

A Page of Polish History

LWOW

by Dr. JÓZEF RUDNICKI

Translated from the Polish by

B. W. A. MASSEY, M.A.

With an Introductory Note by

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Fellow of King's College, Cambridge

Published by

THE POLISH RESEARCH CENTRE
LONDON

Price: TWO SHILLINGS

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(Polish Section)

6100 N. Cicero Ave.

Chicago, IL 60646

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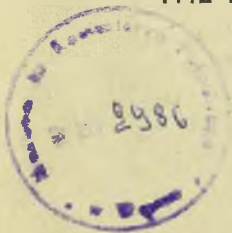
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4109 N. Cicero Ave.
Chicago, IL 60642
135238

First published January, 1944.

THE POLISH RESEARCH CENTRE was founded in London in April, 1940, and is governed by an Anglo-Polish Council. The Centre has been given hospitality by the Royal Institute of International Affairs at 32, Chesham Place, London, S.W.1.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
THE DITCHLING PRESS, LTD., DITCHLING,
HASSECKS, SUSSEX.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

NOTHING in the war-time life of Poland is more impressive than her undismayed production in the world of learning. Her own guests in bygone days may have felt that among her great universities two, Cracow and Wilno, were endowed with peculiar charm, and that Lwów, a city greater than either, did not lag far behind. To foreigners, however, the Lion's City, though matchless as a key-point between Euxine and Baltic, as a bulwark against eastern hordes, and as a focus of south Polish trade, has been less conspicuous than Warsaw and Cracow or Poznan. Twice honoured like Malta, adding to heroism in war, a tenacity which triumphed over four and twenty destructions by fire and over the long Austrian enslavement, for six centuries utterly Polish, Lwów can indeed boast a record unsurpassed in Europe.

This record is now surveyed by Dr Rudnicki and translated into excellent English by Mr. B. W. A. Massey. The Author, a librarian in a city where the famous Ossolineum had assembled more than a million volumes, has produced a sketch which in lucidity and erudition leaves nothing to be desired. Some readers, indeed, may compare him with the late Lord Acton, whom they were wont to charge with quoting countless writers whose verdicts were less weighty than his own. The author's conspicuous temperance, however, even in depicting the amazing Tsarist antics which the former world-war staged at Lwów, heightens the effect of some of his most vital paragraphs. Having shown how the citizens defeated the Austrian efforts at turning them into Germans, and how they gained higher education alike for Poles, Ukrainians and Jews, he declares that in 1914, "the Poles were dominant in every field of activity, drawing in all classes of citizens without distinction of nationality or faith, and giving the related Ruthenian (Ukrainian) population the chance to develop its powers to the full." This is the rich kernel of the story.

After the Armistice, Lwów had not a few more struggles and trials to encounter. She won through, blossomed and framed plans for great deeds in many fields. September 1939 however, brought an interruption which Dr. Rudnicki does not investigate. May it prove as brief as the city's great story bids us hope!

W. F. REDDAWAY.

November 26th 1943.

CHAPTER I. LWOW IN THE OLD REPUBLIC

1340—1772.

NEITHER history nor archæology has discovered any traces from earlier than the middle of the thirteenth century on the site now occupied by the city of Lwów. And what is more, history has not much to tell of the pre-Polish period there. The first hundred years of the city's existence, before it was united with Poland, have left remarkably few indications behind them. The explanation for this phenomenon is to be sought partly in the picture we can get of the city's internal affairs, and partly in the external dangers to which it was constantly exposed at that period. Internally, the country to which Lwów belonged was torn by struggles for power between the local boyars and the dukes of Halicz-Włodzimierz, who endeavoured in vain to consolidate the area of Red Ruthenia (*Grody Czerwienskie*), taken from the Poles in the tenth century by Vladimir, Duke of Kiev, into a compact duchy or kingdom ⁽¹⁾; while the almost unceasing invasions of the Tartar (Kipchak) Golden Horde rendered impossible the growth of conditions of life under which historical values could be handed on to later generations. From 1240 to 1340 the district called Halicz Ruthenia was virtually under the supremacy of the Tartars. All attempts to escape from this supremacy, whether by its own unorganized efforts, or with external aid, ended in failure. The Dukes of Halicz were forced to seek the protection of the Tartars, in return for which, however, they had to give them active support when they invited Ruthenia to join them in plundering their neighbours.

The foundation of Lwów in 1240 only becomes intelligible if one bears in mind this dependence of Halicz Ruthenia on the predatory policy of the Tartar Horde. It was the Tartar invasions which led Duke Daniło of Halicz to build a new settlement on a site less accessible, particularly from the east, and he found the defensible terrain which he needed in the basin surrounded by hills where Lwów now stands. ⁽²⁾

(1) As Poles clearly distinguish *Rus* from *Rosja*, and the distinction appears in every way desirable, the reader is asked to take "Ruthenia" as the equivalent of the former, and "Russia" of the latter. (Translator's Note.)

(2) Cf. Kinyig, R. H., *Poland: Human and Economic Characteristics in their Geographical Setting*, Birmingham 1936: "Physically, Lwów is placed at the meeting-point of two lines of chalk escarpments: 1. The Gołogóry, running east-north-eastwards with its steep slope on the northern side, and 2. the Roztocze, trending north-westwards, with a westerly-facing scarp. These heights have played a very important role in controlling both military and economic movements, so that the site of Lwów is a natural fortress and route centre; a fact still further emphasized when it is realised that this point is the one at which three great river basins—the Dniester, the San, and the Bug—all converge. The city's rather tragic history, with its numerous sieges and its long record of Tartar invasions (twenty-one in all), illustrates too well its strategic function."

This stronghold was handed over by Daniło in 1250 to his son Lew (Lion), from whom the place has its name, in the various forms Lwów, Lwi Gród, Lemburg, Loewensburg, Leopoldis, Civitas Leona, Leontopolis, Lviv and Lvov.

The wooden castle, the Orthodox Church, and the oldest Latin chapel of St John, dating from 1270, together with the beginnings of trade, in which engaged Germans, Armenians, and Jews, brought in by the Halicz dukes—these are the first and, indeed, the only memorials of the historical life of the city which have been handed down to Polish times by Lew, his son and grandsons, whose ducal line, connected by frequent bonds of marriage with the Polish royal dynasty of the Piasts, died out in 1323.

Meanwhile Tartar pressure continually increased, Khan Uzbek became not only the nominal, but more and more the actual, overlord of the district, and Lwów, together with the whole of Halicz Ruthenia, was transformed into a fief or colony of the Mongol invaders. But then the city's historic hour struck. Its last ruler, to whom the Ruthenian boyars yielded the ducal seat at Lwów, the Mazovian Piast Boleslas Trojdenowic, determined to bequeath the city of Poland, then governed by his brother-in-law, King Casimir the Great. This was a decision of historic significance, not only for Poland, which thus after more than three centuries regained possession of Red Ruthenia, but also for Europe and its culture, since it pressed back far to the east the potential, but constantly growing Mongol threat.

Immediately on the death of Boleslas Trojdenowic in 1340, Casimir the Great came with an army to Lwów and extended over its territory the sovereignty of the Piasts.

Accordingly, the year 1340 is of the first importance in the history of the town, which, owing to the powerful protection and guiding thought of Casimir and his successors of the Jagellon line, grew to the status of an easterly bastion of European culture.

Casimir the Great replaced the wooden castle by one of stone, surrounded the city with a wall, and supplied it with arms and implements of defence. The Jagellon kings continued the work of the last Piast, spending great sums on fortification, which was finally completed in 1445 and made Lwów into a stronghold whose inhabitants could feel themselves secure. Invasions from the east now ceased for a long period, as well as those from pagan Lithuania, which received Christianity from Poland and with her formed a Union. ⁽¹⁾

The favourable conditions thus established led to the growth of both the town and the surrounding region, which had till then lain waste and empty, and their economic progress became

(1) Cf. Noelting, Wilhelm, *Polen*, Berlin 1936, p. 118: "Kasimir der Grosse, der Ruthenien von der tatarischen Oberherrschaft befreite und für Polen zurückgewann, baute Lemberg nach westlichem Muster von neuem auf."

thenceforth rapid.

This progress started in 1380, when the town received the "right of emporium," and a number of other commercial privileges agreed upon by the Polish kings and the Turkish sultans, besides exemptions and remissions of customs duties in Moldavia, which at that time was feudatory to the Polish crown. The right of emporium was an exceptional privilege, which secured for Lwów a virtual monopoly of the eastern trade, allowing it to control the whole volume, both internal and external, passing through its district and to concentrate all transactions, domestic and foreign, within its administrative limits. Every merchant travelling through the area, either to the east or to the west, was obliged to stop at Lwów and offer his goods there for sale. Only after the lapse of a fortnight might he proceed with the unsold remainder. This meant that Poland received all the most valuable products of the east via Lwów alone, and vice-versa the best manufactures of the west passed to the east through the hands of the merchants of Lwów.

Per viam de Lolleo: this, say Genoese sources of the fourteenth century, was the safest trade-route to the Black Sea colonies, and on a Catalonian map of 1375 Lwów, *ciutat de Leo*, is marked as a trading station of the eastern merchants. The trade of the city in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was carried on mainly in two directions: (1) down the rivers Dniester and Danube to the Black Sea, and (2) towards the Baltic. By the Black Sea route Poland exported through Lwów to the south-east: grain, salt, precious materials, Polish and foreign silver, linen, agricultural implements, and arms. These goods were then sold by stages in Moldavia and Transylvania, reaching Galatz, Braïla and Kilia, near the mouths of the Danube; Akerman at the mouth of the Dniester; and, further still, the Genoese post of Kaffa (Theodosia) in the Tauric Chersonese, Tassa (near Rostov) at the mouth of the Don, and finally Constantinople. From the east, in return, were imported its most valuable products: wine, balsams, textiles from Persia, India and China, materials for churches and palaces, silk, precious stones, and ivory, all of which were required to be exposed for sale in the Lwów bazaars, where, in consequence, large numbers of foreign merchants gathered; and then they passed along the second trade-route, by the road built by Casimir the Great, to the Baltic; through Przemysl and Sandomir, that is, to Torun and Gdansk (Danzig). From there, finally, stamped with the arms of Lwów, they reached the capitals of western Europe, where they roused admiration by their exotic excellence and led to an extension of knowledge concerning the still mysterious Orient.

This rôle of great emporium and centre of interchange of products from western and south-eastern Europe on the one hand

and Asia Minor on the other was rendered possible for Lwów by its excellent municipal organization and by the particular protection and privilege granted to it by the State. History also bears witness to the exceptional extent of self-government bestowed on it by Casimir the Great in 1356, municipal rights being extended to all inhabitants irrespective of their origin or religious faith.

It is noteworthy, also, that owing to its geographical key-position and its commercial importance the population of Lwów from the earliest times presented a mosaic of nationalities and faiths. It included Germans, Armenians, Jews, Greeks, Tartars, and a very small number of Ruthenians: according to the municipal statistics there were at the beginning of the fifteenth century no more than fourteen. In dealing with all these "nations" the Polish court adopted a policy of far-reaching liberalism. The king was, indeed, desirous of laying the foundations of the still-existent splendid Latin cathedral, and of richly endowing this centre and sanctuary of the prevalent religion. Nevertheless, at a time when in western Europe every form of faith which differed from that of the Roman Church was regarded as inadmissible, the tolerant Polish ruler allowed all his subjects to worship in their own sanctuaries: the Ruthenians in their Orthodox *cerkwie*, the Jews in their synagogues, and the Tartars in their mosques.

This spirit of tolerance and freedom, together with the consciousness it inspired of the protection of a powerful State and security against invasion by the but recently all-powerful barbarians of the east, allowed the inhabitants of the city to develop their own creative powers, cultural initiative, and social enterprise. Lwów attained a high standard of well-being, and even in the fourteenth century had become "the most important and populous city in the country" ⁽¹⁾, possessing at the end of the century the then rare social institutions of hospitals, public baths, sewerage, paved streets, waterworks, fire brigade, and a clock on the town hall tower, while it maintained skilled paviours and pipe-layers, and set aside a special fund for the repair and strengthening of its walls. The high level of material and moral welfare in the fifteenth century was evidenced by the large number of brotherhoods and institutes of public utility. The relationships of employers to servants and of masters to apprentices, and even workmen's rates of pay, were conscientiously watched over by the municipal authorities. Public office was open only to such as lived permanently in the city; extravagant expenditure was controlled by a sumptuary law; marriage was encouraged by a high tax on bachelors; and public morals were guarded by the respect paid to elders and by the public opinion which they influenced.

(1) Theiner, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, Vol. I, No. 967.

Thirty years (1340-70) of wise government of the recovered province of Red Ruthenia by the last of the Piasts implanted in the mixture of races, tongues and faiths which constituted the population of Lwów in those days, so strong a feeling of patriotism and loyalty to Poland that, as a German historian says, after the death of Casimir the Great the people of the town, fearing lest it should be ceded to the Hungarian Crown, sent a deputation to King Ladislas Jagellon praying for the most formal and permanent attachment of their city to the Polish Crown. (1) Jagellon acceded to this request and in a document of September 30, 1388, confirmed the enduring bond between the province of Lwów and the Polish kingdom. (2) Nevertheless, this declaration of the king's did not seem to the inhabitants sufficient. They wished to obtain the most solemn possible assurance that Lwów and Red Ruthenia would be attached to the Polish Crown, not as a distinct duchy, but as an integral part of the Polish State, and that it would never again be separated from it. (3) Accordingly, when Jagellon came to Lwów in the following year 1389, yielding to the inhabitants' pressure, he repeated his assurance and confirmed his declaration of 1388, to the effect that Lwów and the province of Lwów should never be ceded to any duke or lord, but for all future time were to form an indivisible whole with the Crown of the Polish Kingdom, that they might be permanently refreshed and flourish under its protection. (4) What importance the people of Lwów attached to these official documents is shown by the fact that again in 1578 they prayed King Stefan Batory to renew the royal pledge of 1388, which he actually did. (5)

Between the kings of Poland and the population of Lwów, then, there was a bond of loyalty and affection such as was not to be found in the royal relations with any other town. The kings liked to visit and reside in Lwów; they granted it privileges and numerous special rights, and promoted the increase of its wealth.

(1) Cf. Rasp, Carl Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Lemberg* (Archiv für österreichische Geschichte, Bd. 43), Vienna 1870, p. 418: "Des Königs eigene Persönlichkeit muss vertrauenerweckend gewesen sein, weil die Stadt eine Deputation im nächstfolgenden Jahre an den König nach Lublin gesendet hat, mit der Bitte, Stadt und Landschaft Lemberg der Krone Polens einzuverleiben, was in dem Dokumente vom 30 September 1388 der König gelobt."

(2) Cf. *Archiwum miasta Lwowa*, fascicle 28: "Quod circa terras nostras in unione volentes omnino conservare, promittimus tenore presentium et spondemus, quod districtum ac terram, necnon civitatem nostram Lemburgensem nulli ducum aut cuiquam hominum dabimus aut quomodolibet conferemus, sed eundem districtum ac civitatem Leopoliensem pro nobis ac inclitya Principe Domina Hedvige, Regina Polonie, consorte nostra carissima, necnon liberis nostris et Corona Regni nostri Polonie tenebimus, habebimus et habere volumus temporibus perpetuis et in evum."

(3) Rasp, op. cit., pp. 418, 419.

(4) *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie*, Vol. III, No. 50. There is an illustration of the document in Papée, Fryderyk, *Historia miasta Lwowa w zarysie*, 2nd ed., Lwów and Warsaw, 1924, p. 35.

(5) Rasp, op. cit., p. 419.

The last of the Piasts, the real founder of the city, was celebrated by the people in a song whose refrain was: "As the Lvovians live through Casimir, long live Casimir through the Lvovians!" and on the death of Ladislas Jagellon, who, in the course of the 47 years of his reign, made Lwów into a kind of second capital of Poland, the town passed a resolution that for the space of a whole year there should be no banquets, wedding entertainments, music, or song within its walls. *Ad iucundissimum et felicissimum adventum Regie maiestatis!* Thus the inhabitants were accustomed to welcome the kings in the old records of the Town Hall. Jagellon's son, Ladislas of Varna, called Lwów *clipeus et murus contra paganismum* (a shield and wall of defence against paganism), and on learning the news of his death in battle against the Turks at Varna in 1444 the Lvovians sent special envoys *ad regem scrutandum*, to seek for the king's body and assure themselves of the truth of the report. Every royal visit to Lwów was a historic event, on the occasion of which the people published solemn manifestos and utilized every opportunity to demonstrate their loyalty to the Polish Crown through good and ill. (1) It was a strangely beautiful and enchanting picture, writes a historian of the city; the picture of a city which with its whole being, with every stone of its walls, with the blood and treasure of its inhabitants, was faithful to the Polish kings to its last breath and its last penny. (2)

If we trace these mutual relations through the centuries and find them so exceptionally close and unusually warm, we cannot escape the conclusion that they were inspired both by a sound instinct of self-preservation and by a conscious idea embodying true political interest. The government of the State understood very well that in the power, wealth and contentment of the fortress-town's inhabitants the Republic would find a guarantee of its permanent loyalty, which would make it a rallying point in the unquiet southern marches; while the city, for its part, was equally conscious that only under the protection of the rulers of Poland and only as part of the powerful Republic could it enjoy the conditions ensuring its growth and security. In this twofold relation is crystallized the historical mission of the city, outpost of polonism and western civilization on the frontier not only of Poland but of Europe.

The most flourishing period of medieval Lwów—a city remembered by a Turkish historian in 1498 as "splendidly built, in a charming position, possessing beautiful palaces and delightful pavilions," and full of "costly furniture, jewels, and really royal treasures" (3) came to a final end in 1527, when the place

(1) Rasp, op. cit., p. 450.

(2) Jaworski, Franciszek, *Królowie polscy we Lwowie*, Lwów 1912, p. 8.

(3) *Collectanea z dziejów tureckich* (Selection from Turkish historians compiled by J. Senkowski, Warsaw. 1824).

was swept by a conflagration so destructive that save for one cathedral and several gothic doorways nothing but ashes remained. (1) This natural calamity was preceded by a serious economic depression which made itself felt in the latter half of the fifteenth century, when, after the capture of Constantinople, the Turks made themselves masters of Kaffa, the Genoese trading station in the Crimea, in 1475, and a few years later (in 1484) of Kilia and Akerman. These were, as has been already said, the most easterly and southerly points to which the trade of Lwów extended, and in them much capital was invested by Polish merchants in general, and more particularly by those of Lwów. Consequently their fall brought with it the extinction of Lvovian trade with the east, and the ending of the leading part which the town had taken as intermediary between the Orient and western Europe. It was a serious economic catastrophe for Lwów, which was suddenly deprived of the markets in which it had been supreme for centuries, and now, after a long period of wealth and prosperity, sank into poverty. What was still worse, after generations of security it was once again exposed to the danger of invasions from the east, by Tartars, Turks, and even Wallachians, who in 1498, with the aid of the Crescent, ravaged as far as Lwów, where they burnt the suburbs, but were repelled from the city itself. Thus, as a century earlier, the town again found itself in *faucibus infidelium*, in the jaws of the infidel, and its peaceful and well-to-do citizens had to change weights and measures for sword and shield. However, its tradition as a border fortress was still strong among its people, and its numerous bastions and thick walls gave an assurance of security not only to its inhabitants, but to the peasants of the province around, who courageously interposed their breasts to shield it from the incursions of the unbelievers. At that time, also, an order was issued prohibiting the building of suburbs to the distance of a cannon-shot from the town walls.

Despite the economic catastrophe, the new threats of war, and natural calamities, Lwów rose again quickly after its temporary fall at the turn of the fifteenth century. The life forces of the young municipal organism, reinforced by those of the Polish Republic under the Jagellons, then reaching the zenith of its power in the so-called Golden Age of the sixteenth century, prevented the permanent ruin of the sorely visited city. Contemporaneously with the vigorous development of the State under the last of the Jagellons, Stefan Batory, and the first of the Vasas, the internal growth of Lwów itself contributed a valuable and permanent element to the general prosperity.

Yet at this time the city underwent a far-reaching external

(1) Lwów was only too frequently visited by fires. It has been calculated that from the times of the Jagellons to the middle of the XIX century the town was burnt every twenty years.

and spiritual transformation. Along with the medieval appearance destroyed by the fire there vanished also the external characteristics which had been lent to the city by its long years of trade along the Black Sea route, now closed by historical events; and from underneath the oriental veneer—which, indeed, had been no more than a decorative feature, modified by the western *genius loci*, there now showed itself the real strength of the Polish element, the spirit of a border stronghold.

This strength manifested itself above all in an unexampled capacity to assimilate, rapidly and completely, the foreign population of the place. The German incomers, who had taken part in the creation of Lwów's municipal structure, had already in the fourteenth century joined with the other inhabitants in asking for the permanent attachment of the city to Poland. Now, in the sixteenth century, they became polonized with unusual rapidity, preserving their nationality for scarcely a generation, giving their names Polish spellings, and becoming most ardently Polish in spirit. (1) The same process was to be observed in the case of the few Ruthenians, the Armenians and Greeks, and even the Italians, English, and Scots, from the far west.

This phenomenon is to be explained first by the power of attraction exercised by Polish culture during the blossoming period of humanism, and secondly by the spirit of liberalism imbuing Polish policy towards those sections of the population which were of different ethnic origin and professed a different faith: a policy of tolerance unexampled elsewhere. (2)

The Renaissance culture of the city attained a high level in the sixteenth century, alike in architecture and science and in general behaviour.

When old-Polish Lwów was rebuilt after the fire of 1527 there arose the most beautiful Renaissance market-square in Poland, its buildings on all four sides adorned with doric columns, rosettes, and figures sculptured in relief. From the middle of the old town-hall tower projected a ten-oared boat of stone, with mast and figures of its crew: a symbol of commercial power. Some private houses of the patrician families, such as the famous *Czarna Kamienica* (Black House) in the market-place,

(1) Rasp. op. cit., p. 475. *Archiwum m. Lwowa*, Part III, A. 224: 'Germani in Polonos sensim mutati.' "Russorum magna pars, antiqui Germani omnes in Polonos transierunt."

(2) An anonymous English writer of the end of the XVI century, thus writes of the spirit of toleration prevailing in Poland: The Polish kings, he says, did notable things to ensure the permanence of their dominion. As the Romans in the past increased their power and greatness by granting the privileges of the city of Rome to other cities and, indeed, to whole provinces, so they granted the privileges enjoyed by the Polish nobility to the provinces they acquired by the sword or otherwise. By putting the nobility and gentry of those districts on equal terms with the Polish, they at the same time shared and strengthened their authority. In this way King Ladislas (sic) united Ruthenia and Podolia to Poland, Sigismund I Prussia, Sigismund Augustus Lithuania, and Stefan Livonia. Nor can there be any doubt but that the equality of advantage and honour produced unity in times of difficulty and danger. (Brit. Mus., Harley MS 6249, cited by Kot, Stanislaw, *Anglo-Polonica*, Warsaw 1935, pp. 39-40.)

recall in style the Renaissance palaces (e.g. the *Palazzo dei Diamanti*) of Ferrara or Bologna. The towering Wallachian Orthodox Church is an example of the good Renaissance style, as is the later Boim Chapel, which delights the eye by its profusion of ornament and its rich sculpture. The builders of these monuments were mostly Italians, who were drawn by cultural or business reasons to a town which was popular among them ⁽¹⁾, and which they often adopted as a new home, polonizing themselves by marriages with Lvovian burgher girls (e.g. Ubaldini, Paulus Romanus *Murator di Leopoli*, Petrus Italus Krasowski, and Pietro di Barbona, or Bandinelli, the originator of the Lwów post under Sigismund III).

The Renaissance architecture of old-Polish Lwów found a worthy counterpart in the interiors of hospitable patrician houses, their floors covered with oriental carpets, and in the elegant dresses of the burgher ladies, their jewels, silver, and household utensils. "Surely all the treasures of the world have been brought to this border fortress-town by the sleighs of the north and the ships of the ocean!" cried the contemporary poet, Sebastian Klonowicz, dazzled by the wealth of the burghers.

