THE JEWS IN THE LITERARY LEGEND OF THE JANUARY UPRISING OF 1863: A CASE STUDY IN JEWISH STEREOTYPES IN POLISH LITERATURE

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INTRODUCTION

On the eve of the January uprising, the last of the 19th-century Polish revolts against Russia, the loyalties of Poland's Jews became an issue of substantial political importance. As the revolutionary turmoil intensified in the early 1860s, Polish separatists in Congress Poland actively sought Jewish support for their cause. Appealing directly to the Jews, the Poles promised them full equality in the independent Polish state which they hoped to restore. Subsequently, these promises appeared to be substantiated by the real improvement in the social climate. Indeed, the January insurrection, and particularly the years of political mobilization which preceded the outbreak of the armed conflict, substantially eased the tension between Poles and Jews. That tension reached its climax in the late 1850s, only to turn overnight into euphoric friendship and cooperation.

The idea of Polish-Jewish "brotherhood" was widely disseminated by the wave of patriotic demonstrations which swept through Poland in 1861-1862. Jewish participation in the demonstrations powerfully captured the Polish imagination. There were Jews among those who fell in confrontations
with the Russian army in February and April of 1861, and the Delegacia niezla, Warsaw's spontaneously elected self-governing body, included several Jewish members. Commonly perceived to be the beginning of a new chapter in relations between the two communities, the demonstrations gave birth to the peculiar ritual of "fraternizing" with the Jews. The latter included common manifestations of Polish patriotism during religious services and street demonstrations, the display of signs of mourning for Poland's lost independence, exchanges of gifts between houses of prayer, and the admission of the Jews into associations from which they had been traditionally excluded.

In fact, Jewish involvement in the insurrectionary movement was among the most peculiar features of this last Polish attempt to regain national independence. Many Polishized Jews took an active part in the anti-Russian underground and in the partisan war, while cautiously pro-Polish attitudes prevailed in fairly broad strata of Jewish society. The measures taken by the tsarist authorities to prevent the Polish-Jewish rapprochement had limited success. This is true even of such an important concession, made under the pressure of the revolutionary situation, as the new legal status granted to Polish Jews in June 1862. This bill, included in Count Wielopolski's reform package, abolished most of the legal barriers between Jews and their gentile neighbors.
The worsening Polish-Russian antagonism and the subsequent armed conflict of 1867-1864 placed the Jews in a situation which recurred a number of times in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Jewish history: between the hammer of the Empire and the anvil of the indigenous nation's aspirations for independence. A number of political, cultural and ideological factors conditioned the way in which the Jewish population attempted to find practical solutions to this uneasy choice. Prominent among these factors were two conflicting traditions: the tradition of loyalty to the Crown, which grew stronger in the pre-insurrectionary period even in hasidic circles, and the equally traditional association of broad strata of East-European Jewish society with the Polish nobility (1).

In general, pro-Polish attitudes among the Jews were most pronounced in Warsaw (where the acculturation process was most advanced) and the neighboring provinces. The tradition of loyalty to the Crown prevailed in Poland's eastern provinces, whose economic backwardness kept traditional barriers intact. From the sociological point of view, the pro-Polish orientation was strongest in the most modernized strata of Jewish society: among the members of the Jewish intelligentsia and bourgeoisie who were most exposed to Polish cultural influences. While the former frequently sided

with the radicals (Reds) who pushed for military action, those circles of the Jewish bourgeoisie which took an active part in Polish life favoured the evolutionary approach of the moderates (Whites). By contrast, the conservative, religious masses rarely identified with Polish objectives. However, the Jews of the Polish countryside, whose traditional ties to the nobleman’s manor remained strong, appear to be a frequent exception to the latter rule.

This study deals with one particular aspect of the insurrectionary episode in Polish-Jewish relations. Based on contemporary literary sources, it examines Polish perceptions of the short-lived Polish-Jewish rapprochement of the early 1860s and the Jewish role in the January insurrection. During the uprising, and particularly in the two years preceding it, the Polish-Jewish goodwill movement was enthusiastically greeted by a wave of poems, manifestos and other writings exalting the brotherhood of the “world’s two most suffering nations”. In the politically depressed decades which followed the 1864 defeat, the “Jewish” motif of 1863 became a minor but characteristic element of the uprising theme. The Jewish role in the insurrection -- now typically depicted as a confrontation between post-insurrectionary reality and earlier Polish expectations -- became incorporated into the broader literary tradition of Poland’s struggle for independence, a tradition of crucial importance to the modern national consciousness of the Poles.
Since Poland’s partitions in the late 18th century Polish belles lettres have tended to be a surrogate for national institutions. This privileged role of literature in Polish life largely accounts for the crucial role which belles lettres played in the ideological mobilization of Polish society in the 1860s. Similarly, the importance of literary interpretations in preserving the memory of the revolt and in ideologically absorbing the traumatic experience of the insurrection, can hardly be overestimated. Despite the increased political oppression (which included the Russian censorship’s ban on the discussion of the 1863 revolt (2)), the literary legend of the January uprising continued to grow (3). This growth was not hampered by the new ideological currents which crystallized in the post-insurrectionary years and were critical of Poland’s revolutionary tradition as well as of romanticism as its spiritual source. The anti-insurrectionary campaign of the conservative camp in Galicia, and the less pronounced but similar attitudes of the Warsaw Positivists, had a limited and rather shortlived im-

2) Until 1905 Russian censorship suppressed any discussion of the 1863 insurrection, forcing Polish authors to deal with the 1863 theme metaphorically or to publish abroad. The much milder Austrian censorship was further liberalized in 1866 with the extension of Galicia’s political autonomy.

3) In Polish literary criticism the notion of "literary legend" -- as a term referring to the literary legacy of the January uprising -- has been introduced by J. Krzyzanowski. It is being used here in accordance with Krzyzanowski’s definition of "literary legend" as a popular and simplified interpretation of real (or partially real) historical events which aims at promoting a particular value judgment about their subject and serves emotional rather than intellectual purposes. See J. Krzyżanowski, "Legenda literacka" in Przegląd Współczesny, 163 (1935), pp. 271-278.
pact on the evolution of the legend. The latter entered a stage of particularly rapid growth between the 25th and 50th anniversaries of the uprising (1888-1913) (4).

Contradicting the saying inter arma silent Musae, the January uprising left an enormous literary legacy which far exceeds the legacy of previous Polish insurrections in Polish literature (5). This literary heritage is as artistically uneven as it is abundant. It ranges from masterpieces such as E. Orzeszkowa's Nad Niemnem, S. Żeromski's Wierna rzeka, B. Prus' Lalka and M. Dąbrowska's Noce i dnię, to works best described as graphomaniac. Leading literary historians point to a temporary decline in the artistic quality of Polish literature, a setback which was particularly characteristic of the first decade following the defeat. They attribute this decline to the devastating blow which the failure of the January insurrection and the subsequent political depression inflicted on all aspects of Polish life (6). In the case of the 1863 theme, the abundance of mediocre lito-


5) J. Kuczyńska-Saloni, "Poezja powstania styczniowego", in Dziedzictwo literackie powstania styczniowego, Warszawa 1964, pp. 19-20

rature can also be explained in terms of the professionalization of literature and the rapid growth of the Polish press in the second half of the 19th century. As a topic bound to win a large readership the 1863 theme became an attractive focus for minor literary talents. The succeeding anniversaries of the uprising, celebrated particularly in Galicia, further encouraged the flow of apologetic works (7).

The January uprising, the most important historical event for an entire generation of Polish writers, had a tremendous impact on their work. Eliza Orzeszlowa, a leading Positivist writer who devoted much of her talent to promoting the re-channelling of social energies away from the revolutionary ideal toward the more modest values of "organic work", nevertheless acknowledged:

To wszystko uczynił ze mną i we mnie rok 1863. Gdyby nie jego młot i dłuto, losy moje byłyby najpewniej inne i prawdopodobnie nie byłabym autorką (8).

The year 1863 did all that to me and to my soul. Without its hammer and chisel my life would most certainly have taken another course. I probably would not have become a writer./

Among the writers discussed in this study the majority took an active part in the upheavals of the 1860s. A. Asnyk, J. N. rzymski, I. Maciejowski (Sewer) and Z. Miłowski (T. T. Jeż)

7) S. Frybes, "Dwie tradycje powstania styczniowego w literaturze polskiej", in Dziedzictwo powstania styczniowego, Warszawa 1964, pp. 119

8) E. Orzeszlowa, letter to M. Dubiecki from 4. III. 1907, in Listy zebrane IV, Wrocław 1958, p. 245
occupied prominent positions in the insurrectionary hierarchy. Others, like M. Romanowski, W. Sabowski, W. Łoszczyc, J. Wieniawska, A. Dygasiński, W. Przyborowski, A. Urbański, B. Prus, were among those who joined the ranks of the insurgents. J. J. J.raszewski, A. Traushar, E. Orzesłowa and many others stayed away from the battlefield but in various ways supported the insurrectionary cause. The following generation of Polish writers — S. Zeromska, A. Strug and Z. Danilowski — continue to pay tribute to, and settle accounts with, the revolutionary legacy of their fathers.

This study aims to describe the most typical Polish literary perceptions of Jewish loyalties in the years of the uprising. The inquiry is based on the Polish literary tradition and examines all available fictional sources which, in one way or another, deal with Jewish involvement in the insurrectionary movement. By comparing the earlier and later interpretations of the Jewish theme, the study also attempts to trace the subsequent evolution of this insurrectionary motif in Polish belles lettres. The Jewish tradition, within the broader tradition of the revolt in Polish literature, is analyzed on three different but strongly inter-related levels.

First, the Jewish theme is examined in the context of changing literary trends. The primary object of my attention is the role of romantic ideology as a factor strongly condi-
tioning Polish perceptions of the Jewish world and, in general, of social reality. The study also focuses on the way in which new literary currents transform these perceptions in the post-1864 Polish literature.

Second, the study analyzes the literary legend of Polish-Jewish brotherhood in the context of the rapidly changing pattern of Polish-Jewish relations. In fact, the second half of the nineteenth century witnessed a rapid capitalist transformation of Polish society. Modernization, urbanization and new ideological currents eroded the traditional way of life but at the same time created new areas of tension between Poles and Jews. This tension was not eased by the rise of modern nationalism and the politicization of the "Jewish question", trends which are best reflected by the inclusion of anti-Semitism in the program of the National Democratic Party at the turn of the century. The study focuses on Polish perceptions of Jews attitudes toward their host country and the underlying visions of the future modus vivendi between Poles and Jews. Finally, the study tries to determine whether, and in what way, the deterioration of Polish-Jewish relations after 1864 affected interpretations of the insurrectionary legend of Polish-Jewish symbiosis.

Third, the study examines the Jewish legend of 1863 in terms of trends in the literary portrayal of the Jews. The uprising broke out at a time when a new, modernized image of the Jewish world was taking shape in Polish literature. The
upheavals of the 1860s, however, seem to have disrupted these trends for at least a decade. Examining the images of the Jews generated in the 1860s, the study tries to define the nature of this peculiar interlude, after which trends characteristic of the 1850s resurfaced with increased intensity in the literary images of the Jewish world.

The heterogeneous nature of the sources used in the study is a result of the study's heavy emphasis on stereotypes. First of all, the primary sources were chosen without regard to their artistic quality. Consequently, no distinction is made between C.K. Norwid's famous "Żydowie polscy" and a number of artistically insignificant poems inspired — as was Norwid's poem — by Jewish participation in the Warsaw demonstrations. Similarly, differences in literary genre and in the way in which the Jewish theme figures in the plot have been largely ignored. The literary material used in the study ranges from lengthy novels which, like J.I. Kraszewski's Żyd, discuss the "Jewish question" in the years of the uprising, to short passages praising Polish-Jewish brotherhood; from stories about Jewish veterans of the uprising — narrated in works as different as B. Prus' novel Lalka, A. Asnyk's play Żyd and W. Wolski's poem "Mosiek" — to retrospective re-examinations of the Jewish contribution voiced by various literary characters. In those few cases in which the perceptions reflected in Polish fiction closely match those of non-fictional literature, the study makes limited use of contemporary political pamphlets, historiosophical
treatises and memoirs.

The authors' ideological orientations (including their pro- or anti-Jewish views) played no role in their selection for this study. Thus the prominence of liberal writers among those discussed in the first part reflects no discrimination against politically conservative authors but rather the liberals' control of the literary and political scene. In contrast to later decades, conservative views of the Jew found by and large no reflection in the literary output of the 1860s. There is, however, one major exception to this rule: a few works authored by assimilated Polish Jews do not get all the attention they deserve. From the literary point of view these works are an integral part of the Polish tradition. However, the views on the "Jewish question" frequently expressed by their authors differ from perceptions prevailing among Polish writers. Consequently, the perspective of those few Polish authors of Jewish descent might have obscured the image of a "typical" Polish perception. Doing justice to their work would also require a detailed discussion of these authors' specific cultural and ideological backgrounds. This discussion, however, could hardly be contained within the narrow framework of this study.

The general lack of interest in second-rate literature, characteristic of most Polish criticism, has left much of the literary tradition of the January uprising virtually
unexplored. Thus the search for works on the Jewish theme involved much digging through both the 19th-century Polish press and anthologies of insurrectionary poetry as well as hundreds of pages of other obscure literary sources. This bibliographical research was to a certain extent facilitated by some bibliographical works (in particular, Estreicher's bibliography of 19th century Polish literature and J.Gasiorowski's bibliography of publications dealing with the January uprising), as well as a few studies devoted to the literary legend of the January uprising in the Polish tradition (particularly the essays included in Dziedzictwo literacki powstania stycznowego) and a few articles on perceptions of the Jew in Polish literature. Although the study covers all the best known sources as well as many that are forgotten and obscure, there is no reason to assume that this review of the literature dealing with Jewish motifs is complete. However, the sample discussed in this study appears broad enough to allow for certain generalizations.

Although Polish historiography has shown a fairly strong interest in the Jewish role in the January uprising, there is a scarcity of directly relevant secondary material. The relatively rich historical literature on Jewish participation in the January uprising tends to pay no particular attention to the literary perceptions. The literary appendix included in M.Gelber's Die Juden und der polnische Aufstand, and occasional references to literary sources by J.Shatzly, A.Eisenbach and a few other authors, rarely go beyond an
acknowledgment of their potential usefulness for the student of Polish-Jewish relations in the 1860s. Literary studies dealing with the January uprising tale note of the Jewish theme more frequently. Virtually all of them mention this aspect of the insurrectionary tradition. Their discussion of the Jewish theme, however, rarely goes beyond peripheral remarks on the treatment of the Jewish theme by one particular author. References to literary sources can be occasionally found in the general literature dealing with the Jewish question in Poland and with Polish-Jewish relations.

This study covers the period from 1860 to 1914. The first of the two dates is self-explanatory and marks the beginning of the sudden rebirth of the separatist movement in Congress Poland. This movement, as we have seen, had a substantial impact on Polish literary and extra-literary perceptions of Jewish society. In the case of the closing date, a major historical caesura (the beginning of the First World War) closely coincides with two developments of substantial importance to this study. The first is the 1912 election to the Russian Duma. Ending a period characterized by the continuous growth of anti-Jewish attitudes in Polish society, the election transformed this diffuse anti-Semitism into a mature and fully organized political movement. The second significant event is the 50th anniversary of the January uprising which was celebrated in 1917. The celebration revived public interest in the uprising and was expressed in the publication of memoirs, scholarly essays and significant
literary works devoted to this theme. (9)

The chapters in the study are arranged chronologically. The first chapter deals with the 1850s and examines the main trends in the literature of that decade. Further, chapter I defines the main trends in Polish-Jewish relations and in the literary depictions of Jewish society which crystallized on the eve of the revolt. The second chapter focuses on the literary tradition dealing with the patriotic demonstrations of 1861-1862 and, in general, with the years of political mobilization which preceded the armed conflict in 1863. Chapter II devotes particular attention to the literary reflections of the death of Michal Landy, a young Jew, in the Warsaw demonstration of April 8, 1861, and examines the ways in which this image was incorporated into a particular vision of Poland's history. Chapter III deals with the literary echoes of Jewish involvement in the partisan war of 1863-1864. Taken together, chapters I-III characterize Polish perceptions of Jewish society as reflected in literary sources produced during and shortly after the insurrection, the great majority of which belong to the declining romantic tradition.

Chapter IV opens the second part of the study which covers the retrospective re-evaluation of the legend of the Jewish participation in the January uprising. Chapter IV,

9) See E. Maliszewski, Wydawnictwa złat ostatnich o powstaniu styczniowym, 1910-1918, Warszawa 1918
which was planned as an analogue of Chapter I, reviews the main trends in the post-insurrectionary period. Covering five decades (1864-1914), the chapter provides an overview of Polish-Jewish relations after the failure of the January uprising. This is followed by a discussion of major literary currents after 1864. As in the first chapter, the developments in both fields are examined in terms of their impact on the image of the Jewish world in post-insurrectionary Polish literature. The fifth and last chapter of the study examines some later interpretations of the Jewish role in the uprising. These interpretations, which look at the Jewish legend from the historical perspective, are frequently affected by the reverse projection, upon the memories of the recent past, of what are now deteriorating Polish-Jewish relations. Chapter V also focuses on the role of literary perceptions of the Jew in the debate about the Jewish question in Poland at the turn of the century. Although the dependence of post-insurrectionary literature on the stock of romantic cliches in depicting the January uprising continued throughout the period under study, most sources discussed in chapters IV-V belong to the post-romantic tradition.

This inquiry is an attempt to reconstruct the social and ideological history of a particular literary motif. Based on fictional sources, it is primarily a study of aspects of 19th century Polish literature. However, some of the questions it attempts to answer transcend the narrow realm of literary studies. While it would hardly be legiti-
mate to evaluate Polish-Jewish relations in the insurrectionary period on the basis of literary perceptions alone, an examination of the latter seems useful for at least two reasons. First, despite their subjectivity, literary perceptions represent a sensitive reflection which, if properly analyzed, provides valuable information on "objective" social reality. Second, as an integral element of the social structure, Polish perceptions of the Jew "objectively" affected the latter's status in Polish society as well as the interaction between the two groups. The powerful ideological filter which the legend of "Polish-Jewish brotherhood" imposed on Polish thinking on Jewish matters, had a considerable and lasting impact on social action. Therefore this inquiry has also been planned as a contribution to the study of Polish-Jewish relations.
While the breakdown of the revolutionary wave of the late 1840s brought to an end the romantic tradition throughout most of Europe, Poland followed a different pattern. The abnormality of the country's political situation petrified the romantic worldview, which continued to provide Polish society with a vital strategy of national survival. Despite signs of disintegration that multiplied in the 1850s, Polish romanticism went through a period of final and spectacular revival in the politically troubled early 1860s. Dominating Poland's literary life for four decades (1822-1867), it played a crucial role in shaping the modern national consciousness of the Polish nation.

It seems legitimate to regard the 1850s as the epigonic phase of Polish romanticism: a transition period marked by the exhaustion of the dominating literary current and a pau-
city of major literary figures. The general narrowing of intellectual horizons was coupled with the growing influence of Catholic orthodoxy. Some signs of a revival of literary life began to appear around 1856, and became stronger in the following years (1). They became more pronounced with the emergence of a new generation of writers who entered literary life on the eve of the uprising (2). This generational shift coincided with the rising separatist tendencies in the kingdom of Poland and the political and social radicalization of its youth.

In the time separating the upheavals of the late 1840s from those of the early 1860s the erosion of the romantic world-view advanced considerably. Non-romantic sub-currents appeared within the broader framework of the romantic literature. The values which they advocated — values that explicitly or implicitly sought to modify those of romanticism — continued to gain ground in Polish literature to the point of justifying some scholars' attempts to treat certain manifestations of disintegration of the romantic tradition, especially in the novel, as autonomous literary trends (3).

Without going into a discussion of the complex relationship between romantic and post-romantic elements in the literature of the 1850s, I would like to point here to some facts.

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1) See P. Chmielowski, Józef Torzeniowski, jego życie i działalność literacka. Petersburg 1898, p.84

2) The shift of literary generations in the years preceding the January insurrection is extensively discussed in J. Maciejewski, Przedburzowcy i problemy I przesiecia między romantyzmem a pomyślnym. Warszawa 1971
tors in the approach to the contemporary social structure which conditioned literary perceptions of the Jewish world.

The most important factor was the drive toward realism in depictions of social reality. The experience of political defeat encouraged voices critical of old romantic "dreams". Such voices argued for the need to accept and explore the neglected realm of "reality"; in the rediscovery of the realm of everyday life, they hoped to find the "truth" about Polish society and preserve those genuinely Polish values which would be washed away by accelerating social change. These desires, very pronounced in the inter-insurrectionary generation (4), stimulated the collecting of documentation and description of vanishing or rapidly changing forms of life.

The popularity of "obrazli" /sketches/, the half-journalistic, half-fictional descriptions of contemporary life, was a characteristic expression of this attitude. Common titles and subtitles such as "szlice towarzyskie i obyczajowe", "zarysy społeczne", "charaktery", "Społeczeństwo dzisiejsze w obrazach", "Daguerotypy Warszawy", "obrazli miejsc

3) See, for example, M. Zmigrodzka's discussion of "Biedermeier culture" in Pre-1863 Poland, "Polska powiedź biedermeierowska", in Pamiatki Literatury, LVII, 1-2 (1966); or J. Maciejewski's discussion of pre-positivistic currents in the literature of the 1850s and the early 1860s in Przedbyczewski, op.cit., pp. 121-133 and 262-256

"I ludzi" -- various "sketches", "pictures", "physiological outlines" -- reflected the writers' more photographic approach to social reality. Although these ideas did not crystallize in any open challenge to the literary doctrine of romanticism, elements of realism continued to expand in the period under study (5). Works produced in the middle of the 19th century enriched the social landscape of Polish literature by introducing a number of previously neglected social groups, including representatives of the urban population now making their first appearance (6). The main vehicle of these explorations became the novel, a form held in contempt by the romantics, which established itself in the inter-insurrectionary period as a leading literary genre.

Increased interest in contemporary social life was facilitated by the levelling of opposition between the ideal and the imperfect earthly reality. This erosion of the basic romantic opposition justified a more pragmatic attitude toward life's problems. Also, the old romantic debate on the democratic versus aristocratic leadership of the nation lost much of its previous impetus. It found a compromise solution.

5) An extensive discussion of realistic elements in Polish literature of the inter-insurrectionary period, and of the contemporary debate on realism versus romanticism, is given in J. Bachórz, Realizm bez "chmur i lazdy", Studia o powieściach Józefa Orzeszkowskiego, Warszawa 1979, pp. 11-69; and M. Zmigrod, "Proza fabularna w II raju", in Literatura i reality w okresie romantyzmu, 1831-1867, I, pp.147-169.

in the myth of "demokracja szlachecka" (the democracy of noblemen), widely disseminated in mid-century writings. The literature presented the provincial nobility as the preserver of Polish tradition, idealizing its way of life based on the rural economy and the patriarchal relationship between the landlord and his peasants. On the other hand, the so-called "peasant question" was barely reflected in Polish fiction before the debate on that issue initiated by the government press in 1850 (7). That this single most burning problem was virtually ignored by contemporary fiction well illustrates the characteristic reluctance of the literature under study to take a position on urgent socio-political problems (8).

Turned toward the past rather than the future, the literature identified old-fashioned rural values with those of Christianity on the one hand and with genuine Polishness on the other. The glorification of the rural past was coupled with a strong anti-urban bias.

Zywot nasz wiejSl l dał nam charal-ter i on nas tyl- lo przy nim utrzymać moze. (...) Wieś jest piastun-ka tradycji i macierzą społeczeństwa naszego (9).

//Our rural existence provided us with our identity and it alone can help preserve our character. The countryside gave birth to our society and is the

7) P.Chmielewski, op.cit., p.85
-----------------------------------------------
8) M.Żmigrodzka, "Polska powieść biedermiejerowska", op.cit., p.394
-----------------------------------------------
9) J.I.Fraszewski, Wieczory wołyński (1859), Lwdw 1859, p.33
Mimowoli przypominał sobie słowa angielskiego poety: "Bóg stworzył wieś a człowiek zbudował miasto." (...) W tych wielkich murach, zimnych i pustych, widział groby, a miasto w jego oczach było cmentarzem żyjących (10).

"Involuntarily, he recalled the words of an English poet: "God created the countryside and man built the city." (...) In these big, empty and cold walls he saw tombs, and the city in his eyes was a cemetery of living people."

Aversion to urban life, so characteristic of 1raszewski’s pre-insurrectionary works, was shared by many mid-century writers. The romantic world-view and the rural ethos of Polish nobility converged (11) in depicting the big city as a place contaminated by corruption, moral perversity and foreign cultural influence. The motif of moral and social decline which followed a character’s entering the city’s gates, and, conversely, the theme of rebirth following his return to the countryside, occurred frequently in the novels of the mid-century and long remained a hallmark of Polish fiction (12). For our purposes it suffices to note that the demonic qualities of the city were associated with the non-Polish ethnic and cultural element as well as with the ca-

10) J.I. 1raszewski, Poeta i świat (1977), Złoczów, n.d., p.48

11) The tradition of sieleństwa and other literary glorifications of the rural life of the nobility are analyzed by A.Witkowska in her Słownie my lubim_sieleństwa. Warszawa 1971; see also J.Bachorz, op.cit., pp. 223-265

12) For the image of a big city in pre-1863 Polish fiction see the chapter "Miasto i wieś" in J.Bachorz, op.cit., pp.228-250. Bachorz discusses the mid-century perceptions of the city in terms of a space morally different from and inferior to that of the countryside.
pitalist character of urban life.

While authors keenly sensed the accelerating disappearance of the old world, they failed to identify the actual forces transforming society (13). Generally, they displayed a considerable amount of hostility toward upwardly mobile individuals and groups, seeing in them a threat to the much-emphasized harmony of pre-modern life. The achievements of such individuals were associated with some kind of moral degradation. The breaking of social barriers was analyzed primarily in terms of its compatibility with the ethical ideals of Christianity (14). The banier, whose status as the bad guy (15) consolidated during the inter-insurrectionary period, was only the most visible of the many villains representing the power of recently accumulated money. All these negative characters -- of noble, petty noble, bourgeois and Jewish origin -- aspired to a higher social status, thus challenging the established social hierarchy.

Concern for the stability of the social order was coupled with greater conformism toward the occupying powers. The

13) R. Czepulis, op. cit., pp. 361 and 384-386; Czepulis, whose conclusions on the perception of social hierarchy are to a large extent based on literary sources, explains this phenomenon by social conservatism on the one hand, and by reluctance to acknowledge changes resented as imposed by the intervention of the occupying powers, on the other.

14) M. Zmigrodzka, "Polska powieść biedermeierowska", op. cit., p. 394;

15) R. Czepulis, op. cit., pp. 358-361 and 388-389
Patriotism of the 1850s expressed itself in veneration of the national past, rather than in the universalistic and revolutionary ideals of the previous generation (16). Unlike the politically tense 1860s, when patriotic merit became again an important factor in evaluating the social prestige of individuals and groups, political attitudes did not seriously affect the perception of social hierarchy in the 1850s.

16) M. Żmigrodzińska, "Polska powieść biedermeierowska", op.cit., pp. 593-94
II. BETWEEN FEUDAL AND CAPITALIST SOCIETY:

POLISH-JEWISH RELATIONS IN THE 1850s

The legal status of the Polish Jews (which persisted until Wielopolski's reforms of 1862 and in part even longer), was a product of feudal society. Although the Napoleonic legislation introduced in the Duchy of Warsaw in 1807 granted equal rights to all of Poland's citizens, the legal separateness of Jewish society was maintained. For decades, various officially appointed bodies succeeded each other in studying the "Jewish question". The legislation to which Jews remained subject fixed the existing social barriers between them and the Christian population. Capitalist transformations in Poland's economy, however, followed by new cultural and ideological currents, gradually cleared the way for the removal of these obsolete structures.

The Jewish quest for equal rights entered a new stage in the late 1850s (17) because of two related factors. On the one hand, the reforms which were made in Russia following the accession of Alexander II to the throne created a political climate which encouraged hopes for liberal reforms in the Kingdom of Poland. On the other hand, the deep structural changes inside Jewish society widened the gap
between its actual economic importance and the anachronistic restrictions limiting its activity. The idea of equal rights became a matter of high priority to the rich Jewish bourgeoisie, whose economic influence kept growing in the inter-insurrectionary period. Demands for equal rights found strong support in the young Jewish intelligentsia, which, in the 1840s and particularly in the 1850s, became active in many extra-economic fields of Polish life.

As a result, Poles once again began deliberating the Jews place in the social order (18). The mainstream of public opinion, as well as representatives of the Russian government in Poland, remained hostile toward any improvement in the status of the Jews. Their way of thinking remained deeply rooted in the traditional perception of Jews as harmful to society and in the concept of Jewish "moral reform" as a precondition to any change. Hostile to capitalist developments in Poland, conservatives and democrats alike watched with concern the growing Jewish role in the country's economy, particularly in trade. Due to an economic recession following the November uprising of 1870, the rising fortunes of a few scores of Jews were especially visible while the concomitant impoverishment of the Jewish masses tended to be overlooked. Generally speaking, the 1850s were marked by a sense of growing economic competition.

17) A. Eisenbach, "Zwrotnica prawu w Polskim," Warszawa 1972, p. 259
between Poles and Jews. Moreover, tendentious demographic forecasts published in 1857 generated fears of a high birth rate among Jews and fed grim visions of the future of Polish-Jewish relations (19).

In the 1850s the slogan of "organic work", with its emphasis on the nation’s material well-being, found a response in the politically active strata of Polish society. Economic questions stood high on the agenda of Towarzystwo Rolnicze, an institution representing the most influential circles of Polish nobility. J. Korzeniowski alludes to this body in the following lines, written in 1859:

O pługach, o nawozie, o uprawie rol!,
O śródlach, jak z żydowskiej wyrwac się niewoli
Jest celem owych zjazdów (20).

/*The discussion of ploughs, fertilizers and agriculture/ of ways to break out of Jewish bondage/ is the aim of these gatherings.*/

The concept of "niewola zydowska" (Jewish bondage), widely popularized in the ongoing press debate, pointed to a major

18) A discussion of attitudes of various Polish groups toward the "Jewish question" in these years can be found in A. Eisenbach, op. cit., and in "Polish public opinion and the Jews in the late 1850s", in Zion 46, 2 (1981) /in Hebrew/; R. Czepulis, "Uwarstwienie społecznego źródła Polskiego w świadomości współczesnych", in Społeczeństwo i źródła Polskiego, 1, Warszawa 1966, pp. 727-791

19) L. Wolski, "Wiadomości statystyczne", in Łądeniecze Warszawskiego Ośrodku Astronomicznego (WOA), Warszawa 1857-1861; see the discussion of Wolski’s statistical data in A. Eisenbach, „Weznanie równouprawnienie Żydów w Królestwie Polskim”, Warszawa 1927, pp. 259-262

20) J. Korzeniowski, Pustynia (1850), as quoted in P. Chmielewski, op. cit., p. 125
source of the growing tension. In letters written the same year, N.Żmichowska correctly linked the economic ambitions of those

*Istęzym się w głowie poprzewracalo od statystyki przemysłu

/who got totally mixed up by the statistics and (tall of) industrial development./

to the anti-Jewish mood of the late 1850s.

Chcą onecznie pod rządem Aleksandra II udarować Polskę ogromną siłą materialną, nienawidź przeciw Żydom zdaje im się ogromnym postępem na tej drodze (21).

/Under Alexander’s II rule they want to bestow on Poland a huge material force and the hatred of Jews appears to them an important step on this road./

In an attempt to weaken Jewish standing in commerce, Towarzystwo Rolnicze built up a network of Polish-owned rural cooperatives, and organized Polish credit unions in provincial cities. Such initiatives continued to poison relations even in the subsequent heyday of Polish-Jewish brotherhood (22) N.Żmichowska’s own account of two noblemen’s attempts to start a publishing business in Warsaw revealed similar motivations. The noblemen made a special point of their resolve:

*handel księgarni z monopolu żydowskiego wyzwolić, żadnemu Żydowi, ani nawet przeciwcie żadnemu alcu, nic sprzedają (23).

/..to liberate the publishing trade from Jewish monopoly and not to sell shares to any Jew, even a baptized one./

Resentment of the growing economic power of the Jews also affected the Polish middle class and lower strata of the urban population. Nor was the tension in inter-group relations eased by anti-Jewish riots in Turek in 1857.

Finally, the drive toward assimilation among the most modernized strata of Jewish society met with an ambivalent response. Debates on the nature, perspectives and side effects of this assimilation coincided accidentally with a renewal of interest in Frailism. Members of the young assimilated Jewish intelligentsia were attacked on the grounds that they were strangers invading Polish cultural life. The traditional, well-established elites raised objections to the growing rate of Jewish "infiltration". Contemporary fiction, and especially works by J.I. Frankie, popularized the negative perception of the role of assimilated Jews in the process of capitalist restructuring of society. Denunciations of the shortcomings of assimilation on the one hand, and demands for the total assimilation of Jews as a pre-condition for their receiving full civil rights on the other, reflected ambiguity in the Polish authors' attitudes toward assimilation.

The mounting tension culminated in 1859 in the so-

23) N.Żmichowska, op.cit., p.155
-called "Jewish war". This name was given to a vicious press-campaign launched against assimilated Warsaw Jews by Gazeta Warszawska (The Warsaw Gazette). Jews sued the Gazetta for defamation; they lost. The negative character of the Jewish community as a whole was cited as justification of the court's verdict. The feelings generated among assimilated Jewish youth were articulated in a poem written in 1859 by the young A. Fraushar:

Dlaczego to przed wiel i ze sercem gorącem
Ojcowie lrow za wolność przelewali,
By nas dziś odtracono nazwiskiem gardzącym,
By nam dziś niemówiąc, miłość odpłacali?
Czyż zawsze tak wzgardzeni będziemy od świata?
Dlaczego rodał własny Żyda się wyrzela
Dlaczego w nim nie widzi przyjaciela, brata,
Dlaczego mu zaprzecza wszelich praw człowieka? (24)

"Why for centuries with a glowing heart/ did our fathers shed blood for (Poland's) liberty/ if we are rejected today with contempt/ if we are paid with hatred for our love?/ Will we always be despised by the world?/ Why does a compatriot renounce the Jew/ Why doesn't he see in him a friend and a brother/ Why does he deny him all human rights?"

The "Jewish war" widened the split in Polish public opinion on the Jewish question. The prominent historian J. Lelewel chose to support the Jews (25) and some groups of democrat followed in his steps. Žmichowska, whose opinions echo fairly closely those of democratically minded Warsaw intelligentsia, noticed that the campaign found little or no


25) J. Lelewel, "Sprawa Żydowska w 1859, w liście do Ludwika Merzbacha rozważana", Poznań 1860
response among her friends (26). On the whole, however, the leaders of the campaign, as well as the attitudes they expressed enjoyed solid support in Polish public opinion.

A major shift in favour of the Jews occurred first in 1960, when the question of Jewish support for Polish aspirations for independence became a major political issue. Zmichowska’s letters illustrate the perception of Jews as potential allies of the Polish cause:

I owszem, przyznaję, że ta obca warstwa szludliwą jest dla nas, że się bogaci gdy my ubożujemy, że sztachruje, spekuluje a przede wszystkim zyskuje; zawsze jednal musimy przyznać, że jest to sila, jako za siłe proste rozum polityczny wskazuje, lepiej mieć za sobą niż przeciw sobie (27).

/Yes, I admit that this foreign element is harmful to us, that it enriches itself while we become more and more impoverished, that it cheats, speculates and above all profits. But we must nevertheless acknowledge that it is a force which elementary political good sense tells us it is better to have on our side rather than against us./

Democrats like Zmichowska claimed that only a fair attitude to the Jews, including support of their demand for equal rights, would guarantee their participation in the struggle for the liberation of Poland. The growing separatist tendencies in the Kingdom of Poland turned the "Jewish war" almost overnight into the euphoria of "Polish-Jewish brotherhood".

