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## Research on the history of Polish intelligentsia during the partition period

The presented text is an attempt to characterize research on the history of the Polish intelligentsia during the period of partitions, conducted since the 1960s within two directions treating the intelligentsia as a socio-professional stratum and as an opinion-forming stratum, exerting a multifaceted influence on the Polish society. This article does not claim to exhaust the extensive topic in either methodological or practical research postulates. First of all, it expresses the author's position and is an invitation to discuss the future of research, also in the field of social history, on the history of the Polish intelligentsia during the period of partitions, especially in Galicia.

**Keywords:** intelligentsia, partitions, socio-professional class, opinion-forming class, state of research

Before considering the topic formulated in the title of this article, it seems desirable to point out two characteristics of historiography concerning the post-partition history of Poland. The first of these is the significant, often tripartite, disparities in the development of its various fields. Economic history, social history, cultural changes, etc. in each partition are unevenly studied. For example, the history of elementary and secondary education in the Prussian partition has been much less researched so far than in the Kingdom of Poland and Galicia. My attempts to partially mitigate this disparity due to the lack of interest, especially among younger generations of historians, in developing specific topics did not yield the expected results.

The second of the mentioned characteristics is the limited usefulness or inapplicability of a considerable number of valuable, highly cognitively valuable, monographs, and articles for creating/synthesizing approaches. Due to the limited scope of this text, I will limit myself to providing one example. Many difficulties arose for me years ago as part of participation in the international research project

of the European Science Foundation in synthesizing the development of the Polish national movement in the Prussian-ruled lands. Comparing and synthesizing the results of basic research from Witold Jakóbczyk's works on the Poznań region, Szczepan Wierzosławski's works on West Prussia, and Mieczysław Pater's works on Upper Silesia proved to be very difficult.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, I limited myself to discussing the stages of the development of the Polish national movement only in the Grand Duchy of Poznań.<sup>2</sup> The difficulties of this kind arise from historians not using a uniform questionnaire of questions when studying the same or similar topics in individual provinces, allowing for comparable results. Introducing new research questions and continuously expanding their catalogue is, of course, desirable and serves the development of historiography. However, it is also impossible to obtain comparable results and construct a comprehensive picture of any topic, encompassing all three partitions, without using an agreed-upon, relatively uniform questionnaire of questions in research.

These characteristics are also visible in the historiography devoted to the history of the Polish intelligentsia during the partition period. It is important to emphasize that it was not then a social category subject to uniform criteria and research methods. Its shape, size, professional composition, origin, and social functions took various forms depending on the political and social situation and the conditions of existence of the Polish nation within the borders of the three partitioning states. Therefore, "studying the past of the intelligentsia" – as Ryszarda Czepulis-Rastenis noted forty years ago – "from the perspective of the specifics of individual provinces, as well as selecting certain issues characteristic only of specific environments, can broaden our research perspective, thereby facilitating the capture of similarities and differences that occurred in the formation and functioning of the intelligentsia in different regions of Polish lands."<sup>3</sup> In the published programmatic article in 1976, she suggested undertaking separate research on the history of the intelligentsia in the Kingdom of Poland, Galicia, the Prussian partition, etc., and to present their results in monographic studies. She deemed such studies to be essential for capturing the multifaceted

<sup>1</sup> W. Jakóbczyk, *Studia nad dziejami Wielkopolski w XIX w.*, vol. I–III, Poznań 1951–1967; S. Wierzosławski, *Polski ruch narodowy w Prusach Zachodnich w latach 1860–1914*, Wrocław 1980; M. Pater, *Ruch polski na Górnym Śląsku w latach 1879–1893*, Wrocław 1969.

<sup>2</sup> W. Molik, *The Poles in the Grand Duchy of Poznań, 1850–1914*, in: *The Foundation of National Elites (Comparative Studies on Governments and Non-Dominant Ethnic Groups in Europe, 1850–1940, vol. 6)* ed. A. Kappeler, Dartmouth-New York 1992, p. 13–39. The article was also published in the Polish version: *Polacy w Wielkim Księstwie Poznańskim 1850–1914*, in: *Teksty wybrane. Księga pamiątkowa ofiarowana Profesorowi Witoldowi Molikowi z okazji 70. rocznicy urodzin*, ed. A. Hinc, J. Kołacki, K. A. Makowski, P. Matusik, Poznań 2019, p. 59–85.

<sup>3</sup> R. Czepulis-Rastenis, *Słowo wstępne*, in: *Inteligencja polska XIX i XX w. Studia 3*, ed. R. Czepulis-Rastenis, Warszawa 1983, p. 3.

transformations “undergone by the intelligentsia, assuming in each time and place a slightly different form.”<sup>4</sup> They would enable the tracing of characteristics and circumstances that formed a community of the Polish intelligentsia beyond the borders of partitions until the moment of regaining independence. She did not limit herself to formulating research demands but also endeavored to encourage and recruit historians, especially from younger generations, to develop topics on the history of the Polish intelligentsia in all three partitions. This effort followed the publication of the habilitation thesis *Klasa Umysłowa* [The Intellectual Class],<sup>5</sup> which brought the author renown in the historical community, led to her assuming actual leadership in the mid-1970s and formal leadership in 1980 of the newly established Department of the History of the Intelligentsia within the Institute of Social History of Poland at the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw. She invited researchers from Warsaw, Poznań, Gdańsk, Kraków, and other historical research centers, as well as sometimes foreign historians, to its scientific meetings. Gradually, this department became an important center for presenting research results and exchanging ideas, attracting social historians from various parts of Poland and abroad, especially as they had the opportunity to publish their articles and studies in a series titled *Inteligencja polska XIX i XX wieku* [The Polish Intelligentsia of the 19th and 20th Centuries], founded and edited by Ryszarda Czepulis-Rastenis, as part of preparations for a future synthesis.<sup>6</sup>

Until the mid-1970s and the actual assumption of leadership of the aforementioned department by Czepulis-Rastenis, research on the history of the intelligentsia was limited to the area of the Kingdom of Poland or solely to Warsaw itself, which constituted the largest concentration of the new “intellectual class.” These studies were mainly conducted by historians associated with the Research Laboratory of Social Structures at the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, which was established and led by Witold Kula. The historians aimed to transfer research models shaped within the circle of the journal *Annales* and *the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes* (EPHE) to the Polish context.<sup>7</sup> It is worth noting that research on social structures at that time “was at the center of attention of historians, not only French and Polish ones,”

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<sup>4</sup> R. Czepulis-Rastenis, *Program badań dziejów inteligencji polskiej oraz jego zagadnienia metodologiczne*, „Dzieje Najnowsze” R. VIII – 1976, no 1, p. 88.

<sup>5</sup> R. Czepulis-Rastenis, „*Klasa umysłowa*”. *Inteligencja Królestwa Polskiego 1832–1862*, Warszawa 1973.

<sup>6</sup> In the years 1978–1991, 6 volumes of this series were released, with the first one titled *Inteligencja polska pod zaborami*.

<sup>7</sup> More on this subject: J. Żarnowski, *Historia społeczna: nadzieje, rozczarowania perspektywy*, in: *Metamorfozy społeczne. Badania nad dziejami społeczeństwa polskiego*, ed. J. Żarnowski, Warszawa 1997, p. 17 n.

among whom there was a growing sense that “historiography had reached an important, breakthrough moment in its development.”<sup>8</sup>

In the 1960s, research conducted by historians affiliated with the Department led by Witold Kula and recruited from other centers resulted in articles dedicated to certain professional groups of the intelligentsia (teachers, officials, doctors, professors from Warsaw universities) in the first three volumes of the continuous publication of the Department *Spoleczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego* [The Society of the Kingdom of Poland]<sup>9</sup> as well as in books by Janina Leskiewicz and Halina Kiepuska<sup>10</sup> and a few years later, the aforementioned classic monograph by Ryszarda Czepulis-Rastenis emerged, presenting, on a thorough basis of the source material in a socio-historical perspective, the birth, size, social origin, education, work conditions, community ties, and social self-awareness of the intelligentsia in the Kingdom of Poland during the inter-insurrection period. The innovative construction and pioneering method of analyzing sources of various origins used in this monograph served as a model for many works written in other scientific centers in the following years.

I was one of the first historians from outside Warsaw to be recruited for research on the history of the intelligentsia. In February 1974, at a scientific meeting at the Research Laboratory of Social Structures, which still existed at that time at the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw (after Witold Kula’s resignation due to illness from 1969 to 1975, the laboratory was led by Janina Leskiewiczowa), I presented my doctoral thesis project devoted to the formation of the Polish intelligentsia in the Grand Duchy of Poznań. It sparked lively discussions and was warmly received. It is worth noting that in the historical literature at that time, there was a prevalent view that the Polish intelligentsia in the Poznań region did not form a separate social layer. Stefan Kieniewicz in his textbook *Historia Polski* [History of Poland] noted that in the Poznań region, the intelligentsia “eagerly drawn into cooperation by the gentry and bourgeoisie, did not form a separate environment, but on the contrary, merged into the bourgeois environment, just as it happened in developed Western societies.”<sup>11</sup> A similar view was formulated by Ryszarda Czepulis-Rastenis, who claimed that if in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Polish intelligentsia in the Prussian partition “somewhat emancipated itself

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<sup>8</sup> M. Bogucka, *Niektóre problemy historii społecznej w nowszych badaniach francuskich*, „Dzieje Najnowsze” R. VIII: 1976, nr 1, p. 21.

<sup>9</sup> *Spoleczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego. Studia o uwarstwieniu i ruchliwości społecznej*, ed. W. Kula, vol. I–III, Warszawa 1965–1968.

<sup>10</sup> J. Leskiewiczowa, *Warszawa i jej inteligencja po powstaniu styczniowym 1864–1870*, Warszawa 1961; J. Kiepuska, *Inteligencja zawodowa Warszawy 1905–1907*, Warszawa 1967.

<sup>11</sup> S. Kieniewicz, *Historia Polski 1795–1918*, Warszawa 1970, p. 125.

from the guardianship of the landed gentry, it also did not create a separate social layer then but was absorbed by bourgeois layers, as was the case in developed Western countries.”<sup>12</sup> In his observations, Tadeusz Łepkowski went even further, suggesting that in the Prussian partition, the role of the intelligentsia was taken over by the petite bourgeoisie.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, I began conducting research on this topic with significant doubts. Ryszarda Czepulis-Rastenis, trying to persuade me into undertaking this venture, reassured me as follows: “You will describe and prove why the Polish intelligentsia in the Poznań region did not form a separate social layer. Thus, the thesis of your dissertation will be fulfilled.” However, this argument did not convince me very much, and the proposed title seemed strange to me. Ultimately, in my doctoral dissertation published in 1979, I demonstrated that in the Poznań region, the Polish intelligentsia did indeed form a separate social layer with a well-developed sense of self-awareness at the threshold of the 1870s.<sup>14</sup> As noted by Andrzej Mencwel, the view of the intelligentsia in this region “was changed as a result of detailed research.”<sup>15</sup>

The 1970s and 1980s were a period of the most dynamic development in research on the history of the intelligentsia as a socio-professional class during the partitions. The years also brought an expansion of the area of the research. Within the borders of the Kingdom of Poland, the scope of intelligentsia then started to encompass not only white-collar workers in Warsaw but also, to a greater extent, provincial intelligentsia circles. Irena Żurawicka finalised her years-long research on the Warsaw intelligentsia in the second half of the 19th century in 1978 with the crowning achievement, i.e. a monograph preceded by several articles. The monograph described the number of members of intelligentsia, its professional structure, social origins, education, material situation, working conditions, ideological attitudes, and personal patterns.<sup>16</sup> In the same year, Andrzej Szwarc defended his doctoral thesis at the Institute of History of the University of Warsaw, written under the supervision of Stefan Kieniewicz. The thesis entitled *Polskie „warstwy oświecone” w Kaliskiem po*

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<sup>12</sup> R. Czepulis-Rastenis, „Klasa umysłowa”, p. 15.

<sup>13</sup> T. Łepkowski, *Polska – narodziny nowoczesnego narodu 1764–1870*, Warszawa 1967, p. 162.

<sup>14</sup> W. Molik, *Kształtowanie się inteligencji polskiej w Wielkim Księstwie Poznańskim 1841–1870*, Warszawa–Poznań 1979.

<sup>15</sup> A. Mencwel, *Poza „weselem” i „snem o potędze”. Inteligencja polska na progu XX wieku*, in: *Inteligencja polska XIX i XX wieku materiały z wystawy i sesji naukowej*, ed. A. Garlicka and J. Jedlicki, Warszawa 1997, p. 150.

<sup>16</sup> I. Żurawicka, *Inteligencja warszawska w końcu XIX wieku*, Warszawa 1978, see also: J. A. Ziemnicki, *Polska inteligencja w Warszawie na przełomie XIX i XX wieku. Próba opracowania liczebności*, „Przegląd Historyczny” 1976, no 4, p. 631–635.

*powstaniu styczniowym i ich aktywność społeczno-kulturalna (1863–1890)* [Polish ‘Enlightened Classes’ in the Kalisz Region after the January Uprising and their Socio-Cultural Activity (1863–1890)] traced the relations between the gentry and the intelligentsia, as well as the participation of representatives of these groups in initiatives and institutions in the Kalisz Governorate. He recognized the term “Enlightened Classes” (referring to people involved in the creation and reception of “high culture”) as methodologically more useful.<sup>17</sup> Historians whose interests in the discussed period gravitated towards the history of the intelligentsia in the Kingdom of Poland presented the results of their research mainly in articles, most often in studies published in successive volumes of the series *Inteligencja polska XIX i XX wieku* [The Polish Intelligentsia of the 19th and 20th Centuries].<sup>18</sup> Apart from this series, there were few articles published on the topic of the intelligentsia in the Kingdom of Poland during that time.<sup>19</sup>

Only in 1979 was a significantly delayed collective work published titled *Przemiany społeczne w Królestwie Polskim 1815–1864* [Social Changes in the Kingdom of Poland 1815–1864], which was the result of the dissolved Research Laboratory of Social Structures established several years earlier.<sup>20</sup> According to Janusz Żarnowski, this work “provides a lot of information; although it doesn’t dazzle or uncover entirely new directions of development, it is a serious synthetic position. Its idea was to present the starting point, when at the beginning of the period, estate divisions still dominated, albeit weakened, then ‘amalgamations’ – centers of class mixing and formation, and finally, at the end of the period, especially during the inter-insurrection period, the emerging classes. This was not entirely successful because such a schematic pattern was only a model and did not reflect the full reality, but the idea was worth testing, and publishing

<sup>17</sup> This work was not published (manuscript in the Library of the Institute of History, University of Warsaw). Based on it, the author published, among others, the article *Inteligencja czy „warstwy oświecone”? Działalność społeczno-kulturalna pracowników umysłowych i ziemiaństwa w Kaliszkim po powstaniu styczniowym*, in: *Inteligencja polska XIX i XX w. Studia 5*, ed. R. Czepulis-Rastenis, Warszawa 1987, p. 187–214.

<sup>18</sup> See especially: J. Jedlicki, *Kwestia nadprodukcji inteligencji w Królestwie Polskim po powstaniu styczniowym*, in: *Inteligencja polska pod zaborami. Studia* ed. R. Czepulis-Rastenis, Warszawa 1978, p. 217–259; I. Ossowska, *Pokolenie Szkoły Głównej*, in: *Inteligencja polska XIX i XX wieku. Studia* ed. R. Czepulis-Rastenis, Warszawa 1981, p. 169–208; B. Petrozolin-Skowrońska, *Inteligencja Warszawy przed powstaniem styczniowym*, in: *Inteligencja polska XIX i XX wieku. Studia 4*, ed. R. Czepulis-Rastenis, Warszawa 1985, p. 33–98; A. Szwarz, *Inteligencja Królestwa Polskiego w oczach władz carskich*, tamże, p. 217–233.

<sup>19</sup> See especially: L. Hass, *Pokolenia inteligencji Królestwa Polskiego*, „Przegląd Historyczny” 1974, issue 2, p. 285–313.

<sup>20</sup> *Przemiany społeczne w Królestwie Polskim 1815–1864*. Collective work under the supervision of W. Kula and J. Leskiewicz, Wrocław 1979, p. 325–344.

the volume for this reason alone was justified.”<sup>21</sup> This work included Ryszarda Czepulis-Rastenis’s chapter dedicated to the intelligentsia, mainly based on her aforementioned monograph, where synthetically described the birth and development of the intelligentsia, the professional groups included in it, its image as a social class, and its place and role in the life of the nation, without providing even approximate numerical estimates.

