
Folia Historica Cracoviensia

*The Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow
Faculty of History and Cultural Heritage*



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COVER PHOTO

Employees of the photographic archive of the Central Office for the Inventory of Monuments of Art at the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment, Warsaw 1937 (National Digital Archive, Poland)

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Are we family? On the scientific connections between archivists and bibliologists, and information scientists

Archival science, bibliography, and information science are not considered independent scientific disciplines today. In its earliest days, archival science was considered as merely a science auxiliary to history. In Poland, it began to be treated differently in the 1970s,¹ and as much as it has gained autonomy in the scientific circles, it has failed to free itself from the auxiliary character in popular perception and official approach. Bibliology and information science have lost their autonomy to social communication and media sciences.² However, that formal complication should make no impact on expanding the academic horizons or establishing and strengthening the extant connections between the disciplines.

Surprising as it may seem, the connection between archival science and information sciences has its roots in treating the first as an auxiliary science for historians. It is so as archivists were supposed to “organise

1 W. Chorążyczewski, *Zachęta do archiwistyki*, Toruń 2022, p. 38.

2 Rozporządzenie Ministra Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego z dnia 20 września 2018 r. w sprawie dziedzin nauki i dyscyplin naukowych oraz dyscyplin artystycznych, Dz.U. [“Dziennik Ustaw” = Journal of Laws] 2018, item 1818.

a collection of sources for a historian, introduce a particular order into that collection, and furnish a historian with tools allowing to browse for information within that collection”.³ Paying such a particular attention to informing about the collections (resources) became a standard in the two decades between the two world wars.⁴ The vast variety of the forms, content, and organic links in the archival resources gathered makes the description of archive material complicated and (even today) hinders the development of a uniform system of archival information accurately mirroring the structure of the resource⁵ and allows for effective retrieval of desired information. As much as informing about a collection quite naturally placed archival science in the realm of information science problems, it is not the only tangential point, which I shall try to prove/demonstrate in my text.

The research method that made it possible to follow the evolution of relationships between the scholars was the analysis of Polish literature, primarily on archives and to a lesser extent on information science. The texts used for gathering data concerned two questions: the informative character of archival science and archival theory. I have also paid attention to the scholarly works of selected researchers associated with the subject in question in the realm of archival science, who are mentioned in the article below. The chronological scope of the study spans the years from 1927 to 2022, that is the period from the publication of the first volume of *Archeion* journal to our time.

This article is an introduction to further studies on the mutual impact of researchers in the fields in question. An archivist myself,⁶ I first took a closer look at the impact of information sciences on archival science. This text contains reflections on thus defined research problem and conclusions resulting from the analysis of scholarly literature I conducted.

In 1937, „Przegląd Biblioteczny” published an article by Marian Łodyński, a librarian and historian, entitled *Archiwiści i bibliotekarze*

3 W. Chorążyczewski, *Zachęta do archiwistyki*, p. 37.

4 Zob. R. Przelaskowski, *Program prac wewnętrznych w archiwach nowożytnych*, Warszawa 1935, p. 32.

5 B. Ryszewski, *Problemy komputeryzacji archiwów*, Toruń 1994, p. 11.

6 Theoretician archivist, see: W. Chorążyczewski, *Metodologia archiwistyki. Archiwistyka między nauką a refleksją*, in: *Archiwistyka na uniwersytetach, archiwistyka w archiwach*, ed. by W. Chorążyczewski, A. Rosa, Toruń 2009, pp. 191–192 (Toruńskie Konfrontacje Archiwalne, 1).

(literally: *Archivists and librarians*). The text was a pretext for a dispute initiated by Wojciech Hejnosz, working for the Lviv archive.⁷ The dispute started with Łodyński stating that

materials, methods of their processing, individual scholarly work of individual archivists and librarians, as well as the scholarly work of external researchers who do not discriminate between various groups of archival and library materials—have resulted in the convergence of the development paths of the two groups of institutions and their staff.⁸

The exchange of views primarily concerned the understanding of the public utility of archives. In the first polemical article, Wojciech Hejnosz tried to point out the largest possible number of differences between the operation of the two institutions and the specificity of work of librarians and archivists. He emphasised that “the greater this connection and similarity the greater the distance you observe them from, the more superficially you treat them”.⁹ The researcher saw no need to close the scholarly and professional ties between the two professional groups, and was not alone in this view. He also found support among librarians. In 1929, Helena Więckowska argued in „Przegląd Biblioteczny” that even as much as research work in an archive can be a natural consequence of a query started in the library, the two institutions should not be considered identical. The different character of the collections they store as well as the different methods of their ordering and cataloguing prove the distinctiveness of those institutions.¹⁰ A view repeated by Bogdan Horodyski after the Second World War. Opposing the position of Marian Łodyński, he stated that

7 See: M. Łodyński, *Archiwiści i bibliotekarze*, “Przegląd Biblioteczny” 11 (1937) No. 4, pp. 279–288; W. Hejnosz, *Kilka uwag o archiwistach i bibliotekarzach*, “Archeion” 15 (1937–1938), pp. 65–74; M. Łodyński, *Czy archiwa są instytucjami “publicznej użyteczności naukowej”?*, “Przegląd Biblioteczny” 12 (1938) No. 2, pp. 103–106; W. Hejnosz, *Jeszcze o archiwach, bibliotekach i ich publicznej użyteczności naukowej*, “Archeion” 16 (1938–1939), pp. 85–94.

8 M. Łodyński, *Archiwiści i bibliotekarze*, p. 286.

9 W. Hejnosz, *Kilka uwag o archiwistach*, p. 66.

10 H. Więckowska, *Archiwum a biblioteka. Odmiennosc materiału i metod pracy*, “Przegląd Biblioteczny” 3 (1929) No. 1, p. 14.

the organisational integration of librarians and archivists was based on false premises. They were derived from a traditionalist understanding of the functions of the archive and the library as collections-making institutions.¹¹

In the early post-war years, archival science was primarily construed an auxiliary science for history. Referring to the work on the first edition of the Polish dictionary of archival terminology, Kazimierz Konarski, a doyen of archival science in Poland, explained that the term “informacja” (i.e. “information”) was rejected by the terminological committee as being too general, neutral, and not particularly archivist. Consequently, the dictionary contained no terms connected to information.¹²

Ryszard Przelaskowski was an archivist who noticed similarities between the disciplines in question. As early as 1956, he compared library science to archival science, and believed that, even though both were derived from humanities, they were of purely empirical nature,¹³ and archives and libraries were to continue as information institutions.¹⁴ After the war, Przelaskowski “changed his allegiance” as he started working for the Public Library of Warsaw,¹⁵ which quite likely contributed to the development of such an opinion.

In the 1960s, Henryk Altman published a text that can be considered part of the discourse on distinguishing the operation of archives, libraries, museums, and documentation centres, that never referred to their informative character. The article was written as a follow-up of the 8th International Archival Round Table Conference in Madrid. The text allows the conclusion that Altman emphasised the existence of the problem in many countries without, however, mentioning Poland, for which reason it remains unclear whether such discussions continued in his

11 B. Horodyski, *Z pogranicza bibliotekarstwa i archiwistyki*, “Przegląd Biblioteczny” 24 (1956) No. 3, p. 201.

12 K. Konarski, *Terminologia archiwalna i jej problemy*, “Archeion” 18 (1948), p. 75.

13 R. Przelaskowski, *O kadrach bibliotekarskich w bibliotekach naukowych*, “Przegląd Biblioteczny” 24 (1956) No. 1, pp. 24–36.

14 R. Przelaskowski, *Próba definicji biblioteki naukowej*, “Przegląd Biblioteczny” 24 (1956) No. 4, p. 299.

15 M. Cołbecka, *Informacyjny wymiar archiwistyki w myśli Ryszarda Przelaskowskiego*, “Archiwista Polski” (2016) No. 3, p. 26.

country as well. He focused on what and how the listed institutions gather, glossing over the issue of providing access to information.¹⁶

Analysing the scientific literature, one can draw a conclusion that, until the 1960^s, both the research groups had focused on highlighting differences between themselves, which stemmed from the nature of the gathered collections and methods of work. The few who recognised the shared areas of operation focused on the issues of providing access, user services, and belonging to information institutions.

The convergence between archivists and representatives of library studies and academic information in Poland occurred in the 1970^s, marking the start of the heyday of mutual relationships. The period can be defined as a turning point in construing the information role of archives on both institutional and academic planes.

The first of them included the inclusion of archives in the national system of scientific, technical, and economic information (SINTE) by the Resolution No. 35 of the Council of Ministers of 12 February 1971.¹⁷ The system was supervised by the Centre for Scientific, Technical, and Economic Information (in Polish: Centrum Informacji Naukowej, Technicznej i Ekonomicznej, also known as Centrum INTE), a body that was responsible for programming, planning, coordination of the system, and the control of its development and operation.¹⁸ The system itself was a complex construct that underwent further transformations. The network was intended to comprise three sections: information centres, libraries, and state and factory archives.¹⁹ The general intention behind including archival institutions in the network was to enhance the efficiency of use

16 H. Altman, *Archiwa. Ośrodki dokumentacyjne. Biblioteki. Muzea. Stosunki wzajemne. Próby rozgraniczenia*, "Archeion" 38 (1962), pp. 7–11.

17 Archiwum Zakładowe Naczelnej Dyrekcji Archiwów Państwowych (henceforth: AZ NDAP), Ref. No. 89/1, n. pag., Pismo z 11 kwietnia 1972 roku NDAP L. Chajna do Ministra NSWiT prof. dr Jana Kaczmarka (Letter of 11 April 1972 from NDAP's L. Chajna to the Minister of Science, Higher Education, and Technology, Professor Jan Kaczmarek).

18 AZ NDAP, Ref. No. 206/23, *Kierunki rozwoju informacji naukowej, technicznej i ekonomicznej. Synteza. Materiały na XIV Krajową Radę Przedstawicieli Placówek Informacyjnych*, Warszawa 1974, p. 1.

19 W. Chlistowski, *Organizacja systemu informacji naukowej, technicznej i ekonomicznej w Polsce (1971–1991)*, "Archeion" 91 (1993), p. 100.

of the information they had gathered in catering for the needs of the economy and the academia.²⁰

A year later archival service began to be organised as one of the sections of SINTE. On 8 November 1972, the College of the Ministry of Science, Higher Education, and Technology passed the resolution that obliged the authorities of the archival institutions to organise the Centre for Archival Information by 1 January 1973.²¹ It was established by the Head Office of the State Archives.²² The operation of the centre was primarily intended to serve highest efficiency in informing users about the resources. According to Leon Chajna, at the time the Managing Director of the Head Office of the State Archives, the goal was to be achieved by providing precise and exhaustive information while minimising the wait time. Information was meant to be active and not passive, which meant that it should not “wait” being stored and waiting for being discovered by chance.²³

The INTE Centre was intended to provide top-to-bottom coordination of the information activity conducted previously by the institutions that had previously duplicated their work and applied a great variety of methodological solutions.²⁴ However, the operation of the system was from the start burdened with many problems, and cooperation between the individual silos could be illusory.²⁵ The INTE Centre did not survive the systemic changes as in 1990 it was replaced by the Centre for Processing Information (Polish: Ośrodek Przetwarzania Informacji, OPI) operating

20 AZ NDAP, Ref. No. 89/1, n. pag., Pismo z 11 kwietnia 1972 roku NDAP L. Chajna do Ministra NSWiT prof. dr Jana Kaczmarka.

21 AZ NDAP, syg. 89/9, n. pag., Pismo NDAP L. Chajna z 23 I 1973 roku do Ministra NSWiT prof. dr Jana Kaczmarka (Letter of 23 January 1973 from NDAP's L. Chajna to the Minister of Science, Higher Education, and Technology, Professor Jan Kaczmarek).

22 H. Barczak, *Wybrane zagadnienia informacji archiwalnej*, Warszawa 1975, p. 26.

23 AZ NDAP, Ref. No. 89/1, n. pag., Pismo z 11 kwietnia 1972 roku NDAP L. Chajna do Ministra NSWiT prof. dr Jana Kaczmarka.

24 H. Barczak, *Informacja o aktualnej strukturze systemu informacji naukowej, technicznej i ekonomicznej w Polsce*, “Informatyka i Archiwa” (1973) No. 6, p. 30.

25 AZ NDAP, Ref. No. 206/23, Problemy integracji działalności placówek informacyjnych w ramach ogólnokrajowego systemu informacji naukowej, technicznej i ekonomicznej (Referat na XIV Krajową Radę Przedstawicieli Placówek Informacyjnych w dniu 25 kwietnia 1974 r.), Warszawa, April 1974, p. 2.

as a research and development unit operating in the structure of the Committee for Scientific Research (KBN).²⁶

The actual impact that the cooperation of libraries and archives under SINTE made on those institutions requires further in-depth research. Certainly, in archival science these actions helped to expand the research area. During the 14th National Congress of Information Scientists, suggestions to undertake specific steps aimed at integration of institutions conducting informative work were made. Centres of scientific, technical, and economic information, libraries, and archives were mentioned in its context.²⁷ Did they have a bearing on the actual operation of archives? This is how Andrzej Biernat defined the purpose of establishing the Archival Information Centre (Centralny Ośrodek Informacji Archiwalnej, COIA):²⁸ “it was established in the atmosphere of illusion, characteristic of the ‘early Gierek’ period, a great interlinked information system could successfully be built on a national scale, with space also envisaged for archival information”.²⁹

The COIA operated until 2008.³⁰ The scope of its operation included information activity encompassing gathering, processing, and providing access to source information about archival materials held in the archives of the state network of archives, and programming, organising, and coordinating that activity.³¹ Currently, these tasks are divided between three organisational units of the Head Office of the State Archives. According to its organisational regulations, the Department of Archival Activity

26 W. Pindlowa, K. Materska, *Informacja naukowa*, in: *Encyklopedia książki*, vol 1: *Eseje A–J*, ed. by A. Żbikowska-Migoń, M. Skalska-Zlat, Wrocław 2017, p. 721.

27 Z. Kolankowski, *Archiwa wobec SINTO*, “Archiwista” 14 (1978) No. 3–4, p. 1.

28 In 1985, Ośrodek Informacji Archiwalnej was transformed into the Centralny Ośrodek Informacji Archiwalnej, see: AZ NDAP, Ref. No. 431/14, Resolution No. 28 of the Minister of Science and Higher Education of 6 September 1985 regarding the establishment of the Central Hub for Archival Information (COIA), pp. 52–53.

29 A. Biernat, *O pracach Centralnego Ośrodka Informacji Archiwalnej*, “Archiwista” 29 (1995) No. 89, p. 15.

30 The Head Office of the State Archives was reorganised under the authority of the statute of 13 June 2008, quoted from: J. Krochmal, *Rola Zakładu Naukowego Archiwistyki NDAP w rozwoju polskiej metodyki archiwalnej*, in: *Archiwistyka na uniwersytetach, archiwistyka w archiwach*, ed. by W. Chorążyczewski, A. Rosa, Toruń 2009, p. 53 (Toruńskie Konfrontacje Archiwalne, 1).

31 A. Biernat, *O pracach Centralnego Ośrodka*, p. 16.

Popularisation is responsible for activities promoting knowledge about archival materials and archives, and information activity in the area,³² the Department of Archival Science is responsible for matters from the realm of archival information, and Department of Computerization of the State Archives is responsible for computerisation and digitisation.³³

The 1970^s marked the flourishing of academic activity of archival scientists in the field of their connections with information science. It was the time when the researchers who remain most strictly associated with this research current in archival science, such as Henryk Barczak, Stanisław Nawrocki, Czesława Włodarska, Bogdan Kroll, Andrzej Igielski, and Maciej Gołombiowski published their works.³⁴

Kazimierz Arłamowski's article on the nature and definition of archival science (1970) demonstrated the significant changes in the perception of the discipline by archival scientists themselves.³⁵ The researcher explained that archival science no longer demonstrated auxiliary character towards history but was an independent discipline that, moreover, was valuable and necessary for the society. He emphasised that information is important in the operation of archives. The article of Leon Chajm published in 1971 continued that line of argumentation. Its author pointed to the problem of adapting information about archival resources to the requirements imposed by the increasingly diverse users.³⁶ Chajm believed that archives were not isolated in their operation. Turning towards the

32 The Rules and regulations of the Head Office of State Archives (NDAP), § 16, p. 2, <https://sip.lex.pl/akty-prawne/dzienniki-resortowe/regulamin-organizacyjny-naczelnej-dyrekcji-archiwow-panstwowych-35754987> (Jun 28, 2023).

33 The Rules and regulations of the Head Office of State Archives (NDAP), § 12, p. 7.

34 See e.g.: H. Barczak, *Wybrane zagadnienia informacji archiwalnej*, Warszawa 1975; H. Barczak, S. Nawrocki, C. Włodarska, *Zagadnienia informacji naukowej w archiwach państwowych*, "Archeion" 56 (1971), pp. 33–49; M. Gołombiowski, *Potrzeby informacyjne użytkowników informacji archiwalnej*, "Zagadnienia Informacji Naukowej" (1979) No. 1, pp. 85–110; A. Igielski, *Potrzeby informacyjne indywidualnych użytkowników dokumentacji archiwalnej. Zakres i metody badań*, "Archiwista" 15 (1979) No. 1–2, pp. 25–34; B. Kroll, *Charakter i perspektywy tradycyjnego i archiwalnego systemu wyszukiwania informacji*, "Archeion" 65 (1977), pp. 61–84; B. Ryszewski, *Archiwistyka. Przedmiot—zakres—podział (studia nad problemem)*, Warszawa—Poznań—Toruń 1972.

35 K. Arłamowski, *Archiwistyka, jej natura i definicja*, "Archeion" 53 (1970), pp. 7–26.

36 L. Chajm, *Rola państwowej służby archiwalnej*, "Archeion" 56 (1971), p. 18.

scientific nature and the achievements of other information sciences was considered a proper course of action:

some of us are sometimes likely to underestimate our prior works concerning the preparation of scientific information. It is not true that only now do we embark on laying the foundations for the scientific information base. Such a foundation had been laid long ago, and denial of that fact would be tantamount to undere-
stimating and discrediting many years of scientific achievement of Polish archi-
vists. That referred to different, new methods, to making the means more scien-
tific, and to ensuring maximum information while storing minimum materials.³⁷

A characteristic feature of literature from the time were strong tendencies to establish archival science as an independent science. Possibly, the means to achieve this was to pay attention to its connections to other social and information sciences. This was done by drawing from theoretical and methodological findings of those disciplines. One can even have an impression that in that way archival scientists were liberating themselves from under the wings of the historians, showing that their research framework was not solely based on history. That tendency is visible in the works of two researchers: Bogdan Kroll and Henryk Barczak. The former recognised that the problem considered valid by his contemporary archival scientists could be approached in a different manner, and concluded that the obstacles encountered can be addressed in a manner proper for information activity, with its proper terminology. He did not, however, go as far as to propose replacing archival terminology with a new one, choosing just to confront them to facilitate “mutual understanding and agreement”.³⁸ Henryk Barczak wrote in a similar vein, classifying, among others, archival science and bibliology among the disciplines developing in the field of information sciences that share certain common traits.³⁹ He, furthermore, emphasised the dynamics of change that took place in his contemporary archival science, the changes that primarily affected the planes of theory, methods, and research techniques.⁴⁰

The 1980^s were the time when archival science constituted itself fully among information sciences. In his text on archival concepts, Tadeusz

37 L. Chajń, *Rola państwowej służby archiwalnej*, p. 19.

38 B. Kroll, *Charakter i perspektywy*, p. 62.

39 H. Barczak, *Archiwistyka a cybernetyka*, “Archeion” 67 (1979), p. 84.

40 H. Barczak, *Archiwistyka a cybernetyka*, p. 79.

Grygier supported these tendencies. He believed that archival science had expanded its scope, and the information tasks of archives were becoming a pressing issue. He defined “information” as “processing, selection, dissemination, and use of content of evidentiary and documentary sources”,⁴¹ which, using the theory and research techniques and tools of scientific information, Maciej Gołombiowski described as a system of archival information.⁴² To date, it has been Bohdan Ryszewski who has described the links between archival science and scientific information most extensively. A decade earlier, he demonstrated the autonomy of archival science,⁴³ to indicate in 1985 that this science can expand to cover research issues, develop its terminology, and expand its set of research methods used by embracing the ones he applied in scientific information. In this way, archival science can become a new research platform for information science. Furthermore, Ryszewski presented an archive as a system in a novel way, as he pointed to the elements and processes taking place in archival information systems, with a special focus on the system of archival information.⁴⁴

As much as the 1980s can be called the period of maturity in researching the information quality of archival science, the 1990s should be called the “the decade of decline”. Maciej Gołombiowski discontinued research, his only publication on the subject from the time being *Wprowadzenie do informacji naukowej dla archiwistów* (literally *Introduction to scientific information for archivists*).⁴⁵ Continuing his scientific interest, Bohdan Ryszewski moved to issues related to computerisation of archives and the standard of archival description.⁴⁶ Others followed in their footsteps and discontinued research, perhaps considering the subject exhausted.

The dawn of the 21st century welcomed archivists with challenges related to the establishment of a new “archival worldview”. At the time, the dynamic democratisation of the society, which began to require

41 T. Grygier, *W sprawie definiowania pojęć archiwalnych*, in: *Problemy historii i archiwistyki*, ed. by T. Mencil, Lublin 1986, p. 276.

42 M. Gołombiowski, *System informacji archiwalnej*, Warszawa–Łódź 1985, pp. 81–83.

43 B. Ryszewski, *Archiwistyka*, pp. 42–52.

44 B. Ryszewski, *Problemy i metody badawcze archiwistyki*, Toruń 1985, pp. 104–158.

45 M. Gołombiowski, *Wprowadzenie do informacji naukowej dla archiwistów*, Toruń 1991.

46 B. Ryszewski, *Problemy komputeryzacji archiwów*, p. 11.

accurate and promptly delivered information from information institutions made a profound impact on the role of archives. The Internet and widespread virtual access to collections were at the same time the cause and the result of mutual convergence of information institutions, at least in public space. Similarly, archival science underwent transformation in its capacity of a science, as it became anthropologised, not unlike other information sciences. Early in the 21st century, in *Archival Science*, Angelika Menne-Haritz proclaimed the reformulation of the archival paradigm, bringing user's access to information to the fore of all archival activities.⁴⁷ Daria Nałęcz emphasised that information plays a special role in the information society. She asked the question about the fields of study in which institutions of higher education should provide education to individuals intending to manage knowledge and education. The researcher pointed to such academic disciplines as management, information technology, scientific information, and archival science.⁴⁸ Both researchers pointed out that archives physically store archival materials, however, fulfilling their function in the society, they deal with gathering information, including potential information, and enabling browsing through it. In turn, Waldemar Chorążyczewski emphasised that although archival science is a complex system, "its most profound essence is to serve the overarching purpose, namely storage of data for the purpose of making it available—a layer that is enduring and, as our civilisation and archives continue, also timeless".⁴⁹ This wraps up the opinions quoted above: archives are institutions that store material creations. The purpose of their existence is to share not the source but the information it contains. It is only the user who can evaluate the value of information.

What is the nature of the mutual relations in our time? Only few researchers embark on studies that make use of the achievements of both theoretical and methodological science. Their number includes Justyna

47 A. Menne-Haritz, *Dostęp do archiwów, czyli przeformułowanie archiwalnego paradygmatu*, "Archeion" 104 (2002), pp. 68–95 (article originally published in: "Archival Science" 1 (2001)).

48 D. Nałęcz, *Archiwistyka—nowa czy stara dyscyplina nauki?*, "Archeion" 105 (2003), p. 9.

49 *Stan i perspektywy komputeryzacji archiwów polskich. Dyskusja odbyta w Toruniu 12 VI 2001 z udziałem Eugeniusza Borodija, Waldemara Chorążyczewskiego, Andrzeja Jabłońskiego, Henryka Krystka, Marka Kuczyńskiego i Bolesława Rassalskiego*, "Archiwista Polski" 6 (2001) No. 3–4, p. 125.