The material wealth and the æsthetic tastes of the Lvovians of the sixteenth century are intelligible enough against the background of mental and spiritual culture presented by the border city. The enlightened intelligence of its people rose on the solid educational foundation laid at the end of the fourteenth century, and was promoted by the strong bonds which, from the beginning, united the Lwów schools with the famous Academy of Cracow, which at that time was at the zenith of its humanistic development. The "Metropolitan School" of Lwów, before it became a full university in the seventeenth century, was a colony of the Jagellon University of Cracow. Its rector had to be a graduate of the latter, with the degree of Doctor, or at least Bachelor. ⁽²⁾ Accordingly, as early as the sixteenth century, the School of Lwów ranked as a centre of higher learning, according to the conceptions of the time, since at it were taught, not only the Seven Liberal Arts, but also Latin and Greek. Further, it was the ambition and the endeavour of the Lvovian patricians to have a teaching body for their School composed of eminent humanists, writers and philosophers. Their individual ambitions were in keeping: after concluding his studies at the School of Lwów the young patrician looked forward to listening to lectures on philosophy at Cracow, or to studying medicine at Padua, or law at Bologna. Large numbers of Lvovians pursued higher

(1) Pope Sixtus V in 1586 gave evidence of his goodwill to the city, which he called *catolicissima patria*, by permitting it to use his own device, which differed from that of Lwów in that the lion held between its fore-paws three small hills, illuminated by a star.

(2) It should be remembered that universities differed as to the title which they preferred for their graduates on whom they conferred the licence to teach, some calling them "Masters" and others "Doctors." (Translator's note.)

studies at the capital of Poland, in Italy, or at Paris; more rarely in Germany. Almost every outstanding merchant was a doctor of philosophy, law, or medicine, and some held the three titles at once. This ambition to combine in their own persons a high commercial position with academic distinction was characteristic of the Lvovian citizens of the sixteenth century. The burgher class was not yet impressed by the coats-of-arms of the gentry who were predominant in Poland, setting as it did a higher value on its own municipal arms, the famous Lwów *gmerk*; but it liked to combine with a high level of well-being and commercial capacity a dilettante interest in poetry, music, printing, or goldsmithery. (1) Proud of the possession of its ancient right of emporium, it created new intellectual values, with which Lwów shed on the whole of Poland the light of its fame as *Leopolis amica Palladis, Leopoldis fecunda mater ingeniorum*. (2)

The economic life of Lwów, temporarily depressed by the loss of its long-distance trade and its intermediary position between the Near East and the west of Europe, was confined to the domestic market and its own home produce. Handicrafts began to flourish, more particularly the manufacture of hangings, carpets, and jewellery; and great horse and cattle fairs, as well as the grain trade, bound the city ever more closely to the chief port of the Republic, Danzig.

The above-mentioned spirit of toleration and liberalism inspiring the authorities greatly facilitated and encouraged the development of the town in every direction. While the Polish element now began to be clearly predominant, and Polish culture to give sixteenth century Lwów the character of a typical Polish city, there were, nevertheless, still differences natural in a place where the population was a mosaic of linguistically and ritually distinct groups. In 1514 a royal commission concluded a special agreement with the Lvovian Germans, already largely polonized, by virtue of which King Sigismund I established two pulpits, Polish and German respectively, in the cathedral of Lwów, and conferred privileges on the local German rector and preacher. (3)

The Jews of Lwów were assured of liberty to practise their faith and customs by the last of the Piasts, and in measuring out justice to them the royal voivode had to base his verdict and

(1) The distinguished sixteenth-century Lwów artist, Jan Ziarno, practised for some time at Paris; the Lwów goldsmith, Alembek, worked at the English royal court; and with Lwów are connected the first editions of Jan Kochanowski, the greatest Polish poet of the time, and the names of the most notable preachers (such as Piotr Skarga), lawyers and physicians.

(2) Bräuer, A. J., *Galizien, wie es an Oesterreich kam*, Leipzig and Vienna 1910, p. 102: "Im 16 und 17 Jahrhundert hatte sich das Bürgertum Lemberg's rühmlich im geistigen Leben der polnischen Nation betätigt."

(3) A typical feature of the Lwów Germans, and one which brings them into close relation with those of our own times, is noted by a historian of the town. After speaking of the part which they took in the municipal organization in the XIV and XV centuries, he continues: "What remained longest in them before it was softened and got rid of among the Poles was the merciless severity of the law, tortures, quartering, and burning at the stake." (Cf. Łozinski, Władysław, *Patrycjat i mieszczaństwo lwowskie w XVI i XVII w.* New ed. Lwów 1902, pp. 26-27.)

sentence on the opinion of their elders. At first the share which they might take in trade was limited by a number of enactments (1521), but only seventy years later these were abolished by a series of agreements with the officials, which were referred to as the "Jewish pacts." In consequence, even at the end of the sixteenth century, the Jews were playing an ever-increasing part in the trade of the city and province, and in the latter half of the seventeenth century they dominated its economic life. (1)

At Lwów also the Jews enjoyed favourable conditions for the study and interpretation of the Talmud, and Talmudic scholars from there were welcomed in the west of Europe. (2)

The Armenians also, who had been settled at Lwów from the earliest times and took a very active share in its trade, enjoyed the widest liberty of belief and customs. Gathered together as they were in a separate quarter, they were subject in religious matters to their own patriarch at Echmiadzin in Armenia and for a long time observed their own religious precepts. (As Monophysites they did not pour water into the wine at Mass; they possessed their own calendar; and their clergy were not bound to celibacy). But the inclination towards union with the Roman Church grew stronger among them as the sixteenth century progressed, and in 1630 they publicly accepted the Catholic faith. This action hastened the complete assimilation and polonization of the Armenians, who played a leading part in the economic life of the town as goldsmiths, armourers, gunsmiths, belt-makers, and the like, and contributed markedly to its development in the old-Polish period.

The few Ruthenians in the town rapidly succumbed to the dominating influence of Polish culture, though they preserved their separate ecclesiastical organization until 1700, when they entered the Uniate communion. Membership of the Greek Church determined who should belong to the Ruthenian religious body, the leaders of which, it should be noticed, were not natives of Lwów, but incomers from Greece, Bulgaria and Turkey. To it belonged the famous ecclesiastical brotherhood of the Stauropigia, which guarded the independence of the *cerkiew*, or Greek Church, of the Roman Church and bishops, and preserved the individuality of the separate Ruthenian rite. The restrictions to which the Ruthenians were subject in the exercise of

(1) The English traveller, Robert Bargrave, who passed through Red Ruthenia and was in Lwów in 1651, thus writes of the privileged status of the Jews (in *Narration of a Journey from Constantinople to Dunkirke Overland*, Bodleian MS-Rawlin. C. 799, fol. 60-80; cited by Kot, op. cit., p. 44): The Jews (he says) are here customs officers, and are admitted to various other official activities over Christians, not only in the sections of the town which they themselves inhabit. They are so privileged that in disputes between a Jew and a Christian they appear, not before Christian judges, but before Jewish *cakams*. The "horrid" consent to this by the Poles brought upon them a load of the heaviest misfortunes, such as plague, fire, sword, captivity, which lead to real devastation.

(2) Bräuer, op. cit., p. 105: "Das jüdische Recht wurde von allen aschenazischen Juden so geübt, wie es in den berühmtesten Lehrhäusern Polens vorgetragen wurde. Eins der berühmtesten Lehrhäuser war das in Lemberg."

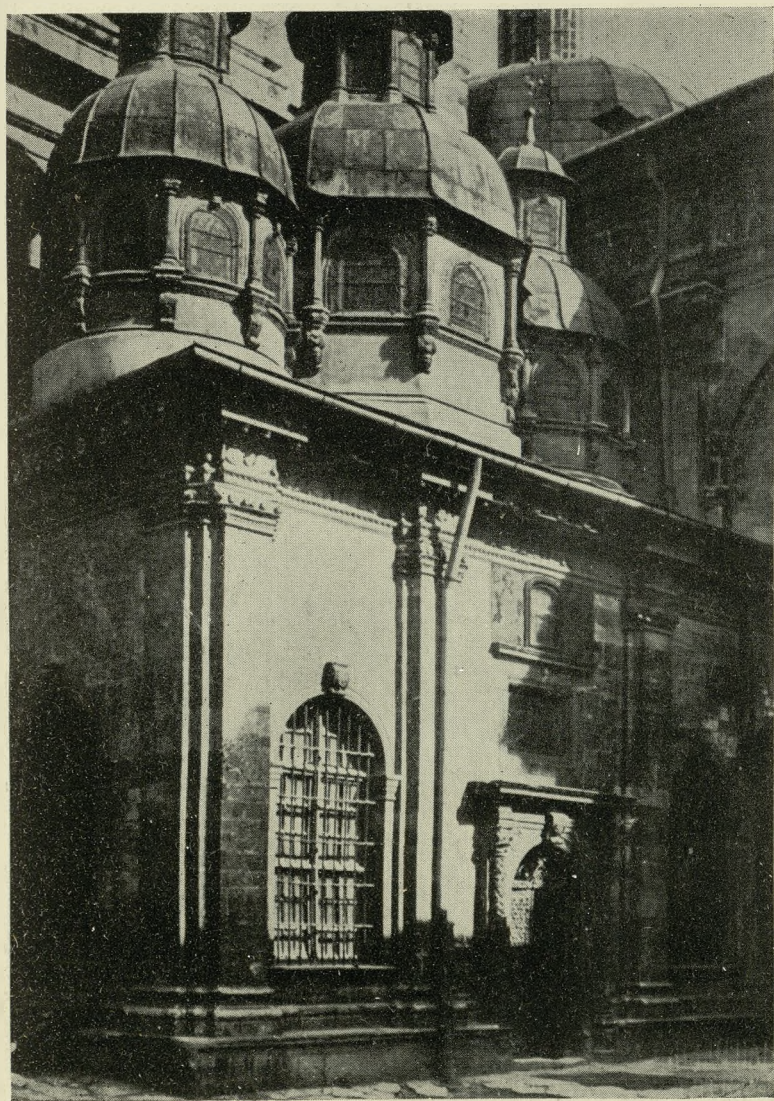
their religion down to the sixteenth century were later relaxed by the spirit of toleration and compromise. The royal commission appointed by Sigismund I in 1521 abolished a number of them, and established the principle that concord and equal rights for all forms of religion among the inhabitants of the town should be secured *non via iuris, sed plano et per concordiam*. It should be remembered that this overcoming of religious differences and antagonisms by mutual understanding and peaceful concessions was accomplished at a time when the spirit of the Inquisition, cruelty, and inflexibility in dealing with religious questions, were still the rule in western Europe.

Our picture of the population of Lwów would be incomplete if we omitted to draw attention to the Englishmen and Scots who played an outstanding part among the merchantry and occupied whole streets, such, for example, as Scotch Street near the market-place. They settled in the town under municipal law, and took an active share in the grain trade. For the rest, they were rapidly assimilated to their Polish surroundings. (1)

This transfusion of various ethnic elements, mainly from the south-east, into the blood and spirit of the basic Polish element, produced an exceptionally capable type of man, whose mixed descent caused him to unite in himself particularly valuable features. The walls of Lwów, says one of its chroniclers, became a kind of mortar, in which diverse elements were mixed into a new alloy, into a race full of energy and character, *praepollentis sanguinis ubertas*. Accordingly, the city in those days possessed so strong a power of attraction and so much independence of outlook that its manner of life recalls that of some Italian commercial republic. At the same time, thanks to its excellent internal organization, discipline, and respect for law, it became a dispersal point for social culture and civic discipline. At a period when individual licence and outrage were not yet controlled as they are in modern States, the citizen of Lwów, brought up in an atmosphere of respect for law, was always able to ensure the triumph of public order, at least within the range of his heavy guns.

This period of renewed splendour, from the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century, during which Lwów was eminent throughout the Polish State as a seat of Polish culture, and was famed far beyond the borders of the Republic as a centre of material prosperity and a fountain-head

(1) English and Scotch names, such as William Allandt, Thomas Gorny, John Whight, William Babbington, John Pontis, Richard Hudson, William Moore, and George Forbes, are frequently found in the Lwów municipal records of the time. Commercial correspondence preserved in the city archives shows that Forbes's son made use of Polish in his letters to England. The merchant Szembek's account with a single English merchant for a single year amounted to 5,000 thalers. One of the largest purchasers of grain in Lwów in the sixteenth century was the London merchant, Richard Stapper, whose Lwów agent was John Pontis. When the latter died, the balance of his account with Stapper amounted to 15,000 thalers. (Cf. Lozinski, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-47.)



LWOW: THE VALLACHIAN CHURCH.
(XVI Century.)



THE BOIM CHAPEL.
(XVII Century.)

of economic expansion (1), was terminated by the invasions which began in 1648 and devastated the city from that year to the end of the century. Lwów at that time shared with the rest of Poland the consequences of the almost unceasing ravages of war, but no other Polish town had to bear the repeated blows which fell upon it from the east, through the inroads of Cossacks, Tartars, Russians, and Turks. We will mention here a few only of the more important and greater invasions which were checked and broken against the indestructible city walls. In 1648 Lwów was besieged by 200,000 Cossacks and Tartars under the leadership of Bogdan Chmielnicki. This flood was opposed only by the fortress of Lwów, whose garrison consisted of 250 soldiers and 1,500 armed burghers. Yet the city's resistance compelled Chmielnicki to relinquish the siege in return for an indemnity of 65,000 ducats. In 1655, however, he besieged Lwów again, with the aid of an army of 60,000 Russians under Buturlin. For the second time a handful of valiant Lvovians, well trained for war, prevented the invaders from entering the city, and compelled them to raise the siege, for an indemnity of 60,000 Polish gulden. In 1672 an army of 50,000 Turks, Wallachians, Tartars and Cossacks, under the command of Kapudan Pasha and the Cossack hetman Doroshenko, laid siege to Lwów, which was defended by a garrison of 3,000, including peasants of the neighbourhood as well as burghers. After four days, however, this siege likewise was raised, on payment of an indemnity. But as the coffers of the city and the purses of its inhabitants were now empty in consequence of the former payments to invaders, the Lvovians could produce only 5,000 thalers instead of the 80,000 which were demanded, promising to pay the remainder later, and in the meantime giving ten hostages: 4 Poles, 2 Armenians, 2 Ruthenians, and 2 Jews. In 1675 a fresh host of 100,000 Turks and Tartars under Nuradin was scattered under the walls of Lwów by King John Sobieski. The last Tartar inroad, in 1695, was repelled by the Hetman Jabłonowski.

This dry enumeration of some of the more serious attacks and sieges cannot, of course, give any true idea of the emotional and tragic experiences which Lwów went through in the course of fifty years. It is rare in history to find the annals of a single city filled throughout half a century with so stormy a sequence of almost continuous battles. But it is still rarer to find an example of endurance, strength of will, heroism, and military skill, capable of weathering the storm and successfully opposing the onrush of the powerful foe. It is certain that the stores of food and munitions of war accumulated through years of peace and

(1) Rasp. op. cit., p. 456: "Die Bürger Lembergs standen nicht nur in der Provinz, sondern in ganz Polen, wie Lithauen und im Auslande, im Ansehen; die Geschäftsverbindungen mit Deutschland und den Fürstenthümern verbreiteten den Ruf ihrer Solidität, wovon die Wirkungen in ihrer eigenen politischen Stellung im Lande nicht ausblieben."

making the city into a powerful centre of defence ⁽¹⁾ proved invaluable during these fateful years; and here we must seek the explanation of the success attained by so insignificant a number of defenders in face of the many thousands pitted against them. The burghers of Lwów had for ages learnt the craft of war, and maintained themselves in a constant state of readiness, trained in their famous Society of Sharpshooters (founded in the early fifteenth century) to shoot straight and to cast balls for the cannon on the bastions.

But all this warlike training of the burghers, and the thick walls from behind which they fought, and the wealth of the city, would be insufficient to explain the secret of Lwów's repeated victories over numerically superior foes, had not their material and technical resources been reinforced by unbending patriotism and a determined will to remain ever faithful to Poland. This spirit of patriotism and this strength of will united all the citizens of Lwów without exception, whether they were Poles or Ruthenians, Germans or Armenians, Roman or Greek Catholics; and this it is which constitutes the key to the mystery.

The Lwów Town Council, inspired by a feeling of responsibility in the face of danger, summoned the inhabitants in 1648 "under no circumstances, under pain of loss of honour and confiscation of goods, to abandon or go out from the fortress of Lwów, from whose walls they are in duty bound to repel all the storms of the enemy with their own breasts," since all, patricians and poor, learned and simple, ought to have only one care, namely "that this city, shield of the Republic against its foes, and common refuge for men of all classes and occupations in these grave and terrible times, should suffer no harm. ⁽²⁾

Historical truth requires us to acknowledge that the most faithful obedience to this summons of the elders of the city was always rendered by the plain man in the street, the simple townsman, worker, or craftsman, the strength and pride of Lwów, its strong arm and social core. He never failed; he was always ready for sacrifice, struggle and death for his city; and it was he who, in the person of the Ruthenian, Samuel Kuszewicz, gave answer in the name of the town to Bogdan Chmielnicki, when he and the Russian leader Buturlin summoned it to capitulate in 1655. "Worshipful hetman!" he said, "the well-being of us who are here" (representing the burghers) "is in your hands . . . but that we should have to swear allegiance to the Tsar of Moscow and surrender the city, that we will never do. We have already sworn allegiance to our worshipful lord Jan Casimir, and we wish

(1) Lwów, it should be remembered, had been systematically fortified by the Polish kings and by its own inhabitants ever since the end of the XIV century. Ladislas IV Vasa built and richly stored the Royal Arsenal, on the top of which was a bronze statue of St Michael with the inscription "Ksiaze oreza Michale! Tobie pioruny wojny poswieca król Wladyslaw." (Michael, prince of arms! To thee King Ladislas dedicates the thunderbolts of war.)

(2) Ptasnik, Jan. *Miasta i mieszczaństwo w dawnej Polsce*. Cracow 1924, p. 214.

to keep our faith with him in whatever fortune fate may send him." (1)

The heroic attitude of the Lvovians during the sieges called forth the admiration and respect even of the invaders, who at first had mocked at the handful of the city's defenders, saying that the "Capitol" of Lwów, like that, once upon a time, of Rome, "was left to be protected by a few geese." After the conclusion of the siege in 1672, the Cossack hetman Doroshenko declared to the city's envoys that the Turks had been so certain of the capture of Lwów and the subsequent conquest of Poland that they were already thinking not only of Cracow and Warsaw, but actually of the Baltic Sea, and dividing the booty on credit with the Tartars. But Lwów did not permit them to realize these designs. "However it happened," he said, "assuredly no-one can deny that Lwów alone has saved the Kingdom now and on other occasions, and accordingly has earned the regard of all the estates and a greater reward than hitherto." (2) Contemporary foreigners also expressed their admiration for the valour of the town and their appreciation of the significance of its victories for European culture. An eye-witness of events in Poland at that time, the English physician and historian, Bernard Connor, writing of Lwów, "famous," he said, "for having stood several sieges," described Sobieski's victory of 1675 as "memorable, perhaps the greatest won in any age," (3) the French historian, Salvandy (1795-1856), declared that the battle "decided the outcome of an admirable campaign, which has perhaps no parallel in preceding centuries and scarcely any in our own"; (4) and the *Gazette de France* wrote in 1675 that by the victory of Lwów "Providence manifested itself more clearly than ever before over Poland, and it became manifest that Heaven itself watched over that outpost of the Christian world, which . . . protects it against the incursions of the most various enemies." (5)

Those were days in which the tragic fate, and at the same time the unexampled heroism, of the fortress of Lwów excited the imagination of every citizen of the Republic. Lwów became legendary, and its story fixed the attention of all Poles, and became a model of civic and military excellence for all the other towns of the Kingdom. To the "ornamental epithets" conferred upon it in humanistic times on account of its cultural and economic attainments were now added fresh ones, reflecting its warlike courage and deserts. In those days the fame of Lwów rang through the whole of Poland. It was said that "*Leo semper vigilat*"; and the town was called *ornamentum regni, munimentum primum reipublicæ, and refugium et receptaculum* for all

(1) Papee, op. cit., p. 135.

(2) Zimorowicz, Bartłomiej, *Historia Miasta Lwowa*, Lwów 1835, p. 453.

(3) Connor, Bernard, *The History of Poland, in several letters to persons of quality*, London 1698, Vol. I, p. 169.

(4) Cited in Szajnocha, Karol, *Works*, Vol. II, pp. 107-108.

(5) *Gazette de France*, No. 103, September 22, 1675.

those refugees who desired to find a safe place for themselves and their families. When all around was submerged by the fires and ravages of war, Lwów "rode the waves like an ark." It was apostrophized by the poet Klonowicz as:

Gentis primus honor, sacra Leontopolis!

In these days it was that the motto was appended to the coat-of-arms of the town; the motto which expressed so loftily and tersely the ideal of Lwów's relation to Poland: *Semper fidelis*.

The fatigues borne by the citizens and the military fame of Lwów were recognized by foreigners, even such as were hostilely disposed; and they could not fail to be reflected in the official decrees and State papers of the kings and diets of the Republic. It is particularly noteworthy that Lwów at this period attained not only military, but also political, importance in the State. It was an advanced strategic post, and at the same time practically the political capital of Poland. Kings sometimes resided for long periods within its walls (Jan Casimir, for example, for the whole of the year 1663), and with them the members of the government, the royal chancellery, and the representatives of foreign states at the royal court. (1) It was here, too, in the archiepiscopal cathedral, that Jan Casimir made his famous vow during the Swedish invasion in 1656, promising fundamental social reforms, including equal civic rights for the peasants, and placing the whole unhappy country under the protection of Providence. It was at Lwów that King Michael Korybut Wisniowiecki died in 1673, and King John III Sobieski had such close family connections with the city and its neighbourhood that he was honoured as its citizen and particular patron.

In 1658 a patent of nobility was conferred upon the city of Lwów in recognition of its military services to the State. This was the highest distinction which the Republic had it in its power to bestow. The Diet at Warsaw, wishing suitably to reward a town which "like an unbreakable wall, had stood firm against foreign invasion and secret treachery," issued letters patent granting it the same privileges and prerogatives as Cracow and Wilno, and empowering "the citizens of Lwów to take part for all future time in the elections of kings, through two members of their council." The burghers also received the right to purchase and inherit landed estates, an exceptional privilege in those times. They were likewise permitted to kiss the king's hand in the Diet along with the other deputies of country districts. "We desire," said the royal diploma, "to confer fresh honour on the city of Lwów and its burghers, subjects of us and of the Republic (2), of Catholic, Armenian, and Greek faith, in order that the

(1) In the Battle of Lwów in 1675 the French Ambassador, Bishop Forbin Janson, took a personal part, "pistol in hand," by the side of the King.

(2) The conjunction of monarchic and republican titles was characteristic of the old Polish State. It already occurs in the chronicle of Kadlubek in the XII century, and later found actual expression in the Constitution.

commemoration of virtuous worth may shine as an example to other cities also. Therefore, also, we confirm them, without distinction of Christian confession, in all rights and privileges granted them by our predecessors, and further make them all, together with their descendants and the whole city, equal in status with the burghers of Cracow and Wilno and with their prerogatives, insofar as they relate to the laws and titles of nobility." Further services on the part of the town required, it would seem, fresh emphasis and recognition, since at the Coronation Diet of 1674 Lwów obtained, besides confirmation of its old privileges, the following testimonial from the King: "We take note," he wrote, "that among all the towns of the Kingdom, and among numerous examples of service rendered to the Republic, to former kings, and to ourselves, our city of Lwów is distinguished for unshakable loyalty in countless dangers; that city which, in so many hostile sieges by Cossacks, Muscovites, and Tartars, and now most recently by Turks, has sunk, but never succumbed. From these critical trials it has emerged victoriously; it has checked the Ottoman power with admirable fortitude and daring, and prevented it from penetrating into the interior of the kingdom. Moreover, the burghers of Lwów, enlightened, and abounding in civic virtues and elegant forms, are famed far beyond the borders of Poland, alike for their military and their peaceful achievements; on which account the city, educated, valiant, and constant in its faith to the Republic, deserves enduring fame and special favour."

The mention in this royal document of the "enlightened burghers," the "peaceful achievements" of Lwów, and the "education" of its people, shows that, despite the saying *inter arma silent Musae*, Lwów, at the time of its greatest, almost incessant, military efforts, did not neglect or fail in its endeavours to maintain, and even to raise, the level of its intellectual life.