It is worth adding that the history of the intelligentsia in the Kingdom of Poland became a fashionable topic at that time, attracting the interest of graduate students, including K. Górna, who, under the supervision of Alina Barszczewska-Krupa, wrote an unpublished thesis on the intelligentsia in Łódź.<sup>22</sup> The supervisor referred to it in her published article a few years later, in which she succinctly characterized the size, professional structure, and national composition of the intelligentsia in Łódź, focusing her considerations on its participation in the power structure and political life of the city.<sup>23</sup>

The political conditions in People’s Poland and the severely limited opportunities for Polish historians to conduct source inquiries in Soviet archives at that time made it impossible to conduct research on the Polish intelligentsia in other areas of the Russian partition beyond the borders of the Kingdom of Poland. After arduous efforts, French historian Daniel Beauvois gained access to source materials stored in Soviet archives and published an article under the significant title *Inteligencja bez wyjścia* [Intelligentsia without a way out], which depicted the sense of threat felt by the aristocracy of the eastern borderlands in the face of the emancipation of the local intelligentsia.<sup>24</sup> He demonstrated that in the eastern part of the Russian partition, demand and supply for intellectual work occurred in reverse order compared to the Duchy of Warsaw and then the Kingdom of Poland. First, a modern and well-endowed university was established in Vilnius, and only afterwards did the need arise to find employment for its graduates, a scarcity felt severely in this weakly urbanized and industrialized area. An attempt to describe the Polish intelligentsia in Vilnius during the inter-insurrection period, based mainly on printed sources and some manuscripts stored in Lithuanian archives and libraries, was then undertaken by Małgorzata Stolzman. In her extensive article and posthumously published monograph,

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<sup>21</sup> J. Żarnowski, *Historia społeczna. Metodologia – ewolucja – perspektywy. Metamorfozy społeczne* 3, Warszawa 2011, p. 163.

<sup>22</sup> K. Górna, *Inteligencja łódzka w latach 1815–1870*. Łódź 1974 (manuscript in the Department of Modern Polish History at the University of Lodz).

<sup>23</sup> A. Barszczewska-Krupa, *Rodowód inteligencji łódzkiej 1820–1870*, „Rocznik Łódzki” vol. 23: 1978, p. 75–100.

<sup>24</sup> D. Beauvois, *Inteligencja bez wyjścia: wiedza a przywileje społeczne w Wileńskim Okręgu Szkolnym (1803–1832)* [in:] *Inteligencja polska pod zaborami. Studia*, ed. R. Czepulis-Rastenis, Warszawa 1978, p. 11–64.

she showed that professors and graduates of the University of Vilnius did not constitute a homogeneous social category akin to the professional intelligentsia of the Kingdom of Poland. Instead, they, together with the educated part of the local gentry, were part of a broader community of the enlightened classes, in which they played a leading role as inspirers and organizers of intellectual life in the eastern borderlands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.<sup>25</sup> Knowledge about the Vilnius intelligentsia in the early decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and during the inter-insurrection period, especially regarding its size, degree of differentiation, living conditions, work ethos, and struggle for recognition, was significantly expanded by two extensive chapters: *Korespondenci Joachima Lelewela (1809–1830)* [Joachim Lelewel's Correspondents (1809–1830)] and *Spadkobiercy Śniadeckich (1831–1832)* [Śniadeckis' Heirs (1831–1832)], published in Ryszarda Czepulis-Rastenis's book, which will be further discussed in subsequent considerations.<sup>26</sup>

Further publications also resulted from parallel studies on the history of the much smaller Polish intelligentsia in the Prussian partition. After the publication of my doctoral thesis, I began researching the Polish intelligentsia in the Poznań region from 1871 to 1914, the results of which I presented in subsequent volumes of the series edited by R. Czepulis-Rastenis.<sup>27</sup> To crown these efforts, it was necessary to create a personal database of intellectual workers actively engaged in this period. The primary source for gathering this information was the lists of graduates included in the annual reports of 18 secondary schools in the Poznań region from 1871 to 1914. These lists enabled the determination of the number, nationality, social background, and territorial origin of the graduates of these secondary schools. They also served as the basis for my extensive article, which presented the numbers in a comparative context, the social background, and the declared field of study of graduates of Polish nationality.<sup>28</sup> Significant enrichment and expansion of the discussed database were made possible by simultaneous archival research aimed at collecting materials necessary for writing a habilitation

<sup>25</sup> M. Stolzman, *O wileńskiej inteligencji międzypowstaniowej (1830–1863)*, in: *Inteligencja polska XIX i XX wieku. Studia 3* ed. R. Czepulis-Rastenis, Warszawa 1983, p. 9–65; eadem, *Nigdy od ciebie miasto. Dzieje kultury wileńskiej lat międzypowstaniowych 1830–1863*, Olsztyn 1987.

<sup>26</sup> R. Czepulis-Rastenis, *Ludzie nauki i talentu. Studia o świadomości społecznej inteligencji polskiej w zaborze rosyjskim*, Warszawa 1988, p. 51–207.

<sup>27</sup> W. Molik, *Wokół „Przeglądu Poznańskiego”*. *Próby politycznego usamodzielnienia się inteligencji polskiej w Poznańskim w końcu XIX w.*, in: *Inteligencja polska*, Warszawa 1981, p. 209–241; idem, *Dziennikarze polscy pod panowaniem pruskim 1890–1914. Próba charakterystyki*, ibidem *Studia 3*, p. 111–186.

<sup>28</sup> W. Molik, *Polscy absolwenci szkół średnich i kierunki ich karier zawodowych w Wielkim Księstwie Poznańskim (1871–1914)*, in: *Inteligencja polska XIX i XX wieku. Studia 4*, ed. R. Czepulis-Rastenis, Warszawa 1985, p. 161–215.



thesis on the travels of Polish students to German universities.<sup>29</sup> As accurately noted by Jerzy Jedlicki a few decades later, research on the history and students of universities and higher technical schools “constitutes the first step towards understanding the sources of social recruitment to professions such as doctors, lawyers, engineers, and teachers in various specialties.”<sup>30</sup>

The commencement of studies by Józef Borzyszkowski on the Polish intelligentsia in West Prussia at the turn of the 1970s and 1980s was of significant importance for the needs of the synthesis. In historical literature, especially in synthetic works, this region is often unjustifiably equated with Poznań. The Gdańsk historian published the results of his research in two extensive articles and a monograph, which conceptually aligned with the model used by Ryszarda Czepulis-Rastenis.<sup>31</sup>

Moving on to discuss the literature dedicated to the Polish intelligentsia in Galicia as a socio-professional stratum, it is important to emphasize at the outset that research on it, especially during the period of autonomy, is crucial for developing a comprehensive synthesis of the history of “the intellectual class” during the partitions. However, in the 1970s and 1980s, it was less of a focus for historians compared to the Polish intelligentsia in the Kingdom of Poland and Prussian partition. Among the articles published during that time, only two covered the Polish intelligentsia in all of Galicia. In the first, included in the fifth volume of the collective work *Spoleczeństwo polskie XVIII i XIX wieku* [Polish Society in the 18th and 19th Centuries], published in 1972, Irena Homola attempted to characterize the Galician intelligentsia in the 1840s and 1850s, based on the schematisms of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, lists of clergy and teachers, and memoir literature, omitting manuscript materials.<sup>32</sup> The author informed readers that her intention was “only to provide an initial discussion of the research issues regarding the Galician intelligentsia and to limit it to preliminary surveys.”<sup>33</sup> In her dissertation, she sequentially described the contemporary opinions on the Galician intelligentsia, its numerical development, changes in its

<sup>29</sup> See: W. Molik, *Polskie peregrynacje uniwersyteckie do Niemiec 1871–1914*, Poznań 1989.

<sup>30</sup> J. Jedlicki, *Historia inteligencji polskiej w kontekście europejskim*, „Kultura i Społeczeństwo” 2000, nr 2, p. 144–145.

<sup>31</sup> J. Borzyszkowski, *Rodowód społeczny duchowieństwa polskiego diecezji chełmińskiej drugiej połowy XIX w.*, in: *Inteligencja polska XIX i XX w.*, Warszawa 1981, p. 131–168; idem, *Polscy przedstawiciele wolnych zawodów w Prusach Zachodnich e drugiej połowie XIX w.*, in: *ibidem Studia 3*, Warszawa 1983, p. 67–110; idem, *Inteligencja polska w Prusach Zachodnich 1848–1920*, Gdańsk 1986.

<sup>32</sup> I. Homola, *Inteligencja galicyjska w połowie XIX wieku. Próba charakterystyki*, in: *Spoleczeństwo polskie XVIII i XIX wieku. Studia o uwarstwieniu i ruchliwości społecznej*, vol. V ed. W. Kula and J. Leskiewicz, Warszawa 1972, p. 103–139.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 106.

structure, sources of recruitment, stratification, and participation in the political life of Galicia. I paid a little more attention to Irene Homola's article because, alongside Ryszarda Czepulis-Rastenis' book, it became an inspiration for me to investigate and then depict in the aforementioned doctoral thesis the process of shaping the Polish intelligentsia in the Poznań region during the same period.

In the second of the mentioned articles, its authors, Halina Florkowska-Francic, Tomasz Gąsowski, and Mariusz Kulczykowski, seeking to contribute to the nationwide "research trend" on the intelligentsia, endeavored to present, based on the analysis of statistical data from Austrian military conscriptions and Austrian censuses conducted from 1869, two selected time frames: the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, and the 19th and 20th centuries. They aimed to reveal the developmental trends of the Galician intelligentsia and its characteristic features, including its numerical size, urban and rural distributions, plebeian and noble origins, employment structure, and, in relation to the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, the participation of women among white-collar workers.<sup>34</sup> The analyses and comments by the authors are accompanied by as many as 31 tables, containing their detailed calculations based on the mentioned sources. However, the calculations concerning the first quarter of the 19th century (1799–1824) are inflated due to the inclusion of all inhabitants of Galician cities of noble status in the intelligentsia.

Irena Homola, in her further studies, focused on the Kraków intelligentsia. These studies resulted in several articles and a well-documented book titled „*Kwiat społeczeństwa...*” [The Flower of Society...], which interestingly delineates the characteristics distinguishing the intelligentsia from the rest of Kraków's society, mainly focusing on its level of education, numerical size, material situation, working conditions, similar lifestyle, formation of internal community sense, and social position of various groups of intellectual workers. However, she refrained from presenting the worldview, political ideology, and the role that the studied intelligentsia played in the political, social, and cultural life of Kraków.<sup>35</sup> In addition to Irena Homola, Henryka Kramarz also presented the results of her research at the sessions of the workshop led by Ryszarda Czepulis-Rastenis. At the then Pedagogical University in Kraków, based on an extensive database and other sources, Kramarz wrote and defended her doctoral thesis, dedicated to high school teachers in autonomous Galicia. In her work, she described their numerical status, social origin, level of education, national

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<sup>34</sup> H. Florkowska-Francic, T. Gąsowski, M. Kulczykowski, *Ze studiów nad inteligencją galicyjską na przełomie wieków XIII–XIX oraz XIX–XX*, in: *Spółczeństwo polskie XVIII i XIX wieku. Studia o grupach elitarnych*, vol. VII ed. J. Leskiewicz, Warszawa 1982, p. 83–143.

<sup>35</sup> I. Homola, „*Kwiat społeczeństwa...*” (*Struktura społeczna i zarząy położenia inteligencji krakowskiej w latach 1860–1914*), Kraków–Wrocław 1984.

and religious composition, opportunities for advancement, and social mobility. She showed that despite the continuous rotational process and geographical mobility as well as career advancement undergone by Galician high school teachers, they maintained their identity and uniformity of characteristics as a professional intelligentsia group and clearly distinguished themselves from the overall teacher group. She demonstrated that despite successive amendments, official regulations determining their rights, duties, and working conditions did not undergo radical changes, and that new generations of teachers, increasingly replenished by plebeian layers, adapted to the pragmatics and situation they encountered in high schools, where the teaching elite was formed by the highest-ranked professors. Despite some shortcomings, Henryka Kramarz's somewhat hastily published book stands out in terms of source basis and thematic scope compared to publications concerning other professional groups of the Polish intelligentsia in Galicia.<sup>36</sup>

Before 1990, several articles were published on the subject of the Galician intelligentsia, mainly focusing on the professional groups within it. These include works by Stanisław Brzozowski and Zdzisław Kosiek, which addressed the numerical strength, national structure, social origin, and professional education of foresters. Additionally, there were analyses by Ireneusz Ichnatowicz, providing statistical insights into the group of Galician officials during the autonomous period.<sup>37</sup> In another of his articles, Stanisław Brzozowski described the conditions shaping the formation, numerical strength, level of education, and professional status of the technical intelligentsia in Galicia in the first half of the 19th century.<sup>38</sup> In the period under discussion, articles predominated concerning the professional groups forming part of the Polish intelligentsia in Galicia. Not a single monograph on “the intellectual class” within the entire Austrian partition was published during this time, even within a short timeframe. The disparities in research on the history of the Polish intelligentsia in the Russian, Austrian, and Prussian partitions are clearly illustrated by the six volumes of studies edited by Ryszarda Czepulis-Rastenis, “Inteligencja polska XIX i XX wieku” [Polish Intelligentsia in the 19th and 20th Centuries]. These volumes contain 47 mostly extensive essays and articles by 28 authors from all major historical research

<sup>36</sup> H. Kramarz, *Nauczyciele gimnazjalni w Galicji 1867–1914. Studium historyczno-socjologiczne*, Kraków 1987.

<sup>37</sup> S. Brzozowski, Z. Kosiek, *Leśnicy galicyjscy 1782–1918*, in: *Spółeczeństwo polskie XVIII i XIX wieku. Studia o uwarstwieniu i ruchliwości społecznej*, vol. V ed. W. Kula and J. Leskiewicz, Warszawa 1972, p. 77–102; I. Ichnatowicz, *Urzednicy galicyjscy w dobie autonomii*, in: *Spółeczeństwo polskie XVIII i XIX wieku...*, vol. VI. Warszawa 1974, p. 205–223

<sup>38</sup> S. Brzozowski, *Wykształcenie techniczne a pozycja społeczna i zawodowa w Galicji do Wiosny Ludów*, in: *Spółeczeństwo polskie XVIII i XIX wieku. Studia o grupach elitarnych*, ed. J. Leskiewicz, vol. VII, Warszawa 1982, p. 179–198.

centers in the country and 4 foreign historians. Of these 47 essays and articles, 12 concern selected issues in the history of the intelligentsia across the Polish lands, while 18 focus on the intelligentsia in the Russian partition, 8 on the intelligentsia in the Prussian partition, and only 4 on the Galician intelligentsia. The remaining 5 are divided between 2 on the Polish intelligentsia in exile and 3 on the intelligentsia in the Second Polish Republic.

The discussed research trend on the intelligentsia as a socio-professional stratum dominated until the late 1980s. To a lesser extent, historians were interested in the second research trend, which approached the intelligentsia as an opinion-forming class, exploring its diverse range of views and political sympathies, as well as tracing its multifaceted influences on Polish society. This approach investigated its dominant role in shaping Polish intellectual and artistic culture, alongside its integrative function in shaping national consciousness, which was particularly significant for a nation living under three partitioning powers. Research within this trend resulted in articles (mostly published in subsequent volumes of the series edited by R. Czepulis-Rastenis) and monographs. One notable work is Marta Zahorska's doctoral dissertation defended in 1980 and published nearly a decade later, which explores the role of the intelligentsia in the social thought of Warsaw positivism, filling an important gap in our understanding of the role played by this social category in the contemporary consciousness.<sup>39</sup> The source material for the analyses presented therein consists of statements and debates among intellectuals on their own subject, mainly representatives of the Warsaw intellectual elite, extracted from journalistic articles published in the capital's periodicals over a period of approximately twenty years after the fall of the January Uprising. During this period, views on intelligentsia and the forms of expression about it were changing. The Warsaw press reflected an increasing diversity of positions, not only regarding the meaning of the concept itself but also in views on how an intellectual should dress and appear. In her narrative, the author distinguishes several concepts of intelligentsia but focuses on tracking two strands of thought: the "progressive" and the "conservative," using their attitude towards values associated with the new capitalist social order, especially the acceptance of social mobility and the related idea of equal rights, as criteria for differentiation. She argues that debates about intelligentsia at that time served as a substitute for discussions about the desired model of society.

Despite the sharp crisis of the positivist concept of social development at the end of the 1880s, discussions about intelligentsia in the Warsaw press did not weaken in the least. Moreover, there was a greater intensity in the discussion of

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<sup>39</sup> M. Zahorska, *Inteligencja a społeczeństwo w myśli społecznej warszawskiego pozytywizmu (Z rozważań nad rolą oświaty i wykształcenia w świadomości społecznej)*, Warszawa 1989.

provincial intelligentsia. The problem of significant disparities between the level of development of Warsaw intelligentsia and its counterparts in the provinces of the Kingdom of Poland troubled many contemporary writers and journalists. Discussions on this topic and proposed solutions were described in interesting articles by Andrzej Szwarz and Lesław Sadowski.<sup>40</sup> The latter concluded his research with a monograph. It is not a description of intelligentsia according to the model used by Ryszarda Czepulis-Rastenis but a study in the field of sociology of culture and history of mentality, an attempt to present the common consciousness of the intelligentsia in the Łomża and Suwałki governorates, as well as in Białystok, located beyond the borders of the Kingdom, a consciousness reaching from one side to the high realms of culture, and on the other “deeply rooted in provincial barren and hopeless soil.”<sup>41</sup> The lack of even approximate research results regarding the size, social origin, education, etc., of the Polish intelligentsia in the northeastern governorates of the Kingdom of Poland, however, complicates the reading of the discussed book.

