

SCRIPTA JUDAICA CRACOVIENSIA

Vol. 13 (2015) pp. 55–65

doi:10.4467/20843925SJ.15.005.4227

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## THE FAILURE OF THE INTEGRATION OF GALICIAN JEWS ACCORDING TO LVOV'S *OJCZYŻNA* (1881-1892)

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**Key words:** integrationist, integration, assimilation, Polonization, Lvov, Galicia, Polish-Jewish relations, anti-Semitism

**Abstract:** The article is devoted to the pro-Polish integrationist group, an important part of the modernizing section of the Jewish community in Poland, in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The author focuses on *Ojczyzna*, a Polish-language bulletin and the first regular Polish-language newspaper of the pro-Polish integrationist group in Galicia. The study is an attempt to show how the idea of integration was finally abandoned at the turn of the century, and integration ceased to be seen as the solution to “the Jewish question.”

### Introduction

The pro-Polish integrationist<sup>1</sup> group was an important part of the modernizing section of the Jewish community in Poland. Its origins date back to the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It was at this point that Haskalah (the Jewish Enlightenment) began to take root in Galicia.<sup>2</sup> In the early days, the most influential leaders of the Haskalah movement were Menachem Mendel Lefin and his famous disciples, Joseph Perl (1773-1839) and Nachman Krochmal. The main centers of the movement were the towns of Brody, Lemberg (Lvov, now Lviv), and Tarnopol. Unlike in the Kingdom of Poland, right from the beginning a prominent characteristic of Haskalah in Galicia was its uncompromising struggle against Hasidism.<sup>3</sup> In contrast to the Kingdom of Poland, in Galicia the Haskalah movement was not deeply immersed in the Polish language and Polish culture; in Kingdom of Poland these sympathies could be described as a Polish version of integration with

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<sup>1</sup> In the use of the term “integrationist” (instead of “assimilationist”) I follow Mendelsohn’s (but also Wodziński’s) suggestion. The term “assimilation” – with its implication of total ethnic and cultural effacement – seems to be less accurate than “integration.” Theodore R. Weeks (2005, pp. 26-27) has pointed out that “The Polish term *asymilacja* [...] was used from the 1850s to the early twentieth century in a rather imprecise manner, probably quite unconsciously” and even the weekly “*Izraelita*” the foremost “assimilationist” journal in Poland, “aimed not at an obliteration of Jewishness but at the transformation and further development of Jewish religious and cultural traditions as ‘Poles of the Mosaic Law’.” Cf. Mendelsohn 1993, p. 16; Wodziński 2003, p. 16; Weeks 2005, pp. 26-27.

<sup>2</sup> For further details on the early Haskalah in Galicia, see: Mahler 1985; Sorkin 2004; Sinkoff 2004.

<sup>3</sup> For broader treatment of the attitude of the maskilim (in the Kingdom of Poland) towards the hasidim, see Wodziński 2003.

wider European culture.<sup>4</sup> In Galicia it was different. Lwów served as the capital of Austrian Galicia, and was dominated by the pro-German Jewish intelligentsia. Moreover, this particular branch of the Haskalah movement was very much attached to the German language and culture. German was the *Universal-Sprache*, the language of German liberalism.<sup>5</sup> The foundations for deeper integration were also much weaker in Galicia than in the Kingdom of Poland, where the movement had relatively quickly evolved from the Haskalah stance towards an integrationist ideology, and from Haskalah's loyalism to pro-Polish patriotism.<sup>6</sup> Here, the heralded end to the concept of modernization in the spirit of Haskalah and the evolution towards a greater degree of integration (unacceptable to the supporters of the Haskalah) came much later than in Warsaw.