Adamus-Kowalska, Agnieszka Długosz-Pysz, Wanda Krystyna Roman, Agnieszka Rosa, and the author of this article.⁵⁰ It is also worthwhile to mention the academic seminars organised regularly as *Symposia Archivistica*, which are often devoted to the issue of information quality of archival science.⁵¹ Recently, Agnieszka Długosz-Pysz has perceived the need for interpenetration of “trends” in Poland. Representatives of bibliography and information science consider the archive as the venues where the information processes that both the disciplines should be interested in takes place.⁵²

What brings the researchers representing the disciplines in question closest to one another? The answer seems to be the human. A turn towards the user, and research aimed at the most efficient user services are a fact. Barbara Sosińska-Kalata pointed to the change in perception of the information science that has become a social science “dealing with the phenomena of information that take place in the social world, including primarily the transfer of knowledge in the cultural and social context”.⁵³ Waldemar Chorażyczewski drew attention to a potential different approach

- 50 See e.g.: J. Adamus-Kowalska, *System informacji archiwalnej w Polsce. Historia, infrastruktura, standardy i metody*, Katowice 2011; M. Cołbecka, *Schematy wyszukiwania informacji w zasobach archiwalnych w dobie elektronicznych pomocy archiwalnych*, in: *Nauka o informacji w okresie zmian. Innowacyjne usługi informacyjne*, ed. by B. Sosińska-Kalata, P. Taflowski, Z. Wiorogórska, Warszawa 2018, pp. 259–270; M. Cołbecka, *Usługi informacyjne archiwów—próba definicji*, “Nowa Biblioteka. Usługi, Technologie Informacyjne i Media” (2019) No. 2, pp. 27–47; A. Długosz-Pysz, *Badania satysfakcji użytkowników archiwów w świetle projektu Archival Metrics*, in: *Diagnostyka w zarządzaniu informacją: perspektywa informatologiczna*, ed. by R. Sapa, Kraków 2017, pp. 437–447. W. K. Roman, *System informacji archiwalnej wobec współczesnego użytkownika*, in: *Archiwa Polski i Europy. Wspólne dziedzictwa, różne doświadczenia*, ed. by A. Kulecka, Warszawa 2017, pp. 227–243; A. Rosa, *Użytkownik jako element systemu informacyjnego*, in: *Komputeryzacja i digitalizacja w archiwach*, ed. by R. Leśkiewicz, A. Żeglińska, Warszawa 2016, pp. 125–132 (*Symposia Archivistica*, 2); A. Rosa, *Użytkownik w systemie informacji archiwalnej. Kontekst stosowanych języków informacyjno-wyszukiwawczych*, in: *Standaryzacja opisu archiwalnego*, ed. by J. Bednarek, P. Perzyna, Warszawa—Łódź 2016, pp. 43–52 (*Symposia Archivistica*, 3).
- 51 Eight meetings have as yet been organised by the team gathered around Bohdan Ryszewski.
- 52 A. Długosz-Pysz, *Badania satysfakcji użytkowników*, p. 438.
- 53 B. Sosińska-Kalata, *Obszary badań współczesnej informatologii (nauki o informacji)*, “Zagadnienia Informacji Naukowej” 51 (2013) No. 2, p. 38.

to archival functions. Here, unlike the classical approach, where the relationship between the human and the archival material matters, the tasks of the archives aim at the fulfilment of goals and concern interpersonal relations in the context of archival materials.⁵⁴ Thus the human moves to the focus of researcher interest. It seems that archives and libraries head in the same direction, as scientists have recognised that the environment should influence the activities of information institutions, whose existence hinges on rendering services to the user.

Beginning with the 1930^s, archivists and representatives of bibliology and information sciences have predominantly tried to distinguish themselves from one another, emphasising the methodological differences in working with the resources. That status quo continued until the 1970^s, even though in the meantime the archival scientists “matured” to becoming independent, the key to the change being the conclusion that archives are institutions that preserve and provide access to information, which is why archival science belongs to the family of information sciences. What can today build the most lasting bridges between these disciplines is the provision of services for users. Paraphrasing the words of Bogdan Horodyski, I dare to claim that the integration of archives and libraries may be based on the assumption that one of the main tasks of these institutions is to provide access to information contained in their resource and book collections.

54 W. Chorążyczewski, *Zachęta do archiwistyki*, p. 41.

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Abstract

Monika Cołbecka

Are we family? On the scientific connections between archivists and bibliologists, and information scientists

In 1937, Marian Łodyński, a librarian and historian, published an article entitled “Archiwiści i bibliotekarze” (literally “Archivists and Librarians”) in *Przegląd Biblioteczny* journal. His text served as a pretext for a dispute initiated by Wojciech Hejnosz. It juxtaposed full opening of archives to users to the duty of preserving historical sources from destruction, and revealed differences in the perception of certain phenomena, yet primarily was a proof of mutual research interest. Although the ties between researchers operating in the disciplines in question were the strongest in the 1970^s and 1980^s, it seems that it is the first time ever that we have had so much in common. The dynamic democratisation of society, which requires accurate information promptly delivered by information institutions, has made a significant impact on the roles of archivists, librarians, and information scientists. Will we stand together in the face of these challenges, and do archivists draw from the achievements of related fields of study? The article presents considerations regarding the research problem thus formulated and the conclusions resulting from a study of scientific literature.

Keywords:

information sciences, information activity, archival science, bibliology and information science, archival information system

Abstrakt

Monika Cołbecka

Czy należymy do jednej rodziny? O związkach naukowych archiwistów z bibliologami i informatologami

W 1937 roku w „Przeglądzie Bibliotecznym” ukazał się artykuł Mariana Łodyńskiego, bibliotekarza i historyka pt. „Archiwiści i bibliotekarze”. Tekst ten zapoczątkował polemikę z Wojciechem Hejnoszem, pracownikiem archiwum lwowskiego. Wymiana poglądów dotyczyła zasadności jak najszybszego otwarcia archiwów na użytkowników do powinności chronienia źródeł historycznych przed zniszczeniem. Spór ten wykazał oczywiście rozbieżności w postrzeganiu pewnych zjawisk, ale przede wszystkim świadczył o wzajemnym zainteresowaniu badawczym. Choćby związki badaczy omawianych dyscyplin były najmocniejsze w latach 70. i 80. XX wieku to wydaje się, że nigdy dotąd nie mieliśmy ze sobą tyle wspólnego, co teraz. Ogromny wpływ na rolę archiwistów, bibliotekarzy, informatologów ma dynamiczne demokratyzowanie się społeczeństwa, które stawia wobec instytucji informacyjnych wymóg trafnej i szybko dostarczanej informacji. Czy wobec tych wyzwań jednoczymy szeregi i czy archiwiści korzystają z dorobku nauk pokrewnych? Rozważania nad tak sformułowanym problemem badawczym oraz wnioski będące wynikiem przeprowadzonej analizy piśmiennictwa naukowego zostały zawarte w artykule.

Słowa kluczowe:

nauki informacyjne, działalność informacyjna, archiwistyka, bibliologia i informatologia

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Files of the Polish Welfare Committee Kraków-Miasto as a source for studying women's history in 1939–1945

Examining the time of the Second World War and the German occupation from the female perspective is not a new subject, especially in Europe. The subject has been researched by Polish historiography, yet its achievements can hardly be recognised adequate given the scale of problems and issues that still remain unaddressed.¹ Although the circumstances change, systematic scholarly research concerning women concerns time before September 1939, its interest only being rekindled in the post-war period. The period of the Second World War when Poland was occupied has received less attention. Most of the works published concern female inmates, Jewish women, and women serving in the Home Army, mostly

- 1 The fact that “Polish research on women's history develops within two separate and to some extent competitive trends that can be roughly referred to as classical academic historiography and feminist historical humanities” makes an additional impact on the status of women's history”. See: D. Kałwa, *Historia kobiet—kilka uwag metodologicznych*, in: *Dzieje kobiet w Polsce. Dyskusja wokół przyszłej syntezy*, ed. by K. A. Makowski, Poznań 2014, p. 14.

in connection to Warsaw and the Warsaw Uprising. Moreover, some publications are of a popular nature and/or concern individual women, eminent personalities and outstanding individuals, and by that token not typical of the cohort of women at the time of occupation. Among the plethora of subjects concerning war and occupation, what was most common, namely the everyday experiences of people living in the area encompassed by hostilities and grappling with what occupation involved, still eludes our focus. In this way, so does the women's perspective.²

Dobrochna Kałwa, researcher of women's history remarked that "the subject of women participating in the Second World War is one of the unquestioned and internalised elements of the Polish remembrance discourse and historiography". Nevertheless "the gendered canon of presenting the experience and participation of women in the war has made it hard to broaden the reflection on war by questions about the gender-related considerations of experiencing war and violence, and also about the post-war consequences of social and psychological nature/type".³ Therefore, we are still in the phase of looking for adequate research questions and strategies (partly inspired by the development of women's history research in other countries) and studies of the archives.

Looking for sources to research women's history, it is worthwhile to take a closer look at the documents that have not been used for that purpose. Such documents include the files of a relief organisation that operated as the Polish Welfare Committee Kraków-Miasto (Polish name: Polski Komitet Opiekuńczy Kraków-Miasto, acronym PolKO). These files are a highly valuable source for researching the reality of life under

- 2 Joanna Dufurat conducted a review of research on the history of women. See: J. Dufurat, *Stan badań nad dziejami kobiet w Polsce—I wojna światowa, okres międzywojenny, II wojna światowa*, in: *Dzieje kobiet w Polsce. Dyskusja wokół przyszłej syntezy*, ed. by K. A. Makowski, Poznań 2014, pp. 123–131. Post-2014 publications include volume 26 of "Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość" from 2015 dedicated to the history of women and gender in Second World War, see "Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość" (2015) No. 2, ipn.gov.pl (Aug 3, 2022); M. Röger, *Wojenne związki. Polki i Niemcy podczas okupacji*, Warszawa 2016; M. Grądzka-Rejak, *Kobieta żydowska w okupowanym Krakowie (1939–1945)*, Kraków 2016; J. Ostrowska, *Przemilczane. Seksualna praca przymusowa w czasie II wojny światowej*, Warszawa 2018.
- 3 D. Kałwa, *Przemoc i zapomnienie. Druga wojna światowa z perspektywy płci kulturowej*, in: *Kobiety i historia. Od niewidoczności do sprawczości*, eds. K. Bałżewska, A. Korczyńska-Partyka, A. Wódkowska, Gdańsk 2015, p. 29.

occupation, and one of the archival collection whose potential is not being fully exploited by researchers. Let me gloss over the lack of a monographic work presenting the entire scope of the Committee's operation in Kraków by comprehensively covering structures, people, capabilities, scope of activity, scale of assistance provided, etc. Instead, I would like to draw attention to an obvious fact that entering new queries into known sources can achieve new and far-from-obvious results. The purpose of this review is therefore an attempt to show the potential that the PolKO files contribute to the study of women's history and its interdisciplinary potential.

The Polish Welfare Committee Kraków-Miasto was a local branch of the Central Welfare Council (Rada Główna Opiekuńcza, RGO) that, beginning with July 1940, remained the only Polish welfare organisation in the General Government (GG) whose operation was permitted by the Germans.⁴ It is worth emphasising that due to the clear limitations imposed by the Germans, the RGO could only aid Poles.⁵ The name Polish Welfare Committee Kraków-Miasto came into force on 7 July 1941, however, it is accepted as the name of the archival resource encompassing the whole period of occupation, as the committee continued the operation of several organisations operating earlier, providing continuity of purpose, personnel, and, to a large extent, of organisational structure.⁶

- 4 The informal activities of the Central Welfare Council began in February 1940, which was granted the articles of association in May of the same year (the General Governor approved the texts of the articles of association and the rules and regulations of the Central Welfare Council on 29 May 1940). See: B. Kroll, *Rada Główna Opiekuńcza 1939–1945*, Warszawa 1985, pp. 59–64.
- 5 As the Polish concepts assumed that the Central Welfare Council would extend care over both Polish and Jewish population, participation of Jews in the Council and its territorial branches was envisaged. However, by the decision of the occupying power, official charitable activities in the General Government for individual nations were separated, splitting relief into that for Poles, Jews, and Ukrainians. The Central Welfare Council and its subordinate Polish Welfare Committee (PolKO) were to carry out their tasks exclusively for the Polish population, and keep away from individuals of other nationalities, for whom separate relief structures were developed. See: B. Kroll, *Rada*, pp. 63–64, 68. On the scope of relief and cooperation with Jewish communities, see: B. Kroll, *Rada*, pp. 223–229.
- 6 Z. Wenzel-Homecka, *Polski Komitet Opiekuńczy Kraków-Miasto w latach 1939–1945 i jego akta*, "Archeion. Czasopismo Naukowe Poświęcone Sprawom Archiwalnym"

Charity was organised in wartime Kraków since the first days of September 1939. The Civic Relief Committee (Obywatelski Komitet Pomocy, Polish acronym OPP) was established on 4 September with the aim of supporting the victims of the war—refugees, displaced persons, prisoners of war, and locals forced out of employment. At the time, there were still associations operating independently, notably Caritas, while the Polish Red Cross (Polish acronym: PCK) conducted a broad range of activities. Beginning with December 1939, the German authorities demanded that community welfare activities were coordinated. The reason was the need to create a uniform charity organisation due to the opportunity of receiving foreign aid (mostly from the US) and, primarily, the occupant's eagerness to control that realm. RGO, established for the purpose, was intended to coordinate the activity of Polish organisations of what was known as “voluntary community welfare”, and develop its operation locally through the municipal and county councils it oversaw. In the spring of 1940, the organisation of the Municipal Welfare Council (Rada Opiekuńcza Miejska, ROM), which absorbed the relief initiatives previously operating in the area, began. At the same time, by the resolution of 23 July 1940, the authorities of the General Government dissolved with immediate effect all Polish associations, with the exception of the Polish Red Cross, Fire Brigade, and obviously the RGO. Thanks to the endeavours of people involved in the development of the RGO, some of these organisations were included into ROM, for example catholic associations that from that moment operated under the umbrella of Caritas, which, retaining high level of independence, became one of the sections of ROM.⁷ When ROM was transformed into the Polish Welfare Council in July 1941, the PolKO structure was complicated, when compared to analogous territorial committees (of which there were 61 in April 1943), as it was an amalgamate of earlier organisations that transformed into its sections. By principle, welfare committees were developed for individual counties. The only exception were metropolises, Kraków with its two committees—one for the residents of the city and the other of the

41 (1964), pp. 326, 339.

- 7 This was made possible through close contacts between representatives of the Central Welfare Council and Archbishop Adam Sapieha and was an extraordinary solution in the structures of the Central Welfare Council. Caritas operated highly independently, although it received subsidies and submitted general reports. See: B. Kroll, *Rada*, pp. 82–83.

county—included. To tell them apart, the first was referred to as PolKO Kraków-Miasto (City), and the other PolKO Kraków—Powiat (County).

The structure of all PolKO Kraków-Miasto consisted of the Headquarters (Centrala) and the work divisions: Relief for Displaced Persons and Refugees, Relief for Employees of Civil Services and Employees of Legal and Free Professions (offering relief for the civil servants and officers, representatives of free professions and artisans stripped of means sustenance in the wake of war and occupation), Relief for Inmates and Families, popularly known as “Patronat” (i.e. Patronage), Relief for the Disabled (for persons who were disabled in 1939), Relief for Farmers (for displaced landed gentry, manorial personnel and staff, and, to a certain extent, also for peasants), Caritas, whose activity was intended to encompass what was known as “regular poverty” i.e., not caused by war, Relief for Children and Youth and the Work Division: Orphanages which encompassed kindergartens and orphanages ran by both monastic orders and secular institutions. Moreover, PolKO encompassed the Interest-Free Loans Bank and Radź Sam Sobie publishers of a series of self-help guides (teaching how to mend clothes, make soap, and exterminate insects), as well as the Hospital Section and the Children’s Unit organised in October 1944 after the Warsaw Uprising. The individual sections enjoyed plenty of autonomy that in many cases resulted from their members’ long term of activity in the given area, while the Headquarters only supervised them formally. After Kraków’s borders were expanded midway through 1941, PolKO was also extended by adding “delegations”—territorial structures that had previously operated in the villages now annexed into the city. Unlike the work divisions, which were organised according to the scope of competences, their prerogatives were purely territorial.⁸

Attempts at extending aid to the broadest possible spectrum of people in need (prisoners, children, etc.) resulted in activities moving far beyond the limits set by the German authorities.⁹ It is certainly worth adding that the border between the legal and illegal proved remarkably elastic during

8 Z. Wenzel-Homecka, *Polski Komitet Opiekuńczy*, pp. 326–335; B. Kroll, *Rada*, pp. 82–83.

9 I provide a more extensive treatment of the subject in the article: A. Czocher, *Czy dobroczynność wymagała odwagi? O działaczach Polskiego Komitetu Opiekuńczego Kraków-Miasto 1939–1945*, in: *Cena odwagi. Między ocaleniem życia a ocaleniem człowieczeństwa*, eds. A. Bartuś, P. Trojański, Oświęcim 2019, pp. 193–208.

the occupation. PolKO also engaged in illegal activity, which for obvious reasons only finds marginal reflection in the documentation.

The files of the Polish Welfare Committee Kraków-Miasto are stored in the National Archives in Kraków (collection 29/553) and have been open to research for years. In the 1960^s, they were processed by Zofia Wenzel-Homecka, who published the results of works connected to the preparation of the introduction to the archive inventory in the academic journal *Archeion* in 1964. The collection has survived in parts and consists of the files of the Headquarters and the work divisions: Relief for the Displaced Persons and Refugees, Relief for Employees of Civil Services and Employees of Legal and Free Professions, Relief for Inmates and their Families, and the records of the branches.¹⁰ There are also archival records on the operation of PolKO in the collection Doradca Rady Głównej Opiekuńczej na okręg krakowski (Advisor to the Central Welfare Council for the Kraków district) stored in the National Archives in Kraków (collection 29/554) and in the collection Rada Główna Opiekuńcza. Biuro Centrali w Krakowie (RGO. Central Office of the Kraków Headquarters) stored in the Central Archives of Modern Records (AAN) in Warsaw (collection 2/125). The two bodies supervised and controlled PolKO. The Advisor served as the intermediary between the committees and the RGO Headquarters, and represented the committees before the German authorities of the district. That activity is reflected in the preserved records.

The documentation that partially reflects illegal relief activities and some documentation that can be described as commemorative remained in the hands of individual members of PolKO staff. Not all its elements have been transferred to the National Archives in Kraków and included in the PolKO files collection. Thus, e.g., the roll of prisoners of the police prison on Montelupich street in Kraków, maintained clandestinely since 1941, is currently in the Archives of the Institute of National Remembrance in Warsaw (ref. No. IPN GK 165/339 vols 1–17), while the photo album of the Charity Section of the Polish Welfare Committee in Kraków (later work division: Relief for the Displaced Persons and Refugees) is in the Barbara Purtak Central Archive of Polish Nursing in Warsaw.

The records produced by the committee, albeit incomplete, reflect the main courses of activities these institutions undertook. This makes them a source of data that allows to study a vast spectrum of

10 Z. Wenzel-Homecka, *Polski Komitet Opiekuńczy*, pp. 337–339.

problems concerning the Polish community in the occupied country. Their advantage, important in the context of women's history, is their relatively high representativeness. As the relief provided by PolKO was addressed to people from different social strata, the documentation contains information about the condition of heterogeneous groups and environments.

Time has come to try to answer the question about the potential that PolKO records have as a source for researching women's history and the reasons they can be useful for scholarly queries concerning the issue.

During the German occupation, official charitable activities became the domain of women. Falling back on prewar associations and committees, and also as part of private initiatives, women operated charity from the first days of war. Women were joining the ranks of wealth and relief organisations accepted by the occupying power while their structures were crystallising. However, participation of women in the highest levels of management of such organisations was minimal. These were men who set the tone of charity, holding the highest posts. These were also men who contacted German authorities, laid the foundations for the organisation, created the formal and legal framework for welfare activities, and conducted control activities. An exception in the Kraków PolKO was Róża Łubieńska, a prewar Catholic activist.¹¹ The situation at the lower rungs of the organisational structure was reverse, as women were the majority among PolKO Kraków-Miasto personnel and cooperating individuals. According to a list of committee employees drafted towards the end of occupation, women accounted for 58.3% of the staff.¹² Women were absolutely dominant in the facilities supervised by the work divisions, where they performed strictly focused relief activities. For example, women accounted for 100% or nearly 100% of the personnel in centres for nourishing children, Unit for the Children of the Street reporting to the work division: Relief for Children and Youth, and the kitchens reporting

11 Róża Łubieńska was the only woman to join the Central Welfare Council first and later the management of the ROM (June 25, 1940). After the German occupation authorities banned her from sitting on ROM boards in June 1941, there were no women in the management of the ROM Headquarters, and subsequently in PolKO.

12 National Archives in Kraków, collection: Polski Komitet Opiekuńczy Kraków-Miasto, ref. No. 29/553/28, Letters on Personal Matters of PolKO Employees, 1940–1945, pp. 1131–1143.

to Caritas division.¹³ In division Relief for the Displaced Persons and Refugees, women accounted for around 80% of the personnel, while the units for children, the kitchen, the hub at the train station, the repairs workshop, house care, and clothes warehouse only employed women.¹⁴ Of the 25 employees of the section assisting prisoners in 1942, only four were men: an accountant and three blue-collar workers.¹⁵ In the remaining sections, women were members of boards, secretaries, and heads of units.¹⁶

The wartime circumstances also made women a majority among the committee's beneficiaries. The statistics indicate that the number of women assisted by PolKO was nearly twice as high as that of men. They were majority of adult beneficiaries in every work division, with the exception of relief for the disabled (relief to disabled veterans).¹⁷

Analysing the PolKO records, you find information concerning both individual women's motivation for embarking on charitable activity, the nature of work they performed, and the degree of involvement on the one hand, and reasons for poverty, and the types of support expected and delivered on the other.

Information concerning women involved in relief work can be found in the documentation concerning employment—both the employed

13 National Archives in Kraków, collection: Polski Komitet Opiekuńczy Kraków-Miasto, ref. No. 29/553/28, Letters on Personal Matters of PolKO Employees, 1940–1945, pp. 133, 745–747.

14 National Archives in Kraków, collection: Polski Komitet Opiekuńczy Kraków-Miasto, ref. No. 29/553/28, Letters on Personal Matters of PolKO Employees, 1940–1945, pp. 263, 779, 1119–1127.

15 National Archives in Kraków, collection: Polski Komitet Opiekuńczy Kraków-Miasto, ref. No. 29/553/28, Letters on Personal Matters of PolKO Employees, 1940–1945, pp. 267.

16 Women were absent from the management of the sections for the Relief for Employees of Civil Services and Employees of Legal and Free Professions, the Orphanage Section (managed by male clergy), and the Credit Union section. See: National Archives in Kraków, collection: Polski Komitet Opiekuńczy Kraków-Miasto, ref. No. 29/553/28, Letters on Personal Matters of PolKO Employees, 1940–1945, pp. 35, 261, 273, 277.

17 National Archives in Kraków, collection: Polski Komitet Opiekuńczy Kraków-Miasto, ref. No. 29/553/33, Monthly reports, XI 1940–IV 1945, pp. 246, 346, 444, 626, 768, 845.

personnel and persons cooperating with the committee. As an employer, PolKO was quite strictly controlled by the German authorities, which is why the documentation on the staff reflects plenty of formalities that had to be completed in relation to the employment. The documentation contains exchange of letters with the Labour Office and Social Security, employee sheets informing about the posts held and work performed, period of employment, wages, and family situation (that is the dependants of individual employees; in case of women these were often the elderly and ailing relatives, mostly parents—mothers). These records make it possible to analyse the women's wages and the benefits they were entitled to, and also to compare them to men's. Sociological studies concerning age, education, and marital status of the employed women are also possible.¹⁸

Interesting information can be found in applications for entering and terminating employment. They contain the information on who and why was looking for work, which positions were the most attractive and in greatest demand, and how people tried to obtain them. In case of employment termination, the documents demonstrate the reasons of termination or abandonment, and the applicable procedures.¹⁹

RGO and its committees paid modest wages resulting from the wage level regulations introduced by Germans early in 1940 and defining the wages and salaries depending on age, pay grade, and sex.²⁰ The churn among the employed was quite high. This in no way did influence the

18 The RGO and its individual committees were obliged to submit various lists of personnel to the occupation authorities. They included such data as age, addresses, periods of employment, positions in RGO structures, salary, family relationships, education, and occupation(s) before the war. Employees also filled in forms related to employment and applications for rationed products

19 See e.g.: Central Archives of Modern Records, collection: Rada Główna Opiekuńcza. Biuro Centrali w Krakowie, ref. No. 2/125/0/1.4/205, Application for termination of employment at RGO, 1942–1945.

20 A. Weh, *Prawo Generalnego Gubernatorstwa w układzie rzeczowym z objaśnieniami i szczegółowym skorowidzem*, Krakau 1941, B 370 and B 380. This status quo is confirmed by the description given by Adam Ronikier, president of RGO: “wage standards based on German rates could not at all be applied, as they did not even cover the budget of even the humblest clerk. We coped by helping our staff with food rations that were then not included in administration costs but were entered into the ‘helping the population’ line”. See A. Ronikier, *Pamiętniki 1939–1945*, Kraków 2001, p. 161.

fact that a job in the structures of RGO and PolKO was in great demand and was often, especially in the case of white-collar workers, obtained through patronage. There were several factors that contributed to such a *status quo*: employment certificates, social insurance, and work among the Polish community. RGO and PolKO employed women and created a protective umbrella over the women: both the young who were only entering the labour market (often prematurity, for example because they could not continue education) and the older ones who had had no professional experience yet were forced into employment by war. An especially important aspect in the case of young girls with little life experience was the guarantee of working in an environment that provided them with proper care and guardianship. Such motivation finds reflection in both applications and recommendations, for example: “the deliverer of this letter [...] would love to work, even as an unpaid volunteer in Social Welfare, to avoid the risk of potential deportation to labour abroad”.²¹ There were also volunteer jobs (*etaty honorowe*) with persons holding them receiving no remuneration for their work. These jobs were taken by people, including a large number of women, who became engaged in relief work primarily for ideological reasons. Many people were employed at PolKO Kraków-Miasto throughout the whole or nearly all periods of occupation (according to the list of employees from the early 1945, there were altogether 71 persons employed from 1939 or 1940, a number that included 44 women).²²

The conditions of relief work were often hard. People worked wherever people in need were found, where food was stored, prepared, and distributed along with clothing and other benefits. Women were primarily employed in kitchens, where they served hundreds of meals a day,²³ 23 railway station tearooms (kiosks issuing hot drinks and dry provisions), clothes warehouses, hospitals, guest houses, orphanages, and institutions,

21 National Archives in Kraków, collection: Polski Komitet Opiekuńczy Kraków-Miasto, ref. No. 29/553/28, Letters on Personal Matters of PolKO Employees, 1940–1945, p. 911.