In her interests, Ryszarda Czepulis-Rastenis also clearly moved away from the model of the history of social structures, returning instead to the study of the social consciousness and environmental ethos of the intelligentsia. These efforts resulted in the aforementioned book, *Ludzie pracy i talentu* [People of Work and Talent] about the professional intelligentsia in the Russian partition from the beginning of the 19th century to the 1870s.<sup>42</sup> In addition to the chapters already discussed about the Polish intelligentsia in Vilnius, it contains reprints of articles “in a slightly different version” published several years earlier about the pantheon of the professional intelligentsia and the models of the Polish intelligentsia in the inter-insurrection period and in the decade after the fall of the January Uprising. These studies significantly complement the image of the intelligentsia in the Russian partition before the emergence of Warsaw positivists. The author successfully realized her research intentions by thoroughly reconstructing its internal ties, motives, and the content of its ideological life.

After the political and social breakthrough (1989–1990), research on the history of the Polish intelligentsia during the partitions lost its previous momentum for several reasons. Social history was then experiencing a sort of crisis worldwide, which had been growing since the 1970s. Although voices of

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<sup>40</sup> A. Szwarz, *Inteligencja warszawska i prowincjonalna w świetle własnych opinii z lat powstaniowych (próba sondażu)*, in: *Inteligencja polska XIX i XX wieku. Studia 3*, ed. R. Czepulis-Rastenis, Warszawa 1983, p. 187–214; L. Sadowski, *Wizerunki inteligencji prowincjonalnej*, tamże, p. 215–247.

<sup>41</sup> L. Sadowski, *Polska inteligencja prowincjonalna i jej ideowe dylematy na przełomie XIX i XX wieku (na przykładzie guberni łomżyńskiej, suwalskiej i Białegostoku)*, Warszawa 1988, p. 11.

<sup>42</sup> See footnote 26.

cognitive disappointment and fatigue with social history had been heard from the West earlier, “they were like distant rumblings of a storm” in our country.”<sup>43</sup> As Janusz Żarnowski astutely observed, the attractiveness of social history for Polish researchers was further diminished by attempts in the 1980s “by the ruling Communist Party to drown out and pseudo-scientifically ‘replace’ the political history of recent and modern times, which was feared due to its ‘troublesome’ issues, for example, concerning the past and present Polish-Russian, Polish-Soviet relations.”<sup>44</sup> To achieve this goal, social history was framed into “crucial issues” and subjected to pseudo-scientific bureaucracy, thus associating it with the regime of that time, which did it a disservice. The political breakthrough of 1989 also led to a significant increase in interest among historians and readers in political issues that had previously been overshadowed, banned, or restricted during the era of People’s Poland, as well as in political history in general, including the interwar period, World War II, and later times. Additionally, research into women’s history gradually took precedence in historians’ interests, “dethroning class methodology more effectively than any new postmodernist theories.”<sup>45</sup> It should be added that the increased interest in the history of the Second Polish Republic resulted in several monographs dedicated to the intelligentsia during this period, depicting its history from local perspectives.<sup>46</sup>

As in any post-revolutionary years, the intelligentsia became the subject of numerous journalistic articles and debates during that time, in which its attitudes, condition, and role in the nation’s life were characterized and evaluated.<sup>47</sup> The expression of the contemporary interest in its past was a competition announced by “Przekrój,” “Gazeta Wyborcza,” and “Polityka” for photographs of Polish intellectuals from the 19th and 20th centuries, which met with a significant social response. The numerous and diverse photographs collected were used to organize an exhibition in 1995 initiated by Aleksandra Garlicka at the Zachęta Gallery in Warsaw, accompanied by a scientific conference. The exhibition

<sup>43</sup> More on this topic: J. Żarnowski, *Historia społeczna*, p. 169.

<sup>44</sup> J. Żarnowski, *Historia społeczna: 20 lat po przełomie*, „Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych” Vol. LXIX – 2009, p. 191.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 193.

<sup>46</sup> Zob. K. Baranowski, *Inteligencja łódzka w latach II Rzeczypospolitej*, Łódź 1996; E. Słabińska, *Inteligencja na prowincji kieleckiej w latach 1918–1939*, Kielce 2004; J. Kamińska-Kwak, *Inteligencja województwa łwowskiego w okresie międzywojennym*, Rzeszów 2005; W. Mędrzecki, *Inteligencja polska na Wołyniu w okresie międzywojennym*, Warszawa 2003; K. Sierakowska, *Rodzina, dzieci, dziadkowie... Wielkomięjska rodzina inteligencka w Polsce 1918–1939*, Warszawa 2003.

<sup>47</sup> Particularly noteworthy is the discussion in the „Plus Minus” weekly supplement to „Rzeczpospolita” in the year 2000, titled „Czy zmierzch inteligencji?” [Is it the decline of intelligentsia?], in which several intellectuals participated. The editorial team also published numerous opinions from readers. „Rzeczpospolita Plus Minus” 2000, nr 16, 19, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34, 37, 40.

showcased intellectual families of various social and national backgrounds, as well as the professional functions of the intelligentsia. Each visitor to this exhibition could “for their own use reconstruct the fate of their family, their intellectual roots, and more broadly – the role that this social group, especially over the past century, played in the life of the nation.”<sup>48</sup> During the conference held on October 20–21, interesting presentations were delivered by Antonina Kłoskowska, Jerzy Jedlicki, Andrzej Mencwel, Janusz Żarnowski, and Krystyna Kersten. Discussing the state of research on the Polish intelligentsia in the long 19th century in his presentation, J. Jedlicki stated: “We already have dozens of conscientious, source-based studies on Polish intelligentsia environments in all three partitions and provinces, in many regions and cities, in successive segments of historical time, in various professions and institutions. Of course, areas with weaker research coverage can be identified, such as Eastern Galicia with Lviv, or the Polish intellectual diaspora at the turn of the centuries. However, I would not expect any revolutionary discoveries from further research, apart from individual biographies, where surprises are always possible.”<sup>49</sup> The assessment was indeed somewhat exaggerated. The literature dedicated to the Polish intelligentsia in the three partitions and in emigration did not encompass “dozens of conscientious studies” but rather several monographs and dozens of articles and essays, varying in cognitive value. Many areas with weaker research coverage or still uncovered by studies on the intelligentsia could be mentioned, not only Eastern Galicia but also the western governorates of Tsarist Russia, significant areas of the Kingdom of Poland, or Upper Silesia. Environments of the Polish intelligentsia in many large and medium-sized cities, besides Lviv, also awaited exploration, such as Łódź, Lublin, or Poznań.

A decline in Polish researchers’ interest in social history was caused by circumstances different from the occurrence of opportunities in the post-transitional years to engage in previously forbidden or heavily restricted research areas, and the growing demand for quick and attractive development of new topics, mainly from modern and contemporary political history. An important role was played by a common reaction to the long-lasting expansion of social history, its portrayal as a sub-discipline of history more theoretically advanced and more credible than the previous “standard” historiography, which lays claims to discover and explain social changes. Many historians, especially those focusing on political history and emphasizing factual accuracy in their publications, felt disadvantaged by the “privileging” of social history. Research into social structures requires laborious and time-consuming utilization of

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<sup>48</sup> J. Staszewski, *Słowo wstępne*, in: *Inteligencja polska XIX i XX wieku. Material from the exhibition and scientific session*, ed. A. Garlicka and J. Jedlicki, Warszawa 1997, p. 7.

<sup>49</sup> J. Jedlicki, *Wiek dziewiętnasty: inteligencja w pojęciu polskim*, *ibidem*, p. 137.

mass sources, and analysing them with more or less advanced mathematical techniques. Quantitative history did not become as fashionable in Poland as it did in the USA and France in the 1950s to 1970s,<sup>50</sup> which discouraged most Polish historians, and could not attract them especially in the period after the 1989 breakthrough, when the primary task became filling in the “blank spots” in political history, and when opportunities for work full time on two or three positions at the same time at the new universities started mushrooming; all this together made conducting time-consuming archival research more difficult. The change in interests was also influenced, one might assume, by the weariness of some historians with the same repetitive research routine and their doubts about whether these tedious efforts led to results worthy of the work invested.

It is worth adding that some historians with recognized achievements in researching social structures in the 19th century already took a critical stance towards them two to three decades earlier. Jerzy Jedlicki, the author of the acclaimed book “Klejnot i bariery społeczne” [Jewel and Social Barriers],<sup>51</sup> wrote in a letter to his mentor Witold Kula in July 1964: “I don’t like working in archives, digging, documentation, copying, counting, searching, tinkering. Basically, when I have to, I can do it all, maybe even not badly, but it doesn’t give me any joy, and I can always find a pretext to start tomorrow, to go out for a cigarette, for coffee, for gossip, to do something else [...]”<sup>52</sup> In an article published several years later, he argued that research on social structures based on mass sources does indeed provide an opportunity for more documented and justified conclusions about the transformations of social classes and strata, but at the same time, they are detached from theory and synthesis. It is unclear, therefore, what purpose they serve. Research on social structures does not reflect cultural attitudes and issues. The homogeneous sources used in them encourage the replication of the method for subsequent regions, voivodships, dioceses, etc., and “as such surveys multiply, their problematics – not enriched – become increasingly barren, and the results increasingly banal.”<sup>53</sup> The use of methods of mathematical source analysis is necessary, but historians are often inadequately competent in applying these methods, and the results of their research are not always convincing. In summarizing his remarks, J. Jedlicki proposed developing

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<sup>50</sup> A. F. Grabski, *Ekonomiczna nagroda Nobla 1993 r. dla historyków. Kliometria*, „Polityka” 1993, no 45, p. 22; idem, *Dzieje historiografii*, Poznań 2003, p. 773 n; P. Pleskot, *Intelektualni sąsiedzi. Kontakty historyków polskich ze środowiskiem „Annales” 1945–1989*, Warszawa 2010, p. 570, 628.

<sup>51</sup> J. Jedlicki, *Klejnot i bariery społeczne. Przeobrażenia szlachectwa polskiego w schyłkowym okresie feudalizmu*, Warszawa 1968.

<sup>52</sup> Cyt. za: M. Kula, *Jerzy Jedlicki, historyk nietypowy*, Warszawa 2018, p. 92.

<sup>53</sup> J. Jedlicki, *Historia struktur społecznych: obrona i krytyka*, „Dzieje Najnowsze” 1976, vol. 8, no 1, p. 18.



appropriate definitions and distinguishing the characteristics under study, thereby creating a comprehensive picture of society in motion and development.<sup>54</sup> The views presented in this article “remained unchanged throughout his life, or perhaps he even slightly modified them.”<sup>55</sup> These were – as Janusz Żarnowski aptly noted – “conclusions as valid as they were utopian.”<sup>56</sup> Moving away from the “classic” social history, Jerzy Jedlicki was increasingly drawn towards the history of ideas, which fundamentally influenced the change in research direction led by him from 1991 in the Department of the History of the Intelligentsia at the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw (later renamed the Department of the History of Ideas and the Intelligentsia in the 19th and 20th centuries), as well as the concept and content of the three-volume history of the Polish intelligentsia in the 19th century, written later by him with two collaborators, which I will return to in further considerations.

Despite the crisis of social history, historians’ interest in the history of the Polish intelligentsia during the partitions was still quite lively in some research centers at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, as evidenced by a separate volume dedicated to it in „Kroniki Miasta Poznania” [Chronicles of the City of Poznań], containing several articles devoted to Polish intellectuals in 19th-century Poznań.<sup>57</sup> In the following years, in subsequent monographic volumes of the same periodical, articles were also published concerning professional groups of the Poznań intelligentsia during the Prussian partition period, mainly focusing on doctors and lawyers.<sup>58</sup> After a long wait, the focus of research also turned to the multiethnic intelligentsia in Łódź – the largest industrial center in Polish lands. Initially, Stefan Pytlas outlined in a short article its demographic and social portrait at the beginning of the 20th century, and described its role in the cultural and educational fields.<sup>59</sup> Somewhat later, broader research on the

<sup>54</sup> Ibidem, p. 20.

<sup>55</sup> M. Janowski, *Jerzy Jedlicki (4 VI 1930 – 31 I 1918)*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny” 2019, no 4, p. 857.

<sup>56</sup> J. Żarnowski, *Historia społeczna. Metodologia – ewolucja – perspektywy*, Warszawa 2011, p. 61.

<sup>57</sup> W. Molik, *Inteligencja polska w dziewiętnastowiecznym Poznaniu. Liczebność i struktura zawodowa*, in: *Inteligencja poznańska historia i wspomnienia*, „Kronika Miasta Poznania” (dalej KMP) 1998, no 2, p. 9–33. L. Trzeciakowski, „Kwiat narodu”. *Polska inteligencja Poznania XIX wieku*, ibidem, p. 34–62; W. Karolczak, *Franciszek Biskupski, wybitny a zapomniany przedstawiciel poznańskiej inteligencji technicznej*, ibidem, p. 180–194

<sup>58</sup> W. Molik, *Polscy lekarze w dziewiętnastowiecznym Poznaniu. Portret demograficzno-społeczny grupy*, KMP 2001, no 1, p. 86–97; idem, *Polscy prawnicy w dziewiętnastowiecznym Poznaniu. Liczebność – pochodzenie społeczne – wykształcenie*, ibidem 2008, no 3, p. 87–100.

<sup>59</sup> S. Pytlas, *Rola inteligencji w tworzeniu nowego oblicza Łodzi na początku XX wieku*, in: *Europa XX wieku. Główne kierunki rozwoju (ekologia, gospodarka, kultura, polityka)*, ed. E. Wiśniewski, Łódź 2001, p. 205–219.

intelligentsia of Łódź was initiated by Marzena Iwańska, although it did not culminate in the planned habilitation thesis. She only published texts that raised various critical comments, the presentation of which would require writing a separate, extensive review. It is difficult to infer from them what kind of intelligentsia the author describes.<sup>60</sup>

Due to the title of this article, it is appropriate to discuss in more detail Tomasz Pudłocki's monograph dedicated to the intelligentsia in Przemyśl during the period of Galician autonomy and the interwar period,<sup>61</sup> a revised version of a doctoral thesis written under the supervision of Professor Andrzej Kazimierz Banach and defended at the Faculty of History of the Jagiellonian University. Among doctoral dissertations in social history, it stands out for its broad chronological scope, resulting in significant disparities and gaps in the narrative. The author extensively describes the intelligentsia in Przemyśl during the period of Galician autonomy compared to the interwar period. The aim was to "present the intelligentsia of Przemyśl as a socio-professional class and reconstruct the characteristic processes occurring within."<sup>62</sup> In the introduction, it is mentioned that more emphasis will be placed on the so-called elite of the intelligentsia and less on its "ordinary" representatives, without specifying who comprised this elite. It is also noted that the intelligentsia in Przemyśl was a small and heterogeneous group in terms of nationality. However, the analysis of the second chapter, which describes its size, social and national origins, raises many critical remarks and doubts. The statistical data provided therein are inaccurate, and as T. Pudłocki writes, they can only be "regarded as illustrative."<sup>63</sup> The primary source of data presented in the tables section consists of "selected biographies of intellectuals from Przemyśl," although the author does not specify the criteria used in selecting these biographies. It is difficult to ascertain the extent to which they are representative. As a result, the discussed chapter portrays a heavily distorted demographic and social portrait of the Przemyśl intelligentsia, especially in terms of its nationality structure. The scope of the book is wide, as, in my opinion, Tomasz Pudłocki undertakes the task of addressing too many issues. In addition to the size, social and national origins of the intelligentsia in Przemyśl, he describes their level of education, involvement in political and social life,

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<sup>60</sup> M. Iwańska, *Garść refleksji i postulatów badawczych w związku ze stanem badań nad inteligencją łódzką w dobie zaborów*, „Rocznik Łódzki” 2006, vol. 53, p. 89–113., *Inteligencja i rewolucja w Łodzi w latach 1905–1907*, „Studia z Historii Społeczno-Gospodarczej” vol. XV//2015, p. 65–98; *Inteligencja miasta przemysłowego XIX i początków XX wobec polskiej niepodległości. Przykład miasta Łodzi*, ibidem, vol. XIX/2018, p. 51–79.

<sup>61</sup> T. Pudłocki, *Iskra światła czy kopcząca pochodnia? Inteligencja w Przemyślu w latach 1867–1939*, Kraków 2009.

<sup>62</sup> Ibidem, p. 13.

