

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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I N T R O D U C T I O N

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 Delegacja_miejscowa, 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 Polonized 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 1863-1864 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

1) I. Bartal, "Loyalty to the Crown or Polish Patriotism? Metamorphosis of an Anti-Polish Story of the 1863 Insurrection", a paper presented at the International Conference on Polish-Jewish Relations in Modern History, Oxford, 17-21 September, 1984 p.1; in press, Polin 1 (1986)

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. Krzyżanowski. It is being used here in accordance with Krzyżanowski'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 *Przebieg Współczesny*, 163 (1935), pp. 271-278.

fact 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 dnie, 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 lite-

4) J.Krzyżanowski, "Legenda powstania styczniowego, 1864-1963", in Dziedzictwo powstania styczniowego, Warszawa 1964, pp. 9-10.

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

6) The negative impact of the uprising on Polish culture in general, and on literature in particular, is stressed by literary historians whose overall evaluations of the uprising strongly diverge. See B.Chlebowski, Literatura polska 1795-1905, Lwów 1923, pp.371-375; A.Brückner, Dzieje literatury polskiej w zarysie, II, Warszawa 1921, p. 279, W.Feldman, Współczesna literatura polska, Kraków 1930, pp. 41-45.

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 Orzeszłowa, 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 naj-
pewnie, 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.Asnył, J.Narzymśki, I.Maciejowski (Sewer) and Z.Miłowski (T.T.Jeź)

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

8) E.Orzeszłowa, 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.Łoszczyca, J.Wieniawski, A.Dygasiński, W.Przyborowski, A.Urbański, B.Frus, were among those who joined the ranks of the insurgents. J.I.Łaszczeński, A.Łraushar, E.Orzeszłowa and many others stayed away from the battlefield but in various ways supported the insurrectionary cause. The following generation of Polish writers -- S.Zeromski, A.Strug and Z.Daniłowski -- 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 literackie powstania styczniowego) 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.Shatzky, 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 take 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 z lat 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.

CHAPTER ONE

MAIN TRENDS IN THE 1850s

I. BETWEEN ROMANTICISM AND REALISM: LITERARY TRENDS IN
THE 1850s

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 world-view, 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 fac-

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

2) The shift of literary generations in the years preceeding the January insurrection is extensively discussed in J.Maciejewski, Przedburzowcy. Z problematyki przejścia między romantyzmem a pozytywizmem, 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 "obrazki" /sketches/, the half-journalistic, half-fictional descriptions of contemporary life, was a characteristic expression of this attitude. Common titles and subtitles such as "szkice towarzyskie i obyczajowe", "zarysy społeczne", "charaktery", "Społeczeństwo dzisiejsze w obrazach", "Daguerotypy Warszawy", "obrazki miejsc

3) See, for example, M. Żmigrodzka's discussion of "Biedermeier culture" in pre-1863 Poland, "Polska powieść biedermeierowska", in Pamiętnik Literacki, LVII, 1-2 (1966); or J. Maciejewski's discussion of pre-positivistic currents in the literature of the 1850s and the early 1860s in Przedburzowcy, op.cit., pp. 121-133 and 252-256

4) R. Czepulis, "Uwarstwienie społeczne Królestwa Polskiego w świadomości współczesnych", in Społeczeństwo Królestwa Polskiego, J. Warszawa 1966, pp. 231-232

1 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 "chmurnej, iazdy", Studia o powieściach Józefa Łorzeńowskiego, Warszawa 1979, pp. 11-69; and M. Zmigrodzka, "Proza fabularna w Traju", in Literatura łacińska w okresie romantyzmu, 1831-1867, I, pp. 147-199

6) See W. Woł-Gumplowiczowa, "Chłopi, mieszczaństwo i szlachta w powieści polskiej w pierwszej połowie 19-go wieku", in Przegląd socjologiczny, 7 (1938), p. 266; R. Czepulis, op.cit., pp. 356-376

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 1858 (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.

Żywot nasz wiejski dał nam charakter i on nas tylko przy nim utrzymać może. (...) Wieś jest piastunką 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.Chmielowski, op.cit., p.85

8) M.Żmigrodzka, "Polska powieść biedermeierowska", op.cit., p.394

9) J.I.Łraszewski, Wieczory wołyńskie (1859), Lwów 1859, p.33

nurse of its tradition./

Mimowoli: przypomniał 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 Kraszewski'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.Kraszewski, Poeta i świat (1837), Złoczów, n.d., p.48

11) The tradition of sielanka and other literary glorifications of the rural life of the nobility are analyzed by A.Witłowska in her Światło mojego sielanki, Warszawa 1971; see also J.Bachórz, op.cit., pp. 228-265

12) For the image of a big city in pre-1863 Polish fiction see the chapter "Miasto i wieś" in J.Bachórz, op.cit., pp.228-250. Bachórz 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.Żmigrodzka, "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. Żmigrodzka, "Polska powieść biedermeierowska", op.cit., pp. 393-94

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 1830, the rising fortunes of a few scores of Jews were especially visible while the concomittant 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, Wzrost i rozwój społeczno-ekonomiczny Żydów w Królestwie 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. Forzeniewski alludes to this body in the following lines, written in 1859:

O pługach, o nawozie, o uprawie roli,
 O łożach, jak z żydowskiej, wyrwać 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 żydowska" (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 społeczne królestwa polskiego w świadomości współczesnych", in Spółczesność królestwa polskiego, I, Warszawa 1966, pp. 327-391

19) L. Wolski, "Wiadomości statystyczne", in Kalendarze Warszawskiego Obserwatorium Astronomicznego (KWA), Warszawa 1857-1861; see the discussion of Wolski's statistical data in A. Eisenbach, Kwestia równouprawnienia Żydów w królestwie polskim, Warszawa 1972, pp. 259-262

20) J. Forzeniewski, Fustynia (1859), as quoted in P. Chmielowski, op. cit., p. 125

source of the growing tension. In letters written the same year, N. Żmichowska correctly linked the economic ambitions of those

którym się w głowie poprzewracało od statystyki i przemysłu

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

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

Chcą koniecznie pod rządem Aleksandra II udarować Polskę ogromną siłą materialną, nienawiść 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 księgarski z monopolu żydowskiego wyzwolić, żadnemu Żydowi, ani nawet przechrzcie żadnemu alcy, nie sprzedają (23).

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

21) N. Żmichowska, letter to B. Moraczewska dated 6 February 1859, in: *Listy*, II, Wrocław 1960, p.174

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 Turin 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 Frankism. 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. Iwaszowski, 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-

22) I. Schiper, "Dzieje Żydów na ziemiach Księstwa Warszawskiego i Królestwa Polskiego (od 1795 do 1863 włącznie)", in *Żydzi w Polsce Odrodzonej*, I, Warszawa, n.d., p.462

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 Gazette 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:

Dlaczegoż to przed wieli ze sercem gorącym
 Ojcowie krwi za wolność przelewali,
 By nam dziś odtrącono nazwiskiem gardzącym,
 By nam dziś nienawiścią miłość odpłacali?
 Czyż zawsze tak wzgardzeni będziemy od świata?
 Dlaczegoż rodak własny Żyda się wyrzeka
 Dlaczegoż w nim nie widzi przyjaciela, brata,
 Dlaczegoż mu zaprzecza wszelkich 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 com-
 patriot 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 democrats followed in his steps. Żmichowska, whose opinions echo fairly closely those of democratically minded Warsaw intelligentsia, noticed that the campaign found little or no

24) A. Fraushar, "Przez wieli" (1859), Głos Gminy Żydowskiej, Warszawa 1 (1938), p. 11, as quoted by A. Eisenbach, op. cit., p. 281.

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 1860, when the question of Jewish support for Polish aspirations for independence became a major political issue. Żmichowska's letters illustrate the perception of Jews as potential allies of the Polish cause:

I owszem, przyznaję, że ta obca warstwa szkodliwą jest dla nas, że się bogaci gdy my ubożjemy, że szachruje, spekuluje a przede wszystkim zyskuje; zawsze jednak musimy przyznać, że jest to siła, jalo zaś siła prosty 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 Żmichowska 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. Żmichowska, op.cit., p.134

27) N. Żmichowska, 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. Bałucki, 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 Żydach długie były dysputy. Jedni są za, inni przeciw równouprawnieniu Żydów. Dziś nawet, gdy opinia przechyliła się na korzyść Żydów, tysiącemy liczył, których to uprawnienie inkomoduje 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.'

28) Elpidion /M. Bałucki/ "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. Krąszewski in 1843. Unusually sensitive to new cultural trends, Krąszewski contrasted the monotony of literary depictions with the picturesque richness of real Jewish life. In Laternia Czarnoksiężła (The magic lantern, 1843) he called for more realism in depicting contemporary social life, including Jewish society.

Dlaczego opisując Żyda, kontentują się wszyscy zawieszaniem pejsów i brody, nałożeniem jarmułki (...) zawsze jednakowo, jednostajnie malując tą pełną różnorodności i charakteru żydowstwo nasze. Są Żydzi i Żydzi a jedni do drugich jak niebo do ziemi niepodobni (30).

/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./

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

30) J.I. Krąszewski, Laternia Czarnoksiężła (1843), Brańdow 1978, I, p.219.

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 (21). 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:

Przez długi szereg lat, jeśli u nas Żyd wchodził do literackiego utworu, reprezentował on jedynie pierwiastek zły, lub łomiczny. Od tej reguły naliczymy zaledwie parę wyjątków. (...) A ponieważ powieściopisarze nasi malowali ją /ludność żydowską - M.O./ głównie w stosunku do chrześcijan, dziwić się nie można, iż wprowadzali ją do swych utworów pod postacią fałtorów, oszustów, lichwiarzy, czyli przedstawiali ją w roli w galie, najczęściej, występując względnie do ogółu. Rola to była albo niłczerna albo śmieszna ale zawsze upolarczająca. (...) Tym sposobem piśmiennictwo, zamiast łagodzić, powiększało wzajemne rozdrażnienie, a to tem bardziej, że w skutek upadku dobrobytu krajowego, kwestie finansowe zyskiwały coraz większe prawo obywatelstwa w powieści, a z tego powodu Izraelici pojawiali się na kartach książek tem częściej, im bardziej powieść stawała się odbiciem życia i nabierała barw realnych (22).

/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 Iygodnik 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

11) Such opinions were expressed by Warsaw Jewish assimilationists centered around D. Neufeld's Jutrzenia 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. Kartki z niedawnej przeszłości", in Książka i biblioteczka dla uczczenia pięćdziesięciolecia działalności J. I. Fraszeńskiego, Warszawa 1880, p. 508; W. Marrené, "Wrestia żydowska w powieści społecznej", Iygodnik Ilustrowany 199 (1879), p. 253; H. Galle, "Żydzi w belletrystyce dzisiejszej", in Biblioteka Warszawska, 1 (1905), pp. 138-150. See also R. Czepulis, op. cit., pp. 275-380

12) W. Marrené, "Wrestia żydowska w powieści społecznej", in Iygodnik 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 (33) dealt with the question of intermarriage, a theme that became one of the most frequently treated "Jewish" themes in the post-1863 period (34). 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 (35). 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 yarmulle and sidelocks continued to grow rapidly in the two decades preceding the January uprising. J.I. Fraszewski's Sfinx (1846) introduced the highly

33) A. Wilkoński, Szlachetny nieznajomy, (1847?); J. Porzeńnowski Żydzi (1843); I. Hołowicki, Rachel, (1847).

34) J. Szacki, "Asnył a Żydzi", Nasz Lurier, 28 August 1922

35) A. Wilkoński, Szlachetny nieznajomy, in: Remoty... i... ramoty, V, 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' rzekł Jan z podziwem. Coś dziwnego w istocie'
- Zaprawdę, niepospolite zjawisko' (36)

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

In J. Forzeniewski's novel Kololołacja (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 Przemienieckie, 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 (37)

/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. Praszewski, Sfink, Poznań 1874, pp. 127-128

37) J. Forzeniewski, Kololołacja, in Dzieła wybrane, I, Kraków 1954, p. 227. For the discussion of Kololołacja 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. Iorzeniewski'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 aristocratic environment. Fully aware of being manipulated, Baron 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 "dignity". Although the Jews in Iorzeniewski's *Żydzi* appear as predominantly positive characters, the title of the play illustrates the perception of the expanding capitalist mentality 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 Dembowski. In his positive evaluation of Iorzeniewski's comedy, Dembowski wrote:

/Iorzeniewski/ wystawia mistrzowsko szachrajstwa magnatów wołyńskich, których dla ich nieczności żydami nazywa (38).

/(Iorzeniewski) 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 way of life continued to attract Polish attention in the 1850s.

giving birth to a gallery of increasingly acculturated Jewish characters. In J.I.Fraszewski's Jermola (1856), for instance, a rich Jewish tavern-keeper in Eastern Poland

czując już trzos nabity i ważność swojego położenia, powoli chorować zaczynał na morejone" (38).

/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.Anczyk's Elisacy (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 Czas, 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 Anczyk's play as a black-

38) E.Dembowski, Pismienictwo polskie w zarysie, 1845 p. 367.

