

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25 “Gawędy Starego Matusa,” in: *Posiew* 1909, No. 4.

26 Seemingly, the presented figures are not exaggerated, since they do not differ much from the data of 1884 cited by A. Eisenbach in *Z dziejów ludności żydowskiej w Polsce w XVIII i XIX wieku*, Warszawa 1983. Eisenbach reports that, in 1884, Jews in the Kingdom of Poland (except for Warsaw) owned 1219 factories and businesses that were worth over 15 million rubles, A. Eisenbach, *Z dziejów ludności żydowskiej*, tab. 5, p. 291. The same applies to the indicated amount of land. In 1884, Jews owned over 500,000 morgens of land that constituted 2.4 percent of the entire land area of the Kingdom of Poland. See A. Eisenbach, *Z dziejów ludności żydowskiej*, tab. 10, p. 299.

27 KhVyv 1897, no 2.

28 R. Wapiński, *Polska i małe ojczyzny Polaków*, pp. 171, 187–188.

The emergence of the Jewish national movement, which firmly resisted the efforts of assimilationists, provided a crucial argument for the opponents of assimilation, all the more so because assimilated Jews did not fulfill the hopes placed in them and became a recruitment base for the Jewish national revival.<sup>29</sup> The slogan of the Zionists, “Down with the servile dulcimer player Jankiel,”<sup>30</sup> or their description of assimilationists as “candidates for mehes,” clearly expressed their attitude toward assimilation and its proponents.<sup>31</sup>

Aside from all its limitations, the census of 1897, which was to present the level of national self-identification of Jews by the linguistic criterion, clearly indicated a very low advancement of integration, acculturation, or assimilation processes. Only 54,000 (4 %) out of 1,321,000 Jews in the Kingdom of Poland did not declare Jewish language as their mother tongue.<sup>32</sup> It is worth citing Bernard Singer who wrote in his memoirs that when he went to the Talmudists, he heard that: “speaking Polish becomes a serious problem when it comes to assessing one’s piety,” while Hasidim “spit with contempt when they hear the Polish language. . . . I was simply a goy for them, since I was dressed in a European style and spoke a different language.”<sup>33</sup> As Roman Wapiński rightly observes, the above phenomena reinforced the sense of mutual alienation, increased the distance between both sides, and enriched the list of traditional prejudices with new ones.<sup>34</sup> The question of Litvaks (Lithuanian Jews) was another favorite example of the anti-assimilationist camp. In 1896, *Przegląd Wszechpolski* wrote:

The Jews have an obligation toward our country and our nation; they cannot betray our national interest. Otherwise, they lose the right to tolerance. Regardless of how Jews are treated by the Russian government, each Jew has to remember that he lives in Poland

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29 R. Wapiński, *Polska i małe ojczyzny Polaków*, p. 185.

30 Jankiel is a famous Jewish character from Adam Mickiewicz’s famous epic poem *Sir Thaddeus, or the last Lithuanian Foray* – translator’s note.

31 A. Romanowski, “Biedni Polacy patrzą na siebie,” *Znak* 1988, No. 5/6, p. 150; “Przez nacjonalizm do chrztu,” in: *Izraelita* 1911, No. 5.

32 W. Pruss, “Społeczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego w XIX i początkach XX wieku,” Vol. 1 *Narodowości, wyznania, sekty, organizacje kościelne*, in: *Przegląd Historyczny* 1977, Vol. 68, issue 2, p. 488; M. Waldenberg, *Kwestie narodowe w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej. Dzieje. Idee*, Warszawa 1992, p. 146.

33 B. Singer, *Moje Nalewki*, Warszawa 1959, pp. 21 i 135.

34 R. Wapiński, *Polska i małe ojczyzny Polaków*, p. 176; see also A. Bocheński, *Rzecz o psychice narodu polskiego*, Warszawa 1986, p. 36.

and, by using the language of Poland's oppressors, he takes their side, which is why he should be severely punished.<sup>35</sup>

In 1909, Roman Dmowski claimed that the real assimilation of Jews was not possible under contemporary Polish conditions, and those who assimilated after 1864 became, as he wrote, "cheaper and cheaper Poles," who failed to understand the Polish national spirit.<sup>36</sup>

Many Christian journalists of the time expressed the conviction that it made no sense to count on baptism as a thorough solution to the Jewish question, because it concerned only a scarce minority in the Jewish population. Fr. Kolski voiced this argument in his article for *Przegląd Katolicki*, "Asymilacja i syjonizm" ["Assimilation and Zionism"] from 1902.<sup>37</sup> Kolski criticized Aleksander Świętochowski's conception of assimilation through "irreligiousness," which required "both Christians and Jews to sacrifice their own religious beliefs at the altar of indifferentism."<sup>38</sup> According to Kolski, assimilation through baptism applied only to individuals, which was distinct from asemitism he recommended as a Church program that responds to the Jewish question. Jan Jeleński shared this opinion.<sup>39</sup> Similarly, Zbigniew Kościeszka, a publicist of *Rola*, claimed in 1909 that the only possible program concerning the Jewish question is a program of isolation imposed by the light of reason and Catholic teaching.<sup>40</sup>

The failure of the idea of assimilation, understood as a thorough solution to the Jewish question, was not necessarily a complete failure of the assimilationists from the turn of the centuries. As Samuel Hirszhorn observes, Zionism managed to make a considerable breach in the fortress of assimilation, which was firmly established in the Polish lands.<sup>41</sup> Nevertheless, the idea of assimilation never lost its devoted supporters. In 1909, Henryk Nusbaum claimed that there was no Jewish nation since the existence of a nation had to relate to a particular territory, language, and culture; that is, features that Jews did not possess, in his view. The

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35 Qtd. after M. Sobczak, "Kwestia żydowska na przełomie XIX i XX wieku w ocenie tworzącego się polskiego ruchu narodowego," in: *Prace Naukowe Akademii Ekonomicznej we Wrocławiu* 1996, No. 722, Nauki Humanistyczne 2, p. 189.

36 R. Dmowski, *Separatyzm Żydów i jego źródła*, Warszawa 1909, p. 12.

37 A pseudonym of priest Ignacy Charszewski (1869–1940), writer, publicist, and popularizer of theology.

38 *PK* 1902, No. 42.

39 "Na posterunku," *Rola* 1903, No. 5.

40 "Dyfuzja zamiast asymilacji. Nowa teoryjka w kwestii żydowskiej," *Rola* 1909, No. 52.

41 S. Hirszhorn, "Dzieje Żydów w Królestwie Polskim," p. 354.

only common and specific cultural trait of Jews was religion. Henryk Nusbaum emphatically opposes the Zionist program as purely utopian:

We are witnessing an unprecedented moment in the history, when a community that bears no features of a distinct nation, nonetheless wishes to become such a nation. The only problem is that it is not so much a community as a few circles within this community that want this.<sup>42</sup>

Nusbaum believed that the attitudes typical of Polish Jews – staunch conservatism and piety – would become reasons for their rejection of Zionism and nationalism.

Henryk Nusbaum was the proponent of assimilation that led to “a complete incorporation [of Jews] into other nations.”<sup>43</sup> Nusbaum believed that the Orthodox Jewish community was ready to unite with the Polish society; the only question was religion in need of reforms.<sup>44</sup> In turn, A. Wizel argued in *Izraelita* that one should reject the term “assimilation” in favor of a new one that better corresponded to reality: “Polonization [which] can and ought to become the only form of assimilation for Polish Jews.” As Nusbaum underscored, Polonization also provided that the matter would not concern religion.<sup>45</sup>

## Missionary Activity

### Evangelicals

The nineteenth-century Christian mission among Jews originated in the United Kingdom. Already in the last decade of the eighteenth century, the so-called Holiness movement developed in England under the influence of Methodism. Following the emergence of this movement, numerous associations were founded to promote Christian charity. Major associations included: Baptist Missionary Society (1792), London Missionary Society (1795), and Church Missionary Society (1799). The founders of such associations were not only the followers of the state Church of England but also members and supporters of independent religious organizations.<sup>46</sup>

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42 H. Nusbaum, *Już wielki czas! . . . (Głos w kwestii żydowskiej)*, Warszawa 1906, p. 51.

43 H. Nusbaum, *Już wielki czas!*, p. 22.

44 Henryk Nusbaum, despite his declaration of attachment to Judaism, converted to Catholicism as an older man, cf. M. Mieses, *Z rodu żydowskiego. Zasłużone rodziny polskie krwi niegdyś żydowskiej*, Warszawa 1991, p. 191; M. Fuks, *Żydzi w Warszawie. Życie codzienne. Wydarzenia. Ludzie*, Poznań–Daszewice 1992, p. 176.

45 *Izraelita* 1910, No. 1.

46 W. Gastpar, *Historia Kościoła. Okres nowożytny*, Vol. 3, Warszawa 1975, p. 280.

In 1808, the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews was established (henceforth as London Missionary Society). A branch of the society started to function in Warsaw already in 1814 on the initiative of Prince Adam Czartoryski.<sup>47</sup> However, it was only in 1818 when the London Missionary Society began its actual work. This year tsar Alexander I of Russia, influenced by Lewis Way, a member of the society, issued an ukase that allowed the London Missionary Society to operate in Russia and the Kingdom of Poland.<sup>48</sup> Even before the ukase, in March 1817, there emerged in Russia the Society of Jewish Christians under the tsar's patronage. Members of the society were granted civil rights and exempted from military service. Moreover, the authorities allowed neophytes to settle in northern and southern governorates and form local governments in the settlements.<sup>49</sup>

The first missionary in Warsaw on behalf of the London Missionary Society was a proselyte, Benjamin N. Salomon. In 1812, Alexander McCaul replaced him. Over time, more and more missionaries came to the Kingdom of Poland.<sup>50</sup> Some of them later committed themselves to the service of the Evangelical Reformed Church and the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession.<sup>51</sup>

The missionary activity among Jews in the Kingdom of Poland relied on the structures of the Evangelical Reformed Church and Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession, which provided favorable conditions for its development.<sup>52</sup> Józef Spleszyński, who served as the superintendent of the Warsaw Evangelical Reformed Church in 1849–1879, was a zealous proponent of the mission; also part of Lutheran pastors strongly supported the missionaries' cause.<sup>53</sup>

The conversion of Jews to Christianity most often happened in congregations in Warsaw, Płock, Gostynin, and Wieluń. Moreover, the missionaries set up mission stations, which spread the gospel and distributed the Hebrew Bible, the New

47 A. Eisenbach, *Emancypacja Żydów*, p. 181.

48 A. Eisenbach, *Emancypacja Żydów*, p. 182; A. Gerhardt, "Die Judenmission in Polen," in: *Ekklesia. Eine Sammlung von Selbstdarstellungen der christlichen Kirche*, Vol. 5, Leipzig 1938, p. 200; E. Kneifel, *Geschichte der Evangelisch-Augsburgischen Kirche in Polen, Niedermarschacht* 1962, p. 157.

49 A. Eisenbach, *Emancypacja Żydów*, p. 182.

50 J. Hermaszewska, "Materiały do chrystianizacji Żydów w Polsce w XIX wieku," in: *Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego na Obczyźnie*, 1988/1989, p. 69.

51 A. Gerhardt, "Die Judenmission in Polen," p. 200; E. Kneifel, *Geschichte der Evangelisch-Augsburgischen Kirche*, pp. 157–158.

52 E. Kneifel, *Geschichte der Evangelisch-Augsburgischen Kirche*, p. 158.

53 E. Kneifel, *Geschichte der Evangelisch-Augsburgischen Kirche*, p. 158.

Testament, and missionary treatises in Warsaw, Piotrków, Lublin, Kielce, and for a time also in Kalisz, Zgierz, and Suwałki. A special bindery and a printing house were created in Warsaw as a workstation for the Jews that were forced to leave their posts – and often their families – as a consequence of their conversion. Many rabbis used a variety of measures to hamper or even prevent contacts between Jews and missionaries.<sup>54</sup>

Until 1852, the London Missionary Society distributed 15,000 copies of the New Testament and 100,000 missionary treatises,<sup>55</sup> while in 1821–1854, 361 Jews were baptized.<sup>56</sup> The “fruits” of the society’s activity at the time were later pastors of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in the Kingdom of Poland: Jan Jakub Benni, pastor in Piotrków (1827–1833) and later in Tomaszów (1833–1863), Krzysztof Grzegorz Herrmann, pastor in Brzeziny (1829–1870), or Adolf Juliusz Teodor Ludwig, later general superintendent of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in the Kingdom of Poland (1849–1874).<sup>57</sup> According to Eduard Kneifel, Karl Gustav Manitius, general superintendent in 1895–1904, was also of Jewish origin.<sup>58</sup> The sudden outbreak of the Crimean War had interrupted the activity of the society. The missionaries left the Kingdom of Poland in 1855.

The London Missionary Society officially relaunched its activity after 1875. It earlier operated in a less official manner and was led by people not necessarily directly associated with the society, but who certainly used their connections and acquaintances developed by the society. This group included: Iwan Leopold Adler, a distributor, Adolf Ernest Ifland, a teacher, Paweł Dworkowicz, a guardian of the orphans in Płochocin, and Adolf Janasz. Paweł Dworkowicz worked in the structures of the British Society for Promoting Gospel among the Jews, created in London in 1842. From 1874 to 1886, with a break in 1877–1882, he conducted a Christian mission in Warsaw on the advice of the Consistory of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession, while maintaining close connections with

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54 E. Kneifel, *Geschichte der Evangelisch-Augsburgischen Kirche*, p. 158.

55 A. Gerhardt, “Die Judenmission in Polen,” p. 201; E. Kneifel, *Geschichte der Evangelisch-Augsburgischen Kirche*, p. 158.

56 A. Eisenbach, *Emancypacja Żydów*, p. 586, fn. 50.

57 E. Kneifel, *Geschichte der Evangelisch-Augsburgischen Kirche*, p. 158; E. Kneifel, *Die Pastoren der Evangelisch-Augsburgischen Kirche in Polen. Ein biographisches Pfarrerbuch mit einem Anhang, Neuendentelsau* [1965], pp. 57, 104, 128. Ludwig came from a low-income family of a Jewish sewer.

58 E. Kneifel, *Geschichte der Evangelisch-Augsburgischen Kirche*, p. 158; E. Kneifel, *Die Pastoren der Evangelisch-Augsburgischen Kirche*, p. 130.

Adolf Janasz (1819–1916).<sup>59</sup> The latter was of Jewish origin, but he married a daughter of Jan Rosenfeld, a proselyte and a missionary from London, and conducted a far-reaching Christian mission near Warsaw.<sup>60</sup> Apart from running an orphanage in Płochocin, Janasz distributed missionary writings among Christians and Jews through two colporteurs, he ran a girl's school, where he employed two women (*Bibelfrauen*), who taught them. Besides, he organized meetings with the youth once a week. Reportedly, Janasz used his own funds to cover the expenses of these missionary activities.<sup>61</sup>

In 1872, the Christian mission faced a broadside from part of the Warsaw press. The main object of criticism was the form of the activity, especially the use of the German language, which was seen as an attempt to Germanize the neophytes. *Niwa*, a biweekly from Warsaw, drew attention to the discontent of the local community due to the work of Adolf Janasz and accused missionaries of being “Kulturträgern,” vehicles of culture. *Kurier Codzienny* upheld this accusation, while *Izraelita* emphasized the outrage of Christian people caused by their activity.<sup>62</sup> Izrael Leon Groszlik wrote:

Such things do not happen often here. Characters, who call themselves English missionaries, are striding the cobbled streets, but they are probably agents working for the German society Evangelisch-Lutherischer General verein für Evangelisierung Israels based in Berlin. Their only aim is to seduce young Jewish souls and turn them into Lutherans.<sup>63</sup>

In turn, Samuel Peltyn stated that the missionary activity led to moral corruption, religious “hermaphroditism,” and a betrayal of the parents. To be sure, Peltyn did not condemn the act of proselytism among adults; what he criticized was the case of children who were not fully conscious of the act. In conclusion, the author called the authorities to counteract such forms of activity.<sup>64</sup>

In March 1875, a chief of the police department of Powązki reported to his superior that young Jews gathered every Thursday and Friday evening in Ernest Iland's apartment at Ogrodowa Street and Iland converted them to

59 E. Kneifel, *Geschichte der Evangelisch-Augsburgischen Kirche*, pp. 158–159; Kneifel, *Die Pastoren der Evangelisch-Augsburgischen Kirche*, p. 81.

60 M. Mieses, *Z rodu żydowskiego*, p. 111.

61 A. Gerhardt, “Die Judenmission in Polen,” pp. 204–205; *Niwa*, May 20/June 1, 1872; *Kurier Codzienny*, June 5/7, 1872.

62 *Niwa*, May 20/June 1, 1872; *Kurier Codzienny*, June 5/7, 1872; *Izraelita* May 26/June 7, 1872, and June 9/21, 1872.

63 “Pogadanka przez Izraela Leona Groszlika” in: *Izraelita* 1872, No. 22.

64 “Prozelytyzm” in: *Izraelita* 1872, No. 32.



Anglicanism.<sup>65</sup> An investigation proved that Ernest Ifland annually received from 600 to 700 rubles for the sake of his work from pastor Hafter from Poznań, who operated within the structures of the Poznań Missionary Society, which maintained close ties with the London Missionary Society. Since there were no relevant edicts that would regulate the matter of the missions among the Jews, General Governor ordered to prohibit Ernest Ifland from any activity within the field. At the same time, General Governor informed chief police inspector that the authorities prepared relevant regulations, which would explicitly define who could conduct such missions.<sup>66</sup>

The semiofficial activity of the missionaries and various rumors concerning their work caused a serious alarm among the Jewish inhabitants of Warsaw. As a consequence, the Executive Board of the Jewish Community of Warsaw approved its draft statement of September 21 (October 3), 1875, which reads:

People of bad faith spread the false rumor among the local Jewish people, according to which the missionaries, who allegedly kidnapped Jewish children, appeared in Warsaw and wanted to convert the children to the Anglican faith. As a consequence, during the last Jewish New Year's celebrations, larger groups of Jews gathered on streets in several districts of the city, reportedly because they suspected some individuals, and, in some cases, the police had to order the crowd to disperse. For this reason and following the order of September twentieth of the Honorable Chief Police Inspector of Warsaw, the Executive Board of the Community informs the local Jewish community that the canard mentioned above finds no support in facts, that there were no cases of kidnapping Jewish children in Warsaw, and nothing like this would be permitted. The Executive Board expects that the local Jewish community, persuaded by this statement, would not fall for such rumors spread by the people of ill will with the sole aim of disturbing the public order and peace.<sup>67</sup>

The draft statement was signed by Lesser Levy, acting President of the Board, and Izrael Leon Groszlik, Secretary. Indeed, this was a peculiar prelude to the official activity of the missionaries. On November 29, 1875, tsar Alexander II of Russia, at the request of Lord Shaftesbury, permitted the London Missionary Society

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65 AMSW, *Zarząd Oberpolicmajstra Warszawskiego*, cat. 1005, report of March 3/15, 1875.

66 AMSW, *Zarząd Oberpolicmajstra Warszawskiego*, a letter of General Governor in Warsaw to chief police inspector in Warsaw, May 26/June 7, 1875.

67 *O deyat'nosti v guberniyakh Tsarstva Polskago*, AMSW, *Zarząd Oberpolicmajstra Warszawskiego*, cat. 1005.

to operate in the Kingdom of Poland and in the governorates within the Pale of Settlement after consulting with the minister of internal affairs.<sup>68</sup>

On December 16, 1875, Adjutant General Aleksander Timaszew informed Paweł Kotzebue, General Governor of Warsaw, that the authorities established the rules of working for the London Missionary Society in governorates of the Kingdom of Poland, according to the supreme edict of November 29, and in accord with the Committee for the Affairs of the Kingdom of Poland. It was comprised of six rules. The first three referred to the formal aspects: they determined, among other things, that the Consistory of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Warsaw would be an intermediary between the London Missionary Society and the administrative authorities of the state. The other three rules referred to a specific range of activities: the missionaries were to convert the Jews to Christianity, they could teach religion, perform sacraments, and celebrate the service, but only for the Anglicans and converts in locations specially designed for that purpose. Apart from that, the missionaries could celebrate the service and preach in congregations of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession – under the condition that they would obtain an appropriate permit from the Consistory. The missionaries could distribute books, prints, and missionary treatises only with a prior approval of the Censorship Office. The last rule prohibited the missionaries from running a school for the Jewish youth.<sup>69</sup>

The society appointed the first missionaries in 1876. The group included: Jan Krzysztof Hartmann, Herman Henryk Hartmann, Nachum Dawidowicz Rappoport, Adolf Ernest Ifland, Jaskiel Lawrens, Adolf Blumberg, Oktawiusz Ellis, Carpenter, and Landsmann.<sup>70</sup>

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68 *O missionerakh Londonskago Obshchestva dlya rasprastrashcheniya khristianstva sredi Yewreyev w gor. Varshave 1910–1915*, AMSW, cat. 1002, a letter of General Governor in Warsaw to the chief police inspector in Warsaw of January 5/17, 1876.

69 *O missionerakh Londonskago Obshchestva dlya rasprastrashcheniya khristianstva sredi Yewreyev w gor. Varshave 1910–1915*, AMSW, cat. 1002; APBiał, Kancelaria Gubernatora Łomżyńskiego, cat. 707, p. 1; APLub, Rząd Gubernialny Lubelski, Wydział Administracyjny IV, 1876: 12, p. 1–2; APPł, Kancelaria Gubernatora Płockiego 1866–1914, cat. 812.

70 AMSW, *Zarząd Oberpolicmajstra Warszawskiego*, cat. 1005, a letter of General Governor in Warsaw to chief police inspector in Warsaw of June 1/13, 1876; AMSW, *Zarząd Oberpolicmajstra Warszawskiego*, The Ministry of Internal Affairs, Religious Denominations Affairs Department to General Governor in Warsaw, November 25, 1876; APLub, Rząd Gubernialny Lubelski, Wydział Administracyjny IV, 1877: 98, p. 6; Kneifel, *Geschichte der Evangelisch-Augsburgischen Kirche*, p. 158.

After 1875, London Missionary Society pursued solely the interests of the Anglican Church. As a consequence, baptized Jews began to join this Church. After 1875, the development of the missions organized in cooperation with the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession – established before the Crimean War – was no more. The missionary activity of the society often developed outside the Evangelical community of the Kingdom of Poland, which caused. Various disagreements that naturally disorganized the activity.<sup>71</sup>

Already during the diocesan synod of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Warsaw in October 1876, in which Herman Henryk Hartmann, a missionary of the society, participated in order to receive support from the Evangelical Church, pastor Wilhelm Angerstein stated that in order to receive such a support the London Missionary Society had to assure that its activities would comply with the spirit of the Lutheran Church. In response, Hartmann emphasized that the society will always direct all proselytes to the Lutheran Church. However, he also pointed out that the society did not get into the difference between denominations. The London Missionary Society sent Lutheran, Reformed, and Anglican missionaries that primarily were to spread the truth about Christ without dwelling on doctrinal nuances. Wilhelm Angerstein in turn recalled that Christian denominations did not constitute a unified Church yet; therefore, we should pay attention to the church in which the catechumens receive baptism.<sup>72</sup> Despite these controversies, *Zwiastun Ewangeliczny* welcomed the inauguration of the Christian mission among Jews in the Kingdom of Poland by the emissaries of the London Missionary Society.<sup>73</sup> The newspaper indignantly reacted to the note published by *Kurier Codzienny* that summarized the activity of the society as “expensive and ineffective propaganda.” According to *Zwiastun Ewangeliczny*, however, the essence of the activity of the society could not be reduced to the percentage of baptisms, for the main task of the society was to spread the word of God: “not with the use of numbers, quantities, or the physical force of a gun, but with the word alone.”<sup>74</sup>

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71 A. Gerhardt, “Die Judenmission in Polen,” pp. 201–202; Pastor Gustav Manitius wrote in the Evangelical press about the indifference or even hostility of some members of the Church toward the question of mission among the Jews, cf. “Głosy Kościelne w sprawie Kościoła Ewangelicko-Augsburskiego” 1885, No. 17, and *ZE* 1898, no 7.

72 *ZE* 1876, no 2.

73 *Werdauskie Wiadomości Misyjne* 1876, No. 2. *Werdauskie Wiadomości Misyjne* were published in 1865–1876 as a supplement to *Zwiastun Ewangeliczny*, and it was an integral part of *Zwiastun Ewangeliczny*.

74 *Werdauskie Wiadomości Misyjne* 1876, No. 2 and *Werdauskie Wiadomości Misyjne* 1876, no 3.

In 1895, as a result of the disclosure of the abusive character of the activity of some missionaries who baptized Jews coming to Congress Poland from other parts of the Russian Empire, the authorities considered the possibility of imposing territorial limitations on the missionary activity. According to draft regulations prepared by the government, missionaries could baptize Jews only in the presence of police officers or the Lutheran laity appointed by the Consistory of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession. Moreover, they could baptize only Jews who proved that they lived in governorates of the Kingdom of Poland for at least ten years. The regulations, however, were not enacted.<sup>75</sup>

On November 25, 1912, the office of the Governor General in Warsaw asked the chief police inspector to provide information on the society's operations from the last thirty-five years. The office asked, among other things, whether the missionaries had any influence on Jews, whether their activities encountered resistance of Orthodox Jews, and whether one could expect any serious results of the society's activity.<sup>76</sup>

On March 20, 1913, after almost four months, the chief police inspector informed the office that the missionary, Hermann Zimmermann, and his Russian assistant, Abraham Eisemann, were active in Warsaw. They fulfilled their duties within the jurisdiction of the Warsaw Consistory of Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession, and these duties were limited to the conversion of Jews to Christianity. Apart from that, Herman Zimmermann taught religion and performed sacraments for Anglicans in a small house chapel at ulica Hortensji 3. The chief police inspector did not reveal any violations of law in the work of the missionary. He also noted that the missionary did not run any school for Jewish youth. In 1877–1913, 684 people were recorded in the mission's register. As the chief police inspector stated at the end of the letter, the number of converted Jews showed that the work of the Anglican missionaries could not boast

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75 APLub, Rząd Gubernialny Lubelski, Wydz. Adm. IV, 1906: 69, pp. 1–2.

76 AMSW, *Zarząd Oberpolicmajstra Warszawskiego*, cat. 1002. In 1909, *Rola* (no. 36) informed with irony about the missionaries who came to Warsaw from London in order to promote the Christianity among the Jews. In the Philharmonic Hall, the missionaries conducted a reading in Jewish language, that was entitled: *Jezus Chrystus i Żydzi*. However, there were not many people in the audience. After the reading, a Jewish student conducted “passionate national speech,” which was followed by the thunderous applause, and the audience laughed the missionaries down.

of great achievements and, as such, did not arouse the hostility of the Orthodox Jews.<sup>77</sup>

Apart from the London Missionary Society, there was also Samuel Wilkinson's society Mildmay Mission to the Jews in the Kingdom of Poland, which spread the Gospel and distributed the New Testament and missionary writings among Jews. From 1911, Józef Silberstein, who came from Biała in the Siedlce Governorate, was an agent of the society in Warsaw.<sup>78</sup>

In the same year, Leon Rozenberg, a citizen of Odessa, addressed the request to the authorities in which he asked for permission to promote the Bible and religious literature and to organize religious gatherings for Jews in special rooms in the Kingdom of Poland. However, the authorities rejected Rozenberg's request.<sup>79</sup>

The attention of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in the Kingdom of Poland toward the conversion of Jews to Christianity intensified at the time when Fr. Woldemar Everth was the general superintendent of the Church (1875–1895).<sup>80</sup> On August 24, 1876, the Consistory allowed the introduction of four annual missionary services for the pagans and Jews in the Warsaw church, combined with the collection of money for this purpose.<sup>81</sup> From this year onward, the Consistory introduced annual missionary services in larger and smaller congregations of the country, during which the clergy aroused a sense of duty among the confessors to spread the Gospel to the Jews.<sup>82</sup> However, as early as in the beginning of 1877, *Zwiastun Ewangeliczny* noted that the Evangelicals in the Kingdom of Poland engaged very little or did not engage at all in the missions.<sup>83</sup> The newspaper even more joyously reported on the first missionary service organized like the service that occurred abroad. It took place on June 29, 1877, in Wiskitki in the Warsaw Governorate. A missionary of the London Missionary Society participated in the service. Moreover, *Zwiastun*

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77 AMSW, *Zarząd Oberpolicmajstra Warszawskiego*, cat. 1002. As far back as in 1914, the authorities allowed two female members of the society — Mira Anna Williams and Dora Luiza Pankcherst — to conduct the mission in the Kingdom of Poland.

78 AMSW, *Zarząd Oberpolicmajstra Warszawskiego*, cat. 1002, a copy made on April 24, 1913 of warrant issued in 1911 by the Mildmay Mission to Józef Silberstein.

79 AMSW, *Zarząd Oberpolicmajstra Warszawskiego*, cat. 1002, a copy of Warsaw General Governor's circular addressed to the chief police inspector in Warsaw and governors of Vistula Land, November 17, 1911.

80 W. Gastpary, *Historia Kościoła*, p. 319.

81 AGAD, Zbór Ewangelicko-Augsburski, cat. 481.

82 "Uroczystość misyjna w Wiskitkach," in: *ZE* 1898, no 7.

83 *ZE* 1877, no 3.

*Ewangeliczny* reported on keen interest and substantial sums of money donated by the confessors to the mission.<sup>84</sup> Pastor Wilhelm Angerstein was the first clergyman to organize missionary services. Initially, they were held in Wiskitki near Żyrardów, and later in Łódź, in the parish of St. John and other places.<sup>85</sup>

Since the beginning of 1880s, participants of the synods of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession keenly discussed the subject of missions among Jews. For instance, at a synod in 1881, participants drew their attention to the need to establish a shelter for proselytes in Warsaw that would have a competent catechist, while the pastors themselves would be responsible for the maintenance of the shelter.<sup>86</sup> However, the shelter was not opened due to the lack of appropriate venue.<sup>87</sup>

At the time, the independent work of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession among the Jews was a difficult subject. Therefore, in 1883, the clergy contacted people who had already been engaged in proselytizing Jews. One of the contacted people was a missionary Paweł Dworkowicz. The Church also appointed a special committee to supervise Dworkowicz's work. Unfortunately, the Evangelical Church abandoned the solution, since the synod concluded that the person supervising the work should be one of the synod's members and not a person from the outside.<sup>88</sup> Some of the synod's participants claimed that one of the charismatic pastors should conduct such a mission, and that he shall receive a small congregation in a convenient place for this purpose, where he could entirely devote himself to this activity. In turn, the others claimed that it was necessary to find a suitable candidate and send him to Leipzig, so that he acquires competences necessary for this work, and then to pass into his hands the entire administration of the mission in the country.<sup>89</sup>

The synod stopped the discussions on this subject in 1888, concluding that they did not find a competent person to conduct this work.<sup>90</sup> It was not until the

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84 *ZE* 1877, No. 10.

85 W. Gastpary, *Historia Kościoła*, p. 320.

86 *Książeczka pamiątkowa na uroczystość 25-lecia Ogólnego Synodu Pastorów Okręgu Konsystorskiego Ewangelicko-Augsburskiego Warszawskiego. Z polecenia Synodu napisana dla pastorów i zborów*, Warszawa 1905, p. 47.

87 *Synody i konferencje pastorów (1876–1935)*, AGAD, *Zbór Ewangelicko-Augsburski w Warszawie*, cat. 559, a letter of a pastor of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Warsaw to the Church council of the congregation, April 25, 1882.

88 *Książeczka pamiątkowa*, pp. 47–48.

89 *Książeczka pamiątkowa*, p. 48.

90 *Książeczka pamiątkowa*, p. 48.

synod in 1894 that there was a more extensive reading on the mission among Jews. Its author stated that there were a great disorder and difficulties connected with the work in this field. Consequently, the missionary committee was not formed. But already in the following year, the synod appointed such a committee and the authorities undertook appropriate measures to find a suitable candidate.<sup>91</sup>

The second half of the nineties of the nineteenth century, which was the time of increasing anti-Jewish attitudes, but also the time of the development of the Zionist movement, caused an intensification of the search conducted by the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession. Initially, pastor Meyerson from Minsk was to perform the duties of a missionary, but Zionist Missionary Society, of which he was a member, opposed the idea. In the case of pastor Friedman from Vilnius as he was a foreign helot. Finally, the Church found Rosenzweig, a neophyte from Warsaw, but since the Church noticed in his views and conduct some Judaic features, the synod refused him the financial support from the missionary fund. However, several pastors decided to support Rosenzweig on their own.<sup>92</sup>

In 1899, despite its previous objections, the synod granted Rosenzweig financial support from the general fund dedicated to the mission among Jews.<sup>93</sup> At the synod of 1900, the participants assessed the work of Rosenzweig. In the course of debate, they divided into two fractions. The first one demanded that the Jewish neophytes renounce all their national customs, while the second perceived the movement represented by Rosenzweig as a seed that could bring desirable fruits in the future.<sup>94</sup> As a result, the synod adopted further support for the movement by a majority of votes, as it perceived the movement as extremely necessary. The synod also agreed to accept the subscription of several hundred rubles from the Mennonites from southern Russia to support the mission among Jews in the Kingdom of Poland.<sup>95</sup>

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91 *Książeczka pamiątkowa*, p. 48.

92 *Protokoll der XVIII. Allgemeinen Pastoren-Synode des Warschauer evangelisch-augsburgischen Konsistorial-Bezirks 1897*, Warschau 1898, pp. 9–10; *Książeczka pamiątkowa*, pp. 48–49.

93 *Książeczka pamiątkowa*, p. 49.

94 The group of devoted supporters of Judeo-Christian missionary Rosezweig included pastor Rudolf Gundlach. Gundlach expresses his support in his article “Co począć z Żydami,” in: *ZE* 1902, No. 7.

95 “Sprawozdanie z XXI Synodu duchownych Kościoła Ewangelicko-Augsburskiego w Królestwie Polskim,” in: *ZE* 1900, No. 9.

In 1901, one clergyman from a group of pastors included, decided to perform the duties of the missionary among the Jewish population. The man was August Gerhardt born in 1875, the pastor of Stawiszyn.<sup>96</sup> To prepare for the task, between the second half of 1901 and the end of September 1902, Gerhardt participated in the preparatory course at the Delitsch Institute in Leipzig. After Gerhardt's return to Poland, he received a permanent residence in Łódź, in the Holy Trinity Parish. Gerhardt was a missionary until January 6, 1905.<sup>97</sup> At the synod's session in September 1903, Gerhardt submitted a report on his activity for the period from October 1902 onwards.

Gerhardt worked in two directions. First, the mission was supposed to awaken and deepen the love of confessors for the mission of converting Jews. In this purpose, Pastor August Gerhardt preached seventy-four sermons in twenty-seven parish churches and fourteen branch churches. Gerhardt also distributed two booklets: 10,000 copies of *Praca nad Izraelem* (Working on Israel) and 15,000 copies of *Na X niedzielę po Trójcy Świętej* (On the Tenth Sunday after the Holy Trinity).

The second direction of the activity directly referred to work among Jews. Gerhardt distributed 338 copies of the New Testament and its parts, twenty-six copies of the Old Testament and its parts, and 1,330 copies of writings and mission treatises among Jews.<sup>98</sup> Gerhardt reported that the vast majority of the Jews who visited him every day, particularly during Sabbath, consisted of young people, and many of them abandoned Judaism long ago. They were very often quite indifferent to religious matters or even atheistic, and at the same time they rarely thought seriously about the world.<sup>99</sup> Those young people mostly came from the working, artisan, merchant, or bookkeeping milieu.<sup>100</sup> Apart from the desire to discover the truth, the reason for their visit was often the desire for discussion and reading, and the desire to learn something new, so far unknown.<sup>101</sup>

Pastor August Gerhardt claimed that such meetings had been of high value, because they had helped to overcome various superstitions and prejudices. Moreover, they were an opportunity for Jews to become more familiar with

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96 *Protokoll der XXII. Allgemeinen Pastoren-Synodedes warschauer evangelisch-augsburgischen Konsistorial-Bezirks 1901*, Warschau 1902, p. 11; *ZE* 1901, no 10.

97 Kneifel, *Die Pastoren der Evangelisch-Augsburgischen Kirche*, p. 91.

98 *Protokoll der XXIV. Allgemeinen Pastoren-Synodedes warschauer evangelisch-augsburgischen Konsistorial-Bezirks 1903*, Warschau 1904, pp. 19–21.

99 *Książeczka pamiątkowa*, p. 51.

100 *Protokoll der XXIV. Allgemeinen Pastoren-Synode*, p. 19.

101 *Protokoll der XXIV. Allgemeinen Pastoren-Synode*, p. 19.



Christianity. However, the meetings should fit within a methodological framework. Thus, the first meeting consisted in an extensive conversation that presented the basic principles of faith that Jews need to accept in order to become Christians. The second meeting served the reading of the New Testament, and it was also time when Jews should ask questions. The greatest struggle for the pastor was not to answer the questions-allegations but rather to evoke in Jews the sense of sin.<sup>102</sup> Within the reported period, twenty-four Jews wanted to be baptized, but the Church baptized just one.

Pastor August Gerhardt asked to replace the expression “the Jewish mission” (*Judenmission*) with “working on Israel” (*Arbeit an Israel*). Moreover, Gerhardt did not want to be called a missionary, but a pastor, because the name “missionary” discouraged Jews. Gerhardt also assured that his work complied with the spirit of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession. Therefore, he did not want pastors to paralyze his work with suspicions and silence. In the conclusion of his report, Gerhardt said that all pastors should address the Jewish question in their sermons if the text of the Gospel allowed for it. Gerhardt also added that pastors should encourage love for Jews in the confessors, and thus extinguish the mutual hatred between Christians and Jews. According to Gerhardt, a special regular meeting devoted to the matter of the mission among the Jews would be very helpful in the pursuit of the aims mentioned above.<sup>103</sup>

When the synod was still in session, Rosenzweig announced his resignation from the post. The synod decided to pay him a salary for another three months and asked pastor August Gerhardt not to support Rosenzweig in his further work when Rosenzweig ends his relationship with the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession.<sup>104</sup>

The work of proselyte Rosenzweig within the framework of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession testifies that some pastors perceived the mission among the Jews as a long-term process that involved many problems and massive input of labor. Therefore, in order to succeed, the Church had to use the help of people who knew the Jewish environment. Besides, the missionaries had to become acquainted with Jewish faith and customs as much as possible. They had to use this knowledge during their mission in order to make the work within the field more productive. For this purpose, there were readings on the Jewish question presented during the annual precentor conferences of the Parish

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102 *Protokoll der XXIV. Allgemeinen Pastoren-Synode*, p. 19.

103 *Protokoll der XXIV. Allgemeinen Pastoren-Synode*, p. 19.

104 *Protokoll der XXIV. Allgemeinen Pastoren-Synode*, p. 19.

of Lublin. Some precentors who worked among Jews even learned Hebrew and Yiddish.<sup>105</sup> According to *Zwiastun Ewangeliczny*, at the Fifteenth Conference on August 26, 1903, pastor August Gerhardt shared a couple of useful guidelines. Gerhardt said that “lie is widely spread among the Jews, and it is necessary to begin with it. We must convince Jews that lie is a grave sin, and then move on to other sins like unconscientiousness, negligence, love of money, which are common among them.”<sup>106</sup> Gerhardt stated that the most important thing is to gain the trust of prospective candidates for baptism. At the end of the conference, the precentors decided they would ask God every Friday in their evening prayers for the conversion of Jews.<sup>107</sup>

In the next report on the missionary work of September 7, 1904, pastor August Gerhardt informed that he hosted Jews in his apartment every afternoon, including Saturdays, and that annual number of guests exceeded 2,700 people. Besides, Gerhardt talked with Jews during journeys, on a train, preached sermons, and distributed 156 copies of the New Testament, 189 copies of its parts, twenty copies of the Old Testament and three copies of its parts, and 819 copies of other writings.<sup>108</sup> After a two-year period, at the end of 1904, pastor August Gerhardt resigned from his post of the missionary and became a parish priest.<sup>109</sup>

The mission stopped operating in 1908 when the Leipzig Lutheran Society appointed pastor Ludwik Rosenstein of Jewish origin to continue the quest among Jews within the framework of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession and in cooperation with Freunde Israels Society in Basel.<sup>110</sup> However, Rosenstein’s mission in Łódź was not an easy one, and he resigned from the post already in 1911.

A bit earlier, in 1910, *Zwiastun Ewangeliczny* published an extensive analysis of the report on the missionary work among Jews, presented by the pastor Ludwik Meyer from New York at the International Missionary Congress in Edinburgh.<sup>111</sup> The newspaper emphasizes:

105 “XV konferencja kantorów parafii lubelskiej,” in: *ZE* 1903, No. 9, and “XVI konferencja kantorów parafii lubelskiej,” in: *ZE* 1904, No. 9.

106 *ZE* 1903, No. 9.

107 *ZE* 1903, No. 9.

108 *Książeczka pamiątkowa*, p. 51.