Indeed, during this very period it could boast of a really extraordinary achievement, in the foundation of a complete university. This was the fruit of efforts made by the Jesuits, who founded a College in the city in 1608 and placed it at once on a high level of scholarship, eclipsing the previously existent "metropolitan" School, which, as we have seen, was a colony of the Cracow Academy. This College, whose academic activity made itself felt through the whole district (1), corresponded to a Study General, or university, insofar as its curriculum included, besides moral and scholastic theology, philosophy, mathematics, rhetoric, and poetics, according to the precepts of the General of the Order, Aquaviva. Accordingly, its evolution into a complete University proceeded naturally, and was completed by the grant of a charter by King Jan Casimir in 1661. This charter provided "that in this College a *studium generale* be established in every permitted faculty: i.e. scholastic and moral theology, philosophy, mathe-

matics, both kinds of law, medicine, and all the liberal arts, according to the accepted custom and practice of universities. And this, under the name of University, or Academy, we establish for all time to come."

It is intelligible enough that the grave events of war in a fortress city hampered the normal growth of the new institution; yet it is a fact that the number of students in the latter half of the seventeenth century varied between five and seven hundred, while the lecturers, besides their teaching duties, produced important works of scholarship, mainly devoted to the art of war. ⁽²⁾

This great cultural achievement, accomplished amid the incessant disturbances of war, marked the final and highest stage in the development of Lwów within the framework of the old Republic. History makes it clear that seventeenth century Lwów was "indisputably the first town in Poland" ⁽³⁾, in respect, principally, of its intellectual and spiritual values, but also in respect of its devotion to its mother country. The Polish citizenry of Lwów, by their warlike efforts, repeatedly saved from breakage the links between south-east Poland and western Europe, with its civilization. ⁽⁴⁾ But these efforts and the accompanying incessant shedding of the blood of its inhabitants resulted in a long decline in the prosperity of the city, exhausted as it was intellectually and ruined materially by so many calamities. The Diet of 1674, while praising the knightly and civic virtues of Lwów, yet anxiously descried in it signs of grave exhaustion.

The eighteenth century, passed until 1772 within the borders and the political framework of the old Republic, was, for Lwów, a time of melancholy and general decline. The former lively trade of the city declined in consequence, among other things, of the restriction of the ancient right of emporium, as well as of a fall in profits, and the impossibility for home-made products to compete with favoured foreign imports. The town was given over to poverty, dirt, and regression, and the former rich burghers who gave tone to its social life were replaced by gentry and Jewish merchants. The city ceased to be a fortress, for when

(1) Boswell, Alexander Bruce, *The Survival of Polish Civilization*, Exeter 1941, p. 8: "The rise of individualism naturally led to a great age of science, art and literature, based on the great universities: Cracow (1364) for Poland, Wilno (1578) for Lithuania, and Lwów (1661) for Ruthenia." The author calls the so-called Golden Age in Poland XV and XVI centuries) "the Polish Elizabethan Age."

(2) e.g. Father T. Krasinski's (the oriental scholar's) *Tragica vertensis belli Persici historia*, and Ignacy Bogatka's *Handbook of the Art of War*.—Among the works of the professors of Lwów University should also be mentioned the *Herbarz* (Book of Heraldry) of Father Kasper Niesiecki, which was in vogue at the beginning of the XVIII century.

(3) Zakrzewski, Stanisław, *Zagadnienia historyczne*, Lwów 1908, p. 162.

(4) The role of Lwów as a watch-tower of western European culture from the earliest to the latest times is brought out by Robert McBride in his *Towns and People of Modern Poland*, London 1939, pp. 125, 126: "The significance of Lwów in Polish life and history is its position as a sentinel of Western culture, intercepting the westward flow of Eastern thought and civilization. More than once, too, it has been a rallying-point in the defence of Polish territory, as when attacked by the Ukrainians in 1918 its heroic defenders saved the city and stemmed the advance of the enemy."

the Swedes entered it in 1704 (the first time in its history that it fell under foreign domination) they destroyed its capacity for defence by blowing up 171 pieces of ordnance on the walls. At the same time there was a decline in intellectual culture and in manners. Ravaged as it had been by so many wars, medieval Lwów, with its slender towers, pointed arches, and lace-like tracery, disappeared into the irrevocable past. (1) The architecture of the new temples was prevailingly baroque and renaissance. Rounded vaults and domes, overloaded with ornament, contrasted with the general poverty and lack of style in the private houses. Nor could the university progress, despite the bestowal on it of the rank of Higher School by Pope Clement XIII in 1759, in face of the competition of the Academy of Cracow, which claimed a monopoly of the title University.

At the very end of its period of allegiance to the Republic the city, like other centres of Polish intellectual and economic life, was beginning to show signs of recovery. The deputies from Lwów were active in the Diet at Warsaw, where they tried to promote the interests and restore the prosperity of the border capital. A town-planning commission, appointed by the last king, Stanislas Augustus, visited Lwów and made plans for its rebuilding. The active Order of the Piarists took the initiative in restoring the standard of school teaching and the general level of education in the city, both of which had sadly declined. These, however, were the last manifestations of effort by Lwów before the fall of the State. The city's traditional devotion to its kings found expression for the last time in a solemn service on the name-day of Stanislas Augustus, May 8, 1772. In September of that year Lwów passed under the dominion of the Austrians, who occupied it by virtue of the first treaty of partition concluded between Berlin, Moscow, and Vienna.

At the moment when it passed under foreign rule, the age of Lwów may be said to have been 520 years. 432 of these (1340-1772) had been passed in the Polish Republic, and included days of sunshine and of storm, periods of prosperity and of decline, a flourishing and expansive youth, a rich and victorious prime, and the bitterness and sorrow of calamity. It received from the Republic in the years of its greatness all the resources, intellectual and material, which a loving mother lavishes on her favourite child. It enjoyed the special protection of kings, who conferred upon it distinctions, privileges, and grants of land, in the full consciousness of the importance of the border stronghold to the Polish State and nation. But it is equally true to say that it gave to the State more than it received. It fulfilled greater tasks in the service of the mother-country than its strict obliga-

(1) It is true that in 1704, during the invasion of the Swedes, whom the craftsmen of Lwów resisted valiantly to the last, the city contrived to raise a sum of 130,000 thalers as indemnity: evidence of the wealth which still remained after so many sieges.

tions required. For of its own will, out of natural patriotism, it shielded Poland for centuries by the strength of its walls and the soldierly spirit of its citizens against the danger of invasion from the East, which, under one form or another, strove to permeate Europe with its spirit, Asiatic and Byzantine in form and content.

CHAPTER II. LWOW UNDER AUSTRIAN ADMINISTRATION.

1772—1867.

OF the great towns of Poland Lwów was the first to pass under foreign domination through the Partitions. So while the others were still penetrated by the life-giving breath of cultural revival, between 1772 and 1792 or 1795, Lwów, already cut off by a new frontier, was unable to share in the regenerative processes. As the capital of an Austrian province which was given the artificial name of "Galicia" (from Halicz), or "Lodomeria" (from Vladimir), it found itself after 1772 in conditions entirely different from those in which it had existed for nearly half a thousand years.

The blow was indeed severe, which at this moment of history shook the life of the faithful Polish city to its very foundations. It was difficult for the amazed inhabitants to believe in and reconcile themselves with the fact of annexation by superior force. Deprived though they were of arms, materially impoverished, and unable to count on any aid, political or military, from the failing Republic, already torn by three invaders, they yet opposed to hostile force that unbreakable spirit which had so often in the course of history saved the border fortress from destruction against apparently impossible odds.

The city council refused to take part in the installation of the occupying authorities, and when compelled to do so protested against the act of force in a solemn letter addressed to Młodzianowski, the Crown Chancellor at Warsaw.

"The royal city of Lwów," it said, "which has always preserved unshaken loyalty to the Polish kings, and to King Stanislas Augustus now happily ruling over us, having received an order recently from General Hadik to take part in the installation of the imperial minister, endeavoured by all means to escape the obligation, but in vain. Accordingly, tomorrow, the city, abandoned by all, and not without serious indignation of spirit, will have by its presence to share in the proceedings as it is commanded. Nevertheless this act, dictated only by superior force, will in no way be able to unsettle the city's firm and immaculate faith in the Most Serene King of Poland, our worshipful Lord." (1)

If it is borne in mind that the invaders had forced the representatives of the Polish Government to agree to the cession of Lwów to Austria, the significance of the city's protest is seen to be all the greater, confirming as it did, despite that agreement, the city's further attachment to the Republic, and expressing

(1) Papée, *op. cit.*, pp. 176, 177.

its homage and unshakable loyalty to its legal authority for the future, and denying recognition of the act of annexation. (1) The annexing power itself, for the rest, had no doubts but that, when requiring an oath of loyalty to itself, it was "forcing it by constraint" from the Poles. (2)

Life in the city, however, could not stand still, and had perforce to accommodate itself to the new realities, which were destined to last for a long historical period (1772-1918). This was no temporary inundation such as had broken in previous centuries on the stout walls of the city, which, after successfully repelling the besiegers, returned to its normal course of life in the same allegiance as before. Now the city and the province of which it was the capital were compelled to admit the entrance of a new system, hitherto unknown, which was gradually to penetrate into every cell and every form of social life, transforming it in harmony with the designs and plans of a foreign reason of State.

The most fundamental characteristic of the city and province, its strongly Polish spirit, developed throughout the centuries, was now suddenly to be broken by a consistent policy of Germanization, put in force on the morrow of the annexation. (3) The Emperor Joseph II, whom the French historian, Louis-Philippe de Ségur, fittingly called "philosophe dans ses opinions, despote dans sa conduite," immediately after the entry of the Austrian forces into Lwów required the governor, Count Pergen, to forbid the wearing of the national costume and thus "weaken the inhabitants' feeling of unity with the Republic." The instructions given to officials bade them encourage hatred of everything that was Polish, of the language, and of the national tradition. The school curriculum was designed likewise to discourage every manifestation of the Polish spirit. And further, apart from this germanizing policy, the Court of Vienna issued the famous colonization decrees of Joseph II, which, under the pretext of cultural ends, granted special privileges to incomers from Germany. These latter, by the "Tolerance Charter" of 1781, were allowed to settle without any restriction in the newly-annexed province, and were granted municipal rights without payment, ten years' exemption from taxes, free building materials, ground, and so on. But it should be pointed out that Vienna by no means

(1) Brawer, *op. cit.*, p. 102: "Einen Beweis von Pflicht und Ehrgefühl gab der Lemberger Magistrat, als er im J. 1772 ebenso wie der Staroste und der Wojewode zum Dankgottesdienste für die 'Revindikation' Galiziens trotz der Aufforderung des Gubernators keinen Vertreter entsendete und vor der Befreiung von der Untertanentreue seitens des polnischen Königs der neuen Regierung nicht schwören wollte."

(2) Schnür-Pepłowski, Stanisław, *Z przeszłości Galicji*, Lwów 1895, pp. 16, 17. The empress Maria Theresa expressly admitted in a letter to her son, afterwards Joseph II, that the oath "nur erzwungen und diesen armen Leuten abgenöthigt wurde."

(3) Cf. Rose, William J., *Poland*, London, 1939, pp. 42, 43: "The Poles of Galicia had been subject to varying degrees of germanization, on the lines of Josephinism, a mixture of imperial and religious centralization, as well as to discriminating measures in the field of economic life."

foresaw how rapidly—particularly in the towns of south-east Poland—the German colonists would be assimilated by the native, and very attractive, Polish culture of those parts.

The city, after being trained and accustomed through whole centuries of freedom—sometimes, indeed, to too much freedom, in the shape of a wide measure of autonomy, was now compelled to witness a revolutionary change from one day to the next, whereby all authority was concentrated in the hands of the starost, who interfered in every branch of municipal administration. A similar system was developed to a positively absurd degree in the lawcourts and in the schools by a bureaucracy which made itself felt in every crack and cranny of life by a thousand regulations, restrictions, orders, and prohibitions, designed to curb the exuberant temperament of the Lvovians and reduce them to a grim uniformity. The true quality of this revolutionary change was mirrored by the contemporary Lvovian poet, doctor of the university Franciszek Karpiński, in the following lines:

After a merry time in Poland
We, it seems, have found our way
To a land where joy is forbidden
And the order is to weep . . .
To a land of universals,
Ancient folios of law,
And *cursores*, and instructors,
Circulars and warning papers.
Who can hope to name them all,
A hundred new ones every hour?

To complete the picture of the transformation it will suffice to add that the Vienna Government recruited for their bureaucracy government officials of the worst type from the whole of Austria. These men constituted a caste hitherto unknown in any Polish town or city, and depraved and corrupted the characters of the inhabitants by teaching them, not only the new regulations and laws, but also how to evade and disregard them. Arbitrariness, arrogance, a scornful attitude on the part of the newly-introduced officials towards the Polish public, conscription (now introduced for the first time into a country where military service had been traditionally a privilege of the gentry and volunteers), the destruction of trade and industry in order that the occupied province might become a market for Austrian wares: these were the main features of the system under which Lwów was to be enslaved for a hundred and fifty years.

And to all this were added constant attempts to foment discord and promote quarrels among the population by the exploitation of already existing differences of religious belief and of language. These were the first-fruits of a policy in which Austria was to specialize in the future; a policy based upon the ancient

maxim, *Divide et impera!*

The same ends: the promotion of internal divisions and the loosening of the bonds between Lwów and Galicia and the Republic, were served by still other means and institutions, advertised by the Vienna authorities as magnanimous gestures and expressions of progress, in contrast to the static civilization inherited from Polish times.

In 1775 a kind of provincial parliament was accordingly created: the so-called Galician Estates, to which were summoned representatives of the nobility, whose vanity was exploited by the conferment on them of countships and baronies. It was a caricature of a representative body, having no power to initiate legislation, but arbitrarily guided by the governor, and obliged obediently to carry out instructions from Vienna and on every occasion to pay homage as faithful subjects to the emperor.

The right to submit "postulates" conceded to this Diet (whence it was called *Sejm postulatowy*) was, in practice, confined to this: when it was summoned (which was seldom), its most innocent requests were consigned by government departments in Vienna to the waste-paper basket.

Another instrument of the same kind was the university, founded by a charter of Joseph II's in 1784 to replace and modernize the *disiecta membra* of the Academy founded by King Jan Casimir in 1661. Actually this university, whose inauguration was celebrated with official pomp, designed to show the special favour bestowed upon it by the Emperor, and his care for the intellectual development of the city he had taken from Poland, was far from fulfilling the ideal of a seat of higher learning, which should serve the pursuit of objective, scientific truth. Its real purpose was to carry out a systematic plan for denationalizing the enlightened classes of the community by driving into their minds a view of the world which was completely foreign to the Polish spirit, and to prepare a nucleus of educated persons of local birth, speaking German and entirely devoted to the service and the interests of a foreign State. The executors of this plan were folk who, as a rule, had not much to do with scientific research, vagabonds, adventurers, sectarians, and careerists, all subordinated to the main aim of the annexing government: the annihilation of the Polish spirit and the promotion of a foreign reason of State. (1)

These methods, designed to germanize the minds and souls of the Lvovians from within, were accompanied by a consistent

(1) The most important data concerning the Josephine university are to be found in the following works: (a) Finkel, Ludwik, and Starzynski, Stanisław, *Historia Uniwersytetu Lwowskiego*, Lwów 1894; (b) Jaworski, Franciszek, *Uniwersytet Lwowski*, Lwów 1912.

Cf. also Kot, Stanisław, *Five Centuries of Polish Learning*, Oxford, 1941, p. 17: "A German-Latin university was founded in Lwów, in the place of the older Polish Academy. The level of scientific work was low, for the main purpose was the training of officials and priests, according to a well-prepared curriculum."

transformation of the outward appearance of the city. Lwów, in 1772, had still a medieval look, similar to that of the other towns of Poland. But the Austrians in that year razed to the ground the ancient gates and bastions, those marks of its fortress character which had endured for centuries, and gave it the stereotyped appearance of an Austrian city.

When considering the reaction of the community to this procedure it has to be remembered that those portions of the Republic which remained after the first partition for twenty years or more still free and independent, were yet unable to come to the aid of Red Ruthenia. Galicia, including Lwów, was separated from the Republic by a frontier which was carefully guarded by Austrian soldiers, so although at Warsaw cultural and economic life developed to an extent hitherto unknown, Lwów was unable to share in it.

After its protest of 1772, therefore, Lwów was thrown entirely upon its own resources in its struggle to maintain its national character threatened by the annexing power.

Since all the material advantages in this struggle were on the side of Austria, the city was forced to maintain an attitude purely defensive. Polish life withdrew to the interiors of private houses, where families lived behind closed doors, preserving Polish customs and their devotion to the faith of their forefathers. As far as possible the Poles avoided all contacts, social and otherwise, with the Austrians, for whom they showed contempt, and with whom they refused to speak the German language. (1) The German theatre founded by the Austrians stood empty. But, indeed, it was of a low artistic level and was intended to help on the work of Germanizing and corrupting the Polish spirit. Its audiences were small, not only because no one but the newcomers understood its language, but also because it was beneath the dignity of the Poles to attend it.

In general the ignorance of the German language on the part of the population of Lwów presented an obstacle which the Viennese with all their Germanizing efforts were unable to overcome. At the university, where, indeed, most of the lectures were given in Latin, the Austrians soon found it advisable to abolish the chair of German Literary History, as there were no students of the subject. It was re-established only in 1852. Further, in the Faculty of Theology, where the Austrians endeavoured to exploit the differences of denomination already referred to, and protected the old Church-Slavonic language, even the Ruthenian priests had to give their lectures in Polish, since the Ruthenian clergy spoke no other. (2)

(1) Rohrer, Joseph, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise von der türkischen Grenze über die Bukowina durch Ost- und West-Galizien, Schlesien und Mähren nach Wien*, Vienna 1804, p. 152: "Die polnischen Damen glauben, dass das Deutschreden unter ihrer Würde sei."

(2) Finkel and Starzynski, *op. cit.*, p. 95. It should be added that all the pastoral letters of the Ruthenian bishops were in Polish.

In other branches of the educational system the results of the germanization policy likewise fell behind Vienna's hopes. After almost thirty years of Austrian rule, in 1800, Geheimrat von Birkenstock, in a report on public instruction presented to the emperor, was compelled to admit that "teaching in German is impossible, since neither teachers nor pupils know the language." (1) He accordingly advised a change of method, based on a "more patient" policy than hitherto.

About 1790, after the death of Joseph II, the community was led to change its (hitherto purely defensive) tactics in combating the anti-Polish policy of the authorities at Vienna. Two factors contributed to this: firstly the ever-increasing pressure, political, cultural, and fiscal, which affected the nerves of the people to such a degree as to render likely spontaneous outbursts of discontent; (2) and secondly the high hopes which were cherished at that time that the province torn twenty-eight years before from Poland would at last be returned to her.

For in 1789, there were rumours of the imminence of a Polish-Prussian alliance, the point of which was to be turned against Austria; while the Ottoman Porte, allying itself with Prussia, openly demanded the return of Galicia to Poland. The Prussians promised through their ambassador at Warsaw that in the event of the outbreak of a Prusso-Austrian war they would support the claim of Poland for the return of Galicia to the Republic. This situation was regarded by the Poles at both Warsaw and Lwów as exceptionally favourable for the beginning of action directed towards the recovery of the province. Lwów maintained a delegation permanently at Warsaw to discuss the matter, and to Lwów came frequent delegations from the Government at Warsaw. A permanent understanding was established between the two sections of Poland, and a committee was set up at Lwów (at first in secret, but afterwards openly), composed of leading citizens in sympathy with the ideal. Representing as it did five thousand of the most important people in Galicia, it sent a deputation to Vienna under the chairmanship of Count Józef Maksymilian Ossolinski (later founder of the famous Ossolineum Library at Lwów), to present to the emperor a memorial containing fifty-three points (the so-called *Magna Charta Galiciæ*) elaborating the fatal consequences of the policy and administra-

(1) Wolf, G., *Kleine historische Schriften. Geschichte der Lemberger Universität von ihrer Gründung 1784 bis 1848*, Vienna 1892, p. 31.

(2) In a letter from an anonymous Polish nobleman to the emperor Joseph II, written in 1789, we read the following appeal: "Take the necessary measures, Most Serene Lord, before things come to extremes, for if you refuse a just hearing to the patient Galicians, their patience will change to fury." (Schnür-Peplowski, op. cit., p. 87.)

The fiscal pressure exercised by the Austrians is illustrated by the fact that, whereas under Polish rule 3,806,777 Polish gulden were taken in taxes from the area afterwards called Galicia, after 1772 the same area was made to contribute 4 million Rhenish gulden: a sum four times as great. Cf. Bartoszewicz, Kazimierz, *Dzieje Galicji, jej stan przed wojną i "wyodrebnienie"*, Warsaw 1917, p. 12.

tion of the annexing power up to that time, and formulating the Poles' demands, namely a free constitution, a separate administration, a Polish army of 40,000 men, an independent Diet, the discontinuance of the use of German in government offices and its replacement by Polish, the return of the Crown properties, an independent judicature, and Polish schools.

Simultaneously there was a revival of interest in politics and culture at Lwów, promoted partly by the renewed hope of national resurgence, and partly by the ideas of the French Revolution. Masonic lodges were founded, (1) and clubs for the discussion of social reforms and the encouragement of intellectual life. The *Towarzystwo Patriotycznych Polityków* (Association of Patriotic Politicians), founded at Lwów in 1792 by the Ruthenian Father Michał Harasiewicz, an eminent Polish patriot of the time, maintained close relations with Tadeusz Kosciuszko's independence movement at Warsaw, and published a paper, the *Dziennik Patriotycznych Polityków*, from 1792 to 1798, to spread its political and intellectual propaganda and organize public opinion in accordance with it. (2)

This revival of national life and these reawakened political hopes were, however, soon quenched by the final fall of the Polish State and the Partitions of 1793 and 1795. The mission of the Polish delegates to Vienna under the leadership of Count Ossolinski, naturally came to nothing when Austria agreed to the partition, and its only achievement was a governmental proposal to lower the land tax to 12 per cent. of the annual income, and the abolition of the inheritance tax.

The Lvovians still succeeded in making their way through the chain of military posts guarding the frontier, and joining the forces of Kosciuszko or the legions of Dabrowski to fight for "our freedom and yours" all over the world; but the city itself entered upon the gloomy period of slavery which lasted through the nineteenth century, lit up for a moment only by the joyful episode of 1809, when it enjoyed a few weeks of freedom, brought it by the Polish lancers of Prince Joseph Poniatowski. The peace which Napoleon concluded with Austria in 1809 restored Austrian

(1) Cf. Jaworski, Franciszek, *O starym Lwowie*, Lwów 1916, pp. 163-204. The Polish lodge, "Excellent Equality," founded in 1789 and dependent on the French "Great East," formed a centre for patriotic elements and maintained contact with Warsaw and revolutionary Paris. Its members were regarded as Jacobins and pursued by the vengeance of the Austrian authorities. The grand master of the lodge was Father Antoni Podhajewski, canon of Lwów Cathedral.

(2) It should be noted that this whole movement was intended by its organizers to be based on and connected with similar movements abroad, including that in Great Britain. Besides the above-mentioned *Dziennik*, a monthly periodical was started in 1795 for the popularization of scientific and moralistic writings. It was entitled *Zbiór Pism Ciekawych* (Collection of Interesting Writings), and its editors desired to imitate the classical English moralizing weeklies, *The Tatler* and *The Spectator*, founded in 1700 and 1711 by Steele and Addison respectively; who, they said, "wrote public news under the title of the *Spectator* solely in order to propagate enlightenment and civic virtue. And is not civic virtue the noblest of all?" (Cf. Bruchnalski. Wilhelm, *Stulecie Gazety Lwowskiej* 1811-1911, Lwów 1911, Vol. I, p. 27.)

rule over Lwów, and the Congress of Vienna in 1815 confirmed this state of affairs, which lasted until 1918.

In the first part of the nineteenth century, the Poles in the area of which Lwów was the capital were even more seriously endangered than those in the Russian- and German-occupied districts. (1) For whereas the outstanding feature of the germanizing system of Joseph II (in the years immediately succeeding the first partition in 1772) was the passion for innovation at all costs, only disguised under the cloak of progress, under his successors, Austrian policy, guided mainly by Chancellor Metternich, may be described as consistent reactionary absolutism. Under it Galicia was hermetically sealed against all the currents of civilization which transformed the western-European world in the nineteenth century.

The province and its chief city were compelled to live in darkness and poverty, in constant fear of the mechanical and automatic interference of the occupying power. Economically Lwów and Galicia became a colony ruthlessly exploited by the centralizing authorities at Vienna. There were, for example, fifty-two different kinds of taxes levied.