The period of "Polish-Jewish fraternity"<sup>7</sup> (1861-1863) that preceded the January Uprising and the crisis of monarchy (as a consequence of the Franco-Austrian War and the Austro-Prussian War) accelerated the evolution of linguistic and cultural identity towards Polish national identity.<sup>8</sup> In the Kingdom of Poland, the integrationist group began publishing its own regular press organ (*Izraelita*) in 1866 (and a little earlier, between 1861 and 1863, *Jutrzenka*), while their counterparts in Galicia did so in 1881. Unlike in Krakow, the pro-Polish integrationists in Lwów were in the minority (until the 1880s).<sup>9</sup> Lwów as the capital of the province was a center of the German administration in Galicia and was prone to German influence. This changed at the end of the 1860s as a result of the Polonization of the city after the *Ausgleich* of 1867 (also called the Composition of 1867).<sup>10</sup> The first, ephemeral Lwów society for Jewish-Polish cooperation was founded in 1868. Filip Zucker, who has been described as "the first Polish-Jewish patriot in Lwów," appointed for life the Society of Israelites for the Spreading of Education and Civic Consciousness among Galician Jews (*Towarzystwo Izraelitów ku szerzeniu oświaty i obywatelskości pomiędzy żydostwem galicyjskim*).<sup>11</sup>

From 1869, *Der Israelit* (the organ of the pro-Austrian Schomer Israel<sup>12</sup>) appeared in the style of the German Enlightenment, but in German with Hebrew letters. In 1877, Bernard Goldman and Filip Zucker founded the agent of Polonization *Doreshei Shalom* ("Seekers of Peace") and published the journal *Zgoda*, which functioned only until 1878.<sup>13</sup>

Ultimately, the first regular Polish-language newspaper, *Ojczyzna* ("Fatherland"), was founded by a pro-Polish integrationist group in 1881.<sup>14</sup> As E. Mendelsohn and

<sup>4</sup> Wodziński 2004, p. 25.

<sup>5</sup> Niemczyzna, *Ojczyzna* 1886, no. 7, p. 26.

<sup>6</sup> Wodziński 2003, pp. 26, 32.

<sup>7</sup> For a broader treatment of the period of "Polish-Jewish fraternity," see Opalski, Bartal 1992; Wodziński 2003; Galas 2007.

<sup>8</sup> Wodziński 2004, p. 35; see also Wodziński 2003. In the Kingdom of Poland an important factor was "Odwilż posewastopolska" (1860-1881).

<sup>9</sup> For a broader treatment of the uniqueness of Kraków in Galicia, and the pro-Polish integrationist group there, see e.g. Maślak-Maciejewska 2012; Galas 2012.

<sup>10</sup> For further details on the pro-German Jewish intelligentsia in Lwów, see e.g. Kopff-Muszyńska 1992.

<sup>11</sup> *Prace nad uspołecznieniem Żydów*, *Ojczyzna* 1884, no. 10, p. 39. See also Polonsky 2010, p. 124.

<sup>12</sup> Schomer Israel ('Guardian of Israel') was established in Lwów, 1867. The organization promoted German culture among the Jews in Galicia (as a crucial element in the modernization of the Jews in Galicia) and loyalty to the Habsburg Dynasty. For further details on Schomer Israel, see e.g. Mendelsohn 1969; Kopff-Muszyńska 1992.

<sup>13</sup> *Prace nad uspołecznieniem Żydów*, *Ojczyzna* 1884, no. 10, p. 39.

<sup>14</sup> They strengthened their position then (also within the Jewish community).

Manekin rightly pointed out, its founders came from the younger generation of graduates from the gymnasia and from among university students, who were already “equipped with the linguistic and cultural skills necessary to facilitate their integration with their Polish surroundings.”<sup>15</sup> As Mendelsohn aptly noted, “a new generation of intellectuals supported the Polish cause out of conviction,”<sup>16</sup> not of political necessity. For them, the Polish language had an emotional value. As in the Kingdom of Poland, the establishment of a Polish-language newspaper marked the end of “a discussion behind closed doors.”<sup>17</sup> *Ojczyzna* was issued from 1881 to 1892, and it also contained a Hebrew supplement called *Ha-Mazkir* (ceased in 1886). *Ha-Mazkir* was formed by traditional maskilim, who had accepted a proposal of collaboration from the newly formed pro-Polish intelligentsia.<sup>18</sup> *Ojczyzna* was the Galician counterpart of *Izraelita*,<sup>19</sup> a Jewish-Polish weekly published in Warsaw. Both *Ojczyzna* and Agudas Ahim (Association of Brothers), established later – in 1882 – were open for cooperation with Poles. And indeed, its membership also included some Christian Poles (this group constituted about 10 percent of all subscribers).<sup>20</sup> Like the earlier *Zgoda*, the biweekly tried to popularize the Polish language, culture and history, stimulate patriotism, and sever the traditional connection of Galician Jewry to German language and culture. In brief – to promote integration into the Polish nation, but without complete assimilation. It must be noted that, despite being opposed to religious traditionalism and the use of Yiddish (“zargon,” or “jargon”) and external markers of Jewish distinctiveness, *Ojczyzna* would maintain Jewish religious identity.<sup>21</sup>