109 *Książeczka pamiątkowa*, p. 51.

110 A. Gerhardt, “Die Judenmission in Polen,” p. 205; E. Kneifel, *Die Pastoren der Evangelisch-Augsburgischen Kirche*, p. 156; “Uroczystość misyjna w Piotrkowie,” in: *ZE* 1911, No. 8.

111 “Żydzi,” in: *ZE*, 1910, No. 7/8.

The mission is not a task for keen individuals, but a duty of the entire Christian Church. We must spread the Gospel anywhere Jews live. . . . Finally, the Church shall make amends to the Jewish people for the suffered contempt and injustice. The cradle of Christianity was in the Land of Israel; Jesus and his disciples came from the people so despised nowadays. Hence, the Christians are obliged to help Jews become lambs of Jesus Christ.

The obligation was even stronger because, as the newspaper notes, “Jewish masses lose their heart for faith of the fathers and they look for something different, but they themselves do not know what they need. Therefore, it is the most appropriate moment to spread the Gospel.”<sup>112</sup>

The successor to Ludwik Rosenstein was pastor Ireneusz Fauerholdt, active in Łódź in 1911–1918.<sup>113</sup> At the last synod of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in 1913, before the outbreak of the war, Fauerholdt gave a lecture entitled “Nasz Kościół a żydowska misja” (Our Church and the Jewish Mission). According to Fauerholdt, the claims that missionary work among Jews had no sense were unjustified. Fauerholdt emphasized the incompatibility of such views with the essence of the Christian religion. In Fauerholdt’s opinion, missionary work always bore fruit. In many cases, personal, fundamentally non-Christian animosity toward Jews expressed also by pastors hindered the work. However, Fauerholdt was aware that a regular clergyman did not have time to engage in missionary work. Besides, regular clergyman lacked training and experience. Hence, he could do the missionary work only occasionally. When Fauerholdt discussed his work in Łódź, he informed the synod about the possibility of creating the first Christian-Jewish community in Łódź. However, Fauerholdt also noted with regret that some converted for financial benefits.

In relation to this problem, Fauerholdt criticized some pastors and missionaries for their credulity and occasional recklessness that was sometimes very close to sin, i.e. when they baptized only out of pity. Moreover, pastor Ireneusz Fauerholdt raised the issue of preparation of Jews for baptism. Fauerholdt stated that the courses for the candidates who wanted to convert should be as thorough as possible and should not resemble taming. In conclusion, Fauerholdt warned that as long as Jews continue to think that pastors and missionaries are weak and compliant, they would not respect them.<sup>114</sup>

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112 ZE 1910, no 8.

113 E. Kneifel, *Die Pastoren der Evangelisch-Augsburgischen Kirche*, pp. 86, 156; ZE informed that pastor I. Fauerholdt succeeded the post in Łódź in 1912, and that he was earlier a Danish subject, “Wiadomości z kościoła i ze świata,” in: ZE 1912, no 9.

114 E. Kneifel, *Die Pastoren der Evangelisch-Augsburgischen Kirche*, pp. 86, 156.

The missionary work of the Jews of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in the Kingdom of Poland and of London Missionary Society which worked, at least formally, within its framework, depended to a large extent on the personal involvement of individuals, who did not always encounter proper understanding from others. Nevertheless, the work of the Evangelicals within the field of Jewish mission was quite considerable. *Zwiastun Ewangeliczny*, relaunched in 1898, expressed this fact. The newspaper often informed about the missionary celebrations, but the information did not limit itself to laconic mention about the celebrations, but the newspaper reported their exact course, and often quoted excerpts from the sermons.<sup>115</sup> Moreover, *Zwiastun* thoroughly noted down every donation for the Jewish mission. The newspaper informed about these modest sums of money at the end of the year, in its December issue.<sup>116</sup>

It is necessary to note that it is difficult to say anything about the work of the Evangelical Reformed Church in the field of the Jewish mission. I was unable to find materials that would shed light on its size, but data from *Neofici polscy* (Polish Neophytes) by Teodor Jeske-Choiński shows that 417 Jews were baptized in the Evangelical Reformed Church in Warsaw between 1855–1903. This placed the Evangelical Church ahead of the Lutheran and Catholic Churches.<sup>117</sup>

Noteworthy, among the famous industrialists and financiers in the Kingdom of Poland who adopted the Reformed faith, there were such people as Leopold Kronenberg, Jan Epstein, and Jan Bogumił Bloch, while the group of publishers and booksellers included the famous Arct family.<sup>118</sup>

## Roman Catholics

The activities of the Mariavite Sisters (Congregatio Mariae Vitae) founded in 1737 in Vilnius by Fr. Józef Szczepan Turczynowicz were the first attempts of organized missionary work of Catholics among the Jews in the former Polish lands. Pope Benedict XIV approved the order in 1752. Although the Mariavite Sisters mainly engaged in the preparation of Jewish girls for baptism, their

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115 *ZE* 1898, No. 7; *ZE* 1911, no 8.

116 1898 – 3 rubles, 1899 – 1 ruble, 1900 – 101 rubles, 1904 – 361 rubles, 1908 – 1 ruble, 1911 – 50 kopecks, 1912 – 1 ruble, 1913 – 50 kopecks.

117 T. Jeske-Choiński, *Neofici polscy. Materiały historyczne*, Warszawa 1904, passim.

118 Bloch later converted to Catholicism, cf. R. Kołodziejczyk, *Jan Bloch (1836–1902). Szkic do portretu króla polskich kolei*, Warszawa 1983, pp. 36–37; E. Szulc, *Cmentarze ewangelickie w Warszawie*, Warszawa 1989, pp. 196, 198, 204, 206.

houses became care and educational institutions.<sup>119</sup> The houses were filled with girls in conflict with their parents, were against the tradition, fell for a Christian, could not make a living, or finally, who sincerely wanted to be baptized. The sisters searched for rich godparents, guardians, and husbands, and sought good jobs for the girls.<sup>120</sup> After some time, the congregation had several institutions in Lithuania and Belarus, it also had one house in Częstochowa, Poland.

Noteworthy, the Mariavite Sisters very often had to demonstrate a lot of dedication and fortitude in their struggle for financial resources to maintain the congregation. Besides, they encountered difficulties not only on the part of the Jews — which was natural and foreseeable — but even on the part of the clergy, who were skeptical of this type of activity and its results.<sup>121</sup> The lack of financial resources and the unwillingness of part of the Catholic clergy to conduct missionary work among the Jews were seemingly a constant and permanent element until the end of 1915.

A document preserved in the Diocesan Archive in Kielce proves this state of affairs from the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>122</sup> According to a priest who wrote the document, the elements that hindered the development of the conversion of Jews to Catholicism were numerous formalities and control by the authorities, who feared that the activities of the clergy in this field would lead to religious upheavals. However, the main obstacle was the lack of financial support. The priest drew attention to the need to establish a special institute for Jewish catechumens, and he noted that little was done in this matter. Moreover, the priest believed that it was the secular authority that should found the institute.

Before our last revolution [the November Uprising], every year, the Church contributed a sum of money for catechumens, and through the agency of bishops, the Church distributed money to all the dioceses, adequately to the proved number of individuals who underwent conversion. Nowadays, the benefit depends on a decision of the Viceroy

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119 T. Jeske-Choiński, *Neofici polscy*, pp. 20–21; J. Koceniak, “Zakony,” in: *Historia Kościoła w Polsce*, Vol. 1, part 2, ed. B. Kumor, Warszawa 1979, p. 445; W. Urban, “Akcja misyjna Kościoła Katolickiego w Polsce,” in: *Księga tysiąclecia katolicyzmu w Polsce*, part 1, Lublin 1969, p. 621; M. Borkowska, “Dzieje Zgromadzenia Mariae Vitae, czyli mariawitek,” in: *Nasza Przeszłość 2000*, Vol. 93, pp. 107–152; M. Borkowska, “Reguła druga mariawitek wileńskich,” in: *Nasza Przeszłość 2000*, Vol. 94, pp. 333–353.

120 T. Jeske-Choiński, *Neofici polscy*, pp. 20–21.

121 *O Zakonie PP. Mariawitek*, ed. K. Górski, Kraków 1959, pp. 2 ff. (offprint from *Nasza Przeszłość 1959*, Vol. 9).

122 See Annex, item 1.

of the Kingdom of Poland who through his regulation generously supports neophytes, particularly when he is the godfather, which is a repeating case in Warsaw. It is now necessary that the funds generously given to a small group of people support the institution for the catechumens, where more people could effectively benefit from this blessing. . . . Sincere devotion of the government to this matter, which is a great good of humankind, would result in active involvement and support of masses of our entire nation.

Apart from the factors mentioned above, the bad situation of the Catholic Church in the Kingdom of Poland was also important. According to the author, the long-term vacancy of the Archbishopric of Warsaw led to a weakening of obedience and discipline both among the secular clergy and monastics.

However, it is necessary to note for the record that the plan to create an institute for the Jewish catechumens originated in the Governmental Committee for the Internal and Clerical Affairs at the beginning of the forties of the nineteenth century. On its initiative, in 1843, the Administrative Council of the Kingdom of Poland allowed “the collection of voluntary contributions in the country,” as the Administrative Council recognized the need to create an institute to deal with the Jews who wished to convert to the Roman Catholic faith.<sup>123</sup> The amount collected was deposited at the Bank of Poland, where it continued to increase thanks to the growing number of donations.<sup>124</sup> However, the authorities did not create such an institute at that time.

Moreover, the author of the manuscript drew attention to the special need to establish an institution for Jewish neophyte women, especially as it was not an easy matter, because

it requires both more financial resources and attention to more aspects, in order to meet its conditions. In the Catholic world, no one managed yet to overcome this obstacle and even the Rome itself, which had the most charitable and religious institutions, has no such a congregation that would devote itself exclusively to converting the Jewish women to Catholicism.

Until the mid 1860s, the Mariavite Sisters, nominated to perform this task, conducted their work in Częstochowa, within the boundaries of the Kingdom of Poland<sup>125</sup> but, as the author sadly notes, “they were in a miserable condition,

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123 AGAD, CWWKP 1796–1888, Akta tyczące się Neofitów. Ogólne rozporządzenia 1821–1865, cat. 205, p. 495.

124 AGAD, CWWKP 1796–1888, Akta tyczące się Neofitów. Ogólne rozporządzenia 1821–1865, cat. 205, p. 495.

125 In 1864, monastery of the Mariavite Sisters in Częstochowa consisted of three professed nuns and two novice nuns. After the dissolution of the congregation, the authorities placed the Mariavite Sisters in the monastery of Dominican nuns in Przysrów,

disappointed with the hopeless search for the promised care, without any funds, they live alone in poverty trying to meet the ends by working with their hands and providing the girls with elementary education.”

In 1859, the Krakow magazine *Czas* (Time) wrote about the Mariavite Sisters in Częstochowa:

[T]he effects of the strenuous efforts of these Sisters would have been far more extensive if they had not been hindered by the lack of funds, the modest venue, and the most inconvenient room. Nowadays, when a converted Israelite woman arrives for the baptism, there is no place to hide her, the chapel is far away, and she has to travel there through the open field, and curious eyes immediately turn toward her and often defeats successful work of conversion that had already began.<sup>126</sup>

However, according to the author of the report, the sisters received in 1859 “out of Monarch’s generosity, a large square, sufficient to contain the church and the monastery, with the permission to collect contributions and subscriptions to build them, but they have no money to do so.”<sup>127</sup>

Rozalia Frenkiel was another person to confirm the difficult situation of the Mariavite Sisters in her account in the municipal office of Częstochowa in June:<sup>128</sup>

I revealed my desire to adopt the Catholic religion to the superior of the monastery, Mother Jelca, who accepted me. But instead of teaching me the prayers and other religious principles, the sisters burdened me with work, that is, I had to look after cattle, wash, cook, dig in the garden, etc. . . . the Mother claimed . . . that first, I had to work for a year for them, and only afterwards they would begin to prepare me for receiving the Holy Sacrament.

In this situation, the candidate for the baptism rejected the services of the Mariavite Sisters and went to the local parish priest who prepared her for baptism with other priests.<sup>129</sup> It is clear from the above facts above that at the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century, the Mariavite Sisters failed to perform the tasks to which they were once called.

which virtually condemned them to extinction. P. Kubicki, *Bojownicy kapłani za sprawą Kościoła i Ojczyzny w latach 1861–1915*, part 1, Vol. 3, Sandomierz 1933, p. 779.

126 “Wiadomości o zgromadzeniu żeńskim *Mariae Vitae* pospolicie mariawitkami zwanych, a w szczególności o mariawitkach częstochowskich,” in: *Czas* 1859, No. 31.

127 “Wiadomości o zgromadzeniu żeńskim *Mariae Vitae*,” in: *Czas* 1859, No. 31.

128 See Annex, item 5.

129 The materials of the municipal office of Częstochowa proves that between 1855 and 1864 only two people declared their will to be baptized, the first in 1860, and the second in 1862. APCz, Akta Magistratu miasta Częstochowy, Wydz. Adm., cat. 32.

At the beginning of 1859, a group of laywomen in Warsaw attempted to create an institute for catechumens. It was then that the Archbishop of Warsaw, Antoni Melchior Fijałkowski, received a letter from a woman named Ciemniewska, sent “on behalf of pious Ladies. . . regarding the creation and furnishing of the institution of the catechesis.”<sup>130</sup> Ciemniewska’s letter to Archbishop Antoni Melchior Fijałkowski demonstrated that these “pious Ladies” had already undertaken actions related to the care of Jewish catechumens, and they did that with various effects. In their activities, they encountered many difficulties, including those raised by the Church. The ladies asked monasteries to provide them with the venue for the catechumens, but the monasteries refused to do so, claiming that they did not have enough space or that there were other obstacles. Hence, the ladies decided to rent an apartment on Nowy Świat Street.<sup>131</sup>

Archbishop Antoni Melchior Fijałkowski favorably welcomed the initiative of the ladies. He wrote to the Governmental Committee for Internal and Clerical Affairs: “On my part, I adoringly welcome those pious desires and intentions. I am happy to support them actively and to contribute to their profitable development.”<sup>132</sup> Thereupon, Fijałkowski asked the Committee for permission to set up a commission to organize such an institution and to use the existing fund of catechumens in the Bank of Poland to lease and maintain the venue.

Although the response of the Committee’s Department of Religion at the end of 1859 was not favorable, the Committee recognized the need to establish an institution for Jews:

[T]o allow the existence of such an institution under the direction of lay females would not be appropriate, and one could even anticipate that such an institution would not yield the desired result. The establishment of such an institution, according to the ladies’ way, in a private home, at the main and central street of the city, would be a wrong decision, since we are acquainted with the fanaticism of Jews and their fierce reluctance toward their fellow believers who switch to the Christian religion. Their reluctance is inclined even to radical reactions, or at least to all possible deceptions and intrigues. Therefore, both the neophytes admitted to the institution and the institution itself could be exposed to unpleasant incidents, which could not always be prevented even with the vigilance of the police.<sup>133</sup>

According to the authorities, the best solution was to arrange the institution of the catechesis in one of the selected monasteries that would provide baptismal

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130 AGAD CWWKP, cat. 205, p. 495.

131 AGAD CWWKP, cat. 205, p. 513.

132 AGAD CWWKP, cat. 205, p. 513.

133 AGAD CWWKP, cat. 205, pp. 514–515.



candidates with the necessary calmness and discretion. The authorities also emphasized that religious orders which were created and functioned “for the moral good of their neighbor” should not refuse to help neophytes. Besides, this solution reduced the costs associated with the employment of priests in the case of activity outside the monastery. However, the mere fact that the institute was located in the monastery buildings did not fully solve the problem. The authorities also noticed other difficulties, as it was necessary to prepare regulations for such an institution in order to determine the nature of the institution, its goals, methods of operation, and the individuals responsible for its development, supervision, and teaching.

Another issue, probably the most important one, was a financial one. There was a concern that the funds raised would only last for a limited period. Hence, creation of the catechesis institution “without any secure funds and basing the existence of the institution on the uncertain generosity and the goodwill of private benefactors would be inappropriate, could make this existence uncertain, and would only expose governmental and clerical authority to constant difficulties and issues.”<sup>134</sup> Therefore, the authorities proposed to secure appropriate funds in advance, provided that potential donors of more substantial sums would not be able to demand to administer the institution, which was to be under the sole direction of the archdiocesan and governmental authorities. Without addressing these issues, the authorities did not intend to authorize the catechesis institution.<sup>135</sup>

However, the archival materials show that the Consistory of Warsaw, authorized by Archbishop Antoni Melchior Fijałkowski, did not wait for the response of the Governmental Committee, and already on June 1, 1859, concluded an agreement with the Saint Felix Institute, located in Warsaw in Danielewiczowska Street, as it “addressed the necessary need to accommodate the Jewish women who wished to be baptized.”<sup>136</sup> The institution was run by the Congregation of the Felician Sisters, founded in 1855 in Warsaw by Father Honorat Koźmiński and Maria Angela Zofia Truszkowska. Truszkowska and her closest companion, Klotylda Ciechanowska, were Capuchin tertiaries and members of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul.

The Felician Sisters was the first among Honorat’s habit congregations. They were under special care of the Bishop of Podlachia, Beniamin Piotr Szymański

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134 AGAD CWWKP, cat. 205, pp. 515–518.

135 AGAD CWWKP, cat. 205, p. 519.

136 AGAD CWWKP, cat. 205, pp. 520 and 558–559.

(1856–1867).<sup>137</sup> In 1857, their first monastic house was erected in Warsaw. Their goal was to educate the children and youth and to care of the sick and the poor. The Sisters ran a shelter house of Our Lady of Providence for the fallen girls and the Committee for the Protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Saint Felix Institute mentioned above.<sup>138</sup> They led the catechesis institution for the Jewish girls until 1864, that is, until the dissolution of the congregation in the Kingdom of Poland.

The agreement concluded between the Consistory of Warsaw, and Saint Felix Institute consisted of three points. First, it obliged the Mother Superior of the Institute to take in Jewish women sent by the Consistory in order to teach them religion and to place them “in a separate, dry and comfortable place. . . . nourish them. . . . spare no service or sacrifice in order to help them become women who are honest and useful for the society.”<sup>139</sup> Second, it obliged the Consistory to finance the entire project. The Consistory provided 150 rubles a year in two installments for the venue for catechumens.<sup>140</sup> They spent 10 kopecks a day to feed each catechumen during the period of study.<sup>141</sup> Moreover, “because those who wish to be baptized usually arrive without the most important things, the Consistory gave fifteen rubles for a duvet, underwear, and other clothes to each catechumen who left the Institution.”<sup>142</sup> All expenses were to be covered by the percentage of the capital deposited in the Bank of Poland. The last point stated that the contract was in force from July 1, 1859, to July 1, 1860, and specified that unless there was any obstacle, the parties would prolong the contract for the following year. The Consistory was to be informed about the possible termination half a year before it was to happen.

The expenses for the catechumenate in 1859 and 1860 totaled 644 rubles and 5 kopecks. Almost sixty percent of the resources came from the collections held in the Holy Week in Warsaw churches, and the rest came from the interest on

137 *Historia Zgromadzenia SS. Felicjanek na podstawie rękopisów*, part 1, Kraków 1924, p. 50.

138 *Encyklopedia katolicka*, Vol. 5, Lublin 1989, p. 101.

139 AGAD, CWWKP, cat. 205, p. 520.

140 Rent for one room in Warsaw per year amounted in 1858 to 46 rubles, cf. S. Siegel, *Ceny w Warszawie w latach 1816–1914*, Poznań 1949, pp. 186, 208, 214–215, 217.

141 At the time, prices of some of food products were as follows: half a kilogram of whole wheat bread — around 2 kopecks, half a kilogram of pork — around 7 kopecks, 4 liters of milk — 12 kopecks, half a kilogram of butter — 20 kopecks, half a kilogram of fat-back — around 12 kopecks, cf. Siegel, *Ceny w Warszawie*, pp. 186, 208, 214–215, 217.

142 AGAD, CWWKP, cat. 205, p.521.

capital in the Bank of Poland.<sup>143</sup> The concerns expressed earlier by the authorities about the possibility of supporting the catechumenate only with funds that were not guaranteed and the fund in the Bank of Poland turned out to be legitimate. The Consistory of Warsaw owed 5,379 zlotys and 3 groschen, that is, almost 800 rubles, to the Felician Sisters for the period between 1861 and 1863. “As we immediately need to pay the debt,” stated Paweł Rzewuski, a priest and suffragan of Warsaw, in a letter to the Governmental Commission of Religious Affairs and Public Education, “and we lack appropriate sources . . . . While informing the Governmental Commission about such a state of affairs, I have the honor . . . to ask to grant authority to the Bank of Poland to pay 5,000 Polish zlotys, that is 750 rubles from the capital for the catechumenate.”<sup>144</sup>

According to the data, thirty-one Jewish women lived in the catechumenate between July 1, 1860, and May 20, 1863. As many as sixteen women left the St. Felix of Cantalice Institution without baptism: two of them were expelled, one fled in secret, and another moved to the Hospital of the Holy Child. Out of the remaining fifteen women, five entered the service, one got married, the Consistory placed another woman after almost three months in the catechumenate in the Order of the Visitation of Holy Mary, and another one found a place after baptism in the Hospital of the Holy Child. The rest of the seven women stayed in the St. Felix facility.<sup>145</sup>

The fact that half of the catechumens were not baptized proved that such an activity encountered many difficulties. It also partially justified the reluctance of some orders to take the effort of co-opting the Jewish women to the Church. After years, the study *Historia Zgromadzenia SS. Felicjanek* (The History of the St. Felix Institute) describes the situation in the following way:

At the time, Archbishop Fijałkowski called the Congregation to take over the catechumenate that none of the congregations wanted to take due to the difficulties and troubles that this obligation carried with a relatively small benefit. The Founding Father [father Honorat Koźmiński] used to say that one must rely on the previous [*sic!*] generation and one should not become discouraged by the trickery and cunning of Jews. . . Jews used to assault catechumens chasing them down the stairs and invent new lies and

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143 AGAD, CWWKP, sig. 205, p.521.

144 AGAD, CWWKP, sig. 205, pp. 556–557. For comparison, the annual salary of the municipal clerks in Warsaw in 1861–1865 was: for a mayor — 3750 rubles, for a lay judge — 750 rubles, for a writer — 200 rubles, and a janitor — 110 rubles, cf. Siegel, *Ceny w Warszawie w latach 1816–1914*, pp. 285–286.

145 AGAD, CWWKP, sig. 205, pp. 560–563.

accusations. Rumor has it that Jews contributed to the dissolution of our Congregation, but it is not confirmed.<sup>146</sup>

On the day of the shutdown of the Felicians Sisters' nunnery on December 5 (17) 1864, there were five Jewish women in the catechumenate. By the decree of the Viceroy of the Kingdom of Poland, count Friedrich Wilhelm Rembert von Berg granted "the temporary care for . . . the Jewish catechumens that were in the Felician Sisters' house — until they declare the free and voluntary will to be baptized or they declare definite intention to remain in the Mosaic faith" to the Head of the Main Guardian Council assumed.<sup>147</sup>

The decree of October 27 (November 8), 1864 on the dissolution of the majority of monasteries in the Kingdom of Poland, fundamentally changed the situation of the Jews who wanted to be baptized. Until then, Judaists who wanted to adopt the Roman Catholic faith were sent: men to monasteries, and women to convents, where they were provided with peace and necessary care, whereas after 1864, these conditions considerably deteriorated. This meant inhibition of the activity of the Church in this area. The monasteries that remained after 1864 had to comply with the regulations included in the decree of November 22 (December 4), 1864, that concerned "preservation of the Roman Catholic monasteries in the Kingdom of Poland." The regulations banned people who did not belong to the religious congregation, that is, who were not listed in the official listings or were not part of the monastic service from living and staying longer in the buildings of monasteries.<sup>148</sup> Besides, the monasteries had their problems, and they seemingly did not solicit enlistment of Jews. However, it did not mean that vacant orders were indifferent to the question of the Jewish catechumens.<sup>149</sup>

Due to the situation, the General Consistory of the Warsaw Archdiocese and the Diocesan Consistories could no longer so freely send Jewish catechumens to the monasteries, and this fact really complicated and inhibited the preparatory period for baptism. Since the authorities of the Governorate sent Jewish candidates for the baptism, the Consistory of Warsaw had to place them at the private individuals' houses in order to solve the problem at least partially.<sup>150</sup>

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146 *Historia Zgromadzenia*, pp. 51–52; M. Werner, O. Honorat Koźmiński kapucyn 1829–1916, Poznań–Warszawa 1972, pp. 124–125.

147 A. Petrani, "Kasata klasztoru SS. Felicjanek w Warszawie w 1864 r. w świetle źródeł rosyjskich," in: *Nasza Przeszłość* 1971, Vol. 35, p. 154.

148 AGAD, CWWKP, Otnositel'no Neofitoc obshchyjy rasporyazheniya (186–1871), sig. 206, pp. 33–34.

149 Cf. Annex, item 9.

150 AGAD, CWWKP, sig. 206, p. 34.

In 1867, Julianna Górecka was responsible in Warsaw for preparing Jews for baptism. There were four Jewish women in her apartment. One of them was a child, who was baptized before in Przasnysz. Górecka conducted her activity under the permission of the Consistory. Górecka received daily twenty-five kopecks for her work and another twenty-five kopecks for each woman she cared for.<sup>151</sup>

However, the care over the catechumens did not include the teaching of the principal truths of the Catholic faith, as the prelate Stanisław Zwoliński informed the authorities:

Catechumens placed at houses of private individuals were assigned to a parish priest who was obligated to teach them the main principles of faith and to prepare them for baptism. Since it is essential for a catechumen to be well acquainted with prayers, which one can learn only by constant repetition, the General Consistory wanted to make sure that the private individuals, apart from providing the catechumens with the material goods, acquainted them with the prayer and say the prayer together in the spare time and restrain from teaching the catechumens the principles of faith, as those individuals often poorly knew them themselves. In this way, the General Consistory eased the task for the priests who already had many parochial obligations.<sup>152</sup>

The criteria considered by the Church in the process of hiring laypeople to take care of catechumens were not sophisticated. They had to have good reputation in their community and be reasonably devout people. However, apart from the religiously-motivated people, there were some who perceived this work as an opportunity for an extra earning. Besides, as the excerpt of the letter mentioned above shows, quite often people had not enough knowledge to prepare the candidates for the baptism on their own. The Consistory probably did not organize special training for this purpose.

It seems that the problematic situation forced the Church authorities to adapt partial and short-term solutions. Hiring private individuals was not a perfect, but in this situation, it was the only one. One should also remember that individuals, who decided to take the Jewish catechumens in their homes were exposed to various problems caused by the families of these catechumens and their other Jews.

The money the Consistory of Warsaw spent for the support of the catechumens came from the special fund located in the Bank of Poland. However, it is not determined for how long this fund existed and how others Diocesan Consistories coped with the problem. The financial matters certainly belonged to those issues

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151 AGAD, CWWKP, sig. 206, pp. 23–24.

152 AGAD, CWWKP, sig. 206, pp. 34–35.

which were most troublesome. The letter of 1872 of the Consistory of Diocese of Lublin addressed to the secular and regular clergy is particularly meaningful. In the letter, we read:

The admission of Israelites to the Catholic community has so far been carried out through the diocesan authority, which, *besides from seeking the funds needed for the maintenance of the catechumens' education*, has also dealt with the formalities required by the government, without exposing the guardians of those catechumens to the trouble, necessarily linked to the activity of this kind. Today, because of the increasing number of Jews . . . asking for baptism, *the holy diocesan authorities are forced to announce that it is not possible to continue to collect funds to support them during their preparation*, be it in the monastery or a private house, and above all to offer them appropriate care after baptism.<sup>153</sup>

In this situation, the letter informed its recipients that “those who bring the catechumens . . . are obliged to take care of their fate by providing themselves with financial measures during the education.”<sup>154</sup>

The situation developed in a similar way in the Diocese of Sandomierz. In his study on the Jewish neophytes in the governorate of Radom, Adam Penkalla claims that right before baptism Jews lived either at the houses of Catholic families or on premises of the Church institution. In Sandomierz, they lived in the Hospital of Holy Spirit, the nunnery of Benedictine Sisters, or at the parish house. The individual parishes were responsible for supporting neophytes in the preparatory period, and they provided the neophytes with clothing and food.<sup>155</sup> The building of the divinity schools definitely served this purpose, too.<sup>156</sup> It is known that ft. Kazimierz Ruskiewicz, later a suffragan bishop of the Archdiocese of Warsaw, organized a Jewish catechumenate at the theological seminary that was conducted by the seminarians.<sup>157</sup> The incomplete source data proves that from April 1876 until December 1881 the Consistory of Warsaw asked the Rector of the Divinity School in Warsaw seventeen times to place in the buildings of the

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153 Annex, item 11.

154 Annex, item 11.

155 A. Penkalla, “Z problematyki zmiany wyznania wśród Żydów na terenie guberni radomskiej w latach 1867–1914,” in: *Naród i religia. Materiały z sesji naukowej*, ed. T. Stegner, Warszawa 1994, p. 87.

156 See Annex, item 19.

157 *Polski słownik biograficzny*, Vol. 33, Wrocław 1991, pp.185–186.

school the confessors of the Mosaic faith who wanted to be baptized and to appoint the alumni who would be responsible for their preparation.<sup>158</sup>

Finally, it is worth citing an account of father Czesław Bogdalski, a Bernardine missionary who came from Galicia to the Kingdom of Poland in 1906 at local bishops' invitation for a mission and to conduct the folk retreat. Bogdalski wrote that during the mission in Końskie "many people from the Orthodox world listened to the teachings of the missionary, particularly the military men and clerks, and even the groups of Jews stood at the street adjoining the cemetery, and quietly and carefully listened the Word of God that we preached."<sup>159</sup> According to father Letus Olszewski, one time in Ilża, "a Jew asked to be baptized, but we had to postpone it in order to investigate the matter profoundly." In turn, during the mission in Waśniów, "an Israelite, a leaseholder of the local domains, asked for advice because he wanted to be baptized, so I committed him to the care of the chaplain of the Church in Świętokrzyskie region."<sup>160</sup> Similar occurrences were undoubtedly rare. Nevertheless, they present the situation when a decision to abandon Judaism could quickly grow mature and become a fact.

In conclusion, it is worth observing that the Catholic Church did not conduct a systematic, long-term, and organized evangelical or missionary activity among Jews.<sup>161</sup>

Presumably, the 1864 dissolution of many monastic congregations caused the lack of such an activity, since these were the places that often prepared and hid

158 AAWar, *Akta Sem. św. Jana. Konsystorz, rozporządzenia, korespondencja 1861–1898*, cards 122, 125, 138, 143–144, 149, 153, 156, 159, 162, 164–165, 169, 172, 174, 178, and 183.

159 *Misje w Królestwie Polskim odprawione w roku 1906 przez ojców z Zakonu Braci Mniejszych prowincji galicyjskiej*, ed. Cz. Bogdalski, Kraków 1907, p. 25.

160 *Misje w Królestwie Polskim*, pp.78–85.

161 It is hard to assess what was the attitude of the Mariavite Church toward the missionary activity among Jews. For instance, *Wiadomości Mariawickie* "Z krainy obudy i kłamstwa" 1909, No. 7, refused charges of *Dzień* that "the Mariavites intensely proselyte Jews" in Płock and that "already three Jews at the age between 19 and 21 stay at the Mariavite Sisters' institution, where they become stronger in Mariavite faith, and they would become the agitators of the Mariavite Church in the future." Mariavites responded that: "This information is as true as it is reasonable. Because primarily, the Mariavite do not proselyte Jews neither in Płock nor anywhere. In general, Jews sympathize with the Mariavites, and they willingly commune with the Mariavites, because the Mariavites do not despise and do not persecute them, as the right-believing Catholics do." Noteworthy, the "Mariavite calendar" for years 1909, 1910, and 1913, also includes "the holidays of the Mosaic faith."

neophytes. Another reason could be the reluctance of some clergymen to engage in this activity. However, one should not forget about the initiatives of individual priests who eagerly worked in this field.<sup>162</sup>

Before 1863, in the period of partial autonomy of the Kingdom of Poland, the Church could seemingly pressure the authorities to support it in the process of converting Jews to Catholicism, and, thereby, to assimilate them with the Polish society. However, after the defeat of the January Uprising and after replacing Poles in the executive posts in the national administration with Russian officials, the opportunity was gone. It is not difficult to imagine what would be the reaction of the Russian authorities to the intensified activity of the Church in the domain of the Jewish mission. One should also remember that although Ivan Paskevich, Viceroy of the Kingdom of Poland until 1856, was a supporter of the Christianization of Jews, he did not associate this process with Polonization, unlike the Polish opinion-forming circles.<sup>163</sup> Certainly, the politics of the Russian authorities in this matter was persistent.

### Eastern Orthodox

Little can be said about the missionary activity of the Orthodox Church among Jews in the Kingdom of Poland. I did not manage to find any data that would shed some light on this subject. Therefore, I will discuss this matter based on the publications that appeared in *Kholmско-Varshavskiy Yeparkhal'nyj Vestnik*, though *Vestnik* did not focus on the subject too much.<sup>164</sup>

In 1899, the article reprinted from *Tserkovnyy Vestnik*, which was an organ of the St. Petersburg Theological Academy, an article about the question of

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162 See Annex, item 15; A. Penkalla, "Z problematyki zmiany wyznania," p. 87.

163 S. Kowalska-Glikman, "Małżeństwa mieszane w Królestwie Polskim. Problemy asymilacji i integracji społecznej," *KH* 1977, No. 2, p. 317, fn.16; S. Kowalska-Glikman, "Jeszcze raz o małżeństwach mieszanych w Królestwie Polskim," in: *KH* 1982, No. 4, p. 676.

164 Noteworthy, the collection of sermons and speeches by Leontiy Lebedinski, the archbishop of Chełm and Warsaw (1875–1891), published in 1876 in St. Petersburg (*Slova, poucheniya i rechi Leontiya, Arkhiyepiskopa kholmского i varshavskago*, Vol. 2) includes a speech made already in 1869 on Palm Sunday (April 13) on the occasion of adopting the Orthodox faith by a Jewish family. Lebedinski expressed his joy that people brought up as Jews acknowledged the Orthodox faith as the only way to salvation, after hearing the Word of God. In conclusion, he asked the confessors of the Orthodoxy to be an example of genuinely Christian life and faith for the newly baptized, Lebedinski, *Slova, poucheniya i rechi Leontiya*, pp. 151–154.



acceptance of the Jews to the Eastern Orthodox Church which counselled caution in this matter.<sup>165</sup> The editorial staff of *Kholmско-Varshavskiy Yeparkhal'nyy Vestnik* informed the readers in a footnote that the clergy of the Archdiocese of Chełm and Warsaw may be particularly interested in the article. The article stated that there were many Jews of various occupations who were willing to adopt the Orthodox faith. Many of them perfectly knew the principles of faith and the spirit of the Orthodox faith, and they would become very active members of the Eastern Orthodox Church after the baptism. In turn, the others would deny and reject the truths adopted during the baptism.

The author of the reprinted article wrote about his meeting with an educated Jew who adopted the Orthodox faith. The Jew was a Russian subject, and he studied medicine at the University of Berlin, he was baptized after short period by a military chaplain in a town in the Kingdom of Poland. As soon as the Jew was baptized, he started to doubt the fundamental truths of faith, which could not be resolved even by the clergymen. However, it was not a proof of lack of qualifications among the clergy, rather a proof of obstinacy of the neophyte. According to the author, all these facts indicated insouciance which characterized the Orthodox clergy's attitude toward the Jewish catechumens. The clergymen shortened the preparatory period to a bare minimum, and they did not care about the diligence and precision during the preparations of the candidates for the members of the Eastern Orthodox Church. The Jews prepared in such a way would remain ignorant and skeptic in religious matters. The author saw in it far-reaching and perilous consequences for the Eastern Orthodox Church and expressed his concern that Jews would penetrate the high ranks of the clergy and thereby would exert significant influence over the spiritual leadership of the Eastern Orthodox Church. His concerns also referred to the Russians who could easily succumb to the Jewish innovations, which finds proof in the history.<sup>166</sup>

*Kholmско-Varshavskiy Yeparkhal'nyy Vestnik* deprecated Jews efforts to bring Judaism and Christianity closer. According to the editors, such efforts were just a fraud. Supposedly, Jewish prayer books in Russian underlined the similarities between Jewish and Orthodox faith, whereas original publications emphasized the huge differences, which were not possible to eradicate. The supposed fraud exploited the fact that general population barely knew Yiddish ("pod yevreyskim shriftom mozhno skryt' vse, chto ugodno").<sup>167</sup>

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165 "Dolzhnaya osmotritel'nost' pri prinyatii yevreyev w Tserkov," in: KhVyv 1899, No. 48.

166 "Dolzhnaya osmotritel'nost' pri prinyatii yevreyev w Tserkov," in: KhVyv 1899, no 48.

167 "Yevreystvo v otnoshenii k khristianstvu," in: KhVyv 1901, No. 40.

Morbid fear of the influence of Judaism on the Orthodoxy had a very long and bloody history. In Russia, the sects drawing on Judaism began to appear in the fifteenth century, and they were persecuted by the Russian Orthodox Church. Their followers were accused of celebrating Sabbaths, preserving Jewish rituals like circumcision or refraining from eating blood, and particular attitude toward the Old Testament. Because of the fear of Judaic propaganda and the sects in the bosom of the Orthodox Church, many people were murdered or conscripted and sent to the remote regions of the Russian Empire.<sup>168</sup> The current state of research does not allow us to unambiguously define the members of Judaist sects. As Janusz Tazbir notes, Russian and Soviet scholars perceive the sects as a heretic a mix of Judaism and Christian rationalism, which found its proponents in Moscow and Novgorod. It may be added that the intensification of the heresy in the sixteenth century was partially linked to the development of the Reformation in the eastern territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.<sup>169</sup>

Noteworthy, the Shtundists also aroused many doubts. The group was an amalgam of various Protestant sects with the prevalence of Baptism and it found many proponents in the lower strata of the society.<sup>170</sup> According to Piotr Stawiński, the Eastern Orthodox Church hierarchy used the name “Shtundists” in reference to various Christian sects, which intensively developed in the second half of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century in Ukraine. They emerged in opposition to the Eastern Orthodox Church and imitated the western Protestantism in terms of external forms and doctrine promoted by them.<sup>171</sup>

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168 Polnyy Pravoslavnyy Bogoslovskiy Entsiklopedicheskiy Slovar', Vol. 1, [St. Petersburg 1913], pp. 884–886; J. Juszczyk, “O badaniach nad judaizantyzmem,” in: KH 1969, No. 1, pp. 141–151; Z. Pietrzyk, “Judaizanci w Polsce w 2. połowie XVI w.,” in: *Zydzii w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej. Materiały z konferencji „Autonomia Żydów w Rzeczypospolitej Szlacheckiej”*, Wrocław 1991, pp. 146–147.

169 J. Tazbir, *Świat panów Pasków*, Łódź 1986, pp.196–197.

170 W. Zaikyn, *Zarys dziejów ustroju Kościoła wschodnio-słowiańskiego. I. Podział na okresy*, Lwów 1939, pp. 108–109. German word Stunde means “an hour.” Those were so-called Biblical hours, during which the members of the group discussed various religious matters. The Shtundists were formed in the mid-nineteenth century in the Kharkov Governorate, where, among others, Baptist missionaries conducted their activity among the workers in the German colonies, see S. Piekarski, *Prawdy i herezje. Encyklopedia wierzeń wszystkich ludów i czasów*, Warszawa 1930, p. 363.

171 P. Stawiński, “Walka prawosławia ze sztundyzmem w świetle soboru kijowskiego z roku 1884,” in: *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Studia Religioznologiczne (Prawosławie)*, 1996, No. 29, pp. 89–92.

The concerns about the phenomena mentioned above found their expression at the Church Council in Kyiv in 1884 called by Platon, the Metropolitan of Kyiv. The council was to deal with the question of counteraction against the malignant influence of the Catholic Church, Jews, and the Shtundists on the Orthodox people.<sup>172</sup>

However, the concerns about the Heresy of the Judaizers did not result in the abandonment of the idea of enlistment of the Jews by the Orthodox Church. In 1900, *Kholmско-Varshavskiy Yeparkhial'nyy Vestnik* published a text “Rozmowa między żydem i chrześcijaninem, żydowskim neofitą, o religii chrześcijańskiej” (A Conversation Between a Jew and a Christian, a Jewish Neophyte, about the Christianity).<sup>173</sup> It was written by Paisij, the bishop of Żytomierz. In the foreword, Paisij described the motives for writing the text:

Each year, when I travelled through the diocese to survey the churches, I had an opportunity to talk to Jews, who welcomed me with bread in small towns. I noticed that they very carefully listened to me when I cited and explained to them the prophecies about the coming of the Messiah to the world and His death for the salvation of the people. Having realized that people can easily forget my words, I decided to hand out anywhere I could small printed books that include the thoughts, which could have an enormous impact on them and prompt them to think about their religious situation. Besides, I was motivated by a thought that I should reassure in the Christian faith those Jews who adopt this faith without a more in-depth understanding of Christianity's superiority over the Jewish religion.<sup>174</sup>

“Rozmowa” consisted of six questions asked by the Jew and extensive answers given by the Christian (the neophyte). The questions concerned: 1) motives for abandoning Judaism and adopting Christianity, 2) prophecies that were the basis of the statement that the Messiah had already come to the world, 3) the reasons why so long Jews did not recognize Jesus Christ as Messiah, 4) the reasons why Jesus Christ, while being God, had to suffer and die, 5) the adoption of human nature by the Messiah, 6) the benefits for the humanity that were a result of His death, which, in the opinion of the one who asks the question, was the negation of God's omnipotence.

