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## War and mobility. Galicians in the Kingdom of Poland during World War I

The period of World War I was not only a military confrontation of soldiers of fighting countries. It also significantly affected the daily lives of millions of ordinary people. One of the manifestations of this influence was war mobility. It also concerned the inhabitants of Galicia. As a result of warfare's, the Galicians were forced to move in different directions; as soldiers, refugees, evacuated. One of the directions of Galician migration was the Kingdom of Poland, that was conquered in 1915 by the Central Powers. The influx of people from Galicia into this area can be divided into several waves. As the first came the Polish soldiers in Austrian uniforms. The next one was made up of Galician Poles served in the Austrian occupation government. Then came to the Kingdom scholars, officials, and intelligentsia invited by the authorities of the rebuilding Polish state. The Galicians were not always well received by their countrymen from the Congress Poland. One of the reasons was prevailing stereotypes and prejudices. However, the Galician's made a significant contribution to the work of building Polish statehood.

**Key words:** Kingdom of Poland, Galicia, World War I, mobility, migration

To define the concept of mobility in history, contrary to all appearances, is not an easy question. It can be understood in the most obvious way, i.e. as translocation of people or human groups in a geographical space. However, it is possible to understand it from another perspective, i.e. changes in the social structure.<sup>1</sup> Mobility, thus, refers not only to the geographical aspect, that is to the above mentioned migration in space, but to the vertical one – changes in

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<sup>1</sup> H. Domański, *O ruchliwości społecznej w Polsce*, Warszawa 2004, s. 20. About mobility in Galicia: *Galizien in Bewegung: Wahrnehmungen – Begegnungen – Verflechtungen*, Wien 2013; A. Plich, *Trendy migracji zarobkowej ludności Galicji w XIX i XX w. (do 1918 r.)* [w:] *Mechanizmy polskich migracji zarobkowych*, red. C. Bobińska, Warszawa 1976; As far as the Kingdom of Poland is concerned, see the particular volumes: *Spółczeństwo polskie XVIII i XIX wieku: studia o uwarstwieniu i ruchliwości społecznej*, np. t. 5, red. W. Kula i J. Leskiewiczowa, Warszawa

the occupational structure, employment, social mobility through promotion or demotion. Moreover, mobility is not only a product of social-economic processes in the sense of long-term effects. It can also be triggered by extraordinary situations: disasters, calamities, revolutions, coups or other military conflicts. For instance, the wars from the period of the French Revolution created the opportunity of social promotion for many representatives of lower strata of the French society and, therefore, war in many cases might be a phenomenon which destroys previous social structures (social, regional etc. ones), having a considerable impact not only through direct military operations (the fallen in battle) but rather through their long-term consequences: political, migratory, demographic, economic, occupational ones etc. The titanic struggle in the years 1914–1918 (described by Tomasz Garrigue Masaryk as “the world revolution”) perceived just in this way: in a broad and multifaceted manner, undoubtedly, was an impulse which stimulated mobility and transformation.

In what way did the specific type of mobility, authoritatively forced by the war, influence Galicia and its society? And finally what did it have to do with the Kingdom of Poland? First of all, WWI through unprecedented mobilisation of material and human forces was a completely new experience for European societies, including the Galician one.<sup>2</sup> The ability to transport immense masses of soldiers provided by iron railway led to hundreds of conscripts being transferred over long distances in a very short time. Mobilisation also concerned men in Galicia with the population of over 8 million. Subsequently, displacement of civilians took place: evacuations, escape from the ravages of war, resettlement, deportations and returns. This issue was analysed by e.g. Mariusz Korzeniowski, Kamil Ruszała, Tomasz Pudłocki and Jerzy Pająk.<sup>3</sup> The conscripted, the fallen or the injured men had to be replaced by someone among civilians, which is why transformations in the functioning of families took place; many

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1972; K. Zamorski, *Transformacja demograficzna w Galicji na tle przemian ludnościowych innych obszarów Europy Środkowej w drugiej połowie XIX i na początku XX wieku*, Kraków 1991.

<sup>2</sup> M. Eksteins, *Święto wiosny: wielka wojna i narodziny nowego wieku*, Warszawa 1996; J. Pajewski, *Pierwsza wojna światowa 1914–1918*, Warszawa 1991; W. Borodziej, M. Górny, *Nasza wojna. Europa Środkowo-Wschodnia 1912–1916*, t. I: *Imperia*, Warszawa 2014; tychże, *Nasza wojna*, t. 2: *Narody 1917–1923*, Warszawa 2018.

<sup>3</sup> M. Korzeniowski, *Uchodźcy z Królestwa Polskiego i Galicji w latach Wielkiej Wojny* [w:] *Metamorfozy społeczne*, t. 12, red. W. Mędrzecki, Warszawa 2018, s. 203–240; K. Ruszała, *Galicjacy uchodźcy w Austro-Węgrzech w trakcie pierwszej wojny światowej* [w:] *Wielki przełom. Konflikty zbrojne i przemiany wojskowości 1912–1923*, red. M. Baczkowski, Kraków 2018; T. Pudłocki, *The Experience of Mobility Outside Galicia Before and After World War I – War Refugees Example*, „Prace Historyczne” 2016, 143, s. 107–125; J.Z. Pająk, *Od autonomii do niepodległości. Kształtowanie się postaw politycznych i narodowych społeczeństwa Galicji w warunkach Wielkiej Wojny 1914–1918*, Kielce 2012, s. 90; K. Sierakowska, *Śmierć – wygnanie – głód w dokumentach osobistych. Ziemie polskie w latach Wielkiej Wojny 1914–1918*, Warszawa 2015.

roles were taken by women and children, waging “wars” in the so-called “home front”, as it was euphemistically called by the propaganda.

The first world war was also a period in which a high number of Poles in Austrian uniforms met the Polish population of the Kingdom of Poland. Here, it is necessary to clarify the notion included in the title: in the Kingdom of Poland “Galicians” was the term used to describe, first of all, Poles living in this crown country of the Habsburg Monarchy. Consequently, this point of view was assumed in the present study with full awareness, i.e. that formally and legally all inhabitants of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria are Galicians, regardless of nationality. In a similar vein, in Galicia the terms “Królewiaczy” (Eng. Kingdomers) or “koroniarze” (Eng. Crowners) were understood to cover Poles from the Kingdom of Poland and not e.g. the local Jews or Ukrainians.

What was, in turn, the mobility of Galicians towards the northern border before the outbreak of WWI? With respect to travels for economic purposes, only a small percentage of Galicians went to Russia and the Kingdom of Poland, both in terms of seasonal work and permanent settlement.<sup>4</sup> The borders of Congress Poland were relatively regularly crossed (to be precise, by boat) by e.g. rafters. One of them in his early days was the famous folk politician Józef Bojko.<sup>5</sup> The Kingdom constituted also an illegal transfer point for people attempting to emigrate overseas.<sup>6</sup> To some extent Galicians were attracted to Warsaw, with its vast business opportunities. According to the famous columnist Adolf Nowaczyński, born in Podgórze near Cracow, who worked e.g. in “Kurier Poranny”, several thousand of his compatriots stayed in Warsaw just before the outbreak of WWI.<sup>7</sup> Already after capturing by the German army in August 1915 this city was still inhabited by 1 000 citizens of the Habsburg Monarchy (only conscriptable men).<sup>8</sup> The rest was forced to leave the city by the Russian authorities in spring 1915.<sup>9</sup> The territory of Russian Poland was not welcome for Polish subjects of

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<sup>4</sup> J. Okołowicz, *Wychodźstwo i osadnictwo polskie przed wojną światową*, Warszawa 1920, s. 369.