In order to achieve their goals, integrationists fought against social separation, and did this more radically than the proponents of Haskalah had ever done before. As in the case of *Izraelita*, the program of reforms was at first focused almost exclusively on “amending” the Jewish side.<sup>22</sup> This approach was predominant in their journalism, especially in the first half of the 1880s. They ruthlessly criticized the separation present in language (“jargon,” “German”), culture and civilization (zealotry, backwardness, attire), as well as indifference towards domestic political affairs. Both *Ojczyzna* and the Association of Brothers were promoting Polonization through the establishment of libraries, reading rooms and schools, series of lectures, and also through the organization of patriotic ceremonies commemorating great Polish anniversaries (e.g. the bicentenary of the Battle of Vienna).<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Manekin 2010, p. 121.

<sup>16</sup> Mendelsohn 1969, p. 581.

<sup>17</sup> See also Wodziński 2003, p. 160.

<sup>18</sup> For further details on the *Ha-Mazkir*, see Manekin 2010.

<sup>19</sup> Mendelsohn 2002, p. 15.

<sup>20</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1882, no. 12, p. 48. Agudas Ahim was a cultural and social organization also founded in Lwów. In 1882, upon its establishment, it turned the biweekly *Ojczyzna* into its official organ. An interesting study of the Agudas Achim can be found in Kopff-Muszyńska 1992; Soboń 2009; Manekin 2010; Soboń 2011; Maślak-Maciejewska 2014.

<sup>21</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1884, no. 5, p. 17.

<sup>22</sup> Kołodziejska 2014, p. 113.

<sup>23</sup> Maślak-Maciejewska 2014, pp. 182-185.

## The deadlock of integration

The history of *Ojczyzna*, however short, can be divided into consecutive phases. The early years were marked by somewhat exaggerated enthusiasm and naive faith in the eventual success of the program. In the second half of 1880s the tone changed to a more mature and matter-of-fact one, and in the early '90s it was a sense of disillusionment and apathy that became prevalent. The shift in tone and atmosphere was followed by a similar change in the subjects discussed and the assessment of the situation.

In an issue from 1885 we read “we happily observe (...), that a sense of citizenship takes deeper roots in the organism of society (...), that Polishness becomes more and more spread.”<sup>24</sup> This enthusiastic claim is followed by a list of achievements:

More and more Jewish students attend public schools. The medieval cheders are disappearing. Nowadays, one can find many evening schools and reading rooms that are being established in the cities to promote the Polish language.<sup>25</sup>

The “German” jargon – along with backwardness a major subject for the editors of *Ojczyzna* – also seemed to recede. *Ojczyzna* noted that “Lvov’s ‘Israelit’ changes its name to ‘Izraelita’”<sup>26</sup> (as it happens the change proved to be short-lived) or that the most “German” town of Brody now had its own Polish-Jewish newspaper – *Kronika*.

## In the face of Zionism

The emerging Zionist movement was not noticed by the editors of *Ojczyzna* until quite late – the first mentions appear in late 1883/early 1884. At first it was considered to be “not worthy of attention.” This seems to have changed after the “Palestinian-patriotic demonstration” organized by Józef Kobak and Ruben Bierer in Lvov. This is also when the student association Kadima – established in Vienna in 1882 – was first mentioned. Kadima’s support for settlement in Palestine and rejection of assimilation drew many young Jews from Central and Eastern Europe, Galicia in particular, according to *Ojczyzna*. In December 1883 the members of Kadima strongly condemned integration, “especially in Galicia, as it is a betrayal and a disgrace for the Jews.”<sup>27</sup> To make things worse, similar statements could be heard in Lvov:

We, the progressive Jews (in our attire, language and behavior) join the ranks of extreme conservatives. Along with them, bowing our heads before the idols of superstition, before the miracle-workers, we yearn for strict national independence for our coreligionists.<sup>28</sup>

The new ideology was referred to as “the pan-Jewish idea,” “the pan-Judea movement”<sup>29</sup> or “the all-Jewish current,”<sup>30</sup> the Zionists were called “nationalists,”<sup>31</sup> “our

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<sup>24</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1885, no. 1, p. 1.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1884, no. 1, p. 3.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>29</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1892, no. 1, p. 1.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1885, no. 5, p. 17.