The Christian answered the questions extensively, often referring to the prophecies of the Old Testament. To answer the first question, he said that after meticulous study of Christian teachings and acknowledgment of the true meaning of the Old Testament prophecies, he began to consider Christianity as the only way

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172 P. Stawiński, “Walka prawosławia ze sztundyzmem,” pp. 90–92.

173 KhVyv, 1900, No. 31.

174 KhVyv, 1900, No. 31.

to salvation. The Christian also realized that the Jews did not comprehend the real meaning of the prophecies in the Bible. In answer to the second question, he discussed the prophecies of the Patriarch Jacob, King David, the prophet Haggai, and primarily the prophet Daniel, while claiming: "I cannot understand how it is possible that after reading the prophecy of Daniel and seeing its fulfillment, Jews did not realize that the true Messiah had been born and died long before?!" While responding to the third question, the Christian emphasized the obduracy of Jews, and began to enumerate the examples of their mistrusts during the time of Moses, how they murdered prophets, and their idolatry. In response to the fourth question about the divine nature of Jesus Christ, he cited the Book of Psalms and the prophecies of Isaiah, Baruch, and Malachi, and in response to the fifth question about adopting the human nature by Jesus Christ, he said that the abatement of the Son of God was a great and incomprehensible mystery of God. Finally, in answer to the sixth question, the Christian talked about the absolute need of the Sacrifice of the Son for all the people, regardless of whether they were good or bad, since "all the people are guilty before God due to their nature or life." He also emphasized the voluntary character of the Passion. After having responded to all the questions, the Christian advised his listener: "Reflect on it all in great depth and pray to God that He would illuminate eyes of your soul and make out of you a member of His saint Orthodox Church."

Based on the material mentioned above, it is really hard to deduce how the activity of the Orthodox Church in the Kingdom of Poland looked like in this respect. Nevertheless, one put forward a thesis that the Eastern Orthodox Church did not conduct any organized activity among Jews. While searching for the arguments supporting the thesis, it is necessary to once again emphasize the Church's fear of the Judaizers and to recall what was the position and the role of the Orthodox Church in the Kingdom of Poland. One should keep in mind Church's tight connections with the authority, and not very high intellectual potential of the Orthodox clergy. Launching a wide-reaching missionary activity required the training of qualified staff that the Orthodox Church in the Kingdom of Poland could not afford. These factors certainly did not encourage Jews to adopt the Orthodox faith. The only encouraging factor was perhaps the position of the Orthodox Church in the Russian state that would allow them to start a professional career. However, the cases of Leopold Kronenberg, Jan Bogumił Bloch, or the Epstein family contradict this assumption and oblige us not to overstate the Orthodox Church's role.<sup>175</sup> Besides, we should remember

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175 Noteworthy, the Jews remembered for a long time the conscripting of Jewish children in 1827–1856 to the so-called cantonist battalions, where they underwent a profound

that, after 1875, “the care” over the Uniate community was one of the main tasks of the Eastern Orthodox Church in the Congress Poland.

## Difficulties with Neophytes

Certain kinds of troubles with the neophytes have already been mentioned in this chapter. They were mainly of financial and housing nature. In this part, I will analyze the image of the Jewish neophytes and of the motives which prompted them to convert.

### The Image of Neophytes

Samuel Adalberg, the author of *Księga przysłów, przypowieści i wyrażeń przysłowiowych polskich* [A Book of Polish Proverbs, Parables, and Proverbial Expressions], published in Warsaw in 1889–1894, gives twenty-two proverbs about the Jewish neophytes. Most of the proverbs were from the eighteenth century. In the book, we read: “chłop spanoszony, żyd chrzczony, wilk chowany, to wszystko diabła warte” (An arrogant peasant, a baptized Jew, a domesticated wolf — it is all good for nothing!), “żyda ochrzczonego tylko utopić” (One can only drown a baptized Jew), “cztery rzeczy niepewne i odmienne: żyd chrzczony, przyjaciel pojednany, suknia nicowana i wilk chowany” (Four things are uncertain and change: a baptized Jew, a reconciled friend, a turned dress, and a domesticated wolf).<sup>176</sup> All these proverbs expressed the conviction that Jews are unable to become true Christians.

Considerable impact on the forming of the Jewish neophytes’ image had the history of Frankism.<sup>177</sup> The sect of Frankists became the synonym of apostasy

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indoctrination and were forced to adopt the Orthodox faith, cf. J. Kucharzewski, “Rządy Aleksandra III,” pp. 359–360, see also T. M. Endelman, “Jewish Converts in Nineteenth-Century Warsaw: A Quantitative Analysis,” in: *Jewish Social Studies* 1997, Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 48.

176 *Księga przysłów, przypowieści i wyrażeń przysłowiowych polskich*, ed. S. Adalberg, Warszawa 1889–1894, pp. 56, 301, 596, and 657–658.

177 Jacob Frank (1726–1791) was a creator of the sect. In 1759–1760, Frank and his followers were publicly baptized in the churches in Lviv. The subsequent lot of Frank and his “court” confirmed the concerns of people who questioned the truthfulness of his and his followers’ intents. Already after the baptism, Jacob Frank appeared before the ecclesiastical court in Warsaw on suspicion of underhand dissemination of teaching that was incompatible with the Christian faith. In 1760, the court sentenced Frank to life in seclusion in Jasna Góra Monastery. After his release in 1773, Frank

and heresy for Jews, whereas among the Christians it was a synonym of crypto-proselytism. In the second half of the eighteenth century, people would say about the sect: “jeden to diabeł, czy Zyd, czy neofita” (a Jew or a neophyte — the same devil).<sup>178</sup> This stereotype was still alive in the nineteenth century.<sup>179</sup> As far as in 1882, Samuel Peltyn wrote in *Izraelita* that even in his days Christians descendent from Jacob Frank were stigmatized because of their background.<sup>180</sup> However, it would be a mistake to claim that the negative image of the Frankists was only their merit. Particularly, as since the 1880s – when one could observe the intensification of anti-Semitic attitudes and later at the time of the birth of Polish and Jewish nationalism – several elements were added to the image of the Jewish neophytes and turned it into a caricature.

The future clergymen, who finished the course of pastoral theology in the divinity schools, did not have good opinions about the neophytes. The course-book *Teologia pasterska katolicka* (Catholic Pastoral Theology) written by Ft. Józef Krukowski paid particular attention to how the priest treated the Jewish proselytes.

The priest should exercise even more caution in accepting the proselytes who were Jewish. Jews were attached to their religion, claiming to be the chosen nation and calling other people: “goy,” they burn with hatred toward the Christianity, that is why they rarely become a convert out of genuine intents; there are some who allow themselves to be baptized for a couple of times just to make a profit of it. However, when a Jew comes and asks to be baptized, the priest should ask him about his name, surname, his age and a way of life, where he lives and who can confirm what kind of man he is and what are the motives which prompt him to convert; whether he had learned anything from the

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moved with his “court” to Brno, and subsequently to Offenbach am Main, where Frank died in 1791. Particularly outrageous were the sexual practices performed by Frank’s “court,” cf. J. Doktor, *Jakub Frank i jego nauka na tle kryzysu religijnej tradycji osiemnastowiecznego żydostwa polskiego*, Warszawa 1991, pp. 11, 93–100, and 111; A. Kraushar, *Frank i frankiści polscy 1726–1816*, Vol. 1, Kraków 1895, pp. 182, 205, and 300–301; Vol. 2, pp. 3, and 132; H. Graetz, *Historia Żydów*, Vol. 8: “Stan Żydów w Europie od końca XVI wieku do początku XIX,” trans. St. Szenhak, Warszawa 1929 (reprint: Kraków 1990), pp. 497–498.

178 J. Goldberg, “Żydowscy konwertyci w społeczeństwie staropolskim,” in: *Spółczeństwo staropolskie*, Vol. 4, eds. A. Izydorczyk, A. Wyczański, Warszawa 1986, p. 245.

179 Annex, item 1.

180 “Nasze nadzieje. Listy otwarte do pana chrześcijanina,” in: *Izraelita* 1882, No. 41/42.

catechism or not at all; whether he is ready to be persecuted by Jews; [the priest should not] provide him with permanent funds for living, because it may be unsuccessful.<sup>181</sup>

The remarks made in the excerpt cited above certainly were not unfounded. Nevertheless, Samuel Peltyn had a similar opinion about the neophytes, and he wrote in *Izraelita* that more people adopted the faith fraudulently and without belief, for the profit, and to avoid something terrible then out of internal need. Moreover, Peltyn claimed that Church gained “a bunch of superficial believers.” According to Peltyn, neither the Christian community nor the Jewish community did profit from the Jewish proselytism, which also led the latter to fanaticism.<sup>182</sup> In another article, Peltyn noted that only individuals and these were rare cases, adopted the Christian faith out of genuine belief, and Peltyn repeated the concern that the rest would form in the Church a sect of “voluntary Marranos,” for whom it would become necessary to “reintroduce the Spanish Inquisition and the stakes,” or to accept “destructive activity of new believers.”<sup>183</sup>

In 1900, the author under initials B. W. Seg reviewed the play *Rothornówna* (Rothorn’s Daughter) put on in the National Theater in Warsaw, which presented the environment of the neophytes who were members of high social and financial ranks. Seg noted: “We, the Jews, split up with Mister and Missus Rothorn without any regret. They are withered leaves, decayed maggoty fruit, which falls from the tree with the slightest shake.”<sup>184</sup>

Similarly, the author under the initials “dr. S.R.” commented in harsh words on the Jews who abandoned Judaism purportedly due to the reasons of “social nature.” This reason was “a beautiful cliché,” which concealed the hypocrisy and “wickedness of the decadents.” According to him, such neophytes deserved by all means to be objects of contempt and irony in their new Christian community and he advised the proponents of the conversion to “transform their skull caps — and broaden them”<sup>185</sup> Another author, Likiert, in his article under the meaningful title “Zostać sobą” (Staying true to oneself), cited the statements of the Christian writers, who did not recommend the conversion as a measure

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181 J. Krukowski, *Teologia pasterska katolicka*, Lwów 1874, pp. 463–464; Przemysł 1869, pp. 556–557; edition 1880; 1887; 1894, pp. 617; 685; 685. Cf. also AALub, Lubelski Konsystorz Rzymsko-Katolicki, Rep. 60 XIII–10.

182 “Nasze nadzieje. Listy otwarte do pana chrześcijanina,” in: *Izraelita* 1882, No. 41/42.

183 “Cóż czynić?,” in: *Izraelita* 1884, No. 30.

184 *Izraelita* 1900, No. 3.

185 “Wywiad najdoskonalszy,” in: *Izraelita* 1903, No. 7.

to solve the Jewish question, instead they emphasized the necessity of internal change within Judaism.<sup>186</sup>

In 1906, Iza Moszczeńska published in *Izraelita* a series of articles under the title “Kwestia żydowska w Królestwie Polskim,” (The Jewish Question in the Kingdom of Poland). In the article, she unfavorably commented on the neophytes.<sup>187</sup> One “baptized Jew,” who was moved by this fact, published a letter in *Nowa Gazeta* to defend the neophytes.<sup>188</sup> To justify her position, Moszczeńska published an article, also in *Nowa Gazeta*, in which she stated that there were Jews who were baptized out of their genuine motives, and she excluded them from the discussion. Moreover, she explained that her attack aimed at “baptized anti-Semites,” not “baptized Jews.”<sup>189</sup>

In response to neophytes’ advocate, *Izraelita* published a letter by “one of Jew’s doctors.” Its author claimed that Moszczeńska was right to “serve dirt” to baptized Jews, calling them “careerist,” “traitors,” “outcasts hated by every society,” and added that Jews were baptized only for a particular reason, for instance, “in order to become a member of a rowing club, to be able to visit Christian houses, or to change unappealingly sounding Jewish name, to become a sworn attorney, or to send a child to a school.” Concluding, the author wrote that “baptized Jews are not even good Poles, because they are detrimental to the whole society, as their example discourages a considerable fraction of the uncultured Jewish strata from the socialization.”<sup>190</sup>

In turn, in the article “Jeszcze o neofitach – Żydach” (Once again about the Neophytes — Jews), Dr. J. Frenkiel claimed that Jewish neophytes, who came from intellectual circles, were in fact “non-denominational” people who reinforce the ranks of the anti-Semites.<sup>191</sup> It meant that for them, baptism was not a religious act but a socio-cultural one. They were indifferent toward Christianity after baptism, as they were previously indifferent to Judaism.

The opinions presented above prove that *Izraelita* did not believe that Jewish neophytes could be good Christians. At the same time, *Izraelita* endorsed opinion that solving the Jewish question in the spirit of proselytism would give birth to a question of “false Christians” that was to be a hundred times more dangerous

186 *Izraelita* 1904, No. 12.

187 *Izraelita* 1906, No. 1–8.

188 *Izraelita* 1906, No. 5.

189 *Izraelita* 1906, No. 6.

190 *Izraelita* 1906, No. 5. Cf. also H. Lichtenbaum “Tolerancja religijna, państwowa i społeczna,” in: *Izraelita* 1906, No. 5.

191 *Izraelita* 1906, No. 6.



problem. One should keep in mind the statements as they show the role played by the Jewish assimilationists centered around *Izraelita* in the forming of the image of the neophytes.

*Rola* perceived the neophytes in the same way and meticulously enumerated their least slip-ups. However, according to *Rola*, there were some exceptions among them.<sup>192</sup> Nevertheless, in response to the question if a baptized Jew ceased to be a Jew, *Rola* claimed:

As a member of the man of the religious community — probably yes, but as a social unit — No. Such a speculator or a financier, whether in Catholic's or Calvinist's shoes, always remains a Jew with his traditional personal traits, age-long flaws, and innate aspirations for social omnipotence.<sup>193</sup>

Moreover, *Rola* warned against the neophytes who were told to be baptized on rabbis' order "for a more effective approach toward Christians."<sup>194</sup> In 1903, *Rola* published throughout almost a whole year a novel in installments by Werus under the title *Potomek Wallensteina* [Wallenstein's Descendant] that presented scenes from lives of Jewish neophytes who were "pretending Christianity."<sup>195</sup> The review of a play by the Viennese author Karlweiss entitled *Bogaty wujaszek* (Rich Uncle) perfectly conveys the epithets which the author used to characterize the Jewish neophytes.<sup>196</sup> Karlweiss' presented in the play the relations in the high ranks of society in his hometown. Sz. J. — the reviewer — wrote:

And when Mister von Archeim — a Jew, who actually was baptized — realized that it was the only way for him to get to the higher rungs of the social ladder, he remained deep inside a typical swindler, the most obdurate confessor of Talmudic principles and a worshipper of the golden calf, who does not believe that anyone's honesty is not for sale, who lavishes thousands of money gained with the help of the "imperial cuts" in the stock exchange arena, only to place three letters before his surname: von. . . — after all, that is almost an exact copy of "our fellow" and perfectly known financier of Elektoralna Street, Krakowskie Przedmieście Boulevard, or of Włodzimierska Street. These are typical specimens, always ready to pick money out of mud no matter if in Vienna or Warsaw.<sup>197</sup>

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192 "Kronika bieżąca," *Rola* 1901, No. 40; "A jednak p. Lewental zawsze za swoimi," in: *Izraelita*, No. 46; "Ciekawe rzeczy," in: *Izraelita*, No. 48. "List Neofity," *Rola* 1886, No. 21; "Z judaizmu na katolicyzm," *Rola* 1910, No. 18–24.

193 "Gospodarka finansistów warszawskich," *Rola* 1886, No. 17.

194 "Nie wolno!," *Rola* 1901, no 14; "Kapłan i stronnictwa," *Rola* 1904, No. 13.

195 *Rola* 1903, No. 1–47.

196 In fact, Karl Weiss (1850–1901), an Austrian writer. In his novels, comedies, and satires, he presented the image of Viennese petite bourgeoisie.

197 "Bogaty wujaszek, albo jak kto woli parawany żydowskie," *Rola* 1904, No. 31.

The opinions about the neophytes presented in *Przegląd Katolicki* were more balanced, and far from the harsh tone of *Rola*. However, they were not gentle. In 1886, *Przegląd Katolicki* commented on the question of the neophytes in dispute with *Izraelita*:

Does *Izraelita* not believe in a possibility of genuine conversion? The fact confirms this possibility by all means. There are cases of insincere conversions, but there are also cases of genuine ones. The former produce unflattering opinions about the baptized Jews, but despite this fact, every time a genuine conversion happens, people start to pay respect toward the newly baptized.<sup>198</sup>

A former rabbi from Paris named Drach, Lehman brothers, Ratisbon brothers, and a Carmelite Augustyn Herman Cohen served as examples.<sup>199</sup>

In June 1889, *Przegląd Katolicki* published without any comment fragments from the article by Teodor Jeske-Choiński, which appeared previously in *Słowo*. The fragments included: “whoever turned to the bosom of the Christian faith and uses the domestic language is no longer a Jew — regardless of the intents that guided him.” However, the author notes that “initially, his [a Jew’s — K.L.] new shoes rarely fit him . . . , because baptism did not remove his many traits and tribal flaws that alienate him.”<sup>200</sup>

In 1903, a permanent column of *Przegląd Katolicki* “Przegląd tygodniowy spraw kościelnych” (Weekly Review of Church Matters) that discussed international events, published harsh words addressed at the neophytes. The author discussed the question of the neophytes in France and Austria. He claimed that:

The Church is quite right to limit the access of the Jewish neophytes to the clergy, because the curse, borne by the whole tribe, is preserved sometimes by the individuals even after the conversion; in this tribe there is extraordinary power of the evil, Jews are in the first ranks of the Church’s enemies . . . they even try to penetrate the Church.

In conclusions, the author claimed: “the severity of the Spanish Inquisition toward the Jewish neophytes at the time was not a dark fanaticism, but rather wise and legitimate caution.”<sup>201</sup>

The dualistic attitude toward the Jewish converts is visible in the article “Jak bronić się przed Żydami?” (How to Defend Oneself Against the Jews?) written at the end of 1912. The author claimed: “A Jew irrecoverably ends where Jesus

198 *PK* 1886, No. 12.

199 See also “Kronika kościelna,” in: *PK* 1870, No. 29 and “Kronika kościelna,” in: *PK* 1871, No. 12.

200 *PK* 1889, No. 48.

201 *PK* 1903, No. 24.

Christ begins to reign.” Besides, the author exhorted the public not to laugh at “mehes” (converts), “not to sniff at the neophytes,” because it led to forfeiting of the possibility of the most effective solution to the Jewish question. The author admitted that baptism did not change the race of the human, hence, the neophytes’ behavior could offend Christians. However, there was a chance to overcome stereotypes with goodwill on both sides. Despite these declarations, the author subsequently emphasized that baptized Jews should not behave like “stock exchange barons,” and they should remain in contact with Jews. In conclusions, the author claimed: “A Jew who was not baptized is only an enemy, a seemingly baptized Jew— a mortal enemy.”<sup>202</sup>

We may notice a certain ambiguity in the opinions about the Jewish proselytes expressed in *Przegląd Katolicki*. On the one hand, *Przegląd* emphasized imitable examples and the missionary task of the Church, on the other hand, it considered the converts as the Catholics of a lower rank.<sup>203</sup>

*Zwiastun Ewangeliczny* stood out from the other newspapers, because it did not publish opinions which denigrated Jewish proselytes. The newspaper decisively went against the use of such expressions as “convert” because “no one can be baptized twice, and to call a change of denomination ‘rechristening’ is tantamount to weakening the dignity of the baptism itself.” Even thoughtless and tendentious use of words such as “neophyte” or “convert” could change its character to a harsh epithet.<sup>204</sup>

The concern about Jews who were baptized was not irrational. A correspondent of Parisian *Hamelica* “Ostrożnie z neofitami” (Careful with the Neophytes) wrote:

Mister Moritz Gulman left Warsaw, his hometown, ten years ago. He went to Krakow, where he spent three months in a slammer. After farewell with Krakow, Gulman went to Wrocław, where he was baptized by a pastor, later by a Catholic parish priest, and then he received support from both of them. Gulman went from Wrocław to Berlin, where he introduced himself to a rabbi as a native Christian, who wants to become a Jew. Recognized by the rabbi, Gulman left rabbi’s house, and was baptized fifteen times for money, one time adopting Protestantism, another time adopting Catholicism. Gulman continued this practice when he departed to Belgium, where he worked as a Russian translator. After arrival to Paris, Gulman committed robbery and other delinquencies, apart from being baptized six times.<sup>205</sup>

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202 *PK* 1912, No. 49.

203 Cf. J. Goldberg, “Żydowsky konwertycy w społeczeństwie,” p. 244.

204 *ZE* 1901, No. 8.

205 *ZE* 1901, No. 11.

In 1910, *Zwiastun Ewangeliczny* informed that the pastors in the Kingdom of Poland are “very careful when it comes to accepting Jews.” In turn, in 1914, the newspaper informed about Jews who came from Russia to Finland in order to be baptized so that they would gain the right to reside all over Russia or to enroll at the universities.<sup>206</sup> In a commentary, the newspaper noted: “How careful one should be when it comes to baptizing Jews!”<sup>207</sup>

Based on the information mentioned above, one can note that those newspapers strengthened in the collective consciousness, or strictly speaking, in the circles of their readers, the stereotype of a neophyte as a worse, insincere, and false Christian. The newspapers exaggerated the negative traits of the neophytes for particular reasons. In case of *Izraelita*, it was probably the fight with the accusations toward *Izraelita* that the newspaper disseminates the idea of religious conversion. The desire to make the newspaper credible in the Jewish environment led to the stigmatization of those who abandoned Judaism. Whereas, in the case of Christian newspapers, it was probably to some extent an expression of anti-Jewish prejudices, but also of experiences that were the result of priests’ activity. *Przegląd Katolicki* frequently published reports from all over the country about the individuals who claimed to be Jews and wanted to be baptized. They used the good nature of people who wanted to help them, including the priests. After receiving help, those people would disappear.<sup>208</sup>

The correspondence between the representatives of ecclesiastical administration presents a similar image of the Jewish neophytes. In 1868, Fr. Stanisław Cieślakowski, superior of the permanent monastery of the Dominican Order in Lublin, informed in a letter to the administrator of the Diocese of Lublin, Fr. Kazimierz Sosnowski, that a Jew, Moszek Szpajzer, appeared in the monastery and asked to be prepared to baptism. However, Szpajzer secretly left the monastery after some time. Fr. Cieślakowski continued: “Because the abovementioned Szpajzer did the same thing already last year, it makes one deduce that he has no intent to adopt the Christian faith, but is a loafer who wanders pretending he wants to be baptized, but in reality he only searches for material benefits, or at least for a temporary shelter and food.”<sup>209</sup>

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206 ZE 1910, No. 10.

207 “Wiadomości z kraju i ze świata,” in: ZE 1914, No. 4.

208 “Kronika kościelna krajowa,” in: PK, 1887, No. 1; “Kronika kościelna,” in: PK, 1896, No. 12 and 43; “Kronika kościelna wewnętrzna,” in: PK, 1897, No. 1.

209 Annex, item 9.

In 1886, the Consistory of the Diocese of Płock informed the authorities of the governorate that Abram Joskowicz, a Jew, showed up several times and requested pre-baptismal preparations. However, as the Consistory explained, “he never wanted to be baptized, he only stayed in one place for some time and then ran away in order to present his intent in front of other strangers; and he did all of this just to gain material benefits.”<sup>210</sup>

A letter of Grzegorz Augustynik, a parish priest in Dąbrowa Górnicza to father Euzebiusz Rejman, the prior of Jasna Góra Monastery, informs about a similar case. Grzegorz Augustynik admitted a Jew who wanted to be baptized and provided him with spiritual and material care. However, it turned out that,

on Sunday, this scallywag put on his new clothes and ran away. I began to worry that maybe Jews caught him, however, in the meantime, I received a letter from a priest of Mrzyglód, according to which they sent him to the father at Jasna Góra. I write about it to you, Father, so that you beware because this storyteller does not want to be baptized, he wants to exploit the priests — he is the fourth one who does something like that to me. I am just about to ask for permission, while those scamps run away.<sup>211</sup>

The examples mentioned above, which are only the excerpts of the correspondence, indicates that the negative stereotype of a Jewish neophyte had its own reasons. However, it is difficult to determine how often did priests encounter such people.

Noteworthy, the negative type of a neophyte also prevailed in belles-lettres. It is enough to mention “Panna Mery” (Miss Mery) by Kazimierz Przerwa-Tetmajer, “Cztery dni” (Four Days) by Antoni Miecznik, “Hetmani” (Hetmans) by Józef Weyssenhoff, or even “Żyd” (Jew) by Józef Ignacy Kraszewski.<sup>212</sup> Noble individuals appear in novels *Zydówka* (The Jewess) and *Za winy nie popełnione* (For Uncommitted Crimes) by Michał Bałucki and the novel *Mechesy* (Converts) by Marian Gawalewicz.<sup>213</sup>

To summarize, I can undoubtedly say that the attitude toward the Jewish neophytes within the Christian opinion-forming circles was mostly negative.

210 APPL, Płocki Rząd Gubernialny, sig. 48, card 12.

211 Annex, item 15.

212 K. Przerwa-Tetmajer, *Panna Mery*, Warszawa 1902; A. Miecznik, *Cztery dni*, Warszawa 1903; J. Weyssenhoff, *Hetmani. Powieść współczesna*, Poznań [1911]; A. Żyga, “Problem żydowski w twórczości J. I. Kraszewskiego,” in: *Rocznik Komisji Historycznoliterackiej* 1964, pp. 139–226.

213 M. Bałucki, “Żydówka,” in: M. Bałucki, *Pisma*, Vol. 6, Warszawa 1886 and M. Bałucki, “Za winy niepopelnione,” in: M. Bałucki, *Pisma*, Vol. 8, Warszawa 1887; M. Gawalewicz, *Mechesy*, in: M. Gawalewicz, *Wybór pism*, Vol. 3–4, Lwów–Poznań [n.d.].

However, it was not a characteristic of the nineteenth century, because, as Jacob Goldberg notes, unfavorable attitude toward the Jewish converts was prevalent in many circles of old Polish society. For instance, Jesuits prohibited accepting in their order a baptized Jew and his even the fifth generation of his descendants.<sup>214</sup>

### Motives for Conversion

The advantage of negative opinions about the neophytes irresistibly suggests the question of the motives that prompted them to be baptized. It is worthwhile to acquaint with some of the sociological theories of conversion in order to at least partially understand those motives.

The conversion as a change of role does not necessarily have to involve a radical change of attitude or personality. It can have a social nature, and it may consist in the adoption of a new role, for instance, that of a convert and thereupon adoption of the behavior of a faithful and converted person. A new opportunity to play another, more attractive role may result in deconversion. In this context, the conversion is a process of acquisition of a new social role. Another theory defines conversion as an abnormal reaction to socio-cultural stress, connected with the too high or too low level of social integration.<sup>215</sup> Furthermore, conversion is a secondary socialization, which is a departure from primary socialization. Subject to such a type of conversion are people who absorbed in their childhood too many absolute contents that were related to the beliefs, attitudes, and feelings. In result, they are likely to experience tough confrontations with the reality. Among the numerous theories of conversion, it is worth noting one that defines conversion as “a shock” caused by a religious experience. However, this experience has to be strong enough to make a convert capable of abandoning the experience of everyday life that was perceived as the only and natural experience.<sup>216</sup>

Moreover, the theory of deprivation sheds some light on the roots of motives that lead to conversion, as it perceives converts as people who are subject to various kinds of impairments. Therefore, they search for a different kind of gratification, this group includes: poor people, overly ambitious, non-adapted, selfish, or helpless people, members of various kinds of minorities, and adolescent youth.<sup>217</sup>

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214 J. Goldberg, “Żydowskie konwertycje w społeczeństwie,” p. 244.

215 E. Hałas, *Konwersja. Perspektywa socjologiczna*, Lublin 1992, pp. 57–61.

216 E. Hałas, *Konwersja*, p. 71.

217 E. Hałas, *Konwersja*, p. 104.

As the above overview shows, the factors, which impact and determine the process of conversion, are incredibly complex. It is also interesting that the non-religious factors — social, economic, and mental — are of primary importance in this matter. Paul Johnson also notes that, “with the decline of the part all religion played in society, conversion might be less of a religious act than a secular one; it might be quite cynical.”<sup>218</sup>

Jacob Goldberg comes to a similar conclusion. In his study about Jews’ motives for conversion in Poland in the eighteenth century, Goldberg splits the reasons into four categories. The first category includes motives that result from the converts’ conviction about the authenticity and superiority of Christianity. However, according to Goldberg, the percentage of people guided by this kind of motives was tiny. The second category includes the motives connected with an aspiration to improve their material conditions and to achieve social advancement. The third category includes the motives that were a direct result of the hard life situation, including danger to life.<sup>219</sup> Finally, the fourth category includes the motives of juveniles, detached from their parents due to various reasons and connected to some coercion.<sup>220</sup>

It is hard to unequivocally pass judgment on the question of the motives of the Jews for conversion in the nineteenth century. Undeniably, in many cases the intent for conversion was genuine, but there were also really dubious motives. While enumerating the motives for conversion in the nineteenth century, Teodor Jeske-Choiński claimed that since 1825 all the officials of the snuff monopoly underwent conversion, as they needed the baptism certificate for the development of their careers. Love for a Christian was another motive. “Winged Cupid,” as Teodor Jeske-Choiński wrote, persuaded “more effectively than any other persuasive argument did.” Many Jews decided to be baptized due to their poverty, since — as Teodor Jeske-Choiński noted — a considerate percentage of the neophytes in the nineteenth century came from the lowest ranks of the Jewish society and the homeless proletariat. Some were repeatedly baptized, always in different villages for various benefits, whereas “the spiritual aristocracy” of the neophytes in the nineteenth century included those who decided to convert out of their profound internal conviction and they often would become its ardent proponents.<sup>221</sup> Mostly, the above remarks are not deprived of their accuracy, even

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218 P. Johnson, *Historia Żydów*, Kraków 1993, p. 333; see also T. M. Endelman, “Jewish Converts in Nineteenth-Century Warsaw,” p. 45.

219 Cf. also J. Tazbir, *Świat panów Pasków*, pp. 200 and 210.

220 J. Goldberg, “Żydowscy konwertyci w społeczeństwie,” pp. 220–222.

221 T. Jeske-Choiński, *Neofici polscy*, pp. 115–117.

though Jeske-Choiński is one of the authors who wrote their texts from the anti-Semitic perspective.

One has to analyze the conversions of Jews in the Kingdom of Poland at the turn of the twentieth century against the background of social, economic, and political changes that occurred at that time. The anti-Semitic atmosphere that mounted since the eighties of the nineteenth century was expressed in the southern Russia through bloodsheds, which undoubtedly caused anxiety among Jews and it had a particular impact on the popularity of conversion. The sincerity of the motives for baptisms in such an atmosphere was open to doubt. However, the converts did not necessarily bear the entire blame.

The phenomenon of the conversion was a complicated and multidimensional process. It depended on many factors, both objective and subjective ones. The first group includes the brisk activity of the Evangelicals mentioned above within the Jewish domain, but also pogroms, and restrictions or attempts to restrict their rights. The most difficult part is to talk about the subjective factors since between the cases of the baptism for the material profits and the baptism out of the genuine conviction, there were numerous intermediate cases which were the result of overlapping circumstances. This situation makes a scholar to refrain from generalizing about the motives for conversion. Therefore, I shall cautiously refer to Jacob Goldberg, who claims that, in the second half of the nineteenth century, for a considerable majority of Jews who were baptized, baptism was a capstone and formal complementation of the advanced assimilation. The above statement seems to result from the author's beliefs, rather than the source data. The fragmentary nature and types of available sources severely inhibit one from tracing the successive stages of the conversion and the factors which had an impact on this process.

Even articles, reports in the press, and novels about the converts mentioned above, or the source documents included in the Annex, which are only part of the whole image, do not entirely reflect the complexity of the conversion process, though they reveal some of its aspects. The rebellion against the traditional Jewish customs, a desire to escape the caste, personal complications, youthful fascinations, or a difficult financial situation were often a motive for baptism.<sup>222</sup> Moreover, the attitude of the Jewish community toward the neophytes was unfavorable, and in many cases even hostile. Therefore, it influenced the atmosphere

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222 A. Penkalla, "Z problematyki zmiany wyznania," p. 83; A. Cała, *Asymilacja Żydów w Królestwie Polskim*, p. 88; A. Hertz, *Żydzi w kulturze polskiej*, p. 91.



around the phenomenon of conversion and determination of those who decided to abandon not only Judaism but also their past life.<sup>223</sup>

### Neophytes' Number and Their Social, Professional, and Age Structure

Adam Penkalla is right to observe that it is difficult to determine the scale of conversions among Jews.<sup>224</sup> Moreover, to give exact or approximate numbers it would be necessary to conduct a detailed and large-scale source query, including many parish and monastic archives. Such a research goes beyond the capability of one scholar. Even if one had managed to conduct such a source query, its result would not provide us with full data. This state of affairs is connected to, for instance, damages suffered by the archival resources during the Second World War. It is also unknown whether the parishes, in which the Jews were baptized, kept a systematic and complete record of the neophytes. The statistics of neophytes is even vaguer because of the “wandering” neophytes, that is individuals who changed denomination within the Christianity after baptism and those who were baptized multiple times, being mindful of the material benefits. In the case of the latter, the situation is even more complicated, because the group of Jewish neophytes could include individuals with the same name and surname. In that case, without additional information about the age, origin, or occupation, it is hard to determine whether the records refer to different individuals or the very same person. Such occurrences indeed were infrequent, nevertheless, they present the scale of difficulties to face during the attempt to determine the number of neophytes.

The literature provides us with some numbers. For instance, Józefa Hermaszewska quotes information given by W. T. Gidney that at the end of the nineteenth century in the Kingdom of Poland – in which there were around 1.3 million Jews – there were 12,000 Jews who adopted the Catholic faith.<sup>225</sup> It would constitute only around 0,9 % of the entire Jewish population that lived at the time in the Kingdom of Poland. Piotr Wróbel quotes the same number and notes that in Russia in the nineteenth century around 84,500 Jews were baptized,

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223 Annex, items 4, 8, 10, 14, 15, and 17; J. Goldberg, “Żydowski konwertycy w społeczeństwie,” p. 214.

224 A. Penkalla, “Z problematyki zmiany wyznania,” p. 89; A. Penkalla, “Z problematyki zmiany wyznania,” p. 82; W. Kowalski, “Stopnicki rejestr konwertytów XVII–XIX w.,” in: *Nasza Przeszłość* 1991, Vol. 76, pp. 283–284.

225 J. Hermaszewska, “Materiały do chrystianizacji Żydów,” p.70.

out of which 70,000 adopted the Orthodox faith, while around 12,000 adopted the Catholic faith, mainly in the Polish lands.<sup>226</sup> It is hard to determine to what extent the data quoted above was based on the knowledge of the sources and how one should interpret it. Evidently, it is hard to conclude on that basis, how many Jews were baptized in the period discussed, as we only have fragmented data.

According to the information published in *Pamiętnik Religijno-Moralny*, in 1855–1861, 266 Jews adopted the Catholic faith in the Kingdom of Poland.<sup>227</sup> As one may conclude from the preserved church records of the Diocese of Podlachia, abolished in 1867, in the period between 1856 to 1867, twenty-two Jews declared that they wanted to be baptized.<sup>228</sup> In almost the same period (1855–1866), in the Governorate of Radom, thirty-seven Jews expressed such a will, out of which, two wanted to adopt the Orthodox faith.<sup>229</sup> According to Adam Penkalla, between 1867 and 1914, the archival documents inform only about forty Jews who changed or wanted to change the denomination within the Governorate of Radom. The biggest group included those who wanted to adopt the Roman Catholic faith — thirty-three people, including eighteen women.<sup>230</sup> In turn, in the deanery of Częstochowa, between 1881 and 1900, twenty-seven Jewish women and twenty-three Jewish men were baptized.<sup>231</sup>

According to the data presented by Teodor Jeske-Choiński, between 1855 and 1903, 818 individuals abandoned Judaism in Warsaw. The Evangelical Reformed Church welcomed the highest number of neophytes — 417 individuals, the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession — 223 individuals, the Catholic Church — 178 individuals (Fig. 1).<sup>232</sup> It is necessary to add to this

226 P. Wróbel, “Przed odzyskaniem niepodległości, zabór rosyjski,” in: *Najnowsze dzieje Żydów w Polsce w zarysie (do 1950 roku)*, ed. J. Tomaszewski, Warszawa 1993, p. 31.

227 J. Hermaszewska, “Materiały do chrystianizacji Żydów,” p. 68.

228 Archiwum Diecezjalne w Siedlcach, Akta Miesiąca Marca 1856, cards 22–4; Akta Miesiąca Października 1856, cards 41–49; *Akta ogólne dot. Chrztu Nowonawróconych 1857–1862, 1865–1867*.

229 APRad, Rząd Gubernialny Radomski (1800) 1845–1866 (1898), sig. 4387.

230 A. Penkalla, “Z problematyki zmiany wyznania,” p. 82.

231 Częstochowskie Archiwum Metropolitarne, *Akta dziekańskie dekanatu częstochowskiego*, sig. II 255 (new sig. 1226), cards 3, 13, 21, 41, 43, 47v, 61v, 91v, 141v, 177v, 241v, 285, 297, 353, 391, 435, 443, 470, 487v, 489v, and 495.

232 T. Jeske-Choiński, *Neofici polscy*, passim. Jeske-Choiński quotes that twenty-one Jews were baptized in 1888 in Warsaw, it is possible to add that according to Przegląd Katolicki in 1888 (until October) forty-eight individuals of Mosaic faith were baptized

group 684 individuals, who were baptized by the Anglican missionaries between 1877–1913.

One may ask: what were the reasons for such a considerable statistical difference between the Catholic and Evangelical faith? This chapter answers this question to some extent, as it includes the proofs of wide-spread activity of the Evangelicals aimed at converting Jews to their faith. Besides, Alina Cała, the author of the study on the assimilation of Jews in the Kingdom of Poland, as an explanation for the higher number of neophytes within the Protestant denominations, states that minor denominations, and “Protestantism in the Kingdom of Poland was a minor denomination, more openly welcomed the neophytes. They cared more about the neophytes since the number of conversions proved the authenticity of their doctrines, which they constantly had to confirm in defense against the dominant religion. Such denominations had a different attitude toward the converts; they were less suspicious about the truthfulness of intents of the converts since they had less social profits to offer.”<sup>233</sup> Teodor Jeske-Choiński claimed with some exaggeration that extended preparatory period, control over the lives of the catechumens, and stricter exam before baptism deterred Jews from adopting the Catholic faith, while the Evangelical denominations were much more liberal in this respect.<sup>234</sup>

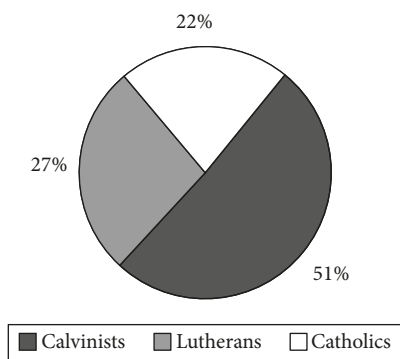
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in the Archdiocese of Warsaw, out of which, six were quoted by Jeske-Choiński, cf. PK 1888, No. 40/41. The report of the mayor of Warsaw and the chief policeman of Warsaw of 1872 addressed to the Namestnik of the Kingdom of Poland included information, that “v nastoyashcheye vremia, v Varshave Yevreyev, prinyavshykh raznovremennno pravoslaviye 26, katolitsyzm 65, a protestantizm 25 chelovek.” *Materialy Kommisii po ustroystvu byta Yevreyev (po Tsarstvu Pol'skomu)*, St. Petersburg 1874, p. 50.