In Galicia, then under Austrian rule, another contro-

26) N. Zmichowska, op.cit., p. 134

27) N. Zmichowska, op.cit., p. 132, emphasis mine.
versy erupted, in 1859, over the Jews, though without any connection to what was going on in Russian Poland. As in Russian Poland, conservatives came out against changes in the status of the Jews. This controversy sharpened because of a proposal, made by the government in 1860, for political reforms in Galicia. For a variety of sociological and political reasons new attitudes arising in Warsaw reached Galician public opinion with some delay and in a considerably weakened form. M. Bałuciński, a young Galician writer, himself a fairly radical supporter of the insurrectionary movement in the Kingdom of Poland, gave the following account of the mood in the middle of 1861:

O Zydach długo były dysputy. Jedni są za, inni przeciw równouprawnieniu Żydów. Dziś nawet, gdy opinia przeczyliła się na korzyść Żydów, tysiące–bym naliczył, których to uprawnienie inomuże i uważają je jako chwilowe malum necessarium (28).

'There have been long discussions about Jews. Some are for, others against equal rights for the Jews. But even today when public opinion has shifted in favour of the Jews I could count thousands who are not comfortable with the idea of equal rights and who regard it as a temporary necessary evil.'

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28) Elpidion /M. Bałuciński/ "Nasze grzechy" in Czytelnia dla młodzieży, 26 (1861), pp. 210-211
III. THE 1850s: TRENDS IN THE LITERARY PORTRAYALS OF JEWS.

Depictions of the Jewish world clearly reflected the transitory character of the 1850s. While the traditional image continued to predominate, a new stereotype of the Jew began to emerge in Polish literature. In the romantic tradition the Jew typically represented the economic element in the life of Poland's landed nobility. The relationship between the landlord and his Jewish tavern-keepers and creditors, loyal or disloyal to the nobleman in managing his finances or dealing with his peasants, remained the single most common "Jewish" theme (29).

If this approach mirrored the prevailing feudal pattern of the Polish-Jewish encounter, the second emphasized the Jews' link to the expanding capitalist economy along with the modernization of their way of life. Writers focused on the upward mobility of the assimilating stratum of Jewish society and its increasingly visible passage into the Polish world. While romantic literature dealt with the traditional Jew, its more realistic successor stressed the growing cultural and social differentiation of Jewish society. Yet Jews as a social group were increasingly treated as a distinct

29) See M. Opalski, The Jewish Tavern-keeper and his Tavern in Nineteenth-Century Polish Literature, Jerusalem 1986
organism pursuing its own political and economic strategies.

The anachronistic stereotype of Jewish figures and of situations in which they appeared in the romantic tradition was first observed by J. I. Kraszewski in 1843. Unusually sensitive to new cultural trends, Kraszewski contrasted the monotony of literary depictions with the picturesque richness of real Jewish life. In Latarnia_czarnolieszla (The magic lantern, 1843) he called for more realism in depicting contemporary social life, including Jewish society.

Dlaczego opisując Żyda, contentują się wszyscy zawieszeniem pejzażów i brody, nałożeniem jarmulki (...) zawsze jednolowo, jednostajnie malując tal pełne różnorodności i charakteru żydowstwo nasze. Są Żydzi i Żydzi a jedni do drugich jak niebo do ziemi niepodobni.

"Why, in depicting a Jew, do writers content themselves with hanging on beards and sidelocks and putting a yarmulke on the Jew's head, portraying always in the same way and with the same monotony our Jewry, so diverse and full of character. There are Jews and there are Jews, as different as earth and sky."

Kraszewski's "Historia Hersza", included in Latarnia_czarnolieszla, a picturesque story of a Jewish smuggler whose wife runs away with a nobleman, translated into literary practice Kraszewski's desire to break with the dominating convention by providing the reader with a "photograph" of Jewish life. Kraszewski's theoretical remarks, however, passed over in silence the predominantly negative or comical

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features attributed to Jews in pre-1863 fiction, a fact acknowledged by some contemporary intellectuals. Newer historical research confirms that 19th century writers were aware of that negative image but held divergent views on how to interpret it (71). Waleria Marrené, the first Polish writer to deal systematically with the literary perception of the Jew, characterized his prevailing image in pre-Positivistic literature in the following manner:

For many years a Jew appearing in a literary work represented, with very few exceptions, the negative or the comical element. (..) Our writers depicted Jewish society mainly in its relationship to the Christians. Not surprisingly, then, Jewish middlemen, cheats and moneylenders were introduced as representatives of the Jewish population. Portraying the Jews in the standard role which they played in relation to the non-Jewish world, the literature presented this role as either base or comical, but invariably humiliating. (..) In that way fiction exacerbated mutual irritation instead of defusing it. After the country’s prosperity decreased and the discussion of financial matters gradually came to be accepted in belles lettres, the Jewish characters appeared more frequently. The frequency of these appearances was the great-
er, the more realistically the novel mirrored real life.

In her essays published by Tygodnik Ilustrowany in 1879, Marrené not only noticed the negative stereotype of the Jew rooted in the classicist and romantic traditions but tried to explain it in terms of the prevailing pattern of the Polish-Jewish encounter. This pattern, according to Marrené, exposed the Poles to the least attractive elements of Jewish society, the more positive features of which remained hidden from Polish eyes. Marrené did not question the legitimacy of this perception. At the same time, however, she correctly observed the increasing visibility of the Jews in contemporary Polish literature and linked this growing visibility to the expansion of the capitalist economy on the one hand, and to changing literary trends on the other.

The impact of these combined factors expressed itself in the confusion surrounding the Jew's place in the social

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1) Such opinions were expressed by Warsaw Jewish assimilationists centered around D. Neufeld’s Jutrzenka in the 1860s. A. Fraushar’s account of a discussion on the image of the Jew in contemporary literature quotes M. Jastrow as defending the legitimacy of the negative perception. Fraushar himself evaluated pre-1863 portrayals of Jews as negative, an opinion he shared with some other Polish writers. A. Fraushar, "Wspomnienia. Larta z niedawnej przeszłości", in Książka i juddlewcka dla uczczenia pięćdziesiątolecia działalności J. Lrastaewslego, Warszawa 1880, p. 508; W. Marrené, "Kwestia żydowska w powieści społecznej", Tygodnik Ilustrowany 199 (1879), p. 253; H. Galle, "Żydzi w belletrystice dzisiejszej", in Biblioteka Warszawska, 1 (1905), pp. 138-150. See also R. Czepulis, op. cit., pp. 275-380

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2) W. Marrené, "Kwestia żydowska w powieści społecznej", in Tygodnik Ilustrowany, 199 (1879), p. 253
structure, a confusion that intensified as the Jewish quest for improved social status grew stronger. Signs of diversification in Jewish themes in literature appeared sporadically in the 1840s. For instance, a number of ideologically diverse authors (JJ) dealt with the question of intermarriage, a theme that became one of the most frequently treated "Jewish" themes in the post-1863 period (J4). All of them discussed a possible match between a Pole of noble ancestry and a totally assimilated, well-to-do and sympathetic convert to Christianity, or between Christian-born children of converted Jewish parents. One of these characters, a talented and rich physician "with a noble facial expression", an "honest Christian" hardly identifiable as a Jew, sent the daughter of a bankrupt aristocrat a ring with a golden effigy of Christ (J5). Although -- characteristically enough -- none of these love stories ended happily, the massive introduction of the intermarriage theme in this sociological context reflected major changes in the Polish-Jewish encounter.

The number of Jewish characters deviating from the stereotypical figure with yarmulke and sidelocks continued to grow rapidly in the two decades preceding the January uprising. J. I. Fraszewski's Sfinx (1846) introduced the highly stereotypical figure with yarmulke and sidelocks continued to grow rapidly in the two decades preceding the January uprising. J. I. Fraszewski's Sfinx (1846) introduced the highly

JJ) A. Wilkoński, Szlacheta nieznana, (1847); J. Horzeņniowski Żydzi (1843); I. Hołowiński, Rebekah, (1847).

J4) J. Szacił, "Asyni a Żydzi", Nasz_Lucier, 28 August 1922

J5) A. Wilkoński, Szlacheta nieznana, in: Remoty_1_traty_, 5, Poznań 1861-62, pp. 127-157
idealized figure of a Jewish painter whose arrival in Wilna caused a sensation in the city's artistic community.

- Żyd malarz! rzucił Jan z podziwem. Coś dziwnego w stocie!
- Zaprawdę, niepospolite zjawisko! (76)

/- A Jewish painter' said Jan with admiration. Something strange indeed/
- Indeed, an uncommon phenomenon'/

In J. Korzeniowski's novel Kolołacza (1847) an important role is played by a young Jew, Szloma, the Polish-educated son of a well-known Jewish physician. Szloma, a graduate of the prestigious Liceum Irzemienskie, is presented as a highly gifted, sensitive man, constantly torn between "higher instincts" and the fatalism of his "Jewish nature". The identification of the latter with capitalistic values is repeatedly emphasized in the novel. His "Jewish nature", for instance, prevailed over "higher forms"

w sposobie wyrażania się czystą polszczyzną, w grzeczności i stroju (77)

/in his way of speaking a perfect Polish, in his manners and clothing/

and, finally, in Szloma's decision to return to the traditionally Jewish tavern-keeping business and make his living as a tavern-keeper and a rich estate-owner's middleman.

36) J. I. Fraszewska, Sfinx, Poznań 1874, pp. 127-128
37) J. J. Korzeniowski, Kolołacza, in Dzieła wybrane, l. I, I6ałów 1954, p. 227. For the discussion of Kolołacza from the point of view of conflict between capitalistic and pre-capitalistic values, see M. Opalski, op. cit., pp. 42-44
Among a number of Jewish characters appearing in J. I. o-
reniowski's early play Żydzi (The Jews, 1847), the writer
introduces a young Christian-born landowner. His freshly-
acquired aristocratic title and considerable fortune make
him the object of cynical matrimonial intrigues in an arist-
tocratic environment. Fully aware of being manipulated,
Bar-
on Izajewicz expresses bitterness about the ambiguity of
his social status. Rejected by a noble girl whose hand he
was encouraged to seek, he accepts his defeat with "dign-
ity". Although the Jews in orzeniowski's Żydzi appear as
predominantly positive characters, the title of the play
illustrates the perception of the expanding capitalist men-
tality as "Judaization" of Polish life. The play, highly
critical of the money-obsessed Volhynian nobility, presents
the Poles as more "Jewish" than the Jews. The meaning of the
title appeared clear to contemporary critics, including the
most democratically-minded of them, Edward Dembowskii. In his
positive evaluation of orzeniowski's comedy, Dembowskii wrote:

/örzeniowski/ wystawia mistrzowsko szachrajestwa
magnatów wołyńskich, których dla ich niecności
żydami nazywa (38).

/(örzeniowski/) presents in a masterly manner the
swindles of the Volhynian magnates whom he calls
Jews for their ignoble deeds./

Individual departures from the traditionally Jewish wa,
of life continued to attract Polish attention in the 1850s,
giving birth to a gallery of increasingly acculturated Jewish characters. In J.I. Kraszewski’s Jerzma (1856), for instance, a rich Jewish tavern-keeper in Eastern Poland

czuć już trzós nabity i ważność swojego położenia, powoli chorować zaczynał na moreuję” (39).

/having filled his purse and feeling the importance of his condition, slowly began to suffer from lordly pretensions./

Among the characteristic symptoms of the Jew’s "sickness" was his large, recently built tavern, whose architectural features and interior decor are clearly reminiscent of a typical nobleman’s manor. In L.W. Anczyć’s Pilsacy (The Raftsmen, 1855) both of the play’s Galician-Jewish characters deviate from the traditional stereotype of a rural Jew. The acculturation of the more conservative of them, Chaim, is symbolized by a red umbrella that he wears with his traditional black dress. The pitilessly ridiculed cultural ambitions of the second Jew in the play, Edelstein, reach much farther. They include attending theatre and opera, subscribing to Viennese newspapers and art periodicals, reading the Polish-language Gazeta, playing the violin, having affairs with women from various social strata and, generally speaking, pursuing the way of life characteristic of a well-to-do Polish nobleman. Edelstein, a rich wheat trader and former tavern-keeper, is presented in Anczyć’s play as a blac-

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38) E. Dembowski, Pismiennictwo polskie w zaprzysięż, 1845 p. 367.

39) J. I. Kraszewski, Jerzma (1856), Wrocław 1948, p. 49
I-mailer trying to obtain sexual favors from a debt-ridden peasant girl. His Polish, full of misused and mispronounced foreign words and grammatical errors, a language of repulsive ugliness, plays an important role in portraying him as a negative character.

In the novel *Fowieić bez tytułu* (A novel without title, 1853-4), J.I. Iraszewski traces a complex and unbiased portrayal of a well-to-do Wilna Jewish family, whose three generations represent three different cultural worlds. Love for a Pole involves its youngest member, Sara, a girl of extraordinary beauty and great spiritual richness, in a conflict of loyalties, and forces her to make radical cultural choices. Having liberated herself from her conservative environment, far away from her hometown, Sara makes a spectacular career as an actress. This success, however, does not break Sara's faithfulness to her Polish lover. Sacrificing her own happiness, Sara chooses to save him the pain which would inevitably follow from a mixed marriage.

In *Metamorfozy* (Transformations, 1856) Iraszewski tells the story of a competition between an idealistic, religiously-inspired Polish physician and a unscrupulous, money-minded Jewish doctor. The ethically unacceptable methods of the latter destroy the professional life of the Pole. Another Jewish doctor with a recently Polonized name appears in J. Korzeniowski's *Nowe wędrowki ocyginala* (New wanderings of an eccentric, 1858). The moral insensitivity of this good-
-looking man is revealed both by his aggressive courtship of his aristocratic patient's wife and by deliberate negligence which hastens the death of the sick. Unlike his two colleagues, the previously mentioned Jewish doctor in A. Wilkoński's Szlachetny nieznajomy (The noble unknown) represents the highest moral standards.

These and other similar Jews, the first generation of emancipated Jews to appear in Polish fiction, are marked by another common feature: their special connection with Germany and their receptivity to German culture. It is no coincidence, of course, that Kraszewski’s Polish-born painter grew up and received his education in Hamburg nor that Sara’s theatre career could be traced back to Berlin. Anczyc’s pretentious wheat trader dreams of leaving behind "barbaric Galicia" and settling in Vienna. Kollokacja’s Szloma, while strongly influenced by the life style of his aristocratic classmates, read Lessing’s Nathan der Weise at home. More often indirectly than directly, the literary images link the German Haskalah movement to the motivations of Polish Jews in their emancipation.

The literature of the 1850s recorded, in addition to individual attempts by Jews to break away from the ghetto, another important development: the rise of a rich, secular and assimilated Jewish bourgeoisie. Literary portrayals of this new elite soon became a major "Jewish" theme of Polish
fiction. The first depictions of this milieu appeared at the very beginning of the decade (J. I. {raszewski's *Dwa światy* (Two worlds, 1851), J. Korzeniowski's *Nowe życie* (New life, 1851)), at a time when the Jewish banker's status as a villain was solidly established in Polish fiction (40). They became more common from the middle of the 1850s onward with the publication of novels such as {raszewski's *Metamorfozy* (1858) and *Chorye życie* (The diseases of the century, 1856), Korzeniowski's *Krew* (The relatives, 1856) and J. U. Niemcewicz's *Rok* (The year, 1858), works that introduced the Jewish bourgeoisie as a standard element of the social landscape portrayed in literature.

These novels articulated, on the one hand, the accumulating resentment which the accomplishments of this highly visible group generated in various strata of Polish society. On the other hand, they betrayed preoccupation with the upward mobility of Jews in general. This concern found its characteristic reflection in expressions such as "Żyd szejne morejne", referring to a Jew whose modern urban "elegance" distinguished him from his more traditional coreligionist, and "chorować na morejne", meaning "suffering from exaggerated lordly ambitions". Jemola's tavern-keeper is not alone among the previously discussed characters to be described by one or both of these expressions (41). Both these and many similar terms entered the mid-century Polish vocabulary; they applied exclusively to Jews. The popularity of

40) R. Czepulś, op. cit., p. 358
J.U. Niemcewicz's *Rok 3333* (1858) and images such as the dramatic description of Warsaw's Ogrod Sasli (Saxony Garden) being "invaded" by the Jewish public in a "take over" which is compared to the biblical siege and fall of Jericho (42) indicate the increased "pushiness" of Jews in contemporary perception. However, by associating this characteristic with a fairly large stratum of Jewish society, with groups far exceeding the narrow assimilated elite, Polish writers tended to exaggerate its extent and distort its nature. In fact, in times of accelerated social change the upward mobility of Jews attracted more attention than that of any other group.

The debate on assimilation that followed the emergence of an increasingly Polonized Jewish elite coincided with the renewal of interest in Frankism. Literary portrayals of various converts to Christianity often included those whose Jewish origin — as in the case of the doctor in Wileński's *Szlachetny nieznanomy* — could be guessed from the slightly "oriental" features of the "upper parts of the face" alone. The main characters in Chorobv_wlely, for instance, were Christian estate-owners of vaguely Jewish ancestry.

41) The importance of their sociological connotations is best illustrated by the first depiction of Kollołacja's Szloma: "Blizej łu drzwiom stal Szloma źremieneci. Szloma był żyd edukowany i sżjne more3ne." J. Forzeniowski, op. cit. p.227; /Closer to the door stood Szloma źremieneci. Szloma was an educated and szjne more3ne (type of) Jew./

42) Szli3e L_obcasi_L_Fizjologia_Gasliego_Ogrody, Warszawa 1858, p.77
God only knows the real origins of Mr. Dembór. His name has a native ring but opinions differ as to the family’s ancestry and past. Some people raise their hands to their faces in a gesture alluding to something like an Israelite beard and whisper of Dembór’s Jerusalemite genealogy. Others talk — louder and more resolutely — of his grandfather, presumably a merchant in the nearby town. You can also hear assurances that evidence of Dembór’s membership in the nobility can be found in the armorial, and even accorded him the coat of arms of Dembóróg. 

But while Kraków remained ambiguous on the question of Dembór’s Jewish descent, discussing it in terms of gossip rather than genealogical evidence, the “Jewishness” of Dembór’s ethos appeared as a fact established beyond any doubt. Despite his unique qualities as exemplary citizen, knowledgeable agronomist and gifted administrator, Jan Dembór was the source of contamination, infected with the “diseases” to which Kraków’s title refers. The main symptoms of the “disease of the century”, that West European virus which spread through the urban and mostly non-Polish ethnic element, were materialism, soulless practicality and — generally speaking — the new capitalist lifestyle. The very sight of Dembór’s prosperous, geometrical villages, with their carefully measured and numbered lots, their iden-

43) J. I. Kraków, **Choroby wielkie. Studium patologiczne**, Lwów 1874, I, p. 15
tical fences and solidly built houses, represented in Fra-
szewski’s eyes foreign influences, as did the alienation of
their inhabitants.

Nie poznań kraju swego w tym zająćtu tal przerażonym
i urządzonym z cudzoziemia’ (44)

/You won’t recognize your country in these places so
transformed and arranged in a foreign fashion/

Nowy żywot zaspalała wprawdzie ich /mieszkańców –
M.O./ cielesne potrzeby, ale ich oświadcał, uczył ego-
izmu, materializował, wystudzał i ogałacał z uczucia,
odzierał z poezji. Poznać nie było można w tych zniem-
całych i sprotestantyzowanych chłopłach i szlachciców
ludzi i zamaszczących czynszowniów naszych, a
panów braci... wszystko to po żydowsku mówiło tylko o
grosz, pędziło za zyskiem, śniło o zarobiu, obwiało
się straty więcej niż grzechu... (45)

/Though the new life satisfied (the inhabitants’) bodi-
ly needs, it stripped them of their human warmth,
taught them egoism and materialism, devastated their
emotional life and made them prosaic. You wouldn’t re-
cognize in these germanized and protestantized villag-
ers and petty gentry our joyful peasants and our fel-
low brothers (i.e. members of nobility), the petty nob-
lemen full of character. In a truly Jewish fashion they
talked only of money, ran after profit, dreamed of
gains, and feared losses more than they feared sin./

Fraszewski was not alone in associating the capitalist
transformations in Polish society, including the growing
power of money, with the irreversible destruction of the old
world. In Choroby wiełu, Wieściory wołyńskie (Volhynian
evenings, 1859), Metamorfozy and other writings of that
period he obsessively depicts the vanishing of the old civi-
lization in catastrophic terms (46). In Choroby wiełu even
the birds and wildflowers shun Jan Dembór’s inhuman villa-
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44) and 45) J.I.Fraszewski, op. cit., pp. 11 and 45-46
ges, potted plants perish for lack of human warmth in the windows of his elegant residence, Dembor's face is frozen and "lifeless" like ice, while the theme of dying recurs constantly in Iraszewski's comparisons and metaphors (47).

Iraszewski perceived the Jews -- and precisely the most modernized strata of Jewish society -- not only as a force rising on the ruins of the old world (whose fall it accelerated) but also as one which successfully imposed its own values upon European culture.

"You would think mankind has gone crazy, caught by a contagious disease, some kind of fever or mania... These people don't discuss, don't listen"

(46) A discussion of this vision in Iraszewski's Wieczory wotyński (1859) may be found in W. Danel, "Iraszewskiego droga do pisania Rachunków", Pamiętnik Literacki 1 (1956), pp. 27-30; for Iraszewski's view of the Jewish role in this process see also A. Eisenbach, "Iraszewski powszechnienie Żydów w Królestwie Polskim", Warszawa 1971 pp. 267-268

(47) Iraszewski's novel was dedicated to "the memory of our unpractical fathers as a modest cross on their grave".
to, don't care about anything other than money. (...) The sight of these crowds converted by Israel to the Jewish faith and Jewish way of life, disgusted me. We have to face it: the prophecies have come true, the kingdom of Israel has arrived and the banker has become the master of the world. The old Europe, full of relics of an extinguished way of life, has no connection with that new one, which -- like a tribe of uprooted newcomers -- leads a nomadic life on the ruins of the old world. (...) Tombs of gigantic personalities are everywhere, tombs of conquerors, heroes, martyrs and saints but all of their grandchildren are Jews. There is just one thing that divides this human world into two gigantic tribes, substantially different from each other. The first, like a Jew before he gets rich, scrumps disgustingly and dirtily. The second, like a rich Jew, puffs itself up, lives in luxury and proudly displays its riches."

Such ideas were echoed even by writers who, like Józef Orzeszowski -- commonly considered a forerunner of Polish Positivism -- showed a considerable understanding of economic matters. Although the ideals Orzeszowski advocated could hardly be defined as a defence of capitalist values (49), his response to capitalist changes was more differentiated than that of Kraszewski. But even in Orzeszowski's eyes the Jews represented "easy" money, the morally ambiguous wealth generated by unproductive financial operations.

The opposition between money created by productive and by unproductive labour provides the plot structure for Orzeszowski's version of the medieval Twardowski legend. The

48) J.I. Kraszewski, Metamorfozy, Lwow 1874, pp. 18-16
49) As J. Bachórz notes, in Orzeszowski's novels income from an ideal, wastelessly run landed estate does not generally exceed that of last year. J. Bachórz, op. cit., pp. 75-76.
story, incorporated in Nowe-wiadrowi-orygina³a (a novel considered to be the prototype of the roman à these in Polish literature), recounts the adventures of a nobleman who according to the myth sold his soul to the devil. In Horeniowski's version Twardowski returns home from Hell on a recruitment assignment for his master. Constantly changing identities, Twardowski exposes his victims to the temptation of "le简单的 pieniadz" (easy money). Only the few righteous one who resist the temptation are saved from disaster.

In this context Twardowski's frequent connection with the Jews is hardly a matter of coincidence. In two of the story's episodes Twardowski appears in the guise of a Jew. In the first case, assuming the identity of a Jewish convert to Christianity and a moneylender, he talks a young clerk into borrowing money, thus manipulating the young man's misplaced social ambitions and encouraging his foolish hopes for inheritance. In the second case he appears as a "Żyd szefne morejne", an elegantly dressed wheat merchant with a surprising knowledge of contemporary French novels. His mission this time is to talk a nobleman into kidnapping a beautiful but poor girl to whom the nobleman is attracted. The Jew encourages him to enjoy the girl without marrying her, while keeping open the prospect of making "easy money" by claiming a substantial dowry from someone else. In the third episode a Jewish jeweler eagerly succumbs to Twardowski's blandishments, abandoning his honest profession and engaging in moneylending. In the last "Jewish" episode Twardowski
lures a traveler into a Jewish tavern to play cards, yet another source of "easy money". In three out of these four cases Twardowski's complete success is followed by financial ruin and the resulting suicide of the victim.

Contempt for "easy money" is also apparent in Irenicki's portrayal of the Warsaw Jewish bourgeoisie in Lwoml. The novel recounts the life stories of two brothers brought up in strikingly different milieus. The older of them, Eugeniusz, grows up among aristocrats, developing beside exaggerated social ambitions -- a distaste for the "simple" pursuits characteristic of the lower social strata. Eugeniusz quickly succumbs to the temptation of the "easy life" by accepting work as secretary to a Jewish banker. His younger brother and Irenicki's społosman, Ignacy, follows a different path. By becoming a carpenter the hardworking young man chooses a highly original career for an impoverished young man of noble ancestry. Unlike the older brother, Ignacy shuns any contact with the Jewish plutocracy as socially and morally improper. His resentment of this group as a whole intensifies after he discovers that his aunt is the mistress of Baron Geldson, Eugeniusz's employer.

Geldson, a millionaire, spoken of disrespectfully even by his own servants, is presented as an arrogant and nouveau riche. Another Jewish banker in the novel, Olluski -- a former "Żydol z Ollusza" /a little Jew from Ollusza/ --
is portrayed in a more positive light. In contrast to Geldson, Oliwski makes no attempt to hide his humble beginnings as a shop assistant and generously supports the proteges of his noble acquaintances. An old residence in the outskirts of Warsaw, which the banker purchased from a ruined nobleman, provides a gathering place for the city's Jewish elite. Oliwski, whose bad taste and preoccupation with everything "golden" border on caricature, installs a shooting gallery in the gardens surrounding the manor. There, in the shadow of lindens recalling the past glory of Polish aristocracy, "the entire synagogue" (including its numerous Christian members) practice shooting in an effort to overcome their atavistic fear of firearms.

Initially the spoiled "aristocratic" brother sees no major objections to working for a Jew and socializing with his friends. Increasingly, however, the feeling of alienation and social degradation, draws him closer to Ignacy.

Eugeniusz: (...) siedział w łącznie barety Geldsona i myślał o swym położeniu. Dziwny jest ogarnął go smutek. Był on prawie jeden w tej kompanii, tak różnica, od wszystkiego co lubił i do czego przywyl (...). Czuł on się tam zupełnie obcym i nigdy głębiej nie czuł ze z tych sfer 'arystokratycznych/ gdzie trwała piękność, gdzie go otaczała nieśmocznosc', spadł do jakiejś ciemnej i czarnej, pełnej welsłów i złota, zarażonej i z żelaznymi drzwiami, gdzie go okrążyły osoby z małym sercem a wielką lizzenią, dla których na ziemi nie było innego celu jak żyć, inne, literę jak cyfra, innego Boga jak mamonę. A chociaż i pomiędzy, nimi widział uczciwych i dobrych, chętnych do przysług, i gładkich w obejściu, ale ogóln ten razil go przesadą zbytu, niezmierną próżnością, we wszystkim, pretensją pełną śmiesności i niewłaściwego nad-
stawiania się, nade wszystko z brakiem zupełnym
podniesienia i do żalych wyższych celów życia, do
mysli oddalających od ziemi, do których potrzebne
są słzydia, żalich z banocetli zlepić nie można.
Te uwagi dały mu uczucie żalągłóż głębokiego poni-
żenia. (...) Często Eugeniusz pracując w lantorze
Geldsona, słysząc tylko brzęc srebra i ten szwar-
got niemieco-żydowski, którego jednym celem,
ścienia i duszą był pieniądz, wstrząsał się w swo-
jej szlachetnej i wyższej naturze i przechodził do
podobnych nad sobą i drogą swoją refleksji."

/Eugeniusz (..) sat in the corner of Geldson's
carriage and thought over his situation. A strange
sadness filled him. He was almost alone in this
company (i.e. the only non-Jew), so different from
everything he liked and to which he was accustomed
(..) He felt completely alienated and never rea-
lized more clearly that from those spheres (i.e.
aristocratic society) devoted to the higher ideals
of beauty and eternity he had fallen into some
kind of dark cellar full of gold and bank notes, a
cellar with grated windows and iron doors, where
he was surrounded by people with tiny hearts but
large pockets. They knew no goals other than pro-
fit, no letters other than numbers, no God other
than Mammon. And though he met among them some
good-hearted, well-mannered, helpful and honest
people, the majority repelled him by their exces-
sive luxury, their limitless vanity, their comical
pretentions and improper manners. Above all, how-
ever, they repelled him by their complete lack of
higher aspirations in life and of thoughts capable
of detaching themselves from the earth. Such
thoughts needed wings which could not be replaced
by bank notes. These reflections filled him with a
feeling of deep humiliation. (..) Working in Geld-
son's office, Eugeniusz often listened to the ring
of gold and to that Germano-Jewish jabbering
whose only goal, content and soul was money. This
made Eugeniusz think about his life and the path
he had chosen -- and he shivered in his noble and
higher nature./

Eugeniusz's final break with Geldson and his milieu is
presented by Horzeniowski as Ignacy's well-deserved moral
victory. Finally realizing the error of his ways and look-
ing for a healthier way of life, Eugeniusz leaves Geldson's

50) J. Horzeniowski. "Lwów", II, in Dzieła wibrane, V, Kraków
1954, pp. 281-282
offices to join the imperial army.

The publication of J.U. Niemcewicz's RoL_3333_czyn_330
niesłychany (The year 3333 or the incredible dream), undertaken by Przegląd Poznański in the tense climate of the "Jewish war" (1858), reflected a widespread fear of Jewish economic influence along with a desire to slow down and even arrest the process of assimilation (51). Niemcewicz's previously unprinted pamphlet, known in literary circles since it was written at the beginning of the century (52), not only reflected the mood of the late 1850s but also appeared to address directly the ongoing debate on the "Jewish question". The editors anticipated that readers would interpret the pamphlet as a reversal of Przegląd's position sympathetic to the idea of equal rights. They therefore hurried to assure the public that their decision to proceed with publication was due solely to the literary quality of the work (53).

RoL_3333 was the first Polish work to develop on a

51) For this interpretation of Niemczewicz's work see A.Eisenbach, op.cit. p.281; and R.Brandstaetter, "Moszliopolis", in Mięciśmyi Żygodewel 2 (1932), p.32.

52) See R.Brandstaetter, op.cit., p.39. After its second edition in 1913, Niemczewicz's work was incorporated in the main body of Polish anti-Semitic writings, as Brandstaetter notes, pp.40-41.

53) Przegląd Poznański, 26 (1858), the editor's introduction p.346.

large scale the concept of an organized Jewish conspiracy, directly threatening the existing social structures (54). Poland’s transformation into a sinister Judeo-Polonia, a nightmare vision (sen niesłychany) from which Niemcewicz’s narrator awakes in terror, appears there as the final stage in a long-term strategy successfully pursued by assimilated Polish Jews. The pamphlet’s plot is set in Warsaw, now renamed Mosztopolis after its new Jewish ruler.

There is not much left of the old Polish capital in this Judaized city. A thick layer of mud covers its once elegant streets, while the pornographic program of the city’s theatres best reflects its unhealthy eroticism. The Frasinski palace is transformed into a tavern, as are many other buildings symbolizing in Polish eyes the glorious national past. Spiders drop from the dirty roof of the royal palace during a reception attended by new-style "aristocrats" who speak an abominable mixture of Yiddish and French. The city’s Polish population, including the impoverished and humiliated nobility, ekes out a living by serving their new masters. The process which in the author’s vision led to the Jewish takeover of Poland had some parallels to the legal status of Jews as it was debated in the late 1850s.
They did not conquer the Poles with arms but with ruses, bribes and tricks; I don’t remember exactly how it happened. But once they received the right to hold public offices and to purchase landed estates, nothing could stop their tireless shrewdness and intrigues. As centuries passed, they crushed the Poles and other Christians and gained control of everything. But since nobody wanted the dirtily ravaged kingdom, they chose their own king and renamed ancient Poland Palestine.

The climate of the Jewish war also affected an exchange of ideas which could have generated an important discussion on romantic versus non-romantic trends in literature. In 1857 J. Klaczy, a prominent romantic critic, unfavorably reviewed J. Orzeniowski’s novel _Trewni_ (56). In a brilliant essay Klaczy analyzed the novel in terms of new, non-romantic values in which he rightly saw an erosion of the romantic concept of literature (57). Unable or unwilling to respond to the critic’s arguments, and taking them as a personal affront, Orzeniowski retaliated by exposing Klaczy’s


56) A detailed account of the exchange between Klaczy and Orzeniowski, including information on related literature, may be found in J. Bachdrz, _Realizm bez_ "chmurnego_ jezdy". _Studia o powieściach Józefa Orzeniowskiego_, Warszawa 1979, pp.53-69. See also S. Lawyn, "Julian Klaczy jako recenzent _Trewnych_ Orzeniowskiego", in _Przegląd_Nauki_Historycznych_ i_Społecznych_, IV, Łódź 1955.

Jewish background. In Żiote Lądowy, a play written in 1860, Horzeniowska depicted him as a paid agent of Polish aristocracy in exile. Moreover, in the play Łaczko's attack on Krewni appeared as part of the Jewish-aristocratic conspiracy directed against genuinely Polish literature (58).

58) J. Bachórz, op.cit. p.66-67
CHAPTER TWO

THE PATRIOTIC MANIFESTATIONS

1861-1862

1. THE ROMANTIC ROOTS

To the generation of Mickiewicz and Slowacki, the first generation of romantic writers, Poland's leading role in the historical process was an unquestionable fact. Their idea that the Polish nation should lead the progressive march of mankind -- no matter whether the progress was understood in terms of revolutionary struggle or of moral advancement -- appeared to be substantiated by the importance of the "Polish question" in European politics of the early 19th century. In fact, the rebirth of the partitioned Polish state would have necessitated a revision of the political status quo in Europe. In mid-century, however, this scheme became increasingly out-of-date. The breakdown of the revolutionary wave of the 1840s weakened belief in the solidarity of the European nations, a key to the romantic understanding of the historical process.
differed from that of Golgotha, the common symbol of Polish fate in the years of the January uprising. The earlier vision of Poland atoning for the misdeeds of Europe emphasized the universal dimension of Polish suffering. Poland's crucifixion redeemed the European nations liberating them from the yoke of moral and political bondage. In the latter symbol, that of the insurrectionnaire, Golgotha, this universal character was much less pronounced. Similarly, the announcements of God's kingdom on earth or of the approaching era of Slavic supremacy, so characteristic of the earlier period, found by and large no echo in the 1860s. On the whole, however, the modification of the symbolic language did not alter the prevailing spiritual climate. From the literary as well as the ideological point of view the January insurrection was the last belated (1) outburst of Polish romanticism.

In the January uprising romanticism collected its last harvest.