39) J.I.Fraszewski, Jermola (1856), Wrocław 1948, p.49

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 Fowieść bez tytułu (A novel without title, 1853-4), J.I. Fraszewski 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) Fraszewski 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 wędrówki oryginala (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. Fraszewski's Dwa światy (Two worlds, 1851), J. Korzeniowski's Nowe wędrówki oryginalne (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 Fraszewski's Metamorfozy (1858) and Choroby wieku (The diseases of the century, 1856), Korzeniowski's Relacje (The relatives, 1856) and J.U. Niemcewicz's Rok 3333 (The year 3333, 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 szegne 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". Jermola'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. Czepulis, op.cit., p. 358

J.U.Niemcewicz's Rok_3333 (1858) and images such as the dramatic description of Warsaw's Ogród Saski (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 Wilkoński's Szlachetny_nieznanomy -- could be guessed from the slightly "oriental" features of the "upper parts of the face" alone. The main characters in Choroby_wielu, 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 Łololacja's Szloma: "Blize, tu drzwiom stal Szloma Przemieniczi. Szloma był Żyd edukowany i szęjne morejne." J.Łorzeniowski, op.cit. p.227; /Closer to the door stood Szloma Przemienieczi. Szloma was an educated and szęjne morejne (type of) Jew./

42) Szłice_i_obrazki. Fiziologia_Saskiego_Ogrodu, Warszawa 1858, p.77

Bóg, jeden raczy wiedzieć o pochodzeniu pana Dembora, nazwisko niby nasze, o łrwie i rodzinie i przeszłości ich, różnie ludzie mówią. Jedni, przykładając rękę do twarzy i wsłzując niby izraelską brodę, szepcą o jerozolimskiej genealogii, drudzy głośniej i śmiejąc, mówią o dziadziuniu łupcu w najbliższym wojewódzkim mieście, inni czarno na białym przełonują, że go potwierdziła heroldia a nawet dała mu armes parlantes Demboroga (43).

/God only knows the real origins of Mr. Dembor. 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 Dembor'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 Dembor's membership in the nobility can be found in the armorial, and even accorded him the coat of arms of Demboróg./

But while Fraszewski remained ambiguous on the question of Dembor's Jewish descent, discussing it in terms of gossip rather than genealogical evidence, the "Jewishness" of Dembor's ethos appeared as a fact established beyond any doubt. Despite his unique qualities as exemplary citizen, knowledgeable agronomist and gifted administrator, Jan Dembor was the source of contamination, infected with the "diseases" to which Fraszewski'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 Dembor's prosperous, geometrical villages, with their carefully measured and numbered lots, their iden-

43) J.I. Fraszewski, Choroby wielu. Studium patologiczne, Lwów 1874, I, p.15

tical fences and solidly built houses, represented in Fraszewski's eyes foreign influences, as did the alienation of their inhabitants.

Nie poznasz Iraj u swego w tym załatku tak przerobionym
i urządzonym z cudzoziemstwa! (44)

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

Nowy żywot zaspalał wprawdzie ich /mieszkańców -
M.O./ cielesne potrzeby, ale ich ochładzał, uczył ego-
izmu, materializował, wystudzał i ogałacał z uczucia,
odzierał z poezji. Poznać nie było można w tych zniem-
czonych i sprostancianych chłopach i szlachcie weso-
łych łmieci i zamaszystych czynszowników naszych, a
panów braci.. wszystko to po żydowski mówiło tylko o
groszu, pędziło za zyskiem, śniło o zarobku, obawiało
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 villa-
gers 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 wielu, Wieczory 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 wielu even
the birds and wildflowers shun Jan Dembor's inhuman villa-

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 Fraszewski's comparisons and metaphors (47).

Fraszewski 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.

Rzeli byś że ta ludzłość cała oszalała, że ją chwyciła jakaś choroba zaraźliwa, jakaś gorączka i manja... o niczym nie mówią, nie słuchają, na nic nie patrzą prócz grosza. (...) obrzydliwość uczułem dla tego tłumu nawróconego przez Izrael na wiarę żydowską i życie żydowskie.. Nie można tego nazwać inaczej: - spełniły się przepowiednie, przyszło królestwo Izraela i bankier został panem świata. (...) Stara Europa, pełna religii, życia zgasłego, żadnego nie ma związku z tą nową, która na jej gruzowisku łoczuje jak naród przybyszów. (...) Pełno grobów postaci olbrzymich, zdobywców, bohaterów, męczenników, świętych, a wnuki ich wszyscy... żydzi. Jedno jest tylko co ten świat rozdziela na dwa olbrzymie pokolenia, wybitnie się od siebie różniące, jedno jak żyd w dorobku ślapi obrzydliwie i brudno, drugie jak żyd bogaty nadyma się, używa, zbytkuje i popisuje zdobyczą (48).

/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 Fraszewski's Wieczory woiynskie (1859) may be found in W. Danel, "Fraszewskiego droga do pisania Rachunków", Pamiętnik Literacki 1 (1956), pp. 27-30; for Fraszewski's view of the Jewish role in this process see also A. Eisenbach, Twiestia równouprawnienia Żydów w Królestwie Polskim, Warszawa 1971 pp. 267-265

47) Fraszewski'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 Banter 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, scrimps 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 J. Forzeniowski -- commonly considered a forerunner of Polish Positivism -- showed a considerable understanding of economic matters. Although the ideals Forzeniowski advocated could hardly be defined as a defence of capitalist values (49), his response to capitalist changes was more differentiated than that of Praszewski. But even in Forzeniowski'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 Forzeniowski's version of the medieval Twardowski legend. The

48) J.I. Praszewski, Metamorfozy, Lwow 1874, pp.18-19

49) As J. Bachórz notes, in Forzeniowski'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 wedrowki oryginalne (a novel considered to be the prototype of the roman à thèse in Polish literature), recounts the adventures of a nobleman who according to the myth sold his soul to the devil. In Forzenowski'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 "lekką pieniadż" (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 szegne 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 Forzeniewski's portrayal of the Warsaw Jewish bourgeoisie in *Łrewno*. 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 Forzeniewski's spokesman, 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, Eugeniuusz's employer.

Geldson, a millionaire, spoken of disrespectfully, even by his own servants, is presented as an arrogant and vain nouveau riche. Another Jewish banker in the novel, Olluski -- a former "Żydok z Ollusza" /a little Jew from Ollusz/ --

is portrayed in a more positive light. In contrast to Geldson, Olkuski 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. Olkuski, 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 łacie łarety Geldsona i myślał o swym położeniu. Dziwny jakiś ogarnął go smutek. Był on prawie jeden w tej kompanii, tak różne, od wszystkiego co lubił i do czego przywykł. (...) Czuł on się tam zupełnie obcym i nigdy głębiej, nie czuł ze z tych sfer /arystokratycznych/ gdzie królowała piękność, gdzie go otaczała niestonczoność, spadł do jakiegoś ciemnej izby, pełnej welsów i złota, zastratowane, i z żelaznymi drzwiami, gdzie go okrzyki osoby z maleńkim sercem a wielką przesadą, dla których na ziemi nie było innego celu jak zysk, innej litery jak cyfra, innego Boga jak mamona. A chociaż i pomiędzy nimi widział uczciwych i dobrych, chętnych do przystąpienia i gładkich w obejściu, ale ogół ten raził go przesadą zbytku, niezmierną próżnością we wszystkim, pretensją pełną śmieszności i niewłaściwego nad-

stawiania się, nade wszystko zaś brałem zupełnym podniesieniem i do jałchoś wyższych celów życia, do myśli odlatujących od ziemi, do których potrzebne są skrzydła, jałcho z bankocetli zlepici nie można. To uwagi dały mu uczucie jałchości głęboiego poniżenia. (...) Często Eugeniusz pracując w kantorze Geldsona, słyszając tylko brzęt srebra i ten szwargot niemieckoizraelski, którego jedynym celem, treścią i duszą był pieniądz, wstrząsał się w swojej szlachtnej i wyższej naturze i przychodził do podobnych nad sobą i drogą swoją refleksji." (50)

/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 realized 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 profit, 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 excessive luxury, their limitless vanity, their comical pretensions and improper manners. Above all, however, 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 Geldson's office, Eugeniusz often listened to the ring of gold and to that Germano-Israelite 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 Forzenjowski as Ignacy's well-deserved moral victory. Finally realizing the error of his ways and looking for a healthier way of life, Eugeniusz leaves Geldson's

50) J. Forzenjowski, *Lewon*, II, in *Dzieła wybrane*, V, Łódź 1954, pp. 281-282

offices to join the imperial army.

The publication of J.U.Niemcewicz's Rok 3333 czyli sen 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).

Rok 3333 was the first Polish work to develop on a

51) For this interpretation of Niemcewicz's work see A.Eisenbach, op.cit. p.281; and R.Brandstaetter, "Moszkopolis", in Miesięcznik Żydowski 2 (1932), p.32.

52) See R.Brandstaetter, op.cit., p.39. After its second edition in 1913, Niemcewicz'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

54) R.Brandstaetter, op. cit., p.39

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 Moszłopolis 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 Prasiński 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.

Nie orężem oni podbili Polaków, lecz sztuką, podstępami, przelupstwem; nie wiem doładnie, jak to było, lecz gdy raz otrzymali prawo wchodzenia do urzędów, nabywania własności ziemelich, nic niezmordowane, przebiegłości ich i wykrętom tamy położyć nie mogło, tak, że z wielami zgnetli Polaków i Chrześcian, sami opanowali wszystko, a gdy

nikt nie chciał brudno zaszarganego Królestwa, wybrali sobie króla i starożytną Polskę Palestyną nazwali (55).

/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. Flaczkó, a prominent romantic critic, unfavorably reviewed J. Forzeniewski's novel Krewni (56). In a brilliant essay Flaczkó 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, Forzeniewski retaliated by exposing Flaczkó's

55) J.U.Niemcewicz, Pol...czyli sen niesłychany, poprzedził wstępem o sprawie żydowskiej, w Polsce Nie Wiem t.10, Warszawa 1913, pp.8-9.

56) A detailed account of the exchange between Flaczkó and Forzeniewski, including information on related literature, may be found in J.Bachórz, Realizm bez "chmurnej jazdy". Studia o powieściach Józefa Forzeniewskiego, Warszawa 1979, pp.53-69. See also S.Ławyn, "Julian Flaczkó jako recenzent "Krewnych" Forzeniewskiego", in Przegląd Nauk Historycznych i Społecznych, IV, Łódź 1955.

57) J.Flaczkó, "Krewni". Powieść pana Józefa Forzeniewskiego. (Przedruk z Wiadomości Polskich) Paryż 1857.

Jewish background. In Złote Łańdany, a play written in 1860, Forzenowski depicted him as a paid agent of Polish aristocracy in exile. Moreover, in the play Haczko's attack on Lewni 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.

Mickiewicz's concept of Poland as the Christ-of-nations

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 insurrectionary 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, kiedy nie tylko wszystkie wielkie utwory romantyczne zostały już napisane, ale i w momencie, kiedy uderzyły one z całą siłą w wyobraźnię, kiedy były czytane, a niektóre, jak Słowackiego, dopiero zaczęto czytać i - można powiedzieć "przełładać na

1) The epigonic character of this literature is stressed by several critics. For J. Tulczyła-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. Tulczyła-Saloni, "Poezja powstania styczniowego" in Dziełactwo powstania styczniowego, Warszawa 1964, p.66.

życie" Powstanie styczniowe romantyzmem było wypełnione po brzegi, zwłaszcza mistyczna i heroiczna twórczość Słowackiego oddziaływała silnie na inspiratorów, twórców i uczestników powstania (2).

/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 works 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 historiography, 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 (3).

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

2) M. Janion, "I świeci lanonier ostatni", introduction to Reduta romantyczna poezja niepodległościowa, 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. Forzeniowski'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

3) E. Warzenica, "Konceptja patriotyzmu w powieściach Praszewskiego o powstaniu styczniowym", in Dziedzictwo literackie powstania styczniowego, Warszawa 1964, p.152; J. Namirowska, Poezja powstania styczniowego. Zarys ideologii, Lwów 1978, p.8

4) J. Forzeniowski, Nasza prawda. Scena z życia Polki z roku 1867; the work's analysis may be found in J. Bachórz, op.cit. pp. 67-68

5) See R. Czepulis, op.cit., p. 334. 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 pradziadku i prapradku dziadku (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 Przechrzta (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 Jankele in A.Michiewicz's Pan Tadeusz, in W.Łoziński's Zalęty dwór (The enchanted manor, 1864). Written in Galicia in response to the patriotic agitation in Congress Poland (7), Zalęty dwór revives the romantic tradition of con-

6) For such an interpretation of Przechrzta see J.Maciejewski, Przedburzowcy, Warszawa 1971, pp. 51-64 and 192-207

spiracy 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 Robak, Jan Liel's partner in Pan Tadeusz (9)), is actively stirring up the peasantry.

Reverend S.Feliński's short story Czyn szlachetny (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":

Szczerą gościnność (...) i budująca rozmowa gospodarza, kazała mi zapomnieć, że znajduję się wśród

7) S.Frybes, "Dwie tradycje powstania styczniowego w literaturze polskiej", in Dziedzictwo literackie 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 Polish Literature, Jerusalem 1985, pp. 52-53

9) S.Frybes, op.cit., p.123; on Zalęty dwor's indebtedness to Pan Tadeusz see also J.Przyzanowski, introduction to W.Łoziński's Zalęty dwor, Wrocław 1959, p. LXXI

rodziny całkiem różnego ze mną wyznania, że wie-
 czerzam z żydami, których tak niesprawiedliwie
 zwyliśmy nienawidzić. Zdawało mi się, że gościć
 w półrewnym jakimś domu, lub u przyjaznych moim
 rodzicom sąsiadów (10).

'Their sincere hospitality (...) and edifying con-
 versation 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 simi-
 lar to my own or that of some neighbors friendly
 to my parents".'

Feliński's story was warmly greeted by the assimilationist
Jutrzenka as a sign of favorable changes in the Polish
 perception of the Jews. (11) This new mood was also reflect-
 ed 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 (13).

10) S.Feliński, "Czyn szlachetny" in Powieści i s. S.Feliń-
 skiego, 3rd edition, Warszawa 1877, p.17

11) The second edition of Feliński's story was reviewed in
Jutrzenka 24 (1861), pp.194-196.

12) See, for instance, Elpidion /M.Bałuczy/: "Nasze grzechy"
 (Our sins) in Czytelnia dla młodzieży 26 (1861), p. 210;
 A.Winiarski, "Berel Joselewicz" in Dziennik Literacki 28-29
 (1861); and L.Gumplowicz's and A.Rappaport's articles on the
 history of Polish Jews in Dziennik Literacki 27-28 and 85-86
 (1860) and 56-58 (1862).

