

Robert Litwiński

(Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Poland)
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5615-4450>
E-mail: robert.litwinski@mail.umcs.pl

Lublin in the Interwar Period: The City and Its Residents

Lublin międzywojenny – miasto i jego mieszkańców

ABSTRACT

This article aims at examining two closely related components of Lublin in the interwar period, i.e. the city itself and its residents. Although the hostilities of the Great War did not affect Lublin directly, it does not mean that they did not leave any trace. The collapse of the supply system, terrible accommodation conditions, low sanitary levels, increased crime, collapse of industrial plants, unemployment and homelessness, were all clearly visible in the city which became the capital of the voivodeship and the center of many national, municipal, and military offices. Taking all these elements into consideration, the Author analyzed the following issues in this article: the city's urban development, residents' living conditions, activities of the authorities and offices, economic life, problems in culture, science, and education, as well as health care services.

PUBLICATION INFO					
			UMCS UNIWERSYTET MARIA CURIE-SKŁODOWSKA	e-ISSN: 2449-8467 ISSN: 2082-6060	
THE AUTHOR'S ADDRESS: Robert Litwiński, the Institute of History of the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, 4A Maria Curie-Skłodowska Square, Lublin 20-031, Poland					
SOURCE OF FUNDING: Statutory Research of the Institute of History of the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin					
SUBMITTED: 2021.11.26	ACCEPTED: 2022.02.28	PUBLISHED ONLINE: 2022.06.30			
WEBSITE OF THE JOURNAL: https://journals.umcs.pl/rh		EDITORIAL COMMITTEE E-mail: reshistorica@umcs.pl			

The conducted analysis induces a statement that life in the inter-war Lublin consisted of the elements which can be evaluated *in plus* but there were also many factors which could be assessed only negatively. Despite many shortcomings, the Author noticed that, considering the modernization carried out at the time, the balance of the decision makers' efforts should be assessed positively. For it should be remembered how important the problems that faced the city's authorities were and how limited the available financial, technological, and staff resources were.

Key words: Lublin, Poland's interwar period, city, residents

STRESZCZENIE

Niniejszy tekst jest próbą spojrzenia na dwa,ściśle ze sobą powiązane komponenty międzywojennego Lublin, a mianowicie miasto i jego mieszkańców. Co prawda bezpośrednie działania Wielkiej Wojny nie dotknęły bezpośrednio Lublina, ale nie oznacza to, że nie pozostawiły na nim żadnego śladu. Załamanie się systemu zaopatrzenia, fatalne warunki lokalowe, niski poziom sanitarny, wzrost przestępcości, upadek zakładów przemysłowych, bezrobocie i bezdomność były aż nadto widoczne w mieście, które stało się stolicą województwa i siedzibą wielu urzędów państwowych, samorządowych i wojskowych. Biorąc to wszystko pod uwagę Autor przeanalizował w artykule następujące kwestie: rozwój urbanistyczny miasta, warunki życia mieszkańców, funkcjonowanie władz i urzędów, życie gospodarcze, problemy kultury, nauki i oświaty oraz służby zdrowia.

Przeprowadzona analiza skłania do konstatacji, że w życiu międzywojennego Lublin występowali zarówno te elementy, które można wartościować *in plus*, ale wiele było również takich, które mogłyby uzyskać wyłącznie ocenę negatywną. Pomimo dostrzeżeń przez Autora niedostatków w prowadzonej w owym czasie modernizacji, bilans starań dycydentów uznać należy za dodatni. Nie wolno bowiem zapominać, jak ważne problemy leżały od samego początku przed włodarzami miasta i jak szczupłymi środkami – zarówno finansowymi, jak i technologicznymi oraz kadrowymi – dysponowano.

Słowa kluczowe: Lublin, dwudziestolecie międzywojenne, miasto, mieszkańcy

INTRODUCTION

Although the direct hostilities of the Great War bypassed Lublin, it does not mean they left not trace in the Goat's Town (*Kozi Gród*). The evacuation carried out by the Russians in 1915, followed by the plunder by the German and Austrian occupation authorities, did their part. In the autumn of 1918, the city's treasury had funds neither for larger investments nor for the basic reconstruction works. Buildings and apartments were becoming increasingly more damaged, and the streets of Lublin were lit up by kerosene, gas, and electric lamps, or by...the moonlight. Banks emptied, shops and syndicates became stagnant, food supplies and wage system were breaking down. Unsurprisingly, general strikes were increasingly

more frequent¹. While describing the city's image at the turn of 1918, Juliusz Zdanowski wrote down in his diary: „All the character of the capital city is gone. Only the local nobility arrived in large numbers and filled the apartments after the Austrians. A new wave of refugees from Volhynia arrived [...]”².

The first years after winning back the independence were not conducive to development and making up for the lost time. Economic problems, insufficient number of estates and buildings, which could be used for public and residential purposes, unregulated rights to communal facilities, low level of technological advancement and, most of all, the lack of financial means, were more than clear. The reach of the water supply system was very limited. There was no sewage system, and thus it was relatively difficult to maintain sufficient sanitary conditions in the city, which was extremely important in terms of health hazard risk. In addition, various smells accompanied the residents on daily basis. Activities in construction were minimal, and they largely developed in an uncontrolled way.

It was also impossible to rely on the adequate help from the state because it had no sufficient funds and the raging inflation was only making these difficulties worse. In the case of Lublin, another complication emerged, i.e. the fall of industrial plants. Limiting the production or even closing down the businesses increased the number of unemployed people, and this, in turn, led to serious social problems. Hence, the situation of the city and its residents was not easy after regaining independence. In December 1918, „*Głos Lubelski*” („The Voice of Lublin”) stated: „The city's expenses are growing enormously, there is a need of significant pay rises for the officials and municipal employees, new municipal businesses (slaughterhouse in Kalinowszczyzna) are being organized; public works for the unemployed should be conducted on a larger scale; the city's food supply and social services should be regulated. The city's treasury is empty [...]. The city's sanitary condition is abysmal; the Spanish flu and measles are decimating the population; the hospitals' financial condition is hopeless. Criminals with guns in their hands rob apartments in the city's busiest streets in broad daylight. There is no water from the local water supply system on the higher floors for days [...]”³.

The war had a negative impact on people's approach and contributed to crime development. Moreover, together with the withdrawal of the oc-

¹ *Dziennik Juliusza Zdanowskiego*, vol. II, 15 X 1918 – 23 VI 1919, oprac. J. Faryś et al., Szczecin 2013, s. 73–74, 92–93.

² *Ibidem*, s. 132.

³ „*Głos Lubelski*” 20 XII 1918, 349, s. 1.

cupants' forces, almost all the prisoners escaped from the prison in the Lublin Castle. Hence, the security services, very often competing with each other, had their hands full. Efforts were made to control the situation by i.e. declaring a state of emergency. All dining and entertainment venues were closed at 8pm. It was banned to walk along the streets in groups, and traffic was allowed only between 6am and 8pm. Exceptions were made only for those with special permits⁴.