22 National Archives in Kraków, collection: Polski Komitet Opiekuńczy Kraków-Miasto, ref. No. 29/553/28, Letters on Personal Matters of PolKO Employees, 1940–1945, pp. 1131–1143.

23 For example, approximately 20,000 meals were issued daily in the kitchens and tearooms managed by PolKO in 1941. See: H. Matoga, *W kręgu opiekuńczego czepka*, Kraków 1999, p. 57.

visiting the beneficiaries in their places of residence. The beneficiaries, notably the refugees, often required comprehensive assistance, and were troubled by such conditions as contagious illnesses, lice, scabies, dirt, and trachoma. Performing heavy physical, also night-time, labour, women often had to grapple with inclement weather (frost and heat), and obstacles from and harassment by the occupying authorities, while expectations of their charges were not always attainable and at times downright unjustified.

Similarly diverse information can be found in the documentation on the beneficiaries of the committee. Reports from the operation of individual divisions provide further insight into the comprehensive picture of the condition of the society. They contain information on the changes of circumstances at the time of occupation, as well as on the needs, deficits, and tribulations that the Polish society was forced to face. Individual applications and requests for relief provide a reflection of the wartime poverty of women and personal problems they grappled with.

Succumbing to poverty affected women far more than men during the occupation. The reasons must be sought among factors of community nature, the main one being the loss of the breadwinning man to death, imprisonment or detention in the camp, and severance whether caused by the war (staying abroad, forced labour) or unrelated to it (separation, abandonment). An example can be a request for support written in June 1941 by the wife of a stoker at St Lazarus Hospital drafted to the army in the summer of 1939:

My husband [...] was captured by the Germans, and is still held a prisoner of war (POW). I've been left alone with three children [...] without means of subsistence. I have no movable or immovable property, nor do I receive benefits from any institution. Despite my best efforts, I cannot find any employment [...] By now I have sold the less necessary items, yet in the face of prices soaring so high, these have run out, so that I have been left in a hopeless situation.²⁴

The tone of the application of the wife of a commissioned officer detained in a POW camp was similar:

24 National Archives in Kraków, collection: Polski Komitet Opiekuńczy Kraków-Miasto, ref. No. 29/553/28, Letters on Personal Matters of PolKO Employees, 1940–1945, ref. No. 29/553/54, Applications and other communication regarding relief for people. Children's camps project, 1941, p. 815.

For three years, I have been forced to earn my living and that of two underage children [...]. The loss of all property, constantly aggravating difficulty of making the ends meet, and finally the loss of the job [...] all these have made me unable to buy the most necessary clothing and children's boots for the winter.²⁵

Another factor exacerbating poverty was the inability to work due to illness or the need to care for family members—underage children, the sick, and/or elderly relatives. Such situations excluded women from seeking regular employment, leaving only the options of occasional jobs and cottage industry work open. Moreover, illnesses, especially severe and chronic, ruined the budgets of previously well-off households. This is reflected in requests for relief: “Due to a condition of a hand, for some time now I have been unable to earn a living by sewing, to buy the most essential necessities and pay the rent”²⁶ and “the treatment of my son costs a fair bit of money, which I used to draw from selling my late husband's old clothes; as it has come to an end, there is no hope for our future survival.”²⁷

It is worth noting that PolKO employees tried to verify both the actual circumstances of individuals seeking assistance and the motivations of those offering cooperation. Exchange of letters on the subject provides an excellent source for illustrating the material condition of city residents, which differed greatly also during the occupation. Complaints regarding the children's health camp organised by PolKO (a project addressed to children from impoverished families and orphans, as well as to children whose parents, mostly fathers, were in captivity, imprisoned, or working in the Reich) can serve as an example. Quite characteristic was the evaluation by the director of one of the camp sessions in Rymanów in 1943:

25 National Archives in Kraków, collection: Polski Komitet Opiekuńczy Kraków-Miasto, ref. No. 29/553/28, Letters on Personal Matters of PolKO Employees, 1940–1945, ref. No. 29/553/55, Applications and other communication regarding relief for people. Children's camps project, 1942, p. 684.

26 National Archives in Kraków, collection: Polski Komitet Opiekuńczy Kraków-Miasto, ref. No. 29/553/28, Letters on Personal Matters of PolKO Employees, 1940–1945, ref. No. 29/553/55, Applications and other communication regarding relief for people. Children's camps project, 1942, p. 135.

27 National Archives in Kraków, collection: Polski Komitet Opiekuńczy Kraków-Miasto, ref. No. 29/553/28, Letters on Personal Matters of PolKO Employees, 1940–1945, ref. No. 29/553/55, Applications and other communication regarding relief for people. Children's camps project, 1942, p. 291.

It would be deluding ourselves to think that children from well-off homes did not find themselves in slightly poorer conditions here. Running a farm [...] to a level matching their habits resulting from prosperity would be impossible. Such better-off children are the cause of assorted ferment, which, however, never occurs among less affluent children. [...] Hence the conclusion that you should be prudent in selecting the children you send us.²⁸

In turn, the argument for refusal to grant additional assistance to one of the beneficiaries goes as follows:

The mother is unable to manage the money she has. For instance, having sold her possessions to feed her children, she bought them fountain pens, leaving herself penniless again. [...] She is a habitual complainer, constantly dissatisfied with everything.²⁹

The PolKO records consist of formal documents, and the applications and requests were submitted for a specific purpose—to obtain material support. Nevertheless, these records have the potential to serve as a source for studying emotions, feelings, and moods. Treated as research categories, affects, emotions, and feelings have become a subject of interest in the humanities and social sciences. They emphasise the collective nature of feelings and their impact on historical events and processes. Emotions are construed as a supra-individual phenomenon with its roots in social relationships and cultural conditioning.³⁰ It is also worth noting the Anglo-American methodology of studying affects

28 National Archives in Kraków, collection: Polski Komitet Opiekuńczy Kraków-Miasto, ref. No. 29/553/101, Organisation of Childrens' Camps, 1941–1944, p. 65.

29 National Archives in Kraków, collection: Polski Komitet Opiekuńczy Kraków-Miasto, ref. No. 29/553/54, Applications and other communication regarding relief for people. Children's camps project, 1941, p. 165.

30 J. Wysmułek, *Przyrodzone, poskramiane czy konstruowane? Dyskursy o emocjach w badaniach historycznych*, "Przegląd Humanistyczny" (2016) No. 2, pp. 82–83. As noted by its author, the purpose of the article is to outline past theoretical positions and present fundamental concepts of emotions used in historiographic discourse. Emotions in Western literature are critically analysed by B. H. Rosenwein, *Obawy o emocje w historii*, "Teksty Drugie" (2015) No. 1, pp. 358–391 (originally published as *Worrying about Emotions in History*, "The American Historical Review" 107 (2002) Issue 3, pp. 821–845).

as a separate research perspective developed in the wake of the affective turn in the humanities. The discourse of affect research plays an important role in understanding the concept of both individual and collective identity.³¹ In Poland, research on affects is primarily conducted in the context of Holocaust studies, memory, and the trauma of war.³² The PolKO records seem, in the case discussed here in conjunction with women's history, particularly helpful for researching emotion and affect³³ especially in relation to such "difficult" emotions as e.g., despair, fear, anger, shame, etc. The committee's documentation includes both emotional language and representations of emotional gestures, e.g., "displaced, robbed, damaged, [she] has nothing to console";³⁴ "the undersigned family are in a critical situation without means of subsistence due to their daughter being arrested";³⁵ "I am currently in a particularly

- 31 What is known as the "affective turn" was initiated in the humanities in the mid-1990s. Numerous works on the subject published since then encompass both theoretical studies of affects and ones that apply the developed methods to the study of literature, art, politics, etc. Fundamental concepts and literature on the subject can be found in e.g., M. Glasowitz, *Zwrot afektywny*, "Opcje" (2013) No. 2, pp. 24–27.
- 32 This calls for a reference to the works of the team gathered around "Nowa Humanistyka" series published by the Institute of Literary Research of the Polish Academy of Sciences (IBL PAN) (*Pamięć i afekty*, eds. Z. Budrewicz, R. Sendyka, R. Nycz, Warszawa 2014; *Kultura afektu—afekty w kulturze. Humanistyka po zwrocie afektywnym*, eds. R. Nycz, A. Łebkowska, A. Dauksza, Warszawa 2015) and publications produced under the research project The Affective Turn after 1989: Strategies and Styles of Representation in an Interdisciplinary Research Perspective conducted at the abovementioned Institute, see: <https://ibl.waw.pl/pl/o-instytucie/pracownie-i-zespoły/zespół-do-badań-nad-literaturą-i-kulturą-późnej-nowoczesności/działalność-naukowobadawcza> (Aug 3, 2022).
- 33 For a critical analysis of the relationships between the concepts of affect, emotions, and feelings, see: J. Tabaszewska, *Między afektami i emocjami*, "Przegląd Kulturoznawczy" (2018) No. 2, pp. 262–275, doi: 10.4467/20843860PK.18.017.9720.
- 34 National Archives in Kraków, collection: Polski Komitet Opiekuńczy Kraków-Miasto, ref. No. 29/553/55, Applications and other communication regarding relief for people. Children's camps project, 1942, p. 179.
- 35 National Archives in Kraków, collection: Polski Komitet Opiekuńczy Kraków-Miasto, ref. No. 29/553/55, Applications and other communication regarding relief for people. Children's camps project, 1942, p. 413.

critical situation, I am at a loss”;³⁶ “I have long had no news [from my arrested husband], so I am being tormented by the uncertainty [...] as to where he might be.”³⁷

The documentation of PolKO reflects the social custom of the time: codes of conduct, forms of language used, ways of handling the individual matters, artifacts (such as clothing items) used, and the working conditions, including kitchen the equipment, the appearance of office spaces, warehouses, means of transportation, and the like. These become particularly evident in the photographs preserved among the PolKO records. A good example is a photograph of three women: Maria Starowieyska, Hanna Chrzanowska, and Róża Łubieńska.³⁸ Before the war, all three were Catholic social activists and key figures in Krakow's PolKO, with Maria being also a soldier in the Home Army. Two of them, Starowieyska and Łubieńska, are posing with cigarettes, which is a sign of the times. Smoking was common and, especially among women who wanted to assert their independence, it was downright fashionable. Smoking became etched into the concept of women's emancipation (“Women! Light another torch of freedom!”³⁹). The wartime conditions promoted smoking further. This contributed to the relaxation of moral norms, as did the tobacco (and alcohol) rations, and the function of soothing the frayed nerves attributed to smoking. It is worth noting that the three Catholic activists in the photograph were independent women, well before the war undertaking innovative and progressive activities in nursing and social assistance, to mention caring for abandoned and/or neglected children and minors, caring for people living on the margins of the contemporary society (disabled children, children born out of wedlock and their mothers, prostitutes), and the provision

36 National Archives in Kraków, collection: Polski Komitet Opiekuńczy Kraków-Miasto, ref. No. 29/553/54, Applications and other communication regarding relief for people. Children's camps project, 1941, p. 807.

37 National Archives in Kraków, collection: Polski Komitet Opiekuńczy Kraków-Miasto, ref. No. 29/553/169, Letters from 1942, 1942, p. 139.

38 See: Barbara Purtak Central Archive of Polish Nursing, Virtual Museum of Polish Nursing, <http://www.wmpp.org.pl/pl/pielegniarki-na-frontach/ii-wojna-%C5%9B-wiatowa/starowieyska-maria.html>, *Album Sekcji Charytatywnej Obywatelskiego Komitetu Pomocy w Krakowie*, photo No. 2 (Aug 3, 2022).

39 A. M. Brandt, *Budowanie świadomości konsumenckiej w XX wieku*, in: *Dym. Powszechna historia palenia*, eds. S. L. Gilman, Z. Xun, Kraków 2009, p. 341.

material and moral support to prisoners during and after their sentences, and support for their families.⁴⁰

In occupied Kraków, efforts were made to improve organisation of labour and working conditions, and to exploit the available amenities. It must not be forgotten, however, that this was not a straightforward matter in wartime reality. The Germans requisitioned modern buildings and equipment for their own needs, and work, such as serial preparation of meals, required determination and physical endurance. The PolKO records show how the organisation of relief evolved: from individual, private initiatives mostly of women, which started in September 1939 to strictly organised forms, from one-off and campaign-driven actions to their optimisation.⁴¹ The wish to improve and facilitate relief activities is evident from information provided by Maria Zazula recorded in the minutes of a session of the department for Relief for Inmates and their Families held on 9 February 1943:

The 'Wilk' machine for mincing meat and vegetables has already been assembled, which greatly facilitates work resulting in reducing the number of ladies needed for assistance in the kitchen. For that reason, a decision was reached to draft a list of ladies assisting in the kitchen, specifying days and hours of work, which they undertook to adhere to strictly by signing an appropriate declaration. A separate set of regulations was to be drafted for the ladies helping in the kitchen. These ladies, admitted at the meeting, could receive a work certificate.⁴²

Furthermore, the opportunities that the PolKO records offer for research into language are also worthwhile. They contain officially created documentation that at the same time addressed glitches and hitches caused by the war and the repressive policy of the occupiers. For that reason the documentation can serve as the grounds for tracing

40 M. Świętecka, *Róża Lubińska i jej działalność społeczna*, "Nasza Przeszłość. Studia z dziejów Kościoła i kultury katolickiej w Polsce" (1979) No. 51, pp. 151–154.

41 National Archives in Kraków, collection: Polski Komitet Opiekuńczy Kraków-Miasto, ref. No. 29/553/41, Various Reports of the Committee and Departments, 1939–1944, p. 93.

42 National Archives in Kraków, collection: Polski Komitet Opiekuńczy Kraków-Miasto, ref. No. 29/553/199, Minutes of the Meeting of the Department: Relief for Prisoners and Their Families in Kraków on 9th February 1943, 1943, p. 86.

the “real-time” descriptions of the causes of poverty and the line drawn between openly writing about the wrongs experienced and leaving the reasons for particular situations, especially concerning German terror, unsaid. Seeking support, women wrote about detentions and/or deaths (mostly men) in the family, materially ruinous evacuations, and the like. However, the information they gave is impersonal and focuses on the facts that occurred and their consequences without specifying the culprits and reasons for such a state of affairs, for example, “Widow of [...] a lieutenant of the Polish Army (in reserve) who died in Tomaszów Lubelski on 20 September 1939”,⁴³ “my husband recently died in a concentration camp”,⁴⁴ and, “My husband, working as a stoker at the St Lazarus Hospital in Kraków, was drafted to the army due to the wartime events and was captured by the Germans, and is still held a POW.”⁴⁵

Given the significant presence of women among both the employees of PolKO and individuals cooperating with it on the one hand, as its beneficiaries, examination of the use of the feminine gender nouns in language is interesting from both semantic and cultural research perspective.⁴⁶ Linguistic changes accompanied the intensifying process of women’s emancipation in the first half of the 20th century. Heated debates were waged between supporters of two views: the “traditional one, which recommends distinct formal names for female professions, and the innovative one, which advocates retaining a common, grammatically

43 National Archives in Kraków, collection: Polski Komitet Opiekuńczy Kraków-Miasto, ref. No. 29/553/54, Applications and other communication regarding relief for people. Children’s camps project, 1941, p. 1015.

44 National Archives in Kraków, collection: Polski Komitet Opiekuńczy Kraków-Miasto, ref. No. 29/553/54, Applications and other communication regarding relief for people. Children’s camps project, 1941, p. 759.

45 National Archives in Kraków, collection: Polski Komitet Opiekuńczy Kraków-Miasto, ref. No. 29/553/54, Applications and other communication regarding relief for people. Children’s camps project, 1941, p. 815.

46 Research on gender and language draws attention to the asymmetry between feminine and masculine forms in many areas of the Polish language (and other gendered languages), including word formation, vocabulary, phraseology, and grammar. See: P. Krysiak, *Feminytywa w polskiej tradycji leksykograficznej*, “Rozprawy Komisji Językowej. Wrocławskie Towarzystwo Naukowe” 42 (2016), pp. 83–84; D. Kałwa, *Historia kobiet—kilka uwag metodologicznych*, p. 25.

masculine, form for the two genders.”⁴⁷ The issue had not been settled by the outbreak of the war, which is reflected in the documents from the wartime period. The titles and names of professions held by women include terms such as *urzędniczka* (female clerk) as well as *urzędnik* (clerk, grammatically masculine), *kierowniczka* (female manager) and *zastępczyni kierowniczk*i (female deputy manager), as well as *kierownik* (manager, grammatically masculine). Other examples include *obieraczka* (female peeler), *likwidatorka* (female liquidator), *delegatka* (female delegate), *uchodźczyni* (female refugee), and *ochroniarka* (construed as a female caregiver in an orphanage).⁴⁸ This diversity is visible in documents produced by women and ones pertaining to them, as well as in official documentation. However, a cursory review of the records allows to conclude that masculine forms to describe professions performed by women are much less common and tend to be associated with terms related to education and positions of a managerial or prestigious nature, e.g., *absolwent* (graduate, grammatically masculine) but also *absolwentka* (female graduate), and *asystent pocztowy* (postal assistant, grammatically masculine).⁴⁹

Quite obviously, the examples quoted above do not exhaust the potential of information vested in the records of the Polish Welfare Committee Kraków-Miasto. All they do is to suggest the possible uses for that information. It must also be borne in mind that the war and occupation made a direct impact on the operations of PolKO, and the rhythm of charitable activities was to a large degree a consequence of wartime events (including the successive waves of refugees and repressive actions) and the attitude of the German administration towards these relief efforts that

47 Z. Klemensiewicz, *Tytuły i nazwy zawodowe kobiet w świetle teorii i praktyki*, in: Z. Klemensiewicz, *Składnia, stylistyka, pedagogika językowa*, ed. by A. Kałkowska, Warszawa 1982, p. 742.

48 National Archives in Kraków, collection: Polski Komitet Opiekuńczy Kraków-Miasto, ref. No. 29/553/29, (1). Employee lists and personal sheets. (2). Employee lists (for rations), assignment of “Bezugschein”. (3). Lists of contributions to social insurance and income tax deductions, 1940–1944, pp. 311, 501, 605–606, 999, 1153, 1161, 1297, 1305.

49 National Archives in Kraków, collection: Polski Komitet Opiekuńczy Kraków-Miasto, ref. No. 29/553/29, (1). Employee lists and personal sheets. (2). Employee lists (for rations), assignment of “Bezugschein”. (3). Lists of contributions to social insurance and income tax deductions, 1940–1944, pp. 1187, 1217, 1303.

influenced the issuance and withdrawal of permits for specific activities and repressive measures against the staff. Performing a query in such records, it is important to remember that PolKO was an institution under the control of the occupying authorities. Generally, a researcher can find no reflection of illegal activities and comments going beyond the circumstances directly related to the actions taken. Some of the records, especially those intended for the occupying authorities, were pragmatically adjusted to their recipients. Nevertheless, the scale of activities undertaken by PolKO, the diverse communities supported, the high percentage of women participating in the committee's work, and the fact that the documentation was created in real time during the occupation make these records a valuable resource for researchers, particularly ones exploring the history of women.

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Abstract

Anna Czocher

Files of the Polish Welfare Committee Kraków-Miasto as a source for studying women's history in 1939–1945

Files of the Polish Welfare Committee Kraków-Miasto (Polish name: Polski Komitet Opiekuńczy Kraków-Miasto, acronym PolKO) are stored in the National Archives in Kraków and have been open to research for years. These files are a highly valuable source for researching the reality of life under occupation, and one of the archival collection whose potential is not being fully exploited by researchers. The purpose of this review is therefore an attempt to show the potential that the PolKO files contribute to the study of women's history and its interdisciplinary potential. The Polish Welfare Committee Kraków-Miasto was a local branch of the Central Welfare Council (Rada Główna Opiekuńcza, RGO) that remained the only Polish welfare organisation in the General Government whose operation was permitted by the Germans. The records produced by the committee, albeit incomplete, reflect the main courses of activities these institutions undertook. Why can they be useful as a source for researching women's history? During the German occupation, official charitable activities became the domain of women. They were the majority among PolKO Kraków-Miasto personnel and cooperating individuals. The wartime circumstances also made women a majority among the committee's beneficiaries. Analysing the PolKO records, you find information concerning both individual women's motivation for embarking on charitable activity, the nature of work they performed, and the degree of involvement on the one hand, and reasons for poverty, and the types of support expected and delivered on the other.

Keywords:

German occupation, women's history, charitable activities, everyday life, General Government

Abstrakt

Anna Czocher

Akta Polskiego Komitetu Opiekuńczego Kraków-miasto jako źródło do badań historii kobiet w okresie okupacji niemieckiej 1939–1945

Akta Polskiego Komitetu Opiekuńczego Kraków-miasto (PolKO), przechowywane w Archiwum Narodowym w Krakowie i od lat udostępniane, stanowią bardzo cenne źródło do badania realiów okupacyjnych, a jednocześnie przykład zespołu archiwalnego, którego potencjał nie został przez badaczy w pełni wykorzystany. Celem niniejszego artykułu jest próba pokazania możliwości, jakie niosą akta PolKO dla badania historii kobiet oraz interdyscyplinarnego potencjału tych dokumentów. PolKO był lokalną placówką Rady Głównej Opiekuńczej (RGO)—oficjalnie działającej na terenie Generalnego Gubernatorstwa polskiej organizacji charytatywnej. Akta powstające w wyniku funkcjonowania Komitetu, choć mocno zdekompilowane, odzwierciedlają główne kierunki działań podejmowanych przez tę instytucję. Dlaczego mogą być przydatne w badaniach dziejów kobiet? Podczas okupacji niemieckiej oficjalna działalność charytatywna stała się domeną kobiet. Kobiety stanowiły większość pracowników i współpracowników PolKO. Jednocześnie okupacyjne uwarunkowania spowodowały, że przeważały także wśród podopiecznych Komitetu. Zatem analizując akta PolKO, możemy dotrzeć do informacji odnoszących się zarówno do motywów podjęcia działań charytatywnych przez poszczególne kobiety, charakteru wykonywanych prac, stopnia zaangażowania, jak również przyczyn ubóstwa, rodzaju oczekiwanego i udzielanego wsparcia.

Słowa kluczowe:

okupacja niemiecka, historii kobiet, działalność charytatywna, życie codzienne, Generalne Gubernatorstwo

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Józef Jakubowski (1899–1984)— activist in scout, community, and émigré organisations in the light of Polish and French archival resources

The figure of Józef Jakubowski is not widely known today. This economist and active participant in the scouting movement and community organisations was involved in a plethora of projects, from his earliest years endeavouring to work towards regaining independence by the Polish state, and later towards its reconstruction. He lived in Poland, until in 1939 he left the country for France due to political circumstances. Living and working as an émigré he helped many Poles to survive the times of war.

The main goal of the article is to portray Jakubowski, his life, social and political activity, and also selected key aspects of the activities he conducted, especially after 1939, in the Polish émigré community in France. His commitment and organisation of various forms of aid for Polish émigrés have not been fully portrayed and discussed in relevant literature.

The primary source of knowledge on Jakubowski in the relevant time-frame are the accessible and preserved archival resources. Most of them can be found in the Polish library in Paris. They encompass both personal documents and those created by the organisations that Jakubowski was

involved in. Studying and interpreting them makes it possible to write and complement his biography. The attached bibliography contains a precise list of archival materials with their call numbers.

1899–1939: the years of childhood, youth, and professional activity

Józef Jakubowski was born in Warsaw on 17 October 1899. In 1916, he completed his education at Konopczyński School and subsequently, in 1917, entered the Warsaw University of Technology.¹ Engaging in community work furthering independence, he joined the still-illegal scouting movement, to emerge as a leading figure in Polish scouting. Until 1922, he was a member of the Polish scouting authorities, i.a., actively establishing the organisational foundations for the movement and preparing generations of young scouts for public service. In 1918–1919, he organised scouts into military detachments and became the drafting commissioner of the Polish Scouting Association in Warsaw.

