

**OSTROŁĘCKIE TOWARZYSTWO NAUKOWE**  
im. Adama Chętnika

**ZESZYTY NAUKOWE**  
OSTROŁĘCKIEGO TOWARZYSTWA NAUKOWEGO

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## INTRODUCTION

Among numerous statutory tasks of the Adam Chętnik Scientific Association in Ostrołęka, foremost is conducting scientific and research activities, particularly within the needs of the town of Ostrołęka and the Kurpie region (North-Eastern Mazovia), as well as promoting the regional culture, inspiring and supporting the socio-cultural movement in the described territory. The Kurpie region is an interesting research topic due to its distinctiveness and expressiveness as well as its specific subculture. It is a small homeland with a relatively rich and distinct past, suffused with the tradition of the struggle for independence. The Kurpie region is located on the margin of Mazovia, thus in some measure on its borderline, in the vicinity of the lands which had various owners within the historical process and therefore it resulted in different economic, social, cultural and awareness effects. Clearly, regional qualities need to coexist with universal values, as only the symbiosis of the two determines the durability of the local culture.

In 2016, the Adam Chętnik Scientific Association in Ostrołęka celebrated the 30th jubilee of its establishment. Over three decades, “Zeszyty Naukowe” (“Scientific Journals”) were published annually. Today, we are presenting the 31st issue to the Readers. On the one hand, it is a continuation of the previous editions due to the described area of research, and on the other hand, it is specific because of the first full edition in English. The idea of publishing in a foreign language has already been born before. For at least several years, articles in different languages (English, German, Russian) have been published in “Zeszyty” (“Journals”), written by Polish and foreign Authors. Nearly half of the members of the Scientific Editorial Council consists of foreign scientists, similar relations refer to the reviewers.

“Zeszyty Naukowe” are available in printed/ original and electronic versions on the Internet Websites of the Scientific Association in Ostrołęka (OTN). They are also kept in the reference database of the Polish History Museum – “BazHum” as well as in the Index Copernicus – Journals Master List, where the present ICV (Index Copernicus Value) is 68,87 for the year 2016. For nearly ten years, the periodical has been included in the list of the scored publications of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education. Currently, the scientific publication in our journals receives nine points.

Among the entire group of authors, there are scientists with significant national and international output but also early-stage researchers who are learning from the masters, as the multigenerational group of Authors is one of the assumptions of the Editorial Team.

The interdisciplinary content range of the present “Zeszyty” focuses on the specificity of the region. The yearly is accompanied by a conventional, perhaps too high-flown, motto: „The north-eastern Mazovia (including the Kurpie region) for the world”. Its subjects oscillate – firstly – around regional facts, phenomena, and people within the fields of: history, ethnography, social and economic problems. Secondly, it covers country-wide phenomena exemplified also in the discussed region. According to the objectives, articles of the Authors who conduct their research in foreign centers, constantly cooperating with OTN, were also included. Due to the above-mentioned reasons, “Zeszyty” were traditionally divided into four sections in respect of the subject matter: 1. The Region, 2. Poland, 3. Europe, 3. On the life of the Scientific Association in Ostrołęka.

In “The Region” chapter, the leading material is the article of Adam Dobroński, not only the compatriot of the Kurpie region but at the same time a prominent expert of these lands, titled *The Kurpie phenomenon*. The author presents there a peculiar phenomenon of the Kurpie region, the area so different from all the other in terms of physiography and economy as well as socio-political and cultural aspects. Other articles in this chapter focus on different sides of the life of the region. Dominant is the historical theme, also significantly diversified in respect of chronology and subjects. For instance, there are included articles of a monograph type, such as a very interesting article by Wojciech Borkowski *Puszcza Kurpiowska (Kurpie Forest) as a cultural contact arena in the prehistory*, Jerzy Kijowski’s *Ostrołęka over the centuries. Selected issues*, and *Jews in the Kurpie Forest* by Jan Mironczuk. However, there are also other, different, seemingly fragmentary, but most often pioneering and interesting articles. For example, we may list here such materials as Rafał Figiel’s *War cemeteries from 1915 in the area of the former Ostrów county – places of memory and memory of places* or *The Regensburg music inspirations in sacred liturgy of the cathedral church in Łomża in the years 1949–1951* by Maria Ankudowicz-Bieńkowska. Two of the presented articles in “The Region” chapter are maintained in the biogram convention. That is the article by Marek Niewiadomski *Adam Chętnik and the question of Kurpian-Masurian borderland’s Polish identity*, about the patron of our Association, which actually coincides with the 50th anniversary of His death, as well as *The Kurpie region was the centre of the world for Henryk Syska (1920–2000)* by Stanisław Pajka, the nestor of OTN, which concerns the appreciated researcher and admirer of our

region, who was also one of the first honorable members of the Scientific Association in Ostrołęka.

Among the articles not related to history, we ought to mention the work in the field of economy and ecology titled *Dynamics of changes of ecological farms in the Ostrołęka and Przasnysz counties*.

In the “Poland” section, a dominant position is occupied by historical articles relating to different periods, from the 14th century (Janusz Grabowski, *The Dukes of Eastern Mazovia (1373–1429)*). Janusz I [the Great] and his offspring to the second half of the 20th century (Janusz Gołota, *Social construction of schools in the Warsaw voivodeship 1959–1972 (authority, society, press)*). Janusz Szczepański refers to a significant event in the history of our region, which was the Polish-Soviet war of 1919–1920. The victory in this important fight, whose 100th anniversary will be celebrated soon, determined maintaining the independence that we had just gained. Also, the article by Tomasz Gliniecki *The entry of the armored warfare of the Red Army into the breakthrough of the German front in the north of Mazovia in January 1945* is about military issues and the area of Mazovia. Interesting and really useful, particularly for those who deal with the history of the region, are *Sources to the history of North-Eastern Mazovia in the 19th–20th centuries* presented by Jolanta Załączny.

Among other materials included in this section, we should mention *Innovations in agricultural holdings using the assets from ZWRSP – typical scope and importance of conducted changes* by Małgorzata Juchniewicz and the other, concerning foreign contacts, which are actually more and more frequent and productive, entitled *International cooperation between municipalities of Mazowieckie voivodeship. The example of the urban municipality of Węgrów*.

In the “Europe” chapter, there is the article of Jarosław Rubacha *The Russian-Turkish war of 1977–1978 in the Balkans and the participation in it of the Poles from Congress Poland*. As the author proves, in the 19th century, Polish people were engaged in not only those well-known, reliably documented and described fights in the Napoleonic times and the Spring of Nations, but also in fighting in the Balkans. *Muridiyya – a counterweight to Islamic extremism*, written by Bara Ndiaye – is also an essential topic, if not the most important among numerous contemporary challenges.

Chapter 4 traditionally includes information on the current work of the Association (publishing, conferences, etc.) and announcements related to the “Regulations for submitting and publishing of works in the Scientific Journals” and “Publishing Requirements”.

The Editorial Team of “Zeszyty Naukowe”, hoping for the interest of the Reader with the presented information and the scientific usefulness of “Zeszyty”, directs their gratitude towards the Ministry of Science and Higher Education for significant financial support. The Editorial Staff sought to use the funds appropriated on developing the publication according to the purpose and the programme assumptions. We direct our thanks to the Authors, Reviewers, members of the Scientific Editorial Council and the research workers from the neighboring academic centers for fruitful scientific consultations, as well as to the workers of other scientific and research units, including the archives, for the help in gathering materials.

In the assumption of the Editorial Team, the original monographs included in “Zeszyty”, based on so-far unknown archive sources, are supposed to help broaden and popularize the knowledge of the described area and be used for nationwide summative studies. The yearly is also an invitation sent by OTN to permanently cooperating with us and new academic centers as well as the scientific circles which would deal with the presented subject matter, including the Polish groupings. Enjoy reading.

*Editorial Board*



## **Chapter 1.**

# **The Region**



***Adam Czesław Dobroński***

*University of Białystok*

## THE KURPIE PHENOMENON

### FENOMEN KURPIOWSKI

Kurpie are often written about, with pleasure, as numerous cultural events take place, the most significant of which include Palm Sunday in Łyse (one week before Easter, involving a competition and television coverage), Wesele Kurpiowskie (Kurpian Wedding) in Kadzidło, Miodobranie Kurpiowskie (Kurpian Honey Harvest) in Myszyniec. It is also nice to look at other Kurpian presentations, including hunting (Czarnia), instruments and music (Lelis), customs (Museum of Kurpie in Wach), the beauty of the Kurpie Forest (rallies and tourist excursions), souvenirs, buildings and traditions (Kurpie Open Air Museum in Nowogród and North-Eastern Museum in Łomża with an exhibition of Kurpian amber), exhibitions, scientific sessions, promotions of new releases, occasional meetings (mainly Ostrołęka with the Museum of Kurpie Culture and Adam Chętnik Scientific Society in Ostrołęka, but also other towns in Mazovian and Podlaskie voivodeships). Those are just selected undertakings, held more or less regularly, anticipated, with many participants. The Kurpian calendar is much richer thanks to some of the already mentioned institutions, as well as local governments and parishes, engaged social workers, including those gathered around the Union of Kurpie. There is no doubt that the fashion for Kurpie is continuing, which is a very good thing.

A native-born Kurpian woman – Maria Samsel, the current director of the Museum of Kurpie Culture, when asked whether Kurpie exist today, responded in 2001 as follows: “For some it may only be an open-air museum and already dead traditional folk culture, for others it is their «little homeland» and for yet others Kurpie are a product which can be sold. For many folk artists the word Kurpie, the Kurpie region, is a timeless value, the tradition of their fathers which is still alive”<sup>1</sup>.

The question about the present of Kurpie, but with a strong reference to the past and the changes which took place over decades, accompanied me as I wrote these reflections. I do not feel prepared to make authoritative assessments, but it is also not possible to agree with some of the commonly held opinions which are historically inaccurate and not in accordance with the actual situation. There is no doubt that – as I have already written – we like participating directly or indirectly

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<sup>1</sup> M. Samsel, *Kurpie, Kurpiowszczyzna czy Puszcza Zielona? Pracowania (Ostrołęka) 2001*, Vol. IV, p. 106.

(with the help of the media) in Kurpian events, we enjoy watching the re-enactments of folk traditions from the Green Forest, the scenes from the life of the generations of Kurpians, the preserved original monuments of material culture and the treasures of spiritual culture presented by artists (folk and professional). We accept Kurpian myths without protest, and even with pleasure, we often do not distinguish the stark truth from a beautiful legend. That is all together fascinating, it should last. And what was the genesis of the Kurpie phenomenon, what revelations, and does the present state fully satisfy us? Does it bode well for the future?

I would also like to refer to the term – the Kurpie region. The region of Kurpie fulfilled almost all the basic criteria contained in the definitions of a region. The area was geographically homogeneous, the forest forced the same type of economy, facilitated the acquisition of ethnographic identity and social awareness by the inhabitants, and there must also be added the community of history, national and religious community, the distinct difference from neighbours. Observers from the outside easily noticed the same or similar personality traits of the inhabitants and their behaviour, similar every-day life reality and celebrations, and above all the distinguishing features of Kurpians: dialect, costumes, architecture, songs. Other components of the Kurpian ethos can be mentioned, but the region had neither a developed road network, which is easy to explain, nor a strong centre. Myszyniec can be regarded as the first informal capital of Kurpie. The town still distinguishes itself in many aspects until the present day, although with the strong competition of other centres of cultural life, especially Kadzidło. Administratively, most of Zagajnica (the Kurpie Forest) was in the old Polish Łomża Land, and during the partitions it was still in Łomża Land (a department in the Duchy of Warsaw, after 1866 – Łomża Governorate). Łomża, however, did not take on the role of the authentic centre of Kurpie, and the town which took advantage of it was Ostrołęka, in 1815–1865 excluded from Łomża Land and subordinated to Płock. Nonetheless, Ostrołęka was not too eager to take care of Kurpie, it benefited much more from the Narew river and the richer southern (noble) communes than from the Kurpie Forest. It was used by Adam Chętnik, who made Nowogród the main centre promoting the community of Kurpie in the interwar period. The transformation after World War II is well remembered and well known. Ostrołęka received two chances for rapid development: industrial and administrative after 1975. I leave an open question as to how far the inhabitants of the Green Forest benefited from them, and I will return to the administrative thread. The dreams of Chętnik and Kurpian leaders supporting the idea that all lands inhabited by Kurpie should be in one voivodeship, or at least in one large county, alternatively in two smaller ones, did not come true. The partition of Kurpie continues, the opinion, the

protest of Ostrołęka Scientific Society from March 1993, was not taken into consideration<sup>2</sup>.

### The origin of Kurpie

As regards the origin of Kurpie, both intriguing and false assumptions persisted for a long time. Some people unleashed their imagination and wrote that Kurpie arrived to the Green Forest from the north (affinity with Yotvingians), from the mountains, the wild steppes. Adam Chętnik wrote in his first works (*O Kurpiach* – 1919, *Kurpie* – 1924, *Myszyniec...* – 1938) that as early as in the times of the Piasts “in the Forest near Myszyniec, the local people organized rallies, circulated information, lived commonly in forest shacks and made offerings to the gods they had carved themselves from oak logs”. The author claimed that Kurpie were Slavs who had moved from the Elbe river to escape Germanic pressure. Jerzy Kijowski assessed that Chętnik’s findings had been very subjective, the author showed strong local patriotism, strengthened the legend of Kurpie to uplift hearts<sup>3</sup>. Aleksander Połujański saw the similarity of Kurpie to Hutsuls and Carpathian highlanders, and their fate seemed to him to be similar to those of Zaporozhian Cossacks and to “Gypsy bands”<sup>4</sup>. There were also other hypotheses, it was only from Ludwik Krzywicki, the author of the work *Kurpie* (Biblioteka Warszawska 1892), when the chronology of settlement in the Green Forest based on sources began to be determined.

It can be assumed that the first settlers entered the Green Forest seasonally since the 15th/16th centuries and were mainly hunters and beekeepers. Small permanent settlements may have appeared since the end of the 16th century, they are confirmed in sources at the beginning of the 17th century. More intense escapes to the Forest took place since the mid-seventeenth century, at first due to the deteriorating situation in Poland, including serfs, and then due to dangers connected with wars, especially the “Deluge”. The king’s forest (formerly the Mazovian dukes’ forest) became an oasis of freedom for those persecuted for very different reasons, outlaws, deprived of the livelihood, perhaps also those looking for change, adventure. Masurians from Prussia, already evangelicals, also arrived there. It is necessary to refer to historical research to clarify the changes taking

<sup>2</sup> Zeszyty Naukowe Ostrołęckiego Towarzystwa Naukowego im. A. Chętnika (Zeszyty Naukowe OTN) 1993, Vol. VII, pp. 325–329. If counties – they should be Myszyniec and Ostrołęka, if a separate voivodeship, it should also include White Kurpie, alternatively also Czerwony Bór. Necessarily, in the case of a small region in Mazovian Voivodeship, not in Podlaskie Voivodeship.

<sup>3</sup> J. Kijowski, *Historia Puszczy Zielonej w pracach Adama Chętnika*. Zeszyty Naukowe OTN 1993, Vol. VII, pp. 16–17. Chętnik used, among others, the hypotheses of Karol Potkański.

<sup>4</sup> A. Połujański, *Wędrowki po guberni augustowskiej w celu naukowym odbyte*. Warszawa 1859, p. 46.

place in the emerging community, especially the transition from a sense of Forest distinctness to becoming a distinct Kurpie people.

Henryk Samsonowicz, and other historians as well, emphasized the influence of two different factors: “The first was the borderland location of those lands near the border of the Baltic people, and later – the Duchy of Prussia. The second factor was the natural selection of the people deciding to live in conditions that differed from those known throughout the country. Thus, like in the steppes of Ukraine, the Carpathian mountain pastures (and, on a larger scale, like in Siberia in the 18th century or the American Wild West in the 19th century) – also in the northern borderlands of the Republic a distinctive community with its own culture emerged”<sup>5</sup>. One cannot ignore the influence of the neighbours, especially small Mazovian gentry and tenant peasants, the effects of the changing borders of the Green Forest and the state border in the north, the effects of the inhabitants gradually undertaking agricultural and handicraft activities<sup>6</sup>. It is also necessary to follow the changes taking place in the White Forest of the Płock bishops, which became populated earlier and faster. We still do not know enough about the attempts of outside forces (subjects) at interfering with the life of the Forest inhabitants, it is more often elaborated on the role of the Jesuit mission in Myszyniec. Unfortunately, one has to reconcile with the fact that there is a severe lack of, above all, the sources created by Kurpie in the past.

The neglect of research makes the writers of the earliest history of the Forest inhabitants (Kurpie) and Zagajnica (the Green Forest) with a penchant refer to the texts from the 18th and 19th centuries, including novels. They choose from them the more colourful quotes – most willingly those praiseworthy for the Kurpie people – without any critical look at the stories and on that basis create their own visions, assessments. As a result, ahistoricisms appear, mental shortcuts, like: “the base of the formation of the ethnographic group called Kurpie was mass crime, because the first inhabitants of the forest were recruited from serfs fugitives prosecuted by law”<sup>7</sup>.

I would like to emphasize once again the merits of Ludwik Krzywicki, who defined the most important source of the distinctiveness of Kurpie. The researcher found that Kurpie “were not passive observers or better a passive source of historical struggle”, they demonstrated self-reliance and self-confidence<sup>8</sup>. That is undoubtedly a key finding and a fundamental value enabling the formation of the Kurpie identity, and more precisely the Green Kurpie, because also in this case the

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<sup>5</sup> H. Samsonowicz, *Kurpie na mapie Polski*. Zeszyty Naukowe OTN 1991, Vol. V, pp. 8–10.

<sup>6</sup> I wrote about it in the article *Kształtowanie się granic Puszczy Zielonej*. Zeszyty Naukowe OTN 1993, Vol. VII, pp. 78–85.

<sup>7</sup> M. Samsel, *Tożsamość i trwanie*. Teki Kociewskie (Tczew) 2014, Vol. VIII, p. 79. At the same time, the author provided many important observations and facts.

<sup>8</sup> L. Krzywicki, *Kurpie*. Biblioteka Warszawska 1892, Vol. 52, p. 558.

fate of the White Kurpie (Gots), inhabiting the White Forest, was different. Unfortunately, due to the reasons already mentioned by me, our knowledge of that process is scarce, there are neither the names of leaders nor the names of the leading centres (apart from Myszyniec), more precise time frames. Subsequent authors of the texts on the birth of the Kurpie phenomenon pass over in silence the transformation within the Forest community, as a rule they do not even try to ask questions, but they eagerly deal with the subsequent “waves” of “discovering Kurpie”.

The topic is more interesting, it is mainly realized by discussing the causes and ways of intensified informing at certain times the readers of the Polish press about the inhabitants of the Kurpie Forest and about the published novels on the subject, most often with a clear dash of sensation. That was not done, however, on the initiative of the Forest inhabitants, not on their request and with a thought to help them, or to stimulate historical, ethnographic, natural-geographic research. The fashion for Kurpie themes resulted from the need to promote the current examples of patriotism and interesting places in the Kingdom of Poland, finding attractive topics that would encourage reading. By the way, two stereotypes of a Kurpian were enriched. One of them was pushed by people from outside the background: legendary, even fabulous, generally positive. And the second one, promoted by the inhabitants of the Green Forest, unequivocally positive, with a dominating sense of injustice<sup>9</sup>.

The first publications, even those from the 18th century, can be understood as praise for the attitudes of brave people, indispensable to save the existence of the Republic. Other materials printed during the period of Congress Poland (for example the books by Kazimierz W. Wójcicki and the aforementioned A. Połujański) were embedded in the romanticism, and to my mind they were the result of the national trauma after the lost war with Russia in 1831. Since it was impossible to win with the invader's army in a regular war, according to many, a liberation uprising involving the people was necessary. An excellent example of that were Kurpie: attached to life in freedom, brilliant riflemen, brave, with a sense of personal dignity. Another wave of increased interest in the inhabitants of the Green Forest was in the 1880s, which is at the end of the “post-January night”. Following the positivist ideas, it was necessary to take care of the weaker classes and, moreover, the Green Forest aroused the interest of sightseers. It is not very well remembered that it was in that very period when, due to great famine and epidemics, Kurpie set off to Poland to ask for help and it was their first self-presentation. Not as heroes, but as poor people, arousing compassion. They were

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<sup>9</sup> In addition to authors from the Kurpie region, it is worth recommending the article by Małgorzata Madej, *Obraz Kurpia na przestrzeni dziejów*. *Rocznik Mazurski* (Szczytno) 2007, Vol. XI, p. 132 (stereotypes, but simplified) and others.

also encountered on exile routes, among emigrants. And great poverty made itself felt again due to the damage done during the First World War<sup>10</sup>.

It is impossible to overrate Adam Chętnik's merits in "discovering Kurpie". He was an author of many publications, an editor of journals, but also a researcher, a museum worker, a social and political activist (MP), a person of great authority. It is a pity that the "well-educated Kurpian" had no pupils, did not raise his successor, and it must be remembered, besides, that Chętnik combined, however, the historical truth with the legend. Nonetheless, after World War II, at first Kurpie were liked by high authorities as an "anti-feudal element", poor peasants (they were forgiven even the strong attachment to the Catholic faith), and in the 1950s a Kurpian became a real treasure for ethnographers! (Jacek Żukowski). "Kurpiology" became present with a very good result at the University of Warsaw, under Anna Kutrzeba Pojnarowa's editorship the first and so far the only one three-volume monograph *Kurpie. Puszcza Zielona* was created (1962–1965). Those large programmes of ethnographic research with the participation of scholars (i.a. Jacek Olędzki, Marian Pokropek) and students ended in the second half of the 1960s, but still in the 1970s individual research (i.a. Wanda Paprocka) was conducted.

The enthusiasm gradually disappeared, the Ostrołęka voivodeship established in 1975 did not manage to address the mission, although new institutions were created then and local researchers – popularisers (e.g. Jerzy Kijowski, Stanisław Pajka) worked in better conditions. The truth is, however, that Adam Chętnik Scientific Society in Ostrołęka was established as one of the last in the country. The neglect of staffing emerged, incompetent people who were neither attached to the region nor interested in its past, including the problems of Kurpie, took up important positions, which was observed with concern. The propaganda message – that the whole new voivodeship, including many former villages and small towns as well as larger towns of old metric, is wholly Kurpian – was a mistake<sup>11</sup>. The effect was definitely counter-productive, the image of a Kurpian suffered as a result, as they were perceived in the voivodeship as paupers with mediocre statistical indicators. Although a lot was written and spoken about Kurpie, the commonly used epithets were repeated, legends were referred to and too little was done to improve the condition of the authentic Kurpian communities, to strengthen – especially among the young generation – the regional identity. The voivodeship

<sup>10</sup> Also in that respect, a volume by A. Chętnik, *Mazurskim szlakiem. Opisy, obrazy, opowieści i gadki z pogranicza Prus Wschodnich*. Łomża 1939, remains definitely unappreciated.

<sup>11</sup> The Union of Kurpie in 1991 estimated that Kurpie inhabited compactly 8 communes (Baranowo, Czarnia, Kadzidło, Lelis, Łyse, Myszyniec, Turośl, Zbójnia), which cover 19% of the Ostrołęka voivodeship area with 11% of the population. Also S. Pajka, *Region kurpiowski – zarys problematyki*. Zeszyty Naukowe OTN 1991, Vol. V, p. 98 (examples of pejorative descriptions of Kurpie in the former White Kurpie, 103, Idem, *Kształtowanie się społecznego ruchu narodowego w regionie kurpiowskim Puszczy Zielonej*. Zeszyty Naukowe OTN 1992, Vol. VI, p. 121.



was liquidated in 1999, the problems remained, “so the challenge of the present is to maintain the regional identity by promoting the heritage”<sup>12</sup>. However, I suggest modifying the second part of the last sentence a bit: “by exploring and promoting the heritage”.

Provocative questions may also be asked. Should the current state be maintained, assessing it as satisfactory, or rather should we save all that can be saved, reverse at least some of the unfavourable trends? According to the wishes of Kurpie and under the leadership of their authentic leaders, or out of necessity mainly by means of state and local institutions, with the help of European funds? Which Kurpie: *pnioki* (Kurpians since time immemorial), *krzoki* (newcomers already well-acclimatized) or *ptoki* (temporary)? It is an old division, nowadays it is perhaps more important to distinguish between the falling number of Forest Kurpians and town Kurpians who are doing much better. It is known that the area and population of the Green Forest is decreasing and the demographic structure of the population is changing unfavourably. Can a miracle happen in this situation and will the success defined by L. Krzywicki be repeated? Are Kurpie able to work out and implement effective programs of processing (confirming) their identity in the time of complicated, violent transformations?

### Facts and legends

Prowess, the will to resist the invaders was considered the most important asset of the Forest inhabitants. Tadeusz Wiśniewski, in 2004, published a book about the involvement of Kurpie in insurrections and nineteenth-century wars. This publication can be regarded as apologia, a comprehensive review of battle events in 1794 (Kościuszko uprising, an incident with hiding a Prussian cannon), 1809 and 1812 (the 6th Regiment of Rifle Infantry, Napoleonic Wars), 1831 (the already mentioned Polish-Russian war, did the Forest inhabitants actually take part in the Battle of Ostrołęka on 26 May?), 1863–1864 (January Uprising with an indication of Zygmunt Padlewski and the Battle of Myszyniec). The author had no doubt that “the Kurpie people [...] brave and deeply patriotic with determination defended not only their own households and their region, but the whole homeland for which they were ready to give life”. In the final conclusions, T. Wiśniewski added the statement: “To be a good Kurpian, meant to be a good citizen” and he repeated after Józef Kazimierski the term the Republic of Kurpie<sup>13</sup>. All the three statements enrich the positive image of a Kurpian, they cannot be regarded as completely unfounded, but they require a more careful, critical analysis.

<sup>12</sup> *Kurpiologia. Dziedzictwo kurpiowskie w perspektywie antropologicznej...* Ed. J. Żukowski. Ostrołęka 2013, p. 8 (session materials). There is a term in this publication in the Kurpian context about the legendary pioneers of Warsaw ethnography.

<sup>13</sup> T. Wiśniewski, *Udział Kurpiów w walkach narodowowyzwoleńczych w XIX wieku*. Ostrołęka 2004; J. Kazimierski, *Dzieje północno-wschodniego Mazowsza 1525–1864*, [In:] *Dzieje ziem województwa ostrołęckiego*. Warszawa 1984, p. 108.

Stach Konwa was most popularized, mainly thanks to Adam Chętnik, Andrzej Zakrzewski, Wiktor Czajewski (Antoni Chleboradzki), Leszek Bakula. Konwa, as the only Kurpian, was honoured with monuments (it is time to commemorate Chętnik with a monument!) rhyming poems and other publications. In heroic descriptions, he “was a great patriot of the Łomża Land, the conqueror of Swedes, Saxons and Muscovites”<sup>14</sup>, a hero from Most Kopański, hanged after the battle of Jednaczewo. However, we are not certain of most of the facts given in Konwa’s biographies, according to the tradition of a Kurpian rifleman. Incidentally, during the so-called war of the Polish succession between the supporters of Augustus III Sas and Stanisław Leszczyński, some of the Kurpians betrayed Poland by going to the Russian troops’ side that supported Sas. Wiesław Majewski, when analysing the last phase of the fighting, did not mention Stach Konwa, but assessed that “Forests, numerous large and uncharted swamps made the Green Forest – the last bastion for Dzikowianie who were still fighting, a natural fortress”. Also, forest heaps and field fortifications (“szańczyki”) contributed to that. “Against the background of the general collapse of the Polish military in the years 1733–1735, activities in the area of the Green Forest represent its bright side”<sup>15</sup>.

The myth of a Kurpian – a free Forest inhabitant, was passed on from folk tradition to literature, underwent patriotic sublimation. Wojciech Woźniak connected it “with the process of transforming the ethnic awareness of the people into the national awareness, that is the awareness of history” The participation of the Green Forest inhabitants in great historic events was emphasized and their role was exaggerated. What is more, “the patriotic idealization of the myth of a free Kurpian made his less appealing characteristics remain hidden and therefore, for example, “Kurpian robberies await their explorer”<sup>16</sup>. Let me add that the problem of completing a set of research threads can be related to different periods of time. Marek Nowotka, when writing about a new look at the reality created on the Kurpian-Mazurian borderland after 1945, pointed out the malevolent role of looters. Those from the Green Forest “ruled” against the law in the southern areas of the Szczytno county. “No wonder that a Kurpian has become synonymous with brutality and primitivism for Mazurians”. The people who returned to their homes after their escape from the approaching Red Army, mainly women, children and the elderly, were ruthlessly robbed by their “neighbours” from across the former

<sup>14</sup> This is what A. Chętnik wrote in *Gość Puszczański* on the occasion of the unveiling of the monument of Stach Konwa in June 1922. None of the given statements is completely true, the most surprising is the patriotism of the Łomża Land.

<sup>15</sup> W. Majewski, *Puszcza Zielona ostatnią ostoją Dzikowian (maj–grudzień 1735 r.)*. Zeszyty Naukowe OTN, 1987, Vol. I, p. 13, 25. Dzikowianie, the army of the confederation formed in Dzików near Tarnobrzeg, supporting S. Leszczyński to take the Polish throne.

<sup>16</sup> W. Woźniak, *Mit wolnego Kurpia w literaturze*. Ostrołęka 1984, pp. 9–10, 14 (with reference to the book by H. Syska, *Scalone pogranicze*. Warszawa 1975, p. 136). Zagajnica was perceived as a place full of thieves and all kinds of crooks.

border. Can such behaviour be justified as revenge for what they suffered themselves during the war?<sup>17</sup>

The differences in the judgment of Kurpie are more understandable due to the fact that “a Kurpian – was not a peasant because a peasant was a serf. He was not a nobleman, but many noblemen carried out the duties typical of a peasant. He was not a Jew, he was not a German colonist”. He was free, stubborn, obstinate, hard-working and inventive, with a patriotic attitude, and fought with “feudal oppression”, cared for honour<sup>18</sup>. Hipolit Gawarecki noticed before 1830 the contrast between the sad neighborhood (sand dunes, swamps, “wicked woods”) and the condition of the inhabitants, whom he considered as wealthier in the Kingdom of Poland. “So despite the miserable state of the land they inhabit, they are doing quite well and are so attached to their family land that there is no way for a Kurpian to leave the Forest and settle in the fields, and meanwhile many people from fertile lands keep coming to the Forest”. The author regarded the men of Zagajnica as vain, but the women as hardworking, he praised the condition of Kurpian houses, appreciated amber digging and bee-keeping. Another eyewitness, Kazimierz Wójcicki, in 1843 pointed out that in the Green Forest “animals were emaciated, bee-keeping destroyed and the Forest, their homeland lost its former dignity”. A. Połujański, when praising the riflemen for bravery, added that “for them a human life means as much as «saliva». A Kurpian, excellent at bee-keeping, potash production and ore mining, was able to hunt a bison, a bear and a boar just for the joy of it [...] he could shoot a flying hazel grouse or some other bird as easily as we eat roast from the plate”. At the same time, they are revengeful, savage, not very willing to work, but theft and drunkenness have become their innate defects; moreover, the women have no modesty or bashfulness, they consider lust as everyday fun and bad language as casual conversation”<sup>19</sup>.

Surprising discrepancies in the three above-mentioned texts resulted – as may be reckoned – from a rather superficial research on the Green Forest and its villages conducted by the authors. It is very likely that those areas differed considerably from one another, and we are making the mistake of referring the partial comments of the contemporary observers to the whole of Zagajnica. Therefore, we are not able to fully present the phenomenon of Kurpie. Barely had it been born, when there was observed the disappearance of old habits, especially

<sup>17</sup> M. Nowotka, *Trudna powojenna rzeczywistość, Z problematyki badawczej pogranicza kurpiowsko-mazurskiego po 1945 roku – nowe spojrzenie*. Rocznik Mazurski (Szczytno) 2014, Vol. XVIII, pp. 93–100. By the same author: *Z problemów badawczych pogranicza kurpiowsko-mazurskiego po 1945 r.* Mrągowskie Studia Humanistyczne. Nowa Seria 2014, Vol. 1(10), i.a., p. 51 (the policy of Ostrołęka voivodeship government towards Masurian people emigrating to FRG in the seventies of 20th c.).

<sup>18</sup> H. Samsonowicz, op. cit., p. 10.

<sup>19</sup> H. Gawarecki, *Pamiętnik historyczny płocki*, Vol. II. Warszawa 1830, pp. 56–57; K. Wójcicki, *Kurpie: powieść historyczna*, Vol. 1. Lwów 1834, p. 243; A. Połujański, op. cit., pp. 63, 65.

those related to bee-keeping and hunting. The already mentioned authors of novels and sketches from the past wrote about it. The process intensified with the passing of decades, especially as a result of repressive rights (for example the prohibition to carry weapons issued in 1816), after the enfranchisement of peasants in 1864 (the emergence of a group of people called “*luźniacza*”, the landless settled on a few acres of forest wasteland<sup>20</sup>), as a result of mass emigration starting from the last dozen or so years of the nineteenth century. It is possible to show the differences in judgment using the last example, because according to some, seasonal earnings in East Prussia and longer journeys over the ocean saved Kurpian village from falling, made it possible to buy more land and construct new buildings. According to others, however, they led to the deterioration of morality, the spread of drunkenness and smoking cigarettes in the Forest, the loss of faith<sup>21</sup>. In the interwar period, A. Chętnik published a volume: *Jak ginie Kurpiowszczyzna* (1935), and Fr. Władysław Skierkowski in his immortal *Wesele...* added the statement: “Old customs and rituals are disappearing, ridiculed by modern generations”. The lack of Kurpian intelligentsia accelerated that process<sup>22</sup>.

### Eventually the Kurpie phenomenon

I focused on the doubts, gaps in the research, I asked questions. And yet – I will emphasize it – I am most deeply convinced of the values which constitute the Kurpie phenomenon and, therefore, concerned about the future of this small region. It awaits a new, full monograph, a more effective promotion which would involve not only the institutions and great personalities of Ostrołęka. I have dreamed for a long time about a scientific expedition following the example of the one about Yotvingians (Jaćwingowie) and by the already mentioned ethnographers of the Warsaw University. Funds, high protectorates, young forces are necessary.

Kurpie is not only amber (dowry, currency, church, from Kadzidło, funeral, medical, witch doctor...<sup>23</sup>), the remaining huts (A. Chętnik wrote touchingly about old Kurpians’ attachment to their huts; at least several pieces of wood from the

<sup>20</sup> M. Grzywa, *Mieszkańcy Puszczy Zielonej wobec upadku powstania styczniowego i represji*. Rocznik Mazowiecki (Warszawa) 2010, Vol. XXII, p. 75. The author did not consider the possibility of the Forest inhabitants informing on insurgents and joining the ranks of the “peasant guard”.

<sup>21</sup> The praise of exile and emigration can be found in the memoirs of the Forest inhabitants and the condemnation of it in the contemporary press. A good example of that is a series of articles by D. Staszewski published in 1903 in “Echa Płockie i Łomżyńskie” entitled *Moralność i umoralnianie Kurpiów. Studium obyczajowe*.

<sup>22</sup> W. Skierkowski, *Wesele na Kurpiach*. Płock 1933, p. 18; S. Pajka, *Regionalizm kurpiowski w latach międzywojennych*. Zeszyty Naukowe OTN 1992, Vol. VI, pp. 29–30.

<sup>23</sup> J. Jastrzębski, *Bursztyniarstwo na Kurpiach*. Płock 1999, p. 25 and Rother, numerous publications.

previous hut were put into the wall of a new hut<sup>24</sup>, folk customs (also related to the sacraments<sup>25</sup>), songs and dances, Kurpian tales (there have recently appeared numerous reprints and even a dictionary of selected names and Kurpian expressions, 2013), sculptures and paintings, blacksmithing and cutouts, food (without extraneous inspirations, though modest<sup>26</sup>). If industry, it had to be local (canvas weaving<sup>27</sup>), if agriculture, it had to be ecological, if hotel business, then with agri-tourism.

We need to summarize the events on the routes of Kurpie and, avoiding cheap, banal admiration, discuss the programs of preserving the phenomenon of Kurpie.

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<sup>24</sup> A. Chętnik, *Chata*. Warszawa 1915, p. 108. The legendary Bachmura did not want to move from an “old, shabby hut” to the colony, he died in his old household, in the granary. Works by M. Pokropek, F. Piaścik.

<sup>25</sup> Vide: *Kultura religijna Kurpiowszczyzny*. Ed. F.M. Ozorowski. Olecko 2004, p. 40 (some have survived, but “the circle of participants has decreased significantly, limited to the closest family and chosen friends”)

<sup>26</sup> A. Chętnik, *Pożywienie Kurpiów, Jadło i napoje zwykłe, obrzędowe i głodowe*. Kraków 1936 (*grycana kasa, to radość nasa!*); C. Orłowski, M. Woźniczko, *Kuchnia kurpiowska i jej wpływ na atrakcyjność turystyczną regionu*. Warszawa 2008.

<sup>27</sup> W. Paprocka, *Przemysł domowy, rzemiosło i chałupnictwo wsi kurpiowskiej Puszczy Zielonej*. Wrocław 1967.

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## SUMMARY

We rave about Kurpie, which is not in line with learning about their history, distinguishing between legends and facts. Research is hindered by the lack of old written sources from the region, the late “discovery of Kurpie”, the weakness of local urban centers. Adam Chętnik contributed the most to documenting the past and promoting his countrymen. However, he did not leave any disciples, and he willingly interwoven the truth with legends. That mixture was most strongly manifested in the descriptions of the stages of settlement in the Kurpian Zagajnica, also in the attempts at creating the image of a Kurpian, the juxtaposition of their personality traits, the assessment of the role they played in history. At the base of the Kurpie phenomenon lies, as Ludwik Krzywicki found, the activity of the Forest inhabitants, who proved themselves independent, managed to form their ethnic awareness. “The discovery of Kurpie” accelerated the process of giving them place in the national history during the period of Partitions. In independent Poland, the fashion for Kurpie increased, as well as the admiration for their bravery, loyalty to tradition, original manifestations of material and spiritual culture. The question arises as to whether the Kurpie phenomenon has the chance to continue in a situation when the area of settlement in the Green Forest is shrinking, unfavorable demographic changes are taking place, and the entire region still has unsatisfactory economic potential.

## STRESZCZENIE

Zachwycamy się Kurpiami, co nie idzie w parze z poznawaniem ich dziejów, odróżnianiem legendy od faktów. Badania utrudnia brak dawnych źródeł pisanych z tego regionu, późne „odkrywanie Kurpiów”, słabość lokalnych ośrodków miejskich. Największe zasługi w dokumentowaniu przeszłości i promowaniu swych ziomków miał Adam Chętnik, który jednak nie zostawił uczniów, a sam chętnie przeplatał prawdę z legendami. Najmocniej to przemieszczenie uwidoczniło się w opisach etapów osadnictwa w Zagajnicy Kurpiowskiej, także w próbach tworzenia portretu Kurpia, zestawianiu cech jego charakteru, ocenie roli dziejowej. U podstaw fenomenu kurpiowskiego leży – jak ustalił Ludwik Krzywicki – aktywność Puszczaków, którzy wykazali się samodzielnością, doprowadzili do ukształtowania się świadomości etnicznej. „Odkrywanie Kurpiów” przyspieszyło ich wpisywanie w historię narodową w dobie zaborów. W Polsce niepodległej nasilała się moda na Kurpiów, podziw dla ich dzielności, wierności tradycji, oryginalnych przejawów kultury materialnej i duchowej. Powstaje pytanie, czy fenomen kurpiowski ma szansę na kontynuację w sytuacji, gdy kurczy się zasięg osadnictwa w Puszczy Zielonej, zachodzą niekorzystne zmiany demograficzne, a cały region ma wciąż niezadawalający potencjał ekonomiczny.

**Key words:** Green Kurpie and White Kurpie, the Green Forest (Zagajnica), settlement in the Mazovian-Masurian borderland, regional identity, facts and legends, ethnography, folk culture, Adam Chętnik

**Słowa kluczowe:** Kurpie Zielone i Kurpie Białe, Puszcza (Zagajnica) Zielona, osadnictwo na pograniczu mazowiecko-mazurskim, tożsamość regionalna, fakty i legendy, etnografia, kultura ludowa, Adam Chętnik



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## **PUSZCZA KURPIOWSKA (KURPIE FOREST) AS A CULTURAL CONTACT ARENA IN THE PREHISTORY**

### **OBSZAR PUSZCZY KURPIOWSKIEJ JAKO ARENA KONTAKTÓW KULTUROWYCH W PRADZIEJACH**

The area of the northeastern Mazovia is not a uniform physiographic unit. Within it there are several smaller geographical regions, among which the Kurpie Plain (Polish: Nizina Kurpiowska) has its own specific characteristics. From the Paleolithic to the early Middle Ages, it was a convenient route to move groups of people, both in the north-south and east-west direction. Most migrants did not stay in this area longer. Due to the very unattractive soil conditions, the forest was treated as a temporary or seasonal exploitation area. Exclusively in the Stone Age, in the Kurpie Plain area, there were permanent farming human groups, engaged in hunting, gathering and fishing. In periods related to the manufacturing economy: agriculture and breeding, this area was a region of alternating cultural influences flowing from different directions. This caused that the rhythm of development in the area of the original Puszcza Kurpiowska did not correspond to the changes in neighboring lands<sup>1</sup>.

The complicated history of the region should encourage to undertake scientific research. Apparently, a strongly distinguished area, lying in the borderland of large cultural units, could be an excellent field of observation of transformations and cultural processes. Unfortunately, the political history left a negative mark on the knowledge of the region. From the Middle Ages until 1945, along the border edge of the Puszcza Kurpiowska ran the political and cultural boundary, separating two state organisms and societies, sometimes hostile to one another. It was not conducive to comprehensive research, including also the oldest history. An additional element that suppressed broader research activities, was the expected poor evidence of settlement. Compared to areas with more fertile soils, the northeast Mazovia did not attract intensive colonization activities. This, in turn, did not promote spectacular archaeological discoveries and did not be conducive to the formation of private collections. The remoteness from the main scientific centers was also not helping the research. During the Partitions it was an extremely peripheral area, it did not look better after regaining independence.

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<sup>1</sup> M. Miśkiewicz, *Badania Archeologiczne na Mazowszu wschodnim*, [In:] *Najstarsze dzieje Podlasia w świetle źródeł archeologicznych*. Eds. B. Bryńczak, P. Urbańczyk. Siedlce 2001, p. 13; W. Borkowski, *Fenomen Puszczy Kurpiowskiej jako przyrodniczego obszaru rozgraniczającego w obrazie archeologiczno-kulturowym w pradziejach do przełomu er* [in print].

Mazovia, already in the beginning of the nineteenth century, entered the orbit of interest of antiquity researchers, but mainly the eastern Masovia. This was the period of the emerging of modern archeology and the scientific approach to the past. In the second half of the 19th century, only amateur archaeologists worked in Mazovia. The Russians: N.P. Avenarius, D.J. And N.F. Biełaszewski, and the Poles, librarian – Józef Przyborowski, painter – Marian Wawrzeniecki and physician Leon Dudrewicz. Puszcza Kurpiowska was rarely visited. Only Przyborowski studied the Mazovian sand dunes. His search led to the discovery of new flint materials, associated with the Middle Stone Age – the Mesolithic. Wawrzeniecki and Dudrewicz were active mainly in the area of the Mazovian Province of Płock, but they also performed tours in other regions of Mazovia, described in the magazine “Światowit”<sup>2</sup>.

Also, the period prior to the First World War did not favor the development of research in this area. After the war, with the establishment of the State Conservator of Historic Prehistoric Monuments (PGKZP), the situation gradually began to improve. Professional conservators: Michał Drewko, Roman Jakimowicz, Ludwik Sawicki and Stefan Krukowski not avoided also Masovia, but their expeditions to the north were rather rare. The lack of funds has not improved the recognising of archaeological sites in northern Mazovia. This led to the lack of large-scale excavation research, and the materials obtained until then, were used only to supplement the monographs of archeology of Polish Lands produced during this time.

Ludwik Sawicki was the first professional archaeologist to visit Puszcza Kurpiowska in the years 1914, 1920 and 1923. During his expeditions, he became acquainted with the collection of Eng. Zaporin, in which was the famous Mesolithic *chirunga*. He watched and described the collections of the local branch of the Polish Tourist-Sightseeing Society from the dunes “Czeczotka” in Ostrołęka and took part in the excavation of the “Kościelna Górka” in Dylewo, Gmina Kadzidło<sup>3</sup>.

Also after the Second World War, systematic archaeological research omitted the north of Masovia. Only in the 1980s and 90s of the twentieth century a large-scale action of the so-called Archeological Map of Poland covered with systematic

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<sup>2</sup> S. Nosek, *Materiały do badań nad historią starożytną i wczesnośredniowieczną międzyrzeczca Wisły i Bugu*. Annales UMCS 1951, Vol. VI, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> A cremation cemetery from the period of Roman influence was discovered on a hill called “Kościelna Górka”, only a short distance from the Myszyniec trail. Tombs were destroyed and Ludwik Sawicki made only a visual inspection of the site. He recorded numerous graves and fragments of vessels, two iron spearheads, an umbo and a fragment of shield-handle. The cemetery of Dylewo can be dated to the younger period of the Roman influences (2nd half of the 3rd century AD). Findings from Dylewo disappeared in 1915, during wartime (L. Sawicki, *Zabytki archeologiczne w okolicy Ostrołęki, w ziemi łomżyńskiej*. Wiadomości Archeologiczne (Warszawa) 1921, Vol. VI, Issue 2, pp. 49–50).

research the area of Puszcza Kurpiowska<sup>4</sup>. In the wake of this, the archaeological excavations of several sites were carried out. The picture of the cultural situation in Puszcza Kurpiowska has become more readable.

There are two morphogenetic zones in the surrounding of Puszcza Kurpiowska: the young glacial in the north and east<sup>5</sup> and the old glacial in the south and west<sup>6</sup>. The territory of the Kurpie Plain, originally formed as a result of the Riss Glaciation (Warta Stadial) and transformed during the Baltic glaciation through the formation of a large sandur area with elements of earlier moraine. The plain sandur area is crossed by the middle and lower river valleys of Omulew, Pisa, Rozoga and Szkwa, and a network of smaller streams and oxbow lakes of a wetland character<sup>7</sup>. This monotonous and rather flat landscape diversifies dunes and dune strips of various sizes with sometimes several meters high relative altitudes<sup>8</sup>. The prevailing soils are the podzolic soils, in the river valleys varied with alluvial and muck bog soils.

The last period of formation of the surface formations in the discussed area were the cool fluctuations of the Dryas II and III period (11th and 10th millennium

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<sup>4</sup> Surface testing of the forest is very difficult. Despite this, hundreds of sites have been discovered from the late Paleolithic to the Middle Ages. In the area of intense research, in the area of the estuaries of Omulew, Rozoga and Szkwa, the tributaries of the Narew, 24 Mesolithic, 32 Neolithic and 46 Bronze Age and Early Iron Age sites have been discovered (E. Kawałkova, *Specyfika fizjografii w okolicach Ostrołęki na prawym brzegu Narwi i jej wpływ na kształtowanie się i długowieczność osadnictwa mezolitycznego*, [In:] *Kurpiowszczyzna. Identyfikacja – odmiennosc*. Ed. W. Chmielewski. Ostrołęka 2000, p. 18).

<sup>5</sup> S. Gilewska, *Rzeźba*, [In:] *Geografia Polski. Środowisko przyrodnicze*. Ed. L. Starkel. Warszawa 1991, pp. 248–296.

<sup>6</sup> J. Kondracki, *Geografia regionalna Polski*. Warszawa 1980, pp. 185–186; Idem, *Mezoregiony fizyczno-geograficzne*. Warszawa 1994, pp. 126–131. The first of them – the Mazurian Plain, occupies the northern part of the Mazurian Sandur, north of the Leszno phase of the Vistulian Glaciation. In turn, the southern old glacial zone includes: the Ciechanów Upland, a wavy plain formed in the Northmazovian Stadial, cut by the valleys of tributaries of Narew and Wkra; The Mława Hills, eskers and moraine ridges formed in the Mława Stadial of the Riss Glaciation and Międzyrzecze Łomżyńskie, lying in the north-eastern part of the Riss Glaciation.

<sup>7</sup> The Kurpie Plain, laying between the Pisa and Orzyc rivers, was a region connecting the Mazurian Lake District with an Urstromtal, taking its origin in the Nemunas river basin and flowing the present valleys of Biebrza and Narew in direction of the Warsaw Basin through the so-called Warsaw-Berlin Urstromtal (S. Górny, *Przyroda Mazowska Północnego*. Ciechanów 1996, p. 7, map 1).

<sup>8</sup> Some of the dunes reach a considerable size, for example the dune in Leśna Góra, Gmina Lelis is about 1 km long, another one in Grabówek, Gmina Olszewo Borki, 1.3 km, and in Kołaki, Gmina Młynarze even about 3.6 km long (E. Kawałkova, *Specyfika fizjografii w okolicach Ostrołęki...*, p. 17).

BC)<sup>9</sup>. From this time come the dunes of the Kurpie Plain, formed as a result of the Aeolian activity. The successive, pre-Boreal period, characterised by a moderate climate, favored the formation of a cover of mixed forests. Increasing the share of pine in forest systems, especially on the dune podzolic soils, is associated with the next period – the Boreal period. The warm climate optimum in the Atlantic period, associated with higher than the current one by several degrees of annual temperatures, has ousted the pine forests, limiting them only to the dune strips. In the valleys and on the fluvial terraces, the more compact forests contained a large segment of thermophilic deciduous trees species, such as hornbeam, oak, lime-tree, alder and hazel. So evolved historical forest called Zagajnica, and now Puszcza Kurpiowska<sup>10</sup>. In the wake of the changes of flora, followed the displacements of fauna. Reindeer and elk, animals characteristic of the lowland tundra landscape, have migrated to the north and northeast, and their place within the mixed forest was occupied by typical forest mammals: deer, roe deer, wild boar and, in more open spaces, horses. In river valleys with numerous oxbow lakes and changing river beds, beavers and otters existed.

The consequences of the climate and nature variability were migrations of human populations adapted to particular ecosystems. The settlement of the present Puszcza Kurpiowska was connected with the withdrawal of the ice sheet and the gradual afforestation of the sandy plain. About twelve thousand years BC, after the period of glaciation in the Central European Lowlands, there was a relief in climatic conditions. It was a period, the first since many thousands of years, creating the possibility of a permanent settlement. Probably at that time people from the circle of the Hamburg culture were able to penetrate the Kurpie Plain. Unfortunately, so far, there is a lack of certain findings from the area of the northeastern Poland, which could be associated with this episode<sup>11</sup>. Also, another favorable for settlement, the Allerød period, which was the last warm oscillation of the Pleistocene, did not leave traces of settlement in the area of our interest<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> M.J. Weber, S.B. Grimm, M. Baales, *Between warm and cold: Impact of the Younger Dryas on human behavior in Central Europe*. Quaternary International 2011, Vol. 242, pp. 279, 283–287; R. Schild, *Geomorphology, Stratigraphy, Paleology & Radiochronology*, [In:] *Całowanie. A Final Paleolithic & Early Mesolithic site on an Island in the Ancient Vistula Channel*. Ed. R. Schild. Warszawa 2014, pp. 47–55.

<sup>10</sup> M. Ralska-Jasiewiczowa, *Ewolucja szaty roślinnej*, [In:] *Geografia Polski. Środowisko przyrodnicze*. Ed. L. Starkel. Warszawa 1991, pp. 106–126.

<sup>11</sup> Findings from the areas of the present-day Lithuania, Kašetos and northern Ukraine – Pribor and western Belarus – area of the Održiņ Lake, indicate the probability of such penetration (K. Szymczak, *Epoka kamienia Polski północno-wschodniej na tle środkowoeuropejskim*. Warszawa 1995, pp. 16–20).

<sup>12</sup> As a result of the Aeolian activity traces of earlier settlement could be covered by dunes. During the warmer climate of the Allerød interstadial, in the area of the East Baltic Lake District appeared human groups using the so-called “leaf points”, included in the Perstunka culture. To the south of it we find complexes belonging to the Tardigravettian circle – the Witów culture (Ibidem, pp. 21–27).

The oldest sites in Puszcza Kurpiowska can be certainly attributed only to the second half of Dryas III and the beginning of the pre-Boreal period (11th/10th millennium BC). From this period comes camps of the End Paleolithic reindeer hunters, moving in the pre-Boreal tundra in wake of the migrating herds. It was the time of the development of the classic Swiderian culture, from the circle of the cultures with the leaf points. The groups of this culture occur in the area of the Eastern Baltic and the European Lowlands. However, there is clearly visible a border of the occurrence of leaf point finds to the southeast of the interfluvium of the Omulew and Orzyc rivers<sup>13</sup>. Despite the intensive research, there were no Swiderian sites that could be found in the area of the Ciechanów Upland, Mława Hills or Międzyrzecze Łomżyńskie (Łomża Interfluvium)<sup>14</sup>, and they only appear in the middle valley of the Vistula. Their absence south of the Kurpie Plain seems not to be the result of the nature conditions, but of the existing border between the two raw materials provinces<sup>15</sup>.

The second, distinct stage of settlement appeared with the mixed forests of boreal and Atlantic periods and changes of the fauna. Migrating from the south-west, in the wake of the hunted wild animals, the population of the Middle Stone Age – the Mesolithic, led hunting-gathering lifestyle, moving, like trappers, in

<sup>13</sup> Complexes connected with the Swiderian culture were found in the area of today's Puszcza Kurpiowska in the following places: Dudy Puszczańskie, Łączki, Gmina Łyse, Myszyniec, Gmina loco, Ostrołęka, Leśna Góra, Łęg Starościński, Łasze, Gmina Turośń, Kozłowski, Kurpiewskie-Mierzejewo, Gmina Lelis (Z. Sulgostowska, *Prahistoria międzyrzecza Wisły, Niemna i Dniestru u schyłku plejstocenu*. Warszawa 1989, pp. 113–114; W. Borkowski, *Najstarsze zabytki archeologiczne gminy Kadzidło*, [In:] *Dzieje parafii i kościoła pod wezwaniem Ducha Świętego w Kadzidle*. Ed. M. Przytocka. Kadzidło 2012, pp. 16–18; Probably a Final Paleolithic encampment also existed at the so-called “Holy Place” in Kadzidło. S.K. Kozłowski considered the complex as a mixed Paleolithic-Mesolithic. The main component is the Mesolithic Janisławice culture, other elements are related to the Swiderian culture (S.K. Kozłowski, *Ważniejsze mezolityczne materiały powierzchniowe*. Światowit (Warszawa) 1975, Vol. 34, pp. 149–188, tab. V).

<sup>14</sup> In the area of Międzyrzecze Łomżyńskie only traces of settlement dating from the Stone Age were discovered, among others, in the localities of Stare Jemielite and Uśnik, Gmina Śniadowo (W. Borkowski, *Najstarsze znaleziska archeologiczne na obszarze gminy Śniadowo* [in print]).

<sup>15</sup> The centre of population on the middle Vistula river was based on the use of chocolate flints from the Świętokrzyskie Mountains, while the north-eastern group of the Swiderian culture used only the local erratic flint (W. Borkowski, Z. Miecznikowski, *Początki osadnictwa na terenie pogranicznym północnego Mazowsza*, [In:] *1000 lat pogranicza Chorzeli*. Ed. M. Wiśnicki. Chorzeli 2011, p. 18).

small family groups<sup>16</sup>. Probably the Mesolithic groups included also not numerous natives living on the border of tundra and taiga<sup>17</sup>.

The oldest Mesolithic group in the Central European Lowlands, whose representatives wandered into Puszcza Kurpiowska, was the Komornicka culture (from the 8th to the 6th millennium BC)<sup>18</sup>. The campsites of this culture, larger – of several huts and smaller ones – with single huts, were located on dunes within river valleys or in the plateau areas. Larger concentrations of settlement traces may be a sign of returning to a given place several times. The economy of the Komornicka culture had a hunter-gatherer character, in some areas fishery was slightly more important. Populations of this culture are to be attributed the horns adzes, sometimes decorated with ornaments. One of the specimens was fished out from the Narew, in environs of Pułtusk, and another one, that did not survive to our times was described by L. Sawicki from the dune “Czeczotka” in Ostrołęka.

Another group of hunters reaching the area of the already formed Puszcza Kurpiowska in the 6th–4th millennium BC, was the Late Mesolithic Janisławice culture<sup>19</sup>.

As in the previous period, the camps of this culture were short-lived and only tools of flint are remaining after them. The settlements of an open character were built on river banks, on small dunes within the lowest meadow terraces. This is indicative of the seasonal nature of settlement and moving to higher parts of valleys during wetter periods<sup>20</sup>.

Most researchers distinguish within the Janisławice circle a separate territorial unit of specific characteristics of flint inventories, called the eastern group of

<sup>16</sup> Their traces are observed to the southeast of the middle Orzyc river basin, not appearing practically north of it, where post-Swiderian complexes are experiencing. The only early Mesolithic complex is the site in Witowy Most, Gmina Baranowo (E. Kawałkowska, *Pradzieje Równiny Kurpiowskiej*. Nakły–Jaszczuły 2003, p. 63).

<sup>17</sup> J.K. Kozłowski, S.K. Kozłowski, *Epoka kamienia na ziemiach polskich*. Warszawa 1977, p. 312.

<sup>18</sup> Production of flint tools was based on blade cores and blade-flake cores. Obtained from them were irregular blades and short flakes. From them produced were short endscraper for skin working, burins for the work in bone and perforators. Geometric mikroliths, chunky triangles, and lanceolate blades were used to arm the arrows and fishgigs.

<sup>19</sup> The population of this culture wandered to the Kurpie Plain from the south-east. Flint tools were made of blades obtained from conical cores. These were the characteristic Janisławice blades for arrowheads, triangles and truncated blades, scrapers, endscrapers and burins. The bone tools were mainly made in the form of blades having two notches for insets and daggers from the shoulder blades of aurochs.

<sup>20</sup> In the area of the right bank of the Narew river, in the village of Leśna Góra, Gmina Lelis, discovered was a large settlement of Janisławicka culture with housing structures in the pole technology and fireplaces outside the house. The intense cultural layer indicates the long-term occupation of the site or the returning in wet months to the meadow dunes (E. Kawałkowska, *Specyfika fizjografii w okolicach Ostrołęki...*, pp. 18–19).

Janisławice culture, or also a separate Maksimonis culture<sup>21</sup>. Its southwestern border runs in the Omulew and Orzyc interfluve<sup>22</sup>.

Particularly interesting seems to be the fact that the Mesolithic sites, discovered in environs of Ostrołęka, have been separated<sup>23</sup>. At some of them ceramics and tools were found, which may indicate to the Neolithic period. According to the discoverer of the site in the locality of Lelis, prof. W. Chmielewski, the site is not a mechanical mixture of Mesolithic-Neolithic elements<sup>24</sup>. This is indicated by the distribution of the material on the site of about 400 acres surface<sup>25</sup>. The economy of these groups was based on gathering, hunting and fishing with a diverse but marginal role in the cultivation of plants and pastoral breeding of semi-wild animals. The skeleton ritual and sprinkling the body with ochre are also universal for all these groups.

The Para-Neolithic cultures, of the so called forest zone<sup>26</sup>, representing the specific stage of economic development, took possession of Puszcza Kurpiowska about the half of the 4th millennium BC and lasted in this area the next thousands

<sup>21</sup> K. Szymczak, op. cit., p. 121.

<sup>22</sup> From the area of Puszcza Kurpiowska comes a large number of Mesolithic sites: Tyczek Kolonia, Złota Góra, Łyse, Dęby, Serafin, Gmina Łyse. The presence of the Janisławice culture complexes is also known, among others, from sites in Kadzidło "Święte Miejsce" (Holy Place), Gmina Iława, Otok, Gmina Ostrołęka and Kruki Kolonia Dobrołęka, Gmina Olszewo Borki (W. Borkowski, *Najstarsze zabytki archeologiczne gminy Kadzidło...*, pp. 16–18; E. Kawałkowska *Pradzieje Równiny Kurpiowskiej...*, pp. 66–75).

<sup>23</sup> In the final stage of the Mesolithic there existed a rich settlement complex of Janisławice culture with settlements in Łęg Starościński-Leśna Góra, in Mała Wioska-Biała Góra, Kurpiowskie-Mięzejewo, and a camp in Kozłowski, all in Gmina Lelis (E. Kawałkowska, *Specyfika fizjografii w okolicach Ostrołęki...*, pp. 17–29).

<sup>24</sup> W. Chmielewski, *Badania archeologiczne Równiny Kurpiowskiej*, [In:] *Kurpiowszczyzna. Identyfikacja – odmienność*. Ed. W. Chmielewski. Ostrołęka 2000, pp. 7–16.

<sup>25</sup> This confirms the hypothesis of S.K. Kozłowski on the acquisition of the skills of making of pots by the Janisławice culture, and transforming into a para-Neolithic culture of the Pit-and-Comb Pottery culture (S.K. Kozłowski *Pradzieje ziem Polski od IX do V tysiąclecia p.n.e.* Warszawa 1972, p. 217). Another model was presented by E. Kempisty. She introduced the notion of para-Neolithic cultures as representing the type of hunter-gatherer economy using ceramics, but related to the migration of peoples from the areas to the north-east into Poland. Mesolithic elements would be a mechanical admixture of historical material (E. Kempisty, *Neolityczne kultury strefy leśnej w północnej Polsce*, [In:] *Problemy epoki kamienia na Pomorzu*. Ed. T. Malinowski. Słupsk 1983, pp. 177–179).

<sup>26</sup> These are, the occurring in the area of the Kurpie Plain, complexes of the Pit-and-Comb Pottery culture, Niemen culture, Linin group and complexes of Sośnia type. Surface survey yielded historical material whose cultural characteristics are not possible (W. Borkowski, Z. Miecznikowski, *Początki osadnictwa na terenie pogranicznym północnego Mazowsza...*, p. 20). E. Kawałkowska the bulk of material from para-Neolithic sites arbitrarily associates with the Niemen culture, among others, at the site in Dalekie, Gmina Myszyniec, Ostrołęka-Otok, Witowy Most, Gmina Baranowo (E. Kawałkowska, *Pradzieje Równiny Kurpiowskiej...*, pp. 92–95).

of years<sup>27</sup>. At first they used an identical set of flint tools, deriving from the Janisławicka complexes. The feature distinguishing them from the Mesolithic assemblages, while differentiating them from each other, was ceramics. The characteristic way of forming of pots (with the point and round base), technological features and ornamentation are in practice the only cultural determinants<sup>28</sup>.

In the discussed, Subboreal phase, there were changes in the forest communities due to natural factors as well as human activities in this period. With the reduction of the presence of the elm and then also of the ash and linden and the increase in the share of the oak and hazel, the expansion of the hornbeam and beech also began. The vegetation approached that of the potential contemporary one<sup>29</sup>.

The Neolithic cultures were dominant in today's southern and central Poland. In the immediate vicinity of the Omulew and Orzyc interfluvium, the area of the Mława Hills and the Ciechanów Upland, reached the tribes of the Funnel Beaker culture<sup>30</sup>. Neolithic settlements did not enter the area of the Mazurian Plain nor the Kurpie Region. The sites of the eastern group of this culture are located in the area of the so-called Old Mazovia to the northeastern boundaries of the Ciechanów Upland, as well as in the area of the middle Narew valley. The area north and east of the Orzyc bend, in the middle of the Subboreal phase, is still the domain of the para-Neolithic cultures. The natural environment of the primeval forest, especially the poor soils and the compact forest cover, did not favor the land-based economy of the garden system and breeding of the cattle, pigs and goats and sheep<sup>31</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> At the same time, from the south the Plain area entered the first farmers representing the production economy. (W. Borkowski, B. Matraszek, S. Sałaciński, *Mazowsze w epoce kamienia*, [In:] *Starożytne Mazowsze*. Pułtusk 2006, pp. 15-17).

<sup>28</sup> E. Kawalkowa, *Specyfika fizjografii w okolicach Ostrołęki...*, pp. 17-29. These features, among others, include: strong admixture of sand, as well as the presence of grasses, crushed granite and broken shells. The most famous sites with Mesolithic tools and ceramics are Ostrołęka-Czeczotka, Ostrołęka Wojciechowice, Kurpiewskie-Miezejewo, Gmina Lelis. Features of the Niemen culture are visible in the material from sites in Otok, Gmina Ostrołęka, Pianki, Gmina Zbójna and Witowy Most, Gmina Baranowo. In the north of Puszcza Kurpiowska, we meet sites of the Narva culture, and in the immediate vicinity the complexes of the Niemen culture, among others: Młynarze, Gmina Różan, Woźna Wieś, Gmina Rajgród, Budki, Gmina Chorzele, Sielc Nowy, Gmina Krasnosielec, Sypniewo, Gmina Igołomia, Gmina Szła, Gmina Przasnysz. (W. Borkowski, Z. Miecznikowski, *Początki osadnictwa na terenie pogranicznym północnego Mazowsza...*, p. 20; E. Kawalkowa *Pradzieje Równiny Kurpiowskiej...*, p. 92).

<sup>29</sup> M. Ralska-Jasiewiczowa, op. cit., pp. 118-119.

<sup>30</sup> It is one of the most important indigenous agricultural formations of the European Lowlands, created in the middle of the 5th millennium BC, covering the area from the North German Lowlands to the upper Bug.

<sup>31</sup> The funeral rite of the Funnel Beaker culture was of the megalithic type. The dead were buried in stone-earthen graves in shape of trapezes or elongated triangles, the burial chambers of which were laid out of stone plates. Pottery vessels, flint knives, axes and shaft-hole axes were placed into the graves as burial goods. Archaeological finds of this



The late Neolithic phase, defined in the Middle European Plain by the emergence of the Globular Amphora culture tribes, coincides with the period of dry climate fluctuations, which led to deepening of deforestation and displacement to the north of compacted forest complexes in favor of steppe and forest steppe. Such transformations favored the pastoral and pastoral-hunting economy, represented by the groups using characteristic spherical vessels<sup>32</sup>. This shepherds reached the area of the Ciechanów Upland and Międzyrzecze Łomżyńskie at the end of the 4th millennium BC. They grazed cattle and half-wild pigs. They used river valleys to grow cereals, while not despising hunting and fishing. This made the Late Neolithic population of the Globular Amphora culture to be more willing to enter the Mazurian Plain, although this was probably not a long-term presence. But there is no evidence of Globular Amphora culture settlements in the Kurpie Plain<sup>33</sup>.

In the Neolithic period, the representatives of the Funnel Beaker and Globular Amphora cultures ventured into the river valleys of Puszcza Kurpiowska, perhaps in search of amber or for hunting purposes<sup>34</sup>. Single finds of the Neolithic flint axes and shaft-hole axes, without the context of ceramics, in surface survey, strongly exclude more permanent settlement, even in the more fertile river valleys.

The last phase of the influx of Neolithic people from the south is called from the way of decorating pottery vessels – the Corded Ware culture<sup>35</sup>. Very little is known about the economy of these tribes. Besides of some evidences of plant cultivation on a few of the sites, most of the remnants shows a pastoral-nomadic lifestyle. Traces of these peoples are found both in the area of the Mława Hills and

culture come, among others, from: Rostków, Gmina Czernice Borowe, Rycice, Gmina Chorzele and Romanowo, Gmina Maków Mazowiecki (W. Borkowski, Z. Miecznikowski, *Początki osadnictwa na terenie pogranicznym północnego Mazowsza...*, p. 21).

<sup>32</sup> The characteristic funeral rite of this culture belongs also to the megalithic type. The dead were buried with burial goods in stone boxes dug into the ground. Beside the characteristic pottery vessels, flint tools and axes with carefully polished blades were placed into graves.

<sup>33</sup> Archaeological sites of the Globular Amphora culture have been discovered, among others, in Rembielin, Gmina Chorzele, Sielc Nowy, gm. Krasnosielc, Gąsewo Nowe and Szczeglin, Gmina Sypniewo, Makowica, Gmina Maków Mazowiecki, Ulatowo-Zalesie, Gmina Krzynowłoga Mała, Grudusk, Gmina Iława and Budy Rządowe, Gmina Jednorzec (Ibidem, pp. 21–22).

<sup>34</sup> Single items of the Funnel Beaker and Globular Amphora cultures originate from Czarnia, Gmina Iława, Łyse, Gmina Iława, Lipnik, Gmina Łyse, Nasiadek, Gmina Lelis, Ostrołęka, Jazgarka, Gmina Kadzidło, Orzół, Gmina Baranowo and Bandysie, Gmina Myszyniec (E. Kawałkowska, *Pradzieje Równiny Kurpiowskiej...*, p. 99; W. Borkowski, Z. Miecznikowski, *Początki osadnictwa na terenie pogranicznym północnego Mazowsza...*, pp. 21–22; W. Borkowski, *Najstarsze zabytki archeologiczne gminy Kadzidło...*, p. 18).

<sup>35</sup> In the middle of the third millennium BC in the area of the European Plain appeared tribes using ceramics decorated with rope imprints. The dead were first buried beneath the barrows and then in flat cemeteries, equipped with pottery vessels, flint axes, knives and arrowheads, and stone axes.

Ciechanów Upland as well as the Mazurian Plain<sup>36</sup>. The episodic expeditions of the End Neolithic representatives of the Corded Ware culture reached the area of Puszcza Kurpiowska, which is confirmed by the finds of the battle axes of this culture<sup>37</sup>. In the literature has been hypothesised the woodland cattle and pig breeding, in the glades in river valleys, realised by the representatives of the Corded Ware culture<sup>38</sup>. However, pollen diagrams from pseudo-meanders in Leśna Góra-Łęg Starościński and Kurpiewskie-Miezejewo, Gmina Lelis do not show the presence of plants related to the breeding<sup>39</sup>.

The younger Subboreal phase was marked by the cooling and drying of the climate. Within the mixed forests the share of hornbeam and alder was clearly reduced. Less rainfall was favorable for drying of sandy soils and increasing the share of pine and oak forests in the composition of the forest, as well as the decrease of the groundwater level, leading to the drying and overgrowing of the oxbow lakes and lakes<sup>40</sup>. At that time, the first groups of the Trzciniec culture<sup>41</sup>, representing already the Bronze Age, came to the area of the Kurpie Plain. Along with them appear in the northern Mazovia, the first not numerous bronze products: bracelets, armlets, pendants. The most important change concerns the burial ritual. At first the skeletal funeral rite was dominating, but gradually disseminated the cremation custom, which for several millennia, has spread throughout most of Europe.

This was not a period favorable to the expansion of agriculture and the Early Bronze Age groups, which penetrated the Kurpie Plain, could not rely on the agricultural model of the economy<sup>42</sup>. Probably the people, who settled on the edge

<sup>36</sup> Presence of the products of the Corded Ware culture was found at the sites in: Rostków and Obrębiec, Gmina Czernice Borowe, Kęsocha, Gmina Dzierzgowo, Krasnosielec Nowy, gm. Krasnosielec, Małowidz and Lipa, Gmina Jednorożec (W. Borkowski, Z. Miecznikowski, *Początki osadnictwa na terenie pogranicznym północnego Mazowsza...*, p. 22).

<sup>37</sup> The ceramic remains of this culture were found in the villages of Zabrodzie and Przysań Gmina Olszewo Borki. Fragment of a flint dagger of this culture comes from the locality Kurpiewskie-Miezejewo, Gmina Lelis, and two stone axes from Ostrołęka (E. Kawalkowa, *Specyfika fizjografii w okolicach Ostrołęki...*, p. 21; Eadem, *Pradzieje Równiny Kurpiowskiej...*, p. 10, 101).

<sup>38</sup> E. Kempisty, *Neolityczne kultury strefy leśnej w północnej Polsce...*, p. 175.

<sup>39</sup> K. Wasylikowa, *Antropogeniczne zmiany roślinności w holocenie*, [In:] *Człowiek i środowisko w pradziejach*. Eds. J.K. Kozłowski, S.K. Kozłowski. Warszawa 1983, p. 57.

<sup>40</sup> Ibidem, p. 59.

<sup>41</sup> In Mazovia, the first half of the 2nd millennium BC is considered to be the beginning of Early Bronze settlement. Its full development coincides with the period from 1500 to 1300 BC (J. Dąbrowski, *Epoka brązu w północno-wschodniej Polsce*. Białystok 1997, p. 88).

<sup>42</sup> On the basis of surface survey and a few archaeological excavations, it seems that they preferred the same settlement conditions as their Mesolithic and para-Neolithic predecessors.

and within the forest were hunting, gathering and fishing<sup>43</sup>. From the earlier Mesolithic and para-Neolithic formation they distinguished themselves with a cremation ritual and occasional use of bronze tools. In the ceramics of the Trzciniec culture groups can be found a reference to the ornament and technology of the earlier period<sup>44</sup>. Cremation is an obvious cultural determinant of the Bronze Age and was a permanent feature of the Trzciniec culture that it remained even after the change of the way of farming<sup>45</sup>. The settlements of the Trzciniec culture, dating to this period, were limited essentially to the dunes in the Narew valley, near the estuaries of Omulew, Rozoga and Szkwa rivers<sup>46</sup>. Sporadic trips of small groups up river valleys can't be excluded<sup>47</sup>. The gradual disappearance of the Trzciniec culture in this area was a consequence of cultural and social transformations, which resulted in its transition into a local group of the Lusatian culture<sup>48</sup>.

Lusatian culture developing at the turn of the 13th into the 12th century BC, was part of a large complex of the Urnfield cultures. From the very beginning, the

<sup>43</sup> It was different in the area of the Ciechanów Upland and the Mława Hills, where there was more fertile soils and agriculture could develop. The sites of Trzciniec culture were found, among others, in: Ulatowo-Dąbrówka and Skierkowizna, Gmina Krzynowłoga Mała, Wola Błędowska, Gmina Baranowo and Romanowo Gmina Maków Mazowiecki (W. Borkowski, Z. Miecznikowski, *Początki osadnictwa na terenie pogranicznym północnego Mazowsza...*, pp. 22–23).

<sup>44</sup> There is lack of analyses of flint assemblages for this region, nevertheless, a strong influence of Neolithic cultures of the forest zone is visible (E. Kawałkova, *Specyfika fizjografii w okolicach Ostrołęki...*, p. 23). Used are tools made by splitting and polishing technique (endscrapers, knives, sickles, pestles, arrowheads, shaft-hole axes, axes, blades) as well as made from organic materials ones (pendants of shells, pins and awls of bone) and of bronze: spiral bracelets, armlets and rings with disks and small axes and spearheads. Occasional small silver and gold items appear. Pottery with granite admixture, surface smoothing of the vessels and ornamentation show relations to earlier cultures from this region. The most numerous are hand-made, tulip-shaped vessels with a cymoid profile, thickened and faceted lips (J. Dąbrowski, *Kultura trzciniecka na Mazowszu i Podlasiu*, [In:] *Problemy przeszłości Mazowsza i Podlasia*, Vol. III. Ed. M. Dulnicz. Warszawa 2005, pp. 61–66).

<sup>45</sup> It is interesting to observe traces of ocher in one of cremation graves at a Trzciniec site in Kurpiewskie-Mieżejewo, Gmina Lelis (E. Kawałkova, *Specyfika fizjografii w okolicach Ostrołęki...*, pp. 23–24). Sprinkling of grave with ocher was a common practice during the Mesolithic and occurred in the Neolithic cultures of the forest zone as a Mesolithic heritage.

<sup>46</sup> Studies of settlement concentration in this region indicate the presence of large permanent settlements surrounded by a number of small, short-lived camps. The best recognised site of this culture is located in Kurpiewskie-Mieżejewo, Gmina Lelis (E. Kawałkova, *Pradzieje Równiny Kurpiowskiej...*, pp. 111–113).

<sup>47</sup> In the area of Gmina Łyse, traces of the Trzciniec culture were discovered, among others, in the villages of: Dudy Puszczańskie, Serafin, Dęby, Łyse (W. Borkowski, *Najstarsze osadnictwo gminy Łyse* [in print]).

<sup>48</sup> J. Dąbrowski, *Kultura trzciniecka i łużycka na Mazowszu*, [In:] *Starożytne Mazowsze*. Ed. M. Zieleniewska-Kasprzycka. Pułtusk 2006, pp. 25–27.

population of the Lusatian culture, due to extent of their inhabited territory, did not form a single society. The basis of the phenomenon lies in the diversity of the cultural background. In the northeastern Mazovia, a part of the Lusatian complex were constituting the Trzciniec population groups<sup>49</sup>.

In the Late Bronze Age (9th–8th century BC), both in the area of the Mazurian Plain, north of Puszcza Kurpiowska, and south of it, in the Ciechanów Upland, a significant increase in the number of sites is observed<sup>50</sup>. This might be connected with the population growth but is limited in the south to the Orzyc river valley. The area of Puszcza Kurpiowska was long beyond the reach of the Lusatian settlement, which does not exclude sporadic penetration along the river valleys<sup>51</sup>. Despite the aforementioned diversity, the basic cultural features in the entire area of the Lusatian culture occurrence were very similar. The most important are: the burial ritual and the presence of flat cemeteries with burials in cinerary urns. The remains of the deceased, after burning the bodies at the stake, were buried in clay pots covered with lids. As equipment were added also smaller vessels, probably filled with food or other gifts<sup>52</sup>.

Agriculture and animal husbandry was the mainstay of the economy of the Lusatian culture population, while in the area of the Kurpie Plain, mainly in the river valleys, and in the smaller islands of the better soils, the agriculture of the garden type<sup>53</sup>. Vessels used in the household were generally less careful made than the grave pottery. From bronze made were mainly axes, sickles, knives, awls, hooks, needles and chisels. As weapon were used bows and arrows with bronze, bone and flint arrowheads and spears. There were inhabited open settlements<sup>54</sup>, and in the south, in the later period also the hillforts.

<sup>49</sup> M. Mogielnicka-Urban, *Kultura łużycka na Mazowszu i Podlasiu*, [In:] *Problemy przeszłości Mazowsza*, Vol. III. Ed. M. Dulnicz. Warszawa 2005, pp. 67–91

<sup>50</sup> G. Orlińska, *Cmentarzysko kultury łużyckiej w Cichowie*, *Archeologia Żywa* (Warszawa) 2005, Vol. 10, No. 4, pp. 8–10

<sup>51</sup> The colonization of dense forest complexes had mostly an insular character and was limited to enclaves with more fertile soils. In the area of Warmia and Mazuria, the population of Lusatian culture arrived only in the 9th century BC, wandering, among others, the valley of Orzyc, Omulew, Szkwa and Pisa rivers. These settlers set out from the area of Międzyrzecze Łomżyńskie (M. Hoffmann, *Osadnictwo Równiny Mazurskiej w I tysiącleciu p.n.e. i jego relacje z osadnictwem Równiny Kurpiowskiej*, [In:] *Kurpiowszczyzna. Identyczność – odmiennosc*. Ed. W. Chmielewski. Ostrołęka 2000, pp. 32–33).

<sup>52</sup> Wheat, barley, millet and rye were grown, as well as flax, hemp and poppy. Known were turnips, peas, broad beans and lentils. To work in agriculture were used tools of flint, bronze and iron, wooden plows, stone querns and pestles. Cattle, pigs, goats and sheep were bred. It was hunted for deer, bison, wild boar and roe deer.

<sup>53</sup> We find traces of Lusatian culture, among others, in the area of today's Łyse commune in the villages of Dęby, Żalas, Piątkowizna, Łyse, Tyczek Kolonia and Serafin (W. Borkowski, *Najstarsze osadnictwo gminy Łyse...*).

<sup>54</sup> Open settlements are both, large villages with a few hundred years of residence with houses of post construction and short-lived seasonal camps with shallow pithouses with

In the period from the 6th to the 2nd century BC, from north the region of Puszcza Kurpiowska was penetrated by population groups of the West Baltic Barrow culture<sup>55</sup>. They were the ancestors of the Baltic people, inhabiting, among others, the Mazurian Plain in historical times. Their presence, on the basis of very fragmentary pieces of ceramics was recorded in the middle courses of Omulew, Szkwa and Orzyc rivers<sup>56</sup>. An exception is a permanent settlement in the area of Chorzele (Rembielin – “Łysa Góra”), lying at the point of the Orzyc valley crossing, as part of a trade route from the south through the Mława Hills towards the Sambian Peninsula<sup>57</sup>.

From the middle of the 5th century BC, there begins to form another cultural unit, identified with the Germanic tribe of Vandals – the Przeworsk culture<sup>58</sup>. In the period between the second and the first century BC, it reaches the area of northern Mazovia without entering with its compact settlement into the area of Puszcza Kurpiowska. The interfluvium of Orzyc and Omulew rivers to the left bank of Rozoga river in the period of Roman influences (1st century BC – 4th century BC) is a strip of deserted area between the compact reach of the Przeworsk culture from the south, the Bogaczewska culture from the north, and the eastern group of the Przeworsk culture in the east. The northernmost sites of the Przeworsk culture are located in the area of Gmina Kadzidło in the localities of Todzia and Dylewo, dating back to the 2nd–3rd centuries AD<sup>59</sup>. In the area of northern Narew tributaries, only a few sites from the above mentioned period were discovered as result of the surface survey, being grouped in the area of Ostrołęka and the lower Pisa river and Skroda river. They are probably the result of single migrations of

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walls made of wattle and plastered with clay (T. Węgrzynowicz, *Kultura łżycka na Mazowszu wschodnim i Podlasiu*, Materiały Starożytne i Wczesnośredniowieczne (Warszawa) 1973, Vol. II, pp. 37–38).

<sup>55</sup> Ł. Okulicz, *Kultura kurhanów zachodniobałtyjskich we wczesnej epoce żelaza*. Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1970.

<sup>56</sup> W. Borkowski, Z. Miecznikowski, *Początki osadnictwa na terenie pogranicznym północnego Mazowsza...*, pp. 27–30.

<sup>57</sup> This trail crosses the area of Puszcza Kurpiowska. Its presence is confirmed by the Celtic imports at the mentioned site (Ł. Okulicz, *Sprawozdanie z badań cmentarzyska z wczesnej epoki żelaza w Rembielinie, powiat przasnyski*. Rocznik Olsztyński 1975, Vol. 11, pp. 205–209). The amber was not only of Baltic origin but also was mined in Puszcza Kurpiowska. Its end users were the Celtic trading posts in Silesia.

<sup>58</sup> T. Dąbrowska, *Mazowsze w młodszym okresie przedrzymskim*, [In:] *Starożytne Mazowsze*. Ed. M. Zieleniewska-Kasprzycka. Pułtusk 2006, pp. 39–55.

<sup>59</sup> J. Andrzejowski, *Cmentarzysko kultury przeworskiej w Todzi, gmina Kadzidło, województwo ostrołęckie, stanowisko 2*. Wiadomości Archeologiczne (Warszawa) 1993–1994, Vol. LIII, Issue 2, pp. 101–126.

small human groups into the primeval forest from the area of the evident settlement's concentration between rivers Orz and Narew<sup>60</sup>.

The economy of the population of the Przeworsk culture was based on agriculture and cattle breeding. Cultivated were: rye, oats, barley and millet, and wheat and legumes on fertile soils, as well as cannabis and flax. Very important for economic development in the period of Roman influences was the metallurgy. The presence of rich bog iron ores in the valleys of the Kurpie Plain might have been a motive force for expeditions undertaken by both, the population of the Przeworsk culture from the south and the south-east as well as the representatives of the culture of Western Baltic Barrows and the Bogaczewska culture from the north.

A separate episode in the history of the region was migration of the Germanic (Gothic) tribes, representing the Wielbark culture, which probably took place through the river valleys of Puszcza Kurpiowska to the area of Międzyrzecz Łomżyński in the 2nd–4th century AD<sup>61</sup>.

The sites related to the early presence of the Slav population in the Puszcza Kurpiowska area are relatively few. Their precise dating based on archaeological material is not possible. Excavations of selected sites would be required. On the basis of the sources from the nearest neighborhood, it should be noted that into the region of Puszcza Kurpiowska, the Slav population may have been sporadically penetrating since the 11th century AD<sup>62</sup>. The visible development of the settlement on the left bank of the Narew river occurred only in the 11th and 12th centuries, when there were already existing castles in Łomża, Wizna and Ostrołęka<sup>63</sup>. However, this period belongs already to the historical stage in the development of settlement in the area of the Zagajnica (Kurpiowska) Puszcza.

Looking at the entire prehistoric period of inhabiting the human community in Puszcza Kurpiowska, I come to the conclusion that the model of economy developed by the hunters and gatherers of the end of the Middle Stone Age, however shockingly it sounds, with minor modifications survived until almost contemporary times. The forest life described in the ethnographic works of the

<sup>60</sup> In the described area archaeological objects from the period of Roman influence were found in several localities of the Łyse municipality: Serafin, Łyse, Zalas, Piątkowizna (W. Borkowski, *Najstarsze osadnictwo gminy Łyse...*).

<sup>61</sup> It is witnessed by the presence of a barrow cemetery in Uśnik, Gmina Śniadowo.

<sup>62</sup> From the early Middle Ages, in the area of Międzyrzecz Łomżyński there is known a settlement concentration along the right bank of Orz: settlement in Goworówek, Gmina Goworowo, the existing since the 8th century settlement in Wojsze, Gmina Czerwin, dating back to the VI–VII century, and settlements in environs of the hillfort in Chmielew-Świerże. Another concentration existed in the area of lower Róż a tributary of the Narew with a settlement called Czartoria (M. Dulnicz, *Najważniejsze problemy archeologii wczesnego średniowiecznego Mazowsza*, [In:] *Starożytne Mazowsze*. Ed. M. Zieleniewska-Kasprzycka. Pułtusk 2006, pp. 75–102).

<sup>63</sup> E. Kowalczyk, *Granice Mazowsza w średniowieczu. Ocena stanu badań*, [In:] *Problemy przeszłości Mazowsza i Podlasia*, Vol. III. Ed. M. Dulnicz. Warszawa 2005, pp. 167–172.

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries<sup>64</sup>, of course with some modifications, could serve as canvas for the reconstruction of post-Mesolithic communities in the Kurpiowska Plain. Along the river valleys into this area undertook expeditions representatives of succeeding archaeological cultures from the south and north, trying to implement economic models characteristic of neighboring, or migrating in search of more suitable ecumenes, or possibly entering the forest for commercial purposes. They were going through or stayed. However, there was no full acculturation of the inhabitants of the forest backwoods. This may be one of the elements of the sense of separateness and pride of Kurpie people of their own past – today's inhabitants of the Forest<sup>65</sup>.

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<sup>64</sup> E.g. I. Baranowski, *Łukasz Kościesza-Załuski i jego „Najstarszy opis Puszczy Kurpiowskiej”*. Ziemia 1911, Vol. II, No. 16; A. Chętnik, *Życie puszczańskie Kurpiów*. Warszawa 1971.

<sup>65</sup> The separateness of the area of Kurpiowska Plain has been lasting very long. In archaeological terms almost to the present day. Only administrative actions, deforestation, firing of river valleys (actions of Mazovian Duchy of the one, and the Teutonic Order on the other side) limited the range of Puszcza Kurpiowska and introduced a new type of economy (E. Kowalczyk-Heyman, *Dzieje granicy mazowiecko-krzyżackiej między Pisz a źródłami Biebrzy*. Warszawa 2013, pp. 39–51).

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## SUMMARY

The Kurpie Plain has its own specific physiographic characteristics. From the Paleolithic to the early Middle Ages, it was a convenient route to move groups of people, both in the north-south and east-west direction. Due to the very unattractive soil conditions, the forest was treated as a temporary or seasonal exploitation area. The territory of the Kurpie Plain, originally formed as a result of the Riss Glaciation (Warta Stadial) and transformed during the Baltic glaciation through the formation of a large sandur area with elements of earlier moraine. The oldest sites in Puszcza Kurpiowska can be certainly attributed only to the second half of Dryas III and the beginning of the pre-Boreal period (11th/10th millennium BC). Looking at the entire prehistoric period of inhabiting the human community in Puszcza Kurpiowska, I come to the conclusion that the model of economy developed by the hunters and gatherers of the end of the Middle Stone Age, however shockingly it sounds, with minor modifications survived until almost contemporary times.

## STRESZCZENIE

W obrębie Mazowsza północno-wschodniego występuje szereg mniejszych regionów geograficznych, wśród których Równina Kurpiowska posiada swoją istotną specyfikę. Od paleolitu aż po czasy wczesnego średniowiecza stanowiła dogodny szlak przemieszczania się grup ludności. Większość wędrowców nie pozostawiała na tym obszarze dłużej. Z uwagi na bardzo nieatrakcyjne warunki glebowe puszcza traktowana była jako obszar eksploatacji czasowej lub sezonowej. Dolinami rzek na obszar ten zapuszczali się przedstawiciele kolejnych kultur archeologicznych z południa i północy, w poszukiwaniu dogodniejszych ekumen, ewentualnie zapuszczając się na teren puszczy w celach handlowych. Jedynie w epoce kamienia na obszarze Równiny Kurpiowskiej permanentnie gospodarowały grupy ludzkie zajmujące się łowiectwem, zbieractwem i rybołówstwem. W okresach związanych z gospodarką wytwórczą: rolnictwem i hodowlą teren ten był rejonem ścierania wpływów kulturowych, idących z różnych kierunków. To spowodowało, że na obszarze pierwotnej Puszczy Kurpiowskiej rytm rozwojowy nie odpowiadał przemianom na ziemiach sąsiednich. Model gospodarki wypracowany przez łowców, zbieraczy schyłku środkowej epoki kamienia, z niewielkimi modyfikacjami przetrwał do czasów niemal nam współczesnych. Dopiero działania administracyjne, odlesienia, wypalanie dolin rzecznych ograniczały stopniowo zasięg Puszczy Kurpiowskiej i wprowadzały nowy typ gospodarowania. Nie dochodziło jednak do pełnej akulturacji mieszkańców mateczników puszczańskich. Może to być jednym z elementów poczucia odrębności i dumy z własnej przeszłości dzisiejszych mieszkańców puszczy – Kurpiów.

**Key words:** Kurpie Forest, prehistory, archaeological cultures, archaeological sites, findings

**Słowa kluczowe:** Puszcza Kurpiowska, prahistoria, kultury archeologiczne, stanowiska archeologiczne, znaleziska

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## ABOUT KURPIAN SONGS

### RZECZ O PIEŚNIACH KURPIOWSKICH

What is there in Kurpian songs that they constantly enrapture and creatively inspire the greatest Polish composers? And it started with Karol Szymanowski, the greatest world renowned Polish composer after F. Chopin.

Earlier, in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, there were references to Kurpian art as well as Kurpian songs and dances in popular literature. If then Fryderyk Chopin had not been on holidays to Szafarnia in Kujawy, but to Szafarnia near Kadzidło or Charcibałda near Czarnia or to Myszyniec in the Kurpie region, next to his mazurkas, polonaises, krakowiaks we would have powolniaks, fafurs and żuraws<sup>1</sup>. Admittedly, at the end of the nineteenth century the world of science and culture received the monumental work of Oskar Kolberg *Pieśni ludu polskiego*, but in the section devoted to Mazovia there were only 70 songs marked as Kurpian<sup>2</sup> and only 9 from Kurpian Puszcza Zielona (the Green Forest).

*Pieśni ludu polskiego* did not arouse the interest of Karol Szymanowski, who at the end of his career sought inspiration from ancient culture and art, including folk art. Probably his second flat in Zakopane “Atma”, apart from the one in Warsaw, as well as cordial ties with highland musicians, fostered knowledge and fascination with highland folklore, and resulted in composing *Harnasie* ballet. And during the creation of the ballet *Harnasie*, Szymanowski interrupts this creation process and... not “forced” by commitments, he creates another work inspired by Kurpian songs – *Pieśni kurpiowskie op. 58 (dwanaście pieśni na głos z fortepianem – Leciąły zórazie, Wysła burzycka, Uwaz mamó raz, U jeziorecka, A pod borem siwe kunie, Bzicam kunia, Sciani dumbek, Leć glosie po rosie, Zarzyjze kuniu, Ciamna nocka, Wysły rybki, wysły, Wszyscy przyjechali)*<sup>3</sup>.

The break in the creation of *Harnasie* taken to create works inspired by Kurpie was not the result of Szymanowski's personal contacts with Kurpie or Kurpian art –

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<sup>1</sup> powolniak, fafur, żuraw – names of Kurpian dances.

<sup>2</sup> O. Kolberg, *Mazowsze: obraz etnograficzny*, Vol. IV: *Mazowsze stare. Kurpie. Mazury*. Kraków 1888. Not all folk songs were recorded by O. Kolberg himself – he had numerous correspondents. In O. Kolberg's collection, the songs marked as Kurpian come from the periphery of Puszcza (the Forest) – from Chorzele and do not contain the characteristics of Kurpian songs, especially “forest” songs.

<sup>3</sup> K. Szymanowski, *Pieśni kurpiowskie – 12 pieśni na głos solowy z fortepianem op. 38*. Towarzystwo Wydawnicze Muzyki Polskiej, Warszawa 1934, p. 2.

Szymanowski's biographers did not notice such facts. He could at most see a stage play *Wesele Kurpiowskie* in the Warsaw Ateneum Theatre in the summer of 1928, directed by Tadeusz Skarżyński, performed by the artists of the Płock Theatre, in original Kurpian costumes with songs and dances recorded by W. Skierkowski.

What was the reason for Szymanowski's such surprising decision then? Probably it could have been a great success of an earlier "Kurpian" work – *Sześć pieśni kurpiowskich na chór mieszany* (A chtëz tam puka, Bzicem kunia, Hej, wólki moje, Niech Jezus Chrystus będzie pochwalony, Panie muzykancie, Wyrządzaj się) which, despite years passing by, have lost nothing of their freshness, originality and are in the repertoire of Polish and world choral music. But not just that. Well, in the meantime, another publication of Płock Scientific Society appeared – *Puszcza Kurpiowska w pieśni* recorded by Fr. Władysław Skierkowski. It was probably prof. Adolf Chybiński, the head of Musicology Department at the University of Lviv, collaborating with the Tatra Museum in Zakopane, who got Szymanowski interested in another publication by Płock Scientific Society. It was fascination with the content of the publication – written in the melody but with the lyrics of the songs in Kurpian dialect, and also with the author of those records – Fr. Władysław Skierkowski.

Karol Szymanowski was the first composer to appreciate the value and beauty of Kurpian songs, as well as the achievements of Fr. W. Skierkowski for the national culture. In the epilogue to *12 pieśni kurpiowskich na głos z fortepianem op. 58* he wrote: "May I be allowed to express to the Venerable Author not only the deepest appreciation for His such beautiful and valuable work, but also sincere gratitude for making available to us – Polish musicians – this so little known and such an extraordinarily rich source of perhaps the most beautiful Polish folk song"<sup>4</sup>.

These words, written by the greatest Polish composer after Chopin as well as the masterpieces of choral music, to which undoubtedly belong choral *Pieśni kurpiowskie* by K. Szymanowski, contributed to the increased interest of Polish composers in Kurpian songs, both in their melody and lyrics. The search for new forms of artistic expression is typical of outstanding composers, and this happens most often in the mature period of their career. Intentional interest of composers in the folk song began in the second half of the 19th century and continues until today. Composers find in folk songs surprising, non-exploited rhythmic and melodic motifs using ancient sound scales, and even archaic pentatonic (five-tone scale), not schematic but variable metre. All these musical elements mentioned above were found by Szymanowski in Kurpian songs. It is not a coincidence, but a conscious search, since among the 18 Kurpian songs selected by Szymanowski, the vast majority were the so-called "forest" songs cumulating those archaic qualities, from which the composer's genius was able to create music that sounded modern.

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<sup>4</sup> Ibidem.

Another great Polish composer, Andrzej Panufnik (1914–1991), went one step further, inspired not only by Kurpian song, but also by the characteristic Kurpian art form, Kurpian cut-outs. In 1948 he composed a symphony work – *Sinfonia rustica* in which Kurpian melodies recorded by W. Skierkowski appear as quotations in a very interesting harmony and colour. The symmetry of a Kurpian cut-out form inspired the composer, who conducted his work to a non-traditional orchestra setting. In *Autobiografia* he wrote: “*Sinfonia rustica* was created as an expression of my passion for folk music in the northern regions of our country, whose songs have a unique charm. Folk art of this area also stands out because of full of imagination wooden sculptures, dazzling costumes and intricate, colourful cut-outs, abstract or semi-abstract, with often symmetrical patterns. I decided to reflect the character of this naive but full of charm art in my new symphony. All the elements of the work were characterized by cut-out-like symmetry. Even the orchestra setting was supposed to be symmetrical – in both acoustic and visual aspects – with a group of eight instruments placed centrally and two dialoguing small string bands on the sides”<sup>5</sup>.

*Sinfonia rustica* was first performed at the composers’ competition organized on the occasion of the Chopin Year Celebrations in 1949. Its performance by the Warsaw Philharmonic Orchestra under the direction of the composer was a great success – it won the first prize.

Another Polish composer, recently deceased, Henryk Mikołaj Górecki (1933–2010), introduced the motifs of Kurpian songs to Polish and world music culture in *III symfonia op. 36 „Symfonii pieśni żalosnych”* (1976) and *Hej z góry, z góry kóniku bury op. 75 – Pięć pieśni kurpiowskich na chór a cappella* (1999).

The premiere of *III Symfonia op. 36 „Symfonii pieśni żalosnych”* which took place at the 14th International Festival of Contemporary Art in Baden-Baden in 1977 was not a spectacular success. A surprising turn occurred with the release of the recording by Elektra Records in 1992. The publishing house achieved unbelievable financial success by selling over a million records, and *III Symfonia pieśni żalosnych* brought world fame to H.M. Górecki being soon at the top of American and British charts of classical music. The main theme of the work is maternity and separation caused by war. (Although the selected texts do not speak directly about it). In the first part of the Symphony a fragment of a Kurpian song from the collection by Fr. W. Skierkowski was used in the form of a strict canon interrupted by a soprano invocation using the fifteenth-century Marian lament.

The song cycle *Pięć pieśni kurpiowskich na chór mieszany a cappella op. 75* consists of the following songs: *Hej, z góry, z góry, Ciamna nocka, ciamna, Wcoraj, dziwcyno, nie dzisiaj, Z Torunia ja parobeczek* and *Wysła burzycka, bandzie dyc*. The simple and terse harmonization of the Kurpian melodies selected from Fr. Skierkowski’s records enriches them and makes them even more nostalgic, similar to sacred songs. And in this case Górecki’s choice of these and

<sup>5</sup> A. Panufnik, *Panufnik o sobie*. Niezależna Oficyna Wydawnicza, Warszawa 1990.

not other songs was not accidental; like Szymanowski and Panufnik so did Górecki choose ancient songs containing interesting rhythmical-melodic and lyrical figures.

Let us look at the list of works by Polish composers for whom Kurpian song was and is a source of creative inspiration (Tab. 1). The list is probably not complete, because of the fact that the number of composers and Kurpian songs of course, is rising.

Table 1

Works of Polish composers inspired by Kurpian song

| Composer's name        | Year of birth and death | Title                                  | Description of the work                                | Date of creation |
|------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|------------------|
| Jerzy Bauer            | (1936–)                 | <i>Trzy melodie kurpiowskie</i>        | three Kurpian melodies                                 | 1975             |
| Grzegorz Duchnowski    | (1971–)                 | <i>Wariacje kurpiowskie</i>            | for string orchestra                                   | 2004             |
| Maria Dziewulska       | (1909–2006)             | <i>Wyšli chłopcy</i>                   | Kurpian folk melody for a cappella mixed choir         | 1948             |
| Maria Dziewulska       |                         | <i>Cyrwona rutka</i>                   | Kurpian folk melody for a cappella mixed choir         | 1948             |
| Maria Dziewulska       |                         | <i>Dwie pieśni kurpiowskie</i>         | for mixed choir and folk band                          | 1949             |
| Maria Dziewulska       |                         | <i>Piosenki kurpiowskie dla dzieci</i> | for unison choir with piano accompaniment              | 1951             |
| Maria Dziewulska       |                         | <i>Dwie piosenki kurpiowskie</i>       | for children's choir and school band                   | 1977             |
| Ewa Fabiańska-Jelińska | (1989–)                 | <i>Pieśni kurpiowskie</i>              | for soprano, mixed choir and chamber orchestra         | 2011             |
| Henryk Gadomski        | (1939–)                 | <i>Jadą goście, jadą...</i>            | 16 Kurpian songs and folk ditties for 2–3 equal voices | 2008             |

|                        |             |                                                       |                                                |      |
|------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|------|
| Henryk Mikołaj Górecki | (1933–2010) | <i>Sinfonia rustica</i>                               | I part on the theme of Kurpian songs           | 1976 |
| Henryk Mikołaj Górecki |             | <i>Hej, z góry, z góry! kóniku bury op. 75</i>        | 5 Kurpian songs for a cappella choir           | 1999 |
| Kazimierz Jurdziński   | (1894–1960) | <i>Sześć pieśni kurpiowskich</i>                      | for mixed choir                                | 1931 |
| Kazimierz Jurdziński   |             | <i>Tryptyk kurpiowski</i>                             | for the piano                                  | 1948 |
| Kazimierz Jurdziński   |             | <i>Cztery pieśni kurpiowskie</i>                      | for mixed choir                                | 1954 |
| Stefan Kisielewski     | (1911–1991) | <i>Melodia kurpiowska (Kołysanka kurpiowska)</i>      | for female choir and folk band                 | 1951 |
| Michał Kondracki       | (1902–1984) | <i>Suita kurpiowska</i>                               | for orchestra                                  | 1933 |
| Józef Karol Lasocki    | (1907–1996) | <i>Leciały żurawie</i>                                | Kurpian song for a cappella mixed choir        | 1947 |
| Józef Karol Lasocki    |             | <i>Po cóżeście kawalirzy przyśli</i>                  | Kurpian melody for a cappella mixed choir      | 1947 |
| Józef Karol Lasocki    |             | <i>Cyraneczka</i>                                     | Kurpian folk melody for a cappella mixed choir | 1946 |
| Józef Karol Lasocki    |             | <i>A po pruskiej granicy</i>                          | Kurpian folk melody for a cappella mixed choir | 1946 |
| Józef Karol Lasocki    |             | <i>Leci woda</i>                                      | for a cappella mixed choir                     | 1946 |
| Witold Lutosławski     | (1913–1994) | <i>Suita kurpiowska</i>                               |                                                | 1937 |
| Paweł Łukaszewski      | (1968–)     | <i>Pięć żałobnych pieśni kurpiowskich [wersja I]</i>  | for mixed choir                                | 2009 |
| Paweł Łukaszewski      |             | <i>Pięć żałobnych pieśni kurpiowskich [wersja II]</i> | for mixed choir and orchestra                  | 2010 |

|                                |             |                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |      |
|--------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| Roman Maciejewski              | (1910–1998) | <i>Pieśni kurpiowskie</i>           | for mixed choir                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 1928 |
| Jan Adam Maklakiewicz          | (1899–1954) | <i>Leciały gąsańki</i>              | Kurpian melody for mixed choir                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 1929 |
| Stanisław Moryto               | (1947–)     | <i>Pięć pieśni kurpiowskich</i>     | for female choir                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 1997 |
| Karol Mroszczyk                | (1905–1976) | <i>Pieśń kurpiowska</i>             | for voice and the piano                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 1951 |
| Tadeusz Paciorkiewicz          | (1916–1998) | <i>Dziesięć pieśni kurpiowskich</i> | for mixed choir                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 1948 |
| Tadeusz Paciorkiewicz          |             | <i>Suita kurpiowska</i>             | for small symphony orchestra                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 1948 |
| Andrzej Panufnik               | (1914–1991) | <i>Sinfonia rustica</i>             | formed from several Kurpian melodies                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 1955 |
| Bronisław Kazimierz Przybylski | (1941–2011) | <i>Cztery nokturny kurpiowskie</i>  | for harp (or gitar) and chamber string orchestra                                                                                                                                                                                      | 1973 |
| Witold Rudziński               | (1913–2004) | <i>Pieśni kurpiowskie</i>           | 8 songs for small orchestra band, 2-voice mixed choir or 2 soloists                                                                                                                                                                   | 1947 |
| Bronisław Rutkowski            | (1898–1964) | <i>Gaiczek zielony</i>              | Collection of Polish folk songs for 2–3 voices, including Kurpian: <i>Hej z góry, kuniku bury, Oj wyjizdzoj z podwórażka mygo, Chto chce warkcyk pogłaskać, Siwy kunik, Wyrzundzaj się dziwce moje, Po cóżeście kawalerzy przyśli</i> | 1950 |
| Kazimierz Serocki              | (1922–1981) | <i>Trzy melodie kurpiowskie</i>     | for sopranos, tenors and chamber ensemble                                                                                                                                                                                             | 1949 |



|                      |             |                                  |                                                   |           |
|----------------------|-------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| Kazimierz Sikorski   | (1895–1986) | <i>Leć głosie po rosie</i>       | Kurpian folk song for a capella mixed choir       | 1947      |
| Kazimierz Sikorski   |             | <i>Na środku pola</i>            | Kurpian folk song for a capella mixed choir       | 1947      |
| Kazimierz Sikorski   |             | <i>Mazurek kurpiowski</i>        | for a cappella mixed choir                        | 1947      |
| Witold Szalonek      | (1927–2001) | <i>Suita kurpiowska</i>          | for alt and 9 instruments                         | 1955      |
| Karol Szymanowski    | (1882–1937) | <i>Sześć pieśni kurpiowskich</i> | for a cappella mixed choir                        | 1928–1929 |
| Karol Szymanowski    |             | <i>Pieśni kurpiowskie op. 58</i> | for voice and the piano                           | 1930–1932 |
| Romuald Twardowski   | (1930–)     | <i>Trzy pieśni kurpiowskie</i>   | for mixed choir                                   | 1980      |
| Stanisław Wiechowicz | (1893–1963) | <i>Uwaz mamó raz [wersja I]</i>  | for 1 or 2 female voices with piano accompaniment | 1947      |

Source: compilation based on A. Bilińska, *Utwory polskich kompozytorów inspirowane folklorem*. Online: <https://www.google.mit.org.pl> [20.06.2017].

The man who discovered the beauty of Kurpian songs for the world of culture and science was a humble priest and a church organist Władysław Skierkowski. In the years 1913–1939 he recorded over 2,000 songs (notes and lyrics in Kurpian dialect), some of which (790 songs) were published in the interwar period by Płock Scientific Society. It was only in the years 1997–2003 that the whole documentary-scientific legacy of Fr. W. Skierkowski was collected and published by Związek Kurpiów (Kurpie Union) in a 3-volume work *Puszcza Kurpiowska w pieśni*<sup>6</sup>. The author of the collection himself, Fr. W. Skierkowski divided the collected songs into 10 parts: I – engagement and wedding in the Wilderness, II – kittenish and love songs, III – ballads, IV – orphan songs, V – family songs, VI – comic songs, VII – soldier songs, VIII – pastoral songs, IX – harvest songs, X – annual songs.

Many of the songs from part I and II were used by Skierkowski himself in a stage play *Wesele na Kurpiach*<sup>7</sup>, being an accurate record of the traditional wedding rite. It was him who in Imielnica near Płock, where he was a parish priest,

<sup>6</sup> *Puszcza kurpiowska w pieśni*. Based on manuscripts by Fr. Władysław Skierkowski. Ed. H. Gądomski. Związek Kurpiów, Ostrołęka, Vol. I – 1997, Vol. II – 2000, Vol. III – 2003.

<sup>7</sup> W. Skierkowski, *Wesele na Kurpiach*. Płock 1933.

created an amateur theatrical ensemble, in complete Kurpian costumes, who repeatedly staged the play with great success and not only in Imielnica.

An artistic event of the season on a nationwide scale was *Wesele na Kurpiach* performed by a team of professional actors from the Plock Theatre, directed by Tadeusz Skarżyński. Skierkowski enjoyed the success of his play in the summer of 1928 performed in front of a full audience for two summer months at the Warsaw Ateneum Theater, as well as in other Polish cities, including Vilnius.

Theatre critics shared the audience's enthusiasm. Among many reviews<sup>8</sup> of this play Tadeusz Boy-Żeleński's one, among others, is worth mentioning: "Fr. Skierkowski sensed that the true theatre drama is in the ceremonial side of the wedding, he understood that adding there something else would weaken the play. And there is literally nothing more happening than the titles of the acts imply: «Wypyty» – «Rajby» – «Rozpleciny» – «Oczepiny». I do not know anything as sublime as the moment of Oczepiny on the stage. And the melodies..."<sup>9</sup>

And here are the words of another critic – Ludwik Puget: "*Wesele na Kurpiach* is guaranteed to achieve success in Paris or London, success such as Russian ballet or Cambodian emperor's dancers"<sup>10</sup>.

Let us try to answer the question posed at the beginning – what is there in Kurpian songs that constantly enraptures and creatively inspires? It is probably not the theme of the songs – other regions have songs about similar topics. The answer to the question lies in the music and the way the song is performed, and it does not concern the whole collection of songs performed in the Kurpie region, as a significant number of songs, especially dance-like and folk ditty-like, is no different from similar works performed throughout Mazovia and other parts of Poland.

There is, however, a large group of songs that distinguish the Kurpie region from others. These are so-called forest songs performed at a slow tempo, with a high intensity of voice "coby echo łodpoziedało" (so that the echo answers back). This effect is achieved by turning down the music phrase until it disappears, intermitting the ending of lyrics and melodic phrase in the hope that the echo will finish it. Ethnomusicologists called this manner "apocope" (from Greek apokopé – to cut off). The fact that apocope is also present in the Hungarian, Finnish, and Estonian folk song allows us to say that this is a very archaic vocal phenomenon dating back to the early Middle Ages to so-called "Migration Period" on the territory of today's Europe. This archaic singing with apocope is enriched by intricate melodic ornaments, whispered anacrusis and changing the voice into falsetto for a short time and undetermined pitch.

<sup>8</sup> In 1933 reviews appeared in: Dziennik Płocki, Życie Włocławka, Epoka, Rzeczpospolita, Gazeta Chłopska (review by A. Grzymała-Siedlecki), Kurier Poranny (review by T. Boy-Żeleński), Wiadomości Literackie (review by H. Roj-Rytardowa), Droga (review by W. Horzyca), Ekran i Scena (review by J. Mikieta).

<sup>9</sup> As cited in Warsaw edition *Wesele na Kurpiach* libretto, 1933.

<sup>10</sup> Ibidem.

Not so long ago it was possible to hear this beautiful singing during various field and farming activities, such as weeding, digging potatoes, harvest, heckling flax and even during country dances and weddings. Unsurpassed exemplars of traditional Kurpian singing were the artists from Kadzidło and surrounding areas, among them Piotr Puławski from Kadzidło and Antonina Sadłowska from Dylewo. Their voices, fortunately, were recorded by Polish Recordings on a long-playing vinyl record containing the repertoire of ZPiT KURPIANKA – Cepelia from Kadzidło under the direction of Stanisław Rejch in 1964. Today, such great artists as Apolonia Nowak from Kadzidło, Stanisław Sieruta from Olszyny, Witold Kuczyński from Czarnia, Zofia Warych from Myszyniec, Elżbieta Kasznia from Rozogi and a professional artist of Kurpian background – Adam Strug, refer to this beautiful tradition.

For the full picture of the specifics of Kurpian forest songs, the characteristics of the music layer must be added, among others, a rarely occurring in other regions pentatonic scale (five-tone), even in the anhemitonic form, e.g. in the song *Bzicem kunia...* A phenomenon typical of Kurpian songs is also unheard elsewhere uneven, five-beats-per-measure meter, in the form of 2 + 3 or 3 + 2 (e.g. in a song *Juz wychodzę, matuleńko*).

The above-mentioned characteristics of the melody, rhythm as well as the manner of performance determine the unique, specific character of *perhaps the most beautiful* Polish folk song – Kurpian forest song<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>11</sup> A compilation by Henryk Gadomski *Pieśni kurpiowskie* was used, Urząd Gminy Kadzidło Website, bookmark Kurpian culture/music: <http://www.kadzidlo.pl/muzykakurpiowska.htm> [20.06.2017].

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## SUMMARY

The work refers to the phenomenon of Kurpian songs “discovery”, collected by Fr. Władysław Skierkowski in the years 1913–1939. Karol Szymanowski called the work of Fr. Skierkowski the source of “perhaps the most beautiful Polish folk song”. Later many famous composers got interested in Kurpian song, among them Andrzej Panufnik and Henryk Mikołaj Górecki. Also Fr. Skierkowski himself used them in a famous stage art *Wesele na Kurpiach*. The success of Kurpian songs, however, is not so much in their dissemination, but above all in the music itself and the way they are performed.

## STRESZCZENIE

Praca odnosi się do zjawiska „odkrycia” pieśni kurpiowskich, zebranych przez ks. Władysława Skierkowskiego w latach 1913–1939. Karol Szymanowski nazwał dzieło ks. Skierkowskiego źródłem „najpiękniejszej być może polskiej ludowej pieśni”. Pieśniami kurpiowskimi zainteresowało się później wielu znanych kompozytorów, a wśród nich Andrzej Panufnik i Henryk Mikołaj Górecki. Także sam ks. Skierkowski wykorzystał je w słynnej sztuce scenicznej *Wesele na Kurpiach*. Sukces pieśni kurpiowskich tkwi jednak nie tyle w dziele ich upowszechnienia, ile przede wszystkim w samej warstwie muzycznej i sposobie ich wykonywania.

**Key words:** Kurpian song, Fr. Skierkowski, Karol Szymanowski

**Słowa kluczowe:** pieśń kurpiowska, ks. Skierkowski, Karol Szymanowski

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## NASAL VOWELS IN KURPIAN

### SAMOGŁOSKI NOSOWE W DIALEKCIE KURPIOWSKIM

Kurpian is a dialect of Polish spoken in northern Mazovia. The administrative capital is Ostrołęka but that is not where Kurpian is spoken. Kurpian is used as a native language in villages, but even there, it is limited to the older generation (more than 70 years old). Therefore, it is fair to say that Kurpian is an endangered dialect that is on the verge of extinction.

In the communist Poland (1945–1989), the government conducted an educational campaign to eradicate Kurpian that was regarded as an incorrect and corrupt version of Polish. Standard Polish was enforced in schools by teachers and educators, who, in large numbers, were recruited from outside Kurpia. Children were punished and ridiculed when they spoke Kurpian at school. Kurpian was purged from all public institutions. This policy of oppression and stigmatization, sadly, bore fruit and the dialect started disappearing. The democratic Poland that rose after the fall of the communist system in 1989 stopped oppressing Kurpian, but the damage done earlier is extremely hard to repair.

The danger that Kurpian may totally disappear within a generation has been understood by many Kurpians. Much is being done in order to avert this danger. Regional and local cultural organizations and regional activists, notably Tadeusz Grec, Henryk Gadomski and Mirosław Grzyb, engage in an effort to propagate and teach Kurpian. *Związek Kurpiów* ‘Kurpian Union’, led by Mirosław Grzyb, publishes work in Kurpian, runs courses for teachers and promotes the organization of language competitions. Many similar competitions are organized at the local level by schools and various cultural associations.

The revitalization effort was boosted by the introduction of the writing system for Kurpian in 2009<sup>1</sup>. Prior to 2009, Kurpian was spoken, but not written. The orthographic system devised especially for Kurpian was embraced with great enthusiasm. Since 2009, close to 2000 pages of various texts written in Kurpian by Kurpians have been published. Among the books that have been published are

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<sup>1</sup> J. Rubach, *Zasady pisowni kurpiowskiego dialektu literackiego*. Związek Kurpiów i Muzeum Kultury Kurpiowskiej, Ostrołęka 2009.

a dictionary, *Słownik wybranych nazw i wyrażeń kurpiowskich*<sup>2</sup> and a textbook that is now used to teach Kurpian at school: *Móžě jř pšīsě po kurpśosku*<sup>3</sup>.

Preservation of Kurpian is important not only for Kurpians themselves. It is important for Standard Polish and its linguistic culture. Kurpian, better than any other dialect of Polish, has retained the vocalic system that Polish used to have hundreds of years ago. Consequently, Kurpian is a particularly valuable source for reconstructing the historical development of Polish. This paper makes this point from the perspective of nasal vowels<sup>4</sup>.

Section 1 provides a general background and the orthographic conventions. Section 2 looks at nasal vowels from a historical perspective, showing how generative phonology predicts the development of schwa and the tense nasal [õ] in Kurpian. Section 3 analyzes Nasal Shift and Nasal Decomposition in terms of Derivational Optimality Theory. Section 4 summarizes the conclusions.

## Background

Kurpian has a rich system of vowels<sup>5</sup>:

### (1) Kurpian vowels

Oral vowels    Nasal vowels:

ɪ

eoõõ

εə

aɑ

These vowels as well as their orthographic representations are illustrated by the following examples.

<sup>2</sup> H. Gadomski, M. Grzyb and T. Grec, *Słownik wybranych nazw i wyrażeń kurpiowskich*. Związek Kurpiów, Ostrołęka 2013.

<sup>3</sup> I. Bachmura and D. Staszewska, *Móžě jř pšīsě po kurpśosku*. Związek Kurpiów, Ostrołęka 2016.

<sup>4</sup> The data for this paper have been collected over a period of several years during my fieldwork in Kurpia. I would like to thank my Kurpian consultants, especially Tadeusz Grec and Henryk Gadomski as well as, in an alphabetical order, Jadwiga Białobrzaska, Leszek Czyż, Michalina Dębowska, Irena Górską, Mirosław Grzyb, Krystyna Łaszczych, Danuta Kostewicz, Krystyna Koziatek, Wojciech Łukaszewski, Grażyna Magdzińska, Hanna Małż, Krystyna Mroczkowska, Krystyna Mróz, Teresa Pardo, Marianna Piórkowska, Stefania Prusaczyk, and Marianna Staśkiewicz.

<sup>5</sup> J. Rubach, *The vocalic system of Kurpian*. Studies in Polish Linguistics 2011, Vol. 6, pp. 81–98. The earlier work on Kurpian is limited to one monograph, Friedrich (*Gwara kurpiowska. Fonetyka*. PWN, Warszawa 1955) and brief mentions in books on Polish dialectology such as K. Dejna (*Dialekty polskie*. Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1973). H. Friedrich (op. cit.) is a report on the fieldwork carried out in the 1930s. It is a study of sounds rather than a phonological treatise.

- (2) [ɪ], spelled *ĩ*, – a high lax front vowel, as in *bźić* ‘beat’  
 [ɨ], spelled *y*, – a high lax central vowel, as in *być* ‘be’  
 [u], spelled *u*, – a high tense back rounded vowel, as in *buk* ‘beech’  
 [e], spelled *é*, – a mid tense front vowel, as in *chléw* ‘pigsty’  
 [o], spelled *ó*, – a mid tense back rounded vowel, as in *król* ‘king’  
 [ɛ], spelled *e*, – a mid lax front vowel, *desc* ‘rain’  
 [ə], spelled *ě*, – schwa, a mid lax central vowel, as in *śě* ‘self’  
 [ɔ], spelled *o*, – a mid lax back rounded vowel, as in *rok* ‘year’  
 [a], spelled *a*, – a low lax central vowel, as in *cas* ‘time’  
 [ɑ], spelled *ǎ*, – a low tense back vowel, as in *pták* ‘bird’  
 [ã], spelled *ę*, – nasal schwa, a mid lax central nasal vowel, as in *cęsto* ‘often’  
 [õ], spelled *ą*, – a mid tense back nasal vowel, as in *wąsy* ‘moustache’

In terms of distinctive features, Kurpian vowels are represented as follows. Let me note that central vowels are characterized as [+back], a standard characterization in generative phonology.

### (3) Kurpian vowels

|       | ɪ | ɨ | u | e | o | õ | ɛ | ə | ẽ | ɔ | a | ɑ |
|-------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| high  | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| low   | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + |
| back  | - | + | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + |
| tense | - | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | + |
| round | - | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - |
| nasal | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | + | - | - | - |

Consonants are not the focus of this paper, so let me merely note two points. First, Kurpian exhibits Mazovian Sibilation (*mazurzenie*), whereby [š ž č dž] are replaced with [s z c dz]<sup>6</sup>. Second, *ś, ź ć dź, ń* representing prepalatals [ɕ ʐ ɕ ʑ ɲ] are always written with an accent, never as *si, zi, ci, dzi, ni* as in Standard Polish, so *sieć* ‘net’, *zima* ‘winter’, *ciało* ‘body’, *dziwny* ‘strange’, and *niebo* ‘sky’ are written *śeć, żima, ćało, dźiwny*, and *ńebo*.

### A Historical Perspective

This section investigates the historical origin of the nasal vowels [ẽ], spelled *ę*, and [õ], spelled *ą*, and their phonological status in modern Kurpian.

Historical grammarians are in agreement that Old Polish used length contrastively, and all vowels except *jers* appeared either as short or as long without a difference in quality<sup>7</sup>. Sidestepping nasal vowels for the moment, the vocalic system was as follows.

<sup>6</sup> Vide: J. Rubach (*Zasady pisowni kurpiowskiego...*) for discussion.

<sup>7</sup> Z. Stieber, *Rozwój fonologiczny języka polskiego*. PWN, Warszawa 1952; Idem, *A Historical Phonology of the Polish Language*. Carl Winter, Heidelberg 1973;

## (4) Old Polish vowels

i i:i i:u u:

ɛ ɛ:ɔ ɔ:

æ<sup>8</sup> æ:a a:

Throughout most of the Old Polish period the corresponding short/long vowels did not differ in quality. According to Stieber<sup>9</sup>, who conducted philological research, the system changed in the 15th c. because long vowels became tense. This change of quality is entirely natural because long vowels are typically [+tense], a situation that we find, for example, in German.

(5) Polish vowels in the 15th c.<sup>10</sup>

i i:u u:

e:ɔ:

ɛɔ

a a:

The loss of length at the turn of the 15th/16th c. resulted in the following system.

## (6) Polish vowels in the early 16th c.

iu

eo

ɛɔ

a a

Notice that the system in (6) is strikingly similar to that of modern Kurpian<sup>11</sup>. What stands out as a difference is the occurrence of schwa in Kurpian, but not in Standard Polish, an issue that I discuss later.

Nasal vowels paralleled oral vowels, so in the 14th c. they did not differ in quality but only in length. In the 15th c., a quality difference developed, whereby the long vowel became tense while the short vowel remained lax<sup>12</sup>. The loss of

S. Rospond, *Gramatyka historyczna języka polskiego*. PWN, Warszawa 1973;  
Z. Klemensiewicz, *Historia języka polskiego*. PWN, Warszawa 1974.

<sup>8</sup> This is the so-called *jat'* vowel transcribed in the Slavic tradition as [ě]. It merged with [ɛ] later in Old Polish.

<sup>9</sup> Z. Stieber, *Rozwój fonologiczny...*; Idem, *A Historical Phonology...*

<sup>10</sup> Stieber regarded [i] as an allophone of /i/, so /i/ is missing in (5) and below, *ibidem*.

<sup>11</sup> J. Rubach (*Liquid Lowering in Kurpian*. *Journal of Linguistics*, Vol. 54 [in press]) argues that the high lax vowels in Kurpian occur in the surface representation but not at the underlying level. They are derived by a context-free rule that he calls Laxing: *i i → i ɪ*.

<sup>12</sup> Z. Stieber, *Rozwój fonologiczny...*; Idem, *A Historical Phonology...*



length at the turn of the 15th/16th c. resulted in two nasal vowels differing only in [±tense].

(7) Nasal vowels in Polish

14th c. 15th c. 16th c.

ã ã:ã ã:ã ã

Nasal [ã ã] evolved further in the 16th c., but, according to Stieber (1973), the timeline for each vowel was different: the lax [ã] changed to [ɛ̃] at the beginning of the 16th c. while the tense [ã:] lingered on for another hundred years, yielding a mid rounded vowel at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.,  $\tilde{a} \rightarrow \tilde{o}$ . Neither Stieber<sup>13</sup> nor any other grammarian specifies the quality of the nasal  $\tilde{o}$ , so we do not know if the nasal vowel was tense or lax, that is, whether it was [õ] or [õ̃]. In today's Standard Polish, the back nasal is lax, as in *wąs* 'moustache' pronounced [võw̃s], with a nasal diphthong<sup>14</sup>, so the grammarians probably assumed that the 16th c. change was  $\tilde{a} \rightarrow \tilde{o}$  rather than  $\tilde{a} \rightarrow \tilde{o}$ .

As I point out below, generative phonology with its distinctive features and rigorous methods of formal analysis gives a different answer to the question of whether the nasal that developed from  $\tilde{a}$  was lax or tense. In what follows, I assume the framework of Optimality Theory<sup>15</sup> and the Halle-Sagey model of distinctive features<sup>16</sup>.

The raising of nasal vowels from low to mid is a natural process that is well-supported typologically. We see it in action in modern American English dialect, here the low nasal [æ̃] raises to a mid vowel in words such as *can't* and *ham*. Let us now consider what must have happened in the 16th c. when the low lax [ã] underwent Raising. In addition to being [+nasal], [ã] is [+low, -high, +back, -tense]. The most natural default path of raising to a mid vowel takes [ã] directly to nasal schwa [ə̃], because schwa preserves all the features of the input [ã] except

<sup>13</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>14</sup> L. Biedrzycki, *Fonologiczna interpretacja polskich głosek nosowych*. Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Językoznawczego 1963, No. 22, pp. 23–45.

<sup>15</sup> A. Prince and P. Smolensky, *Optimality Theory: Constraint Interaction in Generative Grammar*. Blackwell, Oxford 2004 [Revision of 1993 technical report, Rutgers University Center for Cognitive Sciences. Available on Rutgers Optimality Archive, ROA-537]; J. McCarthy and A. Prince, *Faithfulness and reduplicative identity*. University of Massachusetts Occasional Papers in Linguistics 1995, Vol. 18. Eds. J. Beckman, L. Dickey and S. Urbanczyk. Graduate Linguistic Student Association Publications, Amherst, Massachusetts, pp. 249–384; OT, henceforth.

<sup>16</sup> M. Halle, *Phonological features*, [In:] *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics*. Ed. W. Bright. Oxford University Press, Oxford 1992, pp. 207–212; E. Sagey, *The Representation of Features and Relations in Non-linear Phonology*. Ph.D. dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1986. On the use of the feature [±tense], vide: S.A.J. Wood (*Tense and lax vowels – degree of constriction or pharyngeal volume?* Working Papers in Linguistics (Lund University) 1975, Vol. 1, pp. 109–134).

[+low] that is prohibited by Raising: [ǣ] is [-high, +back, -tense]. The change [ǣ] → [ɛ̃] is exactly what the feature system predicts as the least costly (most optimal) way of accommodating the effect of Raising. OT with its mechanism of selecting the most optimal output that diverges minimally from the input is a particularly adequate framework for an analysis of the //ǣ// → [ɛ̃] change<sup>17</sup>.

The driver for Raising is the segment inventory constraint banning [ǣ]. The choice of [ɛ̃] as the optimal output is guided by faithfulness IDENT constraints.

(8) IDENT[±low]: The value of [±low] on the input vowel must be preserved on a correspondent of that vowel in the output.

IDENT[±back]: The value of [±back] on the input vowel must be preserved on a correspondent of that vowel in the output.

IDENT[±round]: The value of [±round] on the input vowel must be preserved on a correspondent of that vowel in the output.

IDENT[±high]: The value of [±high] on the input vowel must be preserved on a correspondent of that vowel in the output.

IDENT[±tense]: The value of [±tense] on the input vowel must be preserved on a correspondent of that vowel in the output.

The word *gęsty* ‘thick’ illustrates the interaction of the constraints at the point of transition from a low to a mid vowel at the beginning of the 16th c. The arrow → denotes the winning candidate.

(9) //gǣsti// → [gɛ̃sti]

|              | *ǣ | ID[±tense] | ID[±high] | ID[±back] | ID[±round] | ID[±low] |
|--------------|----|------------|-----------|-----------|------------|----------|
| (a) gǣsti    | *! |            |           |           |            |          |
| → (b) gɛ̃sti |    |            |           |           |            | *        |
| (c) gōsti    |    |            |           |           | *!         | *        |
| (d) gōsti    |    | *!         |           |           | *          | *        |
| (e) gēsti    |    | *!         |           | *         |            | *        |
| (f) gēsti    |    |            |           | *         |            | *        |
| (f) gūsti    |    | *!         | *         |           |            | *        |

To obtain [gɛ̃sti], IDENT[±low] must be outranked by the other constraints.

The 16th c. [ɛ̃] in [gɛ̃sti] is exactly what we find in Kurpian today. Standard Polish changed [ǣ] into [ɛ̃], which is a more complicated change than the one in the winning output in (9). To obtain the Standard Polish, //ǣ// → [ɛ̃], we need to employ \*ə (don’t be schwa) and rank it above IDENT[±back]. The question is whether the Standard dialect implemented Raising by //ǣ// → [ɛ̃]. Given our analysis and the naturalness of the //ǣ// → [ɛ̃] change, it might be hypothesized that

<sup>17</sup> I use double slashes for underlying representations, single slashes for intermediate representations and square brackets for surface forms.

Standard Polish, like Kurpian, had the  $//\tilde{a}// \rightarrow [\tilde{ɔ}]$  rule and a later change fronted the vowel in Standard Polish,  $\tilde{ɔ} \rightarrow \tilde{ɛ}$ , but not in Kurpian.

As noted earlier, the 15th c. tense nasal  $[\tilde{a}]$  remained unchanged throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> c. Raising affected  $//\tilde{a}//$  at the turn of the 16th/17th c. The driver for Raising must have been the segment inventory constraint prohibiting  $[\tilde{a}]$ , which is illustrated by the evaluation of *wąs* ‘moustache’.

(10)  $//v\tilde{a}s// \rightarrow [v\tilde{ɔ}s]$

|                                 | * $\tilde{a}$ | ID[ $\pm$ tense] | ID[ $\pm$ high] | ID[ $\pm$ back] | ID[ $\pm$ low] | ID[ $\pm$ round] |
|---------------------------------|---------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|------------------|
| (a) $v\tilde{a}s$               | *!            |                  |                 |                 |                |                  |
| $\rightarrow$ (b) $v\tilde{ɔ}s$ |               |                  |                 |                 | *              | *                |
| (c) $v\tilde{ɔ}s$               |               | *!               |                 |                 | *              | *                |
| (d) $v\tilde{ɛ}s$               |               | *!               |                 |                 | *              |                  |
| (e) $v\tilde{ɛ}s$               |               |                  |                 | *!              | *              |                  |
| (f) $v\tilde{ɛ}s$               |               | *!               |                 | *               | *              |                  |
| (f) $v\tilde{u}s$               |               |                  | *!              |                 | *              | *                |

The grammar in 1600 is much like the grammar in 1500 shown in (9), but there is an important change: IDENT[ $\pm$ round] that was undominated in 1500 and prohibited  $//\tilde{a}// \rightarrow [\tilde{ɔ}]$  is now reranked to a low position, so the system selects a rounded vowel as the optimal output from  $//\tilde{a}//$ . Notice that the vowel must be [+tense], so  $[\tilde{ɔ}]$  rather than  $[\tilde{ɛ}]$ , because IDENT[ $\pm$ tense] mandates the preservation of tenseness in the output. The 1600 pronunciation  $[v\tilde{ɔ}s]$  is exactly what we find in Kurpian today.

The fact that  $[\tilde{ɔ}]$  rather than  $[\tilde{ɛ}]$  is the optimal output from  $//\tilde{a}//$  raises the question of whether  $[\tilde{a}] \rightarrow [\tilde{ɔ}]$  was a change specific to Kurpian or whether it was a general change that included Standard Polish. It may very well be the case that the back nasal in Standard Polish was  $[\tilde{ɔ}]$ , like it is in Kurpian today, and it changed to  $[\tilde{ɛ}]$  later when tense  $[o]$  disappeared from Standard Polish in the 19th c.

To conclude, Kurpian nasal schwa  $[\tilde{ɛ}]$  and nasal tense  $[\tilde{ɔ}]$  come historically from lax  $[\tilde{a}]$  and tense  $[\tilde{a}]$ , respectively. The change was effected by Raising, a typical process in nasal vowels.

In modern Kurpian  $[\tilde{ɛ}]$  and  $[\tilde{ɔ}]$  can be illustrated by the following examples.

(11) *ńęso*  $[n\tilde{ɛ}so]$  ‘meat’ *kąsac*  $[k\tilde{ɔ}satɛ]$  ‘bite’  
*cęsto*  $[c\tilde{ɛ}stɔ]$  ‘often’ *zdążać*  $[zd\tilde{ɔ}zɛtɛ]$  ‘manage’  
*scęście*  $[sc\tilde{ɛ}stɛtɛ]$  ‘luck’ *wąchać*  $[v\tilde{ɔ}xatɛ]$  ‘smell’

Before stops, nasal vowels are decomposed, a point that I discuss in the next section.

Given the data in (11), the phonemic status of  $[\tilde{ɛ} \tilde{ɔ}]$  as underlying  $//\tilde{a} \tilde{ɔ}//$  is not in question. It is also clear that the oral correspondent of  $//\tilde{ɔ}//$  – tense  $//o//$  – is an underlying segment. As noted earlier  $[o]$  is contrastive and occurs in unpredictable

contexts, for example, *córka* ‘daughter’, *bóty* ‘shoes’ and *śigórka* ‘figure’. Less clear is the situation of oral schwa.

Oral schwa occurs regularly at the end of the word.

(12) Kurpian oral schwa at the end of the word

nog+ě [nɔgə] ‘leg’ (acc.sg.) nos+ě [nɔsə] ‘I carry’

jĩńě [jɪɲə] ‘name’ śě [ɛə] ‘self’

The final [ə] corresponds to the earlier [ǣ] in Kurpian and [ã] in Old Polish. In Standard Polish, the corresponding vowel is [ɛ̃]. The oral quality of schwa in (12) must therefore be an effect of Denasalization.

Denasalization at the end of the word is a natural process. We find it applying in Standard Polish, albeit optionally.

(13) Standard Polish oral [ɛ] at the end of the word

nog+ę [nɔgɛ̃] or [nɔgɛ] ‘leg’ (acc.sg.) nios+ę [ɲɔsɛ̃] or [ɲɔsɛ] ‘I carry’

imię [imɨɛ̃] or [imɨɛ] ‘name’ się [ɛɛ̃] or [ɛɛ] ‘self’

Kurpian is different from Standard Polish in two ways. First, Denasalization affected both vowels, not just one. Second, the process was obligatory. Schematically:

(14) Kurpian Denasalization

$V_{[+nasal]} \rightarrow [-nasal] / \text{ — } \#$

Denasalization (14) predicts that at the end of the word Kurpian must have not only oral schwa but also oral [o] instead of [ɔ̃]. The prediction is correct.

(15) nog+ó [nɔgo] ‘leg’ (instr.sg.)

ńosó [ɲɔso] ‘they carry’

só [so] ‘are’

There is a minimal pair showing a contrast between lax [ɔ̃] and tense [o]: drog+o [drɔgɔ̃] ‘expensively’ – drog+ó [drɔgo] ‘road’ (instr.sg.).

Denasalization is a historical rule of Kurpian. Today it would be hard to claim that Kurpian has nasal vowels word-finally and an active process of Denasalization. Given that, final oral schwa is unpredictable and cannot be derived from //ǣ// any more. I conclude that oral schwa is an underlying segment in Kurpian.

### Nasal shift and nasal decomposition

The contention that Kurpian has underlying nasal vowels is strengthened by an analysis of what I term Nasal Shift. A class of lexically specified nasal vowel roots

exhibit alternations between [ɛ̃] and [ɔ̃], as the following examples illustrate. Dots mark syllable boundaries.

(16) *nom.pl.nom.sg.gloss*

węz+e [vɛ̃.zɛ]wɔz [vɔ̃s] ‘snake’

łuprzęz+y [wu.pʃɛ̃.zɪ]łuprzɔz [wu.pʃɔ̃s] ‘harness’

gałęź+e [ga.wɛ̃.zɛ]gałɔź [ga.wɔ̃ɛ] ‘branch’

The generalization is that [ɛ̃] is replaced by [ɔ̃] in a closed syllable, that is, in a syllable that ends in a consonant<sup>18</sup>.

(17) Nasal Shift: \*ɛ̃C)<sub>σ</sub>, that is, no [ɛ̃] in a closed syllable.

The implementation of Nasal Shift violates IDENT[±tense] and IDENT[±round], so these constraints must be ranked lower than Nasal Shift. The only admissible nasal vowels in Kurpian are [ɛ̃] and [ɔ̃], which means that Kurpian has undominated segment inventory constraints against other nasal vowels, for example \*ɤ̃ (don’t be nasal lax ɔ). The evaluation of *wɔz* ‘snake’ is given in (18). I ignore the issue of Final Devoicing.

(18) //vɛ̃s// → [vɔ̃s]

|            | *ɛ̃ | Nasal Shift | IDENT[±tense] | IDENT[±round] |
|------------|-----|-------------|---------------|---------------|
| (a) vɛ̃s   |     | *!          |               |               |
| → (b) vɔ̃s |     |             | *             | *             |
| (c) vɔ̃s   | *!  |             |               | *             |

Nasal Shift is complicated by roots in which nasal vowels are followed by a stop or an affricate.

(19) *nom.pl.nom.sg.gloss*

zęb+y [zɛ̃m.bɪ]zɔb [zɔmp] ‘tooth’

rzęd+y [ʒɛ̃n.dɪ]rzɔd [ʒɔnt] ‘row’

łokręg+y [wɔ̃.krɛ̃ŋ.gɪ]łokrɔg<sup>19</sup> [wɔ̃.krɔ̃ŋk] ‘district’

The complication is of two kinds. First, we do not see [ɛ̃] in the surface representation, so there is no trigger for Nasal Shift. Second, the syllable is always closed, regardless of whether we have [o] or [ɔ]: [zɔmp] and [zɛ̃m.bɪ].

Both of these difficulties disappear if we assume that the words in (19) have underlying nasal vowels rather than vowel plus nasal combinations shown in the surface representations in (19); that is, the underlying representations of the stems

<sup>18</sup> The pattern extends also to verbs, for example, *trząść* [tʃɔ̃ɛɛɛ] ‘shake’ – *trzęsę* [tʃɛ̃sɛ] ‘I shake’, *trzęśes* [tʃɛ̃ɛɛs] ‘you shake’, *trzęśe* [tʃɛ̃ɛɛ] ‘he shakes’, and so forth.

<sup>19</sup> Notice that the vowel is *q*, as predicted by Nasal Shift.

are //zãb// ‘tooth’, //žãd// ‘row’ and //okrãg// ‘district’, respectively. The surface representations are then derived by Nasal Decomposition:  $\tilde{V} \rightarrow VN$ . The place of articulation of the nasal consonant is determined by Nasal Assimilation.

(20) Nasal Assimilation (NA): The nasal and the following stop<sup>20</sup> must agree in the place of articulation.

Consequently, we have bilabial [m] before a bilabial stop in *zëby* and *zqb* ‘tooth’, dental [n] before dentals in *rzëdy* and *rzqd* ‘row’, and velar [ŋ] before velars in *lokrëgy* and *lokrqg* ‘district’.

Nasal Decomposition,  $\tilde{V} \rightarrow VN$ , must be limited to the context of stops, so that it does not extend to the pure nasal vowels in (16).

(21) Nasal Decomposition:  $*\tilde{V}\text{Stop}$ , that is, no nasal vowel before a stop.

Nasal Decomposition, like any decomposition process<sup>21</sup>, violates Integrity, a constraint that bans decomposition<sup>22</sup>.

(22) Integrity: No multiple correspondents of an input segment.

An analysis of the data in (19) requires one more step. For the analysis to go through, Nasal Decomposition must be held off until Nasal Shift has taken place because after Nasal Decomposition all syllables are closed by a nasal consonant. Nasal Shift can work correctly only if the outputs contain nasal vowels and some but not all syllables are closed, as in /zãb/, a closed syllable, so Nasal Shift takes effect: //zãb//  $\rightarrow$  /zõb/ versus /zã.bɪ/, an open syllable so Nasal Shift is inapplicable: //zãbɪ// = /zã.bɪ/.

In other words, for the system to work correctly, we need two stages of evaluation: the first stage, prior to Nasal Decomposition, at which we execute Nasal Shift, and the second stage at which Nasal Decomposition applies deriving the correct surface form. This mode of processing is not available in standard OT, which is founded on the tenet that all evaluation is simultaneous and no derivational stages are permitted. The correct framework for an analysis of Nasal Shift and Nasal Decomposition is Derivational OT.

Derivational OT assumes that the grammar contains phonological levels or strata. This idea was proposed in 1997, independently, by Kiparsky (1997) and Rubach (1997). It was developed later in Bermúdez-Otero (1999), Kiparsky (2000) and Rubach (2000a, 2000b). Derivational levels constitute miniphonologies with

<sup>20</sup> The category ‘stop’ includes affricates since, as is widely assumed, affricates are strident stops; vide: J. Rubach (*Affricates as strident stops in Polish*. Linguistic Inquiry 1994, Vol. 25, pp. 119–143) for discussion.

<sup>21</sup> Vide: J. Rubach, *Duke-of-York derivations in Polish*. Linguistic Inquiry 2003, Vol. 34, pp. 601–629; J. Rubach, *Soft Labial Conspiracy in Kurpian*. Journal of Linguistics 2014, Vol. 50, 185–230.