The food supply problem was solved relatively fast, and the residents of Lublin could purchase products not only in numerous shops and warehouses but also on the markets (in Kalinowszczyzna, behind the City Hall, in Lubartowska and Bychawska Streets). The former place had a particularly high turnover. The local people provided groceries, cattle, and pigs and in return, they could buy shoes, colonial goods, etc.⁵

THE CITY

Lublin entered the inter-war period with suburbs that were added to it in 1916, i.e. Kośminek, Bronowice, Tatary, area behind the Sugar Factory, parts of Czechówka and Dziesiąta, Rury Brygidkowskie, Lemszczyzna, and Wieniawa. As a result, the city covered the area of 26.91 km², i.e. less than the biggest cities of the restoring country⁶. A small expansion of the city's borders was observed over time. The grange of Dziesiąta, from the Zemborzyce municipality, was added in 1931. Two years later, Lublin received an area from the Dziesiąta properties for residential development. Other areas were taken over from the Czechów properties⁷.

⁴ *Dziennik*, s. 73–74, 90; „Głos Lubelski” 4 XI 1918, 305, s. 3. There were a few institutions at the time, which were responsible for public safety: the City Militia, People's Militia and Public Security Guards, which instead of cooperating, were often interrupting each other. More details on this topic, see: R. Litwiński, *Lubelskie służby bezpieczeństwa publicznego w okresie listopad 1918 – lipiec 1919 roku*, „Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska. Sectio F” 1997/1998, 52/53, s. 353–380. The issue of criminality was analysed in an interesting way by M. Rodak. See: idem, *Mit a rzeczywistość. Przestępcość osób narodowości żydowskiej w II Rzeczypospolitej. Casus województwa lubelskiego*, Warszawa 2012, s. 214.

⁵ „Dziennik Zarządu M. Lublina” 1923, 22, s. 4.

⁶ As a comparison, Warsaw had 121 km², Toruń – 35,5 km², Kraków – 34 km², Poznań – 33,9 km², Lviv – 32 km², Łódź – 37 km².

⁷ „Ziemia Lubelska” 21 X 1916, 522, s. 2; *Pierwszy powszechny spis Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z dnia 30 września 1921 roku. Mieszkania, ludność, stosunki zawodowe. Województwo lubelskie*, Warszawa 1927, s. 3. In the period in question, Lublin extended its area by incorporating the neighboring granges, villages and settlements, the names of which became the names of the city's specific districts/parts. M. Buczyński, *Nazwy dzielnic i przedmieść Lublina*,

If we looked at the map of the city in the inter-war period (i.e. from 1931), we would see that the built-up areas formed the shape of a star, the middle of which was in the city center (Śródmieście), and the arms of which run along the thoroughfares with the areas stretching between them that were developed only in the following years. This area was cut across by a wide strip of meadows, situated along the axis stretching from south-west to north-east. Numerous residential areas were being developed beyond the city's administrative borders, which were strongly associated with Lublin, and were gradually becoming a target of the urban expansion. For instance, Sławinek was situated by the western border, next to the Warsaw route, where villas were built by the wealthier residents of Lublin. Close connection existed also between the following: Folwark (Grange) Czechówka – area for planned city investments, settlement of Helenów with two brickyards, village of Rury with a school and water mill, village of Wrotków with water resources for the city water supply system and a pump station. In 1938, the city area had 31 km², of which as much as 17 km² were covered by arable lands, meadows, orchards, and pastures⁸.

The city was largely situated on floodplains which required a drying. Therefore, it was pointed out that its development should take place in the areas situated on higher grounds. The regulation of the river courses (Bystrzyca, Czechówka, and Czerniejówka) was another important problem. Among other things, these were the main reasons why the city started to create a comprehensive plan for the city development. Surveying works were carried out from 1919, which had preceded the implementation of specific plans (they were finished in 1927), but in the meantime, the most important urban works were undertaken. In 1923, the location for an industrial district was allotted near the railway line, and sketched plans of regulating these areas, which had a fundamental significance for the future shape of the city, were also drawn. A nationwide contest, announced two years later, resulted in projects which were used while developing the plans for the Great City of Lublin⁹. In the second half of the 1930s, an

„Rocznik Lubelski” 1962, 5, s. 251–268; „Dziennik Ustaw Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej” [dalej: „DzURP”] 1931, nr 46, poz. 393; 1933, nr 46, poz. 356; 1936, nr. 25, poz. 204.

⁸ Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie [dalej: APL], Akta miasta Lublina (1918–1939) [dalej: AmL], sygn. 1787, k. 64–65; sygn. 1788, k. 81–82.

⁹ N. Przesmycka, *Architektoniczno-urbanistyczne dziedzictwo Lublina okresu 1918–1939*, w: *Lublin w kulturze, kultura w Lublinie. Dziedzictwo kulturowe miasta od średniowiecza do współczesności*, red. P. Dymmel, R. Jop, Lublin 2018, s. 286–287; APL, AmL, sygn. 1788, *passim*. On the spatial development of the city in that period, see: N. Przesmycka, *Lublin u progu XX wieku – uwarunkowania i kierunki rozwoju urbanistycznego*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne”

investment plan was implemented, aimed at regulating the city's most important transportation routes and the rivers running across them, including the Czechówka River vault and the construction of new bridges. Plans were made to erect a few new schools, a market hall and a stadium, and according to the press, the planned works were to bring the city closer to Europe¹⁰.

Some limitations in the city's spatial development resulted from the fact that a considerable percentage of its area was taken by the army. The Western Camp (Obóz Zachodni) running along Aleje Racławickie was situated just on the way of the planned construction projects. In turn, the Southern Camp (Obóz Południowy), situated south of the railway line (along Wrotkowska Street), had a constricted access to the city due to the railway crossing in Bychawska Street. The situation changed only after a viaduct was built in 1928, which was beneficial to the entire southern part of the city. The army had areas also in Czechów where a shooting range and a training ground were located. Fortunately, due to relevant agreements with the military authorities, it was possible to plan ahead the further development which was closely linked with the already existing transportation system, including road, railway, and air transport, even though the airport, and this has to be unequivocally stated, did not play any important role in passenger services. The airport was too small and it was situated on a sloping ground. Besides, in May 1934, it was closed for public use and from that point onwards, it was used only by the airplane plants¹¹.

Road transport was the most important for Lublin and it had the greatest impact on the city. Its most important role was played by a route running along the following streets: Fabryczna, Zamojska, Królewska, Krakowskie Przedmieście, and Warszawska. However, it was necessary to map out new routes which would provide a quick access to the railway station, connecting individual districts (i.e. Kalinowszczyzna, Ponikwoda, Sierakowszczyzna, Firlejowszczyzna and Majdan Tatarski) and suburban towns. This could not be achieved without new roads which would relieve the traffic on the main route, running across the city center, and also serving as a transit. Additionally, there were not enough bridges to provide an

2015, 43, 4, s. 157–163; eadem, *Lublin. Przeobrażenia urbanistyczne 1815–1939*, Lublin 2012, s. 164–183.

¹⁰ „Express Lubelski i Wołyński” 3 IV 1938, 93, dodatek, s. 1.

¹¹ „Monitor Polski” 1934, nr 127, poz. 173.

efficient transport, which was strange because the rivers running through the city could hardly be referred to as large¹².