233 A. Cała, *Asymilacja Żydów w Królestwie Polskim*, p. 90.

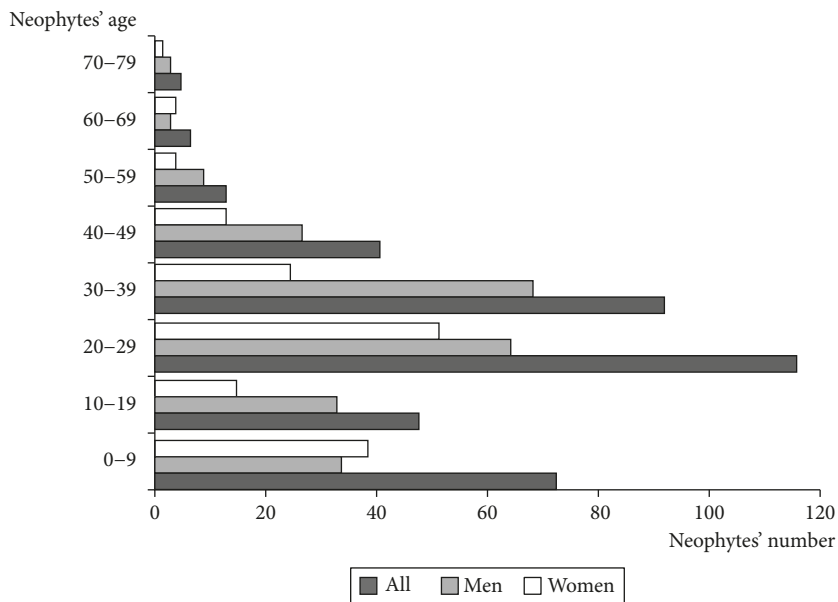
234 T. Jeske-Choiński, *Neofici polscy*, p. 177.

## ILLUSTRATIONS



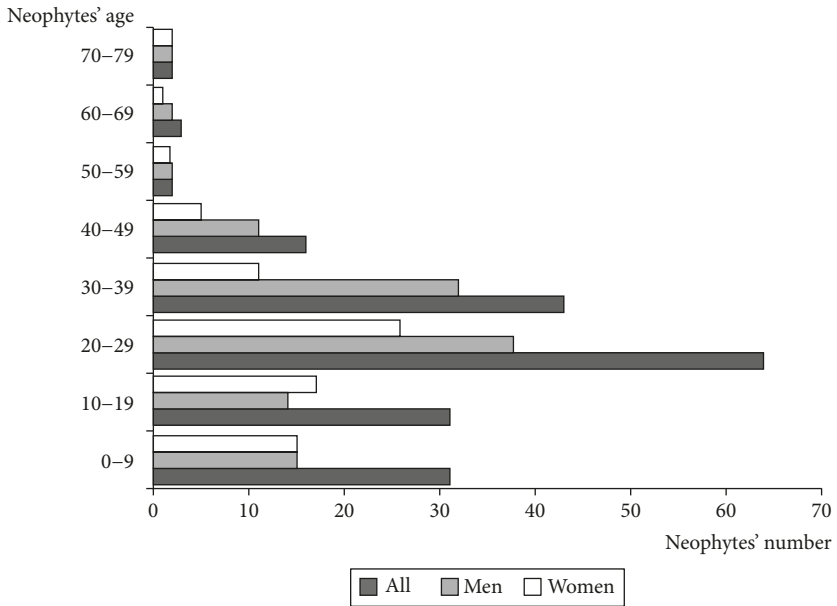
**Figure 1:** The Jewish neophytes according to the adopted denomination in Warsaw in 1855–1903

Source: T. Jeske-Choiński, *Neofici polscy. Materiały historyczne*, Warszawa 1904.



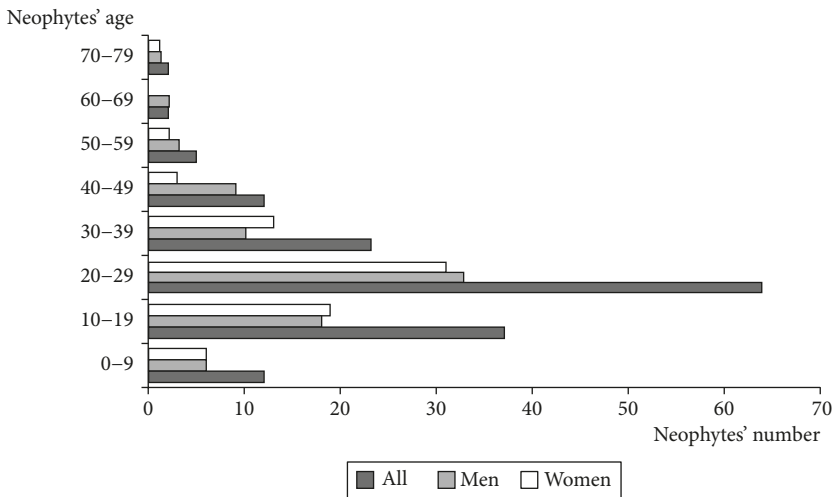
**Figure 2:** The age structure of the neophytes in 1855–1903 – the Calvinists.

Source: T. Jeske-Choiński, *Neofici polscy. Materiały historyczne*.



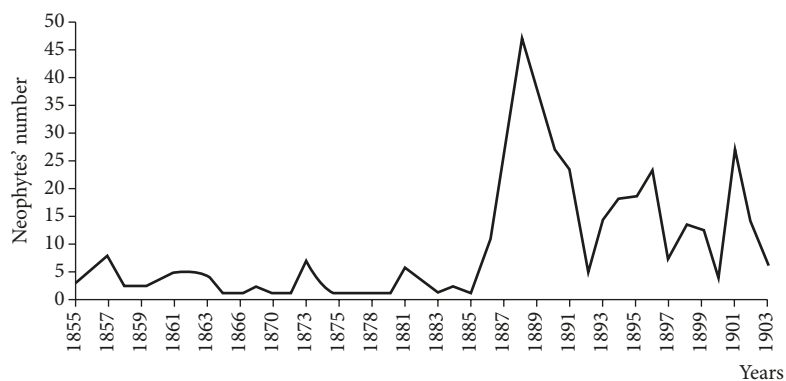
**Figure 3:** The age structure of the neophytes in 1855–1903 – the Lutherans.

Source: T. Jeske-Choiński, *Neofici polscy. Materiały historyczne*.



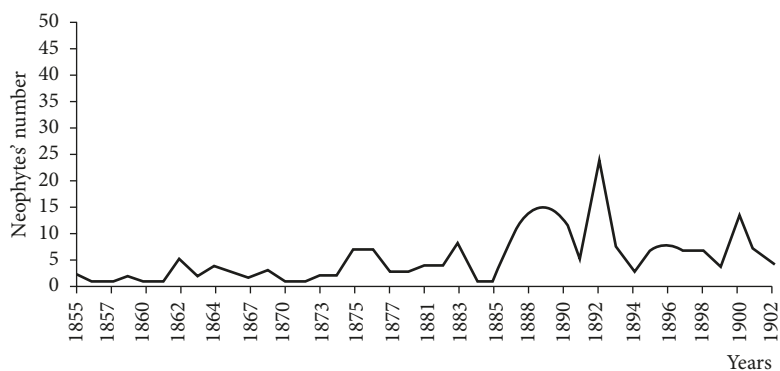
**Figure 4:** The age structure of the neophytes in 1855–1903 – the Catholics.

Source: T. Jeske-Choiński, *Neofici polscy. Materiały historyczne*.



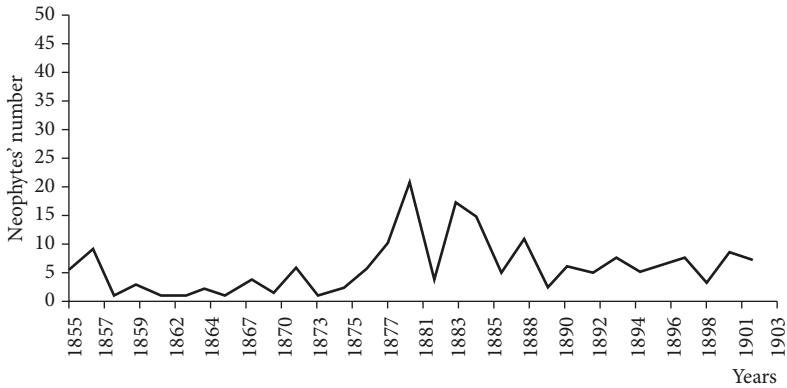
**Figure 5:** The dynamics of the Jewish conversion to Calvinism in 1855–1903.

Source: T. Jeske-Choiński, *Neofici polscy. Materiały historyczne*.



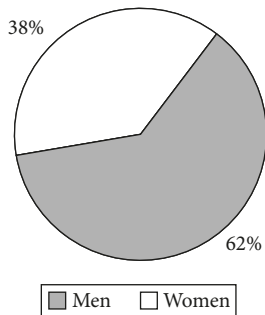
**Figure 6:** The dynamics of the Jewish conversion to Lutheranism in 1855–1903.

Source: T. Jeske-Choiński, *Neofici polscy. Materiały historyczne*.



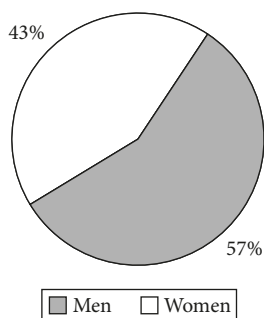
**Figure 7:** The dynamics of the Jewish conversion to Catholicism in 1855–1903.

Source: T. Jeske-Choiński, *Neofici polscy. Materiały historyczne*.



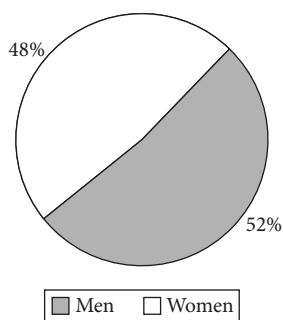
**Figure 8:** The Jewish neophytes of the Evangelical Reformed faith according to sex.

Source: T. Jeske-Choiński, *Neofici polscy. Materiały historyczne*.



**Figure 9:** The Jewish neophytes of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession according to sex.

Source: T. Jeske-Choiński, *Neofici polscy. Materiały historyczne*.



**Figure 10:** The Jewish neophytes of the Roman Catholic faith according to sex.

Source: T. Jeske-Choiński, *Neofici polscy. Materiały historyczne*.

Alexander Hertz notes that “many Jews adopted the Protestant faith at the time, as it was considered closer to the Judaic deism and at the same time, it was less rigorous than the Catholicism, more rationalized.”<sup>235</sup>

The character of the Protestant denominations may explain the higher number of the neophytes within these circles. For instance, the system of the Evangelical Churches allowed considerable involvement of laity in their administration. It is also worth keeping in mind that the changes in the socioeconomical spheres

235 A. Hertz, *Żydzi w kulturze polskiej*, p. 141.



which occurred in the second half of the nineteenth century in the Kingdom of Poland could prompt people to adopt the Protestantism, since this religion better responded to the challenges of times with its praise of enrichment than the Catholicism with its folk character.

The above remarks do not aspire to become statements that would allow generalizations, particularly given that they rely on the data, undoubtedly incomplete, which refer to one city of a specific character.<sup>236</sup> The data could have been totally different in reference to the provinces of the country, which is proven by the data quoted by Adam Penkalla for the Governorate of Radom.<sup>237</sup>

The generalizations that refer to the social, professional, and age structure of the neophytes and which result from the data analysis made by Teodor Jeske-Choiński seemingly arouse less controversy. It is possible to determine a socio-professional status for 297 out of 818 neophytes. It turns out that the most neophytes came from merchant circles, that is as many as 102 individuals (34 %), out of which sixty-seven individuals adopted Calvinism, twenty-four adopted Lutheranism, and eleven adopted Catholicism. Other professions performed by the neophytes included: lawyers and attorneys — thirty individuals (10 %) and, respectively, eighteen Calvinists, seven Lutherans, and five Catholics; physicians — twenty (7 %) and thirteen, four, three; artisans — eighteen (6 %) and eight, three, seven; officials — eighteen (6 %) and nine, five, four; students — eighteen (6 %) and six, six, six; bookkeepers — seventeen (6 %) and six, eleven, zero; engineers and technicians — sixteen (5 %) and eleven, four, one; teachers — seven (2 %) and two, two, three; artists — seven (2 %) and five, one, one. As we can see, there was a majority of professions that were connected with the socioeconomical changes that occurred in the Kingdom of Poland. I share the view of Józefa Hermaszewska, who claims that the Catholicism was adopted

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236 For instance, Anna Słoniowa speaks of “the absence of the phenomenon of denominational change” in the second half of the nineteenth century in Łódź, among local Jewish population, cf. A. Słoniowa, “Problemy liczebności, narodowości i wewnętrznego zróżnicowania burżuazji łódzkiej w drugiej połowie XIX w.,” in: *Dzieje burżuazji w Polsce. Studia i materiały*, Vol. 3, ed. R. Kołodziejczyk, Wrocław 1983, p. 127; F. Guesnet, “Społeczność Żydów łódzkich w XIX wieku i jej kontakty z innymi środowiskami kulturowymi – oddziaływanie społecznego rozwarstwienia,” in: *Wspólnoty lokalne i środowiskowe w miastach i miasteczkach ziem polskich pod zaborami i po odzyskaniu niepodległości*, Toruń 1998, p. 163.

237 See also J. Hermaszewska, “Materiały do chrystianizacji Żydów,” p. 68. Noteworthy, in 1910, *Zwiastun Ewangeliczny* stated that “a number of Jews who adopt our religion is really nonsignificant” (1910, No. 10).

by the impoverished people, but also by those who were very affluent, meanwhile the affluent educated people preferred the Protestant denominations.<sup>238</sup>

The data on the territorial origin of the neophytes is also interesting. It is possible to determine it for 433 individuals. Majority of them came from Warsaw and the Governorate of Warsaw — 257 individuals (60 %), then from the Austrian Empire — forty-five individuals (10 %), and from Prussia — twenty-seven individuals (6 %). Overall, eighty-five individuals came from outside the Kingdom of Poland (19 %). Going back to the Kingdom of Poland, most of the neophytes lived in the western and central Governorates, apart from the Governorate of Warsaw and Warsaw mentioned above — sixty-one individuals (14 %), while thirty individuals (7 %) came from four eastern Governorates: of Suwałki, Łomża, Siedlce, and Lublin.

When it comes to age, as many as around 64 % of 746 neophytes were under the age of thirty (cf. figures 2, 3, and 4). In his study, Adam Penkalla emphasized the young age of the neophytes.<sup>239</sup> The data analysis of Teodor Jeske-Choiński, concerning the dynamics of the conversion, is also interesting. The highest intensity of the Jewish conversions occurred in the 1880s, particularly in the second half of the decade and first half of the nineties of the nineteenth century. However, the conversion pace decreased in the second half of the decade and increased once again at the beginning of the twentieth century (figures 5,6, and 7). Indeed, it is not a coincidence that the increase in the number of conversions occurred in the times of exacerbation of anti-Semitic attitudes. Specific decrease in the 1890s could result from the development of the Jewish national movement, which was after all a reaction to the Jewish situation in the diaspora and constituted an alternative to various concepts of assimilation.

Noteworthy, the majority of the neophytes were men, it is particularly visible within the Protestant denominations, where the difference between men and women amounts to as many as 24 % in the case of Calvinists, 14 % in the case of Lutherans, and 4 % in the case of Catholics (figures 8, 9, and 10). The last example suggests that Jewish women preferred Catholicism. It is partially proven by the data for the deanery of Częstochowa and the Governorate of Radom. One of the reasons for this state of affairs could be the Marian ethos that worked like a magnet. After all, the definitely critical stance of the Evangelical Church

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238 J. Hermaszewska, "Materiały do chrystianizacji Żydów," p. 67.

239 A. Penkalla, "Z problematyki zmiany wyznania," p. 82.

toward the Mariolatry in the Catholic Church is generally known.<sup>240</sup> This matter is important, however, it requires an in-depth analysis.

In conclusion, one may content that the socio-professional status, territorial origin, and age structure of the neophytes indicate that the phenomenon of the Jewish conversions remained in close relations to the processes connected with the passage from the feudal social relations to the capitalist ones. In this context, for the Jews who decided to be baptized the religious conversion was an admission ticket to the Christian community that transformed as a result of civilizational development. Going back to the number of the neophytes, one must state that due to insufficient information, it is hard to even discuss the estimated data. However, it would not be a mistake to say that the conversion was not a mass phenomenon. The increase of the number of the neophytes in the 1880s did not have to necessarily imply the intensification of the process, as one cannot forget about the considerable birth rate of the Jewish population, which, effectively marginalized this phenomenon throughout the entire period in question. Another thing is that part of the press frequently addressed issue of neophytes and presented glaring examples of their failures, which is why at least part of the public opinion could get hold to the impression that conversion constituted a mass phenomenon.

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240 T. Wojak, *Ewangelik-katolik*, Warszawa 1981, pp. 52–56; *Porównanie wyznań rzymskokatolickiego, prawosławnego, ewangelicko-augsburskiego, ewangelicko-reformowanego*, ed. E. Pokorska, Warszawa 1988, p. 56.



## CHAPTER 5: Christian Churches and the Jewish Question Against the Backdrop of Civilizational Changes and the Democratization of Social Life

### Jews as “Rulers of the World, Intransigent Enemies of the Church”

Two historical events with far-reaching consequences marked the nineteenth century: the French Revolution and the First World War. The fact that they occurred in Europe, which had been already Christian for centuries, was an evidence that Christianity in the nineteenth century was in severe decline. The symptoms of the decline included the intensifying processes of secularization, laicization, and de-Christianization, which expressed the aspirations of various social circles to exclude as many domains of human life as possible from the influence of the Church. The Church was particularly concerned about the development of various doctrines, particularly liberalism and socialism. As Robert Aubert notes, the Church also anxiously observed the advancement of the masses at the cost of the elites and “liberation of the mind from the constraints imposed by the authority in the name of science.”<sup>1</sup>

Some proponents of *ancien régime* considered Masonry as the instigator of the processes mentioned above that eventually led to attenuation of the authority of the Church. Masonry as an international movement began to form in the eighteenth century. And at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, it took on free-thinking, liberal, and anticlerical character in most of the European countries.

Very quickly, the articles about Masonry began to mention the anti-Jewish thread, which expanded over time so widely that words “Masonry” and “Jews” became almost synonyms. The Catholic Church took a decisive stand on the issue

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1 R. Aubert, “Kościół katolicki od kryzysu 1848 roku do pierwszej wojny światowej,” in: *Historia Kościoła*, Vol. 5: 1848 do czasów współczesnych, trans. T. Szafranski, ed. R. Aubert et al., Warszawa 1985, p. 38.

of Masonry. In 1738, Pope Clement XII condemned “the sect” of Freemasons, and in 1751 Pope Benedict XIV did it again.<sup>2</sup> As Janusz Tazbir notes, a study of the Fr. Augustin Barruel entitled *Mémoire pour servir à l’histoire du jacobinisme* considerably contributed to the consolidation of the image of Masonry in the conservative propaganda, mainly disseminated by the Catholic clergy, according to which Masonry was an omnipotent and omnipresent “Satan’s International.”<sup>3</sup> It is necessary to note that there were priests and even bishops among the members of Masonry.<sup>4</sup>

All the popes in the nineteenth century, starting from Pope Pius VII (1800–1823) to Pope Leo XIII (1878–1903), condemned Masonry.<sup>5</sup> The latter claimed that the ideology could not come to terms with the Christian doctrine.<sup>6</sup> Leo XIII claimed in his encyclic *Humanum gens*:

that which is their ultimate purpose forces itself into view, namely the utter overthrow of that whole religious and political order of the world which the Christian teaching has produced, and the substitution of a new state of things in accordance with their ideas, of which the foundations and laws shall be drawn from mere naturalism. . . . they endeavor to bring about this result, namely that the teaching office and authority of the Church may become of no account in the civil State. . . . they reject from the laws and from the commonwealth the wholesome influence of the Catholic religion.<sup>7</sup>

Bolesław Kumor notes that condemnation of Masonry by the highest dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church resulted, among other things, from the conviction that most anti-ecclesiastical laws in France, Spain, Portugal, and Brasil, where there was a severe aggravation of the conflict between the Church and the State in the seventies of the nineteenth century, were connected with the organizational development of Masonry.<sup>8</sup>

Fr. Karol Surowiecki, who was a translator of the texts by Augustin Barruel, developed in Poland the anti-Masonic propaganda.<sup>9</sup> Noteworthy, *Encyklopedia*

2 J. Mazur, *Tygodnik „Myśl Katolicka” (1908–1914). Problemy religijne, społeczne i polityczne*, Kraków 1994, p. 117; D. Olszewski, *Dzieje chrześcijaństwa w zarysie*, Kraków 1996, p. 230.

3 J. Tazbir, *Protokoły mędrców Syjonu. Autentyk czy falsyfikat*, Warszawa 1992, p. 18.

4 Cf. K. Górski, *Zarys dziejów duchowości w Polsce*, Kraków 1986, p. 278.

5 L. Chajin, *Polskie wolnomularstwo 1920–1938*, Warszawa 1984, pp. 43–44.

6 J. Mazur, *Tygodnik „Myśl Katolicka” (1908–1914)*, p. 117.

7 G. Virebeau, *Papieże wobec masonerii*, trans. P. Kalina, Komorów 1997, pp. 82 and 84.

8 B. Kumor, *Historia Kościoła*, part 7: *Czasy najnowsze 1815–1914*, Lublin 1991, p. 292.

9 *Święte tajemnice masonii sprofanowane. Wyjątek z dzieł. . . Mémoires pour servir à l’histoire du jacobinisme*, Lwów (Warszawa) 1805 (two editions, one short edition) and

*kościelna* by Fr. Michał Nowodworski defined Masonry on over thirty pages, and underlined Masonry’s link with Jews calling it: “anti-religious, philosophical, and sociopolitical sect that ultimately aimed at eradicating any religion and restoring the human to the natural state.”<sup>10</sup> In turn, in *Podręczna encyklopedia kościelna* by Fr. Zygmunt Chelmiński the entry “Masonry” was only two-page long and did not include any mention on the link between the Masonry and Jews. In *Podręczna encyklopedia kościelna*, Masonry was described as “entirely atheistic-positivist party, and since 1870 an political-revolutionary party and the main source and activist in the anti-ecclesiastical and anti-religious movements.”<sup>11</sup> The aspiration to separate the Church and the State, eradication of the clergy’s influence on the teaching, dissuading women from the Church, intensification of the secularization processes in the Christian society, and finally, liquidation of the papacy were considered as the main aims of the Masonry.

In 1855–1915, the question of the Jewish Masonry dominated in the Church press. In 1881, *Przegląd Katolicki* claimed that protest of Jews against the Church were not rare. *Przegląd Katolicki* wrote that “Jews occupy first seats in Prussian Kulturkampf,” and in Masonry, which is a conspiracy organized for “the bane of the Church, Jews are. . . the main leaders.”<sup>12</sup>

The cross affair at the University of Budapest made the headline of *Przegląd Katolicki*. It was directly connected with the situation of the Hungarian Catholic Church after the transformation of the Austrian Empire into the dual Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1867. The situation worsened because of the activity of the Hungarian authorities that headed for the laicization of the matrimonial legislation and education. The conflict aggravated after introducing the dogma of Papal infallibility in 1870, which resulted in denunciation of the concordat of 1855 by the Hungarian government. The concordat guaranteed that the Church controls

*Historia jakobinizmu wyjęta z dzieł. . . Mémoires pour servir à l’histoire du jacobinisme*, Vol. 1–4, Berdyczów (Warszawa) 1812; cf. *Bibliografia literatury polskiej „Nowy Korbut”. Oświecenie*, ed. E. Aleksandrowska et al., Vol. 6, part 1, Warszawa 1970, p. 248; K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska 120 000 druków. Stulecie XIX*, Vol. 1, part 1, Kraków 1870, p. 68.

10 Priest Michał Nowodworski (1831–1896), a professor of Warsaw Theological Academy, a Biblicist, an editor of *Przegląd Katolicki*. He was the Bishop of Płock between 1889 and 1896. *Encyklopedia kościelna*, Vol. 13, Warszawa 1880, p. 581 (entry: Masonia, pp. 581–611).

11 *Podręczna encyklopedia kościelna*, Vol. 25–26, Warszawa 1911, p. 346 (entry: “Masoneria,” pp. 345–346).

12 PK 1881, No. 44.

the education system. At the same time, all the crosses were taken off the walls of the lecture halls at the University of Budapest. Apart from that, the Hungarian Parliament legally equalized the Mosaic faith with other denominations in 1896.<sup>13</sup>

In 1900, in reference to the cross affair, Fr. Jan Gnatowski declared that “Jews in Hungary exaggerated,” and “Masonic Judaism” leads to “the destruction of Catholicism.”<sup>14</sup> Whereas Fr. Wiktor Wiecki wrote in 1901:

At the beginning of the year, when Senate, without regard for the requests and wishes of the Catholic students, guided in turn by the considerations for the liberal Jewish government, decided to maintain status quo and not to place crosses in the halls. Not only Catholic, but entire Christian youth felt offended by the resolution in their religious beliefs.<sup>15</sup>

Another time, Fr. Jan Gnatowski noted that the cross affair divided the university community into two factions: a Christian and a Jewish one. Gnatowski expressed the concern that “the Christian question will encounter many adversities and persecutions, maybe even soon an open Kulturkampf.”<sup>16</sup> Interestingly, Fr. Gnatowski blamed not only Jews and Masons but also “clergy that was mostly liberal, deprived of the spirit of the Church, undisciplined” and the episcopate appointed by the government, which had within its structure “weak and blind compliance with the government.”

*Przegląd Katolicki* explained that hard situation of the Church in France, particularly during the rule of René Waldeck-Rousseau (1899–1902), and the intensifying anti-clericalism resulted from links between Jewish capital, Masonry, and socialism.<sup>17</sup> In reference to the Dreyfus Affair, Fr. Włodzimierz Ledóchowski claimed that on Dreyfus’ side stood “all the Jews, all the Masons, and all the socialists – not only in France but in the entire Europe – and they made use of it to expand the campaign against the possible reaction of clericalism.”<sup>18</sup> Similarly, while describing the situation of Catholic Church, Fr. Jan Gnatowski claimed:

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13 B. Kumor, *Historia Kościoła*, pp. 258–259.

14 “Przegląd tygodniowy spraw kościelnych,” in: *PK* 1900, No. 51.

15 Priest Wiktor Wiecki (1867–1912), a Jesuit; he cooperated with *Przegląd Powszechny*. In 1910, he left the order. Wiecki died in the USA.

16 “Przegląd tygodniowy spraw kościelnych,” in: *PK* 1901, No. 29.

17 The rule of René Waldeck-Rousseau and his successor, Emil Combes (1902–1905) supported by the socialists meant a fierce anti-clerical tendency. Consequently, in July 1904, there was a severance of diplomatic relations between France and Rome. In 1905, the French Parliament passed the law on the separation of the Church and the State.

18 Alfred Dreyfus (1859–1935), an officer of the French Army, Dreyfus was of Jewish origin. In 1894, he was accused of espionage in favor of Germany. After busting and expulsion from the army, Dreyfus was transported to French Guiana in South America.



The majority of French House which always unites in public vote against the threat of Masonry and under pressure of anti-clerical opinion, every time the question refers to the fight with the Church, the House fulfills, like many times before, the socialist wishes. . . . The Jewish capitalists are least afraid of it since they have the socialist agitation in their hands.<sup>19</sup>

The rise and development of the international labor movement in the second half of the nineteenth century that based on the theory of class struggle developed by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, which presented the way to overthrow the existing regime and create a classless society, was a real challenge for the socioeconomic status quo of Europe.

The doctrine of class struggle rejected the conviction that social justice can be built on the goodwill of human and Christian commandment to love the neighbor. The doctrine indicated the necessity of the fight for justice. In 1889, the international labor congress which gathered in Paris, known as the Second International, called the workers to create their own socialist parties for the fulfillment of the political aims.<sup>20</sup>

In 1902, when discussing the question of the labor movement in *Przegląd Katolicki*, Fr. Jan Gnatowski stated that the social upheavals that occurred in Europe did not have an economical but political character. They were guided by the forces of the third parties, which used the conflicts between employers and employees for their own good. According to the author, the socialists did not aspire to improve workers' situation, because their paramount aim was to unleash military revolution and consequently to change the existing order. The driving force of the labor parties were not workers but the representatives of intelligentsia and capital: “Jewish capitalist and stock market press of the golden international stands in one line under the red banner, in part openly and in part implicitly. All the Jewish influence and power supports socialism.”<sup>21</sup> The author acknowledged “the red banner carried by the socialism but made from the money of the Jewish bankers” as the true enemy of Christianity.<sup>22</sup> The victory of socialism meant the fight with the Church. A Catholic newspaper *Posiew*

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The Dreyfus Affair lasted until 1906 and ended with his full exoneration. The affair unleashed an anti-Semitic campaign in France, dividing the society into two factions; “Reakcja katolicka i socjalizm,” in: *PK* 1899, No. 42.

19 “Przegląd tygodniowy spraw kościelnych,” in: *PK* 1901, No. 7.

20 J. Pajewski, *Historia powszechna 1871–1918*, Warszawa 1967, p. 45.

21 “Przegląd tygodniowy spraw kościelnych,” in: *PK* 1902, No. 10.

22 “Przegląd tygodniowy spraw kościelnych,” in: *PK* 1902, No. 10.

similarly assessed socialism, claiming that Jews were at its source and they wrote “red catechisms” conflicting with the teachings of the Church.<sup>23</sup>

According to Catholic journalists, the socialist movement, Masonry, and Jews formed “triple alliance” against the Church. *Przegląd Katolicki* claimed that Masonry, Judaism, and social democracy “is a well-known triple alliance . . . a partnership . . . known for a long time.”<sup>24</sup> In turn, *Polak-Katolik* wrote: “The triple alliance of Masonry, socialism, and Jews is not a morbid delusion, but the truest reality which all the Catholic Poles should acknowledge and face the triple alliance of the elements hostile to the Catholic principles with energetic, intelligently collective, Catholic solidarity.”<sup>25</sup> The image of Jews who aspired to rule the world at any cost often appeared in the writings of Fr. Ignacy Kłopotowski. The deliberations on the secret ties of Jews with the hostile activities against the Catholic Church and Christian morality referred to the reasoning of The Protocols of the Elders of Zion. However, in *Posiew* and *Polak-Katolik* such deliberations were not based on The Protocols, but *Książka o kahale* by Jakub Brafmann, a Jewish neophyte. *Książka o kahale* was first published in Russian in 1870 in Vilna and it was somewhat an anticipation of The Protocols. Jan Kucharzewski even states that the text of Jakub Brafmann “was sent to all the officials in the Russian Empire, as an informatory work for the officials, which educated them on the subject of Jewish danger.”<sup>26</sup> Polish translation entitled *Żydzi i kahaly* appeared in Lviv in 1874 (reprinted in 1874, 1876, and 1914).<sup>27</sup> Paul Zawadzki states that *Książka o kahale* was “one of the most frequently cited sources in the anti-Jewish literature written in the Church circles.”<sup>28</sup>

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23 “Pogadanka o socjalizmie,” *Posiew* 1908, No. 48.

24 “Filia masonerii międzynarodowej w Warszawie,” *PK* 1906, No. 40.

25 “Znamienne trójprzymierze,” in: *Polak-Katolik* 1908, No. 187. Similar arguments appeared in the Polish Catholic press in 1930s, which indicated mutual relations of socialism, communism, Masonry, and Jews. The tendencies and leftist aspirations in Spain, Mexico, or in France were interpreted as the result of the influence of Masonry, cf. por. N. Wojtowicz, “«Masoni» w polskiej prasie katolickiej 2. połowy lat 30-tych,” in: *Sztuka królewska. Historia i myśl wolnomularstwa na przestrzeni dziejów*, ed. N. Wojtowicz, Wrocław 1997, pp. 60–67.

26 J. Kucharzewski, “Rządy Aleksandra III,” p. 430, the author states that the text was published in Vilna in 1869.

27 “Żydzi panami świata!” in: *Posiew* 1910, No. 7; P. Zawadzki, “Protokoły mędrców Syjonu’ w polskiej myśli antysemickiej,” in: *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego* 1993, No. 3/4, p. 67.

28 P. Zawadzki, “Protokoły mędrców Syjonu,” p. 67.

*Posiew* and *Przegląd Katolicki* endlessly cited excerpts from *Książka o kahale* and used them to explain the current social issues. The statement that Jews were natural enemies of the Catholic Church was taken for granted. According to Jakub Brafmann, mocking priests, widening the gaps between the Christian denominations, superficial proselytism, eradication of the religious education from public life, monopolization of the trade, aspirations to take over the crucial posts in the advocacy, medicine, and economics, support for any social upheavals in order to accelerate the process of taking control over the world, seizure of every landed estate, and finally, breaking up the Christian family as the most effective measure to cause the severe crisis of the Christian society, were all the work of Jews.<sup>29</sup>

The press organs of the Eastern Orthodox Church also commented on the issue of Masonry. In 1905, *Kholmisko-Varshavskiy Yeparikhal'nyy Vestnik* considered Masonry as the force opposing Christianity:

For instance, Masons in France organize the persecutions of Catholics. They persecute not only Catholics but also entire Christians in general. They equally oppose the episcopate Church in England, Lutherans in Germany, and Protestant communities in the United States. Masonry hates the name of Christ. The Masons would like to eradicate Christianity.<sup>30</sup>

The newspaper associated the activity of Masons strictly with Jews, and it mentioned constitutional system and intelligentsia among the factors that influenced its development:

The influence of Masonry in Europe is powerful, and so it is because whole Europe is constitutional. Moreover, the constitutional order means unlimited and tyrannous control of the intelligentsia over the folk masses. . . . It is particularly important to notice that Jews constitute a very high percentage of Masonry. Rothschild and other rulers of the financial world are members of Masonic lodges. Masonry gathers everyone who hates Christianity.<sup>31</sup>

The author subsequently claimed that Masonry is a severe threat for Russia:

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29 “Program żydowski,” in: *Polak-Katolik*, 1909, a series of articles of priest Jan Władziński “Semici i semityzm,” in: *Polak-Katolik* 1914, No. 1–43; “Żydzi panami świata!” In: *Posiew* 1910, No. 7–9; “O czym marzą żydzy,” in: *Posiew* 1911, No. 3; “Żądania żydowskie,” in: *Posiew* 1911, No. 25; see also “Z żydowskiego świata,” in: *Myśl Katolicka* 1909, No. 42 and “Szczery rabin,” in: *GW* 1911, No. 12.

30 “Masonstvo v Rossii,” in: *KhVyv* 1905, No. 23.

31 “Masonstvo v Rossii,” in: *KhVyv* 1905, No. 23.

Masonry is a global organization. It already reigned in many countries; now it is spreading in Russia. Godlessness and infidelity are becoming common among the Russian intelligentsia. Therefore, one can predict that Masonry will find many followers in Russia if it already has not. The chasm between the Russian Orthodox nation and godless intelligentsia becomes deeper and wider.<sup>32</sup>

*Kholmско-Varshavskiy Yeparkhial'nyy Vestnik* added to this image one more element. In 1905, after Russian defeat in the Battle of Tsushima (May 27–28, 1905), the newspaper published in its July issue the article “Zydowskie pochodzenie Japończyków” (The Jewish Origin of the Japanese). The author quoted a French scholar, who argued that Japanese were descendants of the Israelitic tribes, which after leaving India filtered in Japanese islands through the Asian continent. Furthermore, the author claimed that “ancient images preserved in the mikado palace in the form of rolls held in boxes made from the camphor tree present the scenes in which one can easily recognize figures of Jewish type,” and besides, “numerous holidays of the Shintoists coincident with Jewish holidays, many of their ceremonies are identical to the Jewish ones.”<sup>33</sup> In conclusion, the author informed that another scholar, this time an English one, also tried to prove the validity of the theory of the Semitic origin of the Japanese.

The subject of Masonry as a Jewish instrument in the fight against Christianity appeared more and more frequently in the intensifying Russian political chaos and social upheavals. In 1912, the Orthodox clergyman, Piotr Kurkiewicz claimed in *Kholmский народный листок* that:

All the miseries of our socio-religious life that we have observed in the recent years, religious and moral corruption, hooliganism of the leftist press, and horrible fight with the education of the Eastern Orthodox Church also in the State Duma, turn out to be nothing else than the fulfillment of the Jewish program.<sup>34</sup>

The authors of the articles in the newspapers also claimed that Masonry conducted a fight against God and the Eastern Orthodox Church for a long time.<sup>35</sup>

At the time, the press was considered as an incredibly dangerous tool of Jewish and Masonic influence on society. Particularly in the period after 1905, when the press became a mass instrument of communication and played an essential

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32 “Masonstvo v Rossii,” in: KhVyv 1905, No. 23.

33 KhVyv 1905, No. 27.

34 “Yevreyskaya sila,” in: Khnl 1912, No. 14; cf. also “Mezhdunarodnyy yevreyskiy sojuz,” in: L 1912, No. 16.

35 “Masonstvo i yego proiskhozhdenie,” in: Khnl 1912, No. 5.

role in informing and forming opinions about the economic, social, and political issues.<sup>36</sup> On the one hand, the newspapers addressed to the village folk consolidated and praised patriarchal ties and relations that existed in the traditional scheme: manor house — parish — thatch, on the other hand, the newspapers tried to teach the folk reading, housekeeping, and to explain various phenomena of the world, thereby playing the role of the national education system.

In the Catholic newspapers mentioned above, there were frequently pieces of information about the detrimental impact of “Jewish” and “Judaized” press. It was perceived as a profoundly dangerous and destructive factor since it enabled Jews to use various social techniques to manipulate the public opinion.<sup>37</sup>

Equally frequent and very critical were the articles about “the Jewish press” in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. *Przegląd Katolicki* often attacked the Viennese newspapers, which they perceived for various reasons as Jewish. *Przegląd Katolicki* accused such newspapers of dishonesty, blasphemy, and indignation.<sup>38</sup> Discussing the Viennese press in 1902, Fr. Jan Gnatowski claimed that part of the “Jewish” press it was “aggressively anti-Catholic,” another part “unfriendly, bland and deprived of ethical value.”<sup>39</sup> In turn, *Polak-Katolik* wrote about the Jewish captivity, in which Austria found itself, as the public opinion remained under the overwhelming influence of the press, almost entirely of Jewish character. The situation looked similar in Hungary and Galicia. According to the newspaper,

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36 J. Myśliński, “Prasa polska w dobie powstaniowej,” in: J. Łojek, J. Myśliński, W. Władysław, *Dzieje prasy polskiej*, Warszawa 1988, p. 87.

37 For instance, in 1881, *PK* expressed outrage because of the text published in *Gazeta Handlowa*, No. 208, published by Rudolf Okręt. The text on the decline of the papacy was interpreted as anti-ecclesiastical, and primarily, as antipapal. *Przegląd Katolicki* called *Gazeta Handlowa* an organ of “our trading Jewry.” *Izraelita* was offended by this remark as it claimed that this newspaper never identified itself as a Jewish one. Hence, due to the article in *Gazeta Handlowa*, the Jews (“more educated ones”) accused the newspaper that the antipapal statements were a misunderstanding and harmed the image of Jews. *PK* responded that it was commonly known that the press organs were not mouthpieces of individuals, but certain groups that stood behind the editor of the newspaper, and in the case of *Gazeta Handlowa*, these organs did not consist of Christians. *PK* 1881, No. 40 and 44.

38 “Gazeciarstwo żydowskie i walka z nim antysemityzmu bezwyznaniowego,” in: *PK* 1885, No. 14 and “Przegląd tygodniowy spraw kościelnych,” in: *PK* 1900, No. 8 and 28.

39 “Przegląd tygodniowy spraw kościelnych,” in: *PK* 1902, No. 6.

Jewish press, printing-houses, and bookshops disseminated the publications that undermined the Christian faith and ethic.<sup>40</sup>

At the turn of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, the Church was well aware of the role played by the press in terms of influencing broader and broader circles of the society and of the fact that press was a tool in the hands of various political groups, whose manifestos departed far from the Christian concepts. Particularly after 1905, some priests who were engaged in the social and educational activity took a decisive stand against the press, which — according to them — rejected Christian values in the social life. In December 1906, the participants of the first conference of the bishops of the Province of Warsaw decided to “draw clergymen’s attention to the spreading influence of evil or even blasphemous papers.”<sup>41</sup>

The same year, in the article “Słów kilka tyczących się szczególnie działalności i postępowania kapłanów w czasach obecnych” (A Few Words on the Particular Activity and Behavior of the Clergymen in our Times) published in *Przegląd Katolicki*, Fr. Marceł Ciemniewski claimed that clergyman being a social activist should counteract the influence of “the Judaized press.” Ciemniewski even called the clergymen to stop the subscribing and supporting the press: “With great astonishment, I encountered quite often at the most uprights clergymen various texts that were distinctly hostile toward the Church.”<sup>42</sup> According to Ciemniewski, Jewish journalists caused a “damage to our society a thousand times greater” than regular smalltown Jews. Under their leadership, the press led to depravation, provided half-truths, weakened the moral influence and authority of Christianity, laughing at “its lofty and beautiful principles.”<sup>43</sup>

In 1908, *Polak-Katolik* defined *Mysł Niepodległa* edited by Andrzej Niemojewski as “black-red Jewish-Mason rag” and wrote: “Intents of black-red moral bandits are too transparent and our Polish and Catholic nation has enough strength to repulse those endless attempts and not to fall into a trap, laid by our biggest enemies.”<sup>44</sup> It is necessary to note that press called Jewish included all the newspapers, which presented an opinion on social issues that differed from

40 “W niewoli żydowskiej,” in: *Polak-Katolik* 1908, No. 142; “Jak żydzi zawojowali Austrię?” In: *Polak-Katolik* 1909, No. 27.