<sup>63</sup> Ibidem, p. 88.

contributions to the city's cultural and scientific life, religious attitudes, daily life, ethos, and internal relations within the stratum. To depict some of these issues over a long period of 72 years (1867–1939), he collected an insufficient amount of source material. The narrative is dominated by information and descriptions related to Polish intellectuals, who constituted the largest part of intellectually active professionals in Przemyśl. However, this does not justify the omission of Ukrainian and Jewish intellectuals in many parts of the book. This omission is particularly evident in the chapter on daily life, which is almost entirely Polish-centric. For example, marriages of Przemyśl intellectuals exclusively of Polish nationality are characterized by T. Pudłocki in just four pages, mainly at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, without providing answers to several important research questions. In his monograph, he did not convincingly demonstrate that the national groups of the Przemyśl intelligentsia formed “a relatively cohesive conglomerate of everything that constituted its ethos.”<sup>64</sup>

The lack of publications concerning the provincial intelligentsia was partially intended to be addressed by the publication of two volumes of articles released at the beginning of the 21st century. The first of these volumes brought various articles dedicated to the Kielce intelligentsia in the 19th and 20th centuries, including only a few covering the period of the Russian partition in terms of chronology.<sup>65</sup> The subjects of the authors' considerations in these volumes include certain professional groups of the Kielce intelligentsia (architects, secondary school teachers, economists) as well as various forms of their cultural activities and participation in the intellectual life of local communities. This volume contributed relatively little to the research on provincial intelligentsia in the Kingdom of Poland. A larger contribution to filling the gap in literature regarding provincial intelligentsia was made by another volume containing papers presented at a scientific conference in May 2007 at the Regional Museum in Suwałki, titled “Intellectual Communities of Suwałki Region in the 19th and 20th Centuries.”<sup>66</sup> The authors of the texts attempted to answer research questions regarding the place of the Polish intelligentsia in the broad social structure of Suwałki and neighboring lands, the role played by various professional groups of intellectual workers in the society of these lands, and the social, economic, and civic attitudes characteristic of provincial Polish intelligentsia and its prominent representatives. To varying degrees, they fulfilled the tasks they set for themselves. In the opening article of the volume, Adam Czesław Dobroński

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<sup>64</sup> Ibidem, p. 438.

<sup>65</sup> *Z tradycji i dorobku inteligencji kieleckiej w XIX i XX wieku*, ed. M. Meducka, Kielce 2005.

<sup>66</sup> *Środowiska inteligenckie Suwalszczyzny oraz ziem ościennych w okresie zaborowym i II Rzeczypospolitej. Studia i artykuły*, ed. M. Dajnowicz, A. Matusiewicz, K. Skłodowski, Suwałki – Białystok 2007.

(admittedly with certain gaps) portrayed a collective portrait of the Polish provincial intelligentsia of the northeastern lands of the Kingdom of Poland (especially Łomża and Suwałki) at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries.<sup>67</sup> In the next text, Stanisław Wiech, through thorough research based on solid sources, demonstrated that the Russian control apparatus did not underestimate the social power of the intelligentsia and closely monitored its involvement in fostering provincial development and encouraging social initiatives with significant concern.<sup>68</sup> Other articles worth noting for their cognitive merits describe the intelligentsia environments in Suwałki and Augustów, as well as the careers of engineers involved in the construction of the Augustów Canal and teachers in the Suwałki gymnasium between 1835 and 1862.<sup>69</sup>

After the political and social upheaval in 1989, there was also a significant increase in researchers' interest in the body of officials in the Kingdom of Poland. In nineteenth-century historiography and beyond, the prevailing view was that after the failure of the January Uprising, the tsarist authorities swiftly and consistently led to its complete Russification. Through inertia this view persisted in legal-historical literature. It was only at the end of the last century that attempts to verify it began to emerge. Ireneusz Ignatowicz, in his case studies, demonstrated, based on statistical comparisons, that even in the 1890s, nearly half of the officials employed in the Russian civil administration in the Piotrków Governorate were Poles.<sup>70</sup> Next, Artur Korobowicz demonstrated, against the backdrop of extensively described systemic changes in the judiciary of the Kingdom of Poland, that the Russification of its personnel progressed slowly and encountered many difficulties.<sup>71</sup> In a later article, Jan Kozłowski

<sup>67</sup> A. C. Dobroński, *Inteligencja polska przełomu XIX i XX wieku. Oczekiwania a realia*, ibidem, p. 7–18.

<sup>68</sup> S. Wiech, *Inteligencja prowincjonalna Królestwa Polskiego w drugiej połowie XIX wieku w oczach carskiej policji politycznej*, ibidem, p. 19–38. Earlier, in 2002, S. Wiech published a monograph titled „Społeczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego w oczach carskiej policji politycznej (1866–1996)” [Society of the Kingdom of Poland in the Eyes of the Tsarist Political Police (1866–1996)], in which he presented, among other things, how the Russian gendarmerie described and assessed the Catholic clergy and Polish officials.

<sup>69</sup> A. Miodowski, *Ukształtowanie się i rozwój środowiska inteligencji suwalskiej w świetle XIX- i XX-wiecznych rosyjskich materiałów statystycznych*, ibidem, p. 61–76; J. Szalaszynski, *Inteligencja miasta powiatowego na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, ibidem, p. 87–104; W. Batura, *Inżynierowie budowy Kanalu Augustowskiego, ich związki z życiem regionu i kariery*, ibidem, p. 105–124; A. Matusiewicz, *Nauczyciele gimnazjum w Suwałkach (Sejnach) 1835–1862*, ibidem, p. 125–154.

<sup>70</sup> I. Ihnatowicz, *Radcy i asesory w Piotrkowie Trybunalskim*, in: *Losy Polaków w XIX–XX wieku. Studia ofiarowane Prof. Stefanowi Kieniewiczowi w osiemdziesiątą rocznicę Jego urodzin*, Warszawa 1987, p. 615–621.

<sup>71</sup> A. Korobowicz, *Sądownictwo Królestwa Polskiego 1876–1915*, Lublin 1995.

delved into the issue of personnel appointments and Russification of the higher civil service corps (governors, vice-governors, and poviats governors) in the Kingdom of Poland, based on preserved personal records of individual officials found in Russian archives. However, his focus was primarily on the short period following the collapse of the January Uprising.<sup>72</sup>

In 1999, two important works were published. Łukasz Chimiak thoroughly addressed the issue of the appointment of Russians to the positions of the Governor-General of Warsaw and the governors of all ten governorates of the Kingdom of Poland in his comprehensive monograph.<sup>73</sup> In the other work, Andrzej Chwalba superficially described, based on published studies and sources excluding archival ones, the policy of the tsarist authorities regarding the employment of Poles in the post-uprising period in administration, judiciary, police, education, municipal authorities, and railways of the Russian partition, as well as the attitudes of those who decided to serve the tsarist regime.<sup>74</sup> He identified five stages of the depolonization of civil services: I - the assumption of top positions by Russians (1854–1869), II – stabilization and gradual changes (1870–1883), III – acceleration of Russification processes (1884–1904), IV – instability of tsarist policy, shallow (transitional) repolonization (1905–1910), V – renewed acceleration of Russification (1911–1914).<sup>75</sup> In the “epilogue” of his considerations, he astutely observed that the repressive policy of the Russian occupier was selective, not affecting every inhabitant of the Kingdom of Poland to the same extent, nor did everyone harbor feelings of animosity or hatred towards Russia. “If such widespread sentiments existed, there wouldn’t be as many individuals willing to work in the tsarist administrative apparatus.”<sup>76</sup> In another case study, Krzysztof Latawiec demonstrated that the Russian authorities, aiming for complete “de-Polonization” of the administration in the Kingdom of Poland between 1867 and 1915, appointed poviats governors in the Lublin Governorate who were of Russian origin, mainly Orthodox, generally characterized by low morale and mostly insufficient military education for fulfilling these functions.<sup>77</sup> The most comprehensive and thorough analysis of the issue of de-Polonization of the civil service corps in the Kingdom of Poland in the fifty years following

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<sup>72</sup> J. Kozłowski, *Wyżsi urzędnicy gubernialni i powiatowi w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1867–1875*, „Przegląd Historyczny” 1996, issue 4, p. 819–841.

<sup>73</sup> Ł. Chimiak, *Gubernatorzy rosyjscy w Królestwie Polskim 1863–1915. Szkic do portretu zbiorowego*, Wrocław 1999.

<sup>74</sup> A. Chwalba, *Polacy w służbie Moskali*, Warszawa 1999.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 231.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 242.

<sup>77</sup> K. Latawiec, *Naczelnicy powiatów guberni lubelskiej w latach 1867–1915. Próba charakterystyki grupy*, *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska. Sectio F, Historia* 58/ 2003, p. 73–96.

the January Uprising was presented by Grzegorz Smyk. He based his study on solid source material in his doctoral dissertation defended in the spring of 1998 at the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, which was published six years later.<sup>78</sup> He demonstrated in it that even at the end of the 19th century, Poles constituted about 50% of the officials employed in the administration of the Kingdom of Poland. Although their numbers decreased later, they continued to hold positions in the middle and lower ranks of the civil service until the end of the Russian administration in the Kingdom. However, they were still subject to pressure from their Russian superiors. Despite being paid less and receiving fewer rewards, they generally performed their duties diligently and showed loyalty to the tsarist authorities. This is evidenced by the fact that in 1915, with the evacuation of offices, most of them moved deeper into Russia and continued to perform their duties there. Therefore, as the author notes, the reorganized administrative apparatus in the Kingdom of Poland after the January Uprising, despite being largely staffed by Polish officials, “was rightly perceived as imposed by force and alien to Polish traditions.”<sup>79</sup>

The second group of professional intelligentsia during the partitions that attracted significant interest from historians consisted of secondary school teachers. Research on them was initiated several years before the political and social breakthrough in 1989 in four academic centers (Wrocław, Lublin, Kielce, and Rzeszów) as part of the thematic focus on “Polish national culture, its developmental tendencies, and perception.” This resulted in collaborative work containing articles dedicated to secondary school teachers in the Kingdom of Poland, Galicia, and the Second Polish Republic. However, there were no texts regarding teachers in the Prussian partition due to the lack of research undertaken at that time (and in subsequent years).<sup>80</sup> Especially during the inter-insurrection period, secondary school teachers in the Kingdom of Poland attracted significant interest. Adam Massalski was particularly prolific in his publications on this topic. He began researching secondary education in the 1970s, initially focusing on Kielce and later expanding his research to cover

<sup>78</sup> G. Smyk, *Korpus urzędników cywilnych Królestwa Polskiego w latach 1867–1915*, Lublin 2004.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 264.

<sup>80</sup> *Nauczyciele szkół średnich w XIX i XX wieku jako grupa społeczna i ich wkład w kulturę polską*, ed. M. Chamcówna and S. Walasek (Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis No 1736 Prace Pedagogiczne CVII), Wrocław 1995. From the texts included in this volume, the articles that contributed the most to the state of research at that time were: A. Massalski, *Nauczyciele szkół średnich rządowych Królestwa Polskiego (1833–1862). Próba wstępnej charakterystyki społeczności*, *ibidem*, p. 27–58; A. Meissner, *Kadra kierownicza państwowych seminariów nauczycielskich w autonomicznej Galicji 1871–1914*, *ibidem*, p. 65–85; A. Ładyżyński, *Nauczyciele szkół zawodowych w Galicji epoki autonomicznej*, *ibidem*, p. 87–105.

the entire Kingdom. Following the political and social breakthrough in 1989, this educational historian from Kielce published several articles characterizing various groups of secondary school teachers, as well as a monograph on their superiors.<sup>81</sup> Additionally, in 2007, he published a dictionary containing basic biographical data of over 1200 teachers employed in government secondary schools in the territories of the Kingdom of Poland between 1833 and 1862. This dictionary included profiles of notable figures who contributed to Polish culture and social life, as well as those who distinguished themselves through their involvement in independence struggles.<sup>82</sup> Ewa Kula's monograph on the scientific (in the fields of exact sciences, technology, biology, humanities, social sciences, and theology), literary, and artistic work of teachers in government male secondary schools in the Kingdom of Poland between 1833 and 1862, based on thorough archival and library research, significantly complemented A. Massalski's publications.<sup>83</sup> Joanna Schiller conducted equally extensive research on teachers in Warsaw public schools in the first half of the 19th century. She published a valuable monograph that depicted their collective portrait, including their numbers, social background, education, and more.)<sup>84</sup> On the sidelines, it's worth mentioning Janina Wołczuk's book, which largely focuses on Russian teachers employed in schools in the Kingdom of Poland during the inter-insurrection period. The author aimed to provide as objective a picture as possible of this group, going beyond the traditional image of Russifiers.<sup>85</sup>

To a lesser extent, but still significantly, teachers in secondary schools in Galicia were the subject of research during the period under consideration. Firstly, the sixth volume of the publishing series "Galicja i jej dziedzictwo" [Galicia and

<sup>81</sup> See: A. Massalski, *Księża prefekci. Nauczyciele religii w szkołach średnich Królestwa Polskiego w latach 1833–1862*, in: *Spoleczno-kulturalna działalność Kościoła Katolickiego w Polsce XIX–XX wieku*, ed. R. Renz i M. Meducka, Kielce 1994, p. 199–213; idem, *Nauczyciele wyznań ewangelickich w szkołach średnich męskich rządowych Królestwa Polskiego w latach 1833–1862*, in: *Aktywność społeczno-kulturalna kościołów i grup wyznaniowych w Polsce w XIX i XX wieku*, ed. M. Meducka and R. Renz, Kielce 1995, p. 83–98; idem, *Nauczyciele języka i literatury rosyjskiej w męskich rządowych szkołach średnich w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1833–1862. Liczebność grupy, drogi awansu i ocena ich pracy przez władze oświatowe*, „Respectus philologicus”, Kowno 2004, no 5 (10), p. 120–136; idem, *Zwierzchnicy szkół średnich rządowych w Królestwie Polskim 1833–1862*, Kielce 2004.

<sup>82</sup> A. Massalski, *Nauczyciele szkół średnich rządowych męskich w Królestwie Polskim 1833–1862. Słownik biograficzny*, Warszawa 2007.

<sup>83</sup> E. Kula, *Naukowa, literacka i społeczna twórczość nauczycieli rządowych męskich szkół średnich Królestwa Polskiego w latach 1833–1862*, Kielce 2006.

<sup>84</sup> J. Schiller, *Portret zbiorowy nauczycieli warszawskich publicznych szkół średnich 1795–1862*, Warszawa 1998.

<sup>85</sup> J. Wołczuk, *Rosja i Rosjanie w szkołach Królestwa Polskiego 1833–1862. Szkice do obrazu*, Wrocław 2005.

Its Heritage] should be mentioned, containing articles mainly focusing on the contribution of Galician teachers to the development of pedagogical thought and scientific research, and to some extent characterizing their demographic and social features.<sup>86</sup> A few years later, Alicja Puszka's doctoral dissertation on the history and geography teachers in state secondary schools in autonomous Galicia was published.<sup>87</sup>

Enriching to a significant extent the state of knowledge presented in the aforementioned monograph, Henryka Kramarz extensively characterized the demographic and social characteristics (population size, social and territorial origin, age, religious and national structure), education, and career paths of 448 teachers based on a wide range of sources. She also examined their teaching activities, scientific and socio-political involvement. Researchers were also interested in the teachers of private secondary schools for girls and private teacher training seminars in autonomous Galicia. These became the subject of articles by Aleksandra Bilewicz and Andrzej Meissner, a historian of education from Rzeszów,<sup>88</sup> who, it should be emphasized, also made a significant contribution to research on the teaching staff of Galician teacher training seminars. In a monograph published at the end of the last century, based on extensive records, he thoroughly characterized their demographic characteristics, education, national composition, professional experience, social activity, as well as the teaching and scientific achievements of individual teachers.<sup>89</sup>

Despite the observed crisis in social history, I continued to conduct research on the Polish intelligentsia in the Poznań region in the 19th and early 20th centuries within its framework. I believed and still believe that history as a science does not have to rely solely on what is currently fashionable. It should certainly respond to contemporary trends but also remember the previously raised issues and hypotheses. After publishing the aforementioned doctoral thesis on the formation of the Polish intelligentsia in the Poznań region from 1841 to 1870, I felt a sense of incompleteness due to the incomplete treatment of certain issues resulting from a lack of access to archival sources. It was only after

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<sup>86</sup> *Galicja i jej dziedzictwo*. Vol. 6: *Nauczyciele galicyjscy. Udział polskich nauczycieli galicyjskich w rozwoju teorii pedagogicznej i badań naukowych*, ed. A. Meissner, Rzeszów 1994.

<sup>87</sup> A. Puszka, *Nauczyciele historii i geografii państwowych szkół średnich w Galicji w okresie autonomii (1868–1914)*, Lublin 1999.

<sup>88</sup> A. Bilewicz, *Nauczycielki prywatnych średnich szkół żeńskich w Galicji 1896–1914*, in: *Galicja i jej dziedzictwo*. Vol. 6, p. 129–148, A. Meissner, *Prywatne seminaria nauczycielskie żeńskie w Galicji doby autonomicznej 1896–1914. Powstanie, działalność i kadra nauczycielska*, ibidem, p. 149–168.