13) S.Bienias, "Żyd w literaturze ludowej," in Przegląd ty-
 godniowy, 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.ł.Norwid's poem responding to the Warsaw events referred to this "miracle" in the very first lines:

Pytasz: co mówię gdy warszawskie dziecię
Wstawa oparte na cudzie? (14)

/You ask: 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

14) C.ł.Norwid, "Improwizacja na zapytanie o wieści z Warszawy" (1861) in *Plama_wszystkie*, I, *Wiersze*, I, Warszawa 1971, p.383

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 orzeciono, że nie tylko szlachta, mieszczaństwo, lud, ale nawet warstwa Żydów nie będzie bierną i ujemną w sprawach, które całą wspólność 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, Przemyślenia 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
 Rzecz równości wyraz żywy
 Deptac przesąd - chwast zjadliwy
 Przez ciemiężców siany chwast.
 Dźwięczał bratni krzył wesela
 Z piersi chrześcian i Izraela
 Gdy ujrzała miejska wiara
 Irwawą barwę w tle sztandara. (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, romantycyzna 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 Polonized 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.Łoszczyć'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.Urbański'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). In Dwa Izraele Jewish blood shed at

17) W.Wolski, "Mosiel" in J.Winczatewicz Izrael w poezji polskiej, Paris 1961, p. 123

18) W.Łoszczyć, 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 ŻIH 37 (1961), p.27. This information, however, finds no confirmation in the literary material.

19) A.Urbański, Pod kolumną Zygmunta in Utwory poetyczne Lipsk 1884, p.267

20) N.N. Dwa Izraele, in Pamiętli z 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 F.Wilkońska'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.Dzierżowski's Chrzest 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 Polonized 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).

21) F.Wilkońska, Na pograniczu (1864), in Pisma Pauliny z Ł. Wilkońskiej, VII, Poznań 1864, p.9

22) J.Dzierżowski, Chrzest Polski (1865) in Dziennik Literacki 11 (1865).

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.Romanowski'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.Fraszewski's Żyd (25).

In another novel, Dziecię Starego Miasta (The child of the Old City, 1867) J.I.Fraszewski 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 Gorchakow. Jewish participation in the Municipal Commission is elaborated

 24) For a similar parallel movement in the Jewish tradition see, for instance, M.Bałaban's discussion of Opatoshu in 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.Zyga, Problem żydowski w twórczości J.I.Fraszewskiego in: Rocznik Komisji Historyczno-literackiej, Wrocław Trańków Warszawa 1964, II, p.203; B.Osmólska-Pisłorska, Powstanie styczniowe w twórczości J.I.Fraszewskiego Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, Prace Wydziału filologiczno-filozoficznego, XIV, 2, Toruń 1963, p.137

ted in Żyd. There are Jewish faces among the young men undergoing secret military training in Szpieg (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 Fraszewski's novels dealing with the January uprising there is no mention of other episodes of Polish-Jewish reconciliation, on which he commented as the editor of Gazeta Codzienna. These include the admission of Jews into guilds of merchants 74-75 (1861) and craftsmen 77 (1861), exchanges of gifts between churches and synagogues 78 (1861), and a Jewish contribution to help finance the Easter celebrations of poor Christian craftsmen.

III. THE JEW WITH THE CROSS

The literary perceptions of Polish-Jewish rapprochement seem to cluster around one particularly powerful symbol: the legend of the student Michał Landy's death during the spring manifestations of 1861. Landy appears as a literary hero under his own name (Dwa Izraele (1869)). We see him as a prototype of major literary characters (Natali in Fod Lolumna Zygmunta) and of other Jewish figures (like Łoszczyc's Jankiel 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 Kalisz").

The motif of the cross taken by a Jew from the hands of a fallen clergyman 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 Izraele (The two Israels, 1869) represents the most common pattern incorporating the Landy legend in the national mystique. "Alexander Lande" appears in it as a sacrificial lamb whose blood miraculously seals the alliance of "the two Israels", the brotherhood of Poles and Jews.

1 oddał serce narodu swojego
 Ach! Ty wybrany z ludu wybranego
 Abys dwa ludy na wieki połączył,
 Ślub dwóch narodów Irwią swą doł onczył. (29)

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

29) N.N. Dwa Izraele, in Pamiętnik z 1863 roku, Lwów 1869, p.7

collective elevation of the entire people of Israel. In C.ł.Norwid's famous poem Żydowie__polscy (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 "krzyże za które się łona" (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 krzyż tłuli - Carowie
Bronił go - Żyd.

Niewiasta:

Żyd? Żyd?

Mezczyzna:

Tak, Żyd
Żyd z imienia, z trymfi, z głowy
Lecz już duchem biały lew
Żołnierz to już Chrystusowy
Przez miłość, prawdę i łrew. (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, yarmulle and features/ But

spiritually already transformed into the white lion/
 Already (serving as) the knight of Christ/ through his
 love, truth and blood./

Like 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 które, zagrał gromami Jehowa
 Tyś irwawą rolą, gdzie ewangeliczna
 Roślina wschodzi 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 ryce-
 rza") 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 chłopczel' nie drżysz łonający
 Tylko wznosisz przyź nad wszystkie czoła
 I tak my widzimy Judei anioła
 Z arłą na łonie pod przyżem nie drżący
 A stary łapien pragnie ochrzcić ciebie,

31) N.N. "Morituris", Dziennik Literacki, 70 (1863),
 also quoted in Pieśń polska 1863 r., Warszawa 1921 pp.
 62-64

Lecz wody nie ma, polską krew on zbiera
 która płynęła szeroko w ulicy
 I chrzci - chrzci ciebie w polskiej, błyskawicy. (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 ark 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 zmartwychstanie (The last martyrdom and re-
 surrection of Poland, 1861), Satan's comments addition-
 ally dramatize the paradox of the Jew who becomes
 "żołnierzem krzyża 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.

Szatan:

- Co to jest? Żyd? Żyd chwyta zamię Chrystusowe
 I podnosi go nad tłumy głowę
 Śmierć! Śmierć Żydowi! Ognia piekielnego!
 W niego wystrzały wszystkie, w niego!
 Ha! Padł trzema kulami przeszyty,
 A z nim krzyż, zmyty posołą krwawą
 A z nim krzyż, w błoto wbity. (..)

32) N.N. Dwa Izraele, in Pamiętli z 1863 roku, Lwów 1869,
 p.8

33) S.Goszczyński, Ostatnie męczeństwo Polski i zmartwych-
 stanie in S.Pigoń "Oratorium wieszcz S.Goszczyńskiego", in
Prace historyczno-literackie. księga zbiorowa ku czci Jęz-
 cego Chrzczanowskiego, Brańów 1936, p.436

A ty niewierny mi Żydzie, ty zdrajco!
 Poznałeś, kto mocniejszy: czy mój ołów,
 Czy tarcza niebieskich aniołów? (23)

'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, rozgłoszony przez liczne opowieści, stał się w ustach agitatorów jednym więcej dowodem braterstwa obu narodów, "zapieczętowanego teraz, jak mówiono, łrwią". Starano się wypadłowi temu nadać jakiś osobliwszy, mistyczny charakter. "Historia świata, mówiono i pisano później, nie ma równego temu wypadłowi, który pomimo całej rzeczywistości obrazu otoczył się urokiem jakby jakiejś cudownej, średniowiecznej, legendy". "Godło meji Chrystusowe, godło odłupienia i zbawienia," woła inne pismo tej epoki, "to najwznioślejszy wyraz idei braterstwa, łączące, pod sztandarem narodowym wszystkie wyznania i klasy społeczeństwa" (24).

/This fact, spread by numerous accounts, was used by the agitators as one more proof of the brotherhood 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 nature, 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 contemporary periodical, "is the noblest expression of the idea of brotherhood uniting, under a common national flag, all confessional groups and social clas-

ses."/

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 Hashtalah 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 Święty 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 dwóch lat 1861-1862, part I, The year 1861, II, Brańdw 1897, p.337

For example, in Dwa Izraele the prophecy is put in the mouth of the dying Jan Kiel, the hero of Mickelewicz's Pan Tadeusz (1834). Jan Kiel, 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. Jan Kiel's vision of the future is fulfilled in the next generation, when his son, Jan Kiel 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 Powązkł /Warsaw Catholic cemetery/ the funeral cortege 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 r., Stanisławów 1908, pp.91-93

36) J.Zacharyasiewicz, Święty Jurek, Jarema, II, Lipsk 1873, p.127

37) N.N. Dwa Izraele, in Pamiętnik z 1863 roku, Lwów 1869, pp. 18 and 32-33

IV. C.F. 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" are 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 Śkład 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 dic-
seminators of Judaic influence in the Catholic church.

Manifest ten /i.e. Śkład zasad - M.O./ w rzeczach
Gościa dąży do doładniejszego wyniszczenia dog-
matu i rozwolnienia duchowego -- a iz tam brat
starszy Izrael przeważnie miejsce ma zajmować --
tedy w ostatecznym rachunku (...) do synagogi zmier-
za.

/In church matters this manifesto aims at the
destruction of dogma and promotes spiritual laxi-
ty. 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 "se-
niority" could be made. His concept of Israel as theologi-
cally "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, Śkład zasad, (1848), in Dzieła, XII,
Warszawa 1955, p.7

40) C.ł.Norwid, Letter to J.B.Zalewski dated April 24, 1848,
in Listy, 1839-1861 in Pisma wszystkie, VIII, Warszawa 1971,
p.62

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. Stefanowska in "Norwida spór o powstanie" in Dziedzictwo literackie powstania styczniowego, Warszawa 1964, pp. 78-81; and M.H. Piątkowski, op.cit., Wiadomości Literackie 39 (1932) 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. Dzwonkowski's treatise W kwestii włościanstwie, rusztwie, i żydowsktwie (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.

Zeszlóroczne zlanie się w jedność narodową żyddów, w pierwszym tchnieniu zmartwychpowstania Polski, świadczy że misja nasza, zawsze tak 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 "Mosiel", 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. Dzwonkowski, W kwestii włościanstwie, rusztwie, i żydowsktwie z powodu obecnych wypadków, Paryż 1862, p.68

W imię wspólnych żez i męczeństwa
 tłumy rozlicznych Żydziaków,
 W pejsach, bez pejsów - na nabożeństwa
 Wiodł do łocciaków Polaaków.

Mówił, że Mesjasz ów, co tęsknota
 Wielów 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 simi-
 larity with Norwid's approach. It is manifest in the bibli-
 cal 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 Kings while emphasizing
 their close friendship and mutual help (44).

Similar ideas are occasionally expressed in works writ-

43) W.Wolstki, "Mosiel" in J.Winczalewicz, Israel w oczach
 Polstie, Paryż 1958, p.127

ten long after the January insurrection: for instance, in the monologues of Natalia, in A.Urbański's Pod łolumną Zygmunta (1880), who refers to the Poles as "the new Israel of the nations":

"A czymże ty jesteś biedny łez narodzie"
 Czymże? Azaliż nie wybranym ludem
 I nam i wam wydarto ojców ziemię,
 I was i nas z torbami w świat za oczy
 Wyroli pędzą srogie... I obydwom
 Jehowa zginąć nie dał, - choć nad nami
 Czarne ciągnęły chmury: mordów, hańby,
 Pozogi... (...)
 Połkon 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 life 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 1940s. 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

44) T.Lenartowicz, "Izrael", in: Poezje, Warszawa 1968, pp. 501-502

45) A.Urbański, Pod łolumną Zygmunta, 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.Jeż'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, zeszlibyśmy się nad wodą i zarznięli czarnego łoguta i utopili nasze grzechy.. Ale panowie Polacy to co innego, bo my naród lamentujący a wy walczący: my idziemy do Boga z wielkim tryżkiem, w śmiertelnej łoszuli i z głową pochyloną - wy osłaniacie głowę tryżką szablą, a ten z was, kto szablę podnosi, już przez to samo się oczyszcza... i świeci narodowi jak święty.. i choć zginie, to nie zginie ze wszystkim, bo pozostawia po sobie nie same tylko wspomnienie, ale to co Matatjasz Machabeusz... Matatjasz pozostawił Judasza a Judasz Jonatasa, a Jonatas Szymona... Ale Izraela Bóg słażał na rozproszenie, a was nie słażał, bo zrobił Polaków narodem wielkim... Nas było mało, garsteczka ludzi: was jak morzu w piasłu, jak gwiazd na niebie... Nasza cała ziemia nie była większa od trockiego powiatu: poleła ziemia ilez to trockich powiatów w sobie mieści'.. To też wasi Machabeusze nie przemną, jak nasi, ale będą się mnożyli, mnożyli aż przyjdzie czas kiedy cały naród Machabeuszami się stanie.. Mnie się zdaje, wielmożny panie, dodał, odetchnawszy - ze nim Pol-

sią do oczyszczenia przystąpi, potrzeba jej i Maccabeuszów, i talich, co się biją, i talich, co w męczarniach giną. Ej, bo to oni oczyszczenie prowadzą.." (46)

/We Jews would come together and kill 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 Trol count, and how many Trol 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.

46) T.T.Jeż, Drugie boże przyzwanie in: Wybór dzieł T.T.Jeża, XII, Warszawa 1930, p.95

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, occasionally, even in works written before the November up-

47) J.P.Woronicz, "Hymn do Boga. O dobrodziejstwach Opatrzności narodowi polskiemu wyświadczonych po upadku Polski", in: M.Janion, *Reduta, romantyczna poezja niepodległościowa*, Kraków 1979, pp. 112-114

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.Janion, *M.Żmigrodzka, Romantyzm i historia*, Warszawa 1978, p.514; see also M.Janion, *Reduta, romantyczna poezja niepodległościowa*, Kraków 1979, pp. 51-54; J.Lelewel, "Odezwa do ludu izraelskiego" (1872) in *Postępowa publicystyka emigracyjna. Wybór inođel*, (ed.) W.Luśszewicz and W.Lewandoweli, Wrocław 1961; J.Czyński, *Cesarzewicz, Konstant, i Joanna Grudzińska czyli Jałobini polscy* (1873)

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 klęski" - 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 Mickiewicz's historiosophical works of the Towianist period (49).