Palestinians,<sup>32</sup> or – somewhat patronizingly – “our dreamers,”<sup>33</sup> “the knights of Palestinian utopia”<sup>34</sup> and “slackers.”<sup>35</sup> The prospects of the new movement were judged harshly: “let’s not even talk about it,”<sup>36</sup> “we don’t know whether to laugh or cry,”<sup>37</sup> “it’s a utopia, nothing more, and there is no reason to think that it will ever succeed,”<sup>38</sup> “the possibility of a separate Jewish state is not something to be taken seriously into account.”<sup>39</sup>

Zionism forced *Ojczyzna* (and *Izraelita*) to deal with the issue of Jewish ethnicity. “There is a certain tribalism and spiritual connection among the Jews, but is it enough to call them a separate nation? Absolutely not!”<sup>40</sup> The aspects that could define a nation – “language, thought, customs, ideals and common goals (...) have already been lost by the Jews and they are left with nothing.”<sup>41</sup> Just like the integrationists from Warsaw, they considered Jews to be a religious community or “a religious association.”<sup>42</sup>

*Ojczyzna* tracked the advance of Zionism in Galicia (Lvov in particular) and noted the establishment of “Mikra Kodesh,” a proto-Zionist organization operating in Lvov that was soon reorganized, coming to be known as the “Syjon” association (1887). At first, the editors of *Ojczyzna* hoped that “Mikra” would not become politically engaged and would focus on Hebrew language and literature.<sup>43</sup> After Syjon was established, that hope proved to be a vain one. The organization “dropped its scholarly and literary mask and became strictly political.”<sup>44</sup> The Zionist movement was already a threat to integration, but was still made light of, at least officially.

Nevertheless, even *Ojczyzna* would signal every once in a while that the integration program might be under threat. They noticed, for example, that collection of money for the Palestinian settlements “weakens the links between the local Jews and their real homeland.”<sup>45</sup> To make matters worse, Zionism was “an argument handed to our enemies so that they can claim that Jews will never assimilate and that they have separate goals and distinct ethnicity.”<sup>46</sup>

Zionism was ruthlessly critical of the integrationist program. Integrationists were called “the worst cowards,”<sup>47</sup> “apostates,”<sup>48</sup> or even “anti-Semites” who had sold their Jewish souls. This was a way to show Zionism as an alternative that did not lead to eventual loss of Jewish values.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1891, no. 4, p. 30.

<sup>33</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1889, no. 3, pp. 17-18.

<sup>34</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1884, no. 3.

<sup>35</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1886, no. 6, p. 21.

<sup>36</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1889, no. 3, p. 18.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1888, no. 15, p. 113.

<sup>40</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1889, no. 3, p. 17.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Jagodzińska 2008, p. 41.

<sup>43</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1885, no. 2, p. 7.

<sup>44</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1888, no. 15, p. 117.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1884, no. 2, p. 6.

<sup>47</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1886, no. 1, p. 2.

<sup>48</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1885, no. 5, p. 17.

<sup>49</sup> See also Jagodzińska 2008, p. 62.

To sum up, *Ojczyzna* proved to be ignorant, sluggish and passive. Despite noticing the growing strength of Zionism, *Ojczyzna* kept pointing out its utopian character. In an article from 1889, they claimed that “to discuss the Kingdom of Israel as if it were a matter of the near future is just completely ridiculous”.<sup>50</sup> The following years would prove them wrong.