<sup>89</sup> A. Meissner, *Spór o duszę polskiego nauczyciela. Społeczeństwo galicyjskie wobec problemów kształcenia nauczycieli* (Vol. 11 of the publishing series *Galicja i jej dziedzictwo*), Rzeszów 1999.



its publication that I received a scholarship to conduct research in Merseburg. During this and subsequent research stays in the same archive, I collected rich source materials for the history of the Polish intelligentsia in the Poznań region in the subsequent period (1871–1914), which awaited further development. Simultaneously, I conducted research in German university archives as well as Polish archives and libraries to expand the personal database of its prominent and “ordinary” representatives. It became the primary source for most tables in the monograph published in 2009.<sup>90</sup> In response to Jerzy Jedlicki’s arguments, I deemed it necessary to reconstruct statistical images of the Polish intelligentsia in my work. These images not only depict the characteristics of “the intellectual class” itself (such as size, social background, occupational structure, etc.) but are also useful for providing a comprehensive description and explanation of its non-professional functions. They enrich our understanding of social mobility and the scale of educational aspirations of other social strata. According to the adopted assumptions, I aimed to present a comprehensive picture of the history of the Polish intelligentsia in the Poznań region throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries in the discussed book. This included not only its features and status (size, recruitment sources, occupational structure, etc.), general and vocational education levels, self-education in the national spirit, professional development, but also communal bonds and self-awareness. I consider it highly desirable to present all aspects of the history of the intelligentsia in monographs, not only within the realm of social history but also encompassing its functions and the scope of history of “discourses”.<sup>91</sup>

One of the fundamental issues in research on the structure of Polish society in the 19th and 20th centuries is the social background of the intelligentsia. It has long been a subject of disputes and discussions, sparked by the publication of Józef Chałasiński’s book in 1946.<sup>92</sup> In this book, the renowned sociologist attempted to prove the thesis that the intelligentsia mostly came from noble origins and culturally constituted “a continuation of the nobility”. Some critics, already in the post-war years, responded to it critically, showing that not all of the intelligentsia socially isolated itself and originated from the nobility.<sup>93</sup> Based on scientific research, Ryszarda Czepulis-Rastenis contested J. Chałasiński’s thesis in the monograph on the intelligentsia of the Kingdom of Poland, which has been mentioned several times in this article. She demonstrated that during the inter-insurrection period, this social stratum was significantly supplemented

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<sup>90</sup> W. Molik, *Inteligencja polska w Poznańskim w XIX i początkach XX wieku*, Poznań 2009.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 16.

<sup>92</sup> J. Chałasiński, *Spoleczna genealogia inteligencji polskiej*, Łódź 1946.

<sup>93</sup> The discussion on this topic in the post-war years was discussed by J. Leskiewicz in her book *Warszawa i jej inteligencja*, p. 14–23.

by the bourgeois element, which had an impact on its cultural character.<sup>94</sup> In a monograph published a few years later, I formulated a similar observation that the intelligentsia in the Grand Duchy of Poznań was recruited to varying degrees from all classes and social strata of Polish society.<sup>95</sup> Representatives of the landowning and gentry class entered it to a much lesser extent than in the Kingdom of Poland (they mostly contributed to prestigious and highest-earning professional groups like doctors and lawyers). In the last decades of the 19th and early 20th centuries, the majority of Polish intellectual workers came from the petty bourgeoisie, families of elementary school teachers, and lower-ranking officials. The gradually increasing involvement of peasants' sons in the post-insurrection period did not exceed a few percent.<sup>96</sup> The social origin of the Polish intelligentsia in West Prussia (the Vistula Pomerania) was much more plebeian. According to the findings of Józef Borzyszkowski, as many as 38% of its representatives could claim a peasant background. The participation of intellectuals of petty-bourgeois origin in the entire class increased only at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries with the development of the Polish middle class. Intellectuals with a noble or landowning lineage accounted for only about 1/8 of the entire community.<sup>97</sup> Major changes also occurred – as demonstrated by Irena Homola – in the social origin of the Kraków intelligentsia. In the years 1870–1890, a large part of it still claimed a noble lineage, but by the end of the 19th century, intellectuals of bourgeois and middle-class origin had come to the fore. Additionally, throughout the period of autonomy, the Kraków intelligentsia (especially the clergy and teachers of secondary and higher education) was more significantly replenished by a peasant element than “the intellectual class” in the Russian partition.<sup>98</sup>

Indeed, the intelligentsia of peasant origin gradually became the subject of separate publications. Krzysztof Groniowski dedicated a separate chapter to its challenging beginnings in his book on the emancipation of peasants in Poland.<sup>99</sup> The current state of research, however, enabled a Warsaw-based historian to characterize it against the backdrop of the gradual eradication of illiteracy, the development of extracurricular education, and the influx of peasant sons into secondary and higher education, only selected profiles of intellectuals of peasant origin. In addition to the monographs discussed above concerning the

<sup>94</sup> R. Czepulis-Rastenis, „*Klasssa umysłowa*”, p. 208.

<sup>95</sup> W. Molik, *Kształtowanie się inteligencji*, p. 86–90.

<sup>96</sup> W. Molik, *Inteligencja polska w Poznańskim*, p. 526–527.

<sup>97</sup> J. Borzyszkowski, *Inteligencja polska*, p. 119–120.

<sup>98</sup> I. Homola, „*Kwiat społeczeństwa...*”, p. 378–379.

<sup>99</sup> *Trudne początki chłopskiej inteligencji*, in: K. Groniowski, *Uwłaszczenie chłopów w Polsce geneza – realizacja – skutki*, Warszawa 1976, p. 263–301.

intelligentsia in the three partitions, the gradual increase in the influx of peasant sons into “the intellectual class” was depicted in books and articles devoted to the Catholic clergy, to which I will return in further considerations. By summarizing the results of research presented in them and in other publications regarding the Kingdom of Poland in the first half of the 19th century, Wiesław Caban reached a conclusion in a brief article. He concluded that among the overall intelligentsia of the Kingdom, “sons of peasants constituted a negligible number. They were more visible only among elementary school teachers and the clergy.”<sup>100</sup> However, the knowledge about the first generations of intellectuals of peasant origin in Galicia was significantly expanded by two books by Andrzej Kazimierz Banach devoted to peasant youth at the Jagiellonian University during the period of autonomy and their later professional careers. In the first of these books, the Krakow-based historian provided a comprehensive and individualized characterization of 3480 students of peasant origin from the four faculties of the Jagiellonian University that existed between 1860/61 and 1917/18.<sup>101</sup> In the second book, he presented the course of their careers through several dozen examples (advancements in their professional, public, and scientific fields). He also included a biobibliographic dictionary of professional careers of 1421 graduates of peasant origin from the Jagiellonian University. Its enormous value lies in the fact that it provides printed and manuscript bibliographies for each individual, along with the signatures of the respective archival record groups.<sup>102</sup> From the analyses presented in both books by A. K. Banach, it follows that peasant students, upon leaving the walls of the Kraków university, merged into the layer of intelligentsia, sharing its fate and not standing out from its ranks. They felt much more connected to the class into which they entered by virtue of the education they obtained with great effort and resources (their own and their family’s) than to the village they left behind and certainly did not wish to return to. It is also worth mentioning the interesting and constructive article by Andrzej Meissner on the education of peasant youth in autonomous Galicia.<sup>103</sup> The author concludes, among other things, that the education of rural youth initiated, on a larger scale, the process of shaping the Galician intelligentsia of peasant origin.

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<sup>100</sup> W. Caban, *O pierwszym pokoleniu inteligencji chłopskiej w Królestwie Polskim w I połowie XIX wieku*, in: *Ksiądz Piotr Ściegienny epoka dzieła pokłosie*, ed. W. Caban with the introduction by W. A. Dżakow, Kielce 1996, p. 57.

<sup>101</sup> A. K. Banach, *Młodzież chłopska na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim w latach 1860/61–1917/18*, Kraków 1997

<sup>102</sup> A. K. Banach, *Kariery zawodowe studentów Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego pochodzenia chłopskiego z lat 1860/1861–1917/1918*, Kraków 2009.

<sup>103</sup> A. Meissner, *Edukacja młodzieży chłopskiej w Galicji doby autonomicznej*, „Biuletyn Historii Wychowania” 2007/23, p. 21–33.

The Polish intelligentsia in all three partitions was to varying degrees supplemented by intellectually assimilated workers of other nationalities. For a long time, they did not attract much interest from researchers. In few publications, only individual examples of their Polonization or re-Polonization were described,<sup>104</sup> or the Polonization of intellectuals of foreign origin in Galicia was selectively and superficially portrayed, as in Anna Wróbel's article.<sup>105</sup> In the 1980s, broader research was conducted on the assimilation of Jews and the Polonization of Evangelical Germans in the Kingdom of Poland, which resulted, among other things, in publications by Alina Cała and Tadeusz Stegner.<sup>106</sup> These publications covered the entire Jewish and German population, including Protestant clergy, among whom Polonization made significant progress. Only a few years later monographs were published on a solid source basis; they presented the acceptance by the Polish intelligentsia of educated representatives of other nationalities into their sphere. In one monograph Helena Datner skillfully combined theoretical assumptions with the results of her empirical research to describe the process of Polonization of the Jewish intelligentsia in Warsaw in the second half of the 19th century.<sup>107</sup> She attempted to answer the question of to what extent Jews who, after completing university studies, became doctors, lawyers, writers, etc., became Polish intelligentsia and to what extent they remained Jewish intelligentsia, to what extent they were part of Polish society, and to what extent they remained part of Jewish society. She demonstrated how complex and full of various twists and turns this process was. In the post-uprising period, many educated Jewish doctors or lawyers became Polish, but quite often they also remained Jewish, worked for their Jewish community, and worried about its fate.

An interesting group, surrounded in historical literature by erroneous and simplified assessments, were the German-Austrian officials in Galicia. The process of their acculturation and subsequently assimilation was the subject of the second of the aforementioned monographs by Isabel Röskau-Rydel,

<sup>104</sup> I have discussed these publications in the article: *Procesy asymilacyjne i akulturacyjne w stosunkach polsko-niemieckich w XIX i na początku XX wieku. Stan i postulaty badań*, in: *Procesy akulturacji/asymilacji na pograniczu polsko-niemieckim w XIX i XX wieku*, ed. W. Molik and R. Traba, Poznań 1999, p. 70–73.

<sup>105</sup> A. Wróbel, *Od „Gallileusz” do Polaków. Wejście do polskiej inteligencji przedstawicieli ludności napływowej i mniejszości w Galicji w XIX w.*, in: *Inteligencja polska XIX i XX wieku*, *Studia 5*, ed. R. Czepulis-Rastenis, Warszawa 1987, p. 173–190.

<sup>106</sup> A. Cała, *Polacy niechciani. Z zagadnień asymilacji żydowskiej w Królestwie Polskim (1864–1897)*, in: *Inteligencja polska XIX i XX wieku*, *Studia 5*, ed. R. Czepulis-Rastenis, Warszawa 1985, p. 192–214; *Asymilacja Żydów w Królestwie Polskim (1864–1897)*, Warszawa 1989; T. Stegner, *Polonizacja Niemców ewangelików w Królestwie Polskim 1815–1914*, „Przegląd Historyczny” 1989, issue 2, p. 301–315.

<sup>107</sup> H. Datner, *Ta i tamta strona. Żydowska inteligencja Warszawy drugiej połowy XIX wieku*, Warszawa 2007.

a German historian and Germanist employed at the Pedagogical University in Krakow.<sup>108</sup> It is worth noting that her considerations covered a long period, from the first partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to the end of the First World War, which is rarely the case in monographs dealing with the post-partition era, which usually cover shorter historical periods. By using the case study method as a research approach, she successfully achieved the goal set forth in the introduction of her work. Through the dynamic three-generational perspective of the histories of ten families (their selection determined by the state of preservation of sources), she elucidated the mechanisms and factors determining the acculturation processes of German-Austrian officials. The officials who arrived in Galicia after 1772, termed by the author as “first-generation immigrants,” showed a keen interest in their country of origin and learned the Polish language, the basic knowledge of which opened the door to social and cultural contacts with Polish elites and noble families. At the same time, they had no difficulty in maintaining their German culture, in which they were raised. In the second generation, the acculturation of young Germans and Austrians – demonstrated by the author – usually proceeded rapidly and gradually led to their assimilation. In the third to fourth generations, full assimilation of some German-Austrian official families with the Polish society took place.

To a lesser extent, researchers were interested in the parallel process of acculturation of the Polish intelligentsia as individuals and families of foreign origin moved into the Polish population due to education, professional work, and daily life in legal systems and socio-political conditions imposed by the occupying powers. Successive generations were forced to adapt to these systems and conditions and lived to varying degrees in the world of two distinct national cultures: Polish and German, Polish and Russian, or Polish and Ukrainian. The life and development of thinking patterns and action models in the world of two cultures of the Polish intelligentsia in West Prussia were interestingly described by Józef Borzyszkowski in one of the subchapters of the aforementioned monograph.<sup>109</sup> In an article published several years later, I attempted to illustrate the acculturation and assimilation of the Polish intelligentsia in the Prussian partition during the stage of acquiring education in German secondary and higher schools.<sup>110</sup> It is worth noting here that in the Prussian partition, cultured individuals were often recruited from the intelligentsia, and they exhibited fervent patriotism as leaders of the Polish national movement, which facilitated

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<sup>108</sup> I. Röskau-Rydel, *Niemiecko-austriackie rodziny urzędnicze w Galicji 1772–1918. Kariery zawodowe – środowisko – akulturacja i asymilacja*, Kraków 2011.

<sup>109</sup> J. Borzyszkowski, *Inteligencja polska*, p. 173–188.

<sup>110</sup> W. Molik, *Assimilation der polnischen Intelligenz im preußischen Teilungsgebiet durch Bildung 1871–1914*, „Archiv für Sozialgeschichte“ Bd. 32.1992, p. 81–92.

their effective leadership of this movement. In the contemporary press, they were periodically encouraged to emulate German models and to draw from German experiences in social work and political life.<sup>111</sup> Polish intellectuals in the remaining two partitions also underwent varying degrees of acculturation, especially those employed in government positions. An interesting and yet-to-be-explored issue is the acculturation through Russian or Austrian bureaucracy. In the Kingdom of Poland during the post-uprising period, despite ongoing Russification, many Polish officials worked in mid- and lower-level positions, adopting the routine, characteristics, habits, etc., of the Russian bureaucracy. A similar process occurred in the Polish-speaking spheres of administration in autonomous Galicia, where characteristics typical of the Austrian bureaucracy became entrenched.

The second strand of research on the Polish intelligentsia during the partitions, focusing on issues such as self-awareness, social consciousness, ideological orientation, and the political groups formed by them, developed more slowly in the first two decades after the political and social breakthrough in 1989. Several texts on these topics were included in the last volume of the publishing series *Inteligencja polska XIX i XX wieku* [Polish Intelligentsia of the 19th and 20th Centuries] published in 1991.<sup>112</sup> In the opening article of this volume, Tomasz Kizwalter demonstrated, based on a thorough analysis of statements from the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, that already at the outset of the Duchy of Warsaw, the specificity and distinctiveness of the social condition of intellectual workers were recognized. This seems to indicate the crystallization of a certain ideological community among the intelligentsia at that time.<sup>113</sup> Broadening the research perspective on the history of the intelligentsia, Andrzej Szwarc described in his article the participation and role of its representatives in the camp of compromise within the Russian partition, seeking agreement with the tsarist government.<sup>114</sup> By presenting these findings, he not only enriched the image of the conciliatory orientation but also revealed a previously little-known area of activity of the intelligentsia. Bearing in mind the “underestimation” of the Polish intelligentsia in the Poznań region in historical literature, in his text, I tried in turn to demonstrate, on the basis of the analysis of the statements of the intellectuals themselves, that at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries in this

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<sup>111</sup> Szerzej na ten temat in: W. Molik, *Problem akulturacji na pograniczu polsko-niemieckim na przykładzie społeczeństwa polskiego w Poznańskim w XIX i XX wieku*, in: *Pogranicze polsko-niemieckie. Przeszłość teraźniejszość przyszłość*, ed. E. Włodarczyk, Szczecin 2001, p. 43–77.

<sup>112</sup> *Inteligencja polska XIX i XX wieku. Studia 6* ed. R. Czepulis-Rastenis, Warszawa 1991.

<sup>113</sup> T. Kizwalter, *Początki inteligenckiej samoświadomości – między jakobinizmem a oświeconą zachowawczością (zarys problematyki)*, ibidem, p. 9–26.

<sup>114</sup> A. Szwarc, *Obóz ugody a inteligencja (1864–1905)*, ibidem, p. 73–105.

province of the Prussian state they constituted a social class with an advanced level of self-awareness.<sup>115</sup>

The deficit of publications dedicated to intellectual political groups and their programs was partially filled by the doctoral work of Maciej Janowski on the situation and ideological dilemmas of a small liberal-democratic intellectual group in autonomous Galicia, published under a title largely inadequate to its content.<sup>116</sup> The Galician Democrats represented not only the intelligentsia but to a greater extent the middle and lower bourgeoisie as well. A rare asset in Polish historical literature is its competent comparison, based on foreign-language sources, of the program of the Galician Democrats with the programs of similar groups operating in the Danubian monarchy: the Austrian and Hungarian liberals and the Young Czechs. M. Janowski intriguingly portrayed the dilemmas of the Galician Democrats, the interplay in their political program between ideas of independence and loyalty to the Austro-Hungarian state, and explained the reasons for their loss of significance at the beginning of the 20th century. He aptly noted that by appealing to reason rather than emotions, they failed to organize mass agitation and did not recognize the European crisis of liberalism or the emergence and development of mass social movements, especially nationalism and socialism.