<sup>5</sup> J. Bojko, *Ze wspomnień*, Warszawa 1959, s. 110–111.

<sup>6</sup> Before the outbreak of WWI the Habsburg Monarchy authorities attempted to stop the wave of emigration, especially as far as conscriptable men were concerned. A.M. Kargol, *Specyfika migracji galicyjskiej – w aktach c.k. Policji w Krakowie na początku XX wieku* [w:] *Nietypowe migracje Polaków w XIX–XXI wieku*, red. A.M. Kargol i W. Masiarz, Kraków 2011, s. 45.

<sup>7</sup> A. Nowaczyński, *Słowa, słowa, słowa*, Warszawa 2013, s. 240.

<sup>8</sup> Austrians tried to determine how many conscriptable men were left in Warsaw. It is not known, however, whether all of them were Polish. D. Szymczak, *Sojusznicy i rywale, polityka i okupacja. Austro-Węgry i Rzesza Niemiecka w Królestwie Polskim w okresie I wojny światowej* [w:] *Pierwsza niemiecka okupacja. Królestwo Polskie i kresy wschodnie pod okupacją mocarstw centralnych 1914–1918*, red. G. Kucharczyk, Warszawa 2019, s. 203.

<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, Galicians in many ways, e.g. by means of bribery, attempted to stay in Warsaw. Many of them succeeded. *Niedole Galicjan*, „Czas”, nr 458 z 15 X 1918, s. 2.

Franz Joseph, who intended to make a career there. One of the columnists from Kielce writing about the pre-war times stated honestly: "Galicians were looked down upon. You cannot say that if someone comes from Bochnia or Lviv, it is a letter of recommendation for any position".<sup>10</sup> Another category included contacts between the Galician aristocracy and landed gentry, reflected in e.g. "inter-partition" marriages, family affiliations and economic cooperation. This issue, like the questions of Galician travels and relations with the society of the Kingdom of Poland requires further research.<sup>11</sup>

Low numbers of Galicians in the Kingdom of Poland, not marking a strong presence there before the outbreak of WWI resulted also from the fact that the Russian border was one of the best guarded in Europe (at least in theory).<sup>12</sup> It was possible to cross the Galician stretch legally only in fewer than twenty border crossings, including only one with railway.<sup>13</sup> Only inhabitants of the zone near the border with Congress Poland were privileged, as they were subject to the regulations on small cross-border traffic, facilitating transport with Austria.<sup>14</sup> It created favourable conditions for the development of smuggling, which played a huge role in the life of near-border communities at the Russian-Prussian border.<sup>15</sup>

The seizure of the southern areas of the Kingdom of Poland by the Austro-Hungarian army did not entail the elimination of the previous borderline. Contrary to what was announced by slogans propagated by the propaganda press about "lifting the border guards".<sup>16</sup> Military activities unsealed the borders only temporarily. Crossing the border without proper documents was out of the question. Also after organising general military governments in the occupied territories, not subject to commands of armies fighting in the battlefields, borderline with Galicia was not removed. Quite the contrary, its crossing became even more

<sup>10</sup> *Antagonizmy dzielnicowe*, „Ziemia Kielecka”, nr 3 z 6 XI 1915, s. 1–2.

<sup>11</sup> *Międzyzaborowe kontakty ziemiaństwa*, red. W. Caban i S. Wiech, Kielce 2010, s. 18. An interesting contribution in this respect is the text by Tomasz Kargol which can be found in the present volume. T. Kargol, *Gospodarcze kontakty polskiego ziemiaństwa zaboru austriackiego i rosyjskiego w latach I wojny światowej*, tamże, s. 153–164.

<sup>12</sup> K. Latawiec, *Rosyjska straż graniczna w Królestwie Polskim w latach 1851–1914*, Lublin 2014, s. 311–358; *Getrennt und doch verbunden. Grenzstädte zwischen Österreich und Russland 1772–1918*, Wien 2011.

<sup>13</sup> S.M. Koziarski, *Sieć kolejowa Polski w latach 1842–1918*, Opole 1993, s. 149.

<sup>14</sup> K. Latawiec, *Zasady ruchu granicznego między terenami Królestwa Polskiego okupowanymi przez wojska austriacko-węgierskie a Galicją w latach 1917–1918*, „Wschodni Rocznik Humanistyczny” 2010–2011, t. VII, s. 369–370.

<sup>15</sup> T. Krzemiński, *W cieniu kordonu. Społeczne aspekty funkcjonowania granicy prusko-rosyjskiej w XIX i na początku XX wieku w rejonie Kujaw, ziemi chełmińskiej i dobrzyńskiej (rekonstrukcja badań)*, „Czasy Nowożytne” 2015, t. 25, s. 165–190.

<sup>16</sup> *Po zniesieniu kordonu*, „Nowości Ilustrowane”, nr 32 z 8 VIII 1914, s. 1.

difficult. Also the General Military Governorate (Militär General Gouvernement in Lublin – hereinafter: MGGL) established in August 1915, located its military formations not only on the borderline with the German-occupied area but also on the line with Galicia where no border supervision had been removed. In March 1916 the near-border zone was even more tightened.<sup>17</sup> 17 border crossings were designated as the only legal places for transportation of goods between the Kingdom of Poland and Galicia.<sup>18</sup> Admittedly, according to the directive passed even before the end of January 1916 by the general governor in Lublin, all restrictions were aimed only at limiting the activity of smugglers and not at hampering transportation.<sup>19</sup> However, the reality was quite different. As far as border crossing is concerned, only more serious economic reasons, forced the introduction of some simplifications. Especially from the moment when in Galicia there was an increase in demand for farm labourers from the Kingdom of Poland. At that time, the number of border crossings also increased and also a partial synchronisation between the Galician railway and one from the Kingdom of Poland took place, interestingly, out of Russian initiative.<sup>20</sup> As a result, two new railway connections were created: Rejowiec-Belżec, Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski-Nadbrzezie (today a part of Sandomierz), Lublin-Rozwadów. In May 1917 the duty to have a passport was cancelled for people living 20 km from the “Polish-Galician” border (as mentioned before): it was enough to produce “a border pass”. In the Kingdom of Poland such passes were issued by poviata headquarters.<sup>21</sup> One exception, requiring further research, was the above mentioned mobility of smugglers of goods. As years of war passed, this activity intensified. Attempts to limit this criminal practice brought only poor results, despite establishing a special police unit the aim of which was to fight smuggling.<sup>22</sup> The reason might be that the dangerous profession of a smuggler brought a lot of profit and bribes could often persuade customs officers. As far as farm produce is concerned, the main direction of smugglers was Galicia, the farming relations of which were in a much worse state than in the Kingdom of Poland.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (dalej AGAD), Militärgeneralgouvernement in Polen (dalej MGGL), sygn. 50, k. 29–31.

<sup>18</sup> Dziennik Urzędowy Obwodu Olkuskiego, 1916, nr 20, s. 15.

<sup>19</sup> Poufna dyrektywa generalnego gubernatora do komendantów powiatowych z 24 I 1916, Österreichische Staatsarchiv, Kriegsarchiv, Neue Feldakten (dalej KA, NF) 4092.

<sup>20</sup> The last two connections were built by Russians for the purpose of deliveries for their troops fighting in Galicia. S.M. Koziarski, *Sieć kolejowa...*, s. 151–152.

<sup>21</sup> *Ruch graniczny*, „Ziemia Lubelska” nr 240 z 14 V 1917, s. 3.

<sup>22</sup> J. Lewandowski, *Okupacja austriacka w Królestwie Polskim (1914–1918)*, „Dzieje Najnowsze” (1998) nr 4, s. 34.