## In the face of anti-Semitism. Disillusionment

More than anything else, what paralyzed the program of integration was anti-Semitism. Aversion and lack of acceptance undermined its very foundations. *Ojczyzna* and *Izraelita* shared a positivist belief in integration, and tried to “capitalize” on the trust that had been built in the 1860s. Therefore, the Polish side was idealized, while the Jewish side was the one to be reformed. However, Polish indifference and hostility forced *Ojczyzna* to take a stance.

Even in the first years of its existence, *Ojczyzna* had to deal with the unfavorable opinions of *Gazeta Narodowa*. Nevertheless, it was still convinced that “Polish people fully support our case.”<sup>51</sup> The so-called “Warsaw unrest” (also known as the Warsaw pogrom) of 25 December came as a serious warning. Quite characteristically, *Ojczyzna* reacted with an appeal to remove “the highly flammable material,” i.e. to change everything “that our Christian brothers consider to be inappropriate,” thus in a way justifying the perpetrators.<sup>52</sup>

*Rola*, a conservative weekly published in Galicia, was apparently less important for the *Ojczyzna* journalists. They focused on national newspapers like *Kurjer Lwowski*, which, as early as 1883, wrote that “there is not a single quality in the Jews that could be considered valuable in this melting pot of ethnicities.”<sup>53</sup> The editorial team answered with untypical harshness:

There is something that should never be touched – the patriotism of other people. Hands off! No one has the right to question our patriotism (...). We don’t believe that there is a religious monopoly for Polishness and we will not stand by idly when our Polishness is being questioned.<sup>54</sup>

Also at this time, in the Galician Sejm, Theophil Merunowicz began his activities; as Rachel Manekin noted, he was “one of the first Poles in Galicia to introduce contemporary anti-Semitic discourse into the public sphere.”<sup>55</sup>

Separate “language, appearance, habits and manners”<sup>56</sup> were still considered the main source of outside hostility. Even then, however, there were different opinions on the

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<sup>50</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1889, no. 3, p. 17.

<sup>51</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1881, no. 11, p. 2.

<sup>52</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1882, no. 2, p. 6.

<sup>53</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1883, no. 17, p. 68.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> Manekin 2010, p. 127

<sup>56</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1885, no. 4, p. 13.

matter. The “embittered contemporaries”<sup>57</sup> claimed that the source of hostility lies somewhere else and “no Jewish concessions can make it go away.”<sup>58</sup> Insults and insinuations were dealt with in a matter-of-fact manner. For example, a claim that “Galician trade is Jewish and German to the bone” was answered by pointing out that it was a result of “economic intolerance” and Jews could not earn a living in any other way.<sup>59</sup> *Ojczyzna* noticed that even the fact Jews started to buy and cultivate land did not silence the critics. “Jews take our land! We shall not let them!”<sup>60</sup> – was a common response. *Ojczyzna* replied bitterly: “it is unacceptable when a Jew is a tradesman or a financier, it is bad when he is an industrialist or a manufacturer, it is not good when he is a doctor, a barrister or an engineer.”<sup>61</sup>

In the second half of the 1880s resistance was getting stronger and *Ojczyzna* changed its tone. Notably, certain members of the Polish intelligentsia took part in the debate. In 1886 Jan Lam wrote:

Reluctantly we have done what had to be done to make religions equal. Every once in a while we praise some of our *Mosaic brothers*. But in everyday reality, when we meet in social and family life, the equality of rights for some reason cannot become our second nature.<sup>62</sup>

Taking note of the fact that “Galician Jews access Polishness in their masses”, Lam wrote that “it does not matter in the end, since the parents of Christian maidens do not want such companionship for their daughters.”<sup>63</sup> In September 1888 *Ojczyzna* wrote without enthusiasm: “Our situation is difficult: so much to do and so many obstacles, difficulties, so much hostility...”<sup>64</sup> And with regret: “All our efforts, all our honest services are worth nothing. No one appreciates our work, because it is Jewish work.”<sup>65</sup>

In this bitter summary a new popular slogan was mentioned – “Don’t buy at Jewish shops.” *Ojczyzna* quoted *Kurjer Lwowski*, which criticized craftsmen for grumbling about Jews “even though they also buy at Jewish shops, making their own trade weak and dependent.”<sup>66</sup> *Kurier Rzeszowski* lamented “that even local clerks are Jewish” (“Żydki” – a derogatory term).<sup>67</sup> At the same time, *Przegląd Lwowski* opposed the reorganization of the local health service and suggested that “many Jews will now take up the jobs of district physicians.” “Do we want our doctors, pharmacists and publicans to be Jewish?” they asked.<sup>68</sup> Until the very end of its history, *Ojczyzna* would gladly quote occasional polemics in the Polish press. For example, in 1891 the newspaper published a resolution of the congress of Polish students which condemned “the emerging anti-Semitic movement as unpatriotic, inhumane and reactionary.”<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> The author was probably referring to the Zionists.