The city and voivodeship's chances for development could be demonstrated by the potential they had in the area of national and international transport. It was emphasized at the time that: „Lublin is situated almost right in the middle of Poland. A route that connects the north sea (Baltic Sea) with the south sea (Black Sea and Mediterranean Sea) goes through Lublin, i.e. the railway line Gdańsk – Warsaw – Lviv – Bucharest runs across Lublin, as well as the airline between Gdańsk – Warszawa – Bucharest”¹³.

Therefore, it would seem that the city's location would contribute to its transportation development on the national scale because Lublin was an important railway junction. However, if was of little significance. The following lines ran through the city: Warsaw – Kowel, Rozwadów – Łuków – Siedlce and Warsaw – Rava-Ruska – Lviv. According the train timetable, valid from 15 May 1939, Lublin had two fast connections with Warsaw Central Station and Zdolbúniv. In addition, it had five passenger train connections with Warsaw Central Station, three with Łuków, two with Zdolbúniv, two with Lviv via Rejowiec, two with Lviv via Rozwadów, and one with Radom, Chełm, Kovel, Rozwadów, and Cracow¹⁴. However, the importance of these connections, particularly in regards with the national network, was highly debatable. The main passenger traffic between the country's capital and Lviv bypassed the Lublin region and ran through the areas of the Central Industrial District (Radom – Skarżysko-Kamienna – Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski – Sandomierz – Rozwadów)¹⁵. This connection was simply much faster (journey took 8 hours and 25 minutes, while going via Lublin took as long as 11 hours and 42 minutes)¹⁶. It did not bode well for Lublin, particularly in the context of the lack of more important investments. It should also be noted that in terms of the voivodeship scale, its capital did not have any train connections with Siedlce and Zamość, which must have had negative effects on the economic development. Moreover, the railway line from

¹² APL, AmL, sygn. 1788, k. 83, 109–111; sygn. 1787, k. 16; Starostwo Grodzkie Lubelskie [dalej: SGL], sygn. 495, k. 26. There was a City Bus Transport in Lublin, and the residents' mobility was increased by the available taxis and horse-drawn carriages. *Ilustrowany przewodnik po Lublinie*, Lublin 1931, s. 7–9; *Kalendarz „Express”*. *Notatnik informator na rok 1939*, Lublin 1939, s. 97.

¹³ APL, AmL, sygn. 1787, k. 62.

¹⁴ „Głos Lubelski” 22 V 1939, 138, s. 4.

¹⁵ *Dwudziestolecie komunikacji w Polsce Odrodzonej*, Kraków 1939, s. 191.

¹⁶ *Urzędowy Rozkład Jazdy i Lotów. Lato 1939. Ważny od 15 maja do 7 października 1939 r.*, Warszawa 1939, s. 227–229, 234–235.

Lublin to Lviv via Rozwadów had a small capacity, especially in the section between Lublin and Rozwadów (which is also the case today), and thus plans were made to expedite the connections via Rava-Ruska by building a line via Bychawa, Turobin, and Szczebrzeszyn. However, the project did not come into fruition. The communication route from Śląsia and Zagłębie Dąbrowskie to the Eastern Borderlands was also not used efficiently because it played no greater role on the national scale. The lack of convenient railway connections with Cracow, Częstochowa and Kielce was also visible¹⁷. Interestingly enough, attention was drawn at the time to the need to expand the connections by adding a second track on the way to Kraśnik (in order to improve the connection with Cracow), Łuków, and Warsaw which, however, was not done to this day. The planned connection with Kielce via Opole Lubelskie and Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski was also not built. The outbreak of the Second World War also thwarted the plans to build an airport for the voivodeship's capital, out of the airport made in 1937 near the railway station in Świdnik¹⁸.

The situation regarding the roads was unfavorable. The „main road” category can include only the route Warsaw – Lublin – Zamość – Rava-Ruska – Lviv. The remaining roads were classified as the so-called „secondary roads”. Although the surfaces of the following roads were improved: Warsaw – Lublin – Sandomierz, Warsaw – Lublin – Lviv and Lublin – Biłgoraj – Tryńcza, and paved roads leading from Lublin into the following directions were put into use: Wysokie, Opole Lubelskie via Bełżyce, Kazimierz Dolny via Nałęczów, Łęczna and Melgiew, which allowed for establishing better transport connection, the roads and railway's network was weaker not only from the areas of the former Austrian and German partitions, but also from the western areas of the former Kingdom of Poland¹⁹.

¹⁷ APL, AmL, sygn. 1787, k. 62–63; A. Kierek, *Rozwój gospodarczy Lublina w latach 1918–1939*, w: *Dzieje Lublina*, t. 2, red. S. Krzykała, Lublin 1975, s. 34.

¹⁸ APL, AmL, sygn. 1815, k. 25–26. However, a plan emerged later on to situate the airport in Felin. *Ibidem*, k. 27. On the new railway projects, see i.e.: E. Brzosko, *Rozwój transportu w Polsce w latach 1918–1939*, Szczecin 1982, s. 86–113.

¹⁹ Lublin had bus connection with i.e. Biała Podlaska, Chełm, Hrubiszów, Janów, Kijany, Kock, Krasnystaw, Lubartów, Łuków, Łęczna, Melgiew, Międzyrzec, Ostrowiec, Parczew, Radom, Radzyń, Turobin, Urszulin, Warsaw, Włodawa, Zamość. APL, AmL, sygn. 1788, k. 80; *Ilustrowany*, s. 9; *Kalendarz-informator na rok 1939 pogotowia ratunkowego w Lublinie*, Lublin [1938], s. 2, 47; A. Kierek, *op. cit.*, s. 34; R. Orłowski, *Z dziejów przemysłu w Lubelskiem w latach 1918–1974*, w: *Z problematyki przeobrażeń społeczno-gospodarczych w Lubelskiem*, red. Z. Mitura, R. Orłowski, Lublin 1992, s. 202–203.

RESIDENTS OF LUBLIN

Right after the Great War had ended, Lublin had a higher number of residents than before the outbreak of the conflict. However, we must remember that its area was expanded during the war by adding neighboring areas with their residents (around 23 000 people), and numerous migrations also took place.

According to the available data, on 31 December 1918 the city was inhabited by 81 198 people (in 1913 – 76 900 and in 1916 – 81 698). One year later, there were already 84 000, and this number kept increasing steadily but not too quickly²⁰. In 1921, there were 94 412 people and in late 1923 and early 1923, there were more than 100 000²¹. The growing number of residents was to a large extent the result of arriving officials who were employed in new institutions of progressing industrialization, development of the services sector and the migration of people from rural areas. There was also the natural population growth. In 1939, the city was inhabited by 122 019 people, which was an increase of 27 607 people in comparison to 1921. Nevertheless, the development was not that impressive because throughout that time, 352 000 residents arrived in Warsaw, 220 000 in Łódź, 103 000 in Poznań, 99 000 in Lviv, 84 000 in Katowice, 80 000 in Vilnius, 75 000 in Cracow, 58 000 in Częstochowa, 53 000 in Bydgoszcz, 44 000 in Sosnowiec²². The cities that had more than 100 000 residents in 1939 and were developing faster were also: Gdynia, Chorzów and Białystok. Despite the natural population growth, the actual growth was not too great because Lublin was rarely considered an attractive migration destination at the time²³. This situation was also not changed by the investments carried out within COP. Not only was Lublin far from the largest cities or large industrial centers but it also had no chances to keep up with the development pace of Gdynia, Chorzów, Katowice and Sosnowiec. While in 1921 the city was on the 7th place in terms of population numbers, in 1939 it dropped to the 11th place.