41 Hospes [A. J. Nowowiejski], *Konferencje episkopatu prowincji warszawskiej 1906–1918*, Włocławek 1927, p. 11.

42 *PK* 1906, No. 3/4.

43 *PK* 1906, No. 3/4.

44 “Odprowa czarnym i rudym,” in: *Polak-Katolik* 1908, No. 145.

the doctrine of social Catholicism forming in the Polish lands at the time. It was explicitly expressed in the conflict between the clergy and the Stanisław Staszic Society of Agricultural Circles created by the circles which were in opposition to The National-Democratic Party.

As Stanisław Gajewski notes, the conflict mainly resulted from the fact that the Staszic group and *Zaranie* group – a peasant newspaper that propagated and organized Staszic circles – rejected the idea of any patronage, particularly patronage of the Church over the social activity in the country.<sup>45</sup> As soon as 1908, bishop Kazimierz Ruszkiewicz acknowledged the Staszic circles as detrimental. In fight with the *Zaranie* group, priests often raised the argument that *Zaranie* established relations with Progressive Democratic Union – a movement supported by Masonry.<sup>46</sup> Ludwik Hass wrote that the entire Polish Freemasonry was really interested in the leftist faction of the peasant movement in the Kingdom of Poland, and it even actively participated in its creation. Maksymilian Migłuj-Malinowski, the editor of *Zaranie*, was a member of a lodge.<sup>47</sup> Between 1911 and 1912, the conflict reached its culmination. The fight assumed aggressive forms in almost all the dioceses. The Bishop of Kielce, Augustyn Łosiński, reportedly burnt copies of *Zaranie* at the pulpit and Łosiński ordered to boycott its followers, even in the social context. The priests were forced to refuse to provide them with the priestly service until they cease to subscribe and read the newspaper.<sup>48</sup> In 1911, Stanisław Zdzitowiecki, the bishop of the Diocese of Kujawy and Kalisz in a pastoral letter on “reading subversive writings, newspapers, leaflets, and books” addressed the followers as follows: “Dear members of the diocese, in the pastoral letters, we warned you already a couple of times against the pernicious activity of writings, newspapers, and book prepared by the people deprived of faith, who are full of hatred toward the Church and its servants.”<sup>49</sup> The police authorities reported to the Head of the Department of Foreign Denominations in the Ministry of Interior, Jewgienij Mienkin, that the fight between the clericalist and “peasant

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45 S. Gajewski, *Spoleczna działalność duchowieństwa w Królestwie Polskim 1905–1914*, Lublin 1990, p. 185. For the information about Andrzej Niemojowski see L. Hass, *Wolnomularze polscy w kraju i na świecie 1821–1999. Słownik biograficzny*, Warszawa 1999, p. 341.

46 S. Gajewski, *Spoleczna działalność duchowieństwa*, pp. 178–179.

47 L. Hass, *Ambicje, rachuby, rzeczywistość. Wolnomularstwo w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej 1905–1928*, Warszawa 1984, p. 86; L. Hass, *Wolnomularze polscy w kraju i na świecie*, pp. 301–302.

48 S. Gajewski, *Spoleczna działalność duchowieństwa*, p. 186.

49 RIGA, f. 821, op. 128, d. 416, card 1a.

activists” particularly aggravated in the Dioceses of Kalisz and Kielce. The priests called at the pulpits not to read *Zaranie*, which expressed the idea of progress in the country, and its manifesto was reflected by the motto: “we are on our own and for ourselves, without a priest and a master.” The attention was also drawn to the fact that the development of the movement associated with *Zaranie* could lead to the creation of a new sect within Christianity.<sup>50</sup> This remark, incidentally, overly exaggerated, related to the well-known in 1905–1907 affair of the Mariavites, the priests who refused obedience to the Church hierarchy.

In 1912, in a weekly column “Gawędy Starego Matusa” (Tales of Old Matus) published in *Posiew*, while making a review of the newspapers subscribed to by the readers of Staszic circles, Fr. Ignacy Kłopotowski wrote:

For instance, a particular reading room by “the circle,” as it admits itself in the report, subscribes newspapers such as *Zaranie* (of course it does!), *Mysł Niepodległa* (official organ of Polish Masonry edited by Mr. Andrzej Niemojewski, an open Mason and a blasphemer, with criminal record for the blasphemy against God), *Prawda* (the Jewish-secular organ, which incessantly attacks the Christian faith, the pope, and the bishops), *Izraelita* (a distinctly Jewish newspaper, published by Josek Wassercug for the Jews), *Wolne Słowo* (a Jewish newspaper, published by a Jew Blumenthal; this Jew was baptized — by the way he adopted the Calvinist faith that Jews usually adopt for financial benefits — but he did not change his beliefs, and he remained an implacable enemy of the Christianity), *Kurier Lubelski* (a newspaper published by the free-thinkers from Lublin and Jews . . . It is the poorest and maybe the silliest newspaper published in Polish, however, the Masons and the Jews insistently support it, because it bitterly criticizes the religion and the saint Church and hurls abuse at the pope and the bishops), *Kultura Polska* (the newspaper published by a leader of the Polish distrusters, “master” Aleksander Świętochowski). Here are the newspapers, read by almost all . . . Staszic circles. . . The education of *Zaranie* group, as we see, is clearly of Jewish-secular nature!<sup>51</sup>

Concluding, Fr. Ignacy Kłopotowski claimed:

One can claim almost undoubtedly that the circles of *Zaranie* group readers of *Kultura*, *Mysł Niepodległa*, *Prawda*, etc. will soon produce the entire masses of halfwits, idiots, peasants who will be mentally and morally off the rails, drunks, lechers, and bandits. No wonder. An intelligent person without faith often becomes a brute, let alone a backward simpleton without religion.<sup>52</sup>

In the words of the columnist, one clearly senses a concern about losing the influence on the consciousness of the simple folk. The social activity of the Church

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50 RIGA, cards 14 and 14v.

51 *Posiew* 1912, No. 9.

52 *Posiew* 1912, No. 9.



after 1905, particularly distinct in the field of education, made the clergy – conscious of the many-centuries-long Church tradition in this field – feel that it has the reatest predisposition to educate people. Hence, any competition within this domain was treated as an activity aimed at hurting the mission of the Church. In the judgment of some clergymen, this activity was inspired by Jews, and it was conducted by Jews, Masons, and secular people for the bane of the Christian folk. The juxtaposition of “Jews” and “Masonry” became a kind of brachylogy and, as Ludwik Hass notes, “it was an instrument of comprehension of the complicated reality, it began to fill a role of convenient . . . universal principle that explained the course of political and social events,” and it was mostly accepted by the classes and strata removed from their privileged positions.<sup>53</sup>

## **Fight for the Nationalization of Trade and Industry**

### **Fight for Sobriety**

As Walery Przyborowski states on the basis of oral accounts, Zygmunt Szczęsny Feliński, the Archbishop of Warsaw, used the following words in April, 1862, during the meeting with the representatives of the Whites and the right faction of the Reds:<sup>54</sup>

Jews were sent to Poland by God so that they were a gutter that channels in the age of stock exchange, trade, and swindles the whole dirt that shall not sully the clean knightly Polish hands which are destined for other purposes.

Artur Eisenbach argues that the statement of the archbishop proved that Feliński was an enemy of the emancipation of Jews and an enemy of assimilation tendencies.<sup>55</sup> Without deeper research into the validity of such an assessment, it is necessary to note that the statement of Zygmunt Szczęsny Feliński seemingly expressed the concerns shared by some of the Polish opinion-forming circles toward the promise of changes within the social and economic life. After all, Jews themselves began to be blamed for the painful consequences of these changes. Such phenomena as drinking or general corruption of morality were interpreted

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53 L. Hass, *Wolnomularstwo w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej w XVIII i XIX wieku*, Wrocław 1982, p. 11.

54 [W. Przyborowski], *Historiya dwóch lat 1861–1862 przez Z.L.S.*, part. 2: Rok 1862, Vol. 4, Kraków 1895, p. 89; A. Eisenbach, *Emancypacja Żydów na ziemiach polskich 1785–1870 na tle europejskim*, Warszawa 198, p. 494.

55 A. Eisenbach, *Emancypacja Żydów*, p. 494.

and explained by some priests as resulting from the Jewish activity in the economic sphere and their dominance in the domain of commercial exchanges.

A considerable percentage of Jews in the alcoholic beverage market was interpreted even as their ingratitude for the good received in the Polish lands, but at the same time, it was pretty obvious how the Christian community's tendency looked in this matter. In *Kazania o pijaństwie* (Sermons on Drunkenness) published in 1862 in Warsaw, Fr. Karol Mikoszewski claimed:<sup>56</sup>

I want you to take notice of a considerable part of the population which have profited for many centuries from the kindness of the nation and compensated for it with the evil. I want to talk about Jews. It is a shame for a Christian that those who do not believe in Jesus Christ, the role model of perfection, refrain from alcoholic beverages. It is so hard to find a drunk Jew, even though it is a Jew who most often trades it! What a shame and disgrace for a Christian, who often lies drunk under a bench in a Jewish house.<sup>57</sup>

The Church considered the fight with drinking as an essential measure to maintain Christian morality at a satisfactory level, but also as a condition for vitality and survival of the Polish element. Edward Walewander claims that the campaigns for sobriety constituted one of the elements of the fight against pauperization, particularly in the villages with an ethnically mixed population.<sup>58</sup> The clergy frequently demanded the inns to be closed on Sundays and holidays. At the turn of the sixties, among the Dioceses in the Kingdom of Poland, the one in Płock was the most active in the fight with alcoholism. Already in the second half of the fifties, the authorities suspected that sobriety fraternities set themselves political goals and forbade people to form them.<sup>59</sup> In 1858, several priests had to pay fine for their eager campaign for sobriety, some were moved to more impoverished parishes and removed from the posts of the parish priests, finally some could no longer perform the duties of the priests.<sup>60</sup>

Due to obvious reasons, the January Uprising period was not favorable to the development of the campaign for sobriety. Moreover, according to the authors of the compilation of the sources about the Jewish participation in January Uprising, the campaign for sobriety – by all means desired from the

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56 Priest Karol Mikoszewski (1832–1886), a curate of the Parish of Saint Alexander in Warsaw, Mikoszewski edited undercover *Głos Kapłana Polskiego* in 1862–1864, he was a member of Central National Committee (1863).

57 K. Mikoszewski, *Kazania o pijaństwie*, Warszawa 1862, p. 63.

58 E. Walewander, *Wychowanie chrześcijańskie w nauczaniu i praktyce Kościoła katolickiego na ziemiach polskich w 2. połowie XIX w.*, Lublin 1994, p. 127.

59 E. Walewander, *Wychowanie chrześcijańskie w nauczaniu*, p. 129.

60 E. Walewander, *Wychowanie chrześcijańskie w nauczaniu*, p. 129.

social perspective – violated the interests of part of the Jewish population and increased its distrust toward the Christian population.<sup>61</sup> It is not necessary to emphasize that such an atmosphere certainly strengthened the legitimacy of the clergy's accusations that Jews were responsible for making Christians drink and corrupting them. It did not change the fact that, as Józef Burszta wrote,

at the time when there were no other institutions in the country that would satisfy the needs of the peasants (loan facility or shop, etc.), all these functions were performed by an innkeeper. Selling vodka was just one of his numerous functions. This is what gave him a real advantage in the country and gave him all the power over it. . . . The innkeeper was everything for the peasants: a tavern-keeper, a shopkeeper, a merchant, a banker (a usurer), a friend, an advisor, a trusted actual master of their will, a physician, a servant, etc., etc. The innkeeper simultaneously kept all the economic life in his hands.<sup>62</sup>

Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, the Catholic press considered a Jewish inn as a source of corruption of any possible kind. *Przegląd Katolicki* wrote that:

The tradition is that the innkeeper teaches village children theft, as he buys eggs, poultry, and small things which they stole from their parents, while he helps the adults to commit this noble trade as an agent in the robbery of horses, and he makes any inn a black market, a cave of usury and a slave trade.<sup>63</sup>

Apolinary Kovalnitskiy wrote in a similar way in *Kholmско-Varshavskiy Yeparkhaľnyy Vestnik*:

I have lived for many years in the villages full of Jews and I have never seen a drunk Jew, but also I have never met a Jew who would consider as a sin leasing of the inn in order to make the poor peasants drink.<sup>64</sup>

According to Kovalnitskiy, the activity of the Jews led to numerous tragedies of people. In his eyes, Jews were teachers of fraud and lechery.

Mutual connections and obligations of the members of a country or small-town communities toward a local Jew certainly had a restraining effect on the

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61 *Żydzi a powstanie styczniowe. Materiały i dokumenty*, ed. A. Eisenbach, D. Fajnhauz, A. Wein, Warszawa 1963, p. 7.

62 J. Burszta, *Spółeczeństwo i karczma. Propinacja, karczma i sprawa alkoholizmu w spółeczeństwie polskim XIX wieku*, Warszawa 1951, pp. 173 and 175–176.

63 “Żydowskie jasełka,” in: *PK* 1911, No. 8; see also “Żyd-szkodnik w oświacie na wsi,” in: *Posiew* 1910, No. 37, “Pogadanka z czytelnikami,” in: *GW* 1911, No. 6 and “Czem są żydzi wśród nas,” No. 8.

64 “Yevrei nashego vremeni v Yerusalime i vzglyad na sovremennyy nam yevreyskiy vopros,” in: *KhVyv* 1896, No. 24.

dissemination of sobriety among those communities. In 1897, in his study on the Jews in the Kingdom of Poland, Vladimir Iosifovich Gurko claimed that Jews evaded the laws which limit their trade of alcoholic beverages by creating “secret inns,” which were hard to uncover by the authorities, mainly due to the support of the local communities.<sup>65</sup> The author of the study *Yevrei v Privislinskom kraye* (Jews in Poland) also took note of the difficulties in the fights with the Jewish vodka business. He wrote that neither police nor tax authorities were able to counteract Jews who sold alcohol in the countryside, because they often conducted their business based on the charters bought with a Christian’s name, who were often their insolvent debtors, or Jews managed it without the charters at all.<sup>66</sup> It is necessary to add that the landed nobility were entitled to produce and sell alcohol in the Kingdom of Poland until 1898. After 1898, the Kingdom introduced the national monopoly for selling alcoholic drinks, which meant that the state leased out the monopoly of selling the alcoholic drinks.<sup>67</sup>

The fight of the clergy with alcoholism intensified in 1880s. For instance, the Church created Christian inns in the villages and towns. Authorities saw in it “a new intrigue of the clergy and the intelligentsia.”<sup>68</sup> Such inns appeared in Nowe Miasto nad Pilicą, Mogielnica, Grójec, Odrzywół, Zakroczym, and Sochaczew.<sup>69</sup> The inns prohibited dancing, smoking cigars, and playing cards and dice. Staff served tea, beer, hot and cold meals instead of vodka. Besides, one could read the Catholic press there. Such inns played an important role in the market villages, where the folk would drink the most.<sup>70</sup>

An ardent supporter and propagator of the activity in this field was a Capuchin monk, father Franciszek Szymanowski.<sup>71</sup> In his booklet *Braterska przestroga* (A

65 W. R. [V. I. Gurko], *Ocherki Privislaniya*, Moscow 1897, pp. 109–110.

66 P. I., *Yevrei v Privislinskom kraye. Kharakteristika ikh deyatel'nosti sredi khristianskogo naseleniya etogo kraya*, Petersburg 1892, p. 46.

67 *Historia państwa i prawa Polski*, Vol. 4: *Od uwłaszczenia do odrodzenia państwa*, ed. J. Bardach et al., Warszawa 1982, pp. 113 and 206.

68 *Sytuacja polityczna Królestwa Polskiego w świetle tajnych raportów naczelników warszawskiego okręgu żandarmerii z lat 1867–1872 i 1878*, ed. S. Wiech, W. Caban, Kielce 1999, p. 52.

69 W. Kołodziej, “Gospody chrześcijańskie,” *Problemy Alkoholizmu* 1996, No. 7 (484), pp. 10–11.

70 E. Walewander, *Wychowanie chrześcijańskie w nauczaniu*, p. 131.

71 Stanisław Szymanowski, in the order Franciszek (1831–1893). Szymanowski propagated and formed the sobriety fraternities; Szymanowski was one of the initiators of Christian trade in the Kingdom of Poland, cf. J. L. Gadacz, *Słownik polskich kapucynów*, Vol. 2: Ł–Z, Wrocław 1986, p. 340.

brotherly warning), which gave exact guidelines on how to create and organize such Christian inns, Szymanowski describes Polish province as follows:

for the lower class of our folk . . . due to the lack of a more appropriate place, there are inns and taverns everywhere in which the folk . . . gathers in large numbers, and the stinky smell of the alcoholic beverages and suggestions of a Jew servant made many people get drunk without intent and become worse than an animal as due to the excessive drinking they deprive themselves of reason, the God's gift.<sup>72</sup>

However, such an activity was only a drop in the ocean of the needs. Much of it often depended on the assiduousness of individual priests but also on the local social, economic, and political circumstances. For instance, in March 1881, Fr. Józef Urbański, the dean of Deanery of Radom, reported with regret in a letter to the Consistory of the Diocese of Sandomierz that his request to the administrative authorities, regarding the change of the date of the market in Radom from Sunday to Monday, was rejected. Urbański wrote:

At the moment, as the authorities more and more often call us, clergymen, to guard the folk's morality, I allow myself to present the needs and obstacles in our activity in the parish of Radom and in Radom itself before the authorities. The main and public evil is the market that takes place on Sundays, as it gives reasons for theft, fraud, and drunkenness.<sup>73</sup>

Furthermore, Urbański indicated the reasons for this situation, its consequences, and proposed a solution:

The parish members themselves . . . demand that the date of the market be moved from Sunday to another day, and they frequently expressed it in request to me so that I would strive for it. . . . We, the priests, are obliged due to our profession to rebuke the Sunday markets and the parishioners' participation in them, and thereby, we are involuntarily in opposition to the authority, which introduced, tolerates and accepts such markets. . . . Meanwhile, the pious parishioners are occupied with the service on Sunday, and then the Jews zealously and slyly conduct roaring trade with peasants during the service.<sup>74</sup>

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72 X. F. K. [S. Szymanowski], *Braterska przestroga i rada mająca na celu wytepienie u ludu naszego złych dążności wywołanych przez zubożenie, wynikające z nad- używania trunków rozpalających . . . podana przez X. F. K.*, Warszawa 1881, pp. 7–8.

73 ADSand, Akta kościoła parafialnego św. Jana w Radomiu 1845–1929, the letter of March 3, 1881.

74 ADSand, Akta kościoła parafialnego św. Jana w Radomiu 1845–1929, the letter of March 3, 1881.

In another letter, Józef Urbański informed the Consistory that “the superiors of the parishes of Orthodox and Evangelical faiths reported similar demands to change of the market day.”<sup>75</sup>

The argumentation presented by Fr. Józef Urbański did not cause expected results, since already in February 1884, Urbański wrote that: “my efforts to move the market in Radom from Sunday to Monday did not bring the results on the basis of the resolution of the Governorate government of May 22, 1880.” Moreover, he added that “some motives that influenced the decision are false, for instance, that the market does not interrupt the service, as the hours of the market are fixed.”<sup>76</sup> In this situation, Fr. Józef Urbański asked for support in this matter Arkadyi Toltchanov, the Governor of Radom (1883–1887), who accepted Urbański’s arguments and promised the possibility of reconsideration of the case.

Apparently, the tradition of a Sunday market was not a representative phenomenon, because already in 1844 in the Kingdom of Poland the Sunday markets in cities and villages were changed into the weekdays markets by virtue of the ukase of July 17 as a result of the intervention of the Church authorities. As Daniel Olszewski states, based on the source materials from the 1850s, the markets were gradually moved from Sunday and “by the mid-nineteenth century, the threat, caused by the trade and commerce to the religious life of a small city, was neutralized.”<sup>77</sup> However, tradition and habits sometimes overcame the law, and the markets continued to take place on Sundays in some cities.<sup>78</sup>

Clergy’s fight with the drunkenness was not only an extremely strenuous activity that required much patience, but also a dangerous mission. The author of *Jewrei w Priwislanskom kraje* even claimed that: “anywhere a priest tries to preach against the drunkenness, Jews certainly interfere somehow with it.”<sup>79</sup> A parish priest of Bogoria in the Governorate of Radom, Fr. Jakub Burzyński

75 ADSand, Akta kościoła parafialnego św. Jana w Radomiu 1845–1929, the letter of March 4, 1881.

76 ADSand, Akta kościoła parafialnego św. Jana w Radomiu 1845–1929, the letter of February 14, 1884.

77 D. Olszewski, “Życie religijne małego miasta w XIX i początkach XX wieku. Zarys problematyki badawczej,” in: *Miasteczka polskie w XIX–XX wieku. Z dziejów formowania się społeczności*, ed. R. Kołodziejczyk, Kielce 1992, pp. 100–101.

78 In 1868, a priest from vicinities of Łódź wrote in a letter to *Przegląd Katolicki*: “How often do our people earn money in an undignified manner? They go to a market or a fair on Sunday instead of going to church. . .,” “Korespondencja Przeglądu Katolickiego z pod Łodzi Ks. S.,” in: *PK 1868*, No. 4.

79 P. I., *Yevrei v Privislinskom kraje*, p. 50.

encountered some severe troubles due to his sermon preached on May 1881. Fr. Jakub Burzyński regarded as his duty to warn the faithful against everything that could prove harmful to their morality, and he indicated Jews as a source of demoralization:

Parishioners! I advise you not to host Jews at your houses from the Saint John's Eve on, since they spread the evil like: quarrels, robberies, drunkenness, and immorality, they teach your children to smoke cigarettes, drink vodka, steal various things from you, and bring them to Jewish houses, and you will not guard or prevent it; you had better receive rental from the Christians, let Jews live with other Jews, and the Christians should live with the Christians.<sup>80</sup>

In a report to the Governor of Radom, Prince Vasily Andreyevich Dolgorukov, the Head of District of Sandomierz called the entire occurrence as a very inappropriate and reprehensible. Mainly since it happened during the period of anti-Jewish upheavals in Russia, he further stated that even though on the basis of numerous meetings with Fr. Jakub Burzyński, the Head of District of Sandomierz became convinced that Burzyński is a slow-witted man and thereby the Head did not assume that Burzyński could consciously and out of his initiative incited Christian people against the Jews, however, the fact that “he preached such a sermon at the pulpit along with the fact that the local people were religious fanatics” could result in upheavals. Therefore, it was a sufficient justification for the punishment of Burzyński.<sup>81</sup> Making his statement before the authorities of the district, Jakub Burzyński claimed that he fell victim to revenge of a Jew. The parish priest of Bogoria was liable to removal from the post and closure in a monastery. In the end, the Governor-General of Warsaw, Piotr Albedinski, demanded from the Fr. Józef Janicki, the administrator of the Archdiocese of Radom, to rebuke Jakub Burzyński.<sup>82</sup>

In Żelechów, in the Governorate of Siedlce, the fight with the drunkenness conducted by the Fr. Bieńkowski, who came there in 1883, purportedly encountered the animosity of the Jewish population. Initially, they allegedly threatened him to set him on fire or even to kill him in order to intimidate him, when it proved unsuccessful, the Jews purportedly poisoned a couple of his good horses.<sup>83</sup> According to *Varshavskiy Dnevnik*, the Jews who were tavern-keepers in Końskowola allegedly started the similar ruthless struggle against a curate Fr.

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80 APRad, Kancelaria Gubernatora Radomskiego, sig. 200, p. 21.

81 APRad, Kancelaria Gubernatora Radomskiego, sig. 200, pp. 2–3 and 17–18.

82 APRad, Kancelaria Gubernatora Radomskiego, sig. 200, p. 14.

83 P. I., *Yevrei v Privislinskom kraye*, p. 50.

Władysław Frankowski who came there in 1884. Frankowski's sermons purportedly limited the number of taverns from twenty-four to just a few and improved the financial and moral situation of the parishioners. In order to preserve such a profitable business, the alcohol traders bribed Marianna Grzegorzek to publicly accuse Fr. Władysław Frankowski of refusing to administer the sacraments to her because she served in an Orthodox house. As a result of the accusation, Fr. Władysław Frankowski was removed from his post and placed in a monastery. However, the entire intrigue soon came to light and Władysław Frankowski took up the position of a curate.<sup>84</sup>

According to those facts, the fight of the clergy with the drunkenness did everywhere encounter everywhere such a reaction of Jews. These were indeed not very frequent cases. However, they contributed to the very unfavorable opinion about the role of Jews in the trade of alcoholic beverages. One cannot forget that the group of factors that hindered the fight with the plague of alcoholism included the fact that the alcohol trade had a character of organized crime due to specific reasons. Lower prices of vodka in the Prussian and Austrian Partitions and a few times lower excise duty in the Kingdom of Poland caused the increase of smuggling activity. Specialized gang of smugglers, which mainly consisted of Jews and poor peasants, were created in the borderlands.<sup>85</sup> The gangs of smugglers, which had even up to one hundred people, some of whom were armed, sometimes participated in bloody skirmishes with the border guards. As a result, the number of guards was constantly increased.<sup>86</sup> In such a situation, the campaign for sobriety and exhortation to avoid the inns violated the interests of the mediators (not only Jewish ones) and deprived Jewish traders of the source of profit. For instance, in 1887, Jews submitted a complaint against a parish priest of Krocice, Fr. Kucharski, to Nikolai Ivanenko, the Governor of Kielce, in which Jews accused him of persuading peasants not to keep relations with Jews and of disseminating the rumors about their eviction. However, these accusations were not proven. A report of the Head of the District stated that the accused priest did not incite his parishioners against the Jews, and it drew the Governor's attention

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84 *Varshavskiy Dnevnik* 1885, No. 244.

85 H. Dominiczak, *Granice państwa i ich ochrona na przestrzeni dziejów 966–1996*, Warszawa 1997, p. 210; J. Burszta, *Spółeczeństwo i karczma*, pp. 26–27. In 1912, *GW* ("Plaga wsi i miast naszych," No. 1) wrote that Jews "after all most willingly sell smuggled vodka, that they praised as better than the governmental one and they even make the juveniles drink it."

86 H. Dominiczak, *Granice państwa i ich ochrona*, p. 210; Burszta, *Spółeczeństwo i karczma*, p. 27.



to the fact that a Jew, accused of the smuggling and illegal sale of the spirit, lived in the village. The fault of Fr. Kucharski consisted in the fact that he persuaded the faithful at the pulpit not to visit places after the service where they spent their hard-earned money, and thereby they contributed to the devastation of their household and eventually to the increase of anti-Jewish attitudes.<sup>87</sup>

The Church was well aware of the fact that the question of alcoholism was a very complex social issue. However, its actions in this matter could not assume a broader and more uniform character. Frequently, these actions depended on the involvement of individual parish priests. As shown above, the fight with the addiction often limited to exhortation of the faithful to avoid the inns and not to let out their houses to Jews. They indeed were not always successful. However, there were also cases of the peasants who adopted at the communal and village meetings resolutions that prohibited the householders from letting out the immovable properties to Jews under the threat of fine.

For instance, in 1880s, such resolutions were adopted in the village Stawin or in the community of Bezwola in the Governorate of Siedlce, in Brzozówka in the Governorate of Radom, and in the community of Złotniki in the Governorate of Kielce.<sup>88</sup> Moreover, in the subsequent years, the Catholic press informed about similar cases and simultaneously encouraged the community meetings to adopt such resolutions.<sup>89</sup> Even Fr. Kajetan Szymkiewicz in *Kazania adwentowe, wielkopostne i nauki majowe* (Sermons for the Advent, Fasting, and May Teachings) published in 1893 incited his parishioners:

You can expel them, since they have not yet their own houses, and it is better to pay several rubles to those householders, who allow in their houses the infidels that make the folk drink as an equivalent of the rent they received from the infidels, as you should know that your children steal more from you than you would pay for that.<sup>90</sup>

The Orthodox clergy took similar steps when it came to the fight with “the national drunkenness.” Apart from instructing the folk in the sermons and talks about the serious consequences of abuse of the alcohol and awakening of parish

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87 APKiel, Kancelaria Gubernatora Kieleckiego, sig. 507.

88 P. I., *Yevrei v Privislinskim kraye*, pp. 47–48.

89 “Gawędy Starego Matusa,” in: *Posiew* 1909, No. 15 and 25; “Koszerne” żydki kupują u „gojów”, in *Posiew* 1912, No. 25; in: *Pogadanka z Czytelnikami*, in: *GW* 1912, No. 6; *Pogadanka z Czytelnikami*, in: *GW* 1913, No. 2; J. Bartyś, *Kółka rolnicze w Królestwie Polskim*, Warszawa 1974, p. 223.

90 K. Szymkiewicz, *Kazania adwentowe, wielkopostne i nauki majowe*, Warszawa [1893], p. 31.

fraternities in this matter, some clergymen opened groceries as they wanted to force “Jews secretly making the folk drink to leave the hamlets and villages and they reported of such cases to the administrative authority and asked it to remove Jews from the villages.”<sup>91</sup>

However, it seems that the campaign for expelling the Jews by the communal gatherings was not very popular, because it was a double-edged sword since it deprived of the source of profit those peasants who earned their living by renting the rooms and grounds to Jews. Besides, even some priests profited from renting the gardens to Jews.

In 1903, Fr. Ignacy Kłopotowski referred to this question in *Przegląd Katolicki*. In the article “Czy godzi się ogrody proboszczowskie wydzierżawiać żydom?” [Is It Right to Lease Out Parish Priests’ Gardens to Jews?], Kłopotowski claimed emphatically that no one should rent immovable properties to Jews, since these facts scandalized the faithful. Moreover, according to the author, it was possible that Jews would use such a lease without dignity and even organize human trafficking.<sup>92</sup> Fr. Antoni Kwiatkowski disputed with Fr. Kłopotowski in the article “Kapłan i stronnictwa” (A Clergyman and Parties).<sup>93</sup> Kwiatkowski wrote: “Therefore, not every Jew is evil. It is not appropriate to condemn everyone without exception. . . . We see such a tendency in the article mentioned above.” Kwiatkowski subsequently stated that inciting anti-Jewish attitudes by the clergyman, who conducted a socioeconomic activity, was a misconception: “Therefore, one can treat Jews as he wishes, since it may appeal to the party and support the brave energy of the clergyman?” Concluding, Kwiatkowski wrote:

It is probably dangerous to incite animosity toward Jews by means of generalization, because it arouses the unrestrained urge of hostility, it accustoms people to rationally ignore some social phenomena, so to speak mindfully, it authorizes them to solve some problems with violent measures. Finally, it is convenient to cover one’s inexperience, incompetence with somebody else’s malice. “They are guilty: we would have good lives but for them. . . and forever them. . .” It is not quite like that. Relatively explored life convinces us that it is not a Jew who is responsible for that, but rather extraordinary idleness of many, many people. . . . Seemingly, such a headline would be more appropriate: “Is It Right to Let Out Gardens to Evil People?” etc. However, in this case, the

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91 APLub, Chełmski Konsystorz Prawosławny, sig. 590, pp. 27 and 39–40v.

92 PK 1903, No. 38.

93 Priest Antoni Kwiatkowski (1861–1926) — a social activist, active in the educational and cultural fields.

party would not be satisfied. When we live up to see to come true that whoever appointed will sufficiently prove whether it is appropriate for the clergymen to belong to the party.<sup>94</sup>

The answer to the question that niggled Fr. Antoni Kwiatkowski was soon brought by the events that occurred within the political scene of the Kingdom of Poland after 1904 and to great extent encouraged part of Church circles to look for solutions that aimed at encompassing and guiding the social changes caused by new political conditions to the path compliant with Christian and national aspirations of the Church.

### **Toward an Economic Isolation**

The beginning of the twentieth century in the Kingdom of Poland brought increased discussion about the Jewish question in its economic aspect. In this context, one should mention a report of the Head of Governorate Executive of Military Police of Piotrków sent to the assistant of the Governor-General of Warsaw in September 1901. The sender informed that the Third Order of Saint Francis that existed in the Kingdom of Poland, is the only order whose organization embraced the entire country, set itself the goals of severe social character, apart from those of religious nature. The monks managed the order from monasteries of Częstochowa, Nowe Miasto, and Łomża.

One of the provisions of the order's charter — as the Head informed — recommended his members to fight the Jewish exploitation. More and more Catholics opened stores not only in cities, but also in hamlets and villages, and the priests at the pulpits exhorted the people to avoid Jews and not to buy at their stores. Moreover, the clergy refused to absolution and participation in the funerals of those who kept any relations with Jews. People who opened the stores were mostly pious parishioners or members of the Church service, for instance, organists.<sup>95</sup>

In 1905–1914, the clergy got more and more involved in social matters. According to Stanisław Gajewski, around forty percent of the priests — which is over a thousand people — worked in various social institutions. Indeed, not everyone engaged to the same extent, the sense of duty toward the society was sufficient for some of them, and others waited for the encouragement of the Church authorities. According to the scholar himself, most of the priests (60 %) “remained outside the current of social activism that was popular at the time. It

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94 PK 1904, No. 4.

95 AGAD, *Kancelaria Pomocnika Warszawskiego General-Gubernatora*, sig. 500, pp. 39–45.

resulted from a lack of preparation for such a profession, advanced age, and animosity toward any activity outside the Church.”<sup>96</sup>

In October 1905, the first meeting of the Committee of Social Work, appointed by the Archbishop Wincenty Chościak-Popiel, was held in the Archdiocese of Warsaw on the initiative of the Church authorities. Above all, this Committee wanted to improve the state of morality and protect against de-Christianization.<sup>97</sup> Also, in October 1905, *Przegląd Powszechny* of Krakow published by the Jesuits announced the opinion poll, in which it posed the question: “What are the particular goals that the Polish Catholicism has to achieve today?”<sup>98</sup> Various personas from Galicia and the Kingdom of Poland answered this question. For instance, some of them raised the Jewish question. Only one answer came from the Kingdom of Poland with the signature. It came from the Deputation of the Third Order Societies in the Kingdom of Poland. Its author was father Honorat Koźmiński.<sup>99</sup> In his statement, Koźmiński referred for instance to the economic aspect. Koźmiński stated that one could not trade in a pagan spirit, that is, trade cannot be only a way to achieve material profits. Thereby, for instance, the members of the Third Order in the Kingdom of Poland traded in order to protect the Christian community from the Jewish exploitation:

Therefore, one had to gather people, who would engage in the trade with dedication and get satisfied with a small profit, only to fulfill their basic needs, and at the same time they would help people to obtain the necessary things without being exploited by Jews and having moral influence on everyone who visits their stores.<sup>100</sup>

Koźmiński subsequently drew readers’ attention to the need to create Christian inns, which concededly had been founded before, but the authorities liquidated them because they belonged to Christians. However, even though, as father Honorat Koźmiński assured, there were inns, although not under the Christian name, they offered the faithful cheap and healthy meals, due to the safety they provided. Moreover, Koźmiński mentioned an increasing number of the Christian stores, and on the one hand, he emphasized the critical role of *Rola* weekly in their support, and on the other hand, the fact that “Jewish” newspapers did not say a word about their existence for their fear of the financial loss. The voice of

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96 S. Gajewski, *Spółeczna działalność duchowieństwa*, pp. 205–206.

97 S. Gajewski, *Spółeczna działalność*, pp. 31–33.

98 “Dzisiejsze zadania katolicyzmu w Polsce. Ankieta Przeglądu Powszechnego,” Kraków 1906, pp. 1–2.

99 Mazur, *Tygodnik „Myśl Katolicka”*, p. 143, fn.6.

100 “Dzisiejsze zadania katolicyzmu w Polsce,” p. 368.

father Honorat Koźmiński was to be a harbinger of the upcoming future when the fight for “nationalization” of the trade and industry reached its peak.

The animosity in the Polish-Jewish relations at the beginning of the twentieth century was particularly visible in the boycott of Jewish trade. A significant part of the clergy engaged in the social and political activity and sympathized with the manifesto of National Democrats, who proposed the boycott and who were the advocates of a resurgent stratum of Polish townspeople.<sup>101</sup>

Fr. Ignacy Kłopotowski exhorted to avoid Jewish stores and advocated the need to nationalize the trade and industry. His writings preached the conviction that can be summarized by the following slogan: “A Pole is a Catholic, a non-Catholic is not a Pole.”<sup>102</sup> In 1905, Kłopotowski wrote: “There should be a Polish-Christian store in every village, and each community ought to have its teachers, physicians, junior surgeons, and pharmacists. Each community should have the appropriate number of tailors, capmakers, shoemakers, carpenters, and so on.”<sup>103</sup> Similarly to father Honorat Koźmiński, Kłopotowski also appreciated the efforts made by *Rola* within the field. Kłopotowski stated: “Since the newspaper that has been published for twenty-six years, aims at making people aware of various Jewish wiles and encourages all the social strata to harmoniously and with brotherly love gather under sign of the True Cross for the common defense against the Jewish exploitation.”<sup>104</sup>

Interestingly, Christian prejudices toward Jews did not discourage Jews from demonstrating some sympathy toward the bishop of Lublin, Franciszek Jaczewski. Jewish deputations very often greeted the bishop with bread and salt, but also with some cake during his visits in the parishes of his diocese in

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101 A. Jaszczuk, “Kwestia mieszczańska a polemiki pozytywistów z konserwatystami w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1870–1903,” in: *Drobnomieszczaństwo XIX i XX wieku*, Vol. 1, ed. S. Kowalska-Glikman, Warszawa 1984, p. 137. Noteworthy, as Roman Wapiński stated: “The youth of ethnically Polish middle-class strata, mainly bourgeoisie, and the weakness in the economic life within the Polish lands were favorable to their acceptance of the nationalist ideology.” (R. Wapiński, “Idea narodu w myśli społecznej i politycznej endecji przed rokiem 1918,” in: *Idee i koncepcje narodu w polskiej myśli politycznej czasów porozbiorowych*, ed. J. Goćkowski, A. Walicki, Warszawa 1977, p. 221).

102 Z. Kmiecik, “Prasa polska w Królestwie Polskim i Imperium Rosyjskim w latach 1865–1904,” in: *Prasa polska w latach 1864–1918*, ed. J. Łojek, Warszawa 1976, pp. 74–75.

103 D. Olszewski, *Ks. Ignacy Kłopotowski. Życie i apostołat*, Warszawa 1996, p. 229.

104 “Gawędy Starogo Matusa,” in: *Posiew* 1908, No. 39.

May, June, and July of 1905.<sup>105</sup> For instance, Fr. Karol Dębiński, the canon of the cathedral in Lublin who accompanied the bishop in his journey, wrote that “a local rabbi with qahal in Szczepieszyn gave His Excellency bread and salt, expressing his desire that his arrival was a harbinger of mutual love between Jews and Catholics as children of one land.”<sup>106</sup> In turn, at the gate on the Biłgoraj road, Jews welcomed them with bread and handed over a Hebrew sword.<sup>107</sup> The Jews also stood at the welcoming gate on the road to Łuków. “These were several Jewish families, and as they passed around bread and salt, they spoke about their accord and love for Christians, and they finished it with words: “Long live the Catholic bishop!”<sup>108</sup> Later, at the entrance to Józefów, Jews built a welcoming gate with Hebrew inscriptions, at which “many Jews gathered around the synagogue board with bread and salt.”<sup>109</sup> In Tyszowce, Jews even organized an orchestra while in Hrubieszów, the rabbi presented a speech on the neighbor’s love, and outside Ostrowiec, Jews carried a wreath and screamed: “Long live our bishop!”<sup>110</sup> Similar occurrences happened in Włodawa, where the representatives of the Jewish community offered a cake to the excellency, and all the festively dressed Jews with blue bows screamed: “Long live our bishop!” and there were also Jewesses dressed in white among girls who carried a wreath.<sup>111</sup>

The slightly emphatic manifestations of sympathy did not have to be an expression of genuine feelings. They could result from the courtesy and calculation that kindness toward the Catholic bishop would to some extent inhibit anti-Jewish attitudes that were on the increase at the time. Indeed, one cannot preclude that they had spontaneous character, taking into consideration, for instance, the fact that it was the first journey of the Catholic bishop in the Diocese of Lublin since 1875, and it was definitely associated with the cooperation between Jews and Catholics during the preparation of the welcoming ceremonies, as the examples mentioned above show. Nevertheless, the above image of Polish-Jewish relations was rare.

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105 P. Kubicki, *Bojownicy kapłani za sprawę Kościoła i Ojczyzny w latach 1861–1915*, part. 3, Vol. 2, Sandomierz 1939, pp. 95, 100, 108–109, 111–112, 114–119, 121, 123–126, 128–129, 132, 134, and 136.