After the Polish-Soviet War, he could resume his studies in independent Poland. In 1924, he graduated from the Higher School of Commerce and began working, initially as a secretary and later as a director, for the Polish Merchants' Association² and then in the Supreme Council of Polish Merchants' Associations (RNZKP).³ Thanks to Jakubowski's involvement, the merchant associations experienced a period of rapid development. While directing the first Association and then the RNZKP, he put particular

- 1 Polish Library in Paris (henceforth: BPP), Archives of the Polish Red Cross in France, from the legacy of Józef Jakubowski (henceforth: PCK, SJJ), temporary call sign 1, *Materiały dotyczące biografii Józefa Jakubowskiego, Curriculum vitae* (unpaginated file).
- 2 BPP, PCK, SJJ, temporary call sign 1, *Materiały dotyczące biografii Józefa Jakubowskiego, Curriculum vitae* (unpaginated file). It was the strongest merchant organisation operating in Poland in 1906–39, since 1925 affiliated with the Supreme Council of Polish Merchants' Associations. With c. 15,000 members in 1939, it primarily aimed to influence the course of state economic policy, assist members in obtaining loans, and tax and customs exemptions. Additionally, it contributed to the improvement of merchants' skills. It published "Tygodnik Handlowy" weekly.
- 3 He married in 1924 and had three sons born in 1928, 1932, and in 1939. The oldest was killed while fighting in the Warsaw Uprising in 1944. BPP, PCK, SJJ, temporary call sign 1, *Materiały dotyczące biografii Józefa Jakubowskiego, Curriculum vitae* (unpaginated file).

emphasis on the organisation of trade in Poland and improvement of the conditions work of Polish commerce.

In 1928, he was made the director of the Supreme Council of Polish Merchants' Associations and an editor of "Tygodnik Handlowy", the magazine published by the Polish Merchants' Association's and devoted to economic matters. From 1934, he served as the chairman of the editorial committee of "Rocznik Polskiego Przemysłu i Handlu" (literally "Yearbook of Polish industry and commerce").⁴ His work in the field won him an Officer's Cross of the Order of Restored Poland (Polonia Restituta) in 1932. In August 1932, Jakubowski became the director of the Chamber of Industry and Commerce in Warsaw, at the same time standing at the helm of the branches of the Union of Chambers of Industry and Commerce of the Republic of Poland.⁵

Józef Jakubowski was a member of various societies and organisations, including the International Chamber of Commerce (ICC), established in Paris in 1919, where he served as a permanent representative of Poland and a member of the Polish National Committee of the International Chamber of Commerce. In this capacity, he addressed the issue of rational distribution of goods. He initiated the establishment of the advisory committee on trade at the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, created for temporary strengthening of the trade apparatus in 1931, and served as its member. Furthermore, he was a member of the international export promotion commission and a member of the authorities of the Compensatory Trade Society.

He also co-founded and was the vice president of the Vocational Education Society, established on 9 October 1934, as part of the reform of vocational education intending to contribute to the development of such education "as the needs of economic life may guide".⁶ Even earlier, on the power of the ministerial regulation of 21 November 1933, vocational

4 The magazine was published yearly since its establishment in 1930 as a merger of "Rocznik Informacyjny o Spółkach Akcyjnych w Polsce" and "Polski Przemysł i Handel (Rynek Polski)". See: "Rocznik Polskiego Przemysłu i Handlu" 1932.

5 BPP, PCK, SJJ, temporary call sign 1, *Materiały dotyczące biografii Józefa Jakubowskiego, Curriculum vitae* (unpaginated file).

6 J. Miąso, *Szkoły zawodowe w Polsce w latach 1918–1939: ich rozwój, organizacja i funkcje społeczne*, Wrocław—Warszawa—Kraków—Gdańsk—Łódź 1988, p. 114; J. Miąso, *Pozarolnicze kształcenie młodzieży wiejskiej w latach 1918–1939*, "Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy" (1997) No. 3–4, pp. 95–109.

1. Meeting of the Main Committee of the League of Economic Self-Sufficiency in Warsaw, third from the left: Józef Jakubowski (1899–1984). National Digital Archives, ref. 3/1/0/8/578/2



2. Pre-election meeting of the Chamber of Industry and Commerce in Warsaw, left to right: Józef Jakubowski, Witold Kuczewski, Bogusław Herse, Czesław Klarner. National Digital Archives, ref. 1-G-869



education had been divided into four branches: industrial, commercial, agricultural, and domestic economy. This marked the beginning of a period of intensive efforts to reform, expand, and modernise such schools.

In 1935, Jakubowski ran in the parliamentary elections from the 5th Electoral District of Warsaw, however, he did not secure a parliamentary seat, as the voters in his district elected Walery Sławek⁷ with 29,319 votes and Włodzimierz Szczepański with 15,118 votes, while Jakubowski only received 12,741 votes.⁸

Other notable events of the time that Jakubowski actively contributed to include the National Congress of Christian Merchants (13–15 November 1937), where he delivered a lecture on “Modern Methods of Work in Trade”. He also served as vice chairman of the Organising Committee for the World Exhibition in New York on the theme of The World of Tomorrow. Being one of the larger universal exhibitions, open for two seasons from 30 April to 31 October 1939, and from 11 May to 27 October 1940, for the reborn Polish State, the exhibition was a crucial means of promotion as it attracted over 44 million visitors.⁹ This was when Jakubowski’s flourishing career was interrupted by the outbreak of the Second World War.

1939–84—émigré times

Józef Jakubowski’s emigration odyssey started in Switzerland, where he stayed for several months upon leaving Poland. Subsequently, in 1940, he entered France and started working for the Polish Red Cross (PCK) there. Since 13 January 1941, when its board consolidated the operations

7 J. M. Nowakowski, *Walery Sławek (1879-1939). Zarys biografii politycznej*, Warszawa 1988, passim.

8 *W Warszawie tylko 22 proc. głosowało ważnie*, “Warszawski Dziennik Narodowy” Sep 10, 1935, pp. 1, 5; *Wybory do Sejmu*, “Kurjer Warszawski” Sep 10 (1935) No. 248, wydanie poranne, pp. 3–4.

9 Preparations to the exhibition were also coordinated by the Honorary Committee, whose active members included Archbishop Stanisław Gall, PhD, Ignacy Jan Paderewski, Waclaw Sieroszewski, Professor Fryderyk Pautsh, Mieczysław Śnieżyński, Czesław Klarner, Piotr Sobczyk, and Stefan Szymczak. AAN, call sign 2/64/0/18/344, *Wystawa Światowa w Nowym Jorku w 1939 roku (The World of Tomorrow)—organizing a press stand in the Polish pavilion. Korespondencja, notatki, fotografie; Poland. Official catalogue of the Polish Pavilion at the World’s Fair in New York, 1939*, Warszawa 1939; K. Nowakowska, *Pawilon Polski na nowojorskiej wystawie światowej (1939–1940) i jego dalsze dzieje*, Warszawa 2013.

of the Bureau of the Board under the leadership of the Secretary-General and organised it into four departments (administrative-financial, economic, veteran care, and cultural and educational), Jakubowski was made the head of the first. His department, administrative-financial, dealt with financial, personnel, information and press relations, organisational and administrative matters, and provision of services for the Council, Audit Commission, and the Main Board of the PCK, as well as with other duties unassigned to other departments.¹⁰

When the PCK could no longer operate in France due to decree of German authorities, Jakubowski had his share in the effort to transform the institution and establish another one in its place. The French authorities made sure that not only the name of the organisation changed and “that outwardly, the new Society differed as much as possible from the PCK”,¹¹ as they were aware that the Germans were closely tracking the matter, and therefore anything that could pose a threat to the emerging institution had to be avoided. A proof of that came in a protest note, in which the Germans pointed out the ostensible dissolution of the PCK branch in Nice and establishment of the local Parish Committee, not legally registered with French authorities.¹²

On 12 June 1941, during the organisational meeting of the new institution, the Welfare Society for Poles in France (Groupement d’assistance aux Polonais en France, GAPF, Polish acronym: TOPF) in Vichy in France, Jakubowski was elected a board member, while the post of the president was entrusted to Professor Zygmunt Lubicz-Zaleski.¹³

10 BPP, Mieczysław Biesiekierski Archive (henceforth: AMB), temporary call sign 8, *Prace M. Biesiekierskiego związane z działalnością opiekuńczą*, p. 11 (unpaginated file, numbering refers to pages of the document); A. Pachowicz, *Towarzystwo Opieki nad Polakami we Francji 1941–1944*, Toruń 2013, p. 40.

11 Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum in London, PRM-K 16, 4, p. 35.

12 M. Babiński, *Z akcji Polskiego Czerwonego Krzyża*, in: *Wojenny Rocznik Emigracji Polskiej we Francji 1939–1944*, Lyon 1945, p. 72.

13 State Archive in Warsaw, Korotyński collection, call sign 72/201/0/25/2862, *Życiorys Zygmunta Waclawa Michała Lubicz Zaleskiego*, p. 1; A. Pachowicz, *Sytuacja Polaków we Francji po ewakuacji rządu Władysława Sikorskiego*, “*Studia Historyczne*” 48 (2005) no. 2, p. 212.

TOPF's main task was to provide material, cultural, and moral assistance to Poles residing permanently or temporarily in France.¹⁴ TOPF sought to offer aid as what was known as open and closed care, supporting those in need in a way ensuring the possibility of surviving the war for everyone, regardless of their origin, denomination, education, and/or profession, even if in the most modest conditions. At the time, Poles residing in France belonged to what was known as "the old emigration" and the ones who arrived after the outbreak of the war.¹⁵ TOPF initially divided the area of unoccupied France into eight Regional Delegations based in Grenoble, Lyon, Marseille, Toulouse, Périgueux, Nîmes, Tarbes, and Montpellier. A division that later underwent changes due to the political situation.

Serving as the head of the Main Board Office, that is secretary-general of TOPF, Jakubowski was a member of the General Assembly of TOPF. His deputies were Maurycy Jaroszyński and, until July 1942, Tytus Komarnicki. During the vacancy on the post of the head of the Department for the Care for Civilian Refugees lasting to the end of July 1942, Jakubowski stood at its helm in person, delegating these responsibilities to Stefan Jankowski in August.¹⁶

When, on 19 March 1943, the Italian authorities arrested President Lubicz-Zaleski,¹⁷ Jakubowski took over his duties and was elected to the

14 BPP, PCK, SJJ temporary call sign 8, *Status du Groupement d'Assistance aux Polonais en France. Approuvés par Arrêté de le Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat à l'Intérieur en date du 17 Août 1941*, pp. 1–3 (unpaginated file, numbering refers to pages of the document); A. Pachowicz, *Towarzystwo Opieki nad Polakami we Francji 1941–1944*, p. 68.

15 S. Zabiełło, *Na posterunku we Francji*, Warszawa 1967; P. Kalinowski, *Emigracja polska we Francji w służbie dla Polski i Francji 1939–1945*, Paryż 1970; B. Gajewicz, *Opieka nad kombatantami 1941–1944*, Vals-les-Bains 1944.

16 A. Pachowicz, *Towarzystwo Opieki nad Polakami we Francji 1941–1944*, p. 76.

17 Zygmunt Lubicz-Zaleski was first transported to Italy, where he was handed over to the Germans, taken to Fresnes, from where he was transported to the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, where he stayed until liberation by the American forces on 11 April 1945. He lost an eye as a result of interrogations by the Gestapo. BPP, akc. 3917.1, *Z. L. Zaleski Curriculum vitae i wyciąg z bibliografii*, p. 1 (unpaginated file, numbering refers to pages of the document); BPP, Zygmunt Lubicz-Zaleski akc. 3917/1, *Życiorys Z. Lubicz-Zaleskiego* (unpaginated file); P. Kraszewski, *Zaleski-Lubicz Zygmunt*, in: *Encyklopedia polskiej emigracji i Polonii*, vol. 5: S–Ż, chief editor K. Dopierała, Toruń 2005, pp. 382–383; *Zaleski-Lubowicz Zygmunt*, in: *Literatura polska*.

post at the General Assembly of TOPF in supplementary elections to the TOPF Board on 26 August 1943.¹⁸

Undoubtedly, Jakubowski's work contributed to the efficient organisation of Polish shelters, hospital, sanatorium, and a Polish secondary school with a dormitory (where Jakubowski personally conducted courses and vocational training). He assisted prisoners of war by sending parcels to camps, and actively collaborated with the Polish Resistance Movement in France.

In 1947–1951, Jakubowski worked actively in the French branch of the Relief Society for Poles (Sociétés de Secours aux Polonais). It was established after the transformation of the PCK in London, in the wake of changing political circumstances. On 5 July 1945, the British government ceased to recognise the Polish government in exile, leading to concerns about the possible takeover of the PCK in London, and its branches and delegations outside England, including those in France, by the communist authorities. Faced with that, the Main Board of the PCK Association in London introduced a change. The Society was registered on 17 October 1946, in accordance with British law, as the Relief Society for Poles Ltd., to which the Main Board of the PCK transferred all its welfare and aid activities and assets.¹⁹ The first president of the newly formed

Przewodnik encyklopedyczny, vol. 2: N–Ż, Warszawa 1985, p. 667; B. Klimaszewski, E. R. Nowakowska, W. Wyskiel, *Mały słownik pisarzy polskich na obczyźnie 1939–1980*, Warszawa 1993, pp. 358–360; Zygmunt Lubicz-Zaleski, in: *Słownik współczesnych pisarzy polskich*, vol. 3: R–Ż, collective work ed. by E. Korzeniowska, Warszawa 1964, p. 570; Z. Markiewicz, *Zygmunt Lubicz-Zaleski*, "Pamiętnik Literacki" 1969, vol. 1, p. 1; *Cmentarz polski w Montmorency*, ed. by J. Skowronek, Warszawa 1986, p. 238; A. Pachowicz, *Wśród Francuzów i Polaków w czasach wojen i pokoju, czyli o działalności Zygmunta Wacława Michała Lubicz-Zaleskiego (1882-1967)*, in: *Stosunki międzynarodowe i wkład Polaków w dziedzictwo kulturowe*, ed. by S. Kowalska, UAM, Poznań–Kalisz 2014, pp. 205–225.

18 Anna de Monfort, cooperating with TOPF, was also arrested at the same time, and a search was conducted at the Office of the Board in La Tronche near Grenoble as part of search for Tytus Komarnicki, who was formally Deputy Secretary General of TOPF. BPP, AMB temporary call sign 8, *Prace M. Biesiekierskiego związane z działalnością opiekuńczą. Okres III od września 1941 r. do 30 kwietnia 1944 r.*, p. 28 (unpaginated file, numbering refers to pages of the document).

19 Former PCK activists became the founding members of the Society. Their number included Adam Ciołkosz, Rafał Cywiński, Olgierd Daniłowicz, Tytus Filipowicz,

RELIEF SOCIETY FOR POLES
TOWARZYSTWO POMOCY POLAKOM

84, BELGRAVE SQUARE,
LONDON, S.W.1.

Tel. SLO 9838-39.
- 9233-39.
- 1897.

November 11th, 1946.

TO ALL WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

This is to certify that Mr. Józef Jakubowski, residing in Paris, has been appointed to act as Delegate in France of the Executive Committee of the Relief Society for Poles.

The Executive Committee of the Relief Society for Poles in London will greatly appreciate and will be thankful for any help and assistance accorded to Mr. J. Jakubowski in connection with his duties and activities.

JEAN CANUZIÈRE
Expert-Traducteur Juré
près la Cour d'Appel de Paris
33, Rue de Jussieu, PARIS-V^e
— Tél. ODÉon 50-01 —

A. Götz-Okocinski
A. Götz-Okocinski
SECRETARY GENERAL

Helena Sikorska
Helena Sikorska
PRESIDENT

VISÉ: "No variation" sous le N^o 2082
Paris, le 12 JUIL 1947

Jean Canuzière

3. A "To All Whom It May Concern" certificate signed by Sikorska, confirming that Jakubowski is Delegate of the Relief Society for Poles in France. BPP, Archives of the Polish Red Cross in France, from the legacy of Józef Jakubowski, temporary call sign. 31, Administrative-Organisational Matters of TOPF branches.

4. Józef
Jakubowski
(1899-1984).
BPP, Archives
of the Polish
Red Cross
in France,
from the
legacy of Józef
Jakubowski,
temporary call
sign. 1, Materi-
als concerning
Józef
Jakubowski



organization was Helena Sikorska. The Society also actively organised assistance for Polish soldiers and their families.

Jakubowski cooperated with military authorities on the evacuation of Polish armed forces to England, working with various institutions including the French Red Cross, the Social Welfare Department for Foreigners (Service Social d'Aide aux Emigrants—SSAE), the International Refugee Organisation, and the Association of Polish Veterans.

After the war, he took up various professions, and was also engaged in such charitable activities as assisting people returning from concentration camps and support of Polish students; he also ran a Polish-French community and culture club. From 1965 to 1980, he served as director of the Polish Bookstore in Paris and, being engaged in trade and publishing, contributing to the renewal of this institution operating since 1833. His other functions include membership in the Historical-Literary Society in Paris and the Administrative Council of the Polish Bookstore in Paris.

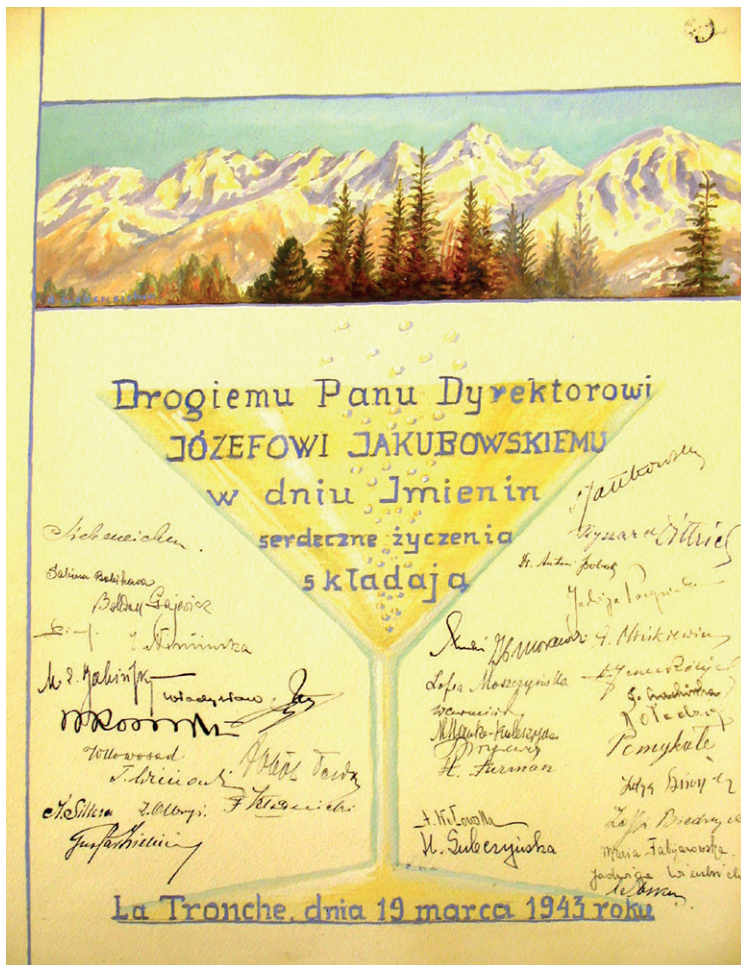
For his professional and community work, as well as his activities during the Second World War, Jakubowski was awarded the Golden Cross of Merit, Złoty Krzyż Oficerski Orderu z Mieczami (the Golden Officer's Cross of the Order with Swords, the Cross of Valour, the Resistance Movement Medal, and the French Cross of War with Silver Gilt Star (Croix de Guerre avec Etoile de Vermeil).

Always devoted to his work, Jakubowski devoted his time, strength, and energy to it, always standing out with his organisational skills, responsibility, and courage.

Józef Jakubowski died on 25 September 1984, at Issy-les-Moulineaux. A funeral service in his memory was held at 8:30 am on 28 September 1984 in the Polish church in Paris, and his remains were buried in the Montmorency Cemetery. The urn with Jakubowski's ashes was brought to Poland, the funeral ceremony was held at the Church of St Martin

Antoni Goetz-Okocimski, Józef Haller, Bronisław Jedlewski, Wincenty Łącki, Witold Łęgowski, Tadeusz Malinowski, Stanisław Olszewski, Stanisław Ozga, Anna Paszkowska, Kazimierz Płoski, Maria Ponikieska, Jadwiga Raczkiewicz, Cecylia Raczyńska, Helena Sikorska, Bronisław Skolak, Fr Władysław Staniszewski, Stanisław Ścigalski, and Józef Unrug. AAN, *Polski Czerwony Krzyż. Zarząd Główny w Warszawie*, call sign 2/284/O/12/301, *Delegatura PCK w Wielkiej Brytanii. Relief Society for Poles (Towarzystwo Pomocy Polakom). Rewindykacja mienia oraz akcja paczkowa.*

5. A card with greetings for Józef Jakubowski. BPP, Archives of the Polish Red Cross in France, from the legacy of Józef Jakubowski, temporary call sign. 1, Materials concerning Józef Jakubowski



at ul. Piwna 11 in Warsaw, and the urn was interred in the family grave at Powązki Cemetery in Warsaw.

Archival materials related to the life and activity of Józef Jakubowski. Central Archives of Modern Records in Warsaw and scans of resources from the Hoover Institution Archives

The archival collection in the Central Archives of Modern Records in Warsaw contains documents related to the institutions that Jakubowski worked for in Poland between the two world wars, and in France from 1939 onwards.

They are diverse archival materials that shed light on his involvement in commercial and merchant organisations in the Republic of Polish. However, only few documents concerning his welfare activity in emigration have been preserved. The multi-faceted activity of Jakubowski in émigré welfare institutions lasting from 1939 to 1984 cannot be fully reconstructed from the sources preserved in the Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie (AAN; Central Archives of Modern Records in Warsaw). Its collection mainly consists of copies or transcripts of documents from the time of his work for the Polish Red Cross in France (Croix Rouge Polonais en France) and later the Relief Society for Poles in France (Groupement d'Assistance aux Polonais).

The accessible documents cover the organisation and activities of the PCK in France (care for refugees and also soldiers of the Polish Army in France, HR matters, and the liquidation of the PCK); TOPF (information on the organisation, activities, and liquidation of TOPF, as well as audits conducted, correspondence, and HR matters, as well as the collection called in French Groupement d'Assistance aux Polonais en France avant la liquidation (i.e., Relief Society for Poles in France before liquidation) containing materials that cover organisation and activities, lists of shelters, personnel, and individuals staying in shelters); TOPF—liquidation (with various matters related to parcels for prisoners, subscriptions to “Wieszcz Polski” and “Pacholęcie Polskie” for the sick and needy; letters to people living in the Gréoux-les-Bains shelter; TOPF/Relief Society for Poles in France, and Liquidation des interêts du l'ancies Croix Rouge Polonais et du Groupement d'Assistance aux Polonais a Marseille, that is Liquidation of the interests of the former Polish Red Cross and the TOPF/Groupement d'Assistance aux Polonais in Marseille); Groupement d'Assistance aux Polonais en France avant la liquidation (Relief Society for Poles in France before liquidation, organisation and activities, lists of individuals receiving allowances, financial statements, correspondence,

death certificate forms). Only a handful of documents related to TOPF can be found in the collections concerning educational, cultural, and community organisations in France and their activities in the Principality of Monaco.

In turn, scans of materials from the Hoover Institution Archives contain individual documents that add to Jakubowski's legacy. They can be found in the following collections: *Uchodźcy (Refugees) 1943*. Geographic areas, Europe, France; Towarzystwo Opieki nad Polakami we Francji; *Uchodźcy wojenni. War refugees 1942*. Geographic areas, France, Towarzystwo Opieki nad Polakami we Francji; and *War refugees 1944*. Geographic areas, Europe, France, Towarzystwo Opieki nad Polakami we Francji (GAPF).

Given the above, it can be asserted that the archival resources on Józef Jakubowski's activities at the AAN are not complete and only cover certain aspects of his, especially émigré, life, as they only include few documents related to Polish shelters operating in France, yet the collection lacks complete correspondence, for example, with the French authorities.

Polish Library in Paris

The archival resources of the Polish Library in Paris contain the legacy of Jakubowski, which includes documents related to Jakubowski himself and the institutions he was associated with since 1939. Composed of 49 units, the collection is called Archiwum Polskiego Czerwonego Krzyża we Francji ze spuścizny Józefa Jakubowskiego (literally: "Archive of the Polish Red Cross in France from the Legacy of Józef Jakubowski), that is materials related to TOPF.

This legacy includes various archival materials, whose detailed list with call marks can be found in the bibliography attached to this paper. The materials refer to Józef Jakubowski's biography; his activities in the PCK and TOPF; the initial period of PCK activity in France; minutes from the meetings of the bodies of PCK in France; reports on PCK activities in France; reports from PCK's Regional Delegations in France; materials related to the liquidation of the PCK in France; minutes of TOPF (GAPF); financial settlements of PCK and TOPF; reports on the activities of TOPF's bodies and the liquidation of TOPF; TOPF correspondence; meetings of the PCK Board; organisation of care in shelters; the PCK shelter in Grenoble; shelter care issues; PCK operation in response to changes in the political circumstances; organisation of aid for camp prisoners, former prisoners of war, and Polish Jews; Employment and Education Department of the PCK; administrative and HR matters of PCK and TOPF; PCK

work certificates; studies and reports on the history and activities of the PCK; Congress of PCK Regional Delegates; PCK cooperation with the Polish War Relief (Polish: Rada Polonii Amerykańskiej); exchanges related to PCK activities; disputes of PCK staff; photographs concerning PCK activities; collections of newspaper articles; Jakubowski's activities in the Relief Society for Poles; administrative and organisational matters of TOPF branches; Jakubowski's correspondence from the time when he ran a private transport company; reports on the activities of the Relief Society for Poles; TPP's correspondence; correspondence with Międzynarodową Organizacją Uchodźców (International Refugees Organization; Organisation Internationale pour les Réfugiés); Jakubowski's activities in the Polish Bookshop in Paris; the PCK Shelter in Grenoble; a collectively edited book titled *11 Listopada 1941* (literally: *11 November 1941*; the Committee for Commemorating the Memory of Marshal Józef Piłsudski; works of various individuals preserved in the records of the Grenoble shelter; and radio announcements.