<sup>23</sup> L. Turnau, *Wspomnienia z czasów pierwszej wojny światowej*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich (dalej ZNiO), sygn. 15638 II, t. 2, k. 46

Most inhabitants of Congress Poland, Galicians or Poles in Austrian uniforms were first of all “Austrians” as such was the main category of identification. The nationality of a given “Austrian” was in the second place.<sup>24</sup> As pointed out by Marek Przeniosło, during WWI imperial and royal army was for “Kingdomers” an occupant, while fellow countrymen were those in Russian uniforms.<sup>25</sup> People started to notice that these Austrians are in fact Galician Poles slightly later. The “epistemological” problem for “Kingdomers” was also the phenomenon of the so-called hybrid identities occurring in the Habsburg Monarchy, which sometimes did not allow unequivocal national identification of its citizens. It has to be mentioned that in the first stage of military activities, civilians from Galicia appeared in Congress Poland in the form of the so-called “podwoły”, i.e. owners of wagons which were included into the military train. Along with the Austro-Hungarian troops also “Strzelcy” (Shooters) and “Skaucci” (Scouts), as first Legionaries were called, entered this territory. However, some of them were also Kingdomers. Later only the units of the first brigade of Polish Legions fought in the territory of the Kingdom of Poland, whereas recruiting agencies and offices of the Supreme National Committee operated legally here since 1915.<sup>26</sup> Their personnel consisted of both Galicians and the inhabitants of the National Kingdom.

In January 1915, district headquarters (later powiat ones) started to be established in the south-western areas of the Kingdom of Poland within the so-called Stages. They constituted a permanent occupation administration, no longer being a provisional back-up for a given army fighting in the battlefield. As mentioned by the Austrian researcher Tamara Scheer, for the purpose of organising occupation and looking for human resources, imperial experiences pertaining to managing nations and multi-ethnicity of the Habsburg Monarchy were utilised. What caused so much internal difficulty in times of peace, unexpectedly, in times of war turned out to be an advantage.<sup>27</sup> As a result, in case of lands of Con-

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<sup>24</sup> It can be perfectly seen in the diary written by the priest Józef Rokoszny, who stayed at the beginning of the war in Sandomierz next to the Russian-Galician border. J. Rokoszny, *Diariusz Wielkiej Wojny*, t. I–II, Kielce 1998.

<sup>25</sup> M. Przeniosło, *Postawy społeczeństwa Królestwa Polskiego wobec zaborcy rosyjskiego w latach 1914–1915* [w:] *Między irredentą a kolaboracją. Polacy w czas zaborów wobec władz i systemów politycznych*, red. S. Kalembka i N. Kasperek, Olsztyn 2001, s. 187–188.

<sup>26</sup> The Supreme National Committee, created on the 16<sup>th</sup> of August in 1916, associated advocates of the so-called Austro-Polish solution, i.e. the inclusion of the Kingdom of Poland into the Habsburg Monarchy, after Russia is defeated. M. Drozdowski, *Naczelny Komitet narodowy (1914–1918). Polityczne i organizacyjne zaplecze Legionów Polskich*, Kraków 2017, s. 214–217.

<sup>27</sup> The subject of occupation practices of Austro-Hungary in various occupied territories, from Serbia, through the Kingdom of Poland, Ukraine, Romania, Italy, Montenegro and Albania see: T. Scheer, *Zwischen Front und Heimat. Österreich-Ungarns Militärverwaltungen im Ersten Weltkrieg*, Frankfurt am Main 2009.

gress Poland, Austrians, with their pragmatic attitude, endeavoured, if possible, to hire Polish people in the occupation administration in Galicia – as those who were familiar with the psychology of “the Polish nation”, as concluded by major Rudolf Mitzka, a clerk dealing with Polish matters in the Austrian Chief Army Headquarters.<sup>28</sup> That is why already at the beginning of the war Polish people appeared in the occupation administration.<sup>29</sup> Especially in positions related to civilian issues, where the knowledge of the language facilitated contacts with the local population and gmina authorities which were supposed to be reactivated as soon as possible. Lucjan Turnau, in 1915 taking the position of an agricultural clerk in the Kingdom of Poland, mentioned that all his colleagues in those positions were Polish.<sup>30</sup> In a similar way, Galician Poles were hired in the positions in the reconstructed judicature, especially on the lower level dealing with civil matters. 63 Galician judges were directed to work on “this front”.<sup>31</sup> Another crucial section of administration where many Galician were employed was the post office.<sup>32</sup>

A totally different question was the national composition of occupational military formations, especially gendarmerie which, as stated by an expert on this topic, Jan Lewandowski, constituted one of occupation formations which included the lowest number of Polish people.<sup>33</sup> However, at least Slavic-speaking officers were also admitted into its ranks, e.g. Czechs, although there were quite a lot Hungarians. Obviously, the level of saturation of a given region with Poles might not bring any consequences: the final decision was taken by a military commander or any of influential officers who persecuted even Austrian Poles who were his subordinates.<sup>34</sup>

Initially the priority of Austrian occupation authorities was to ensure order, safety, peace, stability and the possibility of economic utilisation of the occu-

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<sup>28</sup> R. Mitzka, *Die K.U.K. Militärverwaltung in Russisch-Polen* [w:] *Die Militärverwaltung in den von den Österreichisch-Ungarischen Truppen Besetzten Gebieten*, Wien 1928, s. 14.

<sup>29</sup> J. Lewandowski, *Królestwo Polskie pod okupacją austriacką: 1914–1918*, Warszawa 1980, s. 25.

<sup>30</sup> L. Turnau, *wspomnienia z czasów...*, k. 24.

<sup>31</sup> The representatives of the local population were appointed only in the lowest instance, in magistrates' courts. „Nowości Ilustrowane”, nr 6 z 9 II 1918, s. 7; As far as the appointment to military courts is concerned: R. Maleszyk, *Funkcjonowanie austriackich sądów wojskowych na Lubelszczyźnie w latach 1915–1918*, „Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska” 2013, sec. F – Historia, z. 1–2, s. 60–61.

<sup>32</sup> *Poczta na zajętych terenie*, „Nowości Ilustrowane”, nr 31 z 31 VII 1915, s. 9–10.

<sup>33</sup> In April 1916 only one Pole was appointed as the commanding officer of powiat gendarmerie. J. Lewandowski, *Królestwo Polskie...*, s. 46.

<sup>34</sup> In this way a report of a Supreme National Committee recruitment officer described relations in Busko. *Raporty i korespondencja oficerów werbunkowych Departamentu Wojskowego Naczelnego Komitetu Narodowego 1915–1916. Ziemia Kielecka*, Kielce 2007, s. 24–25.

pied territories. The question of gaining the favour of the Kingdom's population for the sake of the Monarchy, which might be translated into political leverage, did not come into question. Nevertheless, already at the beginning of the war, in diplomatic circles, which favoured the so-called Austro-Polish solution, i.e. inclusion of the Kingdom of Poland to the Habsburg Monarchy, there were some ideas to bring Polish priests from Galicia to swing the public mood towards the Austrian direction since clergy, according to Austrian reports, had an immense authority among the local village population, which might be utilised for the sake of Austro-Hungary. Priest from Russian Poland could not, however, be taken into question. Generally, they were very poorly evaluated and seen as Russophiles. There were also ideas to utilise Jesuits in the creation of a *sui generis* mission.<sup>35</sup> Finally, all these ideas did not come to fruition.