<sup>22</sup> J. McCarthy and A. Prince, op. cit.

their own inputs and ranking of constraints because constraints may be reranked between levels. Relevant for our purposes here are Level 1 (the stem level) and Level 2 (the word level). The winner from Level 1 is the input to Level 2, at which GEN generates a new set of candidates for evaluation.<sup>23</sup>

The evaluation of *zqb* //zǣb// ‘tooth’ is now as follows.

(23) Level 1//zǣb// → /zōs/

|           | Nasal Shift | Integrity | Nasal Decomp | IDENT[±tense] | IDENT[±round] |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| (a) zǣb   | *!          |           | *            |               |               |
| → (b) zōb |             |           | *            | *             | *             |
| (c) zomb  |             | *!        |              |               | *             |

Candidate (23a) violates Nasal Shift because nasal schwa appears in a closed syllable. This violation is avoided by candidates (23b) and (23c), as neither of them has a nasal schwa. Candidate (23c) has decomposed the nasal vowel, a fatal violation of Integrity. The necessary rankings are Integrity >> Nasal Decomposition and Nasal Shift >> IDENT[±tense] and IDENT[±round].

The ranking of the constraints in (23) delivers the correct result also in the nom.pl. form *zĕby*.

(24) Level 1//zǣb+ɪ// → /zǣbɪ/ (no change)

|             | Nasal Shift | Integrity | Nasal Decomp | IDENT[±tense] | IDENT[±round] |
|-------------|-------------|-----------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| → (a) zǣ.bɪ |             |           | *            |               |               |
| (b) zō.bɪ   |             |           | *            | *!            | *             |
| (c) zomb    |             | *!        |              | *             | *             |

Nasal Shift is mute on the output in (24a) because /ǣ/ is not in a closed syllable. Candidate (24c) fatally violates Integrity because the nasal vowel has been decomposed into a vowel and a consonant. Candidate (24b) is unfaithful on the IDENT constraints for no reason because, with Nasal Shift being mute, nothing compels the change of the vowel. The winner is the faithful candidate /zǣ.bɪ/, which is the correct result.

The evaluation of both *zqb* and *zĕby* continues at Level 2, at which Nasal Decomposition is reranked above Integrity, so nasal vowels before stops decompose into oral vowels and nasal consonants. Nasal Assimilation (NA) that played no role at Level 1 now becomes active and makes sure that the nasal consonant assumes the place of articulation of the following stop. As noted earlier, the inputs to Level 2 are the winners from Level 1. I ignore the constraints that are responsible for Final Devoicing.

<sup>23</sup> Vide the discussion in J. Rubach (*Derivational meanders of High Vowel Palatalization in Polish*. *Lingua*, Vol. 199 [in press]).

## (25) Level 2/zõb// → [zomp]

|            | Nasal Shift | Nasal Decomp | Integrity | ID[±tense] | ID[±round] | NA |
|------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|------------|------------|----|
| (a) zõp    | *!          | *            |           | *          | *          |    |
| (b) zõp    |             | *!           |           |            |            |    |
| → (c) zomp |             |              | *         |            |            |    |
| (d) zomp   |             |              | *         |            |            | *! |

Level 2 evaluation does not tolerate nasal vowels before stops, an effect of the reranking from Integrity >> Nasal Decomposition at Level 1 to Nasal Decomposition >> Integrity at Level 2. The consequence is that candidates (25a) and (25b) are not viable contenders. Candidate (25d) does not run into such difficulties, but it loses to (25c) on Nasal Assimilation because [n] is dental and [p] is bilabial. Candidate (25c), [zomp] wins, which is correct because [zomp] is the attested surface form.

The evaluation of the nom.pl. *zěby* presents no difficulty either.

## (26) Level 2/zõ.bɪ/ → [zəmbɪ]

|             | Nasal Shift | Nasal Decomp | Integrity | ID[±tense] | ID[±round] | NA |
|-------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|------------|------------|----|
| (a) zõ.bɪ   |             | *!           |           |            |            |    |
| (b) zõ.bɪ   |             | *!           |           | *          | *          |    |
| → (c) zəmbɪ |             |              | *         |            |            |    |
| (d) zom.bɪ  |             |              | *         | *!         | *          |    |
| (e) zən.bɪ  |             |              | *         |            |            | *! |

Nasal Decomposition is mandatory at Level 2, so (26a) and (26b) have no chance of winning. Candidate (26d) loses because it has made a spurious change of the vowel, not required by any constraint. Candidate (26e) has an unassimilated [nb] and thus loses on Nasal Assimilation. The winner, [zəmbɪ], is the attested surface form, so the evaluation is correct.

### Conclusion

Kurpian nasal vowels [ẽ] and [õ] come from Old Polish lax [ã] and tense [ā], respectively. The formal apparatus of generative phonology predicts exactly the vowels found in Kurpian as the most natural response to the process of Raising. The point is that the shortest and the least costly way of implementing Raising is the derivation of nasal schwa [ẽ] and nasal tense [õ]. Standard Polish with its change of [ã] into [ɛ̃] and [ā] into [ɔ̃] is a more complicated system because the changes violate faithfulness constraints mandating the preservation of the feature [±back] and [±tense].

Modern Kurpian has nasal vowels rather than vowel plus nasal combinations in the underling representation. The consequence is that Kurpian must have an active process of Nasal Decomposition that applies in the context of stops. The



postulation of underlying nasal vowels is supported synchronically by Nasal Shift whereby nasal schwa is turned into [ɔ̃] in a closed syllable. Nasal Shift works correctly on the condition that evaluation is conducted separately at the stem level and at the word level. The analysis thus supports the postulate that standard Optimality Theory should be replaced with Derivational Optimality Theory.

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## SUMMARY

This paper investigates the problem of nasal vowels in Kurpian. It is argued that Kurpian nasal schwa, as in *gęsty*, comes historically from lax nasal *q* [ã] that was used in Polish in the 15th c. Kurpian tense [õ], as in *wąsy*, comes historically from tense nasal *q* [ã] that occurred in Polish in the 16th c. Nasal vowels and their alternations in modern Kurpian are analyzed in terms of Derivational Optimality Theory. Noteworthy here are the processes of Nasal Shift and Nasal Decomposition.

## STRESZCZENIE

Niniejszy artykuł dowodzi, że kurpiowskie nosowe szwa, jak np. w *gęsty*, zapisywane literą ě, pochodzi historycznie z samogłoski krótkiej *q*, wymawianej jako nosowe [a], czyli jako [ã], w polszczyźnie XV w. Natomiast kurpiowskie nosowe [õ], jak np. w *wąs*, zapisywane literą *q* pochodzi z samogłoski długiej *q*, wymawianej jako nosowe *ã*, czyli jako [ã], w polszczyźnie XVI w. Dzisiejsze kurpiowskie nosowe szwa, lepiej niż *ę* w języku ogólnopolskim, odzwierciedla stan literackiej polszczyzny mówionej w XVI w. Analiza formalna przeprowadzona w ramach teorii fonologii generatywnej stawia hipotezę, że nie tylko w kurpiowskim, lecz także w polszczyźnie literackiej XVII w. *q* wymawiane było jako [õ] z zamkniętym o, a nie jako [õ] z otwartym o, tak jak ma to miejsce w dzisiejszym języku ogólnopolskim. Ogólnie rzecz biorąc, odnotować trzeba, że występuje uderzające podobieństwo pomiędzy system samogłoskowym dzisiejszej

kurpiowszczyzny a systemem samogłoskowym polszczyzny literackiej XVI w., por. punkty (1) i (6). W dalszej części artykułu przeprowadzona jest analiza alternacji obejmujących samogłoski nosowe w dzisiejszej kurpiowszczyźnie.

**Key words:** Kurpian phonology, Polish phonology, nasal vowels, Derivational Optimality Theory

**Słowa kluczowe:** fonologia kurpiowska, fonologia polska, samogłoski nosowe, derywacyjna teoria optymalności



## SAINTS IN THE KURPIE FOLK CULTURE

### ŚWIĘCI W KURPIOWSKIEJ KULTURZE LUDOWEJ

For centuries, Christians have been resorting to patron saints in search of God's help in various life situations through their intercession. This theological truth determined the strength and character of massive religiousness, which had been cultivated in Kurpie over the generations. Today, we may examine the level of the attachment of particular social groups to those ideas, because very often they were manifested as their external dimension, i.e. as funded sacral objects (e.g. statues of saints<sup>1</sup>, or wayside shrines<sup>2</sup>), or also as practices of folk rituals. The external side of a religious cult most often derives from the internal connection of a person to the supernatural world<sup>3</sup>.

Since the 16th-century, saints were in Poland a well-recognized group of patrons of churches, towns, confraternities and professions. In folk culture, the intercession of saints often took regional forms. Apart from local patrons, there was in history a canon of saints with universal features, who were approved by different communities<sup>4</sup>. They appointed their own saints and turned to them in professional matters (e.g. hunters were looking for support in St. Hubert, butchers and confectioners in St. Matthias, fishermen in St. Peter), the sick were resorting to St. Apollonia (toothache), and pig shepherds were searching support in St. Anthony<sup>5</sup>. The patron of rural people was St. Isidore the Laborer<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf Collections gathered in the Museum of Kurpie Culture in Ostrołęka, National Ethnographic Museum in Warsaw and the **Kurpian Open-air Museum in Nowogród (North-Mazovian Museum Department in Łomża)**. In the past, those objects were very important elements of the cultural landscape of the region – cf A. Chętnik, *Z Zielonej Puszczy*. Ziemia. Tygodnik Krajoznawczy Ilustrowany 1914, No. 10, pp. 151–154.

<sup>2</sup> A. Chętnik, *Krzyże i kapliczki kurpiowskie*. Polska Sztuka Ludowa 1977, No. 1, pp. 39–52; A. Białczak, *Krzyże i kapliczki przydrożne zachodniej kurpiowszczyzny*. Zeszyty Naukowe OTN 2002, Vol. XVI, pp. 263–265.

<sup>3</sup> Cf M. Rusecki, *Istota i geneza religii*. Warszawa 1989, p. 80.

<sup>4</sup> E. Ciupak, *Katolicyzm ludowy w Polsce. Studia socjologiczne*. Warszawa 1973, pp. 246–247; J. Tazbir, *Kultura szlachecka w Polsce. Rozkwit – upadek – relikty*. Warszawa 1978, pp. 117–118.

<sup>5</sup> T. Czerwiński, *Kapliczki i krzyże przydrożne w Polsce*. Warszawa 2012, p. 222.

<sup>6</sup> Cf J. Tazbir, *Společná funkcia kultu św. Izydora „Oracza” w Polsce XVII wieku*. Przegląd Historyczny 1955, Vol. 46, No. 3, pp. 89–99; Cz. Deptuła, *Legenda i kult św. Izydora Oracza a problematyka polskiej wsi pod zaborami*. Zeszyty Naukowe KUL 1996, Vol. 39.

In agricultural societies, time was defined by the rhythm of nature. It indicated not only the reliance of a man on nature and seasons but also expressed a specific structure of peasants' consciousness. The observers of nature saw in it mainly the regularly repeated cycles. The pagan calendar, reflecting the rhythm of nature, was adapted also to the needs of Christian liturgy. The nature cycle and the production cycle merged into one cycle of religious rites, ceremonies and celebrations. According to the old pre-Christian beliefs, elements of nature could help people; therefore it was necessary to influence successful working of nature forces by carrying out particular actions. More important production processes were thus accompanied by prayers and quasi-religious practices, and the finishing of the agricultural cycle – by ceremonies and dances<sup>7</sup>. The Church reacted when old beliefs entered too deeply into the world of religious dogmas<sup>8</sup>. In modern times, in short concise sentences, based on the Church calendar, important agricultural actions were defined<sup>9</sup>. Those proverbs show that the Church calendar helped the peasants take regular actions in their farms. In this way, saints mentioned in the Church became important figures in every peasant's life.

Within the Church calendar order, it is worth indicating the most frequently mentioned saints in the Kurpie folk culture. In the foregoing considerations, I would like to point at the ritual dimension of the cult of saints by presenting the local and regional popular practices, which gave particular saints a rich symbolic meaning and, therefore, provided evidence for a long period of Christianizing those lands. The Church calendar helped the peasants make decisions related to beginning seasonal works in their farms. Especially those saints, who were particularly reminisced in the Church every year, became important figures in the social life. Below – with some simplification – we will meet the most popular saints in the Kurpie culture, who will be presented in the order determined by the seasons.

### Winter

In the folk culture in Mazovia, it was believed that „From St. Martin winter begins”<sup>10</sup>. Also, the reminiscences of other saints were associated with the beginning of this season – St. Leonard (November 6), St. Elisabeth (November 19)

<sup>7</sup> A. Guriewicz, *Problemy średniowiecznej kultury ludowej*. Trans. Z. Dobrzyniecki. Warszawa 1987, p. 133; M. Bogucka, *Uwagi o postrzeganiu czasu w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVII w.*, [In:] *Stosunek do czasów w różnych strukturach kulturowych*. Eds. Z. Cackowski, J. Wojczakowski. Warszawa 1987, pp. 347–373.

<sup>8</sup> S. Bylina, *Chryścianizacja wsi polskiej u schyłku średniowiecza*. Warszawa 2002, pp. 174–188.

<sup>9</sup> R. Tomicki, *Religijność ludowa*, [In:] *Etnografia Polski. Problemy kultury ludowej*, Vol. 2. Eds. M. Biernacka, M. Frankowska, W. Paprocka. Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź 1981, p. 44.

<sup>10</sup> So believed A. Gostomski, *Gospodarstwo*. Elab. S. Inglot, Wrocław 1951, p. 65.

or St. Clemens (November 23). This period was attributed with a temporary condition of death, directly preceding the time of the birth of nature.

During neighborly gatherings, fortune-telling practices promulgated. At first, they were carried out on the feast day of St. Catherine (November 25). According to a popular saying – St. Catherine initiates Advent. Probably, those beliefs have a later provenance than St. Andrew's customs, and they complement them. We may find the confirmation of the ludic nature of those holidays in old Polish proverbs<sup>11</sup>. St. Andrew's Day ("Andrzejki"), which is on the feast day of the Apostle St. Andrew (November 30), did not always occur during the formerly recommended Advent fasting. The origin of this rite is difficult to specify. It derives from an old pre-Christian custom of All Souls' Day ("zaduszki"). It is probably related to the beliefs in the presence of spirits of the dead among the living. Those wandering souls could lend some of their supernatural powers for knowing the future. Fortune-telling – so typical for the winter time of transition – used to be practised in the entire Central and Western Europe, but also in the Mediterranean countries. The time of its intensification began on St. Catherine's Day and finished on Three Kings' Day.

At the beginning of December, there was a pastoral holiday of St. Nicholas (December 6), when people prayed for protection from wild animals, especially wolves. Those beliefs spread across Europe mainly due to the *Golden legend* of Jacob de Voragine<sup>12</sup>. In Mazovia, shepherds were fasting on that day with the intention that the wolves would not do any harm to them<sup>13</sup>. Similar customs were cultivated in the Płock Diocese in the second half of the 20th century<sup>14</sup>. It was believed that on that day all the wolves gather in one place and share their future prey.

In folk tradition, on the feast day of St. Lucy (December 13), various fortune-telling and apotropaic practices took place. The customs and rituals cultivated on that day were related initially to the period of winter solstice. In fact, in the Julian calendar, until the reform of Pope Gregory XIII in 1582, the feast day occurred astronomically several days later. In the Middle Ages, on that day, the greeting of the Sun was celebrated. There were organized marches of girls carrying candles on their heads. On that day, fortunes – based on weather observations – were told about the following year's aura. The apotropaic actions carried out on that day

<sup>11</sup> Cf J. Krzyżanowski, *Mądrzej głowie dość dwie słowie*, Vol. 1. Warszawa 1958, pp. 295–298.

<sup>12</sup> Cf J. de Voragine, *Złota legenda. Wybór*. Ed. M. Plezia. Warszawa 2000, pp. 61–66.

<sup>13</sup> O. Kolberg, *Dzieła wszystkie*, Vol. 24: *Mazowsze*, Part 1. Wrocław–Warszawa 1961, p. 198; S. Poniatowski, *Etnografia Polski*, [In:] *Wiedza o Polsce*, Vol. 3. Warszawa 1932, p. 304. Moreover, in folk culture, there was another pastoral holiday known, which occurred during the spring-summer solstice. Some remnants of this tradition may be found in folk customs related to Corpus Christi.

<sup>14</sup> A. Rojewski, S. Dziekan, *Zwyczaj i obrzędy adwentu i Bożego Narodzenia w parafii Drobin*. Studia Płockie 1984, Vol. 12, p. 171.

were aimed at scaring away witches, who could do major harm to the farmstead. In folk magic, trying to avoid adverse events was common. Pre-emptively, going out of the house was limited to a minimum, particularly after dark. In *Cyzjojan plocki*, we may find a warning not to leave the house on that day. It was important to take special care of little children so that they would not be changed by witches. Therefore, also the blessed herbs were placed in stables and barns<sup>15</sup>.

On the feast day of the first martyr – St. Stephen (St. Szczepan) (December 26) – the blessing of oats<sup>16</sup>. The custom is related to the pre-Christian cult of god Wodan. During the winter solstice, people used to leave uncovered grain grasses outside their houses in order to ask for the god's blessing for the future harvest. When this tradition was Christianized, St. Stephen was made the patron of horses. It ought to be assumed that scattering grains stems from a pre-Christian tradition. In medieval sources, there preserved a memory of the custom of pelting the bride's face with grains and, simultaneously, shouting out the wishes of good fortune and prosperity. For Jacques de Vitry, this custom belonged to a group of false beliefs. On that day, it was particularly important to throw oats on the priest performing the mass<sup>17</sup>. It was a magical measure which was supposed to cause abundant harvest. Occasionally, farmers used the blessed oats for the spring sowing. In the second half of the 18th century, the hierarchy of the Church in Poland took action to eliminate the custom of pelting the priest with oats. In the Plock Diocese, an ordinary taught on the subject: "attracting more for laugh and jokes than for the service. Similarly to the custom of performing in churches the so-called Nativity plays at Christmas time, we recommend that, henceforth, it ceases everywhere"<sup>18</sup>.

Typical were the customs on the third day of Christmas, related to the blessing of wine and other drinks on St. John the Evangelist's Day (December 27). It is difficult to define the proper origins of this folk custom. Perhaps, the tradition is connected with the Old German ritual in honor of god Fros. Wine was believed to be the cure for sore throat and toothache. On that day, people brought juniper beer, also called the beer of St. John, to the church for blessing. After returning home, the rooms and barns were sprinkled with that beer. The beverage was also added to

<sup>15</sup> Cf *Cyzjojan plocki*, [In:] *Wybór tekstów staropolskich*. Ed. S. Vrtel-Wierczyński. Warszawa 1969.

<sup>16</sup> In recommendations after a visitation of one of the archdeacons in 1779 it was written directly that those pagan practices were forbidden – the Archive of the Diocese in Włocławek, General visitation of the archdeaconry of Lutomiersk, Szadkowie and Warta in 1779, fol. 98, as cited in: B. Baranowski, *Kultura ludowa XVII i XVIII w. na ziemiach Polski środkowej*. Łódź 1971, pp. 268–269.

<sup>17</sup> Cf The folk proverbs on St. Szczepan: J. Krzyżanowski, op. cit., Vol. 2, pp. 315–316.

<sup>18</sup> *Rozporządzenia i pisma pasterskie za rządów J.O. Księcia Michała Jerzego Poniatowskiego biskupa plockiego etc. Do diecezji plockiej wydane*. Ed. W. Wargawski, Vol. 1, Warszawa 1785, p. 133.



a traditional dish *breja* ("mush") and to a ceremonial cake called *nowolatek* ("newly-aged"). Using cereal in this dish was supposed to provide better harvest<sup>19</sup>.

Right after the end of the ecclesiastic period of Christmas, there were the memorials of saints who were the patrons of everyday human concerns. On February 3, St. Blaise (St. Błażej) was remembered – the patron of sore throat. On that day, in the church, apples were blessed, and then they were to be used as cures or candles, with which the throat of a sick person was encircled at the moment of pain. On February 5, there is a feast day of St. Veronica. Traditionally, on that day, bread and water were blessed, as the means of protection against the dangers of fire. The blessing of salt was adopted only in the 19th century.

Nowadays, it is difficult to answer the question how popular the cult of St. Apollonia was in Warmia. In the 18th century, in the collection of sermons, she was presented as a patron protecting from toothaches<sup>20</sup>. This saint's feast day is on February 9. In some regions of Poland, in churches, there was a blessing of herbs picked up in the summer, which were supposed to ease toothache.

Great popularity gained the folk cult of St. Valentine, whose memorial falls on February 14. Generally, he is treated as a patron who protected from epilepsy. He was also called in case of the threat of epidemics. Numerous weather forecasts are associated with that day.

### Spring

Until the 20th century, breaking ice by swallows which, supposedly, spent the winter at the bottom of water reservoirs, was the forecast of spring<sup>21</sup>. Whereas the weather forecast was based on the appearance of the incoming storks. If they arrived dirty, it announced a wet year, if clean – a dry year. In the calendar, spring was indicated by the day of St. Peter's Cathedral (February 22) or, more frequently, the memorial of St. Joseph (March 19).

Along with St. Matthias's Day (St. Maciej's Day), the imminent coming of spring was expected. Agricultural communities were first trying to placate the souls of the dead in order to obtain good crops. With that aim, ritual spring All Souls' Day took place, as well as ceremonies of an agricultural type and a rite-magical nature. On the fourth Sunday of Lent, there was drowning of, or plunging in mud,

<sup>19</sup> The dish has a long tradition. Already in medieval sources it is indicated that all kinds of „pultes” were commonly consumed, flour-based dishes (A. Kowalska-Lewicka, *Pożywienie chłopskie w średniowieczu i przydatność badawcza źródeł etnograficznych*. Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej 1965, No. 4, p. 763).

<sup>20</sup> Cf J. Mąciński, *Kazania odświętne*, Vol. 1. Kraków 1799, p. 87.

<sup>21</sup> Spending winter by swallows at the bottom of lakes was indicated by M. Kromer. Within the next years, pseudo-scientific research and numerous dissertations were carried out on this issue. Its supporter was i.a. I. Kant. Broadly on the subject: R. Marchwiński, *Geografia Polski Marcina Kromera*. Bydgoszcz 1997, p. 147.

the image of death, symbolizing winter. Those actions were of an above-Slavic nature<sup>22</sup>. Such customs are confirmed by numerous source descriptions<sup>23</sup>.

On St. Joseph's Day (March 19<sup>24</sup>), peasants started working in the field with their ploughs and, even if there was still snow, they had to plough at least one furrow. The latest time to start ploughing was on the day of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (March 25). Ploughing determined proper fertility of the soil. The beginning of ploughing used to be carried out together in order not to destroy communal fields by going there earlier. An important church holiday was the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, also called the day of Matka Boska Roztworna – opening spring, winter and life<sup>25</sup>. The inhabitants of villages were awaiting the arrival of storks on that day. Their coming meant a fortunate following year.

In spring, farmers began grazing animals on meadows. It was recommended to collectively graze cattle, horses and oxen, but mainly pigs and geese, in order to limit any harm within seeding and ripening cereal crops. The folk sanctification of the first grazing of the cattle on pastures was making St. Adalbert (St. Wojciech) and St. George the patrons of shepherds and cattle<sup>26</sup>. There was a warning in folk culture not to hammer stakes in the ground while fencing the fields until the name's day of those saints. Exceeding the ban was to cause a drought<sup>27</sup>. On April 23, when the Church commemorates those saints, ritual preparing the pastures and watching the fields was done, with particular care of the livestock. On St. Adalbert's Day, farmers could already graze the cattle. The customs of Eastern and Southern Slavs, related to that day, indicate that they are the remnants of the ancient beliefs in the spring All Souls' Day<sup>28</sup>. Since the Middle Ages, there were known magical rituals, which were aimed at achieving success in breeding by chasing the cattle through the fire, wrapping oxen's horns with hops or preparing ritual feed for animals, containing grains from the Christmas Eve sheaves, Easter

<sup>22</sup> A. Brückner, *Wierzenia religijne i stosunki rodzinne*, [In:] Idem, *Mitologia słowiańska i polska*. Warszawa 1980, pp. 40–41; K. Potkański, *Wiadomości Długosza o polskiej mitologii*, [in:] Idem, *Pisma pośmiertne*, Vol. 2. Kraków 1924, pp. 42–62; W. Klinger, *Doroczne święta ludowe a tradycje grecko-rzymskie*. Kraków 1931, p. 8.

<sup>23</sup> J. Długoszy, *Annale seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae lib. I–II*. Varsoviae 1961, p. 166; Stanisław ze Skarbimierza, *Sermones super „Gloria in excelsis”*. Ed. R. Zawadzki. Warszawa 1978, p. 104.

<sup>24</sup> Celebration for St. Joseph was established by Pope Gregory XV. The synod of Archbishop Jana Wężyk in Piotrków in 1628 established the holiday on that day – I. Subera, *Synody prowincjonalne arcybiskupów gnieźnieńskich. Wybór tekstów ze zbioru Jana Wężyka z r. 1761*. Warszawa 1981, p. 132.

<sup>25</sup> O. Kolberg, *Dziela*, Vol. 60: *Przysłowia*. Wrocław–Poznań 1967, p. 226.

<sup>26</sup> Cf folk proverbs collected by H. Frischbier, *Preussische Sprichwörter u. volkstümliche Redensarten*. Berlin 1865.

<sup>27</sup> J. Klimaszewska, *Zakazy magiczne w polskich obrzędach ludowych*. Etnografia Polska 1961, Vol. 4, pp. 109–140.

<sup>28</sup> S. Poniatowski, op. cit., pp. 310–311.

egg shells or parts of palms<sup>29</sup>. The struggle with unsuitable circumstances accompanying the blessing of animals<sup>30</sup>, taken up yet in the Middle Ages, led to the development of a modern religious ceremony.

On the memorial day of St. Mark the Evangelist (April 25), who was considered the patron of harvest, there were special processions through the fields organized. It was believed that, on his feast day, he blessed winter crops. Pious Warmia inhabitants attended a Holy Mass on that day, so that the Saint would protect the fields from natural disasters and guard them from demons. The Warmia liturgy in honor of St. Mark began in church. After the prayers and singing the Litany of the Saints, people marched in a procession to roadside chapels and crosses. In case of unfavorable weather conditions, the procession took place inside the shrine. On that day, it was often not allowed to work with oxen so that they would not become ill and not chafe their necks from yokes<sup>31</sup>.

### Summer

Summer was to begin on the feast day of St. Urban (May 25)<sup>32</sup>. The best time to collect hay in this region of the Republic of Poland was considered the period around the feast day of St. John, when grasses started to bloom. They were believed to be the most nutritive for animals at that time. The second period of mowing the grass was from St. Lawrence (St. Wawrzyniec) (August 10) to St. Bartholomew (St. Bartłomiej) (August 24).

Within the Christian tradition, two church holidays should be indicated, which were related to old Pentecostal customs: St. Michael the Archangel's Day and St. John the Baptist's Day. The fact that Pentecost can be celebrated until June 14, caused that some ritual elements of this church celebration have gradually permeated into the folk customs associated with the celebrations of the Holy Trinity, Corpus Christi, St. John the Baptist's Day and St. Peter's and St. Paul's Day (June 29).

<sup>29</sup> Similar actions took place in nearby territories – W. Łęga, *Ziemia Chełmińska*. Wrocław 1961, p. 104, 212, 287; W. Kętrzyński, *O Mazurach*. Ed. J. Jasiński. Olsztyn 1968, p. 44.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. A. Brückner, *Mitologia słowiańska*, [In:] Idem, *Mitologia słowiańska i polska*. Warszawa 1980, p. 313; S. Bylina, *Licium – illicitum. Mikołaj z Jawora o pobożności masowej i zabobonach*, [In:] *Kultura elitarna a kultura masowa w Polsce późnego średniowiecza*. Ed. B. Geremek, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1978, p. 146; Idem, *Kościół a kultura ludowa w Polsce późnego średniowiecza*, [In:] *Literatura i kultura późnego średniowiecza w Polsce*. Ed. T. Michałowska. Warszawa 1993, pp. 208–215.

<sup>31</sup> J. Hochleitner, *Doroczny rytm pracy chłopów warmińskich w epoce nowożytnej* (outline of the problem in terms of ethnicity and history). Teki Gdańskie 2003, Vol. 5, p. 92; J. Chłosta, *Doroczne zwyczaje i obrzędy na Warmii*. Olsztyn 2009, p. 104; S. Kuprjaniuk, *Mała architektura sakralna na Warmii do 1945 roku ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem kapliczek*. Olsztyn 2016, pp. 334–335.

<sup>32</sup> *Cyzjojan kłobucki*, [In:] J.N. Fijałek, *Cyziojan polski z roku 1471, z wiadomością o cyzjojanach w ogóle i w Polsce*. Prace Filologiczne 1927, Vol. 12, p. 446.

The eve of St. John's Day (June 23), the time of the summer equinox, was considered by ancient communities to be a special event. An even pre-Christian tradition was to begin the holiday celebrations in the evening in order to celebrate until the morning. Annual ceremonies took place in holy groves, where an internal flame was burning<sup>33</sup>. The analysis of the Midsummer Night customs led the researchers to the conclusion that the holiday, in the religious aspect, preserved some of the All Souls' elements<sup>34</sup>. In Europe, the customs of decorating on that day roadside figures and singing songs dedicated to St. John were adopted. Frequently, the inhabitants of villages confused the Saint who was remembered by the Church and sang songs about St. John of Nepomuk<sup>35</sup>. In Warmia, his cult among the villages spread only in the 19th century<sup>36</sup>. Relatively early did the Church begin to fight the popular practices connected with the celebrations of St. John's feast day. Until the 13th century, fasting was respected before the holiday, which sometimes had lasted since Pentecost<sup>37</sup>. Traditionally, in folk culture, there was a prohibition on bathing in rivers, ponds and lakes. Until today, the customs related to fortune-telling of a matrimonial nature remained<sup>38</sup>.

Harvest was divided into big and small. The big harvest was collecting winter crops, and the small – collecting the spring crops, which were ripening later. In folk culture, St. Lawrence's Day was considered to be a partial completion of the harvest, about which numerous sayings inform, including many proverbs related to weather forecasts. Usually, crops were collected in regular intervals: winter crops around St. John's Day, spring crops around St. Margaret's Day (July 19), winter rye around St. Jacob's Day (July 25), winter wheat on St. Dominic's (August 5), oat and peas near the Assumption of the Holy Virgin Mary (August 15). Harvest most frequently finished on St. Lawrence's Day (August 10)<sup>39</sup>.

Harvest was a significant event in a village life<sup>40</sup>. People had been preparing for it the entire year. Elementary living conditions depended on the crops. Even in the publications of Old-Polish theologians, we may find orders not to add any

<sup>33</sup> Ł. Okulicz-Kozaryn, *Dzieje Prusów*. Wrocław 1997, p. 315.

<sup>34</sup> W. Klinger, op. cit., pp. 39–42; S. Poniatowski, op. cit., p. 311; K. Kubiak, *Dzień narodzin głowy. Przyczynek do badań nad problematyką świętojańską*. Polska Sztuka Ludowa 1983, No. 2, pp. 175–180.

<sup>35</sup> J. Hochleitner, *Św. Jan Nepomucen jako katolicki bohater kulturowy*. Studia Elckie 2009, Vol. 11, pp. 123–136.

<sup>36</sup> J. Hochleitner, *Powiernik tajemnic królowej. Kult świętego Jana Nepomucena na Warmii*. Elbląg 1996, pp. 123–132.

<sup>37</sup> R. Mazurkiewicz, *Deesis. Idea wstawiennictwa Bogurodzicy i św. Jana Chrzciciela w kulturze średniowiecznej*. Kraków 2002, p. 167.

<sup>38</sup> J. Hochleitner, *Doroczny rytm...*, pp. 205–210.

<sup>39</sup> Cf selected proverbs: *Nowa księga przysłów i wyrażeń przysłowiowych polskich*, Vol. 1–2. Based on Samuel Adalberg's work, elaborated by a team managed J. Krzyżanowski. Warszawa 1969–1970.

<sup>40</sup> J.S. Bystron, *Zwyczajne żniwiarskie w Polsce*. Kraków 1916; K. Zawistowicz-Adamska, *Obrzędy żniwiarskie ludu polskiego*. Wiedza i Życie 1934, No. 7.

additional holidays at that time<sup>41</sup>. The day of the beginning of work in the field was important. It was best to start the harvest on Wednesday or Saturday, the days devoted to the Mother of God. The work was expected to be started by the oldest host or a man who was wealthy and commonly respected. Those efforts were supposed to bless the forthcoming work and bring the best crops. The first windrow belonged to the owner of the field. Replacing oneself with a stranger meant lack of respect for the grain, which was destined for baking bread, and badly influenced further work.

In the first half of August, the time of harvest required spending long hours collecting the crops. Little time was devoted then to entertainment and celebrating. The exception was the feast day of Our Lady of Herbs (August 15), when herbs and first crops were being blessed in shrines<sup>42</sup>. An occasion for proper celebration was only “dożynki” (the harvest festival).

On the feast day of St. Roch (August 16), people prayed to the patron of contagious diseases and the caretaker of domestic animals, particularly cattle. Relatively common in Poland on that day was blessing animals. The herds were then gathered in front of a church gate so that the priest could bless them, and after that, they were made to go in particular order next to a smoking fire, which the herbs had been thrown into<sup>43</sup>. On the feast day of this patron, new fire was lit by rubbing two pieces of wood. The fire was supposed to warm the house through winter and the smoke was to fight off bad air. The cattle were made to pass through the fire in order to protect them from diseases. Water, which was blessed on that day, was to immunize people against epidemics. The folk cult of that saint indicates major similarities between the Warmian<sup>44</sup> and Pomerania-Kashubian customs<sup>45</sup>.

### Autumn

In the 16th century, the remembrance day of St. Bartholomew (August 24) was considered to be the beginning of autumn<sup>46</sup>. In folk calendar, also the feast day of St. Michael (September 29) played an important role. Traditionally, on that day, all the agricultural activities, connected with the end of the summer cycle of field,

<sup>41</sup> Cf P. Skarga, *Kazania na niedziele i święta całego roku*. Ed. J.N. Bobrowicz, Vol. 4, Lipsk 1843, p. 91.

<sup>42</sup> Jakub Wujek in the 16th c. recommended blessing herbs by a priest – J. Wujek, *Postylle katolickiej o świętych*, Part 1. Kraków 1584, p. 337.

<sup>43</sup> Since 2014, celebrations in honor of St. Roch along with the blessing of animals in Mikstat (Wielkopolskie Voivodeship) were placed on the National List of Non-material Cultural Heritage.

<sup>44</sup> J. Hochleitner, *Kultura ludowa Mazowsza w dorocznej obrzędowości Warmiaków*. Zeszyty Naukowe OTN 2014, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 76–94.

<sup>45</sup> B. Stelmachowska, *Rok obrzędowy na Pomorzu*. Toruń 1933, pp. 220–221.

<sup>46</sup> A. Gostomski, op. cit., p. 55.

garden and breeding works, were finished<sup>47</sup>. The last work in the field was winter ploughing, which prepared some lands for sowing winter cereal, but mainly for winter rest, which was believed to guarantee good vegetation in the following year.

After intensive harvest work, there came the time of fruit ripening and seeds maturing. In that period, mushrooms were picked and then salted for the winter, and in October, turnips and carrots were dried, cabbage was pickled in barrels or special holes. The cabbage remained in the holes until spring. Its taste was much worse than the cabbage pickled in barrels. In folk tradition, though, it was assumed to have extraordinary healthy and nutritive properties<sup>48</sup>. Since the early-medieval times, a traditional activity was to gather hay and leaves for cattle and horses as well as acorns and beechmast for hogs<sup>49</sup>.

St. Martin's Day (November 11) was an important caesura for rural community. On that day, only householders worked, employees had that day off work. "Morcinki" was the day of menials and servants working in the farmstead<sup>50</sup>. In the 16th century, numerous writers mentioned celebrating "morcinki". In 1583, in *Epitonium*, Czechowicz referred to Catholic customs forbidding millers to work on that day. Similar traditions are mentioned by Potocki in *Ogród fraszek*<sup>51</sup>. A ritual dish was "czernina" (a blood soup) made of thick blood. Fortunes were told from the color of the roasted goose dorsal bone as to whether the winter would be: snowy, frosty or variable<sup>52</sup>. That custom was assumed to have arrived on Polish lands through German colonists<sup>53</sup>. Perhaps it is a remnant of a ritual slaughtering of a cow, a bull or a pig, which were then smoked and salted as winter supply. Such customs were cultivated in the Middle Ages in Germany and England<sup>54</sup>.

During the late autumn and winter, peasants had more time for social life. It that period, they spent time tearing feathers as well as spinning linen and wool together. This last activity was called *prządki*. Those meetings were particularly

<sup>47</sup> B. Baranowski, *Kultura ludowa XVII i XVIII w. na ziemiach Polski środkowej*. Łódź 1971, p. 304. Interesting iconographic sources, related to garden and agricultural works in the 16th c., are the woodcuts placed in Mikołaj Rej's works: *Wizerunek własny żywota człowieka poczciwego*. Kraków 1558 and *Zwierciadło*. Kraków 1568.

<sup>48</sup> As far as sauerkraut was known in Europe, pickled cucumbers seem a Polish speciality in modern times – Z. Libiszowska, *Gospodarstwo wiejskie w Polsce w XVII w., w opinii cudzoziemców*. Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej 1960, Vol. 8, No. 3, p. 285.

<sup>49</sup> T. and R. Kiersnowscy, *Życie codzienne na Pomorzu wczesnośredniowiecznym. Wiek X–XII*. Warszawa 1970, p. 84.

<sup>50</sup> Broadly on these customs in the material of B. Gustawicz, *O zwyczajach świętomarcińskich*. Lud 1910, Vol. XV and XVI.

<sup>51</sup> As cited in: J.S. Bystroń, *Dzieje obyczajów w dawnej Polsce. Wiek XVI–XVIII*, Vol. 2. Warszawa 1976, p. 69.

<sup>52</sup> Ibidem, Vol. 1, p. 279; Ibidem, Vol. 2, p. 69; A. Rojewski, S. Dziekan, op. cit., p. 167; B. Wojciechowska, *Od Godów do świętej Łucji. Obrzędy doroczne w Polsce późnego średniowiecza*. Kielce 2000, p. 114.

<sup>53</sup> S. Poniatowski, op. cit., p. 303.

<sup>54</sup> W. Klinger, op. cit., pp. 67–68.

important for passing on local tradition; they were some sort of lessons about the past and regional identity given by the elderly to the youth.

Winter time allowed the householders to take up activities inside farm buildings. Probably, an influence on this custom had the relic of folk prohibition on working in the field during Advent. Not respecting the ban may have resulted in the land's infertility<sup>55</sup>. In folk proverbs for that time we find forecasts about the weather, crops, as well as prosperity and misfortune. Frequently, in folk tradition, weather conditions on every week of Advent were to account for the weather forecast for each quarter of the following year<sup>56</sup>.

It was important – in the traditional communities' consciousness – to determine proper time for work within the whole day. One should work from the sunrise to the sunset. Christianity, in its tradition, applied destruction to the darkness, and creative power to the sun. Working at night disturbed the natural order. Many ritual folk behaviors were based on that symbolism, which proves strong influence of the Church on those practices. Already in the Middle Ages a lot of priests criticized magical procedures. Mikołaj Magni from Jawor scolded anyone who used objects blessed by priests in order to reach temporal goals. He lists here, among others, using holy water for providing abundant harvest or preventing from nature's threats such as hail or lightning. He also condemned using wax from Easter candles or twigs blessed on Palm Sunday to protect the people and animals' lives, or to provide abundant harvest. Stanisław from Skarbimierz, on the other hand, upbraided farmers who sprinkled their fields with holy ash and put Easter palms in the ground so that the vermin would die or they used them for treating animals<sup>57</sup>.

### Instead of conclusions

The entire year was divided into two seasons: cold and warm. The cold season includes all the most important Church holidays. It was the time of slowing down the pace of farm work. At that time, more activities were focused on family circles, within the village, contrary to the warm season, when the people were absorbed with farmyard work, frequently carried out on the fields away from the village<sup>58</sup>. Winter time, in rural reality, also meant devoting more time to fun and entertainment. The period of rural entertainment began on New Year's Day or the Three Kings Festival and lasted until Lent<sup>59</sup>.

<sup>55</sup> J. Klimaszewska, *Doroczne obrzędy ludowe*, [In:] *Etnografia Polski. Przemiany kultury ludowej*, Vol. 2. Eds. M. Biernacka, M. Frankowska, W. Paprocka. Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź 1981, p. 130.

<sup>56</sup> Cf i.a. W.I. Thomas, F. Znaniecki, *Chłop polski w Europie i Ameryce*, Vol. 1. Warszawa 1976, p. 180.

<sup>57</sup> S. Bylina, *Licium – illicitum...*, p. 146.

<sup>58</sup> W. Odyniec, *Duszpasterstwo parafialne w średniowieczu i czasach nowożytnych*. Studia Pelplińskie 1994, Vol. 21–22, p. 19.

<sup>59</sup> W. Odyniec, *Życie i obyczaje ludu pomorskiego w XVII i XVIII w.* Gdynia 1966, p. 136.

Early did rural communities notice the need for dividing the entire cycle of agricultural activities into smaller periods. The vegetative period was divided into two cycles: the autumn-winter and the spring-summer. That vision of time was of a cyclical nature, known for everyday observation, such as shorter and longer days, developing nature, the time of sowing and harvest<sup>60</sup>.

Ethnographers emphasize the richness of external forms of folk cult, which indicate the dependence of religious visions and experiences on nature-productive and cultural environment of particular communities. The religious form of cult and the entire atmosphere of Church life introduced the faithful to a different from the ordinary world experiences and visions. In that atmosphere, religious sensualism of rural population was shaped. The figures of saints were treated by the peasant population extremely practically. They were supposed to protect from life unhappiness, provide abundant harvest, prosperity and success. The most popular saints in Central Europe of the 18th and 19th centuries were St. Florian and John of Nepomuk<sup>61</sup>. The first one protected from fire, the other from water. The worship of the images of saints in folk culture was so great that it frequently meant combining the image with the saint or even their identification. For former art recipients, plastic depictions were the carrier of content defined by its iconography. Therefore, all the changes in the sphere of Christian religiousness resulted in the transformation of art itself<sup>62</sup>.

Major merits for the popularization of the above-mentioned saints have the convents, especially Jesuits, who spread this cult in Kurpie through successful evangelization. Their activities were conducted in the period of the post-Tridentine renewal of the Church since the end of the 16th century. Jesuits adjusted the routine of their missions to the faithful's agricultural rhythm of a day. The missionaries' work in a village was carried out within the months of the least intensity of field works<sup>63</sup>. Usually, from 4 to 8 missionaries arrived at one parish. The peak period of this activity was in the central third of the 18th century. Such systematic pastoral work gradually sated the Catholicism in Kurpie with characteristic elements of piety, including the cult of the holy guardians of everyday matters<sup>64</sup>. Moreover, the described folk customs were affected by neighboring communities, which was also done by Mazovians<sup>65</sup>.

<sup>60</sup> L. Stomma, *Antropologia kultury wsi polskiej XIX w.* Warszawa 1986; A. Zadrozńska, *Powtarzać czas początku*, Parts I–II. Warszawa 1988.

<sup>61</sup> J. Hochleitner, *Ludowy kult św. Jana Nepomucena na Kurpiach*, [In:] *Zwykli niezwykli. Kult świętych w diecezji łomżyńskiej. Katalog wystawy*. Eds. B. Kalinowska, K. Mróz Ostrołęka 2016, pp. 47–57.

<sup>62</sup> W. Stróżewski, *O możliwości sacrum w sztuce*, [In:] *Sacrum i sztuka*. Elab. N. Cieślińska. Kraków 1989, p. 29.

<sup>63</sup> J. Delumeau, *Reformy chrześcijaństwa w XVI i XVII w.*, Vol. II: *Katolicyzm między Lutrem a Wolterem*. Transl. P. Kłoczowski. Warszawa 1986, p. 242.

<sup>64</sup> J. Olędzki, *Rzeźba w drewnie z północnej Kurpiowszczyzny*. Polska Sztuka Ludowa 1964, No. 3, pp. 135–159; Idem, *Kultura artystyczna ludności kurpiowskiej*. Wrocław–



Numerous functions of a religious cult have great influence on an individual life and play an important role in social life: they integrate socially, socialize, raise, and they are also assigned emotional, expressive, esthetic functions as well as affirming values. Exactly through understood in such way cult, an individual enters the social organization of a religious life. Ritual activities in groups such as a parish, family, religious brotherhood, play an integrative role, joining all the members of the group. A cult, particularly its collective and public forms, is within a group a phenomenon passed from one generation to another. Only in a long perspective of history may we notice the periods of fading and development of particular cults.

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<sup>65</sup> Cf J. Hochleitner, *Wpływ pogranicza mazowieckiego na kształtowanie się kultury religijnej chłopów pruskich diecezji w XV–XVI wieku (ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem dominium warmińskiego)*, [In:] *Mazowsze północne i jego sąsiedzi*. Eds. R. Sajkowski and L. Zygmier. Ciechanów 2009, pp. 143–163.

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## SUMMARY

In folk culture, the cult of saints usually took a local form, which tells us extensively about the reception level of Catholic education in rural communities. In this atmosphere was shaped i.a. religious sensualism of a rural community, about

which is also this material. Frequently, the peasant community in Kurpie treated the figures of saints practically. A similar phenomenon is observed in spiritual culture. In the described annual ceremonials, popular saints were supposed to protect the faithful from misfortune in life, as well as provide abundant harvest, prosperity and success.

The Church calendar helped peasants make important decisions related to beginning seasonal works in their farms. Especially those saints, who were commemorated in the Church every year, became important figures in the peasants' lives. We observe various forms of remembering those holy intercessors during particular farmyard works, which were undertaken annually. That cyclically repeated set of prayers and folk practices strengthened the cult of particular saints, enriching it with numerous symbolic references. Those religious accumulations often reflect the long period of Christianization of Kurpie lands, which only due to pastoral activity in the 17th and 18th centuries actually shaped the Kurpian religiousness.

## STRESZCZENIE

W kulturze ludowej kult świętych zazwyczaj przybierał lokalny koloryt, który w dużym stopniu mówi nam dziś o stopniu recepcji nauczania katolickiego w społecznościach wiejskich. W tej atmosferze kształtował się m.in. sensualizm religijny ludności wiejskiej, o którym traktuje także niniejszy materiał. Ludność chłopska na Kurpiach często figury świętych traktowała praktycznie. Podobne zjawisko obserwujemy w kulturze duchowej. W omawianej obrzędowości dorocznej popularni święci mieli bowiem strzec wiernych od nieszczęść życiowych, a także zapewnić urodzaj, dobrobyt i pomyślność.

Kalendarz kościelny pomagał chłopom podejmować ważne decyzje dotyczące rozpoczynania okresowych prac w swoich gospodarstwach. Zwłaszcza ci święci, którzy byli co roku wspominani w Kościele, stawali się ważnymi postaciami w życiu chłopów. Obserwujemy liczne formy wspomnianych tych świętych orędowników w trakcie poszczególnych prac gospodarskich, które co roku podejmowano. Ten powtarzany cyklicznie zestaw modlitw i praktyk ludowych utrwalał kult poszczególnych świętych, wzbogacając go o liczne odniesienia symboliczne. Te nawarstwienia wierzeniowe często są świadectwem długiego okresu chrystianizacji ziemi kurpiowskiej, która dopiero dzięki zabiegom duszpasterskim w XVII i XVIII w. właściwie ukształtowała religijność kurpiowską.

**Key words:** cult of saints, the Kurpie, historical ethnography, folk rituals

**Słowa kluczowe:** kult świętych, Kurpie, etnografia historyczna, obrzędowość ludowa



## OSTROŁĘKA OVER THE CENTURIES. SELECTED ISSUES

### OSTROŁĘKA NA PRZESTRZENI WIEKÓW. WYBRANE ZAGADNIENIA

In the Small Encyclopedia of the National Scientific Publishers (PWN) there is a laconic entry concerning Ostrołęka: “Ostrołęka, a district town on the Narew river, 52 thousand inhabitants, the center of food industry, mainly meat and dairy, moreover, paper mills, construction materials, wood products, non-ferrous metals foundry, a thermal power plant (720MW), a railway node, a tourist resort (the Narew waterway), city rights before 1373; 26 May 1831 Polish troops under command of J. Skrzynecki lost a battle against the Russian army commanded by T. Dybicz, a church and a Bernardine monastery (17th, 18th c.)”. The note is thus very brief, rather outdated and with some errors<sup>1</sup>.

My aim is not, by any means, to create a new, extensive encyclopedic entry, nor will it be a shorter outline of the town’s history, but a concise synthesis describing only some freely-selected problems. Therefore, the content of the article includes only particular issues related to the history of the town in a wider sense, i.a. the attempt of periodization of the history of Ostrołęka, demography, selected economic issues, the influence of the Narew river on the town’s development and the lives of the inhabitants, as well as some social problems, but it omits political issues and the functioning of the local government. As far as possible, the development of the town will be shown in comparison to other nearby towns, e.g. Ostrów Mazowiecka, Łomża and Pułtusk. As regards the time frame, it incorporates the period from the beginning of the town in the 14th century to the present day.

The article is based on sources from the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, the Archives of the Capital City of Warsaw and the Warsaw Voivodeship, and its departments in Pułtusk and Otwock (the 20th century), the Archive of New Files, Russian sources (*Pamiętniaja kniżka łomżyńskiej gubernii*), statistic materials and publications on the history of the town. The most important is the piece of work written by Zofia Niedziałkowska *Ostrołęka. Dzieje miasta*

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1 The outdated information refers, among others, to the fact that Ostrołęka is no longer a district city (since January 1999), it is basically not a railway node any more, and the incorrect information is the one about a non-ferrous metals foundry, which has never existed in Ostrołęka and about the name of the Russian chief commander in the battle of Ostrołęka – Dybicz (it should be “I” as the first name was Iwan, not “T.”).

(Ostrołęka. The History of the Town). During the fifty years since its release, there have already been four editions, each one improved and completed, two by the author, the last ones by the editorial team<sup>2</sup>. Another two Ostrołęka's monographs, both, however, concerning only a particular period of time, are Janusz Gołota's publication related to the inter-war period Ostrołęka. Miasto i powiat w okresie międzywojennym (Ostrołęka. Town and District in the Inter-war Period) and Jerzy Kijowski's publication – Dzieje Ostrołęki 1944–2000 (The History of Ostrołęka 1944–2000). Two more publications, modest in volume, are Zofia Niedziałkowska's Kronika najważniejszych wydarzeń z dziejów miasta Ostrołęki (The Chronicle of the Most Important Events in the History of Ostrołęka) and Zarys historyczny dziejów miasta Ostrołęki do 1945 r. (Historical Overview of the Town of Ostrołęka until 1945) as well as Jerzy Kijowski's Obraz powiatu ostrołęckiego w okresie międzywojennym (The Image of Ostrołęka County during the Inter-war Period).

Let us begin with the attempt of periodization of the town's history. The basic division is in accordance with the history of the entire country and it consists of four parts. Thus, there is the period of the First Republic of Poland, the partition times and the First World War, the inter-war Republic and World War II, as well as the post-war period. Significant differences between the history of Poland and Ostrołęka are seen when dividing the town's history in detail. Therefore, during the First Republic period three sub-periods may be distinguished: the first one – before the foundation of the town, that is from the earliest history to the establishment in the 14th century, the second – the period of affiliation to the ducal Mazovia (until 1526) and the third – since the incorporation to the Crown until the end of the First Republic (1795). The partitions period is divided into the affiliation to the Kingdom of Prussia (1795–1806), the Duchy of Warsaw (1807–1814) and to Congress Poland (1815–1915), with possible separation of the time until the January Uprising and after its fall. The period of the Second Republic of Poland is between 1919–1939 as well as the proceeding, short but so tragic to the town and the entire country, period of World War II and the occupation.

In the period after World War II, we may distinguish five sub-periods. The years 1945–1948 – the reconstruction of the town after a damaging war, 1949–1956 – Ostrołęka on the threshold of industrialization, 1957–1967 – the first stage of the industrialization of the town, 1968–1975 – the second stage of the industrialization and Ostrołęka as the capital of the Kurpie sub-region, 1975–1998 “voivodeship” Ostrołęka, and the years from 1999 to the present day – Ostrołęka as an urban county next to the second rural county of Ostrołęka.

As a preliminary point, let us try to refer to the earliest history of Ostrołęka. The exact date of granting Ostrołęka its city rights is not known but the commonly accepted year is 1373. As Hipolit Gawarecki, a famous researcher of the privileges

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2 The first edition of the city's monograph, *Ostrołęka. Dzieje miasta*, was issued in 1967, the second in 1975, the third in 1983 and the fourth in 2002.



of Mazovian towns, claimed: "Ostrołęka Town, on the Narew river, the capital of Ostrołęka County, when was established cannot be stated for certain, its original privileges were burned during the fire of the town on 9 February, 1817"<sup>3</sup>. It was actually on 12 May, 1373, in Wyszogród when Siemowit III, Duke of Mazovia, gave voytship in Ostrołęka to Świętosław, called Roma. In that document the term "Ostrołęka Town" (*civitas ostrolensis*) was used, the inhabitants were called townspeople and they received the privilege to use the Chełmno Law. Ostrołęka was one of the eldest towns in Mazovia. So, for instance, when it comes to granting city rights, all other nearby towns received them later, except for Płock (city rights in 1237, then again in 1255). For example, Różan in 1378, Pułtusk in 1380, Ciechanów in 1400, Łomża in 1418, Maków Mazowiecki in 1421, Przasnysz in 1427, Ostrów in 1434. In the second half of the 15th century, a local government started functioning in Ostrołęka, including the City Council, a mayor and members of the city council ("rajcowie"). The city had its own seal with an emblem, in which there was an image of a bear.

Also, most likely in the second half of the 14th century, Ostrołęka County was established. It was an element of a territorial division system combining administrative (state) and judicial functions<sup>4</sup>. The county consisted of two parts, completely different in terms of physiography and social structure, separated by the Narew River. The northern part, and, in relation to the Narew, its right-bank part in the central river course, is the area of the Green Kurpie Forest, with very poor soils and large-scale afforestation. Until the first half of the 17th century, it was basically not inhabited, permanent settlement started only after the "Swedish Flood" (The Deluge). It used to be inhabited by Puszczaczy (forest dwellers), later called Kurpie. They constituted a professional group directly dependent on the duke and then the king. The Kurpie people conducted various forest "industries", among which especially important was beekeeping. An overall authority and the judiciary were administrated on behalf of the ruler by land writers. They also organized the collection of due public levies. There was, however, some kind of autonomy, which may be called a particular form of self-government, as a writer could nominate among beekeepers a so-called "starosta bartny" (a beekeeping starost). His responsibilities included organizing work, appointing particular people with beehives as well as judgments over beekeepers in minor cases<sup>5</sup>.

The southern part, on the other hand, with relatively good soil, was inhabited by a great number of impoverished gentry; there were also, up until the end of

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3 H. Gawarecki, *Pamiętnik historyczny płocki*. Warszawa 1828, pp. 37–38.

4 H. Samsonowicz, A. Supruniuk, *Dzieje polityczne (połowa XIV – początek XVI w.)*, [In:] *Dzieje Mazowsza*, Vol. I. Ed. H. Samsonowicz. Pułtusk 2006, pp. 319–320.

5 More information on beekeepers in the Kurpie Forest in: J. Rafacz, *Regale bartne na Mazowszu w późniejszym średniowieczu*. Lwów 1938; R. Żukowski, *Bartnictwo w Zagajnicy Łomżyńskiej w okresie od połowy XVI do połowy XIX w.* Białystok 1965; A. Markowski, *O barciach i bartnikach w Zagajnicy Ostrołęckiej w wiekach XVI–XVIII*. Ostrołęka 1980 r.

World War II, quite numerous land properties. The beginning of the settlement dates back to the 11th–13th centuries and it was the so-called first Mazovia colonization.

Particularly favorable for Ostrołęka were the years 1526–1563. The beginning was the incorporation of the Duchy of Mazovia lands to the Crown<sup>6</sup>. Ostrołęka was back then one of the important towns in the north-east Mazovia, located on the Warsaw–Vilnius route, and it was the capital of the largest county in Łomża region. Trade and craft developed well, the inhabitants' wealth increased. By the Omulew River, a trade resort was established, in which a mill, brewery, a sawmill and a fulling mill ("folusz") were located<sup>7</sup>. Ostrołęka was given new, very advantageous privileges from Polish rulers – Zygmunt Stary, Zygmunt August, Stefan Batory and August III<sup>8</sup>. In 1563 there were approximately 2 thousand inhabitants and 337 houses in Ostrołęka<sup>9</sup>. Zofia Niedziałkowska, the author of the monograph on Ostrołęka, when describing the years 1526–1563 in the history of the town, used an expression "the golden age of Ostrołęka"<sup>10</sup>. Similar "golden ages" were noted in the nearby towns of Mazovia, i.a. Łomża and Ostrów<sup>11</sup>. Unfortunately, their up-and-coming development was drastically interrupted by fires, epidemics, wars with the Swedish, the so-called "Deluge", and the first northern war, so the second half of the 17th century and the first half of the 18th century were really unfavorable for all Mazovian towns, including Ostrołęka. It influenced the rapid, five times' decrease in the number of the inhabitants from 2 thousand in 1563 to 400 in 1676<sup>12</sup>.

6 In 1524, Stanisław, the Duke of Mazovia, died and in 1526 his brother, Janusz. Joining Mazovia to the Crown took place by the decision of the Mazovia parliament in Warsaw in 1529, legitimized by the Piotrków Privilege (27 December, 1529), and eventually solving the Mazovia case in 1537.

7 Fulling mill was a machine for fulling cloth.

8 Particularly important was the privilege of Zygmunt III dated 15 March, 1597, according to which i.a.: "[...] Ostrołęka's townspeople, when being townspeople, not peasants, were not used for peasant works, with letters from the Starost they went, hay and other things delivered, or they should not go to the manor, again the Starost, in order not to require beer from townspeople, he took the belonging fines from the townspeople in decent time on St. Martin Day, he allowed cutting dry wood, not used on beehives, he let the Mayors take the punishment called «bykowie»".

9 *Dzieje Mazowsza za panowania książąt przez F. Kozłowskiego*. Warszawa 1858, p. 394.

10 Z. Niedziałkowska, *Ostrołęka. Dzieje miasta*. Ostrołęka 2002, p. 50.

11 A. Dobroński, in his monograph on Ostrów *Dzieje Ostrowi Mazowieckiej do 1914 r.*, when writing about the town in the 16th–17th centuries, entitles one of the chapters "Golden Age" of Ostrów.

12 A rapid decrease in population was noted in actually all the Polish towns and cities, including, and perhaps even particularly, Mazovia. For instance, in Łomża, the decrease in population at that time was from 3300 to 300, in Nowogród from 1800 to 150, in Kolno from 1600 to 100, in Pułtusk from 3000 to 350, and in Różan from 2000 to 100. So, as we can see in the data, the towns in the neighbourhood of Ostrołęka and Ostrów noted even greater population loss, because from nearly tenfold (Pułtusk) to twentyfold (Różan). As

The turn of the 17th and the 18th centuries, and then the 18th century was the time of significant progress in the development of Ostrołęka, which could be reflected in the number of inhabitants. In 1777, there were 279 houses in Ostrołęka but the vetting carried out in this town in January 1792, together with the first personal as well as property census, and the street names, showed that in the town and the suburbs there were 1,480 inhabitants and 359 properties (in Ostrów in the same year there were 130 houses and 867 people). When comparing these numbers to the 1676 figures, we can note an almost 400% growth in the population of Ostrołęka, whereas in Ostrów it was 90%. Further in time, Ostrów again outnumbered Ostrołęka but approximately only in the half of the 19th century. "A town built up with wooden houses", – that is how Zofia Niedziałkowska, a conscientious researcher of Ostrołęka, described it at the end of the 18th century – "out of which only 25 were «decorated» with brick chimneys, gave an impression of a big, quite neat village. The central part was a spacious compact square. From the corners of the square, in the middle of which there was an also wooden town hall, the main streets were coming out at right angles. 3 imposing buildings in the town are 2 churches and a monastery"<sup>13</sup>.

The majority of Ostrołęka's inhabitants at that time were farmers, quite many were craftsmen. A comprehensive and consistently implemented plan of organizing towns and cities, primarily the royal ones, resulted in a clear economic recovery as well as changed the appearance and living conditions of the inhabitants. Ostrołęka then went down in Polish history because of its active participation in the Bar Confederation, the 1794 "black procession" in Warsaw and the Kościuszko Uprising (Madaliński's army marching out of Ostrołęka towards Cracow and a six-month defense of the town against Prussian troops).

The beneficial for Ostrołęka decisions of the partitioning Prussian authorities were related to a new administrative division because a large Ostrołęka County was established; it belonged to the Płock department, in a newly formed Province of New East Prussia (Neu-Ostprussen), which incorporated the areas of three former counties of Ostrołęka, Nur and Ostrów. It was an enormous county of approximately 1500 km<sup>2</sup> with as many as seven towns: Ostrołęka, Ostrów, Andrzejewo. Brok, Czyżew, Myszyniec and Nur.

The period of the autonomous Kingdom of Poland in the years 1815–1830, and particularly the last decade, was a successful time for Polish economy. Industry was developing and there was an increase in the population of towns, including Ostrołęka. As a result of the authorities' protective policy, various actions were taken in order to expand and rebuild towns. For that purpose, a special City Commission was established in 1820. The number of Ostrołęka's inhabitants increased significantly from 1195 people in 1810 and about 2000 in 1820 to 3030

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a consequence of the population loss, Ostrów became the most populated town in the region, slightly ahead of Ostrołęka.

13 Z. Niedziałkowska, *Zarys historyczny miasta Ostrołęki do 1945 r.* Ostrołęka 1989, p. 16.

inhabitants in 1827, so within a dozen or so years there was a nearly threefold growth in the number of residents<sup>14</sup>. In the classification of the cities in Mazovia in terms of population Warsaw kept the lead (131 484 inhabitants) ahead of Płock, Kutno, Maków and Pułtusk (each had over 4,000 residents). Ostrołęka, with 3,030 people, was eleventh. Continuing the demographic aspect, it must be stated that after the November Uprising Ostrołęka noted a catastrophic decrease in the number of inhabitants, which was a consequence of mainly two reasons. The first one was the damage during the Polish-Russian war and, particularly, in the battle of Ostrołęka on 26 May, 1831. The artillery attacks and the fire caused the loss of over a half of all the houses, the most magnificent buildings, i.e. the parish church, the monastery and the Bernardine church were also destroyed, as well as a just-started construction of a factory and an artisan settlement. The second reason was a raging cholera epidemic, which claimed many lives not only among the Tsarist and Polish army but also among the civilian population of the town.

The year 1866 was the time of important administrative decisions of Russian authorities, but less favorable to Ostrołęka. New governorates were established, including the Governorate of Łomża. Ostrołęka County was seriously reduced as it no longer incorporated the areas of Ostrów and Nur Counties, therefore the importance of the town itself significantly decreased.

At the end of the 19th century, there was an economic growth of Ostrołęka caused mainly by two circumstances. The first one was gaining and expanding important road and railway connections, and the second was building large new barracks and forming a military garrison. There was an important trade route leading through Ostrołęka at that time: Warsaw–Ostrołęka–Łomża–Suwałki–Petersburg. Also, Ostrołęka gained three railway connections (to Łapy through Śniadowo, to Pilawa through Tłuszcz and to Małkinia through Ostrów). On the other hand, the significance of the Narew water route decreased. Moreover, building a railway involved locating a Tsarist garrison in Ostrołęka. For the Russian army needs – regardless of the previously existing so-called Benedon barracks – there were new barracks built in Wojciechowice, along the road to Łomża. The construction lasted from 1892 to 1900 and, in total, there were 21 military objects built. Three regiments were quartered there- The 5th Niżegordzki Dragoon Regiment, The 6th Głuchowski Dragoon Regiment and The 21st

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14 I. Gieysztorowa, A. Zahorski, J. Łukasiewicz, *Cztery wieki Mazowsza*. Warszawa 1968, p. 303, Annex: *Ludność miast mazowieckich*; A. Dobroński, op. cit., p. 57; The data concerning the number of inhabitants in Ostrołęka differ from the findings of Z. Niedziałkowska (*Ostrołęka. Dzieje miasta...*, p. 149, 153), according to whom in 1826 Ostrołęka had 2562 inhabitants (1337 men and 1225 women), out of which in the town itself there were 1506 people (783 men and 723 women), but in 1829 – 2883 inhabitants, including 1720 people in the town.

Muromski Infantry Regiment as well as the 10th Battalion of Sappers, the Divisional Staff of the 6th Infantry Division and the command of the 1st Brigade<sup>15</sup>.

World War I and intense German-Russian fighting taking place here in 1915 caused enormous losses in the town's economy<sup>16</sup>, which was followed by a transfer of various goods to Russia (machines, devices, livestock and equipment) and an absolute confiscation policy of the German occupant.

Ostrołęka in the inter-war period was an agricultural town due to the inhabitants' professions and it reflected in their appearance. So, as Henryk Samsonowicz, an outstanding Polish historian, rightly stated in the preface to the publication on Mazovian towns: "[...] apart from craft and trade, services (well-known was the Mazovia beer, and, from some time ago, also booze in Mazovia taverns), they were inhabited by farmers, gardeners and cattle breeders. Townspeople-farmers is a profession and a social type known around Europe, but in Mazovia it was particularly frequent"<sup>17</sup>.

According to the first census in 1921, the population in Ostrołęka was 9 145 and in 1931 there were 13 341 inhabitants. Thus, the number of residents was clearly lower than in Łomża (22 014 inhabitants in 1921, 25 065 in 1931) as well as in nearby Ostrów (13 425 people in 1921, 17 600 in 1931). However, the percentage of the population growth in the decade between the censuses (1921–1931) was the highest in Ostrołęka as it reached 45,8% whereas in Ostrów 28% and in Łomża it was only 15%<sup>18</sup>. At the end of the inter-war period the population in Ostrołęka in 1937 was 13 500<sup>19</sup> and in September 1939 there were approximately 14 thousand inhabitants, in Ostrów the number of residents before the outbreak of the war fluctuated around 18 thousand and in Łomża the population was about 28 thousand.

Similarly to the situation before the war, as well as during the inter-war period, a significant influence on the town's life had the army. It concerned both the economic and cultural sphere. In Ostrołęka it was The 5th Regiment of Zaslav Uhlans stationing in the town since 26 May, 1921 and The 12th Mounted Artillery Division (both units were located in Wojciechowice in former Tsarist barracks). The benefits related to economic issues were mainly the sales of food and industrial goods to the army as well as providing various services. Due to orders

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15 A. Dobroński, *Walory wojskowe guberni łomżyńskiej przed I wojną światową*. Rocznik Białostocki 1976, Vol. XII, pp. 247–248.

16 For instance, damages of buildings reached about 75% and they were one of the greatest in the entire Kingdom of Poland.

17 H. Samsonowicz, *Introduction*, [In:] *Mazowieckie miasteczka na przestrzeni wieków. Wybrane zagadnienia rozwoju gospodarczego, społecznego i kulturowego*. Ed. A. Stawarz. Warszawa 1999, p. 8.

18 The results of the censuses in 1921 and 1931, own calculation. For example, at the same time, the number of Łomża inhabitants increased from 22 014 to 25 100, so barely by 14%.

<sup>19</sup> Z. Niedziałkowska, *Kronika najważniejszych wydarzeń z dziejów miasta Ostrołęki*. Ostrołęka 1989, s. 27.

from the army, such craftsmen as shoemakers, tailors, saddlers, blacksmiths and builders did well. A positive influence was also on local farmers who provided the army units with agricultural products – potatoes, bread, vegetables, fruit, dairy products and meat for the soldiers as well as feed for horses<sup>20</sup>. Even bigger was the influence in the patriotic-cultural and sports sphere, and here there was the main difference between the impact of the Tsarist army in the previous years and the Polish army, because the Polish army organized numerous patriotic and historical celebrations with the participation of the town's inhabitants. Apart from celebrating national holidays, such as the 3rd May, the 11th November and the 15th August (the Polish Army Day), it was first of all a regiment holiday for The 5th Regiment of Zaslów Uhlans on 23 September, i.e. an anniversary of a victorious battle of Zaslów in 1920. The 5th Regiment owned two rooms for the screening of films and a platoon of trumpet players, but it was particularly distinguished by sports activity, especially horse-riding.

Great achievements were also made in education. Apart from primary education (general), there were junior-high schools – female and male, which were then merged in 1932, as well as a sewing school for girls and an Artisan and Industrial School for boys. Jewish education was also developing well. However, due to serious underdevelopment from the period of the annexations and war as well as not completely universal teaching (reaching about 70% in 1930), it was not possible to completely eliminate illiteracy, although it decreased significantly (e.g. in Ostrołęka, in the years 1921–1931, from 30% to 20%). The development of education was followed by the development of readership, which was proved i.a. by creating networks of libraries. They were built near cultural and educational associations, cultural institutions and schools, and in 1936 the Municipal Public Library was opened in Ostrołęka. There were two cinemas – a private one, “Uciecha”, which belonged to the Lendowie family, and the other in Dom Kolejarza (The Railwayman's House) at the station.

In conclusion, it may be stated that inter-war Ostrołęka was a town which was the center of administration, trade and service for the county, without much chance of becoming a bigger center on its own merits.

During the occupation, Ostrołęka County was divided into three parts. The Town of Ostrołęka and northern communes were incorporated to the Third Reich, in Ciechanów Region, southern communes of the county to the General Government and some of them were incorporated to the Soviet Union.

Significant changes, whose effects can be seen until the present day, happened after World War II, starting from the turn of the 40s and the 50s. Ostrołęka was freed of German occupation during the so-called summer operation of the Red

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20 J. Dziewirski, J. Kijowski, H. Maćkowiak, *5 Pułk Ułanów Zaslowskich* (2nd ed. improved and expanded). Ostrołęka 1994, p. 86.

Army in 1944, under the codename “Bagration”<sup>21</sup> on 6 September, 1944. The post-war beginnings of Ostrołęka were really difficult. Actual recovery of normal life in the town happened only at the turn of January and February 1945, as within several months (September 1944 – January 1945) the life in Ostrołęka almost completely ended. Soviet soldiers took control over the town and on the other side of Narew there were Germans, permanent shooting and bombing took place, and the people were expelled mainly to nearby communes.

World War II, and especially the months from the beginning of September 1944 to the half of January 1945, caused enormous damage of the town and the county, including mainly the areas on the Narew River. Figuratively speaking, there were no unspoiled buildings in Ostrołęka, and many were completely burnt or demolished. In comparison to the situation in 1939, the general damage of Ostrołęka reached about 55%, and in the financial aspect, it was approximately 15–20 million pre-war zlotys<sup>22</sup>. Although war damage in Ostrołęka during World War II was much lower in percentage terms than during World War I (85%), it was still one of the biggest, not only in Mazovia but also in the entire country. Industrial plants in the town and the county, only few and not too big, completely collapsed. Entirely destroyed were i.a. two power plants, brick factories, sawmills and a watermill.

There were also major overall losses in population. According to estimated statistical data, in 1945 there were 7 950 inhabitants in Ostrołęka<sup>23</sup>, thus the decrease in population during the occupation was approximately 7 thousand (almost 50%). It happened as a result of various reasons, and the most important was the decline in Jewish population<sup>24</sup>. During the first post-war years, an increase in population was noted, e.g. in Ostrołęka from about 9 279 inhabitants in 1946 to 10 745 at the end of 1947, mainly because of the returns from the war, camps and compulsory works. Over the following several years there was stagnation in number of inhabitants<sup>25</sup>. As there was no work in Ostrołęka, some inhabitants emigrated mainly to the Recovered Territories but also to Warsaw and other urban centers. According to estimated data, 349 families and 1091 people had left

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21 The name of the operation “Bagration” derives from the surname of a Russian commander, Piotr Bagration (1765–1812), Georgian duke, general of the Tsarist army, renowned in the Napoleonic Wars in 1805, 1806–1807 and 1812, who fell at the battle of Borodino.

22 Bigger damage in Warsaw Voivodeship was only in Maków Mazowiecki (85,6%), The National Archives of the Capital City of Warsaw (APW), The Warsaw Provincial Office (UWW), War Compensation Department, sign. 40.

23 *Powszechny Sumaryczny Spis Ludności* dated 14.II.1946 r. Warszawa 1947, p. 25.

24 Before the war, out of approximately 15 000 inhabitants (1939), 1/3, so 5 000, were Jewish.

25 In 1945, the population in Ostrołęka was 7 950, increasing to 9 279 in 1946 and to 10 745 in 1947, whereas in 1949 it was about 10 600, in 1949 approximately 10 500, in 1950 – 10 409, in 1950 – about 10 700, and only in 1951 it exceeded the number of 11 000.

Ostrołęka by 31 January, 1946<sup>26</sup> (12% of the town's population). That decrease in population was slightly compensated by the returns of repatriates from the Soviet Union. In the years 1947–1951, there was basically no population growth in Ostrołęka (10 745 in 1947 and 10 700 in 1951), in the years 1952–1960 it was several hundred persons per year. It is also worth noting that, in terms of demography, the pre-war number of inhabitants in Ostrołęka was reached only in 1960 (15 216).

The first post-war years were dedicated to rebuilding the town after a damaging war. At the beginning of February 1945, municipal and county authorities, established in the southern part of the county, returned to Ostrołęka. The town hall, churches, shops, craft workshops and apartments were rebuilt. Within a few months all four primary schools and three secondary schools were opened, health care and social care were organized, sports and cultural activities started. Political parties, youth, union and social organizations started their functioning.

Particularly important for the development of Ostrołęka and having great impact on its future were the decisions made by central state and party authorities, concerning the objectives and then the implementation of the 6-Year Plan (1950–1955). As part of industrializing the country and equalizing the differences in economic development of Poland (well-developed Poland “A” on the left side of the Vistula and poorly-developed Poland “B” on the right side), the decisions to build a cellulose and paper factory as well as an electrical power and heating plant were made<sup>27</sup>.

It was related, among other things, to the necessity of expanding the cellulose and paper industry, which declined in over 50% during the war, and at the same time to a deepening shortage of paper, cardboard and packages. Thus, the central authorities made a decision to build from scratch big cellulose and paper conglomerates. The first one was supposed to be the Ostrołęka's Cellulose and Paper Factory. The initiative to build it started with the authorities of Ostrołęka, but the decision carried a political and economic aspect. Building a paper factory in Ostrołęka together with an electrical power and heating plant was treated as an experimental field for other designed factories of this type (Kwidzyń, Świecie on the Vistula River). What determined its location was the weak industrialization of this region, labor force surpluses, the abundance of water, raw materials and

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26 The Archives of the Capital City of Warsaw and Warsaw Voivodeship (APW), the Warsaw Provincial Office (UWW), the Information and Propaganda Office (UI i P), sign. 478; Further on the resettlement action from the Ostrołęka County to the Recovered Territories in: J. Kijowski, *Przesiedlenia ludności Kurpiowszczyzny na Ziemię Odzyskaną po II wojnie światowej ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem powiatu ostrołęckiego (pogranicze mazursko-kurpiowskie)*. Olsztyn–Ostrołęka 1998, pp. 92–104.

27 Initially, it was supposed to be a power plant only for the needs of the cellulose and paper factory, later it turned into an electrical power and heating plant for the town and the region's needs.



railway connections. The construction was located in the Wojciechowice district, on the area of former Tsarist, then Polish barracks. The conglomerate was designed mainly according to foreign documentation and was aimed at producing different kinds of paper, cardboard, boxes, cellulose and paper bags. The factory was commissioned in 1959 (the first stage). It was equipped with the latest, at that time, on a European and global scale, machines and production devices.

The second stage of building the factory lasted from 1961 to 1966. It was mainly the time of constructing and starting-up the pulp mill, which took place in 1966 and resulted in opening the Ostrołęka's Cellulose and Paper Mills (OZCP). After a complete start-up in 1967, there were approximately 2600 people working in the factory, and an estimated annual value of OZCP production was 2,3 billion zlotys.

Building the Ostrołęka's Cellulose and Paper Factory was closely related to constructing Elektrociepłownia Ostrołęka (the Electrical Power and Heating Plant Ostrołęka). It was also located in Wojciechowice, which was going to become an industrial district of Ostrołęka in the future. The construction of Elektrociepłownia Ostrołęka, which lasted over three years, ended on 21 July, 1956. The first boiler OP-100 was also placed in service, followed by others. Elektrociepłownia Ostrołęka (later Zespół Elektrowni Ostrołęka) together with the Cellulose and Paper Factory (later Ostrołęka's Cellulose and Paper Mills) created a new industrial landscape in Ostrołęka and changed the inhabitants' lives. At the same time, there were also established: a worker cooperative "Narew" and "Przyszłość", the District Cooperative Dairy (Okręgowa Spółdzielnia Mleczarska), the National Machinery Center (Państwowy Ośrodek Maszynowy). In trade, there was the Popular Grocers Cooperative "Społem" (Powszechna Spółdzielnia Spożywców "Społem"), the Urban Retail Trade (Miejski Handel Detaliczny) and agricultural cooperatives (Municipal Cooperatives "Samopomoc Chłopska").

Due to the fact that since 1956 the electrical power and heating plant had been functioning and since 1959 – the Ostrołęka's Cellulose and Paper Factory (OFCiP), and the number of their employees was increasing, it also influenced the rise in the town's population. For instance, in 1955, Ostrołęka was inhabited by 12 105 people and Ostrów by 12 705<sup>28</sup>, so basically the number of inhabitants in the two towns was equal, then Ostrołęka gradually but successively started to outnumber Ostrów.

Another impetus towards the economic development was given in 1968. At that time, in accordance with a resolution of the Council of Ministers, the implementation of a development plan, prepared by a work group of Sub-regional Plan of the city of Warsaw and Warsaw Voivodeship, called "The Principles of Warsaw Region Development until 1985", was started. The plan assumed creating spatial arrangement, working against an influx of people to Warsaw and its

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28 M. Bartniczak, *Podziały administracyjne w powiecie Ostrów Mazowiecka*, [In:] *Ostrów Mazowiecka. Z dziejów miasta i powiatu...*, p. 305.

suburban zone, as well as establishing strong sub-regional centers. It was assumed that five sub-regional centers would be functioning (Warsaw, Płock, Siedlce, Ciechanów and Ostrołęka centres), and particularly rapidly developing were supposed to be the capitals of those sub-regions, thus also Ostrołęka. The second stage of the industrialization of Ostrołęka started at that time and, as it turned out later, it was the largest investment programme in the whole history of the town, and, most importantly, it was almost entirely implemented<sup>29</sup>. The most important investments in Ostrołęka completed within the years 1968–1975 were: Power Plant “B”, Meat Factory, Sand and Lime Plants, Cellular Concrete Plants “Prefabet”, Factory of Large-Panel Building Elements, a greenhouse conglomerate and a powdered-milk factory. In general, the investment costs in Ostrołęka in the years 1960–1975 were 10 billion zlotys, half of which was spent during the five-year period of 1970–1975<sup>30</sup>. The investments were carried out by large companies, such as: Warsaw Company of Power Station Construction and Industry “Beton-Stal”, Warsaw Industrial Construction Company “Kablobeton”, Mounting Power Plants and Industrial Devices Company “Energomontaż Północ”, “Elektrobudowa”, as well as an Italian company “Techno-Petropol” (the construction of the powdered-milk factory).

Industrializing Ostrołęka influenced the population growth of the town, which reached 22 160 inhabitants in 1970<sup>31</sup> so, within 15 years, the number of residents in Ostrołęka increased by over 10 thousand (about 45%), whereas in Ostrów the population was 15 010, so it increased by nearly 1700 (about 14%).

A further distinctive deepening of the difference between Ostrów and Ostrołęka, both in terms of economic development and population, took place in the period of 1975–1998. By the decision of central authorities, changes in administrative division of the country were made, from three-stage to two-stage (municipalities, voivodeships), liquidation of counties and creating 49 voivodeships instead of the 16 existing so far. The capital of one of the newly-established voivodeships was Ostrołęka, which increased the importance of the town. Ostrołęka did not carry out any significant industrial investment at that time, though, as it was the second half of Gierek’s rule and, because of the necessity to repay the loans (whose interest rates, in fact, rapidly increased from about 7% to 21%), the investment boom in the country finished. On the other hand, housing and accompanying building in Ostrołęka were developing rapidly, which actually had impact on the town’s population growth. Ostrołęka, during its “voivodeship”, grew in the number of inhabitants from approximately 28 000 in 1975 to 55 271 in 1998, so the population actually doubled within less than a quarter of a century. The

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29 Planned but not implemented at that time investments in Ostrołęka were: i.a. building a shredding mill and a granary, a textile and clothing factory, a factory of precast units for industrial construction as well as a factory using bark from OZCP.

30 J. Kijowski, *Dzieje Ostrołęki 1944–2000*. Ostrołęka 2002, p. 480.

31 Ibidem, p. 688, Annex No. 10: *Ludność Ostrołęki w latach 1945–2000*.

number of inhabitants of Ostrów at that time increased by a little more than 38% (from 16 000 to about 22 000).

Political and economic transformation at the turn of the 80s and the 90s of the 20th century was quite lenient for Ostrołęka. The biggest workplaces remained, e.g. Ostrołęka Cellulose and Paper Factory and Ostrołęka Power Station, the others were transformed and only a few were closed down.

To sum up, a number of general comments. A few centuries long history of Ostrołęka was and is related to Mazovia, the central district of Poland, additionally “honored” with the capital of the country – Warsaw. Ostrołęka went through difficult years (wars, fires, epidemics) as well as good ones. It went down in the history of the region and the country for many times, mainly due to political and military events, less frequently economic. The central authorities’ decisions influenced such situation as they decided to “make Ostrołęka happy” by carrying out two investments of significant importance: the electrical power and heating plant as well as the Ostrołęka’s Cellulose and Paper Factory, and then other investments crowned with the promotion of the town to the capital of the voivodeship. Happiness, however, did not last long, less than a quarter of a century, but the advantage remained.

Long was also the list of planned projects which were never completed. Some of them were: building in Ostrołęka a windmill with a milling quality of 150 tonnes per 24 hours and a granary of 20 thousand tones capacity, a factory of precast units for industrial construction, a textile and clothing factory (mainly to employ women), a plastic parts factory and a factory using bark from OZCP.

Investment costs for Ostrołęka in the years 1970–1975 reached 5 billion zlotys, whereas the last two five-year periods, i.e. 1960–1970, were in total almost 4 billion zlotys. Industrializing Ostrołęka was so fast and extensive that other aspects of social and economic life, i.a. housing and accompanying building, education and culture as well as healthcare, fell far behind. Several big construction companies were brought to Ostrołęka, including “Beton-Stal”, “Kablobeton” and Ostrów Construction Company. At the opportunity of constructing the production sites, there were other facilities built: a post office, a sports stadium, Dom Sportowca (Sportsman’s House) and a bus depot.

Industrializing Ostrołęka increased the number of the town’s inhabitants. In 1970, the population in Ostrołęka was already 22 160<sup>32</sup>. So, within 15 years, there had been an increase in population by over 10 thousand people (approximately 45%).

One of the characteristics of the Kurpie region development was the concentration of industrial investments, and then the production sites, in Ostrołęka itself, almost entirely excluding the county’s area, so a peculiar “Ostrołęka-centricity”. Apart from Communal Cooperatives “Samopomoc Chłopska”, the only factories located outside the town were: Dziewiarska Spółdzielnia Pracy (Knitting

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32 Ibidem.

Worker Cooperative) “Pełta” in Myszyniec, which was a branch of the Cooperative from Pułtusk<sup>33</sup>, Zakłady Przemysłu Torfowego (Peat Industries) in Karaska (Municipality of Kadzidło) and Zakłady Cegły Silikatowej (Silicate Brick Factory) in Kruki (Municipality of Olszewo-Borki). Ostrołęka County varied from other nearby counties because, e.g. in Maków County, the production sites were not only in Maków but also in Różan, in Ostrów County – in Małkinia, and in Przasnysz County – in Chorzele.

Following the industrial development, the number of Ostrołęka’s inhabitants grew rapidly. In 1960, the population was 15 216, increasing within over 10 years until 1970 by about 50% and reaching the number of 22 160, and then, within the next five years (1970–1975), the population growth was almost identical to the one in the previous decade, i.e. by nearly 6 thousand people, reaching 28 040.

Significant changes also took place in the demography of the county. Following the population growth in the town, the number of inhabitants in communes systematically decreased. In 1970, the overall population in the county was 90 000, including 22 000 in Ostrołęka and 68 000 in villages, but in 1975 the total number of inhabitants was 94 600, including 28 000 in the town and 66 600 in villages. Thus, along with the population growth in the town by nearly 6 000 people, the number of rural inhabitants decreased by 2 000 people. Population loss was noted in every commune. The major “cause” of the decrease in the number of rural inhabitants was Ostrołęka’s industry which absorbed workforce, but still, next to a relatively big group of peasants-workers, more and more workers settled in the town within occupational, cooperative and individual building schemes. With some simplification, it can be stated that the town’s population growth equals the number of inhabitants “taken over” from communes, natural growth and persons from outside the county. In terms of demography, my obligation is to mention two more factors, one positive – reduction in mortality (particularly infants) and negative – decrease in natural growth.

Industry development was accompanied by numerous economic and social phenomena, both positive and negative. Thus, for instance, labor force surpluses, mainly in the northern part of Ostrołęka County, with poor soil of the Green Forest, were successfully managed. Plus, a relatively numerous category of peasants-workers was created. Combining farming and working in industry had impact on the irregularity of work and low workforce productivity in factories. Agricultural production, trade and services did not keep pace with the industrial development. The extent to which Ostrołęka was equipped with technical infrastructure was not sufficient. Summing up the period after World War II, it must be admitted that the years 1945–1998 were one of the best or even the best years in the entire 644-year history of the town, being a kind of the second “Golden Age” in its history.

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33 Worker Cooperative “Pełta” in Myszyniec was established in the middle of the 70s, using the premises after railway workshops of a closed narrow gauge railway.

An important role in the history of the town played the Narew River, one of the longest rivers in Poland<sup>34</sup>. It was pointed out by prof. Adam Dorobiński in the Introduction to a publication titled *Narew w dziejach i współczesności Mazowsza i Podlasia* (The Narew in the history and the present times of Mazovia and Podlasie), in which he wrote: “[...] The Narew River, along with the valley, determined the direction of settlement but also joined various tribes and, in later centuries, ethnic groups, nationalities, religions with their different culture and customs. This river decided on the career of boroughs and towns, had a significant impact on defining trade routes on land, contributed to the development of some crafts and branches of industry, influenced municipal or urban engineering, it was also used to mark borders in administrative divisions and war planning”<sup>35</sup>.

The meaning of the Narew River in the history of Ostrołęka was also described in the same publication by Jerzy Kijowski in his article *Rola Narwi w dziejach Ostrołęki oraz mosty ostrołęckie* (The role of the Narew in the history of Ostrołęka and Ostrołęka's bridges). Between the 14th and the 19th centuries, it was a positive function (waterways transport, protection from enemies, fishing, building watermills), with hardly any threat of flooding (numerous oxbows, forests and marshes absorbing excess water). In the 20th century, the fact of the town's location on the river caused major damage in both world wars because the Narew River was the borderline between two enemies. It had, however, a positive impact on the decision to build the electrical power and heating plant as well as the paper and cellulose factory because the abundance of water was one of the main arguments for building those plants.

It is rather difficult to assess the economic situation of Ostrołęka in the latest years, i.e. since 1999 until the present day, because a short time distance from those events does not allow their complete objective assessment, but some conclusions and reflections may be already drawn. Nowadays, the pace of Ostrołęka's development is unfortunately poor. No new investments are undertaken (apart from the investments within Stora Enso Company), residential construction, especially multi-family housing, has basically stopped, more and more young educated inhabitants of the town are looking for a place for themselves in nearby Warsaw or in much further European countries, and only new supermarkets, megastores and other shopping malls pop up like mushrooms. The railway nod in Ostrołęka has actually collapsed. One of the most concrete facts of this collapse is the demographic data, which clearly indicate the stagnation of Ostrołęka. In the years 1998–2000, the population of Ostrołęka basically remained stable, or even increased a little (in 1998 – 55 271, 1999 – 55 511, 2000 – 55 658) and since 2001

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34 The Narew River, the 5th largest river in Poland (after the Vistula, the Oder, the Bug and the Warta), nearly 450 km long. It flows out of marshy areas of the Białowieża Forest in Belarus and it has a basin of approximately 75 thousand km<sup>2</sup>.

35 A. Dobroński, *Introduction*, [In:] *Narew w dziejach i współczesności Mazowsza i Podlasia*. Eds. A. Dobroński, W. Grębocka. Łomża 2004.

the number of inhabitants has been gradually decreasing (in 2001 – 55 390, in 2005 – 54 543, in 2010 – 53 390, and in 2012 – 52 877). Two factors influenced and have influence on that situation: lower natural growth and negative migration balance (the natural growth in Ostrołęka and the county was systematically increasing during the post-war period, reaching almost 20 per mils, and nowadays it has dropped to only a few per mils). It was a result of, among other things, the loss of Ostrołęka's "voivodeship", which was not only a failure in prestige but also meant specific economic and social losses. The most significant was the decrease in employment by about 5 thousand people, who so far worked in widely understood voivodeship administration. At the same time, in the recent years, we may notice economic slowdown of the town and the decrease in population. The amount of the funds spent by the town on investments can be given as an example. In 2010, it was approximately 60 million, in 2015 – 20 million, and in 2016 – barely 9 million (3% of the budget). In the Ostrołęka county budget, for instance, annually about 30-40% was allocated for investments (in 2014, 36% of the budget funds was spent). Relatively big – but safe and in accordance with regulations – was also the indebtedness of Ostrołęka because, in the recent years, it oscillated around 100 million zlotys (in 2015 – 108 million, in 2016 – 99 million). Certain signs of improvement in investments occurred in the 2017 budget of Ostrołęka, mainly due to external funds on building voivodeship roads running through the town.

On the other hand, school and sports premises have improved, a new hospital has been put into use (after "only" 25 years from the beginning of the investment!), a water park, a mausoleum of the November Uprising, new public buildings, e.g. the College of Public Administration, the Marshal Office and municipal buildings. The number of churches has also increased (from three to six), banks (from three to approximately thirty), cars, streets, pavements, but the number of bike paths, unfortunately, remains steady. The educational attainment rates have significantly increased, the percentage of people with higher education is growing systematically and the percentage of people without secondary education is decreasing at a similar pace. We have two higher-education institutions – one private (School for Higher Education in Public Administration), the other social (Higher School of Economy and Sociology), unfortunately no public ones.

The most important problems to be solved are creating new workplaces, which would have impact on decreasing unemployment rates, actually quite low right now – about 8–10%, building a bypass road of the town with the third bridge on the Narew River, building a road to Warsaw through Goworowo – Wyszaków, improving road condition, building bike paths, decreasing pollution and developing the areas by the Narew.

Conclusively, some reflections, comparisons and generalizations. Let us begin with Ostrołęka's location and its role over the centuries, particularly in relation to the surrounding areas. It was basically a leading role all the time. Ostrołęka was, both formally and actually, the center of the region. Formally, it was the seat of

Ostrołęka County, with the borders of the county actually remaining the same. The exception was the period from the partitions of Poland to 1866, when the county included three former counties (of Ostrołęka, Ostrów and Nur) as well as the years 1975–1998, when the Ostrołęka County was dissolved but the voivodeship of Ostrołęka was established. All the major industrial factories, institutions, schools, especially secondary, were located in Ostrołęka, and since 1976, also higher education, a hospital, cultural and sports centers.

Comparing Ostrołęka to nearby towns, mainly from north-east Mazovia, varied over the centuries. Let us first refer to Łomża. For several centuries it was superior to Ostrołęka, as the capital of Łomża Land, which used to include, among others, Ostrołęka County, later the capital of the governorate (1866–1915). Additionally, in 1925, occurred the ecclesial dependence of the Ostrołęka parish on a newly-established Łomża Diocese. Therefore, Łomża has actually always outnumbered Ostrołęka in terms of population. In the period of the greatest development of towns in Mazovia, in the 16th century, Łomża was inhabited by approximately 3000 people and was the largest town in the Mazovia voivodeship, just after Warsaw and Przasnysz. Ostrołęka at that time had about 2 000 inhabitants.

Interesting is the comparison of the population of five towns from north-east Poland, which were voivodeship towns in the years 1975–1998 (the comparison does not include “old” voivodeship cities, i.e. Olsztyn and Białystok). The data covers the years from 1946, so from the end of World War II, to the present day (2015).

Table 1

Comparison of the population of five towns from north-east Poland

| Nb. | Year | Ostrołęka | Ciechanów | Łomża  | Suwałki | Biała Podlaska |
|-----|------|-----------|-----------|--------|---------|----------------|
| 1   | 1946 | 9 279     | 13 588    | 14 173 | 13 670  | 15 496         |
| 2   | 1950 | 10 409    | 16 237    | 15 272 | 15 456  | 13 689         |
| 3   | 1960 | 15 216    | 20 803    | 19 253 | 19 868  | 20 486         |
| 4   | 1975 | 28 040    | 27 349    | 29 006 | 30 558  | 31 765         |
| 5   | 2000 | 55 818    | 47 607    | 65 112 | 69 092  | 58 958         |
| 6   | 2015 | 52 611    | 44 506    | 62 737 | 69 370  | 57 414         |

Source: Statystyka miast i osiedli 1945–1965. GUS, Warszawa 1967; Rocznik Demograficzny z lat 1976, 2001, 2016.

Definitely, Ostrołęka had the worst start, with 9279 inhabitants, whereas the other four towns quite clearly outnumbered it, from approximately 30–35% (Suwałki, Ciechanów, Łomża) to over 40% (Biała Podlaska). After several years

(data from 1950), Ciechanów noted the biggest increase by 2645 people, Suwałki – by 1786, Ostrołęka – by 1130 and Łomża by 1099, whereas in Biała Podlaska the population significantly decreased – by 1807 people. Another 10 years (1950–1960) was the period of an increase in the towns' population: the biggest increase was in the former outsider, Biała Podlaska, by 6777, the lowest in Łomża (3981), and Ostrołęka was the second in this table (population growth by 4801). Within the years 1960–1975, so the last 15 years of “county” Poland, Ostrołęka reached a record level of population growth (12 284), ahead of Biała Podlaska (11 279), Suwałki (10 690), Łomża (9753) and Ciechanów (only 6546). The period of voivodeship of those towns, so, as we assumed to simplify, the years 1975–2000, instead of 1975–1998, was the time of an increase in population, in Suwałki – by 38 534, in Łomża – by 36 106; Ostrołęka at that time increased in the number of inhabitants by 27 778, in Suwałki it was almost the same (27 293), and the lowest increase was in Ciechanów (20 358).

The last fifteen years (2000–2015), for the majority of the discussed towns, brought a decrease in population, and the biggest was in Ostrołęka (3207 persons), then in Ciechanów – 3101, Łomża – 2475 and Suwałki (only 1544), Biała Podlaska was the only town which noted relatively small but still an increase in population (78 people).

The nearly six-and-a-half-century history of Ostrołęka has been running in a sinusoidal manner. The periods of prosperity intertwined with the times of stagnation, but the breakdowns happened as a result of both – and most often – external reasons and, less frequently, internal ones, specific only to Ostrołęka. It was usually related to wars taking place in the country, such as the “Swedish Deluge”, the First Northern War, the November Uprising, the First and Second World Wars as well as fires, epidemics and the liquidation of the Ostrołęka voivodeship in 1998. The periods of prosperity, however, were usually related to beneficial for Ostrołęka decisions of superior authorities, most often central. Such was the situation with, for instance, the decision to incorporate Ostrołęka, as part of Mazovia, to the Crown in 1526, and then the implementation of the 1823 so-called plan of the Minister of the Treasury, Ksawery Drucki Lubecki, interrupted relatively quickly and rapidly by the outbreak of the November Uprising and the Battle of Ostrołęka on 26 May, 1831, the adoption of the 6-year plan (with two major investments in Ostrołęka – the electrical power and heating plant and the cellulose and paper factory), as well as the administrative division changes in the country in June, 1975, which resulted in establishing Ostrołęka voivodeship.



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### **SUMMARY**

The article deals with certain issues selected from the entire, over 600-year-old, history of Ostrołęka. Particularly highlighted are such problems as: periodization, demography, some economic and social issues as well as the role of the Narew River in the development of the town. As far as it is possible, the indicators of Ostrołęka are compared to the indicators of other nearby towns. Various historical, archival and printed sources are used, as well as publications. Relatively interesting, perhaps controversial, is the discussion on the present times (since the Ostrołęka voivodeship liquidation in 1999 to the present day).

### **STRESZCZENIE**

Artykuł traktuje o wybranych zagadnieniach z dziejów Ostrołęki w całej jej ponad 600-letniej historii. Szczególnie wyeksponowane są takie problemy jak: periodyzacja, demografia, niektóre sprawy gospodarcze i społeczne oraz rola rzeki Narwi w rozwoju miasta. Na ile to możliwe, wskaźniki ostrołęckie porównywane są ze wskaźnikami innych, sąsiednich miast. Wykorzystane są różnorodne źródła historyczne zarówno archiwalne, jak i drukowane oraz opracowania. Dość ciekawe, być może kontrowersyjne, są rozważania dotyczące czasów najnowszych (od likwidacji województwa ostrołęckiego w 1999 r. do chwili obecnej).

**Key words:** Ostrołęka, history, economy, the Narew River, investments, demography

**Słowa kluczowe:** Ostrołęka, historia, ekonomia, Narew, inwestycje, demografia

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## JEWS IN THE KURPIE FOREST

### ŻYDZI NA OBSZARZE PUSZCZY KURPIOWSKIEJ

#### **Introduction**

The Kurpie Forest, also known as the Green Forest, used to be called Zagajnica; the present name derives from the people who lived in this region: *Kurpie Zielone* (*Green Kurpie*) (in distinction to *White*), inhabiting the area between Pułtusk and Ostrów Maz.). The region covers approximately 2,000 km<sup>2</sup>, situated between the rivers Narew (from the south), Pisa (from the east), Orzyc (from the west) and a former Polish-Prussian border (from the north); the area now spreads across the Voivodeship of Mazovia ( $\frac{3}{4}$  of Kurpie), Podlasie ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ) and Warmia-Masuria (Dąbrowy village). The “capital” of Kurpie is the town of Myszyniec, vying for this name with Kadzidło, which is slightly bigger but still a village<sup>1</sup>.

The aim of the dissertation is to demystify the history of Jewish community inhabiting the region of the Kurpie Forest from the beginning of their settlement to the extermination during the World War II, and, in particular, to show the community’s contribution to an overall social development of the region discussed. The main sources of information are archival materials from The Central Archives of Historical Records (AGAD), the Archives of the Jewish Historical Institute (ŻIH) and the National Archives in Białystok (APB), including the Department in Łomża (APŁ), as well as printed materials<sup>2</sup>. Available publications on the discussed region and the history of Jewish communities in northern Mazovia were also used.

#### **Jewish settlements in the Green Forest during the Noble’s Republic of Poland**

During the time of The First Republic of Poland, Zagajnica Forest belonged to the dukes of Mazovia and then (after incorporating this part of Mazovia to the Crown in 1526) to Polish kings, and it was a part of the Mazovia Voivodeship but in the area of Łomża, together with the following county administrations of Łomża, Nowogród and Ostrołęka. The towns built on the edges of the Forest (Kolno,

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<sup>1</sup> M. Żerański, *Kurpie. Puszcza Zielona. Przewodnik turystyczny*. Cieszyn 2008, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> What needs to be highlighted is: *Mazowsze Północne w XIX–XX wieku. Materiały źródłowe 1795–1956*. Elab. J. Szczepański. Warszawa–Pułtusk 1997.

Nowogród, Ostrołęka, Chorzele) were the “guidance of cultural work”<sup>3</sup> for fairly unstable at first settlement (beekeepers, charcoal burners, hunters, fishermen). In the light of the eldest description of Zagajnica, it seems that the majority of the population were, however, immigrants from Prussia, thus Lutherans<sup>4</sup>. Since 1650, there had been a Jesuit mission<sup>5</sup> in the Forest, with confrontational attitude towards Lutheran Prussia, which may have created more comfortable living conditions for Jewish people- that was the case in Węgrowo, where Jews took place of the Protestants leaving the town managed by new owners, Krasińscy, who conducted an intolerant policy towards Jews. Unfortunately, no certain records from the 17th century relating to the presence of Jews in this area have been found so far<sup>6</sup>.

The process of Jews coming to Mazovia began in the 13th century (the eldest reference about Jews in Płock is dated 1237)<sup>7</sup>. Trade routes along the Vistula river, the Narew and the Bug encouraged Jewish merchants to settle in Płock, Warsaw, Wyszogród, Pułtusk and Wyszaków.

Mazovia was different from other districts of The First Republic of Poland in a matter of its uniformity: Polishness, Catholicism and poor urbanization. “Before the Partitions of Poland, Jewish population lived mainly on ethnically non-Polish lands, where the majority of inhabitants were Ukrainians, Belarusians and Lithuanians [...]. On ethnically Polish lands [...] lived 171 804 Jews [excluding infants under the age of 1, according to the census of Jewish people in 1765 – J.M.], representing 29,24% of the overall number of the population of Jews, but in the areas of mainly non-Polish population there were 415 854 Jews, representing 70,76%”<sup>8</sup>. In the Mazovia Voivodeship at that time there were 10 379 Jews, in the Płock Voivodeship (Northern Mazovia) – 3960, whereas in the Russian Voivodeship, for instance, 100111, in the Voivodeship of Trock – 33 738, Podlasie – 19 403. Interestingly, Jewish population used to live in towns and cities (e.g. in the Kalisz Voivodeship – 98,79%, the Łęczyca Voivodeship – 66,36%, the Sieradz Voivodeship – 77,53%). The situation was different in the Mazovia Voivodeship,

<sup>3</sup> L. Krzywicki, *Kurpie*. Warszawa 1962, s. 516, as cited in: Z. Niedziałkowska, *Kurpie. Bory Ostrołęckie*, Warszawa 1988, p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> *Najstarszy opis Puszczy Kurpiowskiej spisany przez jezuitę Łukasza Kościeszę załuskiego w czasie misji odbytej w lasach, Zagajnica, około 1650*, [In:] M.K. Kozłowska, *Duchowe i materialne wytwory kurpiowskiej kultury ludowej jako wyraz działalności myszynieckiej misji jezuickiej w latach 1650–1773*. Ostrołęka 2009, pp. 79–80.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 12–23.

<sup>6</sup> AGAD, *Księgi ziemskie ostrołęckie 1633–1670*.

<sup>7</sup> J. Szczepański, *Dzieje społeczności żydowskiej powiatów Pułtusk i Maków Mazowiecki*. Warszawa 1993, p. 7.

<sup>8</sup> A. Podraza, *Żydzi i wieś w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, [In:] *Żydzi w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej. Materiały z konferencji Autonomia Żydów w Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej*. Wrocław–Warszawa 1991, p. 243.

where out of the total population of 10 379 Jews, 4092 (39,43%) lived in cities, and 6287 (60,57%) in the countryside<sup>9</sup>.

The situation in question can be explained by a confluence of some consequences. Jews living on non-Polish rural areas were intermediaries between noblemen (Polish or polonized) and peasants, i.a. as tax-collectors, lessees of taverns, breweries. In Mazovia, where gentry prevailed, the role of Jews was not significant. However, much more important was the fact that Jewish community was banned from living in most cities of Mazovia (there were only few private cities, and only their owners, who cared for their income, weren't prejudiced against Jews, especially when it came to trade<sup>10</sup>).

The functioning of Jewish community was often connected with the attitude of the Catholic Church in The First Republic of Poland towards Jews, which was related to church councils and successive Popes. Although local conditions did not always allow the all-Church doctrines of proceedings against Jews to be realized, the Polish ordinaries were yet obliged to release the canons of *De Judaeis* and Pastoral Epistles; some of them actually did that with apparent reluctance towards religious dissenters<sup>11</sup>. The bishops of Płock, who managed the Catholic congregation from Northern Mazovia, were no different in this respect. As far as the Church goods are concerned, the bishops usually undertook to discard Jewish lessees, which was the case in Pułtusk and Wyszaków, managed by the bishop of Płock<sup>12</sup>. The antipathy towards Jews is confirmed by the protocols of visitation in a parish in the Diocese of Płock, in which the Jewish were described as following: "they do not bring any good to the Church, even though they settle in Catholic places and apartments [...] Drunkenness is common among Jews"<sup>13</sup>. However, it is necessary to point out here that, despite the official rigid attitude towards Jews, it was the part of Catholic clergy, especially the monastic as they did not abide by bishop decrees, who willingly used the opportunity to increase their income collected from the Jewish lessees of parish goods, breweries and taverns, as well as of built or repaired synagogues<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem, p. 244.

<sup>10</sup> ŻIH, Master's theses written before 1939 r. (dissertations written under prof. Majer Bałaban's supervision), sign. 117/2 (E. Szejnberg, *Szlachta polska a Żydzi w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku*. Warszawa 1937), p. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Bishop Stefan Rupniewski wrote in a pastoral letter *O Żydach* in 1722 r.: "Not only did they almost deprive themselves of their disgraceful slavish name in Poland, publicly conduct their celebrations, customs, and services, usurbing all the freedom, but also over Christians they want to rule, and take away from them trade, mercantilism, art, craft, and other ways of earning a living", as cited in: A. Kaźmierczyk, *Polscy biskupi wobec Żydów w XVIII wieku*, [In:] *Rzeczpospolita wielu wyznań*. Materiały z międzynarodowej konferencji. Kraków, 18–20.11.2002. Ed. A. Kaźmierczyk et al. Kraków 2004, p. 351.

<sup>12</sup> J. Szczepański, *Dzieje społeczności żydowskiej...*, p. 8.

<sup>13</sup> J. Szczepański, *Společność żydowska Mazowska w XIX–XX wieku*. Pułtusk 2005, p. 30.

<sup>14</sup> A. Kaźmierczyk, op. cit., pp. 352–355.

In terms of organization, Jews were related to religious communities – kahals and subordinated kehilas (przykahalki), and if the population was small (or they appeared later) they belonged to the nearest kahal<sup>15</sup>. According to the census of 1765, there were 2763 Jews over the age of 1 living in the area of Łomża; they all belonged to the kahal of Tykocin (tab. 1). Nearly half of them lived in the Stawiski parish; within the Zagajnica region Jews were found in the eastern part (the Lipniki parish was established only in 1838 and its account occurred in later censuses of Jewish communities).

Table 1

Jews on Łomża Land in 1765 according to Catholic parishes

| Parish             | Organization of Jews | Kahals they belonged to | Number of heads* |
|--------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|------------------|
| Stawiski           | Kehila               | Tykocin                 | 1005             |
| Zambrów            | Kehila               | Tykocin                 | 197              |
| Jabłonka Kościelna | Kehila               | Tykocin                 | 92               |
| Rudki              | –                    | Tykocin                 | 83               |
| Zawady             | –                    | Tykocin                 | 105              |
| Śniadowo           | Kehila               | Tykocin                 | 718              |
| Lipniki            | Kehila               | Tykocin                 | 64               |
| Goworowo           | –                    | Tykocin                 | 109              |
|                    |                      |                         | Total: 2373      |

Source: J. Kleczyński, F. Kluczycki, *Liczba głów żydowskich w Koronie z taryf roku 1765*. Kraków 1898, pp. 20–21.

Notice: \* – the census did not include infants below the age of 1; it probably gives a lowered number of Jews as the amount of *pogłównie* depended on that (compare with J. Kleczyński, F. Kluczycki, op. cit., pp. 4–6).

The main sources of information about Jews living in the parishes within Zagajnica range are actually the protocols of visitations in the Płock Diocese. The area neighbored on the Duchy of Prussia (the Kingdom of Prussia since 1701), whose authorities did not tolerate Jews, and therefore they resided in local places. In a secular parish of Myszyniec, which was established at the site of a Jesuit mission in 1774, it was noted that 23 Jews lived there (out of 4300 of the total population); however, there was no information on the number of Jews from the neighboring villages in the Łomża Starosty, who “are sitting in taverns and

<sup>15</sup>*Atlas historii Żydów polskich*. Ed. W. Sienkiewicz. Warszawa 2010, pp. 80–86; M. Bałaban, *Z zagadnień żydostwa polskiego*. Lwów 1932 (the work refers to the organization in Małopolska and western Ukraine).

breweries”<sup>16</sup>. During the parish visitation in 1782, there were listed 9 Jewish men, 12 women and 17 children; nonetheless, the parish was at that time expanded by 11 villages (the total population increased to 5871)<sup>17</sup>.

The increase in the Jewish population in Myszyniec should be related to the transformation of this settlement into a town, which had certain trading laws and whose inhabitants were exempt from some feudal charges. In the light of the convincing arguments<sup>18</sup>, it ought to be assumed that it happened already during the Prussian governance.

### Synagogue District in Myszyniec

As a result of the The First Republic of Poland partitions, Mazovia fell to Prussia. The region of Zagajnica was included in New East Prussia, Płock Department and a smaller part – Białystok Department (for the first time the Forest was located on different “voivodships”). In 1802, King Frederick William II approved of the Prussian government abolition of the cities’ privileges *de non tolerandis Judaeis*, which resulted in the migration of Jews from rural areas. In 1808 (already at the time of the Duchy of Warsaw), the number of Jews in “Kurpian and close-to-Kurpie” cities of the Płock Department was: Chorzele – 175 out of the total population of 375, Ostrołęka – 99 in 2036 inhabitants, Myszyniec – 122 out of 725<sup>19</sup>.

Table 2

Non-agricultural occupations in Myszyniec and Jews’ participation in them (September 2, 1830 status)

| Occupation  | Total number | Number of Jews | Jews: first name and surname, the amount of annual tax in zlotys             |
|-------------|--------------|----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Stallholder | 4            | 4              | Hersz Rozen (18), Lewin Lewitan (18), Herszek Kofman (18), Hersz Rozner (18) |
| Butcher     | 5            | 1              | Mosiek Zysman (45)                                                           |
| Soap maker  | 1            | 1              | Icek Wolfowicz Rozen (20)                                                    |
| Nailer      | 1            | 1              | Icek Rodbel (4)                                                              |

<sup>16</sup>Archiwum Diecezjalne Łomżyńskie, sign. II 160, k. 1–2, as cited in: M. Przytocka, *Parafia myszyńska od 1773 do 2009 roku*, [In:] *Dzieje parafii i kościoła pw. Trójcy Przenajświętszej w Myszyńcu*. Ostrołęka 2009, p. 104.

<sup>17</sup>Archiwum Diecezji Płockiej, Visitation Acts No. 307, k. 16–18 (Myszyniec, 19.09.1782), as cited in: W. Paprocka, *Myszyniec. Studium z dziejów miasta*. Warszawa 1993, p. 100.

<sup>18</sup>W. Paprocka, op. cit., pp. 26–30.

<sup>19</sup>*Struktura wyznaniowa mieszkańców departamentu płockiego – 1808 r.*, [In:] *Mazowsze Północne...*, pp. 28–29.

| Occupation            | Total number | Number of Jews | Jews: first name and surname, the amount of annual tax in zlotys                                                                                               |
|-----------------------|--------------|----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Turner                | 4            | —              | —                                                                                                                                                              |
| Needlemaker           | 1            | —              | —                                                                                                                                                              |
| Carpenter             | 2            | —              | —                                                                                                                                                              |
| Blacksmith            | 4            | 1              | Kuszel Tobiasz (4)                                                                                                                                             |
| Woodworker            | 2            | —              | —                                                                                                                                                              |
| Coppersmith           | 1            | 1              | Boruch Sztein (4)                                                                                                                                              |
| Hatter                | 9            | —              | —                                                                                                                                                              |
| Tailor                | 9            | 5              | Lewin Berliner (4), Leyba Szerman (4), Josk Perner (4), Leyzer Szerman (4), Ajzyk Szejnfeld (4)                                                                |
| Furrier               | 3            | 1              | Leyba Czapnicki (4)                                                                                                                                            |
| Wheelwright           | 3            | —              | —                                                                                                                                                              |
| Cooper                | 2            | —              | —                                                                                                                                                              |
| Shoemaker             | 8            | 1              | Abraham Szumar (4)                                                                                                                                             |
| Potter                | 13           | —              | —                                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>Obraznik</i>       | 4            | —              | —                                                                                                                                                              |
| Tanner                | 11           | 2              | Jankiel Gerber (4), Icek Bączek Zysman (4)                                                                                                                     |
| Baker                 | 13           | 8              | Fiszel Gutman (4), Boruch Tobiasz (4), Waliwia (?) Beylach (4), Boruch Sztein (4), Leyba Golfinkiel (4), Aron Blank (4), Leyzer Miller (4), Leyzer Tobiasz (4) |
| Glassmaker            | 5            | 4              | Dawid Inerfeld (4), Icek Inerfeld (4), Leyba Inerfeld (4), Mosiek Inerfeld (4)                                                                                 |
| <i>Plockarz</i>       | 7            | —              | —                                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>Vodka producer</i> | 5            | 2              | Mortek Bursztyn (20), Icek Tobiasz (20)                                                                                                                        |
| Dyer                  | 2            | —              | —                                                                                                                                                              |
| In total              | 119          | 32             |                                                                                                                                                                |

Source: AGAD, KRSW, sign. 4411, The Personal List of Wage-earners in Myszyniec City, Ostrołęka District, Płock Voivodeship, dated 2 September 1830 r., as cited in: W. Paprocka, op. cit., pp. 117–124.



Due to the fact that Chorzele, Ostrołęka (and Nowogród) were situated on the edges of Zagajnica (called the Green since the 18th century, in comparison to the White), particular attention shall be paid in this respect to the development of Jewish community in *the very heart* of the Forest – Myszyniec. The population gradually increased, mainly because the city was becoming an attractive place for worshippers of Judaism, due to the process of expelling them from rural areas. According to the report of mayor Ignacy Zaleski made in 1820, in the city alone lived 291 Jews<sup>20</sup> next to 924 Christians, and they also inhabited local villages<sup>21</sup>. An interesting source of insight into the lives of the Myszyniec Jews is the *Personal List of Wage-earners* preserved in the records of the Government Commission for Internal Affairs (KRSW), which is dated 1830 (tab. 2) so from the times of the Kingdom of Poland. The list contains 119 “job positions”, including 32 Jewish “jobs” (4 stallholders, 1 butcher, 1 soap maker, 1 nailer, 1 blacksmith, 1 coppersmith, 5 tailors, 1 furrier, 1 shoemaker, 2 tanners, 8 bakers, 4 glassmakers, 2 liquor tavern keepers), which represented 26,89% of the whole. The number of “wage-earning Jews” alone was slightly lower – Boruch Sztajn worked at the same time both as a coppersmith (probably a producer of cauldrons) and a baker.

Similarly to other towns, the following professions can be distinguished: “Christian”, “Jewish” and “mixed”. There were interesting “pre-Jewish” occupations such as *obraźnik* (probably a folk sculptor, a person who made of wood sculptures of saints and other people) and *plotkarz* (the name presumably derived from a “fence” – in Polish “plot”, therefore they were people who made wooden railing for fences). As far as Jews are concerned, it is worth noting a “nailer” (so far, probably, nails were rarely used, and, if needed, they were brought from outside) as well as “glassmakers” – this profession was almost entirely in the hands of the Inerfeld family. The stallholders, thus the owners of small trading “stalls”, were only Jews.

Unlike in Ostrołęka<sup>22</sup>, for instance, the amount of tax for particular “wage-earners” in a profession was undiversified. This demonstrates the lack of property disproportion, less developed “tax system”, and as a result – a later development of “Professionals” and a city in general.

Urban concentration of Jews during the successive governments (Prussian, the Duchy of Warsaw, and the Kingdom of Poland) resulted in the formation of the so-called synagogue districts, the “inheritors” of kahals. An effort to create their own

<sup>20</sup> AGAD, KRSW, sign. 4206, The historical and topographically-statistic description of Myszyniec city made by Ignacy Zaleski the mayor of this city in 1820 r., as cited in: W. Paprocka, op. cit., pp. 112–115.

<sup>21</sup> According to the 1817 census of the Diocese of Płock, in the whole Myszyniec parish out of the total population of 9966 people (at that time it was a parish with the largest population in the entire diocese) there were 385 Jews – *Parafie Diecezji Płockiej z największą liczbą Żydów i innowierców – 1817 r.*, [In:] *Mazowsze Północne...*, p. 51.

<sup>22</sup> J. Mironczuk, *Żydzi w powiecie ostrołęckim do I wojny światowej*. Ostrołęka 2011, pp. 41–44.

religious community was also made by Jews from Myszyniec. When the November Uprising broke out, "The Jews, who had the Material prepared, from which in the Revolutionary Ages with the Mayor's consent, and for saving it from damage by the Troops during marches, they established a Synagogue, before having a proper permission from the authorities to do so"<sup>23</sup>. It is worth noting here that the Jewish observed the outbreak and the course of the Polish-Russian war with great concern, and with little belief in Poland's victory, and the harassment of Polish troops even deepened the unwilling attitude towards the uprising<sup>24</sup>; of course, there were also cases of Jews' involvement on the uprising side<sup>25</sup>.

With regard to founding a synagogue, the Jews of Myszyniec approached the Commission of Płock Voivodeship about the approval for construction, and they then addressed the inquiry to the Administrative Council of Governmental Commission for Internal, Clerical and Educational Matters – KRSWDiOP (formed from "combining" internal, religious and educational affairs), informing that the synagogue in question "requires not much to be finished – demanding for now that a consensus for that purpose is given, that is building Synagogues in other places, apart from those with Jewish Communities"<sup>26</sup>.

KRSWDiOP applied with regard to the above-mentioned case to the Jewish Committee (the central authorities' consultative body concerning Jews), and it noticed that: "the rules of Jewish Religion do not allow on public holidays, prayer services and fasting, when every Israelite has to be in a Synagogue, to travel such long distances as the one from Myszyniec City to Ostrołęka [approximately 40 km – J.M.]; and so, the inhabitants of Myszyniec may not belong to the Community in Ostrołęka nor this Community to Myszyniec [...] The Committee's opinion is to release the Jews in question from the punishment for not having the permission to build the so many times mentioned Synagogue"<sup>27</sup>. KRSWDiOP agreed on the requests, but with the reservation that: "as long as there are no obstacles in terms of

<sup>23</sup> AGAD, The Central Religious Authorities (Centralne Władze Wyznaniowe), sign. 1675, k. 6–8, A letter from the Jewish Committee (Pismo Komitetu Starozakonnych) dated 6 July, 1833 to KRSWDiOP.

<sup>24</sup> J. Szczepański, *Dzieje społeczności żydowskiej...*, p. 58: "In Różan, were hanged a Jewish waiter and a crossing guard Antoni Darewski from Ostrołęka, who led gen. Sacken's troops near Różan and pointed him a crossing route over the Narew".

<sup>25</sup> *Patriotyczna postawa płockiego Żyda Behr Mendel Kurtzbanda – maj 1831 r.*, [In:] *Mazowsze Północne...*, pp. 94–95: "The commander [...] presented to me a dressed entirely according to the rule in the uniform of the Mobile Guard Star. Behr Mendel Kurtzband, «dziesiętnik setni dziesiętnej» of the Security Guard. That man, having left all the superstitions, was the first to set an example of a well-thinking inhabitant of the country, where he resides".

<sup>26</sup> AGAD, CWW, sign. 1675, k. 3, Letter from the Płock Voivodeship Commission dated 16 December, 1832 to KRSWDiOP.

<sup>27</sup> AGAD, CWW, sign. 1675, k. 6–8, Letter of the Jewish Committee dated 6 July, 1833 to KRSWDiOP.

police legislation and the due rounding of the Jewish Communities of Myszyniec and Ostrołęka”<sup>28</sup>.

However, some obstacles must have arisen (lack of relevant records) as no independent synagogue was established at that time. Another effort was made in 1855: “The Jewish inhabitants of Myszyniec [...] established with their own means a synagogue, a beth-midrash and a bathhouse, they organized a cemetery and, regardless of the contributions to the Synagogue district in Ostrołęka, they maintain in Myszyniec an assistant rabbi, a Cantor-Scholar and lower synagogue service [...] furthermore, the village of Goworowo and other villages in the area, although less populated by Jews than Myszyniec and only 2 miles away from Ostrołęka – have their own separate district, and so Myszyniec City – with more than 120 Jewish families – and situated far away [written above, exaggerated by 6 miles – J.M.] from Ostrołęka deserves the consideration”<sup>29</sup>. The following documents were attached to the letter: 1) Name list of Jews in Myszyniec and in the area (741 people), 2) Protocol of the “synagogue supervision” selection, 3) Project for a job position in *Kassa Bożniczna*, 4) Name list of the collection among Jews from Myszyniec, 5) Their application dated November 20/December 2, 1851. On December 18/30, 1855 KRSWiD approved of “separating Myszyniec City from the synagogue district in Ostrołęka”<sup>30</sup>. As a result, a synagogue district was established in Myszyniec.

In August 1857, “the Builders from Ostrołęka Powiat”, together with the mayor of Myszyniec and a local “synagogue supervisors” carried out an inspection of the synagogue: “made of wood and built on a foundation, with tiles on the roof and in a medium condition, it is 48½ feet long, 37 wide, 16 feet high and it consists of one main room and a hallway leading to the gallery [...] The population of Jews in Myszyniec is about 800 people, therefore the size of the synagogue is too small in terms of the population. For that reason, next to the synagogue (the main house of prayer) there was also a so-called beth-midrash (a study hall) in which they carry out religious rites during bigger Jewish gatherings”<sup>31</sup>.

The Fund of *Kassa Bożniczna* in Myszyniec district in the years 1857–1860 was as follows: **Income** 1) From leasing a bath in a bathhouse – 10 rs. 2) From burying the deceased – 3 rs. 3) From reading the *Rodale* – 5 rs. 4) From selling yeast to Jews for baking on holidays and celebrations – 8 rs. 5) From donations of the faithful – 205 rs. 6) From donations collected in the moneybox – 2 rs. In total: 233 rs. **Expenditure** I. On salaries: 1) Assistant rabbi – 60 rs. 2) Cantor – 40 rs. 3)

<sup>28</sup> AGAD, CWW, sign. 1675, k. 12–14, Letter of KRSWDiOP dated 24 November, 1833 to the Płock Voivodeship Commission.

<sup>29</sup> AGAD, CWW, sign. 1675, k. 20–22, Letter of the Guberniya of Płock Authorities dated 19/31 October, 1855 to KRSWiD.

<sup>30</sup> AGAD, CWW, sign. 1675, k. 23–26, Letter of KRSWiD dated 18/30 December, 1855 to the Guberniya of Płock Authorities.

<sup>31</sup> AGAD, CWW, sign. 1675, k. 27–28, Protocol of the Myszyniec synagogue inspection dated 1/13 August, 1857.

Scholar – 30 rs. 4) Assistant in burial – 20 rs. 5) Office stationery for the cashier – 4 rs. 50 kop. 6) Office stationery for the “synagogue supervisors” – 3 rs. II. Fuel and lighting in the synagogue: 45 rs. III. Taxes and fees: 12 rs. 38 ½ kop. IV. Different needs: 1) 5% of all the income for the Cashier – 11 rs. 65 kop. 2) At the disposal of the Guberniya of Płock – 6 rs. 46½ kop. In total: 233 rs. The years 1861–1863 were granted with the fund of 258 rs. 30 kop.<sup>32</sup> Among the documented references of the Myszyniec rabbis in the second half of the 19th century there were known: Elias Sorekom, Lejzor Lerner, Abram Goldszlak<sup>33</sup>

Just before the administrative reform, when the region in question was incorporated to the newly-established Guberniya of Łomża, and Myszyniec was denied its city-status, in 1864 in Myszyniec only there was the following number of Jews: “individuals” – 304, “their families” – 704 (Poles respectively: 298 and 667, Germans: 10 and 20). Among them there were: “Townsppeople-farmers, i.e. persons who owned settlements and arable soil on the law of perpetual usufruct of land” (respectively: Jews – 1 and 6, Poles – 160 and 356, Germans – 2 and 6), “Townsppeople-non-farmers having settlements in the town on the law of rent-owned usufruct but not having gardens or land outside the town” (respectively: Jews – 60 and 226, Poles – 80 and 185, Germans – 2 and 7), “other inhabitants of the town” (respectively: Jews – 243 and 469, Poles – 58 and 126, Germans – 6 and 7)<sup>34</sup>.

In 1866, an administrative reform was carried out and, as a result, the Guberniya of Łomża was created. At the same time, the tsarist authorities took effort leading to “arranging” the status of towns which did not fulfill specific requirements – as a consequence of the ukase (a decree) of June 1869, over 300 towns in the Kingdom of Poland lost their city rights, and among them there were also Kurpian Chorzele, Nowogród and Myszyniec; only Ostrołęka and Kolno as the county capitals remained cities. The above places were still Jewish “parishes”, thus synagogue districts.

The financial situation of synagogue districts in the Guberniya of Łomża improved during the overall economic progress at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. Unlike in the beginning of their existence, they dealt much better with rising expenditures, both on rabbis’ salaries and other people employed by religious communities, as well as the organization of education, hospitals, maintenance of synagogues and other). City districts in Kolno and Ostrołęka had considerable savings in their annual budget, in smaller districts of Nowogród and Myszyniec the income and expenditure were balanced, which was still quite a good result, concerning the fact that “rural” Jews were rather poor.

<sup>32</sup> AGAD, CWW, sign. 1675, k. 31–33, A Job Position for Kassa Bożniczna of Myszyniec District in the years 1857–1860; also, k. 35, Letter of the Guberniya of Płock Authorities dated 28 April/10 May, 1861 to KRWRiOP.

<sup>33</sup> As cited in: J. Mironczuk, *Żydzi...*, pp. 62, 80.

<sup>34</sup> AGAD, KRSW, sign. 4412 (statistic data of Myszyniec city, 1864), as cited in: W. Paprocka, op. cit., pp. 125–126.

### The decline, extermination and legacy of Jewish community in Kurpie

The World War I outbreak drastically changed the situation of Jews in the Kurpie Forest, which was basically in the frontier zone: “In Myszyniec city [actually, it was no longer a city – J.M.] ... first, as a result of the denunciation of Poles, the rabbi of the city and some representatives of the Community [Jewish – J.M.] were captured, and then, on 29 August [1914 r.] the order of massive displacement of Jews from the city was issued. All the Jewish families in the number of 300 went out – men, women, children and the elderly – onto the field and gathered by the commandant’s tent, shivering with cold and indignation, and started to sing Psalms, asking him to reverse the evil and to call the order off, but the commandant did not care about them. And so the Jews had to leave their hometown and disperse, wander through the fields and paths, and look for a new place to live in the nearby towns and villages. After a few weeks, the governor obtained permission for them to return but the city had already been completely burnt down”<sup>35</sup>. Equally tragic was the fate of Jews from Ostrołęka, when the front reached this city in July 1915, turning especially the Jewish district into a complete ruin<sup>36</sup>.

The data from the population census on 30 September 1921 (tab. 3) correlate well with the 1906 data<sup>37</sup>, which illustrate in detail the amount of Jewish population in particular municipalities and villages. Striking is the fact of the “disappearance” of over a half of the Jews from Myszyniec: in 1906 there were 1996 Jewish people; on the other hand, the number of Jews in Kadzidło increased – from 107 to 150 in total. The above-quoted mention was therefore supported by the census data.

Table 3

Jewish population in Kurpian municipalities of the Ostrołęka County, 30 September 1921

| Municipality | Total population | Jews                                                                    | Catholics | Other Christians |
|--------------|------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|------------------|
| Dylewo       | 6426             | 170 (Dylewo Stare 14, Kadzidło 133, Kadzidło Poduchowne 17, Obierwia 6) | 6230      | 26               |
| Myszyniec    | 7671             | 927 (Krysiaki 15, Myszyniec 912)                                        | 6719      | 25               |
| Nasiadki     | 5162             |                                                                         | 5115      | 47               |
| Wach         | 8104             | 5 (Charcibałda 5)                                                       | 8094      | 5                |

<sup>35</sup> A. Litaj, *Rozdział z dziejów zniszczenia*, as cited in: *Księga Żydów ostrołęckich* (2nd ed.). Trans. A. Ćwiakowska, Z. Drezner, S. Raczyńska, introduction J. Gołota. Ostrołęka–Tel Awiw 2002, p. 49.

<sup>36</sup> J. Mironczuk, *Żydz...*, p. 73 and photographs (unnumbered insert).

<sup>37</sup> *Pamiętna książka Łomżyńskiej Guberni na 1906 god* (Nasielenije Ostrolenskogo Ujezda), as cited in: J. Mironczuk, *Żydz...*, pp. 121–124.

Source: *Skorowidz miejscowości Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej na podstawie wyników pierwszego powszechnego spisu ludności z dnia 30 września 1921 r. i innych źródeł urzędowych*, Vol. V: *Województwo białostockie*. Warszawa 1924, pp. 56–60, as cited in: Z. Niedziałkowska, op. cit., pp. 197–206.

The archival sources, including the most important “Situation reports of the provincial governor of Białystok”<sup>38</sup> (both Łomża and Ostrołęka Poviats were included in the Białystok Voivodeship, only a small part of the Kurpie region was in the Przasnysz Powiat – the Warsaw Voivodeship), confirm the opinion of a prominent expert on social relations in the Białystok region about the Polish-Jewish relations: “coexistence preponderated, examples of cooperation and healthy competition were noted”<sup>39</sup>. This opinion cannot be changed even due to anti-Semitic excesses during a village fair in Kadzidło in May 1938 and anti-Jewish pledge near the church in Myszyniec in November 1938<sup>40</sup>. Besides, even the Holocaust survivors left a similar opinion: “the relationships between Kurpie people and Jews were very good. Jews were called *starozakonni* and they trusted them as well as traded with them”<sup>41</sup>.

When the war broke out in September 1939, the Jewish community living in the Kurpie Forest, which shared a border with East Prussia, and where the Nazi atmosphere was particularly noticeable (for instance, the arson of all the synagogues during the *Kristallnacht*), started to depart in the southern and eastern direction, e.g. the Lewińscy family from Kadzidło. In October 1939 most areas in the Forest, including Ostrołęka, Myszyniec and Chorzele, were incorporated to the Third Reich, only the eastern lands, with Nowogród and Kolno, fell under the Soviet occupation. All the Jews had to leave the lands incorporated to the Nazi Germany and they headed towards Łomża, some of them to Ostrów Mazowiecka, occupied by the Soviets, and then further, into the so-called West Belarus, established by the USSR. Later, after the outbreak of the German-Soviet war, the Jews were taken over by the Nazis and directed to ghettos (e.g. the majority of Jews from Ostrołęka were placed in the Vilnius and Słonim ghettos, but most of them were murdered in November 1941), and next they were transferred to death camps, mostly in Treblinka and Oświęcim (Auschwitz)<sup>42</sup>.

The period of war deepened mutual relations, both in its positive and negative meaning. On the one hand, the war and occupation brought out some heroic

<sup>38</sup> APB, Weekly and monthly management reports of the Białystok Voivode 1928–1938.

<sup>39</sup> J.J. Milewski, *Stosunki polsko-żydowskie w Ostrołęckim i Łomżyńskim w latach trzdziestych i w czasie II wojny światowej*. Zeszyty Naukowe OTN 2002, Vol. XVI, p. 164.

<sup>40</sup> Ibidem, pp. 166–167.

<sup>41</sup> *Księga Żydów...*, p. 328 (report of Izrael Lewiński from Kadzidło).

<sup>42</sup> The most important studies of this subject are: M. Grynberg, *Żydzi w rejencji ciechanowskiej 1939–1942*. Warszawa 1984; J. Gołota, *Losy Żydów ostrołęckich w czasie II wojny światowej*. Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego 1999, No. 3(187).

attitudes (hiding Jews, who survived in the number of a dozen or so near Ostrołęka thanks to the help of Polish people), but, on the other hand, even more unworthy and treacherous behavior was noted (e.g. a few months before the liberation, armed Polish forces carried out genocide of the Jews hiding between Ostrołęka and Łomża)<sup>43</sup>. Besides, Jews themselves were not always only passive participants of events, which is supported by a report from the Kurpie region (it may be assumed that the report refers rather to White Kurpie) dated 1943 and addressed to the Delegate of the Polish Government: “Nonetheless, a lot of Jews escaped to forests forming bands and joining in many cases the Bolshevik airborne army. These bands are hostile towards Polish people, murdering every wealthier householder. The German army will liquidate such band from time to time, but generally it is quite indifferent to the news about attacks on Jewish villages”<sup>44</sup>. However, a full clarification of the phenomenon requires further research and analysis.

The period of communism did not foster remembering about the Kurpie Forest co-inhabitants. The situation improved during the Third Republic of Poland. The effort made by the Landsmanshaft and local authorities led to collecting the remaining traces of the Kurpian Jews generally in their “centers”. In fact, it refers to Jewish cemeteries (*kirkuts*); the renovated *kirkuts* in Chorzele and Kolno should be distinguished<sup>45</sup>, a slightly worse situation is in Nowogród; in Ostrołęka and Myszyniec, the “capital” of Kurpie, former Jewish cemeteries were “developed” and commemorated only by monuments.

## Conclusion

The Kurpie Forest, also called Zagajnica in past times, had been the hunting ground and the area of the exploitation of wood and other forestry goods up until the 17th century, without any permanent residences. The “exit” to the Forest were urban settlements established on its edges; the eldest and the biggest of them is Ostrołęka. The “drive wheel” of settling in the Forest, apart from the local people who escaped there from Prussia, was also the Jesuit mission (*Mysinieć*), resisting the “heretical” Prussia. To some extent, the Catholic-Protestant competition favored the appearance of Jewish population.

The number of Jews in the Forest was not great until the end of The First Republic of Poland. In the vast Myszyniec parish there were only a few Jewish families, there were slightly more in the eastern part, in the Łomża County Starosty. All of them belonged to a kahal in Tykocin.

<sup>43</sup> *Księga Żydów...*, pp. 340–358, 360, 377, 391–392; J. Mironczuk, *Ostrołęka bez Żydów – kwestia żydowska w powiecie ostrołęckim po II wojnie światowej*. Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie 2014, No. 2(284), pp. 379–382.

<sup>44</sup> The Archive of New Files, the Government Delegation for Poland, Press and Information Department. Eastern section, sign. 202/III/149, k. 2, Report from the Kurpie region, as cited in: J.J. Milewski, op. cit., pp. 179–180.

<sup>45</sup> Online: <http://www.kirkuty.xip.pl/chorzele.htm>; <http://www.kirkuty.xip.pl/kolno.htm> [17.06.2017].

The development of Jewish settlement took place during the time of annexation, starting from the Prussian authorities, who enabled Jews to live in cities, just like in other districts of The First Republic of Poland. Apart from the cities on the edges of the Forest, Jews also brought together in Myszyniec, where they established their own synagogue district in 1855.

The Jewish community in Kurpie played an important role in the economic development of the region by introducing new products among local people and spreading a faster trade in goods. The increase in wealth of Jews at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries also brought out negative attitude of some Poles towards them. However, it did not result in any conflicts – both communities coexisted and sometimes cooperated; there were also – in fact, rarely but still – mixed marriages.

This quite consentaneous coexistence was demolished by two cataclysms – the world wars. The First World War brought “only” the material destruction whereas World War II led to a total extermination of Jews in Kurpie as well as in the rest of Poland. What remained is the memory, remembrance and few material traces.

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**SUMMARY**

The dissertation refers to the history of Jewish community in the Kurpie Forest (also called Green, in the past known as Zagajnica). Jews appeared there only in the 18th century. At the beginning of the 19th century they started to move to cities, including Myszyniec, where they established a synagogue district. The border with Prussia/Germany eventually turned out to be extremely dangerous.

**STRESZCZENIE**

Praca odnosi się do dziejów społeczności żydowskiej na obszarze Puszczy Kurpiowskiej (inaczej Zielonej, dawniej zwanej Zagajnicą). Żydzi pojawili się tam dopiero w XVIII w. Na początku XIX w. zaczęli się przenosić do miast, w tym Myszyńca, gdzie utworzyli okręg bożniczy. Pogranicze z Prusami/Niemcami okazało się ostatecznie dla Żydów bardzo groźne.

**Key words:** Jews, the Kurpie Forest, Myszyniec, Prussia

**Słowa kluczowe:** Żydzi, Puszcza Kurpiowska, Myszyniec, Prusy

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## ATTEMPTS TO OVERCOME ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES IN THE YEARS 1867–1939 BY THE EXAMPLE OF MAKÓW COUNTY

### PRÓBY PRZEWYCIĘŻENIA TRUDNOŚCI GOSPODARCZYCH W LATACH 1867–1939 NA PRZYKŁADZIE POWIATU MAKOWSKIEGO

Maków County, established by the Tsarist authorities in 1867, included the northern part of the previous Pułtusk County and a small part of Przasnysz County. It was also a part of the newly-established Łomża Governorate. Apart from Maków, two other towns belonged to the county: Różan and Krasnosielc (two years later, in 1869, along with many other towns in the Kingdom of Poland, they lost their city rights, becoming the so-called urban settlements)<sup>1</sup> as well as the communes: Karniewo, Krasnosielc, Perzanowo, Płoniawy, Sielc, Sieluń, Smrock i Sypniewo. The county covered the area of 1.054 km<sup>2</sup>. In 1872, the county was inhabited by 48.500 people and the population density was 46 persons per km<sup>2</sup>. This amount corresponded the average population density in the area of northern Mazovia. In that respect, Maków County definitely dominated over the counties of Ostrołęka, Mława and Przasnysz<sup>2</sup>.

The sources of the weaknesses in the economic development of Maków County in the second half of the 19th century should be looked for in socio-economic factors. Maków County was located on the borderline of two parts of north-eastern Mazovia, clearly different in terms of their social and economic character. A distinctive feature of this region, in social respect, was a considerable number of the landed gentry. In the Łomża Governorate, 28% of the population was gentry and they owned 32% of the land. To compare, in north-western Mazovia, the gentry owned 13% of the land and in southern Mazovia 1%. In 1896,

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<sup>1</sup> The decision on renaming some towns of the Łomża Governorate to persons, dated 30 January (11 February) 1870, announced on 19 (31) May 1870. *Dziennik Praw Królestwa Polskiego*, Vol. LXX, No. 241, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> J. Łukasiewicz, *Powiat makowski w latach 1867–1914*, [In:] *Maków Mazowiecki i ziemia makowska*. Ed. A. Słoniowa. PWN, Warszawa 1984, p. 99. In 1913, in Maków County, there were already 70 thousand inhabitants, and an average population density was 66 persons per km<sup>2</sup> and it was bigger than in Przasnysz County – 62 persons, but lower than in Ostrołęka and Ostrów Counties – 67 persons in each, A. Krzyżanowski, K. Kumaniecki, *Statystyka Polski*. Polskie Towarzystwo Statystyczne, Kraków 1915, p. 8, 42–45; *Trudy Warszawskiego Statystycznego Komitetu*, Vol. 13, Warszawa 1889–1914, pp. 146–162.

among the inhabitants of Maków County, 33,6% of the people were of noble descent, 46% – of peasant background, 18% – of bourgeois origin and 2,4% belonging to other statuses. In 1894, the gentry of Maków county owned 37,7% of the land and, in that matter, only Łomża County was ahead of this county. The gentry inhabited mainly the communes of Sieluń, Perzanowo and Sielc, whereas the peasants clearly dominated in Krasnosielc, Karniewo and Płoniawy communes. In general, the peasants in the county owned 25,2% of the land. At the same time, the landed ownership covered 32,9% of the land. It was bigger only in Ciechanów County – 41%. In the area of Maków county, there were great properties Krasnosielc, belonging at first to Karol Krasieński. It was the largest latifundium in the North Mazovia region, consisting of 7 granges (Krasnosielc, Amelin, Bagienice, Drażdzewo, Karolin, Kucieja and Niesułów). It covered the area of over 12 thousand ha, out of which 68% were forests<sup>3</sup>.

The main source of income of the people inhabiting Maków County was agriculture. Within the territory of Russian partition, which also included Maków County, agriculture was not efficient. After the manumission in 1864, the need for manufactured materials in a village increased, and at the same time villages provided more and more work force for industry, as the manumission had not included landless peasants. Also, the area of arable land and the production of cereals increased. A major change concerning the Mazovian countryside was abolishing serfdom and the liquidation of feudal service. Since that moment, peasants became the owners of the land that they had cultivated, which was a revolution in the arrangement they had lived in for many generations. As a result of the agricultural reforms, they also started to gradually gain civil rights, such as being under the jurisdiction of common courts, establishing rural self-governments and participating in political life equally to the representatives of other groups. However, the way the land had been managed after those changes was not the best. In Maków county, arable lands covered the area of about 48%, similarly to the neighboring counties of Ostrów and Przasnysz, definitely more than in Ostrołęka County, but much less than in Ciechanów and Pułtusk Counties. Meadows and pastures constituted 20% and uncultivated land only 2,6% – it was a relatively low percentage, because in the Kingdom of Poland, in comparison, it was 4,9% on average<sup>4</sup>.