It is also worth mentioning a collective work containing texts that challenge the thesis of the Enlightenment-positivist, urban, and secular lineage of the Polish intelligentsia, instead highlighting its Christian inspirations evident in its beliefs and actions.<sup>117</sup> These observations provoke polemical remarks, the presentation of which would require a significant expansion beyond the scope of this already extensive article.

In parallel with the publication of the above-characterized monographs and articles, the Laboratory for the History of the Intelligentsia at the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw conducted research and work, under the direction of Jerzy Jedlicki, aimed at synthesizing the post-partition history of the Polish intelligentsia. After several years, this endeavor culminated in an attractively published work, consisting of three volumes successively authored by Maciej Janowski, Jerzy Jedlicki, and Magdalena Micińska.<sup>118</sup>

<sup>115</sup> W. Molik, *Inteligencja polska w Poznańskim w świetle własnych opinii 1871–1914*, ibidem, p. 147–162.

<sup>116</sup> M. Janowski, *Inteligencja wobec wyzwań nowoczesności. Dylematy ideowe polskiej demokracji liberalnej w Galicji w latach 1889–1914*, Warszawa 1996

<sup>117</sup> *Wybory wartości. Inteligencja polska u schyłku XIX i na początku XX wieku*, scientific edition by Elżbieta Reklajtis, Lublin 1996.

<sup>118</sup> *Dzieje inteligencji polskiej do roku 1918*, ed. J. Jedlicki (M. Janowski, *Narodziny inteligencji 1750–1831*, J. Jedlicki, *Błędne koło 1832–1864*, M. Micińska, *Inteligencja na rozdrożach 1864–1918*), Warszawa 2008.

It had broad promotion and received high praise in weekly magazines and daily newspapers, but it did not receive reviews in the most important historical journals. I critically addressed it in an article published eight years ago, which allows me to briefly present the comments included in it here.<sup>119</sup> Warsaw historians recognized that since social history had lost its attractiveness and intellectual climates had changed, they would not resist new theoretical preferences, modes of thinking, and narrative construction methods. However, they had concerns that by succumbing to the suggestions of narrativist methodologists, they might devalue “the massive, albeit objectifying, achievements of social history.”<sup>120</sup> Indeed, to varying degrees (least in J. Jedlicki, most in M. Micińska), they belittled this achievement, to the detriment of the presented issues. They published volumes that exemplify a shift from social history to cultural history, portraying, from the perspective of the history of ideas, more of an intellectual elite than professional intelligentsia. Admitting without shame and with an internal conviction of eclecticism, they combined various perspectives in their narratives: social history with political and psychologising history, history of customs with history of knowledge, sociology of literature with biography studies. They made the environment the main subject of their “non-participatory observation,” believing that it is the “appropriate social form of existence for the intelligentsia.”<sup>121</sup> However, the characteristics of intellectual environments in individual volumes are often fragmentary and superficial. In the “painstaking writing” of the volumes, the greatest difficulty for Warsaw historians was deciding what is not essential and what can be omitted. There is no universal recipe: each of them “dealt with it as best they could.”<sup>122</sup> As a result, the work written by them “does not constitute a coherent whole, with a visible single narrative axis in individual volumes and continuity in the leading threads of the story about the post-partition history of the Polish intelligentsia. We have received not one book [...] in three parts, but rather three monographs, each with a different structure and narrative rhythm.”<sup>123</sup> The merits and shortcomings of each volume were discussed in the quoted article.<sup>124</sup> Henryk Markiewicz, “an

<sup>119</sup> *W kwestii syntezy dziejów inteligencji polskiej w okresie zaborów*, in: *Kaszubi – Pomorze – Gdańsk. W kręgu pytań o kulturę, historię i tożsamość. Księga Jubileuszowa Profesora Józefa Borzyszkowskiego z okazji 70. rocznicy urodzin*, ed. C. Olbracht-Prondzyński, T. Rembalski, K. Lewalski, Gdańsk 2016, p. 720–736, reprint in: W. Molik, *Teksty wybrane, Księga pamiątkowa ofiarowana Profesorowi Witoldowi Molikowi z okazji 70. rocznicy urodzin*, ed. A. Hinc, J. Kołacki, K. A. Makowski, P. Matusik, Poznań 2019, p. 541–561.

<sup>120</sup> J. Jedlicki, *Przedmowa*, in: M. Janowski, *Narodziny inteligencji*, p. 10.

<sup>121</sup> Tamże, p. 19.

<sup>122</sup> Tamże, p. 20.

<sup>123</sup> W. Molik, *W kwestii syntezy*, p. 552.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 552–558.



unmatched erudite with the eye of a critic,” pointed out several dozen errors, flaws, and factual inaccuracies in Magdalena Micińska’s volume<sup>125</sup> in a review published in the Kraków-based Polish studies journal ‘Wielogłos’.<sup>126</sup> Referring to information from the preface by J. Jedlicki, stating that individual chapters were subjected to “careful and critical” evaluation at meetings of the Polish Intelligentsia Workshop at the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences, and that “the whole was reviewed by Professors Grażyna Borkowska, Tomasz Kizwalter, Włodzimierz Mędrzecki, and Jerzy Zdrada,” he lamented: “It is hard to believe that no one from this esteemed group noticed” numerous errors, deficiencies, and shortcomings in the third volume.”<sup>127</sup>

It is also worth mentioning the book translated into Polish three years later by Denis Sdvižkov, about the phenomenon of educated individuals and the intelligentsia across four countries in nineteenth-century Europe: France, Germany, Poland, and Russia. The author distinguishes them for their particular intensity of intellectual tradition, “both in the social sphere (strata, environments) and in the cultural sphere (concepts).”<sup>128</sup> The Russian historian mainly described the object of his considerations in a functional way. As a result of applying this perspective, all intellectual professional groups, except for the Protestant clergy, professors, and writers, i.e., groups shaping the cultural discourse in the countries under study, are almost invisible in the narrative. Sdvižkov’s book is an example – similar to the trilogy by Warsaw historians – of a turn from social history towards cultural history. Therefore, it does not contain data illustrating the size, social origin, national structure, living conditions, etc., of the described groups. One does not need to be an avid supporter of cliometrics to feel this as a significant shortcoming. Discussing chapters devoted to educated classes in France, Germany, and Russia would require going beyond the scope of this article. I will therefore limit myself to assessing the chapter on the Polish intelligentsia. Sdvižkov did not take into account the separate conditions for the formation and development of the “intelligentsia” in the respective partitions. In the Poznań region, the Polish intelligentsia was relatively small in number, but this does not mean that it can be summarized in just three short paragraphs. It is a pity that the author did not include a description of the unique phenomenon of

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<sup>125</sup> J. Tazbir, *Długi romans z muzą Klio*, Warszawa 2007, p. 171.

<sup>126</sup> H. Markiewicz, *Dlaczego i dla kogo skumbrie w tomacie?*, „Wielogłos Pismo Wydziału Polonistyki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego” 2009, no 1, p. 213–217.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 217.

<sup>128</sup> D. Sdvižkov, *Epoka inteligencji. Historia porównawcza warstwy wykształconej w Europie*. Transl. by J. Górny, Scientific edition by A. Kozuchowski, Warszawa 2011 p. 23–24 (the original title: *Das Zeitalter der Intelligenz. Zur vergleichende Geschichte der Gebildeten in Europa bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg*, Göttingen 2006).

the formation of this social class in interaction with the Prussian state authorities. However, the almost complete omission of the intelligentsia in Galicia, which played an important role during the autonomy period, should be considered a much more serious mistake. The chapter on the Polish intelligentsia was written from a Warsaw-centric perspective, which presents a distorted image to readers unfamiliar with the subject matter. These critical words are directed not only at the author but also at Polish historians with whom he consulted his book's concept during his research stay in Warsaw.

The year 2010 can be conventionally accepted as another – I believe – watershed in the research on the history of the Polish intelligentsia in the 19th and early 20th centuries, which noticeably weakened after the publication of the synthesis by Warsaw historians and my monograph on the Polish intelligentsia in the Poznań region. The symposium devoted to the history of the intelligentsia during the 19th General Congress of Polish Historians in Szczecin in 2014 did not contribute to the revitalization of the research. There were no papers summarizing previous studies or conducting new ones on “the intellectual class”. Some of these papers were only published several years later in the journal of the Institute of History at the University of Łódź.<sup>129</sup> Few of the publications from the last few years have enriched or organized the existing knowledge, such as Andrzej Szwarc's article on criteria and internal boundaries in research on the Polish intelligentsia in the post-partition period.<sup>130</sup> Jadwiga Hoff provided an interesting perspective on the provincial Galician intelligentsia in a short article, where she formulated the conclusion that starting from the 1870s, it pursued “a long-term, legal, and even conciliatory strategy, as required by the civilizational tasks ahead of it.”<sup>131</sup> It's a pity that these few articles are published in regional journals or collective works with limited circulation, which significantly restricts their reception. Among the professional groups constituting the intelligentsia, educators, especially historians of education and schooling, continue to attract attention. Adam Massalski concluded his long-term research on secondary school teachers in the Kingdom of Poland during the inter-insurrection period with a solidly documented book, the lengthy title of which raises some concerns.<sup>132</sup> The author introduced into it imprecise terminology of “secondary school”

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<sup>129</sup> Studia z Historii Społeczno-Gospodarczej vol. 19/2018.

<sup>130</sup> A. Szwarc, *Inteligencja i „warstwy oświecone”*. *O kryteriach i granicach wewnętrznych podziałów w badaniach nad inteligencją polską XIX i początku XX wieku*, in: *Polska w XIX i XX wieku – społeczeństwo i gospodarka*, ed. W. Caban et al., Kielce 2013.

<sup>131</sup> J. Hoff, *Inteligencja galicyjska – niepokorna czy lojalna?*, „Rocznik Przemyski” vol. XLVI: 2010, issue 4, p. 58.

<sup>132</sup> A. Massalski, *Nauczyciele szkół średnich męskich rządowych w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1833–1862*, Warszawa 2012.

(in Polish – *szkoła średnia*) which was not commonly used in the Kingdom at that time. In the book's construction, he applied a simple division, describing teachers in subsequent chapters according to the subjects taught and types of schools, thereby reducing its utility for comparative research. He delivered to readers an information-rich compendium rather than a problematic monograph, showing comprehensively and clearly the changes in the numbers, social origins, religious structures, education levels, professional careers, and working conditions of the teachers covered in the narrative. In terms of problematics, Ewa Kula performed much better in her book on government secondary school teachers in the Kingdom of Poland from the beginning of Alexander Wielopolski's school reform in 1862 to the implementation eleven years later of the law equalizing the school system in the Kingdom with that in the entire Russian Empire by Education Minister Dmitry Tolstoy.<sup>133</sup> Based on numerous and diligently utilized archival and printed sources, she shed new light on the directions of personnel policy implemented among secondary school teachers in the Kingdom of Poland in the years 1862–1873. Subsequently, she exhaustively described their religious structure, education, social background, career paths, material and practical pedagogical activities. She intriguingly characterized the consistent efforts of the Russian educational authorities to de-Polonize the teaching environment, as well as the numerous transitions of teachers from the Roman Catholic faith to Orthodoxy to ensure career stability.

Similarly, Tadeusz Ochenduszek devoted many years to researching the managerial personnel of both state and private gymnasiums in Galicia, presenting the results in two complementary books.<sup>134</sup> The first book serves as a biographical dictionary of principals of Galician secondary schools, while the second attempts to outline their collective portrait based on an extensive selection of printed sources, primarily reports from the directors of individual gymnasiums. The second book would have greatly benefited if the author had also utilized archival materials and incorporated contemporary press and memoirs to a greater extent. However, the most noticeable drawback is the lack of author's familiarity with the subject, as evidenced by the omission of basic works on the history of Galician education. Despite these shortcomings, Ochenduszek's monograph provides a fairly comprehensive characterization of the managerial staff of Galician gymnasiums based on selected criteria: birthplace, social background, religion, nationality, education, as well as less obvious ones such as subjects taught, length

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<sup>133</sup> E. Kula, *Opera et studio. Wizerunek nauczycieli rządowych szkół średnich w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1862–1873*, Kielce 2012.

<sup>134</sup> T. Ochenduszek, *Leksykon kadry kierowniczej gimnazjów galicyjskich w okresie autonomii*, Rzeszów 2015; idem, *Kadra kierownicza gimnazjów galicyjskich w okresie autonomii*, Rzeszów 2015.

of professional career, and lifespan. Meanwhile, Czesław Chrząszcz relied on a broad array of archival sources, mainly of ecclesiastical provenance and from the area of the Kraków diocese, for his monograph on catechists in secondary schools in autonomous Galicia.<sup>135</sup> The book bears an imprecise title, as the author only discusses the activities of Roman Catholic catechists, omitting Greek Catholic catechists, who were particularly important in Eastern Galicia. The author's thorough utilization of sources allowed for a commendable reconstruction of the work of catechists, their numerical development, level of education, rights and duties in the light of school laws and ecclesiastical regulations, official status, and mission of teaching, upbringing, and "sanctifying" students. Furthermore, he also described the insufficient pedagogical preparation and inappropriate approach to school duties of a large number of catechists, which led many gymnasium students to perceive religious practices as a kind of obligation and did not strengthen their faith.

Teachers of classical and real gymnasiums, as well as teachers' seminaries in the Prussian partition, were still not covered by research or given separate publications. This disparity is partially offset by my monograph on the Polish intelligentsia in the Poznań region, in which I depicted changes in the numerical state, social background, and general and professional education of teachers of Polish nationality.<sup>136</sup>

Thanks to the entrepreneurship, innovation, and hard work of historians such as Artur Górak, Krzysztof Latawiec, Jarosław Krajka, and others from the Institute of History at Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, there has been tremendous progress in research on the Russian bureaucracy in the Kingdom of Poland, especially in the post-uprising period, over the past few decades. These historians have organized several international conferences dedicated to the history of the bureaucracy, starting from the third symposium, which also saw significant participation from Russian, Ukrainian, and Belarusian historians. Hundreds of papers were presented at these conferences, covering various categories and groups of officials in modern times as well as in the 19th and 20th centuries, and these papers have been published in eleven post-conference volumes.<sup>137</sup> They deserve a separate review article. Lublin historians have also conducted extensive and highly detailed source queries in dozens of domestic and foreign archives and libraries, resulting in several valuable publications. Artur Górak and Krzysztof Latawiec have published a Dictionary containing 195 biographies of governors and vice-governors in the Kingdom of Poland

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<sup>135</sup> C. Chrząszcz, *Wychowawcy elit. Działalność katechetów galicyjskich szkół średnich w latach 1867–1918*, Kraków 2014.

<sup>136</sup> W. Molik, *Inteligencja polska*, p. 228–231, 284–286, 376–381.

<sup>137</sup> *Dzieje biurokracji*, vol. I – XI ed. A. Górak et al., Lublin 2008–2020.

from 1867 to 1918, compiled according to a uniform template based on data acquired from Polish, Russian, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, and Belarusian archives, as well as numerous official publications.<sup>138</sup> In their work, a valuable volume dedicated to the Russian special administration in the Kingdom of Poland has also been published.<sup>139</sup> Finally, recently historians from Lublin compiled and published a three-volume work on the customs administration in the Kingdom of Poland compiled by.<sup>140</sup> The mentioned publications significantly expanded our knowledge about the functioning and Russification of individual structures of the Russian administration in the Kingdom of Poland and provided an answer to the question: which officials implemented Petersburg's policy aimed at its full integration with the Russian Empire. In the case of the German administration in the Poznań region, a similar catalogue of questions was addressed by the outstanding monograph by Christian Myschor, which, through interesting comparative analyses, made a significant contribution to the research on the bureaucratic class not only in this province of the Prussian state but also in the entire German Empire.<sup>141</sup> The author refuted the dominant view in Polish and German historiography that the Polish policy of the Prussian government was the most important factor determining the careers and behaviour of higher officials in the Poznań region. Against this backdrop, there is a glaring lack of comprehensive studies devoted to officials of various categories in Galicia. Due to their large numbers (they constituted the largest group of the intelligentsia) and the role they played, also in the Second Polish Republic, this painfully felt gap in historiography should be filled in the first place.

Among researchers of the history of the Polish intelligentsia during the partitions, one of the most controversial issues is the question of whether the clergy also belonged to the intellectual layers of the society. It is therefore appropriate to present their positions and to separately characterize the publications dedicated to this issue. Stefan Kieniewicz formulated the view almost eighty years ago that the clergy "thanks to their hierarchy and celibacy, always constituted a closed group within the intellectually working class, exerting no influence on the formation of the intelligentsia."<sup>142</sup> The authors of works concerning the intelligentsia of Warsaw, such as Janina Leskiewiczowa and later Janina Żurawicka, included

<sup>138</sup> A. Górak, K. Latawiec, *Słownik gubernatorów i wicegubernatorów w Królestwie Polskim 1867–1918*, Lublin 2015.