106 P. Kubicki, *Bojownicy kapłani za sprawę Kościoła*, p. 108.

107 P. Kubicki, *Bojownicy kapłani za sprawę Kościoła*, p. 109.

108 P. Kubicki, *Bojownicy kapłani za sprawę Kościoła*, p. 112.

109 P. Kubicki, *Bojownicy kapłani za sprawę Kościoła*, p. 114.

110 P. Kubicki, *Bojownicy kapłani za sprawę Kościoła*, pp. 119, 121, and 128.

111 P. Kubicki, *Bojownicy kapłani za sprawę Kościoła*, p. 134.

In 1909, Roman Dmowski claimed that the absolute majority of the Jewish population was a hermetical socio-religious group and although, its economic ties with the Polish society were very close, the socioreligious relation between Poles and Jews were not correct.<sup>112</sup> Dmowski was not isolated in his views. Anti-Jewish articles began to appear even in the liberal press, and they called to fight for the Polonization of cities and root out the Jewish element out of industry and trade.<sup>113</sup>

A manifestation of such an activity in the country was the considerable development of a network of agricultural associations of the Central Agricultural Society created in 1907. The network developed on the initiative of the activists of the National Democracy, who had the support of the clergy. As Stanisław Gajewski states: "Usually, the Church was an information point for the organizers, and the presbytery was the meeting point and often the premises of some groups."<sup>114</sup>

Fr. Jan Adamski, one of the best-known activists in the field, encouraged the peasants: "Join an agricultural association, spare no half-ruble for the member fee, regularly attend the meetings, ask about everything, and ask for advice; they will tell you what to do. . . . You will not need to work for Jews."<sup>115</sup>

At the time, the Catholic newspapers presented "the behind-the-scenes" of Jewish trade to discourage people toward it. The newspapers noted that Jews did not observe the most basic principles of hygiene in terms of storing the merchandise, that they used broken or forged measures and scales, and in reality, they offered much worse merchandise in terms of the quality than the Christian merchants did. Moreover, they sold the stolen products. The newspapers individually cautioned people about the Jewish bookstores and second-hand bookstores that traded the literature, which encouraged people to debauchery.<sup>116</sup>

*Kholmский Narodnyy Listok* also called to open cooperative stores: "since the inhabitants of hamlets and small towns severely suffer from the high prices of

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112 R. Dmowski, *Separatyzm Żydów i jego źródła*, Warszawa 1909, pp. 12–29.

113 T. Stegner, "Liberałowie Królestwa Polskiego wobec kwestii żydowskiej na początku XX wieku," in: *Przegląd Historyczny* 1989, No. 1, p. 85.

114 S. Gajewski, "Duchowieństwo w Królestwie Polskim wobec towarzystw rolniczych 1897–1914," *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 1990, Vol. 38, No. 2, p. 209.

115 "Czy nam co pomoże narzekanie na biedą?," in: *PKiSR* 1911, No. 19.

116 "Czem są żydzi wśród nas," in: *GW* 1911, No. 8; "Plaga wsi i miast naszych," in: *GW* 1912, No. 1; "Precz z plugastwem," in: *GW* No. 2; "Co o żydach pisał ks. Stanisław Staszic przed stu z górą laty," in: *GW* No. 7; "U żyda wszystko taniej!," in: *GW* No. 10; "Żydowskie szwindle," in: *GW* No. 12; "Pogadanka z Czytelnikami," in: *GW* 1913, No. 4.

the goods in local stores and warehouses, which local Jewish merchants own and they sometimes arbitrarily fix the prices of the goods.”<sup>117</sup> Newspapers drew particular attention to the fact that the cooperative stores should be opened in the market towns, since “our folk does not like to travel far to city to buy goods, our people always go the nearest town: first of all, it is closer, and a peasant feels there completely at home.”<sup>118</sup>

The Catholic press often published slogans such as: “Buy only at a Christian store,” “Buy goods at your own people’s stores, support your people. Avoid Jews,” “Do not beat a Jew, but do not buy at his store, do not befriend him.” On the one hand, they called Christians to solidarize with other Christians but, on the other hand, they indicated a fair form of fight.<sup>119</sup> The newspapers encouraged to take up initiatives that would lead to the nationalization of industry and craftsmanship: “Moaning about the Jewish exploitation, fraud, and various swindles is not enough unless we begin to trade ourselves, open our stores.”<sup>120</sup> Poles from the Poznań District served as an example of an effective fight against Jews in the economic field, since “they created various companies, agricultural associations, credit unions, and industrial banks and they liberated themselves from the Jewish power. . . . Also, we should have done the same long ago, but harmoniously, skillfully, and persistently.”<sup>121</sup>

However, Fr. Władysław Grochowski warned against brutalization in *Posiew*:

May God protect us from any violent actions, from fights, which some evil teachers and advisers encouraged, because they do not help us achieve the goal and they are a disgrace for a human, we should decisively tell ourselves: We will manage without you — and let us do it. Do not ban them from enjoying the freedom we have, however, do not allow ourselves to be their slaves, do not prohibit them from having their trade and from earning money through craftsmanship, but let us have our commerce, our craftsmanship. We should support only Polish trade, only Polish artisans. Let a Jew conduct his trade, let a Jewish artisan satisfy the needs of people, but only those of Jewish people. “A fellow should go to his fellow — a fellow should serve his fellow — a fellow should go for his fellow,” this is the only reasonable slogan.<sup>122</sup>

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117 “Artelnyya lavki,” in: Khnl 1908, No. 9.

118 “Artelnyya lavki,” in: Khnl 1908, No. 9.

119 “Gawędy Starego Matusa,” in: *Posiew* 1909, No. 14.

120 “Pogadanka z Czytelnikami,” in: *GW* 1913, No. 2.

121 “Pogadanka z Czytelnikami,” in: *GW* 1911, No. 6; “U żyda wszystko taniej!” In: *GW* 1912, No. 10.

122 “Kilka uwag w ważnej sprawie,” in: *Posiew* 1911, No. 18.



In a letter of November 25, 1910 addressed to the clergy of his own diocese, Augustyn Łosiński, the bishop of Kielce, obliged all the clergymen to observe principles enumerated in six points of the letter, as he was concerned with the fact that some priests expressed their personal resentments at the pulpits. Augustyn Łosiński wrote in the last point:

It is not a secret that perverse ethic of Talmud governs Jews and they often slyly exploit peasants with the use of drunkenness and usury, and they even corrupt them, as they teach not only older, but even small children theft, debauchery, and similar delinquencies, especially when they live with Christians in one house. A priest should be particularly cautious when it comes to dealing with them. As a servant of Christ, he cannot incite hatred and exhort to religious or racial war. Indeed, he is obliged to "suppress savage outbursts of passion and constantly remind people that every human is our neighbor." However, let a priest focus on the ardent work of taking people out of benightedness, poverty, and helplessness.<sup>123</sup>

At the end, the bishop warned:

If, God forbid, a priest would disobey our orders, let him know, what kind of consequences he would be subject to. For the first time, he would be sentenced to go on a retreat. For the second time, he would go to the seminary to take up new studies of pastoral theology. For the third time, as an incorrigible priest who cannot understand his pastoral task, by virtue of the decree of the Holy See under the title *Maxima Cura* . . . he would be completely removed from his post.<sup>124</sup>

The letter of the bishop Augustyn Łosiński was a clear sign for the clergymen that "while taking into consideration some new circumstances of the contemporary times," they should not become instigators of social upheavals because of their tactless or inappropriate behavior, and instead they should improve the level of education of their parishioners. Similarly to the bishops of Płock and Włocławek, bishop Augustyn Łosiński encouraged not only priests but also the faithful to create agricultural associations.<sup>125</sup> However, as Stanisław Gajewski notes, priests were not prepared for the activity in the institutions of economic character like the agricultural associations or grocery unions. Therefore, their achievements in the field were not satisfying.<sup>126</sup>

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123 AADKiel, Akta konsystorskie. Okólniki Biskupa i konsystorza kieleckiego, OA-2/9, cards 226–227 (printed), OA-2/10, cards 112–113 (printed); CzAM, Zarządzenia władzy diecezjalnej kieleckiej (1886–1912), sig. I 178 (former II 373), printed.

124 AADKiel, Akta konsystorskie. Okólniki Biskupa i konsystorza kieleckiego, OA-2/9, cards 226–227 (printed), OA-2/10, cards 112–113 (printed); CzAM, Zarządzenia władzy diecezjalnej kieleckiej (1886–1912), sig. I 178 (former II 373), printed.

125 Gajewski, *Spoleczna działalność duchowieństwa*, p. 172.

126 Gajewski, *Spoleczna działalność duchowieństwa*, p. 206.

Moreover, the reason for such situation was the increase of anti-clerical attitudes in the country. They often resulted from the activity of the Zaranie group mentioned above, “the spirit of modern progress” penetrating the country, and the fact that priest mishandled parishioners.<sup>127</sup> Another reason was the fact that Jews, who were afraid of the Christian initiatives within the field of their traditional activity, campaigned against such ventures skillfully taking advantage of the atmosphere. In 1910, *Posiew* wrote:

a Jew . . . is an obstacle in work, and he tries at any cost to drag folk away from education, schools, and organizations, and he goads in a particular manner, and gets on weakest nerves of our peasants’ claiming that with the coming of any educational institutions, higher taxes and bigger poverty would arrive.<sup>128</sup>

According to *Posiew*, Jews spread gossip that incited hostile attitudes among the peasants toward the agricultural associations and grocery companies founded by the manor and presbytery.

They have already destroyed entire villages because of these societies — a Jew spoke to the peasant in a scene in the province — there is bigger poverty everywhere, people run away to find some bread — . . . isn’t it like that? Who would dare to say that it is otherwise? If you continue to listen to those agents of education, it would be like that also in your village. Also, the assemblies murmur and complain, they say: Jucha Moszko tells the truth!<sup>129</sup>

Priest Izydor Kowalski complained that Jews had more authority among the people “than a priest, who devoted his life to the task of serving people and leading them to the good.” Kowalski also cited such a scene:

Ślamka told me: Wojciech, if you want to have serfdom, you will have it. I continue to harass him to make him tell how he found out about it. Also, he tells me: these circles — a terrible thing. They all lead to “serfdom,” a high tax. Ślamka made a provision that I should not tell it to the priest, because the priest takes the masters’ side and he would be angry at Ślamka for warning the peasants. Everyone knows that Ślamka is a good Jew, since he will offer everybody schnaps, a drop, and a loan, and Ślamka hardly takes

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127 S. Gajewski, *Spoleczna działalność duchowieństwa*, p. 187; “Kronika kościelna wewnętrzna,” in: *PK* 1900, No. 1.

128 “Żyd-szkodnik w oświacie na wsi,” in: „*Posiew*” 1910, No. 37; “Czy nam co pomoże narzekanie na biedę?,” in: *PKiSR* 1911, No. 19.

129 “Żyd-szkodnik w oświacie na wsi,” in: *Posiew* 1910, No. 37; “Czy nam co pomoże narzekanie na biedę?,” in: *PKiSR* 1911, No. 19.; cf. also “Czem są żydzi wśród nas,” in: *GW* 1911, No. 8.

an interest in it. ... Also, since Ślamka told it, it is an undeniable and true piece of information.<sup>130</sup>

Moreover, Jews, who had experience in conducting commercial business, found many ways to attract customers. For instance, through the “gift system,” that is, by giving small gifts to those who often bought at their stores, and through lowering prices of some goods and raising prices of others which were sold at the same time.<sup>131</sup> For those merchants who conducted such activity through generations, such a practice was certainly nothing special, but the novices perceived it as a Jewish trick or intrigue.

Priest Jan Adamski cited above, drew attention to the fact that “many of the stores that were created with effort, are nowadays closed, and their owners were exposed to damages and mockery of Jews.”<sup>132</sup> However, Jews did not always excel, since sometimes the determination of a local community supported by a local parish priest led to a situation when a Jew often ended in trouble. Jews treated increasing activity of Christians within the field of traditional Jewish activity almost as “a criminal act.”<sup>133</sup> Nevertheless, as Franciszek Stopniak indicates, in some cases, Jews managed to bribe the clergymen. For instance, Lipa Szemszer, an owner of the store in Piotrawina, gave fifty rubles to a parish priest, thanks to which he could peacefully conduct his activity for the next two years, but later, the parish priest demanded one hundred rubles of ransom.<sup>134</sup>

The Christian population did not respond adequately to the campaigns for a boycott of Jewish trade and craftsmanship. According to Stanisław Wiech, this situation resulted, for instance, from the mutual antagonisms and prejudices that existed between Polish dwellers of small towns and peasants. The former emphasized their superiority and kept distance toward the inhabitants of the villages, the latter complained about the arrogance, brusqueness, and unconscientiousness of the former. Thereby, Polish craftsmanship began to lose its economic backroom, that is, a country farm. Jews were far more pragmatic in the relations with peasants. Even though Jews produced cheaper goods, sometimes shlock, these goods

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130 *PKiSR* 1910, No. 21.

131 “Pogadanka z Czytelnikami,” in: *GW* 1912, No. 6.

132 “Kilka uwag o potrzebie kas drobnego kredytu i wpływie tychże na jednostki i instytucje społeczne,” in: *PKiSR* 1912, No. 38.

133 K. Dębiński, *Z przeżytych chwil*, part. 2, BMSL, MS 982, p. 83.

134 F. Stopniak, *Kościół na Lubelszczyźnie i Podlasiu na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, Warszawa 1975, p. 502.

were more popular than the ones of their Christian competitors.<sup>135</sup> Besides, a Jew would give advice, comfort them, and one could even bargain with him.<sup>136</sup> The possibility to influence the price of the goods bought or sold at Jewish stores incited the self-esteem among the peasants.

In 1906, *Gazeta Kielecka* wrote that when a peasant “comes to a town to buy something, he goes around the stores, looks at them with eyes of a wolf to check whether it is not a store of a townsman, because he would not go into such a store, to his enemy; instead he chooses even the dirtiest store, provided it is a Jewish store and buys there everything he wants.”<sup>137</sup> Moreover, the priests complained about this state of affairs. In 1911, priest J. Łukaszewicz severely rebuked those who traded with Jews:

Isn't it a shame for Poles, that they embitter each other's lives, tease, just to destroy their neighbors: that they would rather sell a house or a field to a Jew for slightly somewhat more rubles, that they would rather sell eggs, butter, or a chicken to a Jewish than to a Christian woman?<sup>138</sup>

Initially, *Zwiastun Ewangeliczny* condemned the boycott of the Jewish trade. However, the reaction did not stem from the desire to protect Jews, as Tadeusz Stegner states: “the boycott of Jewish goods complied with economic interest of Evangelical merchants, owners of the factories and craft workshops that severely suffered from the Jewish competition.”<sup>139</sup> The Evangelical demur in the boycott campaign mainly resulted from its supporters' desire to replace Jews with “indigenous Poles.” *Zwiastun Ewangeliczny* wrote: “It is undeniable that such a stance has nothing to do with Christianity, despite the Catholic faithfulness exposed to the public.”<sup>140</sup> Thereby, *Zwiastun* distanced itself from the use of the national element in the economic fight with Jews. During the rise of nationalism, it was distinctly distinguished from patriotism. *Zwiastun Ewangeliczny* wrote in 1910: “While patriotism elevates the country, its cultural and spiritual heritage, nationalism downgrades culture and moral standards of the society,” while the

135 “Hańba i wstyd temu kto wydzierżawi ogród żydowi!” In: *Posiew* 1912, No. 16; “Plaga wsi i miast naszych,” in: *GW* 1912, No. 1; “Co o żydach pisał ks. Stanisław Staszic przed stu z górą laty,” in: *GW* 1912 No. 7; “U żyda wszystko taniej!,” in: *GW* 1912 No. 10.

136 S. Wiech, “Rzemieślnicy małomiasteczkowi w guberni kieleckiej w latach 1870–1914,” in: *Miasteczka polskie w XIX–XX wieku*, pp. 195–199.

137 Qtd. after: S. Wiech, *Rzemieślnicy małomiasteczkowi*, p. 198.

138 “Uczmy się od żydów!” In: *Posiew* 1911, No. 42.

139 T. Stegner, *Ewangelicy warszawscy 1815–1918*, Warszawa 1993, p. 145.

140 “Sprawa żydowska w oświeceniu chrześcijańskim,” in: *ZE* 1906, No. 8.

former “wants . . . agreement between the inhabitants of one territory, regardless of their origin, nationality, and religion. . . . Nationalism changes love for the homeland into a privilege of one nationality. . . . nationalism cares about the prosperity of the society as much as the prosperity complies with its interests and gives it benefits. Nationalism incites quarrels, thoughtlessly sets people against other nationalities.”<sup>141</sup>

At the same time, Nikolai, the Orthodox Archbishop of Warsaw, talked many times to the Jewish delegations that greeted him with bread and salt during his pastoral journeys. Referring to the question of mutual Russian-Jewish relations, Nikolai stated for instance that: “We would like to always live with you peacefully and harmoniously, so there would be no misunderstandings and quarrels between us.”<sup>142</sup> However, he subsequently stated with regret that these relations were far from being peaceful, and often they turned into mutual hostility. The archbishop said:

One cannot say that we, the Russians, are without sin in all these matters, but undeniably, sometimes Jews themselves caused a sense of animosity and hostility among the Russians because of their activity in our homeland that was not always legal. They wanted to occupy the places of the hosts while forgetting that they are newcomers in our homeland. It was particularly clear in the attitudes of Jews toward the Russians in trade and through the participation of Jewish youth in revolutionary movements and acts of terror.<sup>143</sup>

Finally, Archbishop Nikolai expressed hope that people would learn from history, and that for the common good rabbis would influence their folk in order to prevent mutual hostility in the future.<sup>144</sup>

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141 “Brońmy się od trucizny,” in: *ZE* 1910, No. 1; see also “Kosmopolityzm, patriotyzm i nacjonalizm,” in: *ZE* 1911 No. 8.

142 “Rech skazannaya Vysokopreosvyashchennym Nikolayem, Arkhiyepiskopom Varshavskim v g. Prasnyshe yevreiskomu obshchestvu, ponyesshemu khleb-sol’,” in: *Vyl* 1910, No. 18.

143 “Rech skazannaya Vysokopreosvyashchennym Nikolayem, Arkhiyepiskopom Varshavskim v g. Prasnyshe yevreiskomu obshchestvu, ponyesshemu khleb-sol’” in: *Vyl* 1910, No. 18.

144 No. 2 of *Vestnik* in 1911 included the New Year’s greeting made by rabbi Mendel Lewkowicz on behalf of the Jewish community in Przasnysz to the Archbishop Nikolai, but also the response of the latter. No. 12 of *Vestnik* informed that the Jewish community of Przasnysz gave the Bible to Archbishop Nikolai.

On the eve of the outbreak of the First World War, the Polish-Jewish relation worsened even more, mainly due to the boycott.<sup>145</sup> In 1913, Julian Marchlewski wrote:

The fight between Jews and Polish Christians begins and aggravates primarily in trade, which was dominated many centuries ago by the former and which the latter tries to dominate. . . . Dispute intensifies, aggravates, finds its expressions in the press. Confusion and clamor begin, as it is often a case among the active and noisy petit-bourgeois. Since it is moving to the sphere of ideology: the national question emerges.<sup>146</sup>

The same year, in an article entitled “Kilka myśli w sprawie żydowskiej” (A Few Words on the Jewish Question) published in *Zwiastun Ewangeliczny*, pastor Edmund Bursche wrote: “in the very beginning we determine our stance on the Jewish question. These are our tasks: we have to work on elevating the nation, improving the state of our trade.” Subsequently, Bursche indicated that the Jewish question unified almost all the political parties. He said that the protection against the Jewish flood had been justified and the economic boycott of Jews had been an effective reinforcement of native trade. At the end, Bursche even claimed that “there is a real danger in our coexistence with Jews, let alone admitting them to the national organism.”<sup>147</sup>

In turn, Priest Jan Władziński from the Diocese of Lublin exhorted the press to intensify the campaign, which aimed at making people aware of the need to create Christian associations, companies, and cooperatives, and to stigmatize those people who did not wish to stop their relations with Jews.<sup>148</sup> *Przegląd Katolicki* alarmed that it was necessary “to seize one store after another, house after house, and town after town,” since “money earned by a Jews in the herrings or flour trade become in the hands of their sons and grandsons a measure to conquer or to create the newspaper that would spread the corruption.”<sup>149</sup>

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145 The Head of Okhrana in Warsaw, Piotr Martynow exaggerated in a report to the Chief Policeman of Warsaw: “Current boycott primarily resulted in the ruining of Jewish population of the country, it deprived dozens of thousands Jewish families of piece of bread and it forces them to beg or to commit crimes. As a result of the lack of measures, they cannot emigrate. The increase in crime follows pauperization, and active violence against the Jews leads to savagery and hooliganism in the nation, which thinks that it would free Poland from Jews this way.” Cf. *Raporty warszawskich oberpolicmajstrów (1892–1913)*, ed. H. Kiepuska, Z. Pustuła, Wrocław 1971, p. 126, fn.5.

146 Qtd. after: A. Żbikowski, *Dzieje Żydów w Polsce. Ideologia antysemicka 1848–1914. Wybór tekstów źródłowych*, Warszawa 1994, pp. 67–68.

147 ZE 1913, No. 1.

148 J. Władziński, *Semici i semityzm*, Warszawa 1913, pp. 205–206.

149 “Z Tygodnia,” in: PK 1912, No. 48.

In turn, at the pastoral journey, the Orthodox bishop of Modlin, Joasaf exhorted to remain calm. During his visit in Opoczno in February 1913, he said to a Jewish delegation that greeted him:

I pray to God in heaven, common for all of us, for well-being for all people, regardless of their nationality, and I teach my Orthodox faithful to peacefully live with their neighbors who profess different faiths and treat them with kindness: because it appeals to God and because harmonious life of the subjects brings joy to the heart of our beloved Monarch.<sup>150</sup>

The Jews of Opoczno warmly welcomed these words. Nevertheless, *Kholmiski Narodny Listok* wrote the very same year:

The Jews own entire cereals trade, and they fix the prices as they want. Through the trade, the Jews earn a huge amount of money with the use of shady speculations, while a peasant has no bread . . . as soon as on the Christmas Day, and he is forced to buy grains for the spring at the Jewish store which is three times more expensive.<sup>151</sup>

Therefore, the newspaper called for the introduction of legal regulations that would result pushing Jews out of the cereals trade.

The rise of the anti-Jewish atmosphere, along with the simultaneous rise of nationalist and patriotic tendencies among Poles, encountered a severe unease from the authorities. For instance, *Kronika Diecezji Kujawsko-Kaliskiej* informed that due to the fact that several clergymen of the diocese banned Christians from keeping economic relations with Jews, the Governor-General of Warsaw, Georgi Skalon, reported in a letter of June 20, 1913, to the diocesan authority that “in cases of further campaigning, the clergymen would be subject to severe fines.”<sup>152</sup> The very same day, the Governor-General of Warsaw addressed a secret circular to all the governors in the Kingdom of Poland and to the Chief Policeman of Warsaw, in which he wrote:

According to the information I received, the boycott of Jewish trade which has been recently manifested by the local Polish people gradually aggravates and begins to take on a form of propaganda of Polish nationalism and religious intolerance, whereas the clergymen and folk teachers turn out to be foremost leaders of this movement, and their influence manifests itself by the fact that inhabitants of some towns and villages bring

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150 “Yego Vysokopreosvyashchenstvu, Vysokopreosvyashchennieyshemu Nikolayu, Arkhiyepiskopu Varshavskomu i Privislinskomu, Milostiveyshemu Arkhipastyryu, Ioasafa, Yepiskopa Novogeorgiyevskago, Vikariya Varshavskoy Yeparkhii donesenye,” in: *Vyl* 1913, No. 8.

151 “Chlebnaja torgowla,” in: *Khnl* 1913, No. 10.

152 *Kronika Dyezeczi Kujawsko-Kaliskiej*, 1913, No. 7/8.

up the question of eviction of Jewish population to separate villages. Moreover, Roman Catholic priests, who do not decide to openly stand against the Jews, have recently supported the boycott by giving out in churches special star-shaped signs with the image of a ship at the rough sea on one side and on the other a bright cross with the inscription above: "Buy goods at Christian stores." Moreover, Local Polish press plays a significant role in the aggravation of Polish-Jews relations, since it presents Jews as the enemies of the Catholic Church and Polish nation.<sup>153</sup>

According to the Governor-General, all the phenomena caused the emergence of intolerance toward Poles among Jews. Governor-General ordered his advisors to keep him informed about the scale of the boycott, its forms, and consequences. Moreover, the Governor inquired whether the atmosphere that resulted from the boycott campaign was not favorable to the intensification of acts of violence against Jews. In conclusion, the Governor-General asked for suggestions for measures that could calm down the boycott.<sup>154</sup>

According to the information provided by the Executive of Military Police in Siedlce, between November 1912 to June 1913, there were nine cases associated with the boycott campaign of the Jewish trade. However, they did not have severe character, for instance, on November 13, 1912 in Siedlce, someone attached to fence a piece of paper with inscription: "Do not buy at Jewish stores," while according to some confidential information, the very same year in December, a group of approximately forty Catholics illegally gathered in a house in Żelechów to discuss the question of the boycott of the Jewish flour trade. However, the investigation did not verify the information. Similar cases concerned priests Karol Żebrowski, Wincenty Supreń, and Michał Turski from the parish of the Garwolin district, who purportedly exhorted peasants at the pulpit to boycott Jews. In January 1913, during agricultural courses in Radzyń organized by local agriculture society, priest Wacław Bliziński advised Christians to seize Jewish immovable properties, not through the eviction of Jews but through the voluntary agreements. Another time, an inhabitant in Wegrów sold to peasants a leaflet entitled "Nie dajmy się Żydom" [Do Not Give in To Jews]. As it turned out, the Censorship Committee of Warsaw approved the leaflet.<sup>155</sup>

Seemingly, the threats of the authorities against the clergymen excessively engaged in the boycott campaign were successful to some extent. An article by priest Marcin Szkopowski published in *Gazeta Warszawska* partially proves this

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153 APSiedl, Siedlecki Gubernialny Zarząd Żandarmerii, sig. 708, card 10.

154 APSiedl, Siedlecki Gubernialny Zarząd Żandarmerii, sig. 708, card 10v.

155 APSiedl, Siedlecki Gubernialny Zarząd Żandarmerii, sig. 708, cards 11, 11v.



fact, as its author claimed that the Church did not engage in a question of the boycott of Jews, and even “the Church in the city [Warsaw] removed recently the issue from the subjects of sermons in the face of ardent, sometimes not very cautious attitude of the preaching clergymen.”<sup>156</sup> Moreover, Szkopowski mentioned the existence of the proper bishop’s and Constistory’s decrees, which aimed at hindering such an activity. According to the author, they resulted from the pressure of Jewish rabbis, who made use of bishops’ journeys among dioceses, and the rabbis greeted them with speeches in Hebrew specially prepared on this occasion so that the people would not understand them. As an example, Szkopowski referred to the visit of the Bishop of Włocławek, Stanisław Zdzitowiecki, in Wolborz in the Governorate of Piotrków. At the visit, there was a Jewish delegation. Later, correspondents of “Jewish” newspapers cited the bishop’s speech, in which he criticized anti-Jewish campaign and warned the Christian not to “offend Jews with their ugly deeds.” Marcin Szkopowski considered such information as a lie, and he regarded the welcoming gestures of Jews as a masquerade.<sup>157</sup>

The bishops’ reactions toward the Jewish delegations varied. For instance, Marian Ryx, the Bishop of Sandomierz, during his visit in a hamlet Sienno on August 8, 1913, responded to Jews who came to greet him with bread and salt, only with mere “Dziękuję” (Thank you) and he did not accept the gift. Three days later, in a hamlet Grabowiec, the bishop in a similar situation passed by the Jewish delegation and did not take the time to respond to them.<sup>158</sup>

Another time, the Bishop of Płock, Antoni Nowowiejski, during his visit to Ostrów in November 1913, in response to a request of local Jews to inhibit increasing animosity between Catholic and Jewish population said that Catholics have to peacefully live with everyone. Nowowiejski subsequently preached a sermon entitled: “Kto jest naszym bliźnim?” (Who is our neighbor?) in a church, in which he claimed that Catholics should not cherish only their close ones but also infidels and people from other tribes and to sympathize with them “when they are in need.”<sup>159</sup>

In turn, *Przegląd Katolicki* informed about the bishops’ support for the boycott. For instance during a visit of bishop Franciszek Jaczewski in Siedlce, doctor Stein – a representative of Jews who greeted him – exhorted the bishop to counteract the boycott. In response, bishop Jaczewski said that there was difference

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156 Qtd. after *PK* 1913, No. 30.

157 *PK* 1913, No. 30.

158 RGIA, f. 821, op. 128, d. 535, p. 30.

159 RGIA, f. 821, op. 128, d. 498, 45, and 45v.

between assault and harm and support of one's people, which was not only a right but also a duty.

According to account of priest Karol Dębiński, the bishop said:

Gentlemen, you complain about “the boycott” of the clergy and my faithful people against you. The boycott is a reflex of hatred, which, as Christians and Poles, we cannot, we did not, and we do not feel toward you. . . . Hence, neither clergy nor my beloved faithful people do not boycott your nation, but they take up trade and craftsmanship, the domains up to now occupied mainly by you, as they exercise their own civil rights, and they try to avoid the complete poverty which drives them year by year out from our land to the foreign lands and makes them lost. Jews in Poland do not monopolize the trade and industry, but also no one makes it difficult for them to do it. Therefore, please allow a Pole in his own country to work as he desires – provided that he does it reasonably – and to provide himself and his family with a piece of bread.<sup>160</sup>

Meanwhile, in Warsaw, the Archbishop Aleksander Kakowski purportedly addressed the following words to the Jewish delegation:

Every human, without exception, is our neighbor, whom we have to cherish: a compatriot and a newcomer, a fellow countryman and a foreigner, a rich man and a poor man, a heretic and a Catholic, a Jew and a pagan. Christian love is universal. Certainly, not every human is identical to us. The love is gradual: parents, siblings, and compatriots have priority over the others. It is clear and understandable.<sup>161</sup>

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160 K. Dębiński, *Z przeżytych chwil*, p. 83. On this subject, priest Karol Dębiński writes: “I almost forgot to emphasize that Jews did not satisfy themselves with the unfortunate act of doctor Stein. Indeed, they tried their luck one more time. When the bishop arrived back to the presbytery in Siedlce, after the consecration of the church, the Jews from Przesmyki gave him a written complaint on the parish priest of Przesmyki, priest Ryszard Słabczyński. Thanks to his efforts, people in Przesmyki created a Christian company shop and, in result, the author of the complaint along with his family began to live in poverty, since all the Christians began to buy goods not at his store, as it happened until then, but in the Christian store. Hence, the author ordered the Bishop to punish priest Słabczyński and to close down the store” (K. Dębiński, *Z przeżytych chwil*, p. 84).

161 “Żydzi u Biskupów,” in: *PK* 1913, No. 42. It is worth citing excerpts of the memories of priest Remigiusz Dąbrowski, a chaplain of Archbishop Kakowski: “A Jew first sewed him [Kakowski — K.L.] a cassock, because Jews were mainly tailors in the province. So, he often referred to this first cassock later, supporting Polish craftsmanship. . . . Major part of our society insisted not to buy in Jewish stores. For instance, when one noticed priest prelate Kazimierz Bączkowski in the Jewish fruit store on ulica Miodowa, he caused an unpleasant incident, which I saw myself. The cardinal was indeed opposed to such a situation. He supported Polish merchantry and craftsmanship, but he did it according to the ethics and in proper moderation. When the cardinal

It requires more discussion to determine to what extent the statements of the bishops mentioned above were an expression of their support for the boycott of the Jewish trade. Noteworthy, the Church could not openly exhort people to such campaigns through its representatives, and the Church indeed rebuked those priests whose activities in the fields went too far. Simultaneously, the Church could not remain neutral toward such a phenomenon. Therefore, it moderately and diplomatically supported the boycott campaign, as one can see in the statements mentioned above. In the article “Jak bronić się przed Żydami?” [How to Defend Oneself Against the Jews?], *Przegląd Katolicki* expressed it as follows:

The boycott of the Jewish trade and the sole support for the Christian trade does not only comply with the love for the neighbor, but it also becomes a duty wherever Judeophilia turns into Polonophobia and anti-Christianity. The boycott of Jews and anti-Semitism perceived as a tribal and religious hatred, are two different things. One should not tolerate the latter and should condemn and oust its manifestations, whenever one encounters them. It will be a response with the slogans of unfair assault to a false identification of slogans about fair defense.<sup>162</sup>

### Toward Jews' National and Political Aspirations

The political changes and introduction of limited civil liberties in Russia resulting from 1905 October Manifesto, including the introduction of the State Duma, the first national delegation, and the Council of Ministers that was the first governmental organ did not change the legal situation of Jews. On the contrary, the atmosphere of intensified aggression and hostility started to emerge around the Jewish question. In the Spring of 1905, the committee of ministers claimed that it would be better to grant Jews with full rights due to the interests of the state. However, including “socio-racial matters,” the committee limited itself to “meticulous and extensive study of the history of Jewish legislation.”<sup>163</sup>

Neither the first Duma nor the second Duma (1906–1907) did not attempt to solve the problem. It was also characteristic that the reason for the dissolution of the First Duma was the submission of an interpellation to the government

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traveled in a horse-drawn cart or a carriage, he ordered to buy him waterproof coats for the coachman and the servant in a Jewish store, since the coats at that store were much better than anywhere else” (AAWar, *Wspomnienia ks. Remigiusza Dąbrowskiego o arcybp. Aleksandrze Kakowskim*, typescript).

162 “Z Tygodnia,” in: *PK* 1912, No. 49.

163 W. Diakin, “Natsional’nyy vopros v vnutrenney politike tsarizma (nachalo XX v.)” in: *Voprosy istorii* 1996, No. 11/12, p. 41.

on the question of the Białystok pogrom.<sup>164</sup> In the article “Dlaczego rozwiązano Dumę Państwową” (Why was the State Duma dissolved), *Kholmiski narodnyj listok* wrote that “foreigners” who were in the Duma, had too much influence on the decisions made there. Some of its members began even to slander not only the government along with its representative, but also the army, and to blame it for the participation in the pogrom and the sack. In conclusions, the newspaper stated that the Duma cared more for Jews than for representatives of the authority who were being murdered at the time.<sup>165</sup>

The majority of the conservatives and nationalist parties in the Third Duma (1907–1912) inflamed the Jewish question in Russia even more. It was mainly manifested in the so-called “Beilis affair” (1911–1913). A Jew from Kiyv was accused of the ritual murder of a Christian child. The nationalist parties in the Duma used the affair to start a noisy anti-Jewish campaign.<sup>166</sup>

The tense socioeconomic atmosphere in the Kingdom of Poland, like in the entire Russian Empire, did not break the tension after the publication of the October Manifesto. The October Manifesto could not eradicate all the social conflicts – particularly increasing since the end of the nineteenth century – that were associated with the turbulent development of the capitalist relations and rise in the number of the social groups who suffered from this development. They were vented with the outbreak of the revolution, which shook the Russian state to its foundations.

The increasing participation of masses in the political life of the population, which was, among other things, related to the expansion of socialist influence, was particularly evident during this period in strikes and street demonstrations violating the “social order.”<sup>167</sup>

A witness of the events in the Kingdom of Poland wrote in his memoirs:

The New Year of 1906 began with martial law and fight between the parties for the things that do not exist, and God only knows, whether they ever would come to life. The socialists kept everyone under the threat of a bullet or a knife. Youngsters ruled everything. Everyone yielded to some urchins without resistance. Unemployment was common. Railways, post offices, telegraphs, and factories stood, the stores were closed,

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164 B. Szordykowska, “Kwestia żydowska w Rosji w latach 1905–1907,” *BŻIH* 1984, No. 1/2, p. 13.

165 Khnl 1906, No. 15.

166 W. Diakin, “Natsional’nyy vopros,” p. 48; B. Szordykowska, “Problematyka żydowska w rosyjskiej Dumie Państwowej w latach 1907–1912,” in: *BŻIH* 1984, No. 3/4, p. 77.

167 R. Wapiński, *Świadomość polityczna Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, Łódź 1989, pp. 446–447.

workers and artisans teased the street patrol, which regularly shot at them, instead of remaining at their posts. Everyone, who could write, started a newspaper, hence a real flood of newspapers and scraps which reviled everything and everyone. Gangs of villains looted over the country, and some of them, as emissaries of the socialists, extorted offerings which usually remained in their pockets, the others bluntly plundered and killed. . . .<sup>168</sup>

At the same time, Rosa Luxemburg described the situation in the Kingdom of Poland as follows:

It is very lovely here. Every day, two or three people are stabbed to death by the soldiers in the city; every day someone is arrested, apart from that, it is joyful here. Despite the martial law, we publish our *Sztandar* [The Standard] every day, and we sell it in the streets. As soon as martial law is over, we'll start to legally publish the daily *Trybuna* [The Rostrum] again. Nowadays, we force the bourgeois printing-houses to publish our newspaper with guns.<sup>169</sup>

In the Western Europe, the emergence of mass societies “were toned down with prior fulfillment of national aspirations (by possession of one’s national state) and more evolutionary, gradual ingress of the masses into the political life,” but in Eastern Europe the process was more harsh due to the lack of those conditions.<sup>170</sup> According to Roman Wapiński, this severity intensified even more in Eastern Europe due to the national conflicts, which were favorable to the rise of hostility and estrangement.<sup>171</sup>

Similarly to the situation in Russia, the Polish-Jewish relation in the Kingdom of Poland considerably worsened from the beginning of the twentieth century until the end of the period in question. The rise of Jewish national aspirations was one of the reasons. People attentively observed the development of Zionism. There were articles and polemics published in the press, which expressed positive or negative opinions about Zionism, both on the side of Christians and Jews.

*Przegląd Katolicki* expressed its opinion about Zionism and considered it as an important matter. Fr. Rud. Fil. wrote in the newspaper:

168 K. Dębiński, *Z przeżytych chwil*, part. 1, p. 220; see also H. Kiepuska, *Warszawa w rewolucji 1905–1907*, Warszawa 1974, pp. 294, 314, and 364–365.

169 Qtd. after: K. Dębiński, *Z przeżytych chwil*, part. 1, p. 261.

170 R. Wapiński, *Polska i małe ojczyzny Polaków. Z dziejów kształtowania się świadomości narodowej w XIX i XX wieku po wybuch II wojny światowej*, Wrocław 1994, p. 74; cf. R. Wapiński, *Pokolenia Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, Wrocław 1991, pp. 26–27.

171 R. Wapiński, *Polska i małe ojczyzny Polaków*, p. 74.

Zionism became a serious movement almost of a general European character, or even, of a global character. An idea that managed to reach so far from its center in London to desolate Jewish towns in our lands and induced a poor merchant, who chronically dies of starvation along with his family, to pay maybe his last rubles to gain “share” in the general Jewish bank, who was to redeem a state for Israel, such an idea has to possess not only numerous and smooth-tongued propagators, but also a lot of intensive interior force that would penetrate the masses and win people’s minds.<sup>172</sup>

Fr. Rud. Fil. stated that apart from skeptics and strong-minded opponents, there was a considerable number of Jews who passionately supported the slogans of Zionism. The enemies were mainly wealthier Jews, while the “poor masses that dreamed about improving their situation, and ardent youth who was tempted by their novelty of the idea” supported Zionism. Although Fr. Rud. Fil. doubted whether the community deprived of the political existence, dispersed among numerous nations, which had defective economic structure, and which was, in large part, morally corrupted, would manage to create independent politic body, he considered this question as open. As Fr. Rud. Fil. noted himself, some Christian newspapers saw in the Zionist movement a possibility for the Christian society to free itself from “alien and unwelcome element.” Fr. Rud. Fil. Was concerned that the Christian press kept quiet about the fact that Zionism aspired to conquer Palestine, what in case of realization, “would undoubtedly mean immediate ruining and the hideous desecration of all the tokens after the Saviour by His traditional enemies.”<sup>173</sup>

Over time, people began to perceive Zionism as a severe threat, not only for Christianity but mainly for the national existence of the Polish people. In 1909, *Polak-Katolik* acknowledged the Zionists intention to create and independent state in Palestine as a mirage that was just a part of policy that aimed at drawing people’s attention away from the proper goal, i.e. creation of Jewish national base in the Polish lands. According to the daily, the rise of Jewish nationalism which was hostile toward anything that was Polish was founded on Zionism.<sup>174</sup> *Posiew* and *Przegląd Katolicki* expressed similar concerns.<sup>175</sup> Distinguishing good Jews and bad Jews, “Litvaks” and local Jews was a thing of

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172 “Kilka słów w sprawie syjonizmu,” in: *PK* 1902, No. 45.

173 “Kilka słów w sprawie syjonizmu. Dokończenie,” in: *PK* 1902, No. 46.