The residents of Lublin were of diverse nationality. According to data from December 1935, people of Polish nationality were dominant, accounting for 65.3% of all residents. Then there were: Jews – 34.3%, Russians – 0.15%, Ukrainians – 0.07%, Czechs – 0.04% and Germans – 0.008%.

²⁰ *Ilustrowany*, s. 39.

²¹ APL, AmL, sygn. 391, k. 1; sygn. 1787, k. 40; *Pierwszy*, s. 3.

²² *Mały Rocznik Statystyczny 1939*, Warszawa 1939, s. 36; *Drugi powszechny spis ludności z dn. 9 XII 1931 r. Mieszkania i gospodarstwa domowe. Ludność. Stosunki zawodowe. Województwo lubelskie*, Warszawa 1938, s. 3.

²³ *Rocznik statystyczny Lublina 1936*, Lublin [1937], s. 3, 42.

In addition, there were 210 people living in the city, whose nationality is unknown, and 48 foreigners²⁴. In terms of religion, the Roman Catholics were predominant – 63.71%, then the second place was taken by Judaism – 34.68%, and the following ones were represented only symbolically: Orthodoxy – 0.63%, Evangelicalism – 0.56%, Greek Catholic Church – 0.14% and others²⁵.

The relatively high number of the followers of Judaism was due to the fact that Lublin was one of the most important centers for the Jewish population in the country. According to the available data from 1921, there were 37 337 who declared Judaism, which was 39.54% of the total. According to the next census from 1931, this group had 38 935 people (34.68%). Thus, the percentage was smaller than ten years earlier but this was mainly due to the increase in the number of resident as a result of the influx of Poles arriving from the rural areas²⁶. Before the outbreak of the war, the number of Jewish people living in Lublin was estimated at around 43 000²⁷.

The employment structure of the Lublin residents turned out to be relatively stable, although it did undergo changes due to the existing economic situation. At the beginning of the 1920s, the highest number (26.08%) was of craftsmen and small industries. They were followed by small merchants (11.02%), officials in state, communal and social institutions (10.17%), employees of these institutions (8.60%), merchants and industrialists (8.36%), laborers (6.93%), factory workers (6.44%), house servants (6.30%), professional workers (3.36%), farmers (2.44%) and the military (1.5%). The representatives of other professions accounted for 8.80%²⁸. However, limitations put on industrial production and closing down of industrial plants caused further drop of employment in the industry sector. As a result, in the mid-1930s, residents of Lublin worked mainly in trade and craft. Employment in the industry was only in the third place, followed by professionals and

²⁴ APL, SGL, sygn. 495, k. 1–2.

²⁵ Drugi, s. 31; *Rocznik statystyczny*, s. 42. Predominance of the Roman Catholic Church is also proven by the predominating number of children born in this religious group (i.e. 1936 – 1276 out of the total of 1783 births). Judaism was on the second place with 502 children, then the Evangelical Lutheran Church – 2, Orthodox Church – 2, and others – 1. Similar situation took place regarding marriages, although there were relationships between people of different religions. *Rocznik statystyczny*, s. 3–5.

²⁶ T. Radzik, *Społeczność żydowska Lublina w międzywojennym dwudziestoleciu. Obraz statystyczny*, w: *Żydzi w Lublinie. Materiały do dziejów społeczności żydowskiej Lublina*, red. idem, Lublin 1995, s. 143–153; idem, *Lubelska dzielnica zamknięta*, Lublin 1999, s. 11.

²⁷ A. Trzciński, *Świadkiem jest ta stela. Stary cmentarz żydowski w Lublinie*, Lublin 2017, s. 51.

²⁸ „Dziennik Zarządu M. Lublina” 1923, nr 20, s. 4–5; APL, AmL, sygn. 1788, k. 85.

clerks. Only a small number of residents worked on farms situated in the areas that belonged to the city or were adjacent to it.²⁹

Unemployment of a considerable number of the residents of Lublin was a significant problem with broad social consequences. The gradual decline of industry, i.e. limiting the production, closing down industrial plants and decreasing trade flow engendered increase in the number of unemployed people and deterioration of the already difficult living conditions. Moreover, people from the rural areas were coming to the city in search of the means of subsistence. While they did find jobs in public works, the moment the investments ended, these people increased the numbers of the unemployed. The poor often purchased products in the shops on credit, which they had problems paying off later on anyway. Along the rental and tax arrears, the situation often resulted in auctioning the property seized by a sequestrator or eviction.

Hence, the city's authority faced more tasks, i.e. fight against unemployment, the need to provide urgent financial help to the poorest residents. The commencement of public works, building roads, regulating streets and rivers, as well as erecting public buildings could remedy this situation. Due to the support offered by the Lublin voivode, the city began to receive subsidies from the Labor Fund (Fundusz Pracy), which was in the first place allocated to regulatory works and expansion of the water supply and sewage system³⁰. In September 1931, the Voivodeship Committee for Unemployment was established, which appealed to the society to help the unemployed due to the imminent winter. There were around 5000 people in the voivodeship's capital only, who needed fast support. The campaign provided for around 4500 families, organizing canteens in specially adapted kitchens and donating food products to those who were most in need. In addition, children of the unemployed were provided food at schools. The so-called fuel support, in the form of distributing coal and wood, turned out to be a supplementary action³¹.

²⁹ APL, SGL, sygn. 495, k. 2.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, k. 18; M. Dolecka, *Przyczyny i charakter bezrobocia w Lublinie w okresie międzywojennym*, „Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska. Sectio F” 2012, 67, s. 68–69.

³¹ *Sprawozdanie z działalności Wojewódzkiego Komitetu do spraw Bezrobocia w Lublinie w okresie od 16 września 1931 r. do 1 maja 1932 r.*, Lublin 1932, s. 3–8. It should be pointed out that the charities were also run by: Lublin Charity Society, White Cross and Red Cross. APL, AmL, sygn. 1788, k. 13; *Kalendarz „Express”. Notatnik*, s. 39.

AUTHORITIES AND OFFICES

Lublin, the previous capital of the Russian Governorate and the Austro-Hungarian General Governorate, was becoming primarily the administrative, cultural and economic centre of the voivodeship. The most important state, military and municipal offices were situated there. However, this center was „born in pain”. It was clear already in the first days of independence that there was no sufficient number of state buildings in the city area that could accommodate various institutions. Therefore, a strict inventory of properties that belonged to the state treasury was ordered already at the beginning of December 1918, which resulted in finding only 32 properties, including four Orthodox churches and two cemeteries³². Thus, the holdings were not too impressive.