In Maków County, similarly to almost the entire area of Mazovia, by the end of the 19th century, there was a three-field system of cultivating land. It was used on approximately 75% of the arable land area. The structure of sowing was

<sup>3</sup> The National Archives in Łomża (APŁ), *Obzor Łomżyńskiej Guberni* for the year 1896, p. 16; *Trudy Warszawskiego Statistycznego Komiteta...*, Vol. 15, pp. 52–73; K. Groniowski, *Kwestia agrarna w Królestwie Polskim, 1871–1914*. PWN, Warszawa 1966, pp. 94–95.

<sup>4</sup> *Statistika Rossijskoj Imperii*, Vol. 23, Issue 54 i 57, tab. IV and V. Petersburg 1887; J. Łukasiewicz, op. cit., pp. 102–103.

relatively good within Maków County. The vast majority of land was sown with cereal (71,4%) but still less than in nearby counties. Among the cereals, rye was ahead of oats, wheat and buckwheat. Potatoes covered 18,6% of the total sowing, and the rest of the crops 10%<sup>5</sup>.

In the 1870s, in the period of good economic situation and price increase, the development of agriculture was systematic, although not at a fast pace. The situation clearly changed during the agricultural crisis and price decrease. Apart from that, there were additional sales difficulties related to river transport through the Narew and the Vistula. Moreover, Maków County did not have the possibility to use rail transport. Ostrów County had used this kind of transport already since 1862 and Ciechanów and Pułtusk Counties since 1887. In 1893, also Ostrołęka received a railway connection. Therefore, cereal prices in Maków County were the lowest in the entire Łomża Governorate. In 1893, a tonne of rye cost about 40 rubles in Maków and, in comparison, 45 rubles in Pułtusk, and 49 rubles in Ostrów<sup>6</sup>.

Farmers, in order to eliminate the declining income, expanded the area of sowing to increase the cereal sales. However, that resulted in further decrease of prices and damage to the profitability of cereals cultivation. As a result of poor harvest of cereals in 1889 and potatoes in 1891, a really difficult nutritional situation occurred among the Maków County population. Additionally, in the years 1894–1896, cereal prices became so low that the financial means obtained from the sales did not cover the production costs. That related mainly to wheat and barley. It forced the farmers to reduce the acreage, especially of wheat, whose cultivation was limited to the most fertile soils, guaranteeing at least a minimum profit<sup>7</sup>.

Since 1896, the situation in agriculture started to improve and cereal prices were slowly increasing. The agricultural crisis was in fact over but its influence on the area of cereal cultivation was so permanent that the amount of income from the cultivation obtained before the crisis belonged to the past. The crisis in agriculture also influenced the changes in land ownership structure. It affected all the land owners but mostly the producers of trade cereals. Granges based on trade cereals did not withstand the significant prices decrease, which led to the situation that the owners sold the farms or parceled their property in part or as a whole. In this regard, the area of peasants and petty gentry's ownership was increasing. In 1904, in Maków County, peasants owned 30% of the land, petty gentry – 38%, and manor owners only 25%. Expanding the area of peasants' land ownership occurred as a result of obtaining land after the liquidation of easements or by purchase. After the manumission, there were 3.307 peasant farmsteads in Maków County, of which 77% used the easements. It must be admitted that the easements' liquidation pace

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<sup>5</sup> Ibidem, p. 104.

<sup>6</sup> APŁ, Obzor Łomżyńskiej Guberni for the year 1893, p. 17.

<sup>7</sup> Ibidem; J. Łukasiewicz, op. cit., pp. 104–105.

in Maków County was at that time relatively fast. By 1 January 1890, the easements had been transformed into peasants' farmstead lands in 56%<sup>8</sup>.

However, the major reason of the increasing economic underdevelopment of Maków County in the second half of the 19th century was the poor development of industry. In the discussed period, the only and the biggest industrial plant in the county was a sugar factory in Łukowo, Karniewo commune, employing in 1896 about 350 workers. Its constant technical improvement led to the annual production of even 2 thousand tonnes in 1906. Nevertheless, there was a significant decline of another industry, quite well-developed in 1880, when 140 workers were employed in 70 small plants (without mills). At that time, there were among others 8 tanneries and 8 brickyards. In 1891, however, only 36 small plants were located in the county, employing altogether about 64 workers. After the agrarian crisis, the situation of industry gradually improved. The production of buttons and brick developed, a relatively big sawmill was established and, in 1896, the first in the county steam mill was built. Unfortunately, in 1901, the production of buttons was liquidated and in 1906 the newly-built steam mill stopped functioning. Gradual progress in industry could be noticed again since 1906. In 1907, in the county, apart from the sugar factory, there was a distillery in Czarnostów, a brewery in Młodzianowo, 2 sawmills and 4 brickyards. In industry, there were in total about 700 employees working mostly seasonally<sup>9</sup>.

The main source of income of the Maków population was craft and trade. In 1908, 10% of the town's inhabitants worked as traders. The number of merchants, however, was falling. In 1898, there were 132 of them, and only 112 in 1905. One of the wealthiest merchants were the Jewish family of Blum. As regards trade, Maków was at that time definitely behind other Mazovian towns. In 1905, in Ostrołęka, 314 people worked in trade, in Ciechanów – 415, in Pułtusk – 439, in Ostrów – 419, in Przasnysz – 280. The industry in the town also developed poorly, similarly to the entire county. The most important industrial plants were tanneries, brickyards and mills. Unfortunately, the number of industrial factories was gradually decreasing – in 1882 there were 36, and in 1896 only 13<sup>10</sup>.

The relatively difficult economic situation of Maków County was even worsened by the outbreak of World War I in the years 1914–1918, which caused major damage.

After the restoration of sovereignty, commenced the rebuilding after the damaging war and began the organization of self-governments at municipal, urban and county level. Important was the issue of a proper organization of the county's

<sup>8</sup> Trudy Warszawskiego Statystycznego Komitetu..., Vol. 15, tab. I, Vol. 39, Part 2, p. 64.

<sup>9</sup> In the years 1880–1907, the number of industrial plants was gradually decreasing. In 1880, there were 107 plants, and in 1907 only 75. However, the number of workers was increasing. In 1880, 212 people were employed and in 1907 – 662 people. APL, Obzor Łomżyńskiej Guberni za lata 1880–1907 appendix no. 2.

<sup>10</sup> J. Łukasiewicz, op. cit., pp. 117–118.

victualing, and therefore the Provisioning Office in Maków and the Provisioning Committees in particular municipalities were established<sup>11</sup>.

Agricultural Syndicates in Maków and Rózan as well as the Cereal Cooperatives in Maków and Krasnosielc dealt with receiving contingent and confiscated cereals as well as dispensing them to particular inhabitants and institutions within Maków County<sup>12</sup>.

Trade Section of Maków Credit Bank played a major role in gaining basic foodstuff and industrial goods. By the agency of it, people received i.a. sugar, saccharin, salt, leather, kerosene, soap, olive, chicory and woolen or cotton materials from the National Office of the Basic Goods Purchase in Warsaw<sup>13</sup>.

The issues related to the purchase and sales of basic foodstuff and daily-use products were handled by the Office to Combat Usury and Profiteering in Maków, which was subordinate to the Regional Department in Mława. The interviewer of this Office was Zatoński, who was sent the lists of products confiscated by the police<sup>14</sup>.

Only the Trade Section of Maków Credit Bank was authorized to the wholesale of the basic food products. The articles which had not come from the Trade Section were confiscated. Warehouses could carry out retail sales of the articles received from the Ministry of Provisioning on the basis of the directives given by Starost's Office. The supervision over the warehouses' activity was supposed to be carried out by national administrative authorities, delegates of the Office to Combat Usury and Profiteering and the County Provisioning Committee<sup>15</sup>.

Police officers from the State Police ensured that the regulations of the Ministry of Provisioning were respected. They controlled all the permissions as well as revised the mills, windmills, abattoirs, shops, farms, craft workshops and service points. The confiscated goods were given to the local Provisioning Committees. There was an obligation to unconditionally issue receipts for the owners during the requisition, indicating the type, amount and weight of the confiscated articles<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>11</sup> Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie (AAN), Ministerstwo Aprowizacji (MA), sign. 379, k. 18, 106, 111.

<sup>12</sup> The Cereal Cooperative in Maków was established the moment the occupants yielded and it took provisioning over Maków, Rózan, Krasnosielc and other settlements of Maków County. It supplied its depots with mostly non-quota cereal and it functioned until February 1919, *ibidem*, sign. 905, k. 179.

<sup>13</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Warszawie Oddział w Pułtusk (APP), Starostwo Powiatowe w Makowie Mazowieckim w latach 1919–1926 (SPMM), sign. 2, k. 238.

<sup>14</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Warszawie (APW), Komenda Powiatowa Policji Państwowej (KPPP) w Makowie Maz., sign. 40, k. 21.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, sign. 39, k. 211, sign. 40, k. 5.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, sign. 39, k. 78, 94, 122, 150.

Thanks to the actions of the County Provisioning Committee and the help from the ministry of Provisioning, people were provided with food at least at a minimum degree, which saved many inhabitants of the county from hunger or even death.

In the inter-war period, agriculture played a critical role in the economy of Maków County. Maków County was a typical agricultural county. In 1921, 45% of the overall area of the county were arable lands, 20% were pastures, 14% – forests, 1% – waters, and the rest of the area were wastelands. The soils, apart from the south-western part of the county, were barely fertile. An average peasant farmstead covered the area of 12–15 morgens of land (6.7–8.4 ha). There were 2.200 small farms (up to 8 morgens). About 20% of the rural population was unemployed. Some were hired for seasonal work by the owners of bigger farms.

According to the First Population Census of 30 September 1921, in Maków County, 44.679 people occupied themselves with farming, which consisted 76,6% of the total number of the county's population. There were 11.956 farmsteads, of which 11.329 (94,7%) were family farms. The rest were institutional farms (134) and those owned by single people (493). The overall area of the arable lands in Maków County was 160.135 ha<sup>17</sup>.

In the agrarian structure of the country, in the first years of independence, small peasant farms were dominant, but at the same time, there were large landed properties, conducting extensive farming. In Maków County were 46 landed properties, which covered the area of 13.053 ha. Almost half of the estates (21) were farms with an area between 50–100 ha, 6 of 100–200 ha and 6 of 200–300 ha<sup>18</sup>. Within the structure of cultivating large property land, arable lands were dominant – 6.443 ha (49,3%) and lands of forestry use – 3.780 (29%). Other forms of land use were: meadows and pastures (14,3%), ponds and lakes (1,1%) as well as orchards and gardens (0,7%). Wastelands covered the area of 526 ha (4%), and the rest, i.e. 176 ha, was used for buildings and roads<sup>19</sup>.

The vast majority of the properties' owners were Polish citizens – 42, and only 4 estates were owned by Jews<sup>20</sup>. 12 landed properties were under the easements at that time. 243 farmyards used those easements, mainly pastures (172), 40 farms

<sup>17</sup> The First Census of the Republic of Poland Population, dated 30 September 1921, Warszawa 1927, k. 197–198; APP, SPMM, sign. 8, k. 198; Z. Landau, J. Tomaszewski, *Zarys historii gospodarczej Polski 1918–1939*. Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa 1961, pp. 15–16.

<sup>18</sup> *Wielka własność według powiatów*. Statystyka Polski (Warszawa) 1925, Vol. V, p. 26.

<sup>19</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>20</sup> Ibidem, p. 50, AAN, Ministerstwo Apropowizacji (MA), sign. 905, k. 39, 147, 274–275, 277–280, 300; J. Leskiewiczowa, *Ziemiańscy XX wieku. Słownik biograficzny*, Part 7. DiG, Warszawa 2004, p. 134.



used forestry easements and pastures, and 23 farms used only the forestry easements<sup>21</sup>.

Among agricultural machines, the properties were equipped mostly with regular ploughs (314 items), horse-mills (50 items), horse threshers (38 items), harvesters (29 items) and binders (12 items). Apart from that, people already used steam threshers (6 items) and traction engine threshers (6 items) as well as motored ploughs and tractors (5 items). In 41 estates, the owners had permanent servants, among whom there were 37 janitors, 263 ordinaries, 282 mailmen, 115 boarders, 89 tenant farmers and 363 seasonal workers<sup>22</sup>.

By a decree-law of the Regency Council from 4 November 1918 and the act “in the matter of donation goods” dated 5 November 1919<sup>23</sup>, all the Russian donation properties in the area of the Kingdom of Poland became the property of the State Treasury. In 1919, the area of the state’s agricultural properties in the Kingdom of Poland totalled 483 thousand morgens, i.e. over 270 thousand hectares. By the end of 1921, 331.8 thousand morgens were given for parceling (185.8 thousand ha) which constituted 68,7% of the land owned by the state<sup>24</sup>.

Due to the parceling, it was possible, at least to some extent, to fulfil the shortage of land in villages as well as improve the conditions of the functioning of schools and agricultural organizations.

In Maków County, in the years 1919–1936, about 145.476 ha of land were parceled between 33.171 private buyers. In 1937, 2.5 ha of land were sold in Maków Maz. to self-government and social institutions<sup>25</sup>.

The land consolidation in Maków County began already before the outbreak of World War I. After the war, the action of land reparcelling started again and developed really well. Most of the reparcelling’s participants did not complain about the consolidation of lands. In the years 1921–1922, 14.170 morgens (7.935 ha) were consolidated in 14 villages in Maków County<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> APP, Akta komisarza spraw włościańskich powiatu makowskiego, pp. 445–482; W. Łątkowski, *Serwituty w powiecie makowskim i ich likwidacja*. Rocznik Mazowiecki (Warszawa) 2002, Vol. XIV, pp. 71–84; K. Groniowski, *Realizacja reformy uwłaszczeniowej 1864 r.* PWN, Warszawa 1963, pp. 192–204.

<sup>22</sup> Wielka własność według powiatów, op. cit. p. 62, 68, 76.

<sup>23</sup> Journal of Laws (Dziennik Ustaw) (Dz.U) 1919, No. 72, item 426.

<sup>24</sup> E. Kołodziej, *Życie gospodarcze*, [In:] *Dzieje Mazowsza lata 1918–1939*, Vol. IV. Ed. J. Szczepański. Akademia Humanistyczna im. Aleksandra Gieysztora, Pułtusk 2010, pp. 284–285; *Ministerstwo Rolnictwa i Dóbr Państwowych*, [In:] *Informator powszechny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z Kalendarzem Policji Państwowej na rok 1922*. Warszawa [n.d.], pp. 223–224.

<sup>25</sup> APW, Urząd Wojewódzki Warszawski (UWW), sign. 1490, k. 1–3, sign. 1415, k. 1–2, sign. 1425, k. 20, 26, 78, sign. 1489, k. 1, sign. 1490, k. 1–3, sign. 1598, k. 5–6, sign. 1599, k. 1–2, sign. 1600, k. 1, 24, sign. 1601, k. 3, 69, 79, sign. 1891, k. 1–100, sign. 1896, k. 1–55, sign. 2053, k. 1–60, sign. 2056, k. 1, sign. 2057, k. 1–13.

<sup>26</sup> APP, SPMM, sign. 4, k. 40; E. Kołodziej, *Życie gospodarcze Mazowsza w okresie międzywojennym*, [In:] *Mazowsze w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym (w granicach*

Due to a difficult situation of agriculture within the first post-war years, the local authorities did not oblige farmers to pay land tax. Moreover, they allocated specific sums in support of agriculture. In the years 1919–1922, the County Council in Maków allocated 3.445 marks for that purpose, and in 1924, 4.800 zlotys on fostering agriculture, trade and industry<sup>27</sup>.

In the years 1921–1922, the County Council, in order to spur the activities of machinery rings in Maków County, dedicated subsidies of 1.395.000 marks for the District Agricultural Society to maintain an instructor, a secretary and other expenses. Apart from that, the County Council also set a welfare benefit for the Central Agricultural Society<sup>28</sup>.

Since 1 April 1921, the farmers from Maków County received help from the state in the form of a loan of 600.000 marks (21 owners of minor properties), 77 horses – gained during the demobilization and 67 horses vindicated from Germany, as well as cereal seeds: 1 wagon of rye, 5 wagons of barley, 7 wagons of oat, 1 wagon of field pea and 1 wagon of vetch. Apart from that, the county was delivered a part of agricultural tools, which were then taken on consignment by the Maków branch of the Agricultural Syndicate in Warsaw<sup>29</sup>.

The County Council in Maków Maz., in order to support farming within the county's area, allocated in its budget appropriate amounts of money for this purpose. They were spent i.a. on the purchase of cereal seed and licensed animals, the afforestation of wasteland, the regulations of rivers and amelioration, livestock presentations, the activity of the District Society of Organization and Machinery Rings, scholarships for agricultural school students and agricultural training courses<sup>30</sup>.

In the years 1929–1939, the County Council in Maków Maz. allocated the funds ranging from 23.800 zlotys to 72.162 zlotys on agriculture, which consisted an average of 7,6% of the general budget<sup>31</sup>.

Since the autumn of 1934, an action of liquidating the villages' liabilities was carried out in Warsaw voivodeship. It covered 6.800 farmsteads, which had purchased land within the agricultural reform, by getting loans from the State Agricultural Bank. Despite cancelling 41% of the borrowers' debts and splitting the

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*województwa warszawskiego*). Ed. A. Stawarz. Mazowieckie Towarzystwo Kultury, Mazowiecki Ośrodek Badań Naukowych im. Stanisława Herbsta, Warszawa 1998, p. 52; *Rocznik Statystyczny*. Warszawa 1939, p. 70; H. Jabłoński, *Województwo warszawskie w latach 1926–1930*. WBWW, Warszawa 1930, pp. 15–16.

<sup>27</sup> *Statystyka finansów komunalnych. Samorząd powiatowy w latach 1919–1922 i 1924*. Statystyka Polski (Warszawa) 1928, Vol. VII, p. LVIII, 20, 122, 246, 284.

<sup>28</sup> APP, SPM, sign. 4, k. 35.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, k. 40.

<sup>30</sup> AAN, Związek Powiatów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej (ZPRP), sign. 1055, k. 28–29, 209–210, 263–264.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, sign. 1053, k. 24, 142, 214, 234, 266, 295, 386, 400, 426, 431.

other part into long-term installments, most of the debtors did not pay the due interest, unfortunately<sup>32</sup>.

The bill on the liquidation of the villages' liabilities, which gave farmers major reliefs, also introduced certain requirements concerning the tardy debtors. In case of not paying two consecutive installments including the interest, an immediate obligation of the entire debt was introduced. Therefore, the debtors had to turn to the Arbitrary Office in order to receive a calculation certificate, which was to contain the fixed amount of the installment by virtue of law. The Arbitrary Office could annul the effects of the debt arrears only in case of an exceptional situation, e.g. a natural disaster<sup>33</sup>.

As it has already been mentioned, Maków County was a typical agricultural county. Therefore, industry and craft developed poorly in this area. In 1919, there were 3 tanneries, 14 oil mills, 10 water mills and 2 steam mills, 25 windmills, 5 sawmills as well as 5 brickyards and 1 concrete plant in the county. Within handicrafts, there should be distinguished shoemaking, carpentry, pottery and rope-making. Moreover, in a domestic environment, canvas and textile materials were made for the needs of manufacturers. Trade did not develop at that time on a bigger scale. A newly organizing itself liquor trade was in Polish hands and petty trade belonged mainly to Jewish owners. Fairs took place twice a week and bazaars once a month. However, the sales were at that time still low, which was related mostly to the impoverishment of the population. In 1919, there were no credit unions or banks in Maków County which would support industry and trade<sup>34</sup>.

According to the First Population Census dated 30 September 1921, there were 5.873 people working in industry in Maków County, which accounted for 10% of the overall number of the county's inhabitants. The majority of people were employed in textile and accessory industry – 2.537, then in food industry – 968, in wood industries – 777 and in construction – 553. At the same time, 2.748 people (4,7%) were traders<sup>35</sup>.

The largest industrial plants included the tanneries in Maków, Maków steam mills – of the Rajczyk, Willenberg and Stefańscy, whose annual production was 30.000 quintals and which employed between 22–28 workers, the Construction Association in Różan, owning a sawmill, cement factories and a factory complex of J. Beckier in Dyszobaba – a brickyard, a mill and a steam sawmill. Apart from that, there were industrial plants in which only the owner worked, or possibly one worker was employed. That kind of plants included: oil mills, water mills, mills, dyeries and groats factories. Within handicrafts, the best developing was

<sup>32</sup> AAN, Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych (MSW), sign. 124, *Protokół ze zjazdu starostów woj. warszawskiego w dniu 14 I 1936 r.*

<sup>33</sup> *Akcja oddłużeniowa wsi a Urzędy Rozjemcze*. Mazur 1935, No. 2, p. 8, No. 4, p. 7.

<sup>34</sup> APP, SPMM, sign. 2, k. 472.

<sup>35</sup> *Pierwszy Powszechny Spis Ludności RP z dn. 30 września 1921 r.* Warszawa 1927, p. 197.

shoemaking – in Maków there were 13 such factories, producing goods for export, and other industrial and crafting plants manufactured their own products mainly for the internal needs of the county<sup>36</sup>.

Among trading institutions, the most distinguishing was the branch of the Warsaw Agricultural Syndicate in Maków, which dealt with the trade of farming articles, the purchase of grain and delivering farm tools and their parts to the people. Moreover, the Syndicate normalized the prices of those goods in Maków as it owned a significant amount of iron products. The second important trading institution in the county was the Regional Association of Consumers. The rest of the trade was in private hands, mostly Jewish. Among credit institutions in the Maków County region, there was the Savings and Loan Association, which was transformed into the Common Bank in 1923<sup>37</sup>.

According to the statistical data of the Second Population Census dated 9 December 1931, in Maków County there were 8.769 people working in industry and craft trades, which accounted for 13,4% of the overall number of the county's population. In comparison to the year 1921, that rate increased by 3,4%, which proves the increase of the role of industry in the county's economy. In that period, 2.797 people (4,3%) occupied themselves with trade, out of which 2.319 persons worked in commodity trading. In comparison to the year 1921, that rate dropped by 0,4%. It was presumably influenced by an economic crisis, which caused the impoverishment of the population and the limitation of the purchase of goods, and that in turn resulted in the reduction of income and the abandonment of such form of activity. However, in comparison to the neighboring counties of northern Mazovia, the percentage of people working in trade in Maków County was high. A higher percentage was only in Pułtusk County, where it amounted to 6,4%<sup>38</sup>.

The economic crisis had a major influence on the decrease in the number of industrial plants and crafting workshops in Maków County, which totalled 515 in 1935 (in 1931 – there were 718). 205 industrial plants were located in Maków Maz., 129 in Różan, and 181 in rural settlements of the county. The majority of the plants and workshops were in textile and leather industry – 189, then in food industry – 123 as well as the chemical sector, including oil mills – 64. At the same time, the number of trading companies in Maków County was 866, of which 254 companies were located in Maków Maz., 147 in Różan, 233 – in rural settlements, and 232 trading units did not have permanent headquarters, which was probably related to itinerant trade<sup>39</sup>.

<sup>36</sup> APP, SPMM, sign. 4, k. 23; Goniec Mazowiecki 1923, No. 5, p. 11, 1924, No. 4, p. 4.

<sup>37</sup> APP, SPMM, sign. 4, k. 127.

<sup>38</sup> *Drugi Powszechny Spis Ludności z dn. 9 XII 1931 r. Woj. warszawskie*. Warszawa 1937, p. 79, 149; Mały Rocznik Statystyczny. Warszawa 1938, p. 32.

<sup>39</sup> *Statystyka zakładów przemysłowych i handlowych 1935 (woj. warszawskie)*. Statystyka Polski (Warszawa) 1938, Series C, Issue 89, p. 8, 83–84.

During the inter-war period, the development of industry and trade in Maków County was influenced by the County Council, which annually allocated appropriate sums in its budget in support of industry and trade. In the years 1929–1935, it dedicated the sum of 14.400 zlotys to that purpose. In comparison to other branches, such as agriculture, that was not a large amount of money. In the years 1936–1939, the County Council did not allocate any money for the development of industry and trade. The reason was probably the fact that industry did not play an important role in the county and the existing industrial plants and crafting workshops were mainly in the hands of private owners. The subsidies granted in support of industry and trade were mostly used as scholarships for craft school students and the Salesian Company in Jaciążek (Płoniawy commune), the maintenance of vocational supplementary schools as well as the development of folk industries<sup>40</sup>.

The economic situation of Poland after the great crisis was difficult and coming out of the bad economic situation lasted for a long time. Besides, the society felt more and more tired. In 1935, the actual national income per one inhabitant of Poland was still lower than in 1930. The Kościalkowski government announced a rapid fight against the economic stagnation, beginning from a savings policy, which largely affected the masses. Workers earned on average 24–26 zlotys per week, whereas the estimated minimum living cost for a working-class family in Warsaw was 35 zlotys per week. In the entire country, as many as 54% of male workers and 82% of female workers remained below the social minimum. The unemployment rate was also high. In 1936, in Poland, over 900 thousand people were unemployed. In Warsaw voivodeship, there were 22.306 jobless people at that time and in Maków County 305 persons remained unemployed. Within the county plan of tackling unemployment, 204 people were hired for public works. In comparison, in 1927 there were only about 9.431 unemployed in the region of Warsaw voivodeship<sup>41</sup>.

Due to the proper economic policy of the Kwiatkowski government in the years 1935–1939, the economic situation improved and favorable changes were introduced to industry and agriculture, which significantly influenced the improvement of the material situation of Polish society. Food prices remained low

<sup>40</sup> AAN, ZPRP, sign. 1053, k. 24, 137–138, 142, 214, 234, 264, 266, 295–296, 386, 400, 426, 431. The County Council, in budget year 1929/30, allocated 3.400 zlotys (0,3%) on the development of industry and trade, in 1930/31 – 5.300 zlotys (0,8%), in 1931/32 – 3.700 zlotys (0,6 %), in 1932/33 – 1.000 zlotys (0,2%), in 1933/34 – 600 zlotys (0,2%), in 1934/35 – 400 zlotys (0,1%).

<sup>41</sup> APW, UWW, sign. 98, k. 191, sign. 18, k. 28; H. Zieliński, *Historia Polski 1914–1939*. Ossolineum, Wrocław 1983, p. 206; M. Śliwa, *Wielka historia Polski 1918–1939*. Pinnex, Kraków 2000, pp. 152–154. Already in 1932 the number of the unemployed in Maków County was only 71 persons. Fewer were only in Przasnysz County – 54 people. And in the entire Warsaw voivodeship, it was much higher than in 1936 and it totalled 29.348 people, APW, UWW, sign. 61, k. 75.

and the wages were higher by 20–30% in comparison to the year 1929. Generally, the economic situation of Poland was slowly stabilizing and the quality of people's lives was improving<sup>42</sup>.

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<sup>42</sup> Cz. Brzoza, *Wielka historia Polski*, Vol. IX: *Polska w czasach niepodległości i drugiej wojny światowej (1918–1945)*. Świat Książki, Kraków 2003, pp. 176–177; M. Eckert, *Historia Polski 1914–1939*. WSiP, Warszawa 1990, p. 313.

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## SUMMARY

Maków County was established by the Tsarist authorities in 1867 and it covered the area of the northern part of the previous Pułtusk County and a small part of Przasnysz County. The sources of weakness in the economic development of Maków County in the second half of the 19th century should be looked for in socio-economic factors. The main source of income for the population of Maków County was agriculture, which was, unfortunately, less than efficient at that time. In order to improve the situation, farmers expanded the area of sowing. Also, the manumission and the abolition of serfdom were not without significance. The liquidation of easements, the introduction of new agricultural machines and the change in the way of cultivating land partially improved the situation in agriculture. In the second half of the 19th century, industry also developed poorly in Maków County. Some of the largest industrial plants were: tanneries, oil mills, mills, sawmills, brickyards and windmills. During the inter-war period, the development of the industry and trade was supported by the County Council, which allocated in its budget appropriate sums for that purpose.

## STRESZCZENIE

Powiat makowski utworzony przez władze carskie w 1867 r. obejmował północną część dotychczasowego powiatu pułtuskiego i niewielką część powiatu przasnyskiego. Źródeł słabości rozwoju gospodarczego powiatu makowskiego w II połowie XIX wieku należy szukać w czynnikach natury społeczno-ekonomicznej. Głównym źródłem utrzymania ludności powiatu makowskiego było rolnictwo, które w tym okresie było, niestety, mało wydajne. W celu poprawy tej sytuacji rolnicy zwiększali obszar zasiewów. Nie bez znaczenia było tu też uwłaszczenie chłopów i zniesienie pańszczyzny. Likwidacja serwitutów, wprowadzenie nowych maszyn rolniczych oraz zmiana sposobu uprawy ziemi częściowo poprawiała też sytuację w rolnictwie. W II połowie XIX wieku w powiecie makowskim słabo rozwijał się także przemysł. Do większych zakładów przemysłowych należały: garbarnie, olejarnie, młyny, tartaki, cegielnie i wiatraki. W okresie międzywojennym rozwój przemysłu i handlu wspierał Sejmik Powiatowy, który przeznaczał w swoim budżecie odpowiednie kwoty na ten cel.

**Key words:** Maków County, agriculture, industry

**Słowa kluczowe:** powiat makowski, rolnictwo, przemysł



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*Wąsewo*

## WAR CEMETERIES FROM 1915 IN THE AREA OF THE FORMER OSTRÓW COUNTY – PLACES OF MEMORY AND MEMORY OF PLACES

### CMENTARZE WOJENNE Z 1915 ROKU NA TERENIE DAWNEGO POWIATU OSTROWSKIEGO – MIEJSCA PAMIĘCI I PAMIĘĆ MIEJSC

The political transformation which has taken place in Poland in recent years has made it possible to discover many “terrae incognitae” in the aspects of especially the latest history, but paradoxically it has “hidden” many of these aspects again<sup>1</sup>. It has also become a favourable circumstance for a very interesting debate on places of memory or memory of places. It is also said more and more often about the “memory” of the places themselves, or even “landscape memory”<sup>2</sup>. This is especially true in the context of the events which have left a lasting trace in the history of the region and about which it has not been easy to remember, and which have sometimes been ousted from memory as they brought a lot of traumatic experiences to the inhabitants. The event which is gaining more and more of its place in the Polish public space is at present the First World War, also known as the Great War, and especially its least recognized strand until recently, that is the actions of the European powers on the eastern front of this bloody conflict. However, this recovery of the “place in memory” is not painless. The difficulty of the subject arises from various reasons. First of all, from the fact that the Great War, despite taking place in the territories belonging to Poland now, was a struggle in which Poland, as a state, did not take part, since it was not on the map at that time. Therefore, until the present day, in the minds of many people there still remains a belief that it was “not our war”. According to some historians, the “oblivion” of the First World War in Poland is largely connected with the founding myth of the Second Polish Republic, which was the victory in the Polish-Bolshevik war of 1920. In addition, or perhaps above all, the terrible hecatomb of World War II ousted the miseries of 1914–1918 from the collective memory of the Poles. The far-reaching consequence of this last conflict was also the institutionalized

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<sup>1</sup> W. Borodziej, M. Górny, *Nasza Wojna*, Vol. I: *Imperia 1912–1916*. Wydawnictwo W.A.B., Warszawa 2014, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> A. Zalewska, J. Czarnecki, *Ślady i świadectwa Wielkiej Wojny nad Rawką i Bzurą*. Fundacja Przydrożne Lekcje Historii, Warszawa 2016, p. 4.

ensorship of historical materials in the post-war years and the conscious obliteration of the “memory of places”<sup>3</sup>.

The remains of the Great War are also present in north-eastern Mazovia. In July and August, the German Armeegruppe Galwitz after the Second Battle of Przasnysz broke through the front near Przasnysz and began to drive out the Russian troops from the Kingdom of Poland. At the end of July, the offensive got stuck for some time on the heavily-fortified Russian natural defensive line that the Narew river bed constituted. After crossing the river, which ended on 3 August 1915 with capturing Ostrołęka, the German army was carrying out the so-called pursuit battles in the areas of the Green and White Kurpie Forests, the lands by the Orz and Bug rivers. The Russian troops retreating to the next line of defence, did not give back these areas too easily. The German regiments, even so well-trained in combat as the elite Guards regiments, were losing a lot of their soldiers, often in the course of a single day, often just as a result of the predominant attack tactics of an extended line battle array with low distances between soldiers, characterized by low resistance to modern weapons (heavy machine guns or field artillery)<sup>4</sup>. Necropolises from the time of the Great War in the territory of the former Ostrów County are evidence of these bloody struggles. Some of them have been preserved in almost unchanged state until today, but most have been either obliterated or forgotten. The location of many of them has been uncertain until the present day and requires extensive archaeological research. Such research has been carried out so far only to a small extent, in 2016, in connection with the works planned by the General Directorate of National Roads and Motorways on the modernized national road No. 8.

The number of necropolises from the First World War in the area of the former Ostrów County is estimated to be about seventy – eighty<sup>5</sup>. The data on them comes from heavily scattered archival sources, as well as from field research carried out among others by the author in the years 2014–2017. There is currently only one comprehensive study on Mazovian cemeteries from the First World War, but it is still incomplete and fraught with errors<sup>6</sup>. According to the Act of 1933 with minor amendments, these cemeteries as war necropolises are under legal protection, in

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<sup>3</sup> Ibidem, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> R. Figiel, *Bitwa pod Wąsewem*. Wydawnictwo OTN im. A. Chętnika, Wąsewo 2016, p. 40.

<sup>5</sup> It concerns the cemeteries located in the area of the existing during the Second Republic of Poland Ostrów County being part of Białystok Voivodeship; the main archival source on the number of these necropolises are their censuses of the 1920s, available at Politisches Archiv in Berlin; in Poland, i. a. Ośrodek Badań Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej (Research Centre for Central and Eastern Europe) deals with them.

<sup>6</sup> P. Ajdacki, *Szlakiem Wielkiej Wojny na Mazowszu. Cmentarze wojenne z lat 1914–1920. Tannenberg Denkmal*. Wydawnictwo PTTK, Otwock 2014, this work includes basically the cemeteries which are well preserved and listed in the Register of Historical Monuments.

practice the Voivodeship Office simply does not know about many of them, neither are they listed in the National War Cemetery Base.

In the area of the former Ostrów County, the cemeteries from the First World War were established in the following locations, and in some of them there were even a few necropolises (the number of cemeteries in a particular town is given in brackets): Andrzejewo, Bagatele, Bojany, Brok, Brulino Lipskie, Brzezienko, Chmiele-Pogorzele, Chrzczanka (now Chrzczanka Włosciańska), Czyżew (3), Dalekie (Wąsewo commune – 2), Dmochy Mrozy, Dybki, Fidury, Gąsiorowo, Godlewo-Warsze, Godlewo Wielkie, Grądy (Wąsewo commune), Grądy Szlacheckie (2), Guty-Bujno, Jabłonowo-Klacz, Jelenie, Jelonki, Kalinowo, Kiryłówka (now so-called Cerkiewka), Komorowo, Kramkowo Lipskie, Króle, Króle Duże, Krzeczkowo Mianowskie, Krzeczkowo-Wyborowo, Lubiejewo, Łęg Nurski, Marianowo, Murowanka (now Nieszków), Nagoszewka, Nowa Osuchowa (2), Nowa Wieś (Długosiodło commune – 2), Nowy Borek, Olszaki, Ołdaki-Polonia, Ołtarze-Gołacze, Ostryków, Pieńki Wielkie, Pieńki Żaki, Przeździecko-Dworaki, Przeździecko-Grzymki, Sielc, Słup, Smolewo, Stasin, Stok, Strękowo (2 or 3), Sumiężne, Szulborze Wielkie, Trynosy Osiedle, Uścianek – Dębiana, Wąsewo, Wysocze, Zalesie (Zalesie Stare) manor, Zaręby-Warchoły (2), Zaszów, Znamięcki<sup>7</sup>. Arguably, this list does not include all the cemeteries. Based on the statements made by residents and topographic maps from the 1920s and 1940s, it may be assumed that there are others which are not included in the available censuses. Perhaps some of them have been exhumed, which cannot be determined without invasive archaeological research. At present, the exhumed cemeteries in Sielc, Nagoszewka and Osuchowa (one of the two, located by the national road No. 8, just at the turnoff to Nowa Osuchowa) certainly no longer exist. Out of the remaining ones, relatively well preserved and cared for are the cemeteries in Bojany (by the road from Poręba to Brok), Dybki (by the national road No. 8), Komorowo (on the right side of the road from Ostrów Mazowiecka to Ostrołęka), Kramokowo Lipskie (by the road Nur – Kramkowo), Lubiejewo (on the left side of the road from Ostrów Mazowiecka to Łomża, the cemetery incorrectly labelled as a World War II cemetery), Sumiężne (labelled also as the cemetery in Głina) and Czyżew (3). Some of the remaining ones are listed in the Register of Historical Monuments, which allows hoping that they will be at least preserved (Pieńki Żaki), although it happens that the area of the cemetery carries traces of its exploration by treasure hunters. Sometimes a cemetery was built by a roadside cross, or such a cross was placed in the area of the cemetery, thanks to which it was not devastated, even if the memory of the necropolis was obliterated. This is the case for the graves located in Guty-Bujno, Stok or Nowa Wieś. Unfortunately, virtually completely

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<sup>7</sup> The list based on available archival materials and field research carried out by the author. A lot of information was confirmed by the courtesy of Małgorzata Karczewska from Ośrodek Badań Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej (Research Centre for Central and Eastern Europe) whom the author sincerely thanks for her assistance.

destroyed were the burial places located on arable lands (Bagatele), in forests (Fidury, Kalinowo, Znamięczki) or belonging to parishes as a separate cemetery quarter at the parish cemetery (Jelonki, Andrzejewo). The location of several necropolises remains doubtful until the present day (Jelenie, Króle).

Basically, three stages in the creation of cemeteries in the area of Ostrów County may be distinguished. The first period are burials as early as on the same or the next day after the soldiers' death. Military actions in this area took place during the days from the second half of July (forcing the Narew river) to 18 August 1915 (ending the pursuit battles by the upper river course of the Narew and Nurzec rivers). According to the information from both the regimental chronicles, the memoirs of Armeegruppe Commander – Max von Gallwitz and parish chronicles of Goworowo Parish, that summer was exceptionally hot, so the soldiers themselves tried to bury their comrades quickly to avoid the outbreak of an epidemic<sup>8</sup>. The archaeological report on the Osuchowa cemetery exhumation in 2016, describes this stage as “primary burials with an intact anatomic system” in which we deal with a “one-time burial of a human body, integral”<sup>9</sup>. However, where the troops advanced forward without being held back by the fortified lines of the Russians, there was probably no time to find and bury everyone, so the bodies remained in the woods and fields. The corpses were buried only after a few days, when they were in a state of advanced decay, and this was already the activity not of a regular army, but usually of a civilian population. The above-mentioned report states as follows: “The bodies of the soldiers that had undergone partial decomposition were transported to the burial site. There is a high likelihood that during such transport some elements of the body were separated from others. Depending on the amount of time which elapsed from death to burial and also depending on environmental conditions such as temperature or air and soil humidity, the decomposition process may have been relatively quick”<sup>10</sup>. At this stage, the corpses were mostly deposited in already existing cemeteries. Lastly, the third phase of establishing cemeteries can be discussed, which in the case of Ostrów County is difficult to locate precisely in time because of the lack of sources, and which concerns planned new cemetery complexes, redeveloping or extending already existing war necropolises in later years, especially while the German administration functioned in those areas. Such action may be observed in the places where at cemeteries emerged not only simple earth graves, but concrete

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<sup>8</sup> R. Figiel, op. cit., p. 63.

<sup>9</sup> W. Więckowski, *Szczątki żołnierzy armii pruskiej z cmentarza wojennego z okresu I wojny światowej w Osuchowej Nowej gm. Ostrów Mazowiecka*, [In:] *Opracowanie wyników archeologicznych badań wykopaliskowych przeprowadzonych na stanowisku nr 2 w Nowej Osuchowej, zlokalizowanym na trasie planowanej rozbudowy drogi krajowej nr 8 do parametrów drogi ekspresowej S 8, odc. węzeł „Poręba” – obwodnica Ostrowi Mazowieckiej (Ekshumacja cmentarza z czasów I wojny światowej)*. Ed. M. Milewski. GDDKiA, Warszawa 2016, p. 8.

<sup>10</sup> Ibidem.

or stone tombstones, of specific height and shape, with appropriate inscriptions in the font of an exact size and style.

The cemeteries of the former Ostrów County were established in the first and second stages<sup>11</sup>, probably at least some of them were neatened later (phase III), but no permanent gravestones survived there until the present day<sup>12</sup>. These were mostly small fields or forest cemeteries, sometimes located by the roads, where a dozen or so or several dozen soldiers were buried<sup>13</sup>. Simple, earthen, individual and collective graves were created, which in the course of time underwent natural or in some cases intentional obliteration. The wooden crosses, originally dug in them, decayed and the necropolises were in need of renovation as early as a few or a few dozen years after the burial. Sometimes they were separate, in many cases no longer existent today, quarters in parish cemeteries. Probably all or most of them were to be eventually exhumed. The agreement concluded between Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge (German People's Graves Protection Association) and the authorities of the Second Polish Republic in 1938 assumed joining together small burial sites at large collective cemeteries or burial mounds, designed in the amount of one per each county, but there is lack of source coverage for the fact of creating such places in the former Ostrów County. The draft project of cemetery works assumed the following: "Basically it is planned to create burial mounds for the collective honorary grave for German soldiers in Poland. The mound is meant to be a large circular hill whose shape will change, but also 12, 10 or 8 angular mounds whose form may change and whose diameter will be at least 30–40 m. Eventually, the German soldiers' remains will be put in linen bags, and later all of them will be buried in a large mass grave at the base of the hill. In the face of death all the comrades are the same, united with one another; the huge barrow will cover and protect them, and its greatness will be the symbol of it"<sup>14</sup>. It may be assumed that the plans of exhumation and joining together the burial sites were thwarted by the outbreak of World War II, although this does not mean that the redevelopment or neatening of the cemeteries were completely stopped. Ignacy Saramak from the village of Wołowa in Płock County, during the war staying with his parents in Ostrykół, recalls: "Almost directly by the gable of our barn there was an old cemetery of German soldiers from the First World War. Blurred by the rains and weedy graves, the remnants of rotten, broken crosses, and throughout the area thin, high pines [...] Jews worked on its renovation. They were always watched by a few

<sup>11</sup> M. Karczeńska distinguishes two phases, identical with stages I and III in this publication. Cf M. Karczeńska, *Cmentarze z czasów I wojny światowej w krajobrazie górnej Narwi*, [In:] *Narwiański Park Narodowy. Krajobraz, przyroda, człowiek*. Eds. P. Banaszuk, D. Wołkowycki. Białystok–Kurowo 2016, p. 300

<sup>12</sup> An exception is the cemetery in Dybki with at least two gravestones with inscriptions.

<sup>13</sup> In the case of the exhumed cemetery in Nowa Osuchowa, according to W. Więckowski doing research on this place (op. cit.) the minimum number of burials is 25.

<sup>14</sup> As cited in: R. Figiel, op. cit., p. 99.

armed Germans with dogs. On their chests and backs, the Jews had to wear the capital «J» letters («Jude»). They cut sod with spades from our meadow, which they then transported on wheelbarrows and used it to mulch the newly formed, individual and collective graves. Then they set birch crosses over them, gravelled the alleys, and finally set up a large birch cross in the centre and fenced everything with wooden perches. It lasted a few weeks. And we would grass cows on the meadow and we saw it all close up”<sup>15</sup>. The inhabitants of Ponikiew Mała village, in conversations with the author, also mentioned arranging or neatening cemeteries during the second occupation of those areas (the first one took place in 1915–1918), although in this case they talked about children working under the guidance of a teacher, which was probably supposed to serve as specific “pedagogy” of the occupant. These “German orders”, as the interlocutors put it, are probably one of the reasons for the reluctance to deal with the subject now, because the deceased, in the eyes of the people forced to work, equated with their persecutors.

As regards the identification of the soldiers buried in the cemeteries of Ostrów Land, it is extremely difficult for several reasons. The first cause is the already mentioned nature of the necropolises, which currently have no indications. There is lack of source data about those places – most of it was destroyed during World War II. Excavations and archaeological research enables collecting a little more data, although even then determining the identity is often incomplete<sup>16</sup>. It is possible to identify individual soldiers in terms of their resting in a particular cemetery, based on regimental chronicles and the so-called *verlustlisten*, or “loss lists”. In this case, we have several data that complements each other: the place of death recorded in the regimental chronicle, the statement from *verlustliste* informing whether the soldier was listed as fallen, wounded or missing and the cemetery existing in the area. Additional information can be found on the memorials of the fallen soldiers still existing here and there in the villages which they came from or where they lived. If we combine these elements, we get the probable place of rest of individual people. It is only probable because it is impossible to determine with absolute certainty whether those sources are not burdened with error. Moreover, many German units in the 1920s and 1930s did not list the fallen, and sometimes there was only a table providing the names of the officers and the number of soldiers who died. The situation when there were two or three cemeteries in a given location, or if a soldier is listed as missing, meaning he may have died but not have been buried in the first stage, may not have been buried

<sup>15</sup> I. Saramak, *Wygności z ojcowizny*, [In:] *Moje wojenne dzieciństwo*, Vol. 14. Ed. M.L. Krogulski. Fundacja Moje Wojenne Dzieciństwo, Warszawa 2004, p. 48.

<sup>16</sup> M. Milewski (Eds.), *Opracowanie wyników archeologicznych badań wykopaliskowych przeprowadzonych na stanowisku nr 2 w Nowej Osuchowej, zlokalizowanym na trasie planowanej rozbudowy drogi krajowej nr 8 do parametrów drogi ekspresowej S 8, odc. węzeł „Poręba” – obwodnica Ostrowi Mazowieckiej (Ekshumacja cmentarza z czasów I wojny światowej)*. GDDKiA, Warszawa 2017, p. 55.

or his remains have been buried anonymously, makes it impossible to determine the place of burial. On many Mazovian cemeteries where tombstones are preserved, many of them bear such inscriptions as “one German soldier”, “Russian soldier” or “unknown hero”.

An exemplary place of burial, where one can be tempted to perform partial identification, is a small forest cemetery in Ostrykol Dworski. This village, under the name of *Ostrykol*, is mentioned in two chronicles, namely the chronicle of the 61st Infantry Regiment (Infanterie-Regiment 61) and the 141st Infantry Regiment (Infanterie-Regiment 141) as a place of death of their soldiers. In the latter, the village is listed under a double-barrelled name *Ostry-kol*, in one case in the abbreviated form – *Ostry*. In the village there is only one cemetery from the First World War, mentioned in the archives and preserved until the present day, located on a private property near the Narew river bank. According to the chronicles, 30 soldiers fell at Ostrykol. The layout of the preserved graves allows estimating the minimum number of burials at thirty, but there were rather more, even around forty.

Table 1. Soldiers resting in Ostrykol Dworski war cemetery

| Name                  | Military rank <sup>17</sup> | Company | Regiment | Place of birth        | Date of death | Verlustliste of day/page |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|---------|----------|-----------------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| Ahlemeier Otto        | Musk.                       | 5.      | IR 141   | Bökendorf, Höxter     | 24.07.        | 1915-08-12/8128          |
| Bergmann Richard      | Ers. Res.                   | 1.      | IR 141   | Remscheid             | 24.07.        | 1915-08-16/8187          |
| Brinkhoff Heinrich    | Res.                        | 12.     | IR 61    | Gr.Holthausen, Hörde  | 25.07.        | 1916-05-1/12261          |
| Bülter Josef          | Musk.                       | 7.      | IR 61    | Nordwalde, Münster    | 25.07.        | 1915-08-25/8351          |
| Danielsen August      | Ers. Res.                   | 1.      | IR 141   | Mühlbrook, Bordesholm | 24.07.        | 1915-08-16/8187          |
| Deja Johann           | Musk.                       | 5.      | IR 61    | Luboczyn, Tuchel      | 26.07.        | 1915-08-25/8351          |
| Godziewski Wladislaus | Musk.                       | 6.      | IR 141   | Laszewo, Strasburg    | 24.07.        | 1915-08-12/8128          |

<sup>17</sup>Full forms of German army military ranks abbreviations mentioned in the tables: Lt. – Leutnant, Musk. – Musketer, Ers. Res. – Ersatz Reservist, Res. – Reservist, Ldstm. – Landsturmmann, Uffz. – Unteroffizier, Gefr. – Gefreiter, Gren. – Grenadier, Freiw. – Freiwilliger, Schtz. – Schütze.

| Name                | Military rank <sup>17</sup> | Company | Regiment | Place of birth               | Date of death | Verlustliste of day/page |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|---------|----------|------------------------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| Hellweg Wilhelm     | Musk.                       | 5.      | IR 141   | Avenwedde, Wiedenbrück       | 24.07.        | 1915-08-12/8128          |
| Hock Johann         | Ldstm.                      | 5.      | IR 141   | Offenbach a. M.              | 24.07.        | 1915-08-12/8128          |
| Hoffeins Max        | Uttffz.                     | 5.      | IR 141   | Blumsdorf, Strelno           | 24.07.        | 1915-08-12/8128          |
| Jahn Max            | Gefr.                       | 6.      | IR 141   | Landsberg                    | 24.07.        | 1915-08-12/8128          |
| Jayme Peter         | Gefr.                       | 7.      | IR 141   | Rohrbach, Dieburg            | 24.07.        | 1915-08-12/8128          |
| Jordan Friedrich    | Gefr.                       | 5.      | IR 141   | Maten, Dortmund              | 24.07.        | 1915-08-12/8128          |
| Kaminski Franz      | Ers. Res.                   | 2.      | IR 61    | Hoffmannsdorf, Wirsitz       | 26.07.        | 1915-08-25/8350          |
| Kegeler Otto        | Musk.                       | 7.      | IR 61    | Werben, Osterburg            | 25.07.        | 1915-08-25/8351          |
| Kirstein Alfred     | Uttffz.                     | 5.      | IR 61    | Ströbitz, Cottbus            | 26.07.        | 1915-08-25/8351          |
| Kugel Hermann       | Ers. Res.                   | 6.      | IR 141   | Grünental, Lennep            | 24.07.        | 1915-08-25/8357          |
| Lange Johann        | Musk.                       | 5.      | IR 61    | Bremen                       | 26.07.        | 1915-08-25/8351          |
| Mackowiak Anton     | Uttffz.                     | 10.     | IR 141   | Sarbinowo, Gostyn            | 25.07.        | 1915-08-13/8146          |
| Mittag Rudolf       | Uttffz.                     | 6.      | IR 61    | Schwerin                     | 24.07.        | 1915-08-25/8351          |
| Riefe Wilhelm       | Freiw.                      | 7.      | IR 141   | Athenstadt, Peine            | 24.07.        | 1915-08-12/8128          |
| Schluckebier Rudolf | Uttffz.                     | 7.      | IR 141   | Lippstadt                    | 24.07.        | 1915-08-12/8128          |
| Schröter Ernst      | Musk.                       | 6.      | IR 141   | Langwaltersdorf, Reichenbach | 24.07.        | 1915-08-12/8128          |
| Spata Wilhelm       | Musk.                       | 6.      | IR 141   | Scherbeney, Glatz            | 24.07.        | 1915-08-12/8128          |



| Name              | Military rank <sup>17</sup> | Company           | Regiment | Place of birth   | Date of death | Verlustliste of day/page |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|----------|------------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| Stache Hans       | Musk.                       | 1.                | IR 141   | Berlin           | 24.07.        | 1915-08-16/8187          |
| Storch Alfred     | Musk.                       | 1.                | IR 141   | Breslau          | 24.07.        | 1915-08-16/8187          |
| Streich Rudolf    | Schtz.                      | MGK <sup>18</sup> | IR 141   | Ledaha, Wladimir | 24.07.        | 1915-08-12/8128          |
| Thiede August     | Musk.                       | 6.                | IR 141   | Hamburg          | 24.07.        | 1915-08-12/8128          |
| Wenigrodt Hermann | Musk.                       | 7.                | IR 141   | Barmen           | 24.07.        | 1915-08-12/8128          |
| Wunsch Hugo       | Musk.                       | 1.                | IR 141   | Grabowitz        | 25.07.        | 1915-10-15/9371          |

Source: Keiser, Geschichte des Infanterie-Regiments v. d. Marwitz (8. Pomm.) No. 61 im Weltkriege 1914/1918, Wieseicke, Brandenburg 1924, p. 371–414; E. Schulemann, Das Kulmer Infanterie-Regiment No. 141 im Weltkriege, Berlin, 1926; Online: <http://des.genealogy.net/eingabe-verlustlisten/search/index> [6.07.2017], own study based on data.

A similar identification can be performed in the case of the cemeteries in Marianowo or Olszaki, which are located on the battle trail of Gdańsk 5th Grenadier Regiment (Grenadier-Regiment 5).

Table 2. Soldiers resting in the cemetery in Marianowo

| Name             | Military rank | Company | Regiment | Place of birth              | Date of death | Verlustliste of day/page |
|------------------|---------------|---------|----------|-----------------------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| Burreh Hermann   | Gren.         | 7.      | GR 5     | Obermöblingen, Sangerhausen | 26.07.        | 1915-08-20/8263          |
| Franke Otto      | Uffz.         | 7.      | GR 5     | Aue, Zwickau                | 27.07.        | 1915-08-20/8263          |
| Furchtmann Ernst | Ers. Res.     | 7.      | GR 5     | Polenzig, Weststernberg     | 26.07.        | 1915-08-20/8263          |
| Gerlich Oskar    | Gren.         | 7.      | GR 5     | Breslau                     | 26.07.        | 1915-08-20/8263          |
| Härtel Friedrich | Ers. Res.     | 7.      | GR 5     | Frankfurt a. O.             | 26.07.        | 1915-08-20/8263          |

<sup>18</sup> MGK – Maschinengewehr-Kompanie – Machine Gun Company.

| Name                | Military rank | Company | Regiment | Place of birth         | Date of death | Verlustliste of day/page |
|---------------------|---------------|---------|----------|------------------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| Heldt Frierich Karl | Gren.         | 7.      | GR 5     | Berlin                 | 26.07.        | 1915-08-20/8263          |
| Klemz Walter        | Freiw.        | 7.      | GR 5     | Kelpin, Arnswalde      | 26.07.        | 1915-08-20/8263          |
| Laskowski Isidor    | Gren.         | 7.      | GR 5     | Kurstein, Marienwerder | 26.07.        | 1915-08-20/8263          |
| Laskowski Joseph    | Res.          | 7.      | GR 5     | Lubna, Konitz          | 26.07.        | 1915-08-20/8263          |
| Thier Wilhelm       | Ers. Res.     | 7.      | GR 5     | Serbitz, Delitzsch     | 26.07.        | 1915-08-20/8263          |

Source: A. Seydel, *Das Grenadier-Regiment König Friedrich I. (4. Ostpreußisches) No. 5 im Weltkriege*, Oldenburg 1926, p. 419–491; Online: <http://des.genealogy.net/eingabe-verlustlisten/search/index> [6.07.2017], own study based on data.

Table 3

Soldiers resting in the cemetery in Olszaki

| Name                | Military rank | Company | Regiment | Place of birth        | Date of death | Verlustliste of day/page |
|---------------------|---------------|---------|----------|-----------------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| Bidder Karl         | Lt. d. R.     | 7.      | GR 5     | Wossitz, Danzig       | 26.07.        | 915-08-20/8263           |
| Brandt Paul         | Ers. Res.     | 9.      | GR 5     | Magdeburg             | 27.07.        | 1915-08-20/8263          |
| Hartig Otto         | Schtz.        | 3. MGK  | GR 5     | Eichel, Wertheim      | 29.07.        | 1915-08-20/8263          |
| Kowalski Wladislaus | Gren.         | 5.      | GR 5     | Tuchel                | 26.07.        | 1915-08-20/8263          |
| Kuhsick Waldemar    | Ers. Res.     | 12.     | GR 5     | Schöningen, Helmstedt | 26.07.        | 1915-08-20/8263          |
| Pietrzik Gustav     | Gren.         | 12.     | GR 5     | Soffen, Lyck          | 28.07.        | 1915-11-24/10332         |
| Rennhack Hermann    | Schtz.        | 1. MGK  | GR 5     | Gr. Runow, Stolp      | 27.07.        | 1915-08-20/8263          |
| Schott Max          | Res.          | 5.      | GR 5     | Adamshof              | 31.07.        | 1915-09-11/8695          |

| Name             | Military rank | Company | Regiment | Place of birth     | Date of death | Verlustliste of day/page |
|------------------|---------------|---------|----------|--------------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| Stiller Otto     | Res.          | 3.      | GR 5     | Heubude, Danzig    | 28.07.        | 1915-09-11/8695          |
| Weinschenka Kuno | Res.          | 5.      | GR 5     | Borgfeld, Danzig   | 26.07.        | 1915-08-20/8263          |
| Weiß Theodor     | Ers. Res.     | 5.      | GR 5     | Gr. Steinau, Thorn | 26.07.        | 1915-08-20/8263          |
| Winkel Arthur    | Res.          | 12.     | GR 5     | Römhild i. Thür.   | 26.07.        | 1915-08-20/8263          |

Source: A. Seydel, *Das Grenadier-Regiment König Friedrich I. (4. Ostpreußisches) No. 5 im Weltkriege*, Oldenburg 1926, pp. 419–491; Online: <http://des.genealogy.net/eingabe-verlustlisten/search/index> [6.07.2017], own study based on data.

The above tables confirm the legitimacy of using, in relation to World War I cemeteries, the terms emphasizing the affiliation of the fallen to military structures (e.g. German army military cemetery) and not nationality<sup>19</sup>, because apart from Germans also Poles are listed in them (Godziewski, Deja, Kamiński, Maćkowiak, two Laskowskis, Kowalski, probably also Pietrzyk) or a Dane (Danielsen) which is indicated not only by their names but also places of birth. (Godziewski – Łaszewo, Brodnica County; Deja – Lubocień, Tuchola County, Kamiński – Dworzakowo, Piła County; Maćkowiak – Sarbinowo, Gostyń County; Laskowski Isidor (Izydor) – Kursztyn, Tczew County; Laskowski Joseph (Józef) – Łubna, Chojnice County; Kowalski Władysław – Tuchola; Pietrzyk Gustav (Pietrzyk Gustaw?) – Krokocie, Elk County; Danielsen – Mühlbrook, Bordesholm<sup>20</sup>). In addition, in one case, the author managed to reach the descendants of a fallen soldier (Deja), which allowed to finally verify his ethnicity. In one case (Rennhack Hermann) the name of the soldier and the date of death are also visible on the memorial of the fallen soldiers, preserved in the place he came from (Gr. Runow – now Runowo, Słupsk County)<sup>21</sup>. The identification mentioned above was performed for the purpose of the database of the soldiers fallen on the Eastern Front of the First World War, created by volunteers.

<sup>19</sup> M. Karczevska, op. cit., p. 300.

<sup>20</sup> A location in the area of Schleswig-Holstein, which was the area disputed by Denmark and Germany, annexed after the Austro-Prussian War in 1866. Denmark was neutral and did not participate in World War I but the Danes from Schleswig-Holstein, as subjects of the emperor, had to serve in military service, e.g. in the 84th Infantry Regiment.

<sup>21</sup> W. Machura, *Dawne miejsca pamięci o żołnierzach na terenie powiatu słupskiego*. Słupsk 2011, p. 130.

Currently, by law, war cemeteries are to be protected by voivodes as required by the Act of 1933, but the direct protection over them lies with local authorities, supported only recently by the Council for the Protection of Struggle and Martyrdom Sites and since 1 August 2016 by the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage. The places of memory from World War I in Ostrów County are, however, in danger of destruction due to several factors. One of them is the aforementioned lack of information on them. Another one – poor legibility in the area, except for some of the most well-known and listed in the voivodeship or communal register of monuments. The danger of destruction concerns particularly those which are poorly visible, located on private property, which, according to the law, should be acquired by the State Treasury as a result of an agreement, expropriated or the existing cemetery should be, in consultation with the landowner, exhumed and the remains transferred to the designated for this purpose decent burial place. Sometimes it is possible to save and mark such places as, for example, in the case of one of the cemeteries in Dalekie (Wąsewo commune), which was, at the request of the author, cleaned of weeds and marked by the landowner. In this way the preserved fragment of the cemetery in Brzezienko was also saved. But most probably the greatest danger which the World War I graves face in this area, is the belief still existing in the minds of many people, including those who decide on their fate, of the ethnic nature of these objects, the conviction that they are “not our” cemeteries, just like the war they commemorate was “not ours”. A solid educational campaign may change this mentality, especially the dissemination of the history of the “small homeland” as a fragment of the world history, in this particular case the history of the Great War – the conflict which brought to us Poles independence, offset by so much personal misery and tragedy. We need to regard those whose ashes are buried in our land, as no longer our enemies, but as those who are equally the perpetrators and victims of that war, because they often took part in it against their will and values, not having much say in this matter. Without glorifying and judging the motives, it is necessary to restore them their humanity which the war took away from them, which was also taken away from them after death, by creating “the image of the enemy” in the minds of people. It seems reasonable to finalize the aforementioned idea of a central database, including not only the Eastern Front cemeteries located within the borders of present Poland, but also individual soldiers resting in them. Such a database could help not only the historians but also the descendants of victims and veterans of the Great War who, in the age of developing genealogical interests, are looking for information about their ancestors. The “battle field tourism” widespread in the 21st century may contribute to the preservation of the places of memory associated with the First World War, and the consequent treatment of those places as the elements of the region which may contribute to its promotion. This is an argument which especially appeals to the local authorities; an example of using its potential is the emerging and developing for some time “World War I Eastern Front Trail”. The author hopes that in the future it will also cover at least

some of the cemeteries of the former Ostrów County. They are undoubtedly the places that have retained the traces of the long bygone, painful events and in this sense are somehow “burdened with memory”, especially where human memory has failed for various reasons and today they remain the only “witnesses” of history. Anna Zalewska, in her publication on World War I traces by the Rawka and Bzura rivers, writes about social activists, the people who “felt uneasy” seeing the treatment of World War I cemeteries as “second-class” objects and who thanks to their own unselfish actions contributed to the “...arising a *place of memory*, which would not have arisen had it not been for a constructive human and material memory *point of contact*”<sup>22</sup>. “Feeling uneasy” may have a different form – it may result from the sense of guilt caused by the neglect of statutory duties, it may result from the sense of ethnic otherness, “non-familiarity” of those whose remains are buried in Ostrów Land, but in fact it may also result from something completely different – from the duty felt towards “the memory of place”. The duty to care for the nameless graves, for the remains which are actually human, for the graves of the soldiers who are, as Benjamin Franklin said, “the best sermon about peace”.

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<sup>22</sup> A. Zalewska, J. Czarnecki, op. cit., p. 6. The italics in the quotation used by A. Zalewska.

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## SUMMARY

The article concerns World War I cemeteries located in the former Ostrów County, within the borders of the Second Republic of Poland.

The author presents the current state of knowledge about these necropolises, discusses the stages of war cemeteries creation, attempts to identify the fallen who were buried in these cemeteries on the basis of German “loss lists” published after the war as well as the chronicles of particular military units involved in war operations in the eastern front of World War I. He also reflects on the advisability and ways of preserving the traces of the Great War for future generations.

## STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł dotyczy cmentarzy pierwszowojennych położonych na terenie dawnego powiatu ostrowskiego, w granicach z czasów II Rzeczypospolitej.

Autor referuje obecny stan wiedzy na temat wymienionych nekropolii, omawia etapy tworzenia cmentarzy wojennych, podejmuje próbę identyfikacji poległych, pochowanych na tych cmentarzach, na podstawie publikowanych po wojnie niemieckich list strat oraz kronik poszczególnych jednostek wojskowych, biorących udział w działaniach wojennych na terenie frontu wschodniego pierwszej wojny światowej. Podejmuje także refleksję nad celowością i sposobami zachowania śladów Wielkiej Wojny dla przyszłych pokoleń.

**Key words:** World War I, Eastern Front, war cemeteries

**Słowa kluczowe:** I wojna światowa, front wschodni, cmentarze wojenne

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## ADAM CHĘTNIK AND THE QUESTION OF KURPIAN-MASURIAN BORDERLAND'S POLISH IDENTITY

### ADAM CHĘTNIK I KWESTIA POLSKOŚCI POGRANICZA KURPIOWSKO-MAZURSKIEGO

Adam Chętnik, a peasant and a scientist, a Kurpian and a Pole. A man with a unique literary output. He left behind over 900<sup>1</sup> different kinds of articles and publications related to the Kurpie region. This quantity may seem unbelievable, but preliminary studies confirm this. This geographical and ethnographic region was fortunate to have used his talent to perpetuate its past in so many publications. Thanks to his work, modern generations have the opportunity to cultivate the ethnographic and cultural traditions of their ancestors. He was a promoter of the original culture of the Kurpian community and he became an ambassador of Kurpie in the world of science and culture. He also fought for the Kurpian-Masurian borderland's Polish identity, for the inhabitants of East Prussia, speaking and feeling Polish, not to lose their identity with Motherland and for Poland not to forget about them.

Born on 20 December 1885 in Nowogród by the Narew river, as a second and the oldest living child in a numerous family of Wincenty and Stanisława Filiszkowska<sup>2</sup>, a demon for positivist work and a great patriot, is worth keeping in human and historical memory. He would often say: "Whatever I'm doing, I'm thinking if it'll be good for Poland". After many years, we can confirm that what he did was right and brought about the revival of the Kurpian culture and young Kurpian generation's interest in the past of their region. The Polish identity of East Prussia, which he so intensely sought, was also restored.

Adam Chętnik was an advocate of the cooperation between the inhabitants of Kurpian-Masurian borderland. He repeatedly emphasized that Masurians from Prussia and Kurpians are the same people who have a common culture, language and customs. He considered that the state border dividing the inhabitants of Kurpie

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<sup>1</sup> Based on a bibliographic list compiled by the author.

<sup>2</sup> The Archives of Muzeum Północno-Mazowieckie in Łomża MOŁ/H 1581, Abridged copy of marriage certificate between Adam Chętnik and Jadwiga Nowicka issued by Urząd Stanu Cywilnego (Registry Office) in Wrasaw – Warszawa Praga-Południe, No. 1050/X/55 of 1 October 1959; A. Chętnik, *Moi rodzice i ich dzieci*. Typescript, Arch. rodziny Chętników, p. 1; M. Pokropek, *Adam Chętnik i jego zasługi dla regionu kurpiowskiego*. Rocznik Białostocki 1966, Vol. VI, p. 11.

and Masuria was an artificial division which came into existence as a result of the unfavorable history. It was a line separating the ethnic language and cultural community of borderland people. From the earliest years he dealt with border divisions. In Chętnik's family, "his grandmother's on the distaff side Salomea Brzostowska's sister married a Masurian from near Rastembork (Kętrzyn – M.N.'s note) a certain Węgorzewski, to go abroad with her husband immediately after the wedding"<sup>3</sup>. It was the Germanization campaign including schools, undertaken only in the nineteenth century, supported by the German hierarchy of the Evangelical-Augsburg Church that fostered allegiance to homeland and the ruling dynasty. It was also reinforced by compulsory military service leading to the destruction of the Polish intelligentsia<sup>4</sup>. He explained that these processes, in particular the change of religion from the Catholic to Evangelical-Augsburg, did not mean that Masurians could not be good Poles<sup>5</sup>. Zofia Dudzińska wrote: "He liked talking to visitors from Olsztyn that when he was a child he listened to the sound of ligawka (Polish folk wind instrument) before Christmas. Ligawkas in Kurpian villages sounded and ligawkas on the other side of the border replied to them, the same were the traditions and customs of the people living then on the territories annexed by Russia and Prussian Masuria because both here and there lived one and the same Polish people. Already as a teenage boy he listened to bargees chatting while floating logs down the Pisa river and using the same dialect as bargees from Nowogród, in father's conversations with comers from near Szczytno, Nibork (Nidzica – M.N.'s note) and Pisz"<sup>6</sup>.

Germany, not waiting for the final decisions of the great world powers at the Paris Conference, as early as in March 1919 launched a plebiscite agitational campaign. In Olsztyn, under the leadership of Superintendent of the Evangelical-Augsburg Church Paul Hensel from Pisz, an organization was founded whose aim was to prepare the population for the plebiscite. Hensel appealed to the Masurian population: "The Entente Powers have to know that we, Masurians without a difference in language, religion, social status, political party affiliation, that all Masurians without exception do not want to belong to Poland because they are not

<sup>3</sup> H. Syska, *Adam Chętnik. Działacz, pisarz, badacz Kurpiowszczyzny*. Warszawa 1969, p. 117.

<sup>4</sup> It was also noted by J. Kurnatowski, *Zagadnienie Prus Wschodnich*. Warszawa 1925, p. 14; "A Masurian is an evangelical but pious; however, while during German religious services churches are empty or not very full, during Polish services they are overcrowded" emphasizes A. Chętnik, *Mazurzy pruscy na płaszczyźnie mazowieckiej. Studium etnograficzno-obyczajowe*. Instytut Mazurski in Olsztyn, Komunikat Działu Informacji Naukowej, Seria Sztuki i Kultury No. 2, April 1948, p. 72.

<sup>5</sup> A. Chętnik, *Mazurskim szlakiem*. Łomża 1939, p. 9; W. Chojnacki, *Mazury i Warmia 1800–1870. Wybór źródeł*. Wrocław 1959, p. XII. In 1890, the official German censuses still used the term "Pole" and "Polish language" for residents of East Prussia and the language they used.

<sup>6</sup> Z. Dudzińska, *Jeden ród mazowiecki...* Głos Olsztyński from 18 June 1967, No. 143, p. 4.



Poles but Masurians". On 30 March 1919, the "Ostdeutschen Heimatdienst" – "East German Homeland Service" was established in Królewiec, which was superior to other organizations dedicated to keeping the plebiscite areas in East Prussia. This organization received large financial resources, created a big network of trustees. Numerous rallies and demonstrations were organized during which the population resolved to remain in East Prussia with Germany<sup>7</sup>. Meetings, rallies and demonstrations were held on the German side on a regular basis, each time protesting against the appearance and movement of Polish troops from the group of General Józef Heller in the borderland, which were to violate the border areas. In fact, these were the units guarding the border areas against the Bolshevik penetration<sup>8</sup>.

The plebiscite was held on 11 July 1920 and was supervised by the Allied Plebiscite Commission which, being quite biased, did not react to aggression against Poles. The used propaganda heated up the already tense atmosphere. Animosity between the neighbors was reborn, and militia organized by the Germans terrorized the supporters of joining the plebiscite areas to Poland. There were even ethnic homicides. The implemented procedures also promoted the German side, allowing to vote not only the people living in the plebiscite areas but also those who were born there. Thus, the people living permanently in Germany massively took part in the plebiscite as German authorities encouraged them to vote and facilitated transport to the territory of Prussia.

The events of the 1920 war that took place in the eastern areas of Poland, which were being rebuilt, had a negative impact on the results of the plebiscite in Warmia and Masuria for the Polish side. Defensive activities did not allow to use similar measures for the plebiscite action as Germany did. The Polish state had neither financial measures nor possibilities to transport voters to the plebiscite areas. It took place during the most inconvenient for Poland moment of history. Bolshevik forces were just marching towards Warsaw. Europe was convinced of the inevitable defeat of the newly created state. A similar thesis was spread by Germany in the plebiscite areas, claiming that the fall of the "seasonal state" was only a matter of time.

By the decision of the Allied Plebiscite Committee, the voters received two ballots. One with the inscription "Polen – Poland", the other "Ostpreussen – East Prussia". German regional organizations appealed to regional identity, to the slogans of "Little Homeland". Polish-speaking Masurians and Warmians, after centuries of Germanization, did not have a strong sense of national community with the Poles. That is why, when voting, they gave their vote to the small homeland of East Prussia, not to the unknown Poland. In addition, German

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<sup>7</sup> S. Achremczyk, *Historia Warmii i Mazur*. Olsztyn 1997, p. 242.

<sup>8</sup> Z. Kudrzycki, *Wyniki plebiscytu na Warmii, Mazurach i Powiślu 11 lipca 1920 roku w powiatach szczecińskim i nidzickim*. Rocznik Mazurski 2010, Vol. 14, pp. 66–67.

propaganda emphasized showing the separateness and backwardness of Poland and developing feelings for the Prussian homeland rather than Germany. Until the arrival of the Allied Commission in February 1920, the German side brought about quite serious intimidation of the plebiscite activists and the breakdown of the Polish national movement in Masuria<sup>9</sup>.

In 1919, during the preparations for the plebiscite action in Warmia and Masuria, Adam Chętnik was actively involved in fighting for returning those areas to Poland. He started an awareness campaign among the cross-border society whose aim was to support the Polish plebiscite case in Masuria. He wrote that “Kurpians, Prussian Masurians together with Warmians are not just ordinary neighbours across the border, they are like a family, like the closest relatives, like sisters and brothers, fathers and mothers, brothers-in-law and sons-in-law in one big cottage divided with walls”<sup>10</sup>. From June 1919, he cooperated with the Masurian Committee in Warsaw which commissioned him to conduct a widespread plebiscite campaign on the Kurpian-Masurian borderland. He assisted the emissaries sent from the headquarters to distribute press and proclamations and to smuggle plebiscite propaganda and awareness materials to East Prussia. In the same month, he founded and headed a department of the Masurian Committee in Nowogród<sup>11</sup>, whose task was to prepare for and make the inhabitants of the Kurpie region aware of the plebiscite which was to take place, and to explain who the inhabitants of Masuria were because the mutual image of both Poles and Masurians was destroyed during the occupation. Most of the German army soldiers that stayed in the Kurpie region were of Masurian origin. They carried out the occupational, robbery orders of the German command. Therefore, an image of a German soldier arose - an occupier speaking Polish and robbing the economy of the Green Forest<sup>12</sup>.

Chętnik organized rallies for the borderland population, motivated teachers to join the plebiscite campaign. At the meeting of the Masurian Committee Department on 7 June 1919, it was decided that Chętnik would set up a weekly magazine in the Kurpie region “to dispel distrust between the people on both sides of the border. The monthly subsidy grants 4,500 marks for the current five

<sup>9</sup> R. Waleszczak, *Chorzele. Zarys dziejów*. Chorzele 1992, pp. 197–198.

<sup>10</sup> A. Chętnik, *Scalone pogranicze*. Łomża 1939, p. 9.

<sup>11</sup> S. Pajka, *O życiu i twórczości Adama Chętnika – kilka przypomnień i refleksji*. Zeszyty Naukowe OTN 1990, Vol. IV, p. 204. Explaining the establishment of the Committee, he wrote: “The task of this institution was to regulate the whole of economic, cultural and political relations across the whole borderland of Prussia, and above all in the Kurpie region, where the population, most closely related to Masurians, was with them in constant neighbourly relations, and which relations, artificially disturbed in recent years by the Germans, had to be fixed” [In:] A. Chętnik, *Mazurskim szlakiem*. Łomża 1939, p. 221.

<sup>12</sup> A. Chętnik, *Warunki gospodarczo-kulturalne na pograniczu kurpiowsko-mazurskim*. Łomża 1927, p. 118.

months”<sup>13</sup>. Adam Chętnik's task appointed to him at this meeting was to find trustees in border villages and make a list of border posts<sup>14</sup>. The issue of the publication of several prints was also discussed, as well as the preparation of a list of towns in Mazovia and a dictionary of the Masurian dialect. The necessity of issuing a guide to Prussian Mazovia was also raised<sup>15</sup>. At the next meeting of the Committee on 13 June, the matter of issuing the magazine<sup>16</sup> by Chętnik was discussed again.

Fulfilling the commitments made to the Plebiscite Committee, he founded and edited, together with his wife Zofia, a biweekly “Goniec Pograniczny” (“The borderland messenger”), published in the years 1920–1923. Initially, the paper was the voice of the Plebiscite Committee and after its dissolution he edited it himself. The editorial office was located in the Chętniks' house in Nowogród, and the paper was printed in Warsaw. The message of “Goniec Pograniczny”, distributed not only in the area of the Kurpian borderland but also outside Działdowo and the area of Suwałki region, was to promote the unity of the borderland. The paper included proclamations, programs, announcements of organized meetings, demonstrations and readings or fundraisings for plebiscite purposes. It was in “Goniec Pograniczny” where, under the pseudonym T. Kurp, he published a poem well known in the Second Polish Republic, beginning with the words:

Kurp i Mazur to dwa braty,  
Choć się znają, jak przez kraty,  
Chociaż dzielą ich granice  
Jednej ziemi to dziedzice.  
(Kurpian and Masurian are two brothers,  
Though they know each other as if through the bars,  
Though divided by borders  
They are heirs of the same land)<sup>17</sup>.

On 2 February 1920, A. Chętnik took part in the meeting of the Executive Board of the Masurian Committee in Warsaw with the participation of, among others, the President of the Committee – Bishop Juliusz Bursche, Adam Uziębło, eng. Kania, Mieczysław Czerwiński, Kazimierz Popiel, Stanisław Zieliński, MP

<sup>13</sup> The minutes from the meeting of the Masurian Committee Department in Warsaw from 7 June 1919, *Plebiscyty na Warmii, Mazurach i Powiślu w 1920 roku. Wybór źródeł*. Eds. P. Stawiecki and W. Wrzesiński. Olsztyn 1986, p. 51.

<sup>14</sup> This task results from the minutes from the meeting of the Masurian Committee Department from 17 June 1919, *Plebiscyty na Warmii...*, p. 41.

<sup>15</sup> It seems that in this case it concerned *Ilustrowany przewodnik po Mazurach* by Mieczysław Orłowicz which was eventually printed only in 1923 in Lviv.

<sup>16</sup> The minutes from the session of Pre-plebiscite Committee from 13 June 1919 which took place in the office of Supreme People's Council, *Plebiscyty na Warmii...*, p. 53.

<sup>17</sup> A. Chętnik, *Mazurzy pruscy...*, p. 81; T. Kurp (A. Chętnik), *Kurp i Mazur*. Gość Puszczński 1919, No. 12–13, p. 5.

Władysław Herz, Ewald Lodwich, Fryderyk Leyk and Captain Adam Dobrodzicki. At the meeting, the question of recording an agitational film for the purposes of the plebiscite was discussed. A special committee headed by Stanisława Wysocka was established. In its work, also well-known writers got involved: Stefan Żeromski and Andrzej Strug as well as actors Aleksander Zalwerowicz, Tadeusz Frenkiel, Kazimierz Kamiński, Jerzy Jaszczolt Sulima and many decorators, painters and sculptors. The film was supposed to show the better side of the Republic, its achievements, its economic, social and military power. The screenplay was to be based on the books by Ignacy Maciejowski (Sewer) *Dla świętej ziemi* and by Bolesław Prus *Placówka*. However, the film was never made<sup>18</sup>.

Chętnik began cooperation with "Mazur", issued in Szczytno and edited by Kazimierz Jaroszyk, which during the time of the plebiscite played an important role in winning the support of the Masurian population for Poland. In 1920, he published there several articles advocating voting for Poland. Another magazine with which he collaborated was "Gazeta Mazurska", issued in Działdowo and edited by Pastor Feliks Gloeh, and then by Emilia Sukertowa-Biedrawina. It was founded by the Plebiscite Association of Polish Evangelicals. Both magazines cooperated with the Masurian Committee, promoting the unity of Masurians with Poles<sup>19</sup>.

For the plebiscite actions Chętnik incorporated "Związek Puszczański" ("Green Forest Union") founded in 1919 with the participation of prominent Kurpian activists: Józef Sobiech and Fr. Józef Michnikowski from Kadzidło, Aleksander Stefens from Łączki, Fr. Andrzej Krysiak from Chorzele and Fr. Błażej Pszczółkowski from Myszyniec. It was an organization emphasizing its apolitical character, aiming at solving socio-economic and cultural issues of the Kurpie region and the borderland. In the spring and summer of 1920, the entire activity of the Union conducted in the Kurpie region was wholly dedicated to the plebiscite issues<sup>20</sup>.

At the convention run by Fr. J. Michnikowski, held on 28 March, A. Chętnik reported on the plebiscite issues. On his initiative, a resolution protesting against German violence was adopted and demanded removing from the

<sup>18</sup> Report from the meeting of the Executive Board of the Masurian Committee in Warsaw from 4 February 1920, discussing organizational issues and making a film for the purpose of the plebiscite lands, *Plebiscyty na Warmii...*, p. 135.

<sup>19</sup> H. Syska, op. cit., pp. 119–120; J. Judziński, *Wystawa o plebiscycie na Warmii i Mazurach*. Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie 1970, No. 4, p. 667; E. Sukertowa-Biedrawina, *Kulisy wydawnicze „Gazety Mazurskiej” i „Kalendarza dla Mazurów”*. Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie 1965, No. 3, p. 383. The first issue of „Gazeta Mazurska” was dated 3 December 1922 and was issued at the opening ceremony of Mazurski Dom Ludowy (Masurian Community House) in Działdowo.

<sup>20</sup> J. Kijowski, *Działalność Adama Chętnika na pograniczu mazursko-kurpiowskim*, [In:] *Migracja ludności pogranicza mazursko-kurpiowskiego w XIX i XX wieku*. Ed. J. Gołota. Ostrołęka-Olsztyn 2008, p. 151.

plebiscite areas violent towards Masurians military and police troops as well as German officials. A preventive use of the army to help the persecuted compatriots was suggested.<sup>21</sup> Another rally, led by Międzybłocki, the editor of "Gazeta Łomżyńska", took place on 11 April in Łomża. Chętnik was introduced there as a trustee of the Masurian Committee<sup>22</sup>. A few days later, on 15 April, another rally was held – in the village of Zbójna, run by a local teacher<sup>23</sup>. On the same day, in Łomża, an organizational meeting was held in the chamber of the County Council, which established the Łomża Plebiscite Committee, where Chętnik was elected for the Executive Committee<sup>24</sup>. At the turn of June and July, with the help of local social activists, Chętnik organized another round of rallies. With the cooperation of Fr. Andrzej Krysiak, the parish priest from Chorzele, on 6 June "a dance took place in the forest in Chorzele (Prztałina), [...] all the proceeds from this dance went for the purpose of the plebiscite in Masuria. Masurians were also invited to the dance. Approximately 30 people came to Poland. On the border, Germans searched us in dirty corners up to our shirts, but on the Polish land the police and army welcomed us warmly and politely [...]. Polish senior representatives spoke to us, expressing hope that Masuria would be Polish". Czesław Wycech, a teacher from Cyk (future Speaker of the Sejm in the People's Republic of Poland) and Władysław Horoch, a teacher from Dąbrowy, also spoke. In other villages (Czarnia, Wolkowe, Zbójna), other invited representatives took the floor: Władysław Konopański, Henryk Tułodziecki and Jan Zwarycz. At the rallies and through the press corps, people were encouraged to donate money for the purpose of the plebiscite<sup>25</sup>.

About 15,000 people from the Kurpie region came for the rally in Łyse, organized on 20 June 1920 by "Związek Puszczański" ("Kurpian Forest Union"). The attendees decided to present to the public a resolution on the improprieties in the plebiscite in Masuria. They appealed to the representatives of the United Kingdom, whose troops kept order in the plebiscite areas, for objectivity, rather than pursuing pro-German biased policies, allowing German militia to beat Masurian activists engaged in the plebiscite work on the Polish side<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> *Uchwała Kurpiów w sprawie plebiscytu mazurskiego*. *Goniec Pograniczny* from 16 April 1920, No. 9–10, pp. 3–4.

<sup>22</sup> *Wiec w Łomży*. *Goniec Pograniczny* from 28 April 1920, No. 11–12, p. 2.

<sup>23</sup> *Wiec w Zbójnie, gm. Gawrychy, pow. Kolno*. *Goniec Pograniczny* from 28 April 1920, No. 11–12, p. 2.

<sup>24</sup> *Łomżyński Komitet Plebiscytowy*. *Goniec Pograniczny* from 28 April 1920, No. 11–12, pp. 2–3.

<sup>25</sup> "Send donations for the plebiscite fund – for the purpose of the Masurian Committee. Read and disseminate «Goniec Pograniczny». Remember that East Prussia has been our Polish land since time immemorial". Such a text was published by A. Chętnik in the press he edited himself. Among others vide: *Goniec Pograniczny* from 25 March 1920, No. 8, p. 2; H. Syska, *Scalone pogranicze*. Warszawa 1975, p. 151; R. Waleszczak, *Chorzele. Zarys dziejów*. Chorzele 1992, p. 197.

<sup>26</sup> A. Chętnik, *Rezolucja Kurpiów*. *Goniec Pograniczny* 1920, No. 19–20, p. 4.

Eventually, the plebiscite ended with the loss of the Polish cause. In the district of Olsztyn, only 7,980 people voted for being part of Poland and more than 363,000 people voted in favor of being part of Germany. In the district of Kwidzyn it was respectively 7,948 and almost 98,000 votes. The Polish option received a total of 3.4% of eligible votes. Only three Masurian villages of Ostróda County: Groszki, Napromek and Lubszynek and four villages in Powiśle: Burszych, Janowo, Małe Pólko, Nowe Lignawy and Kramrowo, were joined to Poland. Such a result was quite painful for A. Chętnik but he still worked to maintain the Polish identity of those lands and their return to Motherland.

The loss resulted in German repression of active Polish plebiscite activists. Many of them had to flee to Poland to save their lives. Chętnik helped the editor of "Mazur" from Szczytno – Kazimierz Jaroszyk, a pharmacist from Wielbark – Michał Becker, and others, to cross the border illegally. In Nowogród, he assisted in the settlement of 46 Masurian Catholics, at risk of arrest, and helped a well-known activist from the vicinity of Szczytno – Karol Pentowski to get a job at the Reconstruction Office in Kolno. Then he worked in various institutions in the country to get a job as a warehouseman in Warsaw shortly before the war<sup>27</sup>.

On the initiative of Chętnik, in the Kurpie region took place a widespread protest action against German repression towards those involved in the Polish option and against plebiscite forgery. He had no doubt that the Masurian brothers, separated by an artificial border, must be remembered. Following the suspension of issuing "Goniec Pograniczny," on 8 September 1922, the first issue of a new paper "Dzwon znad Narwi" was published. There, he again raised the issue of anti-Polish politics in Prussia, ending the article with the following statement: "It is our duty as the borderland inhabitants [...] to oppose German actions, to create a protective embankment against the Prussians and not to allow the Germanization of Prussian Masurians"<sup>28</sup>. In the book *Kurpie*, published in 1924, he wrote: "Masurians cannot be doomed to destruction, it cannot be allowed that the sons of the former Mazovian land were raised to be its enemies"<sup>29</sup>. He constantly stressed the need for comprehensive economic and cultural-educational work on the Kurpian-Masurian borderland, assisting Masurians in developing their education and readership, and thereby strengthening the Polish identity by the Baltic Sea<sup>30</sup>.

Many mistakes that had a negative impact on the vote were also made by the Polish administration and its representatives in the plebiscite areas. A well-known plebiscite activist, a member of the Masurian Plebiscite Committee – Adam Uziębło noted bitterly in his diary "after smashing the Bolsheviks [...] I found myself again in Warsaw and came across the case of the plebiscite action

<sup>27</sup> E. Sukertowa-Biedrawina, *Dawno i niedawno*. Olsztyn 1965, p. 93.

<sup>28</sup> A. Chętnik, *Wielka zdrada na Pograniczu Prus Wschodnich*. Dzwon znad Narwi from 8 September 1922, No. 1, p. 1.

<sup>29</sup> A. Chętnik, *Kurpie*. Kraków 1924, p. 133.

<sup>30</sup> A. Chętnik, *Kurpie...*, p. 133.

liquidation. [...] It was carried out mechanically, ruthlessly, destroying everything that could serve as the basis of our future work in Masuria. The efforts of Father Bursche were in vain, the efforts of Paweł Gettel, Jerzy Kurnatowski and many others were in vain. The bureaucracy did its job. It eradicated everything it could and destroyed even the seeds for the future”<sup>31</sup>.

On 25 June 1922, Chętnik organized a big patriotic rally in the Jednaczewski forest, on the occasion of the unveiling of the statue of Stach Konwa – a Kurpian hero, to which about 10,000 people came from the counties of: Ostrołęka, Łomża, Kolno and Przasnysz. A delegation of Masurians, who illegally crossed the green border, also participated in the ceremony. Hugely moved, they manifested their allegiance to Poland. A well-known Masurian activist, the former chairman of the Masurian People's Union – Fryderyk Mirosław Leyk came to the meeting and recalled how he and Chętnik had run from the German militia in Olsztyn and how the leaflets printed and distributed behind the Prussian cordon had bolstered up Masurians' Polish identity<sup>32</sup>.

In 1923, at the request of the Masurian Committee, Chętnik was decorated by the President of the Republic of Poland, Stanisław Wojciechowski, with the Gold Cross of Merit<sup>33</sup> (Złoty Krzyż Zasługi) – the highest civilian award established in June 1923, for his work for the purpose of the plebiscite in Warmia and Masuria and the activity on the Kurpian-Masurian borderland. During President S. Wojciechowski's visit in Łomża he was also decorated with the Knight's Cross of the Order of “Polonia Restituta”<sup>34</sup>.

In 1926, the work of the first term of office of the Sejm finished as well as Adam Chętnik's work as a member of parliament. The work undertaken by him as an MP was mainly aimed at solving urgent problems of the Kurpie region. He submitted requests for favorable loan and material conditions allowing for the rapid reconstruction of the buildings destroyed during the occupation, for classifying and merging the land, for resettling Kurpians to areas with better soil. These actions

<sup>31</sup> A. Uziębło, *Walka o Mazury*. Niepodległość 1939, No. 2(52), p. 288.

<sup>32</sup> H. Czernekowa, „*Nie byłbym tym – kim jestem*”, [In:] *Adam Chętnik a współczesne badania kultury wsi polskiej*. Materiały z sesji kurpiowskiej Polskiego Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego, Łomża–Marianowo–Nowogród, 21–23.09.1984. Ed. M. Drozd-Piasecka. Warszawa 1988, pp. 279–280.

<sup>33</sup> Letter from the director of the Museum in Łomża from 26 May 1964 to the director of the Regional Museum in Białystok – personal data of Adam Chętnik, typescript, archives of the Chętnik family, without pagination.

<sup>34</sup> Letter from the director of the Museum in Łomża from 26 May 1964 to the director of the Regional Museum in Białystok – personal data of Adam Chętnik, typescript, archives of the Chętnik family, without pagination; *Prezydent Rzeczypospolitej Stanisław Wojciechowski w Łomży i Zambrowie*. Gazeta Łomżyńska from 11 October 1923, p. 1.

were supposed to improve economic conditions and bridge the differences which existed between one and the other side of the border<sup>35</sup>.

In 1927, he was asked by the Chancellery of the Sejm and the Senate whether he could consider further propaganda work on the Masurian borderland. After a moment's hesitation, he decided to continue the work and received for this purpose a portion of the remaining funds from the Plebiscite Committee. On 7 November 1927, he presented Wojciech Trąmpczyński, the Marshal of the Senate of the first term, a work plan on East Prussia borderland, whose implementation was based on the activists from the Kurpian Division of Polish Tourist Society (Polskie Towarzystwo Krajoznawcze), Scientific Research Station of Płock Scientific Association (Stacja Naukowo-Badawcza Towarzystwa Naukowego Płockiego), Kurpian Culture Museum (Muzeum Kurpiowskie) in Nowogród, and socially engaged people (Romuald Bielecki, the director of Building Society in Łomża or a well-known attorney from Łomża – Stanisław Kurcysz). The work was to consist in, among others, renewing contacts with former collaborators and friends of the Polish cause in Prussia, publishing press, flyers, postcards and deciding on the ways of their distribution, registering refugees from Prussia and helping with their settlement, organizing summer camps and trips around Poland for Masurians, organizing festivities along the border with the participation of Masurians, giving readings and awareness talks for Poles<sup>36</sup>.

Just before the outbreak of the war in 1939, he published in Łomża, as volume VI of the Biblioteka Dobrych Książek series (Good Book Library), a work entitled *Mazurskim szlakiem*, in which he noted that the book “is written not only with a pen and ordinary ink, but also with a touch of cordial blood, that ours from the borderland”<sup>37</sup>. As Henryk Syska accurately pointed out, it is a summary of Chętnik's lifelong efforts to unite the borderland. Most of this book's edition, as anti-German, was destroyed by Germans during the Second World War, and Chętnik himself was put on the list of enemies of the German occupant authorities. To avoid arrest, he left Nowogród, and lived in the towns near Warsaw and Warsaw under the assumed name – Antoni Chojnowski<sup>38</sup>.

During the occupation, Ziemie Zabrane (ZZ) (the Taken Lands) by the Third Reich and the area of Ziemie Postulowane (ZP) (the Postulated Lands), which were to be joined to the Polish state after the war, were subdivided by Polish Underground administrative authorities into territorial departments headed by department clerks. The area of the Postulated Lands was planned to be divided into

<sup>35</sup> A. Chętnik, *Praca oświatowo-kulturalna i plany polityczno-gospodarcze na pograniczu VI<sup>a</sup>* [typescript]. Archives of the Chętnik family, p. 2.

<sup>36</sup> A. Chętnik, *Akcja działalności i propagandy polskiej po nieudanym plebiscycie na Mazurach Pruskich* [typescript]. Archives of the Chętnik family, pp. 1–2.

<sup>37</sup> A. Chętnik, *Mazurskim szlakiem*. Łomża 1939, p. 11.

<sup>38</sup> M. Pokropek, *Adam Chętnik – życie i praca (1885–1967)*, [In:] *Adam Chętnik a współczesne...*, p. 134.



six territorial departments which received the symbols from VI A to VI F. According to the researchers of this subject, not all of them were created, and it is not fully known which territories they covered. The preserved archival materials allow to determine the territorial affiliation for the department VI A – Lower Silesia and VI D – Warmia and Masuria<sup>39</sup>. The territorial department of the Postulated Lands (dep. VI) was organized in early 1943. It was impossible to determine who its manager was. According to A. Chętnik, the department was divided into three divisions: organizational, scientific research and information. He employed a dozen or more people, some of whom were paid partial or full salaries, receiving for this purpose from 3 to 5 thousand zlotys per month. The couriers, coming to Warsaw once every two months, were reimbursed for travel expenses and a weekly stay in the city<sup>40</sup>. The tasks of the VI department included establishing permanent contact with the area, conducting explanatory work and raising awareness among the local population that those areas would belong to Poland in the future. The department prepared and distributed printed materials and the press to the borderland. An important task was to create reports presenting the socio-political and economic conditions in East Prussia from September 1939 to March 1943<sup>41</sup>.

According to the report of Wydział Informacyjny Sekcji Zachodniej Departamentu Informacji i Prasy Delegatury Rządu RP (the Information Department of Western Section of Information and Press Department of the Government Delegation of the Republic of Poland) from 10 March 1943, it was already then when “a contact was made with the area through [...] a regional – social group. The information network is being established”<sup>42</sup>. In June 1943, Adam Chętnik, a. k. a. “Kurpik”, is appointed as an information clerk of the VI D Warmia and Masuria department. His fieldwork was based on the activists of Masurian-Kurpian Union founded in 1941 (among others Emilia Sukertowa-Biedrawina and Bohdan Wilamowski – a member of the secret Masurian Union), which was a continuation of the Green Forest Union<sup>43</sup>. According to Chętnik's personal notes,

<sup>39</sup> *Raporty z ziem wcielonych do III Rzeszy (1942–1944)*. Eds. Z. Mazur, A. Pietrowicz, M. Rutkowska. Poznań 2004, p. XXIV.

<sup>40</sup> A. Chętnik, *Praca oświatowo-kulturalna...*, p. 6. According to the authors of *Raporty z ziem...*, Warmia and Masuria received the symbol VID; according to Chętnik, however, it was VIA.

<sup>41</sup> A. Chętnik, *Praca oświatowo-kulturalna...*, pp. 6–7; *Raporty z ziem...*, p. XXX; The authors of the publication did not find the materials including a full list of names of people working for the departments.

<sup>42</sup> New Files Archives (AAN), Government Delegation for Poland (Delegatura Rządu RP na Kraj; from therein: DRK), sign. 202/III-148, Report of the Information Department for the period until 10 August 1943, k. 308.

<sup>43</sup> A. Chętnik, *Praca oświatowo-kulturalna...*, p. 10; According to the budget control of the Western Section for January – February and April – May 1944, Masurian-Kurpian Union is listed as an organization receiving a subsidy for its activities. Vide: A. Pietrowicz, *Sekcja*

he made several trips to the Prussian borderland where he contacted Masurian representatives and forced laborers. He sought to set up Kurpian-Masurian Border Guard Corps whose aim would be to protect the borderland from robberies, public appearances of “insane people” and chaos. He claimed that in the future, “both land and property will belong to us, we will get them, so they must be protected from destruction. Forced laborers in Prussia [...] we should try to keep at least some of them in the area, to join our troops”<sup>44</sup>. The central office received the first situation report presented by Chętnik in early August 1943<sup>45</sup>.

The end of World War II fulfilled Adam Chętnik’s dream of joining the Kurpie region with Masuria, Poland with East Prussia. When the historical situation of the Kurpian-Masurian borderland changed, he devoted a lot of space in his post-war publications to Masuria. Cooperating with the Masurian Institute in Olsztyn and the Ministry for the Recovered Territories, he sought to bring closer and discuss the specific nature of those lands and the people who had inhabited them for centuries. In 1948, a work entitled *Mazurzy pruscy na płaszczyźnie mazowieckiej* was published in Olsztyn, in which we wrote those significant words: “For centuries the Masurian-Prussian land has soaked up the sweat and toil of our first colonists – farmers as well as the blood of our knights, defending this land and our culture from violence and looting. [...] the words «Prussian border» – on its both sides – should sink into eternal oblivion!”<sup>46</sup>.

On the initiative of the Board of Directors of Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Ziemi Łomżyńskiej (Łomża Land Friends’ Society), the State Council passed a resolution of 3 April 1986 to decorate Adam Chętnik with “Medal Rodła” (the Rodło Medal), which was awarded for working actively on preserving Polish national and cultural identity and fighting for the rights of Poles inhabiting the territories which belonged to the Third Reich before World War II. On 13 June 1986, at the 19th General Convention of Delegates of Łomża Land Friends’ Society, Adam Chętnik’s wife – Jadwiga received the medal from the hands of a member of the State Council prof. Kazimierz Secomski<sup>47</sup>.

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*Zachodnia Departamentu Informacji i Prasy Delegatury Rządu RP – zarys struktury organizacyjnej i działalności (wrzesień 1942 – lipiec 1944 r.). Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość* 2005, No. 2(8), p. 281.

<sup>44</sup> A. Chętnik, *Praca oświatowo-kulturalna...*, pp. 10–11. Chętnik believed that after the war, German population would be compulsorily displaced from East Prussia and “we mercilessly hammer all the German militia, snoopers, etc. [...] we transfer to penal settlements or gradually displace all the German intelligentsia, teachers, attorneys, etc. and finally merchants, industrialists, craftsmen”. He believed that in the first place 40 – 50% of Kurpians should be resettled to the areas left by Germans. According to Chętnik, Masurians should keep their jobs and be left in the households they lived in.

<sup>45</sup> AAN, DRK, sign. 202/III-148, Report from June 1943 of the Information Department, p. 252; A. Chętnik, *Praca oświatowo-kulturalna...*, p. 10; *Raporty...*, p. XXXI.

<sup>46</sup> A. Chętnik, *Mazurzy pruscy na płaszczyźnie mazowieckiej...*, p. 81.

<sup>47</sup> The medal was approved by decree act of 18 April 1985 on instituting “Rodło Medal” (Dz.U. nr 21, poz. 89) (Journal of Laws No. 21, item 89) conferred by the State Council

Summarizing, it can be stated that the actions undertaken by Adam Chętnik to reconcile Kurpians and Masurians during the interwar period did not bring about the desired effect. However, his involvement and work in various institutions and organizations during the plebiscite period gave rise to further undertakings aimed at preserving the Polish language in the area of East Prussia and understanding Masurians in the Kurpie region. During the occupation, as a representative of the Underground State, he conducted research which was to assist the Polish authorities taking over East Prussia from the Germans with their rapid redevelopment and consolidation with the Polish state.

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## SUMMARY

Following the decision of the Treaty of Versailles of 1919, in Warmia and Masuria a plebiscite determining the affiliation of the disputed areas with Poland or Germany was to be held. It took place on 11 July 1920, during the least desirable time for Poland as the Bolshevik forces were already approaching Warsaw. Germany based its plebiscite propaganda on emphasizing the temporality of the Polish state, building awareness of the "small homeland" of Prussia and threatening with Polish Catholicism. The plebiscite ended in a complete loss of the Polish reason of state. Only 3.4% of the population voted for the affiliation with Poland. Adam Chętnik, a prominent Kurpian activist, was involved throughout the whole interwar period in activities aimed at raising awareness of Kurpian-Masurian borderland and showing the historical and cultural-economic connections between the lands on both sides of the border. Later, already after the plebiscite, he explained that a "Masurian-evangelical" is the same Pole as a Pole-Catholic. He predictively claimed that East Prussia would belong to Poland in the future.

## STRESZCZENIE

Decyzją traktatu wersalskiego z 1919 r. na Warmii i Mazurach miał zostać przeprowadzony plebiscyt w celu określenia przynależności spornych terenów do Polski lub Niemiec. Odbył się on 11 lipca 1920 r., w najmniej pożądanym dla Polski czasie, bowiem do Warszawy zbliżały się już wojska bolszewickie. Niemcy oparli swoją propagandę plebiscytową na podkreśleniu tymczasowości polskiej państwowości, budowaniu świadomości „małej ojczyzny” pruskiej oraz straszeniu polskim katolicyzmem. Plebiscyt przyniósł całkowitą klęskę polskiej racji stanu. Tylko 3,4% ludności zagłosowało za przynależnością do Polski. Adam Chętnik, znany działacz Kurpiowszczyzny, zaangażowany był przez cały okres międzywojenny w działania zmierzające do uświadomienia pogranicza kurpiowsko-mazurskiego i pokazania historycznych oraz kulturalno-gospodarczych powiązań terenów położonych po jednej i drugiej stronie granicy. W późniejszym czasie, już po plebiscycie, wyjaśniał, że „Mazur-ewangelik” jest takim samym Polakiem jak Polak-katolik. Profetycznie głosił, że w przyszłości Prusy Wschodnie będą należały do Polski.

**Key words:** Adam Chętnik, Warmia and Masuria, plebiscite, Kurpian-Masurian borderland

**Słowa kluczowe:** Adam Chętnik, Warmia i Mazury, plebiscyt, pogranicze kurpiowsko-mazurskie



## FROM THE HISTORY OF THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN THE KURPIE REGION DURING THE SECOND POLISH REPUBLIC

### Z DZIEJÓW RUCHU SPÓŁDZIELCZEGO NA KURPIOWSZCZYŹNIE W II RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ

In the Kurpie region, the development pace of the cooperative movement was comparable to, or even bigger, than the one in other counties in Mazovia<sup>1</sup>. It proves that the level of knowledge concerning formal foundations of the cooperatives' activities was at a relatively high level and it utterly influenced the development of this kind of entrepreneurship. Having in mind that a Kurpian village was struggling with a huge problem of illiteracy, which could not be overcome even after World War II, and consequently with an insufficient level of promoting education in the subregion, the achievements within the area of the cooperative movement became significant<sup>2</sup>. Against adverse conditions, an intensive development of the cooperative, mainly dairy and food, was a consequence of the economic situation in the area. Frequently, membership in a cooperative became the only opportunity to ensure decent living conditions for Kurpian families. Moreover, through establishing cooperatives, the level of the citizens' knowledge increased, as well as the degree of social sensitivity to external collective conditionings. It ought to be stated that the development of Kurpian cooperatives positively influenced the development of small Forest communities, by shaping their pro-civic and pro-social attitudes, and also by passing the knowledge concerning social economics and the basic principles of entrepreneurship<sup>3</sup>. Those theses were based on in-depth research analysis of particular Kurpian cooperatives.

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<sup>1</sup> *Statystyka ruchu spółdzielczego w Polsce 1934 i 1935*. Statystyka Polski (Warszawa) 1938, Series C, Issue 66, pp. 39–40.

<sup>2</sup> AAN (the Archive of New Files), the Bureau of the Government Plenipotentiary for the Fight against Illiteracy, Registration of the illiterate and semiliterate in the region of Warsaw voivodeship. Numerical data [1949–1951], sign. 109, k. 8. During the fight against illiteracy in the years 1949–1951, the scale of the phenomenon was the biggest in the region of Ostrołęka county. The number of the illiterate was approximately 5748 inhabitants, whereas in Przasnysz county there were 2554 illiterates, and in Maków county – 1583.

<sup>3</sup> The example of the cooperative in Dąbrowy, which will be discussed in the further part of this article will be significant.

The history of the cooperative movement has been looked into already at the dawn of the independence of Poland. A renowned expert and researcher of the subject was Stanisław Wojciechowski<sup>4</sup>. Stanisław Staszic, an outstanding scientist and a reformer, a social and political activist, the founder of “Hrubieszowskie Towarzystwo Rolnicze Ratujące się Wspólnie w Nieszczęściach”, uniting peasants working together as a cooperative, was considered the forefather of Polish cooperatives<sup>5</sup>.

A major influence on the development of the Polish cooperative movement had the ideologies spread by Robert Owen (Great Britain) and Charles Fourier (France)<sup>6</sup>. The latter promoted creating self-efficient production communities, whose activity would be able to satisfy the basic needs of their members<sup>7</sup>. Robert Owen, on the other hand, represented a philosophical thought, according to which in a society there should be raised a new man, free of egoism, able to closely cooperate with other social units<sup>8</sup>. Establishing the Society of Equitable Pioneers in Rochdale, Great Britain, is considered to be the beginning of the great initiative of cooperatives. The Society’s ideological principles provided a benchmark for other cooperatives, i.a.: the principle of common membership, democracy, the division of excess revenue in proportion to the turnover of a cooperative and, additionally, there was a limited interest on shares, and also optionally: apolitical stance and religious neutrality, selling goods only for cash and carrying out, next to economic activity, also educational<sup>9</sup>.

In the Kingdom of Poland, the cooperative movement was less active than in the other occupied lands. Already in the 19th century, Polish economists (i.a. Aleksander Makowiecki), focused around the “*Ekonomista*” magazine, writing about a cooperative movement, established the Consumer Association (Cooperative) of the Rochdale type, called “*Mercury*”. However, it did not meet the expectations of its signatories. It was said straightforward that “*Mercury*” and few other cooperatives came to a standstill. According to A. Makowiecki, the

<sup>4</sup> S. Wojciechowski, *Kooperacja w rozwoju historycznym*. Wydawnictwo Wydziału Propagandy Związku Polskich Stow. Spoż., Warszawa 1923; Idem, *Ruch spółdzielczy*. Wydawnictwo Spółdzielczego Instytutu Naukowego, Warszawa 1930.

<sup>5</sup> F. Stefczyk, *Początki i ogólne warunki rozwoju spółdzielczości w Polsce*. Wydawnictwo Spółdzielczego Instytutu Naukowego w Krakowie, Kraków 1925, pp. 2–3.

<sup>6</sup> Ibidem; S.J. Pastuszka, R. Turkowski, *Spółdzielczość jako ruch obywatelski na przełomie XIX/XX wieku w Europie i w Polsce – inspiracja dla przyszłości*, [In:] *Spółdzielczość w budowie społeczeństwa obywatelskiego – historia i współczesność*. Materials from the conference held on 15 November 2012 in the Museum of Independence in Warsaw. Ed. And introduction T. Skoczek, Warszawa 2013, p. 29.

<sup>7</sup> A. Piechowski, *Rodowód przedsiębiorczości społecznej*, [In:] *Przedsiębiorstwo społeczne w rozwoju lokalnym*. Zeszyty Gospodarki Społecznej, Vol. 2. Eds. E. Leś, M. Ołdak. Warszawa 2007, p. 24.

<sup>8</sup> Ibidem, pp. 24–25.

<sup>9</sup> H. Cioch, *Zasady Roczdelskie i ich realizacja w praktyce*. Polska Akademia Nauk, Teka Komisji Prawniczej (Lublin) 2009, Vol. II, pp. 26–27.



reason for that situation was the willingness to collect high dividend by the members of the cooperatives, despite their weak financial condition<sup>10</sup>.

In Northern Mazovia, the cooperative movement had been developing already before the outbreak of World War II. In 1870, the Savings and Loan Society was established in Płock, in 1887 – the Loan Fund in Pułtusk, and in 1895, the Small Credit Society of Ciechanów<sup>11</sup>.

In 1919, in counties were established the so-called interim provisioning boards, whose task was, until the establishment of regional councils, to distribute basic necessities in the county<sup>12</sup>. After constituting regional councils in March 1919, they took over the tasks of the provisioning boards. However, the regional councils wanted to cede a significant part of their tasks to cooperatives and, therefore, they actively supported establishing district cooperative alliances (also by granting them subsidies), which were given statutory tasks<sup>13</sup>.

Already in 1920, the issues related to cooperatives were regulated by adopting a law on cooperatives on 29 October<sup>14</sup>.

The development of the idea of cooperatives was manifested i.a. in the need to employ in particular Kurpian counties competent instructors for cooperatives, whose task would be to educate the Kurpian youth in terms of, among others, the secrets of the competitiveness of companies and the phenomenon of unfair business practices as well as proper management. However, there were numerous management mistakes in the functioning of dairy cooperatives, e.g. in Jednorożec, in the Dairy Cooperative “Orzyc”, where the local management embezzled the sum of 4 396, 82 zlotys in the first half of the 1930s<sup>15</sup>.

The first Kurpian rural cooperatives were established already at the dawn of the independence. In the initial phase of the existence of this form of rural entrepreneurship, the threat was the Polish-Bolshevik war of 1920, whose consequence were countless robberies of collectivized inventory, like in

<sup>10</sup> Wiek. Gazeta Polityczna, Literacka i Społeczna 1875, No. 85, p. 1.

<sup>11</sup> E. Kołodziej, *Spółdzielczość na Mazowszu do 1939 r.* Mazowieckie Towarzystwo Naukowe, Rocznik Mazowiecki 1999, No. 11, pp. 123–125.

<sup>12</sup> A decree on establishing temporary county provisioning Boards, Dz.U. of 1919, No. 8, item 114.

<sup>13</sup> T. Świecki, F. Wybult, *Mazowsze płockie w czasach wojny światowej i powstania państwa polskiego*. Czcionkami Drukarni Toruńskiej S.A. w Toruniu, Toruń 1932, p. 491.

<sup>14</sup> The Act dated 29 October 1920 on cooperatives, Dz.U. of 1920, No. 111, item 733; the Act dated 4 December 1923 on partial change of the Act of 29 October 1920 on cooperatives, Dz.U. of 1923, No. 135, item 1119; the Act of 13 March 1934 on the change of the Act on cooperatives, Dz.U. of 1934, No. 38, item 342.

<sup>15</sup> The Archive of New Files in Warsaw (hereafter: AAN), the Cooperative Board in Warsaw, the Dairy Cooperative “Orzyc” in Jednorożec 1936–1939, sign. 6293, k. 11; W. Łukaszewski, *Z dziejów jednorożeckiej spółdzielczości. Spółdzielnia Mleczarska „Orzyc” w Jednorożcu w latach 1928–1939*. TPZK, Krasnosielcki Zeszyt Historyczny 2016, No. 7, p. 48.

Oborczyńska (Baranowo commune), where the local Consumer Cooperative Association “Puszczanka”, established on 2 April 1920, was robbed by the Bolsheviks and, due to the lack of funds, ceased its activity. On 14 April 1926, the Cooperative requested the relevant in terms of territory District Court in Mława for self-dissolution, which took place on 2 September 1926<sup>16</sup>.

In Poland of 1931, about 61% of people were farmers, and agricultural production in 1929 constituted 79% of the overall value of production, whereas industrial production – barely 21%<sup>17</sup>. The Great Depression caused that the majority of prices for industrial goods, articles and crops produced by farmers decreased. The price of milk for 100 liters was as follows: in 1929 – 41,7 zlotys, and in 1929 – 40,1 zlotys. A significant decrease of prices began in 1930, when people had to pay respectively – 33,5 zlotys, in 1932 – 22,4 zlotys, in 1934 – 15,7 zlotys; and in 1935, when the crisis ended – 16,0 zlotys<sup>18</sup>. The above-mentioned factors had a negative influence on the condition of cooperatives.

One of the first dairy cooperatives in Kurpie was the dairy Cooperative “Przyszłość” in Czarnia (Wach commune), established on 27 August 1927. However, as it turned out later, the cooperative did not implement the regulations of the act of 29 October 1920, i.e. it did not send reports on its activity to the Cooperative Board and it did not publish balance sheets informing about the assets and liabilities of the cooperative. Moreover, according to article 13 of the act, a cooperative had to consist of at least 10 members and the Cooperative in Czarnia had only 8 members. During an inspection of the Cooperative, the so-called audit, the Controller put forward a proposal to charge the members of the former Board: Józef Deptuła, Józef Warych and Antoni Skorupski, with the cooperative’s loss of 2813,36 zlotys. The consequence of the carried out inspection of the cooperative’s activity was passing a resolution on its liquidation on 15 June 1930 by an annual general meeting. However, in two weeks’ time, on 29 June 1930, it was eventually decided not to liquidate the cooperative and on that day the annual general meeting chose a new Board consisting of: Julian Kosakowski from Surowe village, Konstanty Cichy from Czarnia and Antoni Skorupski from Ruchaje village<sup>19</sup>.

Another cooperative which did not exist long was the Dairy Cooperative “Zgoda” from Pełty, functioning since 1934, when it opened a food and colonial store, and the statute was registered in the District Court in Łomża on 2 April 1935. In 1937, the Cooperative consisted of 52 members, including one woman. Its President was Stanisław Drząszcz, the treasurer – Józef Pac, the secretary –

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<sup>16</sup> AAN, the Cooperative Board in Warsaw, “Puszczanka” in Oborczyńska (Warsaw voivodeship, Przasnysz county), sign. 12886, b.n.k.

<sup>17</sup> Z. Landau, J. Tomaszewski, *Zarys historii gospodarczej Polski 1918–1939*. Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa 1986, pp. 178–179.

<sup>18</sup> Ibidem, p. 184.

<sup>19</sup> AAN, the Cooperative Board in Warsaw, “Przyszłość” Dairy Cooperative in Czarnia (Białystok voivodeship, Ostrołęka county), sign. 2974, k. 20.

Franciszek Koniecka. The books were kept by Kazimierz Sulewski. The Cooperative employed one shop assistant in its own shop<sup>20</sup>. The situation of the Cooperative became complicated at the night of 22 to 23 May 1937, when as a result of the fire, the shop burned down with all the commodities (the loss was estimated at 849,13 zlotys) and the books of account, protocols of annual general meetings, of the Supervisory Board and the Management. As the inventory had not been insured, re-opening the shop was postponed to 4 December 1937 due to financial difficulties. The necessary funds for launching the shop were borrowed from Kasa Stefczyka in Myszyniec and from the members of the Cooperative, by paying 9% of the total loan cost to Kasa and 12% to the Cooperative members, which was a relatively high margin considering the realities at that time. Besides, the cooperative from Pełty had an overdue debt of 156,94 zlotys from before the fire<sup>21</sup>. An additional blow for the members of the Management were the penalties of 20 zlotys imposed on them by the District Court in Łomża for not publishing balance sheets in an official magazine. However, after applying for the withdrawal of the penalties, it received a positive opinion<sup>22</sup>. In a letter of the Management members to the Cooperative Board at the Ministry of Treasury, there were descriptions of the intentions of cooperative members from Pełty:

“1. We wanted to run cooperatives in a village, on the border of East Prussia and we only lacked experience and proper theoretical and practical preparation.

2. A Kurpian village is eager to cooperate because it is poor and the farmyards are not self-sufficient.

3. We are very poor because each one of us owns barely a few hectares of poor-quality sandy infertile land and we breed only 1 horse and 1 cow per person, and we are making a polite request to address the District Court in Łomża, as the Registry Court, for the abolition of the fine imposed on us unjustly due to our unawareness, because if the fine is not remitted, in our village no one will be willing to belong to any collective cooperation as they will be afraid of all penalties”<sup>23</sup>.

In Myszyniec, on the other hand, there was a Consumer Cooperative “Jedność”<sup>24</sup>, whose statute was registered by the District Court in Łomża on 8 August 1928. The area of action of the Cooperative was Myszyniec and its neighborhood. According to the statute of “Jedność”, the registration fee of new members was 2 zlotys (during an Annual General Meeting on 15 July 1934 it was lowered to 0,50 zlotys), and the participation fee of a member was 25 zlotys<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> AAN, the Cooperative Board in Warsaw, the Consumer Cooperative “Zgoda” in Pełty (Białystok voivodeship, Ostrołęka county), sign. 13722, b.n.k.

<sup>21</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>22</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>23</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>24</sup> AAN, the Cooperative Board in Warsaw, the Consumer Cooperative “Jedność” in Myszyniec (Warsaw voivodeship, Ostrołęka county), sign. 12231.

<sup>25</sup> Ibidem, b.n.k.

Another cooperative in Myszyniec was the Dairy Cooperative of an identical name – “Jedność”, whose area of action were the localities: Myszyniec, Myszyniec Stary, Dąbrowy, Wolkowe, Cięćk, Niedźwiedź, Białusny Lasek, Świdwiborek and Pełty<sup>26</sup>. The cooperative operated on the basis of the statute signed into the register of the District Court in Łomża on 24 October 1928. According to the state dated 23 September 1937, the cooperative consisted of 126 members, including one priest and 125 farmers. The membership in the cooperative cost 50 zlotys, a register fee was 2 zlotys. The three-member Board, chosen on 28 February 1937 for a three-year term of office, consisted of: the president – Józef Ropiak and his deputy Józef Soliwoda, both from Stary Myszyniec, and the treasurer – Kazimierz Gierczyk from Osada Myszyniec. The cooperative was functioning quite dynamically, which is evidenced by the generated profit of 4891,58 zlotys<sup>27</sup>.

Particular attention should be paid to the Dairy Cooperative “Zrozumienie” from Zawady, which also bred hens<sup>28</sup>. On 28 March 1928, it was accepted as a member of the Revisional Association of Polish Agricultural Cooperatives<sup>29</sup>, and its statute was registered in the District Court in Łomża on 23 August 1928<sup>30</sup>. Among its founders were: Stanisław Gałązka, Walenty Płoski, Piotr Zera, Henryk Koziątek, son of Walenty, Konstanty Olender, Henryk Koziątek, son of Piotr, Stanisław Olender, Józef Płoski, Stanisław Kuta, Konstanty Gałązka and Stanisław Suchecki<sup>31</sup>. The reports of the Border Guard show that the founder of the cooperative was Aleksander Kopeć, a teacher from a local school, and the president was Stanisław Koziątek, the head of the Czarnia commune, the treasurer was Konstanty Koziątek, and the manager of the cooperative – Stanisław Bórs<sup>32</sup>. According to the statute of the cooperative, its core activities were: “carrying out common processing or sale of milk and dairy products; collecting and selling eggs as well as joint buying of articles needed by each member in their farmyards”<sup>33</sup>.

It ought to be mentioned that on 22 September 1933, the District Court in Łomża, requested by the Revisional Association of Agricultural Cooperatives of Białystok District in Białystok, changed the legal form of the cooperative from “limited liability” to “with shares liability”. According to the state on 31 December 1936, the Cooperative consisted of 141 members from Kurpian villages: Zawady,

<sup>26</sup> AAN, the Cooperative Board in Warsaw, the District Dairy Cooperative in Myszyniec (Warsaw voivodeship, Ostrołęka county), sign. 12230, b.n.k.

<sup>27</sup> Ibidem, b.n.k.

<sup>28</sup> AAN, the Cooperative Board in Warsaw, the Dairy Cooperative “Zrozumienie” in Zawady (Białystok voivodeship, Ostrołęka county), sign. 22626.

<sup>29</sup> Ibidem, b.n.k.

<sup>30</sup> Ibidem, b.n.k.

<sup>31</sup> Ibidem, b.n.k.

<sup>32</sup> AAN, the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Berlin, Border issues. The situation in borderland counties, mainly German. The activity of the Polish Border Guard. Information of the Border Guard Headquarters, correspondence, 1936 r., sign. 2770, k. 84.

<sup>33</sup> AAN, the Cooperative Board in Warsaw, the Dairy Cooperative “Zrozumienie”...

Brodowe Łąki, Błędowo, Wola Błędowska, Dąbrowa, Rawki, Wierchowizna, Nowa Wieś, Skuze, Olszyny, Kopaczyska, Binduga, Krukowo, Zaręby, Bandysie, Kierzek, Łany, Cupel, Brzozowy Kąt. In its plans, however, the dairy was to reach with its range as far as to other villages, such as: Żelazna, Guzowatka, Długie, Czarnia, Surowe, Julianowo, Poścień, Raszujka, Rzodkiewnica, Pruskołęka, Kucieje Stare, Karaska and even remote Parciaki. The value of the cooperative's share was 25 zlotys and the registration fee was 1 zloty<sup>34</sup>. The dairy collected cream from the farmers from the above-mentioned villages by the owners of the so-called centrifuges. The amount of the cream fluctuated from a few to 85 kg per week from one farmer. A total number of cows owned by all members of the cooperative was 400 heads. The amount of processed milk in 1928, namely 1 million 140 thousand liters, which was an impressive number for a rural cooperative, proves that the cooperative was functioning dynamically. Butter from Zawady was sent in 25-kg boxes to the Association of Dairy and Egg Cooperative to Warsaw, and then further, due to a perfect class, for export, outside the country. However, the cooperative's boom became significantly complicated because of the tax interference of the Revenue Office in Ostrołęka, which published a report stating that, due to the trade in dairy products with entrepreneurs not belonging to the cooperative, it should have paid a higher sales tax from half of its turnover. An additional unfavorable phenomenon was illegal activity of „self-taught” milkmen, such as i.a.: Stanisław Mąka, who established milk factories in Brodowe Łąki, and then in Długie. The village representative of Kierzek village, named Piendak, on the other hand, collected cream from farmers without a proper permission to do so, and kept the cream in critical sanitary conditions. Similarly, Franciszek Piórkowski from Długie made butter in a barn, violating elementary hygiene requirements. Another individual non-attached producer of butter was Aron Gerber, who made butter in Żelazna. A private dairy was owned by a man named Dąbrowski, an inhabitant of Czarnia, who competed with a dynamic dairy underground<sup>35</sup>.

Another dairy cooperative functioning actively was a cooperative from Baranowo, which was trying to manage the surplus milk in the cooperative functioning since 1926<sup>36</sup>. Already in 1927, as a branch of the milk processing establishment in Przasnysz, it was able to process 8 thousand liters of milk a day, which is the amount processed by the main dairy in Przasnysz, which also had three other branches<sup>37</sup>. The first president of the Management of the Cooperative was Józef Mydło from Baranowo, the secretary was Władysław Tabaka from

<sup>34</sup> AAN, the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Berlin, Border issues..., k. 84.

<sup>35</sup> Ibidem, k. 77, 84.

<sup>36</sup> AAN, the Cooperative Board in Warsaw, the District Dairy in Baranowo near Ostrołęka (Warsaw voivodeship, Przasnysz county; sector: 10), sign. 553.

<sup>37</sup> T. Świecki, F. Wybult, op. cit.

Baranowo, the treasurer was Józef Brzozowy from Orzeł, and Paweł Zyra and Piotr Stolarczyk from Orzeł were the members of the Management<sup>38</sup>.

Another cooperative functioning in the region of Kurpie was the Consumer Cooperative “Dąbrowianka” from Dąbrowy<sup>39</sup>, where 100 people out of 2 thousand inhabitants belonged to the cooperative. The cooperative was established in 1931 by a border guard. It had equity of 5 thousand zlotys, an annual turnover was 30 thousand zlotys, and the value of one share in the cooperative was 10 zlotys<sup>40</sup>. In Dąbrowy, already since 1926, there were organized evening courses for adults, during which the idea of the cooperative movement was passed on. The major motive of action for the cooperators from Dąbrowy was establishing their own prices and the need to become independent of the speculations of private trading. The situation was mature enough in January 1931, when the cooperative was established and given the name “Dąbrowianka”. The founders began their activity from a financial collection of membership fees, for which they decided to open a food store. At the first General Meeting it was decided that each member of the cooperative who owned horses, would bring the goods from Myszyniec to the store by his farm cart. Moreover, the shop assistant working at the store, the cooperative’s accountant and the members of the Management committed themselves to work for free during the first three months, and the rest of the members pledged to buy goods in the cooperative store. The fact that the cooperative became a success was shown by annual dividends paid to 70 members: for 1931 – 196,24 zlotys, for 1932 – 533,07 zlotys, for 1933 – 702,44 zlotys, for 1934 – 158,46 zlotys, for 1935 – 185 zlotys and for other services – 200 zlotys, which in total amounted to 970 zlotys. In the first quarter of 1936, the cooperative had about 5 thousand zlotys in cash deposited in the “Społem” bank in Warsaw and it bought one bond of the “National Loan”. Besides, the cooperative from Dąbrowy did not fall behind with taxes and it did not have any debts. Additionally, the cooperative achieved important social objectives by supporting socially a local elderly woman; it also granted financial assistance to the local Fire Brigade and it secured a total sum of money for carrying out electrical installation in the church in Myszyniec. Moreover, it supported the action of the Association for the Support of Public Schools’ Construction. It also supported the action and joined the Airborne Defence League of the State. As Michał Leonkiewicz stated in the pro-Sanacja and pro-Piłsudski magazine, “Przegląd Ostrołęcki”, the shop in Dąbrowy was one of

<sup>38</sup> A. Białczak, *Dzieje Baranowa oraz ziem nad Płodownicą i Omulwią*. Baranowo–Ostrołęka 2005, p. 244.

<sup>39</sup> AAN, the Cooperative Board in Warsaw, the Consumer Cooperative “Dąbrowianka” in Dąbrowy (Białystok voivodeship, Ostrołęka county), sign. 3428.

<sup>40</sup> AAN, the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Berlin. Border issues..., k. 82.

the three cooperative shops in Myszyniec commune, next to Myszyniec and Pelty, being a model for other villages<sup>41</sup>.

Apart from consumer cooperatives, there were also cooperatives including folk artists, whose core activity was folk crafts. Such a cooperative was the Folk Weaving Manufacturers' Cooperative "Kurpianka", whose statute was registered in the District Court in Łomża on 10 May 1928<sup>42</sup>. The cooperative consisted of 43 members, including: 1 craftsman, 2 physical workers, 8 white-collar workers, 4 representatives of freelancers, and also 6 representatives of other professions. The president of the Cooperative was a teacher, Józef Rządski from Wach; the treasurer was another teacher, Michał Leonkiewicz from Dąbrowy and the secretary was Anna Kordecka, a weaver from Myszyniec. One of the members of the Association's Supervisory Board was a priest from Myszyniec, Czesław Rogalski<sup>43</sup>. The Cooperative ceased its activity on 19 November 1932 due to an unfavorable economic situation of the country. In the years of prosperity, the crafts produced by the cooperative were sold in the entire country, gaining a significant popularity. However, in the early 1930s, there was observed an evident collapse in the demand for this kind of goods<sup>44</sup>. A similar activity profile had the Folk Weaving Manufacturers' Cooperative "Lipniczanka" in Lipniki<sup>45</sup>.

Kurpian cooperatives also functioned in Kadzidło, in the number of as many as five: the Dairy Cooperative<sup>46</sup>, the Consumer Cooperative "Puszczanka"<sup>47</sup>, the Agricultural-Construction Cooperative<sup>48</sup> "Swój do Swego", the Consumer Cooperative<sup>49</sup> and the Construction Association "Jedność" in Kadzidło, based in Dylewo<sup>50</sup>. In Ostrołęka there were: the Housing and Building Cooperative<sup>51</sup>, the

<sup>41</sup> M. Leonkiewicz, *Jak rolnicy w Dąbrowach, gm. Myszyniec dążą do poprawy swego bytu przez spółdzielnię*. Przegląd Ostrołęcki 1936, No. 10, p. 2.

<sup>42</sup> AAN, the Cooperative Board in Warsaw, "Kurpianka" the Folk Weaving Manufacturers' Cooperative in Myszyniec (Warsaw voivodeship, Ostrołęka county), sign. 12229.

<sup>43</sup> Ibidem, b.n.k.

<sup>44</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>45</sup> AAN, the Cooperative Board in Warsaw, the Folk Weaving Manufacturers' Cooperative "Lipniczanka" in Lipniki (Białystok voivodeship, Ostrołęka county), sign. 9263.

<sup>46</sup> AAN, the Cooperative Board in Warsaw, the Dairy Cooperative in Kadzidło (Białystok/Warsaw voivodeship, Ostrołęka county), sign. 6465.

<sup>47</sup> Ibidem, the Consumer Cooperative "Puszczanka" in Kadzidło (Białystok voivodeship, Ostrołęka county), sign. 6467.

<sup>48</sup> Ibidem, the Agricultural-Construction Cooperative in Kadzidło (d.: construction cooperative) (Białystok (Warsaw) voivodeship, Ostrołęka county), sign. 6466.

<sup>49</sup> Ibidem, "Swój do Swego" Consumer Cooperative in Kadzidło (Białystok/Warsaw voivodeship, Ostrołęka county), sign. 6468.

<sup>50</sup> Ibidem, "Jedność" Construction Association in Kadzidło located in Dylewo (Białystok/Warsaw voivodeship, Ostrołęka county), sign. 4102.

<sup>51</sup> Ibidem, the Construction and Housing Cooperative in Ostrołęka (Białystok voivodeship, Ostrołęka county), sign. 13294.

Dairy Cooperative “Ostrołęczanka”<sup>52</sup>, the Cooperative of Consumers Railway Workers<sup>53</sup>, the Housing Cooperative of Public Employees<sup>54</sup>, the Agricultural and Trading Cooperative “Wspólna Praca”<sup>55</sup>, the Consumer Cooperative of the 12th Horse Artillery Division in Ostrołęka Wojciechowice<sup>56</sup>, the Housing Cooperative of the City Hall Workers’ Trade Union<sup>57</sup> and the Consumer Cooperative of the 5th uhlans regiment in Wojciechowice<sup>58</sup>. Other cooperatives were in Łyse: the Dairy Cooperative<sup>59</sup> and the Consumer Cooperative of “Stach Konwa”<sup>60</sup>, in Szafranki<sup>61</sup>, in Dąbrówka<sup>62</sup> and in Krukowo.

A highly important branch of the cooperative movement was savings and loan cooperatives. The activity of loan funds was based on gathering savings and granting loans. In central and eastern voivodeships in the middle of the 1930s there were as many as 910 savings and loan associations<sup>63</sup>.

The established in Galicia Kasy Stefczyka were modeled on the savings and loan cooperatives founded in the 19th century by a German community worker and a reformer Friedrich Wilhelm Raiffeisen. The characteristics of this kind of cooperatives were a minor range of activity limited usually to administrative borders of a parish, a joint and unlimited responsibility of the cooperative’s members for its liabilities, a social nature of work, except for the functions absorbing more time, appropriating the earned financial surpluses for indivisible funds. A typical element of the activity of the Raiffeisen’s cooperative was that it could have been joined by indigent members of local communities. Normally, the

<sup>52</sup> Ibidem, the Dairy Cooperative “Ostrołęczanka” in Ostrołęka (Białystok voivodeship, Ostrołęka county), sign. 13297.

<sup>53</sup> Ibidem, the Cooperative of Consumers Railway Workers in Ostrołęka (Białystok voivodeship, Ostrołęka county), sign. 13299.

<sup>54</sup> Ibidem, the Housing Cooperative of Public Employees in Ostrołęka (Białystok voivodeship, Ostrołęka county), sign. 13295.

<sup>55</sup> Ibidem, “Wspólna Praca” the Agricultural and Trading Cooperative in Ostrołęka (Białystok voivodeship, Ostrołęka county), sign. 13300.

<sup>56</sup> Ibidem, the Consumer Cooperative of the 12th Horse Artillery Division in Ostrołęka Wojciechowice/Ostrołęka (Białystok voivodeship, Ostrołęka county), sign. 13298.

<sup>57</sup> Ibidem, the Housing Cooperative of the City Hall Workers’ Trade Union in Ostrołęka (Białystok voivodeship, Ostrołęka county), sign. 13296.

<sup>58</sup> Ibidem, the Consumer Cooperative of the 5th uhlans regiment in Wojciechowice (Warsaw voivodeship, Ostrołęka county), sign. 21712.

<sup>59</sup> Ibidem, the Dairy Cooperative in Łyse [Łyse] (Białystok voivodeship, Ostrołęka county), sign. 11145.

<sup>60</sup> Ibidem, the Consumer Cooperative “Stach Konwa” in Łyse [Łyse] (Białystok voivodeship, Ostrołęka county), sign. 11146.

<sup>61</sup> Ibidem, the Dairy Cooperative in Szafranki (Białystok voivodeship, Ostrołęka county; branch: industrial and trading), sign. 18249.

<sup>62</sup> Ibidem, the Cooperative Association of Consumers “Jedność” in Dąbrówka (Białystok voivodeship, Ostrołęka county), sign. 3429.

<sup>63</sup> *Gminne kasy pożyczkowo-oszczędnościowe. Przegląd Ostrołęcki 1936*, No. 49, p. 6.



managing functions in the discussed entities were served by local priests, organists or teachers<sup>64</sup>.

A dynamically functioning loan cooperative in Baranowo was “Kasa Stefczyka the Cooperative with unlimited liability”, which covered the following communes with its range: Baranowo, Jednorożec, Sypniewo, Zaręby and Kadzidło. Its statute was registered on 30 April 1937 in the District Court in Płock. The president of the Cooperative was Jan Puścion, also acting as the secretary of Baranowo Commune; the vice-president was Franciszek Tyc from Czerwińskie; the treasurer was Józef Grzyb from Bakula. The cooperative consisted of 184 members; the participation fee was 10 zlotys. According to the balance sheet from 31 August 1937, the cooperative had assets of 13 770, 06 zlotys<sup>65</sup>. The outbreak of World War II put an end to the activities of the Cooperative. The documents produced by the workers were hidden by the treasurer, Józef Grzyb. However, after a carried out denunciation, they fell into German hands, who collected the borrowings recalculated to the German currency – marks. Then, after repaying the loans, the documents were destroyed<sup>66</sup>.

Another Kasa Stefczyka was established in Zawady<sup>67</sup>. On 1 May 1932, at the founding meeting, the management was chosen, consisting of: Franciszek Osowiecki – the president, Stanisław Gałązka from Zawady, the vice-president, A. Koziatek – the treasurer<sup>68</sup>.

Kasa also functioned in Myszyniec<sup>69</sup>. Its founder and the first president was Fr. Klemens Sawicki, who was supported by local intelligentsia and a group of clerks<sup>70</sup>. The room necessary for the functioning of the entity was made available free of charge. The transactions carried out in Kasa were noted in the Financial Bank Book and they were confirmed with the signatures of the cashier and the accountant or a member of the Management. A registration fee for Kasa in 1927 was 3 zlotys, and a participation fee was 25 zlotys<sup>71</sup>. During the German occupation, the documentation of Kasa was burned by one of the workers. Then, the Germans forced the accountant to recreate the list of debtors from memory. The

<sup>64</sup> E. Pudełkiewicz, *Spółdzielcze formy gospodarowania w Polsce i w innych krajach Unii Europejskiej*. Zeszyty Naukowe SGGW. Polityki Europejskie, Finanse i Marketing 2009, No. 2, p. 269.

<sup>65</sup> AAN, the Cooperative Board in Warsaw, Kasa Stefczyka in Baranowo (Warsaw voivodeship, Przasnysz county; sector: 5), sign. 522, k. 2.

<sup>66</sup> A. Białczak, op. cit., p. 250.

<sup>67</sup> AAN, the Cooperative Board in Warsaw, Kasa Stefczyka in Zawady (Białystok voivodeship, Ostrołęka county), sign. 22625.

<sup>68</sup> J. Gołota, *Ostrołęka. Miasto i powiat w okresie międzywojennym*. Wydawnictwo OTN im. A. Chętnika, Ostrołęka 2000, p. 185.

<sup>69</sup> AAN, the Cooperative Board in Warsaw, Kasa Stefczyka in Myszyniec (Warsaw voivodeship, Ostrołęka county), sign. 12228.

<sup>70</sup> J. Gołota, op. cit., p. 185.

<sup>71</sup> Online: <http://kbsmyszyniec.pl/index.php/o-banku/historia-banku> [6.08.2017].

pre-war debts were converted at the rate 2,10 zlotys = 1 German mark. Due to a boycott of German authorities, the recreated list of debtors turned out to be obviously shortened<sup>72</sup>. Kasy Stefczyka were also established in Ostrołęka<sup>73</sup>, Lipniki<sup>74</sup>, Olszewka<sup>75</sup>, Zalas<sup>76</sup>, Czarnia<sup>77</sup>, Dąbrówka<sup>78</sup> and in Kadzidło<sup>79</sup>.

The number of particular cooperatives according to their types and in comparison to other Mazovian counties is presented in table 1. In terms of the number of members of those cooperatives as of 31 December 1934, in the following counties there were: Ciechanów – 6914 members, Maków – 5733, Przasnysz – 5670, Pułtusk – 8460, Łomża – 15 349 and in Ostrołęka county – 6210 members<sup>80</sup>.

Gradual regeneration of the cooperative movement after the period of the Great Depression was interrupted by the outbreak of the Second World War. When the war ended, pre-war cooperators were trying to recreate the old cooperatives but they did not have the support of the authorities any more. The cooperative movement during People's Poland was treated by the citizens even as a form of collectivization<sup>81</sup>. The so-shaped system caused reluctance of the citizens to this kind of cooperative economic activity.

<sup>72</sup> A. Lewkowska, *Wojenne losy banków spółdzielczych*. Online: <https://www.bs.net.pl/z-innej-beczki/na-weekend-wojenne-losy-bankow-spoldzielczych> [6.08.2017].

<sup>73</sup> AAN, the Cooperative Board in Warsaw, Kasa Stefczyka in Ostrołęka (Białystok voivodeship, Ostrołęka county), sign. 13290.

<sup>74</sup> Ibidem, Kasa Stefczyka in Lipniki (Białystok voivodeship, Ostrołęka county), sign. 9260.

<sup>75</sup> Ibidem, Kasa Stefczyka (Kasa Spółdzielcza) in Olszewka (Warsaw voivodeship, Ostrołęka county), sign. 13072.

<sup>76</sup> Ibidem, Kasa Stefczyka w Zalasie [Zalas] (Białystok voivodeship, Ostrołęka county; branch: loan), sign. 22391.

<sup>77</sup> Ibidem, Kasa Stefczyka (Kasa Spółdzielcza) in Czarnia (Warsaw voivodeship, Ostrołęka county), sign. 2973.

<sup>78</sup> Ibidem, Kasa Stefczyka w Dąbrówce (Warsaw voivodeship, Ostrołęka county), sign. 3436.

<sup>79</sup> Idem, Kasa Stefczyka in Kadzidło (Białystok voivodeship, Ostrołęka county) [1913–1920, 1925–1926, 1929, 1932, 1935, 1937–1938, 1946], sign. 6464. The predecessor of Kasa Stefczyka in Kadzidło was the savings and loan cooperative, “Towarzystwo Oszczędnościowo-Pożyczkowe”, established in 1913. Its organizer was Fr. Kazimierz Suchcicki. The Cooperative started its functioning on 27 July 1913. The President of the Board was the aforementioned Fr. Kazimierz Suchcicki and he kept the position until 1918), the secretary was Józef Sobiech and the treasurer was Franciszek Kosiński, *Życiorys ks. gen. bryg. Kazimierza Suchcickiego*. Online: [http://www.kadzidlo.pl/2016/sources/zyciorys\\_ks\\_suchcickiego.pdf](http://www.kadzidlo.pl/2016/sources/zyciorys_ks_suchcickiego.pdf) [6.08.2017].

<sup>80</sup> *Statystyka ruchu spółdzielczego w Polsce 1934 i 1935*. Statystyka Polski (Warszawa) 1938, Series C, Issue 66, p. 44, 46.

<sup>81</sup> B. Adamczyk, *Szanse rozwoju spółdzielczości wiejskiej jako formy organizowania się rolników w Polsce w odniesieniu do warunków społecznych i gospodarczych w Unii Europejskiej*. *Studia Ecologiae et Bioethicae UKSW w Warszawie* 2007, No. 5, p. 492.

Table 1

The number of union cooperatives in selected counties of Białystok and Warsaw voivodeships in the years 1934–1936

| County     | Total number of cooperatives |            |             | Types of cooperatives |       |                               |           |              |          |                                      |                          |       |       |       |
|------------|------------------------------|------------|-------------|-----------------------|-------|-------------------------------|-----------|--------------|----------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
|            | 1 Jan 1934                   | 1 Jan 1936 | 31 Dec 1936 | Consu<br>mers’        |       | Loan<br>(savings and<br>loan) |           |              | Farmers’ |                                      |                          |       |       | other |
|            |                              |            |             | consumers’            | other | in total                      | including |              |          | purchas<br>e and<br>sales<br>general |                          | dairy | other |       |
|            |                              |            |             |                       |       |                               | universal | agricultural | workers’ | agricultural<br>and trade            | agricultural<br>and food |       |       |       |
| Maków Maz. | 22                           | 24         | 25          | 3                     | –     | 13                            | 3         | 9            | 1        | 2                                    | –                        | 5     | 1     | 1     |
| Przasnysz  | 16                           | 16         | 18          | 4                     | –     | 9                             | 3         | 6            |          | 1                                    | –                        | 4     | –     | –     |
| Pułtusk    | 40                           | 36         | 35          | 10                    | –     | 21                            | 8         | 12           | 1        | 1                                    | –                        | 3     | –     | –     |
| Łomża      | 54                           | 47         | 49          | 14                    | 1     | 24                            | 9         | 15           | –        | –                                    | –                        | 10    | –     | –     |
| Ostrołęka  | 31                           | 33         | 34          | 8                     | –     | 21                            | 3         | 17           | 1        | 1                                    | –                        | 4     | –     | –     |
| In total   | 163                          | 156        | 161         | 39                    | 1     | 88                            | 26        | 59           | 3        | 5                                    | –                        | 26    | 1     | 1     |

Source: *Statystyka ruchu spółdzielczego w Polsce 1934 i 1935*. Statystyka Polski (Warszawa) 1938, Series C, Issue 66, pp. 39–40.