In the 1860s the biblical symbolism inherited from the great romantic bards (A. Mickiewicz, J. Słowacki, Z. Krasiński and T. 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 "Bracia Polaków wyznania możeszowego" (to brother-Poles of Mosaic persuasion) of 22 June 1863 referred to the Jews as "lud od wieków walczący, 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 folkloriza-

49) A. Duler, "The mystery of Israel in Mickiewicz's Towianist Lectures on Slave Literature", in The Polish Review VIII, 3 (1962) pp. 9-11. The term Towianist refers to A. Towiański (1799-1878), whose mystical concepts strongly influenced Mickiewicz's work.

50) Zydzi w powstaniu styczniowym, m. Materiał i dokument, A. Eisenbach, D. Fajnzajn, A. Wein (eds.), Warszawa 1967, pp. 81-82

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:

coś w rodzaju drużyny proroków staro-hebrajskich,
opłakujących upadłą Jerozolimę, a zarazem przepo-
wiadających przyjście nowego Mesjasza polskiego,
którego oczekiwanie miało wzbudzić otuchę w ser-
cach współziomków (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 Meesiah. The expectation of his arrival was supposed to comfort their countrymen./

Spasowicz's comments on Ł. Ujejski's "Z dymem pożarów", a song which -- like "Boże coś Polskę" -- was an unofficial anthem of the 1863 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.

Prawie nic chrześcijańskiego nie ma w tym przeciągłym, potężnym jęku, przypominającym starobiblijny płacz Jeremiasza. Śpiewano też chorał (co sam w 1861 sposobność miałem stwierdzić i na placach publicznych, i w kościołach i w synagogach (na Daniłowiczowskiej, ulicy, gdzie obecnie Teatr Mały). Tak ztorzeczać płakać i płacząc ztorzeczyć umieli tylko dawni prorocy. (52)

/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 Daniłowiczowska street where the Mal, 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 "Hymny Jeremiego", for instance, directly contrasts the

52) W. Spasowicz, Życie i polityka margrabiego Wielkopolskiego in Pięta, III, Petersburg 1892, p. 58

53) W. Spasowicz, op.cit., p. 105

"płaczliwe ,jeremiady" (Jeremiah-like lamentations) with the romantic bards' call for heroic military action. Cieszyński explicitly, blames this Bible-inspired lamentative mood for undermining the Poles' spirit and weakening their military effort during the insurrection.

W hymnach złożony boj, zemsty, zaród
 Wiec Jeremiego hymn, śpiewał naród,
 Lecz za to naród na wroga się rzucił
 Nie z taką mocą, jak 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 play, as we have seen, a central role in the Jewish tavern-keeper's call for "sacrifice" and "purification" in T.T.Jez's Drugie boże przyzwanie. 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.Cieszyński, "Hymny Jeremiego" in Dziennik Literacki 42 (1868)

Wstał, i na miasto spoglądając żzawo
 -O Jeruzalem! - jętnął - O Warszawo! (55)

/He rose and looking at the cit, with tearful eyes/ O Jeru-
 salem, 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. Fraszewski's Żyd:

Patrzyłem na tę scenę ze wzruszeniem i wystawiłem
 sobie jedno z ostatnich powstań izraelskich prze-
 ciwko potędze Rzymu. Wszystko tam tak samo być
 musiało, losy to naszej ojczyzny stare, powtarzały
 się w żywym obrazie, to samo prześladowanie, boha-
 terstwo, ofiary postrachy, talieź blade męczenni-
 ków twarze, taż miłość ziemi, wiary i swobody
 (56).

/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 pre-
 viously quoted poem "Izrael". But the Maccabee theme occu-
 pies an even more prominent place in another powerful poem
 by T.Lenartowicz, "Łuk 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.Winczalewicz,
Izrael w poezii polskiej, Paris 1958, p.103

56) J.I.Fraszewski, Żyd (1866), Pradów 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 equally mocks 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-czerkieska" (Mongolian Circassian) culture of the Russians -- to use C.ł. Norwid's formulation in "Żydowie polscy" -- is shared by Jews and Poles alike. The

57) T. Lenartowicz, "Łul tytusa" in: Elementy, Warszawa 1968, p. 502

58) On the identity of the objective situation of the narrator and that of the Jew, and the close similarity of both characters' historiosophical views in Lenartowicz's "Łul Tytusa" see M. Janion and M. Żmigrodzka, in Elementy a_historia, Warszawa 1978, pp. 544-545

Polish feeling of cultural superiority over the Russians, expressed by various Jewish characters, further strengthens the Polish-Jewish alliance.

FULKOWNIK: /rosyjski, do żydówki!/
.....

...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.. Ja-
hela (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 (60) logically followed the prevailing view of the Polish-Jewish alliance as an act of religious reconciliation (61). This approach was stimulated by two related factors: the very strong identification of Polish patriotism with religious values (62) on the one hand, and the previous, discussed prominence of Old Testament motifs -- rooted in messianic thought -- on the other. This unprecedented diminu-

60) Echoing many contemporary intellectuals, M. Jastrów exalted "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 Lejba i Sióra, Jastrów chose to pass over in silence the novel's content, focusing instead on the warmth of the introduction "inspired by genuine love". Jutrzenka, 4 (1861), p. 68

61) J. Znamierowska, Poezja powstania styczniowego. Zarys ideologii, Lwów 1938, p. 10; W. Dzwonkowi, op. cit., pp. 61-74

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. Półczyńska-Saloni, "Poezja powstania styczniowego" in Dziedzictwo literackie powstania styczniowego, Warszawa 1964, pp. 42-46

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 (63). 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:

Mongolsto-czerljeskie, nie zlepli 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 "Izrael" provide typical examples), is a

63) 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, Przedburzowcy. Z problematyki przełomu między romantyzmem a pozytywizmem, Kraków 1971, pp.107-117

64) C.ł.Norwid, "Żydowie polscy", in J.Winczalewicz, Izrael 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.Forwin-Łochanowski's "Życzenie wygnanca" (An exile's wish) the Jewish God's blessing for Poland is requested by the Polish narrator. The Jewish presence on Golgotha in M.Ilnicka'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, "bladą córkę 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.Goszczyński's Ostatnie męczeństwo Polki i martwychstańie, 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 Izraele 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.Wilczyński, Yidische literatur in der polnischen literatur, Warsaw 1927, p.61

66) S.Goszczyński, op.cit., p.478

67) N.N. Dwa Izraele, in Przegląd literatury 1867 roku, Lwow 1869, p.27-28

mother in this farewell scene (67).

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 Bertold in J.I. Fraszewski's Zyd, who differs from the "godless" Warsaw plutocrats in terms of both religious mentality and political attitudes. Natli, the old "Talmudic scholar" in A. Urbński's Pod kolumną 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 Zyd 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. 198-199

In J. Irdlinski's Janeł Piaty, 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 cliché, 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 writer's 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 Jankei 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.Jeż, J.Narzymśki, M.Romanowski, W.Wolski, E.Lubowski, W.Łoszczyc and others.

For instance, in T.T.Jeż's Drugie_boże_przykazanie (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. Dzierżowski's and W. Sabowski'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 Kosciuszko 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 Iock (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 fiancée. 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. Łoszczyc'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, Jan Ariel 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 Łosyńscy in an attack (2). Jan Ariel'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 Łoszczyc's political views), the treacherous nobleman (whom we meet in the last

1) Bereł Joselewicz (1764-1809), colonel of the Polish army; organizer of a Jewish unit in the Łoćciuszko 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 Kościuszko 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.Narzym's novel Q_1CZYM (The stepfather, 1872) the Jewish tavern-keeper illegally manufactures bullets, while other "bracia mozeszowego 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 "Ryzy Mortlo" the tavern-keeper hides the legendary peasant partisan, general Borelowski-Lelewel. By doing so the Jew exposes his sical wife and newborn son to harassment by Cossacks. In Ł.Junosza's story "From" (1888) the tavern-keeper helps his Polish landlord to escape from the Russians. In J.rodlin-ski's play Janek Biały (The white John, 1908) the previously-mentioned Jewish taverner hides the chief of the secret insurrectionary police, Jan Karłowicz. In S.Zerom-ski's Wierna rzeka (The faithful river, 1917) the Jewish tavern is the only friendly island in a hostile sea sur-

3) J.Narzym, Q_1CZYM, Biblioteka Narodowa, seria 1, 168, Wrocław-Łódź 1958, p.215.

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. Monopnicka'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. Wielopolska'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. Irdliński's play W podziemiach Pawiała (In the Pawiał 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. Fraszewski's novel Czerwona para (The red couple, 1864) a Jewish doctor follows a partisan unit taking care of the wounded. "The kahal officials, the rabbi and other Jews" warmly greet the insurgents entering a provincial town (5). In J.I. Fraszewski's previously-mentioned Spyeg (The spy, 1864), Jewish youths actively participate

4) Monopnicka may have had in mind a Jew by the name Glazer, Suzin's second-in-command. J. Urbach, Udział Żydów w walce o niepodległość Polski, Warszawa 1978, p.159.

in the pre-insurrectionary conspiracy in Warsaw by undergoing secret military training. Fraszewski 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.

Ojciec Serafin (...) Iręcił się tu ocierając się z jednej strony o starego Izraelitę w atlasowym żupanie, z drugiej, o pastora protestanckiego w czarnym, obcisłym surducie. Litewski Tatar przybyły umyślnie spod Troi 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 Troi 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.Prus' Lalla (The Doll, 1890) 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.Fraszewski's Żyd (The Jew, 1866), Jakub Hamon, spends the critical months of 1861 attending conspiratorial meetings and participating in the

5) J.I.Fraszewski, Czerwona para, I, Kraków 1905, p.222

6) J.I.Fraszewski, Szpieg. Obrazek współczesny, Poznań 1864, p.87

Warsaw demonstrations. Although he shares Iwaszewski'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. Iwaszewski 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 Żyd'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 Iwaszewski's Jalub Hamon. Mosiel, whose original name undergoes a significant transformation in the poem into the more refined Mojżesz (Moses), an indication of the Jews 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 kolumną Zygmunta (Under the

 7) The evolution of Iwaszewski's views of the uprising, as expressed in his novels dealing with the revolt, is extensively discussed by B. Osmańska-Fińska, Powstanie styczniowe w twórczości Józefa Ignacego Iwaszewskiego, Toruń 1963 and A. Zyga. Modifying his earlier pro-Red sympathies, Iwaszewski gradually moved over to the White camp which, in principle, opposed the idea of armed struggle.

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 ("zdzieraając skórę") his Russian debtors 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 involvement by being drafted into the Russian army.

The old Jewish antique dealer in A.Oppman's poem "Beret 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.

Zgasł mój Eli jak świeca zdmuchnięta
 Ta a ładną śmierć dał mu Jehowa
 Pan dobrodzie, Majzelsa pamięta?
 Pan dobrodzie, 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 Wybrancy losu (The chosen of fate, 1981-1982), E.Lubowski's Silni i słabi (The strong and the weak, 1865), M.Bałucki's Starczy i młodzi (The old and the young, 1865) and P.Wiłkońska's Na pograniczu (On the border, 1864),

8) A.Oppman, "Beret Jawor" in Łsiega wierzy, biazrzy, poleclich 19-go wiełu, ed.J.Tuwim, Warszawa 1954, p.487

we find numerous echoes of the pro-Polish or sympathetically neutral attitudes of the Jews. In Na pograniczu Willkońska describes the Polish patriotism of "poczciwi Żydzi" (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 Noc styczniowa z 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 Urbański, Jeź, Dzierżowski, Fraszewski and many others. We also find it in M.Dąbrowska's story Powstanie 1863. Powitanie wojny i swobody (The revolt of 1863. Welcoming war and freedom, 1916). The generous gesture of the Bezdin 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"
"Pożuchy, buciska dla te, polskie, wiary" (10).

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

9) P.Willkońska, Na pograniczu (1864), in Fisza Pauliny z L. Willkońskiej, VII, Poznań 1864, p.46

10) M.Dąbrowska, Powstanie 1863 r. Powitanie wojny i swobody, Warszawa 1916, p.14

J. Lasłryś' poem "Trzy rymy" (Three rhymes) expresses hope that the Jews will contribute their share to the cause. In Kontrymowicz-Ogiński's Przed półwieciem (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 Polakiem," -- 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. Jeź's tavern-keeper with deep joy. He rushes to make his own contribution to the insurrectionary cause.

Żydowi na twarzy jaśniała wielka radość. Wszedłszy, do ndg samych połtonił się wodzowi i natychmiast mówić zaczął:

- Ach! Jakiż ja szczęśliwy, że już widzę Polaków co się idą bić!.. Daj, Boże, wielmożnym panom szczęście i zdrowie... Daj, Boże, abyście ich pobili i wypędzili!..(..)

-Ja tu trochę rubelków przywiózł..

Tu mówiąc, dobył za taftana spory węzełek i położył na stole. (..)

-Dałem, com miał w sierzni!.. Jeszcze mam na łaha-le, to jeszcze dam... Daj, Boże, żeby każdy rubel zmienił się w lulę. (..)

- Moja Ruchla, gwałt, chciała ze mną jechać, żeby się na Polaków popatrzed, ale ja jej powiedziałem: siedź, babo, w domu, piecz chleb i szuj łoszule, żebyś miała Polaka czym nalarmić, jał przyjdzie głodny, i w co odziać, jał przyjdzie goły." (12)

'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!..(..)