This legacy deserves attention for several reasons, notably the interesting of Polish and French content produced by the institutions in question, and the posts Jakubowski held in his lifetime. The diversity of resources it holds is impressive and worth broader attention.

Concluding, it is worth emphasising that in his work both in Poland and in France, Jakubowski endeavoured to perform tasks assigned to him as well as he could. While in emigration, he closely collaborated with Professor Zygmunt Lubicz-Zaleski, remaining somewhat in his shadow, and being consequently relatively less known. He was responsible and diligent in carrying out the broad range of duties entrusted to him, and was far from indifferent to the vicissitudes of fate of the Polish wartime and post-war emigration. Lubicz-Zaleski stated in his diaries that Jakubowski combined genuine idealism and organisational ingenuity, and “possessed a strong sense of responsibility and extraordinary diligence in performing his duties”.²⁰

20 Z. Lubicz-Zaleski, *Pamiętnik od Grotowic do Buchenwaldu 1939–1945*, vol. 2, ed. and annotated by M. Willaume, Paryż—Łódź 1988, p. 131.

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- call sign 2/734/0, *Towarzystwo Opieki nad Polakami we Francji. Organizacja i działalność Towarzystwa: sprawozdania, 1942, 1943, call sign 1, 2; Kontrole: protokoły i sprawozdania, 1942–1944, call sign 3–7; Likwidacja Towarzystwa: sprawozdania, protokoły, korespondencja, zestawienia, 1943–1945, call sign 8, 9;*
- call sign 2/464/0/9/915 *Polski Czerwony Krzyż (we Francji—działalność w zakresie opieki nad uchodźcami oraz b. żołnierzami Armii Polskiej we Francji, likwidacja PCK). Dom Polski w (Marsylii). Towarzystwo Opieki nad Polakami we Francji—(działalność. Instrukcja Dyrektora...);*
- call sign 2/464/0/11/994 *Groupement d'Assistance aux Polonais en France avant la liquidation (Towarzystwo Opieki nad Polakami we Francji przed likwidacją, organizacja i działalność. Spisy schronisk, personelu i osób przebywających w schroniskach, komunikat, korespondencja...);*
- call sign 2/464/0/9/916 *Polski Czerwony Krzyż i Towarzystwo Opieki nad Polakami we Francji—działalność, sprawy personalne, (schroniska PCK w Marsylii i innych miejscowościach. Raport Biura Polskiego w Marsylii, wykazy schronisk i pracowników PCK, korespondencja...);*
- call sign 2/464/0/11/997 *G.A.P.—liquidation (Towarzystwo Opieki nad Polakami we Francji—likwidacja. Sprawy różne: paczki dla więźniów, prenumerata “Wieszcza Polskiego” i “Pacholęcia Polskiego” dla chorych i ubogich, listy dla osób zamieszkałych w schronisku w Gréoux-les...);*
- call sign 2/472/0/-/42 *Organizacje oświatowe, kulturalne, społeczne we Francji i ich działalność na terenie Księstwa Monako. Stowarzyszenie Młodych Muzyków Polaków w Paryżu. Towarzystwo Opieki nad Polakami we Francji. Koło polskie w Nicei. Korespondencja, sprawozdania z działalności, programy koncertów;*
- call sign 2/464/0/11/996 *G.A.P. (Towarzystwo Opieki nad Polakami we Francji], Liquidation des interêts du l'ancies Croix Rouge Polonais et du Groupement d'Assistance aux Polonais a Marseille. [Likwidacja spraw b. Polskiego Czerwonego Krzyża i TOPF w Marsylii. Sprawy...)*

call sign 2/464/0/11/995 *Groupement d'Assistance aux Polonais en France avant la liquidation (Towarzystwo Opieki nad Polakami we Francji przed likwidacją [organizacja i działalność. Wykazy osób pobierających zasiłki, zestawienia finansowe, korespondencja, formularze zgonu).*

call sign 2/284/0/12/301 *Polski Czerwony Krzyż. Zarząd Główny w Warszawie, Delegatura PCK w Wielkiej Brytanii. Relief Society for Poles (Towarzystwo Pomocy Polakom). Rewindykacja mienia oraz akcja paczkowa.*

Hoover Institution Archivea (scans at AAN)

Uchodźcy (Refugees) call sign 800/42/0/-/134, Folder 3 1943. Geographic areas, Europe, France, Towarzystwo Opieki nad Polakami we Francji

Uchodźcy wojenni (War refugees) call sign 800/42/0/-/141, Folder 3 1944. Geographic areas, Europe, France, Towarzystwo Opieki nad Polakami we Francji (GAPF); *War refugees.*

Uchodźcy wojenni (War refugees) 800/42/0/-/132, Folder 11 1942. Geographic areas, France, Towarzystwo Opieki nad Polakami we Francji.

Polish Library in Paris

ARCHIVES OF THE POLISH RED CROSS IN FRANCE, FROM THE LEGACY OF JÓZEF JAKUBOWSKI

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temporary call sign 2, Dokumenty dotyczące działalności J. Jakubowskiego w Polskim Czerwonym Krzyżu i Towarzystwie Opieki nad Polakami we Francji

temporary call sign 3, Materiały dotyczące pierwszego okresu działalności Polskiego Czerwonego Krzyża we Francji

temporary call sign 4, Protokoły posiedzeń organów Polskiego Czerwonego Krzyża we Francji, vol. 1–2

temporary call sign 5, Sprawozdania z działalności Polskiego Czerwonego Krzyża we Francji

temporary call sign 6, Sprawozdania Delegatur Okręgowych PCK

temporary call sign 7, Materiały dotyczące likwidacji Polskiego Czerwonego Krzyża we Francji, vol. 1–2

temporary call sign 8, Materiały organizacyjne, protokoły zebrań Towarzystwa Opieki nad Polakami we Francji (TOPF—GAPF)

temporary call sign 9, Rozliczenia finansowe PCK i TOPF
temporary call sign 10, Sprawozdania z działalności organów
Towarzystwa Opieki nad Polakami we Francji
temporary call sign 11, Sprawy likwidacji TOPF
temporary call sign 12, Towarzystwo Opieki nad Polakami we Francji—
korespondencja
temporary call sign 13, Materiały związane z posiedzeniami Zarządu
Polskiego Czerwonego Krzyża
temporary call sign 14, Organizacja opieki schroniskowej
temporary call sign 15, Materiały dotyczące Domu Schroniskowego PCK
w Grenoble
temporary call sign 16, Sprawy opieki schroniskowej
temporary call sign 17, Działalność PCK wobec zmiany sytuacji
politycznej
temporary call sign 18, Materiały dotyczące organizowania pomocy
więźniom obozów, byłym jeńcom wojennym oraz Żydom polskim
temporary call sign 19, Sprawy Działu Zatrudnienia i działu Oświaty PCK
temporary call sign 20, Sprawy administracyjno-kadrowe PCK i TOPF
temporary call sign 21, Zaświadczenia o pracy w PCK
temporary call sign 22, Opracowania i raporty dotyczące historii
i działalności Polskiego Czerwonego Krzyża
temporary call sign 23, Materiały Zjazdu Delegatów Okręgowych
Polskiego Czerwonego Krzyża
temporary call sign 24, Współpraca PCK z Radą Polonii Amerykańskiej
temporary call sign 25, Korespondencja związana z działalnością PCK
temporary call sign 26, Materiały w sprawach spornych pracowników
PCK
temporary call sign 27, Albumy
temporary call sign 28, Zbiór fotografii dotyczących działalności PCK
temporary call sign 29, Prasa polska na obczyźnie, artykuły z prasy
zagranicznej
temporary call sign 30, Działalność Józefa Jakubowskiego w Relief
Society for Poles (Towarzystwo Pomocy Polakom—Société
de Secours aux Polonais)
temporary call sign 31, Sprawy administracyjno-organizacyjne
placówek Towarzystwa Opieki nad Polakami we Francji
temporary call sign 32, Korespondencja z okresu prowadzenia
prywatnej firmy przewozowej
temporary call sign 33, Sprawozdania z działalności Relief Society for
Poles

temporary call sign 34, Relief Society for Poles—korespondencja
 temporary call sign 35, Materiały różnych instytucji w ramach
 Towarzystwa Pomocy Polakom
 temporary call sign 36, Korespondencja z Organisation Internationale
 pour les Réfugiés
 temporary call sign 37, Działalność Józefa Jakubowskiego w Księgarni
 Polskiej w Paryżu
 temporary call sign 38, Fotografie Księgarni Polskiej
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 temporary call sign 40, Prasa zachowana w spuściźnie
 temporary call sign 41, Materiały różne
 temporary call sign 42, Materiały obce ze spuścizny Józefa
 Jakubowskiego
 temporary call sign 43, vol. 1. Akta Domu Schroniskowego PCK
 w Grenoble; vol. 2. Akta organów kolejalnych Domu
 Schroniskowego PCK w Grenoble
 temporary call sign 44, Materiały dotyczące Księgi zbiorowej pt.
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 temporary call sign 47, Materiały informacyjne przesłane do Grand
 Hôtel w Grenoble
 temporary call sign 48, Komunikaty radiowe. Z akt Domu
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Abstract

Anna Pachowicz

Józef Jakubowski (1899–1984)—activist in scout, community, and émigré organisations in the light of Polish and French archival resources

The main purpose of this paper is to provide an insight into the life, activities, and preserved archival documents concerning Józef Jakubowski (1899–1984), whose work in support of Polish emigrants residing in France during the Second World War deserves highest recognition and respect. Jakubowski was born in Warsaw, where he spent his childhood, completed primary and secondary education, and began his studies at the Warsaw University of Technology in 1917. He was actively involved in the scouting movement. His participation in the Polish-Soviet War forced him to leave the university. It was only in 1924 that he completed his higher education at another university, the Higher School of Commerce. His professional life also started in Warsaw, where he worked for the Association of Polish Merchants until 1939. His life was interrupted by the Second World War, and he decided to emigrate first to Switzerland and then to France. At that time of his life, he became involved with the Polish Red Cross. He was primarily involved in developing forms of aid and organising support for Poles in France. Once the Polish Red Cross was banned from further activities, he worked in the Welfare Society for the Poles in France. He cooperated with the Polish Resistance Movement in France and with military authorities on the evacuation of the Polish armed forces to England, as well as with many institutions, including the French Red Cross, the Department of Social Welfare for Foreigners, the International Refugee Organisation, and the Association of Polish Veterans. The archival documents concerning Jakubowski, surviving at the Central Archives of Modern Records in Warsaw and at the Polish Library in Paris, make it possible to reconstruct not only the facts of his life but also the events related to the functioning of the institutions, organisations, and associations he worked for.

Keywords:

Józef Jakubowski (1899–1984), Polish Red Cross—Welfare Society for the Poles in France, Second World War, Polish emigration in France

Abstrakt

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Józef Jakubowski (1899–1984)—działacz organizacji harcerskich, społecznych i emigracyjnych w świetle dostępnych zasobów archiwalnych proweniencji polsko-francuskiej

Głównym celem artykułu jest ukazanie życia, działalności oraz zachowanej spuścizny archiwalnej Józefa Jakubowskiego (1899–1984), którego praca na rzecz emigrantów polskich przebywających we Francji w okresie II wojny światowej zasługuje na najwyższe uznanie i szacunek. Jakubowski urodził się w Warszawie, tutaj spędził dzieciństwo, ukończył szkołę podstawową i średnią—liceum ogólnokształcące, a następnie w 1917 roku rozpoczął studia na Politechnice Warszawskiej, aktywnie działał w harcerstwie. Ze względu na udział w wojnie polsko-bolszewickiej przerwał studia. Ukończył je później w 1924 roku w innej uczelni, w Wyższej Szkole Handlowej. W Warszawie rozpoczął aktywność zawodową. Do 1939 roku pracował w Stowarzyszeniu Kupców Polskich. Jego dotychczasowe życie przerwała II wojna światowa, zdecydował się udać na emigrację najpierw do Szwajcarii, a potem do Francji. W tym okresie życia zaangażował się początkowo w pracę w Polskim Czerwonym Krzyżu. Zajmował się przede wszystkim wypracowaniem form pomocy oraz organizacją wsparcia dla Polaków na terytorium Francji. Po uniemożliwieniu PCK dalszych działań pracował w utworzonym Towarzystwie Opieki nad Polakami we Francji. Współpracował z Polskim Ruchem Oporu we Francji oraz z władzami wojskowymi w ewakuacji polskich sił zbrojnych do Anglii, a także z wieloma instytucjami, m.in. z Francuskim Czerwonym Krzyżem, Wydziałem Opieki Społecznej dla Obcokrajowców, Międzynarodową Organizacją Uchodźców, czy też Stowarzyszeniem Polskich Kombatantów. Pozostawione dokumenty archiwalne dotyczące osoby Jakubowskiego dostępne w Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie oraz w Bibliotece Polskiej w Paryżu pozwalają nie tylko odtworzyć fakty z jego życia, ale umożliwiają usystematyzowanie wydarzeń związanych z funkcjonowaniem instytucji, organizacji, czy stowarzyszeń, w których pracował.

Słowa kluczowe:

Józef Jakubowski (1899–1984), Polski Czerwony Krzyż, (PCK)—Towarzystwo Opieki nad Polakami we Francji (TOPF), II wojna światowa, emigracja polska we Francji

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The strategy used by the defence in the post-war trials set before the Supreme National Tribunal with particular reference to the trials in Krakow

The text presents analysis of several aspects of the trials set before the Polish Supreme National Tribunal [the SNT; Polish: *Najwyższy Trybunał Narodowy*] in which the highest ranking German criminals were tried. The analysis presented here is not representative of the activities of other courts, especially the special criminal courts before which German defendants were also tried. It is important to emphasise that despite the communists' takeover of power in Poland, the trials conducted by the SNT generally met Western (and also pre-war Polish) standards of justice. Between 1946 and 1948, seven trials took place in which high officials from the occupation period were tried: Arthur Greiser (Reich Governor in the Reichsgau Wartheland), Josef Bühler (Hans Frank's deputy governor in the General Governorate for the Occupied Polish Territories, commonly called the General Government), Albert Forster (gauleiter of the Danzig NSDAP and reichsstatthalter of the Reich District of Danzig-West Prussia), camp commandants Rudolf Höß (the commandant

of the KL Auschwitz Concentration Camp) and Amon Göth (the commandant of the KL Płaszów Concentration Camp), 40 crew members of KL Auschwitz, and the so-called 'Warsaw executioners', Ludwig Fischer (governor of the Warsaw district), Ludwig Leist (starost of Warsaw), Josef Meisinger (head of the SD and the Security Police in Warsaw), and Max Daume (high officer of the German Ordnungspolizei in Warsaw, responsible for the shooting of the Polish civilians in Wawer).

Since the main aim of this article is to present elements of the strategy used by the defence, I will primarily focus on the role of the defence lawyers who did their best to fulfil their professional duty in the difficult situation of these trials. They attempted to present the defendants in a better light than the indictments would imply and thereby reduce the sentence proposed by the prosecution. The choice of the defence lawyers at the SNT and their defence strategy allows us to call these trials 'fair' in line with the judicial principles of Western civilisation. This analysis is not a legal study but an attempt to reconstruct the political determinants, the social atmosphere, and, above all, the lawyers' efforts to ensure that the defence requirements of a 'fair trial' were met. Although the article is mostly based on the court records of all seven trials before the SNT, the line of defence reconstruction is based on the trials that took place in Krakow. These are representative not only in terms of the strategy used by the defence lawyers but also because they refer to defendants of different ranks: officials, camp commanders (who gave the orders to execute but did not themselves kill prisoners), and camp torturers. The discussion of the impact of the defence on the SNT's final sentences is based on analysis of all the trials.

The court records are very extensive and although the reconstruction of the line of defence presented here was mainly based on them, they are only a part of the documentation, which also includes official letters, especially correspondence between the SNT personnel and offices (e.g., the Security Office, the Militia, and the Ministry of Justice), the defendants' prison files, interviews with the lawyers who participated in the trials, and the subject literature.

General determinants of the Supreme National Tribunal activity from the perspective of the defence

From the perspective of the defence lawyers, participating in trials before the SNT was an enormous challenge. After the communists took power in Poland in 1944, the Polish judiciary was soon brought into the orbit of their influence. Despite this, the trials before the SNT were relatively

independent and free from the pressures of the communist authorities, which can be explained by three factors. First, the goal of the communist authorities and Polish society—which was to try the criminals—converged here. For the communists, the possibility that the trials could serve as a tool to legitimise their power in society held an additional advantage. Second, the trials were international and, due to the presence of foreign observers, the procedures recognised in the Western world had to be followed. Third, the communists did not have time to educate legal professionals, so they had to use lawyers educated in the inter-war period who may have had extensive legal experience but were not always submissive to the new authorities¹.

The social atmosphere surrounding the trials was heavily affected by the cruel 5-year occupation policy of the Germans (during which a fifth of all Polish citizens were killed), so there was a desire for revenge in Polish society, which intellectuals (primarily writers, journalists, and clergymen) tried to curb by publicly calling for fair trials². The public found it hard to understand the role of the defence lawyers, who all performed their functions *ex officio*.

The legal basis for the trials before the SNT was primarily the Criminal Code of 1932 (commonly called *Kodeks Makarewicz* [*Makarewicz's Code*]³), the Code of Criminal Procedure of 1928⁴, the August Decree⁵,

- 1 Some defence lawyers fell into disfavour with the new authorities after the trials (e.g., Stanisław Hejnowski), and the prosecutor Mieczysław Siewierski was arrested and charged with the fascisation of life in the interwar period, more on this topic in: E. Romanowska, *“wkrótce już stanę przed innym sądem”*. *Prawnicy II Rzeczypospolitej represjonowani w Polsce w latach 1944–1956*, Warszawa 2020.
- 2 J. Lubecka, *Niemiecki zbrodniarz przed polskim sądem. Krakowskie procesy przed Najwyższym Trybunałem Narodowym*, Kraków 2021, pp. 69–86.
- 3 Rozporządzenie Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej z dnia 11 lipca 1932 r. Kodeks karny, Dz.U. [“Dziennik Ustaw” = Journal of Laws] 1932 no. 60, item. 571. The colloquial name of the code comes from the name of the eminent Polish jurist Juliusz Makarewicz (1872–1955), a long-standing professor of criminal law at the University of Lviv, main author of the 1932 codification of Polish criminal law.
- 4 Rozporządzenie Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej z dn. 19 marca 1928 r. Kodeks postępowania karnego, Dz.U. 1928 No. 33, item 313.
- 5 Dekret Polskiego Komitetu Wyzwolenia Narodowego z dnia 31 sierpnia 1944 r. o wymiarze kary dla faszystowsko-hitlerowskich zbrodniarzy winnych zabójstw

and the Decree on the Establishment of the SNT⁶. Every defendant tried by the SNT had to have a defence lawyer, either of their choosing or ex officio. According to Article 86 of the 1928 Code of Criminal Procedure, an ex officio defence lawyer could be “only: (a.) a person registered with the Polish bar association, (b.) a professor or an assistant professor of law at a state Polish university or a university recognised by Poland”⁷. The Decree on the Establishment of the SNT provided for both the possibility of a defendant choosing a defence lawyer and having one assigned to him ex officio (pursuant to Article 86 of the Code of Criminal Procedure). What was particularly surprising was the additional entitlement by the president of the SNT to allow as the chosen defence lawyer a person who was not only not registered with the bar association but one who had no legal training: “A defence lawyer of choice may be any Polish citizen admitted in this capacity by the President of the Supreme National Tribunal” (Article 9, paragraph 2 of the Decree). This never occurred in practice, however, and in the trials of the German defendants before the SNT, all the defenders were lawyers working ex officio.

Defending before the SNT at these trials was an enormous challenge, not only from a legal point of view but also from a human point of view. The defence lawyers were criticised not only by the public but also by their own community. After years of brutal occupation, the public expected trials that would satisfy their need for justice, which was often understood in terms of revenge. In the trials I have analysed, the defence lawyers tried not to succumb to this pressure, even though defending these trials did not bring them fame, money or public recognition. On the contrary, these must have been extremely difficult personal decisions for them. They often expressed their fears and doubts during the trials. The defence lawyer Stefan Minasowicz, who defended the members of the KL Auschwitz crew in the trial, emphasised the ‘unpopularity’ of the task entrusted to them. He said: “the mission that has been assigned to us demands that we detach ourselves from what binds us by sentiment to society, and, as a result,

i znęcania się nad ludnością cywilną i jeńcami oraz dla zdrajców Narodu Polskiego, Dz.U. 1944 No. 4, item 16.

- 6 Dekret z dnia 22 stycznia 1946 r. o Najwyższym Trybunale Narodowym, Dz.U. 1946 No. 5, item 45 with its subsequent amendments: amendment of 17 October 1946 on amending the decree of 22 January (Dz.U. 1946 No. 59, item 325).
- 7 Rozporządzenie Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej z dnia 19 marca 1928 r. Kodeks postępowania karnego, Dz.U. 1928 No. 33, item 313.

we are required to become as if superhuman”⁸. These dilemmas were expressed even more emphatically by the defence lawyer Stanisław Rymar: “I realise that the defence lawyer in this KL Auschwitz trial has against him not only himself but also all of society, and if it were not for my faith in the power and ability to forgive—this most beautiful manifestation of our faith—I do not know if I would have the courage to go against my society”⁹. Bertold Rappaport, who first acted as a defence lawyer in the trial of the KL Auschwitz crew and later in the trial of Josef Bühler, declared: “we will fulfil this duty [of defence—J. L.] without fail, with the dignity that should characterise every Pole. We shall fulfil it with dignity and in accordance with our conscience, and with the dignity of the state to which we have the honour to belong. It is our duty to use everything that speaks in favour of the defendants. In accordance with the binding law, in accordance with our knowledge, in accordance with professional ethics and to the best of our ability, to the best of our knowledge, and to the best of our modest capabilities, we shall do so without fail, even if we expose ourselves to criticism”¹⁰.

The court records seem to reveal no particular criteria according to which the defence lawyers were selected. Bogdan Rentflejsz, who worked as a court recorder in the trial of the ‘executioners of Warsaw’ and in the trial of Höß, described the defence lawyers in these trials in the following way: “they were distinguished by their outstanding knowledge of criminal law, criminal procedure, and international law. They also demonstrated a good knowledge of the German language, both spoken and written. As the only living participant in these trials, I can declare that these public defence lawyers fulfilled their duties with the utmost diligence”¹¹.

8 Archive of the Institute of National Remembrance [*Archiwum Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej*, AIPN] GK 196/161, Volume I of the minutes of the trial in the case against the former crew members of KL Auschwitz, Speech by the defence lawyer Stanisław Minasowicz, first day of the trial, f. 53.

9 AIPN GK 196/167, Volume VII of the minutes of the trial in the case against the former crew members of KL Auschwitz, Speech by the defence lawyer Stanisław Rymar, nineteenth day of the trial, f. 82.

10 AIPN GK 196/244, The trial against Josef Bühler, Speech by the defence lawyer Bertold Rappaport, twelfth day of the trial, f. 70.

11 The statement of the defence lawyer Bogdan Rentflejsz from his letter to Przemysław Pluta dated 8.01.2007, made available to the author.

A total of 22 public defence lawyers defended in the trials in question, and many of them had academic degrees and extensive experience. The only female lawyer among them was Szczęсна Wolska-Walasowa, who defended four female supervisors in the trial of the KL Auschwitz crew¹².