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### SUMMARY

The cooperative movement in the Kurpie region marked its dynamic progress during the Second Polish Republic. The carried out informational actions, trainings of instructors for cooperatives as well as the legal regulation introduced by the act of 1920, led to the change of attitude of the inhabitants of the subregion of Kurpie. Frequently, the lack of basic qualifications related to establishing and running a cooperative mixed with the involvement of the Kurpie people, who were trying to influence the change their own material situation by establishing cooperatives. A significant aspect of the Kurpian cooperative movement was its social nature. Cooperatives which generated financial surpluses relatively often supported charity institutions and aims, the activity of state education as well as pro-defensive actions, which were becoming particularly important in the 1930s.

## STRESZCZENIE

Ruch spółdzielczy na obszarze Kurpiowszczyzny zaznaczył swój dynamiczny progres w okresie II Rzeczypospolitej. Prowadzone akcje informacyjne, szkolenia instruktorów ds. spółdzielczości, a także regulacja prawna wprowadzona ustawą z 1920 r. doprowadziły do zmiany świadomości mieszkańców subregionu kurpiowskiego. Dosyć często brak elementarnych kwalifikacji związanych z zakładaniem i prowadzeniem kooperatyw mieszał się z zaangażowaniem Kurpiów, którzy poprzez tworzenie spółdzielni próbowali wpłynąć na zmianę własnej sytuacji materialnej. Bardzo ważnym aspektem kurpiowskiego ruchu spółdzielczego był jego socjalny charakter. Kooperatywy, które generowały nadwyżki finansowe, dosyć często wspierały charytatywne instytucje i cele, działalność państwowej oświaty, a także działalność proobronną, która w latach 30. nabierała szczególnej roli.

**Key words:** Cooperatives, cooperative movement, Kurpie region, a cooperative, food industry, savings and loan fund

**Słowa kluczowe:** Spółdzielczość, ruch spółdzielczy, Kurpiowszczyzna, kooperatywa, spożywczość, kasa oszczędnościowo-pożyczkowa

## CATHOLIC YOUTH ASSOCIATION IN THE PARISH OF SAINT FLORIAN IN JEDNOROŻEC IN THE YEARS 1934–1939 AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF PARISHES IN THE KURPIE REGION

### KATOLICKIE STOWARZYSZENIE MŁODZIEŻY W PARAFII PW. ŚW. FLORIANA W JEDNOROŻCU W LATACH 1934–1939 NA TLE PARAFII KURPIOWSKICH

The parish of St. Florian in Jednorożec (Przasnysz county) was established in 1916. Until 1992 it belonged to the Płock Diocese. In the inter-war period, the parish village of Jednorożec, nowadays called the capital of the western Kurpie region, was developing economically and culturally<sup>1</sup>. The animators of social life were i.a. clergymen. A significant role in Kurpian parishes, such as Jednorożec, was played by the Catholic Action.

In the article, the author focuses on youth sections of the Catholic Action, presenting the activity of the Catholic Male Youth Association (KSMM) and the Catholic Female Youth Association (KSMŻ) in Jednorożec in comparison to other rural Kurpian parishes in the Płock or Łomża dioceses. The study relates to the period after unifying and centralizing the organization in 1934<sup>2</sup>. This subject, with reference to Jednorożec, has not been studied before, although there have been publications concerning the neighboring pastoral centers<sup>3</sup>. The existence of the Catholic Youth Association in inter-war Jednorożec was only mentioned<sup>4</sup>. Apart from that, the history of the Catholic Youth Association has not been discussed in

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<sup>1</sup> Cf T. Wojciechowska, *Jednorożec. Historia wsi*. Jednorożec 2015, pp. 75–110.

<sup>2</sup> In 1905, Pope Pius presented the rules of the Catholic Action, continued by Pius XI. Since 1930, in Poland, organizing the structures of the Action began. In 1934, nationwide organizations (columns) following the Italian pattern were established: the Catholic Female Youth Association (KZMŻ), the Catholic Male Youth Association (KSMM), the Catholic Association of Women (KSK) and the Catholic Association of Husbands (KZM). KSMM and KSMŻ were a continuation of the associations previously existing within the Union of Polish Youth. KSK was established by changing the name of the previously existing Catholic Association of Polish Women. J. Cegłowski, A. Gretkowski, *Działalność Katolickiego Stowarzyszenia Młodzieży w diecezji płockiej (1919–2006)*. Notatki Płockie 2011, No. 2, pp. 35–36; R. Czekalski, *Stowarzyszenia i organizacje w diecezji płockiej w okresie międzywojennym*. Saeculum Christianum 1997, No. 1, p. 85, 94, 102–103.

<sup>3</sup> A. Białczak, *Dzieje Baranowa oraz ziem nad Płodownicą i Omulwią. Mała kurpiowska ojczyzna*. Baranowo–Ostrołęka 2005, pp. 252–263.

<sup>4</sup> Cf T. Wojciechowska, op. cit., p. 108.

the Kurpie region, concentrating on diocesan aspects. It is worth focusing on this subject in order to broaden the knowledge about the village of Jednoróżec in the inter-war period. A comparative approach will also allow presenting the significance of the Catholic Youth Association for pre-war Kurpie.

The Catholic Youth Association was part of the Catholic Action, which “was supposed to be an organization of laic people participating in the hierarchical apostolate of the Church and pursuing the aim of renewing religious life in all aspects of life. Submitting to hierarchy and personal responsibility of the members for the work of evangelization was to be the method of action”<sup>5</sup>. Unmarried Catholics between 14 and 30 years of age could become members of the youth associations. The candidates were required to lead a deepened religious life, follow the rules of Christian morality, discipline and obedience<sup>6</sup>. The elements bonding the organizational unity were: an anthem, a flag and a uniform or a badge, and the associations worked similarly to scouting<sup>7</sup>.

Four basic forms of the associations’ activity may be distinguished: religious activity, cultural-educational activity, charity and socio-patriotic activity<sup>8</sup>. Not every parish carried out all those actions. In Mazovia, a considerable amount of attention was paid to families, seeking in the Catholic Action hope for renewing family, social and religious life. It is also worth mentioning that the Catholic Youth Association discounted political issues or influences of political parties<sup>9</sup>.

A supervisory body coordinating the activity of the associations was the Superior Council of the Catholic Action. On diocesan level it was the Diocesan Council. There were also deanery structures of the organization. In parishes, the Action had its affiliates, which were the smallest cell in its structure and, at the same time, the most important – they had an actual impact on the faithful<sup>10</sup>.

The affiliates of the Catholic Youth Association in Kurpian parishes were established mostly in the second half of the 1930s<sup>11</sup>. There were also affiliates with

<sup>5</sup> *Podręcznik. Katolickie Stowarzyszenie Młodzieży*. Ed. A. Bączkowski et al. Kraków 1999, p. 21.

<sup>6</sup> M. Leszczyński, *Akcja Katolicka dawniej i dziś*. Online: <http://ak.org.pl/historia/przedwojenna-ak/> [22.02.2017].

<sup>7</sup> P. Chudziński, *Zmierzając ku doskonałości. Historia Katolickiego Stowarzyszenia Młodzieży w zarysie: lata 1919–1951*. Gniezno 2002, pp. 13–19.

<sup>8</sup> J. Cegłowski, A. Gretkowski, op. cit., pp. 37–38.

<sup>9</sup> M.M. Grzybowski, *Kościół katolicki*, [In:] *Dzieje Mazowsza*, Vol. 4: 1918–1939. Ed. J. Szczepański. Pułtusk 2010, pp. 631–632.

<sup>10</sup> Broader on the subject of the organization of the Catholic Action vide: M. Leszczyński, op. cit.

<sup>11</sup> *Nowe oddziały*, Akcja Katolicka Diecezji Łomżyńskiej [hereafter: AKDŁ] 1935, No. 1, p. 9; *Nowe oddziały*. AKDŁ 1935, No. 2, p. 9; *Nowe oddziały*. AKDŁ 1935, No. 6, p. 10; *Nowe oddziały*. AKDŁ 1935, No. 9, p. 12; *Statystyka Oddziałów Katalickiego Stowarzyszenia Młodzieży Męskiej i Żeńskiej wg parafii. Stan z dnia 31 XII 1935 roku*. AKDŁ 1936, No. 5 [hereafter: Statystyka KSM 1935] pp. 109–110; *Statystyka Oddziałów*



a longer history, established before 1934 – similarly to Jednorożec – as Associations of Male and Female Youth<sup>12</sup>. Both youth organizations were not established in every parish, sometimes several years had passed before a twin-column was established, sometimes only one department was functioning<sup>13</sup>. Initial problems with setting up parish circles of Catholic associations were described by Eugeniusz Kłoczowski: “The method of organizing the circles was carried out commonly in a way that a parish priest [...] announced from the pulpit that after the High Mass there would be an organizational meeting of a particular column. Usually a lot of people came, but when it came to signing in and encouraging them to work, it was not that easy. [...] With time, we came to the conclusion that the activity of each circle needed to be thoroughly prepared by gaining active people for the management, who would know how to impose their own will and be determined to act. A more difficult thing was to indicate, not in theory but in hard facts, what the action would look like. [...] from the diocesan central office started to arrive vast circulars with working plans but there were still many generalities. Chopping the way towards the social realization of the Church tasks was extremely difficult”<sup>14</sup>.

Nevertheless, the Catholic Action was one of the most active organizations. In the country, in 1936, it consisted of nearly 500 thousand members and three years later the number increased to 750 thousand. The most numerous were youth associations, focusing in Poland 60 % of the total number of members. In 1936, in the Płock diocese, over 23 thousand people acted in them. In the Łomża diocese in 1935, 3560 members of the Catholic Male Youth Association and 5240 girl scouts were noted, and four years later there were respectively 2682 and 7348 people. The

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*Katolickiego Stowarzyszenia Młodzieży Męskiej i Żeńskiej wg parafii. Stan z dnia 31 XII 1936 roku.* AKDŁ 1937, No. 6 [hereafter: Statystyka KSM 1936] pp. 123–124.

<sup>12</sup> SMM and SMŻ in Baranowo as well as SMŻ in Jednorożec were established in 1927, SMM in Jednorożec in 1930. The SMM in Parciaki is mentioned in the diocesan press in 1933. Apart from that, in 1929 there were youth associations in Turośl, Zbójna, Czarnia and Myszyniec. AP, Files of the Jednorożec parish. Since 1912 to 1958, Statistics of the Jednorożec parish Przasnysz Deanery [hereafter: Parish statistics] 1925–1928; A. Fronczak, *Z Jednorożca*, *Hasło Katolickie* [hereafter: HK] 1931, No. 34, p. 397; *Łańcuch rekolekcyjny*, HK 1933, No. 18, p. 207; *Wizyta kanoniczna w dek. Przasnyskim 1935 r. (Ciąg dalszy)*. *Miesięcznik Pastorski Płocki* 1935, No. 8, p. 356; A. Białczak, op. cit., p. 252, 255; W. Guzewicz, *Ruch katolicko-społeczny na terenie diecezji łomżyńskiej w okresie XX-lecia międzywojennego*. Elk 2006, pp. 130–131.

<sup>13</sup> For instance, in Brodowe Łąki, KSMM was established in 1934 and KSMŻ five years later. In Parciaki, KSMŻ was never established. Cf *Catalogus ecclesiarum et utriusque cleri tam saecularis quam regularis Diocesis Plocensis pro Anno Domini 1939*. Plociae [hereafter: Katalog diecezjalny] 1938, p. 140; Katalog diecezjalny 1939, p. 138; S. Olender, *Z życia parafii Brodowe Łąki*. HK 1939, No. 5, p. 74.

<sup>14</sup> E. Kłoczowski, *Wspomnienia mazowieckiego ziemianina z lat 1897–1951*. Ed. A.K.F. Wołosz. Ciechanów 2006, pp. 412–413.

majority of them were young peasants and unemployed people, not many young people who worked and the fewest were of the intelligentsia background<sup>15</sup>.

However, as E. Kłoczowski wrote, “as soon as a male or female circle was organized, some ferments appeared, quarrels, the breaking-up of the circle”<sup>16</sup>. Problems with the numerical force of the members can be seen in the above-presented data from the Łomża diocese, where numerical fluctuation appeared, whereas in the Płock diocese the number of the involved in the Catholic Youth Association was increasing every year. In particular parishes the data looked differently. For instance, in the parish of Jednoróżec in 1932, there were more male youth willing to act. Since 1934, the situation changed: the number of girl scouts from the Catholic Female Youth Association, although it had varied until 1938, was always bigger than the number of the Catholic Male Youth Association members. The situation was similar in other parishes in Kurpie – probably due to involving male youth in farmyard works, mainly girls acted in the Catholic Youth Association. The Jednoróżec parish was never distinguished in terms of the number of affiliates of the Catholic Action, which in the last year before the outbreak of the war had been one of the smallest in the Kurpie region. According to the information from the parish chronicle, in October 1938 in Jednoróżec, youth associations which had been liquidated before, were reestablished<sup>17</sup>. That means that temporarily there were no volunteers to act in the columns, but that situation must have lasted for quite a short time as the continuity of the organization was not interrupted and there is data from the following years of its existence.

It is worth emphasizing that in order to define the scale of participation of the parishioners in the Catholic Youth Association, the attention must be paid to the number of the faithful in parishes. The Catholic Youth Association had the greatest number of members in large parishes (Myszyniec), which was not the rule, though (Kadzidło). Among the smallest, Baranowo, Czarnia and Zalas were distinguishing (compare table 1).

<sup>15</sup> *Diecezja Łomżyńska. Ruch Katolicki* 1939, No. 7, p. 345; *Posiedzenie Diecezjalnej Rady Akcji Katolickiej*. AKDŁ 1935, No. 10 p. 4; W. Mysłək, *Kościół katolicki w Polsce w latach 1918–1939. Zarys historyczny*. Warszawa 1966, p. 302; *Podręcznik...*, p. 23; L. Wilczyński, *Działalność Diecezjalnych Instytutów Akcji Katolickiej w Polsce w latach 1930–1939*. Toruń 2003, p. 199.

<sup>16</sup> Female Youth Association (SMŻ) in Jednoróżec interrupted its activity in the years 1928–1930, in Baranowo the period of stagnation in youth associations are the years 1930–1932. A. Fronczak, op. cit., p. 397; E. Kłoczowski, op. cit., pp. 415–416; A. Białczak, op. cit., p. 253, 256.

<sup>17</sup> AP, ks. S. Bernatowicz, *Kronika kościelna par. Jednoróżec za duszpasterstwa proboszcza tejże parafii ks. St. B.* [hereafter: *Kronika ks. S. Bernatowicza*], p. 12.

Table 1

The number of the faithful and the affiliates of the Catholic Youth Association in Kurpian parishes in the years 1925–1938

| Diocese | Deanery   | Parish       | Number of the faithful |      |           | KSM          |            |            |      | KSMŻ         |            |            |      |      |
|---------|-----------|--------------|------------------------|------|-----------|--------------|------------|------------|------|--------------|------------|------------|------|------|
|         |           |              | 1925                   | 1937 | 1938      | 1935         | 1936       | 1937       | 1938 | 1935         | 1936       | 1937       | 1938 | 1939 |
| Płock   | Przasnysz | Baranowo     |                        |      | 7100      |              |            | 61         | 207  |              |            | 110        | 250  |      |
|         |           | Brodowe Łąki |                        |      | 2246      |              |            | 14         | 16   | –            | –          | –          | –    | 43   |
|         |           | Jednorożec   |                        | 2450 |           | 15           | 18         | 13<br>(21) | 20   | 25           | 21         | 20<br>(21) | 20   |      |
|         |           | Parciaki     |                        |      | 2280      |              | –          | 15         | 15   |              | –          | –          | –    |      |
| Łomża   | Ostrołęka | Czarnia      |                        |      | 3666      | 62<br>(60)   | 52         | 105        |      | 104<br>(103) | 118        | 100        |      |      |
|         |           | Dąbrówka     |                        |      | 1454      | 10           | 10         | 10         |      | 20           | 20         | 20         |      |      |
|         |           | Kadzidło     |                        |      | 10<br>280 | 45           | 60<br>(86) |            |      | 35           | 160        | 169        |      |      |
|         |           | Lipniki      |                        |      | 3535      | 14           | 17         |            |      | 40           | 63         |            |      |      |
|         |           | Łyse         |                        |      | 3495      | 9            | 36         | 19         |      | 42<br>(53)   | 67         | 65         |      |      |
|         |           | Myszyniec    |                        |      | 12<br>335 | 359<br>(378) | 359        | 19         |      | 518<br>(538) | 545        | 72         |      |      |
|         |           | Zalas        |                        |      | 3079      | 74           | 77<br>(30) | 74         |      | 81           | 75<br>(57) | 87         |      |      |
|         | Łomża     | Nowogród     | 4802                   |      |           | –            | –          | *          |      | 20           | 15         |            |      |      |
|         | Kolno     | Dobrylas     | 1325                   |      |           | –            | 15         |            |      | –            | 10         |            |      |      |
|         |           | Kuzie        | 2387                   |      |           | 10           | 10         |            |      | 20           | 17         |            |      |      |
|         |           | Leman        | 1680                   |      |           | –            | –          | *          |      | –            | –          | *          |      |      |
|         |           | Turośl       | 4732                   |      |           |              |            |            |      |              |            | *          |      |      |
|         |           | Zbójna       | 1430                   |      |           | 22           | 21         |            |      | 25           | 27         |            |      |      |

Own study. Double numbers – divergences in source relations, a dash – lack of the particular affiliate in the parish, an asterisk – organizing a column in a particular year. A Kurpian parish was also Zaręby in the Przasnysz deanery, but in the inter-war period the structures of the Catholic Action were not established there. In the case of the Jednorożec parish, the number of the faithful from 1937 was given because the number 1793 in 1938 seems to be lowered as in 1939 about 2500 parishioners were noted. Sources: AP, Statystyka parafji Jednorożec za rok [hereafter: Statystyka parafialna] 1937, p. 3; *Elenchus cleri saecularis ac regularis Diocesis Seinensis seu Łomżensis Anno Domini 1926*. Łomża 1925, pp. 32–35, 37; Katalog diecezjalny 1938, p. 65, 140; Katalog diecezjalny 1939, p. 61–62, 64, 138; *Nowe Oddziały KSM Męskiej*. AKDŁ 1936, No. 9, p. 167; *Nowe Oddziały*. AKDŁ 1937, No. 3, p. 51; S. Ol[ender], *Z par. Brodowe Łąki*. HK 1939, No. 19, p. 287; *Sprawozdanie z działalności Parafjalnych Zarządów Akcji Katolickiej w diecezji Łomżyńskiej za rok 1935-ty*. AKDŁ 1936, No. 4, pp. 62–73; Statystyka KSM 1935, pp. 109–110; Statystyka KSM 1936, pp. 123–124; *Wizyta kanoniczna w dek. Przasnyskim 1935 r...*, p. 356; W. Jemielity, *Organizacje katolickie w parafiach*

*dekanatu ostrołęckiego 1925–1939. Zeszyty Naukowe OTN 2008, Vol. XXII, pp. 52–53.*

It is worth noticing the subordination of the Catholic Youth Association to the Church hierarchy, shown in the presence of a Church assistant<sup>18</sup>. The activity of priests was – next to the involvement of the parishioners and their willingness to act – a crucial factor for the establishment and development of the Catholic Youth Association in Kurpian parishes. Within the Przasnysz deanery, Baranowo stood out in that respect, where Fr. Jan Trzaskoma “Through his unselfishness, energy, elocution engaged not only the parish of Baranowo but also the entire Kurpie Forest, and became almost its leader and a prophet”<sup>19</sup>. In Jednorożec, the organizer of the Catholic Youth Association was Fr. Stefan Bernatowicz, who is “remembered as a wonderful man, a model parish priest and a talented teacher, who demanded a lot from everyone, including himself”. He was making effort so that the local religious organizations would not stop functioning, which was to be achieved by “obligatory for them gatherings or monthly conferences” of a religious nature<sup>20</sup>. Similarly, in Brodowe Łąki, during Fr. Antoni Głowacki’s rectory, “the religious and social life gained significant momentum”<sup>21</sup>. Also Fr. Czesław Rogalski from Myszyniec was of merit for the Catholic Youth Association, as he organized over 400 people in the youth columns within one and a half month<sup>22</sup>.

On the other hand, E. Kłoczowski indicated the parish of Jednorożec as one of those where the departments were not developing because of the priests’ attitude, “totally opposed to the Action. Laymen were not mature enough to establish Catholic organizations without the priests’ help (...). Numerous parish priests could not in any way come to terms with the fact that, in the matters of the Church, liturgy, ministry, morality, etc., someone in the parish could think and say something, except for them”. Apart from the Jednorożec parish, a similar situation was to take place – according to Kłoczowski – i.a. in Brodowe Łąki and Parciaki<sup>23</sup>.

Meeting, readings, gatherings and dances of the Catholic Youth Association took place a parish hall<sup>24</sup> or in Catholic Homes<sup>25</sup>. In Żalas, in turn, “In the summer,

<sup>18</sup> M. Leszczyński, op. cit.

<sup>19</sup> E. Kłoczowski, op. cit., p. 420.

<sup>20</sup> A. Fronczak, op. cit., p. 397; Ł. Turbak, *Ksiądz Stefan Bernatowicz (1873–1945). Duszpasterz i propagator liturgii*. Master’s thesis, Uniwersytet Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego. Warszawa 2007, pp. 42–43.

<sup>21</sup> S. Olender, *Życia parafii Brodowe Łąki...*, p. 74.

<sup>22</sup> W. Jemielity, op. cit., p. 50.

<sup>23</sup> E. Kłoczowski, op. cit., p. 420.

<sup>24</sup> It looked like that in Jednorożec, Czarnia, Zbójna and Łyse. *Sprawozdanie z działalności Parafjalnych Zarządów Akcji Katolickiej...*, pp. 62–73; W. Jemielity, op. cit., p. 52.

<sup>25</sup> Parish homes were built in: Myszyniec – between 1931 and 1935; Baranowo – 1932; Kadzidło – 1935. In Łyse, the construction began in 1938. In May 1939, it was noted that

in beautiful weather, gatherings take place on a cemetery by the church, at different times in houses in each village”<sup>26</sup>. The youth met the rector at the prayer and the discussion of organizational issues every month, sometimes more often<sup>27</sup>. Larger parishes, in which the columns of the Catholic Youth Association were divided into hosts, functioning in particular locations of a parish, organized gatherings in their centers (most often every month), but they also met regularly at a general meeting of all hosts. That is how the Catholic Youth Association, for instance in Myszyniec and Baranowo functioned<sup>28</sup>.

Parish halls were also used for organizing religious and social meetings, e.g. sharing the Christmas wafer or the egg at Easter. An example are the meetings in the parish of Brodowe Łąki in 1939. On both occasions, there were Kurpian dances after the feast and the female youth sang Kurpian songs<sup>29</sup>. The singing was an important element of education and cultivating tradition in the departments of the Catholic Youth Association. Helena Gałązka, a patrol leader of the Baranowo host, wrote: “We don’t need to seek and learn the so-called fashionable songs from the Warsaw paving because we have our own beautiful full of charm and glamour folk songs. [...] In folk songs the life and character of our people is summarized, as well as their customs and interesting rituals. Those songs truly express our hearts and souls”<sup>30</sup>. Singing accompanied scouts during performances presented on the occasion of national and church holidays. On anniversaries of historical events, ceremonies and poetic evenings with lectures were organized in all parishes.

The columns had their own flags. For example, on 21 July 1935, a blessing of the flag of the affiliate of the Catholic Youth Association in Czarnia was organized, to which suffragan bishop Bernard Dembek arrived. About 500 scouts from Czarnia and Myszyniec came to the celebration<sup>31</sup>. And in Baranowo, the flag of the Catholic Female Youth Association was blessed on 1 June 1936. Not all affiliates could afford to buy a flag. Those which managed to do so, collected funds e.g. during the organized performances, ceremonies and other events, and also special whip-rounds or fund-raising in hosts<sup>32</sup>. In the sources, there is a lack of information on the flag of the Catholic Youth Association of the Jednorożec parish, which

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the Catholic Home in Brodowe Łąki was under construction. S. Olender, *Z życia parafii Brodowe Łąki...*, p. 74; *Sprawozdanie z działalności Parafialnych Zarządów Akcji Katolickiej...*, pp. 62–73; W. Jemielity, op. cit., p. 52; A. Białczak, op. cit., p. 290; M. Przytocka, *Zabudowa plebanijna*, [In:] *Dzieje parafii i kościoła pw. Trójcy Przenajświętszej w Myszyncu*. Ed. Eadem. Ostrołęka 2009, p. 256.

<sup>26</sup> W. Jemielity, op. cit., p. 52.

<sup>27</sup> AP, Statystyka parafialna 1936, p. 2; Statystyka parafialna 1937, p. 2; A. Fronczak, op. cit., p. 397.

<sup>28</sup> *Myszyniec Wieś*. AKDŁ 1935, No. 9, p. 18; A. Białczak, op. cit., p. 253, 256.

<sup>29</sup> S. Olender, *Z życia parafii Brodowe Łąki...*, p. 74; Idem, *Z par. Brodowe Łąki...*, p. 287.

<sup>30</sup> A. Białczak, op. cit., p. 261.

<sup>31</sup> *Poświęcenie nowych sztandarów*. AKDŁ 1935, No. 9, p. 14.

<sup>32</sup> A. Białczak, op. cit., p. 254.

would confirm the thesis that they were ordered in the more active and larger departments, in which the members did their best in order to enrich themselves with that symbol.

The scouts of the Catholic Youth Association in Jednoróžec got involved in the religious life of the parish as much as they could. For instance, in 1935, during the visitation of the parish by bishop Antoni Julian Nowowiejski, the Catholic Male Youth Association with the help of firefighters built a welcoming gate from Drażdzewo side. The members of the Catholic Youth Association were present at the welcoming of the pastor of the diocese in the village and an orchestra of the male youth added splendor to the celebration. The president of the Parish Board of the Catholic Action, farmer Bronisław Czaplicki, submitted a report from the activity of the organization to the bishop<sup>33</sup>.

Similar reports were submitted by Czaplicki, as well as by others on this function, during deanery meetings<sup>34</sup>. He was also obliged to send annual reports on the activity of the Action in the parish to the Diocesan Institute of the Catholic Action (DIAK)<sup>35</sup>. The management of the departments as well as the scouts participated in cyclic organizational courses<sup>36</sup>. Besides, there were meetings of the Parish Board of the Catholic Action in Jednoróžec<sup>37</sup>. In the same way the department boards were functioning in other Kurpian parishes. Moreover, the departments of the Catholic Youth Association in the parishes of the Łomża diocese were visited by the representatives of the Diocesan Institute of the Catholic Action, which led to strenuous work<sup>38</sup>; there were also contests of conscientiousness organized<sup>39</sup>. The members of the neighboring affiliates visited each other in order to inspire one another to work and exchange experiences<sup>40</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> *Wizyta kanoniczna w dek. Przasnyskim 1935 r...*, p. 356.

<sup>34</sup> *Kurs Dekanalnej Rady Akcji Katolickiej w Przasnyszu*. HK 1935, No. 11, p. 123.

<sup>35</sup> *Sprawozdania z pracy Paraf. Zarz. Akcji Katolickiej*. Myśl i Czyn [hereafter: MiC] 1939, No. 3, pp. 88–89.

<sup>36</sup> *eska, Przasnysz*. Głos Mazowiecki [hereafter: GM] 1935, No. 94, p. 6.

<sup>37</sup> AP, Statystyka parafialna 1934, p. 2; Statystyka parafialna 1936, p. 2; Statystyka parafialna 1937, p. 2.

<sup>38</sup> Cf *Co słycać w terenie*. AKDŁ 1936, No. 12, p. 221; *Wizytacje i kursy*. AKDŁ 1934, No. 4, p. 9.

<sup>39</sup> For example, in 1935, among KSMŻ Myszyniec Wieś came 4th – 210,8 p., other departments scored: Myszyniec Osada – 157,75, Czarnia 96,78, Dąbrówka 94,5, Zbójna – 83,7, Kuzie – 65,35, Kadzidło – 55,47, Żalas – 41,4, Łyse – 23,5 and Lipniki – 19,1 p. Among KSMM: Myszyniec Wieś came 4th – 186,85 p., apart from that: Myszyniec Osada – 122,5, Dąbrówka – 89, Czarnia – 60,6, Zbójna – 59, Żalas – 46,8, Kadzidło – 41,75, Łyse – 32,1 and Kuzie – 12 p., Lipniki and Nowogród were defined as poorly-working departments, Dobrylas did not score even 3 points and it was considered one of the least working departments in the diocese. Contests were also organized in deaneries, parishes and in the departments for hosts. *Wyniki II konkursu obowiązkowości*. AKDŁ 1936, No. 12, pp. 231–236; W. Guzewicz, *Ruch katolicko-społeczny...*, pp. 268–272.

<sup>40</sup> Cf *Wycieczki*. AKDŁ 1935, no. 8, p. 20.

St. Stanisław Kostka was chosen the patron of the Catholic Male Youth Association. In all the departments religious prayer meetings and poetic evenings were organized on the remembrance day of the patron (13 November)<sup>41</sup>. Also, rallies of the Catholic Youth Association were organized, particularly for the inhabitants of the Przasnysz Land, proud of the fact that the patron was their compatriot. In 1935, a rally in Rostkowo was preceded by a semi-enclosed retreat in parishes and a confession for the youth. On the day of the meeting “a crowd of young people stood at the assembly with flags and orchestras. (...) After the mass there was a festive ceremony [...]. A serious and solemn nature of the ceremony was complemented with [...] recitations [...] by the scouts from Przasnysz and Zielona, (...) choir’s performances [...] as well as the performances of orchestras [...]”. In the end, everyone sang the hymn of the Catholic Action together – *My chcemy Boga*. At the rally, over 500 girl and boy scouts from the region of the Przasnysz deanery gathered, as well as the delegations of students and teachers from Przasnysz (about 200 people), “apart from that, nearly the same number of young unorganized people took part in the ceremony”<sup>42</sup>. Also in other Kurpian parishes in both dioceses the remembrance was celebrated solemnly, as well as the patronal feast of the Catholic Female Youth Association – the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (8 September). Earlier, retreats and days of recollections, novenas and services with sermons as well as common holy communions, demonstrations and religious marches were organized<sup>43</sup>.

The feast of Christ the King was chosen to be the patronal celebration of the Catholic Action. Marianna Wilga recalled that on that day in the parish of Jednorożec “the priest prepared with the youth and school children a staging in the fire station”<sup>44</sup>. All the members of the Catholic Youth Association were encouraged to go to confession and take communion; they were also invited to join the organization<sup>45</sup>. In 1934, “After a solemn high mass with a sermon, during which the choir sang a four-voiced Mass *Salve Reginie*, there was a festive jubilee procession to the cross in the square, where the choir sang the hymn *Z Miljonów serc* after the prayers. After returning to the church, there was a blessing with the Holy Sacrament. In the afternoon, in a beautifully decorated parish hall, there was a ceremony. In the agenda there were lectures, narrations and recitations. The members of the parish, the Catholic Action and both Youth Associations took part

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<sup>41</sup> J. Cegłowski, A. Gretkowski, op. cit., p. 38.

<sup>42</sup> K.S., *W rodzinnej miejscowości św. Stanisława Kostki. Ze zlotu rejonowego Katolickiego Stowarzyszenia Młodzieży w Rostkowie w powiecie przasnyskim*. GM 1935, No. 266, p. 5.

<sup>43</sup> On patronal holidays of KSMM and KSMŻ also new departments were established. A. Białczak, op. cit., p. 252, 255; W. Guzewicz, *Ruch katolicko-społeczny...*, p. 294.

<sup>44</sup> Ł. Turbak, op. cit., p. 42.

<sup>45</sup> W. Jemielity, op. cit., p. 52.

in the ceremony. It was started and finished with the speeches of the parish priest Fr. Bernatowicz<sup>46</sup>. The same ceremonies took place in other parishes in Kurpie.

On the last Sunday of the liturgical year, a fund-raising was organized to support the Catholic Action; also the collection taken in the church was appropriated for that aim<sup>47</sup>. The affiliates disposed of the money, which was spent on current activities. The financial resources came mainly from public collections, displaying films, entry tickets to planned events, etc.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, the affiliates of the Catholic Youth Association kept their own accounts, both financial and the lists of the members. Not everywhere, however, was the requirement complied with, which generated difficulties and conflicts<sup>49</sup>. The Diocesan Institute of the Catholic Action was sent annual association contributions<sup>50</sup>.

The members of the Catholic Youth Association from Jednorożec participated in the events in the area of the deanery and the diocese, although it probably depended on the number of volunteers and transport possibilities. It was not an unusual case – in the diocesan press there was plenty of information that the sections from some Kurpian parishes did not arrive at a celebration. In 1935, the management of the sections from Kuzie and Zalas did not attend a course in Myszyniec<sup>51</sup>. In the same year in Ostrołęka, the sections from i.a. Czarnia, Dąbrówka, Myszyniec, Kadzidło arrived at a district rally, but there were no delegations from Kuzie, Łyse and Lipniki<sup>52</sup>. Also, farmyard work made it more difficult to travel and therefore the most active time was in the autumn and winter. An easier situation was in the sections which had a patron, e.g. in Baranowo, where journeys of the scouts were financed mostly by the protector Fr. J. Zaremba<sup>53</sup>.

Important for the Catholic Youth Association meetings at all levels were Eucharistic days and congresses. For instance, in 1936, the Eucharistic Congress of Female Youth was organized in Pułtusk<sup>54</sup>. Despite the appeal of the editorial office of "Hasło Katolickie", the delegation from Jednorożec, if it was present, was not listed among the performers in folk costumes<sup>55</sup>. Perhaps it was related to the situation described by a local teacher, according to whom in the 1930s, unlike in

<sup>46</sup> A', *Echa uroczystości Chrystusa Króla. Jednorożec*. HK 1934, No. 49, p. 593.

<sup>47</sup> Cf *Dzień ofiary na Akcję Katolicką*. MiC 1936, No. 6, pp. 161–163.

<sup>48</sup> A. Białczak, op. cit., p. 259.

<sup>49</sup> W. Jemielity, op. cit., pp. 54–55.

<sup>50</sup> Cf *Składkę stowarzyszeniową*. AKDŁ 1934, No. 4, p. 14.

<sup>51</sup> *Dwudniowe kursy dla Kierownictw*. AKDŁ 1935, No. 3, pp. 9–10.

<sup>52</sup> *Nasze złoty okręgowe*. AKDŁ 1935, No. 8, pp. 13–14.

<sup>53</sup> A. Białczak, op. cit., p. 253, 257.

<sup>54</sup> A. Rojewski, *Kongresy i dni eucharystyczne diecezji płockiej w latach posługi pasterskiej Bł. Abpa A.J. Nowowiejskiego*. Studia Płockie 2008, Vol. 36, pp. 118–131.

<sup>55</sup> *Druhny w holdzie Bogu utajonemu. Z dni kongresowych KSMŻ w Pułtusku*. HK 1936, No. 29, p. 346; *Ubiór druhen na czas Kongresu Euch. w Pułtusku*. HK 1935, No. 20, p. 236.



the previous decade, "The young abandoned old dresses"<sup>56</sup>. A different situation was in the parishes of the central Kurpie region, such as Myszyniec or Kadzidło, where, as it was written in the press, "One of the merits of those sections is successful popularization of folk costumes"<sup>57</sup>. In Baranowo, Kurpian dresses were frequently worn and presented i.a. on the above-mentioned congress in Pułtusk, where girl scouts "aroused common delight and applause"<sup>58</sup>. Also during the congresses of the Łomża diocese there could be found delegations in Kurpian dresses. At the meeting in Łomża in 1936, male and female sections from Myszyniec, Zbójna, Czarnia, Kuzie or Dąbrówka participated, probably in folk costumes<sup>59</sup>. Another form of popularizing the culture of the region were special ceremonies – in 1937 in Myszyniec, members of the Catholic Youth Association with Fr. E. Kłoskowski organized the Kurpie Forest Day with a presentation of fragments from *Wesele Kurpiowskie* by Fr. W. Skierkowski, dances and regional singing as well as a display of local people's handicraft<sup>60</sup>.

Another form of action of youth organizations was closed, semi-closed and open retreat. They were organized at all levels: diocesan, deanery and parish. A great number of members of the Catholic Youth Association took part in them, as e.g. in Brodowe Łąki in 1939<sup>61</sup>.

One of the fields of activity of the Catholic Youth Association was agricultural training. It seems, however, that in the parish of Jednorożec it was not that popularized. In the light of the sources gathered so far, it is only certain that during the Agricultural Training Exposition in Przasnysz in 1934, the first individual prize in the form of a "purebred heifer, given for that purpose by Mr. Żórawski from Obrębiec" went to scout Antoni Bakula from Jednorożec<sup>62</sup>, and in 1937, the members of the Catholic Youth Association from Jednorożec participated in a training in the Agricultural School in Ruda near Przasnysz<sup>63</sup>. Baranowo stood out among the Kurpian parishes of the Płock diocese in the field of agricultural preparation<sup>64</sup>. It seems that this activity was more developed in the Kurpian

<sup>56</sup> Archiwum Muzeum Historycznego w Przasnyszu [hereafter: AMHP], M. Wardakowa, *Wspomnienia z lat 1927–1939 dotyczące pracy w Jednorożec – w szkole i w środowisku*. Kraków 1979, sign. Mżr 118, p. 3.

<sup>57</sup> *Myszyniec Wieś*. AKDŁ 1935, No. 9, p. 18.

<sup>58</sup> HK 1936, No. 31, p. 379.

<sup>59</sup> Folk costumes were a replacement for organizational uniforms in the parishes where scouts could not afford a standard required outfit. *Udział w Kongresie Eucharystycznym w Łomży*. AKDŁ 1936, no. 7–8, p. 149; W. Guzewicz, *Ruch katolicko-społeczny...*, pp. 285–286.

<sup>60</sup> W. Guzewicz, *Działalność Akcji Katolickiej w ramach parafii na terenie diecezji łomżyńskiej w latach 1931–1939*. Studia Sandomierskie 2004, No. 3, p. 17.

<sup>61</sup> S. Ol.[ender], *Z par. Brodowe Łąki...*, p. 287.

<sup>62</sup> *Z Wystawy Przysposobienia Rolniczego w Przasnyszu*. HK 1934, No. 44, p. 533.

<sup>63</sup> Account by Jolanta Wilga from Jednorożec (2016).

<sup>64</sup> A. Białczak, op. cit., pp. 260–261.

parishes of the Łomża diocese. For example, in 1934, exhibitions and courses i.a. for the members of the Catholic Youth Association in Dylewo and Myszyniec were organized. Among all the participating organizations, it was the affiliates of the Catholic Youth Association that showed best, which proves that major attention was paid to agricultural training<sup>65</sup>. For their work, the sections were given rewards such as book and magazine subscriptions or saplings of trees and bushes<sup>66</sup>.

Members of the Catholic Youth Association from Kurpian parishes could participate in activities related to agricultural training more willingly than to military trainings and physical education because it was more practical to concentrate on learning things which might have helped in running a farm on infertile Kurpian soils and in preparing oneself for a job of a farmer, and young people from such families were dominant in the Catholic Youth Association. Therefore, rarely did the affiliates from parishes located in Kurpie participate in military and physical education courses and trainings. However, mainly the sections from urban and rural parishes located on the border of the region (Goworowo, Troszyn, Ostrołęka, Łomża...) were engaged in those trainings. Nevertheless, in the parishes where youth associations were really active, e.g. in Baranowo, also military trainings were organized<sup>67</sup>.

There were attempts to establish libraries in parishes with books and magazines, including those published for the members of the Catholic Action<sup>68</sup>. They were brought to the parish by priests and the Catholic Youth Association helped distribute them among the faithful. On the basis of the gathered material, it was determined that such places had been founded in Baranowo, Czarnia, Dąbrówka and Kadzidło<sup>69</sup>.

The Catholic Youth Association in the parish of Jednorozec was trying, according to its numerical and organizational possibilities, to get involved in the religious life of the parish, the deanery and the diocese, similarly to other sections in Kurpie. Youth organizations were an important school of religious and patriotic preparation, a platform of fostering tradition, they enabled learning about social commitment and cooperation between the inhabitants concerning the development

<sup>65</sup> *Wystawy i pokazy*. AKDŁ 1934, No. 3, p. 15.

<sup>66</sup> *Wykaz nagród przyznanych przez Sąd Konkursowy KSM w Łomży zespołom p. r. za pracę w r. 1934*. AKDŁ 1935, No. 1, pp. 15–16.

<sup>67</sup> A. Białczak, op. cit., pp. 257–259.

<sup>68</sup> Not many parishes subscribed the central periodical of the Catholic Action – “Ruch Katolicki”. KSM published “Przyjaciel Młodzieży”, and KSMŻ “Młoda Polka”. “Kierownik Stowarzyszeń KSM” was recommended for the management of the sections. In the Płock diocese, “Myśl i Czyn” and “Hasło Katolickie” were subscribed. In the parishes of the Łomża diocese, numerous were the copies of the diocesan magazines “Życie i Praca” and “Sprawa Katolicka”. Apart from that, people read national magazines, i.a. “Gazeta Świąteczna”. W. Jemielity, op. cit., pp. 56–58.

<sup>69</sup> *Które parafie naszej diecezji mają biblioteki paraf.* MiC 1938, No. 3, p. 75; A. Białczak, op. cit., p. 268; W. Jemielity, op. cit., p. 56.

of the village. Moreover, there were cases of vocations to the religious life among the members of the inter-war Catholic Youth Association in Kurpie parishes<sup>70</sup>. In the accounts, there is also emphasized the fact of education in a patriotic spirit in the Catholic Youth Association, which resulted in the young Poles' sacrifice during the Second World War.

Nevertheless, the pre-war Catholic Action, whose part was the youth associations, did not function long enough to develop sufficiently<sup>71</sup>. However, it must be admitted that the effects of its activity are significant, particularly due to the fact that in the 1930s, people were gradually discarding tradition, associated with religiousness, which gave way to modernity<sup>72</sup>. The effects of the activity of the Catholic Youth Association were the result of the parishioners' involvement and the priests' attitude. In the Kurpie region, there were both active pastors and the faithful willing to act, although the Catholic Youth Association was developing mainly in the central part of the region. On eastern and western borders of the Kurpie region, such as the parish of Jednorożec, it more often encountered obstacles in their activities. It was not a rule, though, as in the places where the eager for work faithful cooperated with a priest who could motivate his parishioners to work, the columns were functioning really actively, the example of which is the Catholic Youth Association of the Baranowo parish.

The article does not fully cover the subject. The author hopes, though, that it will highlight certain problems related to the activity of the Catholic Youth Association in inter-war Poland on the example of Kurpian parishes and allow complementing the description of the development of Jednorożec in the discussed period.

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<sup>70</sup> From Myszyniec, the following scouts joined a convent: Girl Scout Pawłowska joined the Congregation of Missionaries, girl scouts Świdrówna and Jurczakówna – the Franciscan Congregation in Laski, and Scout Brzóska joined Niepokalanów. *Kronika*. AKDŁ 1937, No. 4 p. 78.

<sup>71</sup> It is worth emphasizing that "As much as e.g. the organized activity of cooperative shops, establishing security, machinery rings and loan funds, and even building parish homes and opening municipal schools was carried out spontaneously, much worse (especially in rural parishes) was the so-called recruitment for church organizations and the associations of the Catholic Action. It required from the members the attitude aimed at thoughtful activity in the material and spiritual sphere which was usually avoided by the elderly and experienced, and the middle-aged adopted a «wait-and-see» attitude, only children and the youth were more eager, seeing for themselves a chance for a life advancement". M.M. Grzybowski, *Kościół katolicki...*, p. 632.

<sup>72</sup> AMHP, M. Wardakowa, op. cit., p. 3.

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## SUMMARY

The author concentrates on the Catholic Youth Association's activities in the inter-war period on the example of the parish of St. Florian in Jednorożec (Przasnysz county), presented against the background of other parishes in Kurpie, located in Płock and Łomża Dioceses. The author outlines the history of the youth affiliates of the Catholic Action after the reform in 1934. Although the affiliates in Jednorożec were much smaller and less active than in central Kurpie, learning their history complements the depiction of the socio-cultural development of Jednorożec village in the inter-war period. The article also allows learning about the basic forms and the importance of the Catholic Youth Association's activity in Kurpian parishes.

**STRESZCZENIE**

Autorka koncentruje się na działalności Katolickiego Stowarzyszenia Młodzieży w okresie międzywojennym na przykładzie parafii pw. św. Floriana w Jednoróźcu Jednoróżec w pow. przasnyskim, przedstawionej na tle innych parafii kurpiowskich w diecezji płockiej i łomżyńskiej. Artykuł przedstawia dzieje młodzieżowych kolumn Akcji Katolickiej po reformie z 1934 r. Choć w parafii Jednoróżec były to oddziały o wiele mniejsze i nie działające tak prężnie jak w centralnej Kurpiowszczyźnie, poznanie ich historii uzupełnia funkcjonujący w literaturze obraz rozwoju społeczno-kulturalnego wsi Jednoróżec w okresie międzywojennym. Tekst pozwala też poznać podstawowe formy i znaczenie działalności KSM w parafiach kurpiowskich.

**Key words:** Catholic Action, Catholic Youth Association, inter-war period, parish, Jednoróżec, Kurpie

**Słowa kluczowe:** Akcja Katolicka, Katolickie Stowarzyszenie Młodzieży, okres międzywojenny, parafia, Jednoróżec, Kurpie

## THE KURPIE REGION WAS THE CENTRE OF THE WORLD FOR HENRYK SYSKA (1920–2000)

### KURPIE BYŁY CENTRUM ŚWIATA DLA HENRYKA SYSKI (1920–2000)

Certainly, after every human being, even if only in the closest family circle, remain some traces of memory. In the case of such people as Henryk Syska though, it can be legitimately repeated after Horace: “not all of me will die”. He left a huge creative output. Several years ago I published a rather extensive monograph on his life and output<sup>1</sup>. He made his mark on the history of nationwide culture, and especially in the literature of his small Kurpian Homeland – the White and Green Forest. Before I turn to the subject mentioned in the title, first of all a few facts from the writer’s life.

#### **Family**

Henryk Syska was born on 4 March 1920 in the settlement of freeholders of Damięty (Goworowo commune), in the southern part of Ostrołęka County, where his parents moved at the end of the First World War. He grew up in a large peasant family with nine children, three of whom died. The Syska family had only 5 morgens of land. Therefore, it was not easy to provide food and clothes for such a large family. At the time of the countryside overpopulation, there were frequent problems with finding work. It was often necessary to cut back on bread. Recalling childhood in one of his stories, the author confesses: “We didn’t have a cow because there wasn’t enough money to buy one. This situation humiliated me. They, friends of mine, have cows, horses, they’re rich, they drink fresh milk every day (at least this is what I imagined). It’s evening, it’s time for supper. If only we had at least a quarter of milk for six people. Even if it was milk without cream”<sup>2</sup>.

There was not much warmth and affection in this hard family life. Neither did the family atmosphere create incentives to shape broader mental horizons. His parents were practically illiterate. In one of the interviews, the author would say: “my father hated the printed word, pursuant to the common in the village at that time rule saying that reading would not bring any bread, and my mother would

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<sup>1</sup> S. Pajka, *Koleinami życia i twórczości Henryka Syski*. Ostrołęka 1985.

<sup>2</sup> H. Syska, *Dwie mile od Różana*. Warszawa 1955, p. 29.

limit her reading to the prayer book”<sup>3</sup>. The conditions of contemporary development created by the closest social background did not foretell the artistic path. It was possible to foretell the future author different career paths, but in no way literary. And yet it happened otherwise. The development of a child from a poor family took place as if contrary to all that resulted from his origin.

### Education

For the first 4 years he studied in a small one-class school in his native village – in Damięty. It was where he heard about Adam Chętnik for the first time. He also found out about the past of Kurpians, about Polish highlanders, Zakopane and Sabala, Janosik and the Tatra rocks. Then, he attended a 6-grade General School in Borawe, located 5 km from his native village. The subject he liked the most was history. He eagerly read historical books. The basic reading was *Dzieje ojczyście* by Maria Dzierżanowska, *Wieczory pod lipą* by Lucjan Siemieński, *Dzieje Polski w 24 obrazach* by Władysław Anczyc. He listened attentively to the fragments of *Potop*, *Krzyżacy*, *Pan Wołodyjowski*, *Szyfowe prace* which were read in the classroom. Little Henryk was particularly impressed by Anczyc’s book called *24 obrazki* for short. From this book the pupil remembered two images: the death of Władysław Warneńczyk and the struggle of Kurpian peasants with Swedes. Perhaps it is these images which triggered his love for the past of the Narew River Land?

It is worth noting that already in general school he tried to read as much as possible about Kurpie. This is what he writes about it: “I have not missed any opportunity, giving me a book, a book reader, or even the most precious note from the life of Kurpie living by the Narew river. It is a pity though that apart from popular brochures by Chętnik, other works were practically unavailable at the time”<sup>4</sup>. And it was difficult to satisfy the pupils’ interest in reading then: “Several dozen books of dubious value changed hands, when exchanging books during lessons, the teacher often had nothing to give us” – claims the author in one of his stories<sup>5</sup>. In addition, already at that time, his talent for writing came to light. He sends his first correspondence to “Płomyk” and “Przegląd Łomżyński”.

Having finished the 6-grade school in Borawe, in 1933, Henryk Syska had to give up education for a long time. The plight of peons’ child forced him to earn a living. At first he dealt with pasturing. Not on his father’s field but on strangers’ one. Then, for the whole year, he was apprenticed in shoemaking industry. He got better and better at this “craft”. However, his interests were different. Already at that time, the thought of his own fate was a far cry from the family’s plans. It is hard to be surprised. Nobody believed that a peasant child could “come over as toffs”. Could it be any different in the poor and large Syska family? The son’s

<sup>3</sup> Erem, *Henryk Syska i jego twórczość*. Nasza Wieś 1973, No. 21, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> H. Syska, *Dwie mile od Różana...*, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Ibidem.



interests became the cause of many family arguments, but Henryk, despite all of this “went his way” There was more of intuition, a kind of defiance rather than a clear view of his future fate. But perhaps it was this desire to clash with adversities, not yielding under pressure from the outside that was the beginning of entering into the path of creativity.

An important “driving force” for the development of the future Writer’s personality were also other facts. Among other things, the village and its surrounding area were the centre of radical peasant thought before the war. As an adolescent, he came into contact with the Communist Party of Poland activists, with several issues of “Czerwony Sztandar”. The relations with Jan Reiff, the chairman of the County Peoples’ Youth Union also had a serious impact on shaping the future writer’s opinions. The author of *O czarne wody Narwi* after many years will write about him: “You were murdered, along with many other martyrs, by the Nazi executioners. You had given comfort to many during your lifetime. It was you who could not be helped at the end of the world journey. It is also you – the advocate of the youth, the historic Ostrołęka Land, whom I owe getting away from a jerkwater settlement to the wide world. To the bright, clear, vast world of science and knowledge”<sup>6</sup>.

The fact that he belonged to the Peoples’ Youth Union Club which he joined at the age of 15 also left an imprint on him. It was not just a formal membership. He got others involved in the organization. In his village he was the secretary of the club. This is what he writes about this period: “I read plenty of newspapers. Quite a lot of them came to the club room. There was «Siewca», «Młoda Wieś», «Wici», «Gazeta Grudziądzka» and many others. I took part in shows put on in the summer time in empty barns. Several times a year there were stage plays, such as *Krewniak z Ameryki*, *Zasadzka*, *Dziewiąty Pawilon*, *Karpaccy górale*. There was a lot of talk about Kurpie fighting, about Stach Konwa. I participated in congresses and courses organized by the County Board. There is a whole litany of them... Kruszewo by the Narew river, Kadzidło, Ostrołęka, Goworowo, Olszewka”<sup>7</sup>.

At the beginning of 1938, thanks to a scholarship received from the People’s Youth Union, he started studying at one-year Agricultural School in Krzyżewo, in the former Łapy County. At school he was interested not only in vocational skills, but also in reading fiction, historical books. He also sent his correspondence to “Przysposobienie Rolnicze” and “Młoda Wieś”.

Having finished school in Krzyżewo, as a lucky scholar of the State Agricultural Bank, he became a pupil of the State Garden Gymnasium in Ursynów near Warsaw. And that is when the war broke out – the year 1939.

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<sup>6</sup> Ibidem, p. 49

<sup>7</sup> H. Syska, *Skrzypią wrota*. Warszawa 1974, p. 221.

## Occupation

Despite difficult occupation days, Henryk thought about continuing his education. An opportunity to do so appeared. The authorities of the General Governorship allowed running vocational schools with narrow curricula. By virtue of this decree, the school in Ursynów was re-opened. The former students returned to it. Among them there was also Henryk Syska. It was a school steeped in patriotic spirit. Many outstanding teachers taught there, mainly the professors from the Horticultural College in Poznań. After graduating from the Garden Gymnasium in Ursynów, he worked as a lab assistant at the Warsaw Agricultural Chamber until the outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising. It was an important period in shaping his interests and personality as a writer. He met there, among others, several outstanding people, such as Prof. Jan Wilczyński of the University of Vilnius, Prof. Jan Żabiński – for many years the director of the Warsaw Zoological Garden. Besides, he read a lot. In one of his books he confesses: “I read a lot, certainly chaotically and without much choice. But also it was very difficult to actually have a choice. Both in Damięty settlement and later during the occupation. You chose what was close at hand. It has its weakness, but also some advantages. First of all, you absorb as much information and facts as possible, and then you select and put it all in order”<sup>8</sup>.

He was a frequent visitor to second-hand bookshops. In those difficult times he collected a large home library. He owned, among others, *Historia demokracji polskiej* by Bolesław Limanowski, *Pamiętniki* by Jan Słomka, *Żywot chłopca – działacza* by Franciszek Magryś, *Pisma i mowy* and *Okruszyń z Gręboszowa* by Jakub Bojko, *Mroki średniowiecza* by Józef Putek, *Pisma i mowy* by Wincenty Witos, *Na drogach i manowcach kultury ludowej* by Stanisław Pigoń, *Historia chłopów polskich* by Aleksander Świętochowski.

He also actively joined the resistance movement. He belonged to “Miecz i Pług” (‘Sword and Plough’ Movement was a conspiratorial military organization – translator’s note) and AK (Home Army). He acted under the name Porębski. This conspiratorial pseudonym, as can be easily noted, was in honour of one of his favourite writers, a social activist and a regionalist – Władysław Orkan. The practice field was the surroundings of Komorowo near Warsaw. He dealt with the distribution of “Chłopski Bój” – a paper issued by the organization headed by Jan Józef Nosek, a former peasant activist and an MP. During the conspiratorial activity – near Łukowo – he met Witold Zalewski and Roman Bratny. Also Henryk’s flat, located at 1 Freta Street, was used for conspiratorial purposes. Several training sessions of People’s Guard took place there. Also, soldiers from the Peasant Battalions from Radzymin district, for example Władysław Rydel and Marian Gotowiec, came around. Henryk was in the vicinity of Grójec during the uprising. At the beginning of February 1945, with the intention of pursuing higher studies, he left for Lublin.

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<sup>8</sup> Ibidem, p. 79.

## Lublin

First he served as the secretary of the Voivodeship Board of the Peasant Party, and then he was the secretary of the Voivodeship Board of the Rural Youth Union of the Republic of Poland “Wici”. He also served as the head of the Voivodeship Office for the Control of the Press, Publications and Public Performances. He was a member of the Voivodeship National Council. He often took trips in the field – he gave speeches, persuaded. He was a speaker at rallies. He did without a sheet of paper. He was able to get people interested. At the same time, he studied Polish at the University of Lublin. He read a lot, visited archival resources. He was fascinated by leaders and peasants’ movement activists, such as Wincenty Witos, Tomasz Nocznicki, Jakub Bojko, Błażej Stolarski, Michał Kajka, Teofil Kurczak. He admired their knowledge based on self-study, which, after all, was often broader than that of many scientifically-titled intellectuals. And besides, he was charmed with their patriotism and the wisdom of life.

It was also in Lublin where he became known as a promising journalist and publicist. He edited, among others, “Chłopski Zew”, in which he debuted with his poem entitled *Rosną nasze sztandary ludowe*.

Initially he had varied interests, neither as a journalist yet, nor a writer, as he describes himself in an autobiographical book *Skrzypią wrota*. Here are some publication titles from this period: *Zawitał maj*, *Karabin*, *plug i pióro*, *Lubelszczyzna – kolebka zdrowej myśli ludowej*, *Na święto ludowe*, *Ksiądz Piotr Ściegienny i jego złota księżeczka*, *Jan Rak – pańszczyźniany poeta*. Polish literary bibliography for the year 1944/1945 noted five publications by Henryk Syska, and for the year 1946 – eight. He published his articles in various magazines and newspapers, e.g. “Zdrój”, “Światło”, “Gazeta Lubelska”, “Sztandar Ludu”, “Wieś”, “Zielony Sztandar”, “Wolna Wiciowa Gromada”, “Dziennik Ludowy”. The published articles raise important issues and engage considerable interest. For example, a radical activist, long-time editor of “Zorza” and “Zaranie” – Maksymilian Malinowski kindly responded to an essay *Zaniarskim plugiem* published in “Myśl Chłopska” (1947, No. 1)<sup>9</sup>.

Henryk Syska – as a journalist – wrote simply, vividly and - most importantly - from the heart. In his article *Zawitał maj*, on the occasion of the victory over Germans, he wrote: “The hymn of victory echoes all over the Polish lands. And vast, flowery and rich they are. They covered all areas of the Piast dynasties in their range. From the lowlands of the Bug river, Białowieża forests... From the Carpathian forests, the Tatra mountains... to the Oder, Nysa rivers, the ancient settlements of Lusatians, Polabians, Pomeranians... to Szczecin, Kołobrzeg, over there – to grey-blue waves of the Baltic Sea”<sup>10</sup>.

It was also in Lublin, in 1946, where he, together with Anna Kamieńska, published his first book *Chata mazurska*. An impulse for the creation of this

<sup>9</sup> Cf M. Malinowski, *Historycyzm w Polsce Ludowej*. Myśl Chłopska 1947, No. 3.

<sup>10</sup> Chłopski Zew 1948, No. 2.

brochure publication, whose main heroes were Bogumił Labusz and Michał Kajka, was a student camp in Smolajny near Lidzbark Warmiński. The future writer was fascinated by the landscape and history of this land. In addition, this first, minor publication – was a debut in Warmia and Masuria issues. Most probably, as a 26-year-old young man, he did not realize then that this subject would take such a prominent place in his work.

At that time the young activist and journalist understood well the new historical situation of the People's Republic of Poland after the Second World War. In the half of 1946 he wrote: "Poland is squeezed between two buffer nations which have powerful dynamics, military and economic capabilities: Soviet Russia and Germany. Our competitiveness in the mentioned aspects is very poor"<sup>11</sup>. Henryk Syska met ranks of friendly people in Lublin. In his autobiographical novel he will write warm words about this period: "In Lublin I was fortunate to meet understanding souls of exceptional kindness. Such were the times. Without dignitary-like degeneration which results from the glut of power, the sense of impunity, with the classic lack of culture"<sup>12</sup>.

In autumn 1947, he left Lublin and moved to Warsaw.

### Warsaw

At first he worked at the United People's Party National Committee Library. Later he became the editor-in-chief deputy of the social-cultural weekly "Wici" and then he worked for "Zielony Sztandar", "Tygodnik Kulturalny". At the same time he undertook studying at the University of Warsaw. He also spent a lot of time in archives and libraries. He was intensively preparing for the publication of his first books. And so in 1949, as many as 3 books were published: *Od "Kmiotka" do "Zarania"*, *Przez walkę do zwycięstwa* and *Tomasz Nocznicki – radykalny działacz chłopski*. At the same time, already as a writer of three books, a man totally involved, appointed a political writer, he found himself out of work and encountered a number of perturbations. Without going into detailed clarification of this issue, let us just say that difficult years began for Syska. However, they were not lost years. During this period, i.e. 1950–1956, so within 7 years, 13 books and 1 editorial work were published. Among the positions created during this period, there are – using the words of the Writer – book-bastions, the most important in his whole output. They include *Od "Kmiotka" do "Zarania"*, *Czerwony kasztelan* and *Nad błękitną moją Narwią*. Those publications determined the main currents of the writer's interests: radical peasants' movement, progressive national and social traditions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and regional issues. It was at that time when shaped the fields of interest to which he remained faithful until the end of his life.

<sup>11</sup> Dziennik Ludowy 1946, No. 19.

<sup>12</sup> H. Syska, *Skrzypią wrota...*, p. 70

At the same time, in those years of specific isolation, Syska develops a strong interest in his native region – the Kurpie region. The results of these interests are such titles as *Na ziemi Kurpiów*, *Obleciałem Kurpie-Gocie*, *Dwie mile od Różana*, *Od Pułtuska do Myszyńca*. Also at that time, *Nad błękitną moją Narwią* was published – one of the best books that the Writer himself calls “the bastion”. This fascination with the native region and making it the basis of his output, is – taking into account the situation at the time – a peculiar phenomenon. It should be noted that the 1950s were not gracious for regional writing.

It was only in 1956 when the so called “October transformations” opened new ways in front of Syska. And again, as in the old days in Lublin, he felt the desire to be actively involved. In 1956, he took up a position as the chairman of the Warsaw Voivodeship Committee of the Front of National Unity. He is a member of the Voivodeship National Council in Warsaw, of the Voivodeship Plenum and of the United People’s Party National Committee; he also becomes a member of the Supervisory Board of People’s Cooperative Publishing. He is active in a number of areas again, not neglecting writing.

The year 1959 proved to be very satisfying. On the 15th anniversary of the People’s Republic of Poland, he received the Warsaw Voivodeship literary prize. This is what we can read in the award declaration: “To the writer of Mazovia Land, a man with all feelings and fondness, heart and thought attached to Mazovia, and especially to the Kurpie region, to which he devoted many novels, short stories and literary sketches”<sup>13</sup>. Despite such significant artistic success, in early 1962 he moved to Olsztyn.

### Olsztyn

Written work in the city on the Łyna river brought good results. One can certainly say that it was a period of hard work. During this period he published numerous books devoted to Warmia and Masuria. It was already after three years of his stay in Olsztyn when *Mazurskie spotkania* was published, which was a debut in describing – using the words of the Writer – Prussian Mazovia. And then he presented the readers *Sosny mazurskiej cień*, *Okruchy zdarzeń*, *Scalone pogranicze* and other publications. He also remained loyal to the Kurpie region. While living in Olsztyn, he kept writing about “his Kurpie”. Such titles as: *Zamodrzala puszcza świtem*, *Adam Chętnik*, *O czarne wody Narwi*, *Skrzypią wrota* can be mentioned here. He worked constantly. His wife – Zosia and daughter – Kasia supported him in his creative work. Certainly these harmonious family relations greatly assisted creativity. He worked continuously. Only a few months before his death, seriously ill, he stopped his creative work after 60 years. Almost every year he published one book or another. The last book, *Muzyka ojczystych drzew*, was published after the Writer’s death. In total, he published nearly 80 works. This is an impressive output for one life and for one person. His extensive works covered various subjects,

<sup>13</sup> Zielony Sztandar 1959, No. 34.

about prominent peasant movement activists, descriptions of various events and ordinary people from Mazovia, Podlasie as well as Warmia and Masuria. Taking into consideration this huge creative output, it can be reasonably concluded that: he was a bard of the Kurpie region.

Perhaps in his work he devoted the most attention to places, people and events from the areas by the Narew, Orzyc, Orz and Rozoga rivers. What implies that are the titles of his books, e.g.: *Nad błękitną moją Narwią*, *Kurpiak siedzi w lesie*, *Na ziemi Kurpiów*, *Od Pułtuska do Myszynca*, *Dwie mile od Różana*, *Obleciałem Kurpie-Gocie*, *A w Zielonej, w Myszynieckiej*, *Skrzypią wrota*, *W dolinie Orza*, *Zamodrzała puszcza świtem*, *Przez Puszcze Zieloną*, *Kęs rodzinnego zaścianka*.

When reading the books mentioned above, it is easy to notice that their author is not only a skilled writer, but also a documentarian-historian. It can be said that his work – like Adam Chętnik's – constitute an individualistic compendium of regional history – both distant and contemporary. It is impossible to understand the history of the Kurpie region without knowing those books. It is therefore safe to say that Syska has joined the circle of the greatest writers and historians of the Narew River Land.

Of course, it is possible to wonder whether this constant "sticking" to Kurpie turned out to be good for the Writer. After all, his development could have gone in another direction. He could, for example, have contented himself with one or two works devoted to the Narew River Land. He did not, however. From the very beginning of his creative career until the end of his days, he remained faithful to the Kurpie region. And it is good that he followed that path. Thanks to that, Kurpie have their great bard.

Other regions had already had their writers. For example, Świętokrzyskie Land had Stefan Żeromski, Rocky Podhale – Kazimierz Przerwa-Tetmajer and Władysław Orkan, Zakopane – Tytus Chałubiński and Stanisław Witkiewicz, Kujawy – Jan Kasprówicz, and Kurpie have Henryk Syska.

Certainly Kurpie would be spiritually poorer if there had not been any books by the Writer from near Ostrołęka. This is to a large extent thanks to them that the inhabitants of the former Kurpie Forests of the whole Narew River Land can get to know more about their origins, better determine their historical identity. Today, in the age of blurring regional differences, progressing unification of culture, reading such books is becoming particularly useful. They may stimulate to learn about the history of the family land, to reflect on one's own origins, to teach regional pride. In addition, they may encourage initiating socio-cultural movement, strengthen interpersonal relationships, teach to keep local traditions alive.

Henryk Syska was certainly a great expert on the history of Kurpie. He studied this issue for over 60 years. His home library, amounting to several thousand volumes, was a special archive of the knowledge about the region. It is interesting to note that the author of *Nad błękitną moją Narwią*, despite having such an extensive knowledge of the Kurpie region past, was aware of the need for its continuous deepening. In one of his last works, *Przez Puszcze Zieloną*, he made a

remarkable statement: "Not everything has yet congealed on the lips of historical continuity, many of the gold filings of familiarity scattered over the Kurpie Forest await the persistent seekers"<sup>14</sup>. This thought can be regarded as an important challenge for contemporary researchers of the history of Kurpie. Also, the following question may be posed: why, over so many years, did he constantly come back to describing the Narew River Land? Certainly the love for his family region played an important role. In one of the conversations he confessed with regret: "For my books I acquired the material from the three generally vast since recently voivodeships: Białystok, Olsztyn and Warsaw. If I had followed only the interests of the political and administrative authorities of these lands, if I had expected acknowledgement from the county authorities managing the Green or White Forest, I would not have created a single work about them"<sup>15</sup>. And yet he wrote affectionately and kindly about his family land. On the pages of the book *Skrzypią wrota* (p. 39), he made a remarkable and moving confession: "Strange is the power of the family land. It causes suffering, repulses with sharpness, and attracts and nurses – like the fondest mother".

A few years ago Leszek Kołakowski, a countryman from Radom, one of the greatest contemporary philosophers in Europe and in the world, described a small homeland as "the centre of the world"<sup>16</sup>. Certainly, Kurpie was such a centre of the world for Syska. This love for the family nest gave him strength and creative impulses. But not only. He also understood well the essence of regionalism. In the introduction to the book *Ułomek rodzinnego chleba* he will write the significant words: "In fact, there are not any colourless places or towns, devoid of romance and history, deprived of people who look further and sharper. The heroes of a village, a community or a town, who together as a group or each one individually, impinge on the environmental progress, and at the same also the nationwide progress". In another place he emphasizes: "...because it is not great, statuesque individuals but ordinary people who make history and pave the way for progress. These inconspicuous heroes of a village, a town create the most life-giving soil for the development of our culture". He realized – using the words of a poet priest and a thinker Jan Twardowski, that "all the best values of our culture came from the provinces"<sup>17</sup>. A clear illustration of this are such great names as: Jan Kochanowski, Władysław Syrokomla, Adam Mickiewicz, Juliusz Słowacki czy Cyprian Kamil Norwid.

Encompassing Henryk Syska's entire writing output, it can be stated that he was – so far – the greatest writer and historian of Kurpie. Although many researchers, writers, historians, etc. have long been interested in this region, none

<sup>14</sup> H. Syska, *Przez Puszcę Zieloną*. Warszawa 1993, p. 17.

<sup>15</sup> S. Pajka, *Sięgać do pnia macierzystego*. Tygodnik Ostrołęcki 1987, No. 37.

<sup>16</sup> As cited in: S. Starczewski, *Małe ojczyzny – tradycje dla przyszłości*. Warszawa 2000.

<sup>17</sup> *Nie uciekać od zdumienia światem*. An interview with Fr. Jan Twardowski. Sycyna 1995, No. 719.

of them left as many pages and descriptions of the Narew River Land as Henryk Syska. If one was tempted to some analogy, he can at most be compared in a sense with Adam Chętnik – also the Kurpie region countryman, who studied and described its history and culture for over 60 years. He also left an impressive output. Syska, however, was first and foremost a writer, and often a consummate essayist, who in a vivid and fluent language can brilliantly convey to the Reader the remote past and present of Kurpie.

It is in this sense exactly that the author of *W dolinie Orza* is a great individuality. Several years ago a scholar of this class – a humanist – prof. Aleksander Gieysztor, a long-time president of the Polish Academy of Sciences, wrote about the author of *Nad błękitną moją Narwią*, the significant words: “...he is an author whose themes include Northeastern Mazovia in order to draw knowledge about people and Poland from there, to make clear what was and is happening by the Narew and Orz rivers to those by the Vistula and the Oder”<sup>18</sup>.

Thinking of the output of *Skrzypią wrota* writer, it is important to be aware that the greatest writers often recalled their “little homelands” on the pages of their books. For example, Stefan Żeromski devoted his last work *Puszcza jodłowa* to his family land. Nowadays, in the times of pervasive mass culture, the problem of people “getting lost” in the crowd is becoming more and more important and perceived. The recently deceased Fr. prof. Janusz Stanisław Pasierb – an insightful scholar – a humanist, an ardent Kaszuby region patriot – wrote the significant words: “Small homelands enrich the big homeland and also enrich the huge symphony of the world. We would be lost in it if it were not for the key that we take from home”<sup>19</sup>. And Henryk Syska remained faithful to this current of thought throughout his life and the greatest value of his writing is probably in this loyalty.

For his long-standing social activity he received the Knight's (1957), Officer's (1970) and Commendator's Crosses of the Order Polonia Restituta (1984) as well as many badges, e.g. the Distinguished Cultural Service Award (1973), the Distinguished for Warmia and Masuria Award (1970), the Distinguished for Ostrołęka Voivodeship Award (1996). He was also awarded with numerous prizes, among others the Committee for Tourism, the Presidium of the Voivodeship National Council in Warsaw (1959), Polish Historical Society (1978), Ostrołęka Voivode (1985), Zygmunt Gloger Prize (1983), Tomasz Nocznicki Prize (1985), Ignacy Krasicki Prize (1990), Tadeusz Boy-Żeleński Prize (1983), Mikołaj Kopernik Prize (1990). He also received a number of medals, such as: the 600th anniversary of Ostrołęka (1973), the 550th anniversary of Przasnysz (1985), People's Cooperative Publishing (1985). He is listed in the Book of People of Merit for Olsztyn City (1983), Honorary Member of Adam Chętnik Scientific Association in Ostrołęka (1993), Honorary Citizen of Goworowo (1995).

<sup>18</sup> A. Gieysztor, *W trosce o kulturę Polski i regionu*. Kontakty 1984, No. 1.

<sup>19</sup> J. Pasierb, *W perspektywie kultury*. Wrocław 1994, p. 30.



He died on 18 February 2000. He rests at the Municipal Cemetery in Olsztyn – in the Representative Quarters: KW-3B-1-2. Family: wife Zofia née Kościńska, retired, MSc Eng in Agriculture, lives in Olsztyn; daughter: Katarzyna – MA in German philology and journalism, married, lives in Warsaw, one grandchild.

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## SUMMARY

The work refers to Henryk Syska – perhaps the most prominent writer of Kurpie Land. It can be repeated after Leszek Kołakowski that every “small Homeland” becomes to a man, and even more to a writer, a kind of “the center of the world”. The author of the article, presenting the output of Syska, shows that, in essence, “the core” of the writer’s work was the Kurpie region.

## STRESZCZENIE

Praca odnosi się do postaci chyba najwybitniejszego pisarza ziemi kurpiowskiej Henryka Syski. Za Leszkiem Kołakowskim można powtórzyć, że każda „mała Ojczyzna” staje się dla człowieka, a tym bardziej pisarza, swoistym „centrum świata”. Autor artykułu, przybliżając dorobek Syski, wykazuje, że w gruncie rzeczy „jądrem” twórczości pisarza była właśnie Kurpiowszczyzna.

**Key words:** Henryk Syska, writer, the Kurpie region

**Słowa kluczowe:** Henryk Syska, pisarz, Kurpiowszczyzna

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## THE REGENSBURG MUSIC INSPIRATIONS IN SACRED LITURGY OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH IN ŁOMŻA IN THE YEARS 1949–1951

### REGENSBURSKIE INSPIRACJE MUZYCZNE W LITURGII SAKRALNEJ KOŚCIOŁA KATEDRALNEGO W ŁOMŻY W LATACH 1949–1951

The aim of this work is to show the Regensburg organ and vocal inspirations, which in the years 1949–1951 accompanied sacred liturgy of the cathedral church in Łomża, where a famous Vilnius musician, Władysław Kalinowski, started working as an organist on 1 May 1949. This comprehensively educated artist, from the moment he was employed as a full-time organ musician and a choir conductor, began systematic recordings of the compositions performed in the Łomża shrine since 1 May 1949 to 26 August 1951.

Basic sources for the article are Władysław Kalinowski's manuscripts, as well as his graduation certificate from the School of Church Music in Regensburg and Tablo of the graduates and the teaching staff of Kirchenmusikschule Regensburg from 1907, and also the letters of his organ play professor, Joseph Renner, nowadays kept in Olsztyn, in the author's family collections.

Kalinowski was a graduate of the School of Church Music in Regensburg, where he studied organ music. Regensburg (called "Ratyzbona" in Polish), located in Bavaria (on the south of Germany) was the capital of the Upper Palatinate, and in the years 1663–1806 it was the headquarters of Reichstag<sup>1</sup>. The city was described by an outstanding Polish romanticist, Zygmunt Krasiński, in the letter of 23 October 1829 addressed to his father, as follows: "Having left in the morning after a night's rest, we were going through the same sad and ugly land until five o'clock in the evening to Regensburg, famous for the parliaments of the German Reich and delicious beer.

The first time I had seen the waters of the Rhine was in this city. There are beautiful outskirts before the vast, dark city, with narrow streets and smoky houses. Everywhere are Gothic cloisters and balconies of old shape, from where beauties used to glance at dukes and give them wreaths, if only there had been beauties in Bavaria land.

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<sup>1</sup> Vide: *Ratyzbona*, [In:] *Ilustrowana encyklopedia powszechna*. Ed. M.J. Wachtl. Warszawa 1936, p. 560.

A huge and black cathedral floats up high with its towers, decorated with Mauritanian arabesques and ornaments. There is also in Regensburg a famous building where deliberating dukes and lords used to sit. The hall where they gathered is so big that an eight-horse carriage could easily turn back there. We spent the night in a very good inn «Pod Trzema Helmami»<sup>2</sup>.

In this city, in about the middle of the 19th century, the Regensburg dukes, Carl Proske and Johan Georg Mettenleiter, decided to renew church music in Catholic churches through “establishing an institute which would train church musicians in an exemplary way. An untiring work of both initiators, not only in the theoretical but also practical field, soon made Regensburg a well-known center of preserving the Catholic Church music traditions. In 1868, Franciszek Ksawery Witt established the General Association of the Cecilian Movement Germany (Allgemeiner Deutscher Cäcilienverein), aimed at propagating the reform assumptions”<sup>3</sup>. At the meeting of this association, a year later, Witt – as the research of Ireneusz Wyrwa shows – made a speech, in which he clearly presented his own program of establishing an institution educating church musicians.

However, the School of Church Music in Regensburg, opened on 1 November 1874, was not established by Witt but by a music historian Fr. Franciszek Ksawery Haberl, Ph. D. – “a contemporary Kapellmeister of the cathedral [...], which clearly worsened the relationship between the two outstanding Cecilians”<sup>4</sup>.

It was aimed at training European organists within *musica sacra*. It was the first private institution of this type in Germany, in which music education lasted for several years, but there were also a few months’ courses, which prepared for the work of an organist.

Organists from different countries came to that institution for knowledge, in order to obtain a high level of artistic education within organ play, as Regensburg at the end of the 19th century was considered – which was accurately emphasized by Jan Boehm, an outstanding researcher of Feliks Nowowiejski’s works – “the center of the movement of church music renewal. In his opinion, This movement, called the Cecilian Movement, opposed to the predominant direction in romantic music, considering the ideal of church music in the style of classic polyphony of the 16th century. It did not accept instrumental music, but preferred vocal music a cappella as the only form of art capable of evoking in the listeners emotions adequate to liturgy. Therefore, the works of the Renaissance composers, mainly the school of Rome, were introduced to the repertoire of church ceremonies. New compositions were created, following the principles of the construction of form and shaping the melody as well as building consonance, elaborated by G.P. Palestrina

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<sup>2</sup> Z. Krasieński, *Listy do ojca*. Introduction and elaboration by S. Pigoń. Warszawa 1963, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> I. Wyrwa, *Problematyka wykonawcza utworów organowych Feliksa Nowowiejskiego w świetle poglądów estetycznych kompozytora*. Lublin 2011, p. 34.

<sup>4</sup> Ibidem.

and his contemporaries. Much attention was paid to restoring the – lost by Romantic composers – atmosphere of peace and contemplation, as well as the typical of the artists of the peak period of Renaissance the elements of gravity and mysticism”<sup>5</sup>.

In this researcher’s opinion, one of the Regensburg students – Feliks Nowowiejski – not only was raised in the Regensburg artistic climate but also later “in the years of complete artistic maturity, not once, both publicly and in private, related to the youth experience, manifesting the spiritual relationship with the ideals he had gained in Regensburg. When in the inter-war period the editorial staff of ‘Music’ published a questionnaire on the subject «My deepest music emotion» – Nowowiejski described the Paris experiences, among others the meeting with Aleksander Głazunow. The composer was occupied with studying the Gregorian choral as he was searching inspiration for the composition which he was creating then. Taking advantage of the presence of the guest, he presented the chosen subject to him, sat at the instrument and improvised. Nowowiejski, on the other hand, asked for permission to play on that subject. «As an inhabitant of Regensburg – wrote the author of *Quo vadis?* in the ‘Music’ – I improvised in a completely different way [...] strictly applying to the Doric tone. The Gregorian choral – he continued – has always impressed me deeply, particularly in the Benedictine interpretation in Monte Cassino, in Emaus, Neuron, etc., but at that time, when we were playing music with Głazunow, the feeling was exceptional: we united the common enthusiasm for the sublime beauty of this music»”<sup>6</sup>.

In Regensburg, there were classes in liturgy, esthetics, the history of church music, Gregorian choral, harmony, accompanying, counterpoint, introduction to the counterpoint and practical exercises, reading scores, conducting, the methodology of singing and vocal practice, organ play, harmony with modulation, literature of church music, church Latin and practical liturgy<sup>7</sup>, and among the lecturers in this important music school of priests there were also, apart from the already mentioned dr Franciszek Ksawery Haberl, Michał Haller, dr Weinmann, Franciszek Ksawery Engelhart, msgr dr Bäuerle, dr Endres, Karol Kindsmüller and the organist of the cathedral church in Regensburg, Joseph Renner junior<sup>8</sup> - who taught Nowowiejski organ play from 15 January to 16 April 1900 on one of the courses and then received a graduation certificate from the Regensburg music school<sup>9</sup>. When finishing the school, he got very good marks in practical and

<sup>5</sup> *Die Musik in Geschichte*, Vol. 2. Basel–Köln 1952, p. 621; J. Boehm, *Feliks Nowowiejski. Artysta i wychowawca*. Olsztyn 1985, p. 140.

<sup>6</sup> J. Boehm, *Feliks Nowowiejski. Artysta...*, pp. 141–142.

<sup>7</sup> The author’s family collections, W. Kalinowski’s Certificate from the School of Church Music in Regensburg from 15 July 1907 – the list of subjects.

<sup>8</sup> The author’s family collections, Tablo of graduates and the teaching staff at Kirchenmusikschule, Regensburg 1907.

<sup>9</sup> J. Boehm, *Feliks Nowowiejski. Artysta...*, p. 29; Idem, *Feliks Nowowiejski 1877–1946. Zarys biograficzny*. Olsztyn 1977, p. 28.

theoretical knowledge of Gregorian singing, reading scores, conducting as well as harmony, counterpoint and organ play<sup>10</sup>.

Years later, he would recall what classes he dealt with and wrote that in this school: "There were lectures on liturgy and Latin, the history of church music with particular emphasis on compositions indicated in the catalog of St. Cecilia's Association, the theory and practice of the Gregorian choral, practicing reading vocal scores and playing them, but only exemplary compositions were used, those created in the past ages as well as the ones maintained in modern style. Also conducting was taught, the art of counterpoint and operating the forms of polyphony, as well as carrying out the analysis of the works of old masters. The course of singing and artistic organ play was conducted; learning the harmony was repeated, etc. It was obligatory for all the students to be present at rehearsals and performances of the cathedral choir, so as to be prepared in a practical way for their own work in the future; yet the best way to learn is through dealing with good interpretive examples, and enriching one's own artistic taste and culture in that way"<sup>11</sup>.

During the time of studying in the Regensburg school, he admired the musical level of his professors, especially the artistry of the organ play professor, Joseph Renner junior. He will write after years that "Only in Regensburg [...] did I learn what real improvisation was. When I expressed my admiration to Professor Joseph Renner, who was perfectly improvising when playing the organs in the cathedral, he replied to me in his humbleness: «It's a pity you haven't heard my predecessor, Hanisch, who improvised in a masterful fashion on Gregorian subjects and how easily the fugues were coming out from beneath his fingers»"<sup>12</sup>.

In the School of Church Music in Regensburg, apart from Germans and Italians, also Poles were educated, among others – in the years 1875–1876 – Stanisław Górkiewicz, 1880–1881 Mieczysław Surzyński, in 1891 Franciszek Gorzelniński, 1892 Fr. Teofil Kowalski, 1893 Fr. Leon Moczyński, 1895 Henryk Makowski, 1897 Fr. Eugeniusz Gruberski and Wincenty Gorzelniński, 1898 Fr. Teofil Poprawski, Józef Surzyński and priests Jan Jankowski, Jan Nikodemowicz, Wacław Gieburowski, Wojciech Lewkowicz, as well as the brother of the inter-war Primate of Poland, Hlond, Fr. Antoni Chlondowski, and in 1907 – Władysław Kalinowski, connected with Vilnius, and later with post-war Białystok and Łomża<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> J. Boehm, *Feliks Nowowiejski. Artysta...*, p. 28.

<sup>11</sup> F. Nowowiejski, *O znaczeniu Ratyżbony dla ruchu kościelno-muzycznego*, Part III. *Muzyka Kościelna* 1933, No. 9–10, pp. 159–160.

<sup>12</sup> F. Nowowiejski, *Improwizacja*, [In:] *Pamiętnik II Zjazdu Pomorskiego Związku Kół Śpiewaczych w Toruniu 27 i 28 maja 1928 r.* Toruń 1928, p. 37; J. Boehm, *Feliks Nowowiejski...*, p. 29.

<sup>13</sup> Vide note 45 in: J. Boehm, *Feliks Nowowiejski. Artysta...*, p. 121; The author's family collections, W. Kalinowski, *Życiorys*, manuscript.

Those organists, after returning to Poland, educated further generations of church musicians by establishing organ schools or organizing organ courses in dioceses, where they worked continuing (and passing on to further generations of organists) the acquired in Regensburg principles of teaching music, in which improvisation played a significant role. Having derived mainly motifs from the Gregorian choral, the subjects of their improvisations were primarily liturgical chants and travestied by them popular sacred and laic songs. They also conducted church choirs of seminaries and amateur groups of singers.

In Poznań, on the rebirth of music in churches worked Fr. Józef Surzyński (1851–1919), a composer and founder of St. Adalbert of Prague's Society, "which referred with its activity to our great traditions of church music from the «golden age»", and his youngest brother, Mieczysław (1866–1924) "having abandoned piano music, turned only to organ music and as a teacher of organ play in Warsaw Conservatory, he wrote many pieces of high value". Numerous merits for church music in Płock had Fr. Eugeniusz Gruberski (1870–1923) – a composer of cantatas and liturgical music, Fr. Franciszek Walczyński – an author of preludes and organ fantasias and the founder of the school of organists in Tarnów, Fr. Wacław Gieburowski (1879–1943) – the conductor of the cathedral choir in Poznań and Antoni Chlondowski, running an organ school of Salesians in Przemyśl<sup>14</sup>.

In Vilnius, a graduate of the School of Church Music in Regensburg was the organist of the local cathedral church of St. Stanisław, Władysław Kalinowski, who (as it was mentioned) graduated with distinction from the Regensburg artistic school in 1907.

He was born in Vilnius on 8 October 1880, and died in Łomża on 27 August 1951. After the return from Bavaria, he worked shortly in the parish church in Białystok, then for 36 years he was an organist and a choir conductor of the Vilnius cathedral (1910–1946), since 1926 – a professor of organ class of the Music Conservatory in Vilnius, in the years 1910–1946 a lecturer at the Organists Vocational School of Józef Montwiłł, being also its headmaster (1928–1939). He was a professor of singing at the Seminary in Vilnius, a conductor of many local choirs, such as the students' choir of Stefan Batory University, the Seminary Alumni's choir, the cathedral's church choir, and in the inter-war period – the choir of Postmen, as well as the most representative town's choir – consisting of over 100 people – established in the autumn of 1925, the masterful Singing Society "Echo" in Vilnius. He was also a district conductor of the choir of the Vilnius Singing and Music Societies, established on 17 June 1928, which covered with its range three voivodeships – Vilnius, Nowogródek and Białystok. Moreover, he was

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<sup>14</sup> J.W. Reiss, *Najpiękniejsza ze wszystkich jest muzyka polska. Szkic historycznego rozwoju na tle przemian społecznych*. Kraków 1958, p. 217.

the head of the Metric Department at the Roman-Catholic Metropolitan Curia in Vilnius<sup>15</sup>.

When describing his music education in Regensburg, Kalinowski mentioned “that all professors at our university Germans had a really kind attitude towards Poles”<sup>16</sup>. Similarly to Nowowiejski, he admired organ skills of the Bavarian professor of organ play, Joseph Renner, about whom he wrote in his handwritten Journal that “he was an artist musician, a wonderful improviser. He was my friend”<sup>17</sup> and with whom he corresponded after the graduation<sup>18</sup>. Also, like the author of *Legenda Bałtyku*, he will relate to his Regensburg education, to music experiences, manifesting the connection to the ideals he had brought from this significant school of organ education.

This connection will also appear in the sacred liturgy of the cathedral church in Łomża in the years 1949–1951 and we may recreate it on the basis of the handwritten record of the compositions performed at the Łomża cathedral from 1 May 1949 to 26 August 1951, kept conscientiously by Władysław Kalinowski, and located in the family collections left by the Vilnius musician.

The above-mentioned record consists of 196 entries<sup>19</sup>, among which as many as 40 note the fact of performing in Łomża the compositions of musicians associated with Regensburg. In the Łomża cathedral after World War II (and also in the Capuchins’ church and at the Benedictines, which should become a subject of a separate research description) the compositions of an outstanding organist Joseph Renner and Michael Haller, the two Regensburg professors, were performed.

The compositions of the first of the musicians appear in three records (17, 19 and 20) from 12 and 16 June 1949. During a high mass on 12 June, Kalinowski performed *Canzona F dur*<sup>20</sup> on the Łomża cathedral organs, during a votive mass

<sup>15</sup> Vide profile of W. Kalinowskiego in: S. Łoza, *Czy wiesz kto to jest?* Warszawa 1938, pp. 315–316; *Słownik muzyków polskich*, Vol. 2. Warszawa 1964, pp. 212–213; Jot., *Pięćdziesięciolecie pracy muzycznej profesora Władysława Kalinowskiego*. Życie Śpiewacze 1948, No. 19/20, p. 8; L. Błaszczuk, *Dyrygenci polscy i obcy w Polsce działający w XIX i XX wieku*. Kraków 1964, p. 120; *Encyklopedia ziemi wileńskiej. Wileński słownik biograficzny*, Vol. 1. Eds. H. Dubowik, L.J. Malinowski. Bydgoszcz 2002, p. 136; *Teatr i muzyka na ziemi wileńskiej artyści i instytucje XVI w. – 1945*. Elab. M. Jackiewicz. Bydgoszcz 2007, p. 117; M. Ankudowicz, J. Boehm, *Władysław Kalinowski (1880–1951). Zarys biograficzny muzyka organisty*, [In:] *Organy i muzyka organowa*. VI. Ed. J. Krassowski et al. Akademia Muzyczna im. S. Moniuszki, Gdańsk 1986, pp. 385–403; M. Ankudowicz-Bieńkowska, *Polskie życie muzyczne w Wilnie lat II Rzeczypospolitej*. Olsztyn 1997, passim.

<sup>16</sup> The author’s family collections, W. Kalinowski, *Pamiętnik*, manuscript.

<sup>17</sup> Ibidem

<sup>18</sup> The author’s family collections, Letters of J. Renner to W. Kalinowski.

<sup>19</sup> Ibidem, W. Kalinowski, *Kościół katedralny w Łomży* (from 1.05.1949), manuscript.

<sup>20</sup> Ibidem, record 17 of 12 June 1949.



on 16 June at 9 a.m. *I sonata*<sup>21</sup>, and during the high mass on the same day Joseph Renner's *Preludium z I sonaty*<sup>22</sup>.

Other recordings contain the performances of Micheal Haller's compositions given during sacred liturgies in the Łomża cathedral. On 16 June 1949, the faithful also participated in a procession, during which the cathedral choir sang four songs, two *Lauda Lion* and *O sacrum*, composed and conducted by Fr. Bolesław Waldman, the other compositions *Sacris solemn*is and *O salutaris* were created by Michael Haller, and they were sung under the direction of Władysław Kalinowski<sup>23</sup>.

On 19 June 1949, Kalinowski for the first time – during a celebrated high mass – conducted the church cathedral choir. That fact must have been of great importance for him as he noted that on that day Haller's *Sacris solemn*is, among others, was performed during the mass, he wrote that "it is the first time I have conducted a choir"<sup>24</sup>, and that was after nearly two months since he started work in the cathedral. It is worth mentioning here that in this choir sang among others Ryszard Bender, a later well-known historian, professionally involved with the Lublin Catholic University, about which he informed the author personally in November 2002.

Haller's *Sacris solemn*is was performed in the Łomża church several times, i.a. on 8 June 1950 during a procession<sup>25</sup> and on 15 June 1950, when the singing of another composition by Michael Haller was planned; "Fr. Mitrata [Henryk Betto – note by M.A.B.] did not allow singing *O salutaris* [the Host, which – note by M.A.B.] due to the upcoming storm, which in fact did not arrive"<sup>26</sup>. This song was practised during the mass of 20 July 1949<sup>27</sup> and sung on 3 September 1950<sup>28</sup> as well as during a votive mass on 22 April 1951<sup>29</sup> and 24 May 1951 at the Corpus Christi procession<sup>30</sup> and the procession which took place on 31 May 1951<sup>31</sup>.

Apart from the above-mentioned compositions of the Regensburg professor, on the initiative of Władysław Kalinowski, on 6 March 1950, in the biggest at that time church in Łomża, *Chrystus factus est* was performed<sup>32</sup> (this chant was sung again on 2 April the same year)<sup>33</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> Ibidem, record 19 of 16 June 1949.

<sup>22</sup> Ibidem, record 20 of 16 June 1949.

<sup>23</sup> Ibidem, record 21 of 16 June 1949.

<sup>24</sup> Ibidem, record 23 of 19 June 1949.

<sup>25</sup> Ibidem, record 101 of 8 June 1950.

<sup>26</sup> Ibidem, record 105 of 15 June 1950.

<sup>27</sup> Ibidem, record 31 of 20 July 1949.

<sup>28</sup> Ibidem, record 124 of 3 September 1950.

<sup>29</sup> Ibidem, record 168 of 22 April 1951.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., record 178 of 24 May 1951.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., record 182 of 31 May 1951.

<sup>32</sup> Ibidem, record 76 of 6 March 1950.

<sup>33</sup> Ibidem, record 78 of 2 April 1950.

Another composition by Michael Haller sung in the Łomża church is *Surexit pastor*, which was first presented publicly at the resurrection on 9 April 1950, and then was performed several times during the high mass on 23 April that year, during the votive mass at 10 a.m. on 30 April 1950, on 25 March 1951 as well as on 1, 8, 15 and 29 April 1951<sup>34</sup>.

For the present writer, particularly important is record 81 of 11 April 1950, in which a repertoire played during a wedding mass was commemorated. The wedding ceremony, of Maria Helena Kalinowska, the musician's daughter born in the settlement by the Neris, and Adolf Sawicz Ankudowicz of the Sulima coat of arms, who came from Kaunas Lithuania (the parents of the author of the article, who was born several years later) celebrated by the former rector of Stefan Batory University in Vilnius, Bishop Czesław Falkowski. During the mass also the already-mentioned composition was performed next to the chant *Matko pocieszenia*, composed by Kalinowski's student, Antoni Szuniewicz, and other musical compositions<sup>35</sup>.

The faithful participating in sacred liturgies of the cathedral church in Łomża could also hear the 6-voice Haller's chant *Ave Maryja*, conducted by Kalinowski and sung during three masses by the getting better and better cathedral choir on 7, 14 and 21 May 1950<sup>36</sup>. The music group had been praised by the Vilnius conductor for the constantly improving musical level already a year before, in a private letter sent to Łódź, to the Łomża organist's daughters, Jadwiga and Maria, who lived there. He wrote to them after the concert in honor of St. Cecilia (which took place in the cathedral church in Łomża on 20 November 1949) that "The concert went great. The choir sang very well, they improved so much that they amazed me with their energy and enthusiasm. I should not write about my own music [...] The cathedral was filled with the audience. We will discuss the general impressions at the meeting. There is a lot to talk about"<sup>37</sup>.

Another musical composition by Michael Haller, which proves that in post-war Łomża there were Regensburg music inspirations in sacred liturgies at the cathedral church in the years 1949–1951, is the chant *Ego sum parvis vivus*, which

<sup>34</sup> Ibidem, records 79 of 9 April, 85 of 23 April, 86 of 30 April 1950; records 163 of 25 March, 164 of 1 April, 165 of 8 April, 167 of 15 April, 170 of 29 April 1951.

<sup>35</sup> Ibidem, record 81 of 11 April 1950; vide also the illustration in: M. Ankudowicz-Bieńkowska, *Twórczość Feliksa Nowowiejskiego w liturgii kościelnej katedr w Białymstoku i Łomży w latach 1946-1950*, [In:] *W kręgu kultury romantycznej. W 200-lecie urodzin Fryderyka Chopina i w 100-lecie powstania „Roty” Feliksa Nowowiejskiego*. Ed. K.D. Szatrawski. Barczewo 2010, p. 109.

<sup>36</sup> The author's family collections, W. Kalinowski, *Kościół katedralny w Łomży...*, record 88 of 7 May, 90 of 14 May, 94 of 21 May 1950.

<sup>37</sup> Ibidem, Letter from W. Kalinowski to the daughters, Jadwiga and Maria, written in Łomża on 30 November 1949; Vide also: M. Ankudowicz-Bieńkowska, *Koncert ku czci św. Cecylii w katedrze łomżyńskiej w 1949 roku*. Zeszyty Naukowe ONT 2014, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 16–22.

was conducted by Kalinowski on 24 May and during the Corpus Christi procession celebrated in Łomża on 31 May 1951<sup>38</sup>.

The former pre-war Vilnius musician also performed three times with the conducted by him choir of the Łomża cathedral the chant *Maryjo coś jest w niebie* on 27 May, 5 August and on the last day of his work as an organist and conductor on 26 August 1951<sup>39</sup>. He would have probably presented also other compositions of his Regensburg professors if his music work had not been interrupted by his death – he died suddenly at the night of 26 to 27 August 1951.

As can be seen, the Regensburg music traditions were transferred after World War II from Vilnius to post-war Łomża, where Władysław Kalinowski, a graduate of the School of Church Music in Regensburg, was resettled from the capital of north-eastern borderland. This musician and organist (similarly to many educated artists in this important for church music Bavarian cultural center, such as coming from Warmia Feliks Nowowiejski) felt connected with the Cecilian artistic tradition, with the renewal of sacred music in Catholic churches, according to which he was educated in Germany and which he expressed many times – from 1 May 1949 to 26 August 1951 – through the presented in the Łomża cathedral church music, propagating the music of his Regensburg professors such as Joseph Renner or Michael Haller.

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## SUMMARY

In the article, Regensburg music inspirations in sacred liturgies of the Łomża Cathedral Church in the years 1949–1951 are described. They were introduced by a Vilnius musician – Władysław Kalinowski – a graduate of the School of Church Music in Regensburg – who after the Second World War (as a result of the resettlement which for many years was called repatriation) settled in Łomża, where, encouraged by the Vilnius bishop Czesław Falkowski, started working as an organist and a choir conductor.

## STRESZCZENIE

W artykule opisane zostały regensburskie inspiracje muzyczne w liturgii sakralnej łomżyńskiego Kościoła katedralnego w latach 1949–1951. Zostały one wprowadzone przez wileńskiego muzyka – Władysława Kalinowskiego – absolwenta Szkoły Muzyki Kościelnej w Regensburgu – który po II wojnie światowej (w ramach przesiedlenia zwanego przez lata repatriacją) zamieszkał w Łomży, gdzie za namową ówczesnego biskupa wileńskiego Czesława Falkowskiego podjął pracę organisty i dyrygenta chóru.

**Key words:** Łomża, Regensburg, sacred music, Cathedral Church of Łomża

**Słowa kluczowe:** Łomża, Regensburg, muzyka sakralna, łomżyński kościół katedralny



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## CHANGES IN THE POPULATION OF OSTROŁĘKA CAUSED BY POPULATION GROWTH AND MIGRATION

### ZMIANY W LICZBIE LUDNOŚCI OSTROŁĘKI POWODOWANE PRZYROSTEM NATURALNYM I MIGRACJAMI

#### **Introduction**

Ostrołęka is one of the few urban centers in Poland located in areas where there are no mineral deposits such as coal, copper ores, sulfur, which managed to transform from a small town with less than 10,000 inhabitants<sup>1</sup> in 1946 into a medium-sized town. In 2000, Ostrołęka's population exceeded 55,000 inhabitants. Within 65 years, the town increased its population by about 45,000 people. Having said that, the question arises as to what were the sources of the increase in population that boosted its demographic potential. Apart from administrative changes which, as a result of absorbing by the town new inhabited areas<sup>2</sup>, the only sources contributing to the change in the number of inhabitants are the population growth and the migration balance resulting from the difference between the influx and the outflow of population<sup>3</sup>. The aim of the article is to indicate the changing importance, with the passage of time, of the population growth and migration in the increase in the population of Ostrołęka until 2002 as well as its decrease within the next 13 years. The author does not investigate what factors contributed to the changes in the number of inhabitants of the town. This problem was discussed in other publications<sup>4</sup>. The content of the article comes

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<sup>1</sup> In 1946, 732 locations had city rights in Poland, in 601 of them the number of residents did not exceed 10,000; 10 cities had between 50 and 100 thousand residents. In 2015, there were 915 cities in Poland, of which 506 with less than 10 thousand residents and 48 with 50–100 thousand residents.

<sup>2</sup> The population of Ostrołęka is analyzed in constant administrative boundaries of 28.5 km<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Only permanent migration of the population is considered.

<sup>4</sup> Vide, among others: J. Och, *Problemy uprzemysłowienia i rozwoju infrastruktury Ostrołęki*, [In:] *Z prac Studenckiego Koła Naukowego Geografów*. Ed. W. Rakowski. Monografie i Opracowania, No. 37. Szkoła Główna Planowania i Statystyki, Warszawa 1974; W. Rakowski, *Uprzemysłowienie a proces urbanizacji (na przykładzie powiatu ostrołęckiego)*. Monografie i Opracowania, No. 37. Szkoła Główna Planowania i Statystyki, Warszawa 1974; S. Berezowski, *Formowanie się regionu Ostrołęki*. Rocznik Mazowiecki

down to the analysis of numbers related to population growth and migration and certain reflections resulting from this analysis. For the years 1946–1975, due to the lack of comprehensive data, the population growth and migration balance of the population were only estimated<sup>5</sup>. It was an important period for the town, since in the mid-1950s the construction of the power plant started, followed by pulp and paper factories construction. As a result of economic activation, the town in the years 1946–1975 tripled the number of inhabitants; therefore, in order to comprehensively cover the problem, this period should be taken into account in considering the changes in the population of Ostrołęka after the Second World War. All the more, since such approach to Ostrołęka has not been found in scientific literature so far<sup>6</sup>.

For the next period, 1976–2015, the data on natural internal growth and population migration will be discussed divided into 3 subperiods: the times of the Polish People's Republic (until 1989), the period of the first 9 years of economic transformation, when Ostrołęka was still a voivodeship town (until the end of 1998) and the remaining period of 1999–2015, when it was downgraded to a county town, and the new economic policy of the state preferred the development of large cities. Due to the limited volume of the article (editorial requirements of "Zeszyt..."), the figures referring to natural internal growth and population migration included in tab. 3 and 4 are calculated as the annual average for five-year periods. On the other hand, tracking the population of Ostrołęka at the end of each year required taking into account the total population growth, which is presented in tab. 5, 6 and 7.

### **The population of Ostrołęka against the background of selected towns in the years 1946–2015**

The content of this part of the article should be treated as an introduction to the factors influencing the population change in Ostrołęka. An important element of these considerations is the comparison of population growth against other selected towns, which since 1 June 1975 became the headquarters of voivodeship authorities. The selection of the towns was made on the basis of the nearest neighborhood and a slightly larger number of inhabitants than Ostrołęka in 1946, when Ciechanów and Suwałki had about 4,000 inhabitants more than Ostrołęka, Łomża about 5,000 more and Biała Podlaska about 6,000 more. In 1955, this difference increased with respect to Ciechanów, Łomża and Suwałki, and

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(Warszawa) 1970, Vol. III; M. Ciechocińska, *Czynniki determinujące procesy rozwojowe obszarów peryferyjnych na przykładzie regionu etnograficznego Kurpi. Zeszyty Naukowe OTN 1990*, Vol. XII.

<sup>5</sup> Except 1960 and 1965. For these years, the data was taken from the publication: *Statystyka miast i osiedli 1945–1965*. GUS, Warszawa 1967 pp. 320–383.

<sup>6</sup> About changes in the number of residents of rural areas, vide: W. Rakowski, *Procesy zmian ludnościowych na terenie Kurpi w latach 1950–1988. Zeszyty Naukowe OTN 1998*, Vol. XII.



decreased in relation to Biała Podlaska (tab 1). Until 1960, the gap between the population of Ostrołęka and the remaining four towns had been increasing. The acceleration of development occurred especially in Biała Podlaska. In 1970, the difference in population in the analyzed towns decreased. Ciechanów and Łomża had about 2,000 inhabitants more than Ostrołęka and Suwałki and Biała Podlaska slightly more. At the end of 1975, Ostrołęka was ahead of Ciechanów in terms of the number of inhabitants and narrowed the gap in regard to the other three towns. Under the conditions of the new political and economic system, in 1990 Ostrołęka had 7,000 more inhabitants than Ciechanów, but 3,000 fewer than Biała Podlaska and about 10,000 fewer than Łomża and Suwałki, and this difference remained approximately until the year 2000, when the four towns (except Suwałki) reached the highest number of inhabitants in their long history. In 2015, Ostrołęka, Ciechanów and Łomża had already about 3,000 fewer inhabitants than in 2000, and Biała Podlaska about 1,500 fewer. Compared to 1950, in terms of the number of inhabitants, Ostrołęka was ahead only of Ciechanów. The remaining 2 towns still have a bigger population than Ostrołęka. In particular ten-year periods, the average annual growth of inhabitants was as follows:

|           | <b>Ostrołęka</b> | <b>Ciechanów</b> | <b>Łomża</b> | <b>Suwałki</b> | <b>Biała Podlaska</b> |
|-----------|------------------|------------------|--------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| 1950–1960 | 185              | 217              | 355          | 365            | 202                   |
| 1960–1970 | 1175             | 821              | 968          | 1006           | 1310                  |
| 1970–1980 | 1587             | 939              | 1586         | 1514           | 1285                  |
| 1980–1990 | 1271             | 1015             | 1852         | 2059           | 1343                  |
| 1990–2000 | 508              | 362              | 578          | 784            | 588                   |
| 2000–2010 | -211             | -264             | -189         | 43             | -97                   |

Table 1

Population of Ostrołęka in the years 1946–2015 compared to selected towns, which since 1 June 1975 became voivodeship towns

| <b>Years</b> | <b>Ostrołęka</b> | <b>Ciechanów</b> | <b>Łomża</b> | <b>Suwałki</b> | <b>Biała Podlaska</b> |
|--------------|------------------|------------------|--------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| 1946         | 9 279            | 13 588           | 14 173       | 13 670         | 15 496                |
| 1950         | 10 409           | 16 237           | 15 272       | 15 456         | 13 689                |
| 1955         | 12 257           | 18 406           | 18 818       | 19 105         | 15 714                |
| 1960         | 15 216           | 20 803           | 19 253       | 19 868         | 20 486                |
| 1965         | 17 844           | 21 190           | 22 564       | 22 033         | 22 570                |
| 1970         | 22 160           | 24 451           | 24 949       | 25 520         | 26 797                |
| 1975         | 28 040           | 27 349           | 29 006       | 30 558         | 31 765                |
| 1980         | 38 027           | 33 839           | 40 813       | 40 662         | 39 647                |
| 1985         | 44 097           | 38 805           | 51 155       | 51 406         | 47 027                |
| 1990         | 50 737           | 43 986           | 59 335       | 61 256         | 53 075                |
| 1995         | 54 162           | 46 813           | 63 338       | 66 624         | 56 453                |
| 2000         | 55 818           | 47 607           | 65 112       | 69 092         | 58 958                |
| 2005         | 53 831           | 45 947           | 63 819       | 69 268         | 58 082                |

|      |        |        |        |        |        |
|------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| 2010 | 53 710 | 44 963 | 63 221 | 69 527 | 57 984 |
| 2015 | 52 611 | 44 506 | 62 737 | 69 370 | 57 414 |

Source: own study based on: *Statystyka miast i osiedli 1945–1965*. GUS, Warszawa 1967 pp. 304–316; *Rocznik Demograficzny* (Demographic yearbook) from the years 1967–1968, 1971, 1976, 1981, 1986, 1991, 1996, 2001, 2006, 2011, 2016.

So, in the years 1950–1960, Suwałki and Łomża were the fastest growing towns, and in the next decade Biała Podlaska and Ostrołęka, then Ostrołęka and Łomża, but in the years 1980–2010 Suwałki. In the whole period of 1950–2015, the greatest average annual population growth was in Biała Podlaska, though (857 persons), then in Suwałki (829), Łomża (730) and much smaller in Ostrołęka (649), and the smallest in Ciechanów. These three urban centers in the north-eastern part of Mazovia compete with each other about the zone of influence. These are depopulating rural areas<sup>7</sup>. The loss of voivodeship administrative functions suffered by these towns contributed to the decrease in their settling attractiveness due to the liquidation of lucrative jobs. The establishment of higher vocational schools by the state admittedly led to an increase in the level of education<sup>8</sup> of the society, but, at the same time, accelerated the process of the outflow of people to larger cities, especially to Warsaw, and also abroad.

### **The significance of population growth and migration balance in the increase of the population of Ostrołęka in the years 1947–1975**

Until 1955, the data on population growth and migration was not published because of strict censorship. Within the next few years, the only available data on Ostrołęka is from the years 1960 and 1965. Having the data on urban population growth in Poland, the population growth in Ostrołęka can be roughly calculated. These are, of course, estimates, but close to reality.

The population growth in Ostrołęka in the years 1947–1950 can be estimated at 18%, and for the years 1951–1955 at 19%, and for the next five-year periods much less (tab. 2). Knowing the number of inhabitants of Ostrołęka in particular years<sup>9</sup>, the total population growth can be calculated; subtracting from which the population growth, the migration balance was calculated. In the years 1947–1950, 1951–1955 and 1961–1965, the population growth had a bigger significance than the migration balance in the total population growth of the town (tab. 2). In the remaining periods, the migration balance was dominant, especially in the years

<sup>7</sup> W. Rakowski, *Proces wyludniania się Puszczy Białej i jego konsekwencje*, [In:] *Brok i Puszcza Biała. Przeszłość, środowisko geograficzne, kulturowe i przyrodnicze*. Ed. J. Kazimierski, Ciechanowskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, Ciechanów 1989.

<sup>8</sup> W. Rakowski, *Typologia miast i gmin województwa mazowieckiego pod względem kształcenia ludności*. *Rocznik Żyrardowski* (Wyższa Szkoła Rozwoju Lokalnego) 2008, Vol. VI.

<sup>9</sup> Cf *Rocznik Województwa Warszawskiego* from 1957–1974, WUS, Warszawa.

1966–1975. Its share in the total population growth of Ostrołęka in the years 1966–1970 amounted to 76% and in the next five years even to 82%. It was exactly in this period of time when the development of the town accelerated and therefore, the influx of people was much higher than the outflow. In absolute numbers, in the years 1947–1975, on average, annually the population increased by from 222 people as a result of the population growth and up to 646 as a result of the migration balance. Due to the prevalence of the influx of people over the outflow, on average, the population of Ostrołęka grew in particular periods by the following number of inhabitants:

|           |        |
|-----------|--------|
| 1947–1950 | by 111 |
| 1951–1955 | by 145 |
| 1956–1960 | by 352 |
| 1961–1965 | by 255 |
| 1966–1970 | by 658 |
| 1971–1975 | by 966 |

As a result of high population growth and favourable migration balance, the population of Ostrołęka in the years 1947–1975 grew by almost 19,000 inhabitants.

Table 2

Population growth and migration balance of the population of Ostrołęka in the years 1947–1975

| Years     | Population growth |                     |                | Migration balance | Total population growth | % share of migration balance in total population growth |
|-----------|-------------------|---------------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
|           | in %              | in absolute numbers |                |                   |                         |                                                         |
|           |                   | annual              | for the period |                   |                         |                                                         |
| 1947–1950 | 18                | 171                 | 684            | 446               | 1 130                   | 39,5                                                    |
| 1951–1955 | 19                | 225                 | 1 125          | 723               | 1 848                   | 39,1                                                    |
| 1956–1960 | 15                | 240                 | 1 200          | 1 759             | 2 959                   | 59,4                                                    |
| 1961–1965 | 10                | 270                 | 1 350          | 1 278             | 2 628                   | 48,6                                                    |
| 1966–1970 | 7                 | 205                 | 1 025          | 3 291             | 4 316                   | 76,2                                                    |
| 1971–1975 | 8                 | 210                 | 1 050          | 4 830             | 5 880                   | 82,1                                                    |
| in total  | X                 | X                   | 6 434          | 12 327            | 18 761                  | 65,7                                                    |

Source: own study (estimation) based on various sources.

### Population growth and migration balance in Ostrołęka in the years 1976–1989

It is worth beginning by mentioning that on 1 June 1975, Ostrołęka, along with another 31 cities, became the headquarters of voivodeship authorities. Thus, apart from the industrial function, also administrative and political functions gave the

city new impulses for development. Therefore, in the period of 14 years, the town's population rose by about 22,000 inhabitants, including 12,344 as a result of child births, and at the same time, due to the deaths of people of all ages, the population decreased by 3,187 people. As a result of these processes, the population growth was 9,157. In demographic literature it is claimed<sup>10</sup> that an important factor influencing population growth is the number and the ratio of marital relationships. In the case of Ostrołęka, the number of marriages rose from 277 in 1976 to 387 in 1983, and fell to 299 in 1989. The number of marriages, as well as the number of births, deaths and the resulting population growth considerably fluctuated. To illustrate: the number of births was the lowest in 1976 (680), and the highest in 1983 (1,055 children), and decreased since that year. The number of deaths was also the smallest in 1976 (171) and the highest in 1988 (268). In turn, the population growth was from slightly over 500 in 1976, 1977 to 800 in 1983.

In the years 1981–1985, divided into subperiods (tab. 3), compared to the previous period, on annual average, the number of marriages, births and deaths as well as the population growth was higher because there was such a tendency all over the country as well. At the end of the 1980s, the opposite phenomenon was observed (except for deaths), namely despite the increase in the number of inhabitants of Ostrołęka, on average annually there were fewer marriages, fewer children were born and there was a lower population growth than in the preceding period.

Per thousand inhabitants, all 4 factors comprising natural internal population growth were lower, but population growth fell the most, and the number of deaths fell minimally. The relatively high population growth rate in Ostrołęka during the discussed period of 1976–1989 was partly caused by high population influx and a favourable migration balance. The highest population influx was in the years 1977–1980 and the lowest in the years 1984–1987 when there was economic stagnation<sup>11</sup> in the country. If the size of the population influx ranged from 1094 people (1985) to 2489 (1979), the intra-national outflow (country) fluctuated between 380 (1989) and 737 (1982).

Table 3

Natural internal population growth in Ostrołęka between 1976 and 2015.  
Average annual population growth in five-year periods

<sup>10</sup> Cf F. Stokowski, *Demografia*. PWE, Warszawa 2015.

<sup>11</sup> Cf W. Rakowski, *Migracje ludności wiejskiej w okresie zastoju w rozwoju gospodarczym Polski (na przykładzie województwa radomskiego)*. Zeszyty Naukowe Muzeum Wsi Radomskiej 1987 and E.Z. Zdrojewski, *Wpływ migracji definitywnych na przyrost rzeczywisty i zmiany struktur ludności w Polsce w latach 1975–1996*. Wydawnictwo Politechniki Koszalińskiej, Koszalin 2000.

| Years     | In absolute numbers |        |        |                   | Per 1,000 inhabitants |        |        |                   |
|-----------|---------------------|--------|--------|-------------------|-----------------------|--------|--------|-------------------|
|           | marriages           | births | deaths | population growth | marriages             | births | deaths | population growth |
| 1976–1980 | 326                 | 796    | 198    | 598               | 9,6                   | 23,4   | 5,8    | 17,6              |
| 1981–1985 | 363                 | 987    | 233    | 754               | 8,4                   | 22,8   | 5,4    | 17,4              |
| 1986–1990 | 310                 | 838    | 261    | 577               | 6,2                   | 16,7   | 5,2    | 11,5              |
| 1991–1995 | 261                 | 686    | 317    | 369               | 4,7                   | 12,3   | 5,7    | 6,6               |
| 1996–2000 | 298                 | 569    | 321    | 248               | 5,1                   | 9,7    | 5,5    | 4,2               |
| 2001–2005 | 322                 | 529    | 351    | 178               | 5,4                   | 9,0    | 5,9    | 3,1               |
| 2006–2010 | 369                 | 567    | 384    | 183               | 4,6                   | 9,8    | 6,6    | 3,2               |
| 2011–2015 | 294                 | 530    | 375    | 155               | 5,1                   | 9,3    | 6,6    | 2,7               |

Source: own study based on the data of Departament Demografii GUS (Polish Central Statistical Office).

Hence, the migration balance was the highest in 1979 (1858 people) and three times bigger than the balance of 1985 (509 persons). A relatively high balance of intra-national migration was partly minified by a negative balance of international migration.

The average annual population influx to Ostrołęka was much larger in the years 1976–1980 than in the later periods, while the outflow declined significantly only in the late 1980s when the demand for labour was drastically lower in the country. The positive intra-national migration balance in 1981–1985 on average annually was by 48% lower than in the previous period, but in the late 1980s slightly increased thanks to a lower outflow of population (tab. 4).

Relating the size of the influx and outflow of the population to and from Ostrołęka to 1,000 inhabitants, in the selected years, this ratio was as follows:

|      | <b>Influx</b> | <b>Outflow</b> |
|------|---------------|----------------|
| 1976 | 61,1          | 23,2           |
| 1979 | 71,0          | 18,0           |
| 1981 | 46,0          | 15,0           |
| 1985 | 24,3          | 13,3           |
| 1989 | 26,4          | 7,6            |

The intensity of both the inflow and outflow was very high in the second half of the 1970s and declined in the late 1980s over twofold. Hence, the balance declined from 53‰ in 1979 to just 18.8‰ in 1989. Relating the number of people flowing in to the number of people flowing out, in simplification, we get the efficiency of migration, which in the years 1976–1980 was in the proportion of 3.30: 1 as 2.20: 1 and in the last period as 1.53: 1. These numbers indicate a decrease in the efficiency of migration. We are unable to determine what the

percentage of native inhabitants of the town was and what was the percentage of immigrants who arrived earlier, among the people flowing out. In addition, we do not know the composition of the balance, that is, what kind of people it consists of in terms of sex, age, marital status, level of education.

The data shown in tab. 5 enables examining the share of the population growth and the migration balance in the total population growth of Ostrołęka. In the whole period of 1976–1989, only within 4 years (1982–1985), there was a slight advantage of the population growth over the migration balance. In the remaining years, the situation was reversed, and in some years the migration balance was definitely dominant in the total population growth. To illustrate this, the migration balance share in % in the selected years was: 68.3% in 1976, 73.1% in 1977, 47.8% in 1982, 62.3% in 1989 and in the whole mentioned period 61.8%.

According to the census of December 1988, in the total population of 47,944 inhabitants of Ostrołęka there were 54.2% of people who flew in, while in Łomża 51.8%, in Biała Podlaska 52.8%, in Ciechanów 52.7%, in Płock 50.4%, in Suwałki 50.8%<sup>12</sup>. It should be added, however, that among the settled inhabitants, the main subpopulation consists of children and adolescents up to 19 years old, while among the inhabitants who flew in - of people aged 30 and over. The years 1988 and 1989 finish the times of the Polish People's Republic and the period of the industrialization of the country, as well as the economic activation of underdeveloped areas to which the Kurpie region undoubtedly belonged.

Table 4

Migration of the population of Ostrołęka in the years 1976–2015. Average, annual number of people flowing in and out in particular five-year periods

| Years     | In absolute numbers |         |         | Per 1,000 inhabitants |         |         |
|-----------|---------------------|---------|---------|-----------------------|---------|---------|
|           | influx              | outflow | balance | influx                | outflow | balance |
| 1976–1980 | 2119                | 642     | 1477    | 62,4                  | 18,9    | 43,5    |
| 1981–1985 | 1377                | 626     | 751     | 31,9                  | 14,5    | 17,4    |
| 1986–1990 | 1316                | 469     | 847     | 26,3                  | 9,3     | 17,0    |
| 1991–1995 | 977                 | 480     | 497     | 17,5                  | 8,6     | 8,9     |
| 1996–2000 | 748                 | 609     | 139     | 12,8                  | 10,4    | 2,4     |
| 2001–2005 | 569                 | 840     | -271    | 9,6                   | 14,2    | -4,6    |
| 2006–2010 | 536                 | 902     | -366    | 9,2                   | 15,5    | -6,3    |
| 2011–2015 | 448                 | 830     | -382    | 7,9                   | 14,6    | -6,7    |

Source: own study based on the data of Departament Demografii GUS (Polish Central Statistical Office).

<sup>12</sup> Cf *Migracje ludności w Polsce w latach 1979–1988*. GUS, Warszawa 1992.

Table 5

Population growth, migration balance and total population growth in Ostrołęka in the years 1976–1989

| Years           | In absolute numbers |                   |                         | Population at the end of the year | Developmental type |
|-----------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|
|                 | Population growth   | Migration balance | Total population growth |                                   |                    |
| 1976            | 509                 | 1 098             | 1 607                   | 29 647                            | C                  |
| 1977            | 526                 | 1 433             | 1 959                   | 31 606                            | C                  |
| 1978            | 589                 | 1 554             | 2 143                   | 33 749                            | C                  |
| 1979            | 647                 | 1 851             | 2 498                   | 36 247                            | C                  |
| 1980            | 718                 | 1 451             | 2 169                   | 38 416                            | C                  |
| 1981            | 728                 | 1 191             | 1 919                   | 40 335                            | C                  |
| 1982            | 755                 | 692               | 1 447                   | 41 782                            | B                  |
| 1983            | 800                 | 746               | 1 546                   | 43 328                            | B                  |
| 1984            | 742                 | 625               | 1 367                   | 44 695                            | B                  |
| 1985            | 742                 | 501               | 1 243                   | 45 938                            | B                  |
| 1986            | 659                 | 756               | 1 415                   | 47 353                            | C                  |
| 1987            | 553                 | 810               | 1 363                   | 48 716                            | C                  |
| 1988            | 609                 | 1 026             | 1 635                   | 50 351                            | C                  |
| 1989            | 580                 | 957               | 1 537                   | 51 888                            | C                  |
| <b>In total</b> | <b>9 157</b>        | <b>14 813</b>     | <b>23 970</b>           | <b>X</b>                          | <b>C</b>           |

Source: own study based on the data of Departament Demografii GUS (Polish Central Statistical Office)

### Natural internal growth and population migration in Ostrołęka in the years 1990–1998

This period is characterized by the dynamism of economic, social as well as political processes taking place already in a new capitalist system. There was a period of deindustrialisation of the country which caused unemployment, impoverishment of society, lack of sense of security. At the same time, these are also the years when Ostrołęka was still a voivodeship town providing permanent employment to about 500 people. In addition, it had two important industrial plants which could not be liquidated because of their strategic importance for the country. Taking into consideration the fact that although Ostrołęka's community must be classified as a traditional one, compared to the years 1976-1988, the number of marriages decreased, as well as the number of births, and, in particular, the population growth was decreasing, especially per thousand inhabitants (tab 3). The number of marriages was from 236 to 287, and births from 524 in 1998 to 757 in 1990. Thus, with a relatively stable number of deaths (from 274 in 1990 to 337 in 1998), the population growth decreased from 483 (in 1990) to 187 (in 1998), that is over twice (by 158.3%). Meanwhile, in Polish towns in general, within those years,

the population growth decreased more, namely from 68,700 to 5,200<sup>13</sup>. Compared to other Polish towns, Ostrołęka had a considerably high population growth per thousand inhabitants, that is 9.6‰ in 1990 (towns in Poland 2.9‰) and 3.4‰ in 1998 (towns -0.2). It is exactly thanks to a still high birth rate, which in 1990 amounted to 15‰ (towns 13.0‰), and in 1998 9.5‰ (towns 9.1) and a lower death rate (Ostrołęka 5.4‰ in 1990, towns 9.5‰ and respectively 6.1‰ and 9.3‰ in 1998), Ostrołęka was still distinguished by its relatively high population growth (see figures 1 and 2). Migration contributed to a positive population growth. The influx to Ostrołęka by 1993 exceeded 1,000 people a year, and in the following years it was slightly smaller. Taking into account the outflow, which was twice lower than the inflow until 1993 and was still lower than the inflow until 1998, the balance was from 148 people in 1997 to over 600 in 1990 and 1991 (tab. 6). A higher balance in intra-national migration was minified by a negative international migration balance. Compared to the period of 1976–1980, the intensity of population inflow to Ostrołęka was significantly reduced (fig. 3) with only a minimal decrease in the outflow (1990: inflow 22.2%, outflow 9.0%, 1998: 15.1% and 10.2%).

This data shows the declining dynamics of the town's development. It was a period of nationwide reforms, in many cases unsuccessful. The scale of economic restructuring conducted in the macroscale influenced not very auspicious, demographic processes in the microscale. However, Ostrołęka was more resilient, compared to many other towns, to the negative impact of the national and global environment, as evidenced by a still positive population growth and migration balance, which slightly surpassed the population growth within six years, as illustrated in the data presented in tab. 6. As a result of a positive population growth and migration balance, the number of permanent residents increased in the years 1989–1998 by 6713 people, that is by 11.3%, while in towns in Poland, in general, only by 1.01%. The significance of these numbers is unequivocal, indicating that, despite the dynamic processes in the national economy, Ostrołęka continued to develop.

### **Natural internal growth and population migration after Ostrołęka lost its status of a voivodeship town**

On 31 December 1998, Ostrołęka, as well as a number of other Polish towns, ceased to be a center of voivodeship authority. Although the liquidation of the voivodeship offices took several months, the town lost one of its important town-forming functions, becoming an urban county and at the same time a rural county. As a voivodeship town, Ostrołęka used to serve a much larger area, inhabited by about 380,000 people, than as a county. An important event on a national scale was the phenomenon of zero population growth in 1999 for the first time after World War II, and, in towns, negative natural population growth (prevalence of the

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *Rocznik Demograficzny* 2016. GUS, Warszawa, p. 32.



number of deaths over births). In this unfavorable environment, the number of births in Ostrołęka was still higher than the number of deaths because the number of marriages was still large and amounted from 265 in 2014 to 396 in 2008. The number of marriages was the highest in the years 2006–2010, when the inhabitants born between 1978–1985 (during the time of the increased population growth) reached the age of 25–29. It should be stressed, however, that the marriage rate in the years 1999–2015 was much lower than in the days of the Polish People's Republic (tab. 3). The number of births was generally more than 500 and the number of deaths ranged between 316–383 (except for 2008 and 2014, when it exceeded 400). By contrast, the population growth fluctuated over time and ranged from 69 in 2014 to 252 in 2000 (tab. 7). The birth rate ranged from 9.1‰ in 2014 to 11.3‰ in 2009 while in towns, in total, in Poland from 8.4‰ in 2002 to 10.6‰ in 2009. Correspondingly, the death rate in Ostrołęka ranged from 5.7‰ in 2000 to 7.8‰ (in 2014) and in towns in Poland from 9.1 to 10.4 (2015). With the lower death rate than the birth rate, the population growth in Ostrołęka ranged from 1.3‰ in 2014 to 4.6‰ in 2000 (fig. 2). That is unlike in towns in total, where most of the time during this period it was negative (fig. 2).

Table 6

Population growth, migration balance and total population growth in Ostrołęka in the years 1990 – 1998

| Years           | Population growth | Migration balance | Total population growth | Population at the end of the year | Developmental type |
|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1990            | 483               | 688               | 1 171                   | 53 059                            | C                  |
| 1991            | 417               | 650               | 1 067                   | 54 126                            | C                  |
| 1992            | 383               | 511               | 894                     | 55 020                            | C                  |
| 1993            | 382               | 574               | 956                     | 55 976                            | C                  |
| 1994            | 363               | 336               | 699                     | 56 675                            | B                  |
| 1995            | 302               | 415               | 717                     | 57 392                            | C                  |
| 1996            | 295               | 213               | 508                     | 57 900                            | B                  |
| 1997            | 285               | 148               | 433                     | 58 333                            | B                  |
| 1998            | 187               | 281               | 468                     | 58 601                            | C                  |
| <b>In total</b> | <b>3 097</b>      | <b>3 816</b>      | <b>6 913</b>            | <b>x</b>                          | <b>C</b>           |

Source: own study based on the data of Departament Demografii GUS (Polish Central Statistical Office).

It can be assumed that Ostrołęka's loss of voivodeship functions did not affect natural internal growth in this town. A different situation occurred in permanent migration of the population. The influx of people decreased almost twice in comparison with the 1990s, and the outflow significantly increased, including the outflow to foreign countries. From 2001 to 2015, the annual number of people leaving Ostrołęka exceeded the number of immigrants. Therefore, the negative

migration balance ranged from 123 in 2002 to 420 in 2005 and 403 in 2014. This data shows the loss of the town's settling attractiveness. Of course, this was caused not only by the loss of voivodeship functions by the town, but also by the change in the concept of regional development in Poland. It consists in the spatial concentration of socio-economic life in several selected major cities, which is very beneficial for the great international capital that cares for its own interests. In addition, it should be borne in mind that, with a stabilized population of the country since 1990, and a negative international migration balance, total population growth in one town (municipality) leads to the loss of inhabitants in other towns (municipalities).

The scale of the decreasing population influx to Ostrołęka is better reflected in its intensity per thousand inhabitants, which was 62.4 in the years 1976–1980 and only 7.9 in the years 2011–2015 (tab. 4) and the outflow 18.9 and 14.6.

The outflow ratio fluctuated less than the inflow. A town, even in a state of economic stagnation, will always be the destination of both influx and outflow of population, as some people change their place of residence for family, professional, environmental and health reasons. In such a situation, the intensity of migration of the population will fluctuate between 8–15%, as was the case with Ostrołęka in the last years discussed. At the same time, the migration balance will most likely be negative, and after some time natural population loss will also occur. This phenomenon is already affecting many towns in Poland and most rural communes. Ostrołęka is still characterized by positive population growth, but since 2003 negative migration balance has exceeded the population growth and the number of permanent residents has been slowly decreasing (tab. 7). In most years, the negative migration balance was twice bigger than the population growth. Therefore, since 2002, when Ostrołęka reached its maximum number (59,226) of permanent residents, by 2015 there were 2624 people fewer. A further decline in the number of residents can be stopped by creating new jobs. Perhaps the construction of a new power unit in the power plant, which will boost employment, will stop the town's depopulation.

A careful reader will surely notice the divergence in the data concerning the number of inhabitants of Ostrołęka presented in tab. 1 and tab. 5, 6, 7. Well, in 1980, the population of Ostrołęka shown in tab. 5 was by 389 bigger than the data shown in tab. 1. On the other hand, in 1990 (tab. 6) it was already 2322 bigger, in 2000 by 3959 and in 2015 by 3991 (tab. 7). The divergence in the numbers of inhabitants between the data in tab. 1 based on the data taken from "Roczniki Demograficzne" GUS (Demographic Yearbook of the Central Statistical Office) and the data resulting from population growth and migration balance, is caused by the fact that in "Roczniki Demograficzne" factual data is provided including the people temporarily de-registered (students, people staying abroad, in other towns). On the other hand, the data presented in tab. 4, 5, 6, 7 shows permanent migrations to and from the town. So, in 2015 almost 4,000 (as many as the population of Serock) residents of Ostrołęka registered for permanent residence in the town, did

not live in it, so they did not create demand for goods and services. This is the case in towns where there are too few jobs at all or unattractive, poorly paid jobs. The opposite situation happens in most towns located near Warsaw, where the number of permanent residents is smaller than the number of people actually residing there. For example, in Legionowo in 2015 lived 3,500 people temporarily registered. In total, in Ostrołęka in 2015, there were 56,602 inhabitants registered for permanent residence, but in fact there were 52,611 people dwelling there. Similarly, in Poland at the end of 2015, according to GUS, there were 38,437,000 inhabitants<sup>14</sup> registered for permanent residence, but over 2,000,000 Polish citizens were dwelling abroad then, mostly from the areas most affected by unemployment and poverty.

To summarize this part of the elaboration, let us notice the changing significance in particular periods and years, of the population growth and migration balance in the total population growth in Ostrołęka. So, the average annual population growth and migration balance in particular periods were as follows:

|           | <b>population growth</b> | <b>balance</b> |
|-----------|--------------------------|----------------|
| 1947–1960 | 215                      | 209            |
| 1961–1975 | 228                      | 627            |
| 1976–1989 | 654                      | 1049           |
| 1990–1998 | 344                      | 424            |
| 1999–2005 | 195                      | -187           |
| 2006–2010 | 183                      | -366           |
| 2011–2015 | 155                      | -383           |

Although Poland as a whole had been experiencing economic difficulties since 1976 and until 1989 the development was minimal, in case of Ostrołęka those were the most favourable years in terms of demographic development. However, the loss of voivodeship functions by the town caused a slow decline in the number of inhabitants, as the outflow of population exceeded the inflow, and the population growth did not manage to compensate for the negative balance.

Table 7

Natural internal growth, migration balance and total population growth in Ostrołęka in the years 1999–2015

| Years | Population growth | Migration balance | Total population growth | Population at the end of the year | Developmental type |
|-------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1999  | 219               | 42                | 261                     | 58 862                            | B                  |
| 2000  | 252               | 7                 | 259                     | 59 121                            | B                  |
| 2001  | 177               | -162              | 15                      | 59 136                            | A                  |
| 2002  | 213               | -123              | 90                      | 59 226                            | A                  |

<sup>14</sup> Rocznik Demograficzny 2016..., p. 30.

|                 |              |               |               |          |          |
|-----------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|----------|----------|
| 2003            | 168          | -267          | -99           | 59 127   | H        |
| 2004            | 181          | -385          | -204          | 58 923   | H        |
| 2005            | 154          | -420          | -266          | 58 657   | H        |
| 2006            | 147          | -386          | -239          | 58 418   | H        |
| 2007            | 204          | -336          | -132          | 58 286   | H        |
| 2008            | 140          | -377          | -237          | 58 049   | H        |
| 2009            | 226          | -409          | -183          | 57 866   | H        |
| 2010            | 196          | -323          | -127          | 57 739   | H        |
| 2011            | 178          | -354          | -176          | 57 563   | H        |
| 2012            | 179          | -359          | -180          | 57 383   | H        |
| 2013            | 188          | -492          | -304          | 57 079   | H        |
| 2014            | 69           | -403          | -334          | 56 745   | H        |
| 2015            | 162          | -305          | -143          | 56 602   | H        |
| <b>In total</b> | <b>3 053</b> | <b>-5 052</b> | <b>-1 999</b> | <b>x</b> | <b>H</b> |

Source: own study based on the data of Departament Demografii GUS (Polish Central Statistical Office).

### **Town developmental type from a demographic point of view**

With figures referring to population growth and migration balance (tab. 2, 5, 6, 7), Webb's method<sup>15</sup> can be used to establish the population development typology of Ostrołęka. For 8 combinations which may cause population changes, in case of Ostrołęka 4 combinations appeared allowing to assign the town to the following types:

- type A, when population growth exceeds negative migration balance. This type occurred in the years 2001–2002,
- type B, when population growth exceeds positive migration balance. This type occurred in the years 1947–1950, 1951–1955, 1961–1965 (a slight prevalence), 1982–1985, 1994, 1996–1997, 1999–2000,
- type C, when migration balance exceeds positive population growth. This type occurred in the years 1956–1960, 1960–1970, 1971–1975 (tab. 2), 1976–1981, 1986–1989, 1990–1993, 1995, 1998,
- type H, causing population loss, i.e. negative migration balance exceeds positive population growth. This type occurred in the years 2003–2015.

Having the data on population growth and migration balance for the 6 periods from the years 1947–1975 and the following 40 years (1976–2015), it can be said that type C occurred most often in the analyzed period, that is for 37 years, then type B for 23 years, type H for 13 years and rarely type A – for two years. Types of changes A, B, C lead to an increase in population and type H to its loss. From a demographic point of view, the situation when types B and C occur is the most favourable, and this type of relationship between population growth and migration

<sup>15</sup> For more on this topic vide: T. Pakulska, W. Rakowski, *Typologia województw z punktu widzenia rozwoju ludności w latach 1989–1993*. Studia Demograficzne 995, No. 1(9).

balance was most frequent in Ostrołęka, leading to a high increase in its demographic potential and there is hope that the decrease in the number of inhabitants occurring since 2003 will not be a permanent process.

In order to deepen the considerations undertaken in this article, it would be necessary to analyze in the future:

1. migrations, that is where the population flows in from and where it flows out to, and what the demographic characteristics of the migrants are, and how the town benefits from it,
2. at what age women give birth to their first, second, third, ... child and possibly with a division according to their birthplaces,
3. age and sex of the deceased, possibly the causes of their death,
4. the changes that have taken place since 1950 in terms of sex, age, socio-occupational structure, sources of income of the town inhabitants,
5. the problems mentioned above should also be analyzed with reference to Ostrołęka's hinterland or its entire subregion.

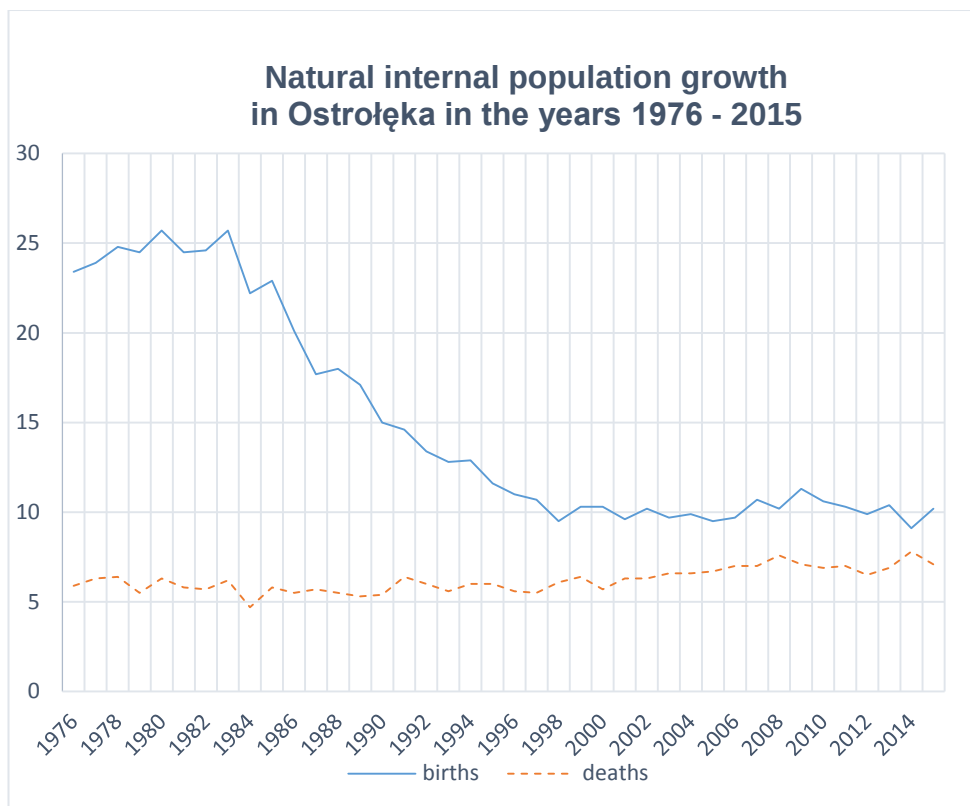


Figure 1

Natural internal population growth in Ostrołęka in the years 1976–2015

Source: own study based on the data of Departament Demografii GUS (Polish Central Statistical Office).