174 “Najnowszy geszeft syjonistyczny,” in: *Polak-Katolik* 1909, No. 150.

175 *Posiew* 1909, No. 5; *PK* 1910, No. 52; “Sprawa żydowska,” in: *Posiew* 1911, No. 7; “Przyczynki do kwestii żydowskiej,” in: *PK* 1911, No. 46.

the past.<sup>176</sup> The newspapers campaigned for isolation of all the Jews who were not assimilated with the Polish people.<sup>177</sup>

The attitude of the Polish Evangelical circles toward Zionism was also ambiguous. One can distinguish here two stances: sympathetic and disapproving. Pastor Jan Fabian wrote a very favorable review of Zionism. In 1906, Fabian wrote in *Zwiastun Ewangeliczny*:

Some people perceive this awakening of Jewish national self-awareness as a threat to European nations, we, the Christians, perceive it as a result of Mighty Hand of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, that punished His unfaithful nation, but did not change His promises given to forefathers of Israel and confirmed by the prophets' mouths. The Nation of Israel must survive since our Lord has many plans for it! This is our faith, which is based on the precise sound of the words of the Scripture. . . . Such an opinion results in our duty to acknowledge without reservation the right of Jews for their independent national development, and we must endeavor to ensure that the Jewish nation has its proper place along with the other nations in the politic body and has equal rights and duties with the other nations.<sup>178</sup>

However, not everyone welcomed the rise of Zionism with such enthusiasm. The majority of Polish opinion-forming Evangelical circles perceived it as a threat to the Evangelists' work of recruiting Jews to the Christian community and thereby a new barrier in the process of solving the Jewish question. *Zwiastun Ewangeliczny* wrote:

However, whether the consequences of this isolating national movement would be detrimental for the society in which the great number of the Jews dwelled, that is, mainly for our country, this would be determined in the future. Nevertheless, for us, Christians, this movement should be a reason for our most assiduous prayer so that Our Lord would bless our activity among Jews.<sup>179</sup>

Moreover, the critical attitude of some Polish Evangelical circles toward Zionism resulted from the fact that the movement hindered the realization of the Polonization program among Jews.<sup>180</sup>

176 "Ciekawy 'piorunochron.' Najnowszy manewr żydowski," in: *Polak-Katolik* 1909, No. 215; *PK* 1910, No. 52; *Posiew* 1911, No. 7.

177 I. Schiper, *Dzieje handlu żydowskiego na ziemiach polskich*, Warszawa 1937 (reprint, Kraków 1990), p. 538.

178 "Sprawa żydowska w oświeceniu chrześcijańskim," in: *ZE* 1906, No. 8; cf. also "Wiadomości z kościoła i ze świata," in: *ZE* 1913, No. 1.

179 *ZE* 1911, No. 11; cf. also A. Gerhardt, "Kwestia żydowska," in: *Kalendarz dla ewangelików na rok przestępny* 1904, Warszawa 1903, p. 141.

180 T. Stegner, *Ewangelicy warszawscy*, p. 144.

The newspapers of the Eastern Orthodox Church also manifested their negative attitude toward Jewish national aspirations. *Kholm'skaya Tserkovnaya Zhizn'* asked the rhetorical question: "Who does not know about the political idea of Jews to become a nation that would rule over all other nations, particularly over the Russian one — an entirely Christian nation?!"<sup>181</sup> Moreover, *Kholm'skiy Narodnyy Listok* claimed that the activity of Jewish Zionists leads to an outbreak of a revolution in Russia: "They primarily care for continuous agitation in the State Duma by means of representatives, whose activity 'should always comply with the principles of democracy and with the dignity of the Jewish nation.'<sup>182</sup>

The increase of political activity of Polish society at the turn of the twentieth century was favorable to the intensification of mutual prejudices. To a great extent, Election campaigns to the First and the Second Duma contributed to the aggravation of the relations between Christian and Jewish populations, mainly due to the way the National Democrats conducted them. Some clergymen also participated in the process.

For instance, during the election campaign to the First Duma, Stanisław Zdzitowiecki, the Bishop of Włocławek, wrote to the clergy and the faithful on January 18, 1906: "Whoever votes for an irreligious man who does not love his own country to be a deputy, he wishes his Homeland the biggest misery, as he passes the fate of Poland into the hands of people who are religiously and nationally alien to us, that would result in our disgrace and shame." Zdzitowiecki subsequently asked people "to vote for those candidates who are good Catholics, passionately cherish the Church and the Homeland, who know its needs, and who can defend our interests in the Duma."<sup>183</sup>

At the same time, *Przełąd Katolicki* exhorted to vote only for "sensible people and good Catholics."<sup>184</sup> The newspaper anxiously responded to the motion of Polish deputies of the Second Duma about the autonomy of the Kingdom of Poland. Władysław Kleniewski considered the inclusion of the question of Jewish emancipation into the motion as a political mistake.<sup>185</sup> In the article: "Niebezpieczeństwo urzeczywistnienia obecnego projektu autonomii" [The Danger of the Realization of the Current Autonomy Project], Kleniewski

181 "Spaseniye Kholm'skoy Rusi v sliyanii s russkim pravoslavnyim narodom," in: Khtz 1907, No. 2.

182 "Konferentsiya yevreyev-sionistov," in: Khnl 1912, No. 11.

183 ADWł, Księga Zarządzeń par. Giżyce 1 (Rozporządzenia biskupie 1906–1916).

184 PK 1906, No. 15.

185 "Błędna polityka," in: PK 1907, No. 40.



expressed his decisive objection toward the initiative of the Polish Circle and he explained his stance as follows:

Will the autonomy – if we obtain it now – would have only bring only good results or also the bad ones? This question involuntarily emerges in one's mind, because our perennial enemies – the Jews – want autonomy, since one of their goals is emancipation, which they desire so much. . . . Will we have to share our authority with someone or even to yield to the orders of the element utterly alien to us. . . . Nowadays, one can more and more often hear such opinions, unfortunately, not only Jewish ones . . . that Jews, as the local dwellers who were born here, have the same right to this land, as we do.<sup>186</sup>

In conclusion of his justification, Kleniewski added that “the autonomy, granted before solving the Jewish question, would cause more evil than good to us.” Hence, Kleniewski advised using all the measures to introduce a law that would recognize all Jews as foreigners, both in the Kingdom of Poland and in the entire Russian Empire, and only then begin to fight for autonomy.<sup>187</sup>

Both the period of elections to the Third Duma (1907), when the National Democrats proposed the idea of Jewish trade boycott and the discussion on the bill on the municipal councils for the cities in the Kingdom of Poland that took place during the sitting in 1910 and 1911 aggravated mutual hostility. The bill, which provided for the introduction of three national curias – Russian, Jewish, and Polish – had an anti-Jewish character. In cities with the Jewish population, which amounted to over 50 % of the city population, Jews could elect 20 % of councilors, whereas, in the cities with the Jewish population which constituted less than 50 % of the city population, Jews could elect 10 % of the councilors.<sup>188</sup> Moreover, a Jew could not be elected as the town mayor.<sup>189</sup> Part of Polish and Russian liberal circles opposed the application of such constraints to Jews, as they denied the idea of emancipation and weakened moral objection of the Polish people toward the tsarist ethnic politics. Despite it, the Polish Circle in the Duma supported the bill. Roman Dmowski, the Circle's President, claimed in the justification of his stance:

When perceived realistically, national interest suggests that Jewish people constitute around 15 % of the population of our country; these people were always culturally and morally alien to us, and they isolated themselves from us. Currently, they openly set

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186 PK 1907, No. 42.

187 PK 1907, No. 42.

188 *Raporty warszawskich oberpolicmajstrów*, pp. 114–115; M. Wierchowski, *Sprawy Polski w III i IV Dumie Państwowej*, Warszawa 1966, p. 197.

189 B. Szordykowska, “Problematyka żydowska,” p. 78.

themselves against us and declare their connection with Jews in other countries. If it comes to the point that Jews would be emancipated in the municipal councils, then most of our cities would be subordinate to the power of this alien element that is so hostile to us.<sup>190</sup>

In 1910, *Przegląd Katolicki* bluntly stated that Jews would have majority almost everywhere in unconstrained election.<sup>191</sup> A year later, the newspaper welcomed with gratification the speech of a deputy of the Polish Circle in the Duma that accepted the municipal councils bill.<sup>192</sup> The newspaper commented on the matter, claiming that no one has the right to require the Polish nation to “commit suicide for the sake of some theories,” especially when the political circumstances were not favorable to the process of Polonization of Jews, and Jews themselves proved their hostile attitude toward Poles.<sup>193</sup> Iza Moszczeńska expressed similar opinions in her text “Postęp na rozdrożu” (Progress at the Crossroads; 1911). According to Moszczeńska, Polish cities have to be in Polish hands, and the proponents of the progress should not fall into the ideological trap of conviction that the petit-bourgeois always has to be reactionary. The Poles have to maintain their hegemony in the Polish lands and occupy a proper place in every professional group and social class, from agriculture to trade, from craftsmanship to the professions of the intelligentsia. Moszczeńska stated in the conclusion that the solution to the Jewish question leads through reinforcement of one’s strength, since “The strong always have the Jews on their side.”<sup>194</sup>

Although the municipal council bill for the Kingdom of Poland was not passed and the discussions over the bill in the Duma lasted until the outbreak of the First World War, the whole affair did contribute to the rise of mutual hostility and distrust in the Polish-Jewish relations. The process aggravated due to the election campaign and the results of the election to the Fourth Duma (1912). During the campaign, *Przegląd Katolicki* wrote that an election of a Jewish deputy or an election of a Pole by Jews would be disgraceful. The course of election campaign should have been a manifestation of unity and solidarity of Polish society, and there should be no place for a compromise here.<sup>195</sup> The members

190 B. Szordykowska, “Problematyka żydowska,” p. 81.

191 “W sprawie kurii żydowskiej przyszlých reprezentacji miejskich,” in: *PK* 1910, No. 27.

192 Z. Łukawski, *Koło Polskie w Rosyjskiej Dumie Państwowej w latach 1906–1909*, Wrocław 1967, pp. 183–184.

193 “Samorząd a Żydzi,” in: *PK* 1911, No. 51.

194 T. R. Weeks, “Polish ‘Progressive Antisemitism’ 1905–1914,” in: *East European Jewish Affairs* 1995, Vol. 25, No. 2, p. 62.

195 “Czy żyd?,” in: *PK* 1912, No. 37.

of the Catholic circle did not unanimously and unquestioningly support the National Democracy. For instance, *Polak-Katolik* accused this movement of lack of Catholic expressiveness, and it claimed that Catholics could vote for their candidates only under certain conditions.<sup>196</sup> Admittedly, the daily acknowledged the rejection of “alliance with Jews” by the National Democracy as “truly civil act,” but at the same time, it expressed the desire that “the party should persist in this stance until the end.”<sup>197</sup>

In response to this charge, *Przegląd Katolicki* stated:

It is necessary to tell the Catholic readers, who have the right to vote, whether they should vote for the candidates of the National Democracy, or whether to abstain from voting, allowing the Progressive Democratic Union, socialists, and Jews to appropriate all the Polish mandates. *Tertium non datur*, since a well-disposed Catholic newspaper, even the most disapproving of the National Democracy, would not advise its readers to vote for the socialist, Jewish or the Democratic-Progressive Association’s candidates, whereas it cannot advise the readers to vote for the Catholic party, because such a party does not exist.<sup>198</sup>

In the decisive voting, Jews voted for Eugeniusz Jagiełło, a candidate of the Socialist Union, a political bloc formed by the General Jewish Labour Bund, and Polish Socialist Party since they were afraid of the election of Jan Kucharzewski. As a result, Jagiełło became a deputy from Warsaw in the Duma.<sup>199</sup> As *Przegląd Katolicki* informed: “Therefore, we have Polish deputy from Warsaw elected by Jews against Poles. He is a man of Polish origin, with views of a Shabbes goy. . . . As far as we are concerned, they [Jews] do not surprise us, and we do not blame them. The ones who led to this situation with their discord and obduracy are guilty, not Jews.”<sup>200</sup>

In post-election reflections, *Przegląd Katolicki* regretfully admitted that loutishness and self-serving nature in the Polish camp led to the division of the votes: “if not the liberum veto of an individual then collective self-serving nature achieved an incredible victory over public interest and duty of good citizens of the country in the last election in Warsaw.”<sup>201</sup> Bitter words were also addressed toward

196 “Czy żyd?,” in: *PK* 1912, No. 37.

197 Qtd. after: *PK* 1912, No. 41.

198 “Przed wyborami do Dumy Państwowej,” in: *PK* 1912, No. 37.

199 *Raporty warszawskich oberpolicmajstrów*, pp. 119 and 125. In Łódź, the Jewish and German population elected doctor Mejer Bomasz, cf. M. Wierzychowski, *Sprawy Polski*, p. 240.

200 “Z Tygodnia,” in: *PK* 1912, No. 46.

201 “Po wyborach,” in: *PK* 1912, No. 45.

the National-Democratic Party, which was also held responsible for the results of the election. The weekly wrote that “in many respects [the National-Democratic Party] had outstanding merits for the Polish Catholicism as it accepted priests as members, but it never kept ideological relation with the Church, did not come to its ground, did not acknowledge its authority.”<sup>202</sup> According to the newspaper, the election proved the division of Polish society into two factions, and the element which antagonized them was the Jewish question.<sup>203</sup>

The indignation of Polish opinion-forming circles caused by the results of election reached the extent to which even the Progressive Democratic Union’s newspapers included anti-Semitic topics. In 1913, in *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, Aleksander Świętochowski wrote in response to the charges of the Western press and Russian liberals about violation of Jewish rights by the Poles: “so they proclaimed us all around the world as apostles of ‘reaction’ and fighters for ‘savagery,’ who need to have their tempers controlled by Murawjew.” Aleksander Świętochowski blamed Russia for the current situation and claimed: “They told us to set a big altar of alliance over the big manifold, to which Russia channeled Jews,” meanwhile, the Polish nation — as Świętochowski subsequently wrote — “yells that it wants to be Poland, nothing else, not a Jewish Poland, with all of its a hundred-year history, with its present, with entire dream about the future among the most anguished sufferings and doubts.”<sup>204</sup> The boycott declared by the part of the previous liberal intelligentsia only reinforced the anti-Semitic manifesto of the National Democrats. On the eve of the outbreak of the First World War, it became the manifesto of a considerable part of the Polish society.<sup>205</sup>

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202 “Po wyborach,” in: *PK* 1912, No. 45.

203 “Po wyborach,” in: *PK* 1912, No. 44.

204 Qtd. after: *PK* 1913, No. 9.

205 S. Gajewski, “Izydor Kajetan Wysłouch wobec ruchu ludowego i inteligencji liberalnej w Królestwie Polskim,” in: *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 1995, Vol. 43, No. 2 (Historia), p. 99.

## Conclusion

Between 1855 and 1915, the Church community was reluctant toward Jews. However, the statement that it resulted from anti-Semitism or anti-Judaism deeply rooted in Christianity would be a big simplification that would be an excuse not to search for different reasons for such a state of affairs. The complexity of socioeconomic and historical circumstances, in which particular Churches had to conduct their activity, had a significant impact on the – often hostile – Polish-Jewish relations.

Indeed, we should remember about the Janusz Tazbir's statement about early modern Poland that "the severity of opinions about the [Jewish] community was not restrained by the concern that any critique of Jews could be perceived as an indirect form of approval for the gas chambers."<sup>1</sup> Seemingly, the statement can also relate to the period in question. It is essential to adopt a proper perspective to evaluate the attitudes of Christian Churches circles toward the Jews, and to take into consideration the historical context, and factors that impacted the consciousness of Polish agrarian society in the post-feudal reality.

The group of civilizational changes that led to the transformation of social self-consciousness included the rise of new mass organizations of various social groups. The increasing politicization of life associated with this process meant, on the one hand, that the social influence of elites – which represented specific socioeconomic aspirations – began to broaden while, on the other hand, it proved that these elites conducted activity to recruit as many people as possible to fulfill the appointed program of social, economic, or national character. The development of socialist, liberal, and national ideologies along with the simultaneous overinterpretation of the evolutionary theory formulated by natural sciences, and racial theory offered fertile ground for the confirmation and enrichment of traditional religious and economic prejudice toward Jews and the creation of new ones of political character (the Dreyfus Affair, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*).

The Catholic Church, which performed the role of "bulwark" assigned to it by history, was susceptible to mechanisms that strengthened and intensified the attitude of intolerance toward anything non-Catholic and non-Polish, and the

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1 J. Tazbir, *Świat panów Pasków. Eseje i studia*, Łódź 1986, p. 241.

atmosphere of captivity was conducive to this tendency.<sup>2</sup> The manifestations of this new attitude were a motto of the Pauline Father Pius Przeździecki that “Catholicism is upright and it does not acknowledge any deviation,” along with the slogan of Fr. Ignacy Kłopotowski that “A Pole is a Catholic, non-Catholic is not a Pole.”<sup>3</sup>

According to Daniel Olszewski, the clergy clearly disapproved of the process of radicalization distinctly manifested at the turn of the twentieth century among workers and peasant, accompanied by intense anti-clerical attitudes.<sup>4</sup> In this way, the Church circles manifested their negative attitude toward the phenomena and processes that weakened traditional social ties and rejected the authority of the Church. Church journalism referred to French and Hungarian examples, thus making Jews responsible for the secularization of public life and actions that aimed at granting state control over the Church, which were in consequence to limit the influence of the Church over the society and transform the religion into the individual matter of a citizen. The journalists set the idea of Christian order against the liberal and socialist theories considered the products of Masonry and Jews. They did not exert themselves to profoundly and broadly analyze changing reality. On the contrary, the statement that Jews are guilty often excused authors from searching for genuine sources of numerous social problems. Thereby, ancient prejudices toward Jews constantly resurfaced, mainly manifested during the period of the Jewish trade boycott. The Catholic clergy that engaged in the activity of moral and economic revival of the nation often encountered social phenomena such as poverty, exploitation, drunkenness, and usury. They often interpreted them as a consequence of Jews’ deliberate activity. However, “national flaws” of Poles were also perceived as sources of these phenomena.

Anti-Semitism was generally accepted as a program of counteracting Jewish hegemony in economic, social, and political spheres. However, the use of terror was decisively rejected. The anti-Jewish upheavals in 1881–1882 proved this fact,

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2 On the subject of Polish “bulwarks,” see J. Tazbir, *Polskie przedmurze chrześcijańskiej Europy. Mity a rzeczywistość historyczna*, Warszawa 1987.

3 K. Górski, “Polscy integryści. Nieznana karta dziejów katolicyzmu polskiego,” in: *Znak* 1980, No. 5/6 (311/312), p. 728 and Z. Kmiecik, “Prasa polska w Królestwie Polskim i Imperium Rosyjskim w latach 1865–1904,” in: *Prasa polska w latach 1864–1918*, ed. J. Łojek, Warszawa 1976, pp. 74–75.

4 D. Olszewski, “Podstawa źródłowa do badań mentalności kleru w XIX wieku (na przykładzie akt konsystorza kieleckiego),” *Summariusum* 1974, No. 3 (23), p. 117; D. Olszewski, *Polska kultura religijna na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, Warszawa 1996, pp. 267–268.

when the clergy assertively opposed the acts of rape and violence toward the Jewish population.

The Church also condemned racial anti-Semitism as it conflicts with the teaching and mission of the Church and hinders the possibility of Jewish assimilation through baptism. Despite this fact, the Catholic Church in the Kingdom of Poland was not very active in the field of missionary activity among Jews. It seems that it was connected with political, social, and inside difficulties of the Church after 1864.

Meanwhile, the pastors' community regarded the Jewish question more in its religious context, rather than political or economic one. The Evangelical Church synods dedicated much effort to it, just like the Evangelical press, particularly at the turn of the twentieth century. Noteworthy, intensive evangelizing and missionary activity among Jews led to more in-depth knowledge of the Jewish culture, customs, and language; thereby, it seemingly contributed to the softening of prejudices toward Jews in the Evangelical community.<sup>5</sup>

It seems that the Evangelical Church better understood the complexity of the Jewish question. Presumably, it resulted from the fact that Evangelicals were a religious minority in Poland, and Evangelicalism itself did not have such "historical burdens and obligations" as Catholicism. Moreover, the Evangelical community was not an ethnically uniform group, which was not without significance when it came to Jews. Nevertheless, the national conflict that increased in the Kingdom of Poland since the beginning of the twentieth century caused the Evangelical communities, and particularly the Polish Evangelical communities, to yield to the anti-Jewish atmosphere. It did not result from the increase of religious prejudices but rather from the socio-professional stratification of the Evangelical community and the need to prove to the Polish Catholic majority that one can also be "a good Pole" while being an Evangelical.

In terms of tradition, the attitude of the Orthodox Church toward the Jews was close to the Catholic one. However, it was additionally marked by its relation toward the Russian statehood, which resulted in the perception of Judaism, similarly to Catholicism, mainly as a political phenomenon hostile and dangerous to tsarism, thereby to the Eastern Orthodox Church. The community accused Jews of leading a parasitic way of life, the dissemination of corruption and depravity,

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5 Noteworthy, the work and activity of German Evangelical theologians, Franz Delitsch (1813–1890) and Hermann Strack (1848–1922), had considerable merit in the nineteenth-century fight with prejudices toward Jews and in recognizing mutual connections between early Christianity and Judaism.

and cooperation with Poles against the Orthodox Church. The Orthodox community accused Jews of insufficient assimilation. The Orthodox faithful were afraid of their impact on the Eastern Orthodox Church.

All of this was a manifestation of the deeply rooted historical Judeo-, Jesuito-, and Polonophobia of the Russian Orthodox Church. Presumably, the significant factors included the fact of long-term deprivation of Orthodoxy in the Polish lands in the period preceding the partitioning, but also a close connection, or even dependence, of Russian Eastern Orthodox Church on the structures of state authority, whose policy about the Jewish question had manipulative and opportunistic character.

In conclusion, I wish that research on the issues presented in this study continues and investigates the period of Polish interwar independence (1918–1939). Indeed, the result of such research may become a springboard for interesting comparisons and a more profound analysis. Obviously, after more than a hundred years of partitioning, on the threshold of reconstruction of Polish statehood and during its course, Polish-Jewish relations were not easy. The increase in nationalistic attitudes in the Polish lands resulting from the events of 1918–1920 deepened previous divisions.<sup>6</sup> It was not only the case of Jews but also Russians, Germans, and Ukrainians. Besides, according to Roman Wapiński, younger generations felt stronger the presence of “foreigners.” This was contrary to the generations that spent a considerable part of their lives under the partitions. In fact, it was the period of fights for the borderlands during which occurred a far-reaching polarization of positions, which resulted in increased estrangement from all those who did not manifest their enthusiasm or behaved neutrally toward Polish aspirations for independence. Such behavior was perceived as a confirmation and reinforcement of distance toward Jews.<sup>7</sup> In the 1930s, the worsening economic situation, the increasing pauperization of the society, and the simultaneous increase of popularity of the nationalist ideology led to the escalation of national and social conflicts.<sup>8</sup> In this context, what is interesting is the question

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6 Cf. T. Radzik, *Stosunki polsko-żydowskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki w latach 1918–1921*, Lublin 1988, pp. 61–75.

7 R. Wapiński, “Polska i jej mieszkańcy w wyobrażeniach społecznych po odzyskaniu niepodległości (do 1939 r.),” *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie* 1994, No. 2/3, pp. 275–276.

8 R. Wapiński, “Polska i jej mieszkańcy,” p. 276–277; M. Sobczak, *Stosunek Narodowej Demokracji do kwestii żydowskiej w Polsce w latach 1918–1939*, Wrocław 1998, p. 338; cf. also R. Michalski, *Obraz Żyda i narodu żydowskiego na łamach polskiej prasy pomorskiej w latach 1920–1939*, Toruń 1997, pp. 42–60.



about the attitude of the Christian Churches toward Jews in the period of the Second Polish Republic. The study by Anna Landau-Czajka partly answers this question in terms of the attitude of Catholic opinion-forming circles. Landau-Czajka's study discusses the conceptions for solving the Jewish question in Polish journalism in 1933–1939. The analysis of the Catholic press proves that the manner of argumentation and analysis of the phenomena associated with the Jewish question did not fundamentally change. Journalists continued to exhort citizens to avoid contact with Jews so that they would not cause a moral decay. However, journalists often set Jews as examples for Catholics, emphasizing Jewish solidarity and their faithfulness to tradition. The accusations of deicide did not disappear. Journalists continued to hold Jews responsible for the existence of Masonry, socialism, and liberalism as expressions of an anti-Christian spirit. Journalists accepted economic boycott as admissible and advisable, while antisemitism was regarded as morally fair. Many authors devoted much of their attention to the matter of assimilation through baptism, and they expressed various opinions, from enthusiastic ones – according to which baptism is the solution of the Jewish question – to the pessimistic ones, according to which baptism solves only individual cases. All of this continued the situation in the Polish-Jewish relations before 1914. However, the 1930s were a turning point, when some Catholic circles adopted the opinion that racial difference is the essence of the Jewish question.<sup>9</sup> Besides, the period saw the growing diffusion of nationalist views into the Church circles, thanks to which such views gained increasing acclaim in the Polish society and, thus, specific legitimization, although often conflicting with with official Church recommendations for the Jewish question.

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9 A. Landau-Czajka, *W jednym stali domu. . . Koncepcje rozwiązania kwestii żydowskiej w publicystyce polskiej lat 1933–1939*, Warszawa 1998, pp. 112–113.



# Annex

## 1. The Jewish question in the Kingdom of Poland in the middle of the nineteenth century in an anonymous manuscript

[ca. 1854/1855]

In the end, the largest population group after Catholics is the Jewish, or Mosaic community. And the number of the Jews, who are firmly settled in this community, has already gone over 30,000<sup>1\*</sup> and is constantly growing because of their typical fertility, and because of their massive inflow to the capital from all over the Kingdom, which continues unabated in spite of the fact that they are deprived of citizenship rights and experience oppression from the government. These obstacles notwithstanding, the Jewish nation leads – and governs, as it were – our country, they took control over all treasures and financial businesses, the whole trade, and most of industry and crafts. In short, nowhere, let alone Warsaw, can a Christian shopkeeper endure competition with the Jewry, for every business is ruined when the Jews enter the market, and because of them even an ordinary workman is no longer capable of earning a penny! This is all the more sorrowful for the people as this evil grows with each year – and what is even worse, all means employed against it can only bring more severe consequences.

There are two ways, in which the government chose to civilize our Jews, but both have failed to achieve their intended purpose; on the contrary, they have either entrenched old prejudices or transformed the Jews into creatures which infect human community with moral corruption. We shall consider both these ways to find out where the greatest evil lies and what it takes to prepare at least a partial remedy to it, when it is not in the power of man to immediately destroy the fanaticism that has been – for so long and so deeply – rooted in the Polish Jewry. This being the case:

For more than 30 years now, the imperial government has supported the system of spreading enlightenment among Jews through the teachings of rabbis.

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1 \* Diocesan Archive in Kielce, *Akta ogólne*, cat. No. R-55, pp. 11–28. The first figure is unclear. According to Bohdan Wasiutyński, in 1855, 41,662 Jews lived in Warsaw, which constituted 26.2 % of the city's total population, while in 1831 the Jewish population of Warsaw amounted to 31,384 (25.4 %). See B. Wasiutyński, *Ludność żydowska w Królestwie Polskim*, Warszawa 1911, p. 66.

To that end, the Jewish community founded a school for rabbis and teachers of the Mosaic faith,<sup>2\*</sup> where students are taught and trained in the manner practiced by Israelites in other parts of Europe. However, in the eyes of his fellow believers, a sheeny educated in such an institution is more than a heretic, and he cannot be allowed to do anything. Often educated and pious man, he is not dirty nor glum [but] he has no scruples in seeking employment on the Sabbath and does not keep kosher, that is, he eats and drinks everything without distinction, which is ungodly in light of the Old Testament. There is no single example of the school's student who would find a place that fulfills his destiny. Jews protect themselves against those people as if they were a plague, while, on the other hand, the latter do not want to return to their past way of life, so hateful to them, they do not want to take poorly paid jobs and be dependent on the community. They find it more suitable to occupy positions at exchange offices which belong to bankers, who in Warsaw are usually Jews, or the larger trade. And they would rather become police agents than a guide in a qahal.

And, in spite of the government's intentions, nothing has changed among Polish Jews. The education of children is in the hands of the dirtiest teachers in the world, who cannot speak Hebrew except for a few prayers and most often do not understand the Polish national language. There is little difference between them and rabbis, who, if they receive higher education, are more zealous fanatics and prove to be more oppressive to poorer Jews.

Another thing is that, after the national uprising, and especially in recent times, the government decided to transform [the status of] Jews in a seemingly coercive manner. Thus, having suffered the greatest damage and oppression, our Jews began to wear the same clothes as local citizens, depending on their wealth and according to customs or ephemeral fads.

Initially, and only for a considerable fee, Jews, especially older ones, were permitted to dress in an old-fashioned style, wear beards and sidelocks, and shave their heads. Later, however, they were totally deprived of this liberty, or at least its scope became dependent on the arbitrariness of administrative decisions and police practices, which led to outrageous crimes and injustice.

The only privilege left is to wear beards, which Jews exceptionally value, but they can do so only if they dress themselves in the *Katzap*<sup>3\*</sup> way, that is to say, in the same manner as the peasants or townsmen of non-noble origin in the

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2 \* The Warsaw Rabbinic School was established in 1826.

3 \* “*Katzap*” (Polish: *kacap*) is a contemptuous term to designate a Russian peasant or generally a narrow-minded man – translator’s note.

Russian Empire. Despite this mild provision, which is tolerant toward the fanaticism of Orthodox Jews, it happens very rarely, and mainly in villages, that any of them wishes to exercise this liberty. This reveals the Jewish persistence and their desire for secret revenge – they would rather disgrace themselves by following Polish customs than please their own taste by wearing the dress of a nation whose violent hand they feel on their necks.

Countless disasters and damages result from this superficial metamorphosis imposed upon Jews. Dressed in European style, living at a higher tone, they acquire rights, albeit at the greatest cost, to settle in streets and squares that have been excluded from Jewish settlement for centuries. Hence the defilement of the most prestigious parts of the city of Warsaw, with all dirt and diseases inherent to Jewry; this is also the reason behind the disturbance of the family peace by wild noises of prayers in synagogues, which were earlier tolerated only in secluded areas and the most remote corners of the city. In the neighborhoods populated by Jews, even those who look most decent in appearance, trade, industry, and all enterprises run by Christians are doomed to collapse; the emulation<sup>4\*</sup> – driven by greed, a natural characteristic of Jews, and increased even more by religious fanaticism – will endure, overcome, and consume everything that gets in its way.

A Jew, who is just superficially civilized, lacking enlightenment in his soul and having an ill-bred heart – and who, moreover, liberated himself from the harness that his fathers' faith imposed upon him and finally scorned everything that, both according to his own denomination and according to Christian religion, is holy and deserves respect – becomes the most disgusting and pernicious monster, which threatens a human society.

The saddest, and at the same time the most shocking events among the noblest youth: the deception and betrayal of parents, seduction of an innocent, destruction of the greatest fortune, incredible waste of wealth and health – in short, all kinds of debauchery and crime – have already proved irrefutably, especially in Warsaw, that the Jewish harms were and are still being inflicted. Like earlier the Frankists,<sup>5\*</sup> who were well-known in our country, and Jewish converts, or the so-called mehes, usually practicing law or holding administrative positions, demoralized and impoverished only high society and the most prominent Polish families, now inconspicuously dressed Israelites, similarly to an internal disease,

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4 \* “Emulation” (Polish: *emulacja*) is an obsolete English term for rivalry, especially jealous, and competition – translator’s note.

5 \* Followers of Jacob Frank, the eighteenth-century Jewish Messiah claimant – translator’s note.

penetrate the whole body of our nation and sink it to perdition by taking over everything that is necessary for physical and moral life. The whole and only benefit of such a great effort was the conversion of a rabbi known by the name of Frank, the founder of a religious cult, to which only converts, called mehes in our country, used to belong, and which today attracts more and more superficially civilized, usually wealthy Jews, who do not even care that they are, at least formally, Christians. The deep cunning and high craftiness of the followers of this sect drew the attention of such an indifferent government as the Prussian one. Immediately after its establishment in Warsaw, the government appointed a special official with a great power and generous salary, whose task was to examine the nature of this sect and find out its most guarded secrets. All the searches and experiences conducted for this purpose proved beyond the pale of doubt that Jewish converts receive baptism only to keep appearances, that they are Christians only by name, while in the depth of their hearts, souls, and consciences they remain what they have always been – inveterate Jews. As far as opportunity permits it, they most faithfully observe all the duties and ceremonies of the Talmud in their private lives. They even celebrate Sabbaths under various pretexts and forms. Most commonly, they keep all weddings, baptism feasts, or funeral receptions – in a word, all family celebrations – for Sabbath days, and they never marry people who do not belong to the mehes family and sect.

Our national government at the time of the Duchy of Warsaw and Congress Poland not only did not take advantage of such an information and did not continue this important investigation but it even lost its records. More precisely, it allowed converts across all levels of the administrative hierarchy of public service to steal and destroy the records. And today's imperial government, for its own proper motives and political purposes, does not touch the issue of the moral state of Jews.

This position of Jewry in relation to Catholics, or the evil that stems from it, imposes upon our clergy the sacred duty of preventing the disaster which looms over our future. All efforts in this regard made by the government proved futile, for they stood in contradiction with the nature and purpose of the task. It is a proper vocation for priests, they are predetermined to carry out this apostolic mission, and therefore they can act more effectively and be more confident in seeking assistance and blessing from Heaven. Apart from the clergy's generous, disinterested zeal, which will only grow with the young generation of priests, whose conduct provides the highest guarantee in this regard, there are two conditions, which need to be fulfilled and on which, judging from the human standpoint, the whole endeavor may depend.

First, it is important to leave the clergy at full liberty to act without burdening the spirit and will with all the formalities and excessive control, which the government usually exerts over it for fear that the free practice of Catholic proselytism might disturb the peace between different Christian denominations.

Second, it is important to support the Church with appropriate funding not only for the training and trial of catechumens but also for safeguarding their future after the conversion. Aid of this kind would protect them against the vengeance of Jewish fanaticism and help them begin their life in the Christian community.

In the first respect, there were fewer obstacles in the Kingdom of Poland than it was often believed and repeated abroad, especially in Rome, where no regulations limit the practice of proselytism. There has been no ukase which would prevent religious conversions of Jews, let alone Protestants; the only explicit and strict prohibition concerns giving Eastern Greek Christians – or Orthodox Catholics, as they are officially called – admittance into the Roman Catholic Church. Thankfully, however, the purpose of the written terms under which the priest can lawfully convert a Jew or enlighten an erring Protestant is to make sure that everyone's will is respected, exclude abuses and deceit, and sustain the right of parents and guardians over their children and minors. But in practice, alas, these terms gain a wider importance and they tend to destroy even the most beneficial work. Indeed, such is the general condition of proselytism in non-Catholic countries, and in all places where the government or ruler professes a foreign faith, proselytism faces numerous obstacles and endless complications. Therefore, as long as these constraints are not removed, the clergy's zeal in converting the Jews remains futile; for under these constraints, human respects, political prospects, and conceit will always outshine the holy interest and well-being of the Christian community.

Let us now proceed to the second condition. It needs to be noted that all over the world, like in our country, Jews embrace the faith of Christ only under the pressure of poverty or degradation, and it has been rarely the case, not even a one in a thousand, that the conversion has been motivated by inner conviction. This circumstance, however, does not justify the abandonment of religious proselytism toward members of other churches, let alone toward Jews, a majority of whom suffers from poverty and misery in the fullest sense of the terms. To be sure, the new converts may not bring benefit nor consolation to the state and the Church; however, in the second or third generation, they can become good members of the human community. And the best – and most effective – way of converting the Jews is to establish the institution of neophytes for men and women separately. In the facilities established for this purpose, they should be

not only educated in the articles of faith but also trained in practical aspects of the Christian life, including arts and crafts, which may help them earn a living. In addition, there is a need to establish a permanent fund to support those who graduated from such an institution, so that they can buy a workshop or prepare for some other kind of profession. It is also important to equip young neophyte females. The latter are much more impetuous than our country's women, which is why they should be supported by the fund even until death – of course, if they would fail to get married or find other forms of earning appropriate for their complexion.

Let the Reader not be astonished that I have bored him for so long with all the details concerning the Jews. Only those are indifferent to this matter who do not care for the good of their homeland and do not know the harm that has been long inflicted upon them by a nation, which was once chosen by God, but which today torments the very community in which they live. Jews comprise nearly an eighth of the Catholic population in the Kingdom of Poland and so one may infer that the native inhabitants of the Kingdom remain under a constant threat of too frequent encounters with this immigrant nation, which, in its religious fanaticism, just waits for their moral humiliation, and which, in its innate greed, takes from them everything that they acquire by toil and honest effort.

Being a priest, I have already touched the deepest links between our countryman and a common Jew; in turn, by virtue of my pastoral office, I have closely experienced and examined the strongest influence that this very Jew, who is just superficially civilized, exerts upon the middle and highest classes of our nation. In both these roles, I have gladly taken part in the conversion of our Jews, and it is not so much for vainglory as for a better elucidation of the subject that *I dare to confess that there is no other Catholic priest on the Polish soil who has poured more water from the spring of salvation onto the heads of the followers of Moses* [emphasis]. But in addition to this, I should also say that it was almost always a matter of regretting the futile trouble and the ill use made of devotions that I have gained the conviction that it was safer and even more beneficial to leave the Jews with their typical fanaticism and Talmudic idolatry than convert them to Christianity without having a way to provide them with sustenance and keep them committed to our faith. If there was any success, it concerned only those boys and girls who received baptism at a very young age and were brought up in the simplicity of a rural life. In contrast, neophytes from larger cities and towns, more worldly-wise and enlightened, usually become worse and more harmful.

The simple-minded Jews, who live among the converts of this kind, easily return to their Jewish faith and become even more zealous in spreading errors and fanaticism among their fellow believers. They constitute a different class of



people that has not been known in our country. In their way of living and conduct toward others, they are neither Christians nor Jews. In our colloquial language, they are often described as embezzlers, spies, and denunciators, who demoralize people, disturb domestic peace across the borders of the Kingdom, write anonymous complaints about political crimes out of revenge or for monetary gain, and are always ready, even at the lowest price, to take an oath in court, when a witness's testimony is required. They maintain strong ties with non-baptized and just superficially civilized Jews, who control and exploit the whole community.

The richer Jews in our country do not feel a need to change their faith, they are well off with it, because they lead a free life out in the big world, pampered with all luxuries, which their fortunes generously bestow upon them. If any of them wishes to take a higher civic or political position, he does not join the Catholic Church, but turns to Protestant Church, where he can more freely indulge in his passions and feel less guilt in his conscience.

Before the last revolution, a certain amount of money was allocated each year for the maintenance of catechumens. It was distributed by bishops across all dioceses in the country to support selected individuals who were baptized. Today, this allowance depends on the personal decree of the Prince Governor of the Kingdom, who generously supports the neophytes, especially when he condescends to be the godfather himself, as is often the case in Warsaw. Now, it is only necessary to use this generous allowance for a few to establish a general catechumenal institution, which would provide a greater benefit to more people. It would be also justified to move the funds spent on the rabbinic school, which, as I have mentioned above, fails to serve its role and has opposite effects to those which we would expect.

The most difficult task is to create an institution for female catechumens. It requires more funding and a wider examination of the circumstances to assure its proper functioning. Indeed, nowhere in the Catholic world has this difficulty been properly resolved, and even Rome itself, which abounds with charitable and religious institutions, lacks a monastic congregation focused exclusively on converting Jewish women to the Catholic faith.

In our country, to the glory of our nation and clergy, such an institution was founded in the middle of the previous century. Turczynowicz, the canon of Vilnius, dedicated his considerable fortune to the establishment and maintenance of a female congregation obliged by solemn religious vows to educated Jewish and Tatar catechumens in the articles of faith and in the customs of Christian catechumens of Jewish and Tatar origin. Like every good Pole, as a priest dedicated to the Virgin Mary, he began his endeavor under her patronage and gave the name of Mariavite Sisters to the established congregation. And he

himself alone, in his native language, prescribed a rule, which the Holy See later approved in its entirety, praising the Founder's salutary intentions. The congregation of the Mariavite Sisters grew rapidly in Lithuania, both in term of the number of monasteries and in terms of its beneficial effects, but this could not last for long. The imperial government suppressed the congregation and other similar female institutions. Shortly before the suppression, at the request of the clergy of the Kalisz diocese, two sisters of this order came to the Kingdom and settled in Częstochowa to create a shelter for neophyte women. They are now in a lamentable state of disappointment and destitute, they hope to receive the promised support, as they are devoid of any funds. They live by the labor of their hands and the initial education they provide to bourgeois girls. They look forward patiently to a more favorable time, when they will be summoned to the institution for which they have called for a long time. There are several people who have voluntarily contributed significant sums to the establishment of the catechumenal home, a sum which increases every year thanks to the holy ladies' efforts who collect sacrifices in churches during the Holy Week, and in private houses, and generally at every convenient opportunity. But because the Archbishopric has been vacant for so many years, there is no one to complete the project of founding a catechumenal institution and manage funds allocated for this purpose. Here, like on many other occasions, which I cannot list in this letter, one may clearly see how much damage our Church has to suffer, when it is virtually orphaned and devoid of its helmsman, the true archprelate. Indeed, this is the cause of all the evil troubles which affect our clergy: the absence of confessional comfort in the capital of the Kingdom, the disorder in parish service, the weakening of ecclesiastical obedience in the people, and the lack of canonical discipline in the secular and religious clergy. During the 35 years of the existence of Warsaw Archdiocese,<sup>6\*</sup> nothing could be initiated or established for its sake, because its Archbishop either lived too short or, for his generally decrepit age, was unable to commit himself fully and govern with the strong hand. Apart from its unfortunate location, the ever-interim character of the clerical administration has evidently destroyed both the spirit and the body of the Polish Church.