Wybuchło ono (powstanie – M.O.) w czasie, liedy nie tylko wszystkie wielkie utwory romantyczne zostały już napisane, ale i w momencie, liedy uderzyły one z całą siłą w wyobraźnię, liedy były czytane, a niektóre, jak Słowacię, dopiero za­częto czytać i – można powiedzieć "przeladać na

(1) The epigonic character of this literature is stressed by several critics. For J. Łuczycza-Saloni the poetry of the January uprising "did not open new perspectives in Polish literature". Rather, it represented a "dead end in which one of the streams of romantic poetry got stuck" and its adaptation to a historical situation was substantially different from that which inspired the great romantic poetry. J. Łuczycza-Saloni, "Poezja powstania styczniowego" in Dziedzictwo powstania styczniowego, Warszawa 1964, p.66.
The insurrection broke out at a time when all major romantic works had already been written and had forcefully captured the imagination; when they were being studied or, as in the case of Słowacki, when the process of their reading and translation into social reality had just begun. The January uprising was filled to the brim with romanticism. The mystic and heroic worlds of Słowacki exerted an especially strong influence on the inspirers, the organizers and the participants of the movement.

The Messianic philosophy remained an important source of inspiration to a generation which, in these years, most prominently represented the Polish cause. Basic notions of Messianic historiosophy, such as "nation", "sacrifice", "mission", "martyrdom" were still part of the living national tradition. So too were the classic ideas of the Spring of the Nations: the belief in the integrating force of patriotic feelings; the concept of the brotherhood of nations and Poland's crucial role in forging it; the idea of the hidden meaning of history manifesting itself through the spontaneous actions of human masses. These ideas, mass-reproduced in simplified forms to suit the needs of political propaganda, were used eclectically and with little effort at incorporation into ideologically coherent systems (2).

The early 1860s brought, along with growing political radicalism, a strong recession of non-romantic trends in

(2) M. Janion, "I święci lanonier ostatni", introduction to Reduta, romantyczna poezja Niepodległodowa, Warszawa 1979, p. 71
literature. Once more, the revolutionary ideology of romanticism, including its egalitarian and populist slogans, dominated Poland's life. With the appearance of a new generation of writers who denounced any sign of accommodation with the occupying powers, the pragmatic orientation of some of the older writers appeared dead. J. Horzienowski's last work, written on the eve of the uprising, bitterly acknowledged the bankruptcy of their non-romantic ideals (4). The sympathizers of the movement, more or less closely associated with the so-called "reds", gradually silenced the conservative camp and tightened their control of the literary scene. Moreover, the "reds" scored an ideological victory by imposing upon the conservatives a language -- with a corresponding literary symbolism -- in which social reality was to be discussed (5).

This approach, heavily loaded with the traditional romantic concepts of society, did not leave much space for the discussion of economic matters. Largely put aside, these matters yielded temporarily to the exaltation of the Polish

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4) J. Horzienowski, Nasza prawda. Scena z życia Polski z roku 1863; the work's analysis may be found in J. Bachórz, op.cit., pp. 67-68

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5) See R. Czepulis, op.cit., p. 534. In her discussion of the perception of social structure by contemporary public opinion Czepulis stresses the substantial discrepancy between liberal opinions expressed publicly, and those held in private.
cause. This shift found its clear reflection in the treatment of the Jewish themes.

T. T. Jez's *Historia o ojczo-ocie-w陆军_...oca-oroc_dziedzu* (The story of great grandfather and great grandson, 1860), for instance, emphasized the Jewish contribution to the struggle for Poland's independence. Both the Polish landlord and his faithful Jewish lessee were veterans of the November uprising. The novel's Jewish protagonist not only refrained from "cheating" the landowner and corrupting his peasants but was entrusted with supervising the education of the nobleman's children. In M. Bałucki's *Przechrztta* (The convert, 1860), a novel dealing with marranos in medieval Spain, the sympathetic treatment of the Jewish hero was coupled with calls for more religious tolerance. Moreover, by using the fate of the oppressed Spanish Jews as a cover for discussing Polish affairs (6) Bałucki was the first to introduce a new symbolic language based upon parallel historical experiences of Poles and Jews.

Loyalty to the Polish cause is the dominant feature of the old Jewish tavern-keeper, a figure clearly reminiscent of Janiel in A. Mickiewicz's *Pan Tadeusz*, in W. Łoziński's *Zależy dwór* (The enchanted manor, 1864). Written in Galicia in response to the patriotic agitation in Congress Poland (7), *Zależy dwór* revives the romantic tradition of con-

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spionage aimed at regaining national independence. Although Łoziński's plot develops in the Galicia of the 1840s, many details -- the novel's treatment of its Jewish protagonist notwithstanding (8) -- bring to mind the atmosphere of the early 1860s in neighbouring Congress Poland. The Jewish tavern is at the heart of illegal patriotic activities in which Łoziński sees the expression of the most noble ideals. Only the tavern-keeper knows all the secret ties between the characters in the play and their real and assumed identities. With the Jew's help his long-time friend and ally, a Polish nobleman (a character modelled on Father Robert Jan-Niel's partner in Pan_Tadeusz (9)), is actively stirring up the peasantry.

Reverend S.Felinski's short story Czyr-zalachtosz (The noble deed, 1856) republished in 1861, depicted a religious Jew as an exemplary citizen and his ethics as fully compatible with those of a good Pole. The narrator in the story explicitly condemned anti-Jewish bias as "unjust":

Szczera gościnność (...) i budząca rozmowa gospodarcza, każała mi zapomnieć, że znajduję się dróż

7) S.Frybes, "Dwie tradycje powstania styczniowego w literaturze polskiej", in Dziedzictwo_literatury_powstania_styczniowego, Warszawa 1964, pp. 121-124

8) This literary figure is discussed in M.Opalski, The_Jewish_Tavern_and_his_Tavern-keeper_in_Nineteenth_Century_Polonian_Literature, Jerusalem 1985, pp. 52-53

9) S.Frybes, op.cit., p.123; on Zalęty_dwor's indebtedness to Pan_Tadeusz see also J.Krzyżanowski, introduction to W.Łoziński's Zalęty_dwor, Wrocław 1959, p. LXXI
Their sincere hospitality (...) and edifying conversation made me forget that I found myself in a family of different religious persuasion, that I was dining with the Jews whom we so unjustly hate. It seemed to me that I was a guest in a home similar to my own or that of some neighbors friendly to my parents."

Feliński’s story was warmly greeted by the assimilationist Jutrczenka as a sign of favorable changes in the Polish perception of the Jews. (11) This new mood was also reflected by a number of articles and essays dealing with various aspects of past Polish-Jewish symbiosis which appeared in the contemporary press (12). Finally, a few sympathetic portrayals of the Jew modified his predominantly negative image in the didactic literature designed for lower social strata (17).

10) S. Feliński, "Czyn szlachetny" in Powieści La, S. Felin- uliego, 3rd edition, Warszawa 1877, p.17
11) The second edition of Feliński’s story was reviewed in Jutrczenka 24 (1861), pp.194-196.
17) S. Bienias, "Jyd w literaturze ludowej" in Przegląd Tygodniowy, 1922, p.167
II. THE WARSAW CONNECTION

While the tension between Poles and Jews decreased in 1860, a decisive shift in Polish public opinion — favourable to the Jews — occurred only in the spring of 1861. This breakthrough was due to Jewish participation in the wave of patriotic demonstrations which marked the spectacular rebirth of the Polish separatist movement. In many contemporary eyes it was not the uprising itself but the Warsaw demonstrations which represented the highest achievement of the national spirit. The motif of their "miraculous" nature turns up repeatedly in contemporary literature. Typically, C. I. Norwid's poem responding to the Warsaw events referred to this "miracle" in the very first lines:

Pytaš¿ ¿o mówie gdy warszawskie dziecię
Wstawa oparte na cudzie" (14)

/You asks: what do I say when a Warsaw child rises supported by a miracle?/

Interpreted in the categories of romantic historiosophy, Jewish participation in the Warsaw demonstrations became a symbol of outstanding emotional importance. It was greeted by a flood of poetic manifestos and prayers exalting

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the idea of Polish-Jewish brotherhood. As the single most prominent episode in current Polish-Jewish relations, it etched itself strongly in the collective memory of the Poles. The Jewish presence in the demonstrating Warsaw crowds not only gave the events a unique colour, but also played a crucial role in creating the myth of the "people of Warsaw". This new category born of the upheavals of 1861, was seen as the collective incarnation of the national aspirations of the Poles. The concept of "the people of Warsaw", a category which included Jews and other strata of the urban population, was to open a new chapter in Polish history. From the ideological point of view the appearance of Norwid's rebellious "Warsaw child" pointed to important changes in the Poles' self-image as a nation.

This Jewish support, greeted by many with disbelief and surprise, quickly became one of the physical proofs of the miracle of national unity. Norwid wrote in 1861:

Gdyby orzekono, że nie tylko szlachta, mieszczostwo, lud, ale nawet warstwa Żydów nie będzie bierną i ujemną w sprawach, które całą wszystkość społeczeństwa obchodzą - wydawałoby się to wymysłem. (15)

"If someone predicted that not only the nobility, the urban population and the peasantry, but even the Jews would not be passive and negative in questions of concern to the entire Polish society, it would sound like fantasy."

15) C. Norwid, Pisma polityczne i filozoficzne, London 1957, p.119
Although the wave of demonstrations slowly spread from Warsaw to other cities of Russian Poland, Warsaw remained the centre of both the real and mythical events. It was there that the ritual of "bratanie się z Żydami" (fraternizing with the Jews) first crystallized to provide the rest of the country with a ready-made pattern of rapprochement. Its symbolic expressions — patriotic services held in churches and synagogues, common singing of songs, exchanges of gifts between houses of prayer, the display of signs of mourning for Poland's lost independence, the sudden proliferation of the term "Poles of the Mosaic persuasion" as a form of addressing Jews — spread out of the capital. This movement from Warsaw to the provinces is evident in W.Wolski's "W górach". This poem, inspired by a pilgrimage to the Świętokrzyskie Mountains undertaken by a group of Warsaw patriots in 1861, reflects the spreading idea of the Polish-Jewish alliance.

Myśmy wtedy szli do miast
Rzec równości wyraz żywy
Deptac przesąd - chwast żydliwy
Przez ciemiężców siany chwast,
Dzięciął bratni krzyż wesela
7 piersi chrześcian i Izraela
Gdy ujrzała miejsca wiara
1rwawą barwę w tle sztandaru.(16)

/Then we went to the towns and cities/ to bring them the message of equality/ and to fight prejudice/ the poisonous weed planted by the oppressors/ the cry of brotherly joy came/ from Christians and Jews/ when the urban population/ recognized our red flag./

Not surprisingly, then, Warsaw represents the most com-

16) M. Wolski, "W górach" (1869) in M. Janion, Reduta, romań-
tyczna poezja niepodległościowa, Warszawa 1979, p.245
mon setting for "Jewish" motifs in the early stage of the January uprising. Participation in the gatherings, processions, religious services and bloody confrontations with Russian troops, as well as involvement in activities organized by the Polish underground, are a standard element in biographies of Jewish patriots. The main hero of W. Wolski's poem "Mosiel", a galvanized young man who works among Jews to win their support for the Polish cause, shows them his arm, "wounded in the April slaughter" (17). The main Jewish character in W. Loszczyc's W ogniu wolności, who identifies himself as "a Pole and a Jew at the same time," recalls how he carried the cross, sang "Boże coś Polskę" and was shot at by cossacks in Warsaw in the spring of 1861 (18). The noble old Natali, in A. Urbanski's Pod kolumną Zygmunta (Under the statue of King Sigismund, 1880), collects money for the Polish patriots and hides their documents. He is finally felled by a Russian bullet while bearing a cross in the streets of Warsaw (19).


18) W. Loszczyc, W ogniu wolności (In the fire of liberty) in Ognisko Domowe 71 (1886). D. Fajnhauz claims that "Boże coś Polskę", the famous patriotic song, a prayer asking God to restore to Poland its lost national independence, was sung in the synagogues in its Yiddish-language version. D. Fajnhauz, "Ludność żydowska na Litwie i Białorusi a powstanie styczniowe" in Biuletyn ZIH 37 (1961), p. 27. This information, however, finds no confirmation in the literary material.

19) A. Urbanski, Pod kolumną Zygmunta in Utwory poetyckie, Lipsk 1884, p. 267

20) N. N. Dwa Izrael, in Pamiątka 1863 roku, Lwów 1869, p. 7
Warsaw's Sigismund Square miraculously brings back to life "the harp of David", the symbol of Israel's ancient glory (20). In P. Willkońska's novel *Na_pograniczu* (1864), the "mysterious, unearthly forces" unleashed during the Warsaw demonstrations initiate "the brotherhood with the Jews who make unprecedented sacrifices on the altar of our common love" (21).

This Warsaw connection systematically appears in most of the works dealing with the insurrectionary movement in the provinces which note the pro-Polish attitudes of the Jews. In J. Dzierżłowski's *Chrześć_Polski* (1865), for instance, "the growing attachment to Poland" on the part of the Podolian Jews is explained by their "terrible oppression and legal discrimination" by the Russians (22). Their active support of the Poles, however, crystallizes only with the arrival from Warsaw of the idealistic and completely Polishized grandson of a local tavern-keeper (23). The link between the periphery and the centre frequently expressed itself in the transfer to other geographic surroundings of the events occurring in Warsaw (24).

23) I am indebted to Prof. I. Bartal for drawing my attention to the symbolic importance of the movement of persons, letters and news between Warsaw and the provinces which appears frequently in both Jewish and Polish traditions.
Generally speaking, the literature under study is characterized by a striking scarcity of information about the concrete situations and ways in which Jewish support manifested itself. It is true that the patriotic attitude of M. Jastrow inspired M. Romanow's poem "The rabbi", and the rabbis Jastrow and Meisels are mentioned by name in a few works. From time to time we find in this literature a weak echo of the patriotic services held in synagogues in Daniłowiczowska and Nalewki streets and of the edifying sermons delivered there by unnamed, patriotically-minded rabbis. Warsaw assimilationists such as D. Neufeld, M. Epstein and M. Rosen appear to have served as prototypes for certain Jewish characters in J. I. Laszewska's Żyd (25).

In another novel, Dziecie Starego Miasta (The child of the Old City, 1867) J. I. Laszewska mentions a Jewish member of Warsaw's Delegacja miejska (the Municipal Commission) as well as representatives of an unspecified "recently enriched bourgeoisie" in the city's delegation to Governor Gorchakov. Jewish participation in the Municipal Commission is elabora-

24) For a similar parallel movement in the Jewish tradition see, for instance, M. Bałaban's discussion of Opatoshu's Yiddish-language novel In_the_Polish_woods. M. Bałaban, "W przededniu powstania Styczniowego", in Studia_historyczne, Warszawa 1927, pp. 178-180

25) An attempt to identify them has been made recently by some Polish scholars. A. Żyga, Problem_zydowskie_w_twór- czości J. I. Laszewskiego in: Rosynd_Komisja_Historyczno- literacka, Wrocław i Kraków Warszawa 1964, II, p. 203; B. Os- mólśka-Piśler, Powstanie_styczniowe_w_twór- czości J. I. Laszewskiego Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, Prace Wy- działu filologiczno-philologicznego, XIV, 2, Toruń 1963, p. 137
ted in Žyd. There are Jewish faces among the young men un-
dergoing secret military training in Szyieg (The spy, 1865)
(26). Here and there we find acknowledgement of a Jewish
presence at the funeral of five victims who fell on March
28. Some remarks on the government's favoring the Jewish
middle class at the expense of the Poles seem to refer to
Count Wielopolski's famous speeches to Jews and the Catholic
clergy. On the whole, however, the authors' lack of interest
in reconstructing the actual events makes these fictional
sources of little or no value in any attempt to place the
Jewish element in the uprising's early phase in a broader
socio-historical context. This lack of attention to factual
detail is accompanied by a considerable preoccupation with
the hidden historiosophic sense of Jewish attitudes.

26) In I.raszewski's novels dealing with the January uprising
there is no mention of other episodes of Polish-Jewish re-
conciliation, on which he commented as the editor of Gaceta
Codzienna. These include the admission of Jews into guilds
of merchants 74-75 (1861) and craftsmen 77 (1861), ex-
changes of gifts between churches and synagogues 78 (1861), and
a Jewish contribution to help finance the Easter celebra-
tions of poor Christian craftsmen.
The literary perceptions of Polish-Jewish rapprochement seem to cluster around one particularly powerful symbol: the legend of the student Michaił Landy’s death during the spring manifestations of 1861. Landy appears as a literary hero under his own name (Dwa Izraeli (1869)). We see him as a prototype of major literary characters (Natalia in Podolumną Zygmuntą) and of other Jewish figures (like Łosiczyc’s Janiel in W ogniu wolności and the white-haired Jew in J. Zacharyasiewicz’s Święty Jur) portrayed as carrying the cross in the streets of Warsaw. In fine arts, the scene of Landy’s death inspired painters such T.R. Fleury (“The demonstration of April 8, 1861”) and A. Szył (“The statutes of Kraków”).

The motif of the cross taken by a Jew from the hands of a fallen clergymen is a common denominator of Landy-legend in its numerous variations. While its symbolic interpretation generally follows the same pattern, the portrayals of the Jewish hero are strikingly short on specifics. Literary and historical writings diverge considerably as to Landy’s basic social characteristics (27). Moreover, there is a sub-

27) Divergences include his age, occupation, first and last names. Landy, Landa, Landau, Lande, Laude are among the most common variations of the latter.
stantial discrepancy in the way in which the legend and the victim's father account for Michał Landy's death (28).

The long anonymous poem Dwa_Israele (The two Israels, 1869) represents the most common pattern incorporating the Landy legend in the national mystique. "Alexander Landy" appears in it as a sacrificial lamb whose blood miraculously seals the alliance of "the two Israels", the brotherhood of Poles and Jews.

'And he sacrificed the heart of his nation/ you, chosen among the chosen people/ to unite forever the two peoples/ to seal by blood the union of two nations/

The defense of the cross by the Jew, an act hardly compatible with the prevailing religious stereotypes, is the central element in this symbol. The cross, a symbol of redemption and of Poland's fate, ennobles the Jew and ultimately leads to a shift in his theological status. His sacrificial death, which in its overall concept reveals a close similarity to Christ's, is followed by his spiritual elevation. Moreover, the Landy episode clears the way for the

28) Henry, Landy's account passes over in silence the episode of the cross. M.H.Piątrowski explains this omission as "circumstances embarrassing to a religious Jew". M.H.Piątrowski, "Nieznany życiorys Michała Landy", Wiedomosci Literackie 45 (1932), p.3

29) N.N. Dwa_Israele, in Pamiętnik_1867_roku, Lwów 1869, p.7
collective elevation of the entire people of Israel. In C.1.'Norwid's famous poem Żydowie_polski (1861) Landy's sacrifice plays a crucial role in accounting for the suddenly perceived change in Jewish behavior. This change is linked by Norwid to a symbolic choice, both moral and political. Opting for "trzyle za które się lona" (the crosses for which one pays with one's life) and rejecting the 'gold' offered them by other nations, the Jews give, on both spiritual and political levels, proof of solidarity with Polish aspirations. In a number of works this collective ennobling of Jews assumes the form of Israel's de facto acceptance of Christian values.

Mezczyzna: (..)

W dziejach świata O wrogowie! Wieczna wam zgroza i wstyd
Ze gdy trzyź tytuł1 - Caryowie Bronił go - Żyd.

Niewiasta:
Żyd® Żyd®

Mezczyzna:
Ta, Żyd
Żyd z imienia, z fryml1, z głowy
Lecz już duchem biały lew
Zośnierz to już Chrystusowy
Przez miłość, prawdę iREW. (30)

/Man: O enemies! To the end of the days (you will be stigmatized) by horror and shame that is falling upon you/ When the (Christian) czars rose against the cross a Jew defended it/ (Woman:) A Jew! A Jew! (Man:) Yes, a Jew! A Jew by his name, yarmulke and features/ But

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30) I. Baliński, "Widzenie" in: Hasło_polskie, Poznań 1862, pp.9-11
spiritually already transformed into the white lion/
Already (serving as) the knight of Christ/ through his
love, truth and blood./

Lile the sacrificial death of Christ and its equi-
valent, the martyrdom of Poland-Christ-of-the-nations,
Landy’s death generates a higher form of life. Bestowed
with redeeming power, Landy’s blood miraculously ferti-
lizes the soil from which an "evangelic plant" springs
up, winning "millions" of followers.

Młodzieńcza piersi' arfo Jehowiczna
Po której zagrał gromami Jehowa
Tyś Irwawa, roln, gdzie ewangieliczna
Roślina wychodzi wielka - milionowa (31)

/Young blood, you are Jehovah’s harp/ on which he
played with thunders/ You are like bloody soil in which
the evangelic plant grows millions of roots/

The link between the transformation of the Jews into a
nation of "knights" ("lud Izraela zmienia się w rycerza") on the one hand and baptism on the other, is
traced even more explicitly in Dwa Izraela. In the
poem, the fatally wounded "Jew with the cross" is bap-
tized by a priest who, in the absence of water, uses
the blood of Polish victims to perform the ritual.

I tak nasz chłopczy nie drży sz łonący
Tylko wznośisz trzyć nad wszystkie czoła
I tak my widzim Judei anioła
Z arką na łonie pod trzyćm nie drzący
A stary kaplan pragnie ochrzeć ciebie,

31) N.N. "Morituris", Dziennik Literacki, 70 (1867),
62-64
Lecz wody nie ma, polska krew on zbiera
która płynęła szeroko w ulicy
I chrzci - chrzcicie w polskiej błysławicy. (32)

/You do not shiver on your deathbed, oh our boy,/ but
you raise the cross over the crowd's heads/ and we see
the Judean angel/ under the cross with the arl on his
lap./ The old priest wants to baptize you/ but there is
no water, so he collects Polish blood/ which floods the
street/ and baptizes you in the Polish lightning./

In S.Goszczyński's unfinished drama Ostatnie męczeństwo
Polski i zmartwychwstanie (The last martyrdom and re-
surrection of Poland, 1861), Satan's comments additio-
nally dramatize the paradox of the Jew who becomes
"zielnierzem Frzyza Chrystusowego" (the soldier of
Christ's cross), to be killed in a Christian assault on
the symbol of their faith. Seen through the eyes of the
evil spirit, the Jew's death is presented as a direct
result of Satan's rage over the betrayal of his long-
time ally.

Satan:

- Co to jest- Żyd- Żyd chwyt znamię Chrystusowe
I podnosi go nad tłumu głowę
Śmierć! Śmierć Żydowi! Ognia piekelnego!
W niego wystrzali wszystkie, w niego!
Ha! Padł trzema kulami przeszyty,
A z nim łzyć, zmyty posąg irw Henri
A z nim łzyć, w bledo wbity. (...)  

32) N.N. Dwa Izraeli, in Pamiątki - 1867 roku, Lwów 1869,
p.8

33) S. Goszczyński, Ostatnie męczeństwo Polski i zmartwychwi-
stanie in S. Pigoń "Oratorium wieszczce S. Goszczyńskiego", in
Prace historyczno-literackie, księga zbiorowa (czyli Ignac-
cego Chrzanowskiego), Kraków 1836, p.436
A ty nieugierny mój Żydzie, ty zdrajco!
Poznajiesz, to mocniejszy: czy mój ołów,
Czy tarcza niebieskich aniołów? (73)

'Satan: What's that? A Jew! A Jew grabs Christ's symbol/ and
raises it over the crowd's heads/ Death! Death to the Jew'
(Direct) against him all of the hell's fire/ ha' he fell hit
by three bullets/ and along with him fell the cross in the
mud/ (...). You unfaithful, treacherous Jew/ now you know
who's stronger: my lead/ or the shield of the angels?/

This prevailing response to the legend of Landy's death
is also confirmed by a number of historical accounts. Some
of these sources emphasize the rapidity with which the Landy
episode -- translated into messianic categories and thus
transformed into a powerful myth -- spread in numerous
versions in insurrectionary Warsaw.

Fakt ten, ogłoszony przez liczne opowieści, stał
się w ustach agitatorów jednym więcej, dowodem
braterstwa obu narodów, "zapieczętowanego teraz,
al mówiono, łwą". Starano się wypadłowi temu
nadać jakieś osobliwszy, mistyczny charakter. "His-
toria świata, mówiono i pisano później, nie ma równ-
ego temu wypadłowi, który pomimo całej rzeczywi-
stości obrazu otoczył się urokiem jakby jakiejś
budowniczej, średniowiecznej legendy". "Godło męli
Chrustusowej, godło odlupienia i zbawienia," woła
inne pismo tej epoki, "to najwczesniejszy wyraz
idei braterstwa, łączącej pod sztandarem narodowym
wszystkie wyznania i klasy społeczeństwa" (34).

This fact, spread by numerous accounts, was used
by the agitators as one more proof of the brother-
hood of both nations. Attempts were made to give
it a peculiar, mystical interpretation. It was
later claimed and written that "a similar incident
did not occur in the world's history since the
times of Jesus Christ". Despite its factual na-
ture, the incident was immediately wrapped in
something akin to a wonderful medieval legend.
"The symbol of Christ's crucifixion, the symbol of
atonement and salvation", wrote another contempo-
rary periodical, "is the noblest expression of the
idea of brotherhood uniting, under a common na-
tional flag, all confessional groups and social clas-
Similarly, historical sources note beliefs in a prophecy predicting the impending arrival of Polish-Jewish brotherhood, a prediction which -- in the perception of many contemporary observers -- came true with the appearance of the "Jew with the cross". Attributed to Antoni Eichenbaum, the director of the Rabbinic School and a prominent leader of the Warsaw Hasidah movement, the prophecy provided the motif for the patriotic demonstration at his grave that occurred earlier on the day of Landy's death (75). According to the most common interpretation of Eichenbaum's prophecy, Polish-Jewish brotherhood was to be sealed by blood shed in solidarity by Poles and Jews in defence of a common cause.

This is almost exactly the way in which "rabbi Eichenbaum's" vision is worded in J.Zacharyasiewicz's Saint Jur (Saint Jur, 1863) in a scene depicting the Warsaw Jews praying at their "prophet's" tomb (76). Eichenbaum's name, however, does rarely appear in the literary accounts of the day's events, which typically allude to an ancient prophecy of unspecified origin. Occasionally traced back to biblical times, the prophecy is instrumental in placing the Polish-Jewish goodwill movement in a historiosophical perspective and provides it with a respectable genealogy.

74) Z.L.S. /W.Przyborowski Historya dwudziestych lat 1861-1862, part I, The year 1861, II, Iraelow 1891, p.77
For example, in Dwa Izraeli the prophecy is put in the mouth of the dying Janikiel, the hero of Mickiewicz’s Pan_Tadeusz (1834). Janikiel, depicted as an heir of the ancient Hebrew prophets, predicts his son’s death on the battlefield as well as the martyrdom of the "Jew with the cross". The sacrificial blood of the latter would ultimately lead to Poland’s rebirth. Janikiel’s vision of the future is fulfilled in the next generation, when his son, Janikiel II, witnesses "Aleksander Lande’s" death, only to die for Poland during the same patriotic demonstration in Warsaw (37).

35) A contemporary observer described the mood of this gathering in the following way: "From Powazki /Warsaw Catholic cemetery/ the funeral cortège headed for the Jewish cemetery, joining on its way a group of Jews who sang "Boże coś Polskę". (...) There was a desire to celebrate Polish-Jewish brotherhood at the tomb of Eichenbaum, a Jew who devoted all his life to the Polonization of his coreligionists. Eichenbaum, a decent and enlightened man, realized well the necessity of Jewish acceptance of the Polish language and customs. He spread this idea among Jews and predicted that time would come when the Jews would be granted equal rights and integrated into Polish society. His prophetic words came true. Common singing, talks and hugs exchanged at his tomb provided new proofs of the real union between Poles and Jews, a union Eichenbaum so intensely desired. (...) On the two cemeteries, the world’s two most suffering nations celebrated their brotherhood". A.Giller, Manifestacje Warszawy 1861, Stanisławów 1908, pp.91-92

36) J.Zacharyasiewicz, Święty Jur i Jerema, II, Lipsk 1873, p.127

37) N.N. Dwa Izraeli, in Pamiątki 1863 roku, Lwó 1869, pp. 18 and 32-33
IV. C.J. NORWID'S "ŻYDOWIE POLSCY": LITERARY RESPONSES TO THE WARSAW DEMONSTRATIONS.

From the ideological point of view "Żydowie polscy" (The Polish Jews, 1861), Norwid's famous tribute to Jews supportive of Poland's national aspirations, is a typical echo of the Warsaw demonstrations. Written in the West by one of the leading Polish poets of the romantic period, the poem is among the best known works dealing with the January uprising. Extensively quoted in discussions of Jewish matters, "Żydowie polscy" became itself a symbol of Polish-Jewish cooperation in the early 1860s. It should be noted, however, that "Żydowie polscy" were the only lines written by Norwid unequivocally appreciative of the Jews (38). Like many contemporary observers, Norwid sees Jewish support as a "sign", a clue which helps to decode the hidden meaning of events of crucial historical importance.

The poem's discussion of the Jews centres on the question of Israel's place in the historical process (both in its universal and its purely Polish dimensions). It seems legitimate to regard this theme of "Żydowie polscy" as a continuation of Norwid's earlier preoccupation with the idea

38) M.H. Piątkowski, "Norwid i Żydzi", Wiadomości Literackie, 39 (1932) p.1
of the "seniority" of Israel. More than a decade earlier Norwid criticized the concept of "seniority" as formulated by Mickiewicz in _Sąd_zasad_ (Declaration of principles, 1848). He perceived Mickiewicz's call for "brotherhood and respect for Israel, our older brother" (39) as a dangerous concession to the Old Testament understanding of Israel as the chosen nation. Norwid feared Mickiewicz and the Towia-nist movement with which Mickiewicz was associated, as disseminators of Judaic influence in the Catholic church.

"In church matters this manifesto aims at the destruction of dogma and promotes spiritual laxity. Also, since the older brother Israel is to play there a leading role, in the final analysis this is a move toward the synagogue."

The redemption, Norwid argued, abolished "earthly" chronology, the only basis on which Israel's claim to "seniority" could be made. His concept of Israel as theologically "younger" was based on the assumption that, as the new chosen people, Christianity took over the privileged status of Israel. Norwid defended this claim in terms of a "new chronology", a new variety of historical time, established

39) A. Mickiewicz, _Sąd_zasad_, (1848), in Dziela, XII, Warszawa 1955, p.7

since the Redemption, which invalidated the old one (40).

In "Żydowie polscy" Norwid's understanding of the Christian election remained basically unchanged. The Christian Poles appeared in the poem as a nation chosen by God for the accomplishment of a crucial historical task. Like many other authors exalting the idea of Polish-Jewish brotherhood, Norwid clearly alluded to the Jews' acceptance of Christianity as a condition for their membership in Christian society. However, the relationship between the "old" and the "new" Israel, and their respective places in God's design, was presented in "Żydowie polscy" in a clearly modified form.

Even though the redemption irreversibly ended their Old Testament election, the Jews, by sharing the fate of the Poles, reemerged as an active force on the historical scene. The similarity of their spiritual experience enabled the Jews to grasp the sense of and identify themselves with the New Testament mission of their "older" brothers. As allies of the Poles they played an auxiliary but constructive role in the divine plan. In the final analysis the brotherhood of the Polish and Jewish nations was accomplished through the elevation of Israel to the Christian concept of sacrifice (41).

41) My interpretation of "Żydowie polscy" converges with that of Z. Stefanowśla in "Norwida spór o powstanie" in Dziedzictwo literackie powstania styczniowego, Warszawa 1984, pp. 78-81; and M.H. Piątkowski, op.cit, Wiadomości literackie 59 (1972) p.1
Norwid's vision and similar messianic visions provide the most common pattern for the interpretation of Jewish political behavior. We find it in countless variations in both fictional and non-fictional literature produced in the 1860s. In W. Dzwonkowskii's treatise *W l_westii włościanie i ruskie i zydowie*, (On the peasant, the Ukrainian and the Jewish questions), published in 1862, Jewish participation in the Warsaw demonstrations "proved" the validity of Poland's historical mission.

Zeszłoroczne zlanie się w jedność narodową żydów, w pierwszym tchnieniu zmartwychwstania Polsli, świadczy że missya nasza, zawsze ta sama, i że spełnienie jej nie przestało być celem i warunkiem naszego bytu (42).

/Last year's inclusion of the Jews in a national union, at the first sign of Poland's resurrection, proves that our mission has not changed and that its fulfillment remains the goal as well as the condition of our existence./

In this respect, the main point made by the previously-mentioned Jewish character in Wolski's poem "Mosie!", is no less significant. Working to win his fellow Jews' support for the Poles, he announces the arrival of a Messiah who is bound to change the course of history. The Jew identifies this Messiah as "naród-sierota" (the orphaned Polish nation) united with the "plemienny tułacz", (the tribal wanderer), a metaphor clearly referring to the Jews.

42) W. Dzwonkowskii, *W l_westii włościanie i ruskie i zydowie*, z powodu obecnych wypadków, Paryz 1863, p. 68
W imię wspólnych dzieci mięczestwa
lumy rozlicznych zdzialeń,
ważach bez pejsów – na nabożeństwa
Wiodł do Kościołów Polaków.

Mówió, że Mesjasz do, co tęskniota
Wiedź przyzywa go z płaczem,
Zjawił się, że nim naród-sierota,
Zbratan z plemiennym tułaczem. (47)

/In the name of common suffering/ he led the crowds of young Jews,/ those with sidelocks and those without/ to services held in Polish churches./ He told them that the long-awaited Messiah had arrived/ This Messiah was the orphaned nation/ allied with the tribal wanderer.'

Similarly, in T.Lenartowicz's poem "Israel" (1865) a Jew praying to God for the chosen Polish nation expresses the conviction that despite all the suffering caused by the defeat, in the long run the future belongs to the Poles. His hope is rooted in the belief in God's special commitment to the Polish nation. Lenartowicz's poem reveals one more similarity with Norwid's approach. It is manifest in the biblical image of cooperation between King David and King Hiram, yet another symbol of the Polish-Jewish alliance. The "real" Israel, the Poles, occupy the very centre of the scene – Jerusalem. On the other hand the Jews symbolized by the King of Tyre, are removed from the centre of the image to the periphery. In this way the poet manages to maintain the "theological" hierarchy of the two nations while emphasizing their close friendship and mutual help (44).

43 W. Wolski, "Mosieh" in J. Wińczewicz, Izrael w Pogórze polskim, Paryż 1958, p. 127
ten long after the January insurrection: for instance, in the monologues of Natali. In A. Urbański's *Pod Lolumną Zygmuntą* (1880), who refers to the Poles as "the new Israel of the nations":

"A czymże ty jesteś biedny łez narodzie?"  
*Czyżmy?* Azaliż nie wybranym ludem  
I nam i wam wydarto ojców ziemię.  
I was i nas z torbami w świat za oczy  
Wyrol 1 pędzą srogie... I obydwo  
Jehowa zginąć nie dał, - choć nad nami  
Czarne ciągnęły chmury: mordów, hańby,  
Pozogi... (...)  
Połoton Ci, nowy ludów Izraelu! (45)

/What are you, you poor nation of tears? What are you if not the chosen people? You were robbed of your fathers' land as we once were. Cruel fate chases you away like beggars, as it chases us. But Jehovah protected both our nations and didn't let us perish in spite of the dark clouds of murder, fire and humiliation which covered the sky (...) Homage to you, new Israel of the nations!/

These and similar messianic concepts provide just one illustration of the importance of Israel in the peculiar national mystique of the 1960s. Its status as the chosen people set the pattern for understanding and depicting the election of the Poles. Israel's unique qualities as the suffering "nation of tears", on the one hand, and a nation stubbornly attached to its cultural heritage on the other, make it a frequent point of reference in discussions of Poland's destiny. In these works the Jews appear again and again to confirm the election of the Poles and to predict

45) A. Urbański, *Pod Lolumną Zygmuntą*, in Utwory poetyczne, Lipsk 1884, p. 187
their final victory in both its "earthly" and "theological" dimensions. The fate of Israel provides a measure of Polish misfortunes and of the "sacrifice" required of the Poles to endure as a nation. Not surprisingly, then, Jewish characters tend to advocate a purifying martyrdom whose deeper sense lies in preventing any accommodation with the "crime of the partitions" and thereby saving the Polish nation from the danger of spiritual "death".