Austrians started to organise also education in the Kingdom of Poland; both primary and secondary. Needs in terms of pedagogical personnel was estimated at about 10 thousand teachers.<sup>36</sup> Due to the lack of teachers in the Kingdom, some of them naturally had to come from Galicia. In practice, since September 1915 an ambitious plan was undertaken in order to introduce common primary education. It was not easy since not all village gminas were eager to maintain schools and their staff out of their own budgets. One of Galician clerks, in order to convince peasants to sign a resolution creating a school, threatened them with "last Judgement and all punishments from heaven and hell for careless upbringing of children".<sup>37</sup> Also secondary education and teacher seminars were organised with the considerable cooperation of Galician Poles. For instance, Jan Magiera, Ph.D. from Cracow was nominated as the director of a female gymnasium in Piotrków,<sup>38</sup> while in the gymnasium in Puławy – Stanisław Eustachiewicz, Ph.D. born near Gorlice.<sup>39</sup> Soon first conflicts arouse. The population of the Kingdom was impartial to the compulsory learning of the German language, which was forced by Galicians, not seeing anything reprehensible in it, to say nothing of germanising practices, which were suspected by "crowners".

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<sup>35</sup> Preliminary talks in this matter were held with the Cracow bishop Stefan Sapięha by means of the Austrian diplomat Leopold von Andrian. J. Gaul, *Austro-Węgry wobec Kościoła Katolickiego w Królestwie Polskim (sierpień 1914 – sierpień 1915)*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny” 2005, nr 4, s. 82–84.

<sup>36</sup> *Seminarium nauczycielskie w Piotrkowie*, „Głos Narodu”, nr 547 z 4 XII 1916, s. 1.

<sup>37</sup> J. Konarska, *Dwór na wulkanie. Dziennik ziemiański z przełomu epok 1895–1920*, Warszawa 2019, s. 233.

<sup>38</sup> *List z Piotrkowa*, „Nowa Reforma”, nr 581 z 17 XI 1916, s. 1. Also female teachers from Galicia were hired at this school. W. Chmielewski, *Państwowe Seminarium Nauczycielskie Żeńskie w Piotrkowie w pierwszych latach działalności (1916–1919). W stulecie powstania*, „Studia Paedagogica Ignatiana” 2016, nr 3 (19), s. 209.

<sup>39</sup> M. Strzemiński, *Nasze Puławy. Kolecja wspomnień*, Lublin 1986, s. 190.



Another stage of Galician peregrinations to the Kingdom was initiated by the victorious breakthrough in Gorlice in May 1915. As a result of pushing Russians eastward, the occupation zone subject to Vienna soon became several times bigger. On the 25<sup>th</sup> of August 1915 the above mentioned General Military Governorate was established, since October with its headquarters in Lublin. It was comprised of 24 poviats of the Kingdom of Poland and since 1916 – 27; in total, an area of about 45 000 square kilometres and inhabited by about 3.5 million people. As a result, it was necessary to extend even further the occupation apparatus and to hire hundreds of new officers. The reserves for the indispensable forces to a large extent could be found in Galicia and its Polish-speaking inhabitants, especially that it was possible to utilise some clerks coming from its eastern regions, still occupied by Russians and, thus, still being unemployed.

Capturing Warsaw by German in August 1915 was of utmost importance for migration of Galician Poles to the Kingdom of Poland. Since that time “Paris of the East” located on the Vistula River started to regain the value of the capitol of still non-existent Poland. Here the center of gravity of Polish politics was shifted anew. The Lviv historian Bronisław Dembiński, overcome with emotion, wrote in June 1916 about his first war travel to the city on Vistula: “with a feeling of joy I went to Warsaw from Vienna, to our, truly our capitol”.<sup>40</sup> No wonder that already in the next weeks after the capitol was captured, Galician politicians flocked there or, as noted by the archbishop Aleksander Kakowski, “hosts of emissaries from Galicia”,<sup>41</sup> more or less associated with the Austro-Polish orientation. This group included: Agenor Gołuchowski younger, Juliusz Leo, Andrzej Lubomirski, Jan Hupka, Ignacy Daszyński and Ludomił German, to mention just a few.<sup>42</sup> These were only short-term visits. Warsaw, contrary to Vienna’s hopes, found itself under the sole governance of the Reich. Still representatives of the Habsburg Monarchy settled in the city permanently, creating something in the form of a legation. In such diplomatic circles Poles were not in short supply: Ignacy Rosner, Jan Kopka and Stefan Iszkowski came to Warsaw during the war. A more decent Polish representation could be found in the Warsaw local office of the Austrian Chief Army Headquarters, where only a few Poles were hired.<sup>43</sup>

The reactivation of the Warsaw University and the University of Technology in November 1915 played an important role in stimulating Galician visits since it entailed the assignment of professors’ full time employment. Galicia, with its

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<sup>40</sup> B. Dembiński, *Wspomnienia z lat 1914–1918. Lwów–Warszawa*, ZNiO, sygn. 13168 II, k. 218.

<sup>41</sup> A. Kakowski, *Z niewoli do niepodległości*, Kraków 2000, s. 256.

<sup>42</sup> S. Dzierzbicki, *Pamiętnik z lat wojny 1915–1918*, Warszawa 1883, s. 72–73, 81.

<sup>43</sup> State as of January 1918. However, it has already been mentioned that it is difficult to relate a surname with nationality. KA, NFA 4019, k. 278.

University of Technology, two universities and numerous scientific institutions, had a lot to offer in this respect. Invitations of specific Galician scholars were formulated by the Enlightenment Department of the Citizens' Committee of the City Warsaw. However, they had to be authorised by the Prussian Ministry of Education. Finally the permission of the Viennese educational department had to be obtained so that the invited scholars could be granted a special leave, which was usually given only for one year.<sup>44</sup> From the very beginning of the creation of higher education in Warsaw, the representative of the Viennese Ministry of Foreign Affairs Leopold von Andrian, before the war, a consul in Warsaw for the Monarchy, sought the employment of Galicians (also based on the previous agreement with the ally).<sup>45</sup> Contrary to previous promises, Germans put a stop to a vast influx of scholars from Lviv and Cracow. Also Kingdomers (strengthened in this conviction by Germans, who tickled the vanity of Warsaw intelligentsia, as was reported by Andrian to Vienna<sup>46</sup>) thought that they disposed of sufficient potential to fill full time positions at the Warsaw universities. Finally at the moment of regaining independence the university staff comprised 28 scholars from Galicia out of 72 in total (about 32%).<sup>47</sup> Antoni Kostanecki (the rector of the Jagiellonian University in the years 1917/1918, although born in Congress Poland) and Jan Łukasiewicz came from the Jagiellonian University; Waław Sierpiński was acquired from the Lviv University in autumn 1918. As mentioned before the permission to be hired in Warsaw also had to be granted by the Head of the Austrian Department of Education.<sup>48</sup> For Poles it was a favourable circumstance as since June 1917 this ministry was run by Ludwik Ćwikliński, who was replaced in July 1918 also by a Pole – Jerzy Madeyski.<sup>49</sup> Interestingly, professors' leaves led to students' protests at the Lviv University. In July 1918 students organised an academic rally under the slogan "danger to the national and scientific nature of universities", which was caused by the emigration of part of the academic staff.<sup>50</sup>

Increase in "the demand" for Galician resources in the Kingdom of Poland resulted also from the change in Imperial and Royal policy regarding occupation

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<sup>44</sup> Account by prof. UJ Kazimierz Kostanecki, Archiwum Akt Nowych (dalej AAN), Akta Juliusza Twardowskiego, nr zesp. 104, sygn. 31, k. 22–23.

<sup>45</sup> Germans agreed to appoint 4–5 Galician professors. L. v. Andrian, *Korrespondenzen, Notizen, Essays, Berichte*, Köln 2003, s. 286.

<sup>46</sup> Tamże, s. 287.

<sup>47</sup> P. Majewski, *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 1915–1945*, red. nauk. P.M. Majewski, Warszawa 2016, s. 69.