The trial documentation contains a number of letters whose authors requested being exempted from the duty of acting as defence lawyers. Such requests were submitted, among others, by Stanisław Hejmowski, who, in his letter, justified his request to the SNT in the following way: “No lawyer from Wielkopolska could be Greiser’s defence lawyer [...]. As a result of the orders of the German authorities in occupied Poland, I myself was expelled from Poznań and sent to the General Government in December 1939, whereby I was deprived of the achievements of ten years of my professional work. During the war, the Germans killed my two brothers. It is indeed unreasonable to expect me to now be Arthur Greiser’s defence lawyer”¹³. Hejmowski’s request was rejected. The same happened with Tadeusz Jakubowski and Bruno Pokorny, who were the defence lawyers for Amon Göth. Both began their defence speeches during his trial with a request to be dismissed from this duty: “on behalf of myself and lawyer Dr. Jakubowski [...] allow me to reiterate my request that we be released from the defence [...]. Since we are members of the community that suffered so much during the German occupation, we believe that fulfilling such a heavy and responsible duty as defending the defendants forces us, in a way, to negate our own views, convictions, and feelings”¹⁴. In the trial of the KL Auschwitz officers, several lawyers, including those of Jewish origin, e.g., Bertold Rappaport and Alfred Liebeskind, also asked to be relieved from their defence duties, with their request motivated primarily by their dramatic wartime experiences. Liebeskind wrote to Judge Alfred Eimer (the presiding judge): “Since this defence presents me with a great many difficulties, particularly of a moral nature, I kindly request that I be relieved of my duties as a public defender in the above case. I take the liberty of mentioning that during the war the Germans killed

12 These were: Therese Rosi Brandl, Alice Orłowski, Luise Helene Elisabeth Danz, and Hildegard Marta Luise Lächert.

13 J. Gumowski, T. Kułakowski, *Zbrodniarze hitlerowscy przed Najwyższym Trybunałem Narodowym*, Warszawa 1967, pp. 4–5.

14 Speech by the defence lawyer B. Pokorny in the trial against A. Göth, *Proces ludobójcy Amona Leopolda Goetha przed Najwyższym Trybunałem Narodowym*, Warszawa–Łódź–Kraków 1947, p. 18.

my closest family: my mother and my two brothers. I therefore ask that this request be granted”¹⁵. The very next day, the SNT Judge Dr. Alfred Eimer decided to relieve Liebeskind of his duty to defend, and proposed a new candidate, the defence lawyer Dr. Henryk Wallisch¹⁶, who, however, also asked to be relieved of duty: “during the German occupation, in the summer of 1943, my brother Kazimierz Wallisch was murdered by the Germans, and in particular by SS units, amidst tragic circumstances. For this reason, in addition to the feelings I have for the Germans for reasons that concern our entire Nation, the fact of the bestial murder of my brother does not allow me to act as a defender of any member of the Germanic community [...]. For these reasons, I have the honour to ask to be relieved of my duty as a defence lawyer—against which my whole nature protests”¹⁷. The defendants assigned to Wallisch were eventually defended by Bertold Rappaport, who also lost several family members during the war¹⁸. Other requests were motivated by ill health (these were usually granted) or academic duties¹⁹. The often dramatic letters and requests reveal how morally difficult and psychologically demanding the decisions the defence lawyers had to make were. They were no doubt aware that the task they had to undertake was in most cases doomed to failure and that most defendants would be found guilty. The defence lawyers thus tried to present mitigating circumstances in order to obtain reductions in sentences.

15 AIPN GK 196/8, Correspondence on the trial in Auschwitz against the crew members of KL Auschwitz, the defendant Liebehenschel, and others; Letter from Adolf Liebeskind to Judge Alfred Eimer dated 21.10.1947, f. 91.

16 AIPN GK 196/8, Correspondence on the trial in Auschwitz against the crew members of KL Auschwitz, the defendant Liebehenschel, and others; Letter from Alfred Eimer to the president of the SNT dated 22.10.1947, f. 90.

17 AIPN GK 196/159, Files in the criminal case of the former members of the SS officials of KL Auschwitz-Birkenau, Letter from Henryk Wallisch to the SNT dated 06.10.1947, f. 93.

18 AIPN GK 196/159, Files in the criminal case of the former members of the SS officials of KL Auschwitz-Birkenau, Letter from Alfred Eimer to the Central Board of the Montelupich Prison on the change of a defence lawyer, f. 102.

19 AIPN GK 196/246, The trial against Josef Bühler, Letter from Alfred Eimer to Stefan Kosiński dated 29.04.1948, f. 30; Letter from Alfred Eimer to Adam Vetulani dated 29.04.1948, f. 31.

Extraordinary mitigation of punishment

The aim of the defence in a criminal trial is to take “procedural steps aimed at refuting the charge or mitigating criminal liability”²⁰. This task may consist in “highlighting all circumstances in favour of the defendant concerning both the event in question and the defendant and his past which may influence the assessment of the defendant’s guilt and the potential sentence”²¹. A defence lawyer should “appropriately assess and highlight all relevant facts and emphasise everything that can speak in favour of the defendant” so that “the defendant does not suffer punishment beyond the measure of his misconduct”²². Mitigating circumstances are presented after the prosecution’s case has already been proven and the legal qualification of the act is correct²³. The grounds for mitigating circumstances do not change the qualification of the act, but they may result in an extraordinary mitigation of the sentence, i.e., passing a sentence that is below the lower limit of the statutory regulations or a lighter type of punishment. Mitigating circumstances do not have to be directly related to the committed act.

The Polish Criminal Code of 1932 listed several situations in which there was the possibility of applying for mitigation²⁴. We should add, however, that, according to the provisions of the Code, “extraordinary mitigation of punishment is not a prerogative of the judge which can be applied in every case without exception, but the Code clearly states in advance in which cases the judge can apply this extraordinary mitigation of punishment”²⁵.

20 J. Matan, *Zasada prawa do obrony w polskim procesie karnym oraz formy jej realizacji*, “Roczniki Administracji i Prawa” 9 (2009), p. 92.

21 R. Regliński, *Okoliczności łagodzące w świetle orzecznictwa Sądu Najwyższego okresu powojennego*, “Palestra” 9 (1965) no. 10, p. 56.

22 S. Śliwiński, *Proces karny—zasady ogólne*, Warszawa 1947, pp. 367 and 400.

23 R. Regliński, *Okoliczności łagodzące w świetle orzecznictwa Sądu Najwyższego okresu powojennego*, “Palestra” 9 (1965) no. 10, p. 56.

24 The circumstances that did not apply to the defendants before the SNT, e.g., juvenility and necessary defence, have not been analysed in the article.

25 Polski kodeks karny z 11.VII.1932 r. wraz z prawem o wykroczeniach, przepisami wprowadzającymi i utrzymanymi w mocy przepisami kodeksu karnego austriackiego, niemieckiego, rosyjskiego i skorowidzem. Komentarzem zaopatrzyli K. Sobolewski i Dr. A. Laniewski, Lwów 1932; commentary to Article 59.

A total of 49 defendants appeared before the SNT. All but one of them (Hans Münch) were found guilty, and a total of 29 death sentences and 19 prison sentences ranging from 3 years to life imprisonment were passed.

The defence lawyers' arguments and mitigating circumstances

In this article, the defence lawyers' efforts to present the defendants in a better light and thus mitigate the punishment are not assigned to any legal categories, as they themselves did not refer to specific legal provisions in their defence speeches (although in some cases the links with specific articles of the Criminal Code seem obvious). The defence lawyers' argumentation can be divided into two categories: one was intended to show the inability of the defendants to make independent, informed decisions and the other was intended to show them in a better, more 'human' light. Under the first category, the defence lawyers argued that the defendants were unable to properly assess their actions because they had lost their sense of the proper hierarchy of values or they had obeyed an order. Under the second category, the defence lawyers referred to specific positive behaviours and attitudes of the defendants, not just those pertaining to their time at KL Auschwitz. In the case of some defendants, the testimonies of former Polish and Jewish prisoners in KL Auschwitz was an additional argument in their favour.

The arguments from these two categories complemented one another, but, of course, they did not apply to all the defendants. In his summing up speech, one of the defence lawyers stated: "unfortunately, the results of the trial proceedings have not given me any more trump cards, nor a weapon capable of refuting the weight of the charges of the prosecution"²⁶.

The loss of the proper hierarchy of values

The arguments about the defendants' inability to morally evaluate their actions appeared in almost all trials set before the SNT, although they were given far more weight by the defence lawyers in the trials of the SS members (i.e., in the trials of Rudolf Höß, Amon Göth, and the KL Auschwitz crew) and much less in the trials of the crew (i.e., the trials of Arthur Greiser, Josef Bühler, and Ludwig Fischer). It seems that

26 AIPN GK 196/167, Volume VII of the minutes of the trial in the case against the former crew members of KL Auschwitz, Speech by the defence lawyer Stanisław Minasowicz, nineteenth day of the trial, f. 73.

the defence lawyers tried to take advantage of Article 18 § 1 of the Penal Code, which allowed extraordinary mitigation of punishment “if at the time of committing the offence the defendant’s ability to recognise the act or to direct his behaviour was considerably impaired”²⁷. However, the commentary to this article adds the reservation that “the condition for the application of this article is not every, even slight, impairment of the ability to recognise the act or to direct the behaviour, but it must be present with considerable intensity”²⁸. Article 20 § 2 also expressly stated that “the court may take into account the justified lack of awareness of the unlawfulness of the act and treat it as grounds for extraordinary mitigation of punishment”. In the commentary to this article, the defence lawyers Laniewski and Sobolewski clarified that this refers to “the actual justified lack of awareness of the unlawfulness of the act”²⁹.

In this context, the defence lawyers portrayed the defendants as members of a fanatic society that built the love for its own nation on the hatred of others³⁰. This ‘socialisation’ of the defendants in an environment of “corruption of the ethical and legal sense and the ongoing undermining of the value of moral norms”, could not have left them unaffected³¹. Thus, the individual guilt of the defendants is the result of the collective guilt of German society. The defence lawyer Stanisław Druszkowski was consistent in portraying them as victims of the “SS sect” and persons affected by “moral degeneration”. In his opinion, an additional mitigating factor in the evaluation of the defendants was the fact that the crimes were committed in war time, which by its very nature is a denial of the human ethical code.

The defence lawyer Tadeusz Ostaszewski called the SS formation “a school for murderers” and the commandant of KL Auschwitz “a product

27 Rozporządzenie Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej z dnia 11 lipca 1932 r. Kodeks karny, Dz.U. 1932 No. 60, item 571.

28 Commentary to Article 18; Polski kodeks karny z 11.VII.1932 r. wraz z prawem...

29 Commentary to Article 20 § 2.

30 AIPN GK 196/167, Volume VII of the minutes of the trial in the case against the former crew members of KL Auschwitz, Speech by the defence lawyer Stanisław Druszkowski, nineteenth day of the trial, f. 48.

31 AIPN GK 196/167, Volume VII of the minutes of the trial in the case against the former crew members of KL Auschwitz, Speech by the defence lawyer Stanisław Druszkowski, nineteenth day of the trial, f. 48.

of this school”³². The defence lawyer Franciszek Umbreit drew attention to another important psychological aspect. He argued that even if Rudolf Höß had doubts about his actions, they were dispelled by the German civilian and military authorities, “scientific and medical commissions that came from Berlin”, and “successive Himmler’s inspections” that set him as a model³³. Similar arguments concerning the SS formation were used by the defence lawyer Mieczysław Kossek, who defended the crew members of KL Auschwitz³⁴. In his opinion, organisations such as the SS and the NSDAP were criminal organisations, and the German people, who were trained to be obedient and to follow orders, succumbed to this propaganda over time: “over time, false ideology and hypocritical propaganda made every German a susceptible and submissive individual in the service of National Socialism”³⁵. The defence lawyer Stanisław Minasowicz observed that the training for the SS members presented the concentration camps as places of confinement for dangerous political enemies of the Reich and for “antisocial elements”. “Hatred, contempt, disgust, instinctive repugnance for the miserable inmates covered in ulcers, in filthy rags, eaten by lice, carriers of all possible plagues, covered in blood, physically and morally broken [...] made the SS members, who were equipped with the divine power of life and death, see nothing human in these skeletons, nothing that could dissuade them from beating, torturing, and tormenting them and putting them to cruel deaths”³⁶. The defendants believed that they dealt with enemies of the

32 AIPN GK 196/112, Files in the criminal case of former SS officials of KL Auschwitz-Birkenau, Speech by the defence lawyer Tadeusz Ostaszewski in the trial against Rudolf Höß, seventeenth day of the trial, f. 94.

33 AIPN GK 196/112, Files in the criminal case of former SS officials of KL Auschwitz-Birkenau, Speech by the defence lawyer Franciszek Umbreit in the trial against Rudolf Höß, seventeenth day of the trial, f. 107.

34 AIPN GK 196/167, Volume VII of the minutes of the trial in the case against the former crew members of KL Auschwitz, Speech by the defence lawyer Mieczysław Kossek, nineteenth day of the trial, f. 37.

35 AIPN GK 196/167, Volume VII of the minutes of the trial in the case against the former crew members of KL Auschwitz, Speech by the defence lawyer Mieczysław Kossek, nineteenth day of the trial, f. 37.

36 AIPN GK 196/167, Volume VII of the minutes of the trial in the case against the former crew members of KL Auschwitz, Speech by the defence lawyer Stanisław Minasowicz, nineteenth day of the trial, f. 65.

Reich, and the dehumanisation of the prisoner was conducive to their cruel treatment.

The defence lawyers, especially those who defended the KL Auschwitz crew, pointed out that many of the defendants were simple, uneducated people, who had often lived in poverty before the war. Nazi propaganda gave them hope for a better life, and they believed it. Indeed, in the first period after Hitler took over, their lives improved considerably. They were given jobs, some were given the chance to attend education courses, and eventually they received assignments in concentration camps, often with the promise of better wages. The defence lawyer Kruh particularly emphasised the economic conditions and argued that the NSDAP was a workers' party membership of which made it easier to find a job³⁷. The defence lawyer Ostrowski, who defended the crew, also noted that they joined the party "for bread and a job", while the defence lawyer Antoni Czerny emphasised that his defendants were "really very unintelligent, they were simple people, they were just what the regime needed, as they could be trusted to inertly and blindly follow orders"³⁸.

The defence lawyers observed that most of the defendants were low-level officials with not very high levels of intelligence (this argument applied particularly to the crew members at KL Auschwitz), and thus were more susceptible to Nazi propaganda³⁹. The defence lawyer Minasowicz summarised this aspect with the following words: "they were poor when Hitler came to power. They were lured in by criminal propaganda that promised them prosperity and satiety"⁴⁰. He described one of his defendants, Hans Aumaier, as "an unemployed welder with a mediocre

37 AIPN GK 196/167, Volume VII of the minutes of the trial in the case against the former crew members of KL Auschwitz, Speech by the defence lawyer Czesław Kruh, twentieth day of the trial, f. 133.

38 AIPN GK 196/167, Volume VII of the minutes of the trial in the case against the former crew members of KL Auschwitz, Speech by the defence lawyer Antoni Czerny, twentieth day of the trial, f. 122.

39 AIPN GK 196/167, Volume VII of the minutes of the trial in the case against the former crew members of KL Auschwitz, Speech by the defence lawyer Kazimierz Ostrowski, twentieth day of the trial, f. 167.

40 AIPN GK 196/167, Volume VII of the minutes of the trial in the case against the former crew members of KL Auschwitz, Speech by the defence lawyer Stanisław Minasowicz, twentieth day of the trial, f. 64.

education”, who twice tried to discharge himself from service in the camp to go and fight on the frontline but was both times refused⁴¹.

In defending Maria Mandl (in charge of KL Auschwitz-Birkenau women’s camp), the defence lawyer Rymar emphasised the psychological aspect of social advancement and the sense of real power it gave: “a country girl, the daughter of a shoemaker, who for a long time had been a servant and a maid; her uncle, a police superintendent, landed her the job; she had gone through Hitler’s entire school programme, beginning with Ravensbrück camp [...]; she became a slave of the system, a psychopath, and a sick, seriously ill person”⁴². A similar line of defence was also adopted by the lawyer Wolska-Walasowa, who defended the other four women of the KL Auschwitz crew. Only the defendant Teresa Brandl belonged to the NSDAP; the other three had found their jobs in the camp through an employment agency⁴³. None of them belonged to the SS as it was a purely male organisation. As the defence lawyer emphasised, the SS was their employer, and “they were merely pawns in the German camp hierarchy and had no German subordinates themselves”⁴⁴.

The defence lawyers’ emphasis on economic factors such as the prospect of good and secure jobs and the social factors, i.e., their low social status, lack of education, and the benefits linked to social advancement, was aimed to highlight the defendants’ ‘seduction’ by the system and thus their loss of ability to morally evaluate their actions.

The impact of political and social determinants on the defendants may have been an important factor in explaining their behaviour, but it was not essential in mitigating their punishment, especially in the case of the defendants charged with the most serious crimes. It is worth

41 AIPN GK 196/167, Volume VII of the minutes of the trial in the case against the former crew members of KL Auschwitz, Speech by the defence lawyer Stanisław Minasowicz, twentieth day of the trial, f. 66.

42 AIPN GK 196/167, Volume VII of the minutes of the trial in the case against the former crew members of KL Auschwitz, Speech by the defence lawyer Stanisław Rymar, nineteenth day of the trial, f. 3.

43 AIPN GK 196/167, Volume VII of the minutes of the trial in the case against the former crew members of KL Auschwitz, Speech by the defence lawyer Szczęsa Wolska-Walasowa, twentieth day of the trial, f. 143.

44 AIPN GK 196/167, Volume VII of the minutes of the trial in the case against the former crew members of KL Auschwitz, Speech by the defence lawyer Szczęsa Wolska-Walasowa, twentieth day of the trial, f. 144.

mentioning here that the development of psychological and psychiatric studies dedicated to the role of the environment in human behaviour did not take place until the 1960s and 1970s. The famous experiments conducted by Milgram and Zimbardo made it possible to explain human behaviour influenced by a group, an authority figure, or the role performed by an individual person⁴⁵. Although the Polish defence lawyers did not know the results of these studies, they intuitively saw the correlations between the specific ‘socialisation’ implemented under the National Socialist regime and the behaviour of the individual.

Acting on orders

In the trials of the German criminals, the argument that they were acting on orders was linked to two other aspects. First, it can be assumed that everything officials did in totalitarian Germany would have been following orders, since—according to the Führerprinzip principle—Hitler’s will was the binding law in the Third Reich⁴⁶. “The leader principle” stated that the highest and fullest power in the state was exercised by the individual at its head; the exercise of this power is arbitrary and is controlled by no one. All citizens without exception are subordinated to this supreme power and must obey the orders and commands of the leader with absolute obedience. From 1934, German soldiers swore absolute allegiance to Adolf Hitler to the point of sacrificing their lives for him⁴⁷. However, from the perspective of international law, this oath was not binding, as it included a commitment to unconditionally commit any crime ordered by Hitler. From a legal perspective no one can be effectively obliged to commit a crime⁴⁸. However, the average soldier or officer would not know this, and given the enthusiastic support of the German people for Hitler, most commanders would have been in no doubt as to the validity of the Führer’s orders or those given by their immediate superiors.

45 More on the topic in: J. Lubecka, *Zrozumieć nazistę. Wątki racjonalizacji i zrozumienia zachowania zbrodniarzy nazistowskich w powojennych procesach i badaniach psychologicznych*, in: *Wina i kara. Społeczeństwa wobec rozliczeń zbrodni popełnionych przez reżimy totalitarne w latach 1939–1956*, ed. P. Pleskot, Warszawa 2015, pp. 127–148.

46 More on the topic in: N. Frei, *Der Führerstaat. Nationalsozialistische Herrschaft 1933–1945*, München 2000.

47 M. Messerschmidt, *Die Wehrmachtjustiz 1933–1945*, Paderborn 2005, p. 60.

48 O. Gritschneder, *Von Anfang an nichtig. Die Todesurteile der nationalsozialistischen Kriegesgerichte*, “Deutsche Richterzeitung” 80 (2002) no. 1.

Second, both German state officials and soldiers acted in accordance with the law of their state. This was what the defendants believed to be the case. During his trial in Munich, Otto Bradfisch, the head of the Gestapo in Łódź and commander of Einsatzkommando 8 within Einsatzgruppe B, stated: “It is ridiculous to be held judicially responsible for obeying the orders of the legitimate state authority”⁴⁹. Similar arguments were put forward by the defence lawyers of military commanders in the Nuremberg trial (including Alfred Jodl, Wilhelm Keitel, and Erich Raeder). The defence lawyer at Nuremberg, Hermann Jahrreiß, observed “Hitler’s orders were already law before the Second World War [...]. The Führer’s orders were binding, legally binding”⁵⁰. The defence lawyers, both European and American, were aware that a total abandonment of the principle of mutual respect for the sovereignty of states could be a dangerous precedent and could also provide a legal basis for future interferences in their internal legal systems. The International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg eventually recognised the primacy of the prohibition on planning and waging aggressive war over the act of state doctrine⁵¹. Moreover, some of the lawyers involved in the work of the United Nations War Crimes Commission (UN-WCC) believed that, in the words of Hersch Lauterpacht (a British lawyer of Polish-Jewish origin): “[...] the international community has for centuries demanded the recognition of the right of humanitarian intervention on behalf of the rights of man; rights which are trampled upon by the state in a manner which shocks the conscience of mankind”⁵². Regarding the crimes perpetrated by Germans, he was convinced that “the fate of the defendants [...] should serve as irrefutable proof that the scope of exclusively domestic jurisdiction ends where crimes against humanity begin”⁵³.

49 As quoted in: H. Langerbein, *Szwadrony śmierci Hitlera. Einsatzgruppen i logika masowej zbrodni*, Zakrzewo 2017, p. 123.

50 AIPN GK 150/181, *Plädoyer vor dem Internationalen Militärgerichtshof zu Nürnberg im Prozesse gegen Herman Göring und andere von Dr Hermann Jahreiss Professor der Rechte*, f. 55.

51 H. T. King Jr, *Nuremberg and Sovereignty*, “Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law” 28 (1996) issue 1, pp. 135–140.

52 As quoted in: A. Bryl, *Zbrodnie przeciwko ludzkości w myśli prawnej Herscha Lauterpachta*, “Głos Prawa. Przegląd Prawniczy Allerhanda” 2 (2019) no. 1 (3), item 4, p. 56.

53 This view was voiced in the closing speech of the British prosecutor at Nuremberg, Hartley Shawcross, for whom Lauterpacht had prepared speeches; as quoted in: A. Bryl, *Zbrodnie przeciwko ludzkości*, pp. 56–57.

Commenting on Western lawyers' opinions regarding the act of state doctrine, the Polish prosecutor Mieczysław Siewierski wrote: "the source of their resistance was the view—legitimate under other conditions but not on the ruins of fascism—that an act committed as an act of state power in the performance of the legal duties in force at the time could not be considered unlawful"⁵⁴.

Three aspects of the defence of acting on orders were considered in the trials. First, whether the person following an order was aware of the criminal nature of this order or of the consequences of following it; second, whether the person had a real possibility of refusing to follow an order, i.e., what sanctions there were for doing so, and third, whether a commander had real authority over the units subordinated to him and—if he had no such authority, he could be exempted from criminal liability⁵⁵.

The average follower of an order in the Third Reich was generally not in a position to judge whether the order he was given was in accordance with international law or not, and therefore, whether he could refuse to follow it. Undoubtedly, he would have believed that all orders were in accordance with German law and, as such, they were legal. These aspects may have constituted possible mitigating circumstances, but they did not exempt anyone from responsibility in accordance with Article 8 of the Charter of International Military Tribunal: "The fact that the Defendant acted pursuant to the order of his Government or of a superior shall not free him from responsibility, but may be considered in mitigation of punishment if the Tribunal determines that justice so requires"⁵⁶.

54 M. Siewierski, *Wpływ instytucji procesu norymberskiego*, in: *Norymberga—nadal otwarty rozdział historii. W XXX rocznicę wyroku Międzynarodowego Trybunału Wojskowego*, Warszawa 1977, pp. 140–145.

55 This includes, among others, the case of General W. Von Leeb, who was eventually exonerated from criminal liability. More on this topic in: M. Królikowski, *Odpowiedzialność karna jednostki za sprawstwo zbrodni międzynarodowej*, Warszawa 2011, p. 229; more on the consequences of a failure to obey an order in: K. Hinrichsen, *Befehlsnotstand*, in: *NS-Prozesse. Nach 25 Jahren Strafverfolgung. Möglichkeiten—Grenzen—Ergebnisse*, Hrsg. A. Rückerl, Karlsruhe 1972, pp. 131–161; J. Lubecka, *Konieczność wykonania rozkazu jako instrument obrony w procesach niemieckich zbrodniarzy przed Najwyższym Trybunałem Narodowym*, in: *Pola Wolności*, ed. A. Bartuś, Oświęcim—Poznań 2020, pp. 217–236.