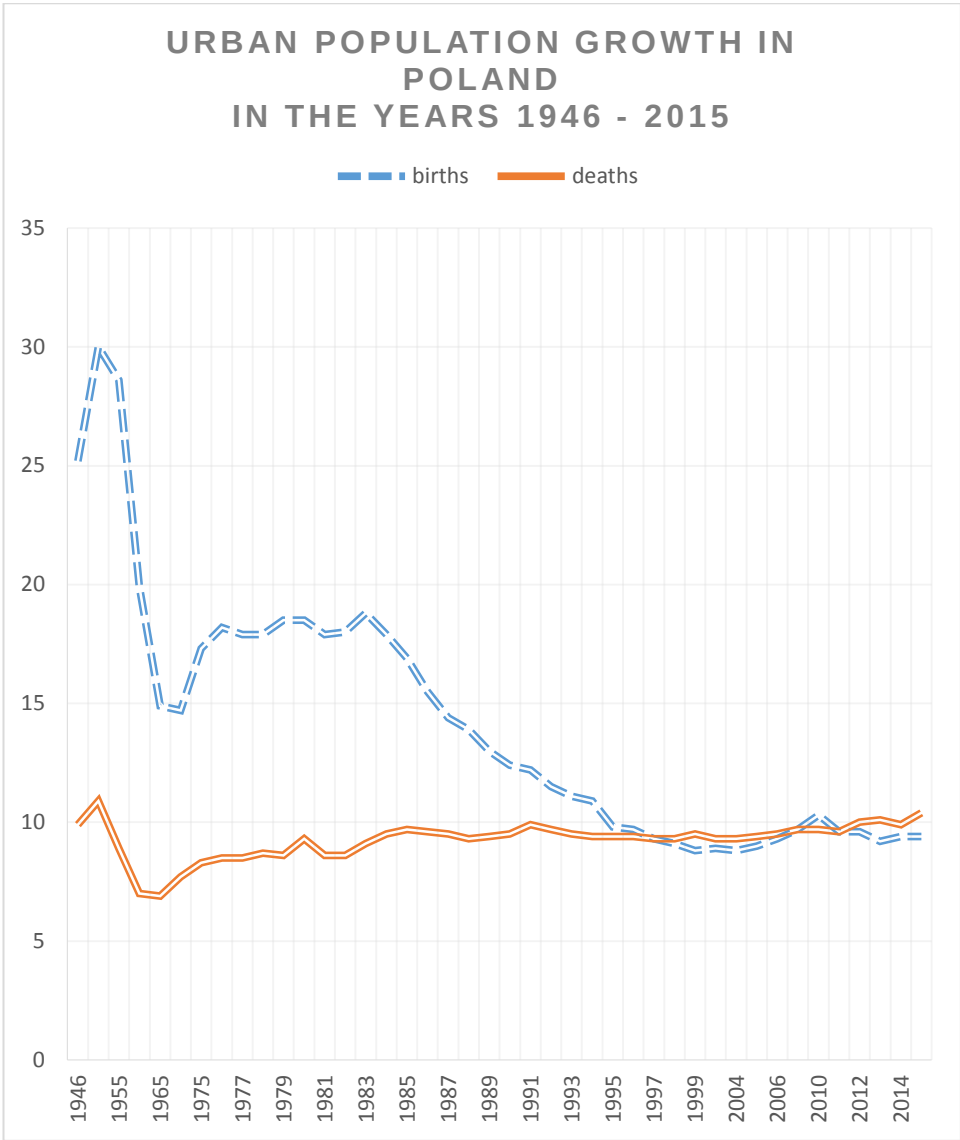


Figure 2

Urban population growth in Poland

Source: own study based on the data of Departament Demografii GUS (Polish Central Statistical Office),

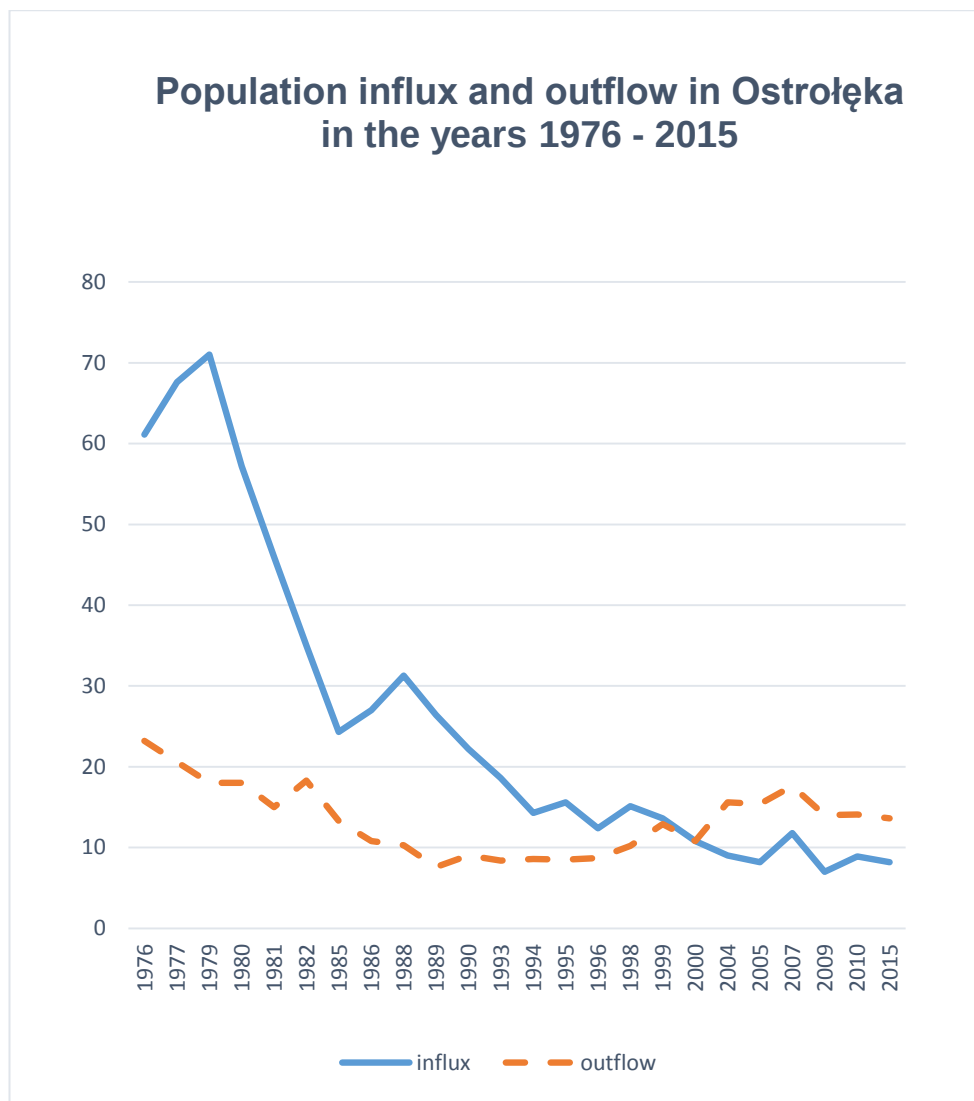


Figure 3.

Population influx and outflow in the years 1976–2015

Source: own study based on the data of Departament Demografii GUS (Polish Central Statistical Office).

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## SUMMARY

As in many other countries in the world, great economic, social and demographic changes after the Second World War took place in Poland, too. Against this backdrop, the question arises whether these changes can be observed also in towns located in peripheral and economically underdeveloped areas. Therefore, the subject of discussion is Ostrołęka and its population in the years 1946–2015, population growth and migration as constituent parts of shaping total population



growth of the town. It has been proved in the article that, in particular phases of the town's development, the importance of these elements changed. For example, in the years 1947–1975 with total population growth of 18 761 people, the share of the migration balance was 65.7%, in the years 1976–1989 61.8%, in the years 1990–1999 55.2% and in the years 1999–2015 the outflow of population exceeded the inflow, and the size of the population growth did not manage to compensate for the loss related to the negative balance. As a result of such processes in Ostrołęka there was a population loss of 2000 people. The vast majority of towns and rural communes in Poland are affected by such phenomenon, whereas Ostrołęka, unlike most Polish towns, in the years 1999–2015 still was characterized by positive population growth.

## STRESZCZENIE

Podobnie jak w wielu innych państwach na świecie, tak i w Polsce zaszyły po drugiej wojnie światowej ogromne zmiany gospodarcze, społeczne i demograficzne. Na tle tego stwierdzenia nasuwa się pytanie, czy zmiany te daje się obserwować także w miastach leżących na obszarach peryferyjnych gospodarczo zacofanych. Stąd też przedmiotem rozważań jest Ostrołęka i jej liczba mieszkańców w latach 1946–2015 z wyodrębnieniem przyrostu naturalnego i migracji ludności jako części składowych kształtujących przyrost rzeczywisty ludności miasta. W artykule udowodniono, że w poszczególnych fazach rozwoju miasta znaczenie tych elementów się zmieniało. Przykładowo w latach 1947–1975 przy przyroście rzeczywistym ludności 18 761 osób, udział salda migracji w przyroście wynosił 65,7%, w latach 1976–1989 odpowiednio 61,8%, w latach 1990–1999 55,2%, zaś w latach 1999–2015 zanotowano przewagę odpływu ludności nad napływem, a wielkość przyrostu naturalnego nie była w stanie zrekompensować strat związanych z ujemnym saldem. W rezultacie takich procesów w Ostrołęce nastąpił ubytek ludności o 2000 osób. Takim zjawiskiem dotknięta jest zdecydowana większość miast i gmin wiejskich w Polsce, przy czym Ostrołęka w odróżnieniu od większości miast w kraju w latach 1999–2015 ciągle jeszcze charakteryzowała się przyrostem naturalnym ludności.

**Key words:** population of Ostrołęka, population growth, migration, developmental type

**Słowa kluczowe:** ludność Ostrołęki, przyrost naturalny, migracje, typ rozwojowy



## **Chapter II**

# **Poland**



DUKE OF EASTERN MAZOVIA (1373–1429).  
JANUSZ I THE OLD [GREAT]

KSIĄŻĘTA WSCHODNIEGO MAZOWSZA (1373–1429).  
JANUSZ I [WIELKI] I JEGO POTOMSTWO

In the 16th-century *Genealogia Tomickiego*, the eldest son of Siemowit III – Janusz I – was called *prudentissimus* (prudential, wise)<sup>1</sup>. That epithet must have already functioned at the Mazovian court in the 15th century. It is confirmed by the opinion of Jan Długosz, who used the lost “*Rocznik Mazowiecki*” and drew on local tradition. In the Piast dynasty, the fame of his name was preserved by next generations; as many as three consecutive sons of his grandson Bolesław IV were named Janusz. Nevertheless, the duke was not given a nickname during his lifetime. It was not until a very late, that is coming from the year 1826, official copy of ducal and royal privileges for Serock, when Janusz I was called – Jan Starszy Wielki (Jan the Old and Great)<sup>2</sup>.

The aim of the article is to outline the character of one of the most prominent Mazovian Piasts with a focus on his role in the civilizational development of Mazovia. There are relatively many source materials about the character of Janusz I. Those are documents, Mazovian Metrica, judicial books: land and city, sphragistics treasures and architectural monuments, yearbooks, genealogies and obituaries<sup>3</sup>.

Janusz I was the eldest son of Siemowit III and Euphemia - the daughter of Nicholas II, Duke of Opava<sup>4</sup>. He was born around 1346<sup>5</sup>. The name Janusz was of cognatic origin (on the distaff side), because the duke received it in honour of his mother's eldest brother<sup>6</sup>. Janusz was probably raised at the royal court of Casimir the Great, where he acquired skills necessary for the future ruler and knight.

In 1373, the first division of the province took place. The elder of Siemowit III's sons was then granted the lands of Warsaw, Zakroczym, Wizna and

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<sup>1</sup> *Acta Tomiciana*, Vol. 8. Poseniae 1860, p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> AGAD, KRSW No. 4207 b, pp. 267–270.

<sup>3</sup> Vide source documentation J. Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów mazowieckich. Studia nad dziejami Mazowsza, intytucją i genealogią książąt*. Kraków 2013, pp. 22–30, 420–429.

<sup>4</sup> K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów mazowieckich*. Poznań–Wrocław 1998 [2008], pp. 78–79.

<sup>5</sup> M. Wilska, *Książę Janusz Starszy*. Warszawa 1986, p. 7; J. Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów mazowieckich...*, p. 229.

<sup>6</sup> W. Dworzaczek, *Genealogia*. Warszawa 1959, Table No. 11.

Ciechanów, that is the north-eastern part of Mazovia bordering Lithuania<sup>7</sup>. After his father's death (16 June 1381), Janusz I ruled the province consisting of Eastern Mazovia, i.e. the lands of Czersk, Warsaw (with later Łomża and Nur), Liw, Wyszogród, Zakroczym (with later Różan) and Ciechanów<sup>8</sup>. The Duchy of Janusz I, much larger territorially than his younger brother Siemowit IV's province (over 21.4 thousand km<sup>2</sup>)<sup>9</sup>, was less developed and populated though than the Duchy of Płock. Janusz I, known for his active economic activity, according to his father, was better suited to be the host of that territory, whose further development involved a large amount of financial resources. Before the division of the province, Janusz I endeavoured to join to his realm the well-developed and profitable land of Wyszogród, until then connected with the Duchy of Płock, and thus resigned from the control over the extensive but still undeveloped land of Wizna (together with Goniądz).

After his father's death, he undertook his first independent steps related to foreign policy. Taking advantage of internal struggles for power in Lithuania (Kiejstut and his son Witold against Jagiełło Olgierdowicz), he entered Podlasie and captured Drohiczyn and Mielnik, placing there a Mazovian crew<sup>10</sup>. In the spring of 1383, Lithuanians under the command of Jagiełło, attacked the town of Drohiczyn, and despite the brave defence of Mazovians, they forced the defenders to surrender. The Lithuanians' action was at an important moment when the Mazovian forces, especially those of Siemowit IV, who was also supported by Janusz I, were involved in the fight for the Polish crown<sup>11</sup>.

The Duchy of Janusz I was soon in danger of the armed intervention of the Margrave of Brandenburg Sigismund of Luxembourg and of the Małopolska troops to Western Mazovia and Kujawy of Brześć, owned by Siemowit IV. It was only at the price of maintaining neutrality in the conflict of Siemowit IV with the Hungarian queen Elisabeth, whose interests were represented by the Margrave of Brandenburg, that the Duchy of Czersk and Warsaw was saved from destruction and robbery<sup>12</sup>.

Soon, the relations between Janusz I and Grand Duke of Lithuania, Jagiełło, improved. The fall of Siemowit IV's candidacy to the throne in Poland and the simultaneous engagement of Jagiełło's diplomacy in favour of the union with Poland, led to a closer cooperation between the Lithuanians and Duke of Czersk

<sup>7</sup> I J. Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów mazowieckich...*, p. 92.

<sup>8</sup> Ibidem, pp. 93–94.

<sup>9</sup> *Mazowsze w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*. Ed. W. Pałucki. Warszawa 1973, Part 2, pp. 76–77, 85. The data for the second half of the 16th century can be roughly referred already to Janusz I, taking into account though that he also had Tykocin and Złotoria by the Narew river, which were then incorporated into Podlasie.

<sup>10</sup> J. Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów mazowieckich...*, p. 143.

<sup>11</sup> A. Supruniuk, *Mazowsze Siemowitów (1341–1442)*. Warszawa 2010, pp. 41–47.

<sup>12</sup> J. Tęgowski, *Wyprawa Zygmunta Luksemburskiego przeciwko Siemowitowi IV w 1383 r.*, [In:] *Klio viae et invia*. Ed. A. Odrzywolska-Kidawa. Warszawa 2010, pp. 659–660.

and Warsaw. In 1386, Janusz I took part in the baptism, wedding and coronation ceremony of Władysław Jagiełło, then paid liege homage to the royal couple<sup>13</sup>. In the next year he was staying in Vilnius, where he attended the wedding ceremonies of Siemowit IV with Aleksandra Olgierdówna, Jagiełło's sister<sup>14</sup>. The improvement of relations between the Polish king and Janusz I resulted in Jagiełło granting him the land of Drohiczyn<sup>15</sup>. Janusz I probably received that granting from the king not later than about mid-March 1390, as already on 20 March (after sending crews to the towns assigned to him) he was in Zakroczym at the congress with the Mazovian elites<sup>16</sup>. The duke's rule over the land of Drohiczyn did not last long. In August 1392, there was a settlement reached in Ostrów between Witold Kiejtutowicz and Władysław Jagiełło. After concluding the settlement with the Polish king, Witold assumed that the land of Drohiczyn belonged to his realm, as it was part of the patrimony restored to him by Jagiełło<sup>17</sup>. The loss of the land of Drohiczyn by Janusz I took place before 1405, because from that year come the first grantings given by duke Witold to the knights in the land of Drohiczyn<sup>18</sup>. After 1405, in the hands of Janusz I, there was land bordering Lithuania with its centre in Tykocin, which received from the duke (28 June 1425) the Chelm town privileges modelled on Łomża<sup>19</sup>. However, shortly after that date and before 31 December 1425, that area was incorporated into the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Taking over that territory can be related to a broader regulation of the north-western border of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which began after the Melno peace treaty in 1422<sup>20</sup>. Probably in the process of regulating the borders with the Teutonic Knights, Witold decided to finally settle the problem of Mazovian presence in Podlasie.

The duke's relations with the Teutonic Order were not the best for almost the entire period of Janusz I's rule. That was influenced, among others, by the events related to the notorious kidnapping of the duke in 1393. On the initiative of the komtur of Balga Konrad von Kyburg (shortly before the death of Grand Master Konrad von Wallenrode) a surprise attack of the Teutonic Knights from Mazovian

<sup>13</sup> A. Supruniuk, op. cit., p. 48.

<sup>14</sup> Ibidem, p. 49.

<sup>15</sup> *Iura Masoviae Terrestris (Pomniki dawnego prawa ziemskiego)* (from therein IMT), Vol. 1. Pub. J. Sawicki. Warszawa 1972, No. 41.

<sup>16</sup> J. Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów mazowieckich...*, p. 145.

<sup>17</sup> S. Szybkowski, *Przynależność terytorialna ziemi drohiczyńskiej i powiatu goniądzkiego w końcu XIV i na początku XV w.*, [In:] *Hortus Imaginum. Studia historyczne dedykowane pamięci profesora Stanisława Mielczarskiego*. Eds. A. Paner, A. Kłoncewicz, K.M. Kowalski. Gdańsk 2005, p. 226.

<sup>18</sup> *Vitoldiana. Codex privilegiorum Vitoldi magni ducis Lithuaniae 1386–1430*. Pub. J. Ochmański. Warszawa–Poznań 1986, No. 87, 88.

<sup>19</sup> M. Sierba, *W sprawie nadania praw miejskich Tykocinowi*. Acta Universitatis Lodzensis. Folia Historica 2015, Vol. 94, pp. 25–35.

<sup>20</sup> S. Szybkowski, op. cit., p. 230.

Wizna took place, involving the robbery and short-term kidnapping of duke Janusz I as well as the demolition of the town of Złotoria by the Narew river, which was being erected by him in his province<sup>21</sup>. Although the Mazovian ruler was soon freed, that unpleasant incident strengthened the anti-Teutonic attitude of the duke of Czersk, as it breached the honour of the duke himself as well as his subjects. That event was also frequently reminded by the Mazovian side in negotiations and trials with the Teutonic Order in 1413 and 1422/1423, where it constituted a separate article of indictment<sup>22</sup>. The conflict between Janusz I and the authorities of the Teutonic Order in Prussia was only mitigated at the convention of Grand Master Konrad von Jungingen with Janusz I in Działdowo in July 1401<sup>23</sup>. The period of stabilization in mutual relations was necessary due to the Mazovian settlements moving towards the north, especially in the period of intense colonization of the Łomża and then Wizna lands by Janusz I. The borderland settlement in the lands ruled by the Teutonic Knights was constantly expanding and becoming denser, which had to result in local conflicts between the subjects of Mazovian dukes and the Teutonic Knights.

At the beginning of the 15th century, the realm of Janusz I became larger. On 30 December 1401, at a congress in Błonie, Siemowit IV gave in pledge to his older brother the Wizna land with the county of Goniądz for the period of 9 years in exchange for 4,595 three-scores of Czech groschen<sup>24</sup>. That considerable amount of money was gathered by duke Janusz doubtlessly in his own treasury and he decided to use it to safeguard the rights of the Mazovian dukes to that territory.

In May 1404, Janusz was present in Raciążek during negotiations with the Order, and then signed the list of witnesses of the peace treaty signed at that time<sup>25</sup>. Before the outbreak of the Great War, the authorities of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, in order to secure their safety from Eastern Mazovia, decided to force Janusz I to submit a written declaration to Grand Master about maintaining neutrality in the event of a Polish-Lithuanian-Teutonic conflict, especially not letting foreign troops pass through the territory of his duchy. It is known from the preserved correspondence that at that time Janusz I closely cooperated with Władysław Jagiełło and Witold in the field of policy towards the Teutonic Knights and that he made preparations for war. Therefore, after declaring the war and the aggression of the Teutonic Order on the land of Dobrzyń, Kujawy, Krajna and

<sup>21</sup> M. Radoch, *Złotoria w 1393 roku. Zniszczenie grodu i porwanie księcia mazowieckiego Janusza I*, [In:] *Szkice z dziejów kolonizacji Podlasia i Grodzieńszczyzny od XIV do XVI wieku*. Ed. J. Śliwiński. Olsztyn 2002, pp. 21–27.

<sup>22</sup> *Lites ac res gestae inter Polonos Ordinemque Cruciferorum*, Vol. 2. Posnaniae 1892, pp. 63, 186–187.

<sup>23</sup> M. Radoch, *Zarys działalności polityczno-dyplomatycznej książąt mazowieckich wobec państwa krzyżackiego w Prusach w latach 1385–1407*. Olsztyn 1999, pp. 84–85.

<sup>24</sup> IMT, Vol. 1, No. 56.

<sup>25</sup> *Die Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen im 15. Jahrhundert*, Vol. 1: 1398–1437. Pub. E. Weise. Königsberg 1939, Vol. 1, No. 26.



Western Wielkopolska, it was possible to predict soon attacks on Eastern Mazovia. All the more so, because Janusz I (an ally of the Polish king), undoubtedly playing for time, did not intend to make declarations of neutrality to Grand Master. The duke, fearing the Teutonic aggression on his duchy, turned for help to, among others, the bishop of Płock. However, Jakub of Korzkiew (for fear of losing the bishop's estates) refused to provide the duke with military assistance, and forbade his subjects to get involved in the conflict by supporting the Mazovian ruler<sup>26</sup>. In August 1409, the joined forces of the komturs: Friedrich Graf von Zollern of Ostróda and Markward von Salzbach of Brandenburg attacked the Duchy of Czersk and Warsaw. Within three days, the Teutonic Knights ravaged, raped and plundered the borderland territory under the rule of Janusz I<sup>27</sup>. Among larger towns, Ciechanów was destroyed, among others, and the losses were estimated at 20,000 three-scores of Czech groschen. A retaliatory expedition to the territory of the Prussian rulers took place between 5 and 8 October 1409, during the negotiations conducted between Poland and the Order which ended with a truce agreement of the Brda river. Taking advantage of the Teutonic armies' relocation, Mazovian and Lithuanian troops, under the command of Bolek – Janusz I's son and Zygmunt Kiejstutowicz, launched a surprise attack on the territory of the Teutonic borderland, during which, among others, the town of Działdowo and 14 surrounding villages were burned<sup>28</sup>. In the following year, Janusz I mobilized his subjects, personally took part in the victorious battle of Grunwald, and received from Władysław Jagiełło, as a reward for his military service, the castles in Olsztyn, Ostróda and Nidzica, to which he sent Mazovian crews, but soon lost them<sup>29</sup>. After the peace talks between the Polish-Lithuanian side with the Order (in which he did not participate) ended, he acted as a signatory of the peace treaty concluded in Toruń on 1 February 1411<sup>30</sup>. In the following years Janusz I supported the Polish king in the conflict with the Order, participating in war expeditions, among others in 1414 and 1419. He was also one of the signatories of a peace treaty with the Teutonic Order, concluded in the camp by the river Osa near lake Mełno on 27 September 1422<sup>31</sup>. Until the end of his rule in the Duchy of Czersk and Warsaw, the old duke remained a loyal vassal and an ally of the Polish king Władysław Jagiełło.

<sup>26</sup> M. Biskup, *Z badań nad „wielką wojną” z Zakonem Krzyżackim*. Kwartalnik Historyczny 1959, Vol. 66, No. 3, pp. 690–691.

<sup>27</sup> S. Józwiak, *Ofensywa Zakonu*, [In:] S. Józwiak, K. Kwiatkowski, A. Szweda, S. Szybkowski, *Wojna Polski i Litwy z zakonem krzyżackim w latach 1409–1411*. Malbork 2010, pp. 130–131.

<sup>28</sup> J. Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów mazowieckich...*, p. 153.

<sup>29</sup> W. Wilska, *Książę Janusz...*, p. 20.

<sup>30</sup> *Lites...*, Vol. 2, No. 65. More about the provisions of the First Peace of Toruń: vide A. Szweda, *Traktat pokojowy*, [In:] *Wojna Polski i Litwy...*, pp. 712–716.

<sup>31</sup> *Dokumenty strony polsko-litewskiej pokoju mełneńskiego z 1422 roku*. Eds. P. Nowak, P. Pokora. Poznań 2004.

Janusz I's rule, which lasted 56 years, is one of the longest in the history of ducal Mazovia. Siemowit III's elder son was considered already by his contemporaries to be an outstanding figure. The years of his rule (1373–1429) constitute one of the most important periods in economic development in the history of that province. The duke set up towns and villages and built new castles. When he was taking the rule over Eastern Mazovia (1373) only Czersk, Warsaw, Ciechanów, Warka, Ostrołęka and Wizna had city rights. The duke renewed and extended their privileges and set up over 20 towns, including: Różan, Błonie, Sochocin, Goszczyn, Nasielsk, Wyszogród, Nowa Warszawa, Łomża, Grójec, Liw, Mińsk, Maków, Nowe Miasto, Janów nad Orzycem, Zakroczym, Latowicz, Garwolin, Serock, Kolno, Nur, Przasnysz, Nowogród, Kamieńczyk, Piaseczno.

After the Lithuanian invasions, Janusz I began to colonize Eastern Mazovia. Initially (before Grunwald), due to the real threat of the Teutonic attacks, he created settlements near the Bug and Narew rivers. Many villages were established near the towns of Łomża, Nowogród, and Wizna, mainly settled by ducal peasants. It was only after the conclusion of the First Peace of Toruń (1411) that the process of settlement in the border forest began, which encompassed the regions by the Narew and Wizna rivers and then further north. Janusz I colonized on a large scale (carefully choosing suitable officials, bailiffs and other officers of the ducal apparatus of governance) the north-eastern part of the Duchy, distributing hundreds of "włókas" (old-Polish units of land area – translator's note) of woodland in the form of sales and grantings, especially units consisting of 10 włókas (about 170 hectares), which became the beginnings of most of the villages founded by the small knights of Mazovia<sup>32</sup>. There were also forges and mills established, wood and forest products trade developed on a large scale. In Łomża Land itself, Janusz I granted over 1000 fields of land, not counting the forests in Poryte and Izbno, and the voytship in Zabiele<sup>33</sup>. The duke also contributed to the development of the settlement in Wizna Land, which in the years 1402–1429 was part of his province<sup>34</sup>. After granting the settlers the land by the Narew river and the lower courses of its creeks, the colonization reached the Wissa river, along the shore of the Biebrza river<sup>35</sup>. After settling on both banks of the Wissa river, the settlement encompassed the lands by its left creeks, connecting with the settlement of the upper creeks of the Narew and Skroda rivers<sup>36</sup>. Only in a part of Wizna Land within ten years (1414–1424) about 70 villages were established. At that time, in

<sup>32</sup> J. Wiśniewski, *Początki i rozwój osadnictwa w ziemi łomżyńskiej w końcu XIV i XV w.* Studia Łomżyńskie 1989, Vol. 1, pp. 44–74.

<sup>33</sup> W. Smoleński, *Szkice z dziejów szlachty mazowieckiej*. Kraków 1908, p. 22.

<sup>34</sup> C. Brodzicki, *Początki osadnictwa Wizny i ziemi wiskiej na tle wydarzeń historycznych w tym regionie Polski (do 1529 roku)*. Warszawa 1994, pp. 85–94.

<sup>35</sup> J. Wiśniewski, *Dzieje osadnictwa w powiecie grajewskim do połowy XVI w.*, [In:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów powiatu grajewskiego*, Vol. 1. Eds. M. Gnatowski, H. Majecki. Warszawa 1975, p. 51.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 56.

Wizna Land Janusz I granted about 1,250 włókas. Most of the villages that came into being then, have survived until the present day<sup>37</sup>. Thanks to the colonization of new territories, the duke increased the military potential of the province, because grantings *ad servitia communia* obliged the small knights who were given land to cavalry military service at their own expense<sup>38</sup>. On the other hand, in the area of the former settlement, Janusz I, issued for the local knights documents granting immunity to that property and the right to set up villages under German law, with a fixed rate of ducal dues per settled włoka.

Janusz I was also an initiator of great architectural ventures<sup>39</sup>. The duke, following the example of Casimir the Great, attached great importance to the extension and reconstruction of his mansions. During his rule, the castle in Liw was erected and the castles in Czersk and Ciechanów were expanded. Construction works were carried out in Łomża, Maków, Nowogród, Ostrołęka, Wyszogród, Wizna and manor houses (of earth and wood construction) were erected in Opinogóra and Nowe Miasto. The expansion of castles, fortifications and residences was supposed to strengthen the defence of Mazovia in response to emerging external threats.

He also successfully continued his father's (Siemowit III's) law-making activity as in the years 1387–1421 he issued as many as 13 statutes containing 68 provisions. After the death of his younger brother (Siemowit IV), he announced at the congress in Zakroczym on 4 August 1426, along with his nephews (Siemowit V, Trojden II, Włodzisław I), a comprehensive statute for the whole of Mazovia consisting of 26 articles<sup>40</sup>.

Janusz I, since the beginning of his rule, took special care of Warsaw, so the town originally located in the shadow of the ducal realm, reaching from the castle to the church of St. Martin, grew thanks to the duke and his family's grantings. Janusz I upgraded Warsaw to the ducal capital and surrounded it with the first line of walls; he granted tax credit to the townspeople in exchange for the construction of further walls; he erected Dwór Wielki (*Curia Maior*) within the area of the present Royal Castle. Under his rule, the church of St. John the Baptist was upgraded to a collegiate church – the college of canons from Czersk was

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<sup>37</sup> Ibidem, p. 76.

<sup>38</sup> S. Russocki, *Nadania ziemi „ad servitia communia” a obowiązek służby wojskowej na Mazowszu w XV wieku*, [In:] *Miscellanea iuridica złożone w darze Karolowi Koranyiemu w czterdziestolecie pracy naukowej*, Vol. 1. Warszawa 1961, pp. 111–119; Z.H. Nowak, *Przyczynek do sprawy służby wojskowej na Mazowszu w pierwszej połowie XV wieku*, [In:] *Venerabiles, nobiles et honesti*. Toruń 1997, pp. 207–212.

<sup>39</sup> I. Galicka, *Z problematyki badań średniowiecznych zamków na Mazowszu*. Biuletyn Historii Sztuki 1963, Vol. 25, No. 21; Eadem, *Świeckie budownictwo książęce w dzielnicy Janusza Starszego Mazowieckiego na Mazowszu*, Vol. 1–2. Warszawa 1968 [typescript in IS PAN].

<sup>40</sup> IMT, Vol. 1, No. 73; S. Russocki, K. Pacuski, *Ustrój polityczny i prawo*, [In:] *Dzieje Mazowsza*, Vol. 1. Ed. H. Samsonowicz. Pułtusk 2006, p. 435.

transferred there<sup>41</sup>. On 27 December 1408, Janusz I issued a sales note of the Warsaw voytship to Piotr Pielgrzym, under which Nowe Miasto was separated from the authority of the voyt of Warsaw and a separate urban organization was formed of it<sup>42</sup>. And on 4 June 1413, the duke confirmed and expanded the Chełmno city rights for Warsaw<sup>43</sup>. That privilege also distinguished territorially Old Warsaw with Solec (a village bought by the city with the consent of duke Janusz, to which he granted the Chełmno rights in 1382) from New Warsaw with its adjoining areas.

The tried and tested system of state administration, which consisted in the personal exercise of power by the duke in various parts of his realm, required constant travel of the ruler and his court. Janusz I, when visiting numerous locations, not only participated in higher courts and rallies, but also conducted personnel policy and personally supervised the implementation of economic activities as well as the construction of defensive structures. Periodic stays in important centres of Eastern Mazovia and in the towns belonging to wealthy knights also contributed to strengthening the prestige of the ruler<sup>44</sup>. According to the preserved sources, the centre most often visited by the duke was Warsaw. It was followed by Ciechanów (where Janusz I supervised the expansion of the castle), Czersk (the former capital of the duchy), Zakroczym, Wyszogród, Nowe Miasto and Łomża.

The chancellery of Janusz I played an important role in the process of transformation in Mazovia and in efficient management of the duchy. In the first period of his rule in the Duchy of Warsaw, Mikołaj from Płock (1373–1379) was the head of the chancellery, initially a ducal notary and then a vice chancellor<sup>45</sup>. In the following years, the post of the head of the chancellery was held by Więclaw, Dominik from Kłodno and Paweł from Borzewo<sup>46</sup>. The last chancellor of Janusz I was Gotard from Gurba. He was Doctor of Laws of the University of Bologna and therefore was responsible for editing the statutes issued in Janusz I's province, which regulated a number of issues in the fields of juridical, civil, criminal and procedural law<sup>47</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> A. Salina, *Polityka książąt mazowieckich wobec władz Kościoła od początku XIV wieku do 1526 roku*. Poznań 2011, pp. 97–103.

<sup>42</sup> *Przywileje królewskiego miasta stołecznego Starej Warszawy 1376–1772* (hereafter PSW). Pub. T. Wierzbowski. Warszawa 1913, No. 7; J. Grabowski, *XV-wieczne przywileje dla Nowej Warszawy. Ze studiów na ustrojem i organizacją miasta „extra muros” w okresie książęcym*. Rocznik Warszawski 2012, Vol. 37, pp. 7–8.

<sup>43</sup> PSW, No. 8.

<sup>44</sup> M. Wilska, *Mazowieckie środowisko dworskie Janusza Starszego. Studium społeczne*. Warszawa 2012, p. 29.

<sup>45</sup> J. Grabowski, *Kancelarie książęce na Mazowszu (do 1526 roku)*, [In:] *Dyplomatyka staropolska*. Ed. T. Jurek. Warszawa 2015, pp. 223–224.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 223.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 224.

Janusz I initially used the titulary of Wizna, Warsaw, Zakroczym and Ciechanów<sup>48</sup>. However, after his father's death and a new division of Mazovia (1381), he acted as the duke of: Czersk, Warsaw, Wyszogród, Zakroczym and the lord and heir of Ciechanów<sup>49</sup>. At the end of the 14th century, there was systematic appearance of Russian titulary on the documents of Janusz I, as well as the epithet "old" (*senior*)<sup>50</sup>. At the beginning of the 15th century there was a fundamental change and unification of the full titulary of Janusz I<sup>51</sup>. The duke resigned from all the previous particular titles except for the Czersk title.

Janusz I used three types of seals during his rule (1373–1429): seals depicting a standing figure: larger and medium as well as a signet seal<sup>52</sup>. The larger seal of Janusz I, depicting a knight (the duke) in armour and a helmet, wielding a sword and shield with the Mazovian eagle, is of great artistic value, with the features of developed Gothic.

Janusz I's wife was Anna Danuta, the daughter of Kiejstut – Duke of Lithuania and Biruta<sup>53</sup>. Janusz I and Anna Danuta got married at the latest in 1373<sup>54</sup>. Anna, before coming to Mazovia, was baptized in Lithuania, and her godfather was a Teutonic knight – Gunter of Hohenstein, who had been a Lithuanian prisoner for some time and thus became friends with the duchess's father – Kiejstut<sup>55</sup>. Anna Danuta's marriage to Janusz I was a successful relationship. The spouses lived together for over 50 years. It was the longest-lasting marriage of a Mazovian Piast. There is not much preserved information about Anna Danuta's activities. The duchess should be associated with founding the church of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary in New Warsaw (today's parish church in Nowe Miasto in Warsaw)<sup>56</sup>. From the preserved records in the ducal metrica, it is known that Anna Danuta performed various legal actions, among others buying and selling land property in Błonie district. Anna Danuta died on 26 November 1424 and was buried in the collegiate church of St. John the Baptist in Warsaw<sup>57</sup>.

Janusz I and Anna Danuta had a daughter and three sons: Janusz, Bolesław and Konrad, who died at a young age. The name of the duke's daughter is not

<sup>48</sup> J. Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów mazowieckich...*, pp. 346–347.

<sup>49</sup> Ibidem, pp. 347–349.

<sup>50</sup> Ibidem, p. 350.

<sup>51</sup> Ibidem, p. 351.

<sup>52</sup> S.K. Kuczyński, *Pieczęcie książąt mazowieckich*. Wrocław 1978, pp. 327–333.

<sup>53</sup> J. Tęgowski, *Pierwsze pokolenia Giedyminowiczów*. Poznań–Wrocław 1999, pp. 217–219.

<sup>54</sup> J. Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów mazowieckich...*, p. 92.

<sup>55</sup> J. Tęgowski, *Pierwsze pokolenia...*, p. 218.

<sup>56</sup> *Katalog zabytków sztuki – Warszawa*, Part 2: *Nowe Miasto*. Ed. M. Kałamajska-Saeed. Warszawa 2001, pp. 1–9.

<sup>57</sup> J. Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów mazowieckich...*, pp. 446–450.

known, although it can be assumed that after marrying Piotr, the voivode of Moldavia, she took the name of Olga<sup>58</sup>.

Although the elder sons were already married during their father's rule, Janusz I did not divide his realm and did not grant them separate provinces.

The eldest of the sons, Janusz the Younger, (born around 1380), in 1407 married Katarzyna, the daughter of magnate Spytko from Melsztyn, and received an indefinite emolument in the land of Maków and Rózan<sup>59</sup>. The duke died childless on 18 October 1422 and was buried in the collegiate church of St. John the Baptist in Warsaw, the necropolis of the Piasts of Eastern Mazovia<sup>60</sup>.

The other son of Janusz I – Bolesław (born around 1382/1383) – in 1412 married Anna, the daughter of Fyodor Ratneński<sup>61</sup>. Bolesław the Younger, during his father's reign, replaced him in various legal activities, demonstrating greater political activity than his elder brother. In October 1409 (as it was mentioned), he and Zygmunt Kiejstutowicz launched a retaliatory Mazovian-Lithuanian expedition to the territory of the Teutonic Knights. After the Battle of Grunwald, he was one of the signatories of peace with the Teutonic Knights concluded in Toruń on 1 February 1411, which proves his growing political role as his father's predicted successor. In March 1412, Bolesław Januszowicz was in Lubowla during the congress of the Polish king Władysław Jagiełło with Sigismund of Luxemburg, during which a treaty was signed between Poland and Hungary<sup>62</sup>. That was where he also represented his father. In 1414, he took part in another conflict with the Order, the so-called Hunger War, also participating in peace negotiations. Like his elder brother, he received a lease from his father, which constituted a temporary provision until the division of Mazovia. The area included: Bądków, Garwolin and Latowicz in Czersk Land. Bolesław died probably in October 1423 and was buried in the collegiate church of St. John the Baptist in Warsaw<sup>63</sup>. He left two sons: Konrad and Bolesław IV and a daughter – Euphemia.

After an unexpected death of the eldest grandson of Janusz I, Konrad Bolesławowicz<sup>64</sup> in March 1427, a solemn congress of all the major dignitaries and officials from the Duchy of Czersk and Warsaw took place at the beginning of 1428 (probably on 7 January) in Warsaw, during which they paid tribute to Janusz

<sup>58</sup> J. Tęgowski, *Powiązania genealogiczne wojewodów moldawskich Bogdanowiczów z domem Giedyminowiczów w XIV–XV wieku*. Genealogia. Studia i Materiały Historyczne 1993, Vol. 3, p. 50; K. Jasiński, op. cit., p. 97.

<sup>59</sup> J. Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów mazowieckich...*, p. 154.

<sup>60</sup> Ibidem, pp. 454–456.

<sup>61</sup> K. Jasiński, op. cit., 101–103.

<sup>62</sup> Z.H. Nowak, *Międzynarodowe procesy polubowne jako narzędzie polityki Zygmunta Luksemburskiego w północnej i środkowowschodniej Europie (1412–1424)*. Toruń 1981, p. 28.

<sup>63</sup> J. Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów mazowieckich...*, pp. 457–458.

<sup>64</sup> K. Jasiński, op. cit., pp. 154–155.

I's grandson – juvenile Bolesław IV and his sister Euphemia<sup>65</sup>. It was an important event as it stabilized the situation in the province of Czersk (after the death of Bolesław and Konrad Bolesławowic) and ensured succession (in the event of Janusz I's death) to his minor grandchildren.

According to a contemporary entry to Mazovian Metrica, the duke died on 8 December 1429 at 4 p.m. at Czersk castle<sup>66</sup> and was buried in the collegiate church of St. John the Baptist in Warsaw, the necropolis of the Piasts of Eastern Mazovia. The duke lived to a truly old age, being the longest living Mazovian Piast.

Janusz I – the most prominent of the Mazovian dukes, who can be called Mazovian Casimir the Great – during his rule (1373–1429) intensively developed Eastern Mazovia, founded hundreds of villages and many cities. According to Długosz, he was not only the wisest among the contemporary dukes, but also a “mirror” and a role model for others: *Homo inter sue etatis principes sapientissimus et insignis, qui iusta faciendo iudicia terram suam in optimam reduxerat culturam. [...] ut speculum ceterorum nominarentur et exemplar*<sup>67</sup>.

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<sup>65</sup> *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Księstwa Mazowieckiego*. Pub. J.T. Lubomirski. Warszawa 1863, Appendix No. X, p. 344.

<sup>66</sup> K. Jasiński, op. cit., p. 80; J. Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów mazowieckich...*, p. 446.

<sup>67</sup> *Joannis Długossi Annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, Lib. XI: 1413–1430. Varsaviae 2000, p. 242.

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## SUMMARY

Janusz I (1346–1429) was the son of Siemowit III and Euphemia – the daughter of Nicholas II, Duke of Opava. He was named in honour of his mother's family, Euphemia, Duchess of Opava. There is not much preserved information concerning the early stages of his life. In 1373, Siemowit III assigned provinces to his elder sons; Janusz I received the lands of Warsaw, Wizna, Zakroczym and Ciechanów.

After the death of Siemowit III in 1381, the final division of Mazovia took place. Janusz I ruled over Eastern Mazovia (the lands of Czersk, Warsaw, Ciechanów, Zakroczym, Wyszogród, Nur, Różan, Łomża). Janusz I married Anna Danuta, the daughter of Kiejstut – Duke of Lithuania, with whom he had 3 sons (Janusz, Bolek, Konrad) and a daughter (Olga). Janusz I (the longest living Mazovian Piast) died in Czersk (8 December 1429) and was buried in the collegiate church of St. John the Baptist, the necropolis of the Piasts of Eastern Mazovia.

## **STRESZCZENIE**

Janusz I (1346–1429) był synem Siemowita III i Eufemii, córki Mikołaja II, księcia opawskiego. Miano otrzymał na cześć rodziny matki, księżniczki opawskiej. Nie zachowało się wiele informacji z początkowego okresu życia. W 1373 r. Siemowit III wydzielił swoim starszym synom dzielnice; Janusz I otrzymał ziemię warszawską, wiską, zakroczymską i ciechanowską. Po śmierci Siemowita III w 1381 r. doszło do ostatecznego podziału Mazowsza. Janusz I rządził na Wschodnim Mazowszu (ziemia czerska, warszawska, ciechanowska, zakroczymska, wyszogrodzka, nurska, różańska, łomżyńska). Janusz I poślubił Annę Danutę, córkę księcia litewskiego Kiejstuta, z którą miał trzech synów (Janusza, Bolka, Konrada) oraz córkę (Olę). Janusz I (najdłużej żyjący Piast mazowiecki) zmarł w Czersku 8 XII 1429 r. i został pochowany w kolegiacie św. Jana Chrzciciela, nekropolii Piastów Wschodniego Mazowsza.

**Key words:** Janusz I, the Piasts, Warsaw, Eastern Mazovia

**Słowa kluczowe:** Janusz I, Piastowie, Warszawa, Wschodnie Mazowsze

## SOURCES TO THE HISTORY OF NORTH-EASTERN MAZOVIA IN THE 19TH–20TH CENTURIES

### ŹRÓDŁA DO DZIEJÓW MAZOWSZA PÓŁNOCNO- WSCHODNIEGO W XIX–XX WIEKU

A historian studying the history of any region of Poland faces the problem of searching indispensable in their work sources. It is an essential problem, due to a difficult history of our country and the losses caused by wars, which took place over the centuries. Archives, libraries and museums were pillaged by the policy of the partitionists and occupants. Therefore, it is so important to use every accessible source, reach every fonds, whose collections may bring new information to scientific research on the history of a particular region.

For the history of North-Eastern Mazovia in the 19th and 20th centuries, essential are the file remains of the authorities and institutions, whose functioning is the effect of a changing administrative affiliation of those areas. They are kept in various archives, frequently only in residual parts.

#### **The Duchy of Warsaw and the Kingdom of Poland**

Before the Duchy of Warsaw was established, the area of Mazovia had been under the Prussian rule, being part of a province called New East Prussia. In the resources of AGAD (the Central Archives of Historical Records), there is fonds on Generalne Dyrektorium (General Directory), the Department of New East Prussia, including the material on the history of those lands in the years 1795–1806<sup>1</sup>.

In the early 19th century, North-Eastern Mazovia was incorporated to the Duchy of Warsaw. The majority of records, stored in the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, were lost during the Second World War. Today, in the archival collections, there is only a small part of the materials from that period.

For the Napoleonic period, essential are the records of Komisja Rządząca (the Ruling Commission) 1807, Rada Stanu (the Council of State) and Rada Ministrów (the Council of Ministers) of the Duchy of Warsaw 1807–1815 as well as Rada Najwyższa Tymczasowa (the Temporary Supreme Council) of the Duchy of

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<sup>1</sup> *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie. Przewodnik po zasobie*, Vol. II: *Epoka porozbiorowa*. Ed. F. Ramotowska. Naczelna Dyrekcja Archiwów Państwowych, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, Warszawa 1998, pp. 11–15.

Warsaw 1813–1815<sup>2</sup>. A valuable help in reaching the archival materials might be the publications prepared by the researchers of the Napoleonic era<sup>3</sup>.

For research work on the history of North-Eastern Mazovia during the period of the Duchy of Warsaw and Congress Poland (the Kingdom of Poland), one might find useful the records of the Government Commission for Internal Affairs and the Police 1815–1868, stored in the Central Archives of Historical Records. There are the preserved materials concerning towns, including: regulatory plans, the descriptions of particular towns from 1821, information on the activity of city authorities, a register of industrial plants and inventories from the years 1865–1867. It is also worth reaching for the documentation of the territorial administration authorities: the Commission of Mazovia Voivodeship and the counties' civil chiefs. Additional sources – particularly regarding the economic history – are the records of the Administrative Board of the Kingdom of Poland (1815–1866) and of the Government Income and Treasury Commission (1799–1904). For creating a vision of the religious life of the region, one may find helpful the records presenting the functioning of parishes of different religions, constituting the fonds of Centralne Władze Wyznaniowe Królestwa Polskiego (the Central Religious Authorities of the Kingdom of Poland) 1768–1888<sup>4</sup>. It is also worth using the resources of the Cartographic Department of AGAD. There is a collection of maps and plans there from the 19th century, referring to the region of North-Eastern Mazovia, i.a.: a map of Mazovia Voivodeship from 1826, a map of Ostrów County from 1866, a situational plan of Ostrów from 1860, made by an engineer of Ostrów County Z. Korabiewski.

In AGAD, there are also fonds which are the effect of the authorities' activities during the period of national uprisings 1830–1831 and 1863–1864<sup>5</sup>. A valuable supplementation are the records created by the partitioning authorities presenting the repressions of the independence struggle participants in the analyzed region: the records of Stała Komisja Wojenno-Śledcza (the Permanent Committee of Investigation and War) established by the Chief and the General Commander of the Army in the Kingdom of Poland 1833–1865 as well as the records of Tymczasowa Komisja Wojenno-Śledcza (the Temporary Committee of Investigation and War)

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<sup>2</sup> *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie. Informator o zasobie archiwalnym*. Ed. D. Lewandowska. NDAP, Warszawa 2008, pp. 238–250; *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie. Przewodnik po zasobie...*, pp. 29–31, 35–38, 55–57.

<sup>3</sup> *Protokoły Rady Stanu Księstwa Warszawskiego*, Vol. I–II. Pub. B. Pawłowski, T. Mencel. Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, Toruń 1960–1968; *Materiały do dziejów Komisji Rządzącej z 1807*, Vol. I. Pub. M. Rostworowski. Wydawnictwo M. Rostworowski, Kraków 1918; *Archiwum Wybickiego*, Vol. II, Pub. A. Skalkowski. Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk i Sztuki, Gdańsk 1950.

<sup>4</sup> *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie. Przewodnik po zasobie...*, pp. 135–152, 177–203, 260–268, 294–295.

<sup>5</sup> F. Ramotowska, *Akta władz centralnych powstania 1830–1831 przechowywanie w Archiwum Głównym Akt Dawnych*. Archeion 1983, Vol. 75, pp. 6–52.

established by the Chief and the General Commander of the Army of the Warsaw Military District 1861–1881. The fall of the January Uprising resulted in intensive repressions from Russian authorities. It was reflected in the documentation created by central institutions (the Office of the Warsaw Governor-General 1859–1918) and guberniya offices (e.g. the Office of the Governor of Łomża 1867–1918)<sup>6</sup>. A researcher will find there materials concerning numerous aspects of political, social, economic and religious life.

The problems of the early 20th century left their trace in the records created by the Warsaw Guberniya Board of Gendarmerie (in the Warsaw State Archive) and the Boards of Gendarmerie of particular counties (in the above-mentioned archives and their departments, as well as in the National Archive in Białystok). In the resources of the capital city's archive there are records of the Warsaw Guberniya Office. In this fonds one may come across interesting materials concerning social life, i.a. the activity of associations. The records of the guberniya offices and county boards contain valuable knowledge on socio-economic life. An important supplementation is the fonds illustrating the activity of the commissioners for peasant affairs of particular guberniyas<sup>7</sup>. Moreover, there are also records of the Ostrów County Board (Ostrowskoje Uezdnoje Uprawnienie Łomżinskoj Guberni) from the years 1874–1918<sup>8</sup>. The materials concerning rural population are in the records of the Land Loan Society in the Kingdom of Poland (the National Archive in Płock). And the knowledge on the development of industry and the lives of the towns' population will be found in the records of senior inspectors of factories operating within guberniyas. Statistical data contain official materials published in "Obzory" or "Pamjatne Knizki", developed for particular guberniyas.

In the Archive in Pułtusk (a Department of the Warsaw State Archive), there are records produced by Russian special administration: the Board of Gendarmerie of Pułtusk and Ostrów Counties (1867–1895), the Ostrów County Office for Military Duty Affairs (1883–1902), the Commissioner for Peasant Affairs of Ostrów County (1867–1915) and Ostrołęka (1879), the Ostrów Internal Revenue Service (1903–1917). There are also records of Roman-Catholic and Evangelical-Augsburg parishes as well as notary and mortgage records from North-Eastern Mazovia<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> *Archiwa państwowe w Polsce. Przewodnik po zasobach*. Eds. A. Biernat i A. Laszuk. Wydawnictwo DiG, Warszawa 1998, pp. 30–31, 297–300, 442–443.

<sup>7</sup> Example are the records of the Commissioner for Peasant Affairs of Maków County 1867–1915 (Archives in Pułtusk).

<sup>8</sup> For a complete list vide: *Archiwum Państwowe m.st. Warszawy. Informator*, Part II: *Spis zespołów i stan opracowania*. Elab. D. Skorwider. Archiwum Państwowe m.st. Warszawy, Warszawa 1992.

<sup>9</sup> *Archiwum Państwowe w Warszawie. Oddział w Pułtusku. Informator o zasobie archiwalnym*. Elab. K. Wiśniewski. Naczelna Dyrekcja Archiwów Państwowych, Warszawa 2013, pp. 179–180, 184; J. Kazimierski, M. Pleskaczyńska, *Przewodnik po*

Also in the National Archive in Białystok there have been collected the office records from the period of the Kingdom, whose functioning covered the area of North-Eastern Mazovia, i. a. the Office of the Governor of Łomża (1867–1918)<sup>10</sup>.

Many archival materials from particular periods of the source were published in print. It is worth mentioning here the four-volume edition of *Źródła do dziejów wojny polsko-rosyjskiej 1830–1831* prepared by Bronisław Pawłowski, the journals of the independence fights participants as well as the memoirs of political activists and the journals of peasants and workers<sup>11</sup>.

### World War I and the Second Polish Republic

The situation of Polish lands was radically changed by the outbreak of World War I. In 1915, Mazovia fell under German occupation. From that period, there are records of the Government General of Warsaw 1915–1918 and the Warsaw Governor-General, held in the collections of the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw<sup>12</sup>. During the war, Poles got engaged in the activities aimed at regaining independence. Information on the attitude of the community of Mazovia towards Polish Legions, the influx of volunteers from particular regions to the divisions as well as the treatment of the stationing legionaries by local people are included in the records of the Supreme National Committee 1914–1920, kept in the collections of the National Archive in Cracow<sup>13</sup>. An interesting material may also be found in the memoirs of the legionaries, some of which were published in print<sup>14</sup>. In the final phase of the war, the structures of the Polish Military Organization (POW) were working actively. The records showing the activities of particular units of POW are kept in the Central Military Archives in Warsaw. There are also (in the files of the Garrison Headquarters from the years 1918–1939) stored the reports concerning the seizure of power in November 1918 (i.a. in Ostrów Mazowiecka and Ostrołęka)<sup>15</sup>.

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*źródłach historycznych do dziejów ziem województwa ostrołęckiego XV–XX wiek (do 1945)*, Vol. I. Wydawnictwo OTN im. A. Chętnika, Ostrołęka 1994, p. 12.

<sup>10</sup> *Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku. Informator o zasobie archiwalnym*. Elab. T. Fiedorowicz. Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Białystok 2008, p. 12.

<sup>11</sup> *Źródła do dziejów klasy robotniczej na ziemiach polskich. Królestwo Polskie i Białostoczczyzna 1901–1914*. Eds. N. Gąsiorowska, S. Kalabiński. Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warszawa 1971.

<sup>12</sup> H. Rappaport, *Źródła do dziejów okupacji niemieckiej w Królestwie Polskim w czasie I wojny światowej w pozostałościach akt General-Gubernatora Warszawskiego*. Archeion 1965, Vol. 53, pp. 39–56.

<sup>13</sup> *Inwentarz Archiwum Naczelnego Komitetu Narodowego (1914–1920)*. Elab. L. Łysiak, A. Ptaśnikowa, H. Zającowa. Naczelna Dyrekcja Archiwów Państwowych, Warszawa 1958.

<sup>14</sup> *Wspomnienia legionowe*, Vol. II. Eds. S. Falkiewicz, J. Jędrzejewicz. Instytut Badań Najnowszej Historii Polski, Warszawa 1925.

<sup>15</sup> *Informator o zasobie Centralnego Archiwum Wojskowego*. Ed. N. Bujniewicz. Centralne Archiwum Wojskowe, Warszawa 2008, pp. 148–150.

Apart from participating in armed struggle, the Polish undertook a number of social initiatives at that time. In Warsaw, already in August 1914, there was established Centralny Komitet Obywatelski (the Central Citizens' Committee), which covered with its range the area of Mazovia. Precious – from the researchers' point of view – is discussing the activities of the Committee, developed by Wacław Radecki, where a lot of data is included concerning the effects of the war, and particularly the size of war damage caused by military actions and the policy of the occupying country<sup>16</sup>.

Next to the Central Citizens' Committee, there was the Central Welfare Council. In the records, there are surveys conducted by the Council, which allow recreating the location of the population of Mazovia during the war. The amount of the post-war compensations, paid to the inhabitants of towns and villages of Mazovia, depended on the level of war damage. It was estimated by the Central Agricultural Society. In the years 1919–1921, the matter of war compensations was supervised by Główny Urząd Likwidacyjny (the Central Liquidation Office). The records of those institutions are kept in the collections of AAN (Archiwum Akt Nowych – the Archive of New Files).

The location of the population of North-Eastern Mazovia in the first years after regaining independence by Poland may be analyzed on the basis of the records of the Ministry of Provisioning in Warsaw from the years 1915–1916, 1917–1921, 1922–1924. A complement are the records of the Ministry of Agriculture and Agricultural Reforms (i.a. the materials concerning agricultural properties and forests).

The researchers of the history of church institutions during the inter-war period have at their disposal the records of the Ministry of Religion and Public Education, and there are i.a. materials for research on the condition of education in North-Eastern Mazovia<sup>17</sup> as well as information on particular Roman-Catholic, Evangelical-Augsburg and Jewish parishes. In the case of the last ones, essential are the memorial books of Jewish communities.

When analyzing religious life, it is worth using the resources of church archives, i.a. the Diocesan Archive in Łomża and the Diocesan Archive in Płock, as well as parish archives: in Ostrołęka, Ostrów Mazowiecka, Zaręby Kościelne.

The records of the Ministry of Welfare document the level of health services and the standards of hygiene in particular counties of Mazovia. The activities of

<sup>16</sup> *Organizacja i prace Komitetów Obywatelskich na terenie guberni warszawskiej. Sprawozdanie Komitetu Obywatelskiego guberni warszawskiej*, Part I. Elab. W. Radecki. Warszawa 1916.

<sup>17</sup> A supplementation might be the publishings of source materials: *Spis nauczycieli szkół wyższych, średnich, zawodowych, seminariów nauczycielskich oraz wykaz zakładów naukowych i władz szkolnych*. Ed. Z. Zagórowski. Lwów–Warszawa 1924; *Szkoły RP w roku 1925/26*. Ed. M. Falski. Ministerstwo Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego, Warszawa 1927; *Szkoły RP w roku szkolnym 1930/1931*. Ed. M. Falski. Ministerstwo Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego, Warszawa 1933.

local government structures are documented in the records of Związki Powiatów RP (the Associations of Counties of the Republic of Poland) from the region of Warsaw and Białystok voivodeships from the years 1929–1939. The records of Rada Spółdzielcza (the Cooperative Board) (1920–1946), kept in AAN, will be useful for recreating the image of a social and economic life of North-Eastern Mazovia. In the resources of AAN, there are records of political parties and social organizations from Mazovia.

Another event, which had major influence on the history of north-eastern lands of Mazovia, was the Polish-Bolshevik war of 1920. Information on its course is provided i.a. by the records of the Command of the North and North-Eastern Front as well as the records of the 1st, 4th and 5th Army kept in the Central Military Archives<sup>18</sup>.

Researchers will find interesting materials in the collections of national archives. In Pułtusk are kept the records of Okręgowy Urząd Ziemski (the District Land Office) in Ostrów Mazowiecka from the years 1918–1939, Inspektorat Szkolny i Powiatowy Inspektoratu Statystycznego (the School and County Inspectorate of the Statistical Inspectorate) in Ostrów.

In the collections of the Warsaw State Archive, there are civil status records from Roman-Catholic parishes in the region of North-Eastern Mazovia from the years 1795–1918 (i.a. Ostrów 1808–1866) and Jewish communities (i.a. Ostrów 1826–1865). For the researchers of the inter-war period, helpful will be the records of the District Election Commission No. 4 in Ostrów 1922–1928 and the County Governor's Office in Ostrów Mazowiecka from the years 1928–1939, i.a. the records of Referat Bezpieczeństwa i Porządku Publicznego (the Office for Safety and Public Order) as well as Referat Administracyjno-Prawny (the Office for Administration and Law), Referat Wojskowy (the Office for the Army) and the documents concerning land reparcelling in several villages.

For each period, an invaluable source of knowledge is the press, particularly the titles of a local range<sup>19</sup> and official publications, e.g.: „Gazeta Urzędowa Komisarza Ludowego na Powiat Ostrołęcki” (1918–1919), „Gazeta Urzędowa Starostwa Ostrołęckiego” (1919–1920).

## World War II

The time of the German occupation meant further territorial divisions. Ostrołęka, along with the neighboring settlements, was incorporated to the Regency of Ciechanów in East Prussia. The rest of North-Eastern Mazovia fell within the borders of the Warsaw District. The records of the Head of the Warsaw

<sup>18</sup> *Informator o zasobie Centralnego Archiwum Wojskowego...*, p. 182.

<sup>19</sup> A broad list of press titles relating Ostrołęka is in J. Gołota's monograph *Ostrołęka miasto i powiat w okresie międzywojennym*. Wydawnictwo OTN im. A. Chętnika, Ostrołęka 2000, pp. 295–296. The list of the press for Ostrów, Online: [www.powiatostrowmaz.pl/files/479/44f2d5ec9c3b2/bibliografia.pdf](http://www.powiatostrowmaz.pl/files/479/44f2d5ec9c3b2/bibliografia.pdf) [1.07.2017].



District Office (Amt de Gouverneurs des Distrkt Warschau) from the years 1939–1945 are kept in the Warsaw State Archive. They include i.a. two-weekly and monthly reports on the situation in Ostrów County, statistical statements concerning economy and population, the plans of deployment of military facilities as well as the materials on fighting the Polish resistance movement. There are also records of the County Governor's Office in Ostrów Mazowiecka (Kreishauptmannschaft Ostrow) from the period of occupation. They are one of the best preserved records from the Warsaw district and even the entire General Government. They allow us to examine the activity of the German occupant's authorities in numerous aspects<sup>20</sup>. NSDAP (the Nazi Party) had its organizational segments in the region. Its activity is reflected in the file documentation, e.g. the National Socialist German Workers' Party. The Position of Ostrów Mazowiecka (NSDAP Standort Ostrow) 1939–1944 kept in the resources of the Warsaw State Archive.

A historian engaged with the period of World War II will also find useful the records of the Main Committee for the Investigation of Nazi War Crimes, kept in the collections of the Institute of National Remembrance in Warsaw (i.a.: microfilms including monthly reports of the Wehrmacht commanders, battlefield journals, correspondence from the area of Ostrów County).

### Post-war years

From the post-war period there are records which were created by different institutions, organizations and associations. They are kept in AAN (the records of the ministries, central economic and cooperative institutions, etc.) and in field archives<sup>21</sup>. In the collections of the Warsaw State Archive there are records of the Warsaw Voivodeship Office from the period of 1944–1950. There are materials concerning war reparations, provisioning and reconstruction as well as the condition of health services and the development of industry. In the fonds of the Warsaw National Voivodeship Council from the years 1944–1950, there are reports from particular counties. The materials illustrating the condition of agriculture, and particularly the question of estate parcelling and conducting an agricultural reform, are kept in the records of the Voivodeship Land Office in Warsaw 1944–1947. To analyze the process of taking over industrial plants, one might find useful the records of the Voivodeship Commission for Nationalizing Industries for Warsaw Voivodeship 1946–1948. It is also worth using the records of the Voivodeship National Council and the Voivodeship Office in Warsaw as well as the Voivodeship Planning Commission 1950–1975. Social and welfare

<sup>20</sup> *Inwentarze archiwalne*, Vol. XLV: *Starostwo Powiatowe w Ostrowi Maz. 1939–1945*. Elab. D. Skorwider. Archiwum Państwowe m.st. Warszawy, Warszawa 1970.

<sup>21</sup> A list of sources and press titles concerning Ostrołęka in the post-war period vide: J. Kijowski, *Dzieje Ostrołęki 1944–2000*. Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Ostrołęki, Ostrołęka 2002, pp. 775–779.

matters of the population of North-Eastern Mazovia were the subject of interest for the officials working in the Voivodeship Committee of Welfare in Warsaw. The records of this office from the years 1945–1949 are kept in the resources of the Warsaw State Archive. That is where the documents created in the 40s by the Bureau of Information and Propaganda of Warsaw Voivodeship arrived.

Having in mind the fact that many issues were of the party authorities' interest, it is worth analyzing also the content of the records of the Warsaw Voivodeship Committee of PZPR (the Polish United Workers' Party) (from the years 1949–1975). There are, among others, the records of the County Committee in Ostrów Mazowiecka. The records of the Voivodeship Committee of PZPR in Ostrołęka (1975–1989) are their supplementation.

This study is an attempt to make a choice of the sources useful for developing the history of North-Eastern Mazovia in the 19th and 20th centuries<sup>22</sup>. The author's intention is to assist the researchers dealing with the history of this region in reaching archival resources and valuable archival materials, which, together with the press and printed sources, will allow creating a complete image of the past of North-Eastern Mazovia.

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<sup>22</sup> A valuable supplementation will be printed sources, i.a.: *Mazowsze Północne w XIX–XX wieku. Materiały źródłowe 1795–1956*. Ed. J. Szczepański. Naczelna Dyrekcja Archiwów Państwowych, Warszawa–Pułtusk 1997 or A.M. Mickiewicz, S. Tyc, *Materiały źródłowe do dziejów miast położonych wokół Warszawy (przełom XIX i XX w.)*. Stowarzyszenie Przyjaciół Wyszki, Puszczy Białej i Kamienieckiej, Wyszki–Pułtusk 2009.

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## SUMMARY

For a historian examining the history of North-Eastern Mazovia in the 19th and 20th centuries, essential will be the records remains of the authorities and institutions, whose functioning is the effect of a changing administrative affiliation of those areas. They preserved in various conditions and are kept in different archives. For the history of those lands in the 19th century, the majority of records are kept in AGAD. These are the fonds related to the activity of the authorities of different level from the period of the Duchy of Warsaw and the Kingdom of Poland. The early 20th century is the time of war and restoring Poland. From that period, the records of the occupant's authorities preserved as well as the fonds created by the established Polish institutions. They are kept mainly in AAN and in state archives in the area of Mazovia, similarly to the records from the period of the Nazi occupation. Open is the issue of researching the history of North-Eastern Mazovia in the post-war period, for which the archival materials are kept in national archives. The aim of the present dissertation is to help in the search of sources for developing the history of North-Eastern Mazovia.

## STRESZCZENIE

Historykowi zajmującemu się badaniem przeszłości Mazowsza Północno-Wschodniego w XIX i XX wieku niezbędne są pozostałości aktowe władz i instytucji, których funkcjonowanie jest efektem zmieniającej się przynależności administracyjnej tych obszarów. Zachowały się one w bardzo różnym stopniu i znajdują się w różnych archiwach. Dla dziejów tych ziem w wieku XIX najwięcej źródeł przechowywanych jest w AGAD-zie. Są to zespoły związane z działalnością organów władzy różnego szczebla z okresu Księstwa Warszawskiego i Królestwa Polskiego. Początek XX wieku to lata wojny oraz odbudowy państwa polskiego. Z tego okresu zachowały się akta władz okupacyjnych oraz zespoły wytworzone przez tworzone instytucje polskie. Znajdują się one przede wszystkim w AAN oraz archiwach państwowych na terenie Mazowsza. Podobnie jest w przypadku akt z lat okupacji hitlerowskiej. Otwartym zagadnieniem jest badanie dziejów Mazowsza Północno-Wschodniego w okresie powojennym, do którego archiwalia znajdują się w archiwach państwowych. Niniejsze opracowanie ma pomóc w poszukiwaniach źródeł do opracowania historii Mazowsza Północno-Wschodniego.

**Key words:** North-Eastern Mazovia, sources, archives, the 19th century, the 20th century

**Słowa kluczowe:** Mazowsze Północno-Wschodnie, źródła, archiwalia, wiek XIX, wiek XX



## NORTHEASTERN MAZOVIA DURING THE WAR WITH BOLSHEVIK RUSSIA IN AUGUST 1920

### MAZOWSZE PÓŁNOCNO-WSCHODNIE PODCZAS WOJNY Z BOLSZEWICKĄ ROSJĄ W SIERPNIU 1920 ROKU

In the recent history of Northeastern Mazovia, the events of the 1920 Polish-Bolshevik war take a special place.

In July 1920, military action against the Bolshevik Russia entered a decisive phase. On 4 July 1920, began a great offensive of the Western Front troops – commanded by Mikhail Tukhachevsky. The task of the Red Army was to break the Polish Army and create Soviet Polish Socialist Republic of Councils as a constituent part of the Soviet Union. Reborn after World War I, the Republic of Poland was to be liquidated as a major obstacle to bringing the ideals of the Bolshevik Revolution to Western Europe, mainly to Germany.

The Soviet offensive seemed unstoppable. Both the Chief of State Józef Piłsudski and many Polish generals, i.a. Lucjan Żeligowski<sup>1</sup>, were pessimistic about the situation on the front at that time.

In the summer of 1920, the inhabitants of Northeastern Mazovia faced the threat of Bolshevik troops entering. There was ominous news about the offensive of the Red Army and the constant retreat of the Polish troops. The landowners inhabiting Eastern borderlands, fleeing behind the Vistula, talked with terror about the Bolsheviks' cruelty.

When the news about establishing the Council of National Defence in the first half of July 1920 spread, county, urban and communal National Defence Committees or Committees of National Defence were formed, generally headed by starosts, mayors or voyts. The head of the county Committee of National Defence in Ostrołęka was the starost Adam Winiarski, and its other members included, among others, the mayor of Ostrołęka – Władysław Banach and Fr. Józef Gościcki.

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<sup>1</sup> J. Piłsudski, *Pisma zbiorowe*, Vol. VII. Wyd. Instytut Józefa Piłsudskiego w Warszawie, Warszawa 1937, p. 97; Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie (AAN), Akta Generała Żeligowskiego, sygn. 15, k. 241.

These committees brought together representatives of all political parties except for the Communist Party of Poland<sup>2</sup>.

The committees mentioned above established the following sections: financial, propaganda, soldier care and refugees' families care. For the sake of the Polish Army, officials and landowners taxed themselves, the latter also offered horses for the provision of voluntary cavalry regiments<sup>3</sup>.

The propaganda section distributed decrees, leaflets, announcements, posters of the Council of National Defence and the General Inspectorate of the Volunteer Army. In towns and villages the following slogans appeared: "Homeland in need!", "To arms! Your homeland calls you!", "Every threshold will be like a fortress to us!" On Sundays and fair days, rallies were held, usually ending with young men's vows and their declaration that they would join the Volunteer Army as soon as possible<sup>4</sup>.

The soldier care section prepared places for wounded Polish soldiers in houses and manors. In many towns inns were established, where food was provided free of charge or for a small fee to the soldiers. When masses of refugees from Eastern borderlands travelled through Northeastern Mazovia, they received the necessary assistance in the form of food, medicine and accommodation.

Clergy had a great influence on shaping the mood of the society. In order to overcome the depression caused by the news of the failure of Polish troops on the eastern front, a pastoral letter of 6 July, written by Polish bishops to the nation, was read from the pulpits in churches. During religious services and patriotic rallies, priests encouraged to join the Volunteer Army, condemned cowardice and hiding deserters<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Broadly on this subject J. Szczepański, *Wojna 1920 r. na Mazowszu i Podlasiu*. Wyd. Naczelna Dyrekcja Archiwów Państwowych w Warszawie, Wyższa Szkoła Humanistyczna w Puławach, Warszawa–Pułask 1995, pp. 58–64; Idem, *Wojna 1920 r. w Ostrołęckim*. Wyd. Urząd ds. Kombatantów i Osób Represjonowanych, Ostrołęckie Towarzystwo Naukowe, Wyższa Szkoła Humanistyczna w Puławach, Warszawa–Ostrołęka–Pułask 1997, p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Ibidem; *Kurier Warszawski* 1920, No. 212, p. 3; J. Szczepański, *Ziemiaństwo polskie wobec bolszewickiego najazdu 1920 r.*, [In:] *O polskich elitach raz jeszcze*. Eds. T. Epsztein, S. Górczyński, A. Karpiński. Wyd. DiG, Warszawa 2007, pp. 171–190.

<sup>4</sup> H. Lisiak, *Propaganda obronna w Polsce w rozstrzygającym okresie wojny polsko-sowieckiej 1920 r.* *Dzieje Najnowsze* 1997, No. 4, pp. 4–22; J. Szczepański, *Spółeczeństwo Polski w walce z najazdem bolszewickim 1920 r.* Wyd. Naczelna Dyrekcja Archiwów Państwowych w Warszawie, Wyższa Szkoła Humanistyczna w Puławach, Warszawa–Pułask 2000, pp. 182–190.

<sup>5</sup> J. Szczepański, *Duchowieństwo diecezji plockiej w obliczu bolszewickiego najazdu 1920 r.*, [In:] *Kościół i kultura*. Eds. ks. R. Jaworski and A. Koseski, Wyd. Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne w Płocku, Wyższa Szkoła Humanistyczna w Puławach, Płock–Pułask 1996, pp. 87–89.



Scouts from many towns and high school students, i.a. from Łomża, Pułtusk, Wyszaków, responded most quickly to the appeal of the Council of National Defence. Having been trained, often together with their teachers, they were directed to the first front line<sup>6</sup>.

One of the guarantees of resisting the Bolshevik invasion was the massive influx of peasants to the army. Most of them, however, were embittered by the lack of solutions serving the interests of the Polish countryside. It was possible to gain the peasants' side and make them fight with the invaders through implementing the Agricultural Reform Act of 15 July 1920 and appointing the Government of National Defence headed by PSL-Piast (the Polish Peasant Party) leader – Wincenty Witos.<sup>7</sup>

Communists and agricultural workers prone to Bolshevik propaganda were waiting for the final defeat of the Polish Army and the occupation of Warsaw by the Red Army. In their opinion, the "bourgeois homeland" was not their homeland; they called it "the stepmother of the people". Communists opposed the enlistment to the Polish Army, encouraged desertion. They distributed anti-war manifestos among the civilian population, ripped up mobilization and anti-Bolshevik posters<sup>8</sup>.

Also the Jewish poor people linked their hope for improving their fate with the Bolshevik governance. Even the wealthy Jewish youth, fleeing the enlistment to the Polish Army, were impressed with the principles of the new social system. However, the commonalty of the wealthy Jews, in fear of losing their property, massively supported all the activities of the Council of National Defence. Also the Jewish orthodox community supported the Polish government, fearing the atheization of public life in a country overrun by bolshevism<sup>9</sup>.

On 27 July 1920, the troops of the Red Army took the fortress of Osowiec without a fight, and on the next day – Białystok. The Polish army was unable to make any manoeuvres to stop the enemy offensive. The main reason for this was the rapid action of the 3rd Cavalry Corps commanded by Gai Bzhishkyan. He operated in the lane between the Narew river and the border with East Prussia,

<sup>6</sup> J. Szczepański, *Harcerstwo polskie w wojnie polsko-bolszewickiej 1920 r.* Harcerstwo 1993, No. 7–8, pp. 3–31; Idem, *Młodzież szkolna w Polsce wobec najazdu bolszewickiego 1920 r.*, [In:] *Historia. Społeczeństwo. Wychowanie*. Ed. K. Bartnicka. Wyd. Wyższa Szkoła Humanistyczna w Puławach, Pułtusk–Warszawa 2004, pp. 359–367.

<sup>7</sup> W. Oleksiewicz, *Chłopi i ruch ludowy w obronie niepodległości Polski w 1920 roku*. Roczniki Dziejów Ruchu Ludowego (Warszawa) 1992, No. 27, pp. 25–26; W. Stankiewicz, *Konflikty społeczne na wsi polskiej 1918–1920*. Polskie Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warszawa 1963, pp. 319–320.

<sup>8</sup> J.A. Reguła, *Historia Komunistycznej Partii Polski w świetle faktów i dokumentów*. Wyd. Portal, Toruń 1994, pp. 34–38; T. Wawrzyński, *Komunistyczna Partia Robotnicza Polski w wojsku w latach 1918–1920*. Teki Archiwalne (Warszawa) 1970, Vol. XII, pp. 33–34.

<sup>9</sup> J. Szczepański, *Społeczność żydowska Mazowsza w XIX–XX wieku*. Wyd. Akademia Humanistyczna im. Aleksandra Gieysztora w Puławach, Pułtusk 2005, pp. 236–237.

continually flanking our troops from the north<sup>10</sup>. The lack of adequately large cavalry units on the Polish side facilitated the actions of Gai's corps.

The Polish High Command, preparing for the defence of Warsaw, planned to stop the retreat of their own troops. They were supposed to join the defence of Grajewo-Ostrołęka – the Bug river line. A crucial importance in the plans of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces played the fortress of Brześć where a defensive battle with Tukhachevsky's army was to take place. In the area of Brześć there was to be located the main military reserve of the Polish army. Another one, much smaller, was to be located in the vicinity of Ostrołęka<sup>11</sup>.

In order to actively defend the territories of Northeastern Mazovia along the Przasnysz – Ostrołęka – Łomża – Ostrów line, by order of the Polish High Command No. 8069 / III of 30 July 1920, a special Operations Group under the command of General Jan Wroczyński was established<sup>12</sup>. It was to include:

- a group under the command of Lt. Col. Andrzej Kopa defending Łomża
- a group under the command of Col. Władysław Obuch-Woszczatyński, operating along the border with East Prussia,
- 8th Cavalry Reserve Brigade consisting of three regiments: 2nd, 108th and 115th, regiment of uhlans and two cavalry batteries,
- 205th volunteer infantry regiment under the command of Major Bernard Mond.

When the Polish troops failed to maintain the fortress of Brześć, from where there was supposed to be a counterstrike, the General Staff of the Polish Army began to work on a new concept of fighting a major battle with the Red Army. The task of Polish troops retreating through the area of Northeastern Mazovia was to delay Tukhachevsky's army's march. He intended to repeat the manoeuvre of the commander-in-chief of the tsarist army used during the November Uprising, cross the Vistula between Wyszogród and Włocławek, and then attack Warsaw from the west.

The success of the bold plan for the decisive battle, later called the Battle of Warsaw, largely depended on the longest possible containment of the Soviet offensive near Łomża, Ostrołęka, Różan and Pułtusk, using the natural defensive line of the Narew river.

An important role in the Battle of Warsaw was played by the newly formed 5th Army commanded by General Sikorski<sup>13</sup>. The troops defending the above mentioned towns by the Narew river, gave a chance to the divisions and regiments

<sup>10</sup> Broadly on this subject S. Żukowski, *Działania 3 Konnego Korpusu Gaja*. Wyd. Główna Księgarnia Wojskowa, Warszawa 1934.

<sup>11</sup> L. Wyszczelski, *Warszawa 1920*. Wyd. Bellona, Warszawa 1995, p. 32.

<sup>12</sup> Centralne Archiwum Wojskowe (CAW), Oddział I Mobilizacyjno-Organizacyjny I.300.7, sign. 108, No. 13484.

<sup>13</sup> Broadly on this subject: W. Sikorski, *Nad Wisłą i Wkrą, Studium z polsko-rosyjskiej wojny 1920 roku*. Wyd. Zakład im. Ossolińskich w Lwowie, Lwów 1928.

that were to join the 5th Army to move freely into the concentration area near the fortress of Modlin, and for at least a short break before the decisive battle. The strike of the 5th Army from the Wkra river was to relieve the forces of the 1st Army commanded by Gen. Latinik defending the Warsaw bridgehead, and, in effect, enable them also to participate in the counterstrike which the Chief Commander was supposed to lead from the Wieprz river<sup>14</sup>.

On 29 July 1920, began a five-day defence of Łomża, attacked by the 3rd Cavalry Corps commanded by Gai Bzhishkyan and 18th Rifle Division of the 4th Army of Sergeyev. The fortress was defended by the group commanded by Col. Kopa, consisting of about 2,000 soldiers (its core was 101st infantry regiment) with the support of 23th Lida infantry regiment and the inhabitants of Łomża. During the battle of Łomża, the Soviet 18th Rifle Division was split and lost nearly 5,000 soldiers, taken captive<sup>15</sup>.

On 31 July, Gai Bzhishkyan was ordered to withdraw from fighting over Łomża and attack Nowogród. This small town by the Narew river was defended by small cavalry troops commanded by Col. Władysław Obuch-Woszczatyński assisted by the Lida Infantry Regiment.

At the same time, the last preparations for the defence of Ostrołęka were underway. Its defensive advantages were strengthened by the Omulew and the Rozoga rivers flowing parallelly to the Narew river as well as a fort erected by the Russians at the end of the 19th century, called "Gen. J. Bem's Fort" during the period of the 2nd Polish Republic. The defence of Ostrołęka's fortifications from the northwestern side was also facilitated by the marshy areas of the Fort's forefield and the Orzyc and Omulew rivers<sup>16</sup>.

Ostrołęka's defence was entrusted to two battle groups. The first one was the 8th Cavalry Brigade, since 4 August commanded by Gen. Stefan Suszyński and later by Gen. Aleksander Karnicki. It had about 2,000 uhlans, 9 heavy machine guns and 8 guns<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> Broadly on this subject: P. Piotrowski, *Walka o miasta Mazowsza Północnego podczas wojny polsko-rosyjskiej 1920 roku*. Wyd. Nauka i Innowacje, Poznań 2014.

<sup>15</sup> S. Raganowicz, *Krótki szkic historii obrony Łomży w roku 1920*, [In:] *Na otwarcie Domu Żołnierza i dziesięciolecie obrony Łomży 1920–1930*. Wyd. Komitet Budowy Domu Żołnierza w Łomży, Łomża 1930, pp. 24–25.

<sup>16</sup> J. Ciałowicz, *Fortyfikacje na ziemiach polskich w czasie pierwszej wojny światowej*. Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości 1966, Vol. XII, Part 1, p. 252. Built in 1914, the outer line ran 30 km from the centre of defence and the other line at a distance of 20 km near Ostrołęka.

<sup>17</sup> CAW, Oddział I Mobilizacyjno-Organizacyjny I.300.7, sign. 107, No. 13182; Oddział I NDWP I.301.7, sign. 95, No. 9718/I; Dowództwo frontu północno-wschodniego, sign. 13, No. 686/IV; sign. 23, No. 1404/I; R. Juskiewicz, *Działania militarne na północnym Mazowszu i w korytarzu pomorskim 1920 rok*. Wyd. Stacja Naukowa im. Prof. Stanisława Herbsta w Mławie, Mława 2011, p. 92.

The second group to defend Ostrołęka was commanded by Col. Jerzy Ferek-Bleszyński. It consisted of: 205th volunteer infantry regiment, 4th Pomerania Infantry Regiment, 1st marine corps battalion, marching company 9 infantry regiment Legion, several squadrons of uhlans. The grouping had around 3,900 bayonets, 200 sabres, 30 heavy machine guns, 20 guns<sup>18</sup>.

On 30 July 1920, the soldiers of the 205th volunteer infantry regiment started to travel from Warsaw to Ostrołęka by rail. They were accommodated in the suburbs of Ostrołęka, in the barracks in Wojciechowice. Many of the volunteers learned to operate rifles only on their way to the front. It is worth mentioning, though, that a significant number of the soldiers from the second grouping, which was supposed to defend Ostrołęka, underwent combat training. They were from the General District Pomerania (Grupa Okręgu Generalnego Pomorze) under the command of Gen. Bolesław Roja<sup>19</sup>.

The 205th infantry regiment reached Ostrołęka the earliest. Immediately after arriving in the city, on 31 July 1920, the soldiers were ordered to march towards Łomża in order to support the defenders commanded by Lt. Col. Kopa. When they reached Miastkowo at dawn on 1 August, after a 20-kilometer march at night, they were attacked by Soviet cavalry. In panic, retreating to Ostrołęka, they suffered severe losses<sup>20</sup>.

Poorly trained volunteers were not able to face Gai's charging cavalry. The soldiers' baptism of fire caused severe losses. Only the remains of this regiment managed to get to Ostrołęka. On the next day, about 800 soldiers were missing at the muster. During the escape they had been slaughtered or taken prisoner. The Bolsheviks were especially ruthless towards Polish officers and non-commissioned officers<sup>21</sup>.

The authors of the 205th infantry regiment's history claim that only "The remains got through to Ostrołęka. The rest were slaughtered or disappeared without a trace. The falling night, which stopped the enemy from fighting further, saved some of the soldiers from being killed. The decimated troops reached Ostrołęka before midnight"<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>19</sup> J. Przybylski, *Marynarze w walce o niepodległość Polski 1918–1920*. Wyd. Bellona, Warszawa 1999, p. 74.

<sup>20</sup> B.S. Mond, J. Gintel, *Historia 205. Pułku Piechoty Ochotniczej im. Jana Kilińskiego*. Warszawa 1932, pp. 38–46, 226–227. A volunteer Stanisław Wyhowski, grandson of Stanisław Moniuszko, master of the Kingdom of Poland in cycling races died there, among others.

<sup>21</sup> Ibidem, p. 53. G.D. Gaj, *Na Warszawę*. Moskwa–Leningrad 1928, p. 149.

<sup>22</sup> B.S. Mond, J. Gintel, op. cit., pp. 52–53.

On 2 August 1920, in the evening, in view of the lack of the relief, Col. Kopa decided to leave Łomża. The evacuation took place at night, between 2 and 3 August along the last free way to Śniadowo<sup>23</sup>.

The next town which stood in the way of the 4th Army under the command of Sergejev, quickly moving west, was Ostrołęka. A small troop of the 3rd Cavalry Corps commanded by Gai Bzhishkyan started to attack the town. It was directed to the position of the 1st Battalion of the 205th infantry regiment and easily deflected. On other sections of the defence of Ostrołęka, however, the Bolsheviks managed to break through the Polish defensive lines, i.e. near Nowa Wieś and Susk. Nonetheless, these villages were regained thanks to the marines' counterattack, for whom it was a true baptism of fire. Their attack led by Capt. Konstanty Jacynicz – the commander of a marine regiment, was a success, despite the enemy's strong artillery fire and machine guns<sup>24</sup>.

However, the Polish High Command was not satisfied with the defence organization of "Ostrołęka" Group under command of Gen. Wroczyński. On the evening of 3 August 1920, he was dismissed for the "lack of initiative and unreasonable temperance"<sup>25</sup>. By the order of the Polish High Command, General Bolesław Roja became the new commander of "Ostrołęka" Group. He was considered a brave commander, so it was assumed that he would defend Ostrołęka long enough<sup>26</sup>.

Immediately after taking command of "Ostrołęka" group, Gen. Bolesław Roja ordered to read in front of his subordinate troops, starting from a platoon, order No. 1. Here are its excerpts: "Soldiers! We defend against the Muscovite invasion our native Polish land. Therefore I took the command over you. We want the most far-reaching reforms and changes, but we will carry them out ourselves. We do not want our home to be ruled by the Muscovite or the Prussian. Why didn't the Bolshevik-Muscovites, speaking of the fraternity of the peoples, stop on the Polish frontier, but continue to murder our Polish soldiers, that is mainly villagers and workers? [...] The Bolshevik-Muscovites betrayed the communist idea! Soldiers! We will defend ourselves hard and fight to the finish against every invasion. I salute you, Comrades in arms.

General Roja"<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> CAW, Relacje, sign. 400.906. Obrona Łomży od dn. 28 lipca do 2 sierpnia 1920 r., pp. 1–4.

<sup>24</sup> R. Dziewałtowski-Gintowt, K. Taube, *Zarys historii wojennej pułku morskiego*. Warszawa 1933, p. 33; J. Przybylski, op. cit., p. 89. Gen. Wroczyński wrote in the report of 3 August 1920: „On several occasions strong attacks on Ostrołęka from the north-east were deflected with losses on both sides. The town's bypass begun from the south was liquidated for the time being, with the help of the Marine Battalion that fights perfectly”.

<sup>25</sup> R. Juskiewicz, op. cit., p. 92.

<sup>26</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>27</sup> B.S. Mond, J. Gintel, op. cit., pp. 70–71.

Gen. Roja, who arrived at the section defended by the 1st Marine Regiment, ordered the marines to attack the village of Zabiele. The soldiers of the 205th voluntary infantry regiment also fought bravely, deflecting the enemy attacks, often proceeding to counterattacks. The 2nd uhlans regiment also often organized charges<sup>28</sup>.

Despite the initial successes, the situation of the defenders of Ostrołęka was getting worse with each passing day. On 5 August 1920, the main forces of the 4th Soviet Army under Sergeyev approached. Gai Bzhishkian's cavalry crossed the Narew river to bypass Ostrołęka, just as they did with Łomża a few days before. The enemy ring around Ostrołęka began to tighten. In this situation, Gen. Bolesław Roja ordered the evacuation of the town's inhabitants. He ordered to continue strengthening Ostrołęka's defensive lines and gather supplies and ammunition for two days of combat<sup>29</sup>.

On the morning of 6 August 1920, Ostrołęka was attacked by: the 8th, 16th and 53rd Soviet divisions of the 4th Army under Sergeyev, heading west, towards the Vistula crossings. Ostrołęka's defenders not only maintained their positions, but also successfully counterattacked<sup>30</sup>.

On the same day, in the evening, the Bolsheviks began a huge assault on the positions of the 205th infantry regiment. Major Mond's volunteers retreated towards the town, inflicting massive losses on enemy troops. The Russians stopped charging as night fell. It turned out that the Polish soldiers had already fired all the bullets. The expected delivery of ammunition did not arrive.<sup>31</sup>

On 6 August 1920, Gen. Bolesław Roja was summoned by the Polish High Command to Warsaw. Due to exhaustion, lack of ammunition and food supplies, he made the decision to retreat to Różan. Between 6 and 7 August 1920, at night, Ostrołęka's crew left the town, heading for Różan. The infantry of the 18th Rifle Division entered abandoned Ostrołęka only before noon on 7 August<sup>32</sup>.

The Polish troops were no longer able to defend the forts in Różan by the Narew river. At the night between 7 and 8 August 1920 after a full day of fighting, they were left by the soldier from the 101st infantry regiment when the Russians managed to cross the Narew river through the fords in the vicinity of Różan<sup>33</sup>.

The attack of the Soviet troops from Białystok towards Warsaw was held off by the army groups commanded by Gen. Lucjan Żeligowski and Gen. Aleksander

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<sup>28</sup> R. Dziewałtowski-Gintowt, K. Taube, op. cit., pp. 33–34.

<sup>29</sup> It turned out that some companies defending Ostrołęka did not even have 100 bullets per private.

<sup>30</sup> B.S. Mond, J. Gintel, op. cit., p. 73.

<sup>31</sup> Ibidem, pp. 73–74.

<sup>32</sup> P. Piotrowski, op. cit., pp. 105–106.

<sup>33</sup> A. Aksamitowski, *Militarna rola Narwi w kampaniach wojennych XX wieku*. Wyd. Akademia Obrony Narodowej w Warszawie, Warszawa 2006, pp. 248–249.

Osiński. Gen. Żeligowski's troops fought fierce battles in the area of Ostrów Mazowiecka and Wyszaków. They counterattacked near Długosiodło<sup>34</sup>.

The last of the towns of Northeastern Mazovia which was supposed to delay the Soviet offensive was Pułtusk. On 10 August 1920, the Red Army troops took Wyszaków and launched an assault through the White Forest towards Pułtusk. The 17th infantry division under Col. Pick were to hold off the Bolshevik offensive in that region.

Pułtusk was to be defended against the attacks of the Red Army, which had previously taken Maków and Szelków, from the north by Gen. Antoni Baranowski's Group. On 9–10 August, it had about 6,200 soldiers and non-commissioned officers, with 52 heavy machine guns and 25 guns.

The divisions of the 15th Army and part of the 3rd Army under Tukhachevsky attacked Pułtusk. In total, they had about 30,000 bayonets and 1,000 sabres, over 800 machine guns and 150 guns.

On 10 August, Gen. Sikorski was in Pułtusk, appealing to soldiers to keep the town at all costs. The commander of the 5th Army wrote after years: "In Pułtusk, I reckoned, the situation was utterly catastrophic. Approximately 2,000 soldiers were struggling with the overwhelming Russian forces, trying to consolidate around Pułtusk a generally broken front. However, the Russian advantage was so great in Pułtusk that only thanks to the resilient resistance of our troops, the 15th and part of the 3rd Army that fought at that time in its area were moving forward relatively so slowly. [...]"<sup>35</sup>.

On 10 August 1920, the 17th infantry division under Col. Pick, defending Pułtusk from the east, also fought hard. However, it was unable to support the Polish troops fighting on the other side of the Narew river holding off the Bolshevik attack from Maków's side. On 11 August 1920, in the afternoon, the troops of the 67th infantry regiment defending Pułtusk from the White Forest's side, were ordered to retreat to the right bank of the Narew river and destroy the bridge on the way leading to Wyszaków. At the same time, a group of troops under Gen. Baranowski, in fear of being surrounded, began to retreat from Pułtusk to the west. Following the orders of the Polish High Command, they went near Modlin fortress, where the concentration of the 5th Army under Gen. Sikorski was coming to an end<sup>36</sup>.

Capturing Łomża, Ostrołęka, Różan and Pułtusk by the Red Army troops had negative consequences for the Polish side. It enabled the Soviet command to redeploy their troops and supplies to Mazovia and to operate in various directions. It created the possibility of taking control of the Warsaw–Gdańsk railway line,

<sup>34</sup> CAW, Dowództwo frontu północnego, sign. 24, No. 3526/III; Dowództwo 1. Armii 311.1, Sign. 54, No. 4074/III; L. Żeligowski, *Wojna w roku 1920. Wspomnienia i rozważania*. Wyd. Ministerstwo Obrony Narodowej w Warszawie, Warszawa 1990, p. 72.

<sup>35</sup> W. Sikorski, op. cit., pp. 63–64.

<sup>36</sup> P. Piotrowski, op. cit., pp. 112–116.

which could have resulted in breaking supplies deliveries for the Polish troops by sea.

A relatively short but effective defence of the towns located by the Narew river, lasting several days, surprised the Soviet command, however. The Western Front's commander Mikhail Tukhachevsky, disgusted with the not very effective assault of the 4th Soviet Army soldiers on the fortifications of Ostrołęka, replaced Sergeev with Shuvayev as its commander.

Other consequences of the heroic defence of the towns located by the Narew river in the region of Northeastern Mazovia were equally important. It restored the faith of Polish soldiers in their own power, the ability to stop the Bolshevik invasion. It also influenced the change in the Western Front troops' groupings, attacking Warsaw. Mikhail Tukhachevsky, having encountered the unexpected and very strong resistance of the Polish forces in the region of the Bug and Narew rivers, believed that their main forces were between the Bug river and the border with East Prussia. He obtained the consent of the commander-in-chief of the Soviet army – Sergey Kamenev to direct three armies: the 4th, 15th and 3rd much more towards the north. Since then, those three Soviet armies remained on the right bank of the Bug river. The concentration of the majority of Tukhachevsky's forces in the Northern Mazovia substantially enabled and accelerated establishing Józef Piłsudski's Strike Group.

The fierce fighting by the Narew river, i.a. the defence of Łomża, Ostrołęka and Pułtusk made, it easier for the Polish troops to break away from the enemy. To sum up, they contributed to creating real conditions for the execution of the historic command given by Commander-in-Chief Józef Piłsudski on 6 August 1920. It was one of the important causes for the Polish victory in the Battle of Warsaw.

The socio-political consequence of the Red Army's entry into the Polish lands was the introduction of the Soviet system. The Red Army moving west, immediately after capturing the area, appointed county, town, communal or rural military revolutionary committees, so-called "rewkoms". They were subordinated to the Military Revolutionary Council of the army operating in the given area<sup>37</sup>.

In the county and town revolutionary committees, apart from representatives of the Red Army, there were local Polish communists, residing until then in Russia. Out of these, the chairmen of the county "rewkoms" were recruited after transforming the military revolutionary committees into the civil revolutionary committees. In each of the occupied towns, the Jews were recruited for "rewkoms" as Bolsheviks had great confidence in them<sup>38</sup>.

On the way of the Red Army troops marching through the right-bank Mazovia, also communal, rural and manor military revolutionary committees were

<sup>37</sup> J. Szczepański, *Budowa sowieckiego aparatu władzy w 1920 r. w Polsce*, [In:] *Rok 1920. Wojna i polityka*. Ed. M. Szumiło. Wyd. UMCS w Lublinie, Lublin 2011, pp. 49–66.

<sup>38</sup> Ibidem. For example, Zenon Styczyński, who had created the bases of communist rule in Siberia and the Urals, became the chairman of the rewkom in Ostrów.



established. It was the responsibility of “rewkoms” members to supply the Soviet troops with food.

In August 1920, in the area of four counties of Northeastern Mazovia: Ostrów, Ostrołęka, Pułtusk and Maków, through which the 15th Army troops passed, nearly 20 “rewkoms” of various levels were created<sup>39</sup>.

Most “rewkoms”, even at the rural level, were subsidized by the command of particular Soviet armies, for example a county revolutionary committee in Ostrów Maz. received 500,000 rubles and “rewkoms” in Piski, Czerwin, Troszyn, Lubotyń, Rzekuń (Ostrołęka county) received 15,000 rubles each<sup>40</sup>.

Establishing “rewkoms” was usually accompanied by rallies and agitational meetings. In Mazovian towns and villages occupied by the Red Army, the Manifesto of the Provisional Polish Revolutionary Committee was distributed in large quantities. The Provisional Polish Revolutionary Committee (Polrewkom), led by Julian Marchlewski, Feliks Dzierżyński, Feliks Kon, was established in the first days of August 1920 in Białystok.

The leaders of the Provisional Polish Revolutionary Committee firmly believed in the victory of the Red Army and imminent transfer of their headquarters from Białystok to Warsaw, where they were to act as the government of the Soviet Polish Socialist Republic of Councils. When the Bolsheviks fought on the outskirts of Warsaw, on the evening of 15 August 1920, the members of Polrewkom, convinced of the final defeat of the Polish troops, arrived in Wyszaków in order to be able to enter the capital of Poland as soon as possible. They stayed in a parsonage of canon priest Wiktor Mieczkowski<sup>41</sup>.

Some villagers of Northeastern Mazovia, on the news about the Red Army troops entering, began to realize their dreams of cheap land acquisition. Manor servants showed the Bolsheviks the places where silver and valuables were buried and where horses and cattle were hidden. The servants also took an active role in robbing the manors<sup>42</sup>.

Peasants having their own farms were clearly reserved about the Soviet authorities’ promise to build a new just social order in Poland.

The Bolsheviks were especially hostile towards Mazovian landowners. If a landowner had not evacuated himself with his family or had not hidden in a peasant disguise, he was arrested and then sentenced to death. Despite the interventions and

<sup>39</sup> Rosyjskij Gosudarstwiennyj Wojennyj Istoriceskij Archiw w Moskwie (RGWIA), f. 200, op. 2, d. 149, l. 14; d. 193, l. 73; J. Szczepański, *Wojna 1920 r. w Ostrołęckiem...*, pp. 79–81.

<sup>40</sup> Ibidem, d. 128, l. 82; d. 193, l. 74. “Rewkoms” Department of the 15th Army had 3.5 mln rubles at their disposal.

<sup>41</sup> W. Mieczkowski, *Bolszewicy w polskiej plebanii*. Wyd. Księgarnia W. Wędołowskiej w Wyszakowie, Wyszaków 1921, pp. 29–33.

<sup>42</sup> *Rola członków Związku Zawodowego Robotników Rolnych Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej podczas najazdu bolszewickiego*. Wyd. Związek Ziemiaków w Warszawie, Warszawa 1921.

requests of manor servants, the Bolsheviks sentenced to death Feliks and Hieronim Ostrowski - the owners of Komorowo near Ostrów<sup>43</sup>.

Despite the danger, the vast majority of priests remained in parishes to bolster their congregation's spirits. After the Red Army entered, the clergy were robbed everywhere. Priests were persecuted by the Bolsheviks who derided their faith and did not spare churches and holy places. Priests were often called upon interrogations due to "supporting counter-revolution". In Łomża, Bishop Romuald Jałbrzykowski was arrested and sent to prison<sup>44</sup>.

The Bolsheviks murdered Fr. Stanisław Pędzich – the rector of the former bernardine church in Ostrołęka. They slaughtered i.a. Fr. Stanisław Szulborski – a parish priest of Wyszyny and Fr. Marcelli Grzegorzcyk – a vicar from Rzekuń<sup>45</sup>.

Among the people kidnapped by the Bolsheviks from Różan died, among others, Piotr Zygmunt – the mayor of Różan and a local teacher Jerzy Bałtusz, the chairman of the town's National Defence Committee<sup>46</sup>.

The news of the victorious counter-offensive of the Polish army caused an immediate change in the mood of Polish society. The change of attitude was apparent even among those villagers who had so far sympathized with socialism and had expected the arrival of the Red Army troops to bring them power and prosperity. Mass requisitions done by the retreating Bolsheviks, "scorched-earth" tactics used by the enemy, were met with the widespread desperate resistance of the peasants<sup>47</sup>.

During the retreat of the Red Army, Mazovian peasants and workers having contact with the occupational but revolutionary order, grabbed their weapons. They defended the property massively robbed by the retreating enemy troops. In many places in Northeastern Mazovia, the units of Civic Guard prevented the destruction of the bridges<sup>48</sup>.

The most partisan units were formed in the Kurpie region. In the northern part of Ostrołęka county, the Bolsheviks were attacked by a partisan unit under the command of Chorążewicz, a forester from near Kadzidło. His greatest success was

<sup>43</sup> Kurier Płocki 1920, No. 242, p. 1; Mr. Rutkowski stayed in the manor of Buczyn in Ostrołęka county, having given away all his livestock and equipment to hired stablemen and peasants living nearby, *Rola członków Związku Zawodowych...*, pp. 17–18.

<sup>44</sup> J. Szczepański, *Duchowieństwo Diecezji Płockiej...*, pp. 90–91.

<sup>45</sup> Ibidem, pp. 92–93.

<sup>46</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Pułtusk (APP), Starostwo Powiatowe w Makowie Maz. (SPM), sign. 2, k. 167; sign. 15, k. 11.

<sup>47</sup> The change in the mood of Polish society was accurately appraised in the report of one of the employees of the Starosty office in Maków: "Suffered harm, robberies, murders, system of ruthless conduct, general disorganization of life have caused that small farmers are definitely hostile towards the Bolsheviks' intentions and actions", APP, SPM, sign. 15, b. p.

<sup>48</sup> Ibidem.

taking captive 300 Bolsheviks, taking from them 12 machine guns and about 500 horses, and then handing them over to the Polish army<sup>49</sup>.

The unit commanded by Piotr Rybacki from the commune of Turośl disarmed smaller Soviet troops and thwarted their escape to East Prussia. The Kurpian troops bravely fought against the retreating 3rd Cavalry Corps near Leman and Kolno. Many Kurpian partisans were killed with sabres by Gai's determined cavalymen<sup>50</sup>.

The fast-moving Polish forces were unable to deal with smaller enemy units hiding in the forests. The ones who dealt with them were "peasants and youngsters, and even women, armed with forks and scythes [...] There are often fights in which villagers risk their lives"<sup>51</sup>.

The inhabitants of towns, i.a. Ostrołęka, gave examples of patriotism. On the evening of 21 August 1920, railwaymen from Kaczyny, a railway station located 4km from Ostrołęka, grabbed their weapons and did not allow a large Bolshevik unit to use the railway line to retreat. A startled Soviet commander retreated from Ostrołęka and cannonaded the railway station from field guns.

On 23 August, in the morning, the Bolsheviks staying temporarily in Ostrołęka were attacked by a unit consisting of Ostrołęka townsmen, commanded by a bricklayer Zygmunt Wojna. Escaping from Ostrołęka, they attempted to completely burn the bridge on the Narew river. The civilians and volunteer fire brigade set about putting out the fire. The military action of Zygmunt Wojna was supported by a small unit of the Polish Army. The bridge was saved. A lot of weapons were captured. Meanwhile, groups of Soviet soldiers began to approach Ostrołęka. Most of the town's civilians, i. a. women and children assisting Polish soldiers, joined the fights against them<sup>52</sup>.

On the evening of 25 August 1920, the attempts of Gai's 3rd Cavalry Corps to break through the Polish cordon near Kolno were unsuccessful. The bloody fights near Kolno ended the 1920 Battle of Warsaw. At the same time, they closed an important chapter in the most recent history of Northeastern Mazovia, that is the events of the 1920s Bolshevik invasion of Poland.

It is worth pointing out that in resisting the Bolshevik invasion, the people of the Northeastern Mazovia, both townsmen and villagers, played an important role.

<sup>49</sup> Wyzwolenie 1920, No. 41, p. 455.

<sup>50</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>51</sup> Wyzwolenie 1920, No. 35, pp. 390–391; L. Mitkiewicz, *W wojsku polskim 1917–1921*. Wyd. Veritas, Londyn 1976, p. 220; J. Piłsudski in an interview for "Kurier Poranny" on 26 August 1920, said: "The peasants hunt for the Bolsheviks and have their cruel revenge".

<sup>52</sup> Gazeta Polowa 1920, No. 3, p. 3; Kurier Warszawski 1920, No. 238, pp. 1–2; Zorza 1920, No. 37, p. 267; J. Szczepański, *Wojna 1920 r. w Ostrołęckiem...*, p. 129.

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## SUMMARY

During the Bolshevik invasion of Poland in the summer of 1920, Northeastern Mazovia lands played an important role. They became the place of retreat of the main Polish forces that were part of the Northeastern Front, fiercely attacked by the troops of Mikhail Tukhachevsky's Western Front. The main aim of the Red Army offensive was the occupation of Poland, its sovietization and the transfer of the Bolshevik revolution ideas to the west of Europe. Except for the communists, all the social classes of Northeastern Mazovia, especially the clergy, landowners, schoolchildren, villagers, supported the Council of National Defence.

The success of the decisive battle plan, later called the Battle of Warsaw, largely depended on the longest possible containment of the Soviet offensive near Łomża, Ostrołęka, Różan and Pułtusk, using the natural defensive line the Narew river was. Thanks to the fierce defence of the towns mentioned above, it was possible to delay the march of the Bolshevik armies towards the Vistula. On their way, the framework of the Soviet authority began to be established, whose symbol were the so-called "rewkoms" (military revolutionary committees). After the breakthrough in the Battle of Warsaw, the inhabitants of Northeastern Mazovia, especially peasants, started fighting against the Red Army troops retreating east.

## STRESZCZENIE

Podczas najazdu bolszewickiego na Polskę latem 1920 r. ziemie Mazowsza Północno-Wschodniego odegrały istotną rolę. Stały się miejscem odwrotu głównych sił polskich oddziałów, wchodzących w skład frontu północno-wschodniego, zaciekle atakowanych przez wojska frontu zachodniego Michała

Tuchaczewskiego. Głównym celem ofensywy Armii Czerwonej było zajęcie Polski, jej sowietyzacja i przeniesienie ideałów rewolucji bolszewickiej na zachód Europy. Wszystkie warstwy społeczeństwa Mazowsza Północno-Wschodniego, poza komunistami, a zwłaszcza duchowieństwo, ziemiaństwo, młodzież szkolna, ludność wiejska, udzieliły wsparcia Radzie Obrony Państwa.

Powodzenie planu rozstrzygającej bitwy, zwanej później Bitwą Warszawską, w dużym stopniu zależało od jak najdłuższego powstrzymywania sowieckiej ofensywy pod Łomżą, Ostrołęką, Różanem i Pułtuskim, z wykorzystaniem naturalnej linii obronnej, jaką stanowiła rzeka Narew. Dzięki zaciętej obronie powyższych miast udało się opóźnić pochód wojsk bolszewickich ku Wiśle. Na ich szlaku zaczęto tworzyć zręby władzy sowieckiej, ich symbolem były tzw. rewkomy. Po przełomie w Bitwie Warszawskiej mieszkańcy Mazowsza Północno-Wschodniego, a zwłaszcza chłopci, przystąpili do walki z wycofującymi się na wschód oddziałami Armii Czerwonej.

**Key words:** Polish-Bolshevik war in 1920, Northeastern Mazovia, Tukhachevsky, the Narew river, the defence of towns, the Battle of Warsaw in 1920, military revolutionary committees (“rewkoms”)

**Słowa kluczowe:** wojna polsko-bolszewicka 1920 r., Mazowsze Północno-Wschodnie, Tuchaczewski, Narew, obrona miast, Bitwa Warszawska 1920 r., rewkomy





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## THE ENTRY OF THE ARMORED WARFARE OF THE RED ARMY INTO THE BREAKTHROUGH OF THE GERMAN FRONT IN THE NORTH OF MAZOVIA IN JANUARY 1945

### WEJŚCIE SIŁ PANCERNYCH ARMII CZERWONEJ W PRZELAMANIE NIEMIECKIEGO FRONTU NA TERENACH PÓŁNOCNEGO MAZOWSZA W STYCZNIU 1945 ROKU

The offensive operation of the Red Army against Wehrmacht in January 1945 took place on the section assigned to the 2nd Belorussian Front (2 FB)<sup>1</sup>, planned to reach as far as 250 km to the rear of the battle line. The Front started the offensive on 14 January 1945. It acted according to the plan, approved by the High Command in the directive of 28 November 1944<sup>2</sup>. The troops, under the command of the Soviet Union Marshal Konstanty Konstantynowicz Rokossowski<sup>3</sup>, were ordered to break through the fortified German lines by the Narew river and direct the main strike to Przasnysz, Mława and Lidzbark Welski. By the tenth day of the offensive, the troops were supposed to be on the line: Myszyniec – Nidzica – Działdowo – Bielsk – Płock. The role of the 2nd Belorussian Front was to support the main attack from the north, led to the areas between the Vistula and the Oder, as well as secure the right flank of the 1st Belorussian Front, commanded by Marshal Georgij Konstantynowicz Żukow<sup>4</sup>, heading for Berlin<sup>5</sup>.

#### **Operation Plan and Tasks of the Panzer Army**

The mission of the 5th Armored Guards Army (5 APancGw) as the strongest panzer formation of the 2nd Belorussian Front was tying down and driving off the

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<sup>1</sup> Actions on the frontline were described i.a. in: K. Sobczak, *Kierunek Bałtyk. Wyzwolenie polskich ziem północnych 1944–1945*. Warszawa 1978; E. Kosiarz, *Wyzwolenie Polski północnej 1945*. Gdynia 1967.

<sup>2</sup> *Директива Ставки ВГК № 220274 войскам 2-го Белорусского фронта, 28.11.44*, Центральный Архив Министерства Обороны Российской Федерации (hereafter: ЦАМО), фонд 148а, опись 3763, дело 103, pp. 277–278.

<sup>3</sup> A. Seaton, *Wojna totalna. Wehrmacht przeciw Armii Czerwonej 1941–1945*. Trans. P. Mikietyński. Kraków 2010, p. 803.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 818.

<sup>5</sup> A. Wasilewski, *Dzieło całego życia*. Trans. Cz. Czarnogórski. Warszawa 1976, p. 556.

German forces, which were standing in the way of the front's shock troops. Apart from tankers, the troops consisted of the 48th Army (48 A) and the 2nd Assault Group (2 AUd), attacking in the north-western direction towards Mława, Lidzbark, Iława and Malbork. The front staff officers' intention for the army commanded by Colonel General of armored warfare Wasilij Timofiejewicz Wolski<sup>6</sup> was to join the breakthrough of the line of resistance, when both supporting armies would be on the line Przasnysz – Ciechanów, that is 20-25 km deep in the German defense, which was expected to happen on the third day of the offensive. In post-war publications, the January offense actions of the 2nd Belorussian Front, with the 5th Armored Guards Army coming ahead of the front, were called the Mława–Elbląg Operation, and introducing rapid forces to the breakthrough was its component<sup>7</sup>.

The entry of armored warfare into the breakthrough of the opponent's defense was a proven maneuver during fights and it consisted in the fact that tankers, not participating in the fights for the front zone, were passing through it at the sector which had been captured and cleared by infantry units, and then they moved forward to the rear of enemy forces, often neither prepared for defense nor manned with army units<sup>8</sup>. In the discussed case, the details of the maneuver were not known until the last moment, because the task for the 5th Armored Guards Army was given directly while the troops were marching into the breach. Therefore, the army's staff had not worked out the attack on maps before, except for the predicted variant actions, in assumed territorial circumstances and unknown time of action<sup>9</sup>.

### **Panzer Army's Preparation for the Offensive**

By the command of the Red Army Commander-in-chief of 30 November 1944, passed on by cryptogram No.298111, the 5th Armored Guards Army was separated from the 1st Baltic Front, with which it participated in autumn fights<sup>10</sup>. The grouping consisted at that time of the 29th Panzer Corps (29 KPanc) and the 3rd Panzer Guard Corps (3 KPancGw) as well as – operating as an independent unit – the 47th Mechanized Brigade (47 BrZmech). The army was temporarily sent to the reserves of the Stavka of the High Command, with the order to change the place of the stopover from the region of the previous fights, the area of Możejki in what was then the Lithuanian Socialist Republic, to the region of Brańsk near

<sup>6</sup> ЦАМО, фонд 33, опись 686046, единица хранения 40, pp. 259–260.

<sup>7</sup> Mława–Elbląg Operation was presented i.a. in: K. Sobczak, *Wyzwolenie Warmii i Mazur w 1945 r.* Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie 1961, No. 1, pp. 3–20; M. Tarczyński, *Walki Armii Radzieckiej o wyzwolenie Warmii, Powiśla i Żuław*. Rocznik Elbląski 1979, Vol. 8, pp. 189–229.

<sup>8</sup> А. Радзиевский, *Танковый удар: танковая армия в наступательной операции фронта по опыту Великой Отечественной войны*. Москва 1977, p. 35.

<sup>9</sup> В. Дайнес, *Танковые войска СССР. „Кавалерия” Второй Мировой*, Москва 2015, p. 128.

<sup>10</sup> Журнал боевых действий 5 гв. ТА с приложением копий боевых документов, ЦАМО, фонд 332, опись 4948, дело 387, pp. 1–2.

Białystok. After arriving in the region indicated in the command, the army fell under the command of the 2nd Belorussian Front commander<sup>11</sup>.

The 5th Armored Guards Army was transferred to the new region by rail. The troops started loading, beginning on 16 December 1944. The 6th Division of Anti-Aircraft Artillery (DAPlot) ensured the safety over the transport<sup>12</sup>. Between 20 and 31 December 1944, 28 echelons arrived at the unloading stations, and another 52 carriages gradually arrived at the place until 9 January 1945. The unloading area was located at the stations in Bielsk, Sokółka, Łosośnia, Grodno, Białystok, and for the rear of the army in Sadowne. As the trains were being unloaded, the troops were marching out to the region of concentration, near Brańsk, Rudka and Malinowo<sup>13</sup>.

In the new region, the army was given significant supplementation: 6708 people, including 5600 motorized infantry soldiers and 372 combat vehicles, with 332 from a new allocation and 50 after a general renovation<sup>14</sup>. Thus, there was little time to prepare for military operations. The front headquarters expected that at short notice the vehicles with marginal hours of exploitation would be restored to efficiency and that newly acquired soldiers would be instantly trained and the ranks would be closed, particularly in terms of preparing the subdivisions for performing military operations and the ability to operate the assigned devices, as well as strenuous political and propaganda work with the recruits<sup>15</sup>.

The moment the offensive began, Wolski's army included 585 tanks and self-propelled guns<sup>16</sup>. Over a half of the regular machines were treated as a complementation and already in the last days before the attack the 25th Armored Brigade (25 BrPanc) received 24 new tanks, and the 32nd Armored Brigade was given 15 machines<sup>17</sup>. Many medium T-34/85 tanks had therefore not run-in engines. Despite the efforts, the majority of the machinery were not new vehicles but the ones with problems in keeping them in motion or freshly-renovated and untested<sup>18</sup>. In some armored battalions, self-propelled guns were introduced for service instead of tanks. That was the case even with the strongest 31st Armored Brigade, which had fifty T-34 tanks, but half of the strength of the 2nd battalion was needed to be complemented with ten self-propelled guns SU-76. In each of the three brigades of

<sup>11</sup> 3 KPancGw. was then separated from the army and it was transferred to another place. Ibidem, p. 2.

<sup>12</sup> *Оперативная сводка штаба 5 гв. ТА 13.1.45*, p. 4.

<sup>13</sup> *Журнал боевых действий 5 гв. ТА...*, pp. 4–5.

<sup>14</sup> Ibidem, p. 7.

<sup>15</sup> И. Кулан, *История и боевой путь 29-го Знаменского ордена Ленина Краснознамённого ордена Суворова II степени танкового корпуса*. Минск 2010, pp. 91–92.

<sup>16</sup> Ф. Галкин, *Танки возвращаются в бой*. Москва 1964, pp. 214–215.

<sup>17</sup> *Журнал боевых действий 29 тк*, 30.09.1944 – 9.05.1945, ЦАМО, фонд 3420, опись 1, дело 25, p. 43.

<sup>18</sup> Ф. Галкин, *op. cit.*, pp. 243–245.

the 10th Panzer Corps tanks barely constituted half of the machinery. The third of the independent combat groupings, the 47th Mechanized Brigade, had 35 American vehicles M4A2 *General Sherman* from the 18th tank regiment (18 pcz). The 14th separated guard regiment of heavy tanks (14 pczc) owned 29 machines of *Joseph Stalin* JS-122 type. Self-propelled artillery units, supporting the incomplete tank brigades, presented an entire variety of guns, usually in the number of regular 21 pieces per regiment – from the light SU-76, through SU-85, SU-100, SU-122, to the heaviest ISU-152<sup>19</sup>.

### German Grouping before the Panzer Army Front

The reconnaissance made by scouts of the Soviet grouping gathered intelligence data at short notice and prepared detailed reports informing that before the army's line and on its flanks – in the regions of Dąbrówka, Maków, Pułtusk – of total width of 33 km, there were three divisions of German infantry defending themselves<sup>20</sup>. On the line Dąbrówka – the Orzyc river, on the 10th km, there was the 299th Infantry Division with the 475th battalion of sappers. They were supported by the 209th Brigade of Assault Guns (BrDzSzturm), the 1st Artillery Regiment (part), two artillery divisions and the subdivisions of the 57th mortar regiment (pm). The sector from the Orzyc river to Głodowo, of a similar width, was occupied by the 7th Infantry Division with the 80th engineer battalion, reinforced by the 185th Brigade of Assault Guns, the 63rd Artillery Regiment, two artillery divisions and mortars from the 57th regiment. The line Głodowo – Pułtusk was held by the 5th People's Grenadier Division with the 745th sapper-engineer battalion, supported by the 2nd division of the 47th Artillery Regiment, the additional 316th and 603rd artillery divisions and some of the mortars from the above-mentioned regiment. In total, Germans had 24 infantry battalions and eight battalions of other specializations on this line. At the front positions there was half of those forces. According to war statistics, an average defense line was 2,1 km of a front per battalion, and on every km there were – including the reserves – from 440 to 550 people, from 44 to 67 light and heavy machine guns, from six to eight mortars<sup>21</sup>.

From the German mobile reserves of the 2nd Army, which could be met by the 5th Armored Guards Army, on the planned route there were noted the troops of the Panzer Grenadier Division *Grossdeutschland* (DGrPanc), deployed near Krasnosielc and Przasnysz, which were estimated to consist of 70 tanks and 20 assault guns; the 7th Panzer Division, deployed near Ciechanów, with the strength of approximately 80 tanks and 40 self-propelled guns; the training center of self-

<sup>19</sup> *Бронесводка штаба 5 зв. ТА*, 13.01.1945, ЦАМО, фонд 332, опись 4948, дело 363, документ 10, pp. 1–2.

<sup>20</sup> Reconnaissance was usually made by taking captives. Cf A. Drabkin, *Przeżył jeden ze stu. Radzieccy zwiadowcy podczas Wielkiej Wojny Ojczyźnianej 1941–1945*. Gdańsk 2011.

<sup>21</sup> *Журнал боевых действий 5 зв. ТА...*, p. 10.

propelled artillery from Mława with about 70 armored vehicles and the 507th battalion of heavy tanks, stationing near Gołymin Stary, which was supposed to have 32 vehicles of the *Tiger* type<sup>22</sup>.

### **The Area of Attack and Defensive Conditions**

The area indicated as the direction of the attack, spreading towards the north, was a plain with small hills and valleys of streams. Only 10-20 % of the territory was covered with forests, usually coniferous. Along the line Chorzele – Mława – Sierpc, there was a vast strip of muddy and peaty soil, up to 40 km wide. On the route of the attack of the 5th Armored Guards Army there were a few small rivers, up to 10 m wide, and these were: the Sona, Ładynia, Działdówka and Drwęca. In winter conditions they did not constitute a serious obstacle for the actions of armored troops. The first line of German defense was along the western bank of the Narew river, and it was the most developed towards Soviet bridgeheads, located to the north and south of Pułtusk<sup>23</sup>.

Another defensive line was Ptaki – Kadzidło – Krasnosielsk, four km to the west of Maków, through Gołymin Stary, to the east of Nasielsk and to the west of Dębe village; it was leaning against the Narew river. Towards Przasnysz, the line was supported by a natural barrier, the Orzyc river. The third line was leading between the locations of Budki, four km to the south-east of Chorzele – Mchowo, three km to the west of Przasnysz, 10 km to the east of Ciechanów, through Nowe Miasto and further towards Modlin. The fourth line was leading from Janowo, through the Mława strengthened road node, towards Strzegowo and Płońsk. The town of Mława was a strong resistance node. Another two defensive lines were located already behind the pre-war border of East Prussia<sup>24</sup>.

The Germans also prepared a large number of separated resistance points: they set lines of abatis, dag trenches and anti-tank ditches, as well as built barriers on the roads and isthmuses between the lakes. Bigger towns and villages were particularly used to establish strong defense centers. On the edges and in the centers, some brick objects were adjusted for defense. At the beginning of the army's march such resistance points turned out to be Przasnysz, Ciechanów, Grudusk i Napierki<sup>25</sup>.

### **Moving to the Region of Troop Deployment**

On 10 January, direct command of the 5th Armored Guards Army was called in to the headquarters by the administrators of the front, where they were informed,

<sup>22</sup> *Справка о группировке противника, разгромленной войсками 5 гв. ТА*, ЦАМО, фонд 45, опись 2394, дело 1224, pp. 1–2.

<sup>23</sup> *Журнал боевых действий 5 гв. ТА...*, p. 12.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 13.

<sup>25</sup> *Доклад о боевых действиях 5 гв. ТА. Период с 14.01.1945 по 01.03.1945 г.*, ЦАМО, фонд 332, опись 4948, дело 342, p. 14.

with the obligation of military secrecy, about the plans of the offensive operation and the role that was to be assigned in those actions for the large armored formation. After the return, Gen. Wolski fragmentarily informed the unit commanders, his deputies and the commanders of different troops about the upcoming offensive. He gave orders to start preparations for new missions since the following day<sup>26</sup>.

When on 14 January the attack of the 2nd Belorussian Front troops started, during that day the 48th Army and the 2nd Assault Group occupied the first defense line of the enemy and got four-six km deep inside his position. They were fighting on shut-off positions and the middle lines between the first and the second defense line, near Maków and Pułtusk<sup>27</sup>. At that time, the troops of the 5th Armored Guards Army, carrying out the order of the front commander, repeated by the operation order of the army No. 01 dated 13 January, 11.00 o'clock<sup>28</sup>, accomplished a two-day march in full camouflage. Moving in three routes, they completed a distance of 145 km, from the region of centralization Brańsk, Malinowo, Aleksin and by the evening of 15 January they grouped in the region of Jarząbek, Szarłat, Grudunki.

Each of the three groupings followed a separate route. In order to camouflage successfully, the march was led according to advisable regulations. Wheeled transport of the 29th Panzer Corps started its ride on 14 January at 1.00 o'clock and caterpillar-tracked machines at 4.00 p.m. In the case of the 10th Panzer Corps, the ride started respectively at 2.00 a.m. and 2.00 p.m., and the 47th Mechanized Brigade at 9.00 a.m. and 3.00 p.m. All the echelons were given a maximum time for transport, for wheeled and caterpillar-tracked machines it was from 13 to 20 hours. Caterpillar-tracked vehicles set off in the evenings and were to reach the destination before dawn. They were forbidden to ride through the towns of Ostrów Mazowiecka and Wyszaków. In case of the weather excluding the reconnaissance flights of enemy aircrafts, they were allowed to lead the transport during daytime, and at night to use masked headlights<sup>29</sup>.

The units of heavy tanks JS-122 and assault guns ISU-152, in order to protect them from rapid wear, were transported by rail. In this way, the 14th separated guard regiment of heavy tanks, the 326th, 332nd, 365th, 376th guard self-propelled artillery regiments (heavy) were transported – as well as owning the guns SU-100 – the 1207th and 381st self-propelled artillery regiments. In total, 157 machines<sup>30</sup>.

During the two days of the offensive, the 48th Army and the 2nd Assault Group troops took control over the regions of Maków and Pułtusk, broke the

<sup>26</sup> Журнал боевых действий 5 гв. ТА..., p. 18.

<sup>27</sup> I. Fieduniński, *Na alarm*. Trans. S. Klonowski. Warszawa 1984, pp. 282–284.

<sup>28</sup> Moscow time – time offset is 3 hours from the central European time [the author's note].

<sup>29</sup> Журнал боевых действий 5 гв. ТА..., p. 19.

<sup>30</sup> Бронесводка штаба 5 гв. ТА, 13.01.1945, ЦАМО, фонд 332, опись 4948, дело 363, документ 10, pp. 1–2.

second German defense line and reached the line Dąbrówka – Łukowo – Pniewo Wielkie – Burkat by the dusk of 16 January. They continued pushing the enemy back towards the third defense line, to Przasnysz and Ciechanów. By the operation order of the 2nd Belorussian Front commander No. 34/OP, transmitted by cryptogram on 16 January in the afternoon, the 5th Armored Guards Army was given the assignment: “To gather in the region of Maków, Karniewo, Pieńkowo, Białowieża, Gnojno, Ciepielewo by the morning of 17 January 1945. To stand ready in order to enter the breakthrough from the line of Ciechanów in the general direction towards Mława, Lidzbark”<sup>31</sup>.

Not having time to check the vehicles, which had just covered a long distance, as early as on 16 January at 8.00 p.m. the army troops started moving to the obliged region of the entry into the breakthrough. It was sanctioned by the operation order from 16 January, 4.30 p.m. Marching – depending on the unit – 40–70 km further, with crossing the Narew and Orzyc rivers, the units of the 5th Armored Guards Army reached as a whole the places indicated in the commands by the morning of 17 January<sup>32</sup>.

### **The Army's Entry into the Breakthrough of the Front**

By the directive No. 1055/Sz from 17 January, 0.30 a.m., the commander of the 2nd Belorussian Front ordered: “at 12.00 o'clock on 17 January 1945, the 5th Armored Guards Army will enter the breakthrough in the sector Maków – Karniewo at the general direction towards Grudusk, Mława, Lidzbark. A closer mission of the army, to march out to the line of Mława by the morning of 18 January, and seize Nidzica and Działdowo by the morning of 19 January”<sup>33</sup>.

Marshal Rokossowski was planning the entry of the 5th Armored Guards Army into the breakthrough of the German defense on the third day of the offensive operation. However, on its very beginning there was a one-day delay caused by a strong resistance of the enemy, who had withdrawn his forces to the second defensive line. The Germans also used panzer reserves for sustaining the front. So, in the places of the most difficult fights, there was a point defense support, using the mobility of the reserve units<sup>34</sup>.

Due to the difficulties in the attack, the Soviet infantry was supported by independent corps: the 1st Panzer Corps, the 8th Panzer Guard Corps and the 8th Mechanized Corps – which absorbed nearly 40% of the front's armored forces<sup>35</sup>. Only then did they manage to break through the German defense lines and obtain proper conditions to begin the maneuver of entering the breakthrough with rapid

<sup>31</sup> Журнал боевых действий 5 гв. ТА..., p. 20.

<sup>32</sup> Ibidem

<sup>33</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>34</sup> K. Dieckert, H. Grossmann, *Bój o Pruszy Wschodnie. Kronika dramatu 1944–1945*. Trans. W. Sawicki. Gdańsk 2011, p. 127.

<sup>35</sup> А. Радзиевский, op. cit., p. 33.

forces from the assault troops. On 17 January, on the fourth day of fighting, after the attackers had got 20–25 km deep inside the German defense lines, Wolski's army set off from the south towards Mława. The troops were marching in two corps columns, ready for an encounter battle at any moment. The formation of each corps also consisted of two columns with two brigades in each. The separated 47th Mechanized Brigade was moving on the right side of the army's grouping, with the task to repel a potential counterattack. Support units, including the regiments of self-propelled guns, howitzers, anti-aircraft warfare and sapper subdivisions, were divided between both panzer corps so that the columns represented organizational units, capable of carrying out military operations independently<sup>36</sup>.

The 10th Panzer Corps, having the 178th, 183rd and 186th armored brigades, also consisted of the 11th Motorized Rifle Brigade (BrSZmot), the 705th light artillery regiment, the 287th mortar regiment, and also the 727th, 1207th and 1450th self-propelled artillery regiments, the 1639th anti-aircraft artillery regiment, the 128th independent battalion of the guard rocket artillery and the 77th motorcycle battalion. The 29th Panzer Corps, managing another three armored brigades: the 25th, 31st and 32nd, also included the 53rd Motorized Rifle Brigade, the 165th light artillery regiment, the 108th anti-tank artillery regiment, the 271st mortar regiment, as a mobile artillery force it had the 332nd and 365th heavy as well as the 1223rd and 1446th self-propelled artillery regiments, the 409th division of guard rocket artillery, and the reconnaissance support was given by the 75th separated motorcycle battalion. All the groupings were also given additional support from the army reserves, consisting of the 201st Light Artillery Brigade (BrArtL), the 6th Division of Anti-Aircraft, the 689th anti-tank artillery regiment and the 76th guard rocket artillery regiment, and also self-propelled artillery from the so-called reserves of the High Command, administered on the level of the front. Finally, the 10th Panzer Corps was reinforced with the 326th guard regiment of heavy self-propelled guns and the 689th anti-tank artillery regiment. The 29th Panzer Corps was added the 651st howitzer regiment and the 366th anti-aircraft artillery regiment. The 47th Mechanized Brigade, managing the 18th tank regiment, was given as reinforcement the 376th guard regiment of heavy self-propelled guns. Each corps also received a battalion of sappers. All of the armored brigades separated one tank troop from each brigade which constituted reserve groups. In constant reserve of General Wolski was the 14th separated guard regiment of heavy tanks JS-122<sup>37</sup>.

The assignments for the army divisions did not leave the commanders of middle and lower ranks too much leeway in their decisions or independence in moving in the area, but were specified in detail. The 10th Panzer Corps was

<sup>36</sup> Журнал боевых действий 5 гв. ТА..., p. 21.

<sup>37</sup> Cf Ordre de Bataille 5 APancGw. On the beginning of January 1945; A. Seaton, *Wojna totalna. Wehrmacht przeciw Armii Czerwonej 1941–1945*. Kraków 2010. Supplement. Ed. A. Wingert, p. 333.



ordered to enter the breakthrough from the line Romanowo – Klimki by 17 January before 2.00 p.m. and to act in routes, the first of which was leading through Romanowo, Stara Wieś, Wężewo, Żbiki, Gołany, Rostkowo, Chojnowo, Węgra, Kosmowo, Zawady and Dąbek; and the other through Klimki, Kurowo, Zielona, Łaguny, Dzielino, Wiśniewo, Grudusk, Komonino, as far as Działy. The corps was supposed to break the defensive line Przasnysz – Ciechanów at once and, by the morning of 18 January, enter the line Tańsk – Mława. Then, the commander of the corps was to bypass Mława and take control over Nidzica by the morning of 19 January. Major anti-tank units were ordered to move in the first route so that they would be ready to resist the counterattacks of the enemy's reserves, launched from the north. The command post for the morning hours of 17 January was established in the village of Majki. The staff and the command were to move in the second route, less exposed to German attacks<sup>38</sup>.

By 1.00 p.m., the 29th Panzer Corps was to enter the breakthrough of the line Wypychy – Dąbki – Pałuki and act in route three – successively through Karniewo, Łukowo, Rączka Wielka, Kołaki-Budzyno, Kołaki Wielkie, Łysakowo colony, Piegłowo, Wola Szydłowska, Wiśniewo; and route four – bypassing Pozewo, Gołymin Stary, Pałuki, Dzbonie, Szulmierz, Jarluty, Strzałkowo, Dąbek, reach Bogurzyn. The corps was supposed to break the line Przasnysz – Ciechanów at once and before morning reach the line Mława – Bogurzyn. Next, bypassing Mława, it was to capture Działdowo by the morning of 19 January. The command post at the moment of setting off for the action was specified to be near the village of Zakręt. The staff was supposed to move in the third route<sup>39</sup>.

The 47th Mechanized Brigade was supposed to follow the 10th Panzer Corps, in routes one and two, being ready to resist the attacks of German reserves from the north and expand the success of the army's first echelon. The command post was set in Głodki. Further, the staff was to move in route two<sup>40</sup>.

The army artillery and the reserves were to directly support armored units. The 76th guard mortar regiment and the 14th separated guard regiment of heavy tanks were obliged to go in route two after the 10th Panzer Corps, the 201st Light Artillery Brigade – without the 651st cannon artillery regiment – route four, after the 29th Panzer Corps, and be ready to support the first echelon at entering the breakthrough as well as at forcing the defensive line Przasnysz – Ciechanów, but also to resist the enemy's counterattacks and act on the flanks of the corps and the 47th Mechanized Brigade. The 6th Division of Anti-Aircraft: by 1062nd regiment was to move in route two in combat order of the 47th Mechanized Brigade, use the 146th regiment in route three to protect the army artillery, use the 516th regiment – without one battery – to act with the staff's operational group and protect the main

<sup>38</sup> Журнал боевых действий 10 тк..., pp. 134–135.

<sup>39</sup> Журнал боевых действий 29 тк..., p. 49.

<sup>40</sup> Журнал боевых действий 47 мехбр., 1.01.1944 – 4.08.1945, ЦАМО, фонд 3350, опись 1, дело 6, p. 85.

divisions of the army from aerial strikes during the march, at entering the breakthrough and fulfilling the tasks, assigned for the first and the second day of the attack.

Engineer troops of the 5th Armored Guards Army were ordered to secure the passage of the panzer army divisions on their enemy's and their own minefields, to recognize by engineering reconnaissance the functioning field and anti-tank fortifications, to prepare the passages through them – also deep inside the German defense – as well as to control the safety of the march of tanks, artillery and transport divisions. To carry out those tasks, the frontal divisions were to be strengthened by the demining forces from the corps sapper units and from the assigned army reserves. The sappers were also ordered to secure crossing water barriers, and by the forces of the frontal miner divisions to be ready to set minefields on the enemy's probable counterattack directions. They were also ordered to prepare their own observation points and command posts<sup>41</sup>.

The troops were successively reaching the places of joining the action and the moment the military operation began, the 29th corps had the possibility to use 120 tanks T-34, 42 self-propelled guns ISU-152, 25 SU-85, 37 SU-76, 10 tanks M4A2 *General Sherman* of American production, three light self-propelled guns SU-57 – also of the US production, 41 guns of 76 mm caliber, seven 57-mm guns, 28 guns of 37 mm, 25 mortars of 120 mm, 38 mortars of 82 mm, 31 armored personnel carriers, 41 motorcycles. For direct fight there could be sent 659 infantry soldiers and 1075 motorized shooters.

The commander of the 29th Panzer Corps separated the units for the march. The first combat echelon of the right column consisted of the 25th Armored Brigade and the 1st company of the 193rd separated battalion of sappers. Its task was to break the enemy's defense in the region of Wypychy – Dębki, enter the breakthrough and by the morning of 18 January seize Wiśniewo. The second combat echelon of the right column, consisting of the 53rd Motorized Rifle Brigade, the 1223rd light self-propelled artillery regiment and the 271st mortar regiment, was ordered to follow the 25th Armored Brigade, develop the success of its attack and break the enemy's grouping in the region of Kołaki-Kwasy, and then capture Wiśniewo before the morning. The second combat echelon of the left column, i.e. the 31st Armored Brigade, the 165th light artillery regiment and the 2nd company of the 193rd separated battalion of sappers, moving in the fourth route, was ordered to break the defense line of Dębki – Pałuki and enter the breakthrough, and afterwards, by the morning, take control over the region of Bogurzyn – Michałowo. The second combat echelon of the left column, which consisted of the 32nd Armored Brigade, was obliged to follow the 31st Armored Brigade, develop the success of its attack and break the approaching enemy reserves in the south of Mława. By the morning of 18 January, the group was supposed to take control over the region of Kosiny Kapiczne village. The reserves

<sup>41</sup> Журнал боевых действий 5 гв. ТА..., p. 21.

of the 29th Panzer Corps command, i.e. the 651st regiment of cannon artillery and the 409th division of *Katiusz*, were ordered to follow the 53rd Motorized Rifle Brigade and be ready to resist the enemy's counterattacks<sup>42</sup>.

Within the first 24 hours of the attack, the army's armored units got over 20 km deep inside the defense and a similar, or even a faster pace, was to be kept within the following days. However, the assignments given to both panzer corps of the 5th Armored Guards Army were more demanding, because in less than two days they were to be 80 km ahead and capture two quite large towns. The 10th Panzer Corps, commanded by Major-General of armored warfare Michail Gordiejewicz Sachno<sup>43</sup>, was pushing towards Nidzica, and the 29th Panzer Corps, under the command of Major-General of armored warfare Ksenofont Michajłowicz Małachow<sup>44</sup>, kept its general direction towards Działdowo<sup>45</sup>.

At the moment of the entry of the panzer army into the breakthrough, also the methods and forms of actions of the scouting parties changed. At that time, military intelligence, researching the territory before the brigades marching in columns, had to be particularly active. Intelligence groups were to establish where the enemy's reserves were, what the forces of their artillery and tanks were, where the Germans had their temporary defense lines and whether they were manned. Both panzer corps and the 47th Mechanized Brigade started the military and tactics reconnaissance in the directions of their march and on its flanks. In each armored battalion there was an intelligence platoon, moving ahead of the frontal division, and that one ahead of the main forces<sup>46</sup>. Towards the front and on the flanks of the striking groups, there were also scout groups, separated from a unit prepared especially for that, and in the case of the 5th Armored Guards Army from the 1st independent motorcycle regiment, divided into battalions subordinate to panzer corps. The regiment sent scout groups in two directions of the attack: on the route Przasnysz, Dzierzgowo, Nowa Wieś Wielka, Nidzica and towards Pałuki, Regimin, Szreńsk, Zielona<sup>47</sup>.

### Encountering the Enemy – First Fights

Already since the first hours of entering the breakthrough, Soviet units had to perform military operations. The attackers' ally was surprising the enemy by appearing in unexpected places. The striking force and its suddenness as well

<sup>42</sup> *Журнал боевых действий 29 тк*, 30.09.1944 – 9.05.1945, ЦАМО, фонд 3420, опись 1, дело 25, р. 51.

<sup>43</sup> ЦАМО, фонд 33, опись 686046, единица хранения 40, pp. 231–232.

<sup>44</sup> ЦАМО, фонд 33, опись 686046, единица хранения 40, pp. 173–174.

<sup>45</sup> А. Радзиевский., *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>46</sup> Д. Давыдов, В. Хействер, *Организация танковой разведки в наступлении*. Красная звезда, No. 83 от 8 апреля 1945 г., p. 3.

<sup>47</sup> The second group got as far as near Dzierzgoń, and after 20 January the scouts were transferred near Tolkmicko. ЦАМО, фонд 33, опись 686196, единица хранения 3253, pp. 7–8.

operating high-speed units, difficult to restrain without proper maneuvering the defense forces, constituted further advantages. The Soviets also perfectly used the opponent's fear of getting through to their rear areas. Equally important for the success of the offensive was the extreme winter weather because the continuing frost allowed the tanks to move safely on usually muddy but, during the fights, frozen territories, leading straight to the former border between Poland and the East-Prussian district of Germany<sup>48</sup>.

Exactly on 17 January at midday, the 5th Armored Guards Army troops were led into the breakthrough of the front along the sector of Maków Mazowiecki – Karniewo – Gołmin. The major corps brigades – in the 10th Panzer Corps these were the 186th and 178th Armored Brigades, and the 25th and 31st Armored Brigades in the 29th Panzer Corps – released strong front divisions ahead of them, consisting of not fewer than a battalion of tanks, an artillery battery of self-propelled guns, a company of motorized shooters, a company of sappers and an anti-aircraft group, protecting from aerial attacks. The frontal troops, having scout groups ahead of them, moved forward ready to take up a fight. The arrangement of the front allowed the tankers to start breaking through the enemy's third defense line, at the front's depth of 13-14 km. Arranging the fighting order in four routes caused that the Red Army soldiers were prepared to resist the German tanks' counterattacks, carried out from the flank – the counterattack of the Panzer Grenadier Division *Grossdeutschland* was expected from the Przasnysz side, from Mława – the 7th Panzer Division. The distribution of the Soviet army forces also allowed gaining, in proper time, information on the opponent and the location of engineering obstacles, positioning the units and transferring them safely on flanks as well as commanding the troops efficiently<sup>49</sup>.

At 3.00 p.m. the tanks got through the lines of the first-line 53rd Rifle Corps (KS) of the 48th Army on the line: Zalesie – Moszaki – Kołaczków – Pałuki and immediately attacked the German 299th and 7th Infantry Divisions standing in front of them, consisting of about two infantry regiments and having the support of 15-20 tanks and self-propelled guns, as well as to the 10th artillery battery and mortars. The German units took the shutting-off positions on the army's right flank between the second and the third defense lines and on the left flank – they were on the third line.

The strongest resistance was on the right flank, where the 10th Panzer Corps attacked, and opposite 10-12 self-propelled guns were defending to the infantry regiment, with the support of about five artillery batteries. Not only did the Germans want to hold back the actions of the Red Army soldiers from the 10th Panzer Corps, but they also counterattacked twice from the region of Krasne and Kozin. The commander of the Soviet corps was forced to expand and introduce for the fight two entire armored brigades – the 186th and 178th. Soon, with part of the

<sup>48</sup> K. Sobczak, *Operacja mazowiecko-mazurska 1944–1945*. Warszawa 1967, pp. 197–198.

<sup>49</sup> *Журнал боевых действий 5 зв. ТА...*, p. 21

forces, he threw the opponent troops off the position, and with the main attack headed for Krasne from the east and Kozin from the west. After heavy two-hour fights, the brigades broke the Germans in the region of Zalesie, Krasne, Kozin, Moszaki and continued marching towards the north-west direction. By 9.00 p.m., the 10th Panzer Corps crossed the road Przasnysz – Maków in the fights. The troops reached: the 186th Armored Brigade – Golany, the 178th Armored Brigade – Łaguny, 183 BrPanc – Kozłowo, the 11th Motorized Rifle Brigade – Nowy<sup>50</sup>.