Politically, the attempt was made to produce a sexless "Galician nation," since, as the Vienna "Court Commission" reported secretly in 1791, "the real interests of the Austrian monarchy require that this nation (i.e. the Polish) should be slowly transformed into a German population; that its customs and mode of thought and prejudices should be changed; in a word, that it should be denationalized. The surest guarantee against a desire to return to the Republic will be the introduction of differences in behaviour, national customs and speech, between Galicia and Poland."

In practice the realization of this fundamental aim was promoted by a number of different means, the most striking of which we will here mention.

Any kind of publishing which touched even indirectly on general national questions was impossible. An all-powerful censorship, mechanical and thoughtless in its methods, stamped a seal on the manuscript with the words *non admittitur* or *typum non meretur* (it does not deserve type), thereby nipping every important publication in the bud, and at the same time made it clear that no changes in the text, however far-reaching, could change the decision. The censor became critic, and a certain Bernhard went so far as to change the words "Poland" and "Poles" everywhere to "country" and "fellow-countrymen."

Public education in the schools was out and out German. To force the pupils from the third class of the elementary school

(1) Cf. *The Cambridge History of Poland, 1697-1935*, Cambridge 1941, Chap. XV, "The Polish Provinces of Austria and Prussia after 1815," p. 338: "Of the three governments ruling over Poland none was then so hard on the Poles as the Austrian."

upwards to speak only German, a device called the *Sprachzeichen* (language docket) was used. This was a wooden booklet which the teacher handed to a pupil who spoke Polish aloud. The pupil then tried to get rid of it as quickly as possible by catching another speaking Polish and giving it to him, for every Saturday punishments were meted out in accordance with the length of time any boy or girl had kept the *Zeichen*. This system was, of course, demoralizing, leading as it did to spying and denunciation of one's schoolfellows. In the secondary schools the language of instruction for all subjects was German, and the pupils even had to sing the hymns in German during the Sunday religious services. The history of Poland was confined to a few pages in the text-books, full of blatant falsifications.

A similar state of things prevailed in the university of Lwów, which in 1805 was degraded to the rank of liceum, the professorial chairs being transferred to Cracow. In 1817, it is true, it was refounded, but the lecture-programmes were carefully planned in order to make the university merely an instrument for germanizing the Polish educated class. (1)

In the field of public administration the autonomous institutions so characteristic of the municipality in Polish times were all systematically abolished. As early as 1786 the civic government was replaced by a bureaucratic authority, the *Magistrat*. In 1790, it is true, a "municipal department" of sixty persons was created, with the right to elect a burgomaster and councillors, but only from among those who had a government certificate of eligibility. Even this shadow of self-government disappeared later, when the Austrian administration arrogated to itself the right of nominating burgomaster, councillors, and all municipal officials. The "municipal department" ceased to have any importance, and the *Magistrat* was the organ of government, paramount over the community, until 1862.

The outward form of constitutional government was based on the so-called "Estates Constitution" granted to Galicia in 1817 by the emperor Francis I, who transformed the former "Galician Estates" into the "States Diet," a pseudo-representative institution, suited to the needs of the new system for the denationalization of the Poles. The attributes and whole structure of this Galician Diet were farcical when compared with the Warsaw Diet of the same period and the constitutional organs of the Free City of Cracow.

The above-sketched policy was reinforced by the practice, already mentioned, of exploiting and widening social distinctions,

(1) Cf. Lach Szyma, *Letters, literary and political, on Poland*, Edinburgh 1823, Letter IV, p. 141: "There is a fourth university in Poland, at Leopold, in Austrian Galicia; but this, although situated in the heart of a Polish province, and among Polish inhabitants, cannot with propriety be called a Polish institution. All its professors are Germans, and the lectures are given in the German and Latin languages."

of sowing hatred between the nobility and gentry on the one hand and the peasantry on the other, and by making the most of the differences between the Polish- and Ruthenian-speaking populations. This practice was, unfortunately, too frequently successful in the first half of the nineteenth century. (1)

Under such conditions as these nothing could prevent Lwów from declining in comparison with other Polish towns. Accordingly, in the early nineteenth century, it presented an outward appearance of neglect and national deformity, alike in its architecture, which was violently Austrianized, as in its population, swelled by the influx from the western provinces of Austria, who came, not merely to depolonize the city, but also and above all to live as parasites and enrich themselves at Polish expense in return for ardently serving the germanistic designs of Vienna. The city was impoverished, and (more important) was deliberately condemned to impoverishment by the Austrian Government. Domestically, the city went through a period of serious depression. The political system and the hopes disappointed after the Napoleonic wars brought cultural life to a standstill, and made everyday life into a desert, which promised no chance of improvement, either public or private.

Yet this state of deadness was only apparent, and was presently to pass away.

In 1810 the Austrians found themselves compelled to permit publication of a Lwów Gazette, printed in Polish: a paper which was destined in 1910 to celebrate the centenary of its first appearance with a splendid two-volume chronicle, and which continued to appear until the national catastrophe of 1939. For no one at Lwów, save the incomers, could, or wanted to, read or understand German. When giving this permission, Vienna deluded itself, believing that it would be able to germanize the Poles by the aid of a Polish paper published and controlled by itself. The paper, however, while retaining its front-page official character, gradually, through the course of years, gathered together for its following pages all the best Polish writers from the city and the province, thus, under the cloak of officiality, smuggling through to its readers (who became quite an organized body) the best thoughts of patriotic minds. (2)

In the most difficult circumstances, of which a free nation can have no clear conception, the people of Lwów by their self-

(1) "My peoples," said Francis I, "are strangers. Of their dislike, order is born; and of their mutual hatred, universal peace." (Cf. *The Cambridge History of Poland*, l.c., p. 340). In these words we have a classic definition of the essence of the policy, *Divide et impera*.

(2) The weekly literary supplement *Rozmaitosci* issued by the *Gazeta Lwowska* came to play an important part in awakening the public at Lwów and in the province to wider intellectual interests. It is worth mentioning, by the way, that the *Rozmaitosci* devoted much space to discussions of foreign, including English, literature, and printed works by Shakespeare, Byron, and Scott. English periodicals such as *Britannia*, the *Monthly Chronicle*, the *Morning Chronicle*, *Blackwood's Magazine*, the *European Magazine*, the *Magazine of Natural History*, *Bentley's Miscellany*, the *Retrospective Review*, the *Sporting Review*, and *The Times*, were also regularly reviewed in its columns.

sacrificing efforts kept alive the sacred flame of national feeling, despite all the attempts of the annexing power to quench it. Secret literary societies arose, where works of national literature were read and studied—that literature which was then, under the impulse of Adam Mickiewicz, the greatest Polish poet, entering upon the most brilliant period of its history. Besides the *Gazeta Lwowska*, several weeklies took note of and cherished the faint manifestations of intellectual life in the city, edited with the greatest caution on account of the sharp censorship (which could, however, be bribed). A Polish theatre came into being, on foundations laid at the end of the eighteenth century by Wojciech Bogusławski, the father of the Polish drama. This theatre, although its repertoire had to be unimportant from the Polish national point of view, yet attracted the cultivated Polish public, which consistently refrained from attending German performances. It should be borne in mind that Alexander Fredro was a Lvovian and was at this time at Lwów writing his classical comedies, which are still popular and known to every Pole today. At the same period also (1827), after overcoming many obstacles, Józef Maksymilian Ossolinski (who was still influential at the Vienna court) founded the Ossolinski Institute (to be known in all Poland as: Ossolineum) with its rich library of works concerned with Polish literature, which became a centre of all kinds of nationalistic activities at the time of the most severe persecution. Even that fictitious parliament, the Diet of the Estates, was able to find means of doing something for the city and the province, restraining germanistic tendencies in the schools and government offices, fighting against the excessive taxation which was exhausting the finances of the country, and, particularly later, taking a share in the organization of a number of important economic institutions, such as the Economic Association, the Land Credit Association, or the Savings Bank, as well as in the construction of railways, and in the promotion of desirable agrarian reforms.

The outbreak at Warsaw of the insurrection against Russia in 1830 produced results which showed the uselessness of the methods employed by the Austrian Government to denationalize the Polish population in Galicia. For the Lvovians hastened in large numbers to join the Polish army in the Russian-occupied area. (1) Indeed, a branch of the Warsaw national government was set up at Lwów, to mobilize the public opinion and material resources of the Poles in the Austrian area for the struggle with Russia. Events proved the truth of the words of Count Peter Göss, governor of Galicia, in a memorial presented to the emperor in 1815, to the effect that the plan of transforming Poles into Germans must be called a "dangerous illusion." The thin veneer of germanism laid over the city and province with so much

(1) All the natives of Galicia were represented in the insurgent ranks: not only Poles but Greek-Catholic (Uniate) Ruthenians, sons of Ruthenian priests and peasants.

trouble over so many years disappeared at the first breath of truly national emotion, revealing in all its power the invincible Polish spirit of the place. It became evident that one might cut up the living body of the nation and divide it by artificial frontiers, but not kill the soul, which united and sprang to battle as soon as the call rang out and the possibility presented itself of restoring the completeness of the organism which had been torn apart by force.

Moreover, together with the Polish young men there went to join the ranks of the Polish army Germans, sent out by Vienna to destroy the Polish spirit of Lwów: Germans, sons of Austrian officials and dignitaries. A phenomenon strange and unexampled, that on the side of an oppressed nation there should stand as its allies its former coercers! Striking evidence of the complete failure of the policy of denationalization, which produced results the exact opposite of those desired. But at the same time eloquent evidence of the attractiveness of Polish love of liberty, which infected even Poland's enemies. (1)

The failure of the insurrection against Russia in 1831 was followed by a renewal of anti-Polish measures by the Austrians at Lwów. The national life of the town was driven underground, and Lwów was filled with an atmosphere of conspiracy, which grew ever thicker until the arrival of the revolutionary year of 1848.

During the years 1832 to 1848 Lwów was the centre of the secret movement for Polish independence. To it came, and in it worked, the emissaries of that great body of émigré Poles who, after the loss of the insurrectionary war with Russia, fled abroad and gathered most of all in France. Numerous secret societies arose at Lwów, with a twofold aim, political and social. On the one hand they prepared the way for armed action against the annexing powers, and on the other preached social revolution, and pure democracy, in which they saw the chief means of regaining independence. They were also influenced by the lodges of Freemasons which at that time were widespread in Europe, and in particular by the well-known society of the *Carbonari* (Charcoal burners), which, among its international ramifications, maintained a branch at Lwów. There were also the "Association

(1) Historical records furnish a remarkable number of cases of the polonization, at this period, of German incomers: officials, students, and even soldiers, who deserted from their regiments to fight in the Polish ranks against Russia for Polish freedom.

It is worth while citing one out of many typical episodes which illustrate the seductiveness of the Polish cause. A certain Adolf Weber, training to become a lawyer at Lwów, went to the insurrection. His father, attending a conference under the chairmanship of the governor, Prince Lobkowitz, was maliciously asked by a colleague, Reitzenheim, "Wo ist denn Ihr Sohn, Herr Kollege?" (Where is your son, my dear colleague?) "Leider er ist fortgerissen von der allgemeinen Bewegung" (Unfortunately he has been carried away by the general enthusiasm), replied old Weber. "No doubt his Polish education has had something to do with it," said Reitzenheim. However, a few days later his own son went off to the insurgent ranks. So another German dignitary, Geheimrat Schmidt, asked him: "In this case I suppose it was not his Polish education?" (Cf. Schnür-Pełowski, op. cit., p. 300.)

of the Polish People," the "Society for Mutual Aid," and the "Young Sarmatia," afterwards transformed into the "Alliance of Polish Democrats," and forming a kind of secret national government with legislative and executive functions. It is noteworthy that these secret Polish organizations were joined (as the insurrection had been in 1830) by large numbers of foreigners: German, Italian, and Croatian, civilians and soldiers from the Austrian corps stationed in Galicia. They became ardent Polish patriots, suffering imprisonment, persecution, degradation, and death alongside of the native-born Poles. The Ossolineum's secret press issued large numbers of revolutionary works by the most distinguished Polish writers, including the famous "Books of the Polish Nation and Pilgrimage," by Mickiewicz, which stimulated the imagination and encouraged anti-Austrian feelings.

The Austrian authorities, of course, did everything in their power to put down these manifestations. Their policy, guided by that irreconcilable enemy of everything Polish, Chancellor Metternich, was executed by the governors of Lwów, and above all by the obedient subordinate officials of the administration and the police. History records the names of many of these persecutors, and in particular of two: Baron Franz Krieg von Hochfelden, deputy governor, and Sacher Masoch, police chief. Lwów and the whole province were governed at that period on the model of a Roman proconsulate. Law ceased to exist, and the arbitrary will of official or policeman alone decided. The interests of the population or of the country were not regarded at all. The Diet of the Estates had merely to carry out the dictates of Vienna, the sole source of legislation. The system of spying and denunciation developed to a hitherto unexampled degree. The former convent of the Carmelites at Lwów, and the prison-fortresses of Spielberg and Kufstein, were filled with prisoners, among whom were the best and most distinguished Poles of the time. (1)

The treatment of the prisoners was an outrage against all laws, human and divine. (2) For months the unhappy men were unable to learn for what reason they had been incarcerated. The criminal proceedings were veiled in the deepest secrecy. Families were compelled to accuse their own members. The accused had no lawyer, the judge who delivered the sentence being at the same time, theoretically, his defender. Besides these illegalities in point of form, the most refined tortures were applied. Prisoners were starved, prevented from sleeping, and beaten with rods.

(1) For example, Franciszek Smolka, founder of Galician democracy and later president of the Austrian Council of State; Florian Ziemiałkowski, later Mayor of Lwów and member of the Austrian Parliament; and Konstanty Slotwinski, director of the Ossolineum Institute, who was imprisoned for eight years in the dungeons of Kufstein for publishing Mickiewicz's "Books of the Nation," and died insane after his return to freedom.

(2) Schnür-Pełowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 342 seqq. Particularly sharp tortures were applied to non-Polish officers who had taken part in the movement for Polish freedom. It is noteworthy that the patriots were joined by both officers and men, by people of all social ranks, including aristocrats such as Lieutenant Count Norbert Auffenberg, and Major Count Tossetti.

Many went out of their minds in gaol; many died under examination.

It might well have been thought that under such conditions Lwów would present the appearance of a cemetery, all real life being concealed in private houses or crushed in prisons. Yet the Germans themselves were forced to confess that Lwów at that time was, apart from Warsaw, "the most flourishing, the most active, and the largest city in all Poland," (1) that everything in it, churches, customs, language, streets, gardens, and public utilities, were obviously Polish; and that at every step the eye was struck by evidences of a Latin, Polish culture. The number of Polish books published, despite the existence of the censorship, was larger than in any other Polish city of the period save only Warsaw and Wilno. Thus, said the German writer "the Polish tree, unable to bear fruits of action, produces flowers of thought, and thus proves itself to be alive." (2)

During the short-lived "spring of nations" in 1848 Lwów played a distinguished part. Immediately on the outbreak of revolution in Vienna the citizens of Lwów, under the leadership of the above-mentioned Franciszek Smolka, just released from prison, presented to the Emperor a demand for guarantees of the Polish nation's rights, for autonomy, for the introduction of the Polish language into the schools and government offices, the abolition of serfdom, and of the censorship; and finally the replacement of foreign by Polish officials, and the establishment of a national army.

After this preliminary action a deputation of Poles, Ruthenians, and Jews went in April 1848 to Vienna and put before the

(1) Cf. Kohl, J. G., *Reisen im Inneren von Russland und Polen*, Dresden and Leipzig 1841. The author, when visiting Lwów Cathedral, saw an angel offering Our Lady a ribbon inscribed with the words, *Regina Poloniæ, ora pro nobis*. After saying that the Austrians had tried to destroy this inscription, he continues with the following reflection of his own: "Was kann denn Maria für Polen Anderes bitten, als: 'Gott im Himmel! erbarm Dich der polnischen Nation, hilf allen unseren geliebten polnischen Brüdern, dass sie das alte Reich wiederherstellen mögen, und stehe ihnen zur Verjagung unserer gehassten Feinde, der Deutschen und der Russen, bei. Gieb, dass wir unseren alten Königsthron wieder aufrichten und im Rathe der Völker den Sitz wieder einnehmen, den Du uns in alten Zeiten angewiesen hattest. Lass die Unbill gestraft werden an denen, welche sie thun, und lass die Leidenden und Unterdrückten zu ihrem Rechte gelangen.'" "Gewiss," he adds, "mag manche patriotische Seele wohl zu jenem Engel kommen und im Stillen sein *Ora pro nobis* so deuten." (Op. cit., pp. 90, 91.)

(2) This period saw the composition of one of the most moving Polish national hymns, which is still sung today by Poles as a prayer, recommending the Polish martyrs to God. It is a Choral, and begins with the words: "Z dymem pożarów, z kurzem krwi bratniej do Ciebie. Panie, bije ten gios" (With the smoke of conflagrations, with the steam of brothers' blood, this cry, O Lord! rises to Thee). It was written by the Lwów poet Kornel Ujejski, in 1846, on hearing that the Austrian Government had organized the Galician Massacre, in which peasants, deluded and paid by it, murdered Polish gentry. This massacre was another glaring example of the Austrian policy, *Divide et impera*, according to which they sought to exploit social differences which were not at all peculiar to the Poles in the Europe of that period. Indeed, the Polish community was permeated more than other European communities at that time by the ideas of democracy, and the secret radical "Confederation," active in Galicia, when voting for equality among the various classes, found support among the nobility and gentry. Ujejski's name has been given to one of the main streets of Lwów, where his monument stands.

Emperor at a historical audience the fundamental demands of Lwów and the province of which it was capital.

Condemning the partition of Poland and putting forward the claim to independence, the deputation declared to the Emperor in the following words:—

"We do not conceal the fact that independence is the final goal of our desires, and that for it we are ready to shed our blood and to give up our lives and goods. This thought alone can draw out all the powers of the nation and incline it to the heaviest sacrifices. With that perfect frankness, therefore . . . which is justified by Your Imperial and Royal Majesty's charter of March 15, 1848, promising recognition and autonomy to every nationality, we declare to you, Most Serene Lord, our conviction, confirmed by the judgment of history and the voice of all Europe, that the Polish nation was violated by the partition of 1772, and that accordingly in Your Imperial and Royal Majesty's declaration that you desire to recognize and respect our nationality we very properly read a desire to terminate the treaties for the division of our country. (1) Most Sereue Lord! If the throne is dear to you, . . . do not refuse to utter the word of our salvation. God has already spoken it in Heaven; do you repeat it on earth. At that word millions of hands will take up arms among all peoples. The voice of a nation that is forbidden to speak is always the voice of truth. Let us not deceive ourselves. The Treaty of Vienna is broken all over Europe. War seems inevitable. We are not afraid of war, but we wish to be prepared for it in good time. Since for centuries we have shed our blood for others, we wish now to shed it for others and for ourselves. The watchword of a resurgent Poland will cause the hearts of all its sons to beat most ardently."

Continuing, the Galician deputation assured the Emperor of the readiness of the Poles to make an alliance with Austria, and promised common action with the Grand Duchy of Poznan, "which is one with us in its origin and in its past." It demanded a nationally-based government in the province, "for that alone can give an earnest of order and civil peace, and satisfy the inhabitants." It asked for a constitution, a truly democratic national parliament, with representation of the peasants, and a Polish army.

The democratic character of Lwów's and Galicia's demands is expressed in the following paragraph of the petition presented to the Emperor by the delegation: "The equality of all classes and faiths in the eyes of the law is a principle recognized throughout Europe. The prosperity of a State depends on the free and

(1) That the Hapsburg dynasty did at this time acknowledge the crime of the partitions of Poland is shown by the words of the liberal archduke John, spoken to the Galician Delegation: "In dividing Poland my Grandmother and King Frederick committed a great sin. This partition is the heaviest misfortune for Europe. This misfortune will last until Poland regains its independent existence." (*Camb. Hist., Poland* vol. II, p. 360.)

harmonious development of all the national powers, and on their use for the common good. True love of country can only exist where the country makes no distinctions among its sons. For the rest, justice requires that whoever fulfils all his duties as a citizen should enjoy all a citizen's rights. Accordingly it seems to us essential that all classes and faiths which exist within a nation should be admitted to equal civic and political rights."

The already emphasized connection of Lwów and Galicia with the other provinces of Poland was brought out very clearly in the deputation's next-following declaration. "We do not conceal from you, Most Serene Lord," they said, "that the whole province is in a state of the greatest excitement. If war were to break out in any department of Poland, then in present conditions no power could prevent an insurrection in Galicia."

During these few months the city experienced exalted joy. It seemed that the end of sufferings and sacrifices for the national cause was indeed at hand. Every day demonstrational processions passed through the streets, solemn services were held in the churches, and speakers in public places uttered fiery words and called their hearers to a final battle for national and democratic rights. Certain things even seemed to indicate that these hopes were justified. The Austrian Government released its political prisoners, who were now borne on the shoulders of the crowd, as sufferers for a victorious cause. The censorship was abolished. Most striking of all, Vienna agreed to the creation of a "National Guard," whose Polish uniforms and words of command seemed most eloquently to proclaim the approach of the hour of freedom. The Austrian authorities, under the influence of the ideas of freedom which were so widely current in Europe, liberalized their procedure in dealing with the population of the city, and tolerated the most audacious expressions of the desire for independence. All this created an atmosphere in which Lwów felt with joy that by its fresh effort it had indeed brought near the realization of the national ideal.

But in reality it was only a short-lived dream which Lwów went through. The awakening was to be painful and gloomy.

In November of 1848 there already set in a fresh wave of reaction, which was ceremoniously initiated by the bombardment of the city under the orders of the sadistic General Hammerstein. Fire thus caused destroyed the university building, with its valuable library of Polish literature and early printed works. Out of more than fifty thousand volumes scarcely thirteen thousand were saved. The city was punished for its patriotism by being put for a long period in a state of siege. The old methods of government, only too well known to the Lvovians, were now restored, and under the Austrian Premier of those days, Bach, the absolutists sought to crush the Polish spirit in all its forms by the aid of espionage, imprisonment, and centralization. Polish

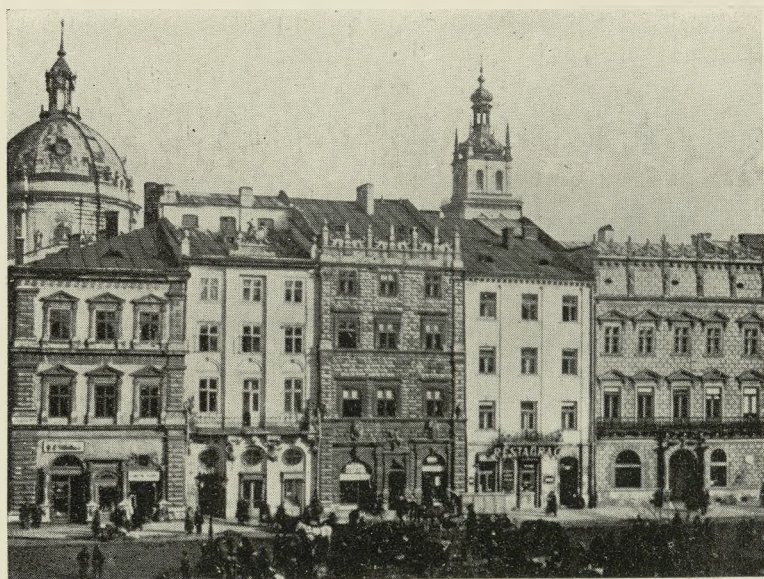


COURTYARD OF THE "ROYAL HOUSE".
(Designed by Petrus Italus Krasowski XVI Century.)





THE DOMINICAN CHURCH.
(Designed by John de Widt, XVIII Century.)



THE EASTERN SIDE OF THE MARKET PLACE.



GENERAL VIEW OF AN OLD QUARTER OF LWOW.



THE MICKIEWICZ MONUMENT.
(By Antoni Popiel.)

conspirators were hunted down, young men were impressed in the streets, and the gendarmerie were permitted the greatest freedom of action. (1)

Another means of combating the Polish spirit was found in the encouragement of the study and use of Ruthenian, which, though it had as yet no serious literature, was made an obligatory subject in the schools, while Polish remained optional. Thus it was hoped to create a gulf between Poles and Ruthenians, though they had lived together in that part of the world for centuries in perfect concord. Incidentally, it is to be noted that the Ruthenians were sometimes supported by Poles (such as the then governor of Galicia, Count Agenor Gołuchowski), who were liberal in their views and saw no danger in them to the Polish cause.