All these ideas can be found in the monologue of T.T. Jeź's patriotic tavern-keeper, who urges a young Polish nobleman to join the fight. The Jew's arguments are built around the idea of "sacrifice" and "purification", the key notions of Polish messianism. In the passage below these notions are coupled with a discussion of the respective historical roles of "the two most suffering nations on earth":

"My, Żydzi, zeszliśmy się nad wodą i zabrzmęli czarnego loguta i utopiły nasze grzechy... Ale panowie Polacy to co innego, bo my naród lamentujący a wy walczący: my idziemy do Boga z wielkim krzyżem, w śmiertelnej łoszuli i z głową pochyloną — wy osłaniajcie głowy krzywą szablą, a ten z was, kto szablę podnosi, już przez to samo się oczyszczcie... I święci narodowi jał święty... i choć zginie, to nie zginie ze wszystkim, bo pozostawia po sobie nie same tylko wspomnienie, ale to co Matatjasz Machabeusz... Matatjasz pozostawił Judasa i Judasz Jonatasa, a Jonatae Szymona... Ale Izraela Bóg słoń na rozproszenie, a was nie słoń, bo zrobił Polaków narodem wielkim... Nas było mało, garsteczka ludzi: was jał morzu w piaszu, jał gwiazd na niebie... Nasza cała ziemia nie była większa od trockiego powiatu: polska ziemia ileż to trockich powiatów w sobie mieszka!.. To też wasi Machabeusze nie przeminą, jał nas, ale będą się mnożyły, mnożyły aż przyjdzie czas i dy cały naród Machabeuszami się stanie... Mnie się zdaje, wielmożny panie, dodać, odetchnawszy — ze nim Pol-
We Jews would come together and fill a black rooster on the river bank and drown our sins. But it is different with you Poles: we are a lamenting nation, and you are warriors. We go to God with a great cry, wrapped in prayer shawls and with bowed heads... You raise protectively your crooked swords over your heads and those of you who do that are purified and, like saints, are light to the nation. And even those who perish do not perish entirely, because the traces they leave are not just in human memory, but are also such as Mattathias Maccabee left behind him. Mattathias left Judah and Judah left Jonathan and Jonathan left Simon. God condemned Israel to dispersion, which He spared you by making the Poles a populous nation. There was just a handful of us while you are as numerous as grains of sand on the sea bottom and stars in the sky. Our land was not larger than Trottel count, and how many Trottel counties does Poland contain? That is why your Maccabees will not disappear as ours did but will multiply and multiply until finally the entire nation will be composed of Maccabees. I have the feeling, Sir, he added, taking a breath, that before Poland's purification is accomplished, the country needs its Maccabees; both those who fight and those who die in pain, because those bring purification.

V. THE LEGEND OF THE MACCABEES

Rooted in this messianic scheme, the identification of Israel's historical fate with that of insurrectionary Poland became a widespread literary, stereotype in the 1960s. The fall of insurrectionary Warsaw was commonly compared to that of Jerusalem; Poland was referred to as Zion; the Polish freedom fighters were identified with the Maccabees; the pain and humiliation of defeat found their equivalents in biblical imagery such as the Babylonian exile and the destruction of the temple. The lamentations of Jeremiah and, generally speaking, the misery of dispersion and exile illustrated Poland's recent experiences.

Such parallels sporadically appeared in older works, occasional], even in works written before the November uprising.


48) "The parallel of Polish and Jewish fate developed by the poetry of Polish messianism appeared with particular frequency at the time of patriotic demonstrations and during the January uprising." M. Jamion, M. Zmigrodzka, Romanticzm i historia, Warszawa 1978, p. 54; see also M. Jamion, Poezja romantyczna, poezja niepodległościowa, Kraków 1979, pp. 50-54; J. Lelewel, "Odezwa do ludu izraelskiego" (1873) in Postępowa publicystyka staższy na W.Bór-Prödel, (ed.) W. Łużewicz and W. Lewandowski, Wrocław 1961; J. Czwili, Cesarzewicz, Konstant, i Joanna Grudzińska, czyli Jakubini polscy (1877)
rising of 1830 (47). But only the defeat of that uprising, a defeat which gave birth to Polish Messianism, made them a characteristic element of the "romantyczna Kultura Lesi" — the romantic culture of national defeat (48). In particular, the notion of two parallel nations in exile, the Poles and the Jews, and the concept of the chosen Polish Israel, figured prominently in Miciłewicz's historiosophical works of the Towianist period (49).

In the 1860s the biblical symbolism inherited from the great romantic bards (A. Miciłewicz, J. Słowacki, Z. Frasiński and J. Ujejski) evolved into a rich symbolic language. Widely used in a limited number of variations, these biblical images spread rapidly, enriching the language of the street as well as that of political propaganda. For instance, it was no accident that the insurrectionary government's proclamation to "Braci Poleś: wyznania mojżeszowego" (to brother-Poles of Mosaic persuasion) of 22 June 1863 referred to the Jews as "lud od wielów walcząc, do ostatniej kropli krwi za wolność" (a nation which for centuries fought for its freedom to the last drop of blood) — a reference to Jewish resistance to foreign oppressors whom the document explicitly compares to the Russians (50). In the 1860s the folliorization...


tion of both themes was so advanced that many writers saw no need to assist readers in decoding the political message wrapped in biblical symbolism. This lack of "clues" in works produced both in Poland and in exile can hardly be accounted for by the vigilance of Russian censorship alone.

Unavoidably, the rapid proliferation of this biblical and antique symbolism was accompanied by the simplification of its metaphorical sense and its concentration on a few major themes. This topical specialization proceeded in two major directions (51). The first of these major themes was the Babylonian exile; the second, far more important, was the legend of the Maccabees. The last phase and destruction of the Jewish state, described from a variety of points of view, provided this symbolic language with its basic vocabulary and internal structure.

The Bible remained one of the most powerful sources of inspiration for insurrectionary poetry. This "biblical" mood of the population of Warsaw made a strong impression on W. Spasowicz, a prominent literary critic and a determined opponent of the separatist movement. Those who shaped this mood appeared to him to be:

cóż w rodzaju drużyny prorolów staro-hebrajskich, opłakujących upadła Jerozolimę, a zarazem przepowiadających przyjście nowego Mesjasza polskiego, którego oczekiwanie miało wzbudzić otuchę w sercach współziomów (52).

51) The third popular antique theme (unrelated to the Jews) was that of the persecution of Christians under Nero.
something akin to a cohort of old Hebrew prophets, lamenting the fall of Jerusalem and at the same time predicting the appearance of a new Polish Messiah. The expectation of his arrival was supposed to comfort their countrymen.

Spasowicz's comments on I. Ujejski's "Z dymem pożarów", a song which -- like "Boże cość Polskie" -- was an unofficial anthem of the 1861 insurrection, contain similar observations. Clearly noting the "heretical" element in the intensely religious mood of these years, Spasowicz linked it to the Poles' particular receptiveness to biblical symbolism.

There is almost nothing Christian in this lengthy, powerful moan, which brings to mind the biblical lamentations of Jeremiah. In 1861 I personally heard it sung on public squares, in churches and synagogues (in Danilowiczowska street where the Mał, theatre is located today). Only the old prophets were capable of uttering such curses through tears.

This "biblical" mood, stressed in many other historical accounts, was occasionally perceived to be a betrayal of the true spirit of the romantic legacy. J. Cieszyński's poem "Hymn Jeremiego", for instance, directly contrasts the

52) W. Spasowicz, Życie i polityka margrabiego Wielkopolskiego in Pisma, III, Petersburg 1892, p. 58
53) W. Spasowicz, op. cit., p. 105
"piączliwe Jeremiady" (Jeremiah-like lamentations) with the romantic bards' call for heroic military action. Cieszynski explicitly blames this Bible-inspired lamentative mood for undermining the Poles' spirit and weakening their military effort during the insurrection.

W hymnach złożony boju, zemst/ zaród
Wiec Jeremiego hymn, śpiewał naród.
Lecz za to naród na wroga się rzucił
Nie z ta/ą mocą, jał wieszcz pieśni nucił (54).

'The hymns contain a germ of revolt and vengeance/ the nation was singing Jeremiah's hymns/ but then (the Poles) did not attack the enemy/ with a force comparable to that of our bards' songs.'

References to the Maccabees, the very core of this mythology, can be found everywhere. They are present in the majority of literary works discussed in this study so far. They, as we have seen, play a central role in the Jewish tavern-keeper's call for "sacrifice" and "purification" in T.T. Jez's Drugie boże przyłamanie. Clearly referring to the Landy episode, Norwid describes the Jews collectively as the "Maccabee of the Warsaw street". "Machabej", the term used by him in "Żydowie polscy," gradually came to denote a Jew sympathetic to, or actively involved in, the Polish insurrectionary movement. The patriotically-minded rabbi in M. Romanowski's poem "The rabbi" laments the fate of Warsaw, which he explicitly compares to the destruction of Jerusalem.

54) T. Cieszynski, "Hymny Jeremiego" in Dziennik Literacki 42 (1868)
He rose and looking at the cit, with tearful eyes/ O Jerusalem, he moaned. o Warsaw!

The sight of the execution of a Polish insurrectionist inspires the following reflections on the part of the main character in J.I.~raszewski's Zig:

Patrzylem na tę scenę ze wzruszeniem i wystawìłem sobie jedno z ostatnich powstania izraelskich przeciwko potędze Rzymu. Wszystko tam łąa samo by˛d musiało, lęzy to naszej ojczyzny starej powtarzały się w tym obrazie, to samo prześladowanie, bohaterstwo, ofiary postrachy, tąś blade máuenni- łow twarze, taź miłość ziemii, wiary i swobody.

'I watched this scene with deep emotion thinking of one of the last Israelite revolts against the might of Rome. Everything must have been the same; the fate of our old fatherland reemerged alive before my eyes: the same persecution, heroism and fear before sacrifice; the same pale faces of the martyrs, the same attachment to the land, freedom and faith. /

A similar emphasis can be found in T.Lenartowicz's previously quoted poem "Israel". But the Maccabee theme occupies an even more prominent place in another powerful poem by T.Lenartowicz, "Luk Tytusa" (The arch of Titus) (57). Its Polish narrator, a refugee, contemplates the scenes on the Roman arch of Titus commemorating the fall of the Jewish

55) M.Romanowski, "Rabin" (The rabbi) in: J.Winczeliewicz, Israel w poezji polskiej. Pari 1958, p.105

56) J.I.~raszewski, Zig (1866), Kraków 1960, p.530
state. His reflections on the similarity of "Old" and "New Testament suffering" are shared without reservations by a compassionate Roman Jew whom the narrator accidentally meets under the arch. The column of Jewish prisoners led to Rome by the victorious emperor merges before their eyes with that of Polish insurgents on their snowy way to Siberia. The splendor of the respective victors equals the misery of the defeated. The similarity of the situation of the narrator and Jew in nocturnal Rome finds its equivalent in the similarity of the historical experience of their respective nations (58). As in the other works mentioned above, the time separating the two events has been erased.

In addition to emphasizing the theological status of the Poles and the symmetry of the two nations' historical experience, these works also stress the tragedy of an aristocratic tradition reduced to humiliating slavery. The feeling of cultural superiority, additionally, unites Poles and Jews, the two chosen nations, in their common contempt for the barbarian oppressors. Consequently, contempt for the inferior, "mongolo-czereplesia" (Mongolian Circassian) culture of the Russians — to use C. Norwid's formulation in "Żydowie polscy" — is shared by Jews and Poles alike. The

58) On the identity of the objective situation of the narrator and that of the Jew, and the close similarity of both characters' historiosrophical views in Lenartowicz's "Lul Tytusa" see M. Janion and M. Imigrodzia, in Ewentyziuma history, Wrszawa 1978, pp. 544-545
Polish feeling of cultural superiority over the Russians, expressed by various Jewish characters, further strengthens the Polish-Jewish alliance.

PULKOWNIK: 'rosyjsla, do żydów!'  
...Pomnij, w moich żyłach krew płynie...  
JAHELA (z pogardą):  
Azjaty' (59)

/(the Russian) colonel (to a pro-Polish Jewess): remember that in my veins the blood flows.  
Jahelela (with contempt): of an Asian/
VI. RELIGIOUS STEREOTYPES

The Warsaw demonstrations and their intensely religious atmosphere — a mood which lost little of its intensity in the following years — affected the literary treatment of Judaism. Perceived as the main ideological source of Jewish support, the teachings of Judaism were analyzed primarily from the point of view of their impact on Jewish political behavior. A more positive evaluation of the Jewish ethos logically followed the prevailing view of the Polish-Jewish alliance as an act of religious reconciliation. This approach was stimulated by two related factors: the very strong identification of Polish patriotism with religious values on the one hand, and the previously discussed prominence of Old Testament motifs — rooted in messianic thought — on the other. This unprecedented diminishment

60) Echoing many contemporary intellectuals, M. Jastrow exclaimed "the recent changes in the perception of Jews and of their attitudes toward Poland". Characteristically, in his review of the new edition of J. U. Niemcewicz's Letnie Słowa, Jastrow chose to pass over in silence the novel's content, focusing instead on the warmth of the introduction "inspired by genuine love". Jutrzenka, 9 (1861), p. 68


62) J. Znamierowska, op. cit., p. 4. Znamierowska stresses the continuity between the religious mood of the demonstration period and that of the uprising years. This view is shared by J. Fulczyk-Saloni, "Poezja powstania styczniowego" in Dziedzictwo literatur styczniowego, Warszawa 1964, pp. 42-45
tion of the negative stereotype of Judaism explains the popularity of the religiously-inspired old-fashioned Jew, a figure modelled on the image of a biblical patriarch, as an incarnation of Jewish support of the movement.

On the whole, the unorthodox treatment of Judaism, one of the "heretical" features of the literature under study, is marked by the absence of a clearcut division between the Christian and Jewish traditions (67). Poles and Jews share a common God, a God frequently contrasted with the dark forces supporting of Poland's enemies. Even Norwid's "Żydowie polscy", whose strong attachment to Christian theology is rather exceptional in the literature under study, praises those Jews who:

Mongol zło-czerw! Iszl Iszl nie cieśni się burzy
I Boga Mojżeszów bronili wraz z nami. (64)
"Unafraid of the Mongolo-Circassian thunderstorm, joined us in the defence of Moses' God/"

The prayer for Poland, including the Jew's prayer for his homeland's well-being (of which the anonymous "Modlitwa Żydów warszawskich w 1861" (Prayer of the Warsaw Jews in 1861) and T. Lenartowicz's "Israel" provide typical examples), is a

67) The "heretical" features of this mood and its complete disregard for the dogmatic aspect of religion characteristic of some popular religious movements are emphasized in J. Maciejewski, Przeczucia i problemy przekazu między romantyzmem a poezją wiernym, Poznań 1971, pp. 107-117

64) C. I. Norwid, "Żydowie polscy", in J. Winczałewicz, Israel w poezji polskiej, Paris 1958, p.105
characteristic form of poetical expression. Less frequently, as in L. Niemojewski's poem "Do Izraelity" (To an Israelite) (65) and M. Torwin-Tochanowski's "Życzenie wygnańca" (An exile's wish) the Jewish God's blessing for Poland is requested by the Polish narrator. The Jewish presence on Golgotha in M. Ilncia's "Do siostr moich" is not that of Judas or the wandering Jew, figures commonly associated with the Crucifixion. Instead, we find there, under the cross, "blada córą Izraela" (the pale daughter of Israel), who, having wiped the blood from the Redeemer's feet, awaits the coming resurrection of Christ-Poland. Her unshaken faith in Poland's miraculous rebirth is given as an example to be followed by patriotic Polish women. In a similar Golgotha scene, in S. Gosczynski's Ostanie_męczeństwo_Poli_ i_martwychwała, Mary's devotion to the cross overshadows all the earthly feelings of a "woman, sister, wife, mother and Jewess" (66). The anonymous author of Dwa Izraeli stresses the "holiness" of "Aleksander Lande's" sacrificial death. The young Jew's decision to join the defence of the Polish cause receives the religiously motivated approval of his mother and, through the Jewish mother's blessing, that of the Jewish God. On the other hand the evangelical image of the Virgin Mary facing the impending death of her Son appears to have served as the prototype of "Aleksander's"

65) See the discussion of this poem in H. Wilczynski, Jidišhe tipn in der polisher_literatur, Warsaw 1927, p.61

66) S. Gosczynski, op.cit., p.478

67) N.M. Dwa Izraeli, in Pomiński_a_1867_roku, Lwow 1969, p.27-29
The absence of the negative stereotyping of the Talmud -- in contrast to both earlier and later literature -- is another striking feature of the insurrectionary and early post-insurrectionary works. The Talmud never appears in them as an attribute of a negative Jewish character. On the contrary, respect for its teachings distinguishes the positive exceptions within negatively portrayed groups. A typical example here is the pious old Bartold in J.I. Fraszewski's Zygd, who differs from the "godless" Warsaw plutocrats in terms of both religious mentality and political attitudes.

Natli, the old "Talmudic scholar" in A. Urbáski's Podkolumna Zygmunta ends each of his patriotic tirades by a gesture pointing to the Talmud as to the ideological source of his support for the Poles. In Zygd J.I. Fraszewski embarks on an unprecedented defense of Judaism and, in particular, of the Talmud, devoting to it dozens of pages. Fraszewski's portrayal of the Talmud as fully compatible with good Christian-Jewish relations, and as a source of many valuable ideas, was based on fairly extensive research (68).

Finally, the previously mentioned poem "The rabbi" is not alone in emphasizing the patriotic behavior of the Jewish religious hierarchy. Occasionally, the rabbis actively encourage the pro-Polish attitudes of their congregations.

68) The discussion of sources used by Fraszewski can be found in A. Zyga, op.cit., pp. 108-109.
In J. Erdlinski's _Janek_, for example, a Jewish tavern-keeper, who ultimately turns out to be a representative of the secret Polish government, enjoys the full moral support and protection of his rabbi. This latter cliche, not unlike the stereotype of the pro-Polish "biblical" Jew, seems to indicate some degree of misreading of the political map of Jewish society. It seems legitimate to link these widespread religious stereotypes to the writers' partial failure in identifying the real sources of pro-Polish attitudes (69).

69) In contrast to the members of the Jewish intelligentsia, bourgeoisie and other elements exposed to Polish influence, the conservative religious masses tended to avoid becoming involved in the Polish-Russian confrontation.
CHAPTER THREE

THE JANUARY UPRISING

I. JEWISH ATTITUDES TOWARD THE REVOLT

The Warsaw demonstrations are the main but not the only Jewish theme in the literature dealing with the uprising. Until the end of the 19th century, and during the first decades of the 20th century, Polish literature continues to evaluate the political attitudes of the Jews in the critical years 1861-1864 by assigning to them a small but fairly typical part among the themes of the uprising. This evaluation, however, is constantly revised in retrospect and tends to evolve in an increasingly negative fashion. But while at the end of the century attention is focused on the way in which Jews profited economically from the uprising, the climate of the first decade after 1863 was substantially different. Moreover, in the 1860s the romantic model of the Jewish patriot, a model now firmly rooted in historical reality, gains a lasting place among the "Jewish" themes of Polish literature.

An entire gallery of heroic Jews, insurgents and sympa-
thizers of the uprising, as well as the tremendously popular Jankiel in Mickiewicz's _Pan Tadeusz_, demonstrate the radical if shortlived improvement in the social climate. Depictions of the Jewish contribution are predominantly positive. Moreover, the literature emerging after the uprising occasionally uses the Jews as an instrument of social criticism, and contrasts their exemplary behaviour with the egotistical and unpatriotic behavior of the Polish nobility. The contrast between the radicalism of the Jew and the conciliatory mood of the nobility is frequently emphasized by writers associated with the Reds: T.T. Jeź, J. Narzymski, M. Romanowski, W. Wolcki, E. Lubowski, W. Łoszczyk and others.

For instance, in T.T. Jeź's _Drugie boże orły lanie_ (God's second commandment, 1866), a novel which discusses recent experiences in the guise of the 1871 uprising, a Jewish tavern-keeper is not only the heart but also the intellectual force behind the uprising. The Jew forms his own concepts of strategy, gathers weapons and intelligence, divulges troop movements to the insurrectionists and gives money to the insurrectionary cause. He constantly urges the apathetic gentry to join the fight in the name of the most sacred cause - Poland's independence. Having become an advisor to the Muscovite administrator of the province, the Jew engages in sophisticated political and military intrigues. From his own pocket he covers all the substantial expenses associated with these activities, activities for which the nobility refuses to pay a penny. The result of these manoeu-
verings is that no Russian troops are present at the moment when the insurrection finally breaks out, but the apathetic gentry is not in a position to take advantage of the ideal military circumstances.

During the insurrection the Jew is badly wounded. After the uprising, he is the only one who remembers the wrong meted out to some of the insurrectionist families. But even in this area he does not receive the nobility’s support. The gentry quickly adapts itself to the changed political circumstances and finds a modus vivendi with the victorious power. Its collective perjury invalidates the charges against the Muscovite administrator of the province, whom the Jew had sued for robbery and murder of the civilian population.

The Jewish contribution also occupies a central place in J. Dzierżołowski’s and W. Sadowski’s Chrzest polski (The Polish Baptism) (1865). The novel tells the story of a rich Podolian tavern-keeper, Mortlo, who, along with other members of his family, supports the movement by various non-military means. The walls in Mortlo’s tavern are decorated with effigies of famous Poles, including Losciuszko and the romantic bards. Among scenes from Polish history a prominent place is given to a picture featuring the heroic death of Bereł Joselewicz in the battle of Loechl (1). The arrival from Warsaw of Mortlo’s totally Polonized grandson, Jozef, adds a new dimension to the family’s involvement. Jozef joins the
fighting to emerge as the leader of a detachment of craftsmen and workers which operates in the nearby woods. He repeatedly saves Polish lives and ultimately dies while bringing the woman whom he loves good news from her Polish fiancé. The authors favourably compare the attitudes of the "common people" (including the Jews) with the cynicism of Polish aristocrats who use their connections in the Russian administration to appropriate the estate of exiled insurgents.

W. Łoszczyć's criticism of the nobility went even further. The Jewish hero of his story W ogniu wolności (In the blaze of liberty, 1886) participates in the 1861 Warsaw demonstrations, supplies the Poles with weapons and intelligence, and finally joins them in the partisan war. Treated at first as a security risk, Janiel the tavern-keeper finally manages to prove his devotion to the Polish cause. With a pathetic gesture similar to that of the "Jew with the cross", he grabs the flag from the hands of a fallen ensign and leads a detachment of Łoszczyć in an attack (2). Janiel's bravado ultimately helps the rebels win a decisive battle. Having rendered numerous services to the insurgents as their spy and arms supplier, the Jew is hanged by the Russians following a denunciation by a Polish nobleman. Characteristically (bearing in mind Łoszczyć's political views), the treacherous nobleman (whom we meet in the last

1) Berel Joselewicz (1764-1809), colonel of the Polish army, organizer of a Jewish unit in the Kościuszko Insurrection of 1794
chapter twenty years after the incident) is portrayed as a driving force within the Galician conservative camp in its attempts to discredit the uprising in the eyes of Polish society.

2) Peasant units, armed with scythes, which became a legend in the Hociguła uprising.
II. OTHER JEWISH PATRIOTS IN THE LITERARY LEGEND OF THE JANUARY UPRISING

In the literature dealing with the January uprising, the pro-Polish attitudes of the Jews are expressed in a variety of ways. In J. Narzyński’s novel Ojców (The stepfather, 1872) the Jewish tavern-keeper illegally manufactures bullets, while other "bracia mojżeszowego wyznania" (brothers of the Mosaic persuasion) in the Płock region behave "with complete neutrality" (3). The theme of the Jew saving Polish lives by hiding insurrectionists in the tavern appears in a number of works. In A. Urbański’s poem "Rżywy Mortio" the tavern-keeper hides the legendary peasant partisan, general Borelowski-Lelewel. By doing so the Jew exposes his sick wife and newborn son to harassment by Cossacks. In J. Junosza’s story "From" (1888) the tavern-keeper helps his Polish landlord to escape from the Russians. In J. Trolin-Sili’s play Janów-Biały (The white John, 1908) the previously-mentioned Jewish taverner hides the chief of the secret insurrectionary police, Jan Łarłowicz. In S. Zeromski’s Wierna rzeka (The faithful river, 1917) the Jewish tavern is the only friendly island in a hostile sea sur-

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rounding a wounded insurrectionist. His life is ultimately saved by the heroic efforts of two women, one of whom is the teenage daughter of the tavern-keeper.

In M. Konopnicka's story "Jak Suzin zginął" (How Suzin died) Suzin, the leader of a major partisan detachment which operates in the Lithuanian woods, is assisted by a Jewish officer named Birsztajn (4). Maurycy Lerbas' insurrectionary experience inspired M. J. Wielopolski's story "Kapitan Lerbas" (Captain Lerbas, 1913). In A. Szymański's "Hanusia" a Jewish insurgent leads his rebel detachment out of woods in which it is lost. In the same author's story "Srul z Lubartowa" (Srul from Lubartów), an exiled insurrectionist meets a "fanatical" Hassid in Siberia whose genuine attachment to Poland helps the former overcome a depression caused by homesickness. In J. Irólinski's play W podziemiach Pawia (In the Pawiah prison, 1908) the Jew, imprisoned for his involvement in the movement, proudly admits his Polish loyalties and expresses his contempt for Poland's oppressors.

In J. I. Tłaszelewski's novel Czerwona para (The red couple, 1864) a Jewish doctor follows a partisan unit taking care of the wounded. "The halal officials, the rabbi and other Jews" warmly greet the insurgents entering a provincial town (5). In J. I. Tłaszelewski's previously-mentioned Szpieg (The spy, 1864), Jewish youths actively participate.

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4) Konopnicka may have had in mind a Jew by the name Glazer, Suzin's second-in-command. J. J. Urbach, Udzial Żydów w walce o niepodległość Polski, Warszawa 1978, p. 150.
in the pre-insurrectionary conspiracy in Warsaw by undergoing secret military training. Łraszewski compares these clandestine groups to "the ark of Noah", which, after the bloody flood of the war, will "give birth to a new Polish world," and takes obvious pleasure in emphasizing the group's heterogeneity.

Dziecięc Serafin (...) łączy się tu oszczędając się z jednej strony o starego Izraelite w atłasowym zupanie, z drugiej o pastora protestanckiego w czarnym, obcisłym surdutie. Litewski Tatar przybył wmyślnie spod Trol bratersko witał się z drugim księdzem (6).

"/Father Serafin was moving about, socializing now with an old Israelite in a satin gabardine now with a Protestant minister in a black, tight suit. A Lithuanian Tatar, who arrived from Trol especially for this occasion, fraternally greeted the other priest."

The courageous hero of A. Asnył's Żyd (The Jew, 1874) saves the life of a Polish character in the play during one of the battles. In P. Frus' Lała (The Doll, 1880) both of the novel's main Jewish characters are veterans of the 1863 insurrection. Both Henryk Szlangbaum and Doctor Szuman paid for their patriotic deeds with years of exile in Siberia.

The main Jewish character in J. I. Łraszewski's Żyd (The Jew, 1866), Jakub Hamon, spends the critical months of 1861 attending conspiratorial meetings and participating in the

5) J. I. Łraszewski, Czerwone barą. I, Kraków 1905, p. 222
6) J. I. Łraszewski, Sąpieg. Obrzędek współczesny, Poznań 1864, p. 87
Warsaw demonstrations. Although he shares Fraszewski's doubts about the political sense of the uprising (7), Jalub feels morally obliged to share the Polish fate, first on the battlefield and then in exile. Fraszewski also introduces a large gallery of poor, deeply religious, traditional Jews who do their best to help the Poles. Their gestures of solidarity with the suffering Polish nation are full of romantic pathos. One of Zyd's most original characters is a Jewish officer in the Russian army, a man tragically torn between his Russian loyalties and his deep sympathy for the rebels and their Jewish friends.

The experiences of W. Wolski's "Mosiel" strikingly converge with those of Fraszewski's Jalub Hamon. Mosiel, whose original name undergoes a significant transformation in the poem into the more refined Mojiesz (Moses), an indication of the Jew's acceptance within Polish society as a "Pole of the Mosaic persuasion", campaigns (as does Jalub) to mobilize Jewish support for the Polish cause. He is wounded in both the Warsaw demonstrations and, like Jalub, in the uprising. As in Jalub's case, exile constitutes a closing chapter of Mosiel's insurrectionary experience.

In A. Urbanski's play Pod Kolumna Zygmunt'a (Under the...
statue of King Sigismund, 1880) a Warsaw Jewish family
wholeheartedly supports the movement by hiding the weapons
and documents of the conspirators in the basement. The head
of the family, Natali, fights a private economic war against
Moscow by bleeding dry ("zdzierajac slore") his Russian deb­
tors while supporting the Poles with money which he collects
from Warsaw Jews. Natali’s daughter Jahela, in love with a
Polish patriot, serves as a liaison for the rebels, while
Natali’s son Benjamin pays for the family’s political in­
volvement by being drafted into the Russian army.

The old Jewish antique dealer in A.Oppman’s poem “Berel
Jawor” recalls, on a lonely Saturday evening, the death in
the uprising of his beloved son Eli, and the good old times
of Polish-Jewish brotherhood.

Zgasz mój Eli jał świeca zdmuchnieta
Tala żadną śmierć dał mu Jehovah
Pan dobrodzię, Majzelsa pamiętę
Pan dobrodzię, nie widział Jastrowa” (8).

/My Eli was extinguished like a candle/ Jehovah gave him a
beautiful death/ do you remember, sir, rabbi Maisels*/
didn’t you see Jastrow, sir?/

In W. Łoszczyc’s Wybrany losy (The chosen of fate, 1881-
-1882), E.Lubowski’s Siła i słabe (The strong and the weak,
1865), M.Bałuch’s Starzy i młodzi (The old and the young
1865) and P.Wilkońska’s Na pograniczu (On the border, 1864).

8) A.Oppman, "Berel Jawor" in Słowa wieczny polszczyzny Polski
lích i po gwiełu, ed.J.Tuwim, Warszawa 1954, p.487
we find numerous echoes of the pro-Polish or sympathetically neutral attitudes of the Jews. In Na_pogranicy Willańska describes the Polish patriotism of "poczciwe Żydł" (good-natured little Jews) as "bordering on fanaticism" (9). The Jews incessantly cross the Prussian border to smuggle the rebels into and out of the war-zone or to supply them with weapons and vital information. They also act as emissaries and provide shelter and care to the wounded insurgents. In W.Przyborowski's Nocy_styczniowa_22_na_23_stycznia_1863 -r (The night from 22 to 23 January 1863, 1922), an adventure novel designed for the young reader, Jews repeatedly help the Poles outsmart the Russians.

The theme of Jewish material support for the Polish cause can be found in works by Urbanski, Jeż, Dzierżowski, Fraszewski and many others. We also find it in M.Dąbrowski's story Powstanie_1863_Powitanie_woli_i_swobody (The revolt of 1863. Welcoming war and freedom, 1916). The generous gesture of the Będzin Jews, who provide Polish soldiers with badly needed shoes and sheepcoats, inspires a song which is sung by the insurgents.

"Josele, Josele, co ty robisz stary"  
"Łożuchy, buzi, kla dla tej polskiej wiary" (10).

"Josele, Josele, what are you doing there, old man~" "(I am making) sheepcoats and shoes for Polish soldiers"/

9) P.Willańska, Na_pogranicy (1864), in Pisma_Faulina_z_L. Willańskiej, VII, Poznań 1864, p.46

10) M.Dąbrowski, Powstanie_1863_r_Powitanie_woli_i_swobody, Warszawa 1916, p.14
J. Laskry's poem "Trzy rymary" (Three rhymes) expresses hope that the Jews will contribute their share to the cause. In Pontrymowicz-Ogiński's Przed pół wiekiem (Half a century ago, 1912) a horse-smuggler sells a beautiful horse to the Poles for half the money he would have gotten from the Russians. "I ja jestem Polankiem," -- the Jew explains -- "i proszę Boga żeby nam pobłogosławił". (I too am a Pole, and I pray to God to bless our cause) (11). Finally, the outbreak of hostilities fills T.T. Jeż's tavern-keeper with deep joy. He rushes to make his own contribution to the insurrectionary cause.

'Great joy shone on the Jew's face. Entering (the room) he bowed deeply before the commander, and immediately started to talk:
- Ah, how happy I am to see Poles who are going to fight... God bless you with good luck and health... With God's help you will beat them (the Russians) and chase them away...(12)
- I brought you here some rubles. Saying this he took out from his jacket a fairly large bundle and put it on the table. (..)
- I gave you what I had in my chest. The hadal has more of my money, so I will give you more later... God willing, every ruble will turn into a bullet. (. . .)
- My wife Ruchla insisted that she go with me to see you, to take a look at the Poles, but I told her: stay home, woman, bake bread and sew shirts so that you can feed a Pole if he is hungry and dress him if he needs clothing."

11) J. Jontr/mowicz, Ogólne, Etsced_pdr_wielkim, Powieść historyczna, Chicago 1912, p. 71
12) T. T. Jęc, Drugie boże przykłady, pp. 125-127
III. AMBIVALENCE

Although predominantly positive, the evaluation of Jewish behaviour in contemporary Polish literature is not free of ambivalence. These ambiguous feelings surface, for instance, in Norwid's short but telling account of Jewish attitudes in the demonstration period. In a letter to a friend, Norwid depicts the traditionally dressed Polish Jews who offer to purchase Warsaw's main prison, along with a few cannons, from the Russians. The price of this unusual merchandise, in which the reader is likely to see symbols of Poland's historical experience rather than commercial objects, does not appear to matter to the Jews. This grotesque transaction emphasizes the Jews' inability to transcend the limitations of their materialistic ethos and thus identify with the elevated patriotic mood of the Poles. (13)

Limiting the discussion of this ambivalence to one of its characteristic manifestations, we will briefly review a few works in which the patriotic "good Jew" is accompanied by his negative double: an anti-Polish or non-patriotic "bad Jew". Frequently featured in the literature of that period, such pairs provide valuable information on the political

attitudes ascribed to various groups within Jewish society, and on the way in which these attitudes are linked to their cultural characteristics.

W.Wolsi’s Polish-educated and throughly assimilated Mosiel-Mosiel, whose only Jewish feature is the lip-service he pays to Judaism, appears in tandem with his old-fashioned father. While Mosiel’s estrangement from the Jewish world is followed by his rejection of “cheating” (Mosiel earns his living “honestly”), his father, a ruthless Warsaw usurer, personifies capitalism. Even though he lowers his interest rates “by one penny” in reaction to the euphoria of Polish-Jewish brotherhood, we learn that:

"... tylko dla zasług syna
dotąd nie zbito mu słory. (14)

/Only because of his son’s merits/ did he not get a beating so far./

In T.T. Jez’s Drugie boże przyznanie the patriotic tavern-keeper Srul never separates himself from his negative shadow: an evil, non-patriotic tavern-keeper named Cesar. Cesar, a horse-smuggler and murderer and the head of a gang of professional thieves, does not mind serving as a Russian spy. In the uprising’s last phase we see Cesar’s gang, joined by the corrupt Russian administrator of the province, killing, raping and robbing the civilian population (15). A similar duo of Jewish tavern-keepers is fea-

14) W.Wolsi, op.cit., p.124
tured in J. Iralsinski's *Janel_Biady*. While the "good" one plays a key role in the insurrectionary movement, the "bad" one is hanged by the insurgents as an alleged Russian spy.