Whereas the 29th Panzer Corps – after passing by the posts of infantry from the 48th Army and entering the breakthrough – met the enemy's resistance on the line Koleczkowo – Bogurzyn and further on the frontline Pokojewo – Trentowo – Opinogóra Górna. That is where the frontal troops of the 25th Armored Brigade, moving in the first route, at 4.30 p.m. met the enemy in the region of Wielka – Trentowo. The infantry battalion supported by four tanks and two artillery batteries resisted. The strike of the brigade caused that the enemy was thrown off their positions. Three guns and about 60 people were liquidated, one gun and two motorcycles were taken over. Continuing the attack, the brigade captured Załuże at 6.00 p.m. In that fight, one of the T-34 tanks was lost. At the same time, on the line Opinogóra Górna, the 31st Armored Brigade scattered the enemy infantry and, without a serious resistance from the enemy's side, it captured the village of Dzbonie by 6.00 p.m.<sup>51</sup>

Those were, however, much weaker attempts to stop the Soviet tanks than in the case of the 10th Panzer Corps. The Germans managed the divisions with the force of up to two infantry battalions, supported by several armored vehicles and three artillery batteries. Two brigades of the 29th Panzer Corps – the 25th and the 31st Armored Brigades – with the forces of their front troops, without positioning the whole units, attacked immediately and broke the enemy's third fortification line. By 5.30 p.m., the troops intersected the road Przasnysz – Ciechanów and captured: the 25th Armored Brigade – Sosnowo, the 31st Armored Brigade – the crossroads in this region, the 32nd Armored Brigade – following the 31st brigade – reached Czernice, and the 53rd Motorized Rifle Brigade – after the 25th brigade – reached Rębowo.

Without stopping, the divisions of the 29th Panzer Corps continued their operations and the 25th Armored Brigade, dropping the rearguard of the retreating enemy, at night reached the region of the external defense zone of the Mława fortification region: the Kozły station, located four km to the south of Grudusk, and the Mierzanowo village. On this line the Germans showed resistance in the form of two infantry battalions and three artillery batteries. By 3.00 o'clock, the brigade captured the Kozły station in the fight. By the command of the corps commander, tanks remained on the frontline with the task of protecting the right flank of the grouping.

<sup>50</sup> Журнал боевых действий 10 тк..., p. 135.

<sup>51</sup> Журнал боевых действий 29 тк..., p. 52.

The 31st Armored Brigade, moving at the front of the corps' left route, on the line Przybyszewo – Regimin attacked and broke the weak forces of the enemy, which were occupying the shutting-off positions, and by the end of 17 January it took control over Żmijewo Ponki. At the Konopki station, however, the opponent showed strong resistance of the troops from the 7th Infantry Division and the 511th construction battalion against the brigade, reinforced by artillery. After a short gunfire from afar, the tanks attacked and by 1.00 a.m. on 18 January they captured the station.

At that time the 32nd Armored Brigade, attacking after the 31st Armored Brigade, entered the region of Zeńbok, Jarluty Duże and overnight carried out fuel replenishment, getting ready to take the position of a vanguard troop. Soon it set off towards Działdowo, bypassing Mława from the south and west. By the end of the day, the 53rd Motorized Rifle Brigade marched out into the region of Kołaki-Kwasy, nine km to the north-west of Ciechanów<sup>52</sup>.

The 47th Mechanized Brigade, which was in the second echelon behind the 10th Panzer Corps, did not have a military encounter with the enemy until the end of the day<sup>53</sup>.

The first day of the military actions of the 5th Armored Guards Army brought a conclusion that moving forward of both corps was too slow and did not meet the expectations of Marshal Rokossowski. The commander of the front started to grow impatient and already on 17 January gave new orders. So as to accelerate the actions of the 10th Panzer Corps, he charged the 8th Mechanized Corps, which was at that time supporting the actions of the 48th Army, with the task to liquidate German resistance near Grudusk. The right flank of the 48th Army was to be reinforced by introducing the 3rd Guard Cavalry Corps (3 KKGw) to the fights<sup>54</sup>. The 5th Armored Guards Army was ordered to restart the offensive on the north as early as at that night. General Wolski soon gave his units details concerning the acceleration of actions on the hitherto directions of the attack – passing round Mława and moving straight into the region of Nidzica and Działdowo<sup>55</sup>.

<sup>52</sup> M. Tarczyński, *Rajd elbląski kpt. G. L. Diaczenki na tle działań 29 znamieńskiego Korpusu Pancernego Gwardii (23–26 I 1945)*. Rocznik Elbląski 1976, Vol. 7, p. 33.

<sup>53</sup> *Журнал боевых действий 5 зв. ТА...*, p. 24.

<sup>54</sup> Independent corps were at that time introduced to the operation zones of particular general military armies. *Historia II wojny światowej 1939–1945 w 12 tomach*, Vol. 10: *Calkowite rozbięcie faszystowskich Niemiec*. Polish Ed. T. Szaciło et al., trans. E. Kozłowski, P. Marcinişzyn. Warszawa 1983, pp. 126–127.

<sup>55</sup> П. Егоров, И. Кривоборский, И. Ивлеv, А. Рогалевич, *Дорогами побед. Боевой путь 5-й гвардейской танковой армии*. Москва 1969, pp. 299–300.

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## SUMMARY

The article presents the maneuver of the entry of the 5th Guards Tank Army into the frontal breakthrough during German-Soviet clashes in January 1945, which was carried out as part of the offensive operation of the 2nd Belorussian Front of the Red Army from northern Mazovia towards the former East Prussia. The author, using the documents of the Central Archive of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation in Podolsk and literature on the subject, presents direct preparations for the armored strike, marches for combat positions and the first day of fighting.

## STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł przedstawia manewr wprowadzenia 5 Armii Pancernej Gwardii w przełamanie frontu podczas starć niemiecko-sowieckich w styczniu 1945 roku, który został wykonany w ramach operacji ofensywnej drugiego frontu białoruskiego Armii Czerwonej z północnego Mazowsza w kierunku ówczesnych Prus Wschodnich. Autor, korzystając z dokumentów Centralnego Archiwum Ministerstwa Obrony Federacji Rosyjskiej w Podolsku oraz literatury przedmiotu, prezentuje bezpośrednie przygotowania do uderzenia pancernego, marsze na pozycje bojowe oraz pierwszy dzień walk.



**Key words:** entry into the breakthrough, Red Army, northern Mazovia, January 1945

**Słowa kluczowe:** wejście w przełamanie, Armia Czerwona, północne Mazowsze, styczeń 1945



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## SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF SCHOOLS IN THE WARSAW VOIVODESHIP 1959–1972 (AUTHORITY, SOCIETY, PRESS)

## SPOŁECZNE BUDOWNICTWO SZKOLNE NA TERENIE WOJEWÓDZTWA WARSZAWSKIEGO 1959–1972 (WŁADZA, SPOŁECZEŃSTWO, PRASA )

The article will focus on the social construction of schools, primarily the construction of schools “Monuments of the Polish State Millennium” – millenarian schools. Problems, phenomena and facts typical for the whole country, regional differences in relation to general phenomena and specific investment yields in the described area will be illustrated by selected examples.

The time frames referred to in the title include the functioning of two funds: the Social Fund for the Construction of Schools (SFBS) in the years 1959–1966 and the Social Fund for the Construction of Schools and Halls of Residence (SFBSiI) in the years 1966–1972, with the emphasis on the first period due to the clarity of activities and more accurate documentation in the sources. The second period, due to repeated processes, was covered only by basic statistics. The area of analysis covered the Warsaw voivodeship, with the emphasis on north-eastern Mazovia, specifically the five counties of the north-eastern part of this historical region, namely: Maków, Ostrów, Ostrołęka, Przasnysz and Wyszków – due to the content profile of XXXI Zeszyt Naukowy OTN. In the first territorial reference, mainly statistical data and voivodeship-wide processes were included, in the narrowed one, a detailed exemplification indicating the similarities and differences between common and local phenomena. The analyses do not therefore include the capital city of Warsaw, which was then a separate administrative entity. In fact, analogous phenomena in the capital city have already been described<sup>1</sup>. Schools built for the funds provided by the Social Fund for the Reconstruction of the Country and the Capital have also been omitted.

The basic sources can be found in the Archive of New Files in the fonds: National Committee of SFBS and SFBSiI<sup>2</sup>, and also the Ministry of Education<sup>3</sup> and

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<sup>1</sup> J. Gołota, *Warszawskie „Tysiąclatki”*, [In:] Idem, *Między historią polityczną a historią społeczną*. Pułtusk–Olsztyn–Ostrołęka–Warszawa 2014, pp. 394–336.

<sup>2</sup> AAN (Archive of New Files), Krajowy Komitet Społecznego Komitetu Budowy Szkół (KK SFBS) (National Committee of Social Committee for the Construction of Schools) in

PZPR (Polish United Workers' Party)<sup>4</sup>. From printed sources mainly statistical data<sup>5</sup> have been used. The documentation of selected facts is supplemented with press releases<sup>6</sup>. The main publication is *Architektura i budownictwo szkolne PRL* (*Architecture and Construction of Schools in PRL*)<sup>7</sup> containing the list of millenarian schools, drawn up by the officials of the Ministry of Education on the basis of: "Listy obiektów wzniesionych w akcji Tysiąc Szkół Pomników Tysiąclecia Państwa Polskiego" ("Lists of buildings erected during the action Thousand of School Monuments of the Polish State Millennium")<sup>8</sup>. The biggest difficulty consists in the inaccuracy of the numerical data on material effects, i.e. school or residential chambers given to use. Divergent data is included in the documents of SFBS, the Ministry of Education. Even in the subsequent statistical yearbooks, there are differences in the number of school chambers given to use in relation to previous years. However, the differences do not distort the essential image.

### **Polish nationwide conditions for building schools from social funds**

The shortage of school premises is one of the basic socio-economic problems of post-war Poland. The second Republic did not eliminate the backwardness of the areas under the partitions. War losses (1939–1945) in school premises were estimated at 30–40% by the Special Commission at the Council of Ministers. In the three-year plan 9.500 chambers were built or rebuilt, while only 8.283 school chambers were given to use during the six-year plan<sup>9</sup>. In the years 1956–1960, 16.740 chambers were built. The second conditioning factor of the premises

Warsaw sig. 1170; Krajowy Komitet Społecznego Komitetu Budowy Szkół i Internatów (National Committee of Social Committee for the Construction of Schools and Halls of Residence) (KK SFBSiI), sign. 1171.

<sup>3</sup> AAN, Ministerstwo Oświaty (The Ministry of Education), sign. 8413.

<sup>4</sup> AAN, Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza, Komitet Centralny w Warszawie (Polish United Workers' Party, Central Committee in Warsaw) (PZPR, KC), No. of fonds 1354, Part V. Biuro Polityczne (Politburo), Part VII Sekretariat KC (Secretariat of the Central Committee); Wydział Nauki i Oświaty (Science and Education Department), Społeczny Fundusz Budowy Szkół (The Social Fund for the Construction of Schools).

<sup>5</sup> Roczniki Statystyczne 1958–1972; Statystyka Polski – Materiały Statystyczne (Warszawa), czerwiec 1966, Issue 4(126). Statystyka Szkolnictwa. Szkolnictwo ogólnokształcące i opieka nad dzieckiem i młodzieżą 1964/1965 i 1965/1966.

<sup>6</sup> "Trybuna Ludu", "Trybuna Mazowiecka", "Głos Nauczycielski".

<sup>7</sup> *Architektura i budownictwo szkolne PRL*. Eds. J. Dobek, Z. Huszcza, F. Krysiak, J. Łoziński, Cz. Szymanek, Z. Szymański, A. Uniejewski, T. Wysocki, Warszawa 1976.

<sup>8</sup> Listy obiektów wzniesionych w akcji Tysiąc Szkół Pomników Tysiąclecia Państwa Polskiego, AAN, KKFBS, sign. 1170, Vol. 17, pp. 8–66.

<sup>9</sup> S. Zdyb, *Potrzeby szkolnictwa podstawowego, problemy budownictwa szkolnego*. Nowa Szkoła 1960, No. 6, p. 21; Shorthand notes from the meeting of the extended SFBS Committee of 11 May 1960, AAN, KKSFBBS, sign. 1170, Posiedzenia KK SFBS i Komisji 1960, Vol. 19, p. 2.

situation was the demographic boom. For example, in 1957, 782.300 children were born, in 1958 – 755.500 children, in 1959 – 547.400<sup>10</sup>.

And there are yet two aspects of the construction of schools, it is difficult to precisely define the degree of their influence on decision-making. The abandonment of October slogans became apparent especially in relation to the Catholic Church. The announcement of the Great Novena by Primate Stefan Wyszyński provoked a counter-attack, which was patronized mainly by Władysław Gomułka. The idea of the millennium of Christianity in Poland was contrasted with the slogan of the millennium of the Polish state. The involvement of the society in improving the school premises was to be made one of the weapons of war in that confrontation. Simplistically, it can be said that, among others, days of voluntary work without pay for the benefit of the collective and fundraising resulting in new school chambers and apartments for teachers were to direct people's attention away from church celebrations. The second aspect, rarely noticed in historiography: millenarian schools were built during the Cold War, perhaps in the 1960s – silenced but not eliminating armed conflict from the public space. That is why some of the schools at that time were also potential hospitals and many of them were built with shelters.

The idea of social school construction came from teachers<sup>11</sup> and was explicitly articulated during the second convention of the Union of Polish Teachers (ZNP) on 2–5 May 1957 in Warsaw<sup>12</sup>. Soon its authorship was arbitrarily attributed to Władysław Gomułka, who on 24 September 1958 summarized his speech delivered during the national conference of the party education activists organized at the Central Committee, with the following slogan “1.000 schools to celebrate the Millennium”<sup>13</sup>. To implement the idea, the Social Fund for the Construction of Millenarian Schools and its National Committee<sup>14</sup> were established, which happened on 29 November 1958, during the plenary session of the National

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<sup>10</sup> *Statystyka urodzeń i zgonów po II wojnie światowej*. Rocznik Demograficzny (Warszawa) 2012, pp. 28–29 (to compare: in 2014, 375,000 children were born).

<sup>11</sup> J. Korkozowicz, *Pomnik nam nie wystarczy*. Nowa Kultura 8 June 1958, No. 23, p. 7; W. Polkowski, *Pomniki nam nie wystarczą*. Głos Nauczycielski 22 February 1958, No. 25, pp. 1, 3.

<sup>12</sup> A. Gładysz, *Oświata, kultura, nauka w latach 1947–1959*. Wybrane problemy polityczne. Warszawa 1959, p. 43; *Osiągnięcia i problemy rozwoju oświaty i wychowania w dwudziestoleciu Polski Ludowej*. Ed. Suchodolski. Warszawa 1966, pp. 210–214; *Zjazd Oświatowy 2–5 maja 1957 r.* Ed. S. Kwiatkowski. Warszawa 1958.

<sup>13</sup> *Szkoła musi lepiej przygotować młodzież do życia i pracy, wychowywać w duchu socjalizmu*. A lecture delivered by comrade Władysław Gomułka at the meeting of the party education activists, idem Nowa Szkoła 1958, No. 10, pp. 2–11.

<sup>14</sup> *Wysiłkiem całego narodu zbudujemy tysiąc szkół na Tysiąclecie*. *Apel Ogólnopolskiego Komitetu Frontu Jedności Narodu*. Trybuna Ludu 30 November 1958, No. 334, ed. A, p. 3; *Potrzebny jest udział całego społeczeństwa*. Trybuna Mazowiecka 1 December 1958, No. 285.

Committee of the Front of National Unity (FJN). On 14 January 1966, it was transformed into SFBSiL, with a new slogan "The nation for its youth"<sup>15</sup>.

The Marshal of Sejm, Czesław Wycech, became the head of the National Committee of both mutations<sup>16</sup>. The principles of operation, objectives, central and local structures of the Fund were regulated by "Instrukcja Ogólnopolskiego Komitetu Frontu Jedności Narodu i Krajowego Komitetu Społecznego Funduszu Budowy Szkół" (Instructions of the National Committee of the Front of National Unity and the National Committee of the Social Fund for the Construction of Schools)<sup>17</sup>. The main purpose of those organizations was to collect money and mobilize the public to build new schools and apartments for teachers.

The SFBS National Committee usurped the right to issue almost arbitrary orders to the ministries and central offices, as a consequence, the voivodeship and county committees issued directives to the local authorities. The investment projects in the region were supervised by school districts departments of education and educational inspectorates, it was also there where financial and accounting services were. However, organizational matters, or let us say enforcement matters in terms of the collection of money, were dealt with by delegated teachers – per one in each county. In addition, it was generally the pedagogues who were obliged to organize promotional events, numerous competitions, or to perform the function of money collectors wandering from farm to farm in a three-person group<sup>18</sup>.

Suitable committees were established in each voivodeship, then, in counties, towns, districts, etc. In the Warsaw voivodeship the SFBS Voivodeship Coordination Committee was established on 18 December 1958, during the meeting of the Voivodeship Committee of the Front of National Unity. Janusz Łopuski, vice-chairman of the Voivodeship National Council, became the head of the Warsaw Coordination Committee, Ignacy Klimaszewski, the Warsaw District Curator became one of the vice-presidents of the Warsaw Coordination Committee and, among others, Jakub Donigiewicz the president of the ZNP Warsaw District became one of the Bureau members, and Stanisław Panek, a teacher, was appointed

<sup>15</sup> *Apel Ogólnopolskiego Komitetu FJN „Naród Swojej Młodzieży*. Trybuna Ludu 16 January 1965, No. 15, ed. C, p. 1; Głos Nauczycielski 23 January 1966, No. 4; Shorthand notes from the plenary meeting of SFBS National Committee on 13 January 1966, AAN, sign. 1171, Posiedzenia KK i Komisji, Vol. 24.

<sup>16</sup> Minutes of the first meeting of Social Fund for the Construction of Millenarian Schools National Committee, which took place on 29 November 1958. (URM), AAN, Krajowy Komitet Funduszu Budowy Szkół, sign. 1170, p. 44, Vol. 18, p. 1. *W wielkiej ofensywnie oświatowej potrzebny jest udział całego społeczeństwa*. Lecture of comrade Aleksander Zawadzki at the plenary meeting of FJN National Committee.

<sup>17</sup> Ogólnopolski Komitet Frontu Jedności Narodu i Krajowy Komitet Społecznego Funduszu Budowy Szkół „Instrukcja w sprawie społecznej akcji budowy 1000 szkół dla uczczenia Tysiąclecia Państwa Polskiego”. Warszawa, December 1958 [no specific date].

<sup>18</sup> Letter of the Minister to teachers on the participation of schools and other educational and day-care facilities in the celebration of the Millennium of the Polish State, Dz.U. MO, 10 March 1960, No. 3, item 30.

the secretary. The composition of this panel was supplemented by a representative of the United People's (ZSL), managers of construction companies, Voivodeship National Council officials and Urszula Koziorowska, a secretary of the editorial office of "Trybuna Mazowiecka". During the plenary meeting, the needs of the voivodeship in terms of primary, general, vocational, special education and childcare were assessed. For the years 1959–1965, 125 schools were planned to be built from the funds of the SFBS, alongside with 488 schools to be built from state funds. For this purpose, it was planned to raise PLN 1 billion 800 million within seven years, that is PLN 115 million a year<sup>19</sup>. The ambitious collection plan (it was planned to raise about PLN 8 billion in the whole country) proved to be unrealistic and was not carried out. However, such declaration shows how high the verve and hopes were when it came to building schools.

The objectives of the Mazovian Committee were similar to those of its counterparts in the country, which were primarily responsible for collecting money, organizing community work, producing construction materials, and social supervision in the investment process. In the Warsaw voivodeship, 33 committees of various levels were established<sup>20</sup>, also in the counties constituting the subject of these deliberations. Just after the establishment of the SFBS, Mazovian companies submitted a declaration on the construction of schools<sup>21</sup>.

### Investment processes

Schools were financed from three sources: firstly, from the state budget about 65% of expenditures depending on the voivodeship. The schools that may be allocated to this group are those, so-called founded by the military<sup>22</sup>, workplaces (especially in Silesia) and other economic entities. In the areas attractive to tourists – that is outside the described area – there were erected schools used as children summer camps facilities during holidays. The Management of the Building of Workers' Housing Estates, i.e. construction companies subject to the regional national councils were supposed to spend 5% of its resources on schools. The second form of investment was social schools, in particular millenarian schools officially named "Schools – Monuments of the Polish State Millennium" – about 30–35%. Next to the millenarian schools, volunteers built extensions of various kinds, often single chambers or sanitary facilities. An important element of the program were apartments for teachers, the union expected their number to be equal

<sup>19</sup> *Tysiąclecie tematem narady w WK FJN*. Trybuna Mazowiecka 19 December 1958, No. 301, pp. 1–2.

<sup>20</sup> AAN, NIK, sign. 1154, v. 29/416, Kontrola działalności społecznego Komitetu Funduszu Budowy Szkół. opracowanie zbiorcze, st. inspektor St. Skoroszewski, data rozpoczęcia 1 III 1965, data zakończenia 30 IX 1965, sprawozdanie poufne.

<sup>21</sup> *Zakłady pracy i instytucje fundują szkoły dla mazowieckich dzieci*. Trybuna Mazowiecka 3 December 1958, No. 287.

<sup>22</sup> *Tysiąclatka dla mazowieckiej młodzieży*. Trybuna Mazowiecka 8 September 1964, No. 214.

to the number of school chambers. Equipping classrooms for teaching physics, chemistry, biology and manual work should be regarded as a symbol of modernity.

The construction of millenarian schools is a common social-economic movement in which the state authorities, political parties, social and professional organizations became involved. In the latter, the Union of Polish Teachers (ZNP) was the leader. The press played a very important role, "Głos Nauczycielski"<sup>23</sup> took the lead, especially within the first two years. In each voivodeship the role of a promoter was taken over by the authorities of the Voivodeship Committees of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR). "Trybuna Mazowiecka", in comparison with, for example, "Słowo Ludu" or "Trybuna Robotnicza", gave the SFBS little coverage, it did not report on, for example (like its counterparts in other voivodeships) current results of fundraising, did not mention leaders or those "falling behind with payments", and did not call for generosity. Often the information was provided by field correspondents, there were no reports from the area described in this article.

Fundraising for the SFBS is also a form of some kind of additional tax imposed on society – assumedly a voluntary one. Employees at their workplaces, offices, state institutions were supposed to pay 0.5% of income, farmers – 2% of annual income, members of creative unions and freelancers – 0.5% of annual income, private enterprises – 5% of annual tax, cooperatives – 10% of annual surplus. Voluntary additional contributions from institutions, workplaces were also forecast. Apart from fundraising, voluntary contribution of work was planned as well as construction materials production, income from events, fundraising organized by school pupils, common money collections in the street. The fulfilment of the "patriotic duty" met with various attitudes, from genuine voluntary contributions – especially in the places where a school was being built – to official boycott, avoidance of contributions, complaints to the editorial staff of the press, most often to "Przyjaciółka". Particular difficulties appeared in the countryside. The generosity of the counties described in this article was not impressive – in the Warsaw voivodeship in 1964, per 414.035 households in 27 counties, only 138.205 households, that is 33%, "carried out the plan" at 100%, and the lowest indicator of the plan implementation, that is less than 15%, was in the

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<sup>23</sup> Several examples: J.S., *Akcja jeszcze nie w pełni powszechna*. Głos Nauczycielski 25 April 1960, No. 39; w.m., *Budujemy szkoły Tysiąclecia*. Głos Nauczycielski 22 May 1960, No. 21; W. Schayer, *Powstaje Towarzystwo Budowy Szkół. Społeczeństwo uzupełni środki państwowe dla zrealizowania wielkiego planu budownictwa szkolnego*. Głos Nauczycielski 16 February 1958, No. 7, p. 1; *Budujemy Szkoły Tysiąclecia*. Głos Nauczycielski 8 November 1959, No. 45; Głos Nauczycielski 29 November 1959, No. 48; Głos Nauczycielski 13 December 1959, No. 50; Głos Nauczycielski 27 December 1959, No. 52.



households in the following counties: Ostrów Mazowiecka, Maków Mazowiecki and Przasnysz (outside the area of Piaseczno)<sup>24</sup>.

### Collection and investment effects

The collection achievements of SFBS in the years 1959–1965 in Poland amounted to 8.605.502 zlotys, including the Warsaw voivodeship with 471.802 zlotys<sup>25</sup>, which gave the 5th place in the country. And in the years 1966–1972, the collections for SFBSiI in Poland amounted to 13.727.524 zlotys, including 894.922 zlotys in the Warsaw voivodeship, the second place in the country<sup>26</sup>. The Katowice voivodeship was leading in terms of the collections, which was influenced by subsidies from large workplaces – in the first collection period, the Katowice committee received 1.489.809 zlotys, and in the second – 2.170.460 zlotys.

In the discussed counties, the amount of collections was similar. In Ostrołęka county, 11.799 zlotys were collected (137 zlotys per one inhabitant), Ostrów county – 11.383 zlotys (152 zlotys per one inhabitant), Wyszaków county – 6.995 zlotys (145 zlotys per one inhabitant), Maków county – 9.203 zlotys (179 zlotys per one inhabitant), in Przasnysz county – 11.186 zlotys (174 zlotys per one inhabitant) – the 1st place in the voivodeship in 1965<sup>27</sup>. The voivodeship average amounted to 197 zlotys per one inhabitant. 26 thousand people, “Who during the action very often turned into real social activists, which is also a great achievement of SFBS”, were involved in organizing the collection in Mazovia. The Mazovian summary of the action “A thousand schools for the Millennium” took place during the plenum of the Voivodeship Committee of the Front of National Unity on 1 February 1966<sup>28</sup>, when all the speakers, politicians, unionists, the head of the voivodeship military staff, the president of SFBS and SFOS thanked, expressing hope to continue the collection within the SFBSiI under the heading “Naród swojej młodzieży” (“The Nation for its Youth”).

Table 1

Overall material effects gained in the Warsaw voivodeship against the background of national achievements in the years 1959–1965

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<sup>24</sup> AAN, Najwyższa Izba Kontroli, sign. 1154, p. 12, but “Trybuna Mazowiecka” reported, for example, that farmers from the Ostrołęka county in 1965 carried out the plan at 107%, vide: Trybuna Mazowiecka 25 January 1966, No. 20.

<sup>25</sup> In 1959 it was planned to collect 1.8 billion zlotys.

<sup>26</sup> *Architektura i budownictwo* ..., p. 28, 35. The report includes an approximate value – 468.066 zlotys.

<sup>27</sup> *Dorobek SFBS*. Trybuna Mazowiecka 25 January 1966, No. 20; Trybuna Mazowiecka 1 February 1966, No. 26.

<sup>28</sup> *Mazowsze czynem wieńczy obchody Tysiąclecia*. Trybuna Mazowiecka 2 February 1966, No. 27.

| Specified           | The number of |                   |                      |                           |                       |                             | In total                           |
|---------------------|---------------|-------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|
|                     | Objects       | Didactic chambers | Residential chambers | Chambers in kindergartens | Places in dormitories | Working places in workshops | Expenditure in thousands of zlotys |
| Poland              | 1423          | 17.549            | 7258                 | 840                       | 3.963                 | 3.138                       | 8.155.365                          |
| Warsaw Voivode ship | 109           | 1.066             | 901                  | 0                         | 250                   | 0                           | 451.517                            |

Source: *Architektura i budownictwo szkolne PRL*. Eds. J. Dobek, Z. Huszcza, F. Krysiak, J. Łoziński, Cz. Szymanek, Z. Szymański, A. Uniejewski, T. Wysocki. Warszawa 1976, pp. 29–30.

Table 2

Material effects concerning school and residential chambers gained in the Warsaw voivodeship against the background of national achievements in the years 1959–1965 with the division to types of schools

|                    | Primary schools |                   |                      |                                    |
|--------------------|-----------------|-------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|
|                    | The number of   |                   |                      | Expenditure in thousands of zlotys |
|                    | Schools         | Didactic chambers | Residential chambers |                                    |
| Poland             | 1.288           | 15.186            | 6.532                | 6.524.726                          |
| Warsaw voivodeship | 104             | 960               | 789                  | 389.543                            |
| Secondary schools  |                 |                   |                      |                                    |
| Poland             | 41              | 732               | 274                  | 405.249                            |
| Warsaw voivodeship | 1               | 18                | 12                   | 7.741                              |
| Vocational schools |                 |                   |                      |                                    |
| Poland             | 75              | 1473              | 382                  | 1.077.243                          |
| Warsaw voivodeship | 4               | 88                | 100                  | 54.233                             |

Source: *Architektura i budownictwo szkolne PRL...*, pp. 29–30.

In the Warsaw voivodeship, similarly to the entire country, primary schools were dominant. Secondary schools were built in Sierpc – a mechanics technical school, in Ciechanów and Ostrów Mazowiecka – economic schools, in Łochów – a secondary school, in Dębe – the Water Management Technical School<sup>29</sup>.

Within the investment yields in the country, the Katowice voivodeship was dominant, then the Lublin and Bydgoszcz voivodeships. The Warsaw voivodeship took the fourth place in the country. The local presidents of the voivodeship coordination committees, Jerzy Ziętek in Katowice and Paweł Dąbek in Lublin, had major influence on the success of the Katowice and Lublin voivodeships. It was particularly Paweł Dąbek who could raise investment funds exceeding the voivodeship collection effects. The Warsaw voivodeship did not have a distinctive and operative leader. During the SFBS, mainly schools were built, whereas during the continuation of the action through SFBSiI, apart from dormitories, health service buildings were established, such as health centers, clinics, cultural facilities.

Moreover, next to millenarian schools, and in the years 1956–1966 in Poland, as a result of non-institutional “spontaneous community actions”, 4.441 school chambers were built, including 269 in the Warsaw voivodeship, and 4.602 in the years 1966–1972, including 281 in the Warsaw voivodeship.

### **Similarities and specificity of north-eastern Mazovia**

The processes related to school construction were basically similar in the entire country. The management of SFBS fought in order to avoid two-chamber schools, allowing for at least four-chamber ones. Theoretically, the location of millenarian schools was supposed to be dependent on the amount of collected contributions. Money was collected in the counties but it was the voivodeship officials who made decisions about the investments. There was no rule exacting the use of the collected money in the place of collection. As far as Ostrów county was in the fifth place in the voivodeship in terms of the amount of expenditure, Wyszaków county was ranked last but one. Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki dominated with the expenditure amounting to 56.181 zlotys. A millenarian school could be “arranged” by an active local leader or an efficient official. A millenarian school was not always a fortunate gift for the local community: higher contributions, community work. Also entrepreneurs did not engage themselves willingly in building those schools, due to the not always useful community actions. They could not impose markup on the free building materials and the social supervision of works was “loafing about” the building site.

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<sup>29</sup> In the Warsaw voivodeship, special schools (3 in the country) and kindergartens (7 such objects in the country), music schools (3 in the country), school workshops (16 in the country with 3.088 workplaces) were not built within the social funds. In Poland, 21 dormitories, with places for 3.963 students, including the Warsaw voivodeship with one dormitory for 250 students, were built.

There were disputes about the standards, equipment. The view that the Memorials should be exemplary and modernly equipped, won. The carried out inspections show that construction standards in schools were high for those times, especially in comparison to “blind kitchens (with no windows)” in residential construction. For instance, in the archive of the school in the Stacja district in Ostrołęka there was preserved a project of the school with a swimming pool! A full implementation of such amenities as a central heating, running water, toilets with water flushing, showers in rural schools, was hindered simply by the lack of sewage and sanitation infrastructure<sup>30</sup>.

Table 3

Material effects of school construction in five counties of north-eastern Mazovia

| Locality         | County      | School chambers | Laboratories | Residential chambers | Expenditure in thousands of zlotys | Date of commissioning* |
|------------------|-------------|-----------------|--------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------|
| Rzekuń           | Ostrołęcki  | 5               | 1            | 6                    | 3.728                              | 30 Aug 1960            |
| Wąsewo           | Ostrów Maz. | 7               | 2            | 18                   | 3.370                              | 28 Aug 1961            |
| Budy Rządowe     | Przasnysz   | 4               | 1            | 8                    | 1.321                              | 3 Sep 1961             |
| Komorowo         | Ostrów Maz. | 7               | 2            | 2                    | 3.732                              | 31 Sep 1961            |
| Szelków          | Maków Maz.  | 6               | 1            | 10                   | 3.763                              | 22 July 1962           |
| Zawady           | Przasnysz   | 5               | 1            | 7                    | 3.227                              | 2 Sep 1962             |
| Ostrołęka        | Ostrołęka   | 11              | 2            | 2                    | 5.553                              | 1 Sep 1962             |
| Rybienko Leśne** | Wyszków     | 11              | 2            | 0                    | 5.297                              | 1 Sep 1963             |
| Rzęgnowo         | Przasnysz   | 4               | 1            | 10                   | 2.451                              | 1 Sep 1963             |
| Gocły            | Ostrołęka   | 5               | 3            | 8                    | 1.302                              | 2 Sep 1964             |
| Trynosy          | Ostrów Maz. | 6               | 2            | 12                   | 2.786                              | 2 Sep 1964             |
| Raki             | Maków Maz.  | 8               | 3            | 16                   | 2.643                              | 2 Sep 1964             |
| Wola Mystkowska  | Wyszków     | 6               | 3            | 12                   | 2.212                              | 2 Sep 1964             |
| Zębry Laskowice  | Wyszków     | 6               | 1            | 7                    | 1.378                              | 2 Sep 1964             |
| Osówiec          | Przasnysz   | 6               | 2            | 12                   | 2.462                              | 2 Sep 1964             |
| Kadzidło         | Ostrołęka   | 7               | 3            | 12                   | 4.146                              | 1 Sep 1965             |
| Żelazna          | Przasnysz   | 6               | 2            | 9                    | 2.678                              | 1 Sep 1965             |

<sup>30</sup> Information of the general manager of the Ministry of Education Wojciech Pokora submitted during a joint meeting of the Sejm committees of construction and municipal engineering as well as the committee of education and science, which took place on 3 June 1959, A bulletin No. 45/301 of the Sejm office, the press department of 4 June 1959, p. 5.

|             |             |    |   |   |       |             |
|-------------|-------------|----|---|---|-------|-------------|
| Młodzianowo | Maków Maz.  | 4  | 1 | 5 | 2.240 | 30 Dec 1965 |
| Ostrów Maz. | Ostrów Maz. | 15 | 3 | 6 | 8.923 | 30 Dec 1965 |

Source: *Architektura i budownictwo szkolne...*, pp. 271–350; *Listy obiektów wzniesionych w akcji Tysiąc Szkół Pomników Tysiąclecia Państwa Polskiego*. AAN, KKFBS, sign. 1170, Vol. 17, pp. 8–66; *Sprawozdanie z działalności SFBS za lata 1958–1965*. AAN, KKFBS, sign. 1171.

\*According to the data from the sources of the Ministry of Education. The differences in dates depended on the interpretation: formal acceptance, the start of classes, and settlement for the construction.

\*\* *Piękna szkoła w Rybieniu Leśnym*. Trybuna Mazowiecka, 5 January 1966, No. 3.

The number of school chambers, laboratories in the counties specified in the article is comparable to other parts of Poland.

In comparison to the country, among the patrons of schools, the people or the events related to the communist ideology were not dominant. Gen. Józef Bem (Rzekuń), Stanisław Staszic (Wąsewo), The Heroes of the January Uprising (Raki) Stanisław Dubois (Ostrów). An exception might be: Col. Bolesław Kowalski (Kadzidło) and particularly Col. Michał Gniazdowicz (Żelazna). Several examples from the country: The school in Ładzyń, in the Mińsk Mazowiecki county, was given the name of The Fallen Heroes of the Citizens' Militia and Security Service. In Czumsk Duży (Rypin county) – the Fighters of the Polish Workers' Party, and after his death, Aleksander Zawadzki was dominant among patrons.

The described area is positively shown in the protocols of NIK (the Supreme Audit Office). The inspectors of this institution did not detect any irregularities, whereas for instance in the Lublin voivodeship some cases were directed even to the prosecutor. A similar situation was with workmanship. In the discussed counties, the inspection of NIK did not detect gross defective execution of works, whereas it indicated numerous examples of negligence within the entire country (leaking roofs, cracking walls, flooded basements!).

Giving to use a millenarian school was a great event with the participation of the highest authorities. An example of this is Kadzidło. The building was constructed next to the “old run-down barrack”, “in the scenery resembling the Sopot Opera House [...] 7 didactic chambers, training rooms, a gymnasium, a scout room, a physician's office, sanitary appliances... the new building was well approved by not only children but also older community members, who admired the rooms”. On a beautiful sunny day in the ceremony participated: the president of the Presidium of the Voivodeship National Council Józef Pińkowski, curator Marian Migdalski, the president of Warsaw District of ZNP (the Polish Teachers' Union) Stanisław Jeziorski, the 1st secretary of I KP PZPR Stanisław Laskowski, the president of the County National Council Ryszard Kitliński. “A nice surprise

was prepared by the Public Committee for Tuberculosis Control, whose vice-president Andrzej Krauze gave toiletries for brushing teeth to all the primary school first graders”<sup>31</sup>. That was a typical scenario of a new school year inauguration ceremony in a new building. Detailed descriptions were preserved in the school chronicles, e.g. “On 1 September 1962, the inhabitants of Ostrołęka Stacja district finally managed to see the long awaited day. In the presence of... [i.a. the Minister of Communication, the Authority for Education, the Director-General of the Ministry of Education, county authorities of the communist party... – J.G.] ... at the end there was an artistic performance... and sightseeing the school... 7 classrooms, training rooms, a gymnasium, a scout room, a physician’s office, sanitary appliances... the new building was well approved by not only children but also older community members, who admired the rooms”<sup>32</sup>.

### Final conclusions

A critical view of PRL (People’s Republic of Poland), including the centrally planned economy, lack of sovereignty, the political system, determined the assessment of the great school investment effort in the 1960s<sup>33</sup>. PZPR lost the battle for the souls in politics, it did not overcome the Church<sup>34</sup>, it lost the struggle for the system, for the economic model, but the schools remained. Some of them, especially in small localities, were liquidated (e.g. Młodzianowo, Maków Maz. county) or their use was changed. The majority of schools have been functioning until the present day (all of them in towns and bigger localities) and after taking control over them by local authorities and carrying out renovations and thermo-modernizations (frequently from the European funds) they are used by the youth to this day.

In the conditions of the demographic boom, war damage, lack of passenger transport means, millenarian schools were a way to improve the conditions of education, especially in small localities. In the 1960s, the educational environment achieved success within the school construction field, frequently for the price of

<sup>31</sup> *Nowy rok szkolny*. Trybuna Mazowiecka 2 September 1966, No. 209; *Nowa Tysiąclatka w Kadzidle*. Trybuna Mazowiecka 3 September 1966, No. 21.

<sup>32</sup> *Kronika Szkoły Podstawowej Ostrołęka Stacja* (Ostrołęka Stacja Primary School Chronicle).

<sup>33</sup> With no wider publicity but with controversial assessment, the 50th anniversary of commissioning the first millenarian school in Czeladź was accepted, J. Podgórska, *Przepraszamy za usterki*. Polityka 8 September 2001, No. 36, pp. 92 – 97; PS, *Milenijne szkoły*. Głos Nauczycielski 1 September 2009, No. 37.

<sup>34</sup> In fact, in 1966 Gomułka triumphed: “We are celebrating the Millennium of the Polish State with great achievements of the people’s government... the gift in the form of building over 1.000 schools. The Church did not join this action – it took a completely passive position. If it had felt a patriotic duty, if it was connected to the system, the Church would have supported the action but it did not”. Gomułka’s speech made at the plenum of OP FJN on 14 January 1966, Trybuna Ludu 16 January 1965, No. 15, ed. C, p. 3; *Z obrad Sesji OK FJN*. Głos Nauczycielski 23 January 1966, No. 4.

opportunistic thankful words addressed to the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) and "Wiesław". The investment success is seen particularly in the context of the "great constructions of socialism": for instance Turoszów, Płock, nitrogen plants in Puławy, or the Ostrołęka cellulose factory. Within two years, more chambers were commissioned than during the entire six-year plan! Of course, we may indicate the instrumental treatment of the millenarian schools by the contemporary authorities trying to strike "the Millennium with a millenarian school". For instance, in 1964 the celebration of the "Millennium" was replaced by the "Twentieth Anniversary of the People's Republic of Poland". What may be criticized is standardization, random examples negligence, extorting subscriptions, sometimes nonsense social actions, wasting building materials. Simultaneously with the investment process, the ideologization of education was carried out, which is shown in the clearest example of the act of 15 July 1961 "O rozwoju systemu oświaty i wychowania" ("On the development of educational and pedagogical system")<sup>35</sup>, removing religion classes from school and politicizing educational goals, which popularized the process of removing crucifixes from public places. Perhaps this is why in this deeply religious area the collection effects in the countryside were clearly low, which was noticed by NIK during an inspection. Millenarian schools in those days opened the door for modernity, higher standards. School laboratories, common rooms and gymnasiums were built in millenarian schools. Finally – the scope of the phenomenon. Out of 35,939 school chambers commissioned in Poland in the years 1959–1965, 11,410 were built in millenarian schools<sup>36</sup>. Moreover, 6,935 residential rooms were made available<sup>37</sup>. It means that on average every third or fourth school in a particular county was constructed thanks to social funds. As a result of social action in Poland in the years 1959–1972, 1,423 buildings were erected for education units<sup>38</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> Ustawa z dnia 15 lipca 1961 roku o rozwoju systemu oświaty i wychowania, Dz.U. 1961, No. 32, item 160; *Sejm debatuje. Reforma szkolnictwa – tematem debaty generalnej*. Trybuna Ludu 16 July 1961, No. 193, p. 1, 3; *Sejm uchwalił reformę szkolnictwa. Zamknięcie wiosennej sesji parlamentu*. Trybuna Ludu 17 July 1961, No. 194, p. 1.

<sup>36</sup> Rocznik Statystyczny (Warszawa) 1966, p. 218.

<sup>37</sup> Prezydium Krajowego Komitetu Społecznego Funduszu Budowy Szkół, Sprawozdanie z działalności Społecznego Funduszu Budowy Szkół w latach 1958–1965, Warszawa grudzień 1965.

<sup>38</sup> This number comes from the publishing of the Ministry of Education: Architecture and construction... In literature there is different data J. Rozłuski in the statistical analysis *Rozwój oświaty na wsi w latach 1945–1973*, Warszawa 1974, determined the number of the commissioned millenarian schools in the years 1959–1965 to be 1,197. In an official report of KK SFBS it was stated that from 1959 to the end of the action 1,394 schools were put into use. Those differences are reflected in the literature, various numbers are given. They result simply from the nomenclature, as a matter of fact, millenarian schools were established only from SFBS (schools were given appropriate certificates). The schools built in the years 1966–1972 did not receive an official status of the Millennium Monument but

This is one of the most enduring effects of the post-October thaw. Building schools in north-eastern Mazovia was exceptionally needed, due to extreme shortages in school premises<sup>39</sup>. In the past, despite the peripheral nature, due to the efforts of i.a. Adam Chętnik in that region, already at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, the sense of Polishness was being awakened and Polish school was fought for<sup>40</sup>.

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that name was used commonly and sometimes in the press. All in all, the nomenclature is secondary, what is important is that the buildings were raised from social funds.

<sup>39</sup> H. Maćkowiak, *Szkolnictwo na Kurpiach 1905–1939*. Łomża–Ostrołęka 1990.

<sup>40</sup> J. Gołota, J. Kijowski, *Adam Chętnik – zapiski biograficzne*, [In:] *Adam Chętnik „Z nadnarwiańskich borów”*. Ed. J. Chętnik. Ostrołęka 2015, pp. 11–21.



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## Appendix

Material effects in the counties of the Warsaw voivodeship 1959–1972

| No. | County            | Number of schools | Classrooms | Special rooms | Residential chambers | Total expenditure |
|-----|-------------------|-------------------|------------|---------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| 1.  | Ostrołęka         | 4                 | 23         | 9             | 28                   | 14.729            |
| 2.  | Ostrów Mazowiecki | 5                 | 41         | 10            | 45                   | 20.189            |
| 3.  | Maków Mazowiecki  | 4                 | 22         | 7             | 40                   | 11.305            |
| 4.  | Przasnysz         | 5                 | 25         | 7             | 46                   | 12.139            |
| 5.  | Wyszków           | 2                 | 17         | 5             | 12                   | 7.509             |
| 6.  | Pruszków          | 4                 | 34         | 8             | 24                   | 20.496            |

|     |                      |   |    |    |     |        |
|-----|----------------------|---|----|----|-----|--------|
| 8.  | Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki | 7 | 58 | 36 | 114 | 56181  |
| 9.  | Sokołów Podlaski     | 4 | 24 | 6  | 27  | 12.004 |
| 10. | Mińsk Mazowiecki     | 6 | 37 | 11 | 62  | 16.695 |
| 11. | Żuromin              | 3 | 15 | 2  | 26  | 8.350  |
| 12. | Wołomin              | 3 | 37 | 7  | 17  | 19.526 |
| 13. | Gostynin             | 4 | 30 | 2  | 34  | 12.974 |
| 14. | Płock                | 6 | 43 | 11 | 42  | 19.686 |
| 15. | Węgrów               | 5 | 34 | 6  | 47  | 16.347 |
| 15. | Siedlce              | 5 | 42 | 6  | 53  | 24.689 |
| 16. | Łosice               | 3 | 27 | 6  | 32  | 12.401 |
| 17. | Płońsk               | 6 | 33 | 7  | 49  | 12.523 |
| 18. | Mława                | 4 | 22 | 6  | 32  | 9.632  |
| 19. | Pułtusk              | 3 | 18 | 4  | 29  | 9.052  |
| 20. | Sierpc               | 3 | 33 | 3  | 24  | 12.771 |
| 21. | Piaseczno            | 2 | 18 | 5  | 2   | 9.196  |
| 22. | Otwock               | 4 | 39 | 10 | 20  | 22.507 |
| 23. | Grodzisk Mazowiecki  | 3 | 25 | 9  | 14  | 14.790 |
| 24. | Ciechanów            | 4 | 46 | 7  | 21  | 24.611 |
| 25. | Sochaczew            | 2 | 22 | 3  | 7   | 12.370 |
| 26. | Grójec               | 3 | 25 | 10 | 25  | 12.708 |
| 27. | Ryki                 | 1 | 15 | 3  | 8   | 7.114  |
| 28. | Garwolin             | 3 | 17 | 4  | 25  | 9.990  |
| 29. | Żyrardów             | 1 | 15 | 4  | 2   | 8.115  |

Source: *Architektura i budownictwo szkolne...*, pp. 271–350

## SUMMARY

In one of the stages of the October thaw, the insufficiency of school premises appeared. The deficiency of school chambers was deepened by the demographic

boom, which reached its peak in the late 1950s. The investment apogee in school construction took place in the 1960s. 60–65% of the financial outlays (depending on a voivodeship) came from the government budget, other outlays were supplemented by the money collected during extensive social actions by the established in 1958 Social Fund for the Construction of Schools, renamed in 1966 to the Social Fund for the Construction of Schools and Halls of Residence. As a result of the social action, 1,423 buildings for education units were built in Poland in the years 1959–1972.

## STRESZCZENIE

W jednej z odsłon październikowej odwilży pojawiła się niewystarczalność szkolnej bazy lokalowej. Niedostatek izb szkolnych pogłębił wyż demograficzny, którego apogeum przypadło na schyłek lat 50. Na lata 60. przypada apogeum inwestycyjne w budownictwie szkolnym. 60–65% nakładów (w zależności od województwa) pochodziło z budżetu państwa, pozostałe nakłady uzupełniły pieniądze zebrane w wielkich akcjach społecznych przez powołany w 1958 roku Społeczny Fundusz Budowy Szkół, przemianowany w 1966 roku na Społeczny Fundusz Budowy Szkół i Internatów. W wyniku akcji społecznej zbudowano w Polsce 1423 budynki dla jednostek oświatowych w latach 1959–1972.

**Key words:** school, construction, PRL

**Słowa kluczowe:** szkoła, budownictwo, PRL



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## A DOUBLE DEBUT OF “TYGODNIK CIECHANOWSKI” (“CIECHANÓW WEEKLY”)

### PODWÓJNY DEBIUT „TYGODNIKA CIECHANOWSKIEGO”

“Tygodnik Ciechanowski” is an example of journalistic persistence and determination in pursuit of the independence of the title and building its own brand among the readers. Today, it is particularly important, especially if we take into account the growing popularity of online editions, a constant convergence of the media and a less and less frequent direct contact of journalists and readers. Its history is a Mazovian story about a struggle of the editors with control over the press and parties’ monopoly, as well as about an attempt to find at least a minimum area of journalistic independence. It is also an image of the work of journalists aimed at building local information structures in Mazovia.

It is worth highlighting that over several decades, hundreds of people cooperated with the weekly. It had four editors-in-chief: Zbigniew Ptasiwicz, Stefan Żagiel, Wiesław Szymański and Ryszard Marut.

Today, in a completely new graphic design, it is distributed in ten counties of the Mazovia voivodeship.

The aim of the article is to bring closer the less known pages of the beginning of the history of „Tygodnik Ciechanowski”, that is the years 1979–1982. The history of this title is undoubtedly related to the development of the press in Mazovia and therefore it constitutes a real contribution to the history of the Polish press.

The source material consists of mainly the information and documents from a private archive of Stefan Żagiel, which includes unknown facts from the beginning of the editors’ work. The first issues of “Tygodnik Ciechanowski” are a supplementary material. In the case of the newspaper’s overview, a research unit is a journalistic text without a genre distinction. The source material is valuable because it has not been published before. The choice of the exemplification is subjective. The author’s intention is to primarily analyze the gathered material so as to answer the questions on

what people, what events, political climate and subjects of the articles accompanied the “double debut of the weekly” in the years 1979–1982.

It may seem that the beginning of the press title’s functioning is geographically and historically measurable. In the case of “Tygodnik Ciechanowski” it is not that obvious. In December 1979, the newspaper was a few pages-long supplement to “Nasza Trybuna” and nobody officially said that it would become an individual press title. As Tadeusz Kowalski informs: “in the 1970s, in the Polish press system, a clear process of concentration and centralization took place. The concentration concerned both the production and the ownership of the press. The centralization meant limiting local editorial initiatives and concentrating key decisions related to editorial and propaganda policy”<sup>1</sup>. The weekly’s journalists performed a double function from the beginning. They were connectors between the inhabitants of the voivodeship and the central political and economic authority. They were also facilitators and commentators of social changes.

Stefan Żagiel, who at first – since 1 February 1977 – had been a junior editor of “Nasza Trybuna” in Ciechanów, and then – since 2 January 1979 – became the head of the department, was assigned to launch the publication. At the beginning of December 1979, Żagiel became a deputy head and started preparing the first issue of the newspaper, which had been looked forward to by party authorities on the national and voivodeship levels as well as by local community.

At that time – as Stefan Żagiel’s memoirs indicate – “Ciechanów voivodeship «befriended» with a few administrative counterparts from socialist countries, i.a. with the Somogyi County of Hungary and the Khmelnytskyi Oblast of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic of what was then the USSR. Due to that, the section of «Nasza Trybuna» could benefit from journalistic exchange, which was at that time a great privilege. The trips were of an exchange nature, which meant that editorial offices provided for the guests, being their hosts, and the journalists had to bring to their country materials for publications about the brotherly regions”<sup>2</sup>. One of the first such trips, which took place in May 1980, was a visit in the editorial office of “Radianskije Podilia” (“Radzieckie Podole”) in Chmielnicki. Władysław Tybura, the deputy editor, and Stefan Żagiel were sent there. “Officially we were supposed to represent the Mazovian

<sup>1</sup> T. Kowalski, *Ewolucja po rewolucji: Polski system prasowy w procesie zmian*. Przekazy i Opinie 1988, No. ¾, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Private archive of S. Żagiel. *Wspomnienia*.

newspaper during the celebration of the Victory Day and collect material about the construction of the Khmelnytskyi Nuclear Power Plant in Sławuta, where also Polish companies worked"<sup>3</sup>.

The first editorial staff of the weekly was not numerous, so the trips were easy to organize. At the end of August 1979, Ryszard Marut was employed. In October, Bogdan Holec and Barbara Kwiecińska. Both of them were sent immediately after their university studies at the Faculty of Journalism and Political Science of Warsaw University by the management of "Trybuna Mazowiecka" and they were supposed to be the first editorial staff of the weekly. Żagiel recalls that he quickly "made them" reporters, by assigning them particular tasks. "I demanded fast, reporter's work. I remember those young colleagues complaining that I told them to rewrite texts on a typewriter. They would rather Janka Jankowska, the secretary of the department, rewrote them instead. I did not agree to that, I knew that additional typing would soon result in their writing texts immediately on a typewriter straight from their notes. And so it happened, and for a journalist it had to be a standard"<sup>4</sup>.

On the first days of December 1979, Zbigniew Ptasiewicz took the place of Stefan Żagiel (who eventually became the deputy head) and took over the management of the department. In the same month, the editorial staff enlarged by a photojournalist Wojciech Zawadzki and a secretary Janina Jankowska, who recalled that the opening ceremony of "Tygodnik" had been a significant event for her<sup>5</sup>. Already on 14 December, the first issue of "Tygodnik Ciechanowski" was printed<sup>6</sup>. The editorial staff presented their writing profile there and announced journalistic actions.

In the article by Zbigniew Kalenkiewicz, published in that issue, we can read that the setting up the newspaper was a sign of maturity of the young voivodeship authorities, and the forty-thousand circulation met the expectations of the political parties. The author, referring to the history of North Mazovia, also indicated how important the ideological and social role was to be played by the newspaper in that region. Strongly emphasized was the fact of emerging a new young group of ambitious journalists, who would finally determine the shape of the newspaper<sup>7</sup>. Today we know that in the

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<sup>3</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>4</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>5</sup> Broader on the subject: J. Jankowska, *Zespół zgrany i zaprzyjaźniony*, (In:) *Z biegiem lat, z biegiem tygodni*. Eds. W. Dźbik, R. Marut. Ciechanów 2005, p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> It was an addition to "Nasza Trybuna".

<sup>7</sup> Z. Kalenkiewicz, *W więzi z ludźmi*. Tygodnik Ciechanowski 1979, No. 1, p. 1.

majority of the contemporary voivodeships there already were weekly magazines, and the Ciechanów voivodeship did not have its own title. Thus, the parties' activists wanted to introduce their own press organ also in Ciechanów. Moreover, "Trybuna Mazowiecka" did not fully meet the expectations of the readers from the region.

The first issue also brought the harbinger of the editorial staff, who "felt called to serve working people, the principles and ideals of a man. We read further that: We wish to be a live chronicle of human effort as well as the organizational and educational role of the party. We will be with you everywhere: in working places, on building sites, in households. In all the places where, through the effort of your hands and minds, arise new values for the state, voivodeship, for each Polish family. A human, his works and labor is the subject which will be permanently inscribed in the new weekly's style"<sup>8</sup>. Stefan Żagiel also announced that the pages of the weekly would be filled with socio-economic and cultural topics of the voivodeship, and the newspaper would be a chronicle of the local development<sup>9</sup>. Having in mind how much he cared for the quality of the young journalists' work, it can be stated that the editorial staff was trying to be thoroughly competent since the very beginning. The editor recalls that he cared the most for preparing a so-called complete journalist, who would be able to not only collect material and write but also adjust, do text makeups and page layouts, which at that time, with the newspaper production technology, were essential skills<sup>10</sup>. There were no computers with programs for preparing a newspaper. Journalists, the so-called technical editors, had to recalculate texts to points and Cicero (it is an old font size of 12 points), describing typescripts and photographs in such a way that the printers knew what to do.

In that initial period, full of editorial tension and creative arguments, Zbigniew Ptasiwicz and Stefan Żagiel managed to create a permanent column titled "Skrzat Protazy pomaga" ("Protazy the Gnome helps"), which incredibly fast became a huge success of the editorship. Ptasiwicz was a good graphic artist so he invented the figure of a gnome, and Żagiel was an excellent publicist so he is the one whom we owe the formula of a column. He ridiculed political paradoxes, stigmatized vandalism and stupidity, revealed everyday absurdities. In the first column, Protazy was presented to the readers in a metaphorical way. The authors wrote that they had discovered him while cleaning behind a pile of old newspapers. "He

<sup>8</sup> S. Żagiel and the editorial staff, introduction. *Tygodnik Ciechanowski* 1979, No. 1, p. 1.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>10</sup> Private archive of S. Żagiel, *Wspomnienia*.



was sitting cringed, smaller than a field mouse. Who are you?! – we asked, confident of our predominance. Yet he was not scared at all. – What do you mean «who»? I am the gnome Protazy. He rubbed his sleepy eyes, re-did his tousled beard and began observing us. The acquaintance was actually made”<sup>11</sup>. This is how the readers received a metaphorical story about current social problems. Due to a derisive formula of the column, the local authorities demanded its removal after two years of incredible popularity. Żagiel recalls that time as follows: “We have been making a weekly-supplement, fulfilling at the same time our duty towards the newspaper (for instance, sending urgent information, doing a weekly Ciechanów column and collective voivodeship «inputs»). [...] It happened, with a storm in my head I sat behind the teletypewriter and sent material for the Ciechanów column of «Trybuna». 16 pages of a typescript. Only the information was signed by me with different pseudonyms, so that the Readers would think that it was the entire staff...”<sup>12</sup>.

The supplement was of an informative and propaganda nature. The information concerned the production matters in local industrial plants and the State Agricultural Farms (PGR in Polish). Rationalization solutions and professional activation of the young people were shown. Talks with prominent political activists were carried out. A representative example in that matter was an interview of Stefan Żagiel with Marian Kulesza, the contemporary head of the Trade and Service Department of the Voivodeship Office in Ciechanów, published in issue 40 of 1980, in which they discussed problems resulting from the ban on the sale of some goods (actually most of the goods at that time) in the outside-market turnover and the state-owned economy sector. We read: “[...] Limits on the sale of market goods for the units of state-owned economy are supposed to serve the protection of the market. Goods supply to the market is limited – it is understandable – and it barely covers the purchasing power of the people. [...] The last list consists of 58 positions – but the list may change, at least there have been such changes. These are, however, generally attractive goods, which are not searched in great amounts”<sup>13</sup>.

On the list, which is mentioned by the manager, there were such products as: carpets, down-filled quilts, towels, soap, silverware and silver-

<sup>11</sup> Skrzat Protazy pomaga. Tygodnik Ciechanowski 1979, No. 1.

<sup>12</sup> S. Żagiel, *Pierwsze narodziny tygodnika*, (In:) *Z biegiem lat, z biegiem tygodni*. Eds. W. Dźbik, R. Marut. Ciechanów 2005, p. 17. Broader on the subject: E. Ciborska, *Dziennikarze z władzą (nie zawsze) w parze*. Dom Wydawniczy Elipsa, Warszawa 1998.

<sup>13</sup> S. Żagiel, *W labiryncie limitów*. Tygodnik Ciechanowski 1980, No. 40, p. 3.

plated ware, crystals, glassware and porcelain (except for glasses). If we follow Kulesza and admit that soap was an attractive trade commodity, it will be the best way to rank the economic absurdities which occurred then.

Moreover, in the first issues of we will read about hard-working inhabitants of Ojrzeń, Naruszewo, Załuski, Nasielsk and Płońsk, the Mława tenement houses, renovated restaurants, a new technological line for bottling milk, about the breeders of dairy cattle, about harvest, haying and potato harvesting, about the renovation of antique furniture, folk craft, as well as about the need of common social responsibility, sport, regional tourism and recreation. The propaganda contents, on the other hand, were related to spreading subsequent directives of the party, as well as to the description of the tasks which the labor boards and labor parliament had to face.

Already in the early 1980s "Tygodnik Ciechanowski", although it was functioning as a supplement, was situated in the center of political and cultural events of the region. It was a result of the unsaturated reader market in Mazovia, which absorbed every new title really quickly. However, from time to time, the editing line of the newspaper caused conflicts with local and voivodeship party's authorities, which made the process of the newspaper becoming independent more difficult. The structure of the editorship did not change. In the 1980s, it enlarged its personnel potential. Thus, the weekly still had perfect conditions inside to become an independent and fully autonomous newspaper. The positive social response and a continuously increasing circulation were measurable external indicators of the editorial team's success.

After 13 December 1981, there were purges in the journalist circles. Not only journalists but also publishers, printing houses and television started to be controlled. "According to official data, over 10 thousand interviews were carried out. As a result, more than 10% of the journalistic circle was verified negatively. In some circles the percentage was much higher. The authorities started the verification of the press, radio and television journalists, as well as the workers of administration, publishing, distribution and the techniques of PR and TVP"<sup>14</sup>. It was at that time when "Trybuna Mazowiecka" was suspended and never brought back – as the only one out of 17 regional newspapers of PZPR (the Polish United Workers' Party). According to Żagiel, the reason for that were the claims of the party's chieftain Albin Siwak, who was at that time highly-profiled in the party's hierarchy.

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<sup>14</sup> S. Ligarski, G. Majchrzak, *Czystki w środowisku dziennikarskim*. Online: <http://polska1918-89.pl/pdf/czystki-w-srodowisku-dziennikarskim,1997.pdf> [3.06.2017].

In the middle of 1981 – by the effort of the journalists from Ciechanów and with the help of the Ciechanów Press Printing Plant – a trial issue of an independent "Tygodnik Ciechanowski" was published. Over the next a dozen or so months, no further changes took place, which would lead to the newspaper becoming independent – until 4 April 1982, when Stefan Żagiel was appointed by Zdzisław Andruszkiewicz to be the editor-in-chief<sup>15</sup>, and the weekly stopped being a supplement to "Nasza Trybuna". A new stage of the functioning of the publication began. And that was its "second debut" in the history of the press in Mazovia.

Therefore, there is no surprise to Stefan Żagiel's statement that "Tygodnik" had two first editions, two debuts. "After some time, the numbering was unified, and due to that we may talk about the continuity of publishing. In all aspects, it was still the same publication, the same journalists worked there and the political disposer was the Voivodeship Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party in Ciechanów, and the publisher – Warsaw Press Publishing"<sup>16</sup>. When he was starting "Tygodnik Ciechanowski" in the spring of 1982 as the editor-in-chief, along with a young, inexperienced team, he had a lot of journalistic and political work. More work was put on him by the so-called editorial ears, which had "plugs" in the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Voivodeship Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party. Their activity was welcomed by the workers of the department. Thanks to the ears it was possible to invigilate the editor-in-chief and give him an additional task in the form of accounting himself for various kinds of "negligence". Difficult for Żagiel were the conversations with the propaganda secretary Maria Rutkowska, who accused him of unjust assessment of young journalists' work. The journalist recalls: "When I recall the few months of that kind of fighting, I do not recognize myself. Those who know me will know that I am a polite man (I can honestly say that about myself), conciliar, tactfully pursuing the explanation of all matters, usually compliant, searching compromise. At that time I was going like a bomb. I was sometimes almost cynical. It was a subconscious self-defense. If I had acted according to the rules of my character, I would have been miserable and distracted. But in that way, I somehow managed, though within several months I lost 20 kilograms!"<sup>17</sup>.

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<sup>15</sup> E. Ciborska, *Leksykon polskiego dziennikarstwa*. Dom Wydawniczy Elipsa, Warszawa 2000.

<sup>16</sup> S. Żagiel, *Pierwsze narodziny tygodnika...*, p. 12.

<sup>17</sup> Private archive of S. Żagiel, *Wspomnienia*.

In 1982, the most frequently published articles were written by: Barbara Kwiecińska-Kielczyk, Stefan Żagiel, Ryszard Marut, Adam Pankowski, Dariusz Barwiński, Kazimierz Michalak, Zbigniew Ptasiewicz, Gabriela Rudnik, Jerzy Krawczyk, Edward Lewandowski and Barbara Stolarska. Among those names, there are not only the weekly's journalists but also permanent co-workers – the people of art, culture, experts on the region. Numerous articles on the history of the Ciechanów Land were written by the mentioned Edward Lewandowski, who was the head of the Voivodeship Cultural Center, and then the District Museum in Ciechanów. The journalists covered hundreds of kilometers in search for information. They participated in local events, openings of shops and fire stations. They were among people. They did not write the weekly from behind their desks. Scrupulousness and activeness did not save them from the inspection of the Voivodeship Committee for the Party Control in Ciechanów, which already in the early 1982 began to carefully observe the activity of the journalists connected with the newspaper, concluding that only those who support the program of the party can be employed in the editorial office.

The double debut of "Tygodnik Ciechanowski" illustrates how in the years 1979–1982 information was given the meaning and how it was distributed. It connected the "external world" with what was created in the readers' minds. In such a way, many years ago, Walter Lippman described in his works the moment of forming public opinion<sup>18</sup>. It is worth emphasizing the fact that the newspaper played not only an informative but also political and cultural role.

Undoubtedly, relatively quickly the weekly attracted a group of regular readers, who required even more elaborate information about their town or region. The market, as it has already been said, absorbed at that time all information, every press title, and the journalists, due to frequent field trips, were very close to the inhabitants, which built an additional social bond. A small barrack at Strażacka Street in Ciechanów was the place of a really good school of journalism.

Today, we can safely say that "Tygodnik Ciechanowski" has its many-year recipients. It is an institution and a desirable media phenomenon. It still builds the sense of local community. Other than in the beginning, but equally reliably, in terms of the merits and the language. Nowadays, just like in the past, it constitutes a media contribution to the history of the press in Mazovia and in Poland.

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<sup>18</sup> Cf W. Lippmann, *Public opinion*. Harcour & Brace, New York 1922.

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## SUMMARY

The aim of the article is to provide an insight into the less known pages of the early history of "Tygodnik Ciechanowski", i.e. the years 1979–1982. The source material consists of mainly the information from the private archive of Stefan Żagiel, which reveals unknown facts from the beginning of editorial work and the first issues of "Tygodnik Ciechanowski". In the case of the newspaper, the research unit is a journalistic text without a generic

distinction. The material is valuable due to the fact that it has not been published before. The choice of the exemplification is subjective. The author's aim is mainly to analyze the collected material in order to answer the question on what events and political climate as well as the subjects of articles accompanied the double debut of the weekly.

## STRESZCZENIE

Celem artykułu jest przybliżenie mniej znanych kart z początku historii „Tygodnika Ciechanowskiego”, czyli z lat 1979–1982. Na materiał źródłowy składają się przede wszystkim informacje pochodzące z prywatnego archiwum Stefana Żagla, które odkrywają nieznane fakty z początków pracy redakcji oraz pierwsze numery „Tygodnika Ciechanowskiego”. W przypadku gazety jednostką badawczą jest tekst dziennikarski bez rozróżnienia gatunkowego. Materiał jest cenny ze względu na fakt, że nie był dotychczas publikowany. Wybór egzemplifikacji ma charakter subiektywny. Zamiarem autorki jest przede wszystkim dokonanie analizy zgromadzonego materiału pod kątem odpowiedzi na pytanie, jakie wydarzenia i klimat polityczny, a także tematyka artykułów towarzyszyły podwójnemu debiutowi tygodnika.

**Key words:** history of the press in Mazovia, “Tygodnik Ciechanowski”, history of the weekly, unpublished materials

**Słowa kluczowe:** historia prasy na Mazowszu, „Tygodnik Ciechanowski”, historia tygodnika, materiały niepublikowane

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## INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION BETWEEN MUNICIPALITIES OF MAZOWIECKIE VOIVODESHIP. THE EXAMPLE OF THE URBAN MUNICIPALITY OF WĘGRÓW

### WSPÓŁPRACA MIĘDZYNARODOWA GMIN MAZOWIECKICH. PRZYKŁAD GMINY MIEJSKIEJ WĘGRÓW

Mazowsze is the largest Polish voivodeship in terms of both the area and the population. It occupies the area of 35.6 thousand square kilometres, inhabited by 5.2 million people<sup>1</sup>. All types of Polish local governmental units can be found within its territory. In total, there are 314 municipalities – including 229 rural municipalities, 50 urban-rural municipalities and 35 urban municipalities. There are 42 poviats – including 37 rural poviats, and 5 cities with poviat rights. The entire territory of the voivodeship belongs to the third Polish local government unit – a self-governing voivodeship, known as Mazowieckie Voivodeship<sup>2</sup>.

International cooperation of local governmental units in Mazowieckie Voivodeship is common. Rural municipalities, rural-urban and urban municipalities, rural poviats, cities with poviat rights, as well as the self-governing voivodeship have their foreign partners. A detailed discussion of international cooperation of all local governmental units of Mazowieckie Voivodeship goes beyond the scope of this article. Its purpose is to present this cooperation on the basis of a specific example, and Węgrów was chosen as one of the urban municipalities of Mazowieckie Voivodeship.

In its category, Węgrów is an average municipality of Mazowieckie Voivodeship in terms of its area and population. The city occupies the territory of 35 square kilometres, inhabited by about 13 thousand people<sup>3</sup>. The urban nature and self-government traditions of the municipality reach far back in history – Węgrów was given urban rights in 1441 – and the municipality has a great history

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<sup>1</sup> Online: [www.mazovia.pl/wojewodztwo/krotko-o-mazowszu](http://www.mazovia.pl/wojewodztwo/krotko-o-mazowszu) [16.07.2017].

<sup>2</sup> S. Faliński, *Mazowieckie samorządy terytorialne jako beneficjenci funduszy Unii Europejskiej w latach 2007–2013*. Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Przyrodniczo-Humanistycznego w Siedlcach 2013, No. 98, Series: Administracja i Zarządzanie, No. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Online: [www.wegrow.com.pl](http://www.wegrow.com.pl) [16.07.2017].

of international, intercultural and interreligious cooperation. For hundreds of years, the population of Węgrów has been as diversified as that of the entire Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. In the 16th century, the city was a significant centre of Polish reformation. It had a strong Calvinist community and it was considered to be the birthplace of the Polish Brethren or the Arians. The Jewish community in Węgrów had also existed since the 16th century<sup>4</sup>. As it was to turn out later, these traditions of multiculturalism exerted limited influence on modern international cooperation of Węgrów as an administrative unit and a social community.

The objective of this article, which has been only mentioned briefly, can be considered at three different levels. First of all, the purpose is to present a more or less complete shape of this cooperation, taking into account its various forms and aspects, in various periods, as well as its evolution and transformation. Secondly, it is to explain why international cooperation of Węgrów has been specific and unique while indicating the similarities and analogies between international cooperation of Węgrów and the same type of cooperation of other Polish local government units. Thirdly, it is to present the factors, which have been decisive for the form of international cooperation of Węgrów and other local government units.

In order to achieve this objective, appropriate sources have been selected – and partially created – for the purpose of this article. The first group of these consists of existing documents and materials produced by the local government unit of Węgrów – mainly the contracts between Węgrów and its foreign partners. The second consists of evoked sources, developed particularly for the purpose of the research process discussed, which are interviews with representatives of the local government units of Węgrów: councillors and public institution officers. Interpretation of these sources in association with analysis of selected studies on international cooperation of local government units allowed for an attempt to achieve the research objective defined.

Institutionalized international cooperation, which is based on a partnership agreement signed by the municipal authorities, was commenced by Węgrów as late as in 2005, when Polish local government units had well developed international contacts. In year 2003, there were 2131 such agreements concluded by all of our local government units – municipalities, poviats and voivodeships, of which 1728 were signed only by cities and municipalities.<sup>5</sup> It seems that institutionalized international cooperation of Węgrów commenced only as a result of rapid

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<sup>4</sup> Literature on history of Węgrów is quite rich. Particularly worth recommendation – when it comes to medieval and contemporary age – is the collective work published at the very beginning of the era of free Poland, which begun in 1989, entitled *Węgrów dzieje miasta i okolic w latach 1441–1944*. Eds. A. Kołodziejczyk, T. Swat. Węgrów 1991.

<sup>5</sup> *Współpraca międzynarodowa samorządów. Praktyczny przewodnik*. Eds. K. Paczyńska, A. Stachowiak, A. Porawski, H. Leki. Poznań 2009, p. 21.



development of international relations of the Polish local communities, which resulted from Poland's accession to the European Union in 2004<sup>6</sup>.

Before the accession, the inhabitants of Węgrów engaged in international cooperation not through their municipal authorities, but individually or in civic communities smaller than the municipality. A significant reason for this activity was willingness to provide assistance to their compatriots living in territories which once belonged to Poland and now located abroad. This concerned the Poles living in Ukraine, in Lviv Oblast, and in Lithuania – Švenčionys District Municipality. Activity of this kind in the late 20th and early 21st century was typical and quite popular among the inhabitants of many local communities in Mazowieckie Voivodeship – not only in Węgrów – which maintained relations with their compatriots from the former Eastern Borderlands of the Republic of Poland or those deported deep into Russia or the Soviet Union. A particularly significant role in establishing international relations of Węgrów was played by scouts. As early as in the 1990s, when the commander of the scout troop of Węgrów of the Polish Scouting Association was a history teacher, Wanda Kosińska<sup>7</sup>, it was her initiative to organize in 1994 the first camp in Ukraine, and in 1995, the scouts of Węgrów visited Lithuania. It seems that the decision to organize these trips was influenced by the following fact: in 1993, during a camp in Dolha, there was a meeting with several Polish children from Ukraine. In the following year, the camp in Ukraine was organized. The participants visited Lviv, Kamianets-Podilskyi and Khotyn, searching for Polish traces in these territories, but they also met their peers from Ukraine and became friends with them. Friendly relations with Ukrainians were also established by teachers and students of Jan Dobrogost Krasiński grammar school of Węgrów, who first engaged in cooperation with their peers of the 54th General Education Secondary School in Lviv, and then with young Ukrainians from Zhovkva and Skole. By developing these relations, the young inhabitants of Węgrów, using the funds from the governmental program “Polish-Ukrainian Youth Exchange”, visited Ukraine many times and welcomed their Ukrainian friends in Poland. These visits served not only the purpose of strengthening friendships, but also allowed the citizens of Ukraine to get to know Węgrów, as well as other Polish cities and towns. As a result of these visits and scout camps, organized in Ukraine, partnership agreements were later signed by Węgrów with Zhovkva and Skole<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup> I have discussed this process broadly in: S. Faliński, *Współpraca międzynarodowa samorządów terytorialnych*, [In:] *Wymiana i konkurencja. Środowisko i formy promocji Polski w świecie*. Studia i Analizy Dyplomacji Kulturalnej i Publicznej (Warszawa) 2011, No. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Interview of the author with Wanda Kosińska, 28.07.2017.

<sup>8</sup> *Współpraca partnerska Węgrowa z miastami na Ukrainie*. Wystąpienie burmistrza 15.01.2008 (Internet archive of the Municipal Office in Węgrów).

The first official international agreement was signed by the urban municipality of Węgrów on November 29th, 2005 with the Ukrainian Zhovkva<sup>9</sup> – a city, like Węgrów, having about 13 thousand inhabitants, located in Lviv Oblast, twenty-something kilometres from the Polish-Ukrainian border, established by one of the most renowned military leaders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Grand Hetman of the Crown and the Great Chancellor of the Crown, Stanisław Żółkiewski. On behalf of Węgrów, the agreement was signed by the mayor, Jan Górski, and on behalf of Zhovkva – by mayor Pyotr Vykhoperi. A substantially identical agreement was signed one day later with Alexandr Marushkevich, mayor of another Ukrainian city, Skole<sup>10</sup>, also located in Lviv Oblast – along its southern, Carpathian edge – and twice smaller than Węgrów.

These documents have been signed for an indefinite period of time, which is not always a standard in such cases. Some are signed for definite periods of time and require extensions. The unlimited term agreements discussed specify precisely the areas of operation of local governments in which cooperation is to be implemented. These are dominated by social issues: education, culture, sports and recreation, tourism and museums. Non-governmental organizations, which are a key element of any civic society, have also been mentioned. There has also been space for economy and organization of work of the municipal authorities and an issue which has been referred to rather unfortunately as “community management”, which is probably supposed to mean organization of community activity of the inhabitants. The list ends with an item which is connected directly to the European Union, in which we read: “planning and implementation of investment projects, partnership and assistance within the framework of the European Union”<sup>11</sup>.

As we can see, apart from benefits of partnership as such, the signatories of these documents also plan to make joint use of the possibilities created by Poland's accession to the European Union. However, these have not been defined as clearly as the forms of cooperation in other areas, listed above. Exchange of children and youth has been planned, as well as experience in education and upbringing; performances of folk and music groups, artists and creators; meetings of sports players and their groups, organization of sports competitions and matches, for instance, during municipal festivities. These are to be accompanied by exchange of experience with regard to organization of tourism, museums and exhibitions, as well as popularization of knowledge concerning monuments and facilities which are of value for tourism in the cooperating cities. Economic development of the local communities discussed is to be developed thanks to business meetings, conferences and trade fairs, as well as substantive advice on use of the available EU funds, as well as mutual promotion of goods and services offered by the

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<sup>9</sup> Online: [www.wegrow.com.pl/uploads/pub/pages/page\\_37/text\\_images/4481](http://www.wegrow.com.pl/uploads/pub/pages/page_37/text_images/4481) [23.07.2017].

<sup>10</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>11</sup> Ibidem.

business communities of Węgrów, Zhovkva and Skole. Improvement of the level of public services is to be made possible thanks to exchange of experience with regard to management of the city infrastructure: waste and sewage discharge, supply of potable water and communal heating or management of the urban housing resources. Through meetings and cooperation of various social groups and NGOs operating in the area of Węgrów and its Ukrainian partners, the basis for civic cooperation is to be established, closer to individual inhabitants than cooperation at the level of municipal authorities and thus promoting creation of individual relationships between the inhabitants of the friendly communities.

According to the documents discussed, the partnership is aimed at achievement of the established goals. There are seven of these. The first one consists in broadening the school curricula by adding lessons on tradition, history and culture of the partner cities. The second – improvement of the level of teaching of foreign languages functioning in the European Union, including Polish among the children of Polish origin, learning at schools of the Ukrainian partners. The third – promotion of local customs and cultural traditions among the local communities. The fourth – establishment of business cooperation between Polish and Ukrainian entrepreneurs and NGOs. The fifth – joint promotion and presentation of the socioeconomic potential of the partner cities in Ukraine, Poland and in other EU member states. The sixth – increasing the probability of implementation of joint projects, co-financed from EU funds, in particular, in the field of culture. The seventh – exchange of good practice in terms of quality of public management and civic activity in the partner cities.

Another international agreement was concluded by Węgrów on September 29th, 2006 with Valozhyn – a Belarusian city of about 10 thousand inhabitants, in Minsk Oblast, at the northern edge of Naliboki Forest<sup>12</sup>. Unlike the former documents, this one was not signed in Węgrów, but in Belarus – in Valozhyn. The agreement was signed in association with the ceremony of bringing back the bell of the Roman Catholic church in the town of Iryanest in Valozhyn Region. The bell, manufactured by the founder's workshop in Węgrów, was buried during the Second World War and thus saved by the local parishioners against smelting by the German occupants for military purposes. Apart from representatives of Węgrów, the city in which the saved bell had been manufactured, the ceremony was attended by representatives of Belarusian authorities and Polish diplomats<sup>13</sup>. The agreement, concluded during the ceremony, differs from those signed earlier with the Ukrainian cities. It is not a partnership agreement for an indefinite period of time, but a document which has been referred to as a letter of intent, which obviously

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<sup>12</sup> Online:

[www.wegrow.com.pl/uploads/pub/pages/page\\_37/text\\_images/UMOWA%20Nr%203.pdf](http://www.wegrow.com.pl/uploads/pub/pages/page_37/text_images/UMOWA%20Nr%203.pdf) [25.07.2017].

<sup>13</sup> Interview of the author with Ewa Basztak (director of the Węgrów Cultural Centre in years 1996–2008), 29.07.2017.

indicates its preliminary nature, not binding on the parties, although it contains some very specific commitments and dates. Such components are not typical of letters of intent. It thus seems that the intent of the parties was to engage in a long-term cooperation, which, nevertheless, never was commenced. The ceremony was accompanied by a performance of the folk group of Węgrów, called "Węgrowianie"; later on, a modern dance ensemble "Avocado 2000" visited Belarus. On the part of the Belarusians, the cooperation was, in fact, limited to participation of representatives of Iyvanest – where a Polish House was located – in the grand event, attended by the Polish Television – an open-air picnic known as "The Wedding Customs Festival", edition of 2007. The festival started in the 1990s, and its indirect participants, thanks to TV broadcasts, were inhabitants of the entire Poland. The cyclical event had been organized until 2014, and in the period of its peak popularity, it was co-financed not only by Węgrów, but also by the self-governing Mazowieckie Voivodeship and the Polish Television.

The next international agreement of Węgrów is also known as a letter of intent, and it was concluded for an indefinite period of time on 14th of December, 2007, with the Ukrainian town of Rokytne, Rivne Oblast, inhabited by about 8 thousand people. On behalf of Ukraine, the agreement was signed by mayor Andrey Kovalenko, and on behalf of Poland – by mayor Jarosław Grenda. The main purpose of the agreement is a declaration of intent to engage in business, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation. Thus, significant differences can be noted between this agreement and those formerly concluded with other Ukrainian cities. In partnership agreements with Zhovkva and Skole, emphasis was put on social cooperation – education, culture, sport and recreation – while in this agreement, economic issues were at the forefront. This is not the only difference. In the letter of intent discussed above, reference is made to international Polish-Ukrainian agreement of 1992 on good neighborliness and friendly cooperation and to the principles defined in European Charter of Local Self-Government (using the same wording as in the document discussed); no such reference was made in the previous documents. Similarities to the previous documents include indication of other spheres of cooperation, analogous to those included in the previous agreements, including cooperation of municipal institutions and improvement of quality of work of the local authorities, social organizations or direct relations between citizens. Nevertheless, in the agreement under concern, emphasis was put on economic issues, understood not only as mutual support for Polish and Ukrainian enterprises, but also activity on behalf of their direct cooperation, which may mean joint production of goods and rendering of services. The provisions of this letter of intent are to be clarified further in the planned "agreement on cooperation and partnership"<sup>14</sup>.

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<sup>14</sup> Online: [www.wegrow.com.pl/uploads/pub/pages/page\\_37/text\\_images/4483](http://www.wegrow.com.pl/uploads/pub/pages/page_37/text_images/4483) [26.07.2017].

Węgrów has yet another partner city in a different part of Europe, far from our eastern neighbours – Ukraine and Belarus: Valsolda. It is a small Italian town of about 2 thousand inhabitants, located in the northern part of the country – in Lombardy, the province of Como. Valsolda was the birthplace of the 18th century constructors of Węgrów's church and monastery complex of Franciscans-Reformers – brothers Carlo and Francesco Cerani. A renowned expert in Polish baroque, professor Mariusz Karpowicz, who has researched their constructions, came up with the initiative of initiation of partnership-based cooperation between Węgrów and Valsolda<sup>15</sup>. The agreement was signed on 13.06.2008. Poland was represented by mayor Jarosław Gręda, and Italy – by Alberto de Maria. The “agreement of friendship” refers directly to shared history of the two cities, located more than 1000 kilometres apart. Commitment was made to maintain and develop the existing relations and to exchange experiences with regard to local authorities and local development, and – which is particularly valuable – to support direct relations between the inhabitants of the two cities. Priorities of this cooperation were listed in the order of significance as the spheres of activity of the local authorities which have to be dealt with. The top of the list was occupied by those areas of community life, which define the identity of each of the communities, and their elements indicate the cultural and civilisational affinity between the two. Therefore, cooperation was declared in the field of culture, education and sports – to be developed through cooperation of various educational and cultural institutions, organizations and informal groups of citizens. In the next place, the document indicated the necessity of mutual support of tourism in both cities and their geographical surroundings. The priorities discussed do not mean that economic issues were disregarded. On the contrary – they are referred to directly in the further part of the document, declaring support for local enterprises and firms and exchange of experience in the field of economy and local development. A document of this kind could not lack a reference to membership of Italy and Poland in the European Union. Both parties declared their intent to engage in joint projects, supported by EU funds<sup>16</sup>. As we will learn in the further part of the article, these declarations were not merely paying lip service.

After initiation of cooperation of Valsolda of western Europe, the authorities of Węgrów decided to sign yet another agreement with a city in our part of the continent. This time, the chosen partner was located in the Lithuanian Švenčionys District Municipality, with which – as we can recall – the inhabitants of Węgrów had maintained informal relations since the 1990s. The origins of these must be

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<sup>15</sup> Interview of the author with the head of the Department of Social Affairs of the Municipal Office in Węgrów, Hubert Kowalewski, 17.07.2017. To find out more about the activity of Cerani brothers: M. Karpowicz, *Carlo i Francesco Ceroni – budownicowie kościołów w Węgrowie*. Węgrów 2008.

<sup>16</sup> Online: [www.wegrow.com.pl/uploads/pub/pages/page\\_37/text\\_images/4484](http://www.wegrow.com.pl/uploads/pub/pages/page_37/text_images/4484) [26.07.2017].

looked for in the meeting of Wanda Kosińska with a Pole from Lithuania, a Polish activist and poet, Apolonia Skakowska. Thanks to her, Ms. Kosińska engaged in cooperation with a Polish school in the small city of Pabrade in Vilnius Region, Švenčionys District Municipality. After the commander of the scout troop, other inhabitants of Węgrów also reached Pabrade – a special role was played by Marek Królak, who organized assistance for the local orphanage, which was renovated thanks to the efforts of many people of Węgrów, including the then-councillor and the present mayor, Krzysztof Wyszogrodzki<sup>17</sup>.

As a result of this cooperation, on 19.09.2010, an official international agreement was signed between Węgrów and Švenčionys District Municipality. In its content, it is similar to the earlier agreements signed with the Ukrainian partners. In the document signed, culture, education, sports and recreation were also treated as priorities. Development in these fields is to be achieved thanks to various cultural, artistic, sporting and recreational undertakings, as well as through conferences, seminars, meetings and exchanges of Polish and Lithuanian groups of experts, students and youth for the purpose of exchange of experience with regard to education, culture and arts. While treating the social awareness sphere as a priority, the partners have not forgotten about the economic issues. This sphere of social life has also been mentioned, and the document declares willingness to support Polish-Lithuanian trade. The authorities of Węgrów and Švenčionys District Municipality also commit themselves to mutually promote the cultural heritage and touristic and recreational values of their region.

The agreements presented have been implemented with different intensity in three directions: Ukrainian, Lithuanian and Italian. Cooperation with the Belarusian partner was short-term, progressing as presented earlier, and it practically ended in year 2007. The reasons for this fact should be primarily seen as associated with the political situation in Belarus, where the authorities are not eager to engage in intensive cooperation with local authorities from Poland.

Cooperation with Ukrainian partners of Węgrów has continued with various intensity until today. Local authorities and representatives of local communities maintain relations, municipal institutions and artistic groups engage in cooperation, as well as groups of citizens and individual inhabitants. A particularly significant role in Polish-Ukrainian cooperation was played by implementation of the project known as “Mr. Twardowski on a rooster – immaterial cultural heritage of the Slavs in education of children and youth”. It was implemented from October 2007 until May 2008 thanks to financial support of the European Union. The objective was to strengthen the local cultural traditions and the historical identity of the inhabitants of Węgrów and its surroundings, as well as to solidify the ties between members of the local community of Węgrów, particularly children and young people. Another aim was to make the city and its surroundings more attractive to tourists by

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<sup>17</sup> Interview of the author with councilors of Węgrów – Tadeusz Ryczkowski and Barbara Szymańska, 27.07.2017.

popularizing knowledge on culture and history of this part of Poland and the land of Slavs. Young inhabitants of Węgrów got to know their local historical tradition and transmitted it to their Ukrainian partners, who also depicted and popularized their past and their own, local historical traditions. The objective was to get to know, discuss and interpret legends, fairy and folk tales to broaden the knowledge about the befriended Polish and Ukrainian cities and regions, thus developing the local awareness and identity constituting a part of the national identity, historically shaped, also on the basis of cultural kinship of the entire land of Slavs and the modern Slavic nations, including Poles and Ukrainians. This activity was supposed to bring, and probably brought, not only enrichment of own local and national identity of the Poles and Ukrainians, but also strengthening of the ties and building of friendship between them. The project was implemented not only by the partner cities – Węgrów, Zhovkva, Skole and Rokytno and their educational facilities, but also by one of the schools in Lviv. Seminars, conferences, lectures, exhibitions, workshops, festivals and open-air events were organized for the inhabitants of Węgrów and their partners from Ukraine<sup>18</sup>. The project “Mr. Twardowski...” was not the end of cooperation between Węgrów and the partner Ukrainian cities. Relations have been maintained through mutual visits and exchanges, mainly during city festivals organized in Poland and Ukraine, although these are not as intensive as the ones which took place within the framework of the project.

Cooperation of Węgrów with the Lithuanian partner – Švenčionys District Municipality – has been continuous. In the year following signing of the agreement, 2011, a delegation from Węgrów went to Lithuania to participate in the 525th anniversary of establishment of the city of Švenčionys. In the following year, the region was visited by a Polish delegation with the then-President of the City Council, who is the present mayor of Węgrów, Krzysztof Wyszogrodzki, and Marek Królak, who had helped the orphanage in Pabrade. The Poles participated in the ceremony of the repeated funeral of general Daniel Konarzewski, buried in Švenčionys District Municipality. The local authorities of Węgrów financed a commemorative plaque for the general, which was mounted on his burial chapel. In year 2013, a large delegation of inhabitants of Węgrów went to Švenčionys District Municipality. Its members included the local authority officials and members of the City Council, the deputy mayor, as well as Węgrowianie Folk Group of more than ten members, which performed during the Days of Švenčionys together with folk artists from Mexico, Georgia, Russia, Belarus, Moldova and Lithuania, as well as other Polish folk groups. Worth mentioning is also the visit of the group and of authorities of Węgrów, including mayor Wyszogrodzki, to the International Festival of Folk Music and Dance in year 2015. In the same year, a delegation from

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<sup>18</sup> Online:

[www.wegrow.com.pl/strona-322-pan\\_twardowski\\_na\\_kogucie\\_niematerialne.html](http://www.wegrow.com.pl/strona-322-pan_twardowski_na_kogucie_niematerialne.html);  
[www.wegrow.com.pl/strona-318-zakonczenie\\_projektu\\_pan\\_twardowski\\_na.html](http://www.wegrow.com.pl/strona-318-zakonczenie_projektu_pan_twardowski_na.html)  
 [31.07.2017].

Švenčionys, led by the mayor of the district Rimantas Kripėius, visited Węgrów during the days of the city. One year later, representatives of Węgrów, including the mayor, went to Švenčionys to celebrate the 530th anniversary of establishment of the city.

Two years earlier, in year 2014, an event took place in which the partners of Węgrów cooperated together in the city and through its agency. In August, during the celebrations of the Days of Węgrów, there was a meeting of representatives of the Polish Węgrów, the Lithuanian Švenčionys District Municipality and the Italian city of Valsolda, and their artists participated in the festival organized for the occasion. This was a part of a joint, trilateral project “Węgrów – Švenčionys – Valsolda – three cities, the same Europe”, co-financed by the European Union within the framework of the European program “Europe for its citizens”. The guests of Węgrów participated in lectures, discussions and debates concerning the issues related to the project name, and during a special session of the City Council, the tradition and effects of work of the three cooperating local governments was presented. The entire Polish-Lithuanian-Italian meeting ended with a concert of bands, during which the hymn of the European Union was played<sup>19</sup>. Implementation of this project shows how bilateral cooperation may lead to transmission of relations and creation of a specific network of cooperation between partner cities<sup>20</sup>. Unfortunately, in the recent years relations with Valsolda have been practically suspended. For the last time, representatives of the town in Lombardy contacted our representative of Mazowieckie Voivodeship in year 2015, during the funeral of Professor Mariusz Karpowicz, highly distinguished among the two local communities. According to the inhabitants of Węgrów, this suspension has been due to the fact that the mayor of Valsolda has changed. The former mayor de Maria was very much involved in the cooperation; however, the same cannot be said about his successor...<sup>21</sup>

In cooperation of Węgrów with Švenčionys District Municipality, apart from the presented theme of international cooperation and establishment of a network of cooperation and partnership of local governments of different countries, a very important issue is the sense of nationality, stemming from the sense of solidarity of inhabitants of Węgrów with their compatriots living abroad. It seems that in general, willingness to cooperate with Švenčionys District Municipality was motivated by the need to help the Poles living in Lithuania. It is the reason for continuous and intensive cooperation between the Community Centre of Węgrów with the city of Pobrade, lying in Švenčionys District Municipality and inhabited

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<sup>19</sup> Online: [www.wegrow.pl/strona-400-wegrow\\_swiecziany\\_valsolda\\_trzy\\_miasta.html](http://www.wegrow.pl/strona-400-wegrow_swiecziany_valsolda_trzy_miasta.html) [31.07.2017].

<sup>20</sup> To find out more about such networks, S. Faliński, *Współpraca międzynarodowa samorządów...*

<sup>21</sup> Interview of the author with councilors of Węgrów – Tadeusz Ryczkowski and Barbara Szymańska, 27.07.2017.



mostly by Poles – the city is visited by the inhabitants of Węgrów individually and in groups; the local orphanage has been renovated by them, artistic groups and Poles living in Pobrade visit Węgrów, and folk groups and delegations from Węgrów are frequent guests in Švenčionys District Municipality<sup>22</sup>.

Węgrów should soon sign yet another partnership agreement. This time, it will be with a local government of the Slovak city of Hurbanovo. The Special Educational Centre in Węgrów has cooperated with a special school in this city since 2012. The city representatives are to be present during the Days of Węgrów in 2017, and, according to the statement of the mayor of Węgrów, Krzysztof Wyszogrodzki, the decision on signing of the agreement has already been made<sup>23</sup>.

Discussion of international cooperation of Węgrów leads to a number of conclusions.

– As we may remember, the origins of international cooperation of the local government should be perceived as associated with activity of the Polish Scouting Association – to be more precise, of the local commander, Ms. Wanda Kosińska, and not the activity of the local authorities. Civic activity of a specific group of members of the local community initiated this cooperation, making it popular among other representatives of the municipal community. Therefore, the human factor (Ms. Wanda Kosińska) was of great importance and could influence the development of this organization, as we are dealing with a specific person, running a specific organization. In general, thus, it can be stated that active citizens – members of the municipal community – launched a process which involved other members of the local community, and finally the municipal authorities joined them. This type and direction of evolution of activity – from citizens to authorities – is not a common phenomenon. Usually – although, as it has been proven by the example of Węgrów, not always – the direction among the municipalities of Poland and Mazowieckie Voivodeship is reversed: from authorities to citizens; usually, public and institutional cooperation is initiated, which then develops into local and civic activity. This direction of development was reversed in the case of Węgrów.<sup>24</sup>

– It seems that the most important motive for the scouts of Węgrów to engage in international cooperation – which shaped the direction of this cooperation – can be regarded as a “sentimental and patriotic” motive, resulting from the sense of

<sup>22</sup> Interview of the author with the director of the Community Centre of Węgrów, Katarzyna Zabadała, 26.07.2017.

<sup>23</sup> Interview of the author with the mayor of Węgrów Krzysztof Wyszogrodzki, 27.07.2017.

<sup>24</sup> S. Faliński, *Aktywność międzynarodowa Warszawy. Zeszyty Naukowe Uczelni Vistula* 2015, No. 3(45); Idem, *Współpraca międzynarodowa gminy miejsko-wiejskiej. Przypadek Olecka*. Athenaeum. Polskie Studia Politologiczne 2016, Vol. 49; Idem, *Dobre praktyki gminy wiejskiej w dziedzinie współpracy międzynarodowej. Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Przyrodniczo-Humanistycznego w Siedlcach* 2017, No. 113, Series: Administracja i Zarządzanie, No. 40; Idem, *Droga gminy Gizalki do Flagi Europy. Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Przyrodniczo-Humanistycznego w Siedlcach* 2017, No. 113, Series: Administracja i Zarządzanie, No. 40.

solidarity with compatriots living abroad and sentiment to areas which are rich in Polish historical mementos. This motive has been present ever since in relations of Węgrów with the partners from Ukraine and Lithuania and was present during the earlier – now suspended – contacts with Belarus.

– The reasons for engaging in cooperation of Węgrów with Valsolda of Lombardy were quite different. In this case, the motives for initiation of cooperation should also be sought in the past – however, not history of the nation, like in the case of the former Eastern Borderlands of Poland, but local, rich history of Węgrów and works of creators of its outstanding – in terms of architecture – sacred buildings. It should be kept in mind, however, that the initiative to engage in this cooperation came not from members of the local community of Węgrów, but its friend, professor Karpowicz.

– A very important role in initiation of cooperation of Węgrów urban municipality was played by an external factor. This consisted of the special programs of the European Union and the associated funds for their implementation. Eagerness to get access to these was surely an important, although not the only reason for engaging in cooperation at the level of the municipal authorities<sup>25</sup>.

– The areas of social life in which Węgrów has engaged in international cooperation are typical of the entire Mazowieckie Voivodeship and Poland. These are dominated by culture and historical heritage, education, tourism, sports and recreation, and the main participants of this cooperation – apart from representatives of the authorities and municipal institutions – are children and young people. It is very important and needed, as relatively strong links must be built among people who get to know each other in their youth in order to cooperate and maintain friendships at mature age. This, of course, does not exclude the possibility of cooperation on the part of mature members of the communities.

– The forms of cooperation are also typical. Its most visible part consists of occasional municipal festivities, festivals and events, attended by artists, singers, dancers and music bands representing their local communities. International cooperation is also implemented in a less spectacular, but continuous manner by various institutions active in the cooperating local communities: schools, community and sports centres, educational institutions. Joint projects are implemented, which are based on exchange of experience and sharing of knowledge – there are mutual visits of children, young people and experts, who exchange information not only on their own and shared culture or history, but also the components of organizational, managerial and educational culture.

International cooperation of Węgrów is specific and unique, like that of any other community of Mazowieckie Voivodeship; however, it plays a similar role to that of other local governments in the voivodeship. This role can be summarized as follows:

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<sup>25</sup> Interview of the author with councilors of Węgrów – Tadeusz Ryczkowski and Barbara Szymańska, 27.07.2017.

- It constitutes yet another area of community activity, thus strengthening the links between members of the territorial community.
- It serves as one of the points of reference for shaping and development of the sense of own local identity, separate from all others.
- It serves as a carrier for popularization of individual nature of the community.
- It is a carrier of information on specific traits of the befriended territorial communities.
- It allows the community members to grasp their similarity to members of other befriended communities.
- It teaches respect for other cultures.
- It shapes tolerance among members of the community in relation to its equivalents, which differ from it in terms of civilisational origins and culture.
- It stimulates interest in the surrounding world among the community members.
- It provides the community members with knowledge of the world.
- It contributes to the strengthening of the belief that pluralism and differences may enrich the community.
- It weakens and eliminates negative stereotypes and cultural and civilisational prejudices.
- It exerts a positive impact on economic development through stimulation of business cooperation.
- It provides opportunities of access to special external funds (EU programs).
- It enables the community members to notice the common, universal values, which are typical of all people despite the cultural diversity.

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## SUMMARY

The article discusses international cooperation of the urban municipality of Węgrów and presents a case study of international cooperation of one of 314 municipalities of Mazowieckie Voivodeship. It describes the characteristics of international activity of a specific urban local community which has its foreign partners in Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus and Italy. International cooperation of Węgrów has been discussed, indicating its similarities to international initiatives of other municipalities of Mazowieckie Voivodeship and the entire Poland. The summary contains a proposed definition of the role played by international cooperation of municipalities.

## STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł jest poświęcony współpracy międzynarodowej gminy miejskiej Węgrów i studium przypadku opisującym współpracę międzynarodową jednej z 314 gmin województwa mazowieckiego. Zawiera on charakterystykę aktywności międzynarodowej konkretnej miejskiej wspólnoty lokalnej, która ma swoich partnerów zagranicznych na Ukrainie, Litwie, Białorusi i we Włoszech. Omówiono w nim przede wszystkim współpracę międzynarodową Węgrowa, ale także wskazano na podobieństwa tej współpracy do współpracy międzynarodowej innych mazowieckich i polskich gmin. W podsumowaniu artykułu umieszczono propozycję określenia roli, jaką pełni współpraca międzynarodowa gmin.

**Key words:** local government, international cooperation, Węgrów, Mazowieckie Voivodeship

**Słowa kluczowe:** samorząd terytorialny, współpraca międzynarodowa, Węgrów, Mazowsze



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## DYNAMICS OF CHANGES OF ECOLOGICAL FARMS IN THE OSTROŁĘKA AND PRZASNYSZ COUNTIES

## DYNAMIKA ZMIAN GOSPODARSTW EKOLOGICZNYCH W POWIECIE OSTROŁĘCKIM I PRZASNYSKIM

### **Introduction**

Farming is one of the most important branches of national economy. The development in the field of the chemistry of fertilizers and pesticides as well as their irrational application causes increasing pollution of the environment. The ecological consciousness of consumers still increases – they seek for products which would be less polluted, “healthier”. A response to the market needs is the ecological farming.

According to Runowski<sup>1</sup>, “depending on the assumed range, the term ‘ecological farming’ either concerns the agriculture with strictly defined technology of farming production or exceeds such a narrow definition and additionally encompasses other problems: social, economical, connected to energy, quality of food or, finally, widely understood relations between agriculture and environment”.

Sołtysiak formulates a definition: “the ecological farming can be defined as a system which ensures long-lasting soil fertility and healthiness of animals as well as high biological quality of products through stimulation of natural production mechanisms by the application of natural, technologically unprocessed means. It is the ecologically and economically balanced system, to a great extent independent on external outlays, which does not burden the environment and enables the development of country and agriculture as priceless, ageless values in and of themselves”<sup>2</sup>.

IFOAM (International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movements) defines the ecological farming as follows: “the ecological farming is a set of various detailed concepts of running of a farm according to demands of soil, plants and animals and its superior goal is the production of high-quality food with

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<sup>1</sup> H. Runowski, 1996, *Ograniczenia i szanse rolnictwa ekologicznego*. Wydawnictwo SGGW, Warszawa, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> U. Sołtysiak, *Rolnictwo ekologiczne – historyczny przegląd metod*, [In:] *Rolnictwo ekologiczne od teorii do praktyki*. Ed. Eadem. Stowarzyszenie Ekoland, Stiftung Leben & Umwelt, Warszawa 1993, p. 24.

maintenance to the greatest extent possible the biological balance in the natural environment”<sup>3</sup>.

It is often imputed that the ecological farming is a step back in the civilization development but – as Gaziński says – “the future vision of the agriculture must take three compounds into consideration: the human being, what means something more than just outlays of the human work, essential in the agriculture; the environment which must remain uncontaminated for future generations; as well as the food itself which should satisfy the needs of inhabitants of the Earth. [...] The global agriculture needs new solutions, some individual ‘third way’, other than this what exists now both in poor and rich countries. The contents and ideas contained in the agricultural farming can be of crucial meaning in seeking this way”<sup>4</sup>. Bechmann notes that “from a biological point of view, it [ecological farming] is the most intelligent form of agriculture which we know”<sup>5</sup>. If one considers running a farm, then significant changes can be observed in the agriculture in the current world. “The ecological farming has been recognized in the Western Europe as one of potential solutions, especially in view of the deterioration of the natural environment caused by our current economy”<sup>6</sup>.

The term “ecological farming” has been recognized in the legislation of the European Union (EEC 2092/91)<sup>7</sup> as a synonym of considerably older terms “organic farming” and “biological farming” which come from historical names of methods of the agricultural production and were developed independently in various countries but contributed to derive the rules of the ecological farming from them.

“Today, the division of ‘alternative’ methods according to the authors’ names or the terms proposed by them has only a historical meaning since in these separate trends, independently, similar rules of running of a farm have been worked out which currently are generalized as ecological ones”<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> H. Runowski, op. cit., p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> B. Gaziński, *Kulturowy wymiar rolnictwa ekologicznego*, [In:] *Rolnictwo ekologiczne od teorii do praktyki*. Stowarzyszenie Ekoland, Stiftung Leben & Umwelt, Warszawa 1993, p. 82.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted from: E. Kośmicki, *Tendencje rozwojowe rolnictwa na świecie i w Polsce*, [In:] *Rolnictwo ekologiczne od teorii do praktyki*. Stowarzyszenie Ekoland, Stiftung Leben & Umwelt, Warszawa 1993, p. 42.

<sup>6</sup> J. Buys, J.D. van Mansfelt, *Słowo wstępne*, [In:] *Rolnictwo ekologiczne od teorii do praktyki*. Stowarzyszenie Ekoland, Stiftung Leben & Umwelt, Warszawa 1993, p. 9.

<sup>7</sup> Council Regulation (EC) No. 2092/91 of 24 June 1991.

<sup>8</sup> U. Sołtysiak, op. cit., p. 34.



### **Aim, scope and method of the investigations**

The topic of the ecological farming has already been the subject of interest of numerous researchers. It has been considered in an overview both at national level<sup>9</sup> and at regional one<sup>10</sup>. Possibilities of its development have been analyzed mostly on economical, social and agricultural level<sup>11</sup>.

The aim of this work was an analysis of the development of ecological farming in the Ostrołęka and Przasnysz counties (including the city of Ostrołęka), that is the region of Green Kurpie. The analysis has been carried out both in quantitative and spatial perspective. The result of this work is the presentation of a trend of quantitative changes among the certified ecological farms, the farms being in the course of conversion on ecological production of crops and ecological food-processing plants. Additionally, the spatial diversification of districts in the investigated counties on regard of the number of ecological farms is presented.

The thematic scope encompasses the ideas of the ecological farming, the European background, the development of the ecological farming in Poland as well as the dynamics of changes in ecological farms in the investigated region. The research method consisted in a comparative analysis of statistical data concerning the ecological farms in the Ostrołęka and Przasnysz counties at the background of the Mazovian voivodship as well as the whole country. The statistical data have been acquired from the Local Data Bank of the Central Statistical Office of Poland (GUS), field Agriculture, Forestry and Hunting, group Agricultural Farms, whereas the address basis for the year 2016 as well as the archive data for the years 2009–2015 concerning ecological farms in the Mazovian voivodship have been acquired in the Agricultural and Food Quality Inspection (IJHARS).

### **Ecological farming in the European countries – background**

On the beginning of 1980's, the International Federation of Organic Agriculture worked out so-called "Principles of Ecological Farming". Basing on them, the first official regulations of the European Community within the range of the ecological farming were developed. One of the first of them was the Council Regulation (EC) No. 2092/91 of 24 June 1991 on the ecological farming and labelling its products and foodstuffs. In 1999 this directive was supplemented by the regulation N° 1804/99 of 19 July 1999 which regulated the animal production, a part of the plant production. Nowadays are binding: the Council Regulation (EC)

<sup>9</sup> D. Komorowska, *Perspektywy rozwoju rolnictwa ekologicznego w Polsce*. Zeszyty Naukowe SGGW w Warszawie, Ekonomia i Organizacja Gospodarki Żywnościowej 2008, No. 69, pp. 125–134; K. Jończyk, J. Kuś, *Rozwój rolnictwa ekologicznego w Polsce*. Journal of Research and Application in Agriculture Engineering 2009, Vol. 54.

<sup>10</sup> A. Kuczuk, *Rolnictwo ekologiczne w województwie opolskim – stan obecny, wybrane zagadnienia produkcyjne, możliwości warunkujące rozwój*. Journal of Research and Applications in Agricultural Engineering 2010, Vol. 55, No. 3, pp. 210–218.

<sup>11</sup> T. Nowogrodzka, S. Szarek, *Wyniki ekonomiczne gospodarstw ekologicznych w Polsce*. Zagadnienia Doradztwa Rolniczego 2012, No. 3, pp. 62–72.

No. 834/2007 of 28 June 2007, concerning organic production and labelling of organic products and repealing Regulation (EEC) No. 2092/91 (OJ L 189, 20.07.2007, as amended); the Council Regulation (EC) No. 889/2008 of 5 September 2008, laying down detailed rules for the implementation of Council Regulation (EC) No. 834/2007 on organic production and labelling of organic products with regard to organic production, labelling and control (OJ L 250, 18.9.2008, as amended); as well as two implementing regulations.

It is stated in the document "Report on the state of the ecological farming in Poland in the years 2015–2016"<sup>12</sup> that, according to the Eurostat's data, Poland occupied the 6th place in the European Union with regard to ecological agricultural producers (22 277 subjects) as well as the 5th place with regard to the ecologically utilized agricultural area (58 0731 ha).

### **Ecological farms in Poland**

The first so-called alternative farm was established in Greater Poland in the 1930's and operated till the outbreak of the 2nd War World.

After the 2nd War World, in the 1960's, a small biodynamic farm was established in Nakło nad Notecią. First publications concerning the ecological way of farming became to occur only in the 1980's. Organizations and pro-ecological movements started then their existence in Poland. In the middle 1980's, the ecological farming became to be more and more propagated. Courses and lectures took place on biodynamic farming, literature items occurred on the biodynamic cultivation in gardens and allotments.

To become ecological, a farm has to be subjected to an inspection and gain a certificate. If the farmer wants to run his/her farm in ecological way, he/she must prepare, i.e. converse it. The conversion period (under control) lasts two years and only after this time the certificate is granted as a result of positive inspections. A farm or food-processing plant is under control.

In 2016, 11 subjects dealt with the certification in Poland. The supervision over the certifying units and ecological production is exercised by the Agricultural and Food Quality Inspection (IJHARS) and the certificates are issued by the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development.

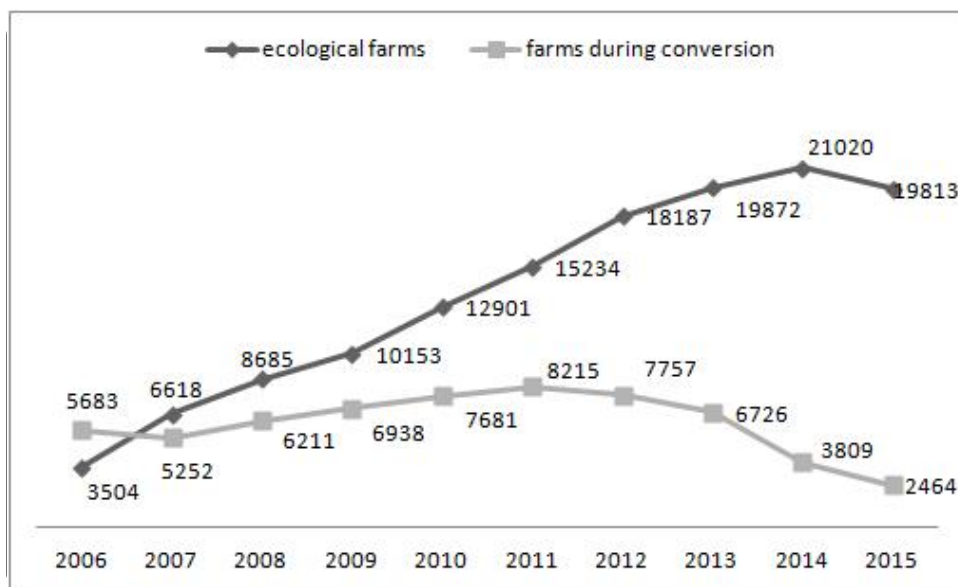
Since 16 March 2001 Poland has a legal act – Ecological farming law. The currently binding legal base is the Ecological farming law of 25 June 2009 (Dz.U. No. 116 of 2009, item 975 with consolidated text in Dz.U. No. 2017, item 1054).

In 2016 the agricultural area with the ecological production amounted ca. 3.7% of all agricultural area. The development of the ecological agriculture in Poland is connected to a large extent to the financial support acquired from resources of the Rural Development Program (PROW) coming from the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development and co-financed from the state budget. In the years

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<sup>12</sup> Online: <http://www.ijhar-s.gov.pl/index.php/raporty-o-ekologii.html> [25.10.2017].

2015–2016, the liabilities for the ecological farming were realized within the frames of PROW 2007–2013 and PROW 2014–2020.



Graph 1.

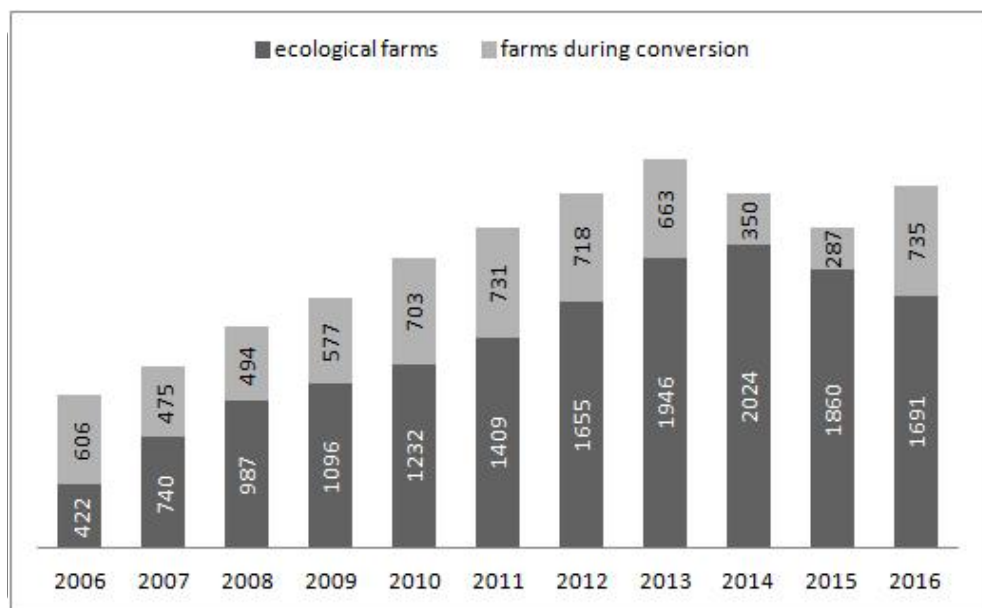
Number of ecological farms in Poland in the years 2006–2015

Source: Authors on the basis of the Local Data Bank of GUS.

As it results from the statistical data, the number of ecological farms in Poland constantly increased from 2006. The highest number of the ecological farms (21020) was noted in 2014, in the next year the first decrease of the number of the ecological farms was noted. Most ecological farms during conversion were in 2011 and least – in 2015.

### Ecological farms in Mazovia

Mazovia is currently the 4th voivodship in Poland on regard of the number of producers (2606) carrying out the ecological farming activity what constitutes 11.1% of total amount of ecological producers in Poland. It must be noted that the number of producers is not identical with the number of ecological farms. One can count among producers also the subjects which carry out the activity concerning preparation of ecological products, launching the ecological products on the market (as well the products imported from third states), supply certified sowable material and vegetative propagating material, deal with apiculture, harvest of natural products, aquaculture and/or seaweeds.



Graph 2.

Number of ecological farms in the Mazovian voivodship in the years 2006–2016

Source: Authors on the basis of the Local Data Bank of GUS and the data on ecological producers acquired from IJHARS.

One can observe the same trend in the Mazovian voivodship as it characterizes the development of the ecological farms in the whole Poland. In 2014, the highest number of the ecological farms was noted (2024), the decrease occurred in 2015–2016. Most ecological farms during conversion were in 2016 and least – in 2015.

### Ecological farms in the Ostrołęka and Przasnysz counties

The Ostrołęka county (excluding the city of Ostrołęka) is the largest (2097 km<sup>2</sup>) county in the Mazovian voivodship and the 7th on regard of area in Poland. It is relatively poorly urbanized county (3.61%). The Przasnysz county occupies the 82nd place on regard of area in Poland (1219 km<sup>2</sup>) and the 9th place in the Mazovian voivodship. The urbanization ratio of the Przasnysz county is 37.35%<sup>13</sup>. Both these counties partly include the Green Forest (Puszcza Zielona or Kurpiowska) with three nature reserves.

Analysis of the spatial distribution of the ecological farms in the Przasnysz county allows to state that they develop best in the districts of Chorzele, where 56 such farms were registered in 2016 (5 in the village Opaleniec), Przasnysz (34 farms) and Jednorozec (22 farms). The ecological farms in the Ostrołęka county

<sup>13</sup> Online: <http://www.polskawliczbach.pl/Powiaty> [25.10.2017].

develop best in the districts of Goworowo (29 farms), Olszewo-Borki (26), Łyse (18) i Kadzidło (16). It must be noted in addition that some areas of higher density of such farms can be observed in the villages Mostowo (6), Rżaniec (5), Olszewka (5), Opaleniec (5), Łyse (5), Ludwinowo (4), Durlasy (4), Kadzidło (4). It can prove both advantageous agricultural conditions and social influences of the farmers' circles.

Table 1

Number of ecological farms in the counties of Ostrołęka and Przasnysz counties in 2016

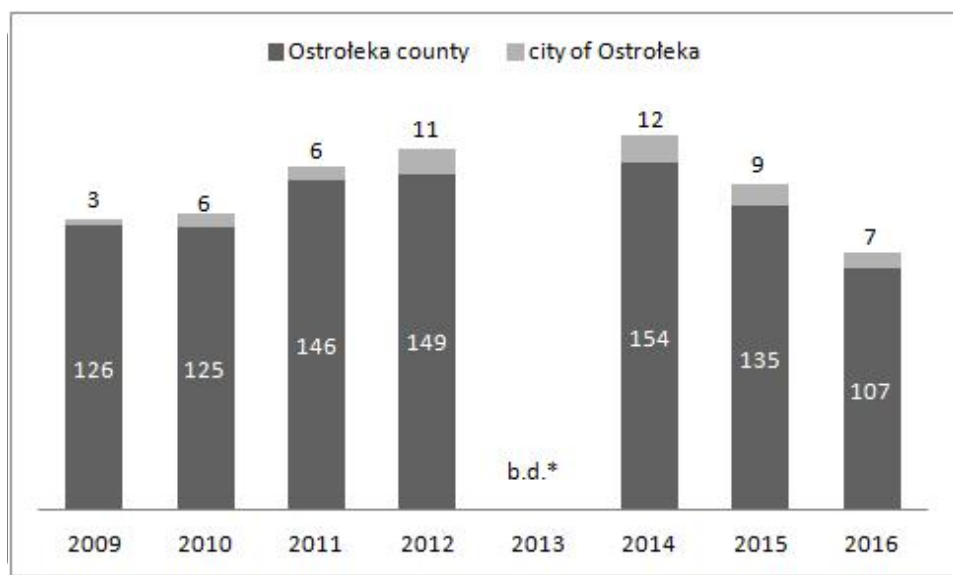
| <b>District</b>                                         | <b>Number of ecological farms</b> | <b>Number of farms during conversion</b> |
|---------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| <b>Ostrołęka county including the city of Ostrołęka</b> |                                   |                                          |
| Baranowo                                                | 5                                 | 1                                        |
| Czarnia                                                 | 4                                 | 5                                        |
| Czerwin                                                 | 4                                 | 3                                        |
| Goworowo                                                | 24                                | 5                                        |
| Kadzidło                                                | 15                                | 1                                        |
| Lelis                                                   | 9                                 | 1                                        |
| Łyse                                                    | 10                                | 8                                        |
| Myszyniec                                               | 6                                 | 5                                        |
| Olszewo-Borki                                           | 23                                | 3                                        |
| Rzekuń                                                  | 4                                 | 2                                        |
| Troszyn                                                 | 3                                 | 5                                        |
| Ostrołęka                                               | 7                                 | 0                                        |
| <b>Przasnysz county</b>                                 |                                   |                                          |
| Chorzele                                                | 46                                | 10                                       |
| Czernice Borowe                                         | 5                                 | 6                                        |
| Jednoróżec                                              | 12                                | 10                                       |
| Krasne                                                  | 0                                 | 2                                        |
| Krzynowłoga Mała                                        | 1                                 | 4                                        |
| Przasnysz                                               | 11                                | 23                                       |

Source: Authors on the basis of data on ecological producers acquired from IJHARS.

The number of the ecological farms in the Ostrołęka county increased till 2014. In that year this number amounted 154 – it was the highest in the investigated time period. 19 farms left in 2015 but the number started to increase again in 2016. 7 ecological farms were registered in Ostrołęka but it is probably

just an evidence address of a subject declaring ecological farming, not of an actual activity place.

As regards the Przasnysz county, it can be observed that the number of the ecological farms constantly increases and reaches the value 130 in the year 2016. The data acquired for the Ostrołęka county confirm the trend observed in Poland and the Mazovian voivodship that till a certain limit year the number of the ecological farms increased and then decreased. The peak of the number of the ecological farms in the Ostrołęka county occurred exactly in the same year as in Poland and the Mazovian voivodship, whereas in the Przasnysz county this number still increases. The number of the farms during conversion in the Ostrołęka county (including the city of Ostrołęka) amounted 39, whereas in the Przasnysz county – 55.



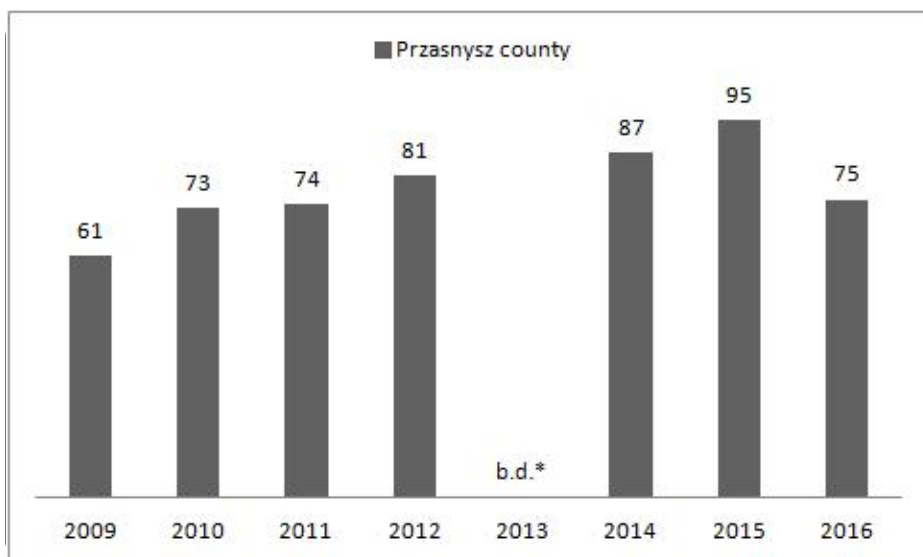
Graph 3.

Number of ecological farms in the county of Ostrołęka and in the city of Ostrołęka in the years 2009–2016

\* For the year 2013 proper data from IJHARS were unavailable<sup>14</sup>.

Source: Authors on the basis of the Local Data Bank of GUS and the data on ecological producers acquired from IJHARS.

<sup>14</sup> The data from 2013 acquired for the Mazovian voivodship were incomplete and did not allowed to correctly appoint the farms in the discussed counties. Despite this fact, the authors decided to include this year to the analysis of the development trends of the ecological farms in Ostrołęka and Przasnysz counties.

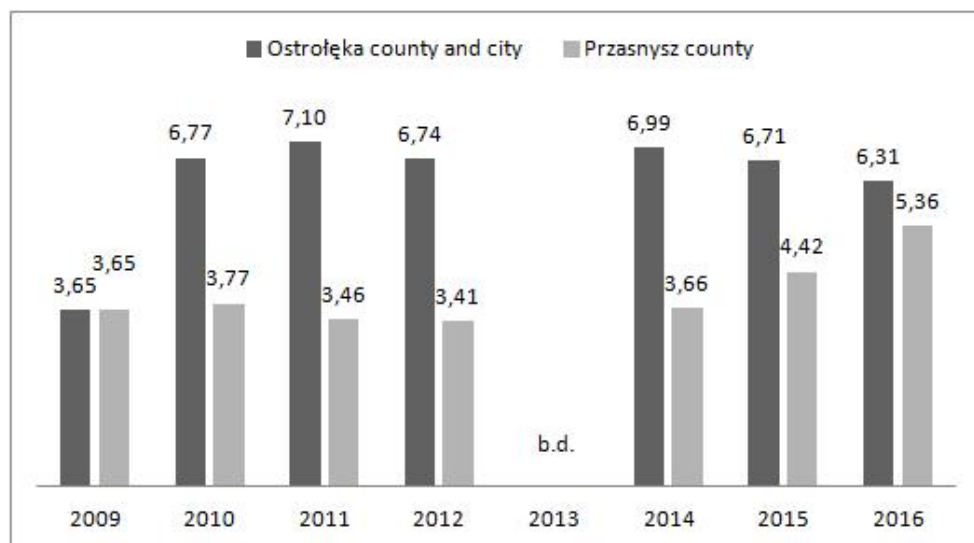


Graph 4.

Number of ecological farms in the county of Przasnysz in the years 2009–2016

\* For the year 2013 proper data from IJHARS were unavailable.

Source: Authors on the basis of the Local Data Bank of GUS and the data on ecological producers acquired from IJHARS.



Graph 5.

Percentage share of the ecological farms of the Ostrołęka and Przasnysz counties related to the ecological farms in the Mazovian voivodship in the years 2009–2016.

Source: Authors on the basis of the Local Data Bank of GUS and the data on ecological producers acquired from IJHARS.

The percentage share of the ecological farms of the Ostrołęka county related to the total number of the ecological farms in the Mazovian voivodship amounts 6.9% on average. The highest share can be observed for the year 2009 (7.71%), the lowest – in 2016 (6.31%). The average share of the ecological farms in the Przasnysz county related to the Mazovian voivodship amounts 3.96%. The highest share for the Przasnysz county is observed for the year 2016 (5.36%), the lowest – in 2012 (3.41%). The comparison of the percentage share of the ecological farms in the Ostrołęka and Przasnysz counties in relation to the ecological farms in the Mazovian voivodship (graph 5) with the growth dynamics of the number of the farms in these counties (graphs 3 and 4) allows to state that for the Ostrołęka county this share decreases despite the increase of the absolute number of the farms whereas for the Przasnysz county increases.

An indispensable element of production of crops is their processing. In 2016, only one subject registered the activity of processing of ecological crops in the Przasnysz county. 3 subjects registered such activity in the Ostrołęka county. As results from the data, the number of crop processing plants in the Ostrołęka and Przasnysz counties has not changed since 2015.

According to the declarations, the ecological crop processing in the Ostrołęka and Przasnysz counties consists in the processing and conservation of fruits, milk processing and cheese production. One subject running the processing activity is simultaneously the producer of ecological crops.

## Conclusions

For the both analyzed counties in total, least ecological farms were registered in 2009 (190), most – in 2016 (283). It is interesting that the percentage share of the ecological farms in the Ostrołęka and Przasnysz counties in total related to the number of the ecological farms in the Mazovian voivodship amounted 11.36% in 2009 and nowadays it is 11.66%. The share of the ecological farms in the Ostrołęka and Przasnysz counties in total related to the total number of the ecological farms in the whole Poland was 1.07% in 2015. The ecological farms of the Przasnysz county gain importance among the ecological farms in the Mazovian voivodship (increase by 1.7 pp). The share of the ecological farms of the Ostrołęka county among the ecological farms in the Mazovian voivodship decreased from 7.71% in 2009 to 6.31% in 2016. The decrease of the ecological farms can be also observed in the Mazovian voivodship as well as in the whole Poland. Demand for ecologically processed crops is confirmed by the number of processing plants in the Ostrołęka county, not decreasing for the last two years.



The Kurpie region, undoubtedly precious from the environmental and cultural point of view, deserves protection. Ptaszycka-Jackowska stated that the ecological farming on some areas of Poland can become a proper way of their development<sup>15</sup>. Thus, dynamic development of the ecological farms in the Ostrołęka and Przasnysz counties despite the regression observed in Mazovia and Poland gives reasons for pleasure.

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<sup>15</sup> D. Ptaszycka-Jackowska, *Kształtowanie stref ochronnych przyrodniczych obszarów chronionych*. IGPiK, Warszawa 1990.

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## SUMMARY

Ecological farming is one of the forms of agricultural activity. The article describes the changes that occurred in the years 2009–2016 in relation to the number of ecological farms in Ostrołęka and Przasnysz counties. The analysis was done using the statistical data acquired from Central Statistical Office of Poland (GUS) and included in the Local Data Bank as well as the data obtained from the Agricultural and Food Quality Inspection (IJHARS). The conducted research allowed to show trends in the development of ecological farms in the counties of Ostrołęka and Przasnysz at the background of Mazovian voivodship and the whole Poland.

## STRESZCZENIE

Rolnictwo ekologiczne jest jedną z form działalności rolniczej. W artykule scharakteryzowano zmiany, jakie zaszły w latach 2009–2016 w odniesieniu do liczby gospodarstw ekologicznych w powiecie ostrołęckim i przasnyskim. Analizę wykonano z wykorzystaniem danych statystycznych GUS, zawartych w BDL-u oraz danych otrzymanych z Inspekcji Jakości Handlowej Artykułów Rolno-Spożywczych. Przeprowadzone badania pozwoliły ukazać tendencje w rozwoju gospodarstw ekologicznych w badanych powiatach na tle województwa mazowieckiego i całej Polski.

**Key words:** ecological farmstead, ecological farming, Ostrołęka county, Przasnysz county

**Słowa kluczowe:** gospodarstwo ekologiczne, rolnictwo ekologiczne, powiat ostrołęcki, powiat przasnyski

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## INNOVATIONS IN AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS USING THE ASSETS FROM ZWRSP – TYPICAL SCOPE AND IMPORTANCE OF CONDUCTED CHANGES

## INNOWACJE W GOSPODARSTWACH ROLNICZYCH UŻYTKUJĄCYCH AKTYWA POCHODZĄCE Z ZWRSP – ZAKRES RODZAJOWY I ZNACZENIE WPROWADZANYCH ZMIAN

### **Introduction**

Changes in the model of competition in contemporary world lead to the trend as if the innovations are the main source of competitive advantage. The undeniable fact is that the scale and range of introduced innovation depends from department, or sector of business entity activity. Within the sector of high tech their level is significantly higher in comparison to the sectors of lower tech or in agriculture. Independently from the obvious limitations in range of creation and implementation of innovations in agriculture, every aspect of innovative activity in farms should be considered as legitimate and necessary. Małgorzata Górka and Maria Ruda<sup>1</sup> highlight that such activity is important from the point of view of its modernization, and it is connected not only with spreading of all the novelties, but also with improvements of existing states. It may contribute to increase in production efficiency and lowering of its costs and therefore the betterment of competitiveness in internal and international markets. Level and possibilities of carrying out innovative activities in agriculture are connected with the specific features of this sector. Halina Kałuża and Monika Rytel<sup>2</sup> point out the features such as: long production cycles, dependence of production from its quality of production space and seasonality of production. Mirosław Struś and Julian Kalinowski<sup>3</sup> claim

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<sup>1</sup> M. Górka, M. Ruda, *Innowacje w gospodarstwach rolniczych województwa podkarpackiego*. Nierówności Społeczne a Wzrost Gospodarczy 2012, No. 29, pp. 126–131

<sup>2</sup> H. Kałuża, M. Rytel, *Innowacyjność w świetle studium przypadku gospodarstw rolniczych z gminy Mokobody*. Roczniki Naukowe Stowarzyszenia Ekonomistów Rolnictwa i Agrobiznesu 2014, No. XII(5), pp. 68–69.

<sup>3</sup> M. Struś, J. Kalinowski, *Dylematy wdrażania innowacji na obszarach wiejskich*. Roczniki Naukowe Stowarzyszenia Ekonomistów Rolnictwa i Agrobiznesu 2015, No. 17(3), pp. 367–372.

that the conceptions aiming to the modernization of rural areas in isolation of traditions and internal conditions are not the proper ones. Authors indicate the persistence of economical motives of innovative actions conducted by the investigated farmers. They conclude that the desired innovation is the one which builds the foundations of persistent market, based on relations between farmers and recipients, contributing to the durability of the system afforded by the sustainable development. Agreeing with such approach it is needed to show, that from the subject point of view (which is agriculture producing) introducing by him the innovations in synergic connection of competitiveness betterment on the micro and macro level and basis of improving the conditions of living in farms in economical and society sense.

Innovative activity of business entity and for the most its level and range of types of introduced innovations depends from their size. Such regularity is commonly present among industry enterprises in Poland<sup>4</sup>. Such tendency can be extrapolated on farms. The research of Earl A. Heady shows that<sup>5</sup>. Results from these are that innovations at first and more are introduced by agricultural producers of high production potential. By the thoughts of Wojciech Jóźwiak and others<sup>6</sup> it is connected mostly with the possessed capital and possibility of funding the innovations from own resources. Bigger farms, in which owners are hiring employed people, incur credits and lease the land are predisposed into introducing the new solutions. Authors very clearly point that scale effects of production effect on tendency and ability of farm owners for innovative actions. Wojciech Ziętara<sup>7</sup> notes that because of the demand barrier on agricultural products, the main and real way of improving the scale of production in discussed sector of economy is the growth of farm surfaces. Important research problem in such context is rating of innovative activity of farms using the resource of state treasury agricultural property (ZWRSP), which have the above average production potential resulting from the possessed area of lands.

Measurable effect of innovative activity of business subjects are introduced by them innovations. Czesław Maziarz<sup>8</sup> defines it as the new makings or production processes, but also the ideas which serves raising of the prestige of society and trigger the teamwork. Precisely the concept by Józef Ryznar<sup>9</sup> claims that agricultural innovations are every new idea and concept used to improve

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<sup>4</sup> *Działalność innowacyjna przedsiębiorstw w latach 2013–2015*. GUS, Warszawa 2016.

<sup>5</sup> E.A. Heady, *Ekonomika produkcji rolniczej*. Państwowe Wydawnictwo Rolnicze i Leśne, Warszawa 1967.

<sup>6</sup> W. Jóźwiak, A. Kagan, Z. Mirkowska, *Innowacje w polskich gospodarstwach rolnych, zakres ich wdrażania i znaczenie*. Zagadnienia Ekonomiki Rolnej 2012, No. 3, pp. 3–27.

<sup>7</sup> W. Ziętara, *Dzierżawa ziemi w gospodarstwach rolniczych jako podmiotach biogospodarki*. Roczniki Naukowe Stowarzyszenia Ekonomistów Rolnictwa i Agrobiznesu 2016, No. 18(2), pp. 303–309.

<sup>8</sup> Cz. Maziarz, *Andragogika rolnicza*. Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa 1977.

<sup>9</sup> J. Ryznar, *Doradztwo rolnicze w zarysie*. AR 70, Wrocław 1995.

production processes, treatments around the farms and home and the devices which make work easier or more efficient. Author expands this category with every making of human activity, pattern of actions or values highlights, that they were not present in the farm or village before. Kazimierz Michałowski and Eugeniusz Wiśniewski<sup>10</sup> emphasize the purposefulness of conducted changes in agricultural activity, suggesting that these are the only one which can be considered as innovations. Authors proceed from the assumption that the novelty, which does not change anything and allows only for the enterprise to keep the “status quo” should not be considered as an innovation. Multiaspect approach to the concept of innovation causes acceptance of various breakdown criteria. Theoretical assumptions about such issue are present in many research elaborations. Such criteria, connected mostly with originality of conducted changes, mechanism of stimulation of innovations, subject and effects of innovations, personal and institutional coupling, size and range of effects of introduction of innovations or the point of reference (macro, meso or micro – economical). From the point of view of analysis on mesoeconomical level (which is the agricultural sector), the most important are the ones connected with the subject of innovations and originality of introduced changes. According to the information included in Oslo Manual<sup>11</sup>, developed by Eurostat and OECD, there are four types of innovations: product, process, organization and marketing<sup>12</sup>. Innovations are possible to divide into incremental, radical, new technological systems and dissemination innovations. Stefan Marciniak<sup>13</sup> thinks that the incremental innovations (consisting in improving or modernization of primary innovation) has the biggest meaning. He points out also that it depends from the stage of development of one economy and its strategy of growth and character of implemented innovations. Innovations may be distinguished by the criteria of their novelties among the point of reference. Piotr Cyrek<sup>14</sup> stands out the absolute innovations – understood as a solution

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<sup>10</sup> K. Michałowski, E. Wiśniewski, *Innowacyjne produkty rolnicze w rejonie północno-wschodniej Polski*, [In:] *Innowacje i innowacyjność w sektorze agrobiznesu*. Ed. M. Adamowicz. Wydawnictwo SGGW, Warszawa 2008.

<sup>11</sup> Podręcznik Oslo, *Zasady gromadzenia i interpretacji danych dotyczących innowacji. Pomiar działalności naukowej i technicznej* (3rd ed.). OECD and Eurostat, Warszawa 2008.

<sup>12</sup> Product innovations include new products in as goods and services and all of changes in products, which already exist. Process innovations (which main aim is to lower the costs of production) are changes within the process of creation of product of methods of its delivery for the client. Organization innovations are mostly new methods of organization and managing the enterprise, which aim is to lower the organizational costs, improvement in effectiveness and streamlining work. Marketing innovations relate to new marketing methods such as: modification of product look, its package, changes in promotion systems and price policy.

<sup>13</sup> S. Marciniak, *Innowacyjność i konkurencyjność gospodarki*. Wyd. Ch. Beck, Warszawa 2010.

<sup>14</sup> P. Cyrek, *Innowacyjność determinantą konkurencyjności przedsiębiorstw przemysłu spożywczego*, [In:] *Transfer wiedzy i działań innowacyjnych w obszarze agrobiznesu*. Eds.

introduced for the first time in global world economic system and relative innovations (imitative) – occurring as a new one only in scale of country, market or one enterprise. Agricultural producers use various possibilities of conducting the changes in economy.

On the level of farm Augustyn Woś<sup>15</sup> divided them on the hitherto used:

- creations, which are: means and tools of work and technical means of production, seed breed materials, chemical resources, farming improvements conducted with construction, transport, storage, supply and market of farming products,

- means of farm – simple and complex technological operations, sections and branches of production,

- concepts and methods of managing the farm, which are connected with aims, directions, structure and production economics.

Józwiak and others<sup>16</sup> specified that approach by giving some range of innovative activities used in modern agriculture. Introduced in various farms various forms of innovations depends from the economic condition of farms, production potential, openness for changes, way of managing, but mostly they should be the reaction on challenges and changes on the market. From that thing there is justified need of research defining the sectors of innovative actions of farm producers, especially the ones that have high scale of production which are the farms using ZWRSP.

### **Methodology of research and source material**

Presented in this elaboration research results are part of a bigger material obtained within the actions of research project realized by University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn and the agency of agricultural property local branch in Olsztyn. Subject of these research was the innovation activity of homesteads. The article concentrates on the specification of types of range and the meaning of innovative solutions introduced within the farms using the assets from ZWRSP in warmińsko-mazurskie voivodeship. Operationalization of proposed by Woś<sup>17</sup> approach to the classification of innovations, in own research, they were grouped in: general economic, in plant and animal production. To the group of general economic innovations included: joining the producer group, change of the production profile, in a range of promotion and way of distribution, introduction the new products to the offer, changes in a way of providing services or new services, hiring permanent and seasonal workers, upgrading the qualifications of

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S. Makarski, P. Cyrek, S. Dybka, A. Kasprzyk. Wyd. Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, Rzeszów 2007, pp. 7–14.

<sup>15</sup> A. Woś, *Rozwój i postęp w rolnictwie polskim*. Państwowe Wydawnictwo Rolnicze i Leśne, Warszawa 1987, p. 52.

<sup>16</sup> W. Józwiak, A. Kagan, Z. Mirkowska, op. cit.

<sup>17</sup> A. Woś, op. cit., p. 46.

owner, realization of cooperation with agricultural advisory center (ODR), using the services of subcontractors, introduction of agricultural accounting, purchasing or lease of land, usage of computer tech. Innovations in plant production were: introduction of ecological plants, new technologies of cultivation, new ways of fertilization, new breed of plants, new machines and devices, new seeding materials and new sources of protection. During the studies the concept of types of innovations introduced in animal producing were addressed, such as: new breed and species of breeding animals, purchasing of new machines and devices, new feeds and mineral additions, modernization of farm premises, improvement of animal welfare, increase in population. Such approach takes into account the specifics of farm production and is comparable with one which is applicable, in international standards of researches of enterprises divided by innovations, in which there are product, process, organization innovations<sup>18</sup>. According to this method, it has been adopted that innovations are also the new solutions introduced in a farm, even if they were introduced earlier in any different subjects.

Main source material were primary data obtained by surveys, using the technique of questionnaire surveys. Selection of units was non-random (target selection). Condition of participation in survey was: conduction of farm activity within warmińsko-mazurskie voivodeship, usage in this activity the assets from ZWRSP, conducting innovative activity, cooperation of managers of farms with advisory services. Surveys were realized with the cooperation of Warmińsko-Mazurski Agricultural Advisory Center in Olsztyn. Questionnaires were delivered to the selected farms with the use of agricultural advisor's network. They were done with the owners of farms during the June–July in 2016. Research sample was 200 units and full data was gathered from 138 farms. Average size of surface of researched subjects was 107,5 ha. The biggest group of farms, among the one that answered positively for the participation in research process, had 50–100 ha, the smallest groups were subjects with surface of 300–500 ha and above 500 ha. Farms were spread within every county of warmińsko-mazurskie voivodeship. Population of the samples does not give any assumptions as to generalization of conclusions to the whole population of farms using ZWRSP in warmińsko-mazurskie voivodeship, but it may be the basis to formulate the general tendencies within them.

### **Research results and discussion**

Introducing the innovative solutions, the farm producers have to connect changing needs of their usage within farms with the scientific and technological achievements possible to use in this special kind of production. Conducted research points out that mostly that were innovations of general economic kind and innovations in animal production. Modern solutions were used by farmers using ZWRSP on the small scale in animal production (tab .1). This was the result of two

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<sup>18</sup> Podręcznik Oslo, op. cit.

things. Firstly, the significant level of innovations of general economic kind was connected with scale of production of researched subjects. Managing in bigger subjects is connected with its organization and improvements in production economy. Secondly in researched farms, plant production was bigger than animal production, hence bigger number of innovations with plant production. Advantage of innovation needs in plant production technology (in comparison to animal production) Kalinowski and others<sup>19</sup> explain that with present long-term stagnation in animal production. Struś and Kalinowski<sup>20</sup> point out that plant production has bigger interest within farmers than animal production, as the second one is more capital-intensive, needs more labor expenditures and is less profitable.