The censorship was now tightened up, and every word in the least audacious was punished, not only by arrest or confiscation, but even by the loss of one's university degree, office, position as schoolmaster, ecclesiastical benefice, or right to practise at the bar.

There was now, however, this difference as compared with the days of Metternich: formerly the system of persecution had raged unchecked, but now with every year that passed it was faced by increasingly serious obstacles, the causes of which were to be sought both at home and abroad. On the one hand, the national consciousness of the Poles was continually growing, and their organization continually improving; while on the other, Austria, weakened by the defeats it had suffered in Italy in 1859 and at the hands of Prussia in 1866, was driven to seek domestic support by means of a more cautious and liberal policy towards the various nationalities composing the Hapsburg empire.

Despite, therefore, the unceasing acts of repression, both Lwów and the province of which it was the capital began, even in the period of absolutism under Premier Bach, to feel the influence of these changes, which encouraged the development of a co-ordinated national policy. The Poles, further, benefited by the fact that the governor of Galicia was their countryman, Count Gołuchowski, a favourite of the Emperor and afterwards Austrian minister for internal affairs, who, although he sought, above all, to promote the interests of the monarchy, yet took account of the demands of his own nation and skilfully steered Austrian policy in the direction of federalism and local autonomy. A result of this was an imperial diploma of October 1860 proclaiming constitutional government in Galicia. In the Austrian *Reichsrath*

(1) They went to such lengths that in 1858 they professed to have discovered a "conspiracy" on the part of some dozen or more secondary school boys and University students to promote a "confederation of the Slavonic peoples." In actual fact these youths had made expeditions to the woods round Lwów and to the so-called High Castle in search of the "magic flower of the fern." Further, one of them was found in possession of a small pistol, which was out of order. None the less the "conspirators" were severely punished, one being sentenced to four years' imprisonment, and another to two, while several were permanently expelled from school. (See Schnür-Peplowski, op. cit., pp. 603, 604.)

the leader of the Lwów democrats, Franciszek Smolka, one of the most distinguished politicians of the time, worked untiringly for the Polish cause. The Lwów press, despite its constant struggle with the censorship, grew stronger and more uncompromising in its patriotism and democratism. The above-mentioned economic institutions gradually raised the material level of life, which hitherto had been intentionally and consistently depressed by Vienna. In the germanized university of Lwów the Poles made the first breach, of real significance for the development of native intellectual culture, by securing the establishment of a chair of Polish language and literature in 1856. It was filled for twenty years or more by an eminent scholar, a native of Prussian Poland, Professor Antoni Matecki.

In 1863, when a fresh insurrection against Tsarist Russia broke out at Warsaw, Lwów made more haste even than in 1831 to help. (1) A branch of the Warsaw nationalist government was established at Lwów, whole regiments of young men, equipped with secretly-purchased arms, passed the frontier, and the city demonstrated publicly in support of the struggle for freedom. It was at Lwów that the threads of insurgent policy were held, contacts being maintained with émigré circles at Paris and with quarters favourably disposed to the Polish cause in south-eastern Europe, and particularly in Turkey. In answer to all this the Austrian authorities declared a state of siege in the city, which lasted until March 1865; they once again threw Lwów patriots into prison, initiated political proceedings in the law-courts, and tightened the censorship.

Faithful Lwów was overcome with despair on seeing the failure of yet another armed effort on the part of the nation. A vivid picture of the feelings of the time is given by the great Lwów painter, Artur Grottger, in his famous drawings, which, later, were to be found on the walls of every Polish house. The three chief series, entitled "War," "Lithuania," and "Warsaw," respectively, made the whole of Europe acquainted with the greatness of the Polish sacrifices and the tragedy of their ill-success in face of superior enemy power. At the same time they attained a very high level of art.

Nevertheless, life, though broken and worn by unceasing disaster, revived again, inspired by the breath of a great ideal.

It revived, but in new forms. It underwent a deep inner

(1) This help consisted not only in raising insurrectional commandos and sending munitions of war, but also in carrying on an active programme throughout Europe. The secret Chief Council of Galicia, in which the youth of Lwów played an outstanding part, after the mass deportations of Poles to Siberia in 1863, issued the following call to the people: "The Chief Council of Galicia, seeing the calamity which threatens the whole of Poland, calls upon the Galician Diet, in the face of God and the laws of humanity, to raise its voice before the whole world in defence of our brothers under Russian rule, threatened with deportation, unheard of in Christian times, in thousands to slavery in a distant land for the whole of their lives, and with extermination. At the same time it calls upon the whole population by ardent prayer to endeavour to appease the wrath of a loving God and to save its country from the burial of its citizens alive." (Cf. Schnür-Peplowski, op. cit., p. 625.)

transformation. The watchword of the new historical period after the calamitous insurrection was the rejection of romanticism, which (in the words of Mickiewicz) measured its strength by its designs, and the establishment in the very front page of the national programme of the necessity for tedious daily work from the foundations. It was unquestionably wrong, said the authors of the new policy, to ruin the nation by a constant, and, as the event showed, fruitless shedding of blood. The skeleton of the worn-out nation must be clothed with flesh and acquire powers such as were disposed of by other, more fortunate communities. The organism had been exhausted by almost a century of fighting, conspiracies, and persecutions; it must, above all things, now be braced and invigorated.

The city and province already, as we have seen, enjoyed some of the most necessary conditions for the realization of this programme. For the Hapsburg monarchy was suffering from domestic antagonisms, which caused it to proceed more cautiously with its policy of repression. For a time, it is true, this policy was again actively enforced, after Lwów and Galicia had taken an active part in the insurrection of 1863 and 1864. But when the insurrection had failed and Polish policy was directed on to entirely new lines, it was possible to proceed from the point attained before the insurrection and to make continued advance, the more that the course of events, domestic and foreign, inclined Vienna to seek the support of the Polish community. (1)

(1) Cf. Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 181, where the author points out that it was not love for the Poles or for democracy which induced the Austrians to grant a constitution, but the defeat of Austrian imperialism by that of Prussia, which led the Austrians to seek support among the Poles and Hungarians.

CHAPTER III.

LWOW AND GALICIAN SELF-GOVERNMENT.

1867—1918.

LWOW had been ever since 1861 the seat of the Galician Diet, which, though it enjoyed very modest prerogatives, yet offered a base from which to conduct the struggle for political and economic rights. But with the turn of the year 1867 town and province entered on a new era, for it was then that the Austrian Government granted a constitution, which, by devolving legislative and executive authority, at last created conditions favourable to the development of the Polish nation within the Austrian domains.

The Diet, local municipal government, economic institutions, schools and institutes of higher learning—all these were workshops in which the national effort now found outlets for real and practical work; work, indeed, which could not take the place of a free State, but which gave the feeling of increasing strength, both material and cultural.

The results attained by half a century of effort on these lines in all the chief fields of public activity—effort continued without a pause until the outbreak of the first world war in 1914—were remarkable. To bring them before the reader a special monograph would be required; the task is beyond the scope of the present work. A concise and general description of the achievements of that period must here suffice.

The Galician Diet, at that time the sole representative institution in the territory of the former Polish State, revived Polish parliamentary traditions, which were among the oldest in Europe. It afforded a training-ground for thought along modern social and economic lines. Politically, it guarded the welfare and unity of the whole Polish nation, as well as the tradition of tolerance of all the other ethnic groups which inhabited the country and for centuries had been bound with the Polish community. (1) It also took every occasion to remind the public, not only in Galicia, but all over Europe, that the old bonds of union were not wiped out. We may here mention two such typical declarations made in 1868 by two distinguished Lvovians whom we have already mentioned, the deputies Ziemiałkowski and Smolka. (2)

(1) As early as 1860 a deputation of citizens, when handing a memorial to Premier Schmerling in Vienna, declared that the inhabitants of Galicia had not seceded from the voluntary union into which they had entered centuries before, and that they retained their consciousness of the bonds uniting them with the other provinces of the former State. "If we were to conceal these feelings," said the memorial, "the world would not believe us, and would even deny us unhappy men its respect." (Bartoszewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 104). The memorial also stated that the Poles and Ruthenians united constituted a historical and political national unit.

(2) Bartoszewicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 204 and 164.

"Being a part of the Polish nation," said Ziemiałkowski, in the Galician Diet, "we cannot, as we are advised to do, enter into such relations with any other nation as would prejudice the future of our own. We have no right to do so. And even if we had, we could not do it, for in us is implanted an unshakable faith in a better future. This faith is so strong that, as for myself, were I to lose it I should lose the aim and purpose of my life. In our historical past, in our attachment to the Polish nation, lies the source of our right to demand such a degree of independence within the Austrian empire as would assure us our national existence. We have not been disinherited, no compacts have been made with us, we were taken and attached, but not incorporated; for the organism to which we belong is alive, and we are alive with its life, and have the right so to be until we ourselves renounce that right."

"Galicia," said Smolka in the same Diet, "is an organic part of the former Polish Republic, that great historical and political unit which fulfilled, a thousand years ago, and still fulfils to-day, a remarkable mission in the history of Europe, and although erased from the list of independent states, lives a full life in the fellowship of nations. . . By virtue of its distinctness, historical, political, and national, which it has never renounced, but of which it had demanded the recognition on every opportune occasion, our nation has an undeniable right to demand a separate, independent position for itself within the framework of the Austrian empire. I am fully convinced that there must be a Poland, that there must be a Polish advanced line of defence, without which Europe cannot and will not attain equilibrium, or the possibility of freely devoting itself to the tasks of peace, intellectual and cultural. And if this is to be, it is necessary to give to Galicia an independent national government, . . and to make it into a crystallizing point, round which Poland may again take permanent shape."

The Galician Diet consistently strove to extend and increase Polish political rights. In particular it demanded that the imperial governor should be made responsible to the Diet, that a supreme court for Galicia should be established, that the legislative prerogatives of the Diet should be extended to cover every field of life in the province, and that a minister for Galician affairs should be appointed. (1)

Such was the political programme of the Galician Diet as far as concerned general national questions. In the economic and cultural fields the Diet's achievements were varied and fundamental.

(1) Many of these demands were realized in the course of the Diet's forty-seven years of activity, ending in 1914. The Austrian cabinet included a minister for Galician affairs, who was usually an eminent Polish politician. Further, Poles from Galicia were, from time to time, at the helm of the Austrian Government as premiers or took a share in it, as ministers of foreign affairs, of finance, education, or transport.

Agricultural production was raised in the particularly fertile eastern part of Galicia. Agricultural societies, organizations for providing cheap credit, Raiffeisen savings banks, co-operative societies, the draining of hitherto uncultivable areas, the regulation of rivers, and many other economic plans and achievements, resulted from legislation passed by the Diet and from the activities of its Executive, the so-called Home Department, which in actual fact, became a sort of local Government. ⁽¹⁾ Particularly great advantages accrued to the province from the discovery of oil deposits in the Borysław field near Lwów, which became an important source of revenue. The name of the pioneer of the Galician oil industry, Stanisław Szczepanowski, has found a permanent place in Polish annals, on account not only of his economic activities, but also of his striking ideas on Polish national education and on social questions. ⁽²⁾

The rate of Galician economic development was clearly shown by the Galician budget, which increased threefold by 1914. In the field of educational organization, likewise, the Diet's achievements were very great. The local School Council, founded in 1868 with its seat at Lwów, was a kind of Galician ministry of education. It founded new schools, decided on the language to be used for instruction, appointed teachers, and controlled the writing and publishing of school books; and it raised the level of teaching throughout the country to a degree hitherto unknown. Suffice it to say that between 1900 and 1910 the number of elementary schools in the province increased from 2,500 to 6,000. Almost every village had its school, and the number of school children was over a million. Thirty training-colleges prepared teachers for their profession. The number of secondary schools reached 150.

These activities of the Diet embraced the whole of the Austrian-occupied area, but the fact of its sitting at Lwów indi-

(1) Boswell, Alexander Bruce, *Poland and the Poles*, London 1919, p. 143: "The first sign of awakening in industrial enterprise was seen at the agricultural exhibition of Lemberg in 1877: and from that time various schemes for the utilization of Galician resources have met with support and encouragement from the Galician Parliament."

(2) The name of this outstanding Lvovian deserves recognition nowadays in Anglo-Saxon countries all the more that, in his speeches delivered in the Diet and in the City Council, Szczepanowski always came forward as an enthusiastic admirer of the constitutional principles, local self-government, and economic genius of the English, among whom he spent many years and whose domestic institutions he recommended as a model to his native town and country. In his own field he played a similar part to that of another distinguished Pole a hundred years before him: namely Professor Jan Śniadecki, who after his return from London, about 1790, popularized English science and institutions in Poland. It is to be noted that both these men, enthusiastic though they were in their judgment of English culture, yet showed sober realism in their assessment of England's political attitude to the Polish question.

Cf. also Boswell, Bruce, op. cit., p. 163: "The pioneer in this movement was the patriotic Szczepanowski, who, after the discovery of a means of distilling petroleum by the chemist Łukasiewicz in 1853, founded the great petroleum industry of Eastern Galicia."

This Łukasiewicz was the inventor of the first oil (i.e. petroleum) lamp. Under his guidance the Lwów tin-smith Bentkowski made the first petroleum burner. The first oil (naphtha) lamp in the world burned in the Central Hospital at Lwów.

cates the concentration of Polish national effort there.

It is time, however, to return to our description of the life of the city itself during this important period, which saw the foundation and growth of modern Lwów.

With the beginning of the constitutional era in 1870 municipal self-government, which for a whole century had been nothing more than a fiction, became a reality. The freely elected City Council became, in fact, the supreme authority for the city, controlling the executive *Magistrat*, which had till that time been completely German in character, and all-powerful.

This representative body, which at last made its voice heard, was faced with an enormous task. The city, purposely degraded and impoverished by the Austrians throughout a century, had to be administered on the western-European model, and brought into contact with that world of civilization to which it had always belonged, and of which it had been the outpost.

How the ten Polish mayors who held office between 1870 and 1914 discharged this task, with the support of successive City Councils, can best be shown by a number of comparative figures, illustrating the development of the various departments of the city's life. ⁽¹⁾

The increase of population during the period under review was remarkable. When Austria annexed Lwów in 1772, the number of its inhabitants was less than 30,000. In 1870, when the constitution came into force, it was 87,000. After forty years of comparatively free development, during which the modern current of urbanization had set in, the number had increased to 206,574 (census of 1910). Included in this were 101,267 Roman Catholics (51.7%), 34,454 Greek Catholics (Uniates) (17.1%), and 56,751 professing Jews (29%). If language is taken as the criterion, there were 175,560 persons speaking Polish (85.8%), 21,780 Ruthenian (10.8%), and 6,825 German (3%). The Jews were not treated by the Austrian authorities as a separate group, either linguistic or national. Accordingly, in the census of 1910 large numbers of Jews gave their native language as Polish.

The general economic development of the city is well illustrated by the growth of its expenditure. A survey of this may begin with the year 1422, eighty years after the city's incorporation with Poland, when its income amounted to 61 *kopas*, i.e. 3,660 Polish groats, two *kłodas* of wheat, and five *kłodas* of rye, altogether amounting to the equivalent of 3,000 Austrian *crowns* (at the silver value of 1914). In 1627 Lwów's budget amounted to 24,000 Polish gulden, equivalent to 96,000 *crowns*. When Lwów was annexed, its budget fell (in 1774) to 20,000 *crowns*. By the end of the reign of Joseph II it had risen to 200,000 *crowns*, but in the first half of the nineteenth century the deliberate policy of Vienna had reduced the city's finances to utter

(1) The statistics concerning the growth of the city, 1870-1921, are taken principally from Papee's exhaustive monograph, cited above.

ruin. At that period the municipal treasury was virtually empty. In 1850, however, the income of the city of Lwów was 634,008 crowns, while its expenditure was 518,902 crowns. In 1860 the figures were: income 1,013,400 crowns, expenditure 1,030,009 crowns; and in 1910, income 7,606,207 crowns, and expenditure 8,776,933 crowns.

This serious increase in revenue and expenditure after the introduction of constitutional government is to be explained by the necessity for, and the possibility of meeting the various needs of a modern city under the more favourable conditions then prevalent. Everything had to be built up from the foundations. Sewerage (in 1870 15 km. of sewers; in 1920 82 km.), gas, and electricity supply (electric trams were introduced in 1894), fire insurance (according to experts, better and more progressive than in many towns of Western Europe), water supply (provided in 1899), the building of the city in general, and of various large public buildings in particular, the erection of hospitals—all these things swallowed immense sums of money.

Further, it was only now that it became possible to utilize the favourable geographical situation of Lwów for its economic development, resuscitating the historical tradition of the ancient Polish city, which had held a key position as an emporium midway between the Baltic and the Black Sea. The local government authorities did very much to enable their city to return to the rôle laid down for it, as would appear, by nature. By means of great exhibitions they advertised the natural resources of south-eastern Poland; they strongly supported the growth of trade and handicrafts; they founded banks; and their hydrographers planned an Oder-Vistula-Dniester canal, thereby resuscitating an idea which had been entertained in former times, under the Republic. The oil, chemical, and distilling industries developed at Lwów, and also the manufacture of artificial stone, pottery, plaster of Paris, terra cotta, cement, fertilizers, boots and shoes, furniture, preserves, chocolate, and agricultural machinery, as well as iron foundries, flour-mills, brick-works, and breweries.

Improved sanitation and the growth of prosperity during this period led to a considerable decrease in mortality. Whereas in 1870 the death-rate was 34 per thousand, in 1913 it was only 22.

The growth of schools, both elementary and secondary, after the introduction of local self-government was no less remarkable. In 1873 the city took over the maintenance and administration of 11 municipal Polish schools, 3 Polish convent-schools, 1 Ruthenian school, and 3 Jewish. In 1913 there were at Lwów 43 public schools and more than 20 private. Likewise with the secondary schools: in 1870 there were 4 of them, in 1910, 15 public and 18 private. By 1914 illiteracy at Lwów had been completely stamped out.

The local authorities cared for the beauty and the health of

their city; they improved old parks and laid out new ones, so that Lwów, with its charming natural situation in a basin amid gentle hills, was without doubt the most attractive city in Poland.

It was further adorned with numerous statues, commemorating men who embodied the genius of Poland. Some of these are strikingly individual, and, taken together, give the city also an individual character as compared with the other Polish cities,

When a Pole thinks of Lwów, perhaps the first things that present themselves to his mind are the *Kopiec Unii Lubelskiej* (Lublin Union Mound) and the Raclawice Panorama. The former is an artificial mound, heaped by the hands of the citizens in 1869 on the summit of a conspicuous hill in the environs, in commemoration of the three hundredth anniversary of the conclusion of the Lublin Union (1569), a voluntary association of the various nationalities inhabiting Poland. It therefore symbolizes for every Pole, and brings to the mind of every stranger, the most striking characteristic of Polish political thought: its recognition of the necessity for uniting all citizens in one common family, in freedom and equality.

The Raclawice Panorama is an enormous canvas (45 by 360 feet), exhibited in a building specially constructed for it in 1893, and representing with great inspiration and historical accuracy the battle of Raclawice, fought in 1794, in which Tadeusz Kosciuszko led his peasant levies against the Russian batteries, himself wearing a white peasant's coat over his uniform. Several eminent Polish painters worked on this great picture: Jan Styka, Wojciech Kossak, Tadeusz Popiel, Teodor Axentowicz, and it is a masterpiece in its own kind. But its most important rôle was educative. It inspired several generations of Poles with love of their country and belief in its immortality. (1)

During the period under review the main open places in the city were adorned with monuments to great Poles (2) whom the city wished particularly to honour: the shoemaker, Jan Kilinski, who put himself at the head of the people of Warsaw in their struggle with the Russian invaders in the rising headed by Kosciuszko; the peasant Bartosz Głowacki, who fought at Raclawice and put out a burning cannon-fuse with his cap; Count Alexander Fredro, the Polish Molière (3); King John Sobieski, a Lvovian, the saviour of Vienna; Kornel Ujejski, writer of the most moving national hymn; Adam Mickiewicz, the nation's greatest bard; and the Lwów political leaders, Franciszek Smolka and Agenor Gołuchowski.

(1) Cf. McBride, Robert, *Towns and People of Modern Poland*, London 1939, p. 135: "We left Lwów of the beautiful parks and busy streets with the battle of Raclawice ringing in our ears and a new understanding of the spirit of Polish freedom."

(2) The oldest monument in Lwów, that of the Hetman Stanisław Jabłonowski, dates from the middle of the XVIII century.

(3) Cf. Boswell, Alexander Bruce, *Poland and the Poles*, London 1919, p. 215: "Fredro was a second Molière, a master of clever dialogue and of epigram, a witty delineator of the foibles and humours of Polish society. . . His plays have kept the stage in Poland till our own days, and are a perfect national product."

Special attention was paid by the local authorities at Lwów to the drama, which reached a high level of artistic attainment, particularly after the erection in 1900 of the Municipal Theatre, the finest in Poland. The Lwów theatre attracted talented actors, whose fame extended throughout the country and beyond its borders. (1) Representations of the works of Mickiewicz and Fredro, Shakespeare and Schiller, drew large audiences.

Periodical journalism flourished at Lwów particularly about the turn of the nineteenth century. In 1895 the city possessed six daily newspapers, differentiated by their political creeds, but united in a common service of national ends. The general level of the Press was high. The most eminent politicians, literary men, and economists contributed to it. Besides the daily papers there were an increasing number of weeklies, devoted to politics, literature, social life, and particular branches of knowledge. In 1895 there were about forty such. The number of societies pursuing social, cultural and patriotic activities was also important at this time and in the years which followed.

The appearance of the streets, till recently depressing enough, had gained colour and life, and the visiting stranger put Lwów in the first rank of flourishing Polish towns. (2)

All this growth was guided by the conscious purpose of the local governing authorities, who fully realized that "in the present circumstances Lwów has an important duty to perform, as the chief town of an extensive section of our country, and as a great Polish city on the eastern border. It should send its beams far around, like a great bonfire of civilization, like a treasure-house of the spirit of the nation." And, indeed, "the pulse of Polish life and Polish thought beat so strongly in this place, and such warmth radiated from this fire, that strangers found themselves drawn to it by a singular attraction. The sons of strangers, the sons of the most zealous germanizers and persecutors, became the most ardent patriots and confirmed their love to their new country by the sacrifice of their freedom and their blood. (3)

(1) e.g. Helena Modrzejewska, who afterwards won great esteem and popularity in America under the name Modjeska.

(2) Jandaurek, Julius, *Das Königreich Galizien und Lodomerien*, Vienna 1884, pp. 134, 135: "Es kann sich in Bezug auf dieses rasche Steigen keine Stadt des ehemaligen Polens mit Lemberg messen. Krakau, obwohl es in der neuesten Zeit sich bedeutend erholt hat, hat doch nicht die Bevölkerungszahl, welche es zur Zeit Sigismunds I. (90.000) besass; desgleichen sank Gnesen von seiner ehemaligen Grösse, und auch Wilno, wenn auch nicht in demselben Verhältnisse. Warschau, als Mittelpunkt des Ganzen, verlor natürlich ebenfalls viel. Posen stieg wohl, doch bei weitem nicht so mächtig wie Lemberg, welches man unter den grossen polnischen Städten entschieden für das blühendste und lebendigste nehmen kann."

(3) *Miasto Lwów w okresie samorządu 1870-1895*, Lwów 1896, pp. 180 seqq. The families of officials, officers, and merchants of German origin who came to Lwów in the XVIII century, were completely polonized after fifteen or twenty years of life in the midst of the Polish community. This phenomenon vividly recalls analogous cases of voluntary assimilation in early centuries, more particularly the XIV, XV, and XVI, such as were mentioned above: e.g. the German, Franz Kröbl, appointed burgomaster of Lwów before there was local self-government, was remembered as an ardent Polish patriot, although he had had to learn the Polish language. When he died, he desired to be buried in Polish dress. It was in his time that Polish was made the official language.

It may be that the force which freed such energy in the citizens of Lwów was a consciousness of the city's mission and of the greatness of Polish suffering. In the council-chamber of the Town Hall there hung for many years an enormous picture by the Lwów painter, Jan Styka, entitled "Polonia," in which whole generations of warriors, statesmen, poets, historians, artists, workmen, and peasants are represented as hastening to free the fettered figure personifying Poland. It was hung where the town councillors had it constantly before their eyes.