In J.I. Iralszewski's *Zyd* the patriotic orientation of the pious, traditional Jews is contrasted with the attitudes of the wealthy, cosmopolitan and "godless" Warsaw bourgeoisie. The latter's response to these political events ranges from indifference to Poland's fate, profiting from economic cooperation with the Russians (including providing them with army supplies), planning the future "takeover" of Poland's economy, to active involvement in anti-Polish spying. The "bad Jew" in A. Urbani's *Pod Kolumna Zygmunta*, a worldly young man, shares some common cultural features with Iralszewski's villains. This Jew, who earns his living by spying and staging political provocations for the Russians, is directly responsible for the demise of Natali, the noble Talmudic scholar, and of his ardently pro-Polish children.

In J.I. Iralszewski's *Para_czerwona* the "good" and "bad" Jews appear on the scene almost simultaneously. The "bad" part is played by a tavern-keeper and his young wife who happen to be recent converts to Christianity. The tavern-keeper is referred to as a "neofita", while his positive counterpart, the previously-mentioned young doctor, is in-

15) A discussion of both characters in terms of their common roots in the stereotype of the Jewish tavern-keeper can be found in M. Opalski, *The Jewish Tavern-keeper and his Tavern in Nineteenth-Century Polish Literature*, Jerusalem 1986, pp. 54-57.
introduced as an "Izraelita, Polak" (Israelite and Pole) (16). 

Praszewski's distrust of converts, an attitude widespread in 
contemporary writings and easily understood by their rea-
ders, appears to require no special justification (17).

The taverner, found guilty by your populâ, is hanged by the 
rebels for alleged treason. After the execution, his re-
venge-seeking wife (who immediately turns into a whore ser-
ving Russian officers), reveals the location of the rebels 
camp and joins the Russian soldiers in wildly profaning a 
rebel's grave.

Finally, in J.Dzierżłowski's and W.Sabowski's Chrzest 
polski, the role of the Jewish "bad guy" is played by a mo-
ney-minded wheat trader (Berel) who profits economically 

16) J.I.Praszewski, Dara Czerwona, II, Irajd 1905, p.178 
17) The most negative part in Żyd is also played by a con-
vert who is a Russian informer. In J.Narzymski's Ojczym the 
rebels betrayed by a nobleman assume that the traitor is 
likely to be a convert or Żyd, a city dweller.
from the war and, in addition, is a spy. He is contrasted with two positive figures who represent the two most frequently featured types of "good guys": the faithful tavern-keeper (Mortlo), on the one hand; and the ideally de-Judaized young enlightened Jew from Warsaw (Józef), on the other. The moral and political orientations of these three Jewish stockfigures are summarized by the authors as follows:

Rudy Berel był typem Żyda-spekulanta, który na wszystko zapatruje się ze stanowiska goszefu. Wszyscy Żydzi są takimi po trosze, ale inni poza goszefem mają rodzinę, mają coś, do czego się przywiązał, a wyjatkow, jak Mortło, potrafią nawet zapomnieć o interesie, a idealni, jak Józef umieją nawet wnieść się do wzniosłych uczuć i zapomnieć o wszystkim, co ma jakkolwiek związek z szachem. (19)

The red-haired Berel was the sort of Jewish speculator who considers everything from the point of view of business dealings. All Jews are in part like this, but others have families and things other than their business to which they become attached; the exceptional ones among them, like Mortło, even manage to forget their profits, while the ideal ones, like Józef, manage to elevate themselves to more noble feelings and forget about anything related to dubious monetary operations./

19) J. Dzierżłowski, W. Sabowski, Chrestopol, Lwów 1877, p.229
IV. THE GOOD GUYS AND THE BAD GUYS

The pattern that emerges from this brief review applies to most 19th-century fiction dealing with the theme of the uprising. The social and cultural characteristics attributed to both positive and negative Jewish characters are remarkably stable. Two prevailing types of "bad guys" find their equivalents in two varieties of "good guys". The first of two negative stereotypes is the traditional Jewish villain, most prominently represented by (a) the "treacherous arenadarz", typically the tavern-keeper, a character deeply rooted in Polish tradition. Paradoxically, the bad tavern-keepers serve as models for the good ones, the patriotic Janiels, figures shaped by a symmetrical reversal of features traditionally attributed to the "bad guy". The second type of villain is (b) the improperly modernized, secular urban Jew. This group of characters, which occasionally includes Jewish converts to Christianity, has been extensively discussed in the chapter devoted to the 1850s. On the positive side the most prominent role is played by (c) the "faithful arenadarz", most often the good tavern-keeper, and (d) the young, fully Polonized member of the Jewish intelligentsia. They form two distinct pairs of "bad" and "good guys" (a & c and b & d) which correspond respectively to the older and the more recent Jewish stereotypes.
Some elements of this pattern have been observed by scholars dealing with various aspects of the theme of the uprising, mainly with its treatment by J.I. Fraszewski. In this context B. Osmólska-Piślerska, S. Brulot and A. Zyga take note of the negative treatment of the rich bourgeoisie. B. Osmólska-Piślerska goes a step farther by noticing a pattern in the depiction of Jews supporting the Polish cause. She correctly divides the great majority of the literary "good guys" into the two distinct types characterized above. While the negative portrayals of the wealthy bourgeoisie ("wielka finansjera") -- as opposed to the patriotically-minded townpeople ("mieszczanstwo") -- are discussed in the context of one particular author, the typology proposed by B. Osmólska-Piślerska applies to Polish literature in general (20).

The "faithful tavern-keeper" is a traditional Jew who combines Polish patriotism with a deep attachment to Jewish tradition. The Jew’s Polish sentiments result from his long-standing exposure to Polish cultural influences, an exposure predicated on his economic ties to the gentile world. Even though the Jew’s feudal loyalty to his landlord’s cause appears as a powerful emotional drive, it is outweighed by his religious motivations. The "faithful arendarz" is frequently depicted as a patriarchal figure who thinks in terms of ana-

ologies between the biblical tradition and contemporary Polish reality. Janieliel the tavern-keeper, in Mickiewicz's *Pan Tadeusz* (1834), the *spiritus movens* behind a pro-Napoleonic conspiracy to regain Poland's independence, is the obvious prototype of these figures. In the poem, Janieliel's tavern is not only the place where national traditions are preserved, but also the place where political action is planned. Entrusted by the local nobility with the most delicate political missions, Janieliel acts as liaison between Polish noblemen in Lithuania and pro-Polish forces operating outside the province. This conservative Jew is among the most trusted men of the mysterious priest, Father Robal, and one of the few to know Robal's real identity as well as the role he plays in the patriotic conspiracy.

The tremendous impact of *Pan Tadeusz*'s Janieliel is manifest not only in the name Janieliel, commonly given to patriotic Jews, but also in direct references. For example, in "Synowie Izraela" Z. Felitowicz paraphrases the famous scene in which Janieliel plays the Polish national anthem in front of noblemen. Mickiewicz's slightly altered words serve Felitowicz as a metaphorical description of the outstanding military deeds of his Jewish character (21).

Quotations from *Pan Tadeusz* are even more numerous in *Dwa Izraeli*, a poem in which both Mickiewicz and his Janieliel

appear as major literary characters. Together, they lay the foundations for an alliance of the two Israels. Janiel, an inspired biblical patriarch who predicts Landy's death in 1861, is a figure overloaded with literary symbolism. He personifies the glory of ancient Israel and the "art of the alliance" between Poles and Jews. He also serves as the personification of Polish patriotism. Janiel's cultural conservatism -- as opposed to the new lifestyle spreading out from Germany -- constitutes an integral element of this personification.

Oh Germans, you have your Mendelssohns /and your famous Meyerbeer/ while we have our divine Janiel/ Lithuania's lover and Poland's friend./

In Iraszewski's works the degree of piety, and the extent to which the character observes Jewish traditions, clearly indicate his political attitudes (23). Future political choices of the characters can be easily extrapolated from Žyd's lengthy description of a Saturday celebration in a provincial town. While the "Israelite" Janiel Mewes observes the Sabbath with love and great religious zeal, Dawid Seebach, his neighbor across the street, demonstrates his contempt for tradition. Accordingly, Janiel turns out to be a righteous man and a sincere patriot. As might be expected

22) N.N., Dwa Izraele, in Pamiątki z 1863 roku, p.19
of a figure given such a symbolic name, he does not hesitate to assist a rebel chased by the police and to provide shelter for the wounded. Although he is introduced as a "merchant", Janiel's professional life is passed over in silence, and he seems to spend most of his time praying.

On the other hand, the strongly acculturated ("neither Polish nor Jewish") Seebach family is immersed in dubious financial operations, including moneylending. Dawid Seebach's only concern is profiting from the war, which he hopes will enable him to leave the ghetto. Both these objectives ultimately draw him close to the assimilated Warsaw bourgeoisie, Fraszewski's favorite source of villains. The theme of Dawid's cynical seduction of Janiel's daughter provides Fraszewski with one more opportunity to contrast the two characters.

A similar difference in attitude toward tradition opposes the patriot Natali and the spy Rubin in Pod_Lolumna_Zygmunта. Natali incarnates the best features of the retrospectively idealized religious Jew. He does not question the existing social order, while his modernized opponent dreams of a society which would allow him to forget his Jewishness. These anti-emancipatory overtones, the line Urbański establishes between modernization and moral corruption on the one hand, and righteousness and a traditional lifestyle on the other, appear clearly in the following dialogue:

23) See A. Zyga, op.cit., p.201
In contrast to this preoccupation with the patriotic brand of Judaism, the economic aspect of Polish-Jewish relations subsides in importance in the literary output of the 1860s. After a brief euphoria, however, the economic question reappears with increased intensity in the literary treatment of Jews. The "good guys" of both kinds not only express contempt for the "godlessness" of the emancipated Jews, but strongly criticize their "materialism". Removed from the context of their usual economic activities, the patriotic Jews are described primarily or solely in terms of their political loyalties. Unless they reverse the direction...
of their capitalist activities (providing Poles with money instead of accumulating it), they are reluctant to engage in any business dealings whatever.

This is not to say that the anti-capitalist ideology in its 1850s form lost its appeal in the following decade. On the contrary, it was easily incorporated in the nationalistic mysticism of the early 1860s, while money matters became monopolized by various Jewish villains. According to the historian W. Przyborowski, the insurrectionary years were marred by anti-materialist demagoguery and rejection of the evolutionary approach to social life. The radicals condemned the "disgusting consumerism" of society and rejected programs aimed at strengthening the nation's social and material well-being on the ground that these represented a threat to genuinely patriotic feelings. W. Przyborowski gives a detailed account of angry reactions to a press article which dismissed these slogans as "the demagoguery of the street". The anonymous author of a poem published in response to this article maintained that:

"handel nie zbawi, nie winiś cię ducha miłości, ducha ofiary", że "niech raczej, głębiej ten gwar giełdowy i te rozprawy ekonomiczne, niżel pacierz nasz Chrystusowy i nasze swoje głosy uliczne". (25)

"Trade will not redeem us, will not generate feelings of love and sacrifice"; "better the tumult of the money market and of economic debate be silenced than our Christian prayer, and the familiar noises of the street."
Even though the non- and anti-patriotic attitudes of the Jewish bourgeoisie are discussed in predominantly ethical, political and psychological categories, the anti-capitalist bias surfaces regularly. This discussion centers around the key concept of "the worship of the golden calf", a quasi-religious veneration of the power of money which is associated primarily with the most secular strata of Jewish society. Their "godless" ethos is contrasted with the values ascribed to both Christianity and traditional Judaism. In other words, total Polonization or traditional Judaism are alternative paths enabling the Jew to transcend the soulless materialism inherent in the Jewish tradition.

The anti-capitalist ethos of the "ideally assimilated" Jew is very pronounced. An unexpected inheritance allows Jakub Hamon, the son of a poor village tavern-keeper, to spend a fortune on philanthropic activities without engaging in the potentially "dishonest" process of accumulating money. The Polish baptism's "ideal Jew", Józef, manages to "forget" completely about money. Raised in Warsaw as the only son of a Podolian Jewess, Józef becomes a painter.

Wszód samych prawie Polaków wychował się Józef; usposobienie które wzięł po matce w nim wynurbiło popęd wyższy do wszystkiego co szczytne i wielkie. (...) Józef miaż serce poetyckie i wysze zdolności. Dzieje polskie, ojczyzny studiował, unosił się polską poezją, śpiewał pieśni polskie, a gdy się w nim rozbudził talent do malarstwa, rzucął na płótno same polskie przedmioty. (26)

25) W. Przyborowski, Historia dwudziestu lat 1860-1862 przez Z.L.S., introductory part 1856-1860, I, Kraków 1892, pp.189-191
Józef was raised in an almost purely Polish environment. The character which he inherited from his mother drove him to everything sublime and grandiose. Józef had the heart of a poet and was highly gifted. He studied the history of his Polish fatherland, exalted over Polish poetry, sang Polish songs and, when his talent for painting crystallized, he studi to Polish themes alone.

And vice-versa: the professionally active "bad guys" retain a strong link to the most "tricky" aspects of the capitalist economy and successfully resist Polonization.

Józef, Jalub, Wolski's Mosiel, Urbanski's Jahela and other "ideal Jews" serve as literary models of closer assimilation. They share a fascination with Polish culture in its distinctively romantic form. They identify themselves -- and are referred to by non-Jews -- as "Poles" or "Poles of the Mosaic persuasion". A love affair with a Polish patriot, whom for various reasons they never marry, frequently provides an additional factor attracting them to everything Polish. Mixing political campaigning with missionary activity, they tend to engage in pro-Polish militancy among Jews. Actively seeking Jewish support for the Poles, they outline the conditions to be met by Jews before they can achieve full integration into Polish society.

Even though they are completely Polonized culturally,

26) Characteristically, Józef bears no likeness to his father, an enlightened Warsaw merchant, but takes after the "higher nature" of his mother. The ardent patriotism of the latter originated in the Jewess love-affair with a Polish uhlans. J. Dzierzowsk, W. Sabowski, Chrzest, Polski, Lwów 1877, pp. 126-7
these characters never change their religious allegiance, the last element tying them to the Jewish world. Their devotion to Judaism varies both in intensity and in the way it affects the characters' behaviour. Urbani uses Jahela's religious feelings to explain both her pro-Polish leanings and the absence of a happy ending in her love affair with an insurgent. Jakub's endless religious preachings outline a recipe for the proper modernization of the Jews. Fraszewska contrasts Jakub's ideal combination of European education, Polish patriotism and traditional Judaism with the disappointing effects of modernization based on secular values but not followed by Polonization. Jakub, his porte-parole in Żyd, sees the latter as a potential threat to good Polish-Jewish relations. Mosiel, who "does not understand" the teachings of the Talmud, Mishna and Gemara, observes neither the Sabbath nor the dietary laws and, in general, "feels like a Christian", nevertheless uses the previously-quoted Messianic arguments in his pro-insurrectionary lobbying among Jews. Józef, too, successfully re-educates his grandfather and other Podolian relatives by teaching them Polish patriotism, the Polish language and the rules of proper ethical conduct. Religious symbols and rhetoric in the service of the idea of Polish-Jewish reconciliation are a standard element in the treatment of the "Jew with the cross" in his numerous incarnations.
V. THE MOTIVATIONS OF THE JEWS

Some perceptions of the motivations which drove the Jews to support the Polish cause have been analyzed in previous chapters. The most pronounced motivation is the Jews moral and religious identification with the Poles. Admiration for Polish culture and contempt for the Russian culture (both understood in predominantly spiritual terms) reappear as factors mobilizing Jewish support. In the discussion of the revolt conducted in Zacisze (1912), one of W.Sieroszewski's characters utters the following highly characteristic remark:

Być Polakiem - to długo, a może nigdy, nie będzie dobrym interesem. Być Polakiem to znaczy należeć do wielkiego, cierpienia! Dotychczas porywaliśmy i zarażali innych, tych Niemców i tych Żydów, jedynie naszym wielkim, ofiarnym uczuciem. (27)

/To be a Pole may not for a long time, perhaps never, mean good business. To be a Pole means to belong to a community of suffering! So far we have thrilled and infected others, those Germans, those Jews, with our great sacrificial feeling alone. /

The motif of the common enemy, which presents Poles and Jews as victims of the same oppressor, links literary perceptions more closely to political reality. The anti-Jewish prejudice of the Poles is played down or dismissed as a

27) W.Sieroszewski, Zacisze (1912), Warszawa 1962, pp. 125-6
"weed planted by the oppressors" which, seriously weakened by the demonstrations, is bound to disappear in the future. Independent Poland. After victory, eternal brotherhood will reward the Jews for their support. The radical camp’s address of March 2, 1861, to the Jews worded as a Jewish appeal to the Jews, strongly emphasized all these elements.

...chcecie poznac prawdziwego ducha narodu? Oto, widzicie, zaledwie trochę wolniej oddycha, a już kapłani jego we wszystkich kościołach tutejszych niewiary na słowami miłości i braterstwa łączy nam, przyznając nas za dzieci ojczyzny, która od dawna wielu zamieszkujemy. (...) W mniejszych nieprzyjaźnych ujrzałem naszych przyjaciół: "stąło się to nie siłą, nie przemocą, ale duchem moim," rzekł Pan Bóg. Pan Bóg to zriadził, uzbrajając w odwagę ludzi szlachetnych, aby przemowili za naszą sprawą, a wrogów Polski, roszczałych nienawiść między jej dziecmi, sławił na milczenie (28).

'Do you want to know the real spirit of the nation?' You see, no sooner did it breathe slightly more freely than its priests in all churches addressed us in words full of love, recognizing in us children of the fatherland in which we have lived for eight centuries. (...) Our presumed enemies turned out to be our friends, and "it happened not through violence but through my spirit", says the Lord. The Lord manifested his will by bestowing upon noble people the courage to speak for us, while He silenced Poland’s enemies who spread hatred among its children./

Finally, this literature emphasizes the long tradition of a Jewish presence in Poland, which tied the Jew historically and emotionally to the Polish soil. The feeling of collective gratitude for the "new Jerusalem" which the Jews

28) The address to Jews of March 2, 1861, in: W. Przyborowski, op. cit., II, Kraków 1897, pp. 114-115. The passage dealing with the enemies who turned out to be friends may be an echo of I. Frumsztyl’s sermon delivered in the synagogue on Nalewki street.
found there is commonly held to be responsible for the occurring improvement of Jewish attitudes toward their host country. In these explanations of the political behavior of Jews the collective "debts of gratitude" converge with the settling of individual accounts. By his loyalty to the insurrectionary cause Wolski's Mosiez expresses gratitude to his friend and mentor, a young Polish nobleman, who twice saved his life. In Junosza's Froim the tavern-keeper saves the life of a nobleman who previously saved his. T.T. Jeż emphasizes the personal ungratefulness of the horse-thief Cezar, whose children found love and care among Poles (growing up "in the landlady's lap"). The question of moral debts going back to the uprising occupies a central place in Asnyk's Zygmunt. The play's Polish character, who owes his life to a Jew, looks for a way of repaying the debt.

Jewish patriotism, as portrayed in the literature on the 1863 revolt, derives from two socio-psychological sources. The first approach emphasizes the element of sudden illumination, while the second views the hero's pro-Polish attitudes as the culmination of a stereotypically depicted process. The former approach is best illustrated by the phenomenon of the "Jew with the cross", or by the sudden moral impulse which transforms Jeż's Srul from a horse thief into a saint. The latter, which applies to the "ideal" Jew alone, gives a brief account of his individual evolution. Sporadically, -- as in the case of Jozef's mother and her love affair -- the beginnings of this process are traced one gene-
ration back. The "ideal Jew's" road to total Polonization typically includes moving to Warsaw, acquiring a modern Polish education, love for a Pole, rejection of the Jewish heritage except for religion (a special emphasis is placed on its capitalist and linguistic aspects), and participation in a crusade aimed at promoting Polish interests among Jews. These preparatory steps are followed by the character's involvement in the insurrectionary movement.

Literature produced later in the century emphasizes the element of moral commitment made by the Jews in the years 1861-1862. The deterioration of Polish-Jewish relations after the 1864 defeat is presented as the unilateral failure of the Jews to keep the promises given to the Pole in the early 1860s. In retrospect, the Pole's acceptance of the Jewish commitment (which is typically requested by the Jewish side) was increasingly portrayed as conditional. The list of Polish expectations grew longer and was accompanied by constant modification of its content. This interpretation of Polish-Jewish reconciliation underlies the following scene from J. I. Frazewski's Żyd, in which the Jewish offer of friendship is being accepted by a young rebel.

Winy są z obu stron i z obu stron szczerze przebaczenie i zapomnienie o przeszłości wyjść powinno. Wiel inny, oświata rozpowszechniona, wszystko nas teraz zbliżyć i przejednać zmusza. Wyciągamy dło- nie... Nie odpychajcie ich...
-My! miłej polonienie! - zawołał Iwad - my byśm, mieli was odpychać! Możesz to przypuścić? Znaj- dą się presądy, wstręty, resztki niedog尼kich wy- obrażeń, pozostałości dawnych wielów... ale ogół.
siczerze wam dłoń wyciągnęcie. Bądźcie brądn, ale
bądźcie nimi w duchu, nie w słowie, w czynie, a
nie pozorem tylko; bądźcie niem: nie tylko w chwi-
li powodzenia, ale w pracy i w bóleci.. (29)

The guilt is on both sides; both sides should
sincerely forgive each other and forget about the
past. The new century, and widespread education,
force us to seek reconciliation and cooperation.
We hold out our hand... Do not repel it...
- We, the young generation- exclaimed Iwas -
would we repel your hand? How can you assume any-
thing like this? The remnants of past centuries,
some not altogether rotted remainders of prejudice
and old concepts may still be there, but the so-
ciety, as a whole... will sincerely extend its hand
to you. Be our brothers, but brothers in spirit
rather than in word; brothers in deed rather than
in appearance. Be our brothers in time of success,
but also in work and suffering.

The search for a more complex image of Jewish responses
to the political events of this period is doomed to certain
failure. The pattern of depicting society as a mystical or-
ganism, miraculously united by the force of patriotic feel-
ings, crystallizes in the 1860s and grows lasting roots in
the literary legend of the uprising. Despite signs of differ-
entation in the writers' approach to the social reality of
the uprising, the powerful myth of national unity retains
much of its original vitality to the end of the period under
study. In the context of this myth, often disseminated by
literature in total disregard of the facts, the Jews appear
in tandem with such highly symbolic figures as pro-Polish
officers in the Russian army, various Losyolerzy, craftsmen
devoted to the insurrectionary cause and even patriotically-
minded Ukrainians. In W ogniu wolności, where most of the

29) J.I. Fraszewski, Zyg. Kraków 1860, pp. 128-129
above-mentioned characters appear, an attack carried out by losnyńczy under Jankiel's command allows the rebels to win a decisive battle. Similarly, the unit commanded by Józef in Chrześc... composed of poor craftsmen, workers, and other popular figures.

The myth of national unity also surfaces in the form of the Polish writers far-reaching reluctance to note and to discuss the particular interests of various social strata. R. Czepulski notes the striking scarcity of information on Poland's social structure in the memoristic literature of the period of the uprising (30). The same appears to be true of the insurrectionary poetry (31). The unquestionable priority given to the independence issue overshadows the so-called "Iwiescia socjalna" (the social question), including the future status of the Jews. The low priority typically given to social matters in the early 1860s has been acknowledged by several contemporary observers:

Iwiescia społeczne wstrząsające obecnie pierwszorzędными państwami europejskimi (...) były obojętne dla umysłów polskich, najwięksi nawet biedacy zapomnieli o drżącej ich nędzy, zwracając myśl do spraw ujmyzny i jej nieszczęśliwego położenia.

Polish minds were indifferent to social issues which shal-e today the most powerful European

30) R. Czepulski, op. cit., p. 332
31) Z. Niemierowska, op. cit., p. 10
32) J. Gregorewicz, Pogląd krytyczny na wydarzenia 1861, 1862, 1863: lubacz. Lauded i-politiczne z powodu prac Bolesławy, Lwów 1880, p. 95
states. Even the most deprived forgot their misery, turning instead their attention toward issues concerning their fatherland and its unfortunate situation./

The opinions expressed by literary characters who speak for the authors faithfully reflect these prevailing attitudes.

Stwórzmy rozumną i trwłą podstawę narodowego bytu, niepodległość, a dopiero przystąpmy do rozwiązywania zadania społecznego. (33)

/First let us create a reasonable and stable basis for the nation's existence, independence, then we will proceed to solve the social question./

D zasady spierać się będzie dość czasu wtedy, kiedy już będziemy u siebie. (34)

/We will have enough time to argue about principles (i.e. the shape of the future society) when we are finally masters in our own house./

The Jewish theme is not the only one affected by the powerful emphasis on national unity. The reluctance to confront socio-political reality strongly marks the image of peasant involvement in the movement, even though the "peasant question" is undoubtedly the single most widely recognized social issue. Works dealing with the 1863 theme are full of individual peasant partisans, regular peasant units (among which Legioncy enjoy understandable popularity) and even peasant officers. In some of these works, such as E. Lubowski's novel Słynł i stabł (1865), peasants are depicted as

33) W. Łoszczyc, Wybrany los, II, p.27
34) Spiridion (E. Lubowski) Słynł i stabł, II, Kraków 1865, p.17
the driving force of the movement (35). The peasant masses' passive and often openly hostile attitude toward the uprising is rarely discussed before the publication of Zeromski's crucial works on the January uprising (36). With some minor exceptions (such as a few scenes in M. Balucki's Przebudzenie (1864) or J. Narzymski's Czyzim (1872)), this literature tends to hide, pass over in silence or even distort the painful truth (37).

Finally, the literary appeals for national unity frequently allude to the ethnic and religious conflicts in the Ukraine. For instance, in J. Zachrasiewicz's Święty Jur, the Warsaw demonstration of April 8, 1861, strongly impresses two visitors from Eastern Galicia, relatives who are divided by conflicting national loyalties (Polish versus Ukrainian) and religious allegiances (Greek Orthodox versus Catholic) within the family. Not only do they reconcile, but they also both shed blood while attempting to take over the cross from the hands of the fallen "Jew with the cross". Transformed by this experience, they return home and devote their energies


36) This theme, first introduced by Zeromski in Rozdzielegne, nas_iryl_us, wroty (1894), was further elaborated in Wierczewko (1912); A. Strug's collection of stories Czywle, nas (1912), also devotes a great deal of attention to this issue.

37) On the question of the literary perceptions of peasant involvement see Z. Zabiński, introduction to J. Narzymski, Czyzim, op.cit., pp. LXXXIII-XCIII
to promoting social peace and Polish patriotism in the Ukraine (78).

(78) J. Zacharyasiewicz, Święty Jur, Jaromia, II, Lipsk 1873, pp. 123-144
VI. THE IMAGE OF THE FUTURE

The source of many misperceptions of Jewish attitudes lies in the prevailing political mentality, which was shaped by a romantic worldview. Irasiewski's view of the January uprising, strikingly similar to those of many (if not most) contemporary Polish writers, is described as follows in a study dealing with his concept of patriotism.

The necessity of granting civil rights to peasants as a means of winning their support in the struggle for national independence was the only one of these interwoven factors of which Irasiewski —

(39) E. Warzenica, "Koncepta patriotyzmu w powściach Iraszewskiego o powstaniu styczniowym", in Dziedzictwo literatur Zaczenie powstania styczniowego, Warszawa 1964, pp.164-165.
si-1 was clearly conscious. All the rest appeared to him to be chiefly the result of emotions and longings, of impulses dictated by heart and instinct detached from real socio-economic conditions. In the feverish atmosphere of the "national ecstasy" (i.e., the wave of demonstrations of 1861-1862) in which Irasnewski saw the highest achievement of the national spirit, there was no place for political struggle. Irasnewski criticized Wielopolinski's view of the Warsaw demonstrations for associating the latter with the "monster of social revolution", at a time when the demonstrations were "only" the expression of the Polish national cause. The political circumstances, i.e., the struggle for national independence, created fertile ground for the treatment of the nation as a whole and the search for ideal ties that would justify national unity. (...) Irasnewski saw the issue of civil rights for the non-noble strata of Polish society in categories identical with those of the leading Polish romantics.

In the literary legend of the uprising we find no reference to a number of crucial reforms made by Alexander II under the pressure of revolutionary turmoil. Like many other important developments, the acquisition of equal rights (1862) and further changes in the status of the Jews (1866) remained unnoticed by Polish authors. Although in the pre-insurrectionary years the press as a whole discussed selected "Jewish" matters more frequently, the "Jewish question" -- as a political and social issue transcending that of Polish independence -- left few if any traces in contemporary Polish belles lettres.

The literary depictions of Jewish life in the insurrectionary period contain no concrete information concerning the nature of the "oppression" from which the Jews suffer. The image of Jewish suffering, typically wrapped in biblical
symbolism or portrayed against the backdrop of ancient Rome, is marred by a lack of distinctively East-European elements. No mention is made of fiscal restrictions or measures limiting the geographical mobility or business activity of the Jews. The visions of future Polish-Jewish relations tend to be short on specific details. The insurrectionary literature, and especially its poetry, exalts the coming "happier times" and "paradise" in which Poles and Jews—united by common suffering—will work harmoniously side by side (40). It promises a lasting "reconciliation" of the three quarreling brothers (i.e. nobility, peasantry and Jews) (41), and Jewish membership in a fraternal community uniting all social and religious groups (42). The "second Rebecca" offering water to a thirsty Pole symbolizes hopes for the continuing Jewish support (43) which will await unshaken the next round in the common fight for Poland’s independence (44).

The concepts of "uobwatelnienie" (acquisition of the right of citizenship) and "równouprawnienie" (acquisition of

40) "Modlitwa Żydów warszawskich w roku 1861", "Głos w imię

niu ZYdą polskiego", both by unknown authors, in J.Wincza-

řiewicz, op.cit., pp.102 and 107

41) W.Wolski, "Mroł i noc I", in [romyli], Brussels 1863,

pp.5-6

42) Spiridion, /E.Lubowski/, Silnił i śabl, II, Kraków 1865,

p.18

43) T.Lenartowicz, "Izrael", in Zbiór-nostów polskich XI/go

wieży, V, Warszawa 1859, p.64


127-128
equal rights), mentioned quite frequently in the context of Jewish expectations to be fulfilled in an independent Poland, are characteristically vague. Generally undistinguishable from the idea of Polish-Jewish "brotherhood", they refer to a large roster of concepts of cultural and psychological rapprochement. Most frequently, they are identified with an already occurring improvement in everyday Polish-Jewish encounters. All these interpretations discuss Jewish equality in terms of a specific atmosphere rather than in terms of legal rules. The emphasis on the spiritual nature of Polish-Jewish brotherhood underlies the frequently-voiced opinion that the equality of rights granted to Jews by the "people of Warsaw" during the demonstrations, is an accomplished fact. The opinion that "full" or "complete" equality of the Jews will be achieved in the process of their moral improvement, initiated in Warsaw in 1861, is another manifestation of the same approach. The common feature of these two contradictory opinions is their reluctance to take note of the legal equality granted to Jews in 1862.

The source of this striking omission seems to lie in the prevailing interpretation of equality in terms of the "mystical" communion between Poles and Jews. Unitnig people of different ethnic origins, "the Polish idea" bestowed upon the Jews the most valuable form of citizenship: "obwójtstwo moralne" (the moral citizenship), wrote Kraszewski in Gazeta_Polska (45). Occasionally, Polish authors differen-

45) J.I. Kraszewski, Gazeta_Polska 156 (1862)
tiate, as does the author of Dw_izraeli, between the moral equality enjoyed by the "divine Janiel" and that acquired by the German "Mendelssohns". W. Dzwonowski's Wagi w lwes- til_wiglicieulkei_ruskiej_zydowski offers some particularly enlightening remarks on the merits of the former and the dangers of the latter concept of the integration of the Jews into Polish society. Whether the author of this text, written and published in 1862, knew the legal act introduced in June of the same year is a matter of secondary importance. The contrast, described in the passage below, is one of the common features of the literature under study. Among other manifestations, this contrast underlies the stereotypical opposition between the culturally conservative "good guys" and the improperly modernized "bad guys".

The nature of our brotherhood with the Jews, of the inclusion into a national union of people until recently regarded as strangers, is entirely different from the equality granted to the Jews, in various degrees, by the European nations following the example of the French Revolution. So
far, Western societies have been based on religion (..) The abolition of this basis and its replacement by earthly reason created human rights; human rights, in turn, gave birth to the concept of civil equality. The latter trimmed with a guillotine an thing trying to outgrow the norms set by public reason. Thus, this was neither the equality of children of the same Mother Earth and the One Father who is in heaven, nor the equality of mutual love, but rather that of a joint stock company in which each shareholder’s place is defined by his strength, his intellectual resources and the amount of capital he contributes./

Dlatego mamy najzupelniejsze przewiadczenie, ze zieminside materialne korzyści dla obu stron są tylko następostwem przyczyną, że w alcie tym, było obopólnie wniesienie się, wspólne duchem, wspólne poczucie tej myśli Bożej, której urzeczywistnienie na ziemi Opatrzność powierzyła Polsce. Biada nam, biada Izraelowi gdyby przy zaścieniu się narodowego słońca, ta jedność zrodzona w ogniu Miłości Boga i ojczyzny, zmieniła się w równouprawnienie acyjnoaussowskej, spolii; gdyby w spolii tej przeważać miał, i nasze sobą pociągnąć dotychczasowy grzech Izraela: topienie w ziemi, obracanie na jej świcie, poleci pierworodnego Syna Bożego.

('Therefore we are of the profound conviction that earthly and material advantages are onl, the consequence of this act of Polish-Jewish unity/, while the real source is the spiritual elevation of both peoples and the understanding they share in God’s design, whose realization God entrusted to Poland. Woe to us, woe to Israel if, in the eclipse of the national sun, this unity, born of love of God and the country, should change into an equality of shareholders; if in this joint stock company the original sin of Israel -- using the power of God’s firstborn son for earthly purposes and transforming it into earthly goods -- should win the upper hand./

Jal’ub Hamon’s preachings provide countless examples of

46) and 47) W. Dzwońcowski, Uwagi o literatur włościenniels, rusiels, żydowskie, i powody obecnych wpadliwy, Par., 1862, pp. 63-64 and 69-70
terminological and conceptual confusion surrounding the issue of Jewish emancipation. Repeatedly, often on the same page, Fraszewski's hero claims that sacrifice (i.e. participation in the shedding of blood) is the best way for the future acquisition of the right of citizenship which can not be won in any other way ("ofiara to najlepszy środek do nabycia praw obywatelskich"; "inaczej się ono nie zdobywa") (48). On the other hand, Hamon warns the Jews that since they now enjoy full equality and freedom they have no excuse for delaying the process of moral improvement ("podniósmy się cnotą"). The refusal to break with the old behavior pattern could endanger the position of the Jews in the future society ("jeśli nie przestanili byśmy tymi Żydami, jakimi nas znała Europa, bieda nam!") (49).

In the insurrectionary and early post-insurrectionary Polish literature the question of "uobycieństwienie" and "równouprawnienie" is linked to -- or totally identified with -- the Colonization of the Jewish masses (50). Typically, this vague concept of "equality" is accompanied by demands for Jewish cultural assimilation. Fraszewski was not alone in urging the Jews to reject "spoiled German" (i.e.

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49) J.I. Fraszewski, op.cit., pp. 357-358

Yiddish), and distinctively Jewish dress, customs and even Polonization of their German-sounding names, as pre-conditions for their integration with the Poles. Discussing the need for linguistic assimilation in one of his editorials in *Gazeta Codzienna*, Praszewski adds:

Bardzo być może, że umiejętność języka narodowego będzie w przyszłości warunkiem użycia w pełni praw obywatelskich. (51)

/It is very likely that command of the national language will in the future be considered a condition for the full equality of rights./

Generally speaking, there is much confusion as to the final proof of maturity expected from the Jews. Opinions diverge over the adequacy of proofs already provided as well as over the nature and timing of additional tests to be passed in the future. Underlying all of these enthusiastic but foggy visions of Polish-Jewish brotherhood is the reluctance to conceive the integration of Jews independently of — and prior to — deep structural changes within Jewish society.