- 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 Bahal 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. Kontrymowicz - Ogródki, Przed pół wiekiem. Powieść historyczna, Chicago 1912, p.71

12) T.T. Jeż, Drugie boże przyłapanie, 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

13) C.F. Norwid, letter to A. Jełowicki, in: Listy, 1839-1861, in Pisma wszystkie, VIII, Warszawa 1971, p.452

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

W. Wolski's Polish-educated and thoroughly assimilated Mosiel-Mojżesz, 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 słoty. (14)

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

In T.T. Jez's Drugie boże przyłazanie the patriotic tavern-keeper Sruł never separates himself from his negative shadow: an evil, non-patriotic tavern-keeper nicknamed 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. Wolski, op.cit., p.124

tured in J. Irolinski's Janeł Biały. 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. Iraszewski'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. Urbański's Pod kolumną Zygmunta, a worldly young man, shares some common cultural features with Iraszewski'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. Iraszewski'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

roduced as an "Izraelita, Polak" (Israelite and Pole) (16). Fraszewski's distrust of converts, an attitude widespread in contemporary writings and easily understood by their readers, appears to require no special justification (17).

Stała (tam) mała karczma do której, przewodnik Karola spocząć na chwilę wprowadził. Znaleźli tam tylko szynkarszą i szynkarkę, neofitów, którym coś źle z oczów patrzyło. Ostrzegał też towarzysz Karola, iż ludziom tym spełnia dać wiary nie było można. (18)

/(There) stood a little tavern to which the guide led Karol for a short rest. Inside they found just the taverner and his wife, neophytes, whose appearance did not inspire confidence. Karol's companion warned him that these people could not be fully trusted./

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

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

16) J.I.Fraszewski, Carą Czerwoną, II, Łódź 1905, p.178

17) The most negative part in Zyd is also played by a convert who is a Russian informer. In J.Narzymski's Quorum the rebels betrayed by a nobleman assume that the traitor is likely to be a convert or żył, a city dweller.

18) J.I.Fraszewski, op.cit., pp.165-166.

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 (Mortko), 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 geszeftu. Wszyscy Żydzi są tałimi po trosze, ale inni poza geszeftem mają rodzinę, mają coś, do czego się przywiązali, a wyjątkowi, jak Mortko, potrafią nawet zapomnieć o interesie, a idealni, jak Józef, umieją nawet wznieść się do wznioślejszych uczuć i zapomnieć o wszystkim, co ma jakikolwiek związek z szacherlą. (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 Mortko, even manage to forget their profits, while the ideal ones, like Jozef, manage to elevate themselves to more noble feelings and forget about anything related to dubious monetary operations./

19) J. Dzierżłowski, W. Sabowski, Chrzest polski, 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 arendarz", 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 Janhels, 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 arendarz", 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-Pisłorska, S. Brulot and A. Zyga take note of the negative treatment of the rich bourgeoisie. B. Osmólska-Pisłorska 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 ("mieszczachstwo") -- are discussed in the context of one particular author, the typology proposed by B. Osmólska-Pisłorska 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-

20) B. Osmólska-Pisłorska, op.cit., pp. 38 and 218; S. Brulot, Powiesci współczesne 1867-1887 J.I. Fraszewskiego, Kraków 1967, p. 126; A. Zyga, op.cit., pp. 201-202

logies between the biblical tradition and contemporary Polish reality. Jan Ariel 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, Jan Ariel'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, Jan Ariel 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 Robak, and one of the few to know Robak's real identity as well as the role he plays in the patriotic conspiracy.

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

Quotations from Pan_Tadeusz are even more numerous in Dwa Izraela, a poem in which both Mickiewicz and his Jan Ariel

21) Z.Felicitowicz, "Synowie Izraela", in Żandarm, obrazek z 1867, Paris 1864, p.37. On Jan Ariel as prototype of the "good Jew" see also M.Opalski, op.cit., pp. 52-57

appear as major literary characters. Together, they lay the foundations for an alliance of the two Israels. Janziel, 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. Janziel's cultural conservatism -- as opposed to the new lifestyle spreading out from Germany -- constitutes an integral element of this personification.

O! Niemcy macie swoich Mendelsonów
 I ofrytego laurem Mayerbera
 A my naszego boskiego Janziela
 Kochanka Litwy, Polski przyjaciela. (22)

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

In Fraszewski'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 Żyd's lengthy description of a Saturday celebration in a provincial town. While the "Israelite" Janziel Mewes observes the Sabbath with love and great religious zeal, Dawid Seebach, his neighbor across the street, demonstrates his contempt for tradition. Accordingly, Janziel turns out to be a righteous man and a sincere patriot. As might be expected

22) N.N., Dwa Izraele, in Pamiętnik 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", Janliel'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 Janliel'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 kolumną Zygmunta. 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 link 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

NATALI:

Nasz Załon - nasz Załon!
Tyś Zydem, Rubin?

RUBIN:

Czymże?

NATALI:

Ty? Tyś niczem!
Azali spełniasz załonu przepisy?
Sulniać i sercem, tyś nie Żyd.

RUBIN:

Przesady!
Świat naprzód łroczy. (24)

/N: Our law, our law/ Are you still a Jew, Rubin?/ R: What else?/ N: You? You are nothing! Do you follow our law?/ You are Jewish neither in your heart nor in the way you dress./ R: Superstitions! The world goes forward./

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

24) A.Urbański, op.cit., p.187

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.Przyborski, the insurrectionary years were marked 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.Przyborski 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 wznieci ducha miłości, ducha ofiary", że "niech raczej zgłuchnie ten gwar giełdowy i te rozprawy ekonomiczne, niżeli pacierz nasz Chrystusowy i nasze swojskie 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 Jałub 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.

Wśród samych prawie Polaków wychował się Józef; usposobienie które wziął po matce w nim wyrobiło popęd wyższy do wszystkiego co szczytne i wielkie. (...) /Józef/ miał serce poetyczne i wyższe zdolności. Dzieje polskie, ojczyzny studiował, unosił się polską poezją, śpiewał pieśni polskie, a gdy się w nim rozbudził talent do malarstwa, rzucił na płótno same polskie przedmioty. (26)

25) /W.Przyborowski/, Historia dwóch 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 stuck 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 Mosiek, Urbanski's Jahela and other "ideal Jews" serve as literary models of prover 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 uhlan. J.Dzierżowski, 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. Urbański 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. Jałub's endless religious preachings outline a recipe for the proper modernization of the Jews. Kraszewski contrasts Jałub'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. Jałub, 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.

...chcecież poznać prawdziwego ducha narodu? Oto, widzicie, zaledwie trochę wolnie, oddycha, a już kapłani jego we wszystkich kościołach tuższych ozwalają się słowami miłości i braterstwa tu nam, przyznając nas za dzieci ojczyzny, która od ośmiu wieków zamieszkuje. (...) W mniemanych nieprzyjaciółch ujrzelismy naszych przyjaciół: "stało się to nie siłą, nie przemocą, ale duchem moim," rzekł Bóg. Pan Bóg to zrzadził, uzbrajając w odwagę ludzi szlachetnych, aby przemówili za naszą sprawą, a wrogów Polski, rozsiewających nienawiść między jej dziećmi, ślazał 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 1893, pp. 114-115. The passage dealing with the enemies who turned out to be friends may be an echo of I. Frumsztył'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 Mosiel expresses gratitude to his friend and mentor, a young Polish nobleman, who twice saved his life. In Junosza's *Erębil* the tavern-keeper saves the life of a nobleman who previously saved his. T.T. Jeź 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 *Żyd*. 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 Jeź's Sruł 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 Poles in the early 1860s. In retrospect, the Poles 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. Fraszeński'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 szczere przebaczenie i zapomnienie o przeszłości wyjść powinno. Wielu inny, oświata rozpowszechniona, wszystko nas teraz zbliżyć i pojednać zmusza.. Wyciągamy dłonie... Nie odpychajcie ich...

-My! młode pololenie! - zawołał Iwaś - my, byśmy, mieli was odpychać! Możeszże to przypuścić? Znajdą się przesady, wstręty, resztki niedognitych wyobrażeń, pozostałości dawnych wielów.. ale ogół..

szczerze wam dłoń wyciągnie. Bądźciez braćmi, ale bądźcie nimi w duchu, nie w słowie, w czynie, a nie pozorem tylko; bądźcie niemi nie tylko w chwili powodzenia, ale w pracy i w boleści.. (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 anything like this? The remnants of past centuries, some not altogether rotted remainders of prejudice and old concepts may still be there, but the society, 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 organism, miraculously united by the force of patriotic feelings, crystallizes in the 1860s and grows lasting roots in the literary legend of the uprising. Despite signs of differentiation 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 *Łosynierzy*, craftsmen devoted to the insurrectionary cause and even patriotically-minded Ukrainians. In *W ogniu wolności*, where most of the

29) J.I. Praszewski, *Żyd*, Kraków 1960, pp. 128-129

above-mentioned characters appear, an attack carried out by Losynierzy under Jankei's command allows the rebels to win a decisive battle. Similarly, the unit commanded by Józef in Chrzest_polski is 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.Czepulis 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 "Iwestia 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:

Iwestie społeczne wstrząsające obecnie pierwszorzędnymi państwami europejskimi (...) były obojętne dla umysłów polskich, najwięksi nawet biedacy zapomnieli o dręczącej ich nędzy, zwracając myśl do spraw ojczyzny i jej nieszczęśliwego położenia. (32)

Polish minds were indifferent to social issues which shake today the most powerful European

30) R.Czepulis, op.cit, p.332

31) Z.Niemierowska, op.cit. p.10

32) F.Gregorewicz, Pogląd krytyczny na wypadki z r.1861, 1862, 1863 i zacieranie z nich wązów politycznych 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 trwałą 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./

O 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 kosynierzy enjoy understandable popularity) and even peasant officers. In some of these works, such as E.Lubowski's novel Silni i słabi (1865), peasants are depicted as

33) W.Łoszczyc, Wybraniec losu, II, p.27

34) Spiridion (E.Lubowski) Silni i słabi, 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. Bałucki's *Przebudzenie* (1864) or J. Narzyski's *Ojczyzna* (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. Zachryasiewicz's *Święty Jurek* 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

35) On Lubowski's image of peasant involvement see J. Detlo, *Współuczestnicy narodowej sprawy*, Warszawa 1973, pp. 16-18

36) This theme, first introduced by Zeromski in *Rozdziobiasz truli, wrony* (1894), was further elaborated in *Wierca rzęta* (1912); A. Strug's collection of stories *Ojcowie nasi* (1912), also devotes a great deal of attention to this issue.

37) On the question of the literary perceptions of peasant involvement see Z. Żabiński, introduction to J. Narzyski, *Ojczyzna*, op.cit., pp. LXXXIII-XCII

to promoting social peace and Polish patriotism in the
Ukraine (38).

38) J.Zacharyasiewicz, Święty Jur. Jaroma, 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. Fraszewski'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.

Z tego splotu wypadłoby tylko konieczność prawdziwego "uobywatelnienia" chłopów i wciągnięcie go do walki o wyzwolenie narodowe była dla Fraszewskiego jasna, natomiast cała reszta przedstawiała mu się w sposób oderwany od rzeczywistych warunków ekonomicznych i społecznych, głównie jako wynik wzruszeń, tęsknot, działania serca i instynktu. (...) W żarliwej atmosferze "elektazy narodowej", która - jego zdaniem - była największym osiągnięciem manifestacji, nie było miejsca na walki polityczne. (...) Fraszewski trytylował Wielopolskiego za to, że obserwując przebieg manifestacji warszawskich wymyślił "hydrę rewolucji socjalnej" (...) podczas gdy były one "tylko" sprawą narodową, sprawą polską. (...) Obliczoności polityczne, walka narodowa o wyzwolenie, stwarzały podatny grunt dla traktowania narodu jako całości, do szulenia idealnych więzów mających uzasadnić spójność narodową. (...) Problem "uobywatelnienia" klas nieszlacheckich widział Fraszewski w tych samych kategoriach co człowiekowi romantycy polscy. (39)

/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 Fraszew-

39) E. Warzenica, "Konceptcja patriotyzmu w powieściach Fraszewskiego o powstaniu styczniowym", in Dziedzictwo literackie powstania styczniowego, Warszawa 1964, pp. 164-165.

st1 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 Fraszewski saw the highest achievement of the national spirit, there was no place for political struggle. Fraszewski criticized Wielopolski'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. (...) Fraszewski 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 background of ancient Rome, is marled 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 "uobywatelnienie" (acquisition of the right of citizenship) and "równouprawnienie" (acquisition of

40) "Modlitwa Żydów warszawskich w roku 1861", "Głos w imieniu Żyda polskiego", both by unknown authors, in J.Winczalewicz, op.cit., pp.102 and 107

41) W.Wolski, "Mroć i noc I", in [romy], Bruksela 1863, pp.5-6

42) Spiridion, /E.Lubowski/, Silnik i szabl, II, Kraków 1865, p.18

43) T.Lenartowicz, "Izrael", in Zbiór poetów polskich XIX-go wieku, V, Warszawa 1859, p.64

44) W.Wolski, "Mosiel", in J.Winczalewicz, op.cit., pp. 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. Uniting people of different ethnic origins, "the Polish idea" bestowed upon the Jews the most valuable form of citizenship: "obywatelstwo moralne" (the moral citizenship), wrote Praszewski in Gazeta Polska (45). Occasionally, Polish authors differen-

45) J.I.Praszewski, Gazeta Polska 156 (1862)

tiate, as does the author of Dwo Izrael, between the moral equality enjoyed by the "divine Janiel" and that acquired by the German "Mendelssohns". W. Dzwonkowski's Uwagi w kwestii wiolclanstwa, rusli i zydlowlia 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".