The city itself was also not overly wealthy in terms of real estates. It is estimated that in 1932, only 4% of the area could be considered the city's property. Such scanty properties limited the options of the municipal offices and institutions, and slowed down the urban development due to the necessity to repurchase of land. As a result, a lot of offices and schools were located in rented premises, which were often converted apartment. The fact that there was a plan in the 1930s to build as many as 25 schools proves the extent of necessary buildings at the time³³.

The layout of public facilities and state buildings was closely related to the directions of the city's development. In accordance with the adopted plans, the western regions situated along Aleje Racławickie were to become such an area. The Lithuanian Square (Plac Litewski) was meant to be the city centre and Aleja Zgody (Reconciliation Avenue; today's Fr. I. Radziszewski Street) was to be the link with an area where the new state buildings were to be erected. While the buildings of the most important institutions were situated in the city centre, along Krakowskie Przedmieście Street and the Lithuanian Square, the emerging arrangements for the city expansion confirmed that the construction of the new state buildings was planned along Aleje Racławickie and Aleja Zgody. This refers in particular to the new premises for the voivodeship, police and military authorities. These exceptionally bold and attractive undertakings for this period remained largely in the realm of plans. However, a few meaningful investments did come to fruition, i.e. the construction of the Soldier's House (Dom Żołnierza) along Aleje Racławickie, District Land Office along Aleja Zgody, Main Post Office

³² APL, AmL, sygn. 1498, k. 3, 7–11.

³³ APL, AmL, sygn. 1787, k. 53–54.

in Krakowskie Przedmieście Street, Association of State Officials and House of Cultural and Education Work in Narutowicza Street, and the Taxation Office in the Spokojna Street. Representative premises for financial institutions were also built, i.e. Bank Rolny (Bank of Agriculture), Bank Gospodarstwa Krajowego (Bank for the National Economy), Bank Handlowy i Komunalnej Kasy Oszczędności (Bank of Trade and Municipal Savings)³⁴. The building in 14 Niecała Street held premises for practically the most important person in the voivodeship, i.e. the voivode (the second-instance authority of the government administration)³⁵; he was the representative of the government, holding state power by the government's authority in the voivodeship area, he also executed orders given by individual ministers and acted as the head of authority and offices. The scope of his responsibilities was very broad. He not only secured peace and public safety in the voivodeship area but also carried out all the tasks of the state administration, with the exception of issues transferred to the military, judicial, taxation, education, railway, postal and telegraph administration, as well as to the land registries³⁶. In turn, the following were the first-instance authority of administration: first and foremost, people's commissaries; then, governmental commissaries; and finally, prefects of the district (land prefect; starosta ziemski) and of the city (municipal prefect; starosta grodzki). They were the government's representatives and heads of the general administration, who were responsible for carrying out the voivode's instructions. Although they had responsibilities similar to his own, the scope of their tasks was incomparably smaller³⁷. In the case of Lublin, both municipal and land district existed. In 1920–1922, the Commissioner of the Polish Government for the city of Lublin had his office in 3 Początkowska Street (then Staszica Street). In July 1922, the Commissariat of the Polish Govern-

³⁴ N. Przesmycka, *Lublin. Przeobrażenia*, s. 218–222; T. Radzik, *W latach dwudziestolecia międzywojennego*, w: T. Radzik et al., *Lublin. Dzieje miasta*, t. 2, XIX i XX wiek, Lublin 2000, s. 177.

³⁵ In the interwar period, the office was held by: Stanisław Witalis Moskalewski (1919–1926), Antoni Remiszewski (1926–1930), Bolesław Jerzy Świdziński (1930–1933), Józef Bolesław Różniecki (1933–1937) and Jerzy Albin de Tramecourt (1937–1939).

³⁶ More broadly on this topic, see: W. Kozyra, *Urząd Wojewódzki w Lublinie w latach 1919–1939*, Lublin 1999, s. 61–97.

³⁷ „DzURP” 1919, nr 65, poz. 395; cf. „DzURP” 1919, nr 90, poz. 490. More broadly on this topic, cf. W. Witkowski, *Historia administracji w Polsce 1794–1989*, Warszawa 2007, s. 332–333; W. Klonowiecki, *Podział administracyjny województwa lubelskiego*, w: *Monografia statystyczno-gospodarcza Województwa Lubelskiego*, t. 1, *Zagadnienia podstawowe*, red. I. Czuma, Lublin 1932, s. 96–105; J. Mierzwa, *Starostowie Polski międzywojennej. Portret zbiorowy*, Kraków 2012, s. 287–354.

ment in Lublin was closed and the city was incorporated into the Lublin district. Even though the office of the municipal prefect was introduced in 1928 when the city district was once again established in Lublin, but until 1932 this function was held by the Lublin district prefect (starosta powiatowy), whose office was situated in 2 Powiatowa Street (Pieracki Street from 1934)³⁸.

Lublin was also the residence of other authorities. First and foremost, attention should be paid to judicial system. The Court of Appeal, situated in the building of the Society for Land Credit in 43 Krakowskie Przedmieście Street since 1934, had two district courts in its jurisdiction, in Lublin and Zamość³⁹. In turn, the activities of the District Court covered the following counties (powiaty): Chełm, Janów, Krasnystaw, Lubartów, Lublin, Puławy and Włodawa. Its central office was situated in 76 Krakowskie Przedmieście Street where two departments were located: I, Civil Department and II, Criminal Department. In turn, two appeal departments (civil and criminal) were located in 17 Królewska Street. The Magistrates Court ruling in the Tribunal was also situated in the city⁴⁰. Among other institutions located in Lublin, one should also include i.e. military authorities of the Command of the Corps District and police authorities with led by the Regional Police Headquarter of National Police⁴¹.

The municipal government, with the governing bodies of the City Council and City Hall, played the main role in administering the city. Lublin entered the period of independence with the City Council appointed already in October 1918. The broadly understood right-wing had an advantage because it won 47 out of 60 available mandates. Jan

³⁸ „DzURP” 1920, nr 20, poz. 106; 1922, nr 56, poz. 510; 1928, nr 45, poz. 426; 1932, nr 41, poz. 408; „Rocznik Polityczny i Gospodarczy” 1939, s. 157; *Kalendarz „Express” na rok 1932*, Lublin 1932, s. 33; *Kalendarz „Express” Notatnik*, s. 73.

³⁹ *Kalendarz-informator*, s. 102; A. Bereza, *Lublin jako ośrodek sądownictwa*, Lublin 2006, s. 72.

⁴⁰ *Ilustrowany*, s. 17; *Kalendarz-informator*. More broadly on this topic, see: A. Bereza, *op. cit.*, s. 73–81.

⁴¹ The Command of the District Corps was situated in the Radziwiłłowski Palace in the Litewski Square, Military Headquarters of the City of Lublin in Dom Żołnierza (The Soldier's House), and the Command of the 8th Infantry Regiment of the Legions in Obóz Zachodni (Western Camp). This was also where the 2nd Division of Gendarmerie was situated. The PP Military Headquarters were also in the Radziwiłłowski Palace, the Investigation Office in 35 Narutowicza Street, the Police Station County Headquarters, the Police Station Headquarters of the City of Lublin and the 1st Police Station Headquarters in 3 Staszica Street. The 2nd Police Station Headquarters was in 38 Lubartowska Street, the 3rd Police Station Headquarters in 47 Bychawska Street, the 4th Police Station Headquarters in 47 Wieniawska Street, Dziesiąta Police Station in 144 Bychawska Street, and the railway Police station was situated at the main Railway Station. See: *Kalendarz-informator*, s. 107; *Kalendarz „Express”*, s. 34.