56 Karta Międzynarodowego Trybunału Wojskowego, Dz.U. 1947 No. 63, item 367.

This provision was also introduced into Article 5 of the August Decree⁵⁷. The defence lawyers tried to convince the judges that some of the defendants, being aware of the criminal nature of the orders they were given (in a legal and/or moral sense) tried to resign from their positions (Josef Bühler), even though they were convinced that this would not contribute to any improvement of the situation for Poles or Jews (Rudolf Höß, Josef Bühler). Höß explained: “such a refusal would not have affected the course of the entire action in any way because my place would have been taken by someone else and the extermination would have been carried out anyway, according to a meticulously prepared plan”⁵⁸. The defence lawyer Ostaszewski argued that “Höß had moral principles implanted in him, which would prove a problem for him later on at KL Auschwitz”⁵⁹. Josef Bühler and his defence lawyers reminded the judges of his unsuccessful attempts to resign from his position. First, they emphasised that this was evidence of the defendants’ disapproval of the government’s actions and, second, they argued that Bühler’s resignation from his post would “entail not an improvement but a deterioration of the situation of the Polish population”⁶⁰. When the defence lawyer Rappaport explained the

57 Obwieszczenie Ministra Sprawiedliwości z dnia 11 grudnia 1946 r. w sprawie ogłoszenia jednolitego tekstu dekretu z dnia 31 sierpnia 1944 r. o wymiarze kary dla faszystowsko-hitlerowskich zbrodniarzy winnych zabójstw i znęcania się nad ludnością cywilną i jeńcami oraz dla zdrajców Narodu Polskiego, Dz.U. 1946 No. 69, item 377. Similar provisions were included in the Military Criminal Code of 1932 in Article 9: “§ 1. A soldier who commits an act which is in execution of an order in official matters shall not be punished. § 2. § 1 shall not apply if: a) the offence resulted from the transgression of an order, or b) the defendant knew that the order concerned an act which was a crime or an offence. In these cases, the court may apply extraordinary mitigation of punishment” (Rozporządzenie Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej z dnia 21 października 1932 r., Kodeks karny wojskowy, <https://sip.lex.pl/akty-prawne/dzu-dziennik-ustaw/kodeks-karny-wojskowy-16852887> (24.09.2023)).

58 S. Batawia, *Rudolf Höss. Komendant obozu koncentracyjnego w Oświęcimiu*, “Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce” 7 (1951), p. 50.

59 AIPN GK 196/112, Files in the criminal case of former SS officials of KL Auschwitz-Birkenau, Speech by the defence lawyer Tadeusz Ostaszewski in the trial against Rudolf Höß, seventeenth day of the trial, f. 90.

60 AIPN GK 196/244, The trial of Josef Bühler, Speech by Josefa Bühlera during the trial, twelfth day of the trial, f. 131–132; AIPN GK 196/244, The trial of Josef Bühler, Speech by the defence lawyer Bertold Rappaport, f. 90.

reasons why Bühler did not abandon his position, he said that “this requires a certain dose of heroism, which is a very rare human virtue, and for this reason one cannot blame a man of weak character, which the defendant was”⁶¹. In his defence of Göth, the defence lawyer Jakubowski tried to convince the judges that many of the actions of the commandant of the KL Płaszów Concentration Camp were dictated by fear: “the defendant might have been afraid of his superiors and might have been afraid that if he did not perform a terrible task he had been ordered to do, he would be held responsible for it. That is what the defendant might have thought”⁶². Jakubowski highlighted the realities of refusing to obey an order to emphasise an important aspect of mitigating circumstances for the defendant⁶³.

In several cases, the defence lawyers tried to prove that the defendants were not volunteers in the SS or in the camp but had been forcibly conscripted there, which might also constitute a mitigating circumstance⁶⁴.

In the case of Josef Bühler, the defence lawyers tried to show that, despite his high position, he could not in fact give orders, which, in their opinion, was documented in the minutes of meetings of the authorities of the General Government (and other bodies) and in Hans Frank’s diaries, to which all parties at the trial, including the defendant, had access⁶⁵.

61 AIPN GK 196/244, The trial of Josef Bühler, Speech by the defence lawyer Bertold Rappaport, f. 91–92.

62 Speech by the defence lawyer Tadeusz Jakubowski in the trial of A. Göth, *Proces ludobójcy Amona Leopolda Goetha przed Najwyższym Trybunałem Narodowym*, Warszawa–Łódź–Kraków 1947, p. 451.

63 It is worth mentioning here that the expert opinion of Dr Hans-Günther Seraphim was commissioned in 1958 by the State Court in Ulm in the trial of the members of the “Einsatzkommando Tilsit”. Seraphim unequivocally stated that in his 12 years of research he had not once come across the case of an SS member who had refused to obey order who was executed. *Prozess-Gutachten zum “Befehlsnotstand” erstattet von Dr. Hans-Günther Seraphim*, Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg EL 322 II Bü 18, f. 75–88.

64 This was the case of Dr. Hans Münch, Karl Jeschke, and Hans Hoffmann, among others. In the case of Professor Johann Paul Kremer, his service at Auschwitz was considered a form of punishment.

65 AIPN GK 196/244, The trial of Josef Bühler, Speech by defence lawyer Bertold Rappaport, twelfth day of the trial, f. 92.

As a general rule, the SNT judges denied the admittance of defence arguments concerning acting on orders, which was reflected in their summing up judgements. In the judge's summing up verdict in Fischer's trial (i.e., the trial of one of 'Warsaw executioners'), the court explicitly stated: "The question of whether the order of the superiors was legal or illegal is, under the circumstances, completely irrelevant"⁶⁶, since, as the judges emphasised, neither international law nor Polish law abolishes responsibility in the event of following an order.

**Positive behaviours of defendants—
the testimonies of the Polish witnesses and former camp prisoners**

The Polish witnesses, especially the former camp prisoners (and those of other nationalities) testified primarily as prosecution witnesses, but in the case of several defendants, their testimonies were also used by the defence. Of course, this was only true in very few cases, but it seems that the defence testimonies of former camp prisoners must have made a great impression during the trials, even if they did not always influence the verdict. The most spectacular case was that of Dr. Hans Münch⁶⁷. Although he was charged with conducting medical experiments, he was completely exonerated and was the only defendant in the trials before the SNT to be acquitted. A number of Polish and Jewish prisoners who worked in the SS Hygiene Institute in Rajsko⁶⁸ testified that "Münch helped prisoners regardless of their religion or nationality, he gave them medicines, he protected them against selection, he interceded on their behalf and sometimes covered up cases that could have had bad consequences for the prisoners"⁶⁹. Münch was defended by academics who

66 AIPN GK 196/71, The trial of Ludwig Fischer and others; judge's summation at the trial of Ludwig Fischer, Ludwig Leist, Josef Meisinger, and Max Daume, 03.03.1947, f. 117–118.

67 Dr. Hans Münch was a doctor and a bacteriologist. From 1943 he worked at the Waffen SS Hygiene Institute in Rajsko, which was subordinate to KL Auschwitz-Birkenau.

68 The SS Hygiene Institute was subordinate in matters of military discipline to the SS garrison chief at KL Auschwitz and in matters of service and science to the Hygiene Institute in Berlin.

69 AIPN GK 196/167, Volume VII of the minutes of the trial in the case against the former crew members of KL Auschwitz, Speech by the defence lawyer Stanisław Druszkowski, nineteenth day of the trial, f. 43.

had been employed in Rajsko as prisoners, including Prof. Markus Klein from the University of Strasbourg, Dr. Jakub Seeman from Rudolf Weigl's institute in Lviv, and Prof. Geza Mansfeld from Budapest⁷⁰. The Polish prisoners employed at the SS Hygiene Institute in Rajsko also spoke highly of Dr. Münch. Such unequivocally positive statements and the fact that his SS membership had been forced on him were the basis for his acquittal⁷¹.

Although, for other defendants, there were also favourable Polish witness testimonies, they were not so unambiguous and showed their occasional positive behaviours rather than their unequivocally positive attitude. In the case of Josef Bühler, the Polish witnesses confirmed his passivity and lack of initiative in the implementation of the occupation policy, which of course could also be treated as a mitigating circumstance. The defence lawyers also referred to specific events and orders against which Bühler had the courage to protest privately to his superiors or to which he managed to mitigate the negative effects. Article 30 of the Criminal Code could be applied in this case: "An instigator or an aider shall not be liable if he has prevented the consequences of his action. § 2. The court may apply extraordinary mitigation of punishment to an instigator or an aider who tried to prevent the consequences of his action"⁷². The defence lawyers gave an example of Bühler's objections to the arrest of the Krakow professors (he was one of very few members of the General Government authorities to do so). He contributed to the release of several

70 A total of about 150 mostly well-educated prisoners worked at the institute in Rajsko. These included biologists, chemists, and histologists, often specially brought from the main camp or even from European universities in countries under occupation. The speech of the defence lawyer B. Rappaport in the trial of the crew members of KL Auschwitz X, AIPN GK 196/167, f. 43–44. More on the prisoner-scientists working in Rajsko in: S. Kłodziński, *Laboratorium Instytutu Higieny SS w Oświęcimiu. Bulion z mięsa ludzkiego*, "Przegląd Lekarski—Oświęcim" Seria II 25 (1969) nr 1, pp. 67–71.

71 In retrospect, Dr. Hans Münch's innocence was not so clear-cut. More on this topic in: Lubecka, *Niemiecki zbrodniarz przed polskim sądem. Krakowskie procesy przed Najwyższym Trybunałem Narodowym*, Kraków 2021, pp. 152–160.

72 Rozporządzenie Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej z dnia 11 lipca 1932 r. Kodeks karny, Dz.U. 1932 No. 60, item 571.

professors from the Sachsenhausen camp⁷³. One of the witnesses, Prof. Tadeusz Lehr-Spławiński, in his testimony confirmed Bühler's kindness and assistance in freeing the professors. The defence lawyers portrayed Bühler as the main initiator of the removal of Odilo Globocnik from his post in the police and as an SS commander in Lublin after the pacification of Zamojszczyzna: "it was only thanks to him that this bloody thug Globocnik was forever removed from the territory of the General Government"⁷⁴. The head of the Central Welfare Council [Polish: *Rada Główna Opiekuńcza*], Dr. Edmund Seyfried, described Bühler as a "decent but weak man"⁷⁵, who tried to help when there was no risk involved. The defence lawyers tried to show that Bühler was a man of weak character and that he had goodwill but was unable to exert himself. As a mitigating circumstance they also presented his establishment of a 'mercy commission' whose task was to decide on the legitimacy of the death penalty for Jews who had escaped from the ghetto⁷⁶.

The testimonies of the members of various charitable organisations who enjoyed great authority were particularly important for the defence. These were e.g., Father Stanisław Domasik (prelate of the Metropolitan Chapter and parish priest of the Wawel Cathedral), Prof. Jan Gwiazdomorski, and members of the Central Welfare Council⁷⁷. The witnesses for the defence also included Germans, officials in the administration of the General Government, such as Wilhelm Ernst von Palézieux (Hans Frank's advisor on works of art), Alfred Spindler (head of the financial department in the General Government's authorities), Ernst Boepple (Josef Bühler's deputy), Friedrich Siebert (head of the main internal affairs department of the General Government), Kurt von Burgsdorf (governor of the Kraków

73 AIPN GK 196/244, The trial of Josef Bühler, Speech by defence lawyer Bertold Rappaport, twelfth day of the trial, f. 91–92.

74 Other representatives of the General Government's authorities, including Ludwig Losacker and Otto von Wächter, also protested the brutal pacification of the Zamojszczyzna. Speech by the defence lawyer Bertold Rappaport, AIPN GK 196/244, f. 85.

75 AIPN GK 196/385, The trial of Josef Bühler Proces, Testimony by Edmund Seyfried, third day of the trial, f. 230.

76 AIPN GK 196/312, The trial of Josef Bühler, Letter from Bühler to the district governors of the General Government, f. 27–28.

77 These were the testimonies of, among others: Professor Waclaw Krzyżanowski, Maria Zazulowa, Edmund Seyfried, Konstanty Tchorznicki, Rev. Stefan Mazanek (chancellor of the Metropolitan Curia and secretary to Bishop Sapieha).

district in the General Government) and others. Their testimonies, most often concerning the structure and relations in the General Government's authorities and the role played by Josef Bühler himself, were weakened not only by the very fact that they were German but also by the fact that they were all under investigation for complicity in crimes⁷⁸.

In the case of the defendant Arthur Liebehenschel⁷⁹, his lawyer Mieczysław Kossek referred to the testimonies of Polish witnesses who emphasised how things changed for the better once the commandant of KL Auschwitz, Rudolf Höß, had been removed from Birkenau and Arthur Liebehenschel⁸⁰ had been appointed in his place. Kossek quoted the words of several former prisoners: "the life conditions of the prisoners changed radically for the better", "he pardoned those sentenced to death, he was gentle and approachable towards the prisoners", "relations changed dramatically, he released people from the bunker, supervised hygiene", "he ordered that prisoners be given clean underwear, abolished the death wall and gallows, issued a ban on beatings, shortened roll calls"⁸¹. In the end, however, these testimonies did not help the defendant and it was acknowledged that, regardless of the objective improvement of the conditions in the camp, the management of the camp did not absolve the defendant of responsibility for the very existence of the camp and everything that happened in it.

The defence lawyer Bertold Rappaport, who defended Erich Dinges⁸² among others, also used the testimonies of former camp prisoners. They emphasised that the defendant never insulted the Polish prisoners, and "he was the only SS member who paid prisoners for the favours he asked

78 AIPN GK 196/243, Testimonies of German witnesses.

79 Arthur Liebehenschel was the commandant of the KL Auschwitz-Birkenau main camp from 1943–1945 (for 6 months).

80 Those who testified in favour of A. Liebehenschel included: Władysław Tondos, Kazimierz Gagola, Eugeniusz Niedojadło, Henryk Szklarz, Mieczysław Kotlarski, Ignacy Ratajczak, Erwin Olszówka, Ksawery Dunikowski, Dr. Władysław Fejkiel and many others.

81 AIPN GK 196/167, Volume VII of the minutes of the trial in the case against the former crew members of KL Auschwitz, Speech by the defence lawyer Mieczysław Kossek, nineteenth day of the trial, f. 28.

82 Erich Dinges—a crew member at KL Auschwitz-Birkenau, a truck driver.

of them”⁸³. “The defendant Dinges helped the prisoners in every way and did what he could for them: he brought food, fats, medicines from the city, he acted as an intermediary to take letters to the prisoners’ families”⁸⁴. Similar mitigating circumstances were referred to by the defence lawyer Kazimierz Ostrowski, who defended Eduard Lorenz⁸⁵: “Lorenz brought food, shared news about the Soviet-German front, and warned before selections”⁸⁶.

In arguing for the acquittal of Hans Aumeier, August Bogusch, and Anton Lechner⁸⁷, the defence lawyer Minasowicz referred to several circumstances that could be argued to mitigate their guilt. In the case of Aumeier, he emphasised that the trial had changed him a great deal and that “he is not the same person today as he was during his disgraceful service in KL Auschwitz”⁸⁸; in the case of Bogusch—that he had served primarily in the camp administration; and in case of Lechner—that he was not charged with murder.

An interesting case was the defence of Johann Paul Kremer, who had been a doctor in KL Auschwitz for three months. He was transferred there as a punishment because the conclusions of his scientific research did not coincide with and even contradicted those advocated by National Socialist pseudoscience. The defence lawyers used his scientific publications

83 AIPN GK 196/167, Volume VII of the minutes of the trial in the case against the former crew members of KL Auschwitz, Speech by the defence lawyer Bertold Rappaport, nineteenth day of the trial, f. 114.

84 AIPN GK 196/167, Volume VII of the minutes of the trial in the case against the former crew members of KL Auschwitz, Speech by the defence lawyer Bertold Rappaport, nineteenth day of the trial, f. 115.

85 Eduard Lorenz—a crew member at KL Auschwitz-Birkenau, a driver.

86 AIPN GK 196/167, Volume VII of the minutes of the trial in the case against the former crew members of KL Auschwitz, Speech by the defence lawyer Kazimierz Ostrowski, nineteenth day of the trial, f. 163.

87 Hans Aumeier—a crew member at KL Auschwitz-Birkenau, head of the prisoner section of the camp (Schutzhaftlagerführer) and deputy camp commandant.

August Bogusch—a crew member at KL Auschwitz-Birkenau, a member of the Politische Abteilung (the camp Gestapo)

Anton Lechner—a crew member at KL Auschwitz-Birkenau, he served as a guard and later as an escort.

88 AIPN GK 196/169, The pardon application for Aumeier, Lechner, and Bogusch, 22.12.1947, f. 11–12.

as a mitigating circumstance, and Rappaport emphasised that Kremer was not in KL Auschwitz voluntarily, but that it was a punishment for his dissidence.

Even in very difficult cases, the defence lawyers tried to find mitigating circumstances. In his defence of Wilhelm Gehring⁸⁹, who executed prisoners, the defence lawyer Czesław Kruh, who himself lost two brothers in KL Auschwitz, pointed out that, according to the testimony of one witness, “after an execution Gehring was always subdued”⁹⁰. According to the defence lawyer, this was proof that “Gehring did not lose his sense of humanity, despite the Nazi regime’s efforts to dehumanise the German people. So, let this positive trait of his character serve as a mitigating circumstance for his punishment”⁹¹.

Hejmowski and Kręglewski, the defence lawyers for Greiser, also called Polish witnesses. One of them was Greiser’s schoolmate from Inowrocław, Sylwester Kozielski, and the other was a Polish gardener employed at Greiser’s headquarters. During the war, both had asked for their sons’ release and pardon, and in both cases Greiser helped and both young men were returned home⁹².

The above examples demonstrate that even in very difficult situations, the defence lawyers tried to perform their duty despite the fact that, from the perspective of both the social perception of their role and their personal determinants, it must have been an extremely difficult and very psychologically exhausting task.

Impact on sentences

When the defence lawyer Stanisław Śniechórski, who participated in the Warsaw trials of both Höß and Fischer whilst still a young man, was asked about the role of the defence lawyers in these trials, he replied: “Do you

89 Wilhelm Gehring—a crew member at KL Auschwitz-Birkenau, he held various managerial positions, including that of a blockführer in block 11 (the death block).

90 AIPN GK 196/167, Volume VII of the minutes of the trial in the case against the former crew members of KL Auschwitz, Speech by the defence lawyer Czesław Kruh, twentieth day of the trial, f. 136.

91 AIPN GK 196/167, Volume VII of the minutes of the trial in the case against the former crew members of KL Auschwitz, Speech by the defence lawyer Czesław Kruh, twentieth day of the trial, f. 136.

92 AIPN GK 196/38, Testimony of Sylwestr Kozielski in the trial of Arthur Greiser, f. 113.

think it is pleasant for a lawyer to listen to a death sentence? That is why all those trials that ended in death sentences are tragic trials”⁹³.

The defence lawyers could have reasonably assumed that the SNT would pass the highest sentences in their power. This was particularly true in the case of the trials of individual defendants (camp commanders, high representatives of the security apparatus and administration). They were intended to be exemplary and the selection of the defendants was intended to show the cruelty of the German occupier. In their summing up speeches, the judges said not granting them extraordinary mitigation of punishment was justified because of their high position, either in the camp or the occupation administration. In the case of the trial of the ‘executioners of Warsaw’, in which four defendants were tried, and the trial of the crew members of KL Auschwitz, in which as many as forty defendants were tried, the sentences were not so obvious and the role of the defence lawyers was certainly greater.

In the SNT verdicts, only in very few cases did the judges refer to Article 5 paragraph 2 on extraordinary mitigation “due to the person of the perpetrator or the circumstances of the act”, with the explanation for not applying these provisions because: “of the 22 defendants convicted under Article 1 of the decree, only four, defendant Liebehenschel, defendant Möckel, defendant Kremer, and defendant Koch did not torture the prisoners. The other eighteen abused the prisoners in a more or less bestial manner. For this reason, the SNT did not consider it advisable to apply extraordinary mitigation to any of them”⁹⁴. In the cases of Liebehenschel and Möckel, the judges argued that “despite the fact that they did not mistreat the prisoners (and Liebehenschel even helped them), thanks to which many prisoners survived, in view of the enormity of the crimes attributed to them both in the camp and in the SS organisation”⁹⁵, no extraordinary mitigation was applied.

93 An unpublished interview with the defence lawyer Stanisław Śniechórski conducted by Przemysław Pluta on 22 February 2007, made available to the author.

94 AIPN GK 196/549, the judge’s summation of the case [against Liebehenschel and other members] of the former crew members of KL Auschwitz, 22.12.1947, f. 201.

95 AIPN GK 196/549, the judge’s summation of the case [against Liebehenschel and other members] of the former crew members of KL Auschwitz, 22.12.1947, f. 202.

In the case of Paul Johann Kremer, “the Supreme National Tribunal did not apply extraordinary mitigation due to the high position of this defendant, despite the fact that he too had acted on orders”⁹⁶.

Extraordinary mitigation was applied to the defendant Koch “in view of the fact that this defendant never acted in a hostile manner towards the prisoners and had only the misfortune to hold the position of disinfectant as a laboratory technician in the camp. Moreover, Koch had access to the cyclone for disinfection purposes, and that is why he was ordered to pour the cyclone into the gas chambers. Koch obeyed this order but never acted against the prisoners. Because of this and because Koch held a low position in the camp and in the SS, the SNT considered it advisable to sentence him to life imprisonment in lieu of the death penalty”⁹⁷.

With regard to the remaining fifteen defendants in the trial of the crew members of KL Auschwitz sentenced to prison terms (five to life imprisonment and the rest to prison terms ranging from three to fifteen years), the judges “took into account the quality of the crimes attributed to each of them, their position in the camp and in the SS, their time of service in the camp, their attitude towards the prisoners, their age, their education, and their background”⁹⁸.

In the case of Josef Bühler, the verdict summation emphasised that “the SNT found no basis to the extraordinary mitigation of this sentence under Article 5 paragraphs 2 and 3 of the said decree”⁹⁹, despite the fact that “both in his public speeches and in his contact with the Polish population, he did not show the brutality that characterised Frank and other leaders. [...] However, all these circumstances are insignificant considering the enormity of the crimes he committed, crimes which place the defendant among the top rank of Nazi criminals on Polish soil”¹⁰⁰.

In the trial of the ‘executioners of Warsaw’, the occupation starost of Warsaw, Ludwig Leist received a relatively low sentence of eight years

96 AIPN GK 196/549, the judge’s summation of the case [against Liebehenschel and other members] of the former crew members of KL Auschwitz, 22.12.1947, f. 202.

97 AIPN GK 196/549, the judge’s summation of the case [against Liebehenschel and other members] of the former crew members of KL Auschwitz, 22.12.1947, f. 202–203.

98 AIPN GK 196/549, the judge’s summation of the case [against Liebehenschel and other members] of the former crew members of KL Auschwitz, 22.12.1947, f. 203.

99 AIPN GK 196/245, The trial of Josef Bühler, Judgement, 10.07.1948, f. 93.

100 AIPN GK 196/245, The trial of Josef Bühler, Judgement, 10.07.1948, f. 98.

(the other three were sentenced to death). The judges ruled that “the crime attributed to the defendant Leist consists of a smaller number of criminal actions of relatively lesser gravity”¹⁰¹. In justifying the sentence, the tribunal referred, among other things, to the testimony of one of the witnesses, who stated that “it would be difficult to find a German, a National Socialist, who would play a more convenient role in the German administration for us [for the Polish Underground State—J. L.] [...]”. The opinion of the underground authorities of the Polish Underground State was also important for the assessment of Leist’s activity: according to the testimony of the witness Kulski, they considered this defendant to be of little harm”¹⁰².

In conclusion, the Supreme National Tribunal applied extraordinary mitigation only in several cases, generally against defendants who held lower positions in the camp hierarchy and the occupation administration. In all of them, the testimony of defence witnesses, particularly of former prisoners, played a significant role.

Summary

Analysis of the defence lawyers’ speeches can lead to the conclusion that, in their defence of those who were lower in the power structures and the evidence against whom was not entirely negative, the lawyers, seeing the chance for a reduced sentence, went to greater lengths to balance the charges (Dinges, Liebehenschel, Schröder, Hoffmann, Bühler, Kremer, Breitwieser). This does not mean that they attached less importance to defending the more incriminated defendants, but it was far harder or even impossible to gather the relevant testimony and evidence, hence in the defence speeches in the case of Grabner, Lätsch, Plagge, Buntrock, Höß, among others, a plea for potential mitigation of the sentence had to be based on the non-personal factors that shaped these people into criminals. The work of the SNT in the category of ‘justice’ should be assessed taking into account the work of the defence lawyers, their commitment, their diligence, and their conviction that everyone deserves to be defended, which they repeatedly emphasised in their speeches. It is noteworthy

101 AIPN GK 196/71, the judge’s summation of the case against Fischer, Leist, and Meisinger, Daume, 03.03.1947, f. 167.

102 Julian Spitosław Kulski during the occupation (1939–1944) was the commissary Mayor of the City of Warsaw with the consent of the Polish underground authorities.

that the number of death sentences in the trials before the SNT was much lower than in those passed before the Allied courts (British: Bergen Belsen and American: Dachau, Mauthausen, and Buchenwald), although certainly this was also caused by factors other than the work of the defence lawyers¹⁰³.

Finally, the defence lawyers argued that the defendants should be allowed to live and given the chance to make amends. This is how Stanisław Rymar concluded his defence speech: “It seems to me that the Polish State can afford to risk an experience that differs from KL Auschwitz: to restore to these people, after a certain long period of moral convalescence, the possibility of life, instead of taking it away from them. Let us try to return to the belief that only He who gave life can take it away”.

The journalist of the “Tygodnik Powszechny”, Stanisław Stomma, evaluated the work of the defence lawyers after the trial of the KL Auschwitz crew in the following words: “The defence was a real defence. The lawyers from Krakow defended with true zeal and made real attempts to undermine certain theses of the prosecution. In the words of the defence lawyer Ostaszewski, the Polish defence lawyers do not want to be fictional defence lawyers and do not want to play the same role as the German doctors in KL Auschwitz, who sent people to death instead of curing them [...]. In the last trial in Krakow, the defence was a real legal fight for the defendants”¹⁰⁴.