<sup>48</sup> Many Galician scholars, especially historians ended up in the Kingdom of Poland, also in the role of experts. J. Maternicki, *Idee i postawy. Historia i historycy polscy 1914–1918. Studium historiograficzne*, Warszawa 1975, s. 428–461.

<sup>49</sup> W. Łazuga, *Kalkulować... Polacy na szczytach c. k. monarchii*, Poznań 2013, s. 417–418.

<sup>50</sup> *Brak profesorów na Uniwersytecie Lwowskim*, „Czas”, nr 302 z 15 VII 1918.

forces. In June 1916 during a special council at the Chief Army Headquarters in Cieszyn, a new direction of policy was agreed upon in terms of occupation practices: the aim was to gain the occupied population's favour for Austro-Hungary, having in view the prospect of annexation of this region,<sup>51</sup> naturally, to the extent allowed by the circumstances of the ongoing war. One of the elements of this policy was the Polishisation of the Austrian occupation apparatus. As a result, it was decided that since 1916 intensification of hiring Galician Poles in the Kingdom of Poland would be implemented.

If until that time the positions of heads of poviats usually were taken by Germans, Hungarians and other types of "state Austrians" with unspecified nationality, the position of the civil deputy of the poviat head was taken typically by a Pole. Since 1916 gradually more and more Poles started to be appointed as the poviat headquarters e.g. Col. Tadeusz Wiktor in Piotrków, Col. Roman Żaba in Chełm, Col. Konstantyn Rozwadowski in Puławy or Col. Antoni Zawadzki in Lubartów, later in Puławy.<sup>52</sup> As a result, another wave of Polish-Austrian clerks came to the part of the Kingdom of Poland occupied by the Habsburg Monarchy. The already mentioned Lucjan Turnau reminisced: "Prominent Polish clerks usually worked in the legal department [of the General Governorate], assigned to Lublin from Vienna where they worked in various ministries".<sup>53</sup> The climax of this trend was the designation of Gen. Stanisław Szeptycki to the position of the general governor in Lublin in May 1917, and also increased ranks of Poles in the previously strongly germanised military section of the general governorate,<sup>54</sup> which was energetically supported by the newly nominated governor.<sup>55</sup> The city grew to the role of a Mecca for Austrian Poles. Visiting his Galician colleagues, Zdzisław Krudzielski reminisced: "They lived cosily there and in good conditions as there were many free flats available for soldiers and clerks". That is why the name: "Militär General Gouvernment in Lublin" jokers used to translate as "Mir geht's gut in Lublin".<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> D. Szymczak, *Między Habsburgami a Hohenzollernami. Rywalizacja niemiecko-austro-węgierska w okresie I wojny światowej a odbudowa państwa polskiego*, Kraków 2009, s. 150–151; A. Hausner, *Die Polenpolitik der Mittelmächte und die österreichisch-ungarische Militärverwaltung in Polen während des Weltkrieges*, Wien 1935, s. 64–65.

<sup>52</sup> A. Wysocki, *Z dziejów mej służby*, ZNiO, sygn. 12477 II, k. 69.

<sup>53</sup> L. Turnau, *Wspomnienia z czasów...*, t. II, k. 52.

<sup>54</sup> J.M. Jampolski, *Wspomnienia z czasów okupacji austriackiej w Królestwie Kongresowym*, Kraków 1924, s. 29.

<sup>55</sup> P. Mikietyński, *General Stanisław hr. Szeptycki: między Habsburgami a Rzeczpospolitą: (okres 1867–1918)*, Kraków 1999, s. 179–180.

<sup>56</sup> That is "I am doing well in Lublin". Z. Krudzielski, *Wspomnienia*, Warszawa 1996, s. 75–76. Lublin was praised mainly for food supplying reasons. Accommodation conditions did not generate so much enthusiasm.

The prospects of stay of Polish Galicians in the Kingdom of Poland were changed again after the announcement of the Act of the 5<sup>th</sup> November 1916: the creation of a Polish state meant, in the short-term perspective, also the establishment of its institutions. Meanwhile, in Congress Poland there was a shortage of proper resources, first of all, qualified clerks, specialists in organising administration at various levels and functions (schooling, financial, judicial, self-government, even diplomatic ones, etc.).<sup>57</sup> This situation was paradoxical since when in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Kingdom of Poland boasted a host of high quality clerks, at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century as a result of the russification policy of Petersburg, the ranks were mostly depleted.<sup>58</sup> In the meantime, it can be said that Galicia, deprived of Polish bureaucracy at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, 100 years later, disposed of it in excess.

The demand for professional clerks grew already after the establishment of the first Polish institution in January 1917 – the Temporary Council of State. At the beginning of March 1917 the Council decided to acquire specialists from Galicia in order to work on the constitution to rebuild the country. They turned to Vienna with the request for sending prominent lawyers and historians: Stanisław Starzyński, Stanisław Kutrzeba, Oswald Balzer, Władysław Leopold Jaworski, Józef Buzek, Michał Rostworowski and, the lawyer and economist, Herman Diamand, who could become members of the Constitutional-Parliamentary Committee.<sup>59</sup> Soon others were invited, e.g. Stanisław Smolka, to the position of the deputy of the department of religious denominations and public enlightenment.<sup>60</sup> In no time Poles in imperial and royal uniforms organised clerical courses in Warsaw and in Lublin.<sup>61</sup> An ardent advocate of transferring Galicians to Warsaw was the Austrian state commissioner at the Temporary Council of State, and a Polish conservative politician, Jan Konopka.

For the Habsburg Monarchy this rapidly growing demand for Galician Poles in imperial and royal service was a completely new and surprising experience, causing many problems e.g. the tactic taken by the Temporary Council of State led to numerous complications since Poles first consulted with the possible

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<sup>57</sup> For more on this topic see: J. Sibora, *Dyplomacja polska w I wojnie światowej*, Warszawa 2013.

<sup>58</sup> Nevertheless, the process of depolonisation was not fully implemented. A. Chwalba, *Po-lacy w służbie Moskali*, Warszawa–Kraków 1999, s. 221–240.

<sup>59</sup> Austrians expected that works on the constitution would last until May 1917 and until this time they allowed partial involvement of the above mentioned scholars and politicians. Telegram przedstawiciela austro-węgierskiego MSZ I. Ugron do Wiednia z 12 III 1917, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (dalej HHStA), PA I 1019, k. 6.

<sup>60</sup> W. Suleja, *Tymczasowa Rada Stanu*, Warszawa 1998, s. 77–78.

<sup>61</sup> *Otwarcie kursów administracyjnych w Lublinie dla urzędników średniej kategorii*, „Ziemia Lubelska”, nr 240 z 14 V 1917, s. 3.

candidates and only later with the Viennese authorities. The initiative of “exporting” Galicians was by no means the idea of the Monarchy but of the Temporary Council of State. In spring 1917 the decision makers in Vienna rather tried to discreetly obstruct their engagement in the Polish state-building endeavours.<sup>62</sup> Not least that it led to conflicts with the German ally, which suspiciously perceived the participation of Polish Austrians in the organisation of state according to the Act of the 5<sup>th</sup> of November. In this area Germans saw themselves as monopolists, while the presence of Galicians was considered to be an attempt to cunningly regain the domination of Austrophiliac sentiment in the creation of Polish administration.<sup>63</sup> The Austrian influences on Vistula were frowned upon especially by the Warsaw governor Hans Hartwig von Beseler, who enthusiastically ventured on a quest to create a new satellite county and an ally in the form of the Polish state. In this situation, the maximally permissible arrangement agreed upon by both Germans and Austrians was the employment of Galicians in consultation-advisory works in Polish institutions.