The list of Lwów's achievements during the constitutional period would not be complete without a mention of the wide range of scientific research carried out in its various institutions.

The leading part in this activity was taken by the University, named after King Jan Casimir. (1) As we have already seen, it had been intended by the Austrians to serve as an instrument of germanization, and mould the Polish spirit and mind into the Austrian model. But this hope was notably disappointed. Even during the period of extreme reaction the Poles contrived to breach its walls and establish themselves in such important positions as the above-mentioned chair of Polish literature in 1856. Furthermore, the very atmosphere of Polish culture surrounding them had its subtle effect on the minds of the German intellectuals who filled the Lwów chairs. They were penetrated by it, and some, unable to stand out against it, left the University in disillusion, while others succumbed to it, and although they did not actually turn into Poles, yet felt respect and goodwill towards the Polish spirit. The distinguished professor of general history at the University of Lwów, Heinrich Zeissberg, author of a valuable work on "Polish Historiography in the Middle Ages," desiring to give outward expression to his feeling of attachment to Polish culture, inscribed the title-page of this book with the motto, taken from the twelfth-century Polish chronicler Gallus: *Ne panem polonicum frustra manducarem.* (2)

But the complete triumph of polonism was witnessed only in 1873, when the University was refounded, once more on a Polish basis. Its progress after that may be deduced from the following statistics. In 1870 there were 46 courses of lectures at the University in German, 13 in Latin, 13 in Polish, and 7 in Ruthenian. In 1874 there were 59 in Polish, 13 in Latin, 11 in German, and 8 in Ruthenian. And in 1906 there were 185 courses in Polish, 19 in Ruthenian, 14 in Latin, and 5 in German. In this last year (1906) the number of professors approached eighty, and that

(1) Cf. Boswell, Bruce, *The Survival of Polish Civilization*, Exeter 1941, p. 25: "The ancient universities of Cracow and Lwów were refounded and became centres of science, law, theology and the arts for all Poland."

(2) That I may not have eaten Polish bread in vain.

of students 3,000. (1) To the three ancient faculties, of Law, Philosophy, and Theology, was added in 1894 a faculty of Medicine. The work of the University was greatly aided by its Library, which had been founded in 1784, but, as we have seen, almost completely destroyed by fire in 1848. It was now carefully completed, and then housed in a fine building, erected in 1904.

As was to be expected, the work done at the University of Lwów, alongside that of Cracow, called into being a Polish intellectual *élite* in every branch of knowledge; and in some a special school of research was set on foot, pursued by scholars who became famous not only in Poland, but throughout the world of learning. In contradistinction to the historical school of Cracow at that time, which laid chief emphasis on the enquiry into the political causes of the fall of Poland in the eighteenth century, the Lwów historical school, led by Ksawery Liske, stood for an accurate and objective scientific approach, by way of a pragmatic analysis of facts and critical use of sources; this method, however, when carried to its logical extreme, results in over-specialization and a pedantic attention to detail (as in the work of Tadeusz Wojciechowski, Ludwik Kubala, and Wojciech Ketrzynski). Besides this strictly analytic school, however, there existed also at Lwów a school of narrative historians, who published first-rate synthetic works on the history of Poland, and stimulated the historical imagination of several generations of their countrymen. Chief among them was Karol Szajnocha.

A second centre of higher studies at Lwów was the College of Engineering reorganized in 1872, which until the restoration of Polish independence in 1918 remained the only technical school of university level in the whole of Poland. It comprised four sections: civil and mechanical engineering, architecture, and chemistry, and at the end of the first decade of the present century was training some 2,000 students, a nucleus of specialists destined to develop those fields of material activity which had till then lain fallow.

The third and last school of higher studies in the city was the Veterinary College, founded in 1896, and likewise the only one of its kind in Poland. Indeed, it was the only one in the territory of the South-Eastern Slavs as a whole, and was consequently attended by numerous Bulgars and Serbs.

Besides these institutions there was the Ossolineum, that "defensive bastion and bulwark of civilization in the eastern marches," as Wasylewski calls it. Possessing as it did the finest library of Polish studies in existence (containing in 1914 more than half a million volumes and over 5,000 manuscripts), as well as very numerous and valuable documents (in the wide sense) illustrating Polish life in the sixteenth and seventeenth

(1) Incidentally these figures show that it was only after the complete polonization of the University that Ruthenian studies were given more attention.

centuries, and Polish early printed papers and books, it trained whole generations of students of Polish literature and history. (1) The most eminent scholars from the whole of the country came to it to find out the age and nature of Polish science, culture, language, and history at the source; and not seldom they stayed and settled at Lwów, devoting their whole lives to research and contributing work which still further increased the riches of the library; for example, the *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, the Polish Dictionary of Linde, and the Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Ossolineum Institute; and when, later, the Ossolineum went in for publishing on a large scale, its press issued the best school-books for the whole of Poland, the works of eminent Polish writers, and scientific journals.

All these institutions together formed a core round which were grouped numerous scientific and cultural societies, devoted to special branches of study. The intellectual and cultural activities thereby fostered found expression, in their turn, in the foundation of museums and private collections, full of the most precious works of art, and in the development of music and the plastic arts. Lwów possessed the oldest *conservatoire* in Poland, and its opera attained a high level. (2)

It should finally be noticed that the intellectual and cultural development of the related Ruthenian (Ukrainian) population found in Lwów itself and the surrounding area was likewise fostered by the goodwill and understanding of the Polish community.

Such, then, was the mental equipment with which Lwów entered the present century. It was a valuable equipment and constituted a solid foundation for the further development of the town and for the special rôle which it played in the general national effort. In fact its conditions were more favourable for such work than those of Warsaw, Poznań, and Wilno, in the other annexed areas.

There existed, however, a very real danger, resulting, paradoxically enough, from the possession of this equipment, namely that in the midst of the fruitful and successful struggle which brought so many real benefits to the city, the main aim of it all, the recovery of national independence, might be lost to sight. Why struggle and strive for it, it might be said, when the national rights can be enlarged and extended within the framework of the Austrian empire? Would it not be better to adapt oneself loyally and permanently to the existing state of things, though

(1) Wasylewski, Stanisław, *Lwów*, Poznań 1931, p. 121. Cf. also Rose, op. cit., p. 222: "In Lwów is the world-famous Ossolinski Institute with a gallery, a notable library, containing many precious manuscripts and documents, and a publishing department whose services to the national cause are legion."

(2) Cf. Rose, op. cit., p. 43, where the author says that in the constitutional period "Cracow and Lwów soon became the centres of cultural life Warsaw and Wilno had been fifty years earlier."

under foreign rule, inasmuch as it facilitated the perpetuation and extension of the Polish spirit. And these were not mere rhetorical questions. Such an attitude suggested itself, as time went on, naturally enough from the actual conditions of life, and one could not deny the patriotism of a citizen who, while not striving for actual independence, yet served the Polish cause, by getting the Austrian Government to agree to the building of a new Polish school, or to grant a credit for the erection of a new building, or for the construction of a road or railway: in a word, who contributed to the enrichment of town and province, and promoted its prosperity.

None the less, besides these dangerous tendencies, inspired by common sense and materialism, there remained always, deeply rooted in Lvovian hearts, the ancient Polish spirit of revolt, irreconcilable and uncompromising. Stifled though it had been by the successes of positivism, that is to say of the work undertaken at the end of the nineteenth century, of which the results were plainly observable, it burst out with unquenchable flame in the first decade of the present century: a decade which answered the above questions by its confession of faith: "The nation has the right to exist only as a political entity."

Accordingly, the period 1900-1914 was marked, not only by uninterrupted scientific, cultural, and economic activities, but also by a quickened pulse in political life, which gave a peculiar character to Lwów and put it in the van of the struggle for a restored Polish State.

Hitherto the political life of Lwów had been but weakly differentiated; it had been mainly an expression of the social character of the city imparted to it by its *bourgeoisie*. This *bourgeoisie* had been politically democratic in outlook, and socially moderate, and its political schooling had been gained in the provincial Diet and the Austrian *Reichsrath*, to which the Lwów democrats were elected under a liberal electoral law. Political radicalism was a rare phenomenon at Lwów towards the end of the nineteenth century. (1)

After 1900, however, the position was fundamentally changed. Great parties with sharply defined political and social programmes came to the front: the National Democrats and the

(1) In the years 1876-77, i.e. during the Russo-Turkish War, there arose at Lwów a Confederation of the Polish Nation, headed by Prince Adam Sapieha, which attempted diplomatic and military action in the Polish cause and aimed at the recruitment of Polish legions to serve on the side of Turkey. It was, however, short-lived, and had no great influence on the political life of Lwów and the province.

It was at Lwów, however, that the first programme of a peasant movement in Poland was sketched out. At the time of the elections to the Diet in 1895 the organizers of this movement got together and adopted the name of *Ludowcy* (People's Party), and at a great meeting of peasants during the Lwów Exhibition a programme of a popular movement was worked out for the first time: widening of the franchise, abolition of various burdens, parcelling of great estates, regulation of emigration, etc. In 1895 the People's Party won its first important success, obtaining seven seats in the Austrian *Reichsrath*. (Cf. Wasilewski, Leon, *Zarys stosunków galicyjskich*. Warsaw 1906).

Polish Socialist Party. The villages were awakened and roused to political consciousness by the great educational organization, the *Towarzystwo Szkoły Ludowej* (T.S.L.), or Popular Schools Society, whose central offices were at Lwów.

There was a further contributing factor, which hitherto had been non-existent, and in free countries never attains much political significance, namely the great body of university students. It might be compared to yeast in its promotion of ever more stormy protests raised year by year against political subjection, particularly by students from the Russian-occupied area of Poland. Besides the open organizations there arose also strong political underground combinations: the National League, the Union of Polish Youth (called Zet), and the Ray (a confidential branch of the Polish Socialist Party), which put their stamp on the prevalent ideals of the city. In fact the political history of Lwów between 1900 and 1914 is largely the history of student movements, dynamic in their expression of modern thought, and hostile in their attitude to the annexing powers. These youth groups published numerous periodicals, the editing of which reached a high standard; and got up public demonstrations and meetings, which raised the temperature of political life in the city.

These changes found their most notable expression in the activities of the two great political leaders of the past half-century, Józef Piłsudski and Roman Dmowski, who came to Lwów and there established the main vantage-point from which they traced the course of the Polish nation's development in the present century. Dmowski proclaimed the necessity for a general Polish movement, which should unite the whole nation, wherever its members might live, in a community of political aims. Piłsudski advocated resistance to the annexing powers, negation of political subjection, by revolutionary means, and the formation of a nucleus of Polish troops. He was the founder of the movement which aimed directly at the recovery of national independence. (1) And nowhere else in Poland, were more favourable conditions to be found for organizing an independence movement. (2)

The foregoing period of what was called "positivism," that is of groundwork, not only did not turn the national consciousness away from the essential purpose of attaining independence, but on the contrary, created the means by which this purpose could be realized. In the local Diet, in the local government institutions of Lwów, in the flourishing cultural, social, and economic institutions, in the books and newspapers now produced in such

* (1) Dmowski's activities at Lwów were based on the National Democratic Party programme, while he formulated his own ideas in the monthly *Przegląd Wszechpolski* (All-Polish Review) which he founded. Piłsudski founded first (in 1908) the secret "Związek Walki Czynnej" (Union for Active Struggle), and after that, in 1910, the open "Związek Strzelecki" (Union of Sharpshooters). Each was independent of the other. Piłsudski at this time was supported by the Polish Socialist Party.

(2) Reddaway, W. F., *Marshal Piłsudski*, London 1939, p. 69: "The movement for drilling Poles spread from Cracow and Lwów to smaller places."

numbers, (1) everywhere the leading motive was the necessity for the attainment of independence, whether indirectly, by the development of the widest possible measure of autonomy for Galicia, and the subsequent separation of that province from the Austrian empire and its elevation into a constitutionally independent unit, or directly, by force of arms.

Platoons of youths marched through the streets of Lwów in the grey uniform of Polish sharpshooters, arousing at first the surprise, and then the enthusiasm of the community. Violent demonstrations of youths against the German and Russian consulates were of frequent occurrence. The City Council addressed strongly termed petitions to Vienna demanding complete self-government for Galicia. Secret or semi-secret half-military organizations began to appear, the members of which exercised with arms in their hands on the meadows and in the forests just outside the city. Sometimes they bore the name of Scouts, sometimes of Sharpshooters, of Sokóls, or Bartosz Companies. (2) German goods were boycotted, protests were raised against the Prussian expropriation bill of 1908, and against the separation of the district of Chełm from the Congress Kingdom by the Russian Duma in 1911-12. Clashes with the Austrian police in the streets of Lwów were every-day occurrences at this time. The atmosphere grew hot, public excitement rose, and there were increasingly clear signs of the approach of inevitable war.

The Austrian governors officiating at Lwów, being generally Poles, were both unable and unwilling to oppose the natural course of events, and the central authorities at Vienna found themselves with no resort but to yield in face of the Lwów demonstrations in favour of the national cause.

On the eve of the outbreak of world war, i.e. in the early part of 1914, the Poles consolidated their forces in the Commission of Confederate Independence Parties, which was to harmonize and guide all efforts to regain political freedom. These efforts were far from being confined within the octroi-limits of the city; they made themselves felt throughout the country, organizing public opinion and strengthening public will, and gathering the threads of events in Polish hands. The Poles were dominant in every field of activity, drawing in all classes of citizens without distinction of nationality or faith, and giving the related Ruthenian (Ukrainian) population the chance to develop its powers to the full. (3)

(1) The chief Lwów newspapers had their own foreign correspondents; e.g. the *Gazeta Lwowska* received interesting letters from London, describing English political and intellectual life, written by the well-known novelist Edmund Naganowski.

(2) Named after Bartosz Głowacki of Raclawice fame.

(3) Cf. Głabinski, Stanisław, *Ludność polska w Galicji Wschodniej*, Lwów 1903, p. 49, where the author, one of the leaders of Polish nationalism, gives the following account of the relations of the Poles to the Ruthenians: "The chief element, organizing and supporting additional public work in the intellectual, economic, and social fields, is composed in eastern Galicia of the Poles. In this work the Poles have never made and do not now as a rule make any

Lwów at this period became the centre of Polish life and activities. "It became the true heart and brain of Poland. . . From it proceeded every initiative and every effort in the cause of independence. From it went out a new generation, which was to take an active part in building up the Polish State. This was undoubtedly the brightest and most active period in the history of our city after the Partitions." (1)

That history was ended in 1914. It had been a history of fall, despair, and catastrophe. A history of underground activity and tedious daily work. A history of risings, rebellion, and moral revolution. And always a history of unrelenting struggle for the greatness and freedom of the Polish nation.

distinction between Poles and Ruthenians. Our public and private institutions, societies, unions, companies, agricultural circles, clubs and casinos are open to all sections of the population, receive all alike to membership, defend all alike, and care for all alike. Similarly our representatives in the communal and district councils, the Diet, and the *Reichsrath*, stand for the rights and interests of the whole community, and the whole country; they speak and work in the name of the people as a whole. In this general character of the whole of our writings and our work, the whole of our social and economic life, is to be found the true and natural justification for our foremost position in Galicia. We do not distinguish ourselves from others, we work for all and with all, for ourselves and for our neighbours, as free and equal fellow-citizens."

(1) Papée, op. cit., pp. 260 seqq.

CHAPTER IV. LWÓW IN FREE POLAND

1918—1939

BEFORE Lwów and the district of which it was the capital could become once more an integral part of the resurgent Polish State, they had to go through a period of four years (1914-18), during which the merciless engine of war rolled backwards and forwards over the south-eastern section of Poland, ruining the city materially, while politically it was faced once again with such a problem as it had faced already so often during the ages, and was this time once again to solve with the highest credit.

The wild enthusiasm which took hold of the town on the day of the outbreak of war, when hopes of regaining freedom for the whole of Poland rose high, was destined to disillusionment after only a month had passed. Scarcely had the imposing sum of two million Austrian crowns been collected in the Polish National Treasury, scarcely had five thousand of the finest young men gone to join the Eastern Legion ⁽¹⁾, filled with eagerness to fight against Tsarist Russia, when the victorious Russian army was already (on September 3, 1914) within the city.

The Russians in Lwów! This was indeed a hard blow for the Poles, who were just preparing to fight against them. Moreover, it was a new and horrifying experience in the history of the city and of that part of Poland. For a hundred and twenty years or so Russia, as one of the partitioning powers, had been in occupation of the north of Poland, including the old Polish city of Wilno, and for more than a century it had occupied central and eastern Poland with the capital, Warsaw; but, apart from one or two occasions when their armies had marched through, or had made a short halt, the Russians had never been in this province throughout the thousand years of its history, nor in Lwów during the seven hundred years of its existence.

For the inhabitants of Lwów and south-east Poland, were they Polish, Ruthenian, or Jewish, Russia represented something completely foreign and alien.

Before the partitions of Poland in the eighteenth century, the nearest city of importance under Russian rule was Kiev, three hundred miles away. After the partitions Lwów and Red Ruthenia, occupied by the Austrians, were separated from Russia not

(1) This Legion marched from Lwów at the end of August, 1914, towards the west; but at the end of September it was already disbanded "as a mark of protest against the deceitful policy of Austria," which had not agreed to the wording of the Polish military oath, and had questioned the one and only purpose of the Legion, namely to fight for the independence of Poland. (Cf. Papee, *op. cit.*, pp. 264, 265.)

only by the narrow line of the river Zbruch, but also by a line of military posts along the frontier, which prevented the passage alike of individuals and of influences, cultural or religious, and made all economic intercourse impossible. Although Red Ruthenia now bordered Russian territory, politically the two countries turned their backs upon one another. They were divided not only by the wooden frontier-posts of two empires, but by a gulf between two civilizations, two worlds, and two manners of life. Lwów and Red Ruthenia belonged to western Europe; beyond the Zbruch began the boundless East.

In these circumstances it was not to be wondered at that the Lvovians, finding themselves exposed unarmed to invasion by that alien world, abandoned their city and fled westwards. ⁽¹⁾

The population left behind at Lwów treated the entry of the Russian armies as a visitation of war, while the Poles, who had inherited a leading position in all fields of public life, regarded the Russians in Lwów and Red Ruthenia as merely transitory military occupants, who would have no effect on the ancient historical character of the area. The proclamation of the Grand Duke Nicholas, commander-in-chief of the Russian armies, promising the union of all Polish territories, only confirmed them in this belief. Striking expression was given to it by the Mayor of Lwów, Tadeusz Rutowski, at an audience with Count George Bobrinsky, newly appointed tsarist governor, on September 23, 1914, when he "strongly and determinedly asserted the Polish character of Lwów, an ancient outpost of Polish culture." ⁽²⁾

But the Russian designs upon city and province were cynically revealed. "With brutal frankness," says an eye-witness, the distinguished Lwów professor of law, who was present at the audience, "the count explained to us the fundamental principles of his policy, in the following terms: 'East Galicia and the northern districts of Hungary have long been part of Great Russia. Their population was always Russian, and their administration must accordingly be guided by Russian principles. I shall introduce the Russian language, Russian laws, and Russian practices. I shall appoint Russian governors, Russian starosts, and Russian police. . . I shall not summon any meeting of the Diet. I forbid attendance at meetings of the City and District Councils. I close all societies, organizations, and clubs'." ⁽³⁾

The disclosure of these Russian designs naturally amazed the population of Lwów. It was true that during the last twenty or

(1) Cf. Chłamtacz, Marcell, *Lemberg's politische physiognomie während der russischen Invasion* (3. IX. 1914—22. VI. 1915), Vienna 1916, pp. 24. 25: "Meines Erachtens musste es zu dieser Massenflucht kommen, da sie letzten Endes eine Folge des gewaltigen Zwiespaltes ist, der die westeuropäische Weltanschauung von der osteuropäischen trennt. Die Vertreter der ersteren wollten keinen Augenblick mit dieser ihr stockfremden Weltanschauung, deren Grundpfeiler Despotie und Orthodoxie sind, in Berührung kommen. . . Instinktiv kehrten Träger westeuropäischer Kultur und Gesittung den Russen den Rücken."

(2) Cf. Przyłuski, Stanisław, *Wspomnienia z rosyjskiej okupacji, rok 1914-1915*, Lwów 1926, p. 21.

(3) Chłamtacz, op. cit., p. 45.

thirty years Russia, in fear of the infiltration of liberal ideas into the Congress Kingdom, had organized a Russophil, or Old Ruthenian, movement among the uneducated masses of the Ruthenian population in Galicia, by means of bribery, or subsidies, or the activities of certain Ruthenian priests who tried to bring the Ruthenian language and spelling into agreement with the Russian; and that the Austrian Government, in its own desire to divide the Poles politically from the Ruthenians, put no hindrances in the way of this agitation; (1) but no one had ever supposed that Russia might put forward claims to an area which it had never possessed and which had never had anything in common with Russia in any department of life. Russia had never asserted such pretensions before; indeed, even the most extreme partitionist, Catherine II, in the eighteenth century, had not thought of laying hands upon Lwów and Red Ruthenia, as she declared officially when false conclusions might have been drawn from her assumption of the title of Tsarina of All the Russias. (2)

On the other hand, the Slavonic Ruthenian, or Ukrainian, inhabitants of Red Ruthenia had taken every opportunity that presented itself to deny that they had any community of interests with the Russian people. (3) And that Russia, for its part, despite Bobrinsky's claim that they had "always" been "Russian," had in actual practice treated them as an alien and hostile element, is best evidenced by the fact that during the occupation of 1914-15 they persecuted the Ruthenians in Red Ruthenia even more than the Poles. (4)

After Bobrinsky's outrageous declaration, confirmed as it was by that of Tsar Nicholas II, who, when he came to Lwów in April 1915 proclaimed that "there is no Galicia, there is only Great Russia, extending to the Carpathians," the Poles had to expect the worst. (5)

The russification of the town did, indeed, begin at once. The streets were given Russian names, the functioning of the Polish schools was rendered impossible, and it was planned to carry off the treasures of Polish culture from the Ossolineum into

(1) *The Cambridge History of Poland*, Vol. II., p. 434.

(2) Rasp, op. cit., p. 485: "Russland hatte am 23. V. 1764 durch seinen Gesandten Nicolaus Repnin in Betreff des Titels der Kaiserin Katharina II. *imperatrix totius Russiæ*, dem Reiche Polen mit Lithauen befriedigende Erklärungen gegeben, dass die polnische Provinz 'Russia' (i.e. Red Ruthenia) keineswegs darunter gemeint sei."

(3) One of the chief Ruthenian leaders in Galicia, the deputy Romanczuk, declared in the Galician Diet in 1890: "We Halicz Ruthenians are a part of the 15-million Ruthenian or Little Russian nation, distinct from the Russian." Cf. Szczepanowski, op. cit., Vol. III p. 557. Such declarations by the Ruthenian population were very frequent, and in 1914, after the outbreak of war, the Ruthenians in Galicia (i.e. Halicz province) raised special bodies of sharpshooters, who fought against the Russians.

For the differences between Ruthenians and Russians see, further, *Camb. Hist. of Poland*, pp. 433 seqq.

(4) Cf. Przyłuski, op. cit., p. 35.

(5) Cf. Chłamtacz, op. cit., p. 35: "Wir Polen in Lemberg wussten sehr wohl, dass wir in Ostgalizien unter russischem Scepter einer nationalen Katastrophe entgegengehen würden, dass uns insbesondere die polnische Stadt Lemberg verloren gehen würde."

the depths of Russia.

The Poles, however, conducting themselves with dignity and aloofness towards the new invaders, skilfully and determinedly opposed these measures, holding fast to their faith that the further course of the war would soon put an end to them. And, as a matter of fact, the Russians had scarcely inaugurated their policy, when, in June 1915 they were compelled to abandon Lwów, whence they carried with them some of the leading citizens as hostages. The Austrian armies then returned.

This return did not, however, terminate the city's sufferings during the war. It was followed by the ruthless rule of the Austrian soldiery, characterized by requisitions and arrests, and bringing economic misery in its train. The City Council was not allowed to speak. Politically also the situation changed fundamentally. Austria became inclined to save itself by means of peace in the east, which, indeed, was signed, also by the Germans, at Brest Litovsk on February 9, 1918. The district of Chełm in former Russian Poland was ceded to the Ukraine, and the division of Galicia was promised (1), whereby the Poles were to be deprived of all rights, and their place was to be taken by German protégés, the Ukrainians.