<sup>58</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1884, no. 4, p. 13.

<sup>59</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1890, no. 1, pp. 2-3.

<sup>60</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1884, no. 5, p. 20.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1886, no. 6, p. 22.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1888, no. 17.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1891, no. 5, p. 38.

With time, the responses to such insinuations filled more and more pages. *Ojczyzna* bitterly observed the hostility coming from the national press and pointed to its possible consequences:

The fact that Jews are constantly being mocked and discredited in the eyes of public opinion, that they are being pictured as a threat to national interests, can be fraught with consequences for society.<sup>70</sup>

At the end of the 1880s the newspaper had to deal with financial problems. The debt of the association would rise, and out of 80 reading rooms established since 1885 only 19 were still operating.<sup>71</sup> In January 1890 *Ojczyzna* made a grim summary of its achievements and listed the obstacles it was facing: unfriendliness, indifference and lack of acceptance. The journalists who had previously idealized the Polish side were now clearly frustrated. They wrote about “the fight against Jews” that was supposed to “save Christian society from imaginary Jewish exploiters”<sup>72</sup> Hostility and resistance could be noticed “not only in the economy, but in almost every sphere of social life (...).”<sup>73</sup> The integrationists reached a dead end, facing “hostility and open unkindness or indifference from the outside (...) and dislike and indifference in their own circles.”<sup>74</sup>

The disillusionment and frustration were only made deeper by various forms of exclusion. In 1883 *Ojczyzna* wrote about the statute of the agricultural association that allowed only Christian membership.<sup>75</sup> In 1890 a competition for a public job of director of the local archives listed a Christian birth certificate as one of the requirements.<sup>76</sup> *Ojczyzna* noted that “academic foundations and charities only very rarely do not exclude Jews from applying for a scholarship.”<sup>77</sup>

What was happening in education – a key issue for *Ojczyzna* – was equally alarming. In February 1889 Christian and Jewish children were separated in two of the public schools in Kraków. As a result, “children attending parallel forms could not be let out of school at the same time.”<sup>78</sup> Such symptoms of dislike were so unsettling that the correspondent in Krakow asked the editorial staff to make a list of similar cases and “influence the relevant officials by publishing it in your newspaper.”<sup>79</sup> *Ojczyzna*, a fierce enthusiast of the public school system, replied:

We hear so many complaints about tactless and offensive remarks of the secondary school teachers, in Lvov and elsewhere, that we would have to deal with this problem in every issue of our newspaper.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>70</sup> H.G., *Możliwe następstwa*, *Ojczyzna* 1889, no. 4, p. 25.

<sup>71</sup> Soboń 2011, p. 115.

<sup>72</sup> F., *Słowo wstępne*, *Ojczyzna* 1890, no. 1, p. 1.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1884, no. 8, p. 29.

<sup>76</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1890, no. 20, p. 162.

<sup>77</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1888, no. 20, p. 172.

<sup>78</sup> *Ojczyzna* 1889, no. 3, p. 19.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*



Whether this hostility was really that common is hard to establish, and we need to tread carefully here, but the reactions exemplify a clear shift of mood. The article “*Nasza pozycja*” (“Our stance”) published in 1891 is full of apathy and bitterness. Despite the high attendance at the general assembly of the association, it speaks of “a short-lived enthusiasm” and “a brief excitement”.<sup>81</sup>

We are condemned by those who stick to the outdated ideals (...) for we are not only Jews but we divide our loyalty and love between Jewish people and the nation we feel part of. We are condemned by citizens who have locked themselves in shallow and unproductive dogmatism (...) and accuse as of being Jewish separatists because (...) we do not abandon our Jewish faith.<sup>82</sup>