Table 1

The number and structure of innovations (%) conducted in examined farms

| Specification                 | Number of innovations | Innovation structure (%) |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| General economic innovations  | 379                   | 39                       |
| Plant production innovations  | 367                   | 38                       |
| Animal production innovations | 228                   | 23                       |
| Total                         | 974                   | 100                      |

Source: own study.

Innovations on the level of homestead may be formed within various activities. Half of the respondents claimed that the most important innovation of general-economic type was the improvement of owners qualification. Almost every third researched farmer thought that important innovation of this kind is hiring the seasonal works, usage of computer tech in agriculture production and improving the production potential as a lease of land or buying new lands. Respondents noted, that important general economic innovations in their farms were: improving the qualifications of workers and introducing the agricultural accounting. Much lesser percentage of respondents did realize the innovative activity within which were used: services of subcontractors, changes in a way of selling the products, hiring workers permanently, conducting the cooperation with agricultural advisory center, introduction of new service or change the way of provision of services. Few respondents took actions such as: introduction of new products, changes in a way of distribution or in a range of promotion, changes in production profile and joining the producer group (fig. 1.). Results gained within the own studies may vary from the one presented by Halina Kałuża and Agnieszka Ginter<sup>21</sup>. Authors qualified to the most important general-economic type of innovations: purchasing the new

<sup>19</sup> J. Kalinowski, D. Gonet, M. Stachowiak, *Ewolucja potrzeb innowacyjnych rolników*. Roczniki Naukowe Stowarzyszenia Ekonomistów Rolnictwa i Agrobiznesu 2014, No 16(3), pp. 120–125.

<sup>20</sup> M. Struś, J. Kalinowski, op. cit.

<sup>21</sup> H. Kałuża, A. Ginter, *Innowacje w gospodarstwach rolniczych młodych rolników*. Prace Naukowe Uniwersytetu Ekonomicznego we Wrocławiu 2014, No. 361, p. 90.



machines, devices, tractors, new forms of organization of work, building or rebuilding the farm premises and searching the new ways of income, usage of computer tech and arranging the bypass of farm. These divergences may be explained as a result of specifics of examined population in both of researches.

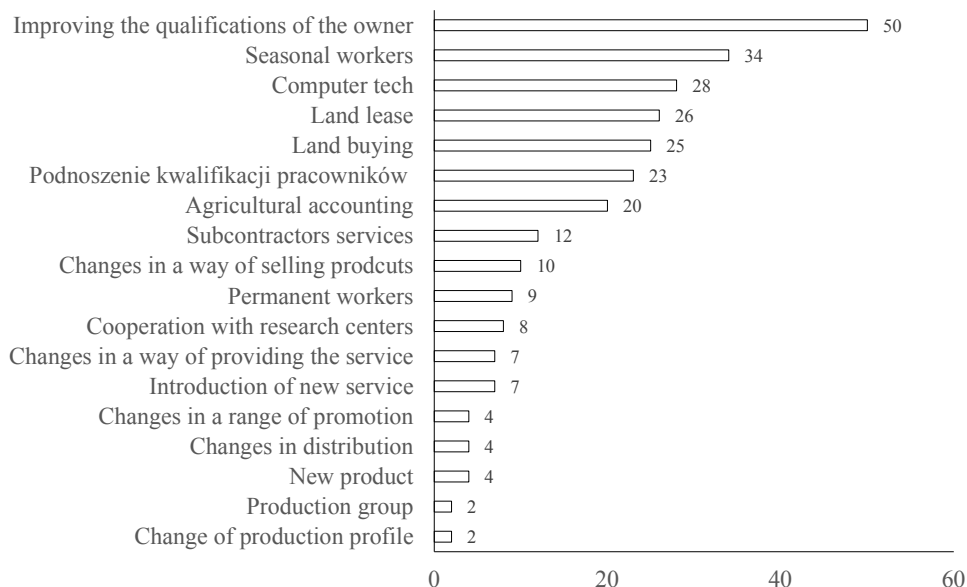


Figure 1

Type of general economic innovations (% of indications)

Source: own study.

The positive fact is that among the area of innovative activity, farmers mostly highlight improvement of qualification of owner and workers and also the usage of changes in managing the farm, by usage of IT technologies and introducing the cost accounting in decision making. Knowledge is strategic resource in development of the areas of low endogenous potential, in which are rural areas. Brygida Klemens<sup>22</sup> points out that it is necessary in such context to ease the access to the knowledge to create the staff capable of creative activities and innovative ones. Piotr Gradziuk<sup>23</sup>, after Wilkin<sup>24</sup> highlights, that the human and his abilities

<sup>22</sup> B. Klemens B. 2015. *Znaczenie transferu wiedzy i edukacji dla obszarów wiejskich*, [In:] *Wiedza i edukacja w rozwoju obszarów wiejskich*. Eds. M. Wójcik, K. Czapiewski. Acta Universitatis Lodzensis, Folia Geographica Socio-Oeconomica, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Vol. 20, pp. 5–21.

<sup>23</sup> B. Gradziuk, *Kapitał ludzki elitarnych gospodarstw rolniczych*. *Więś i Rolnictwo* 2008, No. 2(139), pp. 86–103.

<sup>24</sup> J. Wilkin J. 2006. *Człowiek w ekonomii, czyli o kwestii konwersji zasobów ludzkich w kapitał*, [In:] *Jednostkowe i społeczne zasoby wsi*. Ed. K. Szafranec. IRWiR PAN, Warszawa 2006, pp. 97–106.

and attitude is the biggest production potential. Self-awareness of researched farmers in this range shows their conviction that in changing market conditions and bigger competition within inside and international market, possessing certain information and knowledge is an essential condition of usage in economical practice. Beneficial were as well the changes connected with the desire of enlarging the scale of production, which is land lease and buying. Disturbing phenomenon was as well, due to the conducted research by Julian Kalinowski and others<sup>25</sup> pointing out the needs of innovative farmers in marketing area, is the small number of introductions of innovations of such type, within the tested population of farmers. It indicates the pro-production motives of innovative activities by farmers.

Scale of carried out business activity, as highlighted before influences mostly the level of innovative activity of subjects. Households were divided in terms of total surface and participation of ZWRSP in assets. It is needed to point out that the growth of share of lands from ZWRSP was accompanied by the bigger total surface of farm. With the share of assets of ZWRSP up to 25% average surface of farms was about 86 ha, while when the lease was over 75% of land, the surface was over double bigger (164 ha). Conducted analysis show that beside the most important, general-economic innovation implemented in tested households (improving the qualifications of owner) in groups of respondents divided by the share of assets from ZWRSP, the opinions about implemented innovations of general-economic type were diverse (tab. 2.) In group of examined enterprises, using in their activity up to 25% of assets from ZWRSP, as to the most important innovations of general-economic type: hiring the seasonal workers, usage of computer tech, improving the qualifications of workers and introduction of agricultural accountancy, lease or buying the lands and usage of subcontractors. Rest of the innovations were pointed out less more (1–9% of indications). Respondents using in their activity from 26–50% of assets from ZWRSP proposed some other order of most significant innovations which were: land lease, hiring seasonal workers, buying land, usage of computer tech, improving the qualifications of workers and introduction of agriculture accountancy. In a case of farmers using in their activity 51–75% of assets from ZWRSP, the most often realized, general-economic innovations were: land buying, hiring the seasonal workers, improving the qualifications of workers, land lease, usage of computer tech, introduction of agricultural accountancy and hiring the workers permanently. In group of respondents using in their activity above 75% assets from ZWRSP to the most important general-economic innovations, these were qualified: land lease, hiring the seasonal workers, usage of computer tech and changes in the way of providing the services, improving the qualifications of workers, as well as beginning the cooperation with research centers, and usage of subcontractors services.

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<sup>25</sup> J. Kalinowski, D. Gonet, M. Stachowiak, op. cit.

Table 2

The general economic innovations in examined farms with consideration of sharing of assets from ZWRSP (% of indications)

| Specification                             | Share of ZWRSP in farm assets |        |        |           |
|-------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------|--------|-----------|
|                                           | up to 25%                     | 26–50% | 51–75% | above 75% |
|                                           | (% of indications)            |        |        |           |
| Improving the qualifications of the owner | 46                            | 56     | 45     | 71        |
| Land lease                                | 21                            | 39     | 20     | 57        |
| Hiring the seasonal workers               | 37                            | 33     | 30     | 43        |
| Usage of computer tech                    | 27                            | 28     | 20     | 43        |
| Changes in a way of selling products      | 7                             | 6      | 10     | 43        |
| Introduction of the new service           | 9                             | 3      | 5      | 29        |
| Changes in a way of providing service     | 4                             | 8      | 10     | 29        |
| Introduction of new product to the offer  | 1                             | 6      | 0      | 29        |
| Using of the service of subcontractors    | 15                            | 6      | 5      | 29        |
| Cooperation with research centers         | 7                             | 0      | 5      | 29        |
| Improving the qualification of workers    | 24                            | 19     | 25     | 29        |
| Land buying                               | 19                            | 31     | 35     | 14        |
| Change of production profile              | 0                             | 3      | 5      | 14        |
| Hiring the workers permanently            | 4                             | 11     | 15     | 14        |
| Changes in a way of promotion             | 3                             | 3      | 0      | 14        |
| Changes in a way of distribution          | 4                             | 3      | 0      | 14        |
| Introduction of agricultural accountancy  | 24                            | 19     | 15     | 0         |
| Joining the producers group               | 1                             | 0      | 5      | 0         |

Source: own study.

Presented results point out some of tendencies occurring between the type of implemented innovations of general-economic type and share of ZWRSP in assets of farms. Range of implementations connected with introduction of agricultural accountancy was decreasing (down to the zero) along with the growth of this share. Such situation was the result of the fact, that such solution was present earlier in bigger farms. The biggest differences between households using above 75% of ZWRSP assets and the rest of groups was about the changes in: production profile, way of providing the services, range of promotion and introduction to the offer the new product, but mostly by the fact of cooperation with research centers. In bigger households, using above 75% of assets from ZWRSP, more often used solutions are the ones areas of innovative activities which come from gaining and using in

practice the results of research works and R+D actions and implementation of product and marketing innovations. In the light of Poland wide trend of lack of cooperation of business subjects with R&D units, this fact should be specifically highlighted. It confirms the interdependence present as well between tendency to cooperate with the R&D sphere and size of subject, independently from the section of national economy<sup>26</sup>. Zofia Mirkowska<sup>27</sup> highlight that according to the theory of induced development in agriculture, innovations arise beyond this section of economy. Households adapts most of the time the innovations arising somewhere else, and cooperation with R&D favors the diffusion of innovation up to this group of subjects. Bigger impulse to introduction of product and marketing innovations in big households is connected with bigger and bigger dependence of gained economical results with the market conditions and enlargement of range of food market integration, it means the agriculture with the rest of the sectors of national economy<sup>28</sup>.

Innovative solutions were introduced also in spite of plant production. The most frequent ones usage of new seed materials and new means of protection of plants. Half of the tested farmers in plant production used new machines and devices. Almost the third from listeners used in plant production new species and varieties of plants and new fertilizers. Less of the examined introduced new complex cultivation technologies and ecological ones (fig. 2.)

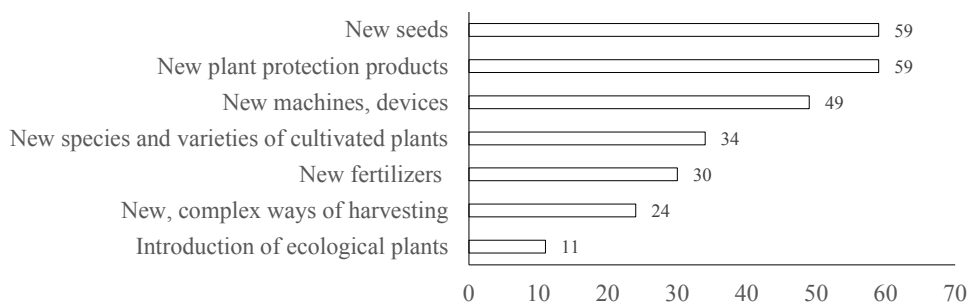


Figure 2  
Innovations in plant production (% of indications)  
Source: own study.

<sup>26</sup> The bigger enterprise is, the more often it cooperated within the range of innovative activity. Percentage of big (250 and more workers) industry enterprises which cooperated within innovative activity was almost three time bigger than presented by smaller enterprises (from 10 up to 49 workers). Within the service enterprises the same tendency was present, however differences were twice time smaller (*Działalność...*).

<sup>27</sup> Z. Mirkowska, *Innowacje i innowacyjna gospodarka a rolnictwo. Zagadnienia Ekonomiki Rolnej* 2010, No. 4, pp. 122–133.

<sup>28</sup> A. Czyżewski, A. Grzelak, *Rolnictwo w Polsce na tle sytuacji ogólnoeconomicznej w kraju w okresie kryzysu 2007–2009. Roczniki Nauk Rolniczych. Seria G, Ekonomika Rolnictwa* 2011, No. 98(3), pp. 21–31.

Big percentage of indications of innovations connected with the use of new ways of plant protection, was by the result of Arkadiusz Piwowar<sup>29</sup> research, from the significant progress in terms of production among previous years. Results of own research are convergent with the ones gained by Kalinowski and others<sup>30</sup>, which noted advantage of needs of farmers, which mostly was about introduction of novelties to means of morphological measures and protective ones. Implementation such innovations is connected with the persistent tendency of searching by the farmers, solutions allowing the betterment of effectiveness of housekeeping by lowering the costs of plant production. Among innovations in plant production still the high significance are the process innovations connected with buying the new machines and devices. They allow to lower systematically the technological gap presented both between farms in inside and outside markets.

Groups of respondents divided because of share of assets from ZWRSP, the opinions about implementations of the most important innovations in plant production were rather similar. There was considered that the most realized innovations in plant production were: usage of production of new seed material, usage of new machines and devices and devices for production of the new means of plant protection and as well new specie and varieties of plants as well with new fertilizers. According to the respondents less meaning had the usage of new complex technologies of harvesting and introduction of ecological plants (tab. 3). In farms using more than 75% of assets from ZWRSP there was domination of innovative changes connected with the use of new seeds. Relatively smaller significance, in comparison to other groups, was about buying new machines and devices for agricultural production.

Table 3

Innovations in plant productions with consideration of sharing assets from ZWRSP (% of indications)

| Specification                                    | Share of ZWRSP in farms assets |        |        |           |
|--------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------|--------|-----------|
|                                                  | up to 25%                      | 26–50% | 51–75% | above 75% |
|                                                  | (% of indications)             |        |        |           |
| Seed material                                    | 54                             | 67     | 55     | 71        |
| New machines, device for agricultural production | 54                             | 47     | 45     | 29        |
| New means of plant protection                    | 52                             | 62     | 70     | 57        |

<sup>29</sup> A. Piwowar, *Postęp w dziedzinie chemicznej ochrony roślin w Polsce i jego determinanty*. Zeszyty Naukowe SGGW w Warszawie. Problemy Rolnictwa Światowego 2012, No. 12(27), 1, pp. 138–148.

<sup>30</sup> J. Kalinowski, D. Gonet, M. Stachowiak, op. cit.

|                                                |    |    |    |    |
|------------------------------------------------|----|----|----|----|
| New fertilizers                                | 34 | 14 | 40 | 29 |
| New species and varieties of cultivated plants | 30 | 36 | 40 | 57 |
| New comprehensive cultivation technologies     | 22 | 22 | 25 | 43 |
| Introduction of ecological plant               | 7  | 14 | 5  | 43 |

Source: own study.

In the studies the subject of innovations and animal production was present. In examined population the most common innovations within animal production were: increasing the number of animals, betterment of animal welfare, modernization of farm premises, new feeds and mineral additives, or purchasing of the new machines or devices. New breeds or species of breeding animals were chosen in smaller range (fig. 3).

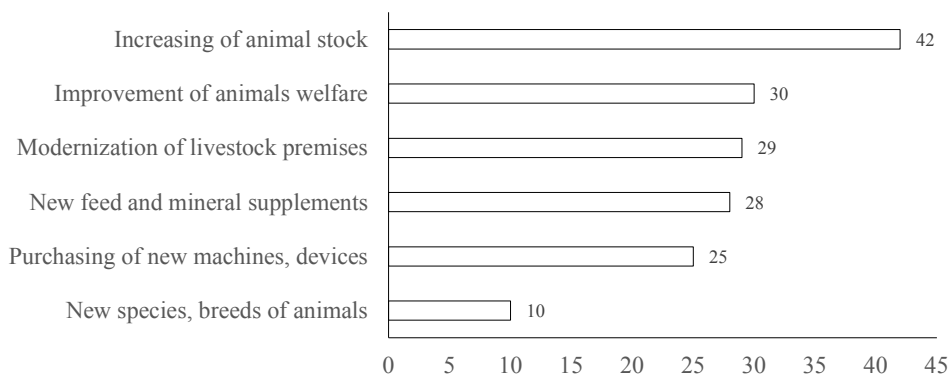


Figure 3  
Innovations in animal production (% of indications)

Source: own study.

Opinions of the respondents in most of the cases were like the research conducted by Kałuza and Ginter<sup>31</sup>. It points out to the technological character of innovations implemented in animal production and aspiration of farmers to the improvements of scale economics and production potential. Innovative actions in this range, in the context of rationalization and growth of effectiveness of this branch, are justified and properly directed. It is worth to highlight the implementation of innovations connected with the improvements of animal welfare.

Classification of types of innovations implemented by the farmers due to the share of assets from ZWRSP confirmed the seen tendencies. Respondents concluded that the most important innovations in animal production were:

<sup>31</sup> H. Kałuza, A. Ginter, op. cit., pp. 89–98.

increasing of animal stock, improving the animal welfare, modernization of livestock premises, usage in production new types of seeds and mineral supplements, purchasing of new machines and devices, implementation to the production new breeds or species of animals (tab. 4). The biggest differences were noted between farms using over 70% of assets from ZWRSP and the other groups. In the biggest farms, such situation was due to the size of plant production over animal one. It is worth to mention that the differences between various groups of farms (in all of the analyzed groups of innovations) may occur also because of the initial state and perspective prepared by the owner about the functionality in the future.

Table 4

Innovations in animal production in examined farms with consideration of sharing of assets from ZWRSP (% of indications)

| Specification                                          | Share of ZWRSP in farm assets |        |        |           |
|--------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------|--------|-----------|
|                                                        | up to 25%                     | 26–50% | 51–75% | above 75% |
|                                                        | (% indications)               |        |        |           |
| Increasing of the livestock numbers                    | 51                            | 44     | 30     | 0         |
| Purchasing new machines, devices for animal production | 28                            | 25     | 10     | 29        |
| Improving of the animal welfare                        | 34                            | 33     | 20     | 14        |
| New feeds and mineral supplements                      | 33                            | 25     | 15     | 14        |
| Modernization of livestock premises                    | 33                            | 33     | 20     | 14        |
| New breed and animal species                           | 10                            | 11     | 5      | 0         |

Source: own study.

### Summary

Generic range of innovations implemented in farms using ZRWSP in warmińsko-mazurskie voivodeship is in substantial part appointed by production potential and present profitability of every agriculture activity. Results of conducted research point out that the general-economic type of innovations were preferred and introduced in plant production. Less pressure was put on innovations for animal production. It is the result of poor profitability of pig and milk production, causing limited involvement in strategic investments in this range. The positive fact is about using the computer tech in farms as one of the most popular kind of general-economic innovations implemented. For the tested owners the most important factor were the innovations in scope of intellectual capital and managing the work potential. High grades were assigned to the better preparations of farm owner to managing and hiring seasonal workers. Specifying the range of

innovations in plant production, the most of implemented were: new means of plant protection and usage of new species of plants. As the civilization progresses, the importance of yield is attributed to the changes (biological progression) and the chemicals used for plant protection from pathogens. It inclines the agricultural producers to get interest in progress in this range. Within the range of animal production, the most common innovations implemented were the ones about increasing the number of livestock and improving the welfare of animals.

When considering the influence of farm size and share of assets from ZWRSP, it was stated that the biggest differences were in general-economic innovations. Big Households were using in bigger size the marketing innovations, as the ones of searching the new better ways of selling the products or ways of promotion. From the point of view of further improvements of innovativeness of farms, it is important to begin by the big household's cooperation with R&D units. It creates the possibilities to increase the tempo and range of diffusion of innovations from the place of their origin to the subjects which are interested in their implementation. In a case of innovations of plant and animal production, intergroup diversification of range of implemented innovations was relative smaller.

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**SUMMARY**

The level of innovativeness of business subjects and the types of innovations implemented by them depends from their size. Farms using assets of agricultural property of the country treasury (ZWRSP) have over average production potential. They are in a natural way predisposed to conduct the innovative activity. In the article the generic scope is discussed and the meaning of implemented changes in farms using the assets of agricultural property of country treasury, localized in warmińsko-mazurskie voivodeship. Empiric material was the result of surveys conducted in 138 agricultural holdings during June-July in 2016. Main attention was directed to the diversity of gained answers in dependence of scale of leased lands and correlated with it size of farms surfaces.

**STRESZCZENIE**

Poziom innowacyjności podmiotów gospodarczych oraz rodzaje innowacji przez nie wdrażanych zależy od ich wielkości. Gospodarstwa użytkujące zasób własności rolnej Skarbu Państwa (ZWRSP) dysponują ponadprzeciętnym potencjałem produkcyjnym. Są one zatem w naturalny sposób predystynowane do prowadzenia działalności innowacyjnej. W artykule omówiono zakres rodzajowy i znaczenie wprowadzanych zmian w gospodarstwach użytkujących zasób własności rolnej Skarbu Państwa, zlokalizowanych w województwie warmińsko-mazurskim. Materiał empiryczny stanowiły wyniki badań ankietowych przeprowadzonych w 138 gospodarstwach rolniczych w miesiącach czerwiec–lipiec 2016 r. Główną uwagę zwrócono na zróżnicowanie uzyskanych odpowiedzi w zależności od skali dzierżawionych gruntów i skorelowanej z nią wielkością powierzchni gospodarstw.

**Key words:** innovations in agriculture, types of innovations, land lease

**Słowa kluczowe:** innowacje w rolnictwie, rodzaje innowacji, dzierżawa gruntów

## **Chapter III**

# **Europe**



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## SOURCES TO THE HISTORY OF THE POLISH MINORITY IN THE SOVIET REPUBLIC OF BYELORUSSIA IN 1921–1939

### ŹRÓDŁA DO DZIEJÓW MNIEJSZOŚCI POLSKIEJ NA BIAŁORUSI SOWIECKIEJ W LATACH 1921–1939

#### **Introduction**

Although in the consciousness of the Polish nation this ascertainment does not function every day, Belarusians are a nation of the former Republic of Poland which is the friendliest towards Poles. They feel to a large extent like the heirs of the tradition of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. After establishing the Belarusian republic on those lands, the history of common statehood is reborn and common traditions are cultivated. People look back on the history of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth struggle for maintaining independence, the history of national uprisings, the Napoleonic Wars and the participation of Belarusians in those events. The history of famous Poles who were born in Belarus within the borders of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania is presented. Common traditions and very close family ties which exist until the present day are emphasized.

However, the scientific community has not given the situation of the Polish minority which stayed in Belarus much consideration so far. No research, e.g. on Poles in Soviet Byelorussia, has been conducted. Thus, it can be stated that this issue has not been fully dealt with by Polish scientists. There are several reasons for this state of affairs. After the treaty of Riga in 1921, during the interwar period, it was a delicate issue for Poland. Hundreds of thousands of Poles (about 300,000 in the Socialist Soviet Republic of Byelorussia) stayed “beyond the cordon” not of their own will. These were not only landowners, Catholic clergy or small farming gentry. This group also included intelligentsia and peasant families. They all felt abandoned by Poland. Nicholas Ivanov, a researcher of this issue, claimed in his publication, for example, that they believed that the period of partitions was not over yet, and that there would be time when they would reconnect with Poland again<sup>1</sup>. But in the period of the Second Polish Republic, the subject was avoided.

As a matter of fact, there are diaries and memoirs of people who were associated with those lands during the interwar period. It is worth mentioning such

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<sup>1</sup> M. Iwanow, *Pierwszy naród ukarany. Polacy w Związku Radzieckim 1921–1939*. Wydawnictwo PWN, Warszawa–Wrocław 1991.

names as Marian Zdziechowski<sup>2</sup>, Edward Woyniłłowicz<sup>3</sup>, Hipolit Korwin-Milewski<sup>4</sup>, Mieczysław Jałowiecki<sup>5</sup>, Melchior Wańkowicz<sup>6</sup>, Antoni Kieniewicz<sup>7</sup>, Maria Czapska<sup>8</sup>, Janina Puttkamer Żółtowska<sup>9</sup>, Fr Walerian Meysztowicz<sup>10</sup>, Józef Mineyka<sup>11</sup>, Konstanty Skirmunt<sup>12</sup>, Józef Mackiewicz<sup>13</sup> or Józef Dowbór-Muśnicki<sup>14</sup>. Recently, the second volume of Edward Woyniłłowicz's memoirs<sup>15</sup> has been published, containing the bitter truth about the Second Polish Republic, which, in his opinion, denied the Poles living in the Borderlands, and also those criticizing Marshal Józef Piłsudski. These are, however, publications containing personal memories, not scientific publications. There has not been any comprehensive publication on the fate of the Poles in Soviet Byelorussia in the first half of the 20th century (especially the years 1918–1939)<sup>16</sup>. Polish researchers have avoided this subject and have not gone more deeply into the difficult period between the two world wars. Borderlanders were mistreated, regardless of the political system in Poland. Inadequately conducted policy made the traces of the

<sup>2</sup> M. Zdziechowski, *Widmo przyszłości. Rosja. Bolszewizm. Polska*. Wydawnictwo Głos, Warszawa 1985; Idem, *Tragedia Kresów*. Maraton, Warszawa 1989; Idem, *W obliczu końca*. Apostolicum, Warszawa–Żabki 1999.

<sup>3</sup> E. Woyniłłowicz, *Wspomnienia 1847–1928*. Skład Główny w Księgarni Józefa Zawadzkiego w Wilnie, Wilno 1931.

<sup>4</sup> H. Korwin-Milewski, *Siedemdziesiąt lat wspomnień (1855–1925)*. Warszawska Oficyna Wydawnicza „Gryf”, Warszawa 1993.

<sup>5</sup> M. Jałowiecki, *Wolne Miasto*. Czytelnik, Warszawa 2002; Idem, *Requiem dla ziemianstwa*. Czytelnik, Warszawa 2003; Idem, *Na skraju Imperium*. Czytelnik, Warszawa 2005; Idem, *Gaudeamus. Szkice z lat minionych*. Wydawnictwo Biblioteki Arkonii, Warszawa 2008.

<sup>6</sup> M. Wańkowicz, *Szczeniące lata*. Czytelnik, Warszawa 1971.

<sup>7</sup> A. Kieniewicz, *Nad Prypecią dawno temu... Wspomnienia zamierchłej przeszłości*. Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź 1989.

<sup>8</sup> M. Czapska, *Europa w rodzinie*. Res Publica, Warszawa 1989.

<sup>9</sup> J. Żółtowska z Puttkamerów, *Inne czasy inni ludzie*. Polska Fundacja Kulturalna, Londyn 1998.

<sup>10</sup> W. Meysztowicz, *Poszło z dymem. Gawędy o czasach i ludziach*. Oficyna Wydawnicza „Pokolenie”, Warszawa 1989.

<sup>11</sup> J. Mineyko, *Wspomnienia z lat dawnych*. Biblioteka Narodowa, Warszawa 1997.

<sup>12</sup> K. Skirmunt, *Moje wspomnienia 1866–1945*. Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej, Rzeszów 1998.

<sup>13</sup> S. Cat-Mackiewicz, *Myśl w obcęgach. Studia nad psychologią społeczeństwa sowietów*. Wydawnictwo LTW, Warszawa 1998.

<sup>14</sup> J. Dowbór-Muśnicki, *Wspomnienia*. Dom Wydawniczy Bellona, Warszawa 2003.

<sup>15</sup> E. Woyniłłowicz, *Wspomnienia 1847–1928*, Part II. Wrocławska Drukarnia Naukowa PAN, Warszawa 2016.

<sup>16</sup> The author of this article has been working for a long time on the issues concerning the Polish population in Belarus. He has recently defended his PhD thesis on the fate of the Polish population in 1921–1939 in Soviet Byelorussia. The work is largely pioneering, based primarily on the source data from Belarusian archives.

former glory, the presence of Polish culture and Catholic religion obliterated, and the number of people of Polish origin has decreased.

### **Polish minority in Belarus in historians' descriptions**

After World War II, when Poland was assigned to the Soviet sphere of influence, the issue of the Poles east of the Bug river became a taboo subject. It is only now when these matters are discussed. The best-studied topic until now has been the issue of clergy in the analyzed area<sup>17</sup>. However, there is no broader scientific view from the Polish perspective. Obviously, there are numerous works on Western Belarus and the problems existing there, starting from 17 September 1939. Nonetheless, they were largely based on national materials from the Archive of New Files in Warsaw, Józef Piłsudski Institute of America and the Central Army Archive as well as numerous private collections. It was only after the collapse of the USSR and the establishment of the Republic of Belarus that Belarusian archives, containing source materials depicting also the situation of Poles in the former Soviet Byelorussia, were made available.

In oblasti (voivodeship) and regional (county) archives, the scope of information related to Western Belarus has been expanded and supplemented. On the other hand, the materials on Eastern Belarus continued to remain intact. Therefore, the author, after familiarizing himself with a small part of the documents from Belarusian archives, can already state that they are a vast repository of knowledge about the former Eastern Borderlands and the Poles living there. They document the problems and life situations of the Poles who were the citizens of Soviet Byelorussia.

It is obvious that the state of archives has changed, especially when it comes to the interwar period and World War II. Evacuation during the Great Patriotic War resulted in the destruction or loss of numerous documents. After the war, the documentary evidence of uncomfortable or delicate issues related to the Polish minority was also deliberately destroyed. Finally, some of the archival materials are still unavailable for historians and researchers. Numerous folders and documents which can already be studied bear the seals proving that they have only recently been declassified and made available to historians. Thus, they are not known to a wider group of historians. But despite that fact, the value of those materials which can be viewed is simply unimaginable. There is information in them, which no one has known so far, and has not even seen, not to mention the publication itself. During the existence of the USSR, the access to those data was extremely difficult. It is only in recent years that the unitary demands from Soviet,

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<sup>17</sup> R. Dzwonkowski SAC, *Bez sądu, świadków i prawa...* Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, Lublin 2002; Idem, *Religia i Kościół katolicki w ZSRS 1917–1991. Kronika*. Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, Lublin 2010.

Russian and Belarusian scientists forced the authorities to allow access to archival materials or book collections, which enabled discovering their true richness<sup>18</sup>.

It cannot be ignored that there are differences in ideological beliefs among the researchers themselves, resulting, for instance, from their origin. Certainly, the problem will be looked at differently by a Pole and a researcher from the former USSR.

All this has caused that similar topics have not been in the interest of our historians so far. It is unlike among Belarusians who, obviously, could have better access to the files. As for the Belarusian historiography concerning the Polish community, two periods should be distinguished: the first (during the existence of the Soviet Union) – when mainly the benefactions of the Soviet power towards the Polish minority were shown, and the second – much more objective (after the collapse of the USSR).

The historiography of Soviet Byelorussia, devoted to the Polish community since the establishment of the Soviet state until the collapse of the USSR – both Polish and Belarusian or Russian, has become a historically significant source to the Polish minority in Belarus. Mostly, this is typically propaganda literature, presenting the benefactions of the Soviet power in relation to the population of Polish nationality, which was supposed to play a significant role in the so-called world revolution. After the change of course, Poles were shown in it as enemies of the Soviet people and authority, who did not comply with the Bolsheviks' regulations. It was necessary to fight with those enemies of the people and destroy them, according to the "law" of the workers and peasants' state.

One of the first tasks that the Soviet government wished to fulfil generally (including Belarus) was the total destruction of religion, which would allow shaping a Soviet man. However, the war waged against the Catholic Church was perceived, at least in large Belarusian areas, as a blow to Polishness, and therefore the Poles expressed strong opposition to it. Hence, the propaganda often elaborated on this topic. A lot of anti-Church propaganda literature showed Catholic priests, parish priests and bishops in a bad light. They were also accused of cooperating with Polish intelligence. Apostates were found who claimed that the Catholic Church was an enemy organization operating in the USSR. At the same time, the policy pursued by the Bolshevik party was praised. The propaganda purpose of such actions was to show the severity and at the same time the benevolence of the Soviet power, while simultaneously discrediting the Church.

Another topic discussed in the texts was the presentation of the development of Polish culture, education, Polish peasants' activities and the contribution of Poles to the victory of the Soviet revolution. An example of this is the work on the Polish Pedagogical Technical College in Minsk, training teaching staff for Polish

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<sup>18</sup> It is worth mentioning, though, that that after several years of milder policy, at present some archival materials have been classified again. Hence, the historians who would like to use those resources may soon be unable to do so.



schools to raise children and young people in the Soviet spirit. All this shows the contribution of the Polish revolutionaries in the struggle for the preservation of the Soviet power in Belarus, but also the attitude towards the revolution of various classes of Polish society. Władysław Chrzczonowicz<sup>19</sup>, for example, described how he himself had left Church in Vitebsk. Jan Leszczyński<sup>20</sup>, on the other hand, reported on the process of Minsk priests accused of belonging to the Polish Military Organization and not complying with the decrees of the Soviet government. Czesław Dąbrowski<sup>21</sup> wrote about the Polish Pedagogical Technical College in Minsk training teaching staff for Polish schools to raise children and young people in the Soviet spirit, and A.F. Hackiewicz<sup>22</sup> showed the contribution of the Polish revolutionaries in the struggle for the preservation of the Soviet power in Belarus, but also the attitude towards the revolution of various classes of Polish society. I. M. Łuszczycy<sup>23</sup> presented more broadly the life, achievements and problems encountered by the inhabitants of the Polish National Region at that time. The following authors: A. I. Wałachowicz and A. N. Kyłagin<sup>24</sup> wrote a publication showing the history and contemporary life in the so-called Dzierżyńszczyzna (the Dzierżyński Polish National Region). In essence, it is a propaganda brochure showing the history of the first Belarusian Machine Tractor Station established in that region. Finally, Stefan Heltman<sup>25</sup> translated into Polish and developed an agricultural code outlining the laws and regulations governing the conduct of a farm in Soviet Byelorussia.

Those were the Belorussian sources. The image they presented was biased and often additionally manipulated by the Soviet propaganda. Therefore, archives are a much more interesting source of knowledge.

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<sup>19</sup> W. Chrzczonowicz, *W jaki sposób wystąpił z kościoła w Witebsku ksiądz proboszcz Chrzczonowicz*. Wydawnictwo Państwowe Białorusi, Mińsk 1925.

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## **Archival sources to the description of the Polish minority in Soviet Byelorussia**

Belarusian archives contain a huge number of source materials concerning the Polish minority in Soviet Byelorussia. This applies in particular to the materials collected in the National Archive of the Republic of Belarus in Minsk, which have not been thoroughly investigated by Polish scientists until now. The resources in the State Archives of Minsk City and Minsk Region, the County State Archives in Maladzyechna, the County State Archives of Babruysk, the Belarusian State Documentary Film and Photo Archives in the city of Dzierzhinsk, are also very poorly explored.

In the above-mentioned archives, the materials concerning Poles are found in the catalogs of various offices and institutions. They can be found, among others, in the catalogs of the Central Executive Committee of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic (Центральный Исполнительный Комитет БССР), the Council of People's Commissars of BSRR (Совет Народных комиссаров СОВНАРКОМ, СНК/БССР), the Central Committee of Communist Bolshevik Party of Byelorussia, the People's Commissariat of Agriculture (Наркомзем БССР Народный Комиссариат Земледелия), the People's Committee of Internal Affairs (Народный Комитет Внутренних Дел / НКВД / БССР), the Borisov District Control Commission (Борисовская окружная контрольная комиссия, ОКК), the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Belarus of the town of Bratslav, the Borisov Region and the Borisov District (Центральной контрольной комиссии КП (большевиков) Белоруссии г. Браслав, Борисовского района, Борисовского округа), the Slutsk District Council of Working People's Deputies and its executive committee of Slutsk, (Слуцкий районный Совет Депутатов трудящихся и его исполнительный Комитет г. Слуцк, Слуцкого района), the Minsk District Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Belarus (Минский Окружной Комитет Коммунистической Партии (большевиков) Белоруссии), the Land Office of State Assets Management in Minsk (Минский уездный земельный отдел по управлению народными именьями), the Land Commission of Executive Committee of Minsk District Committee (Земельная Комиссия исполнительного Комитета Минского окружного Совета РК и КД за 1920–1929 г., г. Минск), etc.

The documents concerning Poles, grouped in archives, show various life problems of the Polish minority during the interwar period. The most important issues include:

- 1) **Displacements** – after the October Revolution, the Bolsheviks in their second decree (“On Land”) declared land nationalization together with real estate. Former landowners were forced to leave their property and leave everything as it was. Thus, in the archives there are many different types of documents concerning the details of implementing this decree, including, for example, guidelines from different types of trainings. In addition, there are also provisions, regulations, instructions of executive committees, ministries

(of agriculture, internal affairs, armed forces, command of the Western Front), etc. An important part of the documentation are acts of land and assets takeovers, their inventories and planned ways of their development. Apart from the decrees and provisions, there are also guidelines for their implementation with detailed instructions issued by central and local authorities. The provisions of the Byelorussian republic government aimed at making Belarus the only country without landowners, constitute a very important category. That decree has even a designated deadline. There are also reports and protocols informing about the implementation of the aforementioned regulation and the encountered difficulties. Another group of important documents are lists, provisions concerning former landowners, issued by the central authorities and the local Bolshevik authorities, in which a former landowner became a second-class citizen. There can often be found appeals from the decision about nationalization and displacement from Belarus. In numerous files there are acts and lists of the nationalized land estates, their names and the names of their former owners, as well as the specifications of the estates including all the things on the property. In addition to those documents, there are lists of estate workers and residents of the surrounding villages who received land for development. There are also numerous certificates attesting granting the land and thanking the parents whose sons serve in the Red Army<sup>26</sup>.

- 2) **Collectivization** – by virtue of the Soviet law, the state became the landowner; the citizen was only a user of the plot of land he leased or had been given to use. The Bolsheviks provided regulations of such land use and possession in the decree “On land socialization”. According to the guidelines of the Bolsheviks, there began collectivization, whose aim was to make a citizen completely dependent on the state. All the land estates were turned into kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The rules of the implementation of those provisions and the provisions themselves can be found in numerous archival folders. There are legal acts, decrees, subjects of trainings and guidelines for their implementation. There are minutes from trainings and archival materials from different types of meetings, conferences of various administrative levels during which the issues related to collectivization were discussed. After the collectivization of big land estates was completed, the collectivization of small farms began. Numerous files contain decrees, provisions, reports, plans for the collectivization of particular regions as well as descriptions of the encountered difficulties. Apart from legal acts, there is evidence of the Bolshevik propaganda about the superiority of state farms over private ones<sup>27</sup>.

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<sup>26</sup> The *National Archives of the Republic of Belarus*, Fonds 4 p, sub-fonds 1; Fonds 6, sub-fonds 1; Fonds 48, sub-fonds 1.

<sup>27</sup> Ibidem.

- 3) **Fight against kulaks** – very little progress in the collectivization of farms, and even withdrawing from the already collectivized farms, led to firm action taken by the state authorities. Thus, collectivization was implemented by decree in the Soviet countryside. Relevant decrees and ordinances were issued, in which it was decided to destroy the last independent part of rural society: a rich peasant, commonly called a kulak. The evidence of ruthless implementation of “dekulakization” can be found in the archives. It includes not only central but also local decrees. There are reports from trainings and conferences of various levels, guidelines for implementation of the provisions, statistical summaries of all types and descriptions of the difficulties encountered during the implementation of collectivization regulations. There are lists of displaced kulaks and their families, acts of confiscation, excessive taxes levied on wealthy peasants. There is also evidence of the most drastic steps taken by the authorities: sending to labour camps or execution. There are also numerous appeals from decisions made by state authorities, which constitute a substantial part of the documentation<sup>28</sup>.
- 4) **Catholic Church and anti-religious propaganda** – materials concerning the Catholic Church constitute another group. The archives contain files with provisions, orders, instructions on the law of the Catholic Church, religious organizations as well as guidelines on how to interpret them in the Bolshevik spirit. There are even lectures for young and older people criticizing the Christian worldview. There are also lists of practicing Catholics from particular villages and parishes, as well as reports on priests performing pastoral service. Not only the ideological struggle with the Catholic Church, but also with religion itself was of great importance. There are a lot of materials devoted to the Orthodox Church, letters from Orthodox Church leaders to the government representatives. All that information is confirmed by archival documents<sup>29</sup>.
- 5) **The number of Poles, census** – the Poles living in Belarus is another subject. In the archives, there are, i.a. folders containing lists with the numbers of Poles in particular counties, their occupational structure, age structure, etc. There are a lot of materials from the population census which was, in any case, conducted tendentiously. That is evidenced by numerous letters, complaints, expressions of indignation because of arbitrary classification of families, and sometimes whole villages, to the Belarusian nationality by the activists conducting the census. The aggrieved write to Polish newspapers, Polish offices, as well as to the highest Belarusian authorities and to Moscow. In their letters and complaints they emphasize

<sup>28</sup> Ibidem, Fonds 7, sub-fonds 1; Fonds 4p, sub-fonds 1; Fonds 6, sub-fonds 1, Fonds 34, sub-fonds 1, Fonds 34c, sub-fonds 1.

<sup>29</sup> Ibidem, Fonds 4p, sub-fonds 1; Fonds 34, sub-fonds 1; Fonds 34c, sub-fonds 1.

that, despite their comments and objections, they were arbitrarily classified as Belarusians and Orthodox, even though they are Poles and Catholics. There are also documents from meetings of various state offices addressing issues important for the Polish community<sup>30</sup>.

- 6) **Refugees, emigrants, returns to Poland** – among the documents concerning refugees and Poles staying in Soviet Belarus there can be found requests for permission for whole families and individuals to return to Poland, applications for visas, visa decisions of the Polish consulate, collective and individual visa decisions. Apart from that, there is a large number of applications informing about the resignation from Soviet citizenship and requests for obtaining Polish citizenship. There are official lists of returnees, questionnaires, descriptions of places of stay in Belarus, various types of attestations of the militia and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, as well as appeals from the decisions of both the Bolshevik and Polish authorities. An interesting type of document are also, featured in various designs, personal refugee tickets confirming the identity of a person, issued by various types of tsarist and Soviet offices, as well as marriage records, birth certificates and other documents<sup>31</sup>.
- 7) **International contacts** – among numerous materials in the archives there are documents directly connected with the relations between the Republic and Soviet Byelorussia. They concern preliminary discussions before the conclusion of the Riga Peace Treaty, establishing a common border, direct contacts between the representatives of the two states, violations of the border or the situation in the demilitarized zone. There can also be found important documents regarding passports and charity organizations registration as well as charitable assistance for the starving population of Western Belarus<sup>32</sup>.
- 8) **Resignation and acquiring Soviet citizenship** – one of the most interesting issues for a historian is the issue of the impact of the Bolshevik propaganda on the Belarusian, Jewish and Polish population. It was reflected in the phenomenon of making efforts to acquire Soviet citizenship. Not only members of the Communist Party, but also ordinary citizens who believed in the slogans proclaimed by the Bolsheviks, applied for such citizenship. Most often they were beguiled Belarusian peasants who believed that they would receive land as soon as they acquire the citizenship of Soviet Byelorussia. In the archives there can also be found documents showing the reverse process,

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<sup>30</sup> Ibidem, Fonds 4p, sub-fonds 1; Fonds 34, sub-fonds 1; Fonds 34c, sub-fonds 2; Fonds 48, sub-fonds 1.

<sup>31</sup> Ibidem, Fonds 4p, sub-fonds 1; Fonds 7, sub-fonds 1; Fonds 48, sub-fonds 1; Fonds p34, sub-fonds 1.

<sup>32</sup> Ibidem, Fonds 4p, sub-fonds 1; Fonds 6, sub-fonds 1; Fonds 48, sub-fonds 1.

i.e. renunciation of that citizenship, but there is much fewer of such documents<sup>33</sup>.

- 9) **Congresses of Belarusians of Polish origin** – a valuable part of archival materials are those concerning the plans for the Belarusian peasants' congress in 1926. In the archives there are, among others, list of participants, questionnaires, speeches, declarations made during the congress of peasants of Polish origin living in Soviet Byelorussia. There are similar documents from the congress of women in 1925 – women peasants of Polish origin and documents concerning the congress of Polonia in Warsaw in 1927, 1929<sup>34</sup>.
- 10) **Polish Bureau** – numerous files contain materials concerning various problems of the Polish community living throughout Soviet Byelorussia. Those issues were dealt with by the Polish Bureau at the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belarus (Bolsheviks). There are materials documenting cultural life (theatres, schools, newspapers and magazines published in the Polish language), social life, showing the standard of living of Poles. The documents contain numerous lists of Poles in particular regions as well as the documents from the Congress of Poles living outside Poland – in Warsaw in 1927, 1929. Many pages of this documentation are covered by operating plans, reports, minutes from meetings, decisions, etc.<sup>35</sup>
- 11) **Dzierżyńszczyzna (the Dzierżyński Polish National Region)** – the most significant archival resource concerning Poles in Belarus in the interwar years is the collection concerning the Polish National Region. In numerous materials connected with it, there is information about everyday life, problems of the local Polish population. On the basis of the minutes of meetings of the Polish National Region Committee, it is possible to observe how a Soviet man was shaped and what problems were encountered during that process. The documents collected there describe cultural life, education, libraries, newspapers and magazines. There are substantial materials containing prospective plans for the development of the Polish National Region, parties, their members, implementation of guidelines, lists of people excluded from the party and their appeals, as well as descriptions of farms managed by Poles. There are very important documents related to a local newspaper published in the Polish language. Among them, there is a valuable protocol concerning the dissolution of the Polish National Region. The most important documents can be found in the Central State Archives, as well as in the Archives of the City and District of Minsk<sup>36</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> Ibidem, Fonds 6, sub-fonds 1.

<sup>34</sup> Ibidem, Fonds 4p, sub-fonds 1.

<sup>35</sup> Ibidem, Fonds 4p, sub-fonds 1; Fonds 6, sub-fonds 1.

<sup>36</sup> Ibidem, Fonds 4p, sub-fonds 1; Fonds 6, sub-fonds 1; Fonds 7, sub-fonds 1; Archives of the City and District of Minsk, Fonds 12, sub-fonds 1.

- 12) **Fight against banditry and counterrevolution** – a very large number of documents illustrate “the fight against banditry and counterrevolution”. Those are documents containing reports of NKVD command meetings, training sessions, messages, reports and information from special units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs on the fight against all manifestations against the Soviet authorities. There is also information about discovering various types of espionage, lists of agents and detainees. In addition, there are reports of violations of the “revolutionary order”, as well as descriptions of conduct against various persons, at the time when the territory of Belarus was occupied by Polish troops. Apart from those documents, there are others, referring to the neutral zone and counter-revolutionary troops staying there, against which fighting took place<sup>37</sup>.
- 13) **The issue of the border zone with the Republic** – another issue is the cross-border area, especially on the border with Poland. Numerous reports of border protection troops present life in the border zone. There are, among others, data on preparations in case of war, provisioning and commitment to physical work and transportation services of the local population. There are substantial reports on intelligence activities conducted in the border zone. Due to the fact that this area was largely inhabited by Poles, they were most affected by repression. Poland was, after all, a hostile state which had humiliated Soviet Russia in front of the world during the war of 1920. This is documented by numerous documents stored in folders, which have only recently been declassified<sup>38</sup>.
- 14) **Penal colonies, exiles** – a relatively large number of archives are messages, reports, orders, guidelines and resolutions, reports of NKVD units command on the fight against counter-revolutionaries and kulaks as well as prison service reports. According to those data, a disproportionately large number of the sentenced and exiled were Poles, especially after 1937, after the dissolution of the Polish National Region. In addition, there are also newspapers issued in gulags, including articles on Poles, lists of penal colonies and penitentiaries together with their locations. Apart from that, there are also requests for pardons, appeals as well as lists of the amnestied due to an anniversary of the October Revolution<sup>39</sup>.
- 15) **Resources of the Belarusian State Documentary Film and Photo Archives in the city of Dzierzhinsk** – the capital of the former Polish

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<sup>37</sup> The *National Archives of the Republic of Belarus*, Fonds 4 p, sub-fonds 1; Fonds 34, sub-fonds 1; Fonds 48, sub-fonds 1.

<sup>38</sup> The *National Archives of the Republic of Belarus*, Fonds 4 p, sub-fonds 1; Fonds 7, sub-fonds 1; Fonds 34, sub-fonds 1; Fonds 48, sub-fonds 1; National Archives of Minsk District and its branch in the city of Maladzyechna, Central Archives, Fonds P 25, sub-fonds 1.

<sup>39</sup> The *National Archives of the Republic of Belarus*, Fonds 4 p, sub-fonds 1; Fonds 34, sub-fonds 1; Fonds 48, sub-fonds 1.

National Region – there are numerous photographs depicting the work of the Polish and Soviet delegations during the Riga peace treaty negotiations. Another series are the photographs of Polish prisoners of war from the period of the Polish-Bolshevik war. Another interesting series of photos are the pictures showing refugees. They depict in what conditions they lived, what types of people they represented, what their clothes looked like. There are whole families among them – from the elderly to little children. In addition, there are many photographs depicting ordinary life of an average citizen. There are also photographs of Dzierzhinsk and its surroundings.

- 16) **Polish-language press** – in the Belarusian National Library there are Russian and Belarusian newspapers issued in the Polish language. There are, among others, issues of the nationwide “Trybuna Radziecka”, as well as Komsomol papers: “Gwiazda Młodzieży”; there are also regional editions. Such periodicals as “Szturmowiec Kojdanowszczyzny” (only two copies have been preserved), “Szturmowiec Dzierżyńszczyzny”, “Orka”, “Młot” or “Ударник Дзержинщины” are particularly valuable. Propaganda publications issued by the government of Soviet Byelorussia are very useful. The most important of them are the following publications: “Proces Księży Mińskich” and “Kodeks Rolny” as well as numerous anti-religious books published in the Polish language.

### Summary

The amount of research material in the Belarusian archives is enormous. The author of the article has familiarized himself so far with a small number of those documents (compared to how much is still untouched by a historian’s hand). This, however, allowed learning more about the life of Poles in Soviet Byelorussia. Of course, not all the problems encountered by our compatriots could have been described, but they can be imagined thanks to the collected material. The tragedy there is unimaginable. The plight of the Poles, resettlers during the existence of the Romanov State, was incomparable to what Poles experienced from the Bolsheviks. Despite beautiful communist slogans – the good of every individual was not taken into account. It was only the goal that mattered, and victims were a necessary part of its accomplishment. That was exactly what the Polish community, drawn into the political turmoil between Soviet Russia and the Republic of Poland, went through. An example of that may be the attempt at solving the Polish issue, made three times, consisting in total extermination of the Polish community – as evidenced by already declassified documents in the Belarusian archives.

Thanks to the documents from Belarus, already accessible, an outline of the history of the Poles living in areas managed by the Bolsheviks emerges. In the first period of the formation of the Byelorussian Republic, the Poles still had their rights, schools, language, church, newspapers in Polish, clubs, theaters, interests groups. However, along with the consolidation of the Bolshevik power, the elimination of the Polish community from social life began. The census and the



manner in which it was carried out indicate intense attempts at decreasing the number of Poles. The Poles from Belarus, according to plans, were to serve as Soviet officials in the future communist Poland. Those assumptions were the basis for the creation of the Polish National Region in Kojdanów (Dzierzhinsk). However, when Polish mentality and attachment to the motherland prevailed, they were accused of espionage and diversion activity.

That is what we already know thanks to the declassified source materials. And how much is there to learn yet? That may be revealed as a result of further work in the Belarusian archives.

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## SUMMARY

The author of the article discusses the issues related to the Polish national minority inhabiting Soviet Byelorussia in the years 1921–1939, as well as the sources which

at present allow conducting historical research on those issues. The most important of those sources include the Belarusian archives, which have recently been – at least in part – declassified and made available to historians. In those archives, there can be found a huge set of topics which illustrate the real life of the Polish minority inhabiting the part of Belarus managed by the Bolshevik authorities in the interwar period. It is still a little known source in Polish literature. Therefore, the author appeals for further exploration of the archival documents, which will allow presenting the entire situation of the Poles left outside the boundaries of liberated Poland in 1918.

### STRESZCZENIE

Autor artykułu porusza zagadnienia związane z polską mniejszością narodową występującą na terenie Białorusi Sowieckiej w latach 1921–1939, a także źródła, które współcześnie umożliwiają prowadzenie badań historycznych nad wspomnianą problematyką. Do najważniejszych z owych źródeł zaliczane są zbiory archiwów białoruskich, które od niedawna zostały – przynajmniej w części – odtajnione i udostępnione historykom. W tych zasobach można odnaleźć ogromny zestaw tematów, które obrazują faktyczne życie mniejszości polskiej na części Białorusi zarządzanej w okresie międzywojennym przez władze bolszewickie. Jest to wciąż źródło mało znane w piśmiennictwie polskim. Autor postuluje więc konieczność dalszego zgłębiania dokumentów archiwalnych, co pozwoli przedstawić całą sytuację Polaków pozostawionych poza granicami wyzwolonej Polski w 1918 roku.

**Key words:** archives, Poles, Belarus, Polish National Region, Catholic Church

**Słowa kluczowe:** archiwa, Polacy, Białoruś, Polski Rejon Narodowościowy, Kościół katolicki



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## PEDAGOGICALLY EXPEDIENT SUBJECT-SUBJECT RELATIONSHIPS OF TEACHERS AND PUPILS IN THE CONTEXT OF MODERN SCHOOL REFORM OF UKRAINE

### KORZYŚCI PEDAGOGICZNE WYNIKAJĄCE Z PARTNERSKICH RELACJI NAUCZYCIELI I UCZNIÓW W KONTEKŚCIE WSPÓŁCZESNEJ REFORMY SZKOLNICTWA NA UKRAINIE

The provision of subject-subject pedagogical expedient relationships in every educational establishment is the guarantee of successful modern school reforming, co-authors of which are pupils and a teacher. Today this issue has not been fully developed though the realization of the project “New Ukrainian school: Space of Possibilities” is becoming more vital.

The notion “relationships” is not sufficiently substantiated on methodological, theoretical (organizational and methodological) level in pedagogy. Until the 70s of the XX century this phenomenon was mostly investigated by psychological science. Though the state of its investigation did not satisfy neither science nor practice.

Pedagogy, mainly due to its lack of connection with philosophy and psychology, investigated “relationships” slowly, with significant difficulties of a subjective and objective character though the great importance of this phenomenon in teaching and upbringing was recognized.

However, only in the late 1980s, we have proved the fundamental nature of the idea of relations for the pedagogical process of educational institutions of all types, and the phenomenon of “relationship” is justified as a universal, generic, initial category of pedagogy<sup>1</sup>. The definition of all pedagogical definitions has been based on the concept of “relationship” (“interaction”) which we consider as a new, higher level of development of pedagogical science<sup>2</sup>.

In modern conditions, relations require further methodological and theoretical justification as well as the perception and awareness of their teaching at the applied level. No one has any objections, that the basis for reforming education is, first of

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<sup>1</sup> A.N. Boyko, *Theory and methodology of the formation of educational relations in the general school*. Kiev 1991.

<sup>2</sup> *Pedagogy*. Ed. A.M. Boyko. Poltava 1994; *Pedagogy*. Ed. A.M. Boyko. Poltava 2002.

all, the preservation of the individuality of the child, its uniqueness in all possible manifestations, different levels and diversity in abilities, opportunities, interests, needs and aspirations. Though how to teach everyone in different way? It should be emphasized that only on the basis of subject-subject relations can this be achieved in practice. In an equitable, humane interaction, teachers and pupils are more vivid, deeply recognize each other and reach mutual understanding. Due to subject-subject relations, the student realizes the meaning of his life and activity, determines his own development trajectory, develops an action plan and implements it, on the basis of which an assessment, correction or even a change in the goal is being made<sup>3</sup>.

Interpersonal interaction in the pedagogical process is a pedagogical interaction based on pedagogically expedient relationships. Subject-subjective, pedagogically expedient relationships provide perceptual, cognitive and emotional reflection by each other's teacher and pupils; allow realizing the most important thing – to realize the pupils' discrepancy between "I-real" and "I-ideal", without which objective self-esteem and self-development can not occur. Due to these relations, teachers perceive the successes of students and their personal values as their own, feel responsible for them. So, the student is the main subject of educational change. But they are successful only when the teacher is engaged in them, therefore the teacher acts as the organizer and the conductor of the changes in the pedagogical process. Thus, the specificity of the reform in education lies in the fact that it passes through the mind and soul of the teacher and student, and the effectiveness of positive changes depends on the pedagogical appropriateness of their pupils, subject-subject relationships<sup>4</sup>.

The essence of the most personally recognized model of education and upbringing is the subject-subject relations of teachers and pupils, which have a humane, equal, moral and aesthetic, that is, a pedagogically expedient character. Only thanks to the formation of pedagogically expedient relations, the general education school will be able to move away from the generalized social and really perceive the personal-semantic and personal-social system of upbringing. It becomes increasingly clear that in conditions of democratization of all spheres of human life, educational and educational institutions must construct not only a space and temporal, but also a personal and semantic system in which pedagogically appropriate, moral-aesthetic relations of all participants in the pedagogical process: pupils and teachers, teachers and parents, teachers, parents, the public and school administration. Without the construction of such a subject-subject pedagogical system, a positive result of pedagogical activity and the whole modernization of education are impossible.

<sup>3</sup> A. Boyko, *Naukovi, navchalni y morini lessons. Naukova Teachers' Training School*. Ed. B.M. Moklyak, L.A. Semenovska, A.V. Khomenko. Poltava 2015.

<sup>4</sup> A.M. Boyko, *Implementation of educational innovation in the practice of education*. Poltava 2011.

The most thoroughly “relations” as a general scientific object and the subject of pedagogical knowledge are investigated A.P. Sydelkovsky. He justifies relations as the basis on which to search for in the pedagogical theory<sup>5</sup>.

This can not be disagreed, since the study of the phenomenon of “relationship” in pedagogy was more often subordinate to the tasks of other studies: the methodological problems of education, the theory and methodology of the children’s collective, the methods of upbringing, the culture of behavior, and so on. It should be emphasized that much attention was paid to the category of “relations” when studying the problems of moral education. Now the importance of relations increases as a criterion for the effectiveness of educational activity. We emphasize the feasibility of research based on the relationship of various aspects of teacher training, its competence, tact, authority and the like.

As an independent pedagogical phenomenon, the relations of teachers and pupils for the first time at the theoretical and methodological level were investigated by A.Y. Gordyn<sup>6</sup>, but the emphasis in his work was on the influence of the teacher (subject) on the student as an object of the pedagogical process. Defining a significant theoretical contribution of A.Y. Gordyn, and also L.Y. Gordyn, T.I. Konnikova, V.M. Korotov, B.T. Likhachev, I.S. Marienko, M.I. Monakhov, G.I. Shchukin and other scientists concerning the development of this phenomenon, it is necessary to pay tribute to the Ukrainian researchers, in particular A.V. Kirichuk (studied the relationship in a classroom), V.A. Belousova (the system of relations was studied in extracurricular and extracurricular work).

The original methodical solution of the problem is found in N.E. Shchurkovoy. It represents an activity-oriented, technological approach to the phenomenon of “relationship”, where it convincingly shows how from an external pedagogical means the relations turn into the function of a teacher, and then into the quality of the emerging personality.

In contrast to this position, V.A. Kan-Kalyk considered the personal qualities of the teacher, his individual-creative uniqueness, which is particularly evident in the teaching skill, as the decisive factor in the formation of pedagogically expedient subject-subject relations. However, in our opinion, there is no alternative here, since such an integrative, multidimensional category as relations in modern conditions should be studied both on the general, and on the individual-creative levels, in their unity.

Thus, today the general theoretical and organizational-methodical characteristics of the phenomenon of “relation” are of scientific interest. Teachers agree with the reality of the humanization of the school on the basis of subject-subject relations with their students. So, the call to action is convincing, and the

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<sup>5</sup> A.P. Sidelkovsky, *The fundamental idea of relations in the heritage of A.S. Makarenko and modern transformations in the pedagogical theory*. Nizhny Novgorod 1992, pp. 67–68.

<sup>6</sup> A.Yu. Gordyn, *Formation of the relations of teachers and students in school*. Moscow 1977.

very content of the teacher's activity in this channel at the theoretical and methodological levels, its decisive importance for a long time remain unfounded.

The most convincingly timeless relevance and significance of relations in life and science were proved by S.L. Rubinshtein<sup>7</sup>. He, in particular, noted that two types of relationships determine human life: the relationship to man and to being. And it is the attitude towards man, he explained, characterized by the attitude toward being. In this scientific conclusion, the importance of human-human relations in human life, in particular, "teacher-student" and other dyads, can be clearly seen".

Taking into account that the transformations in the field of pedagogical practice can be real and successful only when they have a thorough theoretical and methodological foundation, we pedagogical relations are not only justified as a pedagogical category, but also their structures, mechanisms, driving forces are disclosed, species are characterized, types, levels and stages of the formation process, which is reflected in our monograph *Theory and methodology of the formation of educational relations in the general education school*<sup>8</sup>.

The main subject and conceptual idea at this stage of the study was the modification of relations in subject-subject parenting relations, which are regarded as defining the pedagogical category, the first principle and the main condition for the full-fledged education of the individual. In contrast to the educational relations spontaneously arising between the personality that is formed and all the people and processes that surround it, the educating relationships are consciously formed under the guidance of the teacher (educator) and are aimed at achieving the goal of education.

Educational relations are a specially organized subject-subject, moral-aesthetic, pedagogically expedient interaction of all subjects of the pedagogical process aimed at achieving the goal of education, socially and psychologically conditioned by the whole system of national and universal values accepted in society, corresponding to a certain period of its development. Although this definition and tested in practice, it should be noted that it is not stable, but develops, as pedagogy itself and society as a whole develops. In this regard, the pedagogical science faces the task of their theoretical justification.

The nature of the relationship in the school depends on the level of humanity of the position of the teacher. The humanism of the teacher first and foremost presupposes selfless and conscientious work, respect and faith in every person, attention, help, sympathy and empathy in the difficulties of human development, objectivity in assessing the actions of one's own and the student, an exclusively thoughtful, self-critical analysis of all educational activities in the case of a child. Offenses or deviations from the norms of morality, the ability to look at what is

<sup>7</sup> K.A. Abulkhanova-Slavskaya, A.V. Brushlinsky, *Philosophical and psychological concept S.L. Rubinstein*. Moscow 1989.

<sup>8</sup> A.N. Boyko, *Theory and methodology...*



happening through the eyes of their pupils. Humanism is the result of a big and long work of a teacher to improve his pedagogical skills.

The humanization of interaction between the teacher and the student is the construction of such a pedagogical technology that would ensure the pupil's conscious choice of spiritual values and the formation on this basis of personal and socio-value orientations. Interaction in such pedagogical technology presupposes the selection and use of active democratic methods and forms that will stimulate amateur and creative work of the teacher and pupils and regulate the process of interaction by means of cognition and self-knowledge, organization and self-organization, control and self-control. So, humanism in the context of our research is considered as an element of the new pedagogical thinking, the characteristic of which is the change in views on the schoolboy and the pedagogical process. The pupil appears in the pedagogical process as the subject of interaction, on the formation of the creative individuality of which it is directed.

The concept of further research of relations includes three concepts and is considered by us on three levels: methodological, theoretical and technological. Regarding the methodology, we are based on an integrative approach, because the world is aimed at unification, including education in its external and internal manifestations, aspires and has already reached integration, and fundamental scientific problems like ours act as a unifying factor, since they concentrate the vital human needs and society.

Justifying the theoretical level, based on the provisions of V.N. Myasishchev<sup>9</sup>, who first drew attention to the fact that in practice there is an identification in the concepts of "relations" and "interaction", introduced the term "upbringing relations" into the conceptual and terminological apparatus of pedagogy as a specially organized interaction.

Since the essential aspect of the relationship is activity, the actions, knowledge of the subjects of upbringing determine their level and stand out as the first and most important structural element of interaction (relations). External manifestation of the subject's human activity is behavior, a system of interrelated reactions to the environment.

In this connection, it is necessary to emphasize the importance of personal characteristics, the way of acting, the manner, behavioral reactions of the teacher, because thanks to them he comes into contact with pupils, every word, intonation, facial expression, look, smile, gesture, not only exercises pedagogical influence, but also he himself experiences it, organizing interaction.

Individual psychological differences in the behavior and culture of teachers can be more or less specific, even subjectively unique, but they must correspond to the ethical standards of the profession. After all, behavior is not only rationally conditioned; it largely depends on the type of the human nervous system, the

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<sup>9</sup> V.N. Myasishchev, *Social psychology and psychology of relations*. Problems of Social Psychology (Moscow) 1965, pp. 273–286.

structure and direction of the psyche, professional preparedness and culture. Behavior is also determined by material and living conditions, interest in the profession, love of children, comfort and status in the pedagogical collective, but always should be professionally appropriate. In conscious and subconscious forms of behavior, emotions are always implicit as one of the ways of manifesting feelings and evaluative judgments. They impart a certain color to the actions of the teacher, and a

The model of the subject in professional pedagogical preparation, which is convincingly proved by many scientists and is confirmed by practice, should be replaced by the model of the educator uniting the functions of the teacher and lesson conductor and educator, the creator of the child's soul. This requires not only a humanistic approach to the formation of the teacher's personality, but also the filling of teaching, especially pedagogy, with new content to provide for his new pedagogical thinking and relevant practical activities. Above all, the Department of General Pedagogy and Andragogy of the Poltava National Pedagogical University named after V.G. Korolenko, creating new textbooks and manuals.

On this basis, the personality-humanistic, subject-subject paradigm of upbringing is derived<sup>10</sup>; A variative concept of multilevel general pedagogical preparation of bachelors and masters of pedagogical education is created; The educational-methodical program complex of general pedagogical preparation in the system of university education was developed as part of the curriculum, program, textbook, theoretical and organizational and methodological manuals on the theory of pedagogy and continuous pedagogical practice, on the basis of which the chair of general pedagogy and andragogy has been working since 1993.

According to the research, the basis of subjectivity is the recognition of the identity and self-worth of each individual, as an individual endowed with his unique natural data, subjective social experience and competences, capable of initiative, activity and independence as a subject-possible basis for human existence, as stated in our monograph *We Grow a Citizen and a Professional: Theory, Experience*<sup>11</sup>.

The meaning of upbringing is seen in the fact that on the basis of subject-subject relations, it is possible to help a child to fully reveal what is inherent in nature, and further – to develop and enrich, organizing the “self-movement” of the person<sup>12</sup>. This is the main task of the reform, and it can be achieved primarily through means of cooperation and co-creation.

<sup>10</sup> A.M. Boyko, *The paradigm of vihovannya is put on: the realistic shawls [the naive-methodical writer]*. Kiev 1996.

<sup>11</sup> A.M. Boyko, P.G. Shemet, *We bring up a citizen and professional: theory, experience*. Poltava 2003.

<sup>12</sup> A.M. Boyko, V.A. Inozemtsev, *Nikolai Pirogov – Educator: Promotion and punishment of children*. Poltava 2016.

*Education is a personal and social process, and no matter how much we isolate ourselves from this and do not declare personally oriented, the latter enters into personal and social education as its characteristic and component. The teacher's pedagogical activity should be personal oriented.*

Without a category of relations, it is impossible to consider the issues of the content of education and upbringing, their ethnization, which is especially important in the context of the further development of the national school and civil society. In his works on the above-mentioned problems on the basis of moral and aesthetic relations, we develop ideas for the ethno-national integrity of Ukraine<sup>13</sup>, we cultivate respect for cultures of peoples who have inhabited Ukraine from time immemorial, as a methodological basis we use Dragomanov's thesis about the need to get out of that narrow and superficial nationality that has lost its meaning in Europe, we adhere to the generalizations of G. Vashchenko<sup>14</sup> that we Ukrainians and at the same time Europeans, we conclude that it is necessary to educate the subject-subject relationship to the peoples of Europe and the world. Consequently, educational subject-subject relations are viewed as a relationship of human dignity.

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<sup>13</sup> A. Boyko, *The Concept of the Posology of the Scientific and Diplomatic Institute of Pedagogical Studies.* Pedagogical Ukraine: The Science Almanac (Poltava) 2016, pp. 3–18; A. Boyko, M. Stepanenko, *Institute of Ukrainian educational component as systemotvirnyy National Research University.* Pedagogical Ukraine: The Science Almanac (Poltava), 2016, pp. 19–32.

<sup>14</sup> A.M. Boyko, *Grigory Vashchenko: an alternative to the eyes and the pupils* [the naval messenger]. Kiev 1998.

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## SUMMARY

Subject-subject pedagogically expedient relationship of students and teachers is presented as the basis and condition for successful modern school reform. The phenomenon of “relationship” is treated by a universal, generic, original category of pedagogy which defines new, higher level of pedagogical science development. Upbringing is defined as personal-social process. The attention is focused on the modification of relations in the subject-subject upbringing relationship. Upbringing relationship is presented as a specially organized subject-subject, moral-aesthetic, pedagogically expedient interaction of all subjects of pedagogical process aiming at achieving of upbringing goal which is socially and psychologically determined by the whole system of national and universal values adopted in the society, corresponding to a certain period of its development.

The levels of subject-subject upbringing relationship such as subordination, cooperation and co-creation are defined. A personal-humanistic, subject-subject paradigm of upbringing is derived on this basis; a variable multi-level concept of pedagogical education bachelors and masters of general pedagogical training is created; educational-methodical programmatic complex of general pedagogical training in the University education system is designed. It’s introduced the notion of “professional self-relationship” in the development of the notion “upbringing relationship”.

## STRESZCZENIE

Budowanie partnerskich relacji między nauczycielami i uczniami i wynikające z nich korzyści pedagogiczne są przedstawione jako podstawa i warunek powodzenia współcześnie wdrażanej reformy szkolnictwa. Fenomen „relacji” jest tu traktowany jako uniwersalna, ogólna i oryginalna kategoria pedagogiki, która definiuje nowy, wyższy poziom rozwoju nauki pedagogicznej. Wychowanie definiuje się jako proces osobisto-społeczny. Uwaga skupia się na modyfikacji relacji w procesie wychowania partnerskiego. Relacje w procesie wychowawczym prezentowane są jako konkretnie zorganizowany, dialog partnerski i moralno-estetyczny, pozytywnie oddziałujący na wszystkie podmioty procesu pedagogicznego zmierzające do osiągnięcia celu wychowawczego, który jest społecznie i psychologicznie zdeterminowany przez cały system wartości narodowych i uniwersalnych przyjętych w społeczeństwie na danym etapie jego rozwoju.

Określono poziomy partnerskiej relacji wychowawczej, takie jak podporządkowanie, współpraca i współtworzenie. Na tej podstawie wywodzi się osobowo-humanistyczny, przedmiotowy paradygmat wychowania; powstaje zmienna, wielo-poziomowa koncepcja kształcenia pedagogicznego, która kształtuje absolwentów studiów o specjalności pedagogiki ogólnej. Opracowany został edukacyjno-metodyczny model programowy studiów pedagogicznych w systemie edukacji uniwersyteckiej. Wprowadza się pojęcie „autorelacja zawodowa” w rozwoju pojęcia „relacja wychowawcza”.

**Key words:** personal-humanistic paradigm of education, subject-subject, upbringing relationship, levels of relationship, co-subordination, cooperation, co-creativity, professional self-relationship

**Słowa kluczowe:** personalno-humanistyczny paradygmat edukacji, relacje partnerskie, relacja wychowawcza, poziomy relacji, współpodmiotowość, współpraca, współkreatywność, autorelacja zawodowa



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## DEVELOPMENT – STEPS OF A WITHIN EUROPE AND ACROSS-COUNTRY COOPERATION IN THE FIELD OF MILK-PRODUCTION AND DAIRY-CATTLE-BREEDING BY AN EXAMPLE OF AN INITIATIVE OF OSNABRÜCKER HERDBUCH WITH THE COUNTY OF OSTROŁĘKA

## ROZWÓJ – ETAPY WSPÓŁPRACY W EUROPIE I W SKALI CAŁEGO KRAJU NA OBSZARZE PRODUKCJI MLEKA I HODOWLI KRÓW MLECZNYCH NA PRZYKŁADZIE INICJATYWY OSNABRÜCKER HERDBUCH Z POWIATEM OSTROŁĘKA

### **1. Introduction**

*Mutual curiosity and motivation*

*Excursions and visits*

The milk-market is a huge market for milk and milk-products across all European borders. Huge dairy-units concur today for the favor of the consumers with their products, may be with special products out of certain areas or with the lowest prices for a product, which is needed daily by the 510 millions of consumers within the European community. That was not always like this. Especially in the milk-market, there is a tremendous concentration, away from small dairy-factories and towards big unions of organizations trying to get influence in the market and to create a big market-share.

The agricultural units, the dairy-farmers, are faced with a tremendous change of structural conditions. They cannot decide about the prices of their products, they can only deliver to the dairy factories at given conditions. To be and to stay competitive as an agricultural unit it was important to produce a very valuable foodstuff at always lower costs. A very effective milk-production was needed with each individual cow and followed by continuously growing herd-sizes, in order to obtain a sufficient income from the family-owned dairy herd.

The structure of the dairy-production in the various countries of the European Community was at all different, often historically grown. But anyhow, all dairy industries of the different countries entered in a not unimportant situation of competition for an - as well - huge market.

Long before Poland entered into the European market in the year 2004 there was a big curiosity to be seen at the side of the Polish milk-producers. They knew, they would be a part of the European market and they were looking actively for information to find out their possibilities therein and eventually as well to find sources for products and know-how, in order to make their own production from time to time more effective.

That is why already in the year 1987 there were the first contacts between the Osnabrücker Herdbuch Cooperative in the area of Osnabrück in North-Germany and the Agricultural Advisory Centre (ODR) in Ostrołęka. By mutual visits an exchange of ideas was initialized with farm-visits in interested farms in Poland and followed by visits of bigger groups of farmers for several days out of the county of Ostrołęka in the area of Osnabrück. By various excursions over a period of several years there had been created a big motivation for modern genetics and up to date dairy-management, which was the beginning of long lasting cooperation between these two regions.

## **2. Breeding-Goal and Breeding-Program as a Basis of Community**

*Breeding-Goal*

*Selection-Program*

*Selection-Response*

*Transfer of the response to selection by distribution of animals, semen and embryos*

Different economic conditions lead to different breeding-directions in the population of farm-animals and as well in the herds of dairy-cows. In the year 1987 the housed cows in Poland and Germany differed to a large amount. In Poland many cows were much like a dual purpose breed, but anyhow with much variation in between, as the breeding-inspectors from Osnabrück could see during their farm visits in Poland. The polish black and white cows were selected in both ways for to put on meat and for to increase milk-production. Internationally the breeding direction tended towards a more specialized breed for the one or the other direction. The economic conditions, which lead to the specialization, had already taken its effect in Germany and were especially in the population of the Osnabrück cows well expressed. In addition the Osnabrück breeding-program was in Germany well known and well accepted for the breeding into the new direction.

The strict breeding-program with a density of 95% milk-recorded cows (in Germany anyhow with voluntary participation) and a density of artificial insemination of the same amount, with obligatory use of embryo-transfer (ET) for all bull-mothers to reduction the generation-interval, and with station-control of all



ET-bull-mothers to increase the accuracy of selection, has always been very impressive for the visitors from Poland. The breeding-program in Osnabrück had lead in the past 40 years to always about 1.000 kg of increase in milk per cow in one decade (4.000 kg milk increase in 40 years).

Table 1

Milk-production and increase of milk-production of the Osnabrück cows<sup>1</sup>

| Year | Milk kg Per Cow | Fat % | Protein % | Increase Milk |
|------|-----------------|-------|-----------|---------------|
| 1955 | 4.290           | 3,64  |           |               |
| 1965 | 4.771           | 3,93  |           | + 481         |
| 1975 | 5.219           | 3,93  |           | + 448         |
| 1985 | 6.483           | 4,09  | 3,39      | + 1264        |
| 1995 | 7.699           | 4,27  | 3,34      | + 1216        |
| 2005 | 8.970           | 4,12  | 3,39      | + 1271        |
| 2016 | 9.926           | 4,05  | 3,40      | + 956         |

Impressive for the participants of the polish excursions were as well the visits to the bull-mother-station and to cattle-shows, where they could see directly the breeding-response resulting from the specialized direction of breeding for dairy cows. Especially the quality of udders combined with high production was very convincible and at the same time a sign for that the breeding was not only for to achieve high milk-production.

The breeding-program selects the bulls, which will be finally used intensively in artificial insemination. These bulls transfer and distribute equally the genetic progress over all the breeding-farms of the area. All the milk-producers within or outside the area may as well profit from the genetic progress by the use of the same bulls, the best of each period, and as well by the purchase of animals out of this program and may be as well by the purchase of embryos. Osnabrück is by tradition a large surplus-area for dairy cows and many cows had been given to milk-producers within Germany and as well to neighboring countries mainly in west- and southern Europe. Of course, with these products of the breeding-program the genetic progress is exported at the same time.

Out of these conclusions, there were already considerations of some of the visitors from Ostrołęka to use the breeding-program of Osnabrück for a fast development of their own herds. But before this came to state, some more steps would have to be taken.

<sup>1</sup> *Annual reports for milk-production of milk recorded cows. Osnabrücker Herdbuch (Melle) 1955–2016.*

### 3. Lectures and Seminars in Poland

#### 3.1. Explanation of the Economic Trends

*Expense for foodstuff on the side of the consumers*

*First better then bigger (How many cows for to afford a family-income)*

*Introduction of the milk-quota*

*Expectations at the entrance to the European Community*

So many observations and resulting questions from this among the participants of the excursions lead to the decision to organize lectures in Poland in front of a larger audience explaining the breeding-goal and to the breeding-program organized in Osnabrück to achieve the goal.

The interest from the participants for the kind of work of breeding and the possibility to explain all the own experiences in this field in front of such an audience, was a big motivation for the specialists from Osnabrück, so that quite a lot of these kind of assemblies in and around Ostrołęka were organized. From this resulted as well personal relationships, which were very prospective and friendly, resulting in mutual pride for the existence of this relation – lasting until the date of today!

The lectures themselves dealt with the demonstration of the economical trends in time, and so underlining the need for the specialization of the breed and resulting in bred animals with the capacity of high milk-production.

In Germany the consumer's expense for foodstuff had declined continuously over years. While in the year 1950 still 44% of the consumer's expansions had to be spent for foodstuff, so this amount reduced to 17,6% in the year 1990<sup>2</sup>. So, in comparison with the hourly wage the prices for agricultural products always had been reduced. Because of this the agricultural production needed to be more effective and per farm there was more output needed. The following table 2 demonstrates the relation between hourly wage and prices for foodstuff over time.

Table 2

Purchasing Power in Wage-Minutes<sup>3</sup>

| Foodstuff | Quantity  | Wage-Minutes<br>1960 | Wage-Minutes<br>2010 |
|-----------|-----------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Bread     | 1 kg      | 19                   | 10                   |
| Butter    | 250 Grams | 38                   | 5                    |
| Eggs      | 10 Pieces | 51                   | 8                    |

<sup>2</sup> Anteil der Ausgaben für Nahrungsmittel an den Konsumausgaben der Verbraucher in Deutschland. Statistisches Bundesamt, February 2017, cited from Statista.com.

<sup>3</sup> Durchschnittliche Arbeitszeit für ausgewählte Lebensmittel. Institut für Arbeitsmarkt und Berufsforschung, Statistisches Bundesamt, IW Köln No. 20/2010 [20.05.2010], cited from Statista.com.

|          |        |     |    |
|----------|--------|-----|----|
| Sugar    | 1 kg   | 29  | 4  |
| Milk     | 1 kg   | 10  | 3  |
| Pig-Meat | 1 kg   | 150 | 20 |
| Coffee   | 0,5 kg | 200 | 11 |

In Osnabrück, there had been one principle always important: “First better, than bigger.” The production-capacity of the individual cow was put on focus. This was the task of the genetics to enable the cows for increased milk-production and to ensure an enhanced production-security. And the genetics proved to be highly capable to fulfill this task. So, the increase of herd-milk was on a first step realized by a tremendous increase of milk-production per cow. Higher yield per cow reduces the fix costs of the milk-production, because each cow, whatever the production is, needs a place in the stable and the efforts for food and work for the cow to live. This fix amount is then distributed over the production and reduces the profit more and more the lower the production is. The efficiency of the production is so firstly based on the increase of yield. This result may then be increased again by making the herds larger, so to say, by multiplying the result by the number of cows, if farmers succeed to maintain the management on an equal level with even a bigger number of cows.

This principle: “First better than bigger” stood the proof again, when in 1984 the milk-quota was introduced in the European Community. Here again it was important, to produce the allocated quota of the individual herd with the lowest possible cost, thus again with as few cows as possible and at the highest individual yield. By the way, in contrast to some opinions at the moment of introduction of the quota system, expecting a trend to more extensification of milk-production.

The explanation of all these aspects was again informative for all those listeners wanting to come closer to the European Community. Some listeners saw in the entry to the European Community the chance to get better prices and a better income automatically. But really, only an increase in efficiency would make the production competitive in the EU.

### **3.2. Seminars for the Adaptation of Production Technics to the Genetic Level of the Herds**

*Increased specialization*

*Need for high yielding cows*

*Adaptive management, to balance production, health and fertility*

Another aspect for a prosperous work with highly capable animals for milk-production is the adequate supply of these cows with feeds in a sufficient quantity and quality. Especially this item was stressed in seminars, where the needs of high producing animals was explained and shown in examples of feed-ratios – balanced

ratios taking into consideration high energy-density, high digestibility and containing sufficient structure as needed for the supply of ruminants.

This was considered to be a very important point, for that the change to highly capable animals would not be confounded with disappointments. If the genetic progress is relatively slow, generation by generation, as with the introduction of better genetics by means of artificial insemination, the farm-management can adopt, as well slowly, to the new requirements. The import of a big genetic progress by means of the import of high producing specialized animals requires the management in one step to achieve the new level in feeding and housing. Only if the management can follow the genetics, health and fertility of the animals can be balanced with the enhanced production level.

This is even more important, as the investment in animals is costly. But the progress is quicker and also necessary, if the farm-size should also be increased.

#### **4. Delivery of Animals**

*Visit of the polish farmers directly in the farms of origin of the for export destined animals*

*Selection of pregnant heifers*

*Visits at the farms of destination after delivery of the heifers and at the beginning of the lactation*

*Diversification of the method of selection of animals (as well young cows after calving for export)*

*Direct commercial relations between the farmer in Poland and the Cooperative of Osnabrück without any intermediate*

After these extensive and fundamental preparations, first deliveries of animals started at the beginning of the 90th. According to the needs and preferences of the interested farmers the animals were exported as pregnant heifers. The customers were invited by the Osnabrücker Herdbuch and preselected animals had been shown to them in various farms, members of the cooperative. The interested farmers came from Ostrołęka in small groups and selected the animals to complete a truckload for transportation.

After the selection the heifers were inspected by the veterinary service of the Federal Republic of Germany and analyzed according to the import regulation of Poland. After that the animals were delivered by the Osnabrücker Herdbuch to the farm of destination, accompanied by the respective veterinary certificate and custom cleared. Poland was at that time not yet a member of the European Community and the export of animals was formally still much more complicated than it was after the year 2004, when Poland joined the EU.

Later, there was also the possibility that preselected animals were concentrated in a selection barn, where they were presented to the customers. By means of this the selections of groups of animals could be completed in less than one day and further informative farm-visits could be combined with the selection-program.

Important at the beginning of these deliveries of animals were visits in the farms of destination carried out by breed-inspectors of Osnabrücker Herdbuch. These visits were done, when the first delivered animals had calved. Now the balance of management and genetics could be seen and eventually adjusted.

Until today the relation of Osnabrücker Herdbuch and the County of Ostrołęka has endured. Animals are today also selected from big auction sales, where the animals come for sale after calving as young cows, thus knowing already the production at the beginning of the lactation. All the animals have a veterinary certificate for being exported within the European Community and so can be sent the same day.

Still one more speciality has endured. Due to the original establishment of the contact between Osnabrück and Ostrołęka by the ODR all the deliveries of animals have been organized directly. Always Osnabrücker Herdbuch delivers directly to the respective client. By this means there is no intermediate trading company involved. This brings the interests of the commercial partners closer together and creates fellow-man relationships, which are in Europe – even today – so important between countries and their human-beings. So, the connection to the ODR and to the County of Ostrołęka has a model-character for the Osnabrücker Herdbuch and its employees.

## **5. State of Development of the Milk-Production in Ostrołęka**

The milk-production in Ostrołęka has made a tremendous development according to the view from Osnabrück. The herd-size has increased important starting from a low level at the beginning. It ranks now on first place of all polish areas. Many new-build farms demonstrate a modern milk-production with large and animal-conform stables. The milk-factories, active in the area of Ostrołęka, are competitive and process good milk-products well established in the milk-market from a farm-milk of high quality.

Finally we can state, that by the close and across country cooperation between different organizations international standards have been equalized in a relatively few time. This encourages to look further for or to maintain this kind of international cooperation, in order to ensure international progress for the future of the organizations and the people.

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## SUMMARY

In the following article the cooperation between a German and a Polish organization will be exemplarily demonstrated. This cooperation consists of a long-term, planned development of a unique use of genetic resources in the field of cattle breeding. First, there was an intensive approach of the two organizations and the involved persons by twofold visits, repeated excursions of groups of farmers from Poland and by giving various lectures by experts from Osnabrück in the county of Ostrołęka, in which the trends of the economic conditions for the breeding-work in Germany, the resulting trends within the breeding programs and within the management routines for dairy cattle has been brought to notice to a very interested audience. From this exchange of experience and from the mutual visits resulted a confidence for a long lasting cooperation. This intensive European relationship across the border of countries surely has some kind of model-character for the special and direct relations, which resulted from the gentle development of the approach and which enabled many friendly and fellow-man relationships – never to forget.

## STRESZCZENIE

W niniejszym artykule przedstawiono współpracę pomiędzy organizacją niemiecką i polską jako przykład modelowej współpracy. Współpraca ta obejmuje długoterminowy, planowany rozwój unikalnego zastosowania zasobów genetycznych w zakresie hodowli bydła. Po pierwsze, odnotowano intensywne podejście dwóch organizacji i zaangażowanie osób poprzez wizyty składane dwukrotnie, powtarzane wycieczki grup rolników z Polski i liczne wykłady wygłaszane przez ekspertów z Osnabrück na terenie powiatu Ostrołęka, w czasie których przedstawiono trendy warunków ekonomicznych dla prac związanych z hodowlą w Niemczech, trendy w programach hodowli i w ramach zarządzania rutynowymi czynnościami

w odniesieniu do krów mlecznych. Zostało to skierowane do wiadomości odbiorców szczególnie zainteresowanych tą tematyką. Wymiana doświadczeń i obopólne wizyty zaowocowały długoterminową, trwałą współpracą. Wspominana intensywna relacja europejska, międzynarodowa współpraca z pewnością ma charakter modelowy dla relacji wyjątkowej i bezpośredniej, która wynikała z łagodnego podejścia i umożliwiała powstanie wielu przyjacielskich i partnerskich relacji, które nie zostaną zapomniane.

**Key words:** economic weights of selection traits, breeding goal, breeding program, cooperation in breeding programs, transfer of genetic progress, balance of genetic and environmental input

**Słowa kluczowe:** ekonomiczne znaczenie wyboru cechy, cele hodowlane, program hodowlany, współpraca w zakresie programów hodowlanych, transfer w zakresie postępu genetycznego, równowaga pomiędzy potencjałem genetycznym a środowiskowym





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## THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE PRINCIPLE OF UNIVERSITY SELF-ADMINISTRATION AND ACADEMIC LIBERTIES REALIZATION

### TEORIA I PRAKTYKA ZASADY REALIZACJI AUTONOMII ADMINISTRACYJNEJ I SWOBÓD AKADEMICKICH

The European countries in their historical development realize the university autonomy principle and academic liberties traditionally, though to a different degree. The higher educational establishments autonomy and academic liberties are considered to be among the most significant directions by such international documents as Magna Charta Universitatum (the University Great Charter), 1988; Lima Declaration, 1998; Erfurt Declaration, 1996; Bologna Declaration, 1999, etc. which determine the main principles of the world higher educational development.

According to the first item of Lima Declaration, for instance, autonomy is defined as an independent from government and other social forces right of any higher educational establishment to take decisions dealing with internal management, financing procedures, administration and the ability to determine one's own activity line in educational sphere, scientific research work, instructing and other doings connected with the process in question.

Philosophic discourse "university ideas and missions" (H. Gadamer, I. Haydegger, V. Humboldt, J. Derrida, M. Quek, W. Lepenies, J. Newman, J. Ortega y Gasset, J. Habermas, F. Schleiermacher, K. Jaspers) is based, first of all, upon the discussion of its autonomy, academic liberties, which in the long run provides an appropriate status quo for the university, its corporative culture, determines its relations with state and market, forms student-centered content of the educational-scientific process, realizes subjectivity of "instructor-student" interaction, predetermines an independent search for scientific truth.

In other words, the gist of university autonomy includes the liberty of a personality self-expressing, the open intellectual surroundings, the immunity against political dictate on a part of state, power authorities and politicians, the existence of self-administrative Students and Professors Corporation.

Autonomy includes even the territorial sovereignty and it is accepted by a democratic society as an axiomatic sign of the main university privileges.

Even today autonomy and academic liberties as the eternal values of university actualize: university independence from the external intrusion into the issues of its internal organization and management, educational and research work liberties; the members of academic society, consisting of scientists, instructors and students, liberties to carry out academic activities within the frames determined by some ethical rules of academic society and international standards without any external influence or pressure; the liberty of internal distribution of financial funds as well as generating profits from non-state sources, hiring of a personnel, determining the educational conditions. And the university autonomy is not limited by any normative acts.

But what was the historical path of the formation of this phenomenon?

It is common knowledge that universities in their classic perception come into being in the Middle Ages. The beginning of the period is marked by the Gregorian reform and a definite strengthening of the papal positions. The towns are growing up and seigniorial relations are affirming themselves too. These processes made the background upon which the university corporations in Bologna, Paris, Montpellier, Oxford and others were coming into blossom. Their touch of distinction is in the following aspect – they were not officially initiated and declared. These schools appeared independently, gaining the only possible and a very convenient form of mutual oath, which was immediately called *universitas*, i.e. a society of quite equal between themselves persons, who took a common oath which later was acknowledged as a legal corporal entity.

The basics of the European university education were founded by Bologna university. It is considered to be the most ancient one in Europe. The legendary date of its foundation is 1088 though the formation of the university corporation was taking place somewhere at the breaking up of XII–XIII centuries and judicially it was confirmed in 1253. In 1158 the Bologna professors-lawyers received rights guarantees from Fredrik I Barbarossa concerning free transference upon the imperia territory and judicial immunity thus initiating the beginning of “academic liberty”.

Chronologically the next to follow were: Paris (1200); Napoli (1224), Montpellier (1137), Oxford (1167), Cambridge (1209), Padua (1222), Siena (1246), Seville (1250), Lisbon 1290) and other universities.

In the XIII century the term “university” is firmly connected with the corporation of instructors and students. The union of teachers and students was called *stadium generale*, i.e. the general higher school. The formation of the only system of universities takes place too at this very time. The Middle Ages universities represented first of all the organized unions of adherents and like-minded persons who were responsible in this or that town for the higher education, for studying. They could have been joined by any person (the accessibility to the university was guaranteed for everyone).

It was the legal institution, mainly self-administered organization with the following authorizations: 1) to provide with the documents, sealed with its own

seal; 2) to act in the court of one's own name and to have one's own court institution; 3) to adopt laws and to require from the union members to abide by these laws; 4) to organize exams for getting degrees and to grant diplomas. These features even characterized universities as "a state in the state".

In the logic of historical development certainly conditioned typology of the Middle Ages universities was outlined. Traditionally from the point of view of secular or religious orientation of the educational content the Bologna, Paris and mixed models are distinguished. The former (mainly secular) was characterized by vast autonomy, the dominance of students' guild which influenced the content of subjects studied and the choice of professors on a contract basis. The Paris model (of theological direction) was known for its predominance of master guild and it was more formalized. The organization of mixed type was peculiar to the Central Europe universities. Here the students had the access to the university management services (chancellor, rector). There also existed doctors' collegia. All the structures mentioned were characterized by more or less coordinated activities.

At that period three instances could be distinguished in relation, with whom the university was in constant need of self-determination, asserting one's autonomy and academic liberties. They were power authority (first within town's limits and then within the state's bounds), market and church. The university had always to scrap resources and funds for autonomous existence by means of confrontation and compromises with the three institutions mentioned<sup>1</sup>. Although, on the other hand, it was exactly thanks to church that the general European character of universities was provided what with reducing by church different local limitations upon the knowledge circulation and on account of free students' and instructors' transference within the bounds of Christendom.

According to the West-European tradition the Middle Ages university was oriented upon the demands and needs of state, society and thus performing the functions of legal, moral regulation of social relations and providing certain conditions of the society's existence itself. The university did not pursue the aim of science development. Its activities were directed mostly at transmission of common knowledge and general culture.

But nevertheless, the existence of the university came as a result of the necessity of socialization of human being and a stage in the establishment of civil society. Furthermore by dint of universities the demand for scientific and cultural development begins to be realized. The influence of universities upon the social ideas formation, philosophical thought, the evolution of science and culture also tremendously increased in the epoch of Renaissance. This period is marked by the greatest number of higher schools coming into being in Europe: Prague (1348),

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<sup>1</sup> С. Костюкевич, *Образ университета как уникального сплава либерального образования, средневековой гильдии и естественной науки*. Alma mater (Вестник высшей школы) 2001, No. 6, pp. 34–39.

Krakow (1364), Vein (1365), Heidelberg (1386), Leipzig (1409), Wittenberg (1502), Konigsberg (1544), Strasbourg (1567) and other universities.

With the beginning of New Time (XVI century) the organization of the university was represented mainly in three forms: *university of instructors*, based upon the departments system with centralized education, where the instructors were grouped according to the subjects and the degrees granted, the structure itself was oriented upon the specialists training; *collegiate or tutors university*, which had Oxford university as a model, where the education was decentralized and the existence of numerous masters and students societies was promoted.

In spite of the existing departments system, this type of the university was more directed upon consolidation of common knowledge; the intermediate model (*college-university*) combined the advantages of the centralized organization alongside with the college system, which were not large as a rule and that itself simplified the students and teaching control process. Such forms of compact universities which were rather spread all across the Europe (by the way, they created almost ideal conditions for power authorities for the issues connected with control and also certain limitations in university autonomy)<sup>2</sup>.

At the end of the XVIIIth and beginning of the XIXth centuries the ideas of the university inseparable unity of the teaching and scientific processes begin to take a definite shape (W. Humboldt<sup>3</sup>, F.V. Shelling, F. Schleiermacher).

Wilhelm von Humboldt (*About inner and outer organization of higher educational establishments in Berlin*, 1809)<sup>4</sup>, with the name of which the formation of the conception of “classic” university (the Berlin university, 1809, the first rector was J.H. Fichte), and also some other German theoreticians of higher education (Frederick Schleiermacher in his work *Reflections about university in German comprehension*, 1808), quite distinctly outlined the main principles on which the inner university organization is based. First of all it is liberty of teaching and liberty of instructing (*Lehrfreiheit und Lernfreiheit*). The former was understood as inseparable instructor’s right to choose the subject for delivering lectures as well as methods of teaching independently and freely. The latter presented for the students the opportunity to choose the precise courses, of which instructors and in what order to listen to these lectures and also whether to take or not to take any final exams to get a scientific degree during university studies without any outer compulsion or enforcement.

The essence of the Humboldt’s conception was in constant prevailing of science in it, the professors and students aiming at a permanent and uninterrupted

<sup>2</sup> П. Скотт, *Реформы высшего образования в странах Центральной и Восточной Европы: попытка анализа*. Alma mater (Вестник высшей школы) 2001, No. 11, p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> W. von Humboldt, *Schriften zur Politik und zum Bildungswesen*, Vol. 4. Darmstadt 1982.

<sup>4</sup> Ibidem; М. Зубрицька, Н. Бабалик, З. Рибчинська, *Ідея університету: Антологія*. Ed. М. Зубрицька. Літопис, Львів 2002, pp. 25–34.

scientific research which remained the very gist of university “teaching process in unity with a research work” (Einheit von Forschung und Lehre).

It all meant that the instructors will promote for the students the truths obtained in the course of their research and in such a way the instructors will demonstrate the students the way to achieving those truths. The students in their turn will equally share with the instructor the scientific research process and it is precisely that phenomenon that will permit to form the personality, character (Bildung durch Wissenschaft) i.e. education by dint of science, and as a result it will make a tangible impetus upon the nation and state development.

The Berlin University became the first national German university (the notion belongs to the German neohumanists). It was considered that such a university is not simply required in utilitarian sense to meet the concrete state's needs and demands but in a much broader sense to become a kind of repository of “the nation's spirit”, to gather around itself everything that contributes to the movement ahead. Naturally, in such a university the “national science” represented exceptionally by the national scientists had to be cultivated and developed. Its significance and renown stretched quickly across Prussia borders or to be more exact all across Germany.

It is evidently a characteristic feature that the changing of the university external functions in correspondence to the surrounding society was accompanied in this particular case by a profound reconstruction of its inner structure and also the correlations between state, professors and students as well as teaching process character. In such a way a highly elevated ideal basis of a classic (“Humboldt”) university was created. As it turned out later the future university education on a world's scale belonged just to this university (the latter being conditioned by broad expansion of such type of university to the European countries, Asia and America) in the second half of the XIXth and the beginning of the XXth centuries

The university corporative majority of England remained locked for a longer period than the universities of many European countries. For rather a long time they in fact were considered to be locked schools with a restricted admittance. It was only in 1850 that the government commission was appointed with the purpose of discussion of the looming university reform. The same year Oxford put forward the so-called “seven measures for expanding the University”, among them were such as providing students' pads outside of colleges, the permission for the students to live in private houses, the admittance of free attendance students to be present at the lectures, the cancellation of religious restrictions, etc.

In the middle of the XIXth century the further development of the “university idea” was presented by John Newman's “intellectual university” conception, embodied in the inaugurated by him Dublin Catholic University (1854). As the author himself states, the university should rather prefer liberal knowledge and the students' interests in mastering niceties of thinking and studying of sciences.

The most valuable foundations of the university educational content were proclaimed; knowledge as a self-objective, culture and intellectuality. Thus, G. Newman considered that the university pledges itself the function of spreading knowledge and in such a way to promote in it the Catholic church, since “any truth promotes truth”. In that way, in his conception the university is closely connected with the church and the research function is not regarded to be the main one.

At the beginning of the XXth century three main university models were localized: French (*Napoleonic*) oriented upon the specialists training who will be able to render service to government and state; *Anglo-Saxon* directed at bringing up the elite of the upper walks of life. The *German (Humboldt)* model has not lost its actuality; it continued to stand for the unity of educational and scientific university process, to support its autonomy.

At this time, in general, at the background of expanding university functions the professionalization of the educational content takes place, reorientation upon not only the forming of ideas carriers but also highly professional specialists capable of taking pragmatic decisions, useful for society. A prominent Spanish scientist and a writer, doctor of philosophic sciences, professor of metaphysics of the Madrid university H. Ortega y Gasset, while analyzing the problem “university, profession, education” in his work *University Mission* (1930) states that university, first of all, represents higher education which has to be obtained by an ordinary average man. And this average man should be made a paragon of culture and he should meet the time and epoch requirements. Thus, the primary and central university function is the teaching of culturally-significant subjects (branches of knowledge), the world’s physical picture (physics), the basic themes of organic life (biology), the human historic development (history), the structure and functioning of social life (sociology), the outline of world creation (philosophy). Ortega also noted the necessity of becoming a personality as a specialist. In his view, the university has to prepare good doctors, lawyers, and Mathematics or History instructors alongside with the culture training. The average man had no reason to become a scientist, he was not obliged to dedicate himself to science, though Ortega did not deny any university is inseparable from science, and therefore it should also include a scientific research<sup>5</sup>. H. Ortega y Gasset expressed solidarity with G. Newman because he considered that any university provides the opportunity to develop the human culture. The essential place, besides translation, as it was mentioned, he paid to the training of a professional. Both G. Newman and H. Ortega y Gasset underlined the meaning of orientation points connected with the university produced human values and world outlook.

Beginning from the second half of the XXth century the university autonomy became evident in the metaphor “social engineering”. University becomes to be

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<sup>5</sup> Х. Ортега-и-Гассет, *Миссия университета*. Alma mater (Вестник высшей школы) 2003, No.7, pp. 44–45.

considered as the structure capable to repair the Europe destroyed by World War II, which leads to the regular loss of university transcendence.

For Germany it meant the destruction of the Humboldt university idea with its demands for “isolation and liberty”. For England it meant the defeat of the Oxbridge model in symbolic fighting with the “red-brick” universities, inheritors of industrial revolution at the end of the XIXth century. For France it meant the loss of universities to the Higher schools which personified the spirit of Napoleon reform. In all these cases it was the loss non-utilitarian, non-pragmatic knowledge (W. Wachstein, *Metaphors and university metamorphoses*, 2002).

The American universities which primarily synthesized the democratic traditions of the early Middle Age universities and pragmatism of the German university school up to the middle of the XX-th century were transformed into mighty educational, research and scientific-productive corporations closely connected with business, industry and management systems (Harvard (Massachusetts), 1636; Yale university (Connecticut), 1701; Massachusetts technological institute, 1861; California university, 1868; Stanford (California), 1891).

A special legal status quo and the use of one's own regulations and constitutions which while providing high level of autonomy did not contradict society and power authorities contributed to the corporative U.S. universities culture. By dint of the fact that universities possessed land, the value of which increased because of close proximity to the university collective intellect, many of them became financially self-sufficient subjects of activities in the economic aspect.

The American universities attracted not only business but also power institutions. That was reflected in their structure since the programs dealing with business and state government became very popular university profiles<sup>6</sup>.

Alongside with this in the U.S. university system a special group of institutions was becoming prominent that is “the research universities” which became the leading scientific-educational corporative complexes as well as the centers of conducting the independent expert examinations.

The discussions of the issues dealing with university development were still going on in the post-war Germany. Thus, for instance, in the Federative Republic of Germany the program of university reform was created. The foundation of the program was the Heidelberg university professor Karl Jasper's (*University idea*, 1946) about the Humboldt university renaissance.

K. Jaspers determines four main university tasks; 1) a research, teaching and obtaining definite professions; 2) education and upbringing; 3) the intellectual life based upon the communication; 4) the space of sciences. He mentioned in particular: “University is not simply a school but a peculiar school. One must not

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<sup>6</sup> Ч. М. Вест, *Университеты мирового класса: американский опыт*. Alma mater (Вестник высшей школы) 2005, No. 2, pp. 34–38.

only teach here but the professors have to teach students to be involved in a research work and in such a way to obtain the scientific way of thinking which will determine his life.

In conformity with the university idea the students should critically follow their instructors. Their education should be permeated with liberty.

The professor's task is to transmit the truth by means of science. The professor enjoys the liberty of teaching"<sup>7</sup>.

In such a way, while developing W. Humboldt's approaches, K. Jaspers considered the idea of truth to be the precondition of university activity. In his vision universities have to exist independently from states they have for their aim the goal of super state character, that is the search for and an following the truth.

Nevertheless, K. Jaspers's restoration fervor provoked contradiction even then, in his time. Jürgen Habermas became one of his opponents in his work (*University idea means educational processes*, 1986)<sup>8</sup>.

He mentioned that Humboldt's promises remain unaccomplished and the German university did not perform indeed the desired universe of sciences, did not achieve the unity of teaching and research work. Humboldt has some serious problems connected with his own traditional autonomy.

Two diametrically opposite points of view concerning university autonomy belong to K. Jaspers and J. Habermas. From the point of view of the first one university autonomy is linked with its autonomy from the state because in fact "there always exists a certain struggle between the state and the university". The second one deduced university autonomy as autonomy from society because he considered that "state is interested to provide to university the external form of the inner unlimited liberty"<sup>9</sup>.

What was said proves that traditionally the university essence and functions were mainly revealed through the two competitive models which were "the university of science" and "the university of culture".

Accordingly in its predominant function the university had to produce and transmit scientific knowledge or to foresee the preservation and distribution of culture.

A special relation towards any person as an autonomic personality with the purpose of self-improvement has always remained its unique aim. By some means or other, the realization of those attitudes was based upon the vast university autonomy.

Since the contemporary university exists at the crossing point of various social subjects (nation, state, industry, business, personality) it makes this institution to

<sup>7</sup> К. Ясперс, *Идея университета*. Trans. Т.В. Тягунов. Ed. М.А. Гусаковский. БГУ, Минск, pp. 67–70.

<sup>8</sup> М. Зубрицька, Н. Бабалик, З. Рибчинська, op. cit., pp. 187–210.

<sup>9</sup> J. Habermas, *Die Idee der Universität – Lernprozesse*, [In:] M. Eigen et al. *Die Idee der Universität*. Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg, 1988, pp. 139–173.



reinterpret its own essence and purpose. The classic values are not appreciated any longer, they lose their predominant meaning and they are not realized in a way they should be. The process of globalization which brought with itself business practice into the education sphere has been constantly influencing the transformation of value orientations<sup>10</sup>. *Academic capitalism* has also witnessed commercialization of scientific and instructing activity<sup>11</sup>. The changing of the very essence of education and a rapid acquiring of service status are quite evident nowadays. More and more universities of different countries are being involved into the sphere of “academic capitalism” and in the first place it is vividly evident in the modification of their activity content, financing character of education and science and the orientation upon immediate pragmatic profit.

Among the factors determining the evolution of “university idea” one can’t but also mention the resources competition between universities, financial diversification, demographic changes, new social demands towards quality of education, more exacting consumers, etc.

The adaptation result to these changes is evident in transformation of traditional and coming into being of quite new university models<sup>12</sup>, among them should be mentioned such as entrepreneurial, innovative, research university, project-oriented, regional, virtual, corporative, mega university, multiversity<sup>13</sup>.

It is not accidentally that home and foreign scientists’ works (V. Baidenko, R. Barnetta, M. Vebera, A.S. Havrylkova, A. Hrudzynski, K. Kerr, B. Klark, Ye. Kniazieva, H. Mayer, Yu. Pokholkov, B. Ridings, A. Flexner, M. Khatchins, Yu. Yabletska and others) are directed at further distributing the philosophic discourse of “university idea”, its autonomy, and academic values.

It is M. Weber who is to be merited for a rebirth of humanistic foundations of university conception. He states that university education should bring back the importance of ideals common to mankind.

In Flexner’s conception the accent is shifted upon the social significance of the university, the ability to cooperate with society and to respond its demands.

For M. Hatchins the essence of contemporary university is deployed and unrolled in its direction upon the development of technical, applied and practical knowledge and a narrow specialization. K. Kerr mentions the particular significance of contemporary university in a function of “multiversity”.

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<sup>10</sup> J. Currie, J. Newson, *Universities and Globalization: Critical Perspectives*. Sage, London 1998.

<sup>11</sup> S. Slaughter L.L. Leslie, *Academic capitalism: Politics, Policies, and the Entrepreneurial University*. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 1997.

<sup>12</sup> Ф.Г. Альтбах, *Глобализация и университет: мифы и реалии в мире неравенства*. Alma mater (Вестник высшей школы) 2004, No. 10, pp. 39–43.

<sup>13</sup> Е.А. Князев, *Об университетах и их стратегиях*. Университетское управление: практика и анализ 2005, No. 4(37), pp.12–15.

B. Barnett considers critical interdisciplinary, collective self-analysis, a state of engagement, the absence of fixed limiting borders, communicative tolerance to be the very conditions for a contemporary university existence.

In Yu. Yablotska's view the university mission is shaping with taking into account its typology, philosophy, traditions, history; goal achieving land-marks; behavior style and the values of university society members; peculiarities and competence, external environment conditions; resources, opportunities and means of activity.

The definition of university mission, respectively, has to decide the task of forming certain imagination about the direction of its activity, the ultimate objective and means of achieving it; cooperative actions in forming the image; elaboration of the only common direction of interactions for all members of university community; the establishment of a definite climate at the university; the creation of opportunities for its effective management<sup>14</sup>.

University idea while going through the period of its confirmation as the site of transmitting and distributing knowledge, research and formation of scientific cognition, argumentation and support of unity of education, scientific investigation and upbringing intersected with the idea of organization of the university as an educational-scientific-productive conglomerate, a peculiar mega unity, its realization as vast space for business and entrepreneurship.

Enlightenment and education in information society anticipates the ability to communicate, to study, to analyze, to prognosticate, to project, to select and to create.

Any person now has to be ready to act in the conditions of high dynamics of labor market, and therefore to be able work with information streams, analyze the situations, to be rather dynamic and communicative, to be tolerant, to possess some habits of self-organization, to be able to put forward the goals and to achieve them. All these features mentioned sharpen the problem of personnel policies, preserving autonomy and academic liberties, education and teaching qualities which are common for universities of the world and make ready the ground for comprehension of a contemporary university situation as the situation of self-determination.

In spite the transformation of value orientations, institutional autonomy and academic liberties nowadays are quite indispensable principles of university life.

Modern university has to preserve autonomy and independence from external factors and also to increase its influence upon social surrounding just for the sake of its further functioning.

University inevitably cooperates and interacts with society but a definite independence from the society's interests; keeping balance between satisfying its

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<sup>14</sup>Ю. Яблещка, *Миссия организации и университета: некоторые особенности*. Alma mater (Вестник высшей школы) 2004, No. 9, pp. 23–28.

proper needs and the needs of society still remains the condition of its existence. University autonomy and academic liberties as traditional university values provide this balance. Thanks to university autonomy the independent search for truth is gained and the basic values of society are being preserved. Striving to realize the autonomy principle the university must provide control procedure and quality guarantee which both foresee the distribution of academic responsibility. It's worth keeping in mind that if the inner responsibility embraces various students', instructors' and administration activities its external form is realized in interaction with social surrounding and is directed at overcoming of social and cultural crisis in the system of education. It also proves the ability to meet the needs and demands of society, state and labor market.

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## SUMMARY

Within the context of logic-systemic analyses of philosophical discourse of “university ideas and missions” H. Gadamer, I. Haydegger, V. Humboldt, J. Derrida, M. Quek, W. Lepenies, J. Newman, J. Ortega y Gasset, J. Habermas, F. Schleiermaher, K. Jaspers) the way of university autonomy and academic liberties formation and development has been substantiated. Their gist becomes evident in the open intellectual environment, personal self-expression, immunity against political dictatorship, the possibility of regulating relations between the state and the market, the existence of a self-regulating corporation of students and professors, subjective interaction between “instructor – student”, student-centered principle of educational and scientific process, that in the long run ensures university the appropriate status, its corporate culture, causes the free search of scientific truth.

## STRESZCZENIE

W kontekście logiczno-systemowych analiz filozoficznego dyskursu „idei i misji uniwersyteckich” (H. Gadamer, I. Haydegger, V. Humboldt, J. Derrida, M. Kuek, W. Lepenies, J. Newman, J. Ortega y Gasset, J. Habermas, F. Schleiermaher, K. Jaspers) przedstawiono sposób powstawania i rozwoju autonomii uniwersytetów i swobód akademickich. Ich istota uwidacznia się w otwartym środowisku intelektualnym, osobistej ekspresji, odporności na dyktaturę polityczną, możliwości regulacji stosunków między państwem a rynkiem, istnienia samoregulującej się

korporacji studentów i profesorów, subiektywnej interakcji „mistrz – uczeń”, skoncentrowanej na zasadzie procesu edukacyjnego i naukowego, która w perspektywie długoterminowej zapewnia uczelni odpowiedni status, kulturę korporacyjną i umożliwia swobodne poszukiwanie prawdy naukowej.

**Key words:** university, university autonomy, academic liberties, self-regulation, educational and scientific environment, corporate culture

**Słowa kluczowe:** uniwersytet, autonomia uczelni, wolności akademickie, samoregulacja, środowisko edukacyjne i naukowe, kultura korporacyjna



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## FORMING OF FUTURE TECHNOLOGY TEACHERS PREPARATION FOR USING DECORATIVE AND APLIED ART IN PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITY

## FORMACJA PRZYSZŁYCH NAUCZYCIELI TECHNOLOGII I ICH WDROŻENIE DO KORZYSTANIA ZE SZTUKI DEKORACYJNEJ I UŻYTKOWEJ W DZIAŁALNOŚCI ZAWODOWEJ

**Setting the problem.** The introduction of the content of educational material on arts and crafts in the process of labor training in modern school puts specific requirements for the structure and content of professional training of the future technology teacher. These requirements are coherent (with a certain correlation) with the requirements for specialists in the field of art and design, although they have certain features, linked, firstly, with the teacher's specialty of the technology teacher as the main one, and secondly, with the technique and technological processes of artistic processing of materials as a basis for the introduction of decorative and applied art in the process of education and upbringing of schoolchildren.

**Analysis of the actual research.** A significant number of doctoral and Ph.D. theses on the problems of training the teacher of technology (in the past – labor training) and organization of diverse work activities of students were defended. Although the process of student preparation has been studied by many scholars, among them R. Hurevych, O. Kobernyk, V. Madzihon, G. Tereshchuk, D. Thorzhevskyi and others, their works mostly deal with the issues of technical creativity and techno-design activities of the future teacher.

In the context of the artistic and aesthetic training of teachers of labor education certain aspects are covered in the theses of V. Bovsunivskyi, A. Brovchenko, L. Orshanskyi, O. Sydorenko. At the same time there are no clear psychological and pedagogical requirements for the profession of the technology teacher in the context of his artistic and work training.

Scientists have different approaches to the definition of structural components of readiness for practice. Studying the structural components of the future specialist readiness for complex activities, the following components are distinguished: motivational (awareness of their needs, interests, requirements of society or team); position-finding (awareness of the goals, implementation of which will ensure the solving of a certain task, comprehension and assessment of the conditions under which future actions will take place, actualization of experience associated with the past with the fulfillment of tasks and requirements of a similar nature); willing (mobilization of forces in accordance with working conditions and tasks, self-control (self-guiding in the process of achieving goals); estimated (estimation of the correlation of own capabilities, level of aspirations and degree of achievement of a certain result).

Most authors reveal “readiness” through a combination of motivational, cognitive, emotional and volitional personality traits; general psychological state, providing actualization of possibilities; the orientation of the individual to perform certain actions (R. Gasparian, E. Kozlov, A. Puni, etc.). Readiness was studied as a certain level of personality development (Y. Kolomynskyi).

In the research of S. Rubinstein, readiness for activity is already defined as a complex of abilities, which include various properties and qualities of the individual, and ability acts as a general category in relation to these properties and qualities.

Readiness for pedagogical activity is considered as an integrative professionally significant quality (property, formation) of the personality, which includes various components in a number of studies (N. Ippolitova, T. Klymova, T. Oboldina, R. Penkova, N. Yakovlevova, etc.) which depends on a certain type of readiness. According to M. Dyachenko and L. Kandybovych, readiness is adaptation of personality abilities for successful actions at the moment, internal adjustment of personality to certain behavior while performing tasks, installation on active and purposeful actions. Such readiness scientists call temporary<sup>1</sup>.

Long-term readiness is seen by them as a system of professionally important qualities of the individual: his experience, knowledge, skills necessary for successful work.

The sense of readiness for pedagogical activity, V. Slastenin expresses through the ability of students to identify themselves with others; psychological state, which reflecting the dynamism of the individual, the wealth of its internal energy, initiative, will, ingenuity, emotional stability provides endurance; vocational and pedagogical thinking that allows you to penetrate into the causal links of the

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<sup>1</sup> M.I. Dyachenko, L.A. Kandybovich, *Psichologicheskie problemy gotovnosti k deyatel'nosti*. Izd-vo BGU, Minsk 1976.



pedagogical process, to analyze your activities, to find scientifically based explanations of successes and failures, and to predict the results of work<sup>2</sup>.

Therefore, in order to prepare for the pedagogical, creative, reproductive, productive work, we need to rely on previous, evaluated experience. Thus, we can identify ourselves in the general plan of the specialists of the occupied sphere of work, as well as specify the purpose and the path to self-improvement.

Moreover, the analysis of the concept of “readiness” allows to distinguish the main similarity of the phenomenon under investigation in the views of scientists – it implies the presence of knowledge, skills, experience of activity and the formed attitude of the individual to the future profession, which is in the quest for self-realization in it.

Emphasizing on certain adjoining qualities of the artistically trained technology teacher and master of arts and crafts, we return to one of the most popular classifications of professions (tiered) proposed by E. Klimov, which main features are object, purpose, tools and working conditions. The subject of labor is the direction in which human activity is directed and what his profession is determined by. According to E. Klimov, the profession is divided into technonomic (“man – technology”), bionomic (“man – nature”), signonymistic (“man – sign system”), artonomistic (“man – artistic image”) and socionomic (“man – man”)<sup>3</sup>.

The profession of a technology teacher in one or another way affects all the above types of professions, however, in the context of the teacher’s use of the arts and crafts in professional activities, attention should be paid to the characteristics of the requirements for the structure and content of his professional activities aimed at artistic objects or ways to create them, which is at the profile of the type “man – artistic image”.

**The purpose of the article** is to highlight the psychological and pedagogical requirements for the profession of the technology teacher in the context of his readiness to use arts and crafts in his professional activities, to characterize the basic processes and quality of the psyche of the creative and artistically developed personality of the teacher, as well as to offer pedagogical ways of forming these qualities.

**Presenting main material.** Traditionally, the work of representatives of the professions such as “man – artistic image”, as well as their sphere of activity, is called art, which is subdivided according to historically established types of artistic reflection of reality, namely: arts and crafts, sculpture, architecture, painting, design, etc. Of course, the result of the process of knowledge of the content and

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<sup>2</sup> V.A. Slastenin, I.F. Isaev, E. N., Shiyanov *Pedagogika* [ucheb. posobie dlya stud. vyssh. ped. ucheb. zavedeniy]. Ed. V.A. Slastenin. “Akademiya”, Moscow 2002.

<sup>3</sup> E.A. Klimov, *Psikhologiya professionalnogo samoopredeleniya: Ucheb. posobie* [dlya stud. vyssh. ped. ucheb. zavedeniy]. Izdatelskiy tsentr “Akademiya”, Moscow 2004.

nature of work associated with decorative and applied arts, is professional knowledge (in our case, artistic and labor), which contains: the basic concepts and terms, reflecting everyday reality, scientific knowledge, and knowledge of the basics of artistic designing; Basic scientific laws that reveal relationships and links between various objects and phenomena of reality or professional design activities; theories containing the system of scientific knowledge about a certain set of objects, the interrelations between them and methods of explanation and presentation of phenomena in the specified professional-subject area, etc.

Creative activity in the field of decorative arts also involves practical training, mastery of professional artistic and design skills. Professional skills – is a person-mastered way of carrying out professional actions on the basis of the received knowledge in accordance with the achieved level of production, scientific and technological progress<sup>4</sup>.

To date, there is no unambiguous interpretation of the essence of the concept of “skill”. Such psychologists and educators as M. Danilov, G. Kostiuk, I. Lerner, V. Razumovskyi, M. Skatkin, N. Talyzina, B. Teplov consider “skill” as a process of activity, ability to perform actions, and others, in particular E. Kabanova-Meller interprets the “ability” as readiness and ability to perform certain activities, therefore, in her opinion, developmental training should purposefully be directed towards the formation of teaching methods, that is, the system of actions aimed at solving educational tasks<sup>5</sup>. V. Krutetskyi proposes to differentiate, on the one hand, the concept of “ability”, on the other hand, skills and abilities, emphasizing that “it would be wrong to break them, and it would be wrong to identify them. To distinguish them for research purposes, «dilute» in the process of scientific analysis is not only possible, but also required”<sup>6</sup>.

Another view was adhered by S. Rubinstein, considering these categories interrelated and interdependent and focusing on a peculiar dialectic between skills and abilities. He stressed that, on the one hand, in the process of acquiring knowledge, skills and abilities develop abilities, that is, their formation and development is impossible outside of the process of mastering the relevant knowledge, skills and abilities. On the other hand, the process of acquiring knowledge, skills and abilities depends on the other conditions and on the individual characteristics of the student: the ability to more quickly, easily and deeply master the relevant knowledge, skills and habits<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> A.I. Kuz'mins'kyy, *Pedahohika vyshchoyi shkoly: navch. posibnyk*. Znannya, Kiev 2005.

<sup>5</sup> E.N. Kabanova-Meller, *Uchebnaya deyatel'nost' y razvyvayushchee obuchenye*. Znanye, Moscov 1981.

<sup>6</sup> V.A. Krutetskyi, *Psykhohyya matematycheskykh sposobnostey shkol'nykov*. Prosveshchenye, Moscov 1968.

<sup>7</sup> S.L. Rubynshteyn, *Osnovy obshchey psykhohyy: ucheb. posob.* [dlya stud. vyssh. ucheb. zaved.]. Pyter, Saint Petersburg 2006.

We are supported by the provision proposed by V. Krutetskyi, who understands abilities and skills as concrete acts of the activities carried out by a person at a sufficiently high level. Instead, abilities are individual psychological peculiarities of a person, which facilitate quick and easy mastering of the relevant habits and skills<sup>8</sup>.

It should be emphasized that by analyzing skills, habits and abilities, it is always necessary to analyze activity. Therefore, the presence of a student's abilities, artistic and design knowledge, skills and abilities, we judge by the peculiarities of his performing appropriate creative activities in the field of decorative arts. However, this activity can be viewed from a different angle; this is the approach that determines the distinction between abilities and artistic and labor knowledge and skills.

In addition, for successful occupation of one or another professional activity, professionally important personal qualities are needed, which can be attributed to interests, inclinations, abilities; properties of temperament, features of character; peculiarities of the course of mental processes: sensations, attention, thinking, memory, imagination, etc.; motor features; general physical development, state of health, etc. The researchers also highlight the general professional qualities that are needed for any specialist: professionalism, competence, organization, conscientiousness, creative attitude to work, business activity, entrepreneurship, desire for reasonable risk, etc.

At the same time, the profession of a technology teacher (in particular, its artistic and labor component) puts a number of specific psychological requirements that are determined by the subject of work – in an artistic way.

The artistic image is the result of human, cognitive-spiritual and aesthetic-practical activity of man, and the concept of “artistic” is directly related to the specificity of creative practice, which paints human cognition and thinking. The result of this knowledge and thinking is artistic knowledge, artistic representation of the world, which predetermines a person's artistic consciousness in general. Under the influence of the art of thinking, enriched with feelings, experiences, fantasy of the creators of artistic practice, becoming artistic based on the experience of communicating with art.

Analysis of scientific literature shows that for the profession of type “man – artistic image” the most important are visual-imaginative memory, spatial and creative imagination, visual-imaginative thinking, artistic ability, artistic culture, aesthetic taste. Let's examine them in more detail.

*Memory* is the fixation, storage and subsequent reproduction of a person's previous experience. It is thanks to memory that a person can accumulate information, acquire knowledge, skills and abilities necessary for his activity<sup>9</sup>. By

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<sup>8</sup> V.A. Krutetskyi, op. cit.

<sup>9</sup> S.S. Maksymenko, *Zahal'na psykhohihiya: navch. posibnyk* [dlya studentiv VNZ]. MAUP, Kiev 2003.

content and character of psychic activity we distinguish motor, emotional, verbal-logical and visual-imaginative memory.

*Visual-memory* is manifested in the memory of images, representations of the picture of nature and life, of specific objects and phenomena, their properties and connections between them. The essence of this type of memory is that the perceived will be reproduced later in the form of representations. It should be noted that depending on what analyzers are occupied during memorization, memory is visual, auditory, touching, olfactory, and tasteful. This division is connected with the predominance of one or another type of reproductive representations, and “the physiological background is the temporary nerve connections of the signal”<sup>10</sup>. In the artistic and labor activities, a special place is given to the visual-imaginative memory.

The ease of reproduction of images depends on two factors: firstly, the content of the reproduction is influenced by the meaningful features of the image, its emotional color and the general condition of the person at the time of perception; secondly, the ease of reproduction depends on the state of the person at the moment of reproduction, and the accuracy of reproduction is determined by the extent of the use of language in the perception. That is, the language appears as a means of understanding by the person of his sensory experience.

*Imagination* is a peculiar form of human reflection of reality, the process of creating it on the basis of previous experience of object images, which he never perceived<sup>9</sup>. The term *spatial imagination* is applied to cases where the spatial form and location of objects clearly appear, but the objects themselves may appear to be extremely uncertain. Spatial imagination mainly depends on the visual-motor apparatus, and sometimes on the forefront is the visual, and at other times – the motor component<sup>11</sup>.

The role of imagination in the creative process associated with artistic design in the field of arts and crafts is difficult to overestimate. Therefore, in the context of artistic design education, one should speak of creative imagination, which is characterized by the fact that the student transforms the presentation and independently creates new images by choosing the necessary materials for them. That is, the practical design-activity plays an important role in the creation of images, because, when embodying the image in a drawing, model or model, the student verifies their reality.

The process of imagination is always inextricably linked with two other mental processes – memory and thinking. The level of development of the imagination and its peculiarities are of no less importance to artistic and design creativity than the level of development of thinking. *Thinking* is the higher cognitive mental process of “mediated and generalized reflection by man of objects and phenomena of objective reality in their essential links and relationships”<sup>9</sup>. The essence of this

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<sup>10</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>11</sup> A.H. Maklakov, *Obshchaya psikhologhiya*. Pyter, Saint Petersburg 2002.

process is the emergence of new knowledge on the basis of creative reflection and human transformation of objective ambient reality. Often, thinking is divided into theoretical and practical, while in theoretical thinking we distinguish verbal-logical (abstract), and in practical – clearly-effective and visual-figurative thinking.

It is axiomatic that thinking is generated by the needs of human practice, therefore, in ontogenesis, *visually-effective thinking* – the genetically the earliest stage of its development – is elementary in nature for children of early age. This type of thinking is also characteristic of an adult who, in the content of the profession, needs a variety of combinations, constructing, and design. Namely, clearly-effective thinking is necessary when the most effective solution to the problem is possible in the process of practical activity (in our case – artistic and design) with the application of practical-substantive procedures.

Image thinking is a kind of mental process in which images used to be “drawn out” directly from memory or reproduced by imagination are used. *Visual-imaginative thinking* arises directly in the perception of the surrounding reality and without it cannot be implemented. It greatly expands the cognitive capabilities of the individual, giving it the opportunity to more meaningfully and variably reflect reality<sup>9</sup>. Significant possibilities of this kind of thinking are manifested, in particular, in artistic design (examples of modernist or cubist styles) and technical design. Consequently, visual- imaginative thinking develops in activities whose character requires the manipulation of images of various degrees of generalization (for example, when using biological structures in the form of formation), a schematic representation of objects (for example, when furniture is placed on the schematic plans of the premises) and their symbolic designation (for example, when creating logos).

Professional training of future technology teachers has a certain specificity, which is that the training of folk arts and crafts in this case, although it does not set the ultimate goal of the performance of the national craftsman or designer, still requires the formation of students of *artistic and design thinking*.

We believe that the content of this definition in some way is conditioned by the value of its components: “artistic design” and “thinking”. At first glance, this phrase is sufficiently unusual, however, we will try to give it a preliminary interpretation by analogy with such concepts as mathematical thinking, artistic thinking, etc., each of which, of course, involves mastering certain special knowledge, but not limited to them. It is absolutely clear that when it comes to one or another type of thinking, this means not the quantity of special knowledge, but the particular quality of consciousness and the relation to reality.

Numerous studies have found that thinking objectively exists as a living process, that is, as something volatile, completely incomplete, because it is dialectically a reflection of constantly changing living conditions. In the process of mental activity, a person thinks about the essence of the facts that reveals to her the reality, and this fact is perhaps the most important: the ability to think about makes it possible to evaluate their own discoveries and actions. With regard to certain

knowledge and skills, they are known to influence the development of thinking, but never completely replace it. That is why it is important to form artistic and design knowledge and skills in future technology teachers as well as special ways of knowing the world around that would allow them, together with their students, to develop a harmonious environment that meets modern requirements, trends and styles.

Artistic design thinking determines that the student holds such evaluative judgments and ways of creative activity that determine the aesthetic attitude to the world of things and the surrounding reality as a whole. The most important components of artistic design thinking include: constructiveness, expediency, variability and flexibility, sense of style and style harmony.

*Constructivity* can be described as a quality of thinking which allows carrying out transformational activity on the basis of a functional analysis of the initial substantive situation. In fact, this is a general ability to transform activity.

When receiving information that a particular object or system does not meet the requirements (utilitarian, aesthetic, environmental, economic, etc.), that is where a problem situation appears. To solve it should be designed a system of actions aimed at transforming the imperfect object or creating a new one that meets the requirements. Constructive thinking allows in this situation to create an ideal (that is, imaginary) image, which will direct the practical actions of its embodiment. Constructivity is the ability to design project ideas. This stage in the artistic and design activities is the most important, since it allows us to present in the model-sign form a “script” of the future functioning of the subject and thus identify and eliminate its imperfect properties at the stage of design development.

*Expediency* as a quality of art-design thinking closely linked to constructiveness. When constructivity can be defined as the ability to set a goal (ie, goal-setting), then feasibility is the ability to build a system of actions that is clearly consistent with this goal.

The expediency is manifested at the stage of development of the project idea: the more precisely the imaginary model will meet the set requirements, that is, the purpose, so it is more successful. The next activity, aimed at the materialization of ideal projects, should also be built in accordance with the goal. The expediency reflects an understanding of the connection between decorative, artistic, color, texture and design properties of the subject with the scope of its functioning. The presence of this quality of thinking leads to the possibility of designing object, taking into account utilitarian, aesthetic and other requirements to it.

*The variability and flexibility of thinking* allows you to create and develop several variants of projects that are consistent with the goal (task). The creative thinking designer wants to build as many options as possible, from which you can choose one – the best, but you can also develop many options as varieties of creative problem solving. The variability of thinking, of course, increases with the acquisition and expansion of experience and knowledge, but besides them in the

educational process, an important role is played by appropriate methods that further stimulate the solution of creative tasks.

*A sense of style and style harmony* allows you to approach the assessment and creation of the surrounding subject environment as a whole. It is the style, as a combination of characteristic features, peculiar to something, characterizes a stable unity. Usually this unity is revealed through certain techniques of artistic decoration and methods of shaping. In general, the concept of “style” combines a rather complex of dialectical relations of ideological content and artistic form that characterizes both an epoch, a region, a nation, a social group, and a separate creative personality.

**Conclusions and perspectives of further scientific research.** Considered above qualities of the future teacher of technology in the context of forming his readiness to use arts and crafts in their professional activities determine the main content of his training in higher education. It is absolutely obvious that they are important both for the type of professions “man – artistic image”, and “man –man”. This is the main value of creative artistic and employment activities in the field of decorative arts, which allows you to systematically form the listed qualities in the future teacher of technology.

Decorative and applied arts can awaken and at least partially realize the creative potential of the student, embedded in each individual. Through creative work, which gives the maximum opportunity to reveal all components of human nature, the most active processes of creative materialization of the human spirit, self-expression and self-affirmation of man are the most active processes. Future technology teachers gradually form the feeling and understanding that work brings aesthetic pleasure, creates a pleasant emotion. That is why the use of decorative and applied art in the professional training of future teachers has a great educational effect on student youth, awakens in their patriotic feelings, a respectful attitude to national values, care for the development of art. This means that the system of assessments that future technology teachers and their students will manage in the process of artistic and labor activity should reflect the most important human values and build on a certain ideological basis. Nowadays such a philosophical basis of activity is a special attitude of a person to the world around him and understanding of his place in it.

Therefore, the prospect of further scientific research can be the simulation of purposeful and systematic artistic and labor training of students under the guidance of a teacher, which should provide a clear statement of tasks, as well as the appropriate selection of content, methods, techniques and means of realizing tasks for the creation of design objects and harmonious environment in general.

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## SUMMARY

The article is devoted to the issue of highlighting the requirements for the professional qualities of a modern technology teacher. In particular, attention is focused on the psychological and pedagogical requirements for the knowledge and skills of the specified category of specialists.

In the process of generalization and systematization of scientific data, the requirements for the formation and development of such qualities of the future teacher as visual memory, spatial and creative imagination, visual-figurative thinking, artistic abilities, artistic culture, aesthetic taste, as well as a special way of knowing surrounding world, the basis of which is determined by the artistic and design thinking are revealed.

## STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł poświęcony jest zagadnieniu podkreślenia wymagań dotyczących umiejętności zawodowych nowoczesnego nauczyciela technologii. W szczególności zwraca się uwagę na psychologiczne i pedagogiczne wymagania dotyczące wiedzy i umiejętności określonej kategorii specjalistów.

W procesie uogólniania i usystematyzowania danych naukowych wymagania dotyczą kształtowania i rozwijania takich cech przyszłego nauczyciela jak pamięć wzrokowa, wyobraźnia przestrzenna i twórcza, myślenie wizualno-figuratywne,



zdolności artystyczne, kultura artystyczna, smak estetyczny, jak również szczególny sposób poznania otaczającego świata, ukształtowany poprzez myślenie artystyczne i projektowe.

**Key words:** a technology teacher, readiness, requirements for a profession, knowledge, skills, decorative and applied arts, aesthetic taste

**Słowa kluczowe:** nauczyciel technologii, gotowość, wymagania do zawodu, wiedza, umiejętności, sztuki dekoracyjne i użytkowe, smak estetyczny



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## WAYS OF IMPROVEMENT OF ECOLOGICAL-ECONOMIC EDUCATION IN THE PROCESS OF PROFESSIONAL TRAINING

### SPOSOBY POPRAWY EDUKACJI EKOLOGICZNO- EKONOMICZNEJ W PROCESIE KSZTAŁCENIA ZAWODOWEGO

The need to improve the ecological and economic orientation of the content of education in general education and high school is reinforced by the requirements of society. After all, such a direction of education is expressed in shaping the attitude of young people both to nature and to man. The global environmental crisis is by far the greatest threat to humanity; its elimination is perhaps the most important task. To solve this problem, first of all, it is necessary to change the approach and attitude to the organization and implementation of ecological and economic education. It needs to be built on the use of almost all educational disciplines of educational and professional training of a specialist, on the achievements of all fundamental and applied sciences, in close connection between them, taking into account the nature and forces of the eternal interaction of all phenomena and processes occurring in nature.

With an invaluable legacy in the field of ecology and ecological education, including the work of prominent progressive scientists such as V. Vernadskyi, M. Kholodnyi, M. Gavrylenko, D. Beling, V. Gurskyi, O. Vangengeim, V. Brukhovskyi, N. Desyatkova-Shostenko, modern Ukrainian scholarly researchers A. Begeka, V. Bondarenko, O. Plakhotnik, A. Philipchenko develop effective areas of ecological and economic education.

The fulfillment of the tasks of economic education and upbringing is impossible without scientifically substantiated content, forms and methods. But, unfortunately, as noted O. Padalka and V. Shepot'ko is not developed a single system of economic and labor education of students, preparation for this important problem of educational personnel. Number of scientists (O. Amend, V. Gryshenko, V. Polyakov, V. Rozov, I. Sasova, B. Shemyakin, A. Nisimchuk, I. Smolyuk, G. Kovalchuk) consider certain aspects of economic education.

Different aspects of the functioning of pedagogical systems, didactic foundations of education are researched in works of O. Antonova, S. Vitvutska,

S. Honcharenko, O. Dubasenyuk, N. Kuzmina, and in particular, environmentally-oriented, – H. Bilyavskiy, V. Brovdiy, A. Zakhlebnyi, I. Zverev, O. Plakhotnik.

However, according to the results of scientific research, there are practically no scientific works on the development of a methodology for the formation of a system of concepts of ecological and economic content, which would combine the formation of stable theoretical knowledge and the acquisition of skills of their use in future practical activities. Their experience shows that the teaching of professional disciplines in higher educational institutions is mostly carried out in accordance with the traditional methodology. It is aimed at reaching students with a certain level of knowledge and mastering practical skills that are not always consistent with future professional activities. The isolation of environmentally and economically oriented education leads to contradictions between the requirements for training future specialists and the practice of ecologically and economically oriented training. On the basis of the analysis of psychological and pedagogical theory and practice it is proved that the traditional explanatory and illustrative system of education no longer provides for the formation of students knowledge, skills and abilities of independent cognitive activity, does not stimulate their creative educational cognitive activity.

Therefore, a complex of knowledge of a different nature is needed to solve the problem of the introduction of continuous ecological and economic education. The championship in the implementation of ecological and economic knowledge in the educational process belongs to such integrative disciplines as social ecology, geo-ecology, and natural science. The acquisition of knowledge of ecological and economic content by young people and their awareness of environmental problems (both global and local), in our opinion, will contribute to the further establishment of their environmental thinking and, which is extremely important, will encourage young people to engage in ecological and environmental activities.

It should be noted that so far the restructuring of a secondary school has not made anything into the treasury of environmental and economic education. A similar situation has also arisen in higher educational establishments. Usually they are limited to the course of general ecology, at best, for the technical specialties are taught ecological special course. In particular, according to G. Schwebs, general and continuous ecological education and education on the scale of the country have not yet been realized<sup>1</sup>.

Practicing pedagogues, understanding the importance of environmental education reform, offer concrete measures. For example, N. Gnilusha, along with the ecologization of all educational subjects, sees it necessary to introduce three special disciplines that give an understanding of the integrity of nature and the place in it: ecology as an object describing a person in its interaction with the

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<sup>1</sup> F.I. Peregudov, *Systemic activity and education*. UNESCO CEPES. 1990, Vol. XV, No. 4; *Ecology and Economics*. Ed. K.M. Sytin. Politizdat of Ukraine, Kiev 1986.

environment, social science describing a person in society, and psychology, which reveals the world of the human person, his ability and opportunities<sup>2</sup>.

In the context of approaches to the introduction of ecological and economic education, there is a problem of training a teacher, a qualified specialist. According to O. Girnyi and R. Shiyan, the main disadvantage of school environmental education is that scientific and methodological work begins with students who become the subject of experimental programs on ecology. Another approach is to start ecological and economic education in specialist training, in this case, not so much a natural scientist as a specialist who is knowledgeable with the content of ecological and economic problems of the environment, ethics, culturology, general scientific methodology, anthropology, sociology, history, etc.

Thus, we regard ecological and economic education as two closely related and mutually complementary directions, since they have the same object of research – the system “society-nature”. Integration of ecological and economic education is carried out at the level of setting their goals and objectives, content and principles defining the basics of their design.

At the same time, the integration of the forms of knowledge we are considering can not provide for the formation of ecological and economic thinking. F. Peregudov believes that a large amount of redundant information is a major problem in modern education. It can only be resolved by shifting the emphasis on the structurally functional method of cognition, “...which allows us to comprehend and acquire a sufficiently immutable, only gradually and logically constructed framework of fundamental knowledge, which captures and strengthens the substantive and especially interpersonal connections”<sup>3</sup>.

For our investigation, the concepts of “environmental and economic education”, “environmental and economic concepts”, “environmental and economic assessments”, “ecological and economic instruments” are crucial.

Based on the above-mentioned approaches to the definition of “environmental education”, we consider environmental education as an educational process that is directly aimed at understanding environmental protection issues and other issues that are closely related to it. The process of environmental education involves acquiring knowledge, skills, experience for individual and collective work, for making decisions on existing environmental problems and preventing new ones. At the same time, environmental education is a process of assimilating values and concepts oriented towards the formation of relations necessary for understanding and assessing the interrelationships between people, their culture and the natural environment.

As E. Berezin and A. Belichenko remarked, the ecologization of economic education should be based on three components: economic, social and

<sup>2</sup> N.V. Gnilusha, *Continuous ecological education as a socio-pedagogical problem*. Native School 998, No. 4, pp. 55–57.

<sup>3</sup> F.I. Peregudov, op. cit.

environmental ones<sup>4</sup>. Dwelling on the latter two, we emphasize that the social component of economic education should orient the personality not so much to meet their own needs, but to ensure the preservation of the environment. The content of the environmental component is the awareness of the future specialist of the need for stability in the relationship between man and nature in the production process. In this context, we note that economic education acquires humanistic aspects.

The ecological and economic education of the population is extremely important for the implementation of the ideas of sustainable development. Therefore, among the main themes of education in the interests of sustainability include: continuing education throughout life; Interdisciplinary education; Partnership; Multicultural education<sup>5</sup>.

We note that it is education that promotes the welfare of people and is one of the decisive factors for creating conditions for people to become useful and responsible members of society. The content of economic education is directly related to the content of environmental education because they consider the two sides of the process of relations between society and nature, economic knowledge of the production process can be used in studying the degree of influence of this process on the environmental situation.