<sup>139</sup> *Rosyjska administracja specjalna w Królestwie Polskim 1839–1918*, ed. A. Górak, K. Latawiec, Lublin 2015.

<sup>140</sup> *Administracja celna w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1851–1914 (1918)*, vol. I–III, ed. K. Latawiec, A. Górak, J. Krajka, Lublin 2023.

<sup>141</sup> C. Myschor, *Wyżsi urzędnicy pruskiej administracji prowincjonalnej w Poznańskim (1871–1918)*, Poznań 2014.

<sup>142</sup> S. Kieniewicz, *Rodowód inteligencji polskiej*, „Tygodnik Powszechny” 1946, no 15.

the clergy – albeit to varying degrees – as its integral part. However, Ryszarda Czepulis-Rastenis, in her classic monograph, omitted the Catholic clergy from her research process and only included men of the cloth in statistical comparisons to illustrate the size of different groups of intellectual workers. She believed that as a separate and closed community, they would require separate treatment.<sup>143</sup> In my doctoral dissertation, published several years later, I included the Catholic clergy in the Polish intelligentsia in the Poznań region, citing its specific role and characteristics (higher level of education and stronger ties with other professional intelligentsia groups than in the Kingdom of Poland and Galicia).<sup>144</sup> Similarly, Józef Borzyszkowski in his book acknowledged the clergy as the “most important group of the Polish intelligentsia” in Western Prussia.<sup>145</sup> Irena Homola dedicated a significant amount of space to the Catholic clergy in her monograph on the Kraków intelligentsia, believing that during the period of autonomy, it met the conditions allowing it to be classified as part of this social class.<sup>146</sup> Therefore, it can be said that researchers of the intelligentsia’s history in the Prussian and Austrian partitions recognize the membership of the Catholic clergy in it. However, for researchers of “the intellectual class” in the Russian partition, as noted by Andrzej Szwarc, omitting it has almost become the rule.<sup>147</sup> This omission of the clergy is largely justified by its low level of education. Rural priests in the Kingdom of Poland, as a result of poor education in seminaries, typically had limited intellectual horizons.

On the other hand, various religious orders, to varying degrees, were isolated from the general intelligentsia, and their corporatism had a greater dimension than that of the secular clergy. The fate and suppressions of the orders in each partition constitute a separate topic, extensively studied also by the monks themselves, especially the Franciscan congregations, and the historical literature devoted to them is extensive. However, discussing this would require significant expansion beyond the scope of this article and would not be justified in terms of content.

In the context of research on social structures in the Kingdom of Poland, the Catholic clergy became a subject of interest to historians as early as the 1960s. In the works of the team led by Witold Kula at the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, Stanisław Litak from the Catholic University of Lublin participated, and he concluded his research with a solid study showing the territorial and estate origins, internal structure, education, and career paths

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<sup>143</sup> R. Czepulis-Rastenis, „Klasa umysłowa”, p. 66.

<sup>144</sup> W. Molik, *Kształtowanie się inteligencji*, p. 60.

<sup>145</sup> J. Borzyszkowski, *Inteligencja polska*, p. 49.

<sup>146</sup> I. Homola, „Kwiat społeczeństwa...”, p. 147.

<sup>147</sup> A. Szwarc, *Inteligencja i „warstwy oświecone”*, p. 154.

of the clergy of the Lublin diocese during the inter-insurrection period.<sup>148</sup> Somewhat later, Father Daniel Olszewski became acquainted with the research methods of the Workshop for Research on Social Structures while preparing his doctoral thesis on the clergy in part of the Kraków diocese in the Kingdom of Poland during the inter-insurrection period. In the published abbreviated version of his work in 1974, expanding the catalogue of research questions, he depicted the territorial recruitment, social estate origins, education, and career conditions of the clergy of this diocese in the years 1835–1864 (by decree of March 22, 1842, Tsar Nicholas I changed its name from Kraków to Kielce–Kraków).<sup>149</sup> Both of the briefly discussed articles had a survey character, and their authors attempted to provide answers to fundamental questions for researchers of social structures at that time: whether the equality of all estates before the law was accompanied by equality of life chances, and to what extent the correlational relationship between the estate system and social positions was disappearing. Based on meticulously utilized consistory records, they showed that in the Polish Church of the first half of the 19th century, fundamental elements of social structures from the period of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth persisted. However, within these structures, “a deep internal crisis emerged as a result of rapidly advancing social and economic changes closely connected to the complex multi-level process of abolishing feudal relations.”<sup>150</sup>

Unfortunately, in the following years, similar studies concerning the social structure of the clergy in other dioceses of the Kingdom of Poland were lacking. Only D. Olszewski continued his research, expanding its scope to socio-religious issues. Twelve years after obtaining his doctorate, he published an innovative monograph on socio-religious transformations in the Kingdom of Poland in the first half of the 19th century. In this work, he extensively characterized the clergy (its numbers, territorial and social estate origins, paths of ecclesiastical careers, pre-seminary and theological education, and pastoral activities), mainly using the example of the Kielce–Kraków diocese, for which consistory records, unlike those of other dioceses, were almost entirely preserved.<sup>151</sup> He made good use of foreign scholarship trips to familiarize himself with French literature on the history of religion in the 19th century, which proved useful for

<sup>148</sup> S. Litak, *Duchowieństwo diecezji lubelskiej w okresie międzypowstaniowym (1835–1864)*, in: *Spółczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego. Studia o uwarstwieniu i ruchliwości społecznej*, III ed. W. Kuli, Warszawa 1968, p. 89–164.

<sup>149</sup> D. Olszewski, *Struktura społeczna duchowieństwa diecezji kielecko-krakowskiej (1835–1864)*, in: *Spółczeństwo polskie XVIII i XIX wieku. Studia o uwarstwieniu i ruchliwości społecznej*, vol. VI ed. J. Leskiewicz, Warszawa 1974, p. 129–183.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 181.

<sup>151</sup> D. Olszewski, *Przemiany społeczno-religijne w Królestwie Polskim w pierwszej połowie XIX wieku. Analiza środowiska diecezjalnego*, Lublin 1984.

posing and answering a series of important questions regarding socio-religious transformations in the Kingdom of Poland against the backdrop of Western Europe and the specificities of Polish Catholicism. However, D. Olszewski's book is not without certain shortcomings. Among them is the lack, in some parts, of a list of utilized archival sources and footnotes, for example, in the subsection on the number of clergy. It is difficult to determine from which sources or publications the numerical information provided therein was derived.

Simultaneously, research on the Catholic clergy in Wielkopolska, "understood within the boundaries of the Grand Duchy of Poznań," was conducted by Father Lech Bystrzycki from the Koszalin-Kołobrzeg diocese. He extensively covered the records of church and Prussian authorities, preserved in Polish and German archives, as well as numerous printed sources, presenting their results in an extensive habilitation thesis.<sup>152</sup> In the introduction, he emphasized that the subject of consideration "is exclusively the Polish clergy."<sup>153</sup> However, he did not describe the research methods employed or the criteria used to classify priests into the Polish or German ethnic groups. A significant portion of the quantitative findings presented by him therefore raises concerns and is difficult to verify, such as the estimated data that priests of German origin constituted "from 10 to 15% of the total Catholic clergy in the province of Poznań."<sup>154</sup> Despite inaccuracies and various shortcomings, L. Bystrzycki's book significantly expanded our knowledge about the clergy of the Gniezno and Poznań archdioceses from 1815 to 1918, including their numbers, social and occupational backgrounds, pre-seminary, seminary, and academic education, further training, hierarchical structure, remuneration, involvement in national-political and educational activities, as well as their participation in social and economic life. Around the same time, the clergy of the neighboring Chełmno diocese became the subject of research by Father Henryk Mross, a long-time parish priest in Osielsko near Bydgoszcz. Despite being far from academic archives and libraries and lacking personal records, which were destroyed in 1945 in Pelplin, he compiled a valuable biographical dictionary of approximately 1200 priests of the Chełmno diocese, which was not intended for publication and was only released in the mid-1990s thanks to the encouragement of friends.<sup>155</sup> It is a pity that he did not conclude his painstaking research with the planned doctoral thesis. As part of a broader research program on the Polish intelligentsia in Western Prussia, Józef

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<sup>152</sup> L. Bystrzycki, *Duchowieństwo polskie Kościoła Rzymskokatolickiego w Wielkopolsce w latach 1815–1918*, Koszalin 1986.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 3.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 66.

<sup>155</sup> Ks. H. Mross, *Słownik biograficzny kapłanów diecezji chełmińskiej wyświęconych w latach 1821–1920*, Pelplin 1995.



Borzyszkowski published the aforementioned article on the social background of the Polish clergy in the second half of the 19th century in the Chełmno diocese.<sup>156</sup>

The majority of monographs and articles dedicated to the Catholic clergy of individual dioceses, not only during the partitions but especially in the interwar period, have been authored by priests themselves, among whom the prevailing view is that the history of the clergy should essentially be studied only by priest historians. “Tracking publications related to the clergy in the 19th and 20th centuries,” notes Krzysztof Lewalski, “one could get the impression that research devoted to this issue is the domain of historians in cassocks, and this is somewhat natural and understandable. Nevertheless, based on my own experience and observation made during inquiries in church archives, I see a certain advantage of clerical historians in accessing sources resting in these archives. It seems that partly this is due to the environmental belief that only a clergyman can truly understand this matter. Transferring this way of thinking to the research field is reflected in the reluctance towards secular researchers [...].”<sup>157</sup> A similar view was expressed two decades earlier by Father Zygmunt Zieliński, who believed that due to its specificity, the clergy cannot be treated like any other professional group. The study of the clergy, as well as the history of the Church, requires theological knowledge. Regardless of the religious system, it constituted a very hermetic group, and applying “methods appropriate for other environments to it automatically leads to error.”<sup>158</sup> The situation is – as I believe – more complex. The lack of theological knowledge makes it difficult or impossible for secular historians to interpret processes and events, especially in the history of the Church (excluding the clergy), while the works of clerical historians are not devoid of apologetic interpretations and various shortcomings and deficiencies.

After the socio-political breakthrough, historians’ interest in the Catholic clergy during the partitions mainly resulted in articles showing their education in seminaries, remuneration, value systems, life in rectories, etc., which cannot be discussed here due to the already exceeded scope of this article. Many monographs and articles have been developed and published about distinguished bishops and priests, as well as several biographical dictionaries of priests in various dioceses, which are useful for research purposes.<sup>159</sup> Similarly to the

<sup>156</sup> See footnote 31.

<sup>157</sup> K. Lewalski, *O sztuce uprawiania historii Kościoła*, in: *Między wolnością a zniewoleniem. Wartości w historiografii polskiej i środkowoeuropejskiej od końca XVIII do początku XXI wieku*, scientific edition by B. Klasa and L. Zaskilniak, Gdańsk 2020, p. 242.

<sup>158</sup> Z. Zieliński, *Przedmowa*, in: B. Stanaszek, *Duchowieństwo diecezji sandomierskiej w latach 1918–1939*, Lublin 1999, p. 23.

<sup>159</sup> *Księga społecznicy w Wielkopolsce 1894–1919 Słownik biograficzny*, Vol. I (A–H), Gniezno 1993, vol. II I–O, Gniezno 2007; vol. III P–S Gniezno 2008, vol. IV Ś–Z, Gniezno 2009; *Słownik biograficzny katolickiego duchowieństwa śląskiego XIX i XX wieku*, ed. M. Pater, Kato-

previous period, few monographs portraying the collective portraits of the clergy in individual dioceses, important and useful for research into the history of the intelligentsia, were published. Only two such monographs have appeared on the book market, both concerning the Catholic clergy in Galicia. Father Marek Łabuz undertook the task of describing the clergy of the Diocese of Tarnów at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. While serving as a vicar in several parishes and later as a parish priest in Radgoszcz, he had limited opportunities for research, especially archival research. Under difficult conditions, he wrote an extensive work (776 pages), published by the Publishing House of the Tarnów Diocese, Biblos, in which he portrayed the number, age structure, territorial and social origins, hierarchical stratification, “intellectual and ascetic image,” and religious and social role of the clergy of that diocese based on church records, mainly from the Archives of the Diocese in Tarnów.<sup>160</sup> The book by M. Łabuza is equipped with numerous tables, graphs, maps, and a list of priests from the Diocese of Tarnów in the years 1886–1918, providing information on the date and place of birth, the name and profession of the father, the completed gymnasium, the date of ordination, and the date of death of each priest. Despite its cognitive value, it also contains many errors, mistakes, and inaccuracies.<sup>161</sup>

The other monograph dedicated to the Roman Catholic clergy of Kraków in the years 1795–1918 was authored by Anna Szczerba, a history teacher at the General Secondary School in Sucha Beskidzka.<sup>162</sup> The book by A. Szczerba, based on a doctoral dissertation written under the supervision of Prof. Julian Dybca and defended at the Jagiellonian University in 2014, undoubtedly deserved to be explored first. During the period of autonomy, Kraków became the best-developed center of religious life in a country divided by partitions. The source basis of the book is rich and diverse, consisting of documents from seven archives (exclusively Polish) and numerous printed sources. The author did not access archival resources in Lviv and Vienna, which would undoubtedly enrich the work. She applied a problem-chronological arrangement of content, which was most suitable for the chosen topic. In the first chapter, she synthetically presented the territorial organization of the Kraków diocese from 1795 to 1918, followed by the structure of the secular clergy in Kraków, their numbers, social and territorial origins, education, material situation, and career paths. In the second chapter, she

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wice 1996; A. Nowak, *Słownik biograficzny kapłanów diecezji tarnowskiej 1786–1985*, vol. 1–4, Tarnów 3000=2001., M. Gawlik, J. Szczepaniak, *Księża katecheci Diecezji Krakowskiej 1880–1939*, Vol. I, *Słownik biograficzny*, Kraków 2000.

<sup>160</sup> M. Łabuz, *Duchowieństwo diecezji tarnowskiej w latach 1886–1918*, Tarnów 2007.

<sup>161</sup> Some of them were found by Piotr Mercik in his review of the book by M. Łabuza published in „*Studia Historyczne*” 2009, issue 2, p. 178–180.

<sup>162</sup> A. Szczerba, *Duchowieństwo krakowskie w latach 1795–1918*, Kraków 2017.

described two characteristic areas of clergy activity: pastoral and socio-charitable activities, as well as their influence on the residents of Kraków and the bonds connecting them with the Church. The third chapter focused on characterizing the attitudes of clergy towards important national, social, and political events, while in the fourth chapter, she extensively discussed the intellectual work of Krakow priests, their scholarly and cultural achievements, work at the university, and other academic institutions. Finally, in the last chapter, she depicted, as she writes, “through the eyes of memoiristic memories, a wide range of characters, the individualities of clergy during the period of national subjugation.” Szczerba’s book stands out from other monographs dedicated to the clergy due to its wide chronological and thematic scope, resulting in discrepancies in narration and other shortcomings. Despite being divided into relatively narrow thematic subchapters, there are frequent repetitions throughout the book. The author discusses issues that were already mentioned earlier. A better solution would have been to replace fragmented threads with discussions consolidated into blocks of topics. The lack of systematization of the discussed problems makes the book extensive (as many as 866 pages). Despite the identified shortcomings, it competently enriches and systematizes knowledge about the Kraków clergy in an important period of its functioning, which were the partitions. Its undeniable asset is an annex containing biographical information about the vast majority of priests residing and staying in Krakow during this period.

The intriguing issue of the everyday life of Catholic clergy in the 19th and 20th centuries was long neglected. It was not until the last few decades that it became the subject of research by several historians, especially Krzysztof Lewalski and Piotr Szkutnik, primarily in the area of the Kingdom of Poland. Initially, K. Lewalski presented the results of his research on the private lives of the clergy in numerous articles.<sup>163</sup> He was also the co-editor with Anna Łysiak-Łątkowska of the book “Duchowni na plebanii i w drodze...” [Clergymen at the rectory and on the road], which, besides the introduction, contains nine articles.

<sup>163</sup> K. Lewalski, *Na plebanii na przełomie XIX i XX w.*, in: *Dom – spotkanie przestrzeni prywatnej i publicznej na tle przemian cywilizacyjnych XIX i XX w.*, ed. Z. Opacki, D. Płaza-Opacka, Gdańsk 2008, p. 163–170; idem, *Dixit laicus clero nunguam tibi amicus aro: czyli o relacjach świata duchownych (rzymskokatolickich) ze światem świeckich na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, in: *Duchowieństwo i laicy*, ed. A. Wałkowski, Warszawa 2010, p. 165–176; idem, *Ksiądz i kobieta. Obrazy z XVIII, XIX i XX wieku*, in: „*Studia Historica Gedaniensia* 3 (2012), p. 59–78; idem, „*Szatan [...] nawet przez brzydką niewiaścę potrafi usidlić kapłana*”. *O kobietach z perspektywy pasterzy dusz (XIX/XX w.)*; *zarys problematyki*, in: *Portret kobiety – Polki w realiach epoki*, ed. M. Korybut-Marciniak, M. Zbrzeźniak, Łódź–Olsztyn 2014, p. 187–201, idem, *Inwentarz mienia – źródło do badań nad majątkiem osobistym duchowieństwa w Królestwie Polskim na przełomie XIX i XX w.*, „*Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*” (hereinafter: KHKM) 65 (2017), no 2, p. 257–266.