Turczynowicz, an attorney associated with the National Democratic Party, became the president of the city. Successive elections offered a much greater differentiation, which proved the residents' political sympathies because there was no definitive resolution in 1919. The National Democrats along with the Christian Democrats won 16 mandates, Polish Socialist Party (Polska Partia Socjalistyczna; hereafter PPS) – 15, Independent Polish intelligentsia – 1, General Jewish Labor Bund – 5, Jewish Social Democratic Labour Party (Poale Zion) – 2, Jewish Nationalists – 4, Jewish Orthodox – 2, and the Conciliatory Jewish intelligentsia – 1. Czesław Szczepański, an attorney, was elected the president of Lublin. The midterm elections were won by the PPS, which had 4 mandated, and the National Democrats with 3 mandates. The Jewish parties improved their situation by 1 mandate. This Council's term lasted until May 1927. Then, the June elections resulted in a decisive victory for the PPS with 17 mandates. They were followed by the National Democrats and Christian Democrats – 9 seats, Bund – 8, Block of Union Workers – 5, Jewish People's Party (Folks-Partaj) – 2, Orthodox Jews and Zionists – 5, Poale Zion „Left Wing” – 1. Antoni Pączek was elected the president, but his term turned out to be very short. For the results of the urban economy's control, ordered by the voivode, A. Remiszewski, became the formal pretext to dissolve the Council in February 1929. Seweryn Czerwiński, a lawyer in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, was appointed the government commissioner. His task was to manage the urban economy until the election of the new municipal authorities, which took place in June 1929. At the time, the mandates were given to as many as 10 parties (National Party – 13, Nonpartisan Bloc for Cooperation with the Government – 10, Bund – 9, PPS – 4, Polish Socialist Party – Revolutionary Faction – 1, Poale Zion „Left Wing” – 1, Jewish People's Party (Folks-Partaj) – 1, Jewish People's Party (Folks-Partaj – Hewish Sanation) – 1, Orthodox Jews – 4, Jewish Zionists – 3. Such a division did not allow to select the city authorities. As a result, the minister of internal affairs dissolved the Council, and the voivode appointed Józef Piechota as a commissary director of the municipality government, who was to hold an alternative function in the City Council and Town Hall. It is worth emphasizing that his term lasted for a long time and, interestingly enough, ended with a few successive municipal investments, although financed with great money issues. The next elections, in 1934, conducted on the basis of a new local government act which limited the local governments' rights in favor of state administration, resulted in the Sanation's success, and J. Piechota was elected the city's president. However, he died in 1936 and Bolesław Liszkowski became his successor in February 1937. He held the office until Septem-

ber 1939 because regardless of the next election in May 1939, the balance of power in the Council had not changed⁴².

APARTMENTS

I have already mentioned that Lublin suffered from the lack of suitable premises for offices and institutions. Therefore, right after regaining the independence, works carried out by public investors were implemented in the first place, which were to secure apartments for the employees of the state administration, military and railway, and were to be all situated in the City Center⁴³.

What were the housing problems of other residents of Lublin? Generally speaking, the housing situation in Lublin, similarly to the majority of cities all over Poland, was bad, and the notion of „housing hunger” was completely justified. No larger construction projects were carried out since 1914; only single tenement houses were made, and extra floors and attics were added. There were also no major renovations of the crumbling buildings. Consequently, not many of them could be used. To make matters worse, premises for various institutions and their officials were obtained at the expense of ordinary residents. It must have been a relatively frequent phenomenon if Adolf Radzki, a local councilor, called for stopping this practice at one of the City Council’s sessions. He must also have kept in mind the poor beginnings of housing constructions (only 7 buildings were erected in 1919, 5 buildings one year later and 8 in 1921) caused primarily by the lack of funds from the state, municipal and private investors⁴⁴. According to Natalia Przesmycka: „the development of housing construction was taking place in phases which can be divided into the following periods: the post-war »stagnation« lasted until 1926, a revival in 1927–1930, another stagnation in 1931–1933 caused by the general economic crisis,

⁴² R. Litwiński, *W trosce o własne miasto. Samorząd międzywojennego Lublina*, „Rocznik Lubelski” 2018, 44, s. 201–218; J. Marczuk, *Rada Miejska i Magistrat Lublina 1918–1939*, Lublin 1984, s. 55, 79, 271–278; idem, *Prezydenci miasta Lublina 1918–1939*, Lublin 1994; T. Radzik, *W latach*, s. 198–207. The Lublin City Hall was situated in 1 Krakowskie Przedmieście Street. This was where the following institutions were also situated: The City Development Committee, Military Department, Financial Department, Economic Department, General Department, Branch for Education and Culture, Branch for Bookkeeping and Secretariat. The Construction Department was situated in 7 Kapucyńska Street, and the Social Affairs Department in 1 Rynek Street. *Kalendarz „Express”*. *Notatnik*, s. 75.

⁴³ N. Przesmycka, *Architektoniczno*, s. 291.

⁴⁴ „Dziennik Zarządu M. Lublina” 1922, nr 21, s. 3; 1923, nr 25, s. 6–7; H. Gawarecki, *Rozwój urbanistyczny i architektoniczny miasta w latach 1918–1938*, w: *Dzieje Lublina*, s. 244.

and then, from 1936 until the outbreak of the Second World War, another revival”⁴⁵. This unstable situation had negative consequences which could not be changed by the emerging housing cooperatives which were to take care of the housing construction development and to meet the need for apartments. After the law of cities’ development had been adopted in 1925, ten housing cooperatives were established in Lublin, the largest of which were the following: Officers Housing Cooperative (Oficerska Spółdzielnia Mieszkaniowa), State Officials Housing Cooperative (Spółdzielnia Mieszkaniowa Urzędników Państwowych), The First Workers Housing Cooperative (Pierwsza Robotnicza Spółdzielnia Mieszkaniowa) and „Spółdom” Housing Cooperative. Despite preferential loans, the investments initiated by the cooperatives were unfortunately implemented too slowly in relation to the constantly growing needs⁴⁶.

There were 3658 residential buildings in Lublin in 1926. There were 4651 ten years later, and by the end of 1936, the number reached 5265 residential buildings. According to data from 1921, 74% of apartments were overcrowded. The situation did not improve ten years later. Small and overcrowded apartments were dominant. On average, four people lived in single-room households, which accounted for 47.6% of all premises. On average, 2.4 people lived in one room in two-room households (accounting for 26.2%) and 1.8 people lived in one room in the three-room households (accounting for 14.6%), and there were 1.5 to 0.9 people in larger apartments⁴⁷.

Overall, 2695 rooms were built between 1919 and 1929 as part of the housing investments but, according to the demand, there should have been at least 18 668 of them. This would have allowed to achieve a relatively civilized ratio of two people per one room⁴⁸. However, in 1929, there were 4.1 people on average living in one room, which, according to the then authorities, illustrated the housing issues in Lublin. But while the situation in the city was bad, the situation among poor people living in the suburbs was even worse, where sometimes even a few families stayed in one room.