To zbratanie się nasze z Zydami, to wcielenie w jedność narodową dotychczasowych gości; jest całkiem odmiennej natury, od równouprawnienia jaiego udzielili im w rozmaitych stopniach narody Europy za przykładem rewolucji Francuzkiej. Dotąd społeczeństwa zachodnie opierały się na religii. (...) Obalenie tej podstawy a oparcie się na rozumie ziemskim, stworzyło prawa człowieka; tych praw następstwem była obywatelska równość, strychująca gilotną, wszystko, coby pragnęło wyrość nad formę rozumem publicznym ulutą. Nie była to więc równość dzieci tejże samej Matki ziemi i jedynejo Ojca który jest w niebiesiach, miłość płynąca ze wspólnej miłości do Matki i czci dla Ojca, jako też ulochania się wzajemnego, ale równość ałcjonariuszowskiej współli, w której każdy jest ceniony w miarę przyniesionego kapitału, sił i zdolności swoich. (46)

/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 anything 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 najzupełniejsze przeświadczenie, że ziemskie i materialne korzyści dla obu stron są tylko następstwem; przyczyną zaś w alicie tym, było obopólne wzniesienie się, wspólne duchem, wspólne poczucie tej myśli Bożej, i które, urzeczywistnienie na ziemi Opatrzność powierzyła Polsce. Biada nam, biada Izraelowi! gdyby przy zaćmieniu się narodowego słońca, ta jedność zrodzona w ogniu Miłości Boga i ojczyzny, zmieniła się w równouprawnienie akcyonariuszowskie, spółki: gdyby w spółce tej, przeważał miał, i nas ze sobą pociągnął dotychczasowy grzech Izraela: topienie w ziemi, obracanie na jej słuźbę, polegi pierworodnego Syna Bożego. (47)

/Therefore we are of the profound conviction that earthly and material advantages are only, 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./

Jałub Hamon's preachings provide countless examples of

46) and 47) W. Dzwonkowski, Uwagi o kwestii włościanstwie, rusztwie i żydowskiej z powodu obecnych wypadków, Warszawa 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 ("podnieśmy się cnotą"). The refusal to break with the old behavior pattern could endanger the position of the Jews in the future society ("jeżeli nie przestaniemy być tymi Żydami, jakimi nas znała Europa.. biada nam!") (49)

In the insurrectionary and early post-insurrectionary Polish literature the question of "uobywatelnienie" and "równouprawnienie" is linked to -- or totally identified with -- the Polonization 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.

48) J.I.Fraszewski, Żyd, Kraków 1960, pp.247, 215-216, 219, 254 and others.

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

50) On the vagueness and ambiguity of terminology relating to the "Jewish question" in 19th century Poland, see A.Eisenbach, "Die Judenemanzipation in den polnischen Gebieten im 19. Jahrhundert vor dem europäischen Hintergrund", in LEI Bulletin 68 (1984), pp.7-21

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, Fraszewski adds:

Bardzo być może, że umiejętność języka narodowego będzie w przyszłości warunkiem używania 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 works which outline their fu-

51) J.I.Fraszewski, Gazeta_Codzienna 90 (1862), as quoted in A.Zyga, op.cit., p.186 (emphasis mine). Przyborowski quotes other Warsaw newspapers calling for the Polonization of Jewish names, the replacement of Yiddish by Polish and the acceptance of Polish dress by the Jews. Przyborowski, op.cit. pp.213-214

ture relationship in a more concrete manner are authored by assimilated Polish Jews. H. Morzbach's "Do matki Izraelki", "Galilea" and, especially, "Równouprawienie" (Equal rights), a poem inspired by the demand for equal rights for the Jews, a demand submitted to the throne on February 26, 1861 (53), have by and large no equivalents authored by Polish writers.

52) J. Katz, Out of the Ghetto. The Social Background of Jewish Emancipation, 1770-1870, New York, pp. 57-79

53) I. Schipper, A. Tartalower, A. Haftla (eds.) Zydzi w Polsce odrodzonej, Warszawa, n.d., II, p.80

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 Przyslansly, Tra (Vistulaland). 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 siódla") 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 Orzeszłowa'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. Lalla's Wółulski 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 assimilation-

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.

Fraushar 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. Fraushar gave expression to disillusionment in a number of poems. (3)

Fraushar'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. Fraszewski deeply deplored what he perceived to be a shift in Jewish attitudes toward Poles. In Rachunki (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 łapuzę łrwi.. a zydzi ty-
 siącletnim doświadczeniem wyuczeni, dzwignęli się
 na trupach naszych. (...) Lecz jeżeli poświęcili
 nas i zrzekli się w godzinie czarnej, ratując się
 sami, zachwielili w nas wiarę i ostudzili miłość.
 (...) Faktem jest że w Królestwie Polskim żaden z
 ocalonych nie poda ręki tonącemu. Wygląda to na
 pewne zobowiązanie wobec rządu, do zbytlu sumien-
 nie wyłonane. Łra, jest w ręku Izraelitów, których
 rząd widocznie popiera, z braterstwa 1861 zostały

3) J. Shatzky, "Alexander Fraushar and his Road to Total Assimilation", YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science, New York 7 (1952), p.160

tylko wspomnienia, dla obu stron nie miłe. (...) Dziś w Królestwie my byśmy mogli prosić o równouprawnienie z Żydami, aleśmy pewni, że go nie otrzymamy. Gdy się im starzą ci 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./

Fraserzewski, 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 Fraserzewski'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 (Fraserzewski does not make the slightest mention of governmental reforms), "in principle" solved the

4) J.I.Fraserzewski, Rachunki z roku 1868, Poznań 1869, p.274

5) J.I.Fraserzewski, op.cit., p.273

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 Rachunki: Fraszewski'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 odziali 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), Fraszewski 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", Fraszewski wrote in a letter depicting the Polish society's response to Russian repressions,

wzięli się do robienia pieniędzy, tłumacząc sobie że kiedyś ojczyźnie jałmużę to posłużą. (8)

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

7) The Positivists repeatedly attacked Fraszewski'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, weaken family ties and... erode the national consciousness" wrote A.Świętochowski, ironically, in his review of J.I.Fraszewski's Dzieci wieku, in Przegląd tygodniowy 8 (1870); see also 45 (1870)

8) J.I.Fraszewski - T.Lenartowicz, Korespondencja, W.Daneł (ed.) Wrocław 1963, p.92, 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 obowiązywała konwencja pisania o Żydach pozytywnie lub wcale. Złożyło się na to kilka przyczyn. W wielu kręgach społecznych żywą była pamięć wzajemnego zbratania podczas demonstracji 1861/1862 r. Pamiętano jeszcze żydowskie nazwiska wśród słazhńców i zesłańców. Atmosfera zmieniła się o tyle, że czytająca publiczność niezbyt chętnie widziała anty-żydowskie wypowiedzi. Również cenzura nie była już im tak przychylna jak w czasie zatargu asymilatorów z Lesznowskim. Nie można było trytylować obowiązującego prawodawstwa, a więc dyskusja na temat emancypacji zarówno Żydów jak i chłopów była zamknięta. Wcale to nie znaczyło, iż konserwatyści zaaprobowali społeczne reformy carskie. Zaczęła się jednak nowa epoka. Ugrupowania zachowawcze wtręczyły w nią osłabione i zdeorientowane. (10)

9) R. Mahler, "Antisemitism in Poland" in I. S. Pinson (ed.) Essays on Antisemitism, New York 1946, pp. 173-174

/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, Narzymiski, Asnyk and Lubowski (the ideological evolution of the latter wri-

10) A.Cała, Spółeczeństwo polskie wobec programów i zjawiska asymilacji Żydów, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, U. of Warsaw, 1983, pp. 16-17. Cała emphasizes the lack of a clear dividing line between the positions of the conservative and Positivist camps in this stage of the debate on Jewish assimilation.

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, Prus).

For example, Asnył's drama Żyd, published in the same year as Orzeszłowa's Eli Małower, 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 "Icels, Mosiels, 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 się łochamy, (1886) hardly echoed the enthusiastically pro-assimilationist tone of his earlier Żyd (1868), the difference between M.Bałucki's liberal writings of the 1860s (Przechrzta, 1860), Żydówka (1868)) and his late anti-capitalist novels (W żydowskich rękach (In Jewish hands, 1884), Przełięte pieniądze (Damned money, 1899) and 250 000 (1882)) transcended the question of "tone". The anti-Semitic character of Bałucki's late writings is unquestionable. (13)

12) L.Niemojewski, "Postęp /Gawęda/", Kurier Warszawski, 78 (1876) p.1, as quoted in A.Cała, op.cit., p.19

13) T.Drewnowski, introduction to M.Bałucki, Pisma wybrane, I, Łódź 1965, pp. CVIII-CXII

Orzeszłowa's change of position on the Jewish question was clearly expressed in her essay O Żydach i kwestii żydowskiej (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 (O Żydach i nacjonalizmie żydowskim (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 1930 (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

II. POLISH-JEWISH RELATIONS, 1863-1914

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 cliché 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 Rola-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. Gruszecki's Litwackie mrowie (1910) (The Litval swarm) and K. Lastowski's (1911) Litwaki (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 fully developed ideology, which was to play an increasingly signi-

ficant 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).

15) S.D.Corrson, Political and Social Change in Warsaw from the January 1863 Insurrection to the First World War: Polish Politics and the 'Jewish Question', unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, U. of Wisconsin 1981, chapter VII, "Polish Politics and the 'Jewish question' in the 1912 Duma election", pp. 273-316

16) F.Golczewski, Polnisch-Jüdische Beziehungen 1881-1922, Wiesbaden 1981, p.120. Golczewski discusses the 1912 Duma election and the subsequent boycott in chapter VII, "Die Boykottbewegung", pp. 90-121

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. Gruszecki and T. Jeske-Choiński, 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 pozgonne", in *Prawda* 13 (1898); see also *Liberum veto*, *Prawda* 39 (1893). See also A. Dobrowolski, "Hlemens Junosza Szaniawski. Portret literacki", *Świat* 3 and 5 (1899); /M. Blumberg/ M.B., "Hlemens Junosza jako żydoznawca", *Israelita* 21 (1899); J. Muszłowski, "Typy żydów w literaturze polskiej", *Israelita* 17-19 (1911) and T. Jeske-Choiński, "Hlemensa Junoszy nowele i powieści żydowskie", in *Żyd 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, Orzeszkowa's Eli Malower (1874) and Meir Ezołowicz (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 przedpołaju swoich chlebobawców wyrzuciło na świat, słonczyły się arłady, siłe artyluły. Przełonano się, że obol ludzi zyjących z renty, która - jak wiadomo - bardzo podtrzymuje cnotę i wesołość, obol powaznych matron, niewinnych dziewic i czerstwych młodziehców z "niewymowną, gracją dosiadających bieguna", istnieje całkiem inna ludzłość. Świat parweniuszów i głodomordów, oszustów, morderców, złośliwych staruszek i młodych wszetecznic. Na tym oceanie biedy i walki na tły i pazury - dobry ton ze swoją obyczajnością, liberia i optymizmem tworzy zaledwie małą wysepłą, zresztą

wcale nie uwolnioną od zatrutego oddechu tłumów ani od tego, żeby któryś z jej mieszkańców nie stoczył się do wspólnej jamy. (18)

/From the moment when journalism poked its head out of the salons and antechambers of its sponsors and looked at the world around, the time of Arcadian articles was over. It became clear that, in addition to people living off their capital, which, as is generally known, helps keep up spirits and preserves virtue, in addition to serious matrons, innocent virgins and vigorous young men "gracefully mounting their steeds", there existed a different form of mankind: the world of parvenus and starvelings, of swindlers and murderers, of malicious old ladies and licentious young women. In this ocean of misery and bitter struggle for survival the world of good tone and good manners, with its livery and optimism, constituted only a tiny island. Moreover, this island was not beyond the reach of the poisonous breath of the crowds, and it occasionally happened that some of the island's inhabitants rolled down to the common den./

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 crystallized 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

18) B.Prus, Ironia, VII, Warszawa 1959, p.103, column published in Kurier Warszawski, 123 (1884)

to urban surroundings. The heavy emphasis on the Jews 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.Orzeszłowa 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:

19) E.Orzeszłowa, "O jednej z najpilniejszych potrzeb społeczeństwa naszego", in Niwa 25 (1873)

Niestety! Wielki złoty pozostał 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 ohydny zmorę, tuczając się potem maluczkich oraz mózgiem, nerwami i sercem bogaczy 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 collectivity, 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. F. Junosza-Szaniawski's *W pajęczynie sieci* (In a spider web, 1896), *Pod wodę* (The drowning, 1899) *Pająki* (The spiders, 1894), *Czarnobłoto. Pająki wiejskie* (Czarnobłoto. The rural spiders, 1895), F. Lastowski's *Zrosli z ziemią* (One with the land, 1913), *Pamiętnik eks-dziędzica z dopiskami eks-pachciarza* (Memoirs of a former landowner with comments by his former *arendarz*, 1904), A. Gruszecki's *Szachraj* (The cheats, 1899), *Dla miliona* (For the million, 1900), Reymont's *Ziemia obiecana*, (The promised land, 1899), T. Jes-

20) I. Matuszewski, "Przemysł w powieści", in *Ugodnik Ilustrowany* 48 (1899)

Ke-Choiński's Na straconym posterunku (On the lost outpost, 1891), M. Bałucki's W żydowskich rękach (In Jewish hands, 1884), Przełłete pieniądze (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 szłapa, (Our nag), a short story by M. Konopnicka, 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. Konopnicka depicts this petty merchant -- characteristically nicknamed Handel (trade) -- in an almost completely neutral fashion. In Nasza szłapa 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 Konopnicka 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_szlapa.

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 J. Junosza-Szaniawski, 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 Wilki, psy i 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 defence 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

(willa) nie istniał jeszcze antysemityzm, ale żydem pogardzali chrześcijanie już wtedy. Odtóż takie i podobne refleksje usposobiły mnie mniej, wrogo do mojej, ogarzycy. Pomyslałem był sobie: ja tu wymagać od zwierząt równouprawnienia, kiedy dla ludzi ono niedostępne. Niech mój wilk wczesnie pozna gorzkość życia cywilizowanego, niechaj ma w historii życia swego i tragiczne elementy (21).

/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. Dygasin'ski, *Wilki, psy i ludzie*, (1883) in *Wybór nowel*, Warszawa 1973, 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. Nałkowski's Węże_i_rose (Serpents and roses, 1913) and J. Weyssenhoff's Hetmani (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 Hetmani 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 (22).

At one pole we have Orzeszłowa's Eli Malower, a novel depicting the conflict of economic interests with a realism and explicitness rarely found in the Positivist romances of these. Ideological considerations, however, imposed an artificially happy ending on Orzeszłowa'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 "spi-

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.