Lwów protested violently and with bloodshed against these outrages, which were directed against Red Ruthenia in particular, but also against the territorial integrity of Poland. The population turned out into the streets, which for whole weeks became the scene of great demonstrations of protest, conflicts with the police and murders of Polish youths by German soldiers—the patriotic movement being once again led by the young men. By these demonstrations the city made it clear that every invader was its foe and that of Poland. But recently it had been fighting against the insolence of the Russian; now that he had gone, it turned with no less passion against the German and the Austrian.

At length the turn of military events came to the city's relief. Beaten at the front and split from within, the Hapsburg empire and its German allies drew to their final catastrophe; while ever more clearly loomed the coming resurgence of the Polish State, free and independent, to which Lwów, after long years of servitude, was to return.

But when, the power of Germany and Austria being finally broken in November 1918, most other districts and towns in Poland again became integral parts of the restored Republic, Lwów was exposed to a different fate—under which it acted once more in accordance with its ancient tradition. Its return to Poland was to be accomplished through the path of sacrifice, by its own efforts, consecrated by the blood of its citizens.

The struggle into which Lwów was now forced, when, after

(1) Cf. John W. Wheeler-Bennett, *Brest Litovsk*, London 1939, p. 220.

all the misfortunes of four years, it was on the threshold of freedom, was due to a masterpiece of perfidy on the part of the Austrians, already beaten in the war. For the Austrian authorities, before evacuating the town, took advantage of the general confusion and the absence of any organized Polish armed forces, to conclude a secret agreement with the Ukrainian organizations, whereby, after having concentrated some mainly Ukrainian formations there, they handed over to them war material and enabled them to make themselves masters of the town.

So it came about that Lwów, after the collapse of the two secular oppressors of Poland, namely Germany and Russia, was driven into a most painful and unwelcome conflict with a people near akin, which was incited to it by the common enemy. (1)

The three-weeks' struggle which followed (November 1 to 22, 1918) has passed into history under the name of the Defence of Lwów (*Obrona Lwowa*). Defence, it should be noted, not attack. The Poles were fallen upon unawares by night in the centre of the city, and spontaneously rose in self-defence, and in defence of their city, which had been Polish for almost six hundred years. They defended it in a manner unexampled before, without arms, with their bare fists, ancient pistols and fowling-pieces, swords of office, or sabres hung as mementoes on the walls. After a time they captured machine guns from the regular troops. They fought for every street, house by house. They fought alone without help, which the newly restored Poland was not yet in a position to send. They fought in the dark days of autumn, without water, dying of hunger; for the lighting installations were destroyed and the water cut off, and the food supply was interrupted. Women fought, and doddering old men, workmen, priests, officials, uni-

(1) It is not the aim of the present work to throw light on Polish-Ruthenian relations (or Polish-Ukrainian; the term Ukraine, Ukrainian as applied to Red Ruthenia came into use only at the end of the XIX and beginning of the XX cent.). For further information on the subject the English reader may be referred to the following works, where the material, relating to both the pre-war and post-war periods, is presented impartially, though very generally:—

1. Hill, Ninian, *Poland and the Polish Question. Impressions and Afterthoughts*, London 1915. 335 pp.
2. Phillips, W. Alison, *Poland*, London 1915. 256 pp.
3. Boswell, Alex. Bruce, *Poland and the Poles*, London 1919. 313 pp.
4. Patterson, Eric James, *Poland*, London 1934. 152 pp.
5. Paprocki, Stanislas J., *Minority Affairs and Poland. An informative outline*, Warsaw 1935. 184 pp.
6. McLaren, Moray, *A Wayfarer in Poland*, London 1934. 205 pp.
7. Newman, Bernard, *Pedalling Poland*, London 1935. 308 pp.
8. Machray, Robert, *The Poland of Pilsudski*, London 1936. 508 pp.
9. Buell, Raymond Leslie, *Poland: Key to Europe*, London 1939. 358 pp.
10. Rose, William J., *Poland*, London 1939. 254 pp.
11. Reddaway, W. F., *Marshal Pilsudski*, London 1939. 334 pp.
12. McBride, Robert, *Towns and People of Modern Poland*, London 1939. 255 pp.
13. Newman, Bernard, *The Story of Poland*, London 1940. 288 pp.
14. *The Cambridge History of Poland. From Augustus II to Pilsudski (1697-1935)*, Cambridge 1941. xvi. + 630 pp.

It should be pointed out that the Supplement (1863-1923) written by Valentine J. O'Hara to the second edition of the now out-of-date *Poland* by W. R. Morfill (London 1923. xii + 441 pp.) treats the subject of Polish-Ukrainian relations between 1918 and 1923 in a manner inconsistent with the truth. This is to be explained by the fact that the writer drew his material exclusively from Ukrainian sources, as he admits on p. 388.

versity students, schoolboys, poor folk, and street arabs; in fact, everyone who could hold a gun. Twelve-year-old boys fired shots in earnest: mere children, for whom it was difficult to lift the gun to the shoulder, and afterwards their youthful breasts were decorated with the highest award for valour which their country had to bestow: the Cross *Virtuti Militari*. In the Cemetery of the Defenders of Lwów, honoured by the whole of Poland, rest about 150 officers, over a hundred non-commissioned officers, and more than 2,000 other ranks, including 500 boys and women.

These deeds have been related by various English authors who have written about Lwów, such as Bernard Newman, who says: "Lwów is overwhelmingly Polish, and could not be surrendered to the Ukrainians. A volunteer army was immediately formed of old men and boys. These, scantily armed, manned the defences of the city; but as they fell there were no reserves to take their places. Yet it is an ancient tradition in Poland that the woman's place in war is not only the hospital ward, or even at the plough. Reinforcements marched into the trenches of Lwów: companies of women and girls. Thousands of them fought as gallantly as their men; hundreds of them died on the field of battle. There is in Lwów a cemetery, sacred throughout Poland, where the defenders of Lwów lie. Among them are the graves of the women soldiers of Poland. It was from this cemetery that the body of Poland's Unknown Warrior was selected, and by this choice the memorial in Warsaw is rendered unique in Europe, quite apart from its other claims. For who knows? Suppose the choice in the Lwów war cemetery had chanced to fall on a woman!" (1) And the Cambridge History of Poland: "Against the Ukrainians . . . the Poles could perform miracles of valour, enthusiasm, and organization. . . While the Poles of Lwów were fighting for their city and their lives against the Ukrainians, Warsaw could do no more than beg Cracow to send them help." (2)

Marshal Piłsudski, in a lecture delivered at Lwów in 1923, thus explained why Lwów, alone among Polish cities, had been honoured with the Cross for Valour: "Here one had to fight every day for hope, to fight every day for strength to endure. . . The population became an army, the army became the population. . . And when I, as military arbiter, empowered to bestow rewards and distinctions on individuals, thought of the campaign of Lwów, I regarded the great services of your city as if I had before me a single composite soldier, a good soldier, and I decorated Lwów with the Cross of the Order *Virtuti Militari*, so that you are the only city in Poland which has received that Order from my hands as Commander-in-Chief, for its work in war and for its endurance." (3)

(1) Newman, Bernard, *The Story of Poland*, p. 126.

(2) *Camb. Hist. Poland*, p. 492.

(3) Piłsudski, Józef, *Obrona Lwowa*. (Lecture given at Lwów on August 7, 1923). *Pisma wybrane* (Selected Writings), p. 293.

The Defence of Lwów became, as we have said, famous. For future generations it became a lesson in devotion and heroism, while for the historian it passed into a memory wreathed with legendary laurels. It was described in schoolbooks, it stimulated the imagination of poets, painters, musicians, sculptors, and novelists. It was regarded by foreigners as an exceptional manifestation of the power of the spirit, whereby 'the people of Lwów bore witness to the Polish character of their city.' (1)

Marshal Foch, in a speech made in the University on the occasion of his visit to Lwów in 1923, thus summed up the political effects of the defence of the city:

'At the moment when the frontiers of Europe were being drawn, and the question, what were to be the boundaries of the new Poland, was being acridly discussed, Lwów answered in a loud voice, 'Poland is here!' (2)

It should, further, not be forgotten that the example given by Lwów in its fight for freedom inspired not only admiration in foreigners, but also a desire to take active part in the further stages of the struggle. To Lwów came, for example, a squadron of American airmen bearing the name of Kosciuszko, under the leadership of Captain Fontleroy, and gave valuable aid to the Lvovians in their struggle. Many of these airmen perished in defence of the town, and now rest in the Cemetery of the Defenders, where a monument was erected to their memory.

Such were the circumstances under which Lwów returned to a free Poland after a century and a half of political servitude.

This does not mean that after three weeks' fighting within the city there followed immediate peace, with the possibility of rebuilding the devastated city undisturbed. The siege lasted for almost half a year more (till the end of April 1919), since the enemy, though driven beyond the octroi-limits of the city, yet surrounded it and bombarded it unceasingly, in an effort to starve it out and break down the resistance of its people by constant attacks which threatened to penetrate to the centre.

However, the unbending determination and constant watchfulness of the townspeople successfully repelled these attacks, though under the greatest difficulties and with the greatest sacrifices. In the spring of 1919, the siege was at last raised and the besiegers thrown back beyond the Zbruch, which marked the Polish-Russian frontier.

After the cessation of warlike operations, and more particularly after the authorization of Poland, by the Allied Supreme Council, to take possession of Galicia up to the Zbruch (June 25, 1919), it seemed that the city might at last return to a normal course of life. But it had to make one more great military effort before that was possible.

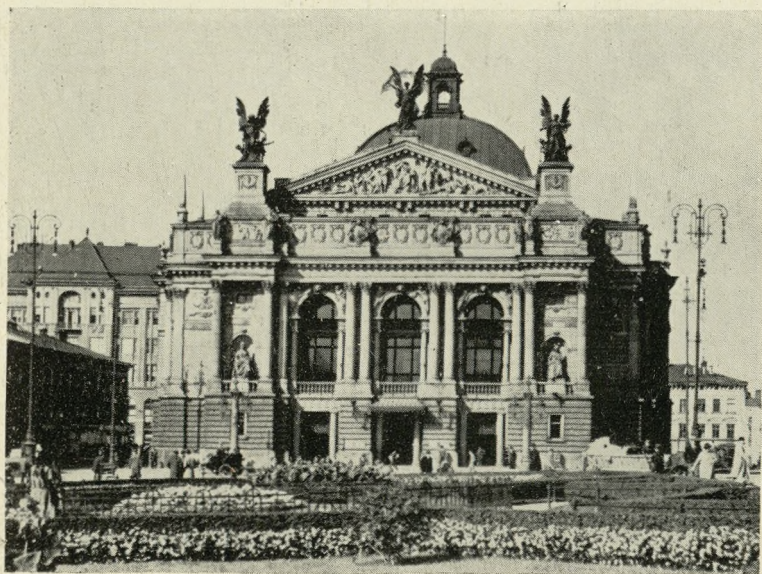
When the Soviet armies penetrated into the interior of

(1) *Enciclopedia Italiana*, Vol. XX (1933). p. 933.

(2) Quoted by Wasylewski, *op. cit.*, p. 8.



THE GALICIAN DIET,
At present the Main University Building.



MUNICIPAL THEATRE.



THE GOVERNOR'S PALACE AND CARMELITE CHURCH.
(From an engraving of early XIX Century.)



A FRAGMENT OF THE RACŁAWICE PANORAMA

Poland, to the very outskirts of Warsaw, Lwów was again directly threatened. Again it prepared with desperate determination to defend its newly-won freedom, raising regiments of volunteers and calling its citizens to arms. The raids of Budienny's cavalry all but reached the suburbs. At Zadwórze, near Lwów, the Lvovians fought a bloody, but victorious battle against the invaders, falling in swathes on the threshold of the city, and blocking the way with a wall of living breasts. (1) This battle-field at Zadwórze was visited annually by large numbers of pilgrims, who wreathed the graves of the heroes with flowers in gratitude for the saving of the city from capture.

The successful conclusion of warlike operations against Russia in the autumn of 1920 at last gave Lwów the ardently desired conditions for peaceful reconstruction, after six years' uninterrupted experience of the horrors of war.

Politically, however, that is to say as far as international recognition was concerned, the position of Lwów and Red Ruthenia was not even yet determined. The Allied Supreme Council at the end of 1919 put forward a proposal attributed to Mr Lloyd George, that the town and province should be assigned to Poland only for twenty-five years, during which time they should be under the supervision of the League of Nations, and that after that their allegiance should be determined by a plebiscite. The mere announcement of such a proposal called forth violent demonstrations of surprise, protest, and anger from the Lvovians, who had thrown their whole existence into the scale and made the greatest sacrifices in order to return to their Polish allegiance.

The Polish-Russian peace treaty of Riga, signed on March 18, 1921, definitely established the frontier, which ran along the line of the Zbruch, and the Russian plenipotentiary Joffe repeated several times in the presence of the head of the Polish delegation, Jan Dabski, that Russia had no intention of raising the "East-Galician Question." (2)

The question was definitely settled on March 15, 1923, when the Allied Supreme Council took a decision recognizing the line fixed by the Treaty of Riga as the boundary between Poland and Russia.

These years of diplomatic indecision had not, however, prevented the city of Lwów from setting about the task of reconstruction.

The task was enormous, and although undertaken in favourable circumstances, under free institutions, presented serious and very complicated problems.

For Lwów, as after the long years of warfare in the seven-

(1) Noelting, op. cit., p. 119: "Die Jahre 1919/20 bringen erbitterte Kämpfe mit den Ukrainern und Bolschewiken, an denen die Jugend Lembergs heldenmüthigen Anteil nimmt. 14-jährige Kinder, die von ihren Müttern mit Waffen ausgerüstet werden, verteidigen und retten die Stadt."

(2) Dabski, Jan, *Pokój Ryski*, Warsaw 1931, p. 105.

teenth century, rose like a Lazarus, exhausted and miserable. Its buildings were riddled with bullets, and for years had been out of repair. Intellectual, social, and economic life were at a standstill; the ordinary processes of cultural growth had been checked. The town required a considerable time to convalesce, and above all it needed the anxious care and the material help of the new Republic.

This, however, was what the Republic could not give. It was itself poor, and its territory was ravaged by war. It had itself only just risen from the tomb, and had to build up a new life from the foundations, in extensive areas now only reunited after a century of partition. Furthermore, although well aware of the needs of Lwów, it was compelled itself to have recourse to the city for advice and help in the reconstructive period. For it should be remembered that in the other sections of Poland it had been impossible during the period of political servitude to develop any substitute for government institutions, which might now be adopted and adapted to suit the wants of a new State. On the other hand, Lwów and the former Austrian-occupied area had been able to create such institutions during the constitutional period. It possessed a nucleus of trained officials qualified to administer any branch of a modern bureaucratic government; and, further, it possessed an invaluable stock of experience. It possessed, finally, capable politicians, economists, and social workers, trained at the university or the college of engineering.

All these forces, strengthened by helpers from outside, ought to have been used for the reconstruction of the city and Red Ruthenia, so heavily visited as they had been by years of war. But things turned out otherwise. Once again local interests had to yield to the interest of the State as a whole.

Throughout the period of renewed independence Lwów stripped itself bare and gave away to the other sections of Poland, to Warsaw, Poznań, Gdynia, and Wilno, its own cultural and economic wealth, in the shape of its most capable men, who took their places everywhere among the leading builders of the State.

(1) The extent of Lwów's contributions to the cause of Poland as a whole may be judged from the fact that in later years, when the State was already beginning to flourish, the Lvovians felt themselves under the necessity, in mere self-defence, of putting a check on the migratory tendencies of their fellows, which

(1) Cf. Boswell, Alexander Bruce, *The Survival of Polish Civilization*, p. 28. The author, speaking of the shortage of qualified men for administration and educational services in the new State, says: "The staffing of these institutions was difficult at first, but before a younger generation had grown up, the Galician Polish institutions supplied the needs of the other areas."

Cf. also Mankowski, Tadeusz, *Życie naukowe współczesnego Lwowa (Nauka Polska, Vol. XIX)*, Warsaw 1934, p. 169: "The relation of Lwów to the other study-centres, and in particular to the other university towns of Poland, has always been that rather of a giver than of a receiver; it has spread knowledge and learning abroad through the country rather than absorbed it, and not only humanistic learning, but also modern science."

threatened to lead to a too wholesale "evacuation" of the city.

The reconstruction of the State brought with it, of necessity, a complete change in the status of Lwów among Polish towns. The favourable conditions for general development which Galicia had enjoyed for the thirty or forty years before the war of 1914-18, had enabled Lwów to accumulate a store of creative energy, which made it into something like an intellectual, political, and economic capital of Poland. Besides, it was the actual capital of a large Polish province, corresponding to the Austrian-occupied area, and in it were centred all the offices concerned with the administration and planning of public life. The consciousness of this special status of their city had its effects, psychological and sociological, on the behaviour of the citizen, and consequently on the outward aspect of the city.

The year 1918 brought a fundamental change. For its incorporation within the boundaries of the resurgent Republic Lwów had to pay a high price, not only in blood and the sacrifice of lives, but also in the surrender of the position it had had and the part it had played in the political life of Poland, as capital of a large province.

The centre of Polish life could not now be elsewhere than in Warsaw, which attracted to itself continually the forces that in the course of thirty or forty years had built up the prosperity and encouraged the enterprise of Lwów.

Simultaneously Lwów surrendered its position as the capital of Galicia, a country of over 30,000 square miles in extent, with a population of over 8 millions, and became one of seventeen seats of voievodships: i.e. chief town of an area of about 11,000 square miles, inhabited by a population of 3 millions. Though the third city in Poland in point of size (after Warsaw and Łódź), its formal status in the scheme of local government was no higher than that of little Nowogródek to the north, of Równe in Volhynia, or of Kielce in central Poland.

This inevitable development forced the Lvovians to direct their attention to fresh possibilities of growth, and to determine the rôle which their city should play in the new conditions of its existence.

This rôle was not a new one. Its roots were deep in the old tradition of Lwów as a city with the "right of emporium" in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries; a privilege which, in its turn, was rooted in the unchanging geographical position of the city. Though broken by the barriers artificially raised during the period of political servitude, the tradition made itself felt again the moment that Poland regained its independence.

It should be remembered that Lwów was and always will be a natural mart, situated as it is exactly half-way along the trade-route connecting the Baltic with the Black Sea. Moreover, it lies on the great European watershed. To the north of it, all the

water-courses flow into the Bug, which is a tributary of the Vistula, which has its outlet to the Baltic. To the south of it, all the waters of the Dniester basin flow into the Black Sea. Geologically the Vistula slope is more extensive than the Dniester slope, and in former times the region of Lwów, though more developed towards the east, was naturally drawn to the centres of higher culture in the north and west, where the population was denser and the economic level higher, and which physiographically formed part of Poland.

Such a situation, on the border between different geographical regions, each of which had its own marked characteristics, meant that the town was at the crossroads from which radiated routes whose course was mapped out by nature. Nine railways run from Lwów main station in nine different directions (to Cracow, Jaworów, Rejowiec, Kowel with a branch to Łuck and Kiwerce, Podwołoczyska, Podhajce, Sniatyn, Ławoczne, and Sianki). Through Lwów, also, passes the shortest air route connecting the Baltic with the Aegean at Salonica (1,290 miles); while aircraft travelled from Lwów to Warsaw in an hour and twenty-five minutes.

These geographical factors, accordingly, pointed the way for the future development of Lwów and indicated its peculiar position in independent Poland. This was to form an economic link between Poland and south-eastern Europe, to play an important part in building up an economic area in that part of the European continent which should form an organic whole with mutually dependent parts; and further to become a radiating point for the peaceful processes of civilization, serving the welfare and raising the standard of life of the area's population.

It can easily be seen that the realization of this new-old plan required a longer period of peaceful work and immeasurably more material resources than twenty years under the restored Republic could provide. None the less, much was done to push it forward, by a series of important undertakings.

In the first place the old Polish idea was revived of joining the Vistula and the Dniester by a canal, and so completing a waterway between the Baltic and the Black Sea. The way was prepared by launching the scheme in the press and in technical publications; by special preparatory studies on the part of Lvovian technicians and economists; and by serious debates in the Polish Diet; with the result that the plan would soon have been realized, but for the catastrophe of 1939.

A second undertaking was the establishment, immediately after the cessation of warlike operations and the conclusion of peace with Russia, of the Eastern Fair (in 1921). Medieval Lwów, as we have seen, possessed the "right of emporium," which enabled it to arrange a constant display of economic products of Poland on the one hand, and of western as well as of

south-eastern Europe, and even Asia Minor, on the other. After the partition of 1772 it endeavoured for some time to replace this institution by another, the so-called "Lwów Contracts": great annual fairs which provided a meeting-place for the whole community of Red Ruthenia and brightened the social life of the city. Still, this was only a local enterprise, hampered by the difficult political conditions. At the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries the idea was revived, in the form of a series of imposing exhibitions, illustrating the economic activities of the city and the province. But it was only when Poland regained its independence that conditions became such as to enable the enterprise to be developed on a wide, indeed, an international, scale.

The aims of the Eastern Fair were as follows: (1) To make, multiply, and maintain economic contacts between Poland and other countries; (2) economically to unite the various sections of Poland which had been separated for a century and more; (3) to promote knowledge of Poland, both within the country and outside its limits; (4) to increase consumption, equalize prices, spread modern methods of production, and advertise commercial products; and (5) to support handicrafts, cottage industries, and folk art. In addition, shows and fairs were held of cattle, horses, sheep, poultry, silks, pisciculture, apiculture, fruit-growing, gardening, forestry, grain, seeds, home-grown wines, and agricultural machinery and implements.

The Fair was held annually on a specially laid out ground on one of the hills looking down on the town; and for eighteen years (till 1938 inclusive) it attracted increasing numbers of exhibitors and visitors, Polish and foreign. About 200,000 people passed through it each year; the turnover amounted to millions of zlotys, and the exhibits proved that Poland's economic progress, trade, industry, and handicrafts prospered and gave grounds for the most optimistic hopes.

Almost every country in Europe had its stall at the Fair, and the relations between Poland and the rest became increasingly close from year to year. It was natural and traditional that these relations should be particularly close and active with the countries of south-eastern Europe, the Balkans, and the Near East. The pioneer example of the Eastern Fair was quickly followed by other Polish towns, but the Lwów Fair remained until 1939 the largest, most popular, and most representative in Poland.

Situated as the city is in the centre of a markedly agricultural region, with no rivers or coal deposits, it had hitherto been unable to develop any large-scale industry. Those sources of energy which might have been utilized were insufficiently exploited. The oil deposits in the sub-Carpathians were exhausted

in the Austrian time and there were no new ones. In 1918, however, just as the country was entering on its period of independence, unexpected possibilities opened for the development of industry at Lwów owing to the discovery of deposits of natural gas at Daszawa, near Stryj, some 40 miles to the south of the city. Natural gas is, of course, a very rich source of heat and power, and can be harnessed to great industrial projects. It is cheaper than coal and competes successfully with it. The Daszawa deposits proved to be very extensive, and borings made in the neighbourhood pointed to the likelihood of the discovery of further ones, no less abundant. A pipe-line brought the gas from Daszawa to Lwów, which was thus provided with a new source of power, capable of making it into an industrial centre on a scale hitherto unsuspected.

The problems to be faced by the local-government authorities were likewise far-reaching. It should be emphasized that, notwithstanding the loss of its position as capital of Galicia, Lwów did not cease during the period 1918-39 to be the economic capital of the south-eastern section of Poland, comprising the three voivodeships of Lwów, Tarnopol, and Stanisławów.

The economic direction of all this section was centred at Lwów, where it was organized in three chambers: of agriculture, of handicrafts, and of industry and commerce respectively. At Lwów also were the central colleges of the professions: advocates, notaries, physicians, chemists, engineers. Insurance companies, co-operative societies, banks, the State Mineral Oil Refinery, the Potash Exploitation Company producing potash fertilizers on a large scale, and other such institutions, in the twenty years of independence worked out the forms and paths of development, economic, professional, and social, in spite of the obstacles resulting from the hundred and fifty years of Austrian rule, and the difficulties of the long economic and financial depression which followed the war. Many of these obstacles and difficulties had been overcome, and the paths of social and economic progress required for the advancement of the State as a whole were clearly sketched out, when the catastrophe of 1939 supervened.