These articles highlight the two areas of activity of priests as emphasized in its title. Four articles focus on the area of the Vistula Pomerania, while the next three relate to Kielce, Kraków, and generally to Polish lands. The remaining two articles are dedicated to the travels of clergy to France and the Holy Land during the period from the late 18th to the mid-20th century.<sup>164</sup> Most of the articles are of a contributory nature, and it does not seem necessary to present them here. However, it is worth briefly discussing the programmatic article by K. Lewalski. After summarizing historians' approaches to researching the history of everyday life and defining it, as well as listing the sources for studying the everyday life of priests, the author emphasizes the need to verify the bipolar view of the clergy in determining their attitudes, to recognize their shortcomings, but without subjectively demonizing them.<sup>165</sup> He also emphasizes that studies devoted to everyday life reveal new horizons and perspectives for researching the clergy.

Krzysztof Lewalski concluded his extensive and comprehensive research with a monograph on the everyday life of the Catholic clergy in the provinces of the Kingdom of Poland at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries.<sup>166</sup> For his research, he gathered an impressive amount of source materials. With great determination, he overcame obstacles to access church archives, which are often difficult for laypersons to reach. He utilized materials from ten diocesan archives, supplemented by documentation from seminary libraries and state archives. Additionally, he consulted numerous diaries, memoirs, and pastoral literature. In the eight chapters of the book, skilfully using source citations in their titles, he attempts to understand and describe various aspects of the daily life of provincial clergy in different contexts and relationships with many areas of life. He depicts their complex relationships with the secular world, family arrangements, interactions with women, leisure activities, and material living conditions. It can be said that he writes about rural priests in the Kingdom of Poland with a certain sympathy, tempered by the rigor of scholarly work, avoiding hagiographic interpretations that portray Catholic clergy of the partition era as martyrs of faith and unwavering guardians of national tradition. It is worth noting that K. Lewalski's book prominently features rural landscapes. It does not show whether the daily life of pastors residing in remote villages, small towns, or medium-sized cities in the Kingdom of Poland was fundamentally different from the daily routines of priests performing pastoral work in Warsaw parishes. The author's narrative

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<sup>164</sup> *Duchowni na plebanii i w drodze. Konteksty codzienności i interpretacje historyczne*, ed. K. Lewalski, A. Łysiak-Łętowska, Gdańsk 2015.

<sup>165</sup> K. Lewalski, *Życie codzienne duchowieństwa w XIX w. – droga do odheroizowania, trywializacji czy obiektywizacji obrazu grupy?*, *ibidem* p. 12–55.

<sup>166</sup> K. Lewalski, *Odsłony codzienności. Rzymskokatolickie duchowieństwo parafialne na prowincji Królestwa Polskiego na przełomie XIX i XX wieku. Wybrane zagadnienia*, Gdańsk 2019.

reveals an interesting socio-personality type of a priest in the provincial setting, striving to elevate or maintain his socio-economic status, with somewhat limited aspirations to assume a leadership role beyond the local community, characterized by narrow intellectual horizons due to limited education in the seminary, often immersed in private economic affairs, entrenched in a conservative world of landowner lifestyle and pastimes (hunting, card games), not averse to alcohol and cigarettes, occasionally seeking closer relationships with women due to a keen sense of loneliness. The issues presented in Lewalski's work are exemplified by the articles of Piotr Szkutnik mentioned above, based on a meticulous analysis of deanery and parish records.<sup>167</sup> In a few sentences, it is also necessary to refer to Father Jerzy Myszor's textbook on the Catholic clergy in Silesia, which is the result of lectures that the author conducted for several years at the Faculty of Theology of the University of Silesia in Katowice<sup>168</sup>. It covers a long period (173 years) from the deceitful conquest of Silesia by Frederick the Great to the outbreak of the First World War, resulting in numerous gaps in the narrative. This is not a book that provides a complete characterization of the Silesian clergy, their territorial and social origins, national structure, etc. In accordance with the subtitle, the author selectively describes mainly their pastoral activities and some aspects of daily life, trying to prove that the specific political and social conditions in the Wrocław Diocese led to the emergence of "a Silesian model of a priest".

The most significant interest among researchers, both historically and presently, has been focused on the patriotic activity of the Catholic clergy, their involvement in national uprisings, conspiracies, and clandestine movements, as well as their legal political, social, economic, educational, and charitable endeavours. No other group of intellectuals in the 19th and 20th centuries has received as much attention regarding their patriotic and legal activities, with hundreds of articles and dozens of books dedicated to this subject.<sup>169</sup>

<sup>167</sup> P. Szkutnik, *Siedziby dziekanów dekanatu brzeźnickiego w diecezji kujawsko-pomorskiej w XIX w.*, KHKM 59 (2011), issue 2, p. 167–181; idem, *Książki i gospodyni. „Nieprzystwoite porozumienie” w dziewiętnastowiecznej plebanii (wybrane przykłady z terenu oficjalatu piotrkowskiego)*, KHKM 81 (2013), z. 4, p. 581–589; idem, *Pensja dziekanów w Królestwie Polskim do lat 70. XIX wieku. Egzemplifikacje*, „Archiwa Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne” 104 (2015), p. 297–309.

<sup>168</sup> J. Myszor, *The Catholic Clergy in Silesia 1742–1914. From the History of Pastoral Work in the Wrocław Diocese*, Katowice 2011.

<sup>169</sup> By way of example, several monographs and collective works are mentioned here: *Duchowieństwo a powstanie listopadowe (postawa patriotyczna i życie religijne)*, ed. W. Rostocki, J. Skarbek, J. Ziółek, „Roczniki Humanistyczne” 28 (1980), issue 2, p. 1–241; H. Dylągowa, *Duchowieństwo katolickie wobec sprawy narodowej (1764–1864)*, Lublin 1981; E. Jabłońska-Deptuła, *Czyż może historia popłynąć przeciw prądowi sumień? (Kościół – Patriotyzm) 1764–1864*, Paryż 1987; A. Wroński, *Duchowieństwo i Kościół katolicki w Królestwie Polskim wobec sprawy narodowej w latach 1832–1860*, Warszawa 1994; Z. Zieliński, *Kościół i naród w niewoli*, Lublin 1995; E. Niebelski, *Duchowieństwo lubelskie i podlaskie w powstaniu 1863 roku i na*

It is impossible to even briefly discuss such extensive literature here. It should become the subject of a separate analytical article.

Moving on to the summary, it should be emphasized that research on the history of the Polish intelligentsia in the three partitions has been conducted since the 1960s to varying degrees within two main currents: one focusing on the socio-professional layer and the other on the opinion-forming layer, exerting multifaceted influence on Polish society. Until the political and social breakthrough in 1989, the first of these currents dominated, situated within the fashionable and preferred field of social history at that time. The second current produced less abundant literature and usually supplemented research on the intelligentsia as a socio-professional layer. The complementary nature of both currents was reflected in the series *Inteligencja polska XIX i XX wieku* [Polish Intelligentsia of the 19th and 20th Centuries] edited by Ryszarda Czepulisk-Rastenis, whose successive volumes contained representative articles for the both currents. Significant importance was attributed to the authors' adherence, with greater or lesser deviations, to the agreed definition of the intelligentsia as a socio-professional layer, consisting of individuals with at least secondary education who earned their living through intellectual work. This resulted in the presentation of comparable research results.

Even before the breakthrough in 1989, there was an increasingly visible trend of abandonment, both in the West and to a lesser extent in Poland, by a growing number of social history researchers of the classical "Annales" school. This was due to a sense of disillusionment with its established procedures and methodological views, as well as a rebellion against macrohistory by postmodernist tendencies. Jerzy Jedlicki and other historians gradually shifted away from "social history, however defined, and turned to cultural history [...] as well as research on the history of political and social thought."<sup>170</sup> Despite this change in paradigm, in the first two decades after the breakthrough in 1989, quite a few articles and monographs dedicated to the Polish intelligentsia during the partitions were published, falling within the realm of social history. However, Jerzy Jedlicki's three-volume work "Dzieje inteligencji polskiej do roku 1918" [the History of Polish Intelligentsia until 1918] was written from the perspective of intellectual history.<sup>171</sup> Warsaw historians declared their

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zesłaniu w Rosji, Lublin 2002; idem, *Wobec roku 1863. Księża w powstaniu styczniowym i ich losy*, Lublin 2015; M. Pater, *Duchowieństwo katolickie wobec spraw polskich na Górnym Śląsku (1891–1914)*, Katowice 2004; T. Domański, *Postawy społeczno-polityczne duchowieństwa diecezji kieleckiej w latach 1864–1914*, Kielce 2008.

<sup>170</sup> J. Żarnowski, *Historia społeczna*, p. 62 (see footnote 21).

<sup>171</sup> See footnote 118.

intention to incorporate the massive body of “objectifying social history” into their work, but they did not fully utilize this achievement. Any synthesis of the history of the Polish intelligentsia during the partitions and later periods without the social component will be incomplete and devoid of explanatory depth. Therefore, a broader return to research on the history of the intelligentsia as a social-professional stratum would be desirable. However, doubts arise as to whether this is possible during the dominance of the Internet, dictated by the state’s scientific policy of short-term grants, and the predilection of middle and younger generations of historians to avoid developing topics that require the use of mass sources, time-consuming archival research, and grappling with epistemological dilemmas.

The formation of the basic characteristics of the intelligentsia as a social-professional stratum was determined by the level of economic development, the balance of social forces, and the policies of the occupying authorities in the various Polish territories. “Significant socio-economic and political differences, present under the rule of the Romanovs, Habsburgs, and Hohenzollerns, left a considerable mark on the character and structure, position, and social role of the Polish intelligentsia in each partition.”<sup>172</sup> The intelligentsia as a socio-professional stratum began to form earliest in the central lands of Poland, already in the last decades of the existence of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and subsequently within the borders of the Duchy of Warsaw. Research on it also started earliest in this area, and its literature is the most extensive, although there are still many gaps in it. One of the most keenly felt deficiencies is the lack of a monograph dedicated to the intelligentsia of the Kingdom of Poland in the post-uprising period, continuing the classic book “Klasa umysłowa” [the Intellectual Class] by R. Czepulis-Rastenis. Researchers were especially attracted to the Warsaw intelligentsia, with less publications devoted to provincial intelligentsia. Despite several attempts at comprehensive elaboration, the intelligentsia in the industrial city of Łódź and in most of the governorate capitals and other major cities of the Kingdom of Poland has not yet been covered. With the exception of Vilnius during the existence of its university and in the period between uprisings, the Polish intelligentsia in the cities on the lands annexed to the Russian Empire has not been studied. It is therefore unknown whether it formed cohesive, independent environments there.

The intelligentsia in the Prussian-ruled lands of Poland has been the most extensively studied compared to the other two partitions. Monographs by Józef Borzyszkowski and the author of this article depict its formation and development in West Prussia and the Grand Duchy of Poznań. The emigration

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<sup>172</sup> R. Czepulis-Rastenis, „*Klasa umysłowa*”, p. 14.

of the Polish intelligentsia from the Prussian partition to the central and western provinces of the German Empire, as well as to Galicia and the Kingdom of Poland, has also been described.<sup>173</sup> However, the development process of the Polish intelligentsia in Upper Silesia before 1914 remains to be explored and analyzed. Maria Wanda Wanatowicz, in her monograph written during the surge of interest in “the intellectual class” in the 1980s, limited herself to characterizing the demographic-social portrait, socio-political aspects, socio-national disintegration, and paths of integration of the intelligentsia in the Silesian voivodeship during the interwar period.<sup>174</sup> She did not include even a short introductory chapter, showing the gradual formation of the Polish intelligentsia in Upper Silesia in the last decades of the 19th and early 20th centuries. The key issue is: to what extent was this intelligentsia immigrant (mainly from the Poznań region and West Prussia) and to what extent was it of indigenous origin. Elżbieta Henryka Borkowska’s book did not provide a satisfactory solution to this issue.<sup>175</sup>

To a lesser extent than in the Kingdom of Poland and the Prussian partition, before and after 1989, the Polish intelligentsia in Galicia was the subject of research. Although an article dedicated to it (covering the period of the 1840s and 1850s) by Irena Homola was published as early as 1972, she later focused her research on intellectual workers in Kraków.<sup>176</sup> Simultaneously, articles and, less frequently, monographs were being published on professional groups within the Galician intelligentsia: high school teachers, civil servants, Catholic clergy, and so on. However, there were no attempts to comprehensively study and describe it even in short chronological periods. Thanks to the publications of Irena Homola and the book by Anna Szczerba, the intelligentsia in Kraków during the autonomous period is among the best researched and documented. This contrasts with the lack of works on the Polish intelligentsia in Lviv, which was the largest concentration in Galicia. Jadwiga Hoff rightly emphasized the need to also study the intelligentsia in small towns. In both of her books on the

<sup>173</sup> See chapter: *Nieostrzegana emigracja polskiej inteligencji*, in: W. Molik, *Polska emigracja w Niemczech a kraj w drugiej połowie XIX i na początku XX wieku*, Poznań 2021, p. 69–133; idem, *Emigracja polskiej inteligencji z Poznańskiego*, in: Nikodem Pajzderski, *Muzealnik – konserwator – historyk sztuki*, ed. E. Sajakowska-Askutji, Poznań 2014, p. 59–76; J. Kutta, „Emigranci” naukowcy z Prus Zachodnich (Królewskich) do Królestwa Polskiego i Galicji w latach 1772–1918, in: *Nad Bałtykiem. W kręgu polityki, gospodarki, problemów naukowych i społecznych XIX i XX w.*, ed. Z. Karpus, J. Kłaczek and M. Wołos, Toruń 2005, p. 85–99.

<sup>174</sup> M. W. Wanatowicz, *Inteligencja na Śląsku w okresie międzywojennym*, Katowice 1986.

<sup>175</sup> E. H. Borkowska, *Rola Wielkopolan w życiu narodowym Górnego Śląska w końcu XIX i na początku XX wieku. Zarys problematyki*, Gliwice 2012. See also my critical review of this book in „Roczniki Historyczne” R. 79, 2013, p. 265–268.

<sup>176</sup> I. Homola, *Inteligencja galicyjska* (see footnote 32).



communities of small Galician towns during the autonomy period, she devoted a lot of space to describing their numbers, professional structure, conditions of daily life, material livelihood, and participation in social and political life.<sup>177</sup> The lack of monographs dedicated to professional groups within the Galician intelligentsia is keenly felt, particularly concerning the most numerous segments such as various categories of officials, professors from higher education institutions (Jagiellonian University, University of Lviv, Lviv Polytechnic, Lviv University of Veterinary Medicine, Academy of Fine Arts in Kraków, and Agricultural Academy in Dublany), and others. There is thus much waiting to be filled in the historiography concerning the Polish intelligentsia in Galicia, and in the longer-term perspective, research on this topic is of crucial importance. The scientific conference in Rzeszów in September 2023 should be regarded as a long-awaited and desirable step in this direction.

This article does not claim to exhaustively cover the extensive topic addressed, neither in terms of methodology nor in terms of practical research demands. It primarily expresses the author's standpoint and serves as an invitation to discuss the future of research, including in the field of social history, on the history of the Polish intelligentsia during the partitions, especially in Galicia.

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<sup>177</sup> J. Hoff, *Spolecność małego miasta galicyjskiego w dobie autonomii*, Rzeszów 1992, p. 41–43, 62–63, 77–80, 104–105, 132–133; *Mieszkańcy małych miast Galicji Wschodniej w okresie autonomicznym*, Rzeszów 2005, p. 39, 77–79, 103–104, 110–111, 139–140.

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## Badania nad historią polskiej inteligencji w okresie zaborów

### Streszczenie

Prezentowany tekst to próba charakterystyki badań nad historią polskiej inteligencji w okresie zaborów, które prowadzono od lat sześćdziesiątych XX w. w ramach dwóch nurtów, traktujących inteligencję jako warstwę społeczno-zawodową i warstwę opiniotwórczą, wywierającą wielostronny wpływ na polskie społeczeństwo. Niniejszy artykuł nie rości sobie pretensji do wyczerpania poruszonego bardzo obszernego tematu ani w aspekcie metodologicznym, ani w aspekcie praktycznych postulatów badawczych. Wyraża przede wszystkim stanowisko autora i jest zaproszeniem do dyskusji o przyszłości badań, także w zakresie historii społecznej, nad dziejami inteligencji polskiej w okresie zaborów, zwłaszcza w Galicji.

**Słowa kluczowe:** inteligencja, zabory, warstwa społeczno-zawodowa, warstwa opiniotwórcza, stan badań