⁴⁵ N. Przesmycka, *Lublin. Przeobrażenia*, s. 186–187.

⁴⁶ The legislation required that i.e. all the municipalities where there were no apartments to make efforts to improve the existing situation. The city councils delegated this responsibility to town halls or, in larger cities, to the committees for city developments. „DzURP” 1925, nr 51, poz. 346; T. Radzik, *W latach*, s. 175–176; N. Przesmycka, *Architektoniczno*, s. 295–299.

⁴⁷ In the then statistics, the apartment size was assessed by the number of rooms within the apartment. The rooms included kitchen and bedrooms but they did not include: corridors, hallways, bathrooms, pantries, attics and toilets. See: *Drugi*, s. X, 3; cf. APL, AmL, sygn. 1788, k. 83; sygn. 4127, k. 5; *Rocznik statystyczny*, s. 13.

⁴⁸ APL, AmL, sygn. 1840, k. 4.

The growing housing poverty was also caused by the unregulated rivers: Bystrzyca, Czechówka and Czerniejówka. The basement apartments situated in wetlands were damp and exposed to frequent floods. This, in turn, significantly worsened the city's sanitary condition and contributed to the development of diseases⁴⁹.

Tab. 1. Housing Investments in Lublin in 1919–1929.

Year	Number of built rooms
1919	85
1920	18
1921	69
1922	206
1923	250
1924	98
1925	162
1926	446
1927	109
1928	752
1929	500
Ogółem	2695

Source: APL, AmL, sygn. 1840, k. 4.

In December 1931, there were overall 24 601 apartments in Lublin, of which only 1799 had sanitary fittings⁵⁰. They were still largely overcrowded, and providing water, light and gas system connections very often remained an unfulfilled dream. In this group, the one-room apartments accounted for 47.8% of the total, which meant that their percentage not only did not decrease but actually increased. The two-room apartments accounted for 27.3% of the total, the three-room apartments – 14.4%. If we

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, k. 5.

⁵⁰ The vast majority of residents was forced to use outhouses. We can assume that the majority of them, particularly in the poorest districts, look just like R. Fiszman-Sznajdman remembers: „The toilet» was always overflowing, the yellow liquid kept pouring out into the yard, the only place where children played. In order to get out of the »lavatory« in one piece, and avoid rats and cats, which always accompanied the visitors, one had to do real acrobatics. [...] The cost of cleaning the »lavatory« was included in the rent. The house owner cleaned it very rarely but when the »happy« moment finally arrived, a real hell was starting for the tenants. The cleaning »specialists« made an awful noise with their barrels, the sounds could be heard almost along the entire street, and the lingering smell was almost unbearable". See: eadem, *Mój Lublin*, Lublin 1989, s. 11. On the living conditions of the Jewish population in Lublin, see i.e.: A. Cimet, *Jewish Lublin. A cultural monograph*, Lublin 2009, s. 184–187.

wanted to know how many people on average lived at the time in one room, we would receive a ratio of 3.72 people. There was still a tendency, according to which the greatest number of the Lublin residents lived in the smallest apartments⁵¹.

The house building sector of the inter-war Lublin was developed particularly in the second half of the 1930s. The style of the constructed buildings also changed. While the historicizing forms and the so-called manor-house style had been the most frequent right after the Great War, the development of modern architecture could be observed from the end of the 1920s⁵². The areas situated along Aleje Racławickie were intensively developed from the 1930s. Multi-family houses of high standard were built i.e. along Skłodowska Street. The corner where Aleja Marszałka Piłsudskiego (Marshall Piłsudski's Avenue) and Narutowicza and Lipowa Streets met was under construction. Single-family houses were built in large numbers in Czechów, Dziesiąta, Sławinek and Rury Jezuickie⁵³. Villas of the highest standards for the then city's elites, doctors, attorneys, architects and engineers, were erected mainly in the City Centre (i.e. along Ogrodowa Street, 3 Maja Street and Spokojna Street)⁵⁴.

However, only a few could afford such houses, and there were still no investments for the poorest residents. Therefore, a significant number, if not the vast majority, of the residents of Lublin, lived in conditions similar to those mentioned by R. Fiszman-Sznajdman: „Two rooms with a kitchen had no more than 25–30 square metres. When I was the only child, these rooms were sufficient. However, when the family grew bigger, to six people (together with parents), the confined space became annoying, there was literally no place to move. Sleeping was particularly problematic. There was no question of setting the beds for every single person. Therefore, we would additionally set up camp beds which were very uncomfortable. The youngest children had to sleep in the parents' two double beds. I, along with my brother, had to use the crib for many years, which constantly had no space for our legs. In the final years before the war,

⁵¹ *Drugi*, s. 5. By comparison, it should be emphasized that on the national scale, there were 2.02 people on average, which still placed us behind other European countries. For example, this ratio in Germany was 0.98, in Italy – 1.36 and in Finland – 1.56. See: *Mały Rocznik Statystyczny*, s. 61.

⁵² <http://lublin.eu/lublin/przestrzen-miejska/zabytki/zabytki-lublinia/architektura-miedzywojenna-w-lublinie/> [dostęp: 5 XII 2016].

⁵³ T. Radzik, *W latach*, s. 176.

⁵⁴ N. Przesmycka, *Architektoniczno*, s. 293.

I had a permanent place in the camp bed and my brother slept on a wooden bench, which had been a sleeping place for a servant in better times⁵⁵.

Her family at least had a roof over their heads, while Lublin also struggled with the issue of homelessness. Mateusz Rodak emphasizes that it was a phenomenon existing in many cities of the then Poland, the actual size of which could not be determined due to the lack of suitable sources⁵⁶. Although the homeless people had housing barracks built in Tatary or they were placed in shelters and poorhouses, these solutions were only short-term. It is estimated that there were around 1000 people in 1935, who lived in such shelters, and even though this number was lower in the following years, the problem of homelessness was not effectively solved in Lublin until the end of the inter-war period⁵⁷.

ECONOMIC LIFE

Residents' living standards are always strongly linked with the economic development of a given centre. In the case of the inter-war Lublin, this rule was all too visible when the society felt the regression's consequences in the Lublin industry after the Great War. The decreasing number of industrial plants, and thus the deteriorating employment situation, were its main symptoms. And while there were 137 industrial plants in the city in 1912, which employed 6746 workers, in 1919, there were only 89, with only 2047 people who had found employment there⁵⁸. The loss of the Russian markets, the increasing competition in independent Poland, and, first and foremost, the lack of modern factory equipment, had left a clear mark on the activity of the majority of the Lublin industrial plants. Among the Lublin employers, the following industrial plants deserved a distinction: Zakłady Mechaniczne (Engineering Plant) of E. Plage and T. Laśkewicz, established on the basis of the old factory of distillery machines and small boiler items. Even though after 1918 the production of the following products continued: steam boilers, iron structures, equipment for distilleries, potato starch manufactures, distillation and vodka bottling plants, and the

⁵⁵ R. Fiszman-Sznajdman, *op. cit.*, s. 28–29.