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6 \* Founded in 1818.

## 2. The parish priest of Mordy, Fr. Aleksandrowicz, to the general consistory of the Podlachia diocese in Janów, regarding the baptism of the Jew, Józef Buchbinder<sup>7</sup> \*

[Mordy, February 25, 1856]

I have the honor to provide the Most Holy Consistory with the attached report explaining the request of the Jew, Josef Buchbinder, to be baptized. I shall respectfully ask the Consistory to support his claim and allow him, after proper preparations, to receive the holy sacrament of baptism.

Fr. Aleksandrowicz

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Mordy, February 25, 1856

The Jew, Josef Buchbinder, approached me, the parish priest of Mordy, and declared his intention and willingness to embrace the Roman Catholic religion. Having accepted his request, I proceeded to discuss the meaning of this important step and call to true faith, trying to find out what were the main motives behind his decision to join the Holy Catholic Church.

The statement of the Jew, Josef Buchbinder, explains this in the following way:

What is your name and place of birth? Where do you currently reside? Do you have parents, a wife or family? What is your age and occupation?

*My name is Josef Buchbinder, I was born in the town of Radzyń, in the Lublin gubernya, and this is where I currently live. My father, Hela, and my mother, Rejzla,*

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7 \* Diocesan Archive in Siedlce, files from March 1856, pp. 22–24. Józef Buchbinder (1838–1909) – painter. In 1857–1862, he studied at the School of Fine Arts in Warsaw, then in Dresden and Munich. He worked in Düsseldorf, Paris, and Rome. In 1870, he returned to Warsaw, where from 1879 he worked as a head of *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* (The Illustrated Weekly). With time, he devoted himself almost entirely to religious painting, creating a Dictionary of Polish and foreign artists working in Poland, commissioned by churches from almost all over the country. Cf. *Słownik artystów polskich i obcych w Polsce działających. Malarze, rzeźbiarze, graficy*, Vol. 1: A–C, Wrocław, p. 266. In 1907, Józef Buchbinder's daughter, Maria, married Bohdan Wasiutyński (1882–1940), a lawyer, historian, and senator for the National Party in 1928–1935. Their son was Wojciech (1910–1994), a journalist and national activist, member of the Camp of Great Poland and co-founder of the National Radical Camp, editor of *Jutro* (Tomorrow) and *Falanga* (Phalanx). Since 1939, he migrated to different countries (France, England, and the United States where lived until his death). W. Wasiutyński, *Prawą stroną labiryntu. Fragmenty wspomnień*, ed. W. Turek, Gdańsk 1996, pp. 21–22 and 151.

*live in the town of Radzyń, and earn a living as painters. I have two brothers and two sisters. I am unmarried. I am now 18 years old, I lived with my parents since childhood. My father taught me the art of painting and since then I have worked with him as a painter.*

What is the main reason behind your request to be baptized? Are you motivated by any earthly interest, a prospect for profit, or a desire to obtain an exemption from military service?

*The desire that prompted me to abandon the Jewish religion and seek to receive baptism has grown inside me for more than two years, and it was only because of different circumstances, especially my fear of my father, that I could not carry out this act. I am not motivated by temporal gain and have no prospects for bettering my fate or avoiding my military duty. I only wish to embrace salvation through this holy religion, which I have long admired and believed that it allows one to become pleasing to God. I do not wish to improve my current situation because even today I can provide for myself by my artistry. I do not fear of conscription for I still have minor brothers and therefore I am entitled to choose according to my preference. I hereby request to be allowed to receive a deeper education in the principles of the Roman Catholic religion, so that I can obtain the sacrament of baptism and become a rightful Catholic. I fix all my hopes on God and I shall continue to beg Him to make me worthy of becoming a believer in this holy religion. This is the statement that I have signed with my own hand.*

*J. Buchbinder*

Having examined, as much as it was possible, Josef Buchbinder, and having learned everything I could about his conduct, I came to the conviction that the above testimony is fully reliable. Therefore, I have the honor to present this report to the Most Holy Consistory.

Fr. Aleksandrowicz  
[manuscript]

### **3. The parish priest of Włocławek, Fr. Nowakowski, to the President of the town of Włocławek<sup>8\*</sup>**

[Włocławek, December 13, 1858]

On the ninth day of this month, Abraham Hajm Hała, a resident of the town of Kowal, came to me and declared his intention to be converted to the Roman

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8 \* State Archive in Włocławek, *Akta Magistratu Miasta Włocławka (1787–1918)*, cat. 321.

Catholic Religion, and asked us to prepare him to adopt thereof. Given the variety of my occupations, I was unable to teach the mentioned catechumen the matters of faith. Instead, I sent him the local monastery of the Reformats,<sup>9\*</sup> which I have the honor to report to the Honorable President with a respectful request to send a designated official to write a proper report of this case.

Fr. Nowakowski  
[manuscript]

#### **4. The superior of the monastery of the Reformats in Włocławek, Fr. Hilary Bielawski, to the President of the town of Włocławek<sup>10\*</sup>**

[Włocławek, December 26, 1958]

On the fifteenth day of this month, the magistrate of Włocławek sent an Israelite to the local monastery in order to educate him in the principles of faith, for he was supposed to adopt the Roman Catholic religion. The same Israelite disappeared from the monastery on the twenty-fourth day of this month at 4:30 before noon and has not returned to the monastery yet. It is probable that when the monks were celebrating Christmas Eve, the Jews seized the opportunity and kidnapped him to prevent his baptism. I am prompted to draw this conclusion by the fact that the father of this catechumen, and his brother, and some other quilt maker<sup>11\*</sup> from Włocławek haunted and intruded themselves upon the monastery on that day, urging this boy to give up his intention, but each time they encountered an obstacle of some sort until they finally carried out their plan in the evening. This is also evidenced by the fact that they took him without his cap, which was left in the monastery, and what is more, today I was notified that, on Saturday, the boy was held in the quilt maker's attic, here in Włocławek, vis-a-vis the synagogue, and that he was guarded by Jews. This kind of violation should have never taken place, especially given the fact that the Israelite was under police custody.

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9 \* Reformed Franciscans – translator's note.

10 \* State Archive in Włocławek, *Akta Magistratu Miasta Włocławka (1787–1918)*, cat. 321.

11 \* “Quilt maker” (Polish: *waciarz*) was a profession typically associated with Jews in nineteenth-century Poland. Cf. Wiktor Gomułicki's poem, “El Mole Rachmim” (1866), in which we read: “Itzik, quilt maker, married a huckstress' daughter” (“Żenił się Icek, waciarz, z tandeciarki córką”). See *Poezje Wiktora Gomułickiego*, Warszawa 1866, p. 23 – translator's note.

I therefore kindly ask the Most Honorable President to use every possible means to investigate this abuse, trace this Israelite, and bring him back to the monastery.

Fr. Bielawski  
[mauscript]

### **5. The testimony of Rozalia Frankiel given in the Town Council of the Town of Częstochowa regarding her stay in the Mariavite convent <sup>12\*</sup>**

[Częstochowa, June 11/23, 1860]

On my own inspiration, I thought of adopting the Holy Roman Catholic Religion and, for this purpose, I came to Czestochowa seven weeks before Easter. I went directly to the Mariavite convent, as I heard that the sole purpose of its existence is to convert the unbelievers and increase the number of Jesus Christ's followers. And so I revealed my desire to adopt the Catholic religion to the superior of the monastery, Mother Jelca, who accepted me. But instead of teaching me the prayers and other religious principles, the sisters burdened me with work, that is, I had to look after cattle, wash, cook, dig in the garden, etc. And even though I am cut out for work, and I would carry out these tasks with pleasure, my primary aim in this case was to be baptized. In return for such a blessing, I was ready to devote my whole life to Mariavites, and repay their kindness with work. But the Mother claimed otherwise: first, I had to work for a year for them, and only afterwards they would begin to prepare me for receiving the Holy Sacrament. Still, I was not discouraged by her conduct, it only doubled my desire to become a Catholic as soon as possible and therefore, leaving the Mariavite convent, I went to [the local parish priest] who immediately agreed to see me. And now both the parish priest and other local priests continue to prepare me for receiving Baptism because I already know basic prayers, the catechism, and the Ten Commandments of God . . . so I do not need to return to the Mariavite convent. I only ask to recover my things which the Mother confiscated from me and does not wish to return.

[manuscript]

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12 \* State Archive in Częstochowa, *Akta Magistratu Miasta Częstochowy*, *Wydz. Adm.*, cat. 32, pp. 204–206.

## 6. A letter of the parish priest of Radzyń to the General Consistory of the diocese of Podlachia<sup>13\*</sup>

[Radzyń, July 14, 1863]

Fulfilling the decree of the Honorable Consistory of 8 July, No. 314, recommending that the Judaist, David Zysman, who wishes to be baptized, should go to the guardian priest of the St. Bernardine in Lubawa, I have the honor to report that the Judaist in question received a calling into the army.

I shall add that his Christian tendencies were doubtful, since he even failed to treat his own mother in a human way, and in all probability revealed his intentions only to gain benefit.

[manuscript]

## 7. A letter of the dean of Siedlce, Fr. Aleksandrowicz, to the General Consistory of the diocese of Podlachia<sup>14\*</sup>

[Mordy, May 16, 1865]

The superior of the Bernardine monastery in Krześlina reported to the dean on May 9, No. 14, that Josel Perlmutter, who was being prepared for baptism, was expelled based on the decree of the Honorable Consistory of March 4, No. 508, as a person of immoral conduct.

For some time, until Perlmutter had no funds in his hand, he was willing to study and work, and was calm and obedient, but as soon as he had the opportunity to receive a dozen or so rubles from his own deposit, he fell into drunkenness, and often sneaked out of the monastery to hams to demoralize monks and plied them with drinks, and even sold his clothes to have money for drinking and debauchery. Thus, after several warnings, he was removed.

Fr. Aleksandrowicz

[manuscript]

## 8. A letter of the General Vicar of the Warsaw Archdiocese, Fr. Paweł Rzewuski, to the Government Committee of Internal Affairs and Denominations<sup>15\*</sup>

[Warsaw, August 27/September 5, 1865]

13 \* Diocesan Archive in Siedlce, *Akta ogólne dot. chrztu nowonawróconych 1821–1867*.

14 \* Diocesan Archive in Siedlce, *Akta ogólne dot. chrztu nowonawróconych 1821–1867*.

15 \* The Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, CWWKP 1796–1888, sig. 205, pp. 623 ff.

In recent years, after each time a protocol was formulated by law prescribed in the gubernial government, male catechumens were sent to monasteries, while female catechumens were sent to convents, namely to the former St. Felix Institution. The cloistral walls did not seem restrict the will of the catechumens, since every time catechumens wanted to return to the Jewish faith, they were immediately released. The archdiocesan records provide evidence that, in this respect, the clerical authority did not impose any ties upon individual conscience, for this would be against the principles of faith, the good of society, and cultural uprightness.

Currently, the law forbids lay people to live in monasteries or convents. Therefore, the catechumens do not find a suitable refuge where they can learn the principles of our Holy Faith. Hence, I wish to ask the Government Committee to allow catechumens to stay temporarily in monasteries and convents, so that they learn the truths of faith.

Titular Bishop of Prussia  
[manuscript]

**9. A letter of the superior of the permanent monastery  
of the Dominican order, Fr. Stanisław Cieślakowski,  
to the administrator of the diocese of Lublin,  
Fr. Kazimierz Sosnowski<sup>16</sup>\***

[Lublin, March 8, 1868]

I have the honor to inform your Eminence that a Jew, Moszek Szpajzer, sent to our monastery to be taught of the principles of Roman Catholic faith, secretly fled from the monastery three days ago. Because Szpajzer mentioned above did the same thing already last year, it makes one deduce that he has no intent to adopt the Christian faith but is a loafer who wanders pretending he wants to be baptized, but in reality he only searches for material benefits, or at least for a temporary shelter and food.

Therefore, I believe that he can be never admitted again.

Fr. St. Cieślakowski  
[manuscript]

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16 \* Diocesan Archive in Lublin, *Lubelski Konsystorz Rzymsko-Katolicki*, Rep 60. XIII–10 (1861–1876).



## 10. Karol Gustaw Manitius, the second pastor of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession to the Warsaw Consistory<sup>17\*</sup>

[Warsaw, October 4, 1871]

In response to the decree of the Warsaw Consistory of 17 September, No. 3781, I have the honor to report that a Jew, Joseph Grünberg, visited me recently and was so weak that he could barely climb the stairs, but he claimed that, despite his family's efforts to stop him, he stood firm in his conscience and asked for the date of his baptism to be planned and I fulfilled his request. However, he never came back and missed the prescribed date; perhaps, suffering to the utmost degree from consumption, he is now lying gravely ill and cannot leave his house. And being surrounded by the Jewish family, he has no chance to inform me about his condition.

Manitius  
[manuscript]

## 11. The General Consistory of the diocese of Lublin to lay and monastic clergy<sup>18\*</sup>

[Lublin, July 16, 1872]

The admission of Israelites to the Catholic community has so far been carried out through the diocesan authority, which, apart from seeking the funds needed for the maintenance of the catechumens' education, has also dealt with the formalities required by the government, without exposing the guardians of those catechumens to the trouble, necessarily linked to the activity of this kind. Nowadays, because of the increasing number of Jews, and especially virgins, asking for baptism, the diocesan authorities are forced to announce that it is not possible to continue to collect funds to support them during their preparation, either in the monastery or in a private house, and above all to offer them appropriate care after baptism.

It is therefore necessary to inform the Clergy, and especially those who may be affected by this, that – according to the Circular of the Diocesan Administrator of June 11, 1867, No. 941 – those who bring catechumens, apart from observing

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17 \* The Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, *Zbór Ewangelicko-Augsburski* 413<sup>a</sup>.

18 \* Diocesan Archive in Lublin, *Lubelski Konsystorz Rzymsko-Katolicki*, Rep 60. XIII–10 (1861–1876).

the regulations specified in the decree of the administrator of the affairs foreign denominations of May 27 (June 8), 1867, No. 1992, should also take care of the fate of these catechumens by paying for their maintenance during their studies. They also help them find their first occupation after baptism.

Surrogate Judge, Fr. Misiński  
Regent of the Chancellery of Fr. Wł. Koglarski  
[print]

**Attachment: Administrator of the affairs of foreign denominations in the Kingdom of Poland, Paweł A. Muchanow, to the administrator of the diocese of Lublin, Fr. Kazimierz Sosnowski<sup>19\*</sup>**

[Warsaw, May 27/June 8, 1867]

Jewish juveniles, who wish to be baptized, even against the will of their parents, can receive the sacrament, although, under the strict rule of Article 338 of the Civil Code of the Kingdom of Poland, juveniles may not abandon their parent's home, and in the event of a juvenile's voluntary dismissal, his or her parents have the right to search for, and – with the help of the local authorities – bring them back. However, the Administrative Council of the Kingdom of Poland, by decision of 21 September (3 October) 1862, No. 14575, adopted the rule that male juveniles at the age of 14 and female juveniles at the age of 12 may convert to the Christian religion without any permission of their parents, and that it is only in such cases that the administrative authorities may provide care for juvenile Jews wishing to convert to the Christian religion against the will of their parents or guardians – which is to say, when the juveniles in question are: at least 14 years of age (boys) and 12 years of age (girls) – and when it is determined that their wish is not caused by any coercion, in which case the parents' demands for the return of such children should be left without effect; otherwise, the administrative authorities, on the general principle of law, should provide assistance to parents who are looking for their escaped children.

Administrator (-) Muchanow  
Superior of the Section (-) A. Kamieński  
[copy, print]

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19 \* Attachment to item 11.

**12. Fr. Nowakowski, Dean of Częstochowa, to Fr. Piotr Kubarski, prior of the Jasna Góra Monastery of the Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit<sup>20</sup>\***

[Częstochowa, July 12, 1888]

I am attaching the copies of the Honorable Diocesan Pastor's decrees of June 20, No. 1935, regarding the admission of people of non-Catholic denominations into the Church community, and of June 20, No. 1936, regarding the approach to cases in which Jews intend to be baptized. His Excellency will provide all confrère with printed copies of these decrees and will . . . also order that there should be a special book in the sacristy with the title: *Metrices Conversorum*, in which all those who pass from Judaism or other religions into the bosom of the Holy Church should be registered.

Dean, Fr. Nowakowski  
[manuscript]

**Attachment: Copy of the decree of bishop of the diocese of Kalisz and Kuyavia, Aleksander Kazimierz Bereśniewicz, concerning the neophytes<sup>21</sup>\***

[Włocławek, June 20, 1888]

On more than one occasion, the clergy of our diocese asked the General Consistory how to behave when Jews intend to be baptized. As a result, I call the Dean to inform the clergy that, according to §§ 69 and 70 of the decree of the former Committee for Internal and Clerical Affairs of 1866, individuals who wish to be baptized to the Christian faith in the rite of the Roman Catholic Church ought to report to the mayor or voyt, who – in the presence of the closest parish priest – will draw up protocol; next, the mayor or voyt will let the higher administrative authority know about the protocol in question, and will send the protocol itself back to the appropriate consistory, which will issue an appropriate permission for the parish priest.

(-) + Aleksander, Bishop  
(-) F/X.M. Lorentowicz, Regent of the Chancellery  
Conformity with the original certified by Fr. Nowakowski, Dean of  
Częstochowa  
[copy, manuscript]

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20 \* Archive of Jasna Góra Monastery (further as AJG), *Neofici*, sig. 73, pp. 137–141.

21 \* Attachment to item 12.

### 13. Parish priest of Częstochowa, Fr. Nowakowski, to Fr. Euzebiusz Rejman<sup>22</sup>\*

[Częstochowa, September 26, 1889]

Based on the decree of the General Consistory of Włocławek of 14 September, No. 2732., I would like to ask Fr. Euzebiusz Rejman to baptize the Jew, Pinkus Fraind, a Prussian subject, who has already passed all exams in the principles of the Catholic faith. The Consistory has instructed the priest who will give the sacrament of baptism to enter the neophyte's baptismal name into his passport and certify it with an official seal. After the ceremony, the neophyte should be sent to the parish chancellery to sign the certificate of baptism in the presence of two witnesses.

Fr. Nowakowski

#### Fr. Euzebiusz Rejman's note

The godparents: Józef Kolowiec, who lives in Częstochowa, and Ludwika Kuroczycka, who lives in Łehedyń (Kiev Governorate). The baptism took place at 10.30 a.m. in the chapel of the Our Lady of Częstochowa on September 30, 1889.

Fr. E. Rejman  
[manuscript]

### 14. Vicar of the Kielce Cathedral, Fr. R. Smoliński, to Fr. Euzebiusz Rejman, prior of the Jasna Góra Monastery<sup>23</sup>\*

[Kielce, undated]

Dear Excellency!

I wish to ask your Excellency to support the request of Jakub Ickowicz, who wants to convert from Judaism to the Catholic faith. I taught him the principles of faith and he was even in my service for six months. I would have baptized him myself, but his family had already raided my apartment a few times, trying to kidnap or kill him, which is why I have to send him somewhere else, for he will never be safe here, even after baptism.

What is more, it would be hard for him to learn any profession without my financial support. And since I am too poor a man to provide for him and I do not wish to employ him as a butler because people at the priest's house tend to loaf about. Therefore, I shall ask your Excellency to accept him among your people,

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22 \* AJG 73, p. 147.

23 \* AJG 2399, pp 9–12.

who certainly include blacksmiths or carpenters that can teach him their profession. As for his clerical qualifications, after a while your Excellency may see for yourself that they are quite promising.

With deepest reverence,  
Fr. R. Smoliński, Vicar of the Kielce Cathedral,  
conductor of the Seminary Choir  
[manuscript]

**15. Parish priest of Dąbrowa Górnicza, Fr. Grzegorz Augustinik, to Fr. Euzebiusz Rejman, prior of the Jasna Góra Monastery<sup>24</sup>\***

[Dąbrowa, February 11, 1904]

Reverend Father!

Several weeks ago a Jew named Paterkwit came to me from Mrzygłód. He was almost completely naked and lice-ridden, and he announced his wish to be baptized. After several rejections, I finally took pity on him, kept him at my place, bought underwear and clothes for him, wrote to the competent authorities for permission to baptize him, started to teach him as if he was my own parishioner. When the Jews put him under arrest, I still kept sending him food. Then I took him out at my own risk. And, on Sunday, this scallywag put on his new clothes and ran away. I began to worry that maybe Jews caught him, however, in the meantime, I received a letter from a priest of Mrzygłód, according to which they sent him to the father at Jasna Góra. I write about it to you, Father, so that you beware because this storyteller does not want to be baptized, he wants to exploit the priests — he is the fourth one who does something like that to me. I am just about to ask for permission, while those scamps run away.

Respectfully,  
Fr. G. Augustinik  
[manuscript]

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24 \* AJG 2399, pp. 17–19.

## 16. A request of Urysz and Estera Weinsztok to Fr. Euzebiusz Rejman, prior of the Jasna Góra Monastery, regarding their daughter<sup>25\*</sup>

[Kielce, September 7, 1904]

Twelve weeks ago, our daughter, Sura Chana Wajnsztok, persuaded by a certain man from Samsonów, Jan Biela, left our house and even dared to steal from us two watches, one gold and the other nickel. Everything happened on the night between Friday and Saturday. For this reason, we were forced to write requests to the Honorable Bishop of the Diocese of Kielce and Sandomierz,<sup>26\*</sup> so that she would not be permitted to receive baptism. For the only reason of her wish [to be baptized] was that she has been persuaded by the mentioned individual: we would not mind if she wanted to do so out of her heart, but this was not the case and she is still a juvenile – it is only in April 1905 when she will turn sixteen. And because we cannot stop her from adopting the Christian faith, we only wish to invoke our right to see her once again, so that we can get back at least part of the property that has been stolen from us. Otherwise, we will fall into destitute with our other children. Our request is also based on the testimony of her lover, Jan Biela, who returned to his family after three weeks and revealed that our daughter is in Częstochowa, where she is to be baptized.

With tears in our eyes, we dare to beg the Prior to show mercy and let us see her once again before baptism, in the presence of the Prior. And if she tells us that she does not want to come back, we will not create any difficulties, since we will not care about her anymore, so that she can only return to us what she stole.

Therefore, we attach a postal brand and ask the Honorable Prior to inform us if she is in Częstochowa, or not. We know that she is there, but we have no idea where and with whom.

Urysz Weinsztok  
Estera Weinsztok  
[manuscript]

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25 \* AJG 73, pp. 155–156.

26 \* Tomasz Teofil Kuliński (1823–1907) – bishop of the diocese of Kielce in 1883–1907. Stefan Aleksander Zwierowicz (1842–1908) – bishop of the diocese of Sandomierz in 1902–1842.

**17. A letter of Fr. Antoni Śliwiński to Fr. Euzebiusz  
Rejman, prior of the Jasna Góra Monastery<sup>27\*</sup>**

[Biała Podlaska, October 10, 1905]

Dear Reverend Father!

The fellow in question is of the Mosaic faith and wants to be baptized, but I do not think that he is sufficiently prepared, and he cannot be prepared in our church, for he fears the Jews, and I do not have the time to teach him. That is why I dare ask if he could be prepared or somewhere else and then baptized if this would be his will.

Respectfully yours,  
Fr. A. Śliwiński  
[manuscript]

**18. A request of a women from the village of Boroszewice,  
Maria Ossyjasz, to Augustyn Łosiński, bishop of  
the diocese of Kielce, regarding her son<sup>28\*</sup>**

[February, 1912]

My son, Zysman Jankiel Ossyjasz, 19 years old, of wicked conduct, unwilling to do anything, especially to listen to his parents. About two months ago he robbed our money and ran away. Now, he is in the local seminary and wants to be baptized there because the priests of our neighboring parishes rejected him, knowing his roguish deeds. Nothing good will come out of him, which is why I bow to the feet of the Holy Bishop of Kielce with the humblest request to expel my son from the seminary and reject his efforts to be baptized.

Your humblest servant,  
the requesting party is illiterate  
[manuscript]

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27 \* AJG 2399, pp. 21–22.

28 \* Diocesan Archive in Kielce, sig. OJ-2/1.

## 19. A request of Jankiel Ickowicz and Szyia Orzech to Fr. Stanisław Kazimierz Zdzitowiecki, bishop of the diocese of Wrocław, regarding baptism<sup>29\*</sup>

[Częstochowa, undated]

We, the two Jews, turn to your Excellency with timidity, but also great confidence, and beg to help us adopt the Catholic faith. Since the summer, we have lived in the Jasna Góra Monastery of Saint Paul the Hermit, being prepared for receiving baptism. The only thing missing is the government permission, which we seek but fail to obtain already for six months. We applied to the powiat<sup>30\*</sup> for several times, but the Moskals<sup>31\*</sup> are only laughing at us, saying that we need the governor's permission.<sup>32\*</sup> We wrote to the governor, but when we could not do anything about it. His office replied that soon our papers would be sent to the Reverend Bishop of Włocławek. We waited again for over a month and nothing happened. Desperate, ridiculed, pushed out the door by prelate Lorentowicz, when we ask him for advice as a parish priest, and working as hard as we have never in our lives, we suffer terribly, indeed unspeakably, but this is only because we are motivated to become followers of Christ. We hope to find more mercy and the paternal love of Christ in the Honorable Bishop's heart, who will not despise us and who has the power to influence the governor so that he would give us the permission and send my, i.e. Jankiel Ickowicz's certificate. My fellow candidate already has it. If our origin is required, we state the following:

First: I am Jankiel Ickowicz. My father is Mosiek Kiwa Ickowicz and mother Braudla Rudkowska. I was born in the village of Duraczów (Kielce Governorate). As far as I can remember, it was in 1889.

The second one: Szyia Orzech was born in Siedlce on 27 July 1886. His father is Gerszko Orzech and mother Maria Rozenblat (he already has his certificate).

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29 \* AJG 73, pp. 169–172. The document is undated. Most likely, it was written in 1912 or 1913.

30 \* The basic unit of territorial organization in Poland since the fourteenth century – translator's note.

31 \* Historically, the term *Moskal* was used in Polish to designate citizens of the Grand Duchy of Moscow (from the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries). In the eighteenth century, during the Partitions of Poland, it started to function as an ethnic slur for Russians – translator's note.

32 \* Mykhail Eduardovich Yanchevsky, governor of Piotrków in 1910–1914.



We beg your Excellency for mercy and for help in adopting the holy faith, and God will reward Him for this. We ask for His pastoral blessing and, if we may dare, to send his reply to: “W.P. Stanisław Pyzalski, the Jasna Góra Monastery in Częstochowa. For Jankiel Ickowicz.”

We are your Excellency’s humblest servants and we are kissing your dearest hands,

Jankiel Ickowicz  
Szyia Orzech  
[typescript]

After writing the protocol in the magistrate according to the law, we recommend that Rev. General<sup>33\*</sup> should baptize the candidates, to which we hereby grant a *facultatem*.

+ Bishop of Wrocław  
In the name of Regent of the Chancellery, Fr. Jan Kossowal  
[manuscript]

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33 \* Justyn Weloński (1830–1915) – General Superior of the Congregation of Marian Fathers of the Immaculate Conception in 1910–1915.



# Zusammenfassung

## Zur Haltung der christlichen Kirchen im Königreich Polen gegenüber den Juden in den Jahren 1855–1915

Die Auslöschung der polnischen Adelsrepublik auf der europäischen Karte gegen Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts hatte zunächst keine Auswirkungen auf die Situation der Juden, doch im Verlauf der Zeit differenzierte sie sich zunehmend in den einzelnen Teilungsgebieten. Der Prozess der rechtlichen Emanzipation der jüdischen Bevölkerung wurde vorerst in Preußen und Österreich in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts in die Wege geleitet, im Königreich Polen setzte er in der zweiten Hälfte dieses Säkulums ein, in dem eine Reihe von für die polnisch-jüdischen Beziehungen wichtigen Ereignissen eintrat. Es war eine Zeit, in der die Diskussion über die Grenzen der Assimilation verstärkt in den Fokus des öffentlichen Interesses rückte. Die Hoffnung und die Enttäuschung gingen darin einher. Es schien, dass das Konzept eines „Polen mosaischer Konfession“ verwirklicht werden wäre. Die polnisch-jüdische „Verbrüderung“ im Zeitraum 1861–1863 spielte – obwohl im Allgemeinen überbewertet – eine positive Rolle in der gegenseitigen Wahrnehmung der Polen und Juden. Leider gab es neben solchen einzelnen Hoffnungsstrahlen im gesellschaftspolitischen Leben immer mehr Erscheinungen, die eine Verschlechterung des gegenseitigen Verhältnisses der Polen und Juden ankündigten. Als Beispiele können hier der Warschauer Judenpogrom von 1881, die Einführung der antisemitischen Zeitschrift „Rola“ auf dem Pressemarkt, die Geburt und Entwicklung einerseits des polnischen und andererseits des jüdischen Nationalismus und schließlich die Zeit nach 1905, als sich die Spannungen in den polnisch-jüdischen Beziehungen immer stärker manifestierten, angeführt werden. Diese Spannungen erreichten ihren Höhepunkt in den Jahren 1907–1912, als man zum Boykott gegen die jüdischen Händler aufrief und antisemitische Töne während des Wahlkampfes um die Sitze in der Duma der vierten Legislaturperiode anschlug.

Die konfessionellen Verhältnisse gestalteten sich im Königreich Polen kompliziert. Dafür verantwortlich waren mehrere Faktoren. Einige von ihnen wurzelten noch in der Zeit vor den Teilungen Polens. Unter den christlichen Konfessionen war die römisch-katholische Kirche in der untersuchten Periode zahlenmäßig am stärksten vertreten, denn die Gläubigen machten rund 75 % der Gesamtbevölkerung des Königreichs aus. Je 5 % entfielen auf die orthodoxe und die protestantische Kirche. Die Juden stellten hingegen ca. 13 % der Bevölkerung dar. Diese Zahlenverhältnisse verdeutlichen schon das Gewicht der in der

vorliegenden Studie aufgegriffenen Problematik, und obwohl sie vielleicht nicht das wichtigste Kriterium sind, so werfen sie schon ein Licht auf die Bedingungen der Judenfrage.

Die Studie setzt sich zum Ziel, Aussagen, Meinungen, Programme und die Tätigkeit der Geistlichkeit der drei größten christlichen Kirchen im Königreich Polen im Hinblick auf die Judenfrage einer Analyse zu unterziehen. Die Untersuchung bemüht sich hierbei um die Einbeziehung eines breiteren gesellschaftspolitischen Hintergrunds der Epoche in die Betrachtungen. Selbstverständlich ist es nicht gelungen, in allen Fällen die Proportionen zu wahren. Zwei Gründe sind dafür anzuführen. Zum einen fällt der einschlägige Forschungsstand von heute recht bescheiden aus. Zum anderen weisen die zugänglichen Quellenmaterialien leider keinen Massencharakter auf und sind unvollständig (Kriegsverluste, lückenhafte Archivierung).

Die Studie besteht aus fünf Kapiteln. Im ersten werden die konfessionellen Verhältnisse im Königreich Polen, der Stand und die Zahl der Anhänger der jeweiligen Konfession, die Doktrinunterschiede und das jeweilige intellektuelle Potential, die Politik der zaristischen Behörden gegenüber den Kirchen und die Rolle des orthodoxen Glaubensbekenntnisses im Königreich erörtert. Im zweiten Kapitel rücken die Zahl und territoriale Verteilung der jüdischen Bevölkerung im Königreich Polen, ihre gesellschaftlich-berufliche Struktur und die ihre Erstarrung bewirkenden Faktoren, das religiös-politische Leben, die Einstellung der Staatsbehörden zur Judenfrage sowie die polnisch-jüdischen Beziehungen in den Mittelpunkt der Untersuchung. Das dritte Kapitel behandelt die Einstellung der Kirchen zum Antisemitismus: es liefert eine Analyse der antijudaistischen, jüdenfeindlichen und antisemitischen Haltung – deren Ähnlichkeiten und Differenzen, referiert über das antisemitische Programm, die Einstellung der Geistlichkeit zu den Judenpogromen von 1881–1882 und 1903–1906 sowie zu den Vorwürfen ritueller Morde. Im vierten Kapitel wird die Aufmerksamkeit auf das Programm der Assimilation als Lösung der Judenfrage gerichtet: unterschiedliche Standpunkte zur Assimilation, ihre Verbreitung, die Assimilation durch die Taufe; vermittelt wird ein Bild von der Missionarstätigkeit der Kirchen, darunter von der traditionellen protestantischen Evangelisierung der Juden, den Missionsstationen in polnischen Gebieten, der Tätigkeit der Londoner Missionsgesellschaft und anderen ähnlichen Vereinen sowie der Augsburgischen Konfession – von deren Erfolgen und Niederlagen; es zeichnet darüber hinaus die Missionarstätigkeit der Katholiken, die ersten Versuche, diese Tätigkeit zu entfalten, die Aktivitäten des Ordens der hl. Felizia (1858–1864) nach und richtet seinen Blick auf das Katechumenat am hl. Johannes Seminar in Warschau. Des Weiteren setzt es sich mit der Position der Orthodoxen und

ihren den jüdischen Konvertierungen entgegengebrachten Befürchtungen sowie den Motiven, die die Juden zu einem anderen Glauben übertreten ließen, und dem Judenbild in den Archivalien und Pressematerialien auseinander. Das fünfte Kapitel schließlich handelt das Thema der Einstellung der Kirchen zu der Judenfrage vor dem Hintergrund der zivilisatorischen Umwälzungen und der Demokratisierungsprozesse im gesellschaftlichen Leben: die Einstellung zur Freimaurerei, dem Sozialismus und Liberalismus sowie den Kampf um die Übergabe des Handels und der Industrie in polnische Hände (Genossenschaften, Boykotte) angesichts der politischen und nationalen Bestrebungen der Juden ab.

Der Zeitrahmen der Studie umfasst die Periode von der Mitte der 50er Jahre des 19. Jahrhunderts bis 1915. Der Anfangszäsur liegen die Niederlage des russischen Zarenimperiums im Krimkrieg (1853–1856) und die Machtübernahme durch den Zaren Alexander II. (1855–1881) zu Grunde. Diese Ereignisse legten einerseits die innere Schwäche und Instabilität des zaristischen Staates bloß und weckten andererseits bei vielen Hoffnungen und lieferten den Befürwortern der Veränderungen der gesellschaftlichen Situation in Russland zusätzliche Argumente. Im Königreich Polen zog u. a. die Diskussion über eine Änderung der rechtlichen Lage der jüdischen Bevölkerung, infolge deren den Juden die Gleichberechtigung zuerkannt werden sollte, immer breitere Kreise. Die Debatte zeigte deutlich, dass die polnischen meinungsbildenden Kreise in Bezug auf den Rahmen der den Juden zu gewährenden Emanzipation keine Einigkeit erzielen konnten. Diese Tatsache blieb nicht ohne Einfluss auf die polnisch-jüdischen Beziehungen nach 1862.

Die Schlusszäsur hingegen ist mit der Auflösung des Königreichs Polen und mit allen daraus resultierenden Konsequenzen verbunden, die, wie es scheint, die Wahl des Jahres 1915 in vollem Maße rechtfertigen.

Im untersuchten Zeitabschnitt waren der Antijudaismus und der Antisemitismus, obgleich eng miteinander verbunden, nicht identisch. Es fällt schwer, wenn überhaupt, die beiden Standpunkte gegeneinander abzugrenzen, doch ihre Quellen unterscheiden sich deutlich voneinander. Der Antijudaismus formulierte ihre Argumente gegen die Juden auf der Basis der christlichen Theologie und der kirchlichen Gesetzgebung, der Antisemitismus wiederum wurzelte seinem Wesen nach weder in der Kirche noch in der christlichen Religion. Er suchte den Juden eine separate Stellung in der neuen, postfeudalen Welt zuzuweisen und griff dabei auf das Rassenkonzept zurück.

Der Antijudaismus fiel damals noch nicht der Vergessenheit anheim. Als ein System religiöser Anschauungen und die seelsorgerische Praxis lebte er fort. Besonders deutlich kam diese Tatsache in den zu jener Zeit in kirchlichen Periodika und den Lehrbüchern für pastorale Theologie publizierten

Darlegungen zum Vorschein. Sie manifestierte sich zudem in jüdenfeindlichen Ausschreitungen, die mit christlichen Festen zeitlich zusammenfielen. Obwohl man im letztgenannten Fall die inspirierende Rolle der zaristischen Behörden nicht ausschließen kann, so scheint es, dass die Exzesse hauptsächlich aus den jahrhundertealten Vorurteilen und Aberglauben resultierten, die nicht nur unter den Gläubigen, sondern auch in einem Teil der Geistlichkeit (z. B. die Frage der rituellen Morde) tief verwurzelt waren.

Der Antisemitismus wurde nicht gänzlich verworfen. Man billigte ihn als Programm, das der jüdischen Vorherrschaft im wirtschaftlichen, gesellschaftlichen und politischen Leben einen Riegel vorschieben sollte. Man sprach sich aber entschieden gegen die Anwendung der Gewalt gegen die Juden aus und verurteilte den Rassenantisemitismus als mit der Lehre und Mission des Christentums unvereinbar.

Alle der in der Studie erwähnten Kirchen sahen die Wichtigkeit und Notwendigkeit, unter den Juden evangelisierende Missionen durchzuführen, ein. Die Verwirklichung dieser Absichten stieß jedoch auf verschiedene Hindernisse. Zu ihnen gehörten vor allem die Raumnot und finanzielle Schwierigkeiten, der Mangel an entsprechend vorbereiteten Kadern sowie die fehlende Bereitschaft bei einem Teil der Geistlichkeit, die Missionarsaufgaben zu übernehmen. Nicht ohne Bedeutung waren auch politische Bedingtheiten, die auf die Lage der katholischen Kirche und die Rolle der orthodoxen Kirche Einfluss ausübten.

An dieser Stelle verdient es hinzugefügt zu werden, dass die Konvertierung der Juden keinen Massencharakter hatte, und es waren häufiger außerreligiöse Faktoren, die den Weg zur Taufe ebneten. Die Analyse der Quellenmaterialien und die Auswertung der statistischen Daten legen den Schluss nahe, dass die Konvertierungen im engen Zusammenhang mit den sich im Königreich Polen vollziehenden gesellschaftlichen, wirtschaftlichen und politischen Umwälzungen standen. Daher konnte nicht immer von einer fortgeschrittenen Assimilation die Rede sein.

Das um die Wende vom 19. zum 20. Jahrhundert erstarkende Nationalbewusstsein der Juden fand in der christlichen Presse keine begeisterte Aufnahme. Man hielt es für Hirngespinnste und Anstrengungen der Zionisten, einen eigenen jüdischen Staat zu gründen. Man äußerte seine Befürchtungen hinsichtlich eventueller Folgen nationaler Bestrebungen der Juden und beschuldigte den Zionismus feindlicher Absichten gegenüber den christlichen Völkern und der Versuche, dem jüdischen Separatismus neue Energien zuzuführen. Doch es gab auch wohlwollende Stimmen. Alle Doktrinen, vor allem aber die sozialistischen und liberalen, welche die Verweltlichung des öffentlichen Lebens auf ihre Fahne schrieben und sich der christlichen

Konzeption der Gesellschaftsordnung entgegengesetzten, trafen auf eine scharfe Kritik seitens der kirchlichen Kreise. Nicht selten glaubte man, die Quellen vieler beunruhigender gesellschaftlicher Erscheinungen (Ausbeutung, Trunksucht, Sittenverfall) gerade in solchen Doktrinen entdeckt zu haben. Besondere Rolle bei der Verbreitung anti-christlicher Ideen schrieb man der „jüdischen Presse“ zu. Die sich ab Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts deutlich verstärkende gegenseitige Abneigung in den polnisch-jüdischen Beziehungen fand im Boykott jüdischer Händler ihren besonderen Ausdruck. Ein Großteil der in die gesellschaftliche Tätigkeit engagierten Geistlichkeit begrüßte diese Form des Kampfes gegen die Juden im ökonomischen Bereich.





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