German counteraction and some unwillingness of politicians from the Habsburg Monarchy to hire Galicians in Polish agencies had only a partial effect since Poles ignored the objections to the extent that in Vienna they thought of punishing clerks who out of their own will took positions in one of the agencies of the Temporary Council of State. The Minister of Education, Max Hussarek, had to officially demand that his person should not be in the future passed over in considering applications with requests to undertake work in Polish institutions.<sup>64</sup> The issue of “taking the offensive” in the policy of acquiring Galicians by the Temporary Council of State became serious especially in the publication of its magazine inviting Poles from Austrian ranks to join the agencies of the newly created Kingdom of Poland. It meant open invitation to violate Austro-Hungarian war regulations according to which the chief authorities of the monarchy decided whether an individual can be released from service and not the person concerned. In an attempt to “civilise” the increasingly uncontrollable practice at the end of May 1917, at the request of the Chief Army Headquarters, a special conference was organised in Vienna with the participation of representatives of the following departments: foreign affairs, education, justice and

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<sup>62</sup> Telegram z Wiednia do przedstawiciela austro-węgierskiego MSZ I. Ugrona w Warszawie z 20 III 1917, HHStA, PA I 1019.

<sup>63</sup> Information about the letter from the German General Governor Hans Hartwig von Beseler in this matter in a telegram of the representative of Austro-Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Warsaw, I. Ugron to the Head of the Ministry, Ottokar Czernin of 1 IV 1917, HHStA, PA I 1019, k. 27.

<sup>64</sup> List premiera Heinricha Clam-Martinizta do szefa MSZ O. Czernina z 25 IV 1917, HHStA, PA I 1019.

internal affairs. As a result, it was agreed that permit for temporary employment can be issued in Polish institutions only in justified cases. At the same time it was announced that Galicians in imperial and royal uniforms were still disciplinarily subject to the “home” authorities. Temporarily hired Galicians would obtain *de facto* the status of “contract workers” or “delegated workers”.<sup>65</sup>

In late summer 1917 with another change of the political direction of Vienna regarding Polish matters, the attitude to the practice of hiring Galicians in Polish institutions in Congress Poland became more liberal. In September 1917 education and the judicial system on the occupied lands of the Kingdom of Poland was handed over to the Polish hands. Simultaneously, the central powers created an equivalent of monarchical power – the Regency Council, which at the end of November 1917 appointed the Kingdom-Polish government with Jan Kucharzewski as the PM. An actual process of building the institutions of the Polish state began. Austro-Hungary seemed to lean towards the so-called Austro-Polish solution, and, consequently, to implement a policy of kindness towards the newly created Polish authorities. One of its symptoms was the promise of logistical support in the formation of state structures obtained from the Monarchy by the MP Kucharzewski, which led to more requests in Vienna for the permission to hire particular imperial and royal clerks. For instance, already at the beginning of November 1917 the Department of Treasury of the Temporary Committee of the Temporary Council of State applied for the designation of Polish ministerial secretaries from the Austrian ministry of finance.<sup>66</sup> The General Governorate in Lublin also acted as an intermediary in the attempts as it decided about the appointment of various positions in its territory. Moreover, Polish authorities taking over particular branches of administration from Austro-Hungarian occupation apparatus, e.g. education, also demanded that they should keep Poles who previously managed them in imperial and royal uniforms. For “political” reasons Austrians did not object and in January 1918 it was even allowed to prepare a special survey thanks to which it was possible to determine the number of those willing to serve for the Polish government.<sup>67</sup> A temporary break in the transfer policy occurred in February and March, the reason being the “freezing” of the relations between the Regency Council and Vienna, caused by allocating the Chełm region by the central powers to the Ukrainian People’s Republic in a peace treaty signed with it in February 1918 in Brześć Litewski. In April 1918 as a result of “changed relations” the Viennese authorities again de-

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<sup>65</sup> HHStA, PA I 1019, k. 55–57.

<sup>66</sup> However, not permanently but for the period of at least 2 months. HHStA, PA I 1019, k. 79–80.

<sup>67</sup> Initially the idea was to “lend” clerks for a year after which they might be possibly released from the Austrian service. HHStA, PA I 1019, k. 113–114.

cided to meet the expectations of the Kingdom-Polish government in the matter of delegating necessary clerical resources, however, under the condition of clear examination of whether a given person is no longer necessary for the Austrian administration. Here it was possible to notice the conspicuous lack not only in the soldier “human material”.<sup>68</sup> In the search for Polish candidates proper for the Polish authorities, the Austrian ministry of foreign affairs involved even the minister for Galicia, Juliusz Twardowski.<sup>69</sup>

The obstacle was still the Chief Army Headquarters, sceptically viewing this clerical migration and ready to consider Polish requests only in extraordinarily justified cases. It was such an important issue for the army that some clerks welcome in Warsaw, serve in the army, and in prominent, specialist positions. For instance, to satisfy its needs, the Polish Kingdom ministry of Justice requested leaves for 6 former “investigative officers and recorders of the field court of the Polish Auxiliary Corps”.<sup>70</sup> In July 1918 the ministry requester more officers from the corps, including the lieutenant Zygmunt Berling.<sup>71</sup>

Already in May 1918 the civil authorities of the state started to realise the need for saving its own pool of administrative resources. New guidelines regarding answers to Polish request for transferring more clerks ordered to show considerable restraint. The equivalent for clerks were supposed to be instructors sent for a short period of time for training purposes.<sup>72</sup>

This process, however, long ago got out of control since at the same time the Austro-Hungarian representative of the ministry of foreign affairs in Warsaw, Istvan Ugron received an order to determine the actual number of Austrian clerks hired in the Polish kingdom administration. A proper list was delivered to him by the Polish authorities but he doubted its credibility. The list covered 120 cases,<sup>73</sup> which included the already hired clerks in particular ministries, those who were supposed to take position soon and persons the employment of whom would be applied for by the government in the future. Why such commotion? Some clerks, teachers or generally people from the intelligentsia applied for service in the Kingdom of Poland themselves, especially pedagogues. The Galician press also slightly contributed to such a state of affairs writing about the demand in the “line of business” of positions.<sup>74</sup> The archive of MGGL con-

<sup>68</sup> HHStA, PA I 1019, k. 134–135.

<sup>69</sup> HHStA, PA I 1019, s. 156.

<sup>70</sup> HHStA, PA I 1019, k. 174–175.

<sup>71</sup> HHStA, PA I 1019, k. 330.

<sup>72</sup> A relevant letter in this matter was also received by the Galician Governorate. HHStA, PA I 1019, k. 159–165.

<sup>73</sup> HHStA, PA I 1019, k. 215–230, 320–321.

<sup>74</sup> One of the applicants for the position in the Kingdom of Poland, a famous specialist in the study of religion, Czubyński, Ph.D. claimed that he took this step based on the information

tains the applications of people trying to obtain full time employment in the Kingdom of Poland. For instance, the General Governor in Lublin was asked by Helena Dolnicka, a teacher in Jasło, to offer her a position in the Kingdom of Poland. The author of the letter specified that the governorship should contact the Galician National School Council in this matter, and not the head office of the gymnasium in Jasło since she might lose her job.<sup>75</sup> In order to obtain proper resources from Galicia, MGGL also turned directly to Galician educational authorities, as was the case with Aleksander Janicki from the gymnasium in Trembowla, who was invited to Kielce to take the position of a German and French teacher.<sup>76</sup> Occasionally, there were request for protection and finding a position for “schoolmates” who suddenly remember “old friendships from the school bench”.<sup>77</sup> Finally the Polish government also added to the whole commotion by utilising multifarious (not always formal) ways in its attempts to acquire specialist from Austrian institutions. Many times Polish Kingdom authorities, “out of sheer force of momentum”, hired Austrian clerks even before obtaining a definite permission for their release, which naturally led to their superior’s outrage and protests.<sup>78</sup> As a result, credible bodies representing Vienna officially obliged the Warsaw government to use the agency of the representative of the Viennese ministry of foreign affairs in Warsaw in the future, as the only authorised person in the matter of recruitment of Galicians.