In January 1892, shortly before the downfall of *Ojczyzna* and after the chief editor H. Feldstein had left the team, the assessment of achievements looked devastating. All pillars of the integration program had been undermined. For the first time, *Ojczyzna* was fair in its opinion on Zionism. “A more powerful pan-Jewish movement had neutralized our efforts,”<sup>83</sup> “it attracted the masses and moved their hearts with its ideals,”<sup>84</sup> “as far as popularity was concerned we could not compete with our opponents.”<sup>85</sup> Their means proved insufficient to “move the masses” and their idealism turned out to be naive:

Those who spoke of citizenship and unity wanted to shatter ancient prejudice and superstition with a single blow. They wanted to be Messiahs who lead their folk to the promised land of freedom and brotherhood but they gave up too soon, withdrew, became indifferent or even joined the ranks of our opponents.<sup>86</sup>

The intelligentsia turned out to be quarrelsome, passive, egoistic and apathetic. There was no hope for any kind of Christian support. Hostility to the Polish press and the “indifference” of the authorities led *Ojczyzna* to the following conclusion: “Tolerance and equality remained slogans and only rarely became reality.”<sup>87</sup>

To quote their own assessment, the idea of assimilation received a “vote of no confidence”.<sup>88</sup> The best intentions brought only “dislike and prejudice.”<sup>89</sup> The gap they had tried to close remained wide, perhaps even wider than ever:

(...) social life is even worse. Assimilation, however deep, in language, habits and education, did not make it possible for Jews to share social life with Christian citizens. The gates remain closed. Jewish families live in seclusion and are avoided by Christian families. The separation in social life is perhaps even starker than in other fields.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> F., *Nasza pozycja*, *Ojczyzna* 1891, no. 11, p. 81.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82.

<sup>83</sup> Sz. Wr, *Nasza pozycja*, *Ojczyzna* 1892, no. 1, p. 1.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*

## Summary

This crisis brought an end to the newspaper and the association. *Ojczyzna* disappeared from the newsstands in May 1892. The idea of integration was finally abandoned at the turn of the century. It was in fact a wider phenomenon. As Professor Wodziński has aptly noted, the fundamental belief of Haskalah and its heirs was that of “objective value of progress of science and civilization, which has to lead to a general progress of mankind (...).”<sup>91</sup> Progress, it was believed, would make all conflicts (e.g. religious intolerance) and divisions null and void and would bring about a new era of coexistence between Jews and the rest of society. The end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century shook this belief. The new emerging ethnic consciousness (Zionism on the one hand and modern anti-Semitism on the other) and the politicization brought an end to this ideology. Integrationism was not compatible with the European reality of the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

It has run out of its ideological potential (...). Moreover, neither Jews nor Poles saw integration and assimilation as a way to solve “the Jewish question.” As a phase in history, Jewish programs and reforms, it ended at the turn of the century.<sup>92</sup>

In Galicia the spot left by *Ojczyzna* was taken by *Przyszłość* (run by the Syjon association). Other ideologies were also growing in popularity. This was when the Jewish Workers’ Party first appeared in Galicia.<sup>93</sup>

Let us stress, however, that it did not mean that the process of Polonization came to a halt. Quite the opposite, it proceeded up until the outbreak of war. However, despite the diminishing cultural gap, social distance remained the same – or even grew (the phenomenon was captured well by Zygmunt Bauman, who described the particular case of German Jews<sup>94</sup>). Despite their weakness, the epigones of integration ideology managed to found the new journal *Jedność* (1907-1912), but in fact they were already members of a new formation – Polish Jews (the subtitle “Journal of the Polish Jews”). This shift was aptly described by Agnieszka Jagodzińska:

There were many various positions and attitudes among the Poles of Jewish descent in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and among the Poles of Mosaic faith in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The latter believed they would get to a point the former knew they could never reach.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Wodziński 2003, p. 237.

<sup>92</sup> Jagodzińska 2008, p. 260.

<sup>93</sup> Soboń 2011, p. 287.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Bauman 1991; see also Prokop-Janiec 2013, p. 72.

<sup>95</sup> Jagodzińska 2008, p. 261.

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