22) H. Markiewicz, "The Dialectic of Polish Positivism", in Literary Studies in Poland. Etudes litteraires en Pologne, VI, The Positivism. Le Positivisme, Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków, Gdańsk, 1980, p.27

C H A P T E R F I V E

A F T E R M A T H

I. TERMINOLOGY AND SYMBOLS: THE DECLINE OF THE MACCABEES

"A bohaterscy Machabeusze,
Gdy ich przypadkiem los schwytał
Bez załężnienia oddadzą 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.Asnył'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.Asnył, "W lozy", in Zbiór poetów 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-

phetic to the Jews.

Thus the legendary colonel Bereł Joselewicz, the man whose heroic deeds inspired the pictures that decorated the walls of Mortko's tavern in Chrzęst polski, is introduced in W.Reymont's Reł 1794. Insurekcja (The insurrection of 1794, 1913-1918) as "Machabeusz" (Maccabee) and "trajowy 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 Przedpiele (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 belligerent and resentful Jewish socialists ("wojownicze typy z Bundu") (4).

2) W.Reymont, Reł 1794. Insurekcja, in Flama, XI, Warszawa 1980, p.194-195. The passage which focuses on Bereł'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, Przedpiele (1889), in Dzieła wybrane, II, Kraków 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 *Lilla* (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 Asnył wrote his poem -- the diary places this terminological evolution in the broader context of Polish-Jewish relations.

W ogóle, może od roku, uważam, że do starożytonych rosnie niechec; nawet ci, którzy przed kilkanaście laty nazywali ich Polakami możeszowego wyznania, dziś zważ ich Żydami. Zaś ci, którzy niedawno podziwiali ich pracę, wytrwałość i zdolności, dziś widzą tylko wyzysk i szachrajstwo. Słuchając tego myślę, że na ludzłość spada jakiś mrok duchowy podobny do nocy. W dzień wszystko jest ładne, wesołe i dobre; w nocy wszystko jest brudne i niebezpieczne. Tak sobie myślę ale milczę; bo coś może znaczyć sąd starego subiektu wobec głosu znfomitych publicystów, którzy dowodzą, że Żydzi krwii chrześcijaninie, używają na macę i że powinni być w prawach swoich ograniczeni. (5)

/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 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 clerk 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-

5) B. Prus, *Lilla*, II, Warszawa 1972, p.201

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 work, 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-

6) J.S.Łolodziej, Eliza Orzeszłowa's Feminist and Jewish Works in Polish and Russian Criticism, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Indiana University 1975, pp.311-313. See also J.Łolubinski, "Powiesci zydzowskie Elizy Orzeszłowej", Świat 1891 p.477; Cz.Janłowski, "Pan_Graba", Łra 80 (1891); H.Sienkiewicz, "Pan_Graba. Powieść p. Elizy Orzeszłowej", reprint from Przegląd Literacki in Dzieła, J.Łrzyzanowski (ed.), XLV, Szłice literackie I, Warszawa 1951 p.191

lowa'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 Orzeszłowa's interest in Jewish matters. For instance, she wrote to S.H.Feltyń, 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" ("niezmierne 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 Orzeszłowa's view of the Polish-Jewish alliance. Poles and Jews have to support each other in confronting the challenges of a future in which, Orzeszłowa 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.

Stworzyłam sobie takie wyobrażenie, że każdy naród posiada udzieloną sobie wyższą siłę i mądrość, pewne wyjątkne 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 dążeń całej ludzkości. Zgłoszę, przeznaczoną ludowi polskiemu jest wolność, izraelskiemu wiara w Jedyne Boga. Obie idee wielkie, do wcielenia

7) J. Detko, Orzeszłowa wobec tradycji narodowo-wyzwoleńczych, Warszawa 1965, p.40

tał trudne, że narody, które je w życie wprowadzają, przenosić muszą - męczeństwo. (...) Tała to wielka, zaczerpnięta z najwyższych dziedzin duchowych wspólność, widzę pomiędzy narodami tymi i w wielkie mnie zdziwienie wprawia, że wspólność ta dotąd nie zrodziła miłości. Musi w tym być trochę zobopólnej winy; jałimi by środkami zagładzić ją i w jedność ścisłą zład ludzi, których losy i zadania podobne i którzy wzajem tal są sobie potrzebni. (8)

/I 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./

In Orzeszłowa's first large-scale "Jewish" novel, Eli Małower (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 Małower, 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.

8) E.Orzeszłowa, letter to S.H.Peltyn from 12-24.04.1871, as quoted in: I. Butkiewiczowa, Powieści i nowele żydowskie Elizy Orzeszłowej, Lublin 1937, p.7

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 Ogniwu Orzeszkowa 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 Orzeszkowa'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 pereł spada na ziemię - rzekł - tyle też ludzkich spadło na moją głowę.. ale za to tyle też mnie, 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. Eli Malower's happy ending is attached somewhat artificially, to Orzeszłowa'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. Orzeszłowa 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 Orzeszłowa's novels, Mirtala (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. Orzeszłowa submitted Mirtala for publication in Flasza in

9) E.Orzeszłowa, Pan Graba (1869), Warszawa 1971, p.665. The incompatibility of interests is emphasized in A.Świętochowski's discussion of Pan Graba. /A.Świętochowski/, "Pan Graba, powieść w trzech częściach Elizy Orzeszłowej", in Przeгляд Tygodniowy 32 (1972) reprinted in A.Świętochowski, Wybór tekstów krytycznoliterackich, S.Sandler (ed.), Warszawa 1973 pp. 228

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, Łyży chose to delay Mirtala's publication for three years (10).

The journal's editors were hardly alone in interpreting Mirtala as Orzeszłowa'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 Mirtala'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 Mirtala as a purely "Jewish" work misread Orzeszłowa's intentions, which the author outlined in her letter to the publisher:

10) See J. Detło, "Narodowy aspekt kwestii żydowskiej u Elizy Orzeszłowej", in Biuletyn ŻIH, 40 (1961), p. 64; M. Ćmigródzka, "Eliza Orzeszłowa" in Literatura polska w okresie realizmu i naturalizmu, II, Warszawa 1966, p. 37; J. S. Polodzie, "Eliza Orzeszłowa's Feminist and Jewish Works in Polish and Russian Criticism", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Indiana University 1975, pp. 381-403

11) The most important exception here is the discussion of the novel in J. Łotarbiński's, "Mirtala. Powieść Elizy Orzeszłowej", Życie 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 Orzeszłowa's work.

Pod względem treści jest to naprzód walka dwóch narodów: podbitego i zwyciężonego, następnie walka cezaryzmu z republikaństwem; na koniec obraz niesprawiedliwości i gwałtów dołonywanych pod wpływem różnych pobudeł nad słabszymi i bezbronnymi, czyli przez zepsute i zbałamucony plebs rzymski nad wygnańczą, zgnębianą i bezbronną ludnością żydowską. (12)

/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 Orzeszłowa'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 Orzeszłowa'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 Orzeszłowa 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 Russifica-

12) E.Orzeszłowa, letter to Gebethner and Wolff of 04.09.1883 in Listy Zebrane, Wrocław 1954, I, p.126; see J.Detko, op.cit. pp.59-65 and Eliza Orzeszłowa, Warszawa 1971, pp.240-244

tion (17). 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 Polonization but which Orzeszłowa clearly classified as a negative phenomenon. Using the classical Jewish theme of the 1860s Orzeszłowa 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 Orzeszłowa's symbolic language, as applied to the circumstances of post-1864 Polish society, had become anachronistic by the middle of the 1880s.

13) This interpretation is followed by J. Detlo who argues that Mirtala was written less to combat anti-Semitism than to promote Polish nationalism. J. Detlo, Eliza Orzeszłowa, Warsaw 1971, pp.240-244. This view is shared by A. Calo, Spółczesność polskie wobec programów i zjawiska asymilacji 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. Bałucki's works on the January insurrection were among the earliest to make no use whatever of romantic clichés 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 *Comedia za kratką* (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). Bałucki's focus on the economic opportunities the 1863 war offered to the Jews occupies a prominent place in later accounts, and tends to gradually overshadow the question of their political loyalties.

Junosza-Szaniawski's novel *Na zgliszcach* (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 *Byli i będa* (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 *Rozdziobka nas łroki wrony*, *Wierna rzęła* and A. Strug's short stories.

15) T. Drewnowski notes that Bałucki's earliest criticism of the Jews came partly in reaction to their "commercial" attitude toward the uprising ("handlarskie podejście do sprawy powstanczej") 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.

Miasteczko w ogóle całe, złożone przeważnie z Żydów, było lojalne i, gdy pewnego dnia zostało zalane wojśkiem, upojonem rozbiciem partii po lasach, przyjęło to jako koniec zastoju w handlu i niepołogów. Rozpoczęły się krwawe widowiska, sądy i egzekucje, zwozenie i wywozenie podejrzanych. Żydzi złożyli wojennemu naczelnikowi gruby haracz (...) i handlowali, robiąc świetne interesy na łupach dworów zrabowanych i obdartych powstanców.
(16)

/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./

The town's Jews hurry to buy cattle confiscated during the brutal pacification of a petty noblemen'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, Pożary i zgliszcza (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 beda (1888), Wydawnictwo Rybitwa, n.d., p.11

the Jew corrupts a young peasant by means of alcohol, bribery and blackmail. In another episode in Pożary i zgliszcza 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 Szlice węglem (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.Łoszczyć's courageous Janłiel in W ogniu wolności (1886) 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 wyroczone Łoszczyć 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

"Maciek w powstaniu" (Maciek 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. Maciek threatens to burn down the tavern to prevent a possible denunciation by the Jew. While the Jewish support in Przed pod wielkiem was personified by the patriotic horse-smuggler, Kontrymowicz'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 Brzośła (1913) tells the story of the last rebel detachment, led by S.Brzośła, which held out in the countryside in Polesie until December 1864 (18). Wielopolska's portrayal of Brzośła 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 Brzośła's followers emphasizes the perfect harmony of all strata of Polish society united around their common goal: Poland's independence. In addition to Brzośła, who is a Catholic priest, we find among these

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

18) Rev. S.Brzośła (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 Brzośła 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 monks, a pious peasant Łosygnier (a veteran of the November uprising), and a freemason of French origin whose views are described as communist (1) (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, Kryja, O szescdziesiatym trzecim roku opowieść, Warszawa 1913, 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 nasi (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. Polak 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 Mogilla (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. Anczyk felt obliged to stress, in the intro-

21) M.J. Wielopolska, "Kapitan Lerbas", in Synogarlice, Warszawa, n.d., p. 108

duction to his Łościeszko pod Racławicami (Łościeszko 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 Słonecznik (The sunflower, 1883) the portrait of Łościeszko 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 "cosmopolitan" ways and becomes a sincere Polish patriot. Finally, in Sewer's (I. Maciejowski) Zyzma (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 questionable to the author. His doubts find a resounding echo in late nineteenth-century literature. While patriotically-minded Jewish characters, idealists who try to put Jewish life back on track, become less frequent in Polish fiction, villains involved in various "Jewish conspiracies" fill this vacuum.

22) L.W. Anczyk, Łościeszko pod Racławicami, in Zycie 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. Wolst's Mosiel, for instance, depicts the loyal friendship of Wladyslaw and Mojzesz, 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. Traszewski'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 Lalla (The Doll, 1890), a novel considered one of the masterpieces of Polish literature. One of Lalla'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 clerk, Rzecki. Rzecki, 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 Henryk 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 Wołulski. 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 Lalla's plot takes place, the signs of approaching "trouble with the Jews" continue to multiply. Rzecki'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, Rzecki'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 nieszczęście być starozałonnym.. W ogóle, może od rołu, uważam, że do starozałonnych rośnie niechęć; nawet ci, którzy przed kilkoma laty nazywali ich Polakami moźeszowego wyznania, dziś zważ ich Żydami. Zaś ci, którzy niedawno podziwiali ich pracę, wytrwałość i zdolności, dziś widzą, tylko wyzysk i szachrajstwo. Słuchając tego, czasem myślę, że na ludzłość spada jakiś mrok duchowy. W dzień wszystko było ładne, wesołe i dobre; w nocy wszystko jest brudne i niebezpieczne. Tak sobie myślę, ale milczę; bo cóż może znaczyć sąd starego subiektu wobec głosu znanych publicystów, którzy dowodzą, że Żydzi trwają chrześcijańskiej, używają na macę i że powinni być w prawach swoich ograniczeni. (..)

Taki stan rzeczy w osobliwy sposób oddziałuje na Szlangbauma. Jeszcze w rolu zeszłym człowiek ten nazywał się Szlangowstym, obchodził Wielkanoc i

Boże Narodzenie, i z pewnością najwierniejszy łatotolik nie zjadał tyle kiełbasy co on. Pamiętam, że gdy raz w kawiarni zapytano go:

- Nie lubisz pan lodów, panie Szlangowski?

Odpowiedział:

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

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

W początkach maja pierwszy raz przyszedł do Stacha /Wokulskiego - M.O/ z prośbą. Był bardziej słurczony i miał czerwiejsze oczy niż zwykle.

- Stachu - rzekł polornym głosem - utonę na Nalewkach, jeżeli mnie nie przygarniesz.

- Dlaczegoż od razu do mnie nie przyszedł? - spytał Stach.

- Nie śmiałem.. Bałem się, żeby nie mówili o mnie, że Żyd musi się wszędzie wtręcić. I dziś nie przyszedłbym, gdyby nie troska o dzieci.

Stach wzruszył ramionami i natychmiast przyjął Szlangbauma z pensją półtora tysiąca rubli rocznie.

Nowy subiekt od razu wziął się do roboty, a w pół godziny później, mruknął Lisiecki do Hlejna:

-Co tu, do diabła, tak czośnie zalatuje, panie Hlejnie?

Zaś w kwadrans później, już nie wiem z jakiej racji dodał:

-Jak te łanale Żydzi cisną się na łatowskie Przedmieście! Nie mogłoby parch, jeden z drugim, pilnować się Nalewek i Świętojerskiej?