The interconnections of the ecological and economic components of education are traced through continuity and continuity in the teaching of material on the example of the general subjects of the natural cycle and special disciplines of the economic cycle, which are studied at a higher educational institution. We consider the interaction of such forms of knowledge as ecological and economic within the subjects of ecological and economic cycles. By studying the trends in the development of the theory of ecological and economic education, we determine that its main strategic directions coincide. Integration of ecological and economic education is carried out on the basis of setting goals, objectives, content of their principles, which determine the conditions for their design.

Concepts of ecological and economic content can not be studied in isolation from the main content of the subject. Within the framework of a particular educational subject, an environmental problem is also considered, which follows from the peculiarities of its content.

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<sup>4</sup> E.A. Berezin, A.G. Belichenko, *Necessity, essence and main provisions of the ecology of economic education in a technical university*, [In:] *Ecol. images. and education at a technical college (problems, searches, solutions, perspectives)*. Ed. V.N. Baryakin. Kiev 1991.

<sup>5</sup> F.I. Peregodov, op. cit.; S.I. Zair-Beck, *Formation of a system of concepts of ecological and economic content in the course of studying the course "Geography of Russia"*. Author's abstract. Dis... Cand. Ped. Sciences. Moscow 1996.

The main objective of ecological education is the formation of a culture of behavior and an appropriate attitude to the environment by integrating natural sciences and socio-humanities as a factor in the education of ecological culture.

We determine that ecological and economic education is a purposeful process of assimilating a future specialist in environmental and economic concepts.

Ecological-economic concepts is an integrative system of environmental and economic knowledge of students about nature and society.

Ecological-economic assessments are types of economic indicators that characterize the change in the parameters of economic activity of economic actors in response to the processes of using natural goods or influence on the components of the environment.

Ecological and economic instruments are means of influencing the financial status of economic entities in order to organize their activities in an environmentally friendly direction.

Consequently, the evolution of views on the development of human relations and the environment have evolved over the millennia. The theoretical analysis of the primary sources from the problem under study made it possible to make some generalizations regarding the views on the nature and tasks of ecological and economic education in the historical perspective. Analysis of the state of problem development in its theoretical aspect has allowed highlighting the main periods of ecological and economic education. Conditionally, the first period we define as empirical (until the middle of the nineteenth century). The second is a generalization, which covers the period from the middle of the nineteenth century till the first half of the twentieth century, when the first theoretical foundations and generalizations were created. The third period, which we call experimentally-theoretical, covers the period from the second half of the twentieth century. It was in the third period that the theoretical positions of professional education were formed, and, consequently, the training of students in higher educational institutions. It is from these positions that we are considering the training of specialists who are capable of changing the mentality of society as a consumer of natural resources.

Such components of the technological process as raw material, energy, waste, product are known to students from the courses of geography, chemistry, physics. They will learn about the influence on the person of this or that production in the courses of biology, ecology, labor protection.

Thus, beginning with the study of the technological process, students have knowledge of:

- stocks of the necessary raw materials, problems of extraction, expediency of its use in production, its transportation, as well as the environmental aspect of these problems;

- energy intensity of the technological process, the main sources of energy, the hardship of production to the sources of energy, the impact of energy companies (nuclear power plants, thermal power stations, thermal power stations) on the environment;

- harmfulness of production for the health of people, its complexity, scientific capacity;
- influence of the technological process on the environment;
- features of water and air use during production;
- features of the use, transportation and disposal of the product of production;
- hazardous waste production, the possibility of their secondary use and recycling, means of cleaning of harmful wastewater and emissions into the atmosphere, ways to prevent environmental pollution.

This knowledge gained by students in the process of studying geography, chemistry, physics, biology, ecology, labor protection, is an ecological component of the study of any discipline, in particular, economic.

In the course of economics, students study environmental activities of the enterprise. There are two directions: cleaning up harmful emissions and eliminating the causes of pollution. Such activity is carried out mainly by engineering methods. Here we see a combination of three areas of scientific knowledge: ecology, economics and technology. In this connection, the limits of application of ecological knowledge in the economy extend, thus deepening integration of ecological and economic education.

Due to the continuity of ecological-economic education, integrational connections, humanist orientation in the implementation of ecological and economic education, there is a comprehensive, full-time training of junior specialists in college. It becomes extremely important in the context of the needs of the state in highly educated economists, engineers, technologists who are well aware that the most efficient solution to environmental and economic problems is possible under the conditions of their integrated solution, prediction of their occurrence in the future and planning of appropriate preventive measures.

To eliminate the priorities of the economy over the environment, people need to change first of all themselves. To do this, it is necessary to fill the general secondary education with new content, to form such a basis of knowledge, through which the individual and society as a whole would be able to come to equilibrium. The over-objective and integrative nature of the ecology and economy in many respects determines their system-forming role in the educational process.

The construction of the content of ecological education is determined on the basis of a set of principles that can be divided into three groups: philosophical and methodological, methodical-didactic and organizational-pedagogical. The basic principles are interdisciplinary, systematic, and integrative. It is taking into account these principles to solve the problem of formation of ecological thinking, which consists in the ability to consider the environmental problem in the broad social range, taking into account the priorities of universal principles, to analyze the interaction of society and nature on a global and regional scale, to predict the immediate and long-term consequences of man's influence on the environment.

Among ecological concepts it is right to highlight the concept of ecological and economical content, which combine economic and environmental components.



These concepts help to understand the economic mechanism of human influence and material products of its activities on the environment and the economic consequences of the impact of the natural environment on people and the system of its economic relations.

The concept of ecological and economic content is a reflection of the relationship between the two branches of scientific knowledge – ecology and economics. In higher education, this relationship is followed in courses of natural sciences (geography, biology, chemistry, physics).

In the process of studying natural sciences, students must learn the principles of interaction between the components of the system “man – society – nature”, the reasons causing changes in this system, environmental requirements for production, as well as environmental problems of different levels and economic ways of their solution.

Solving the problems faced by students can be ensured in the free operation of the concepts of ecological and economic content, in conjunction with the basic concepts of courses of natural sciences. In addition, any geographic, biological, chemical or physical phenomenon or object has an ecological aspect that reflects its place in the system “man – society – nature”.

However, the analysis of the problem under study and the experience of work at a higher educational establishment suggest the need to develop and test the optimal training programs and manuals and forecast the ecological and economic education of future teachers at each stage of their advanced training (junior specialist – bachelor – master).

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## SUMMARY

The article deals with the relationship of environmental and economic education in the process of vocational training; the conditions of preparation of a specialist-general, familiar with the content of environmental and economic problems are disclosed.

## STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł podejmuje temat znaczenia edukacji ekologicznej i ekonomicznej w procesie kształcenia zawodowego; zostały przedstawione warunki przygotowania specjalisty ogólnego, zaznajomionego z treścią problemów środowiskowych i ekonomicznych.

**Key words:** ecological and economic education, environmental and economic concepts, environmental and economic assessments, ecological and economic instruments

**Słowa kluczowe:** edukacja ekologiczna i ekonomiczna, koncepcje środowiskowe i ekonomiczne, oceny środowiskowe i ekonomiczne, instrumenty ekologiczne i ekonomiczne

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## CSR – COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF CSR IN MACHINE BUILDING SECTOR IN WARMIŃSKO-MAZURSKIE VOIVODESHIP, POLAND AND IN BULGARIA

## CSR – ANALIZA PORÓWNIWCZA CSR W PRZEMYŚLE MASZYNOWYM W WOJEWÓDZTWIE WARMIŃSKO-MAZURSKIM W POLSCE I W BUŁGARII

### **Introduction**

Sustainable development is considered to be such activities of people and organizations that the planet shall remain the same as we know it today. In order to rise to the challenge of sustainable development, a consensus is needed between all market players while establishing and observing the norms and standards regarding the exploitation of the environment and social life.

Until recently the EU *corporate social responsibility* – CSR has been regarded as the concept of sustainable development, according to which companies voluntarily took ecology and social issues into consideration (that was their freedom of choice, considered as a privilege and not a duty or constraint). The new conception of sustainable development defines how a company affects the society and how to keep balance between company and public interest. (The company's well-being cannot be against the expectations of the society). One can be tempted to state that CSR is a public action of the company that meets the needs of the society. Also, that it is a dynamic process which evokes creativity in companies that results in innovative solutions meeting the needs of the society. (The company which does not keep up with the changes taking place around goes out of business). CSR embedded in the company's vision and mission is a sign of corporate. Such a company knows what to do and how to do it and its products meet both basic needs of their clients and the needs of the society. CSR is at its best when entrepreneurs and the community (e.g. their representatives: local governments and NGOs) can come to an agreement and focus on what they have in common rather than what divides them. Then CSR is not an idea fixe.

Among corporations, CSR has evolved from philanthropy to a fully-aware strategic planning of socially responsible behavior. The companies soon realized that participating in socially responsible behavior is good investment for their future. It is also a way to be 'granted an absolution' – intentionally or not – for the

behavior that was not socially accepted so far. It is a measure to win the community for the time when the company has to face a crisis.

The main characteristic of social responsibility of the company is its aspiration to take social and environmental issues into account in their decision-making processes as well as to take responsibility for the effects their decisions have on the society and environment. Responsible business seeks the synergy between the three areas of its activity: economic, environmental and social. In Poland the idea of CSR has been developing for over dozen or more years. One of the pioneering academic centres that started dealing with the topic was Akademia Leona Koźmińskiego (Kozminski University). Forum Odpowiedzialnego Biznesu (Responsible Business Forum) founded in 2001, has been the most commonly-known NGO that promotes and supports the development of CSR, educates students, conducts research, and realizes projects in cooperation with partner companies.

### Reasons for research

38,7% of companies state that they know about CSR solutions with regard to employment and working conditions (PKPP Lewiatan 2010). According to the ranking of Responsible Companies from 2010, only 20 out of the 70 companies questioned were Polish companies. There was no company from Warmia and Masuria Region. 40% of the companies which are familiar with social responsibility admits that talk with their employees about business ethics and only 20% has CSR strategy (PARP 2010).

In Warmia and Masuria Region, Region Warmińsko-Mazurski NSZZ “Solidarność” in Olsztyn has been one of the first organizations that decided to promote and disseminate CSR. This organization has cooperated in the Italian-Polish transnational partnership – EQUAL. Italian Partners participated in the project called *Wspomaganie procesów innowacyjnych w małych i średnich przedsiębiorstwach: małe przedsiębiorstwo jako skuteczny nośnik zrównoważonego rozwoju* (Supporting innovation processes in small and medium-sized enterprises: small enterprise as efficient dissemination tool of sustainable development). The Polish partner realized the project called: *Wspieranie zakładów restrukturyzowanych i ich pracowników* (Supporting the restructured companies and their employees) and in the frames of the transnational cooperation has gained the knowledge on CSR and familiarized with best practice conceived by the Italian partner<sup>1</sup>. Currently Region Warmińsko-Mazurski NSZZ “Solidarność” together with Fundacja “Instytut Społecznej Odpowiedzialności Organizacji” (Institute of Social Responsibility of Organizations) and Bulgarian Branch Chamber (machine

<sup>1</sup> S. Pivato, S. Pogutz, A. Perrini, A. Tencati, N. Misani, A. Marino, *Badania ilościowe. La responsabilita Sociale Dell azienda. Społeczna Odpowiedzialność Przedsiębiorstw*. Ed. R. Walkowiak. Olsztyńska Wyższa Szkoła Informatyki i Zarządzania im. Prof. Tadeusza Kotarbińskiego, Olsztyn 2008, p. 89.

– building industry, precision industry, electrical industry) are implementing another project called: *Wymiana dobrych praktyk w obszarze CSR branży maszynowej z Polski i Bulgarii. Przewodnik dobrych praktyk (The exchange of best practice with regard to CSR in machine building sector in Poland and Bulgaria. Best Practice Guidelines)*.

Machine industry needs modernization and that process requires qualifications from the employees, effective management of their potential by supervisors, safe work conditions and the implementation of new solutions with regard to sustainable development. The companies that operate in that sector need solutions which will enable them to invest in accordance with the rules of sustainable development. According to Olsztyn Voivodeship Employment Agency in 2011 industry sector is developing, it generates 12,1% new vacancies, its revenue in May, 2011 increased by 18,4% and the labour efficiency per worker rose by 13,6 in proportion to May 2010.

In order to develop dynamically, machine industry has to include sustainable development in its strategy. Sustainable development is capital intensive, and the capital could be acquired in the surroundings. The capital creates best practices as well. Therefore, CSR should be widely promoted in a way that encourages entrepreneurs to learn and compare models of CSR best practices. The promotion should initiate innovation processes in the companies involved.

The level of CSR awareness depends on the size of the companies. Similarly, the bigger the company, the more its employees know about CSR. That does not result from a larger number of employees but from the fact that bigger companies operate on international and global markets. They establish business contacts with companies, which already have CSR activities included in their strategies and one of the provisions to start such cooperation stipulates that they have to follow the strategy with regard to CSR. In that way the knowledge about CSR is imported by Polish companies. Besides, Poland popularizes and promotes CSR among Polish entrepreneurs through a number of EU programs such this one, which is just one of many that Warmińsko-Mazurskie Voivodeship participates and shares the knowledge on CSR with Bulgarian Machine Building Chamber from Sofia.

The benefits that the stakeholders derive from the participation in the Project include, among others, establishing cooperation with other companies that participate in the project, as well as more efficient CSR promotion in Warmińsko-Mazurskie Voivodeship where CSR is not considered to be a success factor proving company's competitiveness and potential.

## **PROJECT PARTNER: BULGARIAN MACHINE BUILDING CHAMBER IN SOFIA**

### **Purpose**

To compare similarities and differences in the level of knowledge and application of socially responsible solutions in Polish and Bulgarian machine

building companies. In particular, in terms of the organization of posts, environment protection and local initiatives.

To create safe and good work conditions by establishing the cooperation network and to develop the Guidelines for the application of social responsibility on the basis of the expertise of Bulgarian Machine Building Chamber.

The Guidelines shall be prepared for entrepreneurs and supervisors working in machine building industry. One of the most important results of the research shall be the dissemination of sustainable development best practices among employers and employees in Warmińsko-Mazurskie Voivodeship, in particular in terms of the organization of posts, environment protection and local initiatives.

From the research conducted in Italy it can be stated that **“CSR is often a spontaneous course of action that is not strategically defined but commonly practiced”**<sup>2</sup>. This conclusion became **Main Hypothesis**. We verified it in machine building companies operating in Warmia and Mazury Voivodeship and machine building sector in Bulgaria. This conclusion inspired the authors so much that they decided to find out if the situation in Poland is similar. And the following statement inspired us even more: „Such informal and unconscious acting seems to be sheer Italian quality among small enterprises in particular”<sup>3</sup>. In our opinion, this is not only Italian quality. To verify that opinion a questionnaire was developed. It was based on the contents of tables and charts of the ‘report’ on the research carried out by Bocconi University in cooperation with project partners, i.e. National Chamber of Craft (CNA ECIPE, its agencies CNA Impresa Sensibile, ETIPAR and Comes), and also with local organizations CNA from Emilia-Romania, Syracuse Arezzo and Tuscany Region<sup>4</sup>.

The aim of the research conducted in Italy was to define real activities done by the companies in terms of CSR policy whereas the purpose of ours is to compare the similarities and differences in the level of knowledge and application of socially responsible solution with regard to the organization of posts, environment protection and local initiatives. The research is conducted within the confines of the project: “Exchange of good practices of social responsibility in machine building companies in Poland and Bulgaria. Guidelines for applying of social responsibility”.

The research was carried out at the same time in Poland and Bulgaria from May do July 2012. Region Warmińsko-Mazurski NSZZ “Solidarność”, which formed the research team for that purpose and Bulgarian Machine Building Chamber in Sofia (which unites about 300 entrepreneurs from Bulgaria) are responsible for conducting the research.

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<sup>2</sup> Ibidem, p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> Ibidem, p. 89.

<sup>4</sup> Ibidem.

### Methods and research description

Before commencing the research subject literature was studied including the Central Statistical Office documents, labour market organizations documents, local press and reports. Next, a number of talks, interviews and observations took place. The gathered empirical material helped us develop a questionnaire which was later used to conduct a survey between May and June 2012, both in Poland, Warmińsko-Mazurskie Voivodeship and in Bulgaria. The next step was to do the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the gathered empirical material. A report was produced which presented the results and conclusions. 202 respondents were surveyed: 170 (84,16%) from Poland and 32 (1,84%) from Bulgaria. In order to compare the results, 64 questionnaires out of 170 were chosen at random to make sure that the research results are representative.

The types of activities done by the surveyed companies were presented below in a form of two separate specifications. The former for Warmia and Mazury Voivodeship and the latter for Bulgaria. In the questionnaire filled in by the Bulgarian respondent representing microcompany there is no information on the type of business activity.

### TYPES OF ACTIVITY – SPECIFICATION FOR WARMIŃSKO-MAZURSKIE VOIVODESHIP

**Micro Companies** (1–9 employees): **Production:** machines, optics. **Services:** trade and services, electrical, main, electric heating, electric equipment, mechanical, technical, wire fitting, electric appliances, software, cars, food processing machinery.

**Small Companies** (10–49 employees): **Production:** bathroom fittings, machines technological lines, equipment and ventilation precision machines. **Services:** refrigeration and air-conditioning, wiring and electro fitting, electronics, electric, building materials and construction machinery trade, logistics, crane monitoring systems, machinery repair, metal parts working, metalworking, services for machinery trade fairs, trading and producing, factory robotics development, designing power supply, designing integrated circuit, international forwarding service, transport – forwarding, electric service.

**Medium-sized Enterprises** (50–249 employees): **Production:** machine building, electric engineering, construction machinery, machinery for other sectors, bookbinding machines, machines for food industry, machines, motorization, engine and crane repair, special production, construction and fittings, compression molding, combustion engines, measuring devices.

**Large enterprises** (over 250 employees): **Production:** apparatus and communications systems, electronics, yacht and motor boats, machinery for agriculture and forestry, motorization, electric machinery, car tyres.

## TYPES OF ACTIVITY – BULGARIA

**Small Enterprises** (10–49 employees): **Production:** hydraulics, construction machinery.

**Medium-sized Enterprises** (50–49 employees): **Production:** machine building, hydraulics, construction machinery, farm machinery, metalworking, founding, cars, home appliances, electric equipment for trucks.

**Large Enterprises** (over 250 employees): **Production:** cast iron, home accessories, electric welding (steel and aluminum pipe welding) and galvanic protection, machinery, tools, optics, aluminum and steel pipes, water turbines, electric equipment, sanitary ware, sewage and plumbing equipment.

To verify the Main Hypothesis, i.e. ***CSR is often a spontaneous course of action that is not strategically defined but commonly practiced*** the following nine partial hypotheses have been formed:

Hypothesis 1. The Internet is the main source of information on CSR.

Hypothesis 2. CSR activities are associated by employees and employers with the certification of the business activities they run.

Hypothesis 3. Motivation and benefits associated with CSR – enhanced corporate.

Hypothesis 4. It is environment protection that all the companies have in common in terms of CSR

Hypothesis 5. Improper circulation of information among employees is the main reason for the impeded dissemination of CSR.

Hypothesis 6. Environmental policy as an activity that facilitates the dissemination of CSR.

Hypothesis 7. The main activities undertaken by companies for the benefit of their employees in terms of CSR focus mainly on training and upgrading skills.

Hypothesis 8. CSR activities towards clients and suppliers focus mainly on the proper selection of suppliers is quality certificate – oriented.

Hypothesis 9. CSR activities of the companies for the benefit of the local communities focus on cultural and sports events.

The nine hypotheses mentioned above were used to form nine problem questions which included several partial problem questions. They all were used in the research questionnaire:

1. How do you know about SCR practices in your company?
2. What areas or activities are associated with CSR by an entrepreneur/employee?
3. What motivation and benefits are associated with the implementation of CSR?
4. What initiatives are undertaken purposefully and unknowingly by an entrepreneur with regard to CSR?
5. What factors impede the dissemination of CSR practices?
6. What activities could facilitate the CSR dissemination?
7. The activities of the company for the benefit of its employees.



8. The activities for the benefit of clients and suppliers.
9. The activities undertaken by companies for the benefit of local communities.

The respondents answered the questions by circling any number of the partial answers.

### Results and conclusions

**The respondents** from both countries gain the knowledge about CSR mainly from the Internet (in Poland – 27,93%, in Bulgaria – 23,73%) (Question 1). Another similarity can be noticed in terms of *Employees and/or supervisors as the source of information*, it is virtually identical and accounts for 17,12% in Poland and 16,95% in Bulgaria. Another striking similarity is the minor role of public administration and non-profit organizations (NGOs) (Poland – 4,5%, Bulgaria – 6,7%). Both countries differ in terms of how often the sources of CSR are applied – in Poland second most often are training courses (22,55%), while in Bulgaria they are Sector information and Mass Media and they constitute 20,34% and 18,64% respectively.

When it comes to the question: What areas or activities are associated with CSR by an entrepreneur/employee? (Question 2) differences can be noticed between the two respondents. In Poland CSR is most commonly associated with *Voluntary environmental, social, quality certificates* (15,81%), whereas in Bulgaria with *Implementation of code of practice / internal regulations* (11,48%). In both countries *Human Resources training policy* comes second (in Poland – 11,16%, in Bulgaria – 10,05%). Other similarities comprise a slight contribution of *Donations, sponsoring, philanthropy* in the surveyed companies (in Poland – 6,05%, in Bulgaria – 6,22%) and *Investment to support local communities* (in Poland – 6,51%, in Bulgaria – 5,26%). Other differences relate to the order of other activities considered by respondents as CSR activities. In Poland they are: *pro-social activities* (9,76%), *Equality policy* (8,37%) and *Policy of employees' and trade unions' participation* (7,91%). In Bulgaria the respondents most often chose: *Customer care initiatives / dialogue with the customer* (8,61%), *Responsible fulfilling duties* (8,13%) and *Transparency of financial reporting* (7,66%). Significantly fewer Polish than Bulgarian respondents associate *Taking measures against bribery* (2,33%), *Cooperation with non-profit organizations* (2,79%) and *Customer care initiatives / dialogue with the customer* (3,72%) with CSR activities.

**As it comes to the Question 3: What motivation and benefits are associated with the implementation of CSR**, differences of opinion between Polish and Bulgarian entrepreneurs are noticeable. The former regard the following as the most important ones: *Enhanced image and reputation of the company* (19,63%), *Improved work atmosphere and better relations with trade unions* (13,40%), *Increased turnover and profits in the long run* (12,92%), *Reduction in managing costs and increased effectiveness of resources management* (11,00%),

*Increased effectiveness and the loyalty of the employees* (10,53%) while the latter consider *Increased effectiveness and the loyalty of the employees* (20,57%), then, however to significantly lower extent *Enhanced image and reputation of the company* (10,86%), *Improved work atmosphere and better relations with trade unions* (10,28%), *Customer increased loyalty* (9,14%).

**The Question 4: What initiatives are undertaken purposefully and unknowingly by an entrepreneur with regard to CSR** have been answered by 60,94% of respondents from Poland and 53,13% respondents from Bulgaria. The answers below are divided by size of enterprises:

**Micro companies** (1–9 employees). Training courses, schooling, awaydays. Activities for the benefit of the environment. Support to various initiatives. Investment in the staff development. Fair marketing. Lawful business activity of the company. Communication materials, development programs. Implementation of best practices to streamline production processes

**Small-sized enterprises** (10–49 employees). Improvement of technology, introduction of certification. Schooling and training courses. Reduction in water consumption. Supporting children's homes. Reimbursement of health examinations and treatment. Monitoring. Sponsoring events such as contests. Observation of human rights. Client care. Reduction in raw materials, energy consumption and hazardous waste. Client and employee-oriented initiatives. Loyalty towards clients and employees. Respect for natural environment.

Undertaking charity activities. Careful selection of partners and clients. Local sponsoring, holding events for employees, economical use of materials. Annual feasts for individual clients and associates. Running courses, certificates and trainings. Investment in staff, attempts to gain quality certificates. Trade training, training for employees and trainees. Internal statute.

**Medium-sized enterprise** (50–249 employees). Activity in accordance with regulations. Reduce hazardous waste production. Activities to protect environment. Sponsoring children's hospitals and kindergartens. Participation in local initiatives. Financing medical care for employees and their families. Financing training courses for employees. Planting trees. Information for staff, training courses, language courses. Environment protection. Human rights. Improvement of work conditions and work atmosphere. Implementation of integrated management system, training courses, purchase of new machines, organizing safe work conditions, participation of employees in sports events, social action, helping the needy. Certification, for example environmental, social and quality. Implementation of innovative technology in production, construction. Co-financing training courses for employees. Additional pension schemes. Supporting employees, 'Open days' events, sponsoring initiatives, improvement of internal communications. Respecting the training policy and environment protection. Obtaining environmental and trade certificates, forming company regulations.

**Large enterprises** (over 250 employees). Implementation of pro-ecological technology. Respecting environment protection rules. ISO 9001 certificates.

Following the rules of sustainable development. Co-financing non-professional courses for employees, recreational activities and sports events. Implementation of internal policies with regard to environment protection, human resources. Application of state-of-the-art technology facilitating sustainable development of the society and the company. Financial support for clubs, holding contests relating to road safety in the region, family meetings that integrate employees, supporting cultural events in the city. Training courses, donations, investment for the benefit of local communities. Financing holidays for underprivileged children. Human welfare, preventing inequalities, observing human rights. Informing the staff about undertaken activities and their effects, cooperation with local governments. Donations and sponsorship, using ecological materials for production.

### **INITIATIVES ARE UNDERTAKEN PURPOSEFULLY AND UNKNOWNLY BY AN ENTREPRENEUR WITH REGARD TO CSR LISTED BY RESPONDENTS FROM BULGARIA**

**Micro companies (1–9 employees).** In the period of the research there was no such category as micro companies in Bulgaria.

**Small-sized enterprises (10–49 employees).** Training courses on human resources, introduction of practice code or external regulations, health and safety regulations.

**Medium-sized enterprises (50–249 employees).** Improvement of work conditions and remuneration, social policy for the employees: food vouchers, reimbursement of travel expenses. Environmental policy, supporting local initiatives, for example at schools, Environment protection, quality certificate (to prove a good reputation of the company). Reduction of pollution and lowering the energy costs, development of health and safety regulations, training courses and staff development. PR activities on how sustainable development affects society, voluntary service, support and integration of orphans, children and the elderly, care about cultural heritage, quality and safety of products, subsidies, sponsoring, scholarships, environment protection, protecting natural resources, recycling, programs of voluntary services for employees, programs ensuring objective and fair rules of remuneration, job satisfaction and the commitment of the staff, scholarships/grants for disabled people, providing tool and teaching materials for schools, offering paid qualifying periods to attract young and intelligent people, staff development, donations and sponsoring, encouraging young intelligent people, activities that bring some benefits for the communities.

**Large enterprises (over 250 employees).** Participation in pro-social activities, introduction of internal regulations, environment protection, providing information and counseling. Acting that is in accordance with environmental policy, equality policy, initiatives that meet social needs of employees, undertaking such initiatives by all entrepreneurs, purposeful and knowing initiatives undertaken by all entrepreneurs, activities related to environment, health and safety, staff

development and training courses, quality and safety of products, activities mainly connected with human resources, financial operations, tangible, something that is useful and is connected with sustainable development. Free of charge, annual dental check-up, reduced prices in canteens,

Respondents from Poland and Bulgaria find it **difficult to disseminate CSR (Question 5)** because of: *Shortage of information* (in Poland – 42,71%, in Bulgaria – 31,03%) and *Shortage of economic resources* (in Poland – 18,75%, in Bulgaria – 34,48%). The main *difference* relates to *Irrelevance to the company's goals and strategy*, which was not mentioned by any of the Bulgarian respondents whereas in Poland 14,58% of them ticked the answer.

As for the **activities that could facilitate the CSR dissemination (Question 6)** the following factors are considered to be the most important: *The implementation of sustainable development budget* (in Poland – 30,48%, in Bulgaria – 23,29%), *Following environmental policy* (in Poland – 22,86%, in Bulgaria – 28,76%). Then the respondents chose *Following environmental management* (in Poland – 17,14%, in Bulgaria – 17,81%) and *The application of clean energy technology*.

When it comes to the **Question 7: The activities of the company for the benefit of its employees**, the respondents, both Polish and Bulgarian rated *Policy on training and vocational training over the collective agreement regulations* (in Bulgaria – 24,76%, in Poland – 21,17%) and *Initiatives aimed at employees' needs and facilitating internal communication* (in Bulgaria – 19,05%, in Poland – 22,07%). The differences: in Poland *Consultations with employees and trade unions* (18,02%) and *Activities for the benefit of disabled employees and minorities* (13,06%), whereas in Bulgaria: *Health and Safety certification exceeding legal requirements* (16,19%), *Consultations with employees and trade unions* (13,33%) and *Activities for the benefit of disabled employees and minorities* (10,48%). In Poland more often than in Bulgaria the question of *Flexible hours* (in Poland – 8,56%, in Bulgaria – 6,67%) was raised though in both countries this factor appeared less often.

**The activities for the benefit of clients and suppliers (Question 8)** both respondents from Poland and Bulgaria focus mainly on *The selection of suppliers with regard to quality certification* (in Bulgaria – 22,33%, in Poland – 19,76%) and *Checking the level of client satisfaction* (Bulgaria – 19,42%, Poland – 14,92%). The noticeable difference is that among the Polish respondents CSR activities relating to suppliers and clients are more varied, wide-ranging than those of Bulgarian respondent and they more often relate to *The selection of suppliers with regard to social and/or environmental certificates* (in Poland – 15,32%, in Bulgaria – 9,71%), *The application of processes/goods certificates* (in Poland – 14,52%, in Bulgaria – 11,65%), *Contracting purchases which enforces meeting certain social and environmental requirements* (in Poland – 12,90%, in Bulgaria – 11,65%), *Following the terms of payment for suppliers* (in Poland – 12,10%, in Bulgaria – 11,65%).

**The activities undertaken by companies for the benefit of local communities (Question 9).** The most common activities are: *Sponsoring cultural, sports and artistic events* (in Poland – 33,57%, in Bulgaria – 35%), *Communication with local communities, for example ‘Open Day’* (in Poland – 23,78%, in Bulgaria – 18,34%), and also *Direct investment for the benefit of social initiatives (e.g. voluntary services, making premises available for local communities)* (in Poland – 15,38%, in Bulgaria – 15%). What differs the two groups of respondents is that in Bulgaria *Local donations* are more common (Bulgaria – 28,33%, Poland – 16,78%, ), while in Poland *International ones* (Poland – 10,49%, Bulgaria – 3,33%).

After the analysis of the results presented above the following conclusions can be drawn with regard to the socially responsible activities conducted by machine building enterprises that operate in Warmia and Mazury Voivodeship, Poland and Bulgaria.

#### **SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE ACTIVITIES CONDUCTED BY THE SURVEYED MACHINE BUILDING ENTERPRISES OPERATING IN WARMIA AND MAZURY VOIVODESHIP, POLAND AND IN BULGARIA. SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES**

**Similarities:** (1) **The main source of knowledge about CSR in both groups is the Internet.** (2) Both Polish and Bulgarian entrepreneurs equally often **associate** CSR with staff training human resources policy (second factor). Donations, sponsoring, philanthropy and investment to support local communities appear to be equally insignificant. (3) The most common obstacles impeding CSR dissemination for the surveyed groups are shortage of information and shortage of economic resources. (4) The most common obstacles impeding CSR dissemination for the surveyed groups are shortage of information and shortage of economic resources. (5) As to the **activities that can facilitate the CSR dissemination** the two groups of respondents consider the actions benefiting natural environment and the implementation of sustainable development budget. (6) Within the scope of **the activities of the company for the benefit of its employees** it appears that both in the surveyed Polish and Bulgarian companies the most important ones are policy on training and vocational training exceeding the collective agreement regulations and also the initiatives aimed at employees’ needs and facilitating internal communication. (7) **The activities for the benefit of clients and suppliers** in the surveyed groups mainly boil down to the question of quality (certificates, customer satisfaction). (8) As for the **communication with local communities** the machine building companies in Poland and Bulgaria focus on sponsoring cultural, sports and artistic initiatives and events.

**Differences:** (1) In Bulgaria more knowledge comes from mass media and sector information. (That might suggest greater awareness and significance of CSR among machine building sector entrepreneurs). (2) The Polish respondents

associate CSR mainly with voluntary environmental, social, quality certificates, next with prosocial activities, equality policy and policy of employees' and trade unions' participation. In Bulgaria, these are the implementation of code of practice / internal regulations, customer care initiatives / dialogue with the customer, responsible fulfilling duties and transparency of financial reporting (mainly internal regulations, clients). (3) **Main benefits (motivation) associated with the implementation of CSR** Polish entrepreneurs focus mainly on enhanced image and reputation of the company and also increased turnover and profits in the long run.

The Bulgarian entrepreneurs advocate for better staff performance and their loyalty, improved work atmosphere and a good rapport with employees and trade unions and only then do they pay attention to the benefits resulting from better image of their companies. (4) The respondents from Bulgaria are aware of the correlation between CSR, their strategy and company goals whereas their Polish counterparts seem to fail to notice it. (That fact proves the Bulgarian entrepreneurs understand CSR issues and their role in a company better (they are more mature) despite the shortage of information and resources). (5) In the surveyed Bulgarian enterprises Health and Safety certificates appear to be of more importance. (6) Among the surveyed companies in Poland this activity appears to be more wide-ranging and it places more importance on the issues of environment protection, local communities, guarantees and quality of processes. (7) There are more international donations among the surveyed Polish companies whereas there are more local donations among the Bulgarian ones.

The results and conclusions drawn from the research allow us to confirm the main hypothesis stating that in machine building companies operating in Warmia and Mazury Voivodeship in Poland and the surveyed companies in Bulgaria **CSR is often a spontaneous course of action that is not strategically defined but commonly practiced**. It also appears that contrary to the Polish companies, the Bulgarian ones are more aware of the CSR issues and that its implementation is supported by sector activities and focused on internal matters in the first place (quality improvement, internal regulations, Health and Safety, atmosphere and a rapport with their employees) with a view to improving the dialogue with their clients and the corporate image. In the Polish companies the activities are more wide-ranging and more chaotic. They are image-oriented in the first instance to improve their economic and financial results in the long run.

The expertise gained through the research together with the experience of Bulgarian Branch Chamber shall be applied during the six sessions to develop the model of the efficient dissemination of CSR solutions and strategy of their implementation by machine building sector entrepreneurs in a form of Guidelines for the implementation of social responsibility.

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## SUMMARY

The sustainable development means man's and organizations acting which let save our planet for further generations as we know the planet today. To materialize that vision there has been researching intensive and all manner of education projects in range of Corporate Social Responsibility with different effect. In the article showed the research result about CSR knowledge among subjects working and functioning in electro-engineering branch in Warmińsko-Mazurskie Voivodeship (Poland) and Bulgaria.

## STRESZCZENIE

Rozwój zrównoważony oznacza takie postępowanie ludzi i organizacji, żeby dla przyszłych pokoleń zachować naszą planetę taką, jaką my znamy ją dziś. Aby ta wizja mogła się ziścić, prowadzone są różnorakie intensywne prace edukacyjne z zakresu Społecznej Odpowiedzialności Organizacji, z różnym efektem (skutkiem). W artykule przedstawiono wyniki badań wiedzy o CSR przeprowadzonej wśród podmiotów operujących w branży elektromaszynowej w województwie warmińsko-mazurskim (Polska) i w Bułgarii.

**Key words:** Corporate Social Responsibility, electro-engineering branch.

**Słowa kluczowe:** Społeczna Odpowiedzialność Organizacji, branża elektromaszynowa





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## MURIDIYYA – A COUNTERWEIGHT TO ISLAMIC EXTREMISM

## MURIDIYYA – PRZECIWWAGA DLA ISLAMSKIEGO EKSTREMIZMU

### **Introduction**

Islam does not have a good press, it has become a growing source of suspicion and hostility in many societies nowadays. This is partly due to some stereotypes and misunderstandings with the teachings of the faith in the media and partly to the various acts of terrorists, who use the name of Islam to justify their ideology of violence and intolerance. Islam has in Africa a long tradition. Muridiyya is a religious movement founded in the nineteenth century in Senegal by Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba (1850–1927), promoting Islam based on work, prayer and humility. The author attempts to analyze the Muridiyya doctrine and the teachings of its founder as a possible counterweight to threats of extremist Islam.

### **Literature Review**

Muridiyya is a Muslim community in sub-Saharan Africa, founded by Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba Mbacke in Senegal at the end of the 19 century. The brotherhood attracted the attention of the colonial authorities very early, and the first researches on it were the work of Paul Marty<sup>1</sup>. The term Muridizm was used for the first time by him, he was precursor in studies on Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba and his movement. He wrote numerous monographs, which attempted to describe Islam in the French West Africa including (*Etudes sur l'islam au Sénégal*<sup>2</sup>). However, it should be emphasized that those studies were made by a colonial administration expert, who was trying to fulfill the “French civilizing mission”. That is why he treated the Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba movement from the colonial empire’s point of view. As an agent of the colonial administration, Paul Marty had the task of carrying out research on local populations, doctrines, Islamic institutions in Senegal, especially on Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba’s religious doctrine, in order to reveal its possible dangers. According to the colonizers any form of offensive action taken by the natives should be brutally repressed in order to guarantee peace,

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<sup>1</sup> Paul Marty (1882–1938), a senior officer (Lieutenant-Colonel), a colonial administrator, an expert interpreter of the Arabic language and a French scholar. He was notably a great specialist in sub-Saharan Islam).

<sup>2</sup> P. Marty, *Etudes sur l'islam Au Sénégal*, Vol. 2. Editions Ernest Leroux, Paris 1917.

that would permit them to continue their economic activity, the exploitation of goods. Therefore, the Paul Marty's study had to describe in detail the Brotherhood, which was considered by French colonial administration as a threat to peace in the colony of Senegal. So that, Muridism in Paul Marty's comprehension was only a sum of ideas, focused on the external aspect of the Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba's brotherhood. It was full of assumptions and prejudices, it was only the product of the colonizers' glance on Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba's way and reflected the sum of their fears and misconceptions. Many historians, sociologists, anthropologists, and geographers use the term Muridism, which had a particular signification during the French colonial rule in Senegal. That is why I prefer using the term Muridiyya rather than Muridism.

Paul Marty's work has opened the door to other researchers. Vincent Monteil<sup>3</sup> inaugurated in 1962 the post-independence generation of Murid literature. He will be followed by Mbaye Guèye, *Le Mouridisme dans une dimension historique et géopolitique*<sup>4</sup>. Khadim Mbacke, grandson of the founder of Muridiyya, *Le soufisme et les confréries religieuses au Sénégal*<sup>5</sup>, edited by the Fundamental Institute of Black Africa (IFAN), deals with the political and religious aspect of Muridiyya. After a very detailed presentation of Sufism, he presents the different brotherhoods in Senegal, before focusing on the birth and teaching of Shaykh Amadou Bamba.

Among others studies on Muridiyya there are those conducted by researchers of the former ORSTOM and CEAN<sup>6</sup>. Among the most known studies should be mentioned the work of Momar Coumba Diop, Christian Colon, Jean Copans, Donald Martin Carter, Cheikh Abdoulaye Dieye, Barbara Daly Metcalf<sup>7</sup>. Oumar

<sup>3</sup>V. Monteil, *Une confrérie musulmane: Les mourides du Sénégal*. Archives de Sociologie des Religions 1962, No. 14.

<sup>4</sup>M. Guèye, *Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba: Contexte historique et géopolitique*. Revue Action islamique 1987.

<sup>5</sup>K. Mbacké, *Le soufisme et les confréries religieuses au Sénégal*. IFAN (Institut Fondamentale d'Afrique noire) 1989.

<sup>6</sup>ORSTOM – Office de la Recherche Scientifique et Technique Outre-mer, now IRD – Institut pour la Recherche et le Développement; CEAN – Centre d'Etude d'Afrique Noire.

<sup>7</sup>D.C. O'Brien, *The Mourid of Senegal: The political and Economic Organization of an Islamic Brotherhood*. Editions Clarendon Press, Oxford 1975; J. Copans, *Les marabouts de l'arachide*. Editions Le Sycomore, Paris 1980; C. Coulon, *Le Marabout et le Prince. Islam et Pouvoir au Sénégal*. Editions Pédone, Paris 1981; M.C. Diop, *La confrérie mouride: organisation économique et mode d'implantation urbaine*. Editions Université de Lyon, Lyon 1980; M. C. Diop, *Les affaires mourides à Dakar*. Politique africaine 1981, No. 1, No. 4; M.C. Diop, *Fonctions et activités des dahiras mourides urbains (Sénégal)*. Cahiers d'Etudes africaines 1982, No. 11, pp. 81–83; V. Ebin, *Murid traders on the road: The Transition of a Senegalese Brotherhood from Agriculture to International Trade*. Editions Social Science Research Council, 9 n. d.; B.D. Metcalf (Ed.), *Making Muslim Space in North America and Europe*. Berkeley, Editions University of California Press, Los Angeles 1999; D.M. Carter, *State of Grace. Senegalese in Italy and the New Europe Immigration*.

Ba, *Ahmadou Bamba face aux autorités coloniales (1889–1927)*, a collection of documents concerning Ahmadou Bamba gathered and edited on 1982 by Oumar Ba, archivist at the Archives of Senegal. In the first part, like an introduction, the author tried to give answer to the following questions: Who was Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba? What is Muridiyya? He has also attempted to describe the religious order of Ahmadou Bamba, as well, as the French policy towards Ahmadou Bamba from 1886 to 1903. This book contains copies of correspondence between the Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba and the colonial authorities, reports, pictures and other valuable archival documents of that period. Madické Wade, in *Destinée du Mouridisme* (1987), after the introduction, in a chapter “Mouhamadou Bamba seen by others”<sup>8</sup>, analyze in a critical manner the works of previous author on Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba. Then he tried to describe, The Man, his mission, Mouhamadou Bamba, the anti-colonialist, the martyr. Other topics like literature and Murid arts, philosophical aspect, Shaykh Ibrahima Fall, The Mosque and the city of Touba, the Magal and the Murid society, among other, are also present in Wade’s study. Cheikh Gueye, *Touba. La capitale des mourides* (2002), based on a geographical approach, the author traces the spatial and social history of the city. The main themes in this book are the modes of construction of a properly urban space, the dynamics of Touba. The capital of Muridiyya, which, in a short period of time, has become the second city of Senegal from the demographic and economic point of view.

1. Jean Pierre Mulago, *Les mourides d’Ahmadou Bamba: un cas de réception de l’islam en terre négro-africaine*<sup>9</sup>, presents the cultural, religious, political and economic emancipation of the Wolof people through Muridiyya as an example for the rest of Africa. According to him it could be a means of developing the African continent.
2. Fatou Sow shows the dimension of the philosophy of work among the Murids in her memoir<sup>10</sup>. She defines the nature of the relations between marabouts and *talibés* (disciples) before offering a pertinent analysis of the different forms of work in Muridiyya.
3. Cheikh Anta Babou, has published one of the biggest research on the brotherhood during the last decades, *Fighting the Greater Jihad. Ahmadou*

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Editions University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis–London 1997; C.A. Dieye, *Touba, Signes et Symboles*. Editions Deggel, Paris 1997.

<sup>8</sup> The translation from French and from Polish languages into English are made by the author Bara NDiaye.

<sup>9</sup> J.P. Mulago, *Les mourides d’Ahmadou Bamba: un cas de réception de l’islam en terre négro-africaine*. Revue Laval théologique et philosophique Paru le 2 juin 2003, No 2, Vol. 61.

<sup>10</sup> F. Sow, *Les logiques de travail chez les Mourides*. Mémoire de D.E.A. d’études Africaines. Option: Anthropologie juridique et politique. Université de Paris I. Panthéon-Sorbonne 1998.

*Bamba and the Founding of the Muridiyya of Senegal, 1853–1913*<sup>11</sup>, published by Ohio University Press, 2007, translated into French on 2011 as *Le Jihad de l'âme : Ahmadou Bamba et la fondation de la Mouridiyya au Sénégal (1853–1913)*. The Senegalese scholar, delivered in his book an analysis of the foundation and development of Murid order through a biographical study of its founder. He pointed out the western and some Senegalese scholars misunderstandings of Muridiyya. Most of them conceived the Murid order as a parochial and conservative rural organization strongly influenced by Wolof<sup>12</sup> culture. Influenced by Paul Marty's opinion, who claimed that the Muridiyya was nothing but Wolofization of Islam, they believed that the Murid order would not be able to adapt to the transformations ushered in by modernization. Those scholars predicted that the combined effects of urbanization, Western education, and increasing capitalist relations of productions in Senegal will ineluctably lead to a progressive weakening and decline of the Murid organization. However history did not give reason to him, because, over half a century after these predictions were made, the Muridiyya has become the most powerful religious organization in Senegal<sup>13</sup>.

Abdoul Aziz Mbacke, another grandson of Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba in *Jihad for peace (Exploring the Philosophy of Shaykh A. Bamba, the African Muslim Leader of Non-violence)*, tries to study and analyze the thought of the great Senegalese Sufi and its importance in today's world. Among the topics discussed are the ideological, social and historical foundations of Shaykh's non-violence, its differences with that of Gandhi and Martin Luther King, the true conditions of a global peace according to the Shaykh are adoration of God, mutual respect, fight against the materialistic and animal tendencies of man, against the moral and spiritual vacuum of modernity<sup>14</sup>.

We should mention, that Mohamed el Bachir Mbacke (1895–1966), called Serigne Bassirou, is considered as the biographer of his father Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba. He is the author of a work called “Minanoul-Bakhil-Khadim” (The Benefits of the Eternal). He was the son of Serigne Touba who was staying the longest by his side. That situation gave to Serigne Bassirou the opportunity to live with Serigne Touba and to transmit to the next generation this treasure that constitutes “Minanoul-Bakhil-Khadim”. A great book with two parts; a historical

<sup>11</sup> C.A. Babou, *Fighting the Greater Jihad. Amadu Bamba and the Founding of the Muridiyya of Senegal, 1853–1913*. Ohio University Press 2007, trans. into French on 2011 as *Le Jihad de l'âme: Ahmadou Bamba et la fondation de la Mouridiyya au Sénégal (1853–1913)*.

<sup>12</sup> The term Wolof may refer to: the Wolofs, the ethnic group most represented in Senegal; Wolof, the most widely spoken language in Senegal is Wolof. As the mother tongue of more than a third of the population, it is spoken and understood by almost everyone.

<sup>13</sup> C.A. Babou, *Fighting the Greater Jihad*..., op. cit., pp. 8–13.

<sup>14</sup> A.A. Mbacke, *Jihad for peace (Exploring the Philosophy of Shaykh A. Bamba, the African Muslim Leader of Non-violence)*. Touba 2009.

one, where the biographer traces the Shaykh's life from his birth until his exile in 1895, evoking the origins of his family, his education, his qualities and his intellectual formation, his relations with the contemporary traditional chiefs and the colonial authorities. The second mystical part in which the author tries to follow the spiritual evolution of the Shaykh through the nine stages of the mystical itinerary. After the definition of each stage, Serigne Bassirou engages in a deep analysis of the Shaykh's behavior in order to detect the signs of crossing the next stage by Him. His aim was to demonstrate that his father and master fully assumed the spiritual heritage of the Prophet, and thereby deserved the status of the supreme Holiness. The book remains an extraordinary source of information and allows to discover aspects of the social history of the Murids, as well as their conception of religion and its role in human relations<sup>15</sup>.

This literature review is far from being exhaustive, because a very rich scientific literature on Muridiyya exists. Numerous studies and researches focus on Muridiyya's capacity of mobilization, its commitment, its dynamism, its financial autonomy, the values of mutual aid, solidarity, discipline, abnegation to work, tolerance. While some other have favored the education component, others have found the economic or even political character more interesting. In this study, I would like to focus on the pacific character of Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba's doctrine Muridiyyah.

Closing this part, it is necessary to remember, that Shaykh Ahmadu Bamba, the founder of the Murid Brotherhood remains the greatest poet and writer of all times. His written works deal with all the fields of religious sciences, education and panegyrics devoted to The Prophet (PBH)<sup>16</sup>. "My miracle is my writings in the service of the Prophet (PBH), and Allah the Master of the nobility has been fruitful to me".

Shaykh A. Bamba's poems show how Muridiyya is full of tolerance and integrates in an organic way all the great virtues of love, forgiveness, grace and spirituality; Virtues capable of leading the human to transcendence and moral perfection like no other philosophy:

May all humankind benefit from me, o Lord!

Make me a source of bliss for all, black and white.

Impart Thy Guidance, thanks to me, to the people of my time and to coming generations.

Always cherish good feelings for all the creatures of God<sup>17</sup>.

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<sup>15</sup> *Serigne Bassirou, le biographe de Serigne Touba*. Online: <http://www.notices-pdf.com/minanoul-bakhil-khadim-pdf.html#a0> [13.02.2017].

<sup>16</sup> Online: <http://www.daaraykamil.com/diwan.html> [3.02.2017].

<sup>17</sup> A.A. Mbacke, op. cit., p. 19.

**Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba and his mission**

Mbacke's family history in the kingdom of Baol began with Maramé Mbacke, the founder of the village Mbacke Baol. He was the first Who brought celebrity and prestige of his clan in wolof territory<sup>18</sup>. Thanks to his deep faith he has exercised a strong influence on the religious life, and gained widespread respect. He was a man of high culture and orthodox-minded to the problems of assimilation of Muslim cultural values. He made his village an academic and religious center.



He was the great Grandfather of Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba, who appeared in a village Mbacke in the kingdom of Baol in the center of Senegal in 1850 (we can find in the literature different years of birth: 1851, 1853, 1855).

The single remaining photo of Ahmadu Bamba, likely photographed before 1923. No one owns a copyright and it has come down to us through being

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<sup>18</sup> C.A. Babou, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

reproduced in countless photo labs and by photocopying. Online: [https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmadou\\_Bamba#/media/File:AhmaduBamba.jpg](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmadou_Bamba#/media/File:AhmaduBamba.jpg) [30.08.2017].

Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba Mbacke's father, known under the name Momar Anta Saly was an outstanding scholar, who taught Qur'an and religious teachings. His mother Mariama Bousso, for her piety and nobility, was given the nickname *Jâratul-LAH* (which means "neighbor of Allah"). Shaykh's parents, very early noticed son's innate tendency to piety, meditation and moral behavior, no tolerancy of entertainment, indecency and sin. Wherever he was, in the course of his studies, people have noted his remarkable spirituality. He was a great connoisseur of the Koran, religious teachings, grammar, rhetoric and others. He remains the most prolific author the world had ever known, many works and studies deals with field of religious teachings, theology, law, education and a huge number of poems dedicated to The Prophet Mohammad (PBH)<sup>19</sup>.

His name in Arabic is known as *Aḥmad ibn Muhammad ibn Habīb Allāh*, or *Khadīmu r-Rasūl*, "Servant of the Prophet". In wolof, the most spoken language in Senegal he is called *Sëriñ Tuubaa*, "Holy Man of Touba" or *Borom Tuubaa* (The Owner of Touba).

According to the historians of the brotherhood, the beginning of the fourteenth centenary of the Muslim era (1301 of the hegira), is probably the focal point, the most important date in the hagiography of Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba. His mission began on this date with the directives of The Prophet (PBH), who addressed him in these terms: "Ahmad, give to your disciples a spiritual education and no longer give them a book education" It was the beginning of the rehabilitation of the pact of allegiance (*Bayca*), a condition which had made Islam a respected religion, which was its main strength, but it was unknown to most Muslims of that period, because of the wilting of Islam at that time. That's why Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba had stressed that he had rebuilt the road, which was heading The Prophet, purified it and renewed in its originality, and then turned to all the aspirants (Murids) who wanted to follow him with the call: "Come on, the road is rebuilt". Then, the founder of Muridiyya began a spiritual education of the aspirants (Murids), who

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<sup>19</sup> Through the magic of the verb and the mastery with the dexterity of the Arabic language, Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba rose to the supreme rank of the poets of the Prophet who gives him the sobriquet *Khadīmu r-Rasūl* (The Servant of The Prophet). With more than 30,000 verses written in several categories, a record unrivaled by any contemporary even less ancient poets like Hassan ibn Shabbīṭ who marked his era. Among these *khassāids* (poems) of thanks on the Prophet (PBH): *Nuru Darayni*, *Tayssiroul Assir*, *Moukhadamatoul Khidmat*, and so many others.... God is the first who has given thanks to His Prophet (PBH), has enjoined us to imitate Him in this way: "O believers, give thanks and peace to the Prophet (PBH)", reports the Qur'an. *L'incroyable relation entre Serigne Touba et Shaykh Yusuf an-Nabhani!* 2015. Online: [http://www.buzzsenegal.com/Saviezvous/l-rsquo-incroyable-relation-entre-serign\\_n\\_11259.html](http://www.buzzsenegal.com/Saviezvous/l-rsquo-incroyable-relation-entre-serign_n_11259.html) [12.02.2017].

had confided themselves their live and property to him. It was also a spiritual journey, which lasted twelve years, from 1301 H. (1883) to 1313 H. (1895). The itinerary of Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba journey was punctuated by a lot of displacements from one place to another, looking for isolation, for a land where to adore God without constraint, far from the tumults of this world. Neither Mbacke Kajoor (1301 H. / 1883) nor Mbacké Baol 1304 H. (1884) could not fulfill this condition. He founded Dâru Salâm (the abode of Peace) (1305 H. / 1886). But wherever he passed, the innumerable crowds he drained did not alter in any way the intensity of the practices of worship to which he devoted himself. Touba (The Felicity) founded by him in (1306 H. / 1888) was the final stage. A dwelling he obtained as a reward for his ardent faith and his long journey in order to find a place of worship. He said about this place: "God has preserved it". Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba wrote in one of his poem *Matlabul Fawzeyni*, devoted to Touba, the capital city of Muridiyya:

Make this place a place of piety, science and religion. Let it be a source of elevation. Make this place a place of adoration of Allah the Merciful and the rejection of Satan.

Make this place a place of teaching, meditation and a place of understanding. Make this land a land of riches, a land of safety, a land of merciful, a land of eternal abundance.

Collect in this place any good coming from the East, from the West, from the North, from the South, from the sky, from the earth.

Protect my city from all the ungodly<sup>20</sup>.

He lived in Touba seven years of intense pious activities in the revivification of all pious practices such as Cult, Reading of the Qur'an, composition of Panegyrics devoted to The Prophet, The Elect (PBH), etc. This journey, a true marathon, would lead to a consecration by his historical meeting with the Prophet (PBH), with whom he signed the pact of the trials in view of the Exile. He had to leave his favorite city Touba, for the reason that his prayers being accepted, nothing bad could happen there. He went to Mbacké Baari a small village in the Djolof kingdom in the year 1312H. / 1895. Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba, *Khadîmu r-Rasûl* (Servant of the Prophet), had a wish to join the companions of the Prophet Mohammad, who fought in Bedr, that meant to achieve "the highest level". The condition for achieving this level is determined by the sum of suffering that a candidate must survive. "The agreement with God" put him to the necessity of confronting the enemies over more than thirty years.

Aziz Mbacke asserts, that "Thanks to his charismatic virtues and to the spiritual lights his disciples were shining, his reputation soon expanded and crowds

<sup>20</sup> C.A. Bamba, *Matlabul fawzeyni* (Looking for success in two worlds), lines 193, 197, 218, 201, 226, 72.



towards his daaras (schools) fast took larger proportions. Such a trend aroused a libelous campaign against Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba, from some native colonial representatives, and provoked strong mistrust to the French colonial power who suspected him of preparing his disciples to Jihad (the so called holy war). This bias was all the most unfair if we consider the nonviolent philosophy of the Shaykh as well as his concept of *Khidma* (Rendering Service to the Prophet) which excluded any violence, even against the vilest creature”<sup>21</sup>.

Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba wrote on this purpose: “I am waging my Jihad through Knowledge and Fearing the Lord”. However, regardless of such kind of concern, the colonial authorities decided to arrest and deport him to Gabon (Central Africa), in September 1895. After eight years of a very trying exile, during which the Shaykh wrote, in loneliness, an impressive number of poems all dedicated to the Lord and His Messenger (PBH), the French decided to let him go back home, in November 1902. But, in fearing his growing charisma over the masses aroused by his success, they exiled him again to Mauritania, afterwards they maintained him in house arrest in Senegal until his death in 1927. However history proved later that colonial strategies of “containment” did not succeed in holding back Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba’s teachings and work from shaping deeply the thoughts and the culture of his nation and of millions of people all around the world”<sup>22</sup>.

All this time he faced exile, harassment, persecution, and strengthened his faith on One God, recognizing only Allah as his Lord and Ruler. Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba led a “holy war against the soul”. Koran and prayer were his only weapons, he did not shed a single drop of blood. He triumphed over their enemies and forgive them.

I have forgiven all my enemies for the Countenance of the Lord who turned them away from me forever, because I feel no resentment against them.

The true warrior in God’s path is not he who kills his enemies, but he who combats his ego (nafs) to achieve spiritual perfection.

Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba founder of Muridiyya, the first Sufi brotherhood derived from black African environment. It has a unique local character. Cheikh Abdoulaye Dièye described this path as follows: “Shaykh inaugurates in this way a new era in the history of Islam and the black man. Indeed, the black population of Senegal have usually travel to Mauritania in search of teachers clergy. But Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba, being the first black spiritual leader, into whom the crowds walked from different parts of the world. He turned the roles. He proved that all

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<sup>21</sup> A.A. Mbacke, *Jihad for peace...*, op. cit.

<sup>22</sup> Ibidem, p. 19.

humans have a soul and they overcome each other only by the level of worshipping God”<sup>23</sup>.

According to Madicke Wade, the appearance of Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba, the mission he assigned himself and the results he observed, seem to be the proof that even if *Khadīmu r-Rasūl* is not a Prophet. God has sent him to us for our salvation and peace? In any case, no Prophet has ever appeared in the black race which, moreover, was reduced to the rank of sub-race. Isn't Bamba the savior of the black race, the Redeemer? One can doubt, even in his people. But he is very affirmative telling us in his poem *Diawartou* „Never again will God give a man as much as he has given me...”<sup>24</sup>.

### Muridiyya – rehabilitation of Islam

Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba's doctrine, Muridiyya is simple, the main principles on which it is based are work, prayer, and humility. That is what makes Muridiyya being within every human being. The road Muridiyya has three dimensions: mystical emotion, which is the engine of every noble action and all collective activities, individual work for the community and, finally, permanent solidarity under the leadership of a great spiritual leader.

Muridiyya belongs to the Sufi, in which we can distinguish two trends. The first is based on a literal interpretation of the Qur'an and the Sunnah. The second, also called mystical, proposes a symbolic or allegorical interpretation of the sacred texts. The latter trend explores the esoteric secret meaning of texts. Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba belongs to this mystical mainstream Sufism<sup>25</sup>. Cheikh Anta Babou sees Sufism as a rejection of violence and acceptance of mystical ways to cope with adversity. Senegalese historian puts its growth in the first four centuries of Islam, and defines it as a system of thought and way of combating *nafs* (soul of the flesh). This method is based on methods and courses developed by generations of thinkers and practitioners. The Sufism involves a series of actions and attitudes, which are designed to free the body from the grip of our world's fear, allowing the spirit to be gradually closer to the kingdom of God, in order to achieve the ultimate goal: to become a *Wali* (friend) of God<sup>26</sup>. The French publisher Laurent de Saint Périer sees Sufism as a path of spiritual, mystic realization of Islam power and the quintessential expression of Revelation. It is believed that Sufism is the antithesis of a rigid, strict Salafist interpretation: “There are those who in the name of faith promise hell for their opponents and reserve the best seats for themselves. [...] And there are those for whom Islam is peace and love, those for whom the great jihad

<sup>23</sup> B. NDiaye, *Współczesna Afryka Subsaharyjska. Wybrane zagadnienia*. Olsztyn 2011, p. 137.

<sup>24</sup> M. Wade, *Destinée du Mouridisme*. Dakar 1987, p. 58.

<sup>25</sup> B. Ndiaye, op. cit., pp. 136–137.

<sup>26</sup> C.A. Babou, op. cit., p. 21.

means a struggle of man with himself, to be closer to God, to reach the Truth (*Haqiqa*)<sup>27</sup>.

Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba is considered as a “renewer” (*mujaddid*) of Islam by his followers. Murids sometimes call their order the “Way of Imitation of the Prophet (PBH)”<sup>28</sup>.

Education remains one of basic value of Muridiyya. The role of spiritual leaders in the education process is double – professor of religious education and guide, transmitting spiritual knowledge in Wolof language (*xam-xam*). Moreover, The Shaykh, the leader should possess not only the knowledge of Islam, but also something more, what is called *baraka* or *barke* – “a little bit of grace”, which God grants some people. It is connected, according to Alphonse Gouilly, to the “magical power, involving the power of blessing or charisma [...]”. *Baraka* is an important concept, derived from the Prophet Mouhamad (PBH). It allows the Shaykh to be recognized as the guide, the privileged confident of the “Talibe” (disciple), ie. The trustworthy Master (marabout). Parents send their sons to live with the marabout as *talibes*. He gives them not only a conventional education, but these boys receive also Islamic training and are instilled with the doctrine of hard work. The achievement of that spiritual perfection is to provide education held in *daara* (religious schools), based on the principles *Tarbiyya* (moral and spiritual education), especially in Sufi values of perseverance, stoicism, humility and solidarity. Educated and trained in *daara* talibes (disciples Murid) are the biggest producers of peanuts in Senegal<sup>29</sup>. Another structure *Dahira*, an urban religious institution that functioned as a sort of prayer circle, where disciples living in a same town or neighborhood would meet on a weekly basis to read the Qur’an, chant Ahmadou Bamba’s religious odes, and socialize<sup>30</sup>.

According to C. A. Babou the principles of the Muridiyya are consubstantial to Sufism with the *shaykh taalim*, the *shaykh tarbiyya* and the *shaykh tarqiyya* which respectively instruct, perfect the behavior and lead the disciple to higher stages. The doctrine of the brotherhood can be summed up as follows: the love of the shaykh (*hubb*), the work (*khidma*) and the gift (*hadiyya*)<sup>31</sup>. All these values of the brotherhood were personify by one of the first disciples Shaykh Ibrahima Fall, called *Mame* Shaykh Ibra Fall.

Ibrahima Fall (1856–1930) *Babul Muridina*, “the entrance in Muridiyya” was one of the first of Shaykh Amadou Bamba’s disciples and the most famous. Ibra Fall was known for his dedication to God, and considered work as a form of adoration. Ahmadou Bamba finally decided that Ibra Fall should show his

<sup>27</sup> L. de Saint Périer, *Soufisme: islam du coeur, coeur de l’islam*. Online: [www.jeuneafrique.com/Article/JA2807-2808p060-061.xml0/](http://www.jeuneafrique.com/Article/JA2807-2808p060-061.xml0/) [29.08.2017].

<sup>28</sup> Muridiyyah. Online: <http://www.worldlibrary.org/articles/muridiyyah> [12.02.2017].

<sup>29</sup> B. NDiaye, op. cit., p. 141

<sup>30</sup> C.A. Babou, op cit., pp. 8–13.

<sup>31</sup> Ibidem. p. 86.

dedication to God purely through manual labor. Ibra Fall founded a sub-group of the Muridiyyah brotherhood called the Baye Fall (*Baay Faal*). He not only catalysed the Muridiyya movement, led all the labour work, but he also showed the way in which Shaykh Ahmadou Bambou should be celebrated and his supreme place. By his example, Ibra Fall reshaped the relation between Murid “talibes” (disciples) and their Shaykh, Ahmadou Bamba and played an important role in expanding Muridiyya. He introduced concept of *Dieuf Dieul*, (“you reap what you sow”) and instituted the culture of work among Murids. Shaykh Amadou Bamba, named him “Lamp Fall” (the light of Muridiyya), Ibrahima Fall also earned the title of *Babul Mouridina*, “the entrance in Muridiyya”<sup>32</sup>.

It is difficult to overestimate Ibra Fall’s contribution to the development and history of Muridiyya. At the highest minaret of the mosque (nearly 90 meters) in Touba, the light that can be seen from a very far distance is called “Lamp Fall”, from Sheikh Ibrahim Fall’s name. This is an important symbol that illuminates now the way of Muridiyya brotherhood, like it was done at the beginning by Sheikh Ibrahim Fall himself. He was so involved in the Muridiyya and dedicated to Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba all his live, his time and energy in accomplishing hard physical labor, filling without hesitation all the recommendations of the founder of the Brotherhood, he lacked time for prayer and other religious practices. For this reason, a significant portion of his followers – “Baay-Fall” – is not willing to fulfill their religious duties. Many of them substitute hard labor and dedication to their Shaykh for the usual Muslim pieties like prayer and fasting.

Then, Ibra Fall remains a central figure in the brotherhood. This new spiritual inspiration and approach, in which Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba invited his people to take an alternative spiritual path. Bamba’s new ethics-centered pedagogy of Islam was based on faith in God’s Unity (*Tawhid*), compliance with The prophet’s (PBH) Tradition (*Sunna*), knowledge (*Ilm*), morale education (*Tarbiyya*), worship (*IBada*), community service (*Khidma*), non-violence, cultural identity, attachment to work and self-sufficiency, seeking God’s satisfaction in everything.

Bamba wrote: “My wish is to revitalize the Pure Tradition (*Sunnah*) of The Elected Prophet (PBH)”. “My treasures are the Qur’an, the *Hadiths* and Ethics; but not hoarding money and gold”<sup>33</sup>.

The only earthly activity, focusing Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba attention was the construction of the Great Mosque in Touba. According to oral tradition, Ahmadou Bamba, one day in 1925 gathered in Diourbel brotherhood dignitaries and addressed them with these words: “I received an order from the Supreme build a mosque in the holy city of Touba, which will be devoted to God, the Most High and his Prophet (PBH). This building will not be built for my glory or Muridiyya fame, but a tribute to the Most High and his Beloved Envoy. The construction of this mosque is the only action of the earth, that interests me. Then do this

<sup>32</sup> Muridiyyah. Online: <http://www.worldlibrary.org/articles/muridiyyah> [12.02.2017].

<sup>33</sup> A.A. Mbacke op. cit.

realization your greatest job, because it is the command of God”<sup>34</sup>. Its construction was started in 1931 by Shaykh Mouhamadou Moustapha Mbacke, his oldest son, the first Caliph, a symbolic inauguration made the first president of independent Senegal, Leopold Sedar Senghor in 1963, during the caliphate of Shaykh Mouhamadou Falilou Mbacke, the second Caliph.

The inauguration of the Mosque does not mean the end of work, because, as a sign and a symbol, the work on it is intended to be continuous. In this way, Touba has become the place that creates Murids memory and imagination; a place that reflects the economic, social, architectural and cultural successes of the brotherhood. The center of the space, the Great Mosque, is the symbolic center of the Murid community imagination. Touba is the biggest symbol of Ahmadou Bamba’s teaching, the materialization of his ambition, the place where the essence of Islam is carried out: “Din” – religion, “Dawla” – the community, “Dunja” – world.



Great Mosque in Touba during renovation July 2015, photo B. NDiaye

### **Magal Touba**

Touba, the capital city of Muridiyya gathered, every year, during two days, millions of people from the whole world. The ceremony is called Magal, the most important event in the life of the brotherhood, or annual pilgrimage to Touba. It takes place the 18th day of the month of Safar of the lunar calendar, in honor of

<sup>34</sup> B. NDiaye, *op. cit.*, pp. 138–139.

the commemoration of the first Ahmadou Bamba's deportation to Gabon on 18 Safar 1313 H. / 21 September 1895. The founder of Muridiyya appealed to everyone to thank God that day which marked the beginning of his suffering and also the fulfillment of all his wishes. In 1921, in Diourbel Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba declared that: "to the benefits that God has given me, my only and sovereign gratitude is not enough, so I invite everyone who enjoys my personal happiness to join me in eternal gratitude to God, on each 18 Safar anniversary...."<sup>35</sup>. This means that Shaykh Ahmadou also celebrated Magal. Murids initially celebrated it in their homes, that is, throughout Senegal.

Later, the second Caliph Serigne Fallou Mbacké (1888–1968) appealed disciples to come to Touba to celebrate together Magal. From that time until now, every year more and more people from around the world come to Touba to take part in this day of thanksgiving and prayers.

We should underline the fact that Magal is a kind of recognition, which includes good, good reward, gifts and appeasement in this world and in the other. Thus one can also say that recognition is the key to salvation. It was the attitude of Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba who invites everyone to express gratitude to God through the favors visible as invisible that God granted him arising from a long process begun since 18 Safar 1313 H. / 21 September 1895 in Mbacké Baari, a small village in the center of Senegal. He suffered the worst atrocities, trials ranging from deprivation and isolation. In this he remained constant, enduring, courageous, determined and occupied by worshiping God to the point of forgetting trials and humiliations. He has always endeavored to glorify God in renewing His submission and obedience while evoking His benefits. Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba, *Khadīmu r-Rasūl* wrote: "If it was not for humanity (for the sons of Adam) I did not have spent a single night on earth. Do not abuse the fact that I am black to not enjoy my goodness. I am the eternal servant and each generation will have the certainty that I have come for it"<sup>36</sup>.

Muridiyya disciples spread over the world are deeply convinced on that. When the Murids started to move out of Africa in the 1960s they took with them the education and social values they developed in their heartland of Senegal. They also celebrated the different Magal that marked the religious life of the Murid community. They remained profoundly attached to the positive values of the Muridiyyah, but they also showed a great capacity of adaptation. They absorbed some aspects of the local cultures that suited their economic enterprise and they

<sup>35</sup> C.F. Mbacke, *Une analyse historique de la dimension internationale et diplomatique du Magal*. Online: [http://www.dakaractu.com/Une-analyse-historique-de-la-dimension-internationale-et-diplomatique-du-Magal\\_a57351.html](http://www.dakaractu.com/Une-analyse-historique-de-la-dimension-internationale-et-diplomatique-du-Magal_a57351.html) [2.05.2016].

<sup>36</sup> *Sénégal: Départ en exil de Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba, le Grand Magal de Touba célébré aujourd'hui*, 2015. Online: <http://koaci.com/m/senegal-depart-exil-cheikh-ahmadou-bamba-grand-magal-touba-celebre-aujourd'hui-93706-i.html> [12.02.2017].

even incorporated modern organizational methods and techniques to disseminate the teachings of Sheikh Ahmadu Bamba and strengthen the Muridiyya. Disciples in the Diaspora played a significant role in the founding and expansion of new types of religious organizations. These are the international dahiras, NGOs and foundations such as the Khadim-ur-Rassul Foundation, MICA, Hizbut Tarqiyya, Matlabul Fawzayni and the allwomen daira Maam Jaara Busso, named after Sheikh A. Bamba's blessed mother. These dahiras adopted modern form of management with board of trustees that included disciples around the world and developed efficacious fundraising strategies. The role of these dahiras and organizations is particularly important on the field of education and the modernization of the city of Touba<sup>37</sup>. Murid Diaspora is guided by such values as: the cult of work, humility, selflessness, generosity, solidarity, commitment to the community, the fight against corruption and denial of violence. As an example of Murid functioning abroad let's quote the working paper presented by Monika Salzbrunn, Professor for Religions, Migrations and Diaspora Studies at the University of Lausanne (Switzerland): "The local Murid network in Harlem is an actor for social transformation. The real estate within that area has considerably changed since the arrival of the first Senegalese migrants in the 1980ies. Thanks to the visibility of religious practices within public space, the Senegalese Muslims, and particularly the members of the Murid brotherhood, earn emotional and spiritual security, accompanied by administrative and economic security provided by the State and by the borough of Manhattan. The authorities trust the new migrants because of their Muslim ethics that is expressed in almost weberian terms during their lobbying campaign and public events like the annual Murid parade"<sup>38</sup>.

Thus, I deeply think that peaceful functioning of Muridiyya is an example of an alternative to the twenty-first century threats that brought globalization and rising religious extremism.

Even the British weekly "The Economist", the so called Bible of the neo-liberalism published an article devoted to Murids titled *Faith in the market* on December 19th, 2006, the author concluded: "Little known as they are, the Murids might have a lot to teach the rest of the world – not only about how to respond to globalization, but how to practice religion in a peaceful way"<sup>39</sup>.

## Conclusion

On the basis of this analysis, the present study provides the following conclusions: Muridiyyah has rehabilitated Islam in its originality, because Islam

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<sup>37</sup> C.A. Babou, op. cit., pp. 8–13.

<sup>38</sup> M. Salzbrunn, *Localising Transnationalism: Researching Political and Cultural Events in a Context of Migration*. Paper presented at the conference on "Transnationalisation and Development(s): Towards a North-South Perspective", Center for Interdisciplinary Research, Bielefeld, Germany, May 31 – June 01. 2007.

<sup>39</sup> The Economist. Online: <http://www.economist.com/node/8450228> [15.03.2015].

means first of all peace and in this case, the peaceful teachings of its founder Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba should be emphasized. He wrote “O Lord! Lift me to the rank of Renovator of the Path of Islam, out of any hostility and war”<sup>40</sup>.

For Him, the so called holy war means (“Jihad nafs”), a jihad against his own ego against bodily soul. “The true warrior in God’s path is not he who kills his enemies, but he who combats his ego (nafs) to achieve spiritual perfection”<sup>41</sup>.

The Muridiyya doctrine remains a counterweight to fundamentalist terror. It contrasts drastically with the militant and violent interpretation of Jihad made nowadays by groups such as Al Qaeda, Boko Haram, ISIS, and others.

Sufism is the main shield against religious radicalism, Senegalese Sufi Shaykh Ahmadu Bamba, the main apostle of non-violent struggle, used a pacific path to make Islam in Senegal an element of social cohesion.

Learnings of the Muridiya founder are based on *Khidma*, which is a service for the people, for God’s sake. It should be emphasized that being in service to others to please God destroys all traces of the desire for power and competition. The desire for power and competition can lead to conflicts. Murids educated by Sheikh Ahmadou Bamba are women and men of peace who seek only God’s approval being on their neighbors service. In order to win the war on fundamentalism by peaceful means, it is certainly important to promote his legacy, spiritual values, non-violence, brotherhood and ethics. True knowledge is a more effective weapon in the fight against intolerance and the excesses and the best remedy against ignorance and obscurantism. Muridiyya can help lay the foundation for peace and tolerance in today’s world, which is marked by deadly conflicts, injustice and endless cycles of violence and reprisals in the name of religion.

The Muridiyya has become a global movement as Murids are now living everywhere in the world. But, as Cheikh anta Babou has stressed, “the globalization of the Muridiyya has not resulted in its dissolution in the so called secular “universal culture” spearheaded by America. Murids remain confident in their ability to reconcile their beliefs and values with the cultures of their host societies around the world”<sup>42</sup>.

Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba’s refusal to submit to the colonial authority, to the local aristocracy or to yield to the Arabo-Mauritanian influence gave Muridiyya its particular character that distinguishes it from any other brotherhood. This particularity has made this community the central link in the political, economic and social spectrum of Senegal. The celebration of the Magal Touba reinforces this status every year and makes the holy city shine on the global geopolitical scene by positioning it as the model of perfect Islam based on peace, tolerance, solidarity, work, prayer and discipline.

<sup>40</sup> A.A. Mbacke, op. cit., p. 19.

<sup>41</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>42</sup> C.A. Babou, op. cit., pp. 8–13.



I deeply believe in the universality and timelessness of Ahmadou Bamba's message. The pacifism of the Muridiyya founder and his teachings are a needed model in the Muslim world and this temporal world in general, entangled in a murderous intolerance and mutual exclusion.

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## SUMMARY

Islam has no good press, it has become a growing source of suspicion and hostility in many societies today. This is partly due to stereotypes and misunderstandings, partly associated with various terrorist acts who use Islam to justify the ideology of violence and intolerance. This article is an attempt to analyze the muslim brotherhood Muridiyya, which was founded in Senegal at the end of the 19th century. His founder's teachings reject all violence and rely on work, prayer, learning, and humility. The text provides a brief overview of the literature and answers the following questions: Who was Sheikh Ahmadou Bamba? What was his mission? What is Jihad in his understanding? What is sufism? What are the rules and the peaceful message of Muridiyyi ?

## STRESZCZENIE

W dzisiejszych czasach w coraz większym stopniu islam staje się źródłem podejrzeń i wrogości, które obserwujemy w wielu społeczeństwach. Wynika to z utrwalonych stereotypów i nieporozumień oraz utożsamiania przedstawicieli tego wyznania z terrorystami, którzy wykorzystują islam, aby usprawiedliwić ideologię przemocy i nietolerancji. Artykuł stanowi próbę analizy odłamu islamu bractwa Muridiyya, który powstał w Senegal pod koniec XIX wieku. Nauczanie jego założyciela odrzucało wszelką przemoc i opierało się na pracy, modlitwie, nauce oraz pokorze. Tekst zawiera krótki przegląd literatury na temat historii bractwa. Celem artykułu jest odpowiedź na następujące pytania: kim był Szejek Ahmadou

Bamba? Na czym polegała jego misja? Co to jest džihad w jego rozumieniu? Co to jest sufizm? Jakie są zasady Muridiyyi? Jak wyraża się jego przesłanie pokojowe?

**Keys words:** Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba, Muridiyya, Islam, Jihad, pacifism

**Słowa kluczowe:** Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba, Muridiyya, islam, džihad, pacyfizm



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## THE RUSSIAN-TURKISH WAR OF 1877–1878 IN THE BALKANS AND THE PARTICIPATION IN IT OF THE POLES FROM CONGRESS POLAND (ON THE 140TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE EVENTS)

### WOJNA ROSYJSKO-TURECKA 1877–1878 NA BAŁKANACH I UDZIAŁ W NIEJ POLAKÓW Z KONGRESÓWKI (W 140 ROCZNICĘ WYDARZEŃ)

Out of the ten armed conflicts between Russia and Turkey, which the two countries fought since the second half of the 17th century, undoubtedly the greatest importance for the whole Black Sea basin, but also in the broader context for the whole of Europe, had the last one of them – the war of 1877–1878. Not only did it become a key element of the so-called eastern crisis developing since the second half of the 19th century, but also consolidated and expanded a large number of subjects of dispute in both regional and pan-European dimension, which stimulated the political situation on the Old Continent until the outbreak of World War I. This war was also – which is often forgotten nowadays – a part of the history of the Polish nation, through the participation of thousands of Poles in the ranks of the Russian army, drafted in the Kingdom of Poland, and especially its southern governorates – Radom, Kielce, Piotrków, Siedlce, Lublin, Warsaw and in the general-governorate of Kiev.

The causes of the outbreak of the war should be linked to the ongoing processes in which the leading European states, also known as the Great Powers, entered the industrial era as early as in the middle of the nineteenth century. At the same time, pursuing to secure the resources of raw materials for the emerging industry and, to a lesser extent, outlets for the manufactured goods, they made efforts to expand the colonial empires and the spheres of influence. In the case of Russia, which at the end of the 18th century acquired the fertile Ukrainian lands, it became a matter of priority to provide a convenient and safe trade route for exporting grain, which was the main export commodity, to Western Europe. On this route, leading through the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea, however, strategically important straits – the Bosphorus and Dardanelles were located in the territory of Turkey. Being fully aware of their role for the Russian economy, the Tsar as early as in the first half of the 19th century took steps to take control of the Black Sea Straits, and this issue became the *credo* of Russian foreign policy for several following decades. On the other hand, the Sublime Porte, using the diplomatic and sometimes also military support of the western powers, tried to

prevent the Russians from fulfilling their plans. The effective blocking of the possibility of fulfilling the Russian plans prompted the tsarist authorities in the mid-nineteenth century to work out a new ideological concept called Pan-Slavism. According to its assumptions, Russia was to head the federation of Slavic States, which was to stem the tide of Pan-Germanism and, in a broader context, of any western influence in Central and South-Eastern Europe<sup>1</sup>. It was also assumed that the strengthening of the Russian influence in the Balkans would enable achieving the expected objectives without taking direct control over the Black Sea Straits. Thus, the so-called eastern issue gained, apart from military-political, also an ideological dimension. At the same time, the Russian government waited for the right time to implement those assumptions. The opportunity arose in 1875, in connection with the growing tension in Europe triggered by the outbreak of the anti-Ottoman uprising in Bosnia and Herzegovina<sup>2</sup>, and a year later the conflict between Serbia and Montenegro with Turkey.

Those developments in the Balkans and the spread of the insurrection to the Bulgarian lands in April 1876<sup>3</sup>, which brought the threat of a lasting destabilization on a pan-European level, prompted the Great Powers to hasty consultations on the possibility of resolving the conflict. They took place at the turn of 1876 and 1877 in Constantinople. Already the first deliberations on this issue showed that Russia, implementing the assumptions of its foreign policy, rigidly considers the need to implement fundamental changes on the Balkan Peninsula in terms of improving the life of local Christians, and recognizes as a matter of priority the issue of the reactivation of Bulgarian statehood within the borders covering all areas inhabited by Bulgarian population<sup>4</sup>. Although this concept provoked opposition of the other powers, they agreed to sign in the mid-January of 1877 the final protocol in which they obliged Turkey to introduce far-reaching changes in its European possessions. This document, however, was rejected by Turkey<sup>5</sup>, which became the direct cause of the declaration of war by Russia on 24 April 1877<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> C. Morris, *One Hundred Years of Conflict between the Nations of Europe: the Causes and Issues of the Great War*. Philadelphia 1914, pp. 70–83.

<sup>2</sup> К. Янчулев, *Руско-турската война 1877–1878 г.* Военно-издателски фонд, София 1941, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> More on this subject, i.a. W.E. Gladstone, *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*. Lovell, Adam, Wesson & Company, New York–Montreal 1876; А.А. Улунян, *Апрельское восстание 1876 года в Болгарии и Россия*. Наука, Москва 1978; A. Zawilski, *O wolność Bułgarii*. Wydawnictwo MON, Warszawa 1979, pp. 179–224; Z. Stojanow, *Zapiski z powstań bułgarskich*. Wydawnictwo MON, Warszawa 1971, pp. 241–444.

<sup>4</sup> T. von Sosnosky, *Die Balkanpolitik Österreich-Ungarns seit 1866*, Vol. 1. Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, Stuttgart–Berlin 1914, p. 157.

<sup>5</sup> T.T. Jeż [Z. Miłkowski], *Kwestya wschodnia w nowej fazie*. Ateneum 1878, Vol. III, Issue 4, pp. 8, 11.

<sup>6</sup> J. Rubacha, A. Malinowski, *Historia Bułgarii 1870–1915. Materiały źródłowe z komentarzami*, Vol. 3. Neriton, Warszawa 2009, pp. 16–17; C. Morris, op. cit., p. 377;

Russians began the preparations for the war as early as in the autumn of 1876, when in the wake of increasing tensions, the first mobilization was launched – in four southern military districts: Caucasus, Kyiv, Odessa and Kharkov, whose military units were to constitute the core of the forces which were to be involved in the possible campaign against Turkey<sup>7</sup>. The main striking force was the so-called Danube Army, consisting of about 260 thousand soldiers<sup>8</sup> and 690 guns directed at the Balkan war theatre, which was to be supported by the cooperating with it Serbian, Montenegrin and Romanian armies<sup>9</sup> and the Bulgarian Voluntary Corps. Tsar Alexander II's younger brother, Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaevich, was appointed the chief commander of this unit. To oppose those forces, Turks had an army of about 280 thousand people, from whom they intended to use 190 thousand soldiers to directly confront Russians. The rest of the soldiers secured the Serbian and Montenegrin fronts and were the garrisons of Bulgarian fortresses located in the Bulgarian lands<sup>10</sup>.

Russians began war operations on 22 June 1877 with two infantry regiments from the XIV Corps, forming the so-called Lower Danube Group under the command of General Apollon Zimmerman<sup>11</sup>, crossing the Danube between Brăila and Galați. Their task was to distract the Turks from the location of the main army forces landing operation, for which the area of Zimnicea was designated. This action began with the crossing of the 14th Infantry Division subdivisions under the command of Gen. Mikhail Dragomirov and several smaller units at night between 26 and 27 June 1877. Despite the fierce resistance of the Turks defending the banks, those units succeeded in creating a bridgehead to which thirty infantry battalions and artillery sub-units were transferred, and in the following days all invasion forces<sup>12</sup>.

In early July 1877, the Russian Command divided the units concentrated near Svishtov into three groupings<sup>13</sup>. The first, called Eastern<sup>14</sup>, commanded by Grand Duke Alexander Alexandrovich, was tasked with blocking the forces of the

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A. Wirth, *Geschichte der Türken*. Franck'sche Verlagshandlung, Stuttgart 1912, p. 73; B. Brodecki, *Szyпка i Plwena 1877*. Wydawnictwo MON, Warszawa 1986, p. 38.

<sup>7</sup> К. Янчулев, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>8</sup> It was composed of: VIII, IX, XI and XII Corps (six Bulgarian volunteer battalions were part of the XII Corps) and VII and X Corps designated for protecting the Black Sea coast. IV and XIII Corps and XIV Corps operating in Dobrogea were the reserve.

<sup>9</sup> Romanian forces formed two corps, a total of about 75 thousand soldiers and 240 guns.

<sup>10</sup> Ц. Генов, *Освободителната война 1877–1878*. Наука и изкуство, София 1978, pp. 65–68.

<sup>11</sup> *История на Добруджа*, Vol. 3. Българска Академия на Науките, София 1988, p. 267.

<sup>12</sup> К. Янчулев, *op. cit.*, pp. 19–22; B. Brodecki, *op. cit.*, p. 43–53.

<sup>13</sup> Г. Георгиев, *Освободителната война 1877–1878*. ДИ „П. Берон“, София 1986, pp. 58–59; К. Янчулев, *op. cit.*, pp. 18–19, 24–25; A. Zawilski, *op. cit.*, p. 242; B. Brodecki, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

<sup>14</sup> It consisted of XII and XIII Corps; about 75 thousand soldiers in total.

Ottoman Eastern Danube Army under Mehmed Ali Pasha which gathered between the fortresses of Ruse, Shumen, Varna, Silistra, and then with launching an attack eastward and capturing Ruse. Those actions were to be supported by the 14th Corps<sup>15</sup> coming from the north-east. The second grouping, Western<sup>16</sup>, under the command of Gen. Nikolai Kridener, was to attack Nikopol defended by 10 thousand Turks, and after capturing it, the grouping was to head towards Pleven and take over the passes in the western part of the Balkan Mountains. The weakest grouping<sup>17</sup>, called Frontal, under the command of Gen. Iosif Gurko, was to charge along the Yantra River on Veliko Tarnovo, and after capturing it, the grouping was to take over the passes in the middle of the Balkan Mountains and lead a quick attack towards Edirne.

Carrying out the appointed tasks, on 8 July, the western grouping started marching on Nikopol and attacked it a week later, using the support of heavy artillery from the northern bank of the Danube. After two days of heavy fighting, on 17 July 1877, the fortress was seized<sup>18</sup>, which opened the Russian troops the way to Pleven. This small town was not only an important transportation hub with the roads to Sofia and Veliko Tarnovo, and through the mountain passes also to Plovdiv, but also, thanks to its favourable geographical location, was a convenient place to defend. The Turks were aware of the important role that Pleven could play in the entire campaign so as early as on 13 July they sent there a portion of the units of the Western Army commanded by Osman Pasha, which were concentrated in the vicinity of Vidin and until then had been conducting military activity against Serbs and Montenegrins in the west<sup>19</sup>. Despite gaining information about the Turkish troops' movements, the Russian grouping command delayed the decision to start the march, explaining that with the necessity for the units to rest after seizing the Nikopol fortress. It was only clear pressure from the commander-in-chief, Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaevich, which prompted Gen. N. Kridener to send the 5th Infantry Division under the command of Gen. Youri Schilder-Schuldner and several smaller sub-units (about 9,000 soldiers in total) towards Pleven. However, those forces were too small and set off too late to effectively stop the Turks' fast march. Osman Pasha captured Pleven as early as on 19 July, and his troops on the same day fired on the Russians approaching the city. Despite

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<sup>15</sup> Carrying out this task, between July and December 1877, the sub-units of the grouping fought a number of skirmishes with the Turks, i.a. at Ezerche, Katselovo, Gorsko Albanovo, Kamen, Mechka and Trastenik; Ц. Генов, *op. cit.*, pp. 223–230; К. Янчулев, *op. cit.*, pp. 72–76; A. Zawilski, *op. cit.*, pp. 257–258.

<sup>16</sup> It consisted of IX Corps, Caucasian Cossack Brigade and the 34th Cossack regiment, about 35 thousand soldiers in total.

<sup>17</sup> The grouping had only about 9 thousand people and consisted of, among others: two Dragoons Brigades, Don Cossack Brigade, the 4th rifle brigade, six voluntary Bulgarian battalions and several smaller units.

<sup>18</sup> A. Wirth, *op. cit.*, p. 74; A. Zawilski, *op. cit.*, p. 254; B. Brodecki, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

<sup>19</sup> К. Янчулев, *op. cit.*, p. 34.



a considerable disproportion of forces, on 20 July, Gen. Y. Schilder-Schuldner ordered his subordinate units to attack the Turkish positions. Despite initial successes, the attack failed and the Russian subdivisions were forced to retreat<sup>20</sup>. It gave the Turks time to bring in reinforcements, to reform their units into the Western Army, and to prepare the positions for further fighting.

Meanwhile, the failure of the attack on Pleven prompted the Russian command to regroup and significantly strengthen their forces. Gen. N. Kridener, urged by the general command of the Danube Army, designated for the next attack all available units of the IX Corps and over 180 guns of different calibre. The date of the attack was set for 30 July. Despite the numerical superiority in men and artillery<sup>21</sup> on the Russian side this time, the attack failed once again, and the attackers suffered heavy losses, which exceeded 7,300 dead and wounded<sup>22</sup>. Such a state of affairs forced the Russian command to stop further attempts to capture Pleven and to wait for the reinforcements which were to arrive from inland Russia.

At the same time, the eastern grouping moving east, quickly captured the town of Byala and the area along the lower course of the Yantra River<sup>23</sup>. It made it easier for Gen. I. Gurko's grouping, which in the first days of July started marching south, to act. As early as on 7 July 1877, the grouping captured Veliko Tarnovo<sup>24</sup> which had been abandoned by the Turks, and more importantly took control of the undamaged bridges on the Yantra River<sup>25</sup>. After deploying the troops in the city, the grouping began preparations for crossing the Balkan Mountains. However, the reconnaissance revealed that strong Turkish troops had taken control of all the main passes, which called into question the possibility of carrying out the tasks which the small Russian forces had been assigned. Thanks to the help of the local Bulgarian population, who pointed out a non-defended isthmus near Gurkovo, the Russians eventually managed to cross the mountains, capture the city of Kazanlak and on 17 June 1877 reach from the south the fortified Shipka Pass<sup>26</sup>. At that time, the general command sent from the north to that region two infantry regiments<sup>27</sup> from the 9th Infantry Division, which, after concentrating in Gabrovo, formed a mixed grouping under the command of Gen. Walerian Derożyński, called the Gabrovo grouping. Its task was to divert the Turks from the main offensive which was being prepared from the south. The assault on the Turkish positions in Shipka

<sup>20</sup> A. Zawilski, op. cit., p. 255; O.K. [A. Novikova], *Skobeleff and Slavonic Cause*. Longmans, Greene & Co, London 1883, p. 43, K. Янчулев, op. cit., pp. 36–40; B. Brodecki, op. cit., pp. 89–91.

<sup>21</sup> Osman Pasha had only 58 guns.

<sup>22</sup> A. Wirth, op. cit., p. 74; O.K. [A. Novikova], op. cit., pp. 44–45; K. Янчулев, op. cit., pp. 40–45; A. Zawilski, op. cit., pp. 255–256; B. Brodecki, op. cit., pp. 95–106.

<sup>23</sup> K. Янчулев, op. cit., p. 33.

<sup>24</sup> B. Brodecki, op. cit., p. 59; A. Zawilski, op. cit., p. 244–245; A. Wirth, op. cit., p. 73.

<sup>25</sup> K. Янчулев, op. cit., p. 25.

<sup>26</sup> B. Brodecki, op. cit., pp. 61–65.

<sup>27</sup> The 36th and the 30th infantry regiments.

Pass began on 18 July from both sides simultaneously. The Turkish troops put up fierce resistance against the Russians, but confronted with the enemy's tactical advantage, as early as in the night of 18 to 19 July 1877 retreated to the west<sup>28</sup>. As a result, the road to Edirne was open to the central grouping. On 19 July, the Russians captured Kazanlak after a short battle, and four days later the cavalry units commanded by Fr. Eugen Leuchtenberg entered Stara Zagora<sup>29</sup>.

Despite those successes, the general command on 22 July ordered Gen. I Gurko to suspend the operation, and the reason for that decision was the failure of the western grouping operations at Plevna, which made it impossible to transfer larger forces to the south. Therefore, Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaevich included into the grouping only the infantry brigade under the command of Gen. Ignacy Borejsz from the 9th infantry division and ordered him to take defensive positions against the expected operations of the Turkish army from the side of Trace.

Those assumptions were definitely justified. In the second half of July 1877, the units of the army under the command of Suleiman Pasha, transferred from the Montenegrin front, started to arrive at the port of Alexandroupoli on the Aegean Sea. This army was ready for combat action at the end of the month. According to the plans of the Turkish command, it was to drive away Gen. I. Gurko's troops to the northern side of the Balkan Mountains and, having crossed that mountain range, contact Osman Pasha and Mehmed Ali Pasha and attack the Russians from three directions simultaneously. After all the units landed, Suleiman Pasha's Army on 29 July 1877 began a march towards Stara Zagora<sup>30</sup>, which they reached two days later. As early as on 31 July, the Turks beat back the avant-garde troops of the Russian cavalry and then launched an attack on the city defended mainly by volunteer Bulgarian battalions and using their numerical superiority forced the defenders to retreat. Although at that time the main forces of Gen. I. Gurko defeated the Ottoman units<sup>31</sup> stationing near Nova Zagora, who were planning to join Suleiman Pasha's army, they had to withdraw in order to secure the Balkan passes. At the same time, the staff of the Danube Army decided to disband the frontal grouping and send its units to Veliko Tarnovo<sup>32</sup>.

Meanwhile, Suleiman Pasha, who had the main responsibility of conducting war operations, reached the southern slopes of the Balkan Mountains. As a result of the reconnaissance, it was found that the extreme mountain passes – in the west, in the vicinity of Troyan, and in the east, near the town of Tvarditsa, were strongly fortified by the Russians. Thus, the best chance of success was to launch an attack

<sup>28</sup> A. Zawilski, *op. cit.*, pp. 247–248; O.K. [A. Novikova], *op. cit.*, p. 41; К. Янчулев, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–30; B. Brodecki, *op. cit.*, pp. 67–68.

<sup>29</sup> К. Янчулев, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 47–50; B. Brodecki, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

<sup>30</sup> Г. Георгиев, *op. cit.*, p. 55. During this march, the Turkish army committed numerous crimes against the Bulgarian civilian population.

<sup>31</sup> A. Zawilski, *op. cit.*, p. 250; К. Янчулев, *op. cit.*, p. 50–51; B. Brodecki, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

<sup>32</sup> К. Янчулев, *op. cit.*, p. 56; B. Brodecki, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

in the centre, towards Shipka Pass. It was where the Russian command, not expecting the attack, had deployed only the 36th infantry regiment from the Gabrovo grouping and six Bulgarian battalions, withdrawn from Stara Zagora. In total, the troops deployed in the passes, re-formed into the so-called Shipka grouping under the command of Gen. Nikolai Stoletov, consisted of about 5,500 soldiers and 27 guns<sup>33</sup>. It was to this section where Suleiman Pasha directed the attack of a separate part of his army consisting of over 27,000 people. The attack began on 21 August 1877<sup>34</sup>. Despite several assaults repeated on that day, the attackers did not manage to break the Russian lines. The situation of the defenders, however, was very serious, and it did not improve much even when on 21 August, in the afternoon, the subdivisions of the 35th infantry regiment appeared on the battlefield. The disproportion of the forces was still enormous, and the Turks, after occupying the surrounding slopes, started constant artillery fire of Russian positions. The assault was resumed on the 23 August, and heavy strikes on both flanks almost led to the break of the line. The critical situation was brought under control thanks to the heroic attitude of the officers – Col. Aleksander Lipiński, Col. Fiodor Depreradovich, Capt. Ivan Polikarpov, who organized counterattacks at the most endangered sections. At the same time, in the afternoon, the first reinforcements – a company from the 4th Rifle Division commanded by Gen. Adam Kwieciński, subdivisions of the 2nd Brigade of the 14th Infantry Division under the command of Gen. Michail Pietrushevski and companies formed of the civilian inhabitants of Gabrovo<sup>35</sup> – started arriving at the positions on the pass. As a result, it was possible to stabilize the situation on the entire front line, and within the next two days launch a counterattack which forced the Turks to retreat to the foothills of the Balkan Mountains<sup>36</sup>. This undoubted success was, however, offset by heavy losses. During the fighting more than 3,000 Russians were killed and wounded, including the widely respected and well-liked commander of the Gabrovo grouping – Gen. W. Derożyński, and the Bulgarian units lost nearly 500 soldiers<sup>37</sup>. However, the end of the battle of Shipka Pass did not mean the end of fighting in this area. The withdrawn Turkish units still had the possibility to fire at the Russian positions from heavy artillery, and since September the Russians also had to struggle with worsening weather conditions. The temperature reaching minus 20°C and abundant snowfall at the turn of 1877 and 1878 not only severely

<sup>33</sup> A. Zawilski, *op. cit.*, p. 259; B. Brodecki, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

<sup>34</sup> Ц. Генов, *op. cit.*, pp. 132–147; К. Янчулев, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

<sup>35</sup> On 25 August 1877, the 53rd, 54th and 56th infantry regiments were sent to the positions at the pass to replace the withdrawn Bulgarian battalions, and in October additionally the 24th Infantry Division.

<sup>36</sup> B. Brodecki, *op. cit.*, pp. 121–139; A. Zawilski, *op. cit.*, pp. 260–275; К. Янчулев, *op. cit.*, pp. 64–68.

<sup>37</sup> Ц. Генов, *op. cit.*, p. 143. The Turkish losses were even heavier and amounted to nearly 7,000 killed and wounded.

hampered providing supplies to the troops, but also caused mass illnesses<sup>38</sup>. Cases of freezing were also common. It is estimated that during that period almost 11 thousand soldiers went missing, got sick or froze.

During the battle of Shipka Pass, significant events took place also on the right flank of the Russian army. The information about a strong Turkish army attempting to cross the Balkan Mountains reached the camp in Pleven and prompted Osman Pasha to try to break the Russian positions. On 31 August 1877, in the heavily undulating and forested area between the towns of Pelishat and Zgalevo, the Russian positions attacked the Turkish troops consisting of almost 11,000 soldiers but despite the initial successes, which were the result of a surprise effect, at the end of the day the control over the situation was regained, and the attackers were forced to retreat. The Russian command was deeply concerned about the high activity of the Turks in this section. Therefore, as early as in the first days of August, they decided to finally destroy the West Army defending itself in Pleven<sup>39</sup>. This time, however, it was decided to significantly increase the number of units which were to take part in the assault and to improve the strategic situation. Hence, as early as on 3 September 1877, after a three-day battle, a separated grouping under the command of Fr. Alexander Imeretinsky captured the heavily fortified town of Lovech<sup>40</sup>, breaking one of the main Turkish supply lines, and the main forces began preparations for the attack.

Powerful forces, consisting of more than 60 thousand Russians and 23 thousand Romanians, which were to be supported by artillery consisting of almost 430 guns, were appointed to accomplish that task. The assault, preceded by five-day artillery preparations, began on 11 September 1877. As early as on the first day, the joined Russian-Romanian forces managed to reach the Turkish lines, and in some places also get deep into the positions, but the defenders stoutly resisted, launching strong counterattacks. Therefore, the attempts to force the Turks to retreat undertaken within the next three days ended in complete failure. Moreover, the attackers suffered very heavy losses, amounting to more than 15,500 killed and wounded, including about 3,000 Romanians<sup>41</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> According to B. Brodecki (op cit., p. 144): "Diseases were spreading at an alarming rate. Particularly the soldiers from the 24th division suffered from them. On 17 December, in three regiments of that division only two cases of injuries were reported, but as many as 140 soldiers were ill. Over the next three days, the number of ill soldiers increased to 620. On 22 December, there was 1 injured soldier per 885 ill soldiers".

<sup>39</sup> This decision was greatly influenced by the fact that on 22 August 1877, the mixed grouping commanded by Gen. Alexander Imertynsky captured the town of Lovech, and taking control of this important transportation hub made supplying Osman Pasha's army and sending reinforcements to Pleven much more difficult.

<sup>40</sup> O.K. [A. Novikova], op. cit., 48–49; K. Янчулев, op. cit., pp. 76–80; B. Brodecki, op. cit., pp. 151–153.

<sup>41</sup> A. Wirth, op. cit., p. 74; K. Янчулев, op. cit., pp. 82–91; O.K. [A. Novikova], op. cit., pp. 60–82; B. Brodecki, op. cit., pp. 159–176; A. Zawilski, op. cit., pp. 287–288.

The third attempt to capture Pleven which ended in failure was widely noticed all over Europe and significantly affected the morale not only of the soldiers, but also the Russian commanders. It was even rumoured that the Russians were planning to retreat to the north bank of the Danube. In an effort to counter the defeatist propaganda, Tsar Alexander II, who was staying in the camp near Pleven, decided to include into the command of the Western Grouping a veteran and hero of the Crimean War – Gen. Eduard Tottleben<sup>42</sup>. Having arrived at Pleven, he reorganized the staff and proceeded to build a system of fortifications around the city. At the same time, the high command sent there reinforcements in the form of guards units, thanks to which the forces of the Western Grouping increased to 160 thousand soldiers. According to Gen. E. Tottleben, the highest priority task was to close the encirclement around Osman Pasha's army, and especially to take control of the road from Pleven to Sofia. In order to do so, the decision was made to create a separate corps of about 50,000 people under the command of Gen. I. Gurko, who on 24 October 1877 gained the Turkish positions at Gorni Dabnik, and four days later captured the heavily fortified town of Telish. As a result, the road connection with Sofia was broken and the Turkish Western Army was fully encircled<sup>43</sup>.

Although Osman Pasha's situation became very difficult, until the beginning of December he consistently rejected the offers of capitulation submitted by Russians, and on 10 December 1877 he attempted to break the Russian lines and withdraw to the west<sup>44</sup>. Despite the fact that the Russian command had information on the ongoing preparations and even the direction and date of the action, they did not undertake further preparations. Therefore, the Turkish assault on Dolna Mitropoliya almost ended with success. In the first phase of the battle, they managed to break the Russian fortifications on the length of three kilometres, and it was only hasty transfer of the reserves to the endangered section which enabled warding off the danger and the Turkish units had to retreat. Recognizing the hopelessness of the situation, Osman Pasha surrendered on that same day<sup>45</sup>.

The fall of Pleven was a turning point in the war. Trying to build on the success, the Russian army units were sent towards the Balkan passes with the task of crossing them as soon as possible. At the same time, in mid-December 1877, Serbia and Montenegro resumed military action against the Turks. The Serbian army, divided into three parts, undertook, together with the Montenegrins, operations in the west, blocked the Turkish troops at Vidin, and, correlating the

<sup>42</sup> К. Янчулев, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

<sup>43</sup> Ц. Генов, *op. cit.*, pp. 170–175; B. Brodecki, *op. cit.*, pp. 182–186.

<sup>44</sup> Such attempts had been undertaken several times by the Turks also in mid-November 1877; O.K. [A. Novikova], *op. cit.*, p. 91.

<sup>45</sup> B. Brodecki, *op. cit.*, p. 193; A. Wirth, *op. cit.*, p. 74; O.K. [A. Novikova], *op. cit.*, p. 101; A. Zawilski, *op. cit.*, pp. 292–295.

actions with the Russians, headed for Sofia<sup>46</sup>. The last corps captured the town of Bela Palanka on 24 December 1877 and four days later entered Piroto.

At that time Gen. I. Gurko's group reached the pass in the western part of the Balkan Mountains. In spite of difficult conditions caused by snowfall and frost, the group attempted to cross them. A separated unit under the command of Gen. N. Kridener was created from the forces of the grouping and its task was to block the possible Turkish troops movements in Sofia Valley, and the rest was divided into three columns. On the right flank, the column commanded by Gen. Nicolai Velyaminov was to move on the Vrachesh-Zhelyava axis and the left-wing column commanded by Gen. Victor Dandaville – along the Etropole-Zlatitsa-Bunovo line. At that time, the main forces, which constituted the central column, commanded by Gen. Vasilii Kataley, were supposed to cross Churek Pass and encircle the Turks. Despite initial problems, the whole operation ended in success. As early as on 27 December, the sub-units of the central column reached the southern slopes of the Balkan Mountains, and on 4 January 1878 the Russians entered Sofia<sup>47</sup>.

Other Russian units were also tasked with crossing the mountains. Executing those orders, Gen. Pavel Karcov's group, operating east of Gen. Gurko's grouping, crossed Troyan Pass and on 8 January captured Karlovo. At that time, the southern grouping<sup>48</sup> commanded by Gen. Fyodor Radetzky started crossing the mountains near Shipka Pass with the task of breaking the Turkish forces which were blocking the way south, and which were concentrated in a fortified camp near Sheynovo<sup>49</sup>. The Russian forces were divided also there into three columns. The right one, under the command of Gen. Mikhail Skobelev, was tasked with forcing Khimitliyski Pass and bypassing the Turks from the west; the left one, commanded by Gen. Nikolai Svyatopolk-Mirsky, was to cross Tryavna Pass, and the central one, under the personal command of Gen. F. Radetzky, was to attack from the north through Shipka Pass<sup>50</sup>. Due to difficult weather conditions though, on the planned date – 8 January – at the battlefield near Sheynovo only Gen. N. Svyatopolk-Mirsky's sub-units appeared. Without waiting for the arrival of the remaining columns, they started the offensive, but it was stopped. Only on the following day, the correlated attack of all the units broke the defense lines and forced the Turks to surrender. As a result, the road to the south, towards Trace and Constantinople was open for the Russian army<sup>51</sup>.

<sup>46</sup> A. Wirth, *op. cit.*, pp. 74–75.

<sup>47</sup> К. Янчулев, *op. cit.*, pp. 98–101; A. Wirth, *op. cit.*, p. 75; O.K. [A. Novikova], *op. cit.*, p. 150; A. Zawilski, *op. cit.*, p. 308; B. Brodecki, *op. cit.*, pp. 198–202.

<sup>48</sup> The grouping was formed in late August 1877 to secure Shipka Pass. By the end of the year it had about 54,000 soldiers.

<sup>49</sup> Ц. Генов, *op. cit.*, pp. 199–207; A. Zawilski, *op. cit.*, pp. 310–312.

<sup>50</sup> O.K. [A. Novikova], *op. cit.*, pp. 148–149, 155–159.

<sup>51</sup> К. Янчулев, *op. cit.*, pp. 101–104; O.K. [A. Novikova], *op. cit.*, pp. 163–167; B. Brodecki, *op. cit.*, pp. 203–205.

Such a state of affairs prompted the Turkish authorities to attempt to end the war, but the request for a ceasefire made on 9 January 1885 was rejected. Trying to make use of the successes achieved so far, the Russians captured Samkov on 10 January, defeated the remnants of Suleiman Pasha's army at Plovdiv on 16 January, and four days later they entered Edirne<sup>52</sup>. The fast march of the Russian army towards the Turkish capital caused serious concern in Europe, especially in Great Britain and Austro-Hungary. The threat of military intervention of the Great Powers in defense of Turkey<sup>53</sup> prompted the tsarist authorities to stop the offensive. On 31 January 1878, a ceasefire agreement was signed in Edirne<sup>54</sup>, and the war officially ended with a peace treaty signed on 3 March in Yeşilköy (San Stefano)<sup>55</sup>.

In the events of the war, as was already mentioned above, took part also the Poles from Congress Poland, officers and soldiers in the ranks of the Russian army. Although this fact does not raise any reservations, it remains essential to establish how large the group was. The attempt to answer this question seems to be even more important because there have been occasionally different opinions on this subject in the publications from over the last one hundred years<sup>56</sup>, and this issue has not been subject to extensive research. Such a state of affairs results largely from the fact that there are no documents whatsoever which would present the ethnic composition of the Russian army in 1877 and 1878. Hence, all the numbers may be estimated only.

According to Stanisław Wiech's calculations<sup>57</sup>, at the beginning of 1876 in the ranks of the Russian army served nearly 70 thousand recruits who were born in the

<sup>52</sup> Ц. ГЕЛОВ, op. cit., pp. 230–235; C. Morris, op. cit., p. 378.

<sup>53</sup> L. Widderszal, *Ruchy wolnościowe na Bałkanach*. Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, Warszawa 1947, p. 67; A. Wirth, op. cit., p. 75.

<sup>54</sup> A. Zawilski, op. cit., p. 315; O.K. [A. Novikova], op. cit., p. 169; B. Brodecki, op. cit., p. 206.

<sup>55</sup> A. Wirth, op. cit., p. 75. The text of the document in: J. Rubacha, A. Malinowski, A. Giza, *Historia Bułgarii 1870–1915. Materiały źródłowe z komentarzami*, Vol. 1. Neriton, Warszawa 2006, pp. 21–32.

<sup>56</sup> According to Jan Grzegorzewski: "Nearly half of the Russian army of Grand Duke Nikolai at that time was composed of Poles, as both soldiers and officers"; J. Grzegorzewski, *Rok przewrotów (Bułgaria 1885/6)*. Stanisław Sułkowski, Lwów 1900, p. 44; however, contemporary researchers (M. Klimecki, *Polacy w walce o niepodległość Bułgarii (1877–1878)*, [In:] *Polska–Bułgaria przez wieki XVII–XX*. Ed. W. Balcerak. IH Polska Akademia Nauk, Warszawa 1991, pp. 40–41; J. Wojtasik, *Idea walki zbrojnej o niepodległość Polski 1864–1907*. Wydawnictwo MON, Warszawa 1987, p. 41; M. Tanty, *Wojna rosyjsko-turecka 1877/1878 (geneza – przebieg – rezultaty)*, [In:] *Wojna wyzwolenicza 1877–1878*. Ed. A. Koseski. Bułgarski Ośrodek Informacji i Kultury, Warszawa 1978, p. 20) estimate that there were about 35–50 thousand soldiers.

<sup>57</sup> S. Wiech, J. Legieć, *Udział żołnierzy polskich – poborowych z Królestwa Polskiego w walkach o wyzwolenie Bułgarii i echa wojny rosyjsko-tureckiej 1877–1878 r. na ziemiach polskich*. Българска Академия на Науките, Известия на Института за исторически изследвания 2015, Vol. 32.

Kingdom of Poland, which constituted about 9% of its composition; in the troops of the line – infantry and cavalry – the percentage was slightly higher and amounted to approximately 11–12%. Assuming that half of the tsarist forces participated in military operations, the number of Poles participating in them can be estimated at about 30–35 thousand. The reservists drafted during the mobilization must be added to this number. Thus, the total number of Poles in the ranks of the Russian army on the Balkan Peninsula should be estimated at 50–55 thousand soldiers<sup>58</sup>.

The recruits from the Kingdom of Poland who were obliged to serve in the army were drafted, above all, apart from Warsaw, to Caucasus, Kharkiv, Odessa and Kiev Military Districts, i.e. to those which were mobilized as early as in the autumn of 1876. This means that Poles took part in all the events of the war. Taking into account the combat trail of particular units of the Russian army, it can be stated, i.a. that the inhabitants of Warsaw Governorate, drafted mostly to the 9th Infantry Division took part in the siege of Pleven and then in the battle of Sheynovo, the recruits from Kielce Governorate, fighting in the 31st Infantry Division also besieged Pleven and then participated in the liberation of Sofia; the 3rd Guard Infantry Division recruited in the Congress Poland also went through a similar combat trail<sup>59</sup>. There is no information though, on their attitudes and commitment to fight. Such a state of affairs, however, allows presuming that they fought no worse than the representatives of other nations. Had it been otherwise, perhaps war chroniclers would have criticized them, as was the case with the allied Romanian army<sup>60</sup>. Nonetheless, it is difficult to estimate how many soldiers of Polish origin fell in the Balkans. Based on the Russian statistical data, according to which 15–20% of the soldiers from the Russian army were killed, died and went missing during the war, it can be estimated at about 8–10 thousand soldiers<sup>61</sup>.

A separate issue is the participation of officers of Polish origin in the war. The estimates in this aspect are very different, ranging from 9–10% to over 30%<sup>62</sup>, and a more detailed analysis involves substantial problems. It results from the fact that many officers of Polish origin during the war with Turkey of 1877–1878 came from mixed families and were Orthodox. Among them a large group, over the years of service, lost their sense of Polishness, the knowledge of the Polish

<sup>58</sup> Ibidem, p. 82. By contrast, Zbigniew Klein (*Udział Polaków w kampanii rosyjskiej na Bałkanach 1877–1878 r.* Studia z Dziejów Rosji i Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej 2003, Vol. 38, pp. 19–23 and idem, *Polskie ślady w budowie nowożytnej Bułgarii 1877–1914*. Łowicz 1999, p. 58) estimates the number of Poles in the Russian army in 1877–1878 at 150–200 thousand.

<sup>59</sup> S. Wiech, J. Legieć, op. cit., pp. 84–85.

<sup>60</sup> B. Brodecki, op. cit., p. 91; Z. Klejn, *Udział Polaków w kampanii rosyjskiej na Bałkanach 1877–1878 r.* IH Polska Akademia Nauk, Studia z Dziejów Rosji i Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej 2003, Vol. 38, pp. 11–12.

<sup>61</sup> S. Wiech, J. Legieć, op. cit., p. 86.

<sup>62</sup> B. Brodecki, op. cit., p. 214; Z. Klejn, *Udział Polaków...*, p.19.



language and often even the awareness of their Polish origin. According to official data, in 1876, nearly 23 thousand officers, of whom about 2,500 declared being Catholic, served in the ranks of the Russian army, and because almost all of them are considered to have Polish roots, the number of Poles in the officer corps of the units sent to the Balkan war theater, can be estimated at around 1,000 people<sup>63</sup>. They can be found at all levels of command.

The highest military rank – the chief of staff of the Danube Army – was held by Gen. Artur Niepokojczycki, who did not hide his Polish origin and whose family came from near Slutsk. He started his military career with completing a course at Page Corps and then the Imperial Military Academy in St. Petersburg. In the 1940s he fought in the Caucasus, Chechnya and Dagestan, and in Hungary during the suppression of the Spring of Nations. During the Crimean War he led the siege of Silistra defended by Michał Czajkowski, then was appointed the chief of staff of the Southern Army and of the armies and the navies in Crimea<sup>64</sup>. However, the assessment of his actions during the Russian-Turkish war of 1877–1878, is critical. He was accused of bureaucracy, inefficiency, lack of competence, and even corruption<sup>65</sup>. Zbigniew Klejn argues though that all those accusations were a matter of ambition and were made by officials and military circles reluctant towards Niepokojczycki<sup>66</sup>. His deputy was Gen. Kazimierz Lewicki, a lecturer at the Nicholas General Staff Academy and a helper of the chief of staff of the Guards and the Petersburg Military District, who was equally severely criticized already during the war<sup>67</sup>. As in the case of Gen. Niepokojczycki, he was accused of incompetence, conceit, impudence and careerism for similar reasons. Nonetheless, it was he who was firmly opposed to withdrawing the army to the left bank of the Danube after the third failed assault on Plevna and found support for his standpoint with both the Minister of War Dmitry Milyutin and Tsar Alexander II himself<sup>68</sup>.

Among the general corps of the Danube Army, already mentioned Z. Klejn identified 14 Polish sounding surnames. Gen. Marcin Kruszewski was included in the army staff, Gen. Mikołaj Massalski was the chief of artillery, Gen. Konstanty Biskupski was the chief of staff of the 11th Corps engaged in the battles at Plevna, Gen. Dymitr Nagłowski was the chief of staff of Gen. J. Gurko's grouping, Gen. Walerian Derożyński<sup>69</sup> was the commander of the Gabrovo grouping, Gen. Włodzimierz Dobrowolski distinguished himself during the battles at Plevna, Gen. Eliaż Radziszewski at Samkov, Gen. Adam Kwieciński at Shipka, Gen. Aleksander Dąbrowski at Elena. There were also Poles among the commanders of

<sup>63</sup> S. Wiech, J. Legieć, op. cit., p. 87.

<sup>64</sup> Z. Klejn, *Udział Polaków...*, p. 6.

<sup>65</sup> B. Brodecki, op. cit., p. 214; Z. Klejn, *Udział Polaków...*, p. 18.

<sup>66</sup> Z. Klejn, *Polskie ślady w budowie nowożytnej Bułgarii 1877–1914*. Mazowiecka Wyższa Szkoła Humanistyczno-Pedagogiczna w Łowiczu, Łowicz 1999, pp. 60–61.

<sup>67</sup> B. Brodecki, op. cit., p. 214; Z. Klejn, *Udział Polaków...*, pp. 18–19.

<sup>68</sup> Z. Klejn, *Polskie ślady...*, p. 61.

<sup>69</sup> His Polish origin is questioned by B. Brodecki; B. Brodecki, op. cit., p. 215.

sub-units of the line. Among them worth mentioning are: Col. Ignacy Borejsza, the hero of the battles at Shipka Pass and Col. Kazimierz Elżanowski, who distinguished himself during the battles of Lovech. Both of them, in recognition of their merits, were promoted to generals. During the battles of Shipka also the following soldiers covered themselves in glory: Col. Aleksander Lipiński - the commander of the 35th infantry regiment, Col. Władysław Dobrzyński, Col. Lewandowski, Col. Bieniecki, Lt. Col. Władysław Kobylański, Lt. Col. Drozdowski, during the battles at Nikopol – Lt. Col. Maciejewski, at Pleven – Col. Molski, at Kazanlak – Col. Edward Żyrzyński – the commander of the 34th infantry regiment and during the assault on Sofia - Col. Aleksander Puzyrewski. There is a long list of lower rank officers but it is impossible to mention them here. Together with the Russian army, also several dozen Polish doctors, veterinarians and pharmacists came to the Balkan front, and a large number of Poles also fought in the Bulgarian volunteer battalions, to which they had been drafted during the formation phase. It is calculated that over 30 officers and at least several dozen non-coms and soldiers, i.a. from the 46th and 47th infantry regiments served in them<sup>70</sup>.

The Russian-Turkish War of 1877–1878 is one of the most important events in the history of contemporary Europe, and the reminiscences of its consequences can be observed directly or indirectly in many areas also in modern times. Poles were also involved in the conflict, in the ranks of the Russian army, probably unaware of the importance of the reality which they created. Moreover, many Poles paid the highest price in the struggle for “our freedom and yours”. Hence, their contribution to implementing that ideal, so popular in Poland, undoubtedly deserves to be commemorated.

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<sup>70</sup> Z. Klejn, *Polskie ślady...*, pp. 62–68; Idem, *Udział Polaków...*, pp. 13, 19; B. Brodecki, op. cit., pp. 215–217.

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**SUMMARY**

The Russian-Turkish war of 1877–1878 was undoubtedly the most important of all ten conflicts between the two states in modern history. As a consequence of it, not only the political map of South-East Europe changed fundamentally, but also the processes whose reminiscences can be observed until the present day were initiated.

In a campaign launched in June 1877, the Russian army successfully crushed the Turkish forces in the Balkans, and such events as the siege of Plevna or the defense of Shipka made a significant mark on the military history of Europe. In those events, in the ranks of the tsarist forces, took part several tens of thousands of Poles, the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Poland and the former Eastern Borderlands, who paid the highest price implementing the ideal of fighting “for our freedom and yours”.

**STRESZCZENIE**

Wojna rosyjsko-turecka z lat 1877–1878 była niewątpliwie najważniejszym spośród wszystkich dziesięciu konfliktów między oboma państwami w dziejach nowożytnych. W jej następstwie nie tylko w sposób zasadniczy zmieniła się mapa polityczna Europy Południowo-Wschodniej, lecz także zapoczątkowane zostały procesy, których reminiscencje obserwować możemy do dziś.

W ramach rozpoczętej w czerwcu 1877 r. kampanii armia rosyjska, nie bez problemów, rozbiła siły tureckie na Bałkanach, a wydarzenia takie jak oblężenie Plewenu czy obrona Szypki, na trwałe zapisały się w historii militarnej Europy. W wydarzeniach tych w szeregach carskich sił zbrojnych wzięło udział także kilkadziesiąt tysięcy Polaków – mieszkańców Królestwa Polskiego i dawnych kresów Rzeczypospolitej, którzy złożyli potężną daninę krwi, realizując ideę walki „za naszą i waszą wolność”.

**Key words:** Russia, Turkey, Poles, Russian-Turkish war of 1877–1878

**Słowa kluczowe:** Rosja, Turcja, Polacy, wojna rosyjsko-turecka 1877–1878

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## E-LEARNING ENVIRONMENT: CHALLENGES AND BENEFITS IN TEACHING A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

### E-LEARNING: WYZWANIA I KORZYŚCI W NAUCZANIU JĘZYKA OBCEGO

One of the main distinctive features of modern education system is moving of gravitation centre from the traditional methodology of conducting lessons to innovational one. This process is usually accompanied with a series of obstacles that do not leave the teaching and learning process unmarked.

Technology classroom activities differ greatly from the traditional ones. The teacher should take into account various methodological, psychological, linguistic and physical aspects that indisputably impact the process of learning of foreign language. The process of teaching changes itself indisputably as language laboratory acquires new form and purpose: to form high language competence and prepare a student for challenges of information society. On the one hand, it causes new problems, charges and on the other hand, it leads to encouraging perspectives.

Throughout the work we mention the importance of correct application of information communication technologies in teaching a foreign language and various factors which, undoubtedly, accompany that complicated educational process.

Information technologies are the catalysts of the social progress. Their use in the sphere of education allows not just collecting, saving, processing, presenting and circulating of all information types but also contains vast opportunities for person-oriented education, promotes the selection of content, individualization, management programming of learning process, cognitive work of every student. The peculiarities information technologies lead education to the level of personalization that allows take into account the initial state of the object, to diagnose the quality and the motivation of the basis knowledge, to avoid learning gaps and so on.

The transition from traditional forms and methods of teaching into technology classroom requires methodology improvement and attentive teacher's approach to conducting the lesson. Unfortunately, many teachers ignore to be well prepared to their disciplines explaining the fact of being the experienced teacher for over 15–25 years. No one can contradict the experience in education system but one should bear in mind the readiness and experience in ICT tools. A large group of teachers have already acquired the necessary knowledge and skills in the application of ICT

in teaching but haven't realized the importance of psychological factors in the process of teaching and learning a foreign language.

Thus, the application of ICT in teaching a foreign language is mostly done in modern language laboratory. Unfortunately, not all of them respond to various kinds of demands.

Quality in e-learning has a twofold significance. First, e-learning is associated in many discussion papers and plans with an increase in the quality of educational opportunities, ensuring that the shift to the information society is more successful. This context is named "quality through e-learning". Second, there is a separate but associated debate about ways of improving the quality of e-learning itself; this context is called "quality for e-learning"<sup>1</sup>.

R. Webster proposed the definition of personalized e-learning environment (PELE) as a virtual leaning environment which acts as an interface to learning resources as well as to other learning systems and environments. The process of developing the PELE is regarded as a way of enabling students to develop as autonomous learners in that it helps them to think about their own learning in a structured manner. The student and individual e-learning environment combine as student learning more effective e-learning system. This new system produces a tight coupling between the student and the personalized e-learning environment. This then allows a loose and flexible coupling with the subjects as e-learning and learning support system. This is a concept of flexible Student Alignment<sup>2</sup>.

In the game world, a kid is immersed in a complex, information-rich, dynamic realm where one must sense, infer, decide, and act quickly, always responding at new situations<sup>3</sup>.

A model in which the student occupies the center of the training scenario, far from being a privilege and a stimulus, in many cases ends up being a drawback and gives rise to results contrary to those desired. To show this graphically, the central position of students means that all the elements revolve around and none of these elements are a point of reference, but rather they all have the student as a reference. This image, which may seem somewhat strange, is disconcerting for many students who are not used to an autonomous style of learning, to setting their own rhythm of learning, and to adapting to the peculiarities of the environment, because the environment never adapts to them<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> U-D. Ehlers, L. Goerts, B. Hildebrandt, J.M. Pawlowski, *Quality in e-learning. Use and dissemination of quality approaches in European e-learning. A study by the European Quality Observatory*. Cedefop Panorama Series 2005, No. 116. Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, Luxembourg.

<sup>2</sup> W.R. Webster, *A reflective and participatory approach to the design of the personalised learning environments*. Unpublished PhD thesis. Lancaster University, Lancaster 2005.

<sup>3</sup> J.S. Brown, *New learning environments for the 21st century*. Paper presented at the Forum for the Future of Higher Education's 2005 Aspen Symposium.

<sup>4</sup> F.J. García-Peñalvo, *Advances in E-learning: Experiences and Methodologies*. Hershey 2008, p. 51.

A quality online training initiative has to have as its goal that the students should achieve significant, active, learning constructed within a social context whenever possible in the midst of a learning community<sup>5</sup>.

According to J. Wright technological literacy means the ability to use, manage, and understand technology<sup>6</sup>.

Computer use, multimedia programs have become quite popular among teacher staff and for that reason we single out the following reasons:

- access to Internet network, students' work in Internet-cafe become more and more popular among students and teachers;
- young generation grows up together with the informational technologies which has become an inseparable part of their lives;
- English, as a main international one, is used in informational contexts;
- Internet offers excellent opportunities for communication and cooperative work between learners who are geographically separated and live in various countries, on various continents;
- learners increasingly expect language schools to integrate technology into teaching;
- technology offers new ways for practising language and assessing performance;
- technology is becoming increasingly mobile. It can be used not only in the classroom, lecture hall, computer room or self-assess centre, it can also be used at home, on the way to school and in Internet cafes<sup>7</sup>.

While conducting the lesson in technology classroom, the teacher should remember some factors which will influence the result of foreign language competence. Among them:

1. *Individual learning.* Multimedia learning programs open new opportunities and borders for learners' process. But not all can use this "learning freedom". Much attention, observation and control should be given to such group of students (pupils). Individual work should acquire some features of self-work, self-control which can be achieved after permanent psychological and educational teachers' help;
2. *Attention dispersion.* This factor can be the result of failed teacher's work. While working in the technology classroom, the learners can be side-tracked if the learning material was not organized well and the classroom activities were not managed in a proper way. And the learner can be tempted to browse some proposed links and website. That requires hard

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<sup>5</sup> Ibidem, p. 53.

<sup>6</sup> J. Wright, *The lexicon of technological literacy*. The Technology Teacher 1993, No. 52 (8). pp. 3–8.

<sup>7</sup> G. Dudeney, N. Hockly, *How to teach English with technology*. – Pearson Education, Harlow 2007.

work of the teacher to concentrate the learner at the process of learning and cognition;

3. *Lack of interactivity.* The level of live interactivity between the learner and the screen (monitor) is far from the level of interpersonal communication. Thus, interactivity in the technology classroom should not consist just of working at the computers but involve different forms and methods of work;
4. *The absence of proper feedback.* Unfortunately, the feedback in multimedia programs is limited by the answer “yes/correct” or “no/incorrect”;
5. *Insufficient teachers’ and learners skills in the application of ICT;*
6. *The complexity of learning material designing.* The work in the technology classroom quite often is really more difficult than to put down a lecture. It takes more strength, imagination, attention, creative and logical thinking;
7. *The use of time.* Some teachers can not forecast the lesson in time context. That causes insurmountable troubles in material understanding, group and solo work;
8. *Accessibility.* Not all learners have got necessary software and hardware in their disposal that can limit learning a foreign language with the help of ICT;
9. *The complexity of software and hardware use;*
10. *The complexity of reading the learning material from the screen and others.*

Unfortunately, many teachers ignore training in the use of information-communication technology. Teachers do not pay enough attention to the lesson preparation and thus very often are far less skilled than their own students. A gap arises not just between students and the teacher but between the latter and the technology. Some decades ago the teacher was the main person which conducted the foreign language lesson. All attention and efforts were directed to satisfy his demands. But implementing ICT in the classroom opens not just new horizons for the teacher but causes new demands, first of all, for his readiness to conduct the lesson on the appropriate pedagogical, methodological and technological level. If any of these components are beyond his attention or control, the lesson is expected to be unsuccessful.

Information communication technologies individualize the learning and teaching process by introducing adaptive learning programs of various levels. Learning multimedia programs promotes the adequate design of content components of the learning material, individual and independent way of full or shortened learning variant.

Supporting the integration tendencies of cognition, the process of education informatization actualizes the design and development of approaches to the potential use of information technologies in order to develop the personality of a student, his alternative thinking, imagination, attention, abilities.



Learning environment must be the effective and reliable centre which accumulates the best sources for the students and wide opportunities for permanent mastering of teacher's preparation level to the lessons. Secondary school is like "a springboard" for the pupils' future successful "learning flight". And if this centre doesn't become a second homeland for the pupil, the high education will achieve nothing with a crippled children's fate. The role of the secondary school is in the providing of the appropriate knowledge, practice on the one hand, and the love, trust and patience on the other.

High school system is called to be an important social, historically formed institution which is responsible for the accumulation and recreation of scientific and professional knowledge. Its importance in the society forming is confirmed by the world experience. Strategic doctrine of industrially developed countries is based on the development of person's potential, and education system as the essential part of it, plays a vital role in this permanent and fleeting process. Some countries of the Eastern Asia like Japan, Southern Korea, Thailand and others were able to approach and almost overtake industrially developed countries by concentrating their attention at all levels of education. The understanding of the fact that the reason of state's welfare lies in the priority of qualitative education will bring light to the people's mind.

Computer-oriented learning environment actualizes the development of approaches to the use of the IT potential for the personality development, his activity level raising. Student's work in such an atmosphere and environment promotes a student to create new strategies of decisions search to forecast the results of the already made learning, practical or creative decisions by the objects, phenomena and process modeling and interconnections between them.

Computer-oriented learning environment as a part of education system has to contain knowledge kernel, which must be assimilated by the students. Students can work independently, in an individual profile and tempo.

Speaking about the efficiency, we should bear in mind the importance of an adequate choice of these or those technical aids and the methods penetrated into the process of teaching.

And when we analyze about the innovational potential of the teacher, we realize that he is endowed with the amount of socio-cultural and creative characteristics and oriented on the continual improvement of his pedagogical activity and always ready to perception, elaboration and the use of innovations in the educational process.

During the process of teaching English with technology, the teacher should bear in mind that his role becomes more and more prominent and vital. The student should feel "protected" himself in this innovational world. It's impossible to achieve if the teacher is indifferent to the process of teaching, or if the student is left alone before a computer screen while a teacher is just a passive spectator.

The creation of lesson should be well-thought and each stage of the lesson should be under the teacher's control and thus, students can easily orient in the informational environment and form the skills of the high language competence.

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## SUMMARY

Innovational methods of foreign language teaching in the context of modern language laboratory are considered in the given article. The attention is paid to new educational, cultural opportunities and challenges that learners and teachers come across while learning teaching and a foreign language. The article emphasizes the role of teacher's competence in using computer-based systems. The work suggests some approaches to forming language competence where language laboratory is considered as an artificial language environment. Technical aids and materials exist in the educational sphere for a long time. Media education as a vital trend in education was formed in the 2nd half of the XX century. The present article deals with the importance of an adequate use of innovations in a school system. It is focused on the peculiarities and communicative opportunities of modern educational technologies. The problem of education management is discussed in the context of computer-oriented environment. The article deals with the innovational methods of foreign language teaching. The attention is paid to the

peculiarities of a process of teaching in a personalized e-learning environment. The work suggests some practical approaches to information technologies implementation. The article emphasizes the teacher's readiness in using the opportunities of computer-based systems.

## STRESZCZENIE

W artykule omówiono innowacyjne metody nauczania języków obcych w kontekście współczesnego laboratorium językowego. Zwrócono uwagę na nowe możliwości edukacyjne i kulturowe oraz wyzwania, z którymi spotykają się uczniowie i nauczyciele w procesie nauczania i uczenia się języka obcego. W artykule podkreślono rolę kompetencji nauczyciela w posługiwaniu się rozwiązaniami IT. Autor artykułu nakreśla takie podejście do kształtowania kompetencji językowych, w którym laboratorium językowe jest uważane za sztuczne środowisko językowe. Pomoce i materiały techniczno-dydaktyczne istnieją w sferze edukacji przez długi czas. Edukacja medialna jako istotny trend w edukacji powstała w drugiej połowie XX wieku. W niniejszym artykule omówiono znaczenie odpowiedniego wykorzystania innowacji w systemie szkolnym, akcentując osobliwości i możliwości komunikacyjne nowoczesnych technologii edukacyjnych. Problem zarządzania edukacją omówiono w kontekście środowiska komputerowego. Artykuł dotyczy innowacyjnych metod nauczania języków obcych. Zwrócono uwagę na specyfikę procesu nauczania w spersonalizowanym środowisku e-learningu. Praca sugeruje kilka praktycznych podejść do wdrażania technologii informacyjnych. Artykuł podkreśla gotowość nauczyciela do korzystania z możliwości systemów komputerowych.

**Key words:** e-learning environment, personalized e-learning environment, language laboratory, technological literacy, online training, language barriers and sound diagram

**Słowa kluczowe:** środowisko e-learningowe, spersonalizowane środowisko e-learningowe, laboratorium językowe, umiejętności technologiczne, szkolenia online, bariery językowe i diagram dźwiękowy



**Chapter IV**  
**On the life of the Scientific Association**  
**in Ostrołęka**



## **Publications of the Scientific Association in Ostrołęka 2017**

- Budelewski Dariusz. 2017. *Unia Lubelska a jej funkcjonowanie do końca XVIII wieku. Ostrołęka.*
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- Scientific Journals of OTN (Adam Chętnik Scientific Association in Ostrołęka) 2017, Vol. XXXI. Ed. Gołota Janusz.

## **Scientific conferences organized or co-organized by the Scientific Association in Ostrołęka**

- 17–19 May 2017 The 4th International Scientific Conference in **Kremenets** (Ukraine) entitled *Innovations in higher education: Problems and perspectives in education and science*. The co-organizer of the session was the Scientific Association in Ostrołęka, next to the Ministry of Education and Science in Ukraine, the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kiev, the Academy of Humanities and Pedagogy in Kremenets, University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn. The lecture was delivered by the president of the Scientific Association in Ostrołęka Janusz Gołota.
- 10 November 2017 – a conference entitled *On the martial and military traditions of north-eastern Mazovia in the 18th–20th centuries*. Co-organizers were the C.K. Norwid 2nd Secondary School in Ostrołęka and the Office of War Veterans and Victims of Oppression.
- 10–12 December within the programme: “Actions for European integration as well as developing contacts and cooperation between societies – meetings and a scientific conference *A regional aspect of the Polish-Ukrainian cooperation through the transfer of experience*

*of the Mazovian voivodeship in terms of self-governance and developing contacts and cooperation between communities”* with the participation of the representatives of the Taras Shevchenko Academy of Humanities and Pedagogy and the Kremenets authorities.

**Stanisław Pajka**, PhD, age 83, passed away on December 9, 2017. An initiator and co-founder of Adam Chętnik Scientific Association in Ostrołęka. A long-time distinguished activist, regionalist, writer, researcher, author of many works and articles. Honorary Member of the Association



### **The regulations for submitting and publishing of works in the Scientific Journals of the Scientific Association of Ostrołęka**

1. The Scientific Journals of the Adam Chętnik Learned Association of Ostrołęka, further referred to as the Journals, are a scientific periodical published in an annual editorial cycle.
2. The contents of The Journals is divided into following sections: the Region, Poland, Europe and the news and events at the Scientific Association of Ostrołęka. The editor reserves the right to introduce changes to the layout and the contents of The Journals.
3. The editorial office of the Journals is located in the premises of the Scientific Association of Ostrołęka. The editorial staff activities are supervised by the editor –in-chief.
4. To ensure maintaining adequate standards of the Journals and observe the proper editorial cycle, the staff cooperates with state and foreign scientific institutions, associations and another bodies.
5. Only the following, previously unpublished, non duplicated forms are accepted for assessment: editorials, monographs, commentaries, history papers, source materials, reports on science events, book reviews, bulletins, memoirs and jubilee notifications. The works are received by the editorial staff in the office of The Scientific Association of Ostrołęka till the end of June each year. The submitted materials are not returned to the Author.
6. Each submitted work should be accompanied by the statement of originality, along with a declaration that it has not been submitted for publishing by another editor (the sample to be downloaded from the website of the Scientific Association of Ostrołęka - see Appendix 1 of the Regulations). The statement should include the first Author's home address, phone number and e-mail address. It should also include the consent (signature) of all the co-authors of the work.
7. The works are published in Polish or English language version, in compliance with the language editor's recommendations.
8. The statement attached to the work should also acknowledge particular co-authors' contribution and list the source(s) of the research funds. Ghostwriting and guest authorship are regarded as scientific misconduct, and all the detected cases thereof will be

disclosed and documented, including notification of the relevant bodies (institutions employing authors, learned societies, scientific editors associations, etc.).

9. The submitted papers are pre- reviewed and approved for publication by the Editorial Board, further referred to as the Board. The composition of the Board is decided on by the Presidium of the Scientific Association of Ostrołęka.
10. The articles pre-selected by the Board are assessed by the reviewers, in accordance with the reviewing procedure published on the website of the Scientific Association of Ostrołęka (see the bookmark 'The Journals'). Along with the opinion, the reviewer also fills in the conflict of interest declaration, which is included in Appendix 2 of the Regulations. The editor notifies the authors about the assessment results, reserving the right to keep the review confidential.
11. The editing process is supervised by the editorial secretary, who approves the content layout of the Journals, specifies the requirements for the published articles, liaises with the reviewers, submits part of the materials to be approved by the Editorial Board, cooperates with the Board and another institutions to the extent ensuring maintaining proper scientific standards of the Journals and observing the editorial cycle.
12. The editors reserve the right to decline articles without giving reasons.
13. The submitted materials which do not meet the specified requirements are returned to the Author/Authors.
14. The Adam Chętnik Scientific Association of Ostrołęka does not offer payment for the materials which have been approved for publication.
15. The original (referential) version of the periodical is the paper edition. The Journals are also available on the website of the Adam Chętnik Scientific Association of Ostrołęka – [www.otn.org.pl](http://www.otn.org.pl), in the bookmark 'The Journals'.

## **The Scientific Journals of the Scientific Association of Ostrołęka – publishing requirements**

1. The articles should be submitted both in electronic and paper version, either in Polish or in English. To improve efficiency of the editing procedure, we strongly recommend strict adherence to the following conditions:
  - The submitted article should include a detailed Author(s)' affiliation;
  - The length of the article should not exceed 15 A4 pages;
  - The Author(s)' name – font size 12,
  - The name of the institution – font size 12;
  - The article's title in Polish and English – font size 14 (bold); subtitles – font size 12 (bold);
  - The article should also include the key words (3-5) and an abstract (up to 15 lines) in both language versions – font 11;
  - The main body of the article should be written in font type Times New Roman CE – size 12,
  - The line spacing – 1,5,
  - If the article includes tables (preferably created in Word or Excel) or drawings (in CorelDraw, Excel, Word), the source files should be included,
  - The tables and drawings need to be properly numbered and have the titles and sources listed,
  - When writing formulas, only MS WORD equation editor must be used;
  - The preferred picture format is TIFF, JPG (resolution at least 300 dpi),
  - In case of research papers, the layout should fit in the following pattern: introduction (alternatively, the main objective), description of the reference materials and the methods applied, an account of the Author's own research work (presenting its results), a conclusion (summary), and the references;.
2. The references are listed in the footnotes which must be continuously numbered throughout the entire article with Arabic numbers in top index, i.e.(<sup>2</sup>).
3. The references cited in the text should include: the name initial and the full surname of the author, the title, the place and year of publication, the page number; in case of collective work, the title of the reference, the name initial and the full surname of the editor the

place and year of publication; similarly, in case of work which is a part of a bigger publication – its title, first name initial and full surname of its editor. The internet sources and legal acts should also be listed in the footnotes.

4. The complete bibliography put at the end of the article in alphabetical order should include: the author(s)' surname and name initial, the year of publication, the title (in italics), the publisher and the place of publication, as shown in the examples:
  - **books:** **Gołota J. 2000.** *Ostrołęka miasto i powiat w okresie międzywojennym*. Wydawnictwo OTN im. A. Chętnika, Ostrołęka.
  - **collective works:** Bednarek T. (red.) 2001. *Dowód osmologiczny. Aspekty kryminalistyczne i procesowe*. Wydawnictwo CLK KGP, Warszawa.
  - **periodicals:** Rosak M., Pękała M. 2007. *Obszary niepewności w procesie wizualizacji śladów linii papilarnych w ujęciu statystycznym*. Wydawnictwo CLK KGP Warszawa, Problemy Kryminalistyki nr 258.
  - **Internet websites:** [www.ostroleka.pl](http://www.ostroleka.pl). 1.10.2006 r.
  - **legal acts:** Ustawa z dnia 27 lipca 2002 r. o zmianie ustawy o szkolnictwie wyższym oraz ustawy o wyższych szkołach zawodowych. Dz.U. z 2002 r. Nr 150, poz. 1239.

**ATTENTION:**

- ***the articles which do not follow the specified requirements will be returned to the Author.***