The literature under study offers no clear-cut vision of a common future of Poles and Jews which, as some historian of Jewish emancipation maintain, represents a condition for a smooth integration of the Jews into a larger social organism (52). Those few words which outline their fu-

ture relationship in a more concrete manner are authored by assimilated Polish Jews. H. Morisch's "Do mati Israelii", "Galilea" and, especially, "Równouprawnienie" (Equal rights), a poem inspired by the demand for equal rights for the Jews, a demand submitted to the throne on February 26, 1961 (53), have by and large no equivalents authored by Polish writers.


CHAPTER FOUR

POLES AND JEWS, 1863-1914

I. THE POST-INSURRECTIONARY CRISIS.

The failure of the January uprising released Tsar Alexander's long dormant instinct for reaction. All reforms and concessions to "Westernization" were abruptly halted in the entire Empire. In Poland, Russian retribution for the insurrection was swift. The Tsarist authorities were determined not merely to eradicate all traces of the revolt but also to suppress all public manifestations of Polish national identity. The process of closing down all the separate institutions of the kingdom of Poland, and of withdrawing all the concessions previously made to Polish language and culture, started shortly after the end of hostilities. In 1864 both the kingdom and the name of Poland were formally abolished, and Warsaw became the capital of Privislanskiy (Vis-tulaland). By the early 1870s the dissolution of the Congress Kingdom, accompanied by a wave of brutal political re-
pressions, was nearly completed.

While the generations which actively participated in these events perceived them as aspects of the same devastating national disaster, many long-term consequences of the 1864 defeat escaped their attention. Indeed, some consequences of the changes imposed on Poland after the uprising could only become clear after the fact. The slow disintegration of the old feudal structures, both social and economic, was now nearly completed, paving the way for the radical modernization of Polish society. The abolition of legal barriers between Jews and Christians, achieved by the successive reforms of 1862, 1864 and 1866, coincided with the enfranchisement of the peasant masses in 1864. The advancement of both these groups occurred at a time when the Polish nobility, weakened by political persecution and the intensifying crisis of land ownership, was losing its leading role in society. This realignment of social forces increased the influx of the non-urban population into the cities, contributing to the cities' growth but also aggravating the economic competition between Jews and non-Jews.

Poland's integration into the Russian Empire, and the basically liberal economic policy pursued by the Tsarist authorities, contributed in the long run to the revival of the country's economy. While the rapid expansion of the capitalist economy continued, money-related conflicts became the central theme of post-insurrectionary Polish fiction.
Among its most typical characters were uprooted ("wysadzeni z siodła") noblemen and, occasionally, peasant immigrants to the city, going through the painful process of adjusting to an urban way of life. Their typical representative is the hero of Orzeszowa's Widma (Ghosts, 1880), a former landowner who, returning home after years of exile, has to earn his living as a doorman in a Jewish-owned hotel. On the other hand, countless stories of fortunes emerging from nowhere, accumulated by parvenus of various social backgrounds, mirrored the rapid transformation of the social structure. Leib's Wołulsici was not alone among them in taking advantage of the opportunities offered by the newly open Russian markets.

In the field of Polish-Jewish relations it seemed that the patriotic movement and the insurrection had left a heritage of good will. The experiences of the January uprising temporarily strengthened beliefs in the transformability of Jewish society and for the first time "broke the "almost general dislike of the Jews" (1). The less exclusive understanding of the Polish nation was reflected in the discussion of Jewish patriotism which strongly dominated post-insurrectionary depictions of Jewish society by Polish authors. Liberal Polish and Polonized Jewish circles felt that Poland's troublesome "Jewish question" might soon be solved or at least substantially eased. On the Polish side, these hopes expressed themselves in the form of the assimilatio-

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1) R. Czepulis, op. cit., p. 379
nist ideology of Polish Positivism.

Part of a broader ideological scheme, the Positivist concept of Jewish assimilation crystallized during the 1860s and reached maturity in the following decade (2). The depression which followed the 1864 defeat turned the attention of a new generation of writers toward the question of Poland’s economic and social well-being. Positivist literature, characterized by a more down-to-earth approach to social reality, called for the radical modernization of society as the only means of ensuring the nation’s survival. Overcoming the traditional anti-urban and anti-capitalist bias, the Positivists looked for a new means of strengthening the entrepreneurial and middle-class element in Polish society, and assigned an important role in this process to the Jews. However they saw no possibility of using their potential without the immediate and complete Polonization of the Jewish masses. Welcoming Jewish emancipation, the Positivists saw it as the first step towards the dissolution of the distinctly Jewish identity in Polish society.

In fact, the Positivists optimistic social philosophy ran against the actual trends in inter-group relations. Their assimilationist ideology took shape at a time when Jews, taking advantage of their newly acquired rights, met growing opposition in the politically demoralized and eco-

2) M. Opalski, "The Concept of Jewish Assimilation in Polish Literature of the Positivist Period", Proceedings of the 9th World Congress of Jewish Studies, in press.
nomically depressed post-insurrectionary society. The climate of Polish-Jewish relations, which in two decades evolved from the euphoria of Polish-Jewish "brotherhood" during the Warsaw demonstrations of 1861 to the Warsaw anti-Jewish riots in 1881, began to deteriorate soon after the defeat.

Iraushar returned to Warsaw in February 1864. He found an atmosphere that was far from the idyllic Polish-Jewish goodwill movement of the period prior to 1863. He had a feeling of disillusionment both as a Pole and as an "Israelite". Horizons had become narrower, the dreams of young people were dissipated, and anti-Semitism raised its head. Iraushar gave expression to disillusionment in a number of poems. (3)

Iraushar's disappointment with the mood of Polish-Jewish relations in the early post-insurrectionary years was not an exception. As early as 1868 J. I. Irauszewski deeply deplored what he perceived to be a shift in Jewish attitudes toward Poles. In Rachunek (1868), after a one-sentence acknowledgment of Jewish support in 1863, he denounced the way in which the Jews, in tacit cooperation with the Russians, had profited from the insurrection socially and economically:

...powstanie upadło w hałucie irwi.. a żydzi ty­siącletnim doświadczeniem wyuczeni, dzwignęli się na trupach naszych. (...) Lecz jeżeli poświęcili nas i zrzeli się w godzinie czarnej, ratując się sami, zachwiedli w nas wiarę i ostudzili miłość. (...) Fałtem jest że w królestwie Polskim żaden z ocalonych nie poda ręki tonącemu. Wygląda to na pewne zobowiązanie wobec rządu, do zbytu sumien nie wykonane. Rząd jest w ręku Izraelitów, których rząd widocznie popiera, z braterstwa 1861 zostały

tylko wspomnienia, dla obu stron nie miłe. (...) Dzisiaj w królestwie my byśmy mogli prosić o równouprawnienie z Żydami, aleśmy pewni, że go nie otrzymamy. Gdy się im świadczy co giną, odpowiadają z zimną krwią; niech giną. (4)

/The insurrection fell in a pool of blood and the Jews, guided by the experience of millennia, rose up on our corpses. But when they sacrificed us and abandoned us in an evil hour only to rescue themselves they shook our faith in them and cooled our love. It is a fact that in the kingdom of Poland none of those rescued offer their hands to help those drowning. It looks like a deal made with the /Russian/ government, a commitment met with unnecessary zeal. The country is in the hands of the Israelites who enjoy the government's support. From the brotherhood of 1861 there is nothing left except memories with which both sides feel uncomfortable. Today in the kingdom of Poland we might ask for equal rights with the Jews, but we know that they would not be granted to us. When those who perish complain to them, they reply in cold blood: let them perish./

Fraszewska, who in the early 1860s enthusiastically greeted any sign of Polish-Jewish rapprochement, now stressed its short-lived character. Recalling the demonstration of March 2, 1861, he described it as "one heroic hour which united all of Poland - for one hour!" (5) Despite its brevity, this "heroic hour" was nevertheless a turning point in the process of Jewish emancipation. In Fraszewska's view the "popular referendum" held by the demonstrating Warsaw crowds rewarded the Jews for their support by granting them "human rights". This equality of rights, achieved through popular consensus alone (*Fraszewska* does not make the slightest mention of governmental reforms), "in principle" solved the

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4) J.I. Fraszewska, Rachunki z rolu 1868, Poznań 1869, p. 274

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5) J.I. Fraszewska, op.cit., p. 275
Jewish question in Poland. The "frustrated love" of the Poles was due solely to Jewish disloyalty in an "evil hour". As in Żyd, so in Raszewski: Raszewski's accusation of ingratitude is directed against those Jewish capitalists

...którzy od r. 1864 przestali nazywać się i być Polakami wyznania mojżeszowego, lub (...) zrzucili z siebie izraelskie pochodzenie i spomnienie, a oddali się zimnym kosmopolityzmem, obrachowanym dla ocalenia osób i kapitałów. (6)

...who since 1864 ceased to call themselves, and to be, Poles of the Mosaic persuasion, or (...) who rejected their Israelite origins and traditions, and clothed themselves instead in cold cosmopolitanism calculated to save their skins and capital./

Remaining immune to the Positivist idealization of capitalism (6), Raszewski turns a deaf ear to the argument that the entrepreneurial activity of the Jews made a valuable contribution to Poland's life. "Poles of the Mosaic persuasion", Raszewski wrote in a letter depicting the Polish society's response to Russian repressions,

wzięli się do robienia pieniędzy, tłumacząc sobie ze lędy ojczyźnie ialięs to posłuszy. (8)

6) J.I. Raszewski, op. cit., pp. 249-250

7) The Positivists repeatedly attacked Raszewski's anti-capitalist bias. "He condemns practicality in words full of irony and contempt, he abhors trade and industry because they spoil the landscape and the beauty of God's creation, cool hearts, weal en family ties and... erode the national consciousness" wrote A. Świętochowski, ironically, in his review of J.I. Raszewski's Dzieci wieku, in Przegląd tygodniowy 8 (1870); see also 45 (1970)

8) J.I. Raszewski - T. Lenartowicz, Correspondencja, W. Daneł (ed.) Wrocław 1963, p. 02, emphasis mine
/began making money, explaining to themselves that this will one day serve some kind of fatherland.

Although this latter vision of the Jew, marked by resentment of his newly acquired status and his role in the capitalist economy, grew stronger at the expense of the Positivist perception, the balance between the two forces broke down only in the mid-1880s. For almost two decades this dynamic equilibrium imposed upon Polish intellectuals an unwritten code of behavior to be followed in the public debate on the Jewish question. Regarding open expressions of anti-Jewish sentiments to be in bad taste, this convention assumed some degree of support for the idea of equality and assimilation, to which even the conservatives paid lip service. Mahler's opinion that "the insurrection of January 1863 brought about a standstill in anti-Semitic agitation for several years" (9), is confirmed by most literary sources.

Przez pierwsze popowstaniowe lata obowiązywala fonwencja pisania o Żydach pozytywnie lub wcale. Złożyło się na to tulią przyczyn. W wielu kategoriach społecznych żywa była pamięć wzajemnego zbratania podczas demonstracji 1861/1862 r. Pamiętano jeszcze żydowskie nazwiska wśród słazańców i zesłańców. Atmosfera zmieniła się o tyle, że czytająca publiczność niechętnie widziała anty-żydowskie wypowiedzi. Również cenzura nie była już im tań przychylna już w czasie zatargu asyminatorów z Lesznowslim. Nic nie można było ištyfować obowiązującego prawodawstwa, a więc dyskusja na temat emancypacji zarówno Żydów jak i chłopek była zamknięta. Wcale to nie znaczyło, iż konserwatyści zaaapropobowali społeczne reformy carskie. Zacząła się jedynie nowa epoka. Ugrupowania zachowawcze wroczyły w nią osłabione i zideorientowane. (10)

In the first post-insurrectionary years an unwritten convention required that the subject of Jews be treated positively or not at all. This was due to several reasons. In many strata of Polish society memories of Polish-Jewish brotherhood during the demonstrations of 1861/1862 were still alive. The Jewish sounding names of the executed and the exiled were still remembered. The social atmosphere improved to such an extent that the reading public did not welcome anti-Jewish statements. Even the Russian censorship was less favorable to them than at the time of Lesznowski's conflict with the assimilationists. Criticism of the new legislation was not permitted and consequently the debate on Jewish and peasant emancipation was considered closed. This does not at all mean that conservatives approved of tsarist social reforms. But a new epoch had begun and the conservative camp entered it weakened and disoriented.

During the 1860s and in most of the following decade most Polish writers were restrained in their criticism of Jewish emancipation. But the long-term evolution of their views was marked by a shift from liberal, pro-emancipatory and pro-assimilationist positions to more conservative positions. This evolution seems to be characteristic of the Polish intelligentsia as a whole (11). It affected writers of various political backgrounds, from Norwid to former Reds and their sympathizers -- e.g., Bałucki, Narzymski, Asnyk and Lubowski (the ideological evolution of the latter writer...)


11) R. Czepulis notes the limited impact of the liberal ideas of the 1860s on post-insurrectionary perceptions of and attitudes toward the Jews. R. Czepulis, op. cit., p. 380.
ters after 1864 typically included a short period of identification with Positivist values), — and the founders of the Positivist movement themselves (Swietochowski, Orzeszłowa, Frus).

For example, Asnyls' drama Zyjd, published in the same year as Orzeszłowa's El Malower, a classic assimilationist novel of the Positivist period, questioned the very idea of Jewish assimilability. L. Niemojewski's poem "Postęp" (Progress), written in 1876, differed substantially from the author's previously discussed appeal "Do Izraelity". In the former, the denunciation of the economic and social accomplishments of former "Icełs, Mosiel s, Boruchs and Arons" was coupled with complaints about the erosion of traditional morality, which Niemojewski attributed to the new capitalist values disseminated by the Jews (12). While E. Lubowski's My sie Lochemy (1886) hardly echoed the enthusiastically pro-assimilationist tone of his earlier Zyjd (1868), the difference between M. Balucki's liberal writings of the 1860s (Przechrzta, 1860), Zydwka (1868) and his late anti-capitalist novels (W. Zydwskich relach (In Jewish hands, 1884), Przelate pieniadze (Damned money, 1899) and 250 000 (1882)) transcended the question of "tone". The anti-Semitic character of Balucki's late writings is unquestionable. (13)


13) T. Drewnowski, introduction to M. Balucki, Pisma wybrane, I, Łódź 1965, pp. CVIII-CXII
Orzeszkowa's change of position on the Jewish question was clearly expressed in her essay *On the Jews and the Jewish question*, published a year after the Warsaw riots. This essay, followed by an even more explicit acknowledgement of the failure of her assimilationist dream (*On Jews and Jewish nationalism, 1911*), was a bitter denunciation of the destructive effects of Jewish nationalism. From mid-1885 onward, B. Prus' views evolved along the same lines. A. Świętochowski, yet another father of Polish Positivism, went further in dramatically reversing his earlier pro-assimilationist views. Admitting that the latter were based on a misperception of trends inside Jewish society, Świętochowski toward the end of his life did not hesitate to state his support for the anti-Semitic movement. "I defended the Jews fifty years ago when they wanted to be Poles", he wrote in his last years, "and this is why I do not defend them today, when they are enemies of Poles." (14)

14) Rich information on A. Świętochowski's evolution can be found in his memoirs, "Ze wspomnień", first published by *Wiadomości Literackie* in 1920 (42-43, 46, 48, 51-52) and in 1931 (3, 5, 8, 10, 13, 17, 20). The quotation is from *Wiadomości Literackie*, 5 (1931) p.2
The 1881 Warsaw riots opened a new, more difficult, phase in Polish-Jewish relations. They dealt the final blow to the strongly eroded Positivist hopes for large scale Jewish assimilation. The modernization of Jewish society, including signs of linguistic assimilation, continued to gain ground. Assimilation to Polish ethnic identity, however, remained a big-city phenomenon of rather limited scope. While the influence of the Positivist ideology diminished, new forces gained control over the process of shaping Polish perceptions of Jewish society. Although most of the liberal press did not explicitly reject the idea of assimilation, it tended to focus on its shortcomings and, on the whole, grew more receptive to anti-Jewish views. At the same time, the founding of Rola (1883), a periodical which, with the government's backing, promoted anti-Semitic ideas, reinforced groups expressing open hostility toward the Jews.

In the last two decades of the 19th century economic development accelerated, consolidating the Russian partition's position as the most advanced province of the Empire. In Congress Poland, as in all of Western Europe, the expansion of capitalism was followed by a strong emphasis on the economic aspect of the "Jewish question". It also laid the
foundations for the perception of capitalism as a "Jewish invention", a perception which played a crucial role in "modernizing" the existing anti-Jewish ideologies. This trend was part of the powerful anti-capitalist reaction which in the middle of the 1880s irreversibly destroyed the Positivist myth of the "good capitalist". Concern for the economic weakness of the Polish ethnic element became more pronounced as the influx of foreign investment to Congress Poland intensified and the economic competition grew tougher. The cliche of Jewish cooperation with German and other foreign capital is a frequent theme in Polish writings of the turn of the century.

Certain basic factors in Polish-Jewish relations changed between the early 1860s and the end of the period under study. The last decades of the 19th century brought about the erosion of the longstanding tradition of Jewish non-involvement in Polish politics. The patriotic movement of the 1860s was an early and important step in Jewish political mobilization. This mobilization, however, was basically limited to narrow assimilationist circles among the Jews whose only separate demand was for emancipation. In the early 1860s many Polish leaders supported the general idea of improvement in the social condition of the Jew. This demand was made at a time when liberal sentiment in Russia received a strong impetus from Tsar Alexander's early reforms and the general trend in all of the Empire was towards Jewish emancipation.
This was hardly the case by the turn of the century, when new mass political movements were reshaping traditional Jewish society. Based on the idea that Jews were a nation, these movements made many more specifically Jewish demands than had the assimilationists of two generations before. These demands, which were addressed to the surrounding Polish society as well as to the Russian authorities, met with growing opposition on the part of the Polish nationalist movement. As the latter grew stronger it was less and less prepared to make concessions to the Jews. Incorporating anti-Jewish slogans into their political vocabulary, the nationalists depicted the Jews as the most serious internal enemy of the Poles and pointed to a possible Jewish alliance with external forces hostile to Polish interests. With the emergence of the National Democratic Party as a major political factor, the conflict between the two modern nationalisms intensified. At the beginning of the 20th century the National Democrats further politicized the "Jewish question" by adopting anti-Semitism as part of their political platform.

These trends in Polish-Jewish relations reflected the new atmosphere in the Empire, which was increasingly turning against the Jews. Although the discriminatory May laws of 1881 were never introduced in Congress Poland, they encouraged circles favouring the re-instatement of some of the previous legal disabilities limiting the economic activity
and social mobility of Polish Jews. The Russian administration's role in fueling ethnic conflict was best illustrated by its handling of the Stock Exchange Committee's (Komitet Giełdowy) memorandum concerning the achievements and failures of emancipation. Written in 1886 at the request of the authorities, the document favorably assessed the progress made by Polish Jews since the acquisition of legal equality in 1862. To the surprise of its authors, the carefully worded memorandum became the focus of a heated press debate in which it was denounced as an "arrogant" glorification of Jewish expansionism. While the Röla-led campaign was based on rumors, selective "leaks" and distorted quotations from the document, the censorship's ban on the publication of the memorandum deprived the Committee of most of the arguments it could have used in the defense of its pro-emancipatory views.

The harsh anti-Jewish policies in Russia and their consequences -- pogroms, impoverishment and massive dislocation of the Jewish population -- affected Congress Poland in yet another way. From the 1880s on, there was a substantial influx of Jews from the Lithuanian, White Russian, Russian and Ukrainian provinces of the Empire into Congress Poland, the so-called "Litvak invasion", which added a new source of Polish-Jewish tensions. The Litvaks, Russian-speaking Jewish immigrants, faced a certain amount of hostility from the local Jews because of cultural differences and economic competition. They also provided a focus for the anti-Jewish
views of Polish nationalists, who accused them of being agents of Russification and the driving force behind Jewish political separatism. A. Gruszczyński's _Litwackie mrówie_ (1910) (_The Litval swarm_) and R. Laslowska's (1911) _Litwali_ (Litvals) are among many literary works reflecting these perceptions.

Although the revolution of 1905 involved some cooperation on the part of both groups, the tension persisted. The identification of the Jews with political radicalism threatening the stability of the social order rapidly gained ground at the end of the 19th century. The tension was certainly not eased by the rapid politicization of the Polish press, which coincided with the spectacular rise of the equally politicized Yiddish press after 1905. It culminated in 1912, during the elections in Warsaw to the fourth Russian State Duma. The question of Jewish participation in Poland's political life was the central issue of this election. In Warsaw the candidate of the nationalists was defeated and a socialist was elected by Jewish votes. By supporting the candidate of the left the Jews voted for the only candidate who unequivocally accepted the principle of their political equality (15). The Nationalists retaliated by calling for and organizing an economic boycott of the Jews. The 1912 Duma elections closed yet another chapter in the history of Polish-Jewish relations. Anti-Semitism emerged from these elections as an organized movement, with a full, developed ideology, which was to play an increasingly signi-
significant role in Polish politics. F. Golczewski sees in the cooperation between National Democrats and the Russian government in the 1912 crisis a symbolic reversal of the anti-tsarist alliance of "the world's two most suffering nations" two generations earlier (16).


III. TRENDS IN THE LITERARY PORTRAYALS OF JEWS

The growing visibility of the Jew in Poland's social life led to an increased demand for fictional and non-fictional literature dealing with Jewish matters. The number of publications of the latter type rose considerably. They included original works by Polish authors as well as a substantial number of translations from European languages, particularly from German. In belles lettres, a significant widening of readership occurred. As the popularity of Jewish themes increased in Polish literature as a whole, much of this growing demand was satisfied by "professionals", writers like I. Junosza-Szaniawski, A. Gruszeczki and T. Jesle-Choinski, who partially built their careers on literary depictions of Jewish society. I. Junosza-Szaniawski's reception by contemporary critics indicates that his colorful depictions of Jewish life account for most of his considerable popularity with Polish readers (17).

17) (A. Świętochowski) "Hlemens Junosza-Szaniawski. Wspomnienie pożegonne", in Prawda 13 (1898); see also Liberum velo, Prawda 39 (1898). See also A. Dobrowolski, "Hlemens Junosza Szaniawski. Portret literacki", Świat 3 and 5 (1899); /M. Blumberg/ M.B., "Hlemens Junosza jako żydznawca", Izraelita 21 (1899); J. Muszłowski, "Typy Żydów w literaturze polskiej", Izraelita 17-19 (1911) and T. Jesle-Choński, "Hlemensza Junoszy nowele i powieści żydowskie", in Źyd w powieści polskiej, Warszawa 1914, pp. 61-68.
My bibliographical survey provides the basis for a rough estimate of the rising visibility of the Jew in Polish literature. The survey includes slightly less than 700 fictional works written between 1820 and 1905. They were selected according to criteria described in the introductory chapter. Imperfect as it may be, this sample clearly shows the growing frequency with which Jewish themes are treated in Polish fiction of the late 19th century. While the period up to 1863 accounts for less than 20 percent of works listed, those published during the Positivist period (1863-1885) comprise close to 30 percent. For the following two decades (1885 to 1905) the figure is slightly more than 50 percent of the total.

If we consider the quality of the works surveyed, and the prominence of Jewish motifs in their plots, this increase is even more significant. While few lengthy "Jewish" novels were published in the years 1820-1863, the abundant production of poetry in the early 1860s represents an important part of the 20 percent recorded for the first period. The Positivist discovery of the Jewish world as a subject of literary exploration alters these proportions. In general, Jewish motifs move to the foreground while works devoted primarily to the Jews grow both in volume and in literary importance. The output of such "heavyweight" fiction becomes more significant in the mid-1870s and reaches its peak in the last decade of the 19th century.
From the point of view of literary trends, the emergence of the Jewish world as a major literary theme coincided with the emergence of realism in the late Positivist period. In fact, Orzeszlowa's _Elia Malowar_ (1874) and _Meir Ezofowicz_ (1878), and A.Świętochowski's _Chawa Rubin_ (1879), not only remained the most important "Jewish" works in the perception of contemporary readers but also helped to shape the model of the realist novel. Realism, which crystallized in the late 1870s, remained a constant factor in Poland's literary life to the end of the period under study. Its internal evolution progressed from the tendentiousness characteristic of the Positivist period to an objective and impressionist form of realism.

The Positivist "discovery" of Jewish society was part of a broader process of widening the social horizons of Polish literature. The realists broke with the traditional emphasis on the nobility and made the literary exploration of lower-status groups the centerpiece of their literary program.

Od chwili, gdy dziennikarstwo wysadziwszy głowę z salonu czy przedpojóju swoich chlebodawców wyjrzęło na świat, słonceły się artykuły artykuły. Przełonano się, że obol ludzi żyjących z renty, która — jak wiadomo — bardzo podtrzymuje cnotę i wesołość, obol poważnych matron, niewinnych dziewic i czerwonych młodych kobiet z "niewymowną gracją dosiadaących biegunu", istnieje całkiem inna ludność. Świat parweniuszów i głodomorów, oszustów, morderców, żołwiowych starszeń i młodych wzacetnic. Na tym oceanie biedy i walii na lądy i pazury — dobry ton że swoją obyczajnością, liberią i optymizmem tworzy zaledwie małą wysepkę, zresztą...
Although these observations by B. Prus apply specifically to journalism, they can legitimately be interpreted as a sign of the new orientation characteristic of all of Polish literature.

From the topical point of view, the realist treatment of the Jewish world followed along the lines which crystalized in the 1850s. The realists' attention remained centered on the social progress of the Jew and its implications for the non-Jewish environment. This latter theme, however, was marked by its focus on group rather than individual achievements, and by a gradual shift of attention from rural...
to urban surroundings. The heavy emphasis on the Jew's role in the capitalist economy overshadowed other "Jewish" themes which, like scenes from the life of Jewish plutocracy, the issue of mixed marriages and other aspects of the osmosis occurring between the two societies, still inspired a substantial literary output.

The Positivist idealization of capitalism, a new approach which paved the way for a more positive evaluation of the Jewish role in Polish society, turned out to be short-lived. The Positivists advocated a re-channeling of social energy from the dream of Poland's independence, which they considered utopian, toward attainable ends: the satisfaction of basic needs and human welfare. They evaluated individuals and groups according to their productivity and, in order to promote the latter, advocated individual liberty and equality of rights, opportunities and duties within society. "Work generates wealth; wealth, learning; and learning, virtue", wrote E.Orzeszlowa in 1873 (19).

In the course of the following decade, however, opposition to the "shamefaced materialism" inherent in the Positivist ideology continued to grow. Looking back at the failure of this Positivist ideal, I. Matuszewski, a well-known literary critic of the turn of the century, observed:

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19) E. Orzeszlowa, "O jednej z najpilniejszych potrzeb społeczeństwa naszego", in Niwa 25 (1873)
Niestety! Wielki złoty pozostawił tylko marzeniem: bohaterscy inżynierowie i przemysłowcy, opiewani przez pisarzy ówczesnych, zmienili się w legalnych bandytów, a praca, mająca podnieść ducha indywidualnego i społecznego, przerodziła się w chydną złomę, tuczając się potem maluchami oraz mózgiem, nerwami i sercem bogaczów lub tych co bogaczami zostać pragną. (20)

/Alas/ The golden age remained a dream: the heroic engineers, praised by contemporary writers, were transformed into legal bandits. 'Organic' work, which was to raise the spirits of the individual and of the collective, changed into a nightmare which preyed on the sweat of the poor and the brains, nerves and hearts of the rich and those determined to become rich./

The reaction against the "materialist" orientation of the Positivists, marked by the transformation of "heroic engineers" into "legal bandits", was bound to affect literary perception of the Jew. In fact, in the last two decades of the 19th century the image of capitalism, including its specifically Jewish face, becomes darker and more threatening. This trend continued to prevail in the early 20th century. I. Junosza-Słaniaowski's W_pajęczyn_sieci (In a spider's web, 1896), Pod_wodą (The drowning, 1899), Pająki (The spiders, 1894), Czarnobłoto, Pająki_wiejskie (Czarnobłoto. The rural spiders, 1895), I. Lasłowski's Zdrobi_z_ziemią (One with the land, 1913), Pamiętnik_els_dziadzica_z_dopisami_els-pachciarza (Memoirs of a former landowner with comments by his former арендarz, 1904), A. Gruszczyński's Szachraia (The cheats, 1899), Dla_miliony (For the million, 1900), Remy's Ziemia_obiecana (The promised land, 1899), T. Jes-

(20) I. Matuszewski, "Przemysł w powieści", in Tygodnik Ilustrowany 48 (1899)
Kę-Choński’s Na_straconym_postercunly (On the lost outpost, 1891), M. Bałucli’s Wiydowolsich relach (In Jewish hands, 1884), Przekleto pieniadze (Damned money, 1899) — this is just a small sample of turn-of-the-century works which stress the dark side of capitalist society. Most of them are lengthy novels which focus on the unsuccessful efforts of Polish characters to free themselves from the capitalist cobwebs that entangle them. In all cases the “flies” are ultimately strangled and become the prey of a swarm of Jewish “spiders”.

The Jewish figure in Nasza szlapa. (Our nag), a short story by M. Ronopnicja, is a petty merchant typical of the figures found in most of these novels, characterized by a scarcity — if not a total absence — of any non-economic traits. Ronopnicja depicts this petty merchant — characteristically nicknamed Handel (trade) — in an almost completely neutral fashion. In Nasza szlapa the Jew appears on the scene in order to deprive a debt-ridden worker’s family of yet another of its few remaining necessities. His appearances divide the plot into segments and mark consecutive stages in the family’s realistically depicted physical, economic and social decline. The child who narrates the story does not resent Handel as an individual. He sees the Jew as a tool in the hands of impersonal forces which, destructive as they may be, appear to him to be self-explanatory, necessary and constant elements of life. The naivete and fatalism inherent in the narrator’s perspective enable Ronopnicja to
pass over in silence the nature of the threat and to give it the appearance of invisibility. This literary trick, however, does not make the danger hanging over the boy's head less real. In the final analysis, the perspective of the narrator reinforces rather than tones down the naturalistic cruelty and sadness of Nasza sząlana.

It is noteworthy that in the post-Positivist period interest in Jewish matters was particularly pronounced among writers with naturalist leanings. Although a distinctly naturalist school remained on the periphery of mainstream Polish realism, both currents absorbed -- to varying extents and in various ways -- the experiences of Zola and the French naturalists. In fact, all of the most prominent representatives of naturalism, such as I. Junosza-Szaniawska, A. Gruszecki, G. Zapolska and I. Maciejowski (Sewer), devoted substantial attention to the Jews. Jewish society appears to have provided them with a theme particularly fit to illustrate their pessimistic vision of social reality based on biological determinism.

As with the overall vision of capitalism, an optimistic interpretation of the bonds tying individuals and groups to their respective environments and backgrounds was gradually replaced by a more pessimistic view. The optimistic interpretation of determinism expressed itself in the form of a Positivist faith in the magic power of education as a tool for the transformation of human societies. The Positivist
writers' emphasis on the harmonious and self-regulatory nature of social evolution accounts for their persistent reluctance to confront the issue of anti-Semitism. A more pessimistic view of determinism is echoed in the previously quoted passage by B. Prus: a bitter struggle for survival governs the "other mankind", the world of "parvenus, starvelings, swindlers and murderers." This vision of human relations as conflict-ridden is a typical feature of mature realism and naturalism. In general the naturalists tended to view conflicts opposing various human groups as an integral, "natural" and necessary element of social life.

Analogies between the patterns of animal and human behavior underlie many naturalist depictions of the tension between Poles and Jews. The following scene from Dygasinski's story of animal life Woli_and_ludzie (Wolves, dogs, humans, 1883), provides a particularly illuminating example of this way of thinking. It discusses the nature of the hostility between the narrator's dog and a young domesticated wolf. At first the narrator spontaneously intervenes in defense of the wolf, offering him protection against the dog's aggression. On second thought, however, deeper "philosophical and historical" reflection makes the narrator refrain from interfering in the animals' affairs. Comparing the dogs' instinctive hostility towards wolves to the antagonism between Jews and non-Jews, he recognizes the "natural" character of human and animal aggression.

Wprawdzie w epoce wychowywania przeze mnie Buty
Although anti-Semitism did not yet exist at the time when I raised Buta (the wolf), even then the Christians held the Jews in contempt. Such and similar reflections cooled down my anger at the hound. How can you expect animals to achieve equality, I thought, if humans seem unable to achieve it? Let my wolf experience the bitterness of civilized life in his youth; let him have some tragic memories."

From the 1890s onward the realist and naturalist depictions of Jewish society — now reaching their peak of popularity — were shaped by yet another literary factor. Individual psychology and the "metaphysical essence" of the Jew became the focus of modernism, a current which placed the individual quest for the absolute, and devotion to pure art, at the heart of its artistic credo. The gloomy and decadent moods of the Polish Modernists were fed by a strong perception of the decline of modern civilization, a vision which was spreading throughout fin-de-siècle Europe.

The modernist taste for the esoteric and the irrational is exemplified by the psychological portrayals of Jewish women at the turn of the century. Thus Rachela, a thoroughly acculturated young Jewess with a deep interest in Polish

21) A. Dygasinski, Willa i psy i ludzie, (1883) in Wybór nowel, Warszawa 1972, p.65. The wolf was found by the narrator in 1866.
literature, personifies the magic power of poetry in S. Wyspiański's Wesele (The Wedding, 1901). At a wedding party which brings together all strata of Polish society, Rachela establishes contact with the world beyond. On her invitation the spirits of Polish history join the living, thereby initiating a confrontation between Poland's present and past which is at the very heart of Wyspiański's masterpiece.

But while Rachela's poetic visions play a constructive role in Wesele, dark and destructive sensuality is the dominant feature of Jewish heroines in Tetmajer's Panna Mary (Miss Mary, 1899) Z. Nałkowska's Wesele (Serpents and roses, 1913) and J. Weyssenhoff's Hetman (1911). All these rich and spoiled young women emanate a striking lack of moral sensitivity. The two former characters' obsessive love of riches is equalled by the latter's hunger for political power. Although on the surface their alienation from the Jewish tradition is complete, the "southern blood", the mysterious power of heredity, ties these three women to various aspects of Jewishness. In Hetman this atavism expresses itself in the form of Hala's political support for the Jewish cause, which ranges from diplomatic intrigue to political terrorism. The Jewish roots of the two other heroines, who live in the twilight zone between the realities of contemporary Poland and biblical Palestine, are far more esoteric. The key to their psychology lies in the latter world, full of strange animals, of exotic plants and precious stones, and permeated by an intense eroticism.
On the whole, post-Positivist Polish literature legitimized greater brutality in the depiction of conflicts between Jews and their gentile surroundings. This phenomenon can be explained in terms of the trends which marked the evolution from Positivism to mature realism and naturalism. Among these features were the shift from a materialist to an idealist trend and the evolution from an optimistic to a pessimistic interpretation of determinism, a vision which reached fatalist dimensions in the literary output of the Polish naturalists. This evolution was also encouraged by a shift of emphasis from the harmony between the interests of an individual and his community to the vision of society as conflict-ridden and, finally, from the tendentiousness of Positivist literature to an objective and more mature form of realism.

At one pole we have Orzeszkowa's *Elia Malower*, a novel depicting the conflict of economic interests with a realism and explicitness rarely found in the Positivist romans. These ideological considerations, however, imposed an artificially happy ending on Orzeszkowa's realistically depicted conflict. By uniting Poles and Jews around common goals the author restores the natural harmony of the social organism. At the other pole we have the basically conflict-ridden social reality of the "cobweb" novels. All of them depict confrontation between two antagonistic human species, presented in their respective roles of "flies" and "spí-
ders". Together with the modernist exploration of Jewish spirituality, which removed much of the previous restraint on fantasizing about Jews and their culture, these trends reinforced the perception of the Jews as an alien and threatening group.