103 The American prosecutor William Denson charged 177 functionaries of the concentration camps (at Dachau, Mauthausen, and Gusen). All were found guilty, 97 were sentenced to death and 54 to life imprisonment, *Extract from the Review of Proceedings of the General Military Court in the case of US vs. Weiss, Ruppert et al, held at Dachau*, in: *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuremberg Military Tribunals under Control Council Law no. 10*, vol. 1, Nuernberg October 1946–April 1949, pp. 289–298.

104 S. Stomma, *Zwycięstwo nad zemstą*, “Tygodnik Powszechny” no. 148, 18.01.1948, p. 2.

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Abstract

Joanna Lubecka, PhD

The strategy used by the defence in the post-war trials set before the Supreme National Tribunal with particular reference to the trials in Krakow

One of the most important conditions for a “fair trial” is not only the right of every defendant to a defense, but also the diligent work of lawyers. Post-war trials before the Supreme National Tribunal took place in an extremely difficult atmosphere. The communist takeover, especially in the area of the judiciary, resulted in a departure from the principles of fair trial. However, before the SNT, accused Germans were defended by prominent pre-war attorneys who provided a guarantee that the highest standards of defense would be realized. Nevertheless, their work was extremely difficult. The course of the cruel German occupation resulted in a vengeful mood in society, with many Poles showing a lack of understanding of the need for judicial defense. Advocates, often themselves aggrieved by the German occupier, undertook defense *ex officio*, despite the perceived public reluctance. The article focuses on the role and strategy of the defense, particularly in terms of the mitigating circumstances presented by the attorneys, which were intended to soften sentences. The analysis presented in the text is intended to prove that the lawyers defending German defendants in trials before the SNT fulfilled this duty in accordance with the principles of “fair trial” thereby significantly contributing to the perception of the Supreme National Tribunal as a court operating in accordance with the standards of Western civilization.

Keywords:

Supreme National Tribunal, German crimes, Poland

Abstrakt

Joanna Lubecka, PhD

Strategia obrony w powojennych procesach przed Najwyższym Trybunałem Narodowym ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem procesów krakowskich

Jednym z ważniejszych warunków „sprawiedliwego sądenia” jest nie tylko prawo każdego oskarżonego do obrony, lecz także rzetelna praca adwokatów. Powojenne procesy przed Najwyższym Trybunałem Narodowym odbywały się w niezwykle trudnej atmosferze. Przejmowanie władzy przez komunistów, szczególnie w zakresie wymiaru sprawiedliwości skutkowało odejściem od zasad sprawiedliwego sądenia. Jednak przed NTN oskarżonych Niemców bronili wybitni przedwojenni adwokaci, którzy dawali gwarancję zrealizowania najwyższych standardów obrony. Mimo to ich praca była niezwykle trudna. Przebieg okrutnej okupacji niemieckiej spowodował, że w społeczeństwie panowały nastroje zemsty, wielu Polaków wykazywało brak zrozumienia dla konieczności sądowej obrony. Adwokaci, często sami poszkodowani przez niemieckiego okupanta, podejmowali się obrony z urzędu, mimo odczuwanej niechęci społecznej. W artykule przedstawiona została przede wszystkim rola i strategia obrony, szczególnie pod kątem okoliczności łagodzących przedstawianych przez adwokatów, które miały na celu złagodzenie wyroków. Analiza przedstawiona w tekście ma dowieść, iż adwokaci broniący niemieckich oskarżonych w procesach przed NTN, spełnili ten obowiązek zgodnie z zasadami „sprawiedliwego sądenia”, tym samym znacząco przyczynili się do postrzegania Najwyższego Trybunału Narodowego jako sądu działającego zgodnie ze standardami zachodniej cywilizacji.

Słowa kluczowe:

Najwyższy Trybunał Narodowy, zbrodnie niemieckie, Polska

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**“Each bishop wears the violet of suffering on his face more than the violet of robes” —
Review of the joint work “Prymas Stefan Wyszyński i Episkopat Polski”, edited
by R. Łatka and D. Zamiatała**

The joint work edited by Rafał Łatka and Dominik Zamiatała, entitled *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński i Episkopat Polski* [Primate Stefan Wyszyński and the Polish Episcopate]¹, was published by the Warsaw Institute of National Remembrance in 2023, as another volume in the series *Biskupi w Realiach Komunistycznego Państwa* [Bishops in the Realities of the Communist State]. It's divided into thirteen chapters ranging from 20 to 30 pages each, preceded by an introduction from the volume's editors. The book comprises 350 pages, including a bibliography, abbreviation, and personal index. The first three texts cover general research, from the appointment of a new primate through the appointments of bishops during his tenure to an attempt at an overall view of the period from 1948 to 1981. The following nine chapters focus on the Primate's relationship

1 *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński i Episkopat Polski*, eds. R. Łatka, D. Zamiatała, Warszawa 2023.

with various entities and figures within the Polish Episcopate, such as the Extraordinary Episcopate Commission for Church Construction Affairs, pastoral care for emigrants, bishops of Wrocław, Krakow's Metropolitan Archbishop Karol Wojtyła, archbishops and bishops of Poznań, Lublin bishops, Silesian bishops, bishops of Włocławek, and the Częstochowa diocese. The volume concludes with a critical edition of the final letter sent by Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński to Pope John Paul II, dated May 10, 1981, just eighteen days before his death.

The very introduction to the mentioned book, authored by Rafał Łatka and Dominik Zamiatąła, serves as an excellent “compass” for researchers or readers interested in the figure of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński. The authors thoroughly discussed the available literature, directing the reader to other works that delve into various topics surrounding the Primate². The editors' familiarity with the existing literature on the subject raises no objections, especially considering that Rafał Łatka even published a comprehensive compilation of works released in recent years concerning the Cardinal, accompanied by an assessment of their substantive value³. The same author had previously written a monograph focusing on the Polish Episcopate in 1970–1980. This work also included, among other topics, a discussion in the fourth chapter of the bishops' perspectives on selected socio-political issues from 1970 to 1978, which in some way relates to the themes addressed in the reviewed publication⁴. The discussed journal aimed to fill a research gap regarding Cardinal Wyszyński's relationship with the Episcopate. However, it was noted that the publication did not intend to exhaust this topic entirely but rather serve as an encouragement for further research⁵.

The first chapter by Jerzy Pietrzak focuses on the nomination of a new primate after the death of Cardinal August Hlond. The author presents the facts, elucidating the complexities and ambiguities of the papal nomination process. This lucid presentation was greatly aided by organizing the text thematically rather than chronologically. Initially, the author

2 *Wstęp*, in: *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński i Episkopat Polski*, pp. 7–8.

3 R. Łatka, *Co nam zostanie po beatyfikacji? Przegląd publikacji dotyczących prymasa Stefana Wyszyńskiego wydanych w latach 2020–2021*, „Myśl Polityczna” (2021) No. 3, pp. 193–212.

4 R. Łatka, *Episkopat Polski wobec stosunków państwo—Kościół i rzeczywistości społeczno-politycznej PRL 1970–1989*, Warszawa 2019.

5 *Wstęp*, p. 8.

describes the atmosphere within the Episcopate following the funeral of the former Primate and the stance of the hierarchs' body, advocating for the separation of the two episcopal seats—Gniezno and Warsaw. Additionally, the chapter highlights their letter to Pope Pius XII dated November 16, 1948, proposing Bishop Stanisław Wyszyński for the office of Metropolitan of Warsaw and Archbishop Walenty Dymek of Poznań as the Archbishop of Gniezno—the Primate of Poland⁶. The author then delves into the exchange of letters between the secretary of the deceased Primate Hlond, priest Antoni Baraniak, and the Apostolic See. It is explained that the dying hierarch indicated Bishop Stefan Wyszyński for the inseparable office of Archbishop of Gniezno and Warsaw, information that his secretary conveyed to the Pope just two days after Hlond's death—on October 24, 1948. Hence, on November 12, 1948, Pope Pius XII acceded to the last will of Cardinal August Hlond⁷. Jerzy Pietrzak's text also addressed an important matter: the resistance against this decision from the Metropolitan of Krakow, Cardinal Adam Stefan Sapieha, who, similar to the Episcopate, considered it necessary to separate the two archiepiscopal seats. There was also resistance from the nominee, Bishop Wyszyński, who argued that managing two such important archdioceses was beyond his strength and competencies⁸. The text concludes with the description of the *ad limina apostolorum* visit in December 1948, attended by the bishops of Płock and Łódź—Tadeusz Zakrzewski and Michał Klepacz. During this visit, Pope Pius XII reaffirmed his decision to appoint Bishop Wyszyński as the Archbishop of Gniezno and Warsaw⁹.

The author of the second chapter, Jan Kopiec, conducted a thorough study of the new bishopric appointments during the tenure of Primate Wyszyński. This study was supported by subchapters introducing the issue, dedicated to the history of bishopric appointments in Poland, as well as the territorial changes after the war and their influence on shaping the

6 J. Pietrzak, *Episkopat Polski i nominacja nowego prymasa Polski Stefana Wyszyńskiego*, in: *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński i Episkopat Polski*, pp. 12–17.

7 J. Pietrzak, *Episkopat Polski i nominacja nowego prymasa Polski Stefana Wyszyńskiego*, pp. 18–19.

8 J. Pietrzak, *Episkopat Polski i nominacja nowego prymasa Polski Stefana Wyszyńskiego*, pp. 21–23.

9 J. Pietrzak, *Episkopat Polski i nominacja nowego prymasa Polski Stefana Wyszyńskiego*, pp. 23–29.

image of the Church in the Polish People's Republic¹⁰. The author further demonstrated that the significant concern and efforts regarding efficient bishopric appointments stemmed from the Primate's conviction that a diocese should not remain without a shepherd, especially considering the specifics of the ruling authority. As examples of such an approach by the Primate, the appointments of Bishop Czesław Falkowski and Bishop Piotr Kałwa were cited, conducted in a very short time after Wyszyński was nominated primate¹¹. The discussed text could also be necessary due to its thoroughly worked-out statistical aspects in the form of compilations and lists included in the annex¹².

In the general part, the third and final text focused on attempting a holistic view of Cardinal Wyszyński's role as the head of the Polish Episcopate. Rafał Łatka first presented the scope of authority granted to the hierarch holding this position and then compared it with the Primate's actual practices¹³. The author then moved to a chronological description, opting for a non-obvious division of the period of Wyszyński's leadership of the Episcopate, which included the initial years—from assuming the office to the period of internment, the years 1956–1957, and 1956–1981. The author emphasized the period of 1956–1957 due to the strengthening of Wyszyński's position as the leader, stemming from his return from internment and the accompanying conviction about martyrdom¹⁴. Rafał Łatka also highlighted the adept utilization by Wyszyński of the talents of his collaborators. Over the years, the author considered the following figures as among the most significant: Archbishop Antoni Baraniak, Bishop Zygmunt Chromański, Bishop Michał Klepacz, Bishop Bronisław Dąbrowski, Bishop Bolesław Kominek, Cardinal Karol Wojtyła, Bishop Ignacy Tokarczuk, Archbishop Jerzy Stroba, and Cardinal Franciszek

10 J. Kopiec, *Troska prymasa Stefana Wyszyńskiego o nowych biskupów w Polsce*, in: *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński i Episkopat Polski*, pp. 33–38.

11 J. Kopiec, *Troska prymasa Stefana Wyszyńskiego o nowych biskupów w Polsce*, p. 40.

12 J. Kopiec, *Troska prymasa Stefana Wyszyńskiego o nowych biskupów w Polsce*, pp. 44–49.

13 R. Łatka, *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński jako przewodniczący episkopatu Polski (1948–1981). Próba całościowego spojrzenia*, in: *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński i Episkopat Polski*, pp. 53–57.

14 R. Łatka, *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński jako przewodniczący episkopatu Polski (1948–1981)*, pp. 57–67.

Macharski¹⁵. The author concluded by emphasizing that in the figure of Cardinal Wyszyński as the leader of the Episcopate, one should see not only a superb organizer but more a leader than an autocrat. He highlighted that Wyszyński led to the point where “the episcopate appeared outwardly as fully unified”¹⁶. The author’s argumentation and the thesis are confirmed not only by Rafał Łatka’s logical reasoning but also by the conclusions drawn from further articles in the discussed volume.

The series of nine subsequent articles, delving into more specific issues, focused on the relationship between the Primate and the hierarchs representing particular entities. Ryszard Gryz, for instance, first described the Primate’s influence on the establishment of the Extraordinary Episcopal Commission for Church Construction and then his support for its chairpersons, Bishop Herbert Bednorz and later Bishop Jerzy Modzelewski¹⁷, Józef Szymański delved into the intricate issue of pastoral care for the emigration, initially entrusted to Bishop Józef Gawlina and, after his death, to Bishop Władysław Rubin¹⁸. Dominik Zamiatała, Józef Marecki, Elżbieta Wojcieszek, Mariusz Leszczyński, Adam Dziurok, Antoni Poniński, and Paweł Kostrzewski, in their works, depicted a mosaic of relationships between Cardinal Wyszyński and various hierarchs across different dioceses, effectively creating a cohesive overall picture: a shepherd who cares about good relations with every member of the Episcopate, a cardinal who leads but isn’t afraid to seek help from those more competent in specific matters, and someone capable of prioritizing the Church’s welfare and the Episcopate’s interests over personal animosities or viewpoints. At this point, it’s worth mentioning the example of priest Kazimierz Lagosz, whom the Primate often criticized for his communist-leaning sermon content, personally viewing him as “a man exhausted by wild ambitions”. However, Wyszyński didn’t hesitate to delegate canonical

15 R. Łatka, *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński jako przewodniczący episkopatu Polski (1948–1981)*, pp. 67–68.

16 R. Łatka, *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński jako przewodniczący episkopatu Polski (1948–1981)*, p. 71.

17 R. Gryz, *Nadzwyczajna Komisja Episkopatu do spraw Budownictwa Kościołów*, in: *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński i Episkopat Polski*, pp. 75–101.

18 J. Szymański, *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński a duszpasterstwo emigracyjne*, in: *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński i Episkopat Polski*, pp. 102–124.

responsibilities to him to protect the Church's unity¹⁹. However, one cannot overlook instances vastly contrasting with the situation of Priest Lagosz. Such was the undoubtedly warm relationship between the Primate and Archbishop Baraniak. It's essential to note that their imprisonment, aimed at breaking them, brought them even closer. While Wyszyński was in Komańcza and learned about Baraniak's imprisonment, he wrote on August 2–3—the anniversary of both hierarchs' ordination—"I am very grateful for this grace for Bishop. It seems that each Bishop wears the violet of suffering on his face more than the violet of robes"²⁰. Those words became a "manifesto" for Cardinal Wyszyński throughout his entire service to the Church during the communist era, perfectly aligning with his profound humility and perseverance in the face of persecution.

However, alongside the undoubted strengths of this part of the publication, it also brought forth numerous question marks. It prompted the author of this review to present several observations regarding the continuation of research. The book's fundamental flaw was the lack of exploration of the relationship between the Cardinal and the dioceses of Kielce and Przemyśl. Particularly enriching for the publication could have been the examination of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński's connections with Ignacy Tokarczuk, Bishop of Przemyśl, and Czesław Kaczmarek, Bishop of Kielce. These figures played a significant role in the history of Church-state relations in the Polish People's Republic, as evidenced by their occasional appearance on the margins of the chapters in the work. Neglecting these aspects would be a missed opportunity and thus warrant further discussion in future research.

Admittedly, the thoroughness of the research presented in the book would have been enhanced if the chapter dedicated to the bishops of Wrocław had been expanded to include the period from 1976 to 1981, encompassing Henryk Gulbinowicz's tenure as Archbishop of Wrocław. Additionally, the section devoted to Krakow's Metropolitan, Karol Wojtyła, could have been extended to explore the relationships between the Primate and the auxiliary bishops and Franciszek Macharski, the new metropolitan after 1978. The limitation of the chapter focusing on the

19 See more: D. Zamiatała, *Relacje prymasa Stefana Wyszyńskiego z ordynariuszami wrocławskimi w latach 1949–1974*, in: *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński i Episkopat Polski*, pp. 130–132, 141.

20 See more: E. Wojcieszek, *Relacje prymasa Stefana Wyszyńskiego z arcybiskupami i biskupami poznańskimi*, in: *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński i Episkopat Polski*, p. 178.

more western metropolitan area up to 1974, thereby excluding the issue of Archbishop Gulbinowicz's relationship with Primate Wyszyński, was reasonably justified by the need to access the entirety of Cardinal Gulbinowicz's legacy for a comprehensive examination of this complex matter²¹. It's also worth noting that one of the editors, Rafał Łatka, even before the publication of the work discussed in the review, compiled documents alongside Filip Musiał concerning Archbishop Gulbinowicz's relations with the security apparatus²².

The dedication of a chapter to the relationship between the Primate and the Krakow Metropolitan Karol Wojtyła was due to the scarce amount of contact Cardinal Wyszyński had with other bishops²³ seems, however, insufficient to consider the elaboration on the relationship between the Primate and the Krakow Metropolitan as comprehensive. While it's true that the detailed accounts of both hierarchs, well-covered within the discussed publication, held a significantly prominent place, further research on the Primate's relationship with the Episcopate would warrant some attention to two particular figures—Bishop Julian Groblicki, who, after Cardinal Wojtyła's election, on October 24, 1978, was chosen as the capitular vicar until the nomination of a new metropolitan²⁴, but especially to the new Metropolitan, initially the Archbishop and later the Cardinal—Franciszek Macharski²⁵. Here, it would be exciting to investigate the Primate's opinions on his influence over the Episcopate in 1979–1981, perhaps through his work in the Joint Commission of Representatives of the Polish Government and the Episcopate of Poland²⁶.

21 *Wstęp*, p. 9.

22 „*Dialog należy kontynuować...*”. *Rozmowy operacyjne Służby Bezpieczeństwa z ks. Henrykiem Gulbinowiczem 1969–1985. Studium przypadku*, eds. R. Łatka, F. Musiał, Warszawa–Kraków 2020.

23 *Wstęp*, p. 9.

24 *Zawiadomienie o wyborze wikariusza kapitulnego*, „*Notificationes e Curia Metropolitana Cracoviensi*” (1979) No. 1–3, p. 30.

25 *Bulla papieska mianująca ks. dra Franciszka Macharskiego arcybiskupem metropolitą krakowskim*, „*Notificationes e Curia Metropolitana Cracoviensi*” (1979) No. 4–5, pp. 45–46.

26 More about the Commission and Cardinal Macharski's work within it can be read in: K. Michalski, *Działalność Komisji Wspólnej przedstawicieli Rządu PRL i Episkopatu Polski 1980–1989*, Warszawa 2012.

However, all the observations and reservations presented should be viewed through Rafał Łatka's words in the introduction, where he emphasized that the discussed work did not exhaust the subject and that further research should be conducted. It is worth noting that a particular foundation has already been established, for example, regarding the situation of individual Polish bishops in the People's Republic of Poland²⁷, which could serve as a good starting point for continuing the reviewed research. Also, with these in mind, the reviewer highlighted significant issues that require priority exploration.

The critical edition of the last letter by Cardinal Wyszyński to John Paul II, dated May 10, 1981, deserves separate discussion. One of the authors of the text, Grzegorz Sokołowski, came across the letter during research in 2020. Initially, the Primate asked the Pope to maintain the personal union in the Gniezno and Warsaw metropolis, which, despite his previous views, he saw as a way to enhance the practical significance of the office of the Primate²⁸. In the second part of the letter, the Cardinal listed three names of clergypersons whom he considered most suitable to succeed him in office after his passing. He first mentioned Bishop Bronisław Dąbrowski, then Bishop Józef Glemp, and finally, priest Kazimierz Romaniuk, the rector of the Warsaw seminary. He also commented on speculations about the possible assumption of the Primate's office by Archbishop Henryk Gulbinowicz, Bishop Kazimierz Majdański, and Bishop Zbigniew Józef Kraszewski in a brief yet suggestive manner: "There are also fears regarding certain bishops' names, but I prefer to leave that in the Archives"²⁹. The letter is meticulously crafted, showing attention to detail. Besides effectively using footnotes to provide a broader personal and scholarly context, the supplementary footnotes are noteworthy. For instance, the editors traced the source of a quote mentioned by the Primate earlier, presenting it in a footnote.

In summary, the collective work edited by Rafał Łatka and Dominik Zamiatą, titled *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński i Episkopat Polski*, is an excellent

27 *Biskupi w rzeczywistości politycznej Polski „ludowej”*, ed. R. Łatka, Warszawa 2020; *Biskupi w rzeczywistości politycznej Polski „ludowej”*, t. 2, ed. R. Łatka, Warszawa 2022.

28 J. Pietrzak, G. Sokołowski, *Prymas Polski Stefan Wyszyński o swoim następcy. Ostatni list do papieża Jana Pawła II z 10 maja 1981 r.*, in: *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński i Episkopat Polski*, pp. 326–328.

29 J. Pietrzak, G. Sokołowski, *Prymas Polski Stefan Wyszyński o swoim następcy*, p. 330.

study of the Primate's persona within the context of issues related to the Episcopate. It presents a coherent, clear, and logical narrative, whether delineating the general context or delving into the specifics of Cardinal Wyszyński's relationships with institutions and figures. The comprehensive approach to addressing this subject matter deserves recognition, making it an excellent starting point for further, more profound research. Each chapter could essentially serve as the foundation for an academic monograph.

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Abstract

Sebastian Graniczkowski

Each bishop wears the violet of suffering on his face more than the violet of robes—Review of the joint work “Prymas Stefan Wyszyński i Episkopat Polski”, edited by R. Łatka and D. Zamiatała

This article serves as a review of the collective work edited by Rafał Łatka and Dominik Zamiatała, entitled “Prymas Stefan Wyszyński i Episkopat Polski” (“Primate Stefan Wyszyński and the Polish Episcopate”), published by the Warsaw Institute of National Remembrance in 2023 as part of the “Bishops in the Realities of the Communist state” series. The individual chapters of the work were discussed, presenting the most important themes covered in them, such as the complexities associated with the nomination of Cardinal Wyszyński as Primate of Poland, in accordance with the will of his predecessor—Cardinal August Hlond; the Primate’s concern about new bishop nominations; Cardinal Wyszyński’s skillful combination of the primate’s office with the function of the chairman of the episcopate; the Primate’s unifying openness to cooperation with individual bishops, especially with his own secretary, and then the Metropolitan of Poznań, Archbishop Antoni Baraniak, or the Metropolitan of Kraków, Karol Wojtyła; the Primate’s relations with hierarchs representing specific entities. Some shortcomings were also noted, such as the omission of Primate Wyszyński’s relations with two dioceses or the incomplete development of relations with the Kraków metropolis. Finally, reference was made to the critical edition of the last letter of Primate Wyszyński to John Paul II, included in the publication under discussion.

Keywords:

Stefan Wyszyński, Polish Episcopate, Antoni Baraniak, August Hlond, Karol Wojtyła, John Paul II

Abstrakt

Sebastian Graniczkowski

„Każdemu biskupowi bardzo jest do twarzy ten fiolet cierpienia, bardziej niż fiolet szat”. Recenzja pracy zbiorowej „Prymas Stefan Wyszyński i Episkopat Polski”, pod red. R. Łatki i D. Zamiatały

Niniejszy artykuł stanowi recenzję pracy zbiorowej pod redakcją Rafała Łatki i Dominika Zamiatały, pt. „Prymas Stefan Wyszyński i Episkopat Polski”, wydanej w 2023 roku nakładem warszawskiego Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej, w ramach serii Biskupi w Realiach Komunistycznego Państwa. Omówiono poszczególne rozdziały pracy, przedstawiając najważniejsze ujmowane w nich wątki, jak m.in. zawilości związane z nominacją kard. Wyszyńskiego na prymasa Polski, zgodnie z wolą poprzednika—kard. Augusta Hlonda; troska prymasa o nowe nominacje biskupie; umiejętne łączenie przez kard. Wyszyńskiego urzędu prymasowskiego z funkcją przewodniczącego episkopatu; jednocząca episkopat otwartość prymasa na współpracę z poszczególnymi biskupami, zwłaszcza z własnym sekretarzem, a potem metropolitą poznańskim abp. Antonim Baraniakiem czy metropolitą krakowskim Karolem Wojtyłą; relacje prymasa z hierarchami reprezentującymi konkretne podmioty. Zauważono też pewne niedostatki, np. pominięcie relacji prymasa Wyszyńskiego z dwiema diecezjami czy niekompletne opracowanie stosunków z metropolią krakowską. Na koniec odniesiono się do krytycznej edycji ostatniego listu prymasa Wyszyńskiego do Jana Pawła II, zamieszczonej w omawianej publikacji. Dodatkowo oceniono zakres przeprowadzonych badań i wskazano możliwości i potencjalne kierunki dalszego rozwoju podejmowanych zagadnień.

Słowa kluczowe:

Stefan Wyszyński, Episkopat Polski, Antoni Baraniak, August Hlond, Karol Wojtyła, Jan Paweł II

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