Similarly the local-government authorities stood up to the above-mentioned difficulties, which were still further increased by the devastation of the city by the war, and the efflux of its hoarded cultural resources to other sections of the country. The task of reconstruction was all the more serious, that by the incorporation of outlying suburbs the population of the city had been considerably increased. In 1919 it amounted to 318,000. The preparation of a worthy plan for the rebuilding of the wrecked centre of the city, and for its future development and the provision of all the institutions and utilities required to meet modern needs, demanded both time and means. The time of peace

granted by fate was short; the available means were modest. Admittedly, in town-planning and urban development other Polish cities, and particularly Warsaw, out-distanced Lwów in the period between 1918 and 1939.

None the less, progress at Lwów was more visible with every passing year. The city's visible wounds were healed over, the houses which had been riddled with bullets and shell-splinters were repaired, and new public buildings were erected, especially such as might serve the needs of social welfare and hygiene. Swimming baths were built, and new sports fields laid out, in the old tradition whereby Lwów was the cradle of physical training and sport in Poland. (The Lwów clubs had taken the lead in securing that Poland should be well represented in light athletics and football at successive Olympic Games). In 1930 a fifty-kilowatt broadcasting station was set up to provide the surrounding district with instruction, entertainment, and music.

But the main ornament and pride of Lwów throughout the half-century preceding the outbreak of war in 1914 was its abundant literary and scientific activity, carried on in the various Institutes of higher learning, the Literary and Scientific Society, and above all, at the University.

During the war years this activity was, perforce, interrupted, but after the restoration of Poland it rose again to a high level and for twenty years was perhaps the most striking characteristic of Lvovian life.

It will be worth our while to make a short survey of its results, as expressed in the researches of the leading Lwów scholars and men of science. (1)

In the wide field of Polish studies Lwów, with its long and rich tradition, which records the names of such men as Antoni Małcki, Roman Pilat, Piotr Chmielowski, Wilhelm Bruchnalski, and Józef Kallenbach, united Polish scholars from all over the country and distinguished itself by the methodical variety of its researches, which were centralized in the Mickiewicz Literary Society, sponsors of the most important quarterly journal of Polish Studies, the *Pamiętnik Literacki*. Besides the history of literature, Polish and Slavonic Philology was professed by Jan Nitsch, Henryk Ułaszyn, and Tadeusz Lehr-Spławinski.

If we turn to the study of Polish History, we find the Polish Historical Society, founded at Lwów in 1886, bringing together all the historians of Poland, and publishing Polish historical studies in its organ, the *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, first issued in 1887. Besides political history (among whose writers Ludwik Finkel, Szymon Askenazy, and Stanisław Zakrzewski stand out), the social and economic history of Poland was given a research institute of its own in 1919, directed by Franciszek Bujak.

The study of classical Philology was actively promoted by

(1) Details from Mankowski, op. cit.

Stanisław Witkowski, Ryszard Ganszyniec, and Jerzy Kowalski, through the medium of a number of publications, both strictly scientific and popular. The influence of this school made itself felt throughout Poland and in other Slavonic countries; and Czechs, Yugoslavs, and Russians contributed articles in Latin or French to *Łos*, the organ of the Polish Philological Society, founded at Lwów at the end of the nineteenth century. These Lwów philologists were true humanists, who did not lose sight of poetry and art, the love of which gave its colouring to their scientific work.

Lwów was the pioneer of Oriental Studies in modern Poland. In 1922 it saw the foundation of the Polish Society of Oriental Studies, and in 1926 that of the Oriental Institute at the University, which, besides Biblical Studies and Eastern Comparative Philology (professed by Father Aleksy Klawek and Jerzy Kuryłowicz respectively) comprised three chairs for Near Eastern, Indian, and Central and East Asian Studies, occupied by W. Stasiak, by the Sanskrit and Indian scholar Andrzej Gawronski, and by Władysław Kotwicz, known for his researches into the Altai dialects, respectively. The lecturers of Oriental Languages were also active, and the results of research were published in three periodicals, the *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, the *Biblioteka Wschodnia*, and the *Collectanea Orientalia*. Oriental Studies at Lwów were closely connected with the general plan, whereby Lwów, in the new political conditions, was to be a link between Poland on the one hand and south-eastern Europe and Asia Minor on the other.

Lwów was a centre of contemporary Polish Philosophy, greatly promoted by Kazimierz Twardowski, an able methodologist and organizer of philosophical studies, and particularly of the study of Logic and Psychology. Indeed, a number of remarkable Polish philosophers of the last period have been either creators or *alumni* of the Lwów school: Mscisław Wartenberg, Władysław Witwicki, Jan Łukasiewicz, Tadeusz Kotarbinski, Roman Ingarden, Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz, which acquired for itself a name in the world of science. The Polish Philosophical Society, founded in 1904, with its chief office at Lwów, was responsible for the publication of the *Ruch Filozoficzny* (from 1911), and *Studia Philosophica*.

In the field of Sociology again Lwów has accomplished much in the course of the last twenty years. The Natural Science direction taken by the school of Anthropology at the University, and its statistical methods, have influenced the work of a number of European scholars. A pioneer in this field was Jan Czekanowski, well-known for his researches into Central Africa anthropology, carried out during a scientific expedition in 1907 and 1908, and for his writings on the prehistory of the Slavs, and the anthropology of Poland. Lwów ethnographers and prehistorians

have made a systematic survey of the folklore and prehistory of the south-east section of Poland, recording their results in monographs and in their periodical, *Lud*, which has been issued since 1895 by the Polish Ethnological Society (*Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze*).

In the field of Geography special attention was paid, under the direction of Eugenjusz Romer, to practical and mathematical cartography. There was a Cartographic Institute, which published a Polish Cartographic Review (*Polski Przegląd Kartograficzny*); while the Geographical Institute carried on regional research in the three south-eastern voivodeships, and the Geographical Society published its Geographical Magazine (*Czasopismo Geograficzne*), much space in which was always devoted to Polish political geography. Finally, the Institute of Geophysics and Meteorology carried on climatological research.

In the sphere of jurisprudence the chief place was taken by the History of Polish Law, supported on rich archives in the possession of the city: more particularly the so-called District, or Bernardine, Archives, founded in 1784, a veritable mine of historical materials relating to the district of Lwów. Research was directed principally to the political and constitutional side of Polish legal history, and the results were published in a series of excellent works, which not only are unrivalled in their own field, but find no analogues in other Slavonic countries. The pioneer here was that great scholar Oswald Balzer, whose voluminous synthetic works have given Poland a proper conception of the original, constructive characteristics of its constitution from the dawn of its history until the eighteenth-century Partitions. After his death, these researches were continued by his pupils.

The Lwów professors of Civil Law, Ernest Till and Roman Longchamps de Berrier, strongly influenced the work of the Polish Codification Commission in drawing up their code of obligations, commercial law, and law of inheritance; while the Lwów Criminal Lawyers, led by Juljusz Makarewicz, the author of a first-rate work on the essence of crime, similarly influenced the provisions of the new Polish criminal code, particularly as regards the establishment of special institutions for abnormal and incorrigible criminals. The Polish Juridical Society (*Polskie Towarzystwo Prawnicze*) at Lwów, founded in 1868, had its influence on new legislation. Its work was published in the quarterly Review of Law and Administration (*Przegląd Prawa i Administracji*), founded in 1876. Both Roman and Canon Law had a fine tradition at Lwów, the former through the studies of Leon Pininski and Marcelli Chłamtacz; whereas Władysław Abraham laid the foundations for a synthesis of the history of the Church in Poland.

Theology possessed not only numerous chairs at the Uni-

versity, but also the Cathedral Chapter Library (of sixteenth and seventeenth century works). There was a Theological Society, and a series of publications, *Collectanea Theologica*, of international range.

In the field of the exact sciences the Lwów school of the Theory of Operational Functions was distinguished, as well as its work on the Theory of Trigonometrical and Orthogonal Series done by Stefan Banach and Hugo Steinhaus. *Studia Mathematica*, published in foreign languages, was a scientific periodical dealing with special problems in the theory of functional operations. The Lwów mathematicians received the highest scientific honours from both the State and the Cracow Academy of Sciences.

Passing to the Natural Sciences, we find that there were altogether seventeen Biological Institutes at the Lwów University, College of Engineering, and Veterinary College. There were also a number of experimental stations: the Copernicus Natural Science Society (*Towarzystwo Przyrodnicze im. Kopernika*), founded in 1875, publishing the quarterly *Kosmos*, the Polish Entomological Union; and societies which promoted practical as well as scientific ends, such as the Polish Forestry Society (with its periodical, *Sylvan*), the Horticultural Society of Lesser Poland (publishing the Horticultural Review—*Przegląd Ogrodniczy*), the Lesser Polish Bee-Keeping Union (publishing the Progressive Bee-Keeper—*Bartnik Postępowy*), the Polish Dendrological Society, or the Polish Zootechnical Society. All these originated at Lwów and, reaching as they did a high level of scientific research, exercised great influence on the growth of biological studies throughout Poland.

In the realm of Geology, Petrography, and Mineralogy, Rudolf Zuber early undertook serious and fruitful enterprises, such as research into the stratigraphy of the Carpathians. Practical geology was also studied by Wojciech Rogala and applied in the oil industry, whose centre was not far from Lwów. Mineralogists such as Julian Tokarski studied rocks and raw minerals (such as the phosphorite deposits in Podolia), manganese, graphite, and the mineral springs at Czarnohora, at the extreme south-eastern tip of Poland.

In chemistry, theoretical and practical problems were studied in combination, particularly when so valuable a raw material as petroleum was in question. Researches were conducted, under the direction of Stanisław Pilat (later shot by the Germans), into the separation of naphthous acids from petroleum products and sulphur acids, and their practical use. The manufacture of potash (T. Kuczynski), the chlorination of natural gas (by Edward Sucharda), the technology of the brewing industry (Adam Joszt), the technology of dye-stuffs (Wacław Lesnianski): all these have been subjects of Lwów chemical research, in connection with the

natural resources of south-eastern Poland.

Lwów medical research was directed chiefly to the fields of biology and parasitology. Studies of the ætiology and epidemiology of typhus were distinguished by their original method of cultivating the typhus bacillus, and the Lwów typhus vaccine has been used in combating typhus in different parts of the world. Researches concerning the typhus bacillus were carried out in the laboratory of its discoverer, Professor Rudolf Weigl, and with the use of his material. Accordingly, bacteriologists of European fame made the journey to Lwów in order to acquaint themselves with his discovery. Its modest means allowed the Lwów laboratory to produce no more than some two or three hundred doses of vaccine monthly.

In other branches of medicine the achievement of Professor Jakób Parnas in determining the process of ammoniogenesis in the blood and its dependence on the proper supply of oxygen to the liver is worthy of notice. In the field of experimental pharmacology Włodzimierz Koskowski, at present Chairman of the Polish Red Cross in London, initiated researches into the characteristics of the red corpuscles of the blood, which are the elements which carry the hormones. This type of research suggested to scientists the conception of the dynamic of the blood, and enabled them to determine the types of fever.

The Lwów Medical Society, founded in 1867, possessed a large library and published the only medical weekly circulating all over the country, the Polish Medical Gazette (*Polska Gazeta Lekarska*). The Polish Society of Veterinary Medicine was also active. (1)

During the last twenty years of independence the Lwów College of Engineering was extended by the addition of a department of agriculture and forestry, while the Polish Polytechnical Society, founded in 1877, continued to play an important part in training technicians and developing technical knowledge in accordance with the requirements of modern life. In the years immediately preceding the present war the field of activity of the College was constantly extending, and new buildings had been erected in which it was intended to house a laboratory of aerodynamics. The growth of the College in these years was greatly promoted by the labours of Kazimierz Bartel, author of a work on pictorial perspective and several times premier of Poland, afterwards shot by the Germans.

The above survey will have shown that the great majority

(1) It should be further mentioned that Lwów was the centre of Polish balneology. It was the scene of the first Polish Balneological Congress, and for a number of years was the seat of the Polish Union of Spas. The most notable medicinal springs in its neighbourhood are at Truskawiec, Lubien Wielki, Niemirów, Szkoło, and particularly Morszyn, a mountain spring impregnated with sulphate of sodium (Glauber's salts), discovered in 1538. The lovely watering-places in the valley of the Prut, Jaremcze, Mikuliczyn, and Worochta, were visited by hundreds of thousands of summer visitors annually from all over Poland and from other countries.

of scientific institutes and societies at Lwów extended the range of their activities to the whole of Poland and had a direct influence on development of Polish science as a whole, and not infrequently on science abroad also. This was well understood by the Lvovians themselves, who were proud of the various and many-sided scientific activities of their city, and gave them more than sentimental support. A few years before the catastrophe the President of the Lwów Literary and Scientific Society, in his annual report, made mention of a simple tailor, who had contributed his mite in their support for many years.

The extensive scientific work carried on in Lwów was facilitated by the existence of numerous large libraries, collections of public records, museums, and private collections of various kinds.

The Ossolineum, constantly increased by the incorporation of private libraries from all over Poland, possessed before the war a million volumes, 8,500 manuscripts, 5,300 holographs, 2,300 maps and atlases, and 22,000 coins and medals. (1) The Ossolineum Press had published a series of books of the first importance dealing with Polish literary and political history, philosophy, and law; including the *Monumenta Typographica Poloniae XV et XVI seculorum*. It also published a number of valuable scientific periodicals, including the quarterly *Zycie Sztuki* (Life of Art), an *édition de luxe*, put together with the greatest skill and learning, with texts in various European languages, and reproductions of masterpieces of painting and sculpture. (2)

The Lwów University Library had in 1939 half a million volumes, having been enriched by the permanent deposit of the fine library of Prince Witold Kazimierz Czartoryski of Honfleur in France, containing more than 20,000 volumes, as well as by extremely rare and valuable incunabula. (3) Technical and specialist books and periodicals were also collected by individual professors in the libraries of their institutes or seminars.

In addition to these main scientific libraries there were the following humanistic collections, each of which was particularly rich in rarities of one kind or another; that of Count Dzieduszycki (50,000 volumes), that of Count Baworowski (40,000 volumes), (4) and the Municipal Library (40,000 volumes). The Library of the Lwów College of Engineering (about 100,000

(1) Cf. Rudnicki, Józef, "Epoka Ossolineum," article in *Wiadomości Polskie* (The Polish News), No. 42, 1942.—The last director of the Ossolineum, Ludwik Bernacki, publisher of Shakespeare in Polish, died under the Russian occupation.

(2) A word should be said of the works of or on English Literature published by the Ossolineum. At the head of them must be put Leon Piniski's two-volume monograph on Shakespeare, published in 1924, the 300th anniversary of the first collected edition of the dramatist's works. A book on Shakespeare was written for his students by Władysław Tarnawski, professor of the history of English literature in the University of Lwów, who also published some literary and critical sketches under the title: *Z Anglii współczesnej* (From contemporary England) in 1927. Ludwik Bernacki, Director of the Ossolineum, was the author of an exhaustive work on "Shakespeare in Poland."

(3) Rudnicki, Józef, "Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Lwowie," article in *Wiadomości Polskie*, No. 34, 1942.—The last Librarian, Rudolf Kotula, was deported to Russia in 1940 and died in a concentration camp there.

(4) Founded in 1894 by Count W. Baworowski, known as a translator of Byron.

volumes) was housed in a fine new building in 1930. ⁽¹⁾

The history of Lwów was given visual expression in the "Historical Museum of the City of Lwów," housed in the above-mentioned "Black Building," an old Renaissance structure exemplifying burgher architecture of the year 1588. This museum contained fragments of old Lvovian architecture, portraits of distinguished men connected with the place, the arms of the various guilds, coins, seals, and examples of handiwork; there was an iconographic and topographic section, with engravings and plans illustrating the growth of the town and the history of the university, theatre, and underground independence press; and finally there were memorials of the war of 1914-18, of the Defence of Lwów in 1918, and of the Polish-Bolshevik war of 1920.

In the "Royal House," another picturesque Renaissance house in the market-place is the Sobieski National Museum, containing memorials of the king of that name, and also precious examples of painting and sculpture, many of them from churches, portraits of Polish kings, sixteenth-century Polish weapons, a collection of standards captured in war, and pictures showing the martyrdom of Polish exiles in Siberia after the insurrection of 1863.

The same museum included the beautiful collections brought together by a country gentleman named Bolesław Orzechowicz, and by him presented to the town: a large collection of armour (over 6,000 pieces), a complete set of coins issued by the Lwów mint since the time of Casimir the Great in the fourteenth century, a gallery of pictures by eminent Polish and foreign artists, ancient furniture, casts in bronze, clocks, embroidery, and Polish pottery.

The Lwów National Gallery contained works of not only Polish artists but also foreign painters from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century (the Flemish, Dutch, French, Spanish, German, and English Schools all being represented), original canvases by Poland's greatest historical painter, Jan Matejko, and drawings by Artur Grottger.

In the Lubomirski Museum (founded by the Princes Lubomirski in 1823), attached to the Ossolineum, were precious examples of Polish coinage of the tenth century, coins of adjacent countries, Polish sabres from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Here also were memorials of Tadeusz Kościuszko and Prince Joseph Poniatowski, of the poet Juliusz Słowacki, of political prisoners of the Austrians and Russians, and of Masonic lodges. The attached picture gallery contained works by sixteenth and seventeenth-century Dutch and Italian painters, a male por-

(1) For the fate of the Lwów libraries since the outbreak of the present war see Danilewiczowa, Maria, *Losy bibliotek polskich*. Nauka i Wychowanie, published by the Polish Ministry of Education, Vol. III, London, 1942.

trait by Titian, and engravings by Albrecht Dürer.

Among others mention must be made of the Museum of Industrial Art, with its Polish locksmiths' work of the seventeenth century, oriental carpets, maiolica, faience, Polish and other porcelain, Polish belts, Hucul work, and folk-made *kilims*; and the Dzieduszycki Museum of prehistory, ethnography and palæontology (with its famous rhinoceros, unearthed at Starunia in the Carpathians).

It was not, moreover, only Polish scientific and cultural life which flourished at Lwów. The Ukrainians and the Jews were unhampered in their intellectual development. ⁽¹⁾

The character, cultural and scientific, of these Ukrainian institutions varied according to the tendencies and political colouring of the body of their members and the ideas influencing their foundation. During the period 1918-39 the activities of the chief Ukrainian scientific institution, the Shevchenko Scientific Society, were organized in three departments: of Philology, History and Philosophy, and Natural Science. The society published a number of valuable scientific periodicals, and possessed a library of about 150,000 volumes and archæological and ethnographic collections. It was subsidized by the corporation of Lwów as well as by the central government. ⁽²⁾

The Ukrainian National Museum at Lwów, founded in 1905, contained about 25,000 exhibits in the fields of folk-art, iconography, archæology, and numismatics.

The Stauropigia Institute contained valuable examples of Orthodox ecclesiastical art: missals, reliquaries, chasubles, and the like.

Finally, in their "Theological Scientific Society" (*Bohoslavskie Naukowe Towarystwo*), founded in 1923, the Ukrainians had a number of faculties constituting an institution of almost university rank. There were also particular Ukrainian associations: of lawyers, doctors, technicians, and those interested in

(1) Cf. Kot, Stanisław, *Five Centuries of Polish Learning*. Three Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford, May 1941. English Version by William J. Rose. Oxford 1941, pp. 42, 43: "In this atmosphere of vigour and liberty of scientific research, the efforts of the national minorities in Poland also shared. The first place among them was held by the Ukrainians, whose Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lwów stood out in the forefront. It was founded in the XIX century with Polish assistance and goodwill. It published several series of scientific works, possessed its own large library, and grouped together in a sort of Academy the majority of Ukrainian scholars. It received a monthly subsidy from the Polish Government, on the same scale as its fellow Polish societies; and apart from that it possessed a special source of income in that all State school text-books in the Ukrainian language were issued in its press. Apart from this, in order to profit from the energies of Ukrainians living in Warsaw and in the northern parts of Poland, there was founded by public funds an Ukrainian Institute in Warsaw in 1930, which became known for its publications and their high quality. The ill-feeling that remained from the struggle with the Ukrainians in East Galicia in the winter of 1918-19 made it impossible for the Polish Government to create an Ukrainian University in Lwów. The proposal to open one in Stanisławów or Tarnopol, cities where quarrels between the hot-headed groups of youth of two nationalities would not be so likely, was not accepted by the leaders of the Ukrainian parties, although this plan was never quite given up. For the time being the Universities in Warsaw and Cracow provided Ukrainian scholars with five chairs in their history, their literature, and their language."

(2) Mankowski, op.cit.

folk-art. (1)

The relations between these Ukrainian scientific institutions and their analogues in Poland were very good. They supported each other and exchanged periodicals, particularly in the field of ethnology.

The Jews, although they shared in the majority of Polish scientific and cultural institutions, fostered their own Hebraistic culture, manners and customs in a number of societies. The Jewish Museum, founded in 1934, contained examples of Hebrew art, applied art, textiles, manuscripts and pottery. The museum authorities made it their business to inventory and preserve historic Hebraic remains, synagogues, tombstones, and the like.

* * * *

From the above cross-section of the life of Lwów in the independent Polish Republic our readers may have gained an idea of the main characteristics which distinguished the city during this period of its development.

The first to strike us is the antinomy between the long and difficult struggle for freedom and the loss of rank by the town resultant on its attainment. This antinomy Lwów did its best in the space of twenty years to overcome. The blessing of freedom had to be reconciled with the loss of its old central position in Polish life, and this reconciliation could only be accomplished through a fundamental change of psychology, enabling the city to take up its old rôle of a great regional centre under modern conditions.

The process of change of which we have spoken was undoubtedly at work in Lwów throughout the twenty years from 1918 to 1939. The above outline of the city's record shows it. But it was a still unfinished process. Fully to qualify for the mission appointed it by history and its geographical situation, Lwów needed a longer period of peaceful development than Fate was prepared to grant it.

There is no doubt that the process would have been hastened and Lwów's mission in Free Poland would have become clear, had it been possible worthily to celebrate, as had been planned, the six hundredth anniversary of its incorporation with Poland.

Preparations for this great historical commemoration had been in hand for several years. Careful studies by experts, historians, and architects, had laid bare the plan of the walls and centre of the old town, and had made it possible to picture the appearance of the old market-square, the most beautiful in Poland. A monumental "House of Learning" was nearing com-

(1) Ukrainian economic and social life, and the Ukrainian press, likewise flourished at Lwów and in Red Ruthenia during the period under review. A particularly high level of development was reached by the excellent Ukrainian co-operative societies. Ukrainian newspapers and periodicals doubled in number. (In 1905 there were 52; in 1936, 121.) Details may be founded in the above-cited work by St. J. Paprocki: *Minority Affairs and Poland*, Warsaw 1935.

pletion, destined to be the headquarters of all the literary and scientific societies in the city. The 1940 Eastern Fair, organized on a scale greater than ever, was to have drawn the attention not only of Poland, but of the world, to the significance of Lwów as a road and rail junction and meeting-place of routes to the east of western Europe, connecting the Baltic with the Black Sea. Throughout the year there were to have been continuous congresses of scientists and representatives of various aspects of economic life, some Polish and others international in scope. The whole of Poland was to have visited Lwów that year, and a congress of Polish historians, together with a new monograph on the city's record, were to have given a clear and comprehensive picture of its rôle in Poland's past.

Such a survey of six hundred years of history would have at the same time marked a great step forward for the city in its relations with the now free and independent State; and it would have convinced the public of the necessity for providing it with all those means, moral and material, which would enable it to play its new part in Poland and Europe.

But amid the preparations for this great commemoration, which was at the same time to have been a landmark in the city's history, there came the fatal First of September 1939.

German bombs were showered on the city. A fresh time of trial was at hand. Following the example of their forebears the Lvovians poured into the streets to erect barricades and dig trenches. They prepared for a fresh Defence of Lwów, with grim determination, overlooking the immense disproportion between their strength and the enemy's. Once more children, women, old men, in fact, the whole populace turned out to resist the machine of total war. The surprised and enraged Germans halted their tanks at the western approaches to the city, bombarding it heavily and threatening by leaflets to level it with the ground if the inhabitants would not surrender.

This time the proud old city was not destined to ward off invasion as it had done so often in the past. After it had stubbornly resisted the Germans, it was the hosts of Russia that marched in, on September 22, 1939.



THE POLISH RESEARCH CENTRE was founded in London in April, 1940, and is governed by an Anglo-Polish Council. The Centre has been given hospitality by the Royal Institute of International Affairs at 32, Chesham Place, London, S.W.1.