CHAPTER FIVE

AFTERMATH

I. TERMINOLOGY AND SYMBOLS: THE DECLINE OF THE MACCABEES

"A bohaterscy Machabeusze,
Gdy ich przypadliem los schwytał
Bez zalętnienia oddań duszę
Za swoje bóstwo - kapitał. (1)

'The heroic Maccabees/ if only fate would demand it/ would fearlessly give up their souls/ for their god - capital."

In these lines, written by a former member of the secret insurrectionary government in the late 1870s, it would be hard to find any trace of the recent euphoria of Polish-Jewish brotherhood. A. Asnyl's ironic reference to the legend of the Maccabees reflects the changes which had accumulated since 1864 in the treatment of the "Jewish" element of the uprising theme. Abandoning their noble ideals, the "heroic Maccabees" typically rediscover their capitalist

1) A. Asnyl, "W lozy", in Zbiór poezji polskich 19-go wieku, Warszawa 1959, III, p. 615
roots and hurry to plot long-term economic strategies which are harmful to Polish society. Toward the end of the century political activism gradually overshadows their capitalist activities and becomes their single most pronounced feature. Their political loyalties are no longer what they were in the uprising years. The "heroic Maccabees" join the ranks of modern political movements -- movements which in the meantime emerged in Jewish society -- to support causes that at best do not coincide with and at worst undermine Polish interests.

This evolution, which starts in the late 1860s, intensifies as the century progresses. Forces shaping the new image of the Jew do not leave unaffected the symbolic language used to refer to the Jewish world. As time goes by, the expression "Pole of the Mosaic persuasion" disappears from the vocabulary or undergoes an evolution similar to that of the Maccabee legend. Used less frequently to emphasize the Jew's status as co-citizen and contributor to the common national history, the term gains an increasingly ironic flavour. Notwithstanding the use of quotation marks, the expression appears in contexts which in various ways stress its inadequacy as a description of the post-insurrectionary perception of the Jew. After a period of semantic confusion during which new connotations compete and overlap with the traditional ones, the term "Pole of the Mosaic persuasion" acquires a new dimension. Increasingly politicized, its use is limited to the narrow realm of writings politically sym-
pathetic to the Jews.

Thus the legendary colonel Berel Joselewicz, the man whose heroic deeds inspired the pictures that decorated the walls of Mortko's tavern in Chrzest Polski, is introduced in W. Reymont's Rol_1794_Incursja (The insurrection of 1794, 1913-1918) as "Machabeusz" (Maccabee) and "Hrajowy cudzoziemiec" (the domestic foreigner) (2). Both terms of which appear in the same paragraph in Reymont's novel; the latter gains ground in the Polish vocabulary of the turn of the century. In G. Zapolska's Przedpelle (The limbo, 1889), a novel dealing with a boarding school for girls, the author focuses on the "strange appearance" ("dziwaczny widok") of Jewish pupils, ironically characterized as "'Poles' of the Mosaic persuasion", who, much to the discontent of non-Jewish audiences, wear Polish national costumes during a school play (3). In Weyssenhoff's Hetmani (1911), a novel largely devoted to Jewish attempts at destabilizing Poland during the 1905 revolution, the term "Maccabees" is applied to beligerent and resentful Jewish socialists ("wojownicze typy z Bundu") (4).

2) W. Reymont, Rol_1794_Incursja, in Piena, XI, Warszawa 1980, p.194-195. The passage which focuses on Berel's non-Slavic features also depicts a Polish officer's objections to having Jewish soldiers under his command and to granting them access to the arsenal.

3) G. Zapolska, Przedpelle (1889), in Dzieła wybrane, II, Krakow 1979, p.126, quotation marks as used by Zapolska.

4) J. Weyssenhoff, Hetmani (1911), Warszawa 1911, p.228 and others.
Finally, a diary written by one of the main characters in R.Prus's *Lalla* (The Doll), provides a particularly insightful observation on the changing ways in which Jews are addressed. Covering the last two years of the eighth decade -- the time when Asnyl wrote his poem -- the diary places this terminological evolution in the broader context of Polish-Jewish relations.

W ogólę, może od roku, uważam, że do starożyt-nych rosne niechęć; nawet ci, którzy przed kil­koma laty nazywali ich Polakami mojżeszowego wyz­nania, dziś zwać ich Żydami. Zaś ci, którzy nie­dawno podziwiali ich pracę, wytrwałość i zdolność- cia, dziś widzą tylko wyzysk i szachrajstwo. Służ­bąc tego myślę, że na ludzię spada jaś mrok duchowy podobny do nocy. W dzień wszystko jest ładne, wesołe i dobre; w nocy wszystko jest brudne i niebezpieczne. Ta się myślę ale milczę; bo co może znaczyć sąd starego subiektu wobec głosu znomitych publicystów, którzy dowodzą, że Żydzi chrześcijańscy używają na masę i że powinni być w prawach swoich ograniczeni. (5)

/In general, I have noticed over the last year or two that the dislile of the Hebrews is increasing; even people who, a few years ago, called them Poles of the Mosaic persuasion now call them Jews. And those who recently admired their hard work, their persistence and their talents, today only see their exploiting and deceit. When I hear such things I sometimes think that a spiritual twilight is falling on mankind. By day all is nice, cheerful and good; at night all is dark and dangerous. I think this but I say nothing; for what does the opinion of an old cleric matter against the voices of well-known journalists who can prove that Jews use Christian blood in their matzos and should have their rights restricted./

The deepening feeling of incompatibility between Polish aspirations and the objectives ascribed to the Jewish commu-

nity as a whole was also manifest in the gradual disappearance of the motif of similarity in the experiences of Poles and Jews. The increased vigilance of Russian censorship following the defeat of 1864 made the fate of the Jews a frequent metaphor for the discussion of Poland's recent past. This "cover" appears in the early writings of E. Orzeszłowa, who, in her first post-insurrectionary novel Pan_Graba (1869), outlined a strategy of national survival under the guise of discussing Jewish affairs. In Pan_Graba this strategy is personified by Wigder (i.e. "victor"), a Jewish moneylender who, driven by a passionate desire to ease the sufferings of his coreligionists, accumulates fabulous riches. Using the Jew as a symbol of organic world, the strategy she wanted the Poles to follow, Orzeszłowa favourably contrasts the Jew's efforts at strengthening Jewish society with the thoughtless selfishness of the novel's Polish hero.

Orzeszłowa's metaphor seems not to have posed problems of interpretation for the contemporary Polish reader, though most of the novel's critics found Wigder an "unrealistic" character (6). The romantic idea of the similarity of both nations' historical roles, and the resulting interchangeability of literary symbols, provided an obvious key to Orzesz-...

Iowa's ideological message in Pan_Graba (7). There is no lack of evidence that the romantic myth of the parallel destinies of Poles and Jews was at the root of Orzeszlowa's interest in Jewish matters. For instance, she wrote to S.H.Peltyn, the editor of the assimilationist journal Izraelita, informing him of her intention to write a major "Jewish" novel and repeatedly stressing the "extraordinary similarity of the two nations' fates" ("niezmiernie podobieństwo losów") and the resulting need for the continuing solidarity of Poles and Jews. The letter leaves little doubt as to the primarily political nature of Orzeszlowa's view of the Polish-Jewish alliance. Poles and Jews have to support each other in confronting the challenges of a future in which, Orzeszlowa feared, both groups might have to cope with continuing "disasters, homelessness and humiliation". Her vision of Polish-Jewish solidarity in resisting external oppression expressed itself in a form characteristic of the insurrectionary years. Vague, tainted with romantic messianism and emphasizing the idea of sacrificial suffering, the concept showed no signs of adjustment to the new political circumstances.

Stworzyłem sobie takie wyobrażenie, że każdy naród posiada udzieloną sobie wyciągłą siłę i mdrość, pewne wyłączne posłannictwo, w imię którego żyje, działa i cierpi. być może, iż każdemu narodowi przeznaczonym jest, żeby dopisał jedną, zgłoszę w tym wielkim wyrazie, który jest wyrazem bezwiednych dajeń całej ludzkości. Zgłoszę, przeznaczoną ludowi polskiemu jest wolność, izraelskiemu wiara w Jedynego Boga. Obie idee wielkie, do wcielenia

7) J. Detlo, Orzeszlowa wobec tradycji narodowych wyzwolencezych, Warszawa 1965, p.40
It came to believe that each nation is endowed with some higher force and wisdom, and its own special mission in whose name it lives, acts and suffers. The destiny of each nation is perhaps to contribute one letter to a long word which expresses the subconscious aspirations of the whole of mankind. In this word the letter assigned to the Polish people is freedom, while that assigned to Israel is the faith in One God. Both these ideas are so sublime and so difficult to realize that nations which implement them cannot escape martyrdom. I see in the case of these two nations such a deep similarity, a community deriving from the highest realms of the spirit, that I cannot stop wondering that this community has not yet created love. To some extent, both must be at fault. The question now is: how to repair the damage and unify people whose fates and missions are so similar and who need each other so badly.\footnote{E. Orzeszlowa, letter to S.H. Peltyn from 12-24.04.1871, as quoted in: I. Butliewiczowa, Powieści_1_nawale_zydowski Elizy_Orzeszlowa, Lublin 1977, p.7}

In Orzeszłowa's first large-scale "Jewish" novel, 
\textit{Eli Malower} (1874), this solidarity assumes the distinctive form of an alliance between the Jewish bourgeoisie and the Polish nobility. The novel's Jewish hero is Eli Malower, a merchant involved in real estate. Eli, who for years fights to purchase a heavily mortgaged estate, withdraws from the lucrative transaction when it is about to succeed. The Jew rejects the idea of economic competition with the Poles as incompatible with the common interests of Poles and Jews.
Showing restraint in the execution of his newly acquired rights, Eli gives the highest priority to the task of maintaining harmonious relations between the two groups. In exchange for his generosity the Jew takes from the nobleman's hands the light of modern civilization and the promise of integration into Polish society. In Ogrody Orzeszłowa brings together a Jewish watchmaker and a Polish aristocrat and makes them discover the amazing similarity of their respective life experiences.

But even these works, though "parallelistic" in concept, betray a growing tension between the romantic scheme and Orzeszłow's realistic depictions of social reality. In Pan Graba the Jewish moneylender's fortune originates in the exploitation and "tears" of the Poles. His nation's well-being can be achieved only at the expense of the Christian population. In a scene reminiscent of Ali Baba's visit to the robbers' cave the Jew shows Graba his treasures and, to further emphasize his wealth, throws priceless pearls on the floor. Underlying his edifying comments on the moral responsibilities of individuals toward their respective communities is the idea of the incompatibility of Polish and Jewish interests.

Ile tych perel spada na ziemię - rzekł - tyle źe
ludzich spadło na moją głowę... ale za to tyle źe
mniej mój lud wypłacze. (9)

/As many pearls as you see falling on this floor - he said - so many human tears have fallen upon my head... but so many fewer tears will fall on my own people's side./
The parallels in Ogniwa between the Polish and Jewish experiences are limited in range and deal with individual fates rather than group experiences. Eliza Małowier's happy ending is attached somewhat artificially, to Orzeszówa's depiction of the longstanding and bitter rivalry between the Polish landowner (who struggles to survive the post-insurrectionary crises of landownership) and the Jewish buyer of his estate. Orzeszówa was not alone in perceiving Polish ownership of the land as one of the most important conditions of national survival. The Jewish role in undermining Polish interests in this particular field soon becomes the single most frequently treated "Jewish" theme of Polish literature.

Ironically, another of Orzeszówa's novels, Miśtała (1886), was the last major literary work which made use of the once common parallels between Jewish suffering after the destruction of Jerusalem and that of post-insurrectionary Poland. Set in Rome shortly after Titus' victory over the Jewish state, the novel discusses the deterioration of Roman-Jewish relations, which culminates in anti-Jewish riots. Orzeszówa submitted Miśtała for publication in Łos in

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1883, shortly after the outbreak of anti-Jewish violence in Warsaw which dramatically demonstrated the deterioration in the social climate. Fearing that the novel's depiction of the nationalistic "fanaticism" of the Jews might revive rampant anti-Jewish passions, L<sub>Z</sub> chose to delay <i>Mirtala</i> s publication for three years (10).

The journal's editors were hardly alone in interpreting <i>Mirtala</i> as Orzesz<sub>L</sub>owe's response to the Warsaw riots of 1881 and other negative trends in contemporary Polish-Jewish relations. Their focus on the "Jewish question", however, made them overlook yet another dimension of the novel. Like most of <i>Mirtala</i> s critics after the novel's publication in 1886, they failed to acknowledge the central place of the Polish-Russian relationship, which the novel discussed under the guise of depicting the Roman-Jewish interaction (11). The prevailing interpretation of <i>Mirtala</i> as a purely "Jewish" work misread Orzesz<sub>L</sub>owe's intentions, which the author outlined in her letter to the publisher:

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11) The most important exception here is the discussion of the novel in J.Łotarbiński's, "Mirtala, Powieść Elizy Orzesz<sub>L</sub>owej", <i>Życie</i> 5 (1887), pp.75-77. The relationship of the conquered and their conquerors, and its relevance for Poland vis-a-vis the Russians, was for Łotarbiński the main issue of Orzesz<sub>L</sub>owe's work.
Pod względem treści jest to naprzód wal a dwóch narodów: podbitego i zwycięskiego, następnie wal a cezaryzmu z republikanizmem; na koniec obraz nie-

sprawiedliwości i gwałtów dokonywanych pod wpływem różnych pobudek nad słabszymi i bezbronnymi, czyli przez zepsuty i zbałamucony plebs rzymski nad wyg-

nańczą, zgnębioną i bezbronną ludnością żydowską.

(10)

/From the point of view of content it is, first of all, a struggle between two nations, a victorious one and a subdued one, and, second, a struggle between caesarism and republicanism. Finally, it is a depiction of the oppression and injustices inflicted (by the strong) on the weak and helpless, i.e., by a spoiled Roman mob on an uprooted, oppressed and defenceless Jewish population./

The confusion surrounding Mirtala was not caused solely by Orzeszlowa’s use of the recently subdued Roman Jews as a metaphor for the fate of the Poles under Russian domination. Nor was this misunderstanding due to Orzeszlowa’s discussion of Polish-Jewish relations disguised as social conflicts in first-century Rome. The source of the confusion lay in the author’s simultaneous use of the same literary symbols (Jews, riots, the destruction of Jerusalem) on both of the novel’s semantic levels. On the one hand her depiction of the Jewish experience helped Orzeszlowa keep alive the memory of the January uprising and the Polish dream of independence. Moreover, the fate of the Jews served her as a literary device to promote the idea of Polish cultural separatism vis-a-vis the Russians, a strategy which she wholeheartedly advocated as a means of resisting Russification.

tion (13). On the other hand, the first-century Roman Jews personified 19th century Jewish nationalism, which enabled the Jews of Poland to resist efforts aimed at their Poloniza-
tion but which Orzeszlowa clearly classified as a negative phenomenon. Using the classical Jewish theme of the 1860s Orzeszlowa failed to acknowledge the important changes which had occurred in the meantime in the Polish readers' perception of the Jews. The reception of her novel, marred by serious problems of interpretation, clearly indicated that Orzeszlowa's symbolic language, as applied to the circumstances of post-1864 Polish society, had become anachronistic by the middle of the 1980s.

13) This interpretation is followed by J.Detlo who argues that Mircza was written less to combat anti-Semitism than to promote Polish nationalism. J.Detlo, Eliza Orzeszlowa, Warsaw 1971, pp.240-244. This view is shared by A.Cala, Społeczeństwo polskie wobec programów Żydów, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Warsaw 1983, pp.59-61.
II. JEWISH ATTITUDES IN RETROSPECT

Projecting the new social climate upon the memories of the recent past, Polish literature continued to revise the legend of 1863. The legacy of the January uprising and its competing interpretations played a crucial role in shaping new political and ideological attitudes. The political re-evaluation of the 1863 tradition, most advanced in Galicia, was followed — though by no means automatically — by a corresponding transformation of the literary legend. On the whole, however, the internal evolution of this legend showed a considerable degree of autonomy. There were substantial differences both in the timing and in the way in which the new interpretations affected various elements of the tradition. For example, while in some writers’ memory the period of Polish-Jewish goodwill quickly shrank into "one heroic hour", a more realistic assessment of peasant attitudes toward the uprising was not available until the early 20th century. As the previous review of Jewish motifs clearly indicates, the traditional romantic scheme continued to compete with new approaches throughout the period under study. Generally speaking, the re-examination of the Jewish role in 1863 echoed the debate on the so-called "Jewish question" in its various stages.
M. Bałuc's works on the January insurrection were among the earliest to make no use whatever of romantic cliches in depicting the Jewish role in the uprising. In a short but powerful episode in Przebudzeni (The Awakened, 1865), the Jewish tavern-keeper buys, from the peasants, clothes and other belongings which the villagers have stripped from the fallen Polish insurgents (14). In Lomedia za-lkrat (Comedy behind bars, 1868), the only "Jewish" aspect of the uprising is represented by a cowardly smuggler who made a fortune trading in illegal weapons (15). Bałuc's focus on the economic opportunities the 1867 war offered to the Jews occupies a prominent place in later accounts, and tends to gradually overshadow the question of their political loyalties.

Junosza-Szaniawsł's novel Na szklanych (On the ashes, 1884) tells the story of Jewish attempts to take over the estate of an exiled insurrectionist. The endangered estate is ultimately saved only as a result of the loyalty of peasants who have not allowed themselves to be bought off by the local tavern-keeper. In the novel Byl i byd (They were

14) This scene foreshadows the early 20th-century works which treat the question of the peasants' role in the uprising with tragic realism: S. Żeromski's Rozdzilobia nas_ Lroli wrony, Wierna rzela and A. Strug's short stories.

15) T. Drewnowski notes that Bałuc's earliest criticism of the Jews came partly in reaction to their "commercial" attitude toward the uprising ("handlarskie podejście do sprawy powstania") T. Drewnowski, op. cit., p. CIX
and they will be, 1888) M. Rodziewiczówna depicts the sudden prosperity of a Lithuanian shtetl as due to Jewish trade in the confiscated property of rebels.

The little town, populated mostly by Jews, remained loyal to the Russians, and when one day it was filled with soldiers overjoyed by the liquidation of partisan groups in the woods it took this to be the end of all trouble and stagnation in business. Bloody spectacles, executions, trials, and the bringing in and out of suspects began. The Jews paid the military commander a generous tribute and made excellent business by trading in property looted from the manors and stripped from the insurgents. /16/

The town’s Jews hurry to buy cattle confiscated during the brutal pacification of a petty nobleman’s village whose entire population was deported to Siberia. They also take advantage of the political situation to purchase wooded lots from Polish noblemen at low prices. In yet another insurrectionary novel by M. Rodziewiczówna, Pozary i żaglówki (Fires and ashes, 1894), the Jewish tavern-keeper, acting as right-hand man to a treacherous Polish nobleman, betrays a rebel detachment operating in the Lithuanian woods. In order to collect information which ultimately leads to its massacre, 16) M. Rodziewiczówna, Byli i będą (1888), Wydawnictwo Rybitwa, n.d., p.11
the Jew corrupts a young peasant by means of alcohol, bribery and blackmail. In another episode in Pogány, the rebels hide in a tavern after the Jewish tavern-keeper's terrified wife has been forced to cooperate through blackmail and the use of physical force.

The hero of H. Sienkiewicz's Szlachcic (1876) is a Polish police informer whose cooperation with the Russians goes back to the time of the uprising. When we meet him years later he continues to blackmail his neighbors by his knowledge of their insurrectionary past. The informer's accomplice, a Jewish tavern-keeper, helps him to stage provocations and acts as a false witness. The attitude of W. Loszczyński's courageous Jan Kiel in W ogniu, woliści (1896) is contrasted not only with the cowardly and unpatriotic attitudes of some Poles but also with those prevailing in his own community. The Jews treat him with hostility, and coldly watch the hero's execution by the Russians. In Wici wyrzeczone Loszczyński has the uprising's commander-in-chief, Traugutt, express qualified praise for the Jews tacit sympathy for the rebels. A number of episodes, however, focus on the way in which they profit economically from the uprising. Although generally supportive of the Poles the Jews easily yield information when pressed by the Russians. In at least one case this leads to robbery, arrests and murders of the Poles.

A Jewish tavern-keeper in Sewer's (I. Maciejowski) story
"Maciel w powstaniu" (Maciel in the uprising, 1894) does not hide rebels - but a former rebel hides from him. The Jew is treated as a potential security risk by a young peasant who returns to his home village after fighting in the uprising. Maciel threatens to burn down the tavern to prevent a possible denunciation by the Jew. While the Jewish support in _Przed pótem_ was personified by the patriotic horse-smuggler, Fontrymowicz's lengthy negative comments on Litvaks (17) -- remarks rather artificially included in a novel dealing with much earlier events -- appear to have been intended as an epilogue to the novel's Jewish theme.

M.J. Wielopolska's novel _L'atam_ (1913) tells the story of the last rebel detachment, led by S. Brzoska, which held out in the countryside in Polesie until December 1864 (18). Wielopolska's portrayal of Brzoska and his men reminds one strongly of the faithful apostles gathering around the figure of Christ. Following the pattern frequently used in earlier fiction, the variety of the social, cultural, and ideological backgrounds of Brzoska's followers emphasizes the perfect harmony of all strata of Polish society united around their common goal: Poland's independence. In addition to Brzoska, who is a Catholic priest, we find among these

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17) Litvaks (Litwacy) Jewish immigrants from the eastern provinces of the Empire, see chapter IV.

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18) Rev. S. Brzoska (1834-1865), the last surviving staff-officer of the uprising, joined the movement in 1862 after being imprisoned for preaching patriotic sermons. Captured in December 1864 Brzoska was executed in Sololow on 23 May 1865.
last freedom fighters a Jewish craftsman, a conservative landowner, a politically radical blacksmith (who is a Protestant), an anti-clerical veteran of the Garibaldi wars, two moniks, a pious peasant josynier (a veteran of the November uprising), and a freemason of French origin whose views are described as communist (19). Despite their exceptional bravery, this "Noah's ark" gradually shrinks and the detachment's days are numbered. The Jew, wounded at the beginning of the novel, survives to the group's very end. Taken prisoner in the detachment's last battle and savagely tortured, the Jew reveals Brzóska's hiding place to the Russians. In a scene which one immediately associates with Christ's capture by Roman soldiers, the dying Jew, the Judas, is comforted and forgiven by the Christ-like Brzóska (20).

The theme of treason allegedly committed by the Jew reappears in Wielopolska's short story "Kapitan Lerbas". Lerbas, the courageous and dedicated leader of a rebel detachment is shot on the spot by a suspicious Polish officer. In retrospect, the Pole acknowledges his mistake and admits that he was blinded by the image of "Abramka-zdrajcy", the widespread stereotype of the traitor Jew. While the officer asks to be shot as punishment, his superior bitterly replies that there would not be enough bullets to shoot all those

19) M.J.Wielopolska, _Przygoda_ O szesdziesiątym trzecim roku opowieść, Warszawa 1915, p.26
20) M.J.Wielopolska, op.cit., p.145
guilty of treating the Jews with excessive suspicion and in that way alienating many sincere Polish patriots (21).

A. Strug's "Ojcowie nasz" (Our fathers, 1910), a collection of stories dealing with the January uprising, focuses on the social injustices perpetrated in the name of patriotic values. Although Strug primarily concentrates on the peasant question, the Jews occasionally also appear as helpless victims of robberies and confiscations for the war effort. "Polale" provides a few unedifying examples of the rebels' mistreatment of Jewish tavern-keepers. On the whole, the Jews cautiously help the insurgents, supplying them with food and sharing vital information. The latter form of assistance is of no avail to the Poles who, blinded by mistrust, are not in a position to take advantage of the Jews' realistic assessment of the situation. In "Mogilka" (The little grave) the exhausted and demoralized partisans, lost in the woods, try to make their way to the Galician border. The local Jewish tavern-keeper, a renowned smuggler, would have safely taken them across the border. But the rebels never reach the tavern and perish, betrayed by the peasants.

The retrospective transformation of the 1863 legend is one of many possible illustrations of the growing ambiguity with which Polish authors treat Jewish loyalties. Characteristically, L.W. Anczyc felt obliged to stress, in the intro-

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duction to his _Losciuszo pod Racławicami_ (Losciuszo at
Racławice, 1881), that the play's Jewish character, a pro-
-Polish spy, is to be seen as a model figure, an edifying
example whom he wanted the Jews to follow, rather than as a
character reflecting real-life attitudes (22). Similarly, in
Z. Sarnecki's _Słońce_ (The sunflower, 1883) the portrait of
Losciuszo decorating the office of a rich businessman means
little more than the Jew's coldly calculating manipulation
of this national symbol. Only after a Polish Catholic priest
saves the businessman's father in one of the Russian pogroms
of 1881 does the businessman realize the error of his "cos-
mopolitan" ways and becomes a sincere Polish patriot. Final-
ly, in Sewer's (I. Maciejowski) _Żyzma_ (1884) a small pro-
-Polish faction struggles against a pro-German faction in an
attempt to promote Polish interests among Jews in Lwow. But
while Sewer's defenders and their cause are not explicitly
defeated, the final outcome of this struggle appears ques-
tionable to the author. His doubts find a resounding echo in
late nineteenth-century literature. While patriotically-min-
ded Jewish characters, idealists who try to put Jewish life
back on tract, become less frequent in Polish fiction, vil-
lains involved in various "Jewish conspiracies" fill this
vacuum.

22) L.W. Anczyc, _Losciuszo pod Racławicami_, in _Życie i
pisma_, IV, Kraków 1908, p. 287
III. SETTLING ACCOUNTS WITH THE VETERANS

Some Jewish patriots portrayed by Polish writers survive the shots fired at them during the Warsaw demonstrations and the dangers of the partisan war. The earliest accounts of the Jewish veterans' fate after 1864 typically place them in Western Europe where—despite all the miseries of exile—love and friendship reward them for their dedication to the Polish cause. Wolski's Mosiel, for instance, depicts the loyal friendship of Władysław and Mojżesz, two former comrades-in-arms. Faithful to the ideals of their youth, the two friends await the next round of armed struggle for Poland's independence. Fraszewski's Jakub Hamon leads the existence of a wandering Jew but ultimately finds happiness in his private life. He marries an enlightened Warsaw Jewess who, under his influence, rejects the spiritual emptiness of the cosmopolitan milieu in which she grew up and turns into an idealistic Polish patriot.

These and other happy endings become less frequent in the following decades. The romantic naivete of these early works contrasts with the complex and frequently ambiguous problems which the Jewish veterans confront in later Polish
literature. In general, however, the treatment of the "veteran" theme is marked by a number of common characteristics. The first and the most important is the similarity of the topical context in which the motif appears in the plot. The former Jewish rebels are invariably introduced in the context of the discussion of Polish-Jewish relations. Typically, their appearance is followed by the author's comparison between the climate of the 1860s and that of the following years. Jewish veterans and their post-insurrectionary biographies also serve to justify the positions taken by various writers on the issue of Jewish assimilation. The second common feature of the veterans' stories is their predominantly pessimistic mood. Although the conclusions drawn from this post-insurrectionary settling of accounts vary according to the writer's political views, most authors dealing with the topic acknowledge -- more or less explicitly -- the failure of Polish hopes for the brotherhood of "the two Israels".

It is precisely in this context that a Jewish veteran's story is narrated by B. Prus in Łalla (The Doll, 1890), a novel considered one of the masterpieces of Polish literature. One of Łalla's themes is the history of a Polish-owned Warsaw store. The main part of the tale which is narrated by the store's old clerl, Rzeczka, Rzeczka, the author of the previously quoted diary, is an idealist formed by the romantic tradition and its old-fashioned democratic values. He is genuinely worried by the growing "dislike of the Hebrews"
which turns life sour for Henryl Szlangbaum, yet another
clerk in the store. Szlangbaum fought in the January uprising
along with Dr. Szuman, also a Jew, and the store's owner,
Stanislaw Wołusi1. All three paid for their patriotic deeds with years of exile in Siberia. The passage that follows deals with Szlangbaum's post-insurrectionary experiences, covering the period from his return from exile in the early 1870s to the end of the decade. In its last two years, the years in which Lalik's plot takes place, the signs of approaching "trouble with the Jews" continue to multiply.
Rzecl¹'s pessimistic assessment of the direction of inter-
group relations converges with the opinions voiced by neutral observers, by Polish anti-Semites as well as by the Jews themselves. (For the sake of preserving the passage's integrity, Rzecl¹'s previously quoted remarks are repeated here in their broader context.)

Otóż Szlangbaum jest w całym znaczeniu porządnym
obywatelem, ale mimo to wszyscy go nie lubią,
gdyż... ma niesczęście być starożalonym.
W ogóle, może od roku, uważam, że do starożalony-
nych rośnie niechęć; nawet ci, którzy przed filio-
ma laty nazywali ich Polakami mojżeszowego wyzana-
nia, dziś zważ ich Żydanmi. Zaś ci, którzy niedawno
podziwiali ich pracę, wytrwałość i zdolności, dziś
widzą tylko wyzysk i szachrajastwo. Słuchając te-
go, czasem myślę, że na ludzłość spada jakieś mrok
duchowy. W dzień wszystko było ładne, wesołe i
dobre; w nocy wszystko jest brudne i niebezpiecz-
ne. Tak sobie myślę, ale milczę; bo coś może znac-
zyć sąd starego subiekta wobec głosu znamiotych
publicystów, którzy dowodzą, że Żydzi przeci-
cieżańskie**, używają na macę; że powinni być w pra-
wach swoich ograniczeni. (..)
Taki stan rzeczy w osobliwy sposób oddziaływa na
Szlangbaum. Jeszcze w roku zesłonym człowiek ten
nazywał się Szlangowskim, obchodził Wielkanoc i
Boże Narodzenie, i z pewnością najwierniejszy katolik nie zjada tyle klejbasę co on. Pamiętam, że gdy raz w culerni zapytano go:

- Nie lubisz pan lodów, panie Szlangowskim?

Odpowiedział:

- Lubię tylko klejbasę, ale bez czosnku. Czosnku znieść nie mogę.

Wrócił z Syberii razem ze Stchem i doktorem Szumanem i zaraz wstąpił do chrześcijańskiego słupa, choć Żydzi dawali mu lepsze warunki. Od tej pory ciągle pracował u chrześcijan i dopiero w roku bieżącym wymówił mu posadę.

W początku maja pierwszy raz przyszedł do Stacha /Wołuskiego - M.D. / z prośbą. Był bardziej słuchany i miał czerwieni pod oczy niż zwykle.

- Stachu - rzędził pororny głosem - utone, na Nalewках, jeżeli mnie nie przygarniesz.

- Dlaczegoś od razu do mnie nie przyszedłeś - spytał Stach.


Nowy sublet od razu wziął się do roboty, a w późniejszej godzinie, mrulinął Lisiecki do łóżka:

-Co tu, do diabła, tak czosnku zalażuje, panie flajn

Zas w trudnym oddali, już nie wiem z jakiej racji dodał:

- Ja! te kanalie Żydzy cieszą się na traktańskiej Przedmieściu! Nie mogłyby parzyć, jeden z drugim, pilnować się Nalewka i Świętojerskiej!

Szlangbaum milczał, tylko drgały mu czerwone policzki.

Szczęściem, obie te zaczęły słyszał Wołuski. Wstał od biurka i rzędził tonem, którego, co prawda, nie lubię:

- Panie... panie Lisiecki! Pan Henryk! Szlangbaum był moim kolegą wówczas, gdy działało mi się bardzo źle. Czybyś więc pan nie pozwolił mu kalejować się ze mną dziś, kiedy mam się trochę lepiej?

Lisiecki zmieszany się czując, że jego posada wisi na włosu. Ułonił się, coś mrulinął, a wtedy Wołuski zbliżył się do Szlangbauma i uściśławszy go powiedział:

- To chory Henryk, nie bierz do serca drobnych przyczyn, bo my tu sobie po koleżeńsku czasem docinamy. Oświadczam ci także, że jeżeli opuściš: liedy ten słup, to chyba razem ze mną. Stanowiło Szlangbaumo wyjaśniono się od razu; dziś mnie prędzej coś powiedzą (ba! nawet zwymyslają) niż jemu. Ale czy znalazł i to sposób przeciwko półśl donors tom, minom i spojrzeniom?.. A to wszystko
“Thus, though Szlangbaum is a decent citizen in the fullest sense, no one likes him since he has the misfortune to be a Hebrew... In general, I have noticed over the last year or two that the dislike of the Hebrews is increasing; even people who, a few years ago, called them Poles of Mosaic persuasion now call them Jews. And those who recently admired their hard work, their persistence and their talents, today only see their exploiting and deceit.

When I hear such things, I sometimes think that a spiritual twilight is falling on mankind, like night. By day all is nice, cheerful and good; at night, all is dark and dangerous. I think this but I say nothing; for what does the opinion of an old cleric matter against the voices of well-known journalists who can prove that Jews use Christian blood on their matzos, and should have their rights restricted. (...)

This state of affairs affects Szlangbaum in a particular manner. Only a year ago, he called him—
self Szlangowski, he celebrated Easter and Christmas, and I am sure that the most pious Catholic did not eat as much sausage-meat as he. I remember he was once asked in a cafe: "Don’t you care for ice-cream, Mr. Szlangowski?"

He replied: "I prefer sausages, but without garlic. I can’t abide garlic."

He came back from Siberia with Stas and Dr. Szuman, and at once found work in a Christian shop, though Jews offered him better pay. From that time on he always worked for Christians. He was sacked this year. Early in May he came to ask a favor of Stas /Wokulski/.

"Stas," he said humbly, "I will drown myself in Nalewki /the Jewish district of Warsaw/ unless you help me."

"Why didn’t you come to me before?" Stas asked.

"I did not dare. I was afraid they might say of me that the Jew will creep in anywhere. And I would not have come today but for my children". Stas shrugged and at once took Szlangbaum on at fifteen hundred roubles a year.

The new clerk set to work at once. Half-an-hour later Lisiecki muttered to Klein: "What in the world stinks so of garlic, Mr. Klein?" Fifteen minutes later, I forget why, he added: "How these swinish Jews creep into the Cracow Boulevard! Why don’t they stay in Nalewki and Swietojerska?"

Szlangbaum was silent, though his red eyelids quivered. Fortunately Wokulski overheard both taunts. He rose from his desk and said in a tone which, I must say, I don’t like: "Mr. Mr. Lisiecki! Mr. Henryk Szlangbaum was my colleague at a time when things were going very badly. Why not let him be my colleague today, when things are somewhat better?" Lisiecki was embarrassed, realizing that his job was on the line. He bowed and muttered something, then Wokulski went over to Szlangbaum and embraced him; "My dear Henryk, do not take these little things too much to heart, for we here appreciate each other as colleagues. I can assure you that if you ever quit this store it will be with me."

Szlangbaum’s position improved at once. Today the others would sooner taunt (even insult) me than him. But has anyone found a way to defend oneself against insinuations, looks and glances?.. All this is poisoning the poor fellow’s existence, so he sometimes tells me with a sigh: "If I weren’t afraid my children would become Jewish I’d go and settle in Nalewki once and for all."

"Then why, Henryk," I asked him, "don’t you get christened and get it over with?"

"I’d have done so years ago but not now. Today
I know that as a Jew I am despised by Christians, but as a convert I'd be despised by Christians and Jews alike. After all, I must live somewhere. Anyway", he added, more quietly, "I have five children and a rich father, whose heir I am."

This is strange. Szlangbaum's father is a usurer, but his son stays poor and works as a clerk so as not to take a penny-piece from him.