Szlangbaum milczał, tylko drgały mu czerwone powieki.

Szczęściem, obie te zaczętki słyszał Wokulski. Wstał od biurła i rzekł tonem, którego, co prawda, nie lubię:

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

Lisiecki zmieszał się czując, że jego posada wisi na włosku. Ułonił się, coś mruknął, a wtedy Wokulski zbliżył się do Szlangbauma i uściskawszy go powiedział:

- Łochany Henryku, nie bierz do serca drobnych przycinków, bo my tu sobie po koleżeńsku czasem docinamy. Oświadczam ci także, że jeżeli opuścisz kiedy ten ślepek, to chyba razem ze mną.

Stanowisko Szlangbauma wyjaśniło się od razu; dziś mnie prędeż, coś powiedzą (ba! nawet zwymyśla,ą) niż jemu. Ale czy znalazł kto sposób przeciwko półświatłom, minom i spojrzeniom?.. A to wszystko

truje biedała, który mi nieraz mówi wzdychając:
 - Ach, gdybym się nie bał, że mi dzieci zżydzieją, jednej chwili uciełbym stąd na Nalewki..
 - Bo dlaczego, panie Henryku - spytałem go - raz się, do licha, nie ochrzczisz?..
 - Zrobiłbym to przed laty, ale nie dziś.. Dziś rozumiem, że jało Żyd jestem tylko nienawistny dla chrześcijan, a jało meches byłbym wstrętny i dla chrześcijan i dla Żydów. Trzeba przecie z kimś żyć. Zresztą - dodał ciszej, - mam pięcioro dzieci i bogatego ojca, po którym będę dziedziczyć.. Rzecz ciętawa. Ojciec Szlangbauma jest lichwiarzem, a syn, azeby od niego grosza nie wziął, bieduje po ślepiach jako subiekt. Nieraz w cztery oczy rozmawiam o nim z Lisiećim.
 - Za co - pytam - prześladowacie go? Wszakże on prowadzi dom na sposób chrześcijański, a nawet dzieciom urządza choinkę..
 - Bo on uważa - mówi Lisieći - że korzystniej, jać macę z kiełbasą, niż samą.
 - Był na Syberii, narażał się..
 - Dla geszeftu.. Dla geszeftu nazywał się też Szlangowśim, a teraz znowu Szlangbaumem, kiedy jego stary ma astmę.
 - Łpiliście - mówię - że stroi się w cudze piórka, więc wrócił do dawnego nazwiska.
 - Za które dostanie sto tysięcy rubli po ojcu - odparł Lisieći.
 Teraz i ja wzruszyłem ramionami i umilkłem. Żle nazywać się Szlangbaumem, źle Szlangowśim; źle być Żydem, źle mechesem.. Noc zapada, noc, podczas które, wszystko jest szare i podejrżane' (23)

/"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 clerk 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 Swietojska?"

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 Lisiecki: "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 Lisiecki, "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 Szlangowski 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," Lisiecki 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 Lalla's only Jew to re-examine his earlier cultural choices. Even the thoroughly Polonized Dr.Szuman faces similar dilemmas. Despite his total

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 Lalla'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 Henryk Szlangbaum's youth. In post-1864 Poland the Jews continued to modernize. Their assimilation into Polishness, however, suffered a serious setback (24).

But the veteran's story narrated by Frus does not end there. The year 1879 definitely ends the "Polish" episode in Henryk Szlangbaum'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 Wołulski'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 Lalla'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 clerk, Dr. Szuman asks:

Straszna rzecz! - odezwał się doktor. - Ci giną, wy wyjeżdżacie.. Któż 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 Lisieckis and Flejns 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. Pruszewski Fraushar bitterly contrasts the social climate of the Warsaw demonstrations with that of the late 1880s, the years when Prus wrote Lalla. 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, Jeleński (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 memoriału Komitetu Giełdowego w Warszawie z roku 1886", in Biuletyn ZIH, 109 (1979), p.75

25) B. Prus, Lalla, II, Warszawa 1972, p.485

Echoes of the social process which led to the shift in Henryk Szwankbaum's loyalties can be heard in other works of this period. For example, a young Galician Jew thrown out of a dance in Baluch's Młodzi 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.

Asnyk's play Zyd (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 Asnyk's discussion of the shift in the Polish perception of the Jew, a shift due to the Polish "unmasking" 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 gratitude" toward Weinberg go even further: his financial assistance has saved several characters from bankruptcy. Weinberg'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 misperceptions on the Polish side. The play's second scene already 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 honor, which the Poles naively believe to be genuine, is ridiculed 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.

Mogłbym go teraz zostawić własnemu 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 lapsus__linguae, 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

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 on1" (We and they) J. Hasprowicz 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 mock the noble ideals of "Eleazars and Maccabees" (27). The contrast between the ethos of the latter, on the one hand, and their degenerate descendance 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 Maccabee tradition which is propagated by Łasprowicz'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, Ł. 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:

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

27) Ł. Łasprowicz, "My i oni", in Dzieła wybrane, I, Łódź 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

28) Ł. Łasprowicz, "Lejbele", in Pisma zebrane I, Łódź 1973, pp. 515-519

i że starego Froima nie ma...

- Ży, pan jeszcze sto lat - rzekł wsiadając na wózek.

- Dziękuję za dobre słowo - odrzekł - ale co ja bym tu robił?

- Jał to?

- Z kim miałbym żyć, kiedy powiem panu, że już z dawnych czasów nic nie ma, nawet... i wstyd i smutno takie słowo powiedzieć.. dziś nawet Żydów, jał się należy, także 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 "Bereł 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 K. Junosza-Szaniawski's Szyzyf, A. Gruszecki's Dla miliona, F. Brodowski's Stracone liście 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.

30) K. Junosza, Froim (1888) in J. Fulczyła-Saloni, H. Mar-tiewicz, Z. Zabicki (eds.) Literatura polska w okresie realizmu i naturalizmu, II, Warszawa 1966, p. 336

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).

Orzeszkowa, 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 exclusivist, 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 impor-

31) A.Oppman, "Berel Jawor" in J.Tuwim (ed.) Łsiega wierszy pisarzy polskich 19 wieku, Warszawa 1954, p. 483

32) See introduction to A.Eisenbach, D.Fajnhauz, A.Wein, (eds.), Żydzi a powstanie styczniowe. Materiały i dokumenty, Warszawa 1963 p.8

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 żydowskiej 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 Anczyk's Abraham, the pro-Polish spy in Łościeszko 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-Choinski's Historia Żydów w Polsce (History of Jews in Poland, 1920), lengthy quotations from J.I.Łraszewski's Żyd provide the only "proof" of the anti-Polish

orientation of Jews in 1863. After introductory remarks that emphasize Traszewski's first-hand knowledge of Jewish matters, Jeske-Choiński 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 Zmierzch 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 Zacisze (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-

33) On Marylski's book as an example of the use of the "Jewish question" to re-write Polish history, see R. Mahler, "Antisemitism in Poland" in I. S. Finson (ed.) Essays on Anti-Semitism, New York 1946, pp. 136-138

34) A. Marylski, Dzieje sprawy żydowskiej w Polsce, Warszawa 1912, p. 136;

35) S. Laudyn-Chrzanowska, Sprawa światowa, Żydzi Polną Ludzkość, Poznań 1923, pp. 21.

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

37) H. Rolicki Zmierzch Izraela, Warszawa 1933, pp. 328-331. For the conspiracy theory see also J. Giertych, Tragizm losów Polną, 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 Mickiewicz's figure of Jan Ariel (a symbol of Jewish participation in Polish life) and the Positivist ideals of "tolerance and humanism".

- Zawsze Żyd jest częścią naszego kraju..
 - Było.. było.. cymbalistów wielu ale nikt nie śmiał zagrać.. przy Jan Arielem.. /cytat z Pana Tadeusza/ - wtrącił Izyska - najważniejsze rzeczy rozwiązuje się u nas w ten sposób. Ustępstwa, zgoda, cierpliwość, humanizm, tolerancja.. Ale doład my się podziemy, 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 Jan Ariel's presence" /quotation from Mickiewicz'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 Awakening, 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 narkotyzującą piosenką o asymilacji żydowskiej, wpatrzona w bezkrwisty ideał zgody polsko-żydowskiej, do ostatniej chwili śniła idyllę 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./

Słodką nadzieją butnych Żydów (...) że ten dziki i barbarzyński bojkot krzywdzący lud wybrany wkrótce się skończy, nadzieją tą 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 nowelę 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 Orzeszkowa'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".

Tak, Chawo, mogłaś karmić swoje dzieci chlebem mego kraju, ale że w moim kraju chcesz być władczynią; że osmielasz się Polsce zaprzeczać polskości, że na łazdym łrofu urągasz prawom gospodarza polskiego na polskiej ziemi; że nie chcesz, aby stolica Polski wybrała po polsku czującego posia; że posyłasz do Dumy, na urągowisko patriotyzmu polskiego, socjalistę; że rzucasz nam zuchwałe wyzwania: "nie wy lecz ja rządę tym krajem" - my tego, Chawo, przebaczyć ci nie możemy! Nie przebaczone! Bojłot wzrastał z łazdym dniem, z łazdą godziną. Jak pod dotknięciem różdżki czarodziejkiej, wyrastały ślepy polskie. Z głębi łuf-rów, z łajnych łtryteł wyciągali biedacy zaoszczędzone na czarną godzinę pieniądze i tworzyli spółki, byle tylko odżydzić 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

40) J. Baudouin de Courtenay, W sprawie żydowskiej, Odczyt wygłoszony w Warszawie, 7 lutego 1913, Warszawa 1913

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.Konopnica's story Mendel_Gdański 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 "W kwestii żydowskiej" (On the Jewish question, 1913), was in fact an extra-literary commentary on the literary situations depicted in Konopnica'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 Załon nie 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 szansę korzystać z wolności, jesteśmy niżsi, dużo niżsi od naszych poprzedników którzy za nią tylko.. umierali lub szli na Syberię! Miły Boże, gdzie myśmy się nie spotylali z Żydami w 1863. I w salach obrad, i w łóżalach spisłowych, i w łósciołach i w więzieniach i na placach potyczek i na etapach, i pod szubienicami. [dopiero trzeba było pojawienia się "prawdziwych demokratów", żeby już dawniej, nadpsute stosunki zabagniły się po szyję.

(41)

//In 1862/ The Old Covenant did not prevent them /the Jews/ 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 z których może pierwsze upadło w nie ziarno miłości do wszelkich bez wyjątku mieszkańców naszego kraju. (...) Wspaniałe aspiracje i dążenia chwili owej, pozarł smutek czasów późniejszych, utonęły one w morzu ciemności i flesz wszelkich, które na nas wtedy spłynęło i do tej

41) B.Frus, *Lroni* (1905-1906), XVIII, Warszawa 1968, p. 315

pory przybiera ciągle. Nic dziwnego, że z gardzie-
li tego mrołu, z fal ciemnego morza wyłaniają się
potwarze tańce jał ta Judenhetz warszawska." /t.j.
rozruchy antyżydowskie w 1881 r./ (42)

/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 inhabi-
tants 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 Jew-
ish aspirations.

!toby w te, ideologii /t.j. pozytywistyczne,
ideologii asymilacji/ chciał widzieć naiwny i
szłodliwy optymizm niech sobie uprzytomni, że wte-
dy nie było ani syjonistów, ani bundystów, ani
międzynarodowych intrygantów i szłodników żydow-
skich, ani dowodów nieprzyjaźni i zdrady, było
natomiast wielu szczerych 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 ideolo-
gy /i.e., the assimilationist ideology of Polish
Positivism/ a naive and harmful optimism must rea-
lize that at that time there were no Zionists, no
Bundists, no international Jewish intriguers and
trouble-makers, and no proof of hostility and be-
trayal. Instead, there were many sincere Polish
patriots and the unenlightened and culturally

42) E.Orzeszłowa's letter to Malwina Blumberg, 28.01.1887,
as quoted by J.Detko, 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 cliché 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 reb w sercu wiecznie świeżą ranę
 Jego Eli śpi w dalekiej ziemi,
 Tam gdzie łosćci łatolicie leżą,
 Razem z łosćmi leżą zydowskiemi.

43) A. Świętochowski, Z wspomnień in Wiadomości Literackie 51-52 (1930) p.4.

Zgasł mój, Eli ja! świeca zdmuchnięta
 Tałą ładną śmierć dał mu Jehowa
 Pan dobrodzie, Majzelsa pamięta^o
 Pan dobrodzie, nie widział Jastrowa^o

Dobre czasy! Wtedy Żyd był bratem
 Całkiem jasno pozna pan - z cmentarza.
 Coś się złego zrobiło ze światem
 Pan dobrodzie, tego nie uważa^o

I blaś dziwny twarz wypięłsza zmięta
 I z ocz Żyda łapią łzy ogromne.
 "O, to było święto, wielkie święto
 Ja do grobu tego nie zapomnę." (46)

/There is a never-healed wound in the rebbe'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^o/ Didn't you see Jastrow, sir^o/
 Weren't those the good old times, when the Jew was a bro-
 ther^o/ You will see this clearly in a cemetery./ Something
 wrong happened to the world/ don't you think so, sir^o/ 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 trybun was intended to
 be an appeal for national support for the Piłsudski-led
 struggle for Poland's independence. Wielopolska was closely
 associated with Piłsudski's legion on the eve of the First
 World War. J.Ładziela, "Maria Jehanne Wielopolska", in Ł.Wy-
 ła, A.Hutniakiewicz, M.Fuchalska (eds.), Literatura okresu
Młodej Polski, III, Łódź 1973, 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-
 owskie w czasie drugiej wojny światowej", Biuletyn ŻIH, 28
 (1958) p.14.

 45) For example, Corrsin quotes this cliché 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

 46) A.Oppman, *Op.cit*, p.483

C O N C L U S I O N S

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 folklorization 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 clichés 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 1867 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 Janekiel

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_ladeusz'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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