As mentioned before, with time, the monarchy was less and less willing to hand over its workers of Polish origin to the Warsaw government. For instance, the Ministry of Commerce initially did not agree to release a clerk, Witold Ostrowski, which was confirmed by the Galician Governorate.<sup>79</sup> Civil servants (sometimes such positions were also held by professors of institutions of higher education) usually received only several months’ leave, in some cases only a slightly longer one; their definite “departure” was out of the question. In this manner the request was made for the leave for the service for Polish-kingdom authorities for Kaźmierz Papee, Kazimierz Pawlikowski, Antoni Plutyński, Zygmunt Podgórski and Waław Tokarz, to mention just a few. Some of them were trans-

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in the Cracow “Nowa Reforma” that there were vacant full time positions. AGAD, MGGL, sygn. 1615, k. 11.

<sup>75</sup> AGAD, MGGL, sygn. 1615, k. 7–8.

<sup>76</sup> AGAD, MGGL, sygn. 1615, k. 201.

<sup>77</sup> The position in the postal administration of the General Governorate. AGAD, MGGL, sygn. 204, k. 22.

<sup>78</sup> Przedstawiciel ministerstwa spraw zagranicznych w Warszawie do ministra spraw zagranicznych Istvana Buriana z 19 VI 1918, HHStA, PA I 1019.

<sup>79</sup> At that time, in Galicia he was one of two instructors of the Ministry of Commerce for industrial associations. However, after several months the permission was granted. HHStA, PA I 1019, k. 1, 11.



ferred to the Kingdom of Poland not only from Galicia but from Vienna or even from Bosnia and Hercegovina.<sup>80</sup> Additionally, the Chief Army Headquarters pointed out in July 1918 that with respect to MGGL it will not agree to the transfer of clerks and specialists in this branch of administration which still remained under the jurisdiction of the occupation forces.<sup>81</sup> The main branches of the state administration where Galicians were employed were as follows: judicial system, finance, education, army. The migration of clerks to the kingdom (its extent constitutes the research postulate) undoubtedly contributed to the weakening of the Polish presence in the apparatus of the central administration in Vienna, although in November 1918 almost 400 Polish clerks still worked there.<sup>82</sup>

With respect to war emigration (whatever its reasons might be), it is vital to mention the issues of mutual reception, i.e. the perception of the inhabitants of the Kingdom by Galicians, and vice versa, where an important role was played by stereotypes, myths and prejudices. The influx of Galicians to Congress Poland and taking prominent positions by them led to various conflicts, often causing allergic reactions of the local population, convinced about their own value, competences and virtues. For the inhabitants of this region, the cultural code (if it can be described in this way) used by Galicians was unintelligible, or even irritating. Kingdomers were annoyed by their southern compatriots' e.g. attachment to ranks and titles, excessive respect of the official uniform.<sup>83</sup> In offices they were irked by the peculiar "official" language, cultivated hierarchic structure, specific forms of contact with colleagues. Józef Łoś, a clerk of Austrian occupation, stated in the recently published memories: "If we talk about their attitude to us, i.e. Galician Poles in Austrian uniforms, the Polish intelligentsia in the area of Congress Poland, it has to be mentioned that its warmth was not very high".<sup>84</sup> According to him Galicians were treated with "scepticism, with a huge dose of caution, and even lack of trust". Alfred Wysocki, since June 1916 a prominent clerk in the General Governorate confirmed these observations in his memories, writing even about a feeling of "isolation" and lack of understanding for the difficult position of a compatriot in an Austrian uniform.<sup>85</sup> Also an agricultural clerk, Jan Madeyski, who had to explain to his interlocutors from the Kingdom that he did not see any con-

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<sup>80</sup> HHStA, PA I 1019, k. 362.

<sup>81</sup> Pismo AOK do generalnego gubernatorstwa wojskowego w Lublinie z 18 VII 1918, HHStA, PA I 1019.

<sup>82</sup> AAN, Akta Juliusza Twardowskiego, sygn. 46, k. 167.

<sup>83</sup> J. Konarska, *Dwór na wulkanie...*, s. 250.

<sup>84</sup> S. Łoś, „Świat się w mych oczach dwukrotnie zawalił...”. *Wspomnienia dyplomaty*, Kraków–Warszawa 2017, s. 132.

<sup>85</sup> A. Wysocki, *Z dziejów mej służby...*, k. 69.

tradition between the Austrian uniform and his national, Polish conscience.<sup>86</sup> Furthermore, high civil servants such as Wysocki in many cases were not alone but came with their whole families, spouses, children, babysitters. In many cases they introduced new fashions and customs, which was noticed by the author of a diary – Maria Walewska.<sup>87</sup> This begs the question whether the family members of Galician MGGL were also impacted to some extent by the mark of the “occupier”.

The situation in the countryside was not much better than in Lublin. The above mentioned priest Józef Rokoszny noted in his diary in February 1916 that the pedagogues transferred from Galicia are “boycotted by the local teachers (...) permanently socially and in terms of relations at school. They are boycotted by children, who don’t give them answers, don’t learn and sing “Rota” by Konopnicka”.<sup>88</sup> The Austrian school inspectors were even more frowned upon for bringing... Galician female teachers, who allegedly steal the jobs of local men. Furthermore, according to the opponents, Galician teachers, being newcomers in the territory of the Kingdom, without any contacts and not being rooted in the local environment, remained dependent on the Austrian superiors, which in this way through their “slow tools” introduced old-fashioned methods of the Galician school”.<sup>89</sup>

Kazimierz Konarski, employed in the Department of Education, had much better memories about relations with Galicians. In his opinion the representative of both regions hired in the ministry in a positive way were combined by energy and creative spirit of crowners and the professional experience and administrative sophistication of Galicians.<sup>90</sup> Step by step, as people became familiar with each other, contacts at schools also possibly improved.

The offensive against Galicians was also joined by the passivist press in Congress Poland, especially the one published in German occupation. On its pages they were bluntly described as one of “Egyptian plagues”, soulless and stiff bureaucrats, people living to achieve titles and to cherish loyalism.<sup>91</sup> Still many years after the end of the war, the press of former Congress Poland wrote

<sup>86</sup> M. Urgacz, *Trzy pomyślne lata: „Wspomnienia z wojny światowej Jana Madeyskiego [w:] Doświadczenia żołnierskie Wielkiej Wojny. Studia i szkice z dziejów frontu wschodniego I wojny światowej*, red. M. Baczkowski i K. Ruszała, Kraków 2016, s. 119.

<sup>87</sup> The wives of the Austrian clerks in Lublin were called “wiedenki” (Eng. women coming from Vienna). M. Walewska, *Rok 1918. Wspomnienia*, Warszawa 1998, s. 39.

<sup>88</sup> J. Rokoszny, *Diariusz*, t. II, s. 137.

<sup>89</sup> Biuletyn nr 50 z 20 IX 1917 r. Centralnego Komitetu Narodowego, AAN, Gabinet Cywilny Rady Regencyjnej, sygn. 249, mikr. B 5027, k. 138.

<sup>90</sup> K. Konarski, *Dalekie a bliskie. Wspomnienia szczęśliwego człowieka*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1965, s. 201.