Sometimes I talk frankly about him with Lisiec: "Why do you persecute him?" I ask. "He conducts his house in a Christian manner and even has a Christmas tree for his children."

"Because he thinks", said Lisiec, "that it is more profitable to eat matzo with sausage than by itself."

"He was in Siberia. He exposed himself to danger..."

"Yes, but for profit. And it was for profit that he called himself first Szlangowsk-l and now Szlangbaum, because his old man has asthma."

"You mocked him for dressing up in peacock feathers, so he went back to using his old name."

"For which he'll get a hundred thousand roubles when his father dies," Lisiec replied.

It was my turn to shrug and fall silent. It is wrong to call himself Szlangbaum, but Szlangowski was just as bad: wrong to be a Jew, wrong to be a convert. Night is falling: a night in which everything looks gray and dubious.../

The shift in Szlangbaum's orientation in the post-insurrectionary years is one of the most interesting observations made by Prus in the text quoted above. In 1879 this veteran of the 1863 uprising, a man who struggled for years and at great cost to keep his children away from anything Jewish, questions his loyalties. He stops "dressing up in peacock feathers" and goes back to his old last name. He was ready to consider conversion in the 1860s, but now finds it out of the question. He is not Lall'a's only Jew to re-examine his earlier cultural choices. Even the thoroughly Polishized Dr. Szuman faces similar dilemmas. Despite his total

23) B. Prus, Lall'a, I, Warszawa 1972, p.201-2
alienation from the Jewish tradition. Szuman's constantly changing use of "we" and "they" in reference to Poles and Jews reveals an identity problem. He gradually recognizes the inadequacy of the optimistic image of the future on which he based the concept of his integration into Polish society. These dilemmas of Szum's Jewish figures were by no means imaginary. The rise of modern anti-Semitism had an impact on assimilation, a process which appeared to progress smoothly among the Warsaw Jewish bourgeoisie in Henry's youth. In post-1864 Poland the Jews continued to modernize. Their assimilation into Polishness, however, suffered a serious setback.

But the veteran's story narrated by Prus does not end there. The year 1879 definitely ends the "Polish" episode in Henry's life. Radically modifying his former "philosophy" of assimilation, he now opts for Jewish culture in its modern, secular form. With his father's capital he buys Wotulski's store and reveals his new identity: he is now a tough, resentful Jewish businessman determined to make a profit at any cost and by any means. The quality of both merchandise and human relations in the store deteriorates. The new owner is certainly not prepared to treat the Polish surroundings with any particular kindness. Ironically, his former ally and defender, the old clerk, is among the first victims of Szlangbaum's new style of management. As Szum's positive Polish characters fall away, Szlangbaum's standards -- along with those of some Polish thugs -- seem to indicate
the direction of imminent social trends. In the closing scene of the novel, in which he comments on the recent death of the old clergy, Dr. Szuman asks:

Straszna rzecz! - odezwał się doktor. - Ci giną, wy wyjeżdżacie. Toż tu w końcu zostanie?
- My' - odpowiedzieli jednogłośnie Maruszewicz i Szlangbaum. (25)

/A terrible thing - said the doctor - men such as he perish, you are leaving. Who will be left here at the end?
- We will - replied Maruszewicz /a Polish crook/ and Szlangbaum simultaneously.

We must not forget that in the background, there are also the Lisieclis and Jelens and other anti-Semites. Fired by Szlangbaum, they await their turn to settle accounts. Put in the general framework of a pessimistic vision of Polish society The Doll's last scene predicts, among other things, more "trouble with the Jews" in the years to come.

24) There is a striking similarity between Szlangbaum's assessment of trends in Polish-Jewish relations and the views expressed by such non-fictional figures as A. Fraushar, one of the most prominent Jewish supporters of the 1863 movement. In a letter to J. I. Frauszewski, Fraushar bitterly contrasts the social climate of the Warsaw demonstrations with that of the late 1880s, the years when Prus wrote Lella. Those Jews who consider themselves Poles, Fraushar complains in the letter, face the "truly unbearable pain" of being "barely tolerated if not rejected by those who now lead the orchestra of racial hatred". Commenting on an intensely patriotic poem written by his 11 year-old son, Fraushar echoes Szlangbaum's concern for the future of his children. "What future awaits my poor boy? He was born a Pole, the Muscovites want him to become a Muscovite, Jelenksi (i.e., the editor of the anti-Semitic Rola) denies him the right to be a Pole while he does not wish to become a German and cannot be a Jew any longer." "Aleksander Fraushar w sprawie memoriułu Komitetu Gilewskiego w Warszawie z roku 1886", in Biuletyn ZIH, 109 (1979), p.75

Echoes of the social process which led to the shift in Henryk Szyłangbaum's loyalties can be heard in other works of this period. For example, a young Galician Jew thrown out of a dance in Balucki's Między I Starzy (1865) bitterly recalls empty promises of equality and brotherhood made to Jews a few years earlier. The youth's highly emotional response to his rejection by the Poles foreshadows the approaching confrontation between the nascent Jewish nationalism and the increasingly nationalistic mood of the Poles.

Asnyt's play Zyld (The Jew, 1874) provides one of the clearest examples of this. A Jewish veteran's hopes for integration into Polish society are frustrated. His disappointments, however, are overshadowed by Asnyt's discussion of the shift in the Polish perception of the Jew, a shift due to the Polish "unmasling" of the Jew's "real nature". The play, a work of at best modest literary quality, challenges the Positivist concept of Jewish assimilation. It emphasizes the ease with which the thin veneer of Polishness falls away from its Jewish hero whose combatant past -- though only briefly mentioned in the first scene -- represents one of the most important "proofs" of his Polonization. The play's attempt to prove the basic inassimilability of the Jew logically seeks to invalidate his record of Polish patriotism.

At first sight Jakub Weinberg's credentials look impressive: he is introduced as a Polish-educated convert to Christianity and a successful industrialist. Not only did he
fight in the January uprising but his outstanding courage
saved Polish lives on the battlefield. Polish "debts of gra-
titude" toward Weinberg go even further: his financial as-
sistance has saved several characters from bankruptcy. Wein-
berg's contributions are fully recognized by the Poles, who
respect him as a decent fellow citizen and well-mannered
gentleman, a man whose solid roots in Polish culture are
initially taken for granted.

But as soon as these assumptions are outlined in the
play's first scene Asnył dismisses them one by one as mis-
perceptions on the Polish side. The play's second scene al-
ready questions Weinberg's alleged military bravery. The
grotesque terror with which he describes the shot fired at
someone else in a duel is reminiscent of the cowardly Jew, a
typical figure of Polish folkloric plays. His sense of ho-
nor, which the Poles naively believe to be genuine, is ridi-
culed by his refusal to fight a duel (which he explains by
his inexperience in using firearms) as well as by the sneaky
way in which he shoots his challenger in the back. The Jew's
generosity in financial matters is unmasked as a long-term
strategy, a sophisticated network of intrigues aimed at
holding in check and blackmailing his Polish friends. Some
elements in this plot go back to the Jew's school years,
implying a continuity in Weinberg's basic attitude toward
Poles. This continuity, Asnył seems to suggest, has remained
unaffected by the experiences of the uprising.
Weinberg's behavior is motivated by a desire to take revenge for the humiliations inherent in the status of the Jew, which in his case include frustrated love for a Polish woman.

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Mogłbym go teraz zostawić wlasnemu losowi... ale nie! Pismo mówi: oko za oko, ząb za ząb. (26)

/Now I could have left him to his fate... but no! The Scriptures say: an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth/

— exclaims Weinberg, referring to his Polish rival. This lausus linguæ, which re-establishes the missing link between the Jew's conduct and the concept of "Talmudic vengeance", additionally compromises the dubious nature of Weinberg's "fresh Christianity". The character's sudden relapse into the wicked ethos of Judaism is by no means exceptional: the superficially assimilated Jews in W.Przyborowski's Hinda (1869) and E.Lubowski's Żyd (1868) are among many literary characters who suffer from similar cultural atavisms.

It is true that the Poles portrayed in Asnył's play are not without blame. Careless in financial matters, they cynically manipulate and exploit Weinberg; but -- in their own and Asnył's perception -- they make up for this, simply, by socializing with him. Moreover, becoming more aware of their own shortcomings (which include minor "errors" in their

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26) A.Asnył, Żyd in El...y. Pisma. V. Komedie i dramaty, II, Warszawa 1898, pp.112
dealings with the Jew) the Poles manifest a genuine desire for self-improvement. Weinberg is the only character in the play whose moral standards steadily degenerate. The fatalism of his unassimilable Jewish nature leads him to kidnapping, to murder and ultimately to self-destruction. At the end of the play accounts are settled: in the final analysis Polish "errors" -- though deplorable -- stand in no proportion to Weinberg's "crimes". As the Poles decide to reduce their dependence on Jewish assistance in managing financial matters, they appear to have no further "debts of gratitude" toward the former Jewish veteran of the January uprising.
IV. "WHAT HAS GONE WRONG WITH THE WORLD?"

Disillusionment with the Jews manifested itself in other forms as well. The contrast between the idealistic, old-fashioned Jews on the one hand and the new, aggressive and emancipated variety on the other, gradually assumed the form of a deepening generational gap. Moreover, with the passage of time complaints about the continuous deterioration of the Jewish world became a common literary stereotype. In this context the myth of 1863 occasionally serves as a reference point for the evaluation of the succeeding generations of Jews.

Thus, in the poem entitled "My 1 oni" (We and they) J. Jasprówicz pays tribute to the "Eleazars and Maccabees" of Poland's struggle for independence, the heroic Jews whom the Polish nation remembers with admiration and gratitude. However, despite the Poles readiness to enter new "sincere alliances" with the Jews, the idea of Polish-Jewish brotherhood is "the song of the past lying in ruins". The economic expansionism and greed for political power of the new-style Polish Jews muddied the noble ideals of "Eleazars and Maccabees" (27). The contrast between the ethos of the latter, on the one hand, and their degenerate descendence on the other,
is emphasized even more dramatically in "Lejbele", a poem written in 1888. The secular and traditional Jews alike reject the peculiar brand of patriotic Judaism based on the Maccabean tradition which is propagated by Łaspowicz's hero. Misunderstood by the Jews, Lejbele, the last defender of the old ideals, dies in abandonment and misery (28).

In the story entitled Froim, J. Junosza-Szaniawski portrays an old tavern-keeper who saved Polish lives in 1863. Junosza's character appears as the last survivor of the vanishing race of "good" Jews. The motif of old wine — wine dating back to the Napoleonic wars and still sold at its original price — emphasizes the noble but sadly anachronistic features of Junosza's Froim. Junosza, a writer who specialized in convincing portrayals of declining Jewish society, puts in the mouth of Froim, the last righteous Jew (29), criticisms of his contemporary coreligionists. In the story's closing scene the old tavern-keeper says to young Polish visitors:

Śpieszcie się więc, panowie; niedługo powiecie że takich ludzi jał nieboszczył pan Brzozowski/szlachcic uratowany przez Froima w 1863/ nie ma, i takiego wina co Francuzów pamięta, też nie ma..

27) J. Łaspowicz, "My i oni", in Dzieła wybrane, I, Kraków 1958, pp. 515-529; My interpretation of this poem — as well as the way in which I place it in a broader literary context — differ from the interpretation offered by E. Mendelsohn in "From Assimilation to Zionism in Lwow: The Case of Alfred Nossig", in Slavonic and East European Review 49 (1971), pp. 524-525.

1 że starego Froima nie ma...
- Żyj pan jeszcze sto lat - rzekłem wsiadając na wózki.
- Dziękuję za dobre słowo - odrzekłem - ale co ja bym tu robić
- Jał to
- Z nim miałbym żyć, kiedy powiem panu, że już z dawnych czasów nic nie ma, nawet... i wstyd i smutno tące słowo powiedzieć.. dziś nawet Żydów, jał się należy, tace już nie ma.. (30)

Hurry then, gentlemen; soon you will say that there are no more people like the late Mr. Brzozowski (the nobleman whom Froim saved in 1863) and no more wine that remembers French times.. and that old Froim is no longer around.. - You must live for another one hundred years, I said, mounting the carriage. - I thank you for the good wish - he answered - but what would I do here?
- What do you mean? - With whom should I live? The good old times are over, I tell you. More than that.. It's sad and I am ashamed to say this, but even today's Jews are no longer as they should be./

Similarly, a Jewish antique dealer, the last custodian of "the blood-stained swords of our grandfathers" in A.Oppman's poem "Berel Jawor", deplores the young people's lack of respect for the national past. Mourning his son, who fell in the uprising, the old Jew revives in his heart the fading memories of Polish-Jewish brotherhood. The Jewish tradition of 1863, however, means nothing to the materialistic new generation, as it means nothing to the rest of his social

29) Similar pathetic figures of the "last good Jew" can be found in F. Junosza-Szaniawski's Syzyf, A. Gruszeczki's Dla milione, F. Brodowski's Stragone lidzie etc. Typically, they call on the young generation of Jews to exercise "restraint" and they voice concern for the lack of old-fashioned "fairness" in their relations with non-Jews.

environment, Poles and Jews alike. "Something wrong happened to the world, don't you think, sir?" Berel Jawor asks his imaginary Polish interlocutor on a lonely Friday evening (31).

Drzewska, Prus, Swietochowski, Junosza-Szaniawski and a number of other writers repeatedly returned to this question, trying to define the nature of the "wrong that happened to the world". Their views became increasingly polarized, crystallizing around two opposing concepts of Polish society: the society guided by the over-idealised "open" patriotism of the 1860s on the one hand, and the exclusionist, xenophobic concept of Polishness of the end of the century on the other.

Using the Jewish issue to re-write the history of Poland, partisans of the latter approach tended to deny, pass over in silence or minimize the Jewish contribution in 1863. On the other hand some authors went so far as to present the January uprising as the result of a conspiracy aimed at promoting Jewish interests (32). The last two decades of the 19th century and the early 20th century witnessed a massive proliferation of non-fictional literature dealing with Polish-Jewish relations. From our point of view it is important...

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tant to note the prominent place occupied by literary perceptions in these re-interpretations of Poland's past. The attention devoted to fictional characters in the abundant literature on the "Jewish question" is hardly a coincidence. The myth of Polish-Jewish symbiosis in its many literary variations, the myth on which this discussion is invariably centered, reveals its continuing importance as a factor opposing the Judeo-centric and Manichean vision of Poland's history disseminated by the nationalists. In a country where literature tended to be a substitute for national institutions, literary symbols revealed their hidden political potential.

References to fictional Jewish characters abound in these non-fictional writings. Characteristically, in Dzieje sprawy zydowskie w Polsce (History of the Jewish question in Poland, 1912), a work that blames the Jews for the downfall of Poland in the 18th century (33), A. Marylski finds it important to present Mickiewicz's Jankiel and Anczyc's Abraham, the pro-Polish spy in Tostiusilo pod Racławicami, as Polish misperceptions of Jewish society (34). S. Laudyn-Chrzanowska cites as evidence of Poland's outstanding record as a host country for the Jews three factors: Mickiewicz's Jankiel, Jewish characters in Positivist fiction, and Polish support for the idea of Jewish equality in the 1860s (35). In T. Jesle-Choński's Historia Żydów w Polsce (History of Jews in Poland, 1920), lengthy quotations from J. I. Fraszewski's Żyd provide the only "proof" of the anti-Polish
orientation of Jews in 1863. After introductory remarks that emphasize Tarszewski's first-hand knowledge of Jewish matters, Jesie-Choński limits his discussion of Jewish loyalties to quoting Żyd's Jewish villains who use the uprising to plan large-scale business operations and plot their future takeover of Poland (36). Other interpretations exaggerate the extent of Jewish support in order to suggest a Jewish conspiracy behind the uprising. In Zmierzech Izraela, for instance, even "Laude"'s death turns out to be a "provocation" staged by Jews and Christians of Frankist descent (37).

The main focus of this debate, and the symbolic language in which it was conducted, are well illustrated by a dialogue in W. Sieroszewski's Zagosie (The quiet spot, 1913), a novel largely devoted to a retrospective settling of accounts with the 1863 tradition. One of the partners in the dialogue, a former insurgent and emigrant, still feels at-


34) A. Marylsli, Dzieje uprawy Żydowskie w Polsce, Warszawa 1912, p.136;


36) T. Jesie-Choński, Historia Żydów w Polsce, Warszawa 1919, pp. 201-202; a negative evaluation of Jewish loyalties can also be found in J. Jurszyński, Żydzi i kwestia żydowska, Włocławek 1920, pp. 59-60;

37) H. Rolicki Zmierzech Izraela, Warszawa 1933, pp. 328-331. For the conspiracy theory see also J. Giertych, Tragedia losów Polski, Pelplin 1937, p.292.
tached to the romantic perception of the Jew as integral to Polish society. The second, a man who represents narrow-minded Polish nationalism, disagrees. Typically, the unhappiness of the latter with what he perceives as Jewish supremacy in Poland expresses itself in the form of a joint attack on Miłosławicz's figure of Janiel (a symbol of Jewish participation in Polish life) and the Positivist ideals of "tolerance and humanism".

"Zawsze Żyd jest czastą naszego kraju.." 
"Było.. było.. cymbalistów wielu ale nikt nie śmiał zagrać.. przy Janielu.. /cytat z Pan_Tadeusz/ - wtrącił Izda - najważniejsze rzeczy robią się u nas w ten sposób. Ustępstwa, zgoda, cierpliwość, humanizm, tolerancja.. Ale doąd my się podziejemy, my, Polacy? pytam. (38)

/Still, the Jew is a part of our country. -"There were many cymbalists but none of them dared to play in Janiel's presence" /quotation from Miłosławicz's poem Pan_Tadeusz./ This is exactly the way in which we solve the most important problems: concessions, reconciliation, justice, humanism and tolerance.. But where are we going to end up, we Poles, I ask you/.

The "politicization" of these literary themes is even more advanced in A. Gruszecki's Przebudzenie (The Awakenings, 1914), a novel written in response to the 1912 Duma election and calling for a further consolidation of the anti-Semitic movement. Gruszecki's attacks on the Positivist tradition frequently allude to the "Polish-Jewish alliance", "brothers of the Mosaic persuasion" and other popular slogans of the 1860s. Among the features shared by Zacisze and Przebudzenie

38) W. Sieroszewski, Zacisze (1913), Kraków 1962, p.148
is the fusion of three major "Jewish" motifs of Polish literature -- Mickiewicz's Jankiel, the 1863 legend, and Jewish motifs of the Positivist tradition -- into one symbol with a clear political connotation. As the assimilation issue gradually subsides in importance (making it possible to merge the conservative Jankiel with the "ideally assimilated" Polish patriots of the 1860s), the main emphasis shifts to the image of the Jew as "a part of our country" as opposed to the rootless and incurably alien "krajowy cudzoziemiec" (the domestic foreigner).

Polska Warszawa, kołysana od pół wieku narkotyzującej piosenki o asymilacji żydowskiej, wpatrzona w bezkrwisty ideal zgody polsko-żydowskiej, do ostatniej chwili śniła idyllą o braciach mojżeszowego wyznania. Dopiero ten wybór uderzył jak grom.

/Polish Warsaw, rocked to sleep for half a century by the anaesthetizing assimilationist lullaby, fascinated by the anaemic ideal of Polish-Jewish alliance, to the very last moment dreamed a happy dream about brothers of the Mosaic persuasion. And then this election struck like lightning./

Słodka nadzieja butnych Żydów (...) że ten dziki i barbarzyński bojkot krzywdzący lud wybrany wkrótce się skończy, nadzieja ta zawiodła. Wówczas synowie Izraela, a mianowicie ci, którzy znali literaturę polską, postanowili zagrać na uczuciu i głosili głośno i szeroko o tradycyjnym humanitaryzmie Polski, wskazywali na żydowskie powieści Orzeszkowej, i na rozgłosną nowele A.Świętochowskiego /Chawa Rubin/, cytując jego słowa: "Biedna Chawo! ja ci to, żeś w moim kraju pracować i jego chlebem dzieci swoje karmić chciała, przebaczam."

/The sweet hopes of the arrogant Jews that this savage and barbaric boycott, directed against the chosen people, would soon end - these hopes did not materialize. Then the sons of Israel, and specifically those who knew Polish literature, decid-
ed to play on people's feelings. They talked loudly and widely of Poland's humanitarian tradition. They pointed to Orzeszów's Jewish novels and to the famous short story by A. Swietochowski /Chawa Rubin/, quoting his words: - "Poor Chawa! I forgive you for wanting to work on my country's soil and to feed your children its bread".

Tal, Chawo, mogłaś łàrmieć swoje dzieci chlebem moego kraju, ale że w moim kraju chcesz być władcą, że ośmieszasz się Polsce zaprzeczać polskość, że na każdym rolu urągasz prawom hospodarza polskiego na polskiej ziemi, że nie chcesz, aby stolica Polski wybrala po polsku czujacągo posła, że posyłasz do Dumy, na urągowisko patriotyzmu polskiego, socjalistę; że zrzucaš nam zuchwałe wyzwania: "nie wy lecz ja rządzę tym krajem" - my tego, Chawo, przebaczyć ci nie możemy! Nie przebaczone! Bojtot wzrastal z każdym dniem, z każdą godziną. Jak pod dotknięciem różdżki czarodziejskiej wyrastały słupy polskie. Z głębi łufów, z tajnych schronień wyciągali biedacy zaoszczędzone na czarną godzinę pieniądzce i tworzyli spółki, byle tylko odzyskać Polskę i nadać miastom nie wygląd lecz i charakter polski. (39)

/Yes, Chawa, you had the chance to feed your children the bread of my country; but because you want to be this country's queen, because you dare to deny Poland's right to remain Polish, because you keep defying the rights of the Polish host on Polish soil, because you do not want to allow the capital of Poland to elect a genuinely Polish representative; because you send to the Duma, in defiance of Polish patriotism, a socialist; because you defy us by saying "not you but I am the ruler of this country" -- for all this we cannot forgive you, Chawa! There was no forgiveness! The boycott grew with each passing day, with each passing hour. As if touched with a magic wand, Polish-owned stores appeared. From the secret hiding places, from the bottoms of their chests, poor people took out their savings, kept for a rainy day, and formed cooperatives. /They acted out of a desire to de-Judaize Poland and to restore not only the Polish outlook but the Polish character of the cities./

39) A. Gruszecki, Przebudzenie. Powieść współczesna, Warszawa 1914, pp. 410, 421 and 422
The intensity of Gruszecki’s above-quoted attacks on a literary concept of Polish-Jewish relations reveals the importance of these literary weapons for both parties in the conflict. Referring to the same images those opposed to political anti-Semitism stressed the Jew’s status as "a part of our country" and the damage done to Polish-Jewish relations by the growing power of Polish nationalism. For instance, M. Konopnicka’s story *Mendel Gdańsk* provided J. Baudouin de Courtenay with a framework for his frontal attack on the anti-Semitic policies of the National Democrats after 1912. His lecture "On the Jewish Question, 1913" (On the Jewish question, 1913), was in fact an extra-literary commentary on the literary situations depicted in Konopnicka’s story (40). In 1906, alarmed by the political gains of the National Democratic Party, B. Frus, himself no great friend of the Jews by this time, felt obliged to recall the Polish-Jewish solidarity of the uprising years:

/In 1862/ Stary Żal weń powstrzymał ich /żydów/ od udziału w uroczystości "narodowej", bo ci, którzy wówczas reprezentowali naród polski, nie byli podobni do dzisiejszych demokratów. (...) Oni reprezentowali wolność dla wszystkich, nie zaś hasło "my tu jesteśmy gospodarzami". (...) I w tym jest tragiczność położenia, że my, którzy mamy szanse korzystać z wolności, jesteśmy niższy, dużo niższy od naszych poprzedników którzy za nią tylko umierali lub szli na Syberię! Miły Boże, gdzie myśmy się nie spotykać z Żydami w 1863. I w salaach obrad, i w lołalach spiskowych, i w łożkach, i w więzieniach i na placach potyczek, i na etapach, i pod szubienicami. I dopiero trzeba było pojawienia się "prawdziwych demokratów", żeby już dawniej nadpsute stosunki zabagniły się po szyję.
In 1862, the Old Covenant did not prevent them from attending the "national" ceremony because those who then represented the Polish nation were quite different from today's democrats. They represented freedom for everybody and not the slogan "we are the masters of the house". And precisely here lies the tragedy of the situation, that we who have the chance to regain liberty are lower, much lower, than our predecessors, who simply paid for freedom with their lives and went into exile in Siberia. Dear God, where didn't we meet with the Jews in 1863. In the meeting halls and in the conspiratorial meeting places, in the churches and in the prisons, on the battlefields, on the way to Siberia and under the gallows. But we had to wait for the emergence of the "real democrats" to see the previously damaged relations become a total mess./

Acknowledging the growing gap between the two communities, former Positivist writers continued to discuss the experiences of the early 1860s as the source of their earlier perceptions -- or what some of them now thought to be misperceptions -- of the Jewish world. Not without some sadness, Orzeszłowa recalled the lasting impression which the Polish-Jewish goodwill movement made on her during her visit to Warsaw in 1862. In her frequently quoted letter to M. Blumberg, she wrote in 1887:

Były to piękne czasy dążenia do powszechnej zgody, w których młodziutkie moje serce namiętny brało udział i śmieję, na których może pierwsze upadło w nie znane młodego do wszelkich bez wyjątku mieszkańców naszego kraju. (...). Wspaniałe aspiracje i dążenia chwili owej, pozarł smutek czasów późniejszych, utonęły one w morzu ciemności i lęku wszelkich, które na nas wtedy spłynęło i do tej

41) B. Prus, _Lecnili_ (1905-1906), XVIII, Warszawa 1968, p. 315
Those were the beautiful times of a quest for mutual understanding and unity in which my young heart passionately participated; it was perhaps then that the first seed of love for all inhabitants of our country, without exceptions, took root in my heart (..) The wonderful aspirations of that time dissipated in the sadness of the later times. They disappeared in a sea of darkness which descended upon us and which continues to descend. From this darkness, from these waves of the dark sea, emerged a monstrosity such as this last Judenhetz in Warsaw /i.e. the anti-Jewish riots of 1881/

Similarly, A. Świętochowski never stopped referring to the early 1860s as the healthier period of Polish-Jewish relations. He stressed the role of the 1863 tradition in what he, in the 1930s, perceived as his "misreading" of Jewish aspirations.

I-toby w tej ideologii /t.j. pozytywistycznej ideologii asymilacji/ chciał widzieć naświetlony i szlachetny optymizm niech sobie uprzytomni, że wtedy nie było ani syjonistów, ani bundystów, ani międzynarodowych intrygarów i szlomników żydowskich, ani dowodów nieprzyjaźni i zdrady, było natomiast wielu szczerzych patriotów, była ciemna, kulturalnie wyodrębniona ale nie wrogo usposobiona masa, były wspomnienia jej zasług w powstaniu. (43)

/Those who would be tempted to see in this ideology /i.e., the assimilationist ideology of Polish Positivism/ a naive and harmful optimism must realize that at that time there were no Zionists, no Bundists, no international Jewish intriguers and trouble-makers, and no proof of hostility and betrayal. Instead, there were many sincere Polish patriots and the unenlightened and culturally...

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42) E. Orzeszłow's letter to Malwina Blumberg, 28.01.1887, as quoted by J. Detlo, op.cit. pp. 50-52
distinct but not hostile Jewish masses, and there were the memories of their support for the insurrection.

The numerous ideological contexts in which the Jewish legend of 1863 appears in the later Polish literature demonstrates, in the final analysis, the depth of its roots in the Polish tradition. Underlying the literary images is also an awareness of the turning point which the early 1860s represented in Polish-Jewish relations. The 1863 legend is revived in situations which -- for a variety of predominantly political reasons -- require efforts to bridge the gap separating the two communities (44). The cliche of Jewish attachment to the memories of the 1860s reappears as an explanation of Jewish attitudes in various literary and non-literary contexts (45). Occasionally we find Jewish figures who struggle, mostly unsuccessfully, to revive the Polish memory of better times in Polish-Jewish relations. Some of them seek to reaffirm their status as fellow citizens of the Poles, a status which the latter appear to question with varying degrees of explicitness. Most often, however, the theme of "brotherhood" in the early 1860s surfaces as a vision of a golden age tainted with the bitterness of unfulfilled expectations.

Ma rek w sercu wiecznie świeżą ranę
Jego Eli śpi w dalekiej ziemi,
Tam gdzie łodzi katolickie leżą,
Każem z łościami leżą żydowskim.

43) A.Świętochowski, Ze wspomnień in Wiadomości Literackie 51-52 (1930) p.4.
Zgasł mój Eli ją świeca zdumieniuta
Tałają jadną śmierć dać mu Jehowa
Pan dobrodziej, Majzela pamiętna,
Pan dobrodziej nie widział Jastrowa

Dobre czasy! Wtedy Żyd był bratem
Całkiem jasno poznane pan – z cmentarza.
Coś się z tego zrobiło ze światem
Pan dobrodziej, tego nie uważa

I blasi dziwny twarzą wypiększa zmieta
z ócz Żyda łapą zry ogromne.
"Oj, to było święto, wielkie święto
Ja do grobu tego nie zapomnę." (46)

/There is a never-healed wound in the rebe’s heart/ His Eli
rests in foreign soil/ where Catholic bones rest/ side by
side with Jewish bones./ My Eli was extinguished like
the light of a candle/ Jehova gave him a beautiful death/ do you
remember sir, rabbi Maisels?/ Didn’t you see Jastrow, sir?/
Weren’t those the good old times, when the Jew was a bro­
ther?/ You will see this clearly in a cemetery./ Something
wrong happened to the world/ don’t you think so, sir?/ And a
strange light illuminates his wrinkled face/ And heavy tears
run from the Jew’s eyes/ Oh, this was a holiday, a great
holiday/ which I will not forget to the end of my days/

44) For instance, M.J.Wielopolska’s hrz.14 was intended to
be an appeal for national support for the Pilsudzki-led
struggle for Poland’s independence. Wielopolska was closely
associated with Pilsudzki’s legions on the eve of the First
World War. J.Ładziela, "Maria Jehanne Wielopolska", in z:Wy­
la, A.Hutnikiewicz, M.Puchalska (eds.), Literatura po­resu
Młodego Polski, III, Kraków 1977, pp. 458-460. References to
the euphoria of the 1860s characteristically appear in Rin­
gelblum’s discussion of the need for Polish-Jewish coopera­
tion in September 1939. E.Ringelblum, "Stosunki polsko-żyd­
owsli w czasie drugiej wojny światowej", Biuletyn ZlH, 28

45) For example, Corrsin quotes this cliche as being used by
Polish demographers to explain the data of the 1882 census,
in which the majority of Warsaw Jews declared themselves to
be "Polish". Corrsin rightly finds this explanation ques­
tionable ("the memory of the early 1860s had been at least
somewhat eclipsed by the passage of twenty years and the
pogrom of Christmas 1881") S.D.Corrsin, op.cit, pp. 83-85

CONCLUSIONS

From the point of view of Polish-Jewish relations in Congress Poland the early 1860s represented a watershed. These years of insurrectionary turmoil brought the two communities closer than ever before. The sudden improvement of the social climate, due to what the Poles perceived as Jewish support for their national cause and a trend toward Polonization of the Jews, coincided with the acquisition of equal rights by the latter. Unlike the reforms of 1862, which laid foundations for the future pattern of Polish-Jewish encounters but hardly left any trace in Polish belles lettres, the short-lived euphoria of the Polish-Jewish alliance against Russia inspired a rich literary output, both in and outside Congress Poland.

The treatment of the Jewish theme in the context of the January uprising dramatically illustrates the importance of patriotism as a factor modifying the Polish perception of the social hierarchy. The recognition of the Jewish contribution to the national cause led to a significant break in the literary tradition, which had been dominated by negative portrayals of the Jew. In its earlier interpretations, the
Jewish theme appeared in the context of Poland's struggle for independence and, on the whole, rarely transcended this context. These earlier interpretations projected an image of the Jew as integral to — and sharing common visions with — Polish society, and announced his inclusion in the Polish-led aristocratic brotherhood of the oppressed. Although the goodwill movement of the 1860s remained largely a "love story" between Polish liberals and a narrow stratum of Warsaw Jewish assimilationists, it affected Polish perceptions of the Jews as a whole. In fact it substantially delayed the growth of a modernized but essentially negative literary image of the Jew which crystallized in the 1850s. Incorporated into the broader tradition of the 1863 uprising, the myth of "Polish-Jewish brotherhood" — though mostly in the form of a romantic fossil — survived later attempts to undermine its prominence. The extensive folkloreization of the Jewish motif, at an early stage of its development, helped to consolidate and defend its status as one of the distinctive features of the 1863 tradition.

The basic features of the "Jewish" theme of the January uprising took shape during the patriotic demonstrations as part of a broader messianic vision of Poland's destiny. These ideological roots, and the characteristic Warsaw connection, are easily recognizable in most of the theme's variations. While a limited stock of romantic cliches continued to reappear throughout the period under study, in retrospect the Jewish role in the uprising became the sub-
ject of new, predominantly negative reinterpretations. This trend reflected the deterioration of Polish-Jewish relations in the late 19th and the early 20th centuries and was conditioned by a number of inter-related literary, ideological and socio-political factors. Among them were the status of realism as the prevailing literary approach to social reality, which stimulated the internal evolution of the broader 1863 legend. This evolution was marked by a diminution of the influence of the liberal tradition which shaped Polish literary perceptions of the Jews in the 1860s. The rise and fall of the assimilationist ideology of Polish Positivism, and the subsequent emergence of modern Polish and Jewish nationalisms, negatively affected the ideological interpretations of this insurrectionary theme. Finally, the updated version of Polish anti-Semitism and the corresponding programs of modern political movements in Poland turned the Jewish legend of the January uprising into a political argument which was instrumental in scoring points against and in favour of the Jewish population.

On the whole, treatment of the Jewish theme supports R. Czepulis' conclusion that the mid-century Polish perceptions of social structure lingered behind the actual social change. The dramatic though short-lived change in the literary image of the Jew was achieved by the idealization of Jewish patriotism rather than by alteration of basic perceptions of the Jew's place in Poland's socio-economic order. Jewish patriots, both those modelled on Mickiewicz's Janiel
and those perfectly de-Judaized and cleansed of capitalist influence, were depicted in terms of categories and values characteristic of a traditional, pre-modern society. The treatment of these "ideal Jews" revealed, along with the fogginess of the underlying "image of the future", the chaos due to the incompatibility of the scales used in measuring the Jew's social status and the ambivalent attitudes toward the modernization of Jewish society. It is hardly surprising that when new tensions in Polish-Jewish relations won the upper hand over the fading memories of the past, pre-insurrectionary trends in the literary portrayals of the Jews resurfaced with increased vitality.

However, social thinking received a mighty impetus from the political upheavals of the early 1860s. The insurrectionary experiences paved the way for the Positivist program of Jewish assimilation. But inherent in this impetus was also a substantial misreading of Jewish aspirations. The tendency to treat the Warsaw assimilationists as a *pars pro toto*, a representative sample of trends within Jewish society, led Polish writers to overestimate the strength of the Jewish movement toward a Polish ethnic identity. This "error" of judgement which, in retrospect, many former Positivists traced back to the euphoria of the pre-insurrectionary years, encouraged utopian expectations of the rapid and painless dissolution of the Jews in Polish society. Not surprisingly, in these literary interpretations the theme of Polish-Jewish cooperation in the January uprising gradually
became an element of the "Jewish question" in the broader sense. In particular, it played an instrumental role during the later stages of the discussion of Jewish assimilation. The critics’ fusion of Pan_ladusz’s Jankiel, the 1863 Jewish patriots and the Jewish heroes of Positivist literature into one synthetic image of a "good", manageable Jew, correctly points to the romantic roots of the Polish authors’ concept of Jewish assimilation.
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