<sup>91</sup> „Królewiacy” i „Galicjanie”, „Czas”, nr 332 z 1 VIII 1918, s. 1.

about “undereducated Galileos” coming there to make careers.<sup>92</sup> Obviously, like in the case of the above mentioned Konarski, there were many opposed voices and attempts of deeper reflection on the matter. A landowner from the Kingdom, Juliusz Zdanowski, noted in his diary in summer 1915: “Looking at the numerous Polish clerks, placed by Austrians in positions in the Kingdom, among whom there are, admittedly, many honest Poles, it can be seen that these might be ready-made personnel for the development of the Polish society”.<sup>93</sup> Nevertheless, prejudice was not easy to overcome. The MP, Jan Stecki, incidentally from Galicia himself, in an interview for “Kurier Polski” felt obliged to ensure that the majority of clerks for central agencies of state management would come from the Kingdom.<sup>94</sup>

Clashes might result not only from differences in mentality but also from political attitudes of Polish Galicians, the belief in the final victory of Austria related to the mission of liberation of the Kingdom from the yoke of Russian slavery. It was hard to imagine that Kingdomers have a different view on this situation. According to the already quoted Zdanowski, Galicians looked at Congress Poland as at a favourable “swelling of Galicia”, “slightly extending the area where they might get employment”.<sup>95</sup> According to another Kingdomer, Henryk Dembiński, the faulty perspective had its roots in Galicians neglecting other Polish “districts”.<sup>96</sup> Only after passing the Act of the 5<sup>th</sup> of November 1916 when instead of the expected inclusion of Congress Poland into the Habsburg Monarchy, the reconstruction of the Kingdom of Poland began on the basis of Germany, many Poles from Galicia started having doubts. After the Treaty of Brześć in February 1918 nothing special was not expected from the country of Emperor Charles. Future was connected with Warsaw as the capitol rather than with Vienna. In October 1918 the Regency Council openly demanded gaining authority over the whole Austrian occupation apparatus, which painlessly happened at the beginning of November.

The present study is only a single contribution, a preliminary outline of the issue, which so far has not been given much attention. Some topics were only superficially mentioned, others – only signalled, especially with reference to the presence of Poles in imperial and royal uniforms (military or clerical

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<sup>92</sup> J. Mierzwa, *Starostowie Polski międzywojennej. Portret zbiorowy*, Kraków 2012, s. 49.

<sup>93</sup> *Dziennik Juliusza Zdanowskiego*, t. I: 22 VI 1915 – 29 IV 1917, Szczecin 2013, s. 19.

<sup>94</sup> *Administracja w Królestwie*, „Czas”, nr 221 z 16 V 1918, s. 3.

<sup>95</sup> *Dziennik Juliusza...*, s. 83.

<sup>96</sup> Dembiński, who knew Galicia and the Habsburg Monarchy perfectly, accused, in the other hand, the Warsaw circles of “certain disparagement of Galicians’ lives and opinions (...), an excessive feeling of their superiority which indicates insularity and narrow-mindedness”. H. Dembiński, *Dziennik 1907–1915*, Warszawa 2000, s. 121.

ones) as occupying forces during WWI.<sup>97</sup> If research into Austrian occupation on Polish lands has generated a considerable number of works (scholars cited in the study: J. Lewandowski, T. Scheer, R. Maleszyk and one not cited: Stephan Lehnstaedt<sup>98</sup>), the position of Poles in the occupation apparatus was not researched in detail. It has to be added that similar studies were performed for Poles in German uniforms.<sup>99</sup> As a consequence, there is no in-depth analysis about their number, their attitudes, dilemmas, relations with locals, the motives (those who applied for it) for their transfer to the Kingdom (whether only financial or other), or the number of them (especially those in less prominent positions) who became assimilated in the new environment and stayed. Indeed, the Great War provided an opportunity for the first such a numerous cross-border meeting of Poles, especially from these two partitions (to a lesser extent from the Prussian one). Obviously, it is not a simple issue for analysis. It is not always easy to conclude who saw themselves as a Pole since a Polish sounding surname was not always a proof of that (also for the reason that in the Habsburg Monarchy there was the above mentioned hybrid model of national identity). Moreover, in the inter-war period few people were willing to present in their memories their participation in the occupation apparatus of the annexationist, a possessive power and “the tormentor of compatriots”, which after 1918 was treated at best as extreme loyalism; at most one could only boast of wallenrodism or Shwejk’s attitude, which is why the question about the honesty of such confessions is purely rhetorical. Finally, the study does not touch upon many other aspects of military mobility of Galicians with reference to the Kingdom of Poland, including economic ones. Research might be required to analyse the so-called small cross-border traffic, both legal and illegal one.

The influx of Galicians, i.e. Poles from Galicia to the Kingdom was not only a consequence of the end of WWI, liquidation of borders, unification of Polish lands, regaining independence and the creation of Polish political, scientific and educational institutions after 1918. This phenomenon was stimulated by mobility forced by the Great War. The influx and utilisation of Galician resources in the Kingdom in this period contributed substantially to the creation of the

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<sup>97</sup> E.g. the question of the participation of Galicians in the creations of the Polish Armed Forces and the Polish army before the 11th of November 1918. J. Snopko, *Final epopei Legionów Polskich 1916–1918*, Białystok 2008, s. 282 i nast.

<sup>98</sup> S. Lehnstaedt, *Das Militärgeneralgouvernement Lublin. Die „Nutzbarmachung“ Polens durch Österreich-Ungarn im Ersten Weltkrieg*, „Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa Forschung” 2012, B. 61, s. 1–26.

<sup>99</sup> A. Kucharska, *Polacy w niemieckiej administracji cywilnej Królestwa Polskiego [w:] Pierwsza niemiecka...*, s. 387–468; R. Łysoń, *Udział Polaków w niemieckiej administracji Generalnego Gubernatorstwa Warszawskiego w okresie I wojny światowej*, „Dzieje Najnowsze” 2011, nr 3, s. 35–42.

edifice of Polish state in its various institutional aspects. As pointed out by Janusz Mierzwa, especially a group of clerks from the former general governorate in Lublin played “a key role in the creation of the administrative apparatus” of the Polish state, regaining its independence.<sup>100</sup> In many cases in November 1918 they attached eagles to the Austrian uniforms and became a part of a new, completely Polish authority. Some of those who arrived here in the years 1914–1918 stayed here forever.

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<sup>100</sup> J. Mierzwa, *Starostowie Polski...*, s. 44,

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## **Wojna i mobilność. Galicjanie w Królestwie Polskim w czasie I wojny światowej**

### *Streszczenie*

Okres I wojny światowej to nie tylko konfrontacja militarna żołnierzy walczących państw. Wpłynął on również istotnie na życie codzienne milionów zwykłych ludzi. Jednym z przejawów owego wpływu była wojenna mobilność. Dotyczyła ona również mieszkańców Galicji. Na skutek działań wojennych Galicjanie zostali zmuszeni do przemieszczania się w różnych kierunkach jako żołnierze, uciekinierzy, ewakuowani, pracownicy. Jednym z kierunków galicyjskich migracji było opanowane w 1915 r. przez państwa centralne Królestwo Polskie. Napływ Galicjan na ten obszar można podzielić na kilka fal. Pierwszą stanowili Polacy-żołnierze w austriackich mundurach. Kolejną tworzyli galicyjscy Polacy zatrudnieni w austriackim aparacie okupacyjnym. Następnie do Królestwa przybywali uczeni, urzędnicy, inteligencja zapraszani przez władze tworzącego się państwa polskiego. Galicjanie nie zawsze spotykali się z przychylnym przyjęciem rodaków. Jedną z przyczyn były panujące stereotypy i uprzedzenia. Galicjanie wnieśli jednak istotny wkład w dzieło budowy państwowości polskiej.

**Słowa kluczowe:** Królestwo Polskie, Galicja, I wojna światowa, mobilność, migracje