⁵⁶ The Author estimates the homelessness scale at a few hundred people at the very least in various times. By comparison: Poznań – more than 6000, Toruń – around 6000, Lviv – around 3000, Cracow – around 5000, Warsaw – around 20 000. See: M. Rodak, *Bezdomność w międzywojennym Lublinie*, „Rocznik Lubelski” 2015, 41, s. 160–162.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, s. 166–167. It is highly likely that the number of homeless people was much higher because not all of them were registered.

⁵⁸ „Dziennik Zarządu M. Lublina” 1923, nr 20, s. 7.

production was expanded in order to include aircrafts and car bodies, it was not accompanied by the development of any modern technologies⁵⁹. Other large companies included also: Cukrownia (Sugar Refinery) „Lublin”, Fabryka Maszyn i Narzędzi Rolniczych „M. Wolski i S-ka” SA (Factory of Agricultural Machines and Tools „Mr. Wolski&Co. Inc.”), Lubelska Fabryka Maszyn i Narzędzi Rolniczych „Plon” (Lublin Factory of Agricultural Machines and Tools „Plon”), factory of milling machines „Lechia”, tobacco fermentation plant, Spółdzielcza Huta Szkła (Glass Factory Co-operative) and „Eternit” plants⁶⁰. However, certain reservations should be made. Lublin did have its own industrial attributes, distinguishing it from other factory centres, but even before 1914, it unfortunately could not match the extent of its own production with the districts of Łódź, Warsaw and Sosnowiec-Częstochowa⁶¹. Disproportions in comparison with other industrial centres kept deepening even more throughout the period of the Second Polish Republic.

In the period of independence, the city addressed specific investment necessities which were to be directed toward the satisfaction of the residents' needs. Sewage system, water supply, gas plant and trams, as well as the new local slaughterhouse, were the basic goals which were to be met. Apart from the trams, which were ultimately replaced with buses, all the plans were implemented, and all the following companies worked for the residents' benefit: City Gas Plant, City Water Supply and Sewage System, City Power Plant, City Slaughterhouse and City Bus Transport⁶².

The gas plant was built in Lublin already in the 1880s. Nevertheless, at the time when the country's independence was won back, the gas plant no longer had an adequate processing power and required relevant investments. Due to problems associated with concession, they could not be implemented. Only after the concession had ended and the plant was taken over by the city in February 1922, did the necessary renovation commence. According to date from October 1921, the annual gas production reached the level of 860 000 m³ and was intended for 500 consumers and 500 street lamps. The pipeline network was not too extensive and was only 18 km

⁵⁹ *Ilustrowany*, s. 33–34. In 1936, they were taken over by the state treasury and transformed into Lublin Aircraft Factory (Lubelska Wytwórnia Samolotów; LWS). More broadly on this topic, see: M.W. Majewski, *Przemysł lotniczy w Lublinie 1919–1939*, Warszawa 2009.

⁶⁰ „Dziennik Zarządu M. Lublina” 1923, nr 20, s. 7. More broadly on this topic, see: R. Litwiński, *Przemysłowe atrybuty międzywojennego Lublina*, w: *Lublin przedsiębiorczy. 700 lat historii, 200 lat doświadczeń*, red. Z. Pastuszak, I. Skibińska-Fabrowska, Lublin 2018, s. 71–90.

⁶¹ C. Leszczyńska, *Rozwój gospodarczy ziem polskich w drugiej połowie XIX wieku (1870–1914) i jego regionalne zróżnicowanie*, w: *W drodze ku niepodległości. Przemiany modernizacyjne na ziemiach polskich w II połowie XIX i na początku XX wieku*, red. P. Grata, Rzeszów 2019, s. 39.

⁶² *Ilustrowany*, s. 18; *Kalendarz-informator*, s. 100–101.

long. By comparison, in 1913, Cracow's gas network was 116 km long. The city had as many as 8251 consumers and 2052 street lamps, and the gas production reached the level of 7 051 000 m³. Similar situation took place in Lviv. Interestingly, at the beginning of the 1920s, other cities, like Stryi and Tarnów, kept developing faster than Lublin in terms of gas supply⁶³.

The most important modernization works were completed by 1928. As a result, a considerable increase in the production and consumption of gas was achieved (from 900 000 m³ in 1922 to 1 618 000 m³ in 1929), while reducing around 20% of losses due to its transmission. In 1931, the number of consumers increased to 1095. Simultaneously, due to the opening of the city power plant and reduced need for gas street lights, the City Gas Plant focused on producing gas for households and technical purposes⁶⁴.

In the 1920s, the electric power was produced by more than twenty small private power plants which, however, were not able to meet the growing demand. No wonder then that the residents continued using kerosene lamps. In the summer when the day was longer, the lighting was no issue but the situation was much different in the winter season. The smell of kerosene lingered in households and workshops⁶⁵. Hence, the city needed its own power plant with a suitable productive capacity. However, the talks held with a company from Warsaw, Power and Light Inc., in 1919–1925 were not finalized due to the problems with funds. Only Ulen&Company began the construction of the power plant, as part of the city works, in October 1927. The unfinished project was eventually finalized one year later by the Lublin Town Hall. Electrical grids were also established, as part of the city works, thanks to which the city had 38 km of an underground line and 29 km of an external traction. This led to an increase in the number of electricity consumers. While there were 1240 electricity consumers in August 1929, there were as many as 5681 already one year later⁶⁶. This rapid increase in subscribers also resulted in the necessity to increase the machine power. In 1933, the electricity reached 10 000 subscribers⁶⁷. This number increased to 15 306 customers in 1938, due to which around 76% of the residents of Lublin had electricity in their houses⁶⁸.

⁶³ APL, AML, sygn. 1564, k. 366.

⁶⁴ *Ilustrowany*, s. 26–27.

⁶⁵ R. Fiszman-Sznajdman, *op. cit.*, s. 17.

⁶⁶ *Ilustrowany*, s. 25; J. Marczuk, *Inwestycje komunalne miasta Lublina w latach 1925–1939*, „Rocznik Lubelski” 1981/1982, 23/24, s. 154.

⁶⁷ APL, AML, sygn. 1788, k. 89; „Dziennik Zarządu M. Lublina” 1932, nr 5, s. 1051–1052.

⁶⁸ J. Marczuk, *Inwestycje*, s. 156.

The water supply and sewage system was another problem pressing the city authorities. Although there were water pipes in Lublin, a concessionaire of which was engineer Adolf Wejsblat, but they were in an awful technical condition and had a very low efficiency. Moreover, the city had no sewage system until 1929. There were only individual sections of sewers, the largest of which linked Krakowskie Przedmieście Street and Chopina Street with the outfalls in the Bystrzyca River. All the sewage flowed to the river. In terms of the city and its residents' interests, it was necessary for the City Hall to take over the entire system and quickly start investments. This matter concerned not only the economic interest or the residents' comfort, but primarily the sanitary conditions, which impacted medical condition. This was emphasized by doctors who were members of the sanitary commission (i.e. Dr Mieczysław Biernacki) working for the City Hall in Lublin, when they wrote to the city authorities: „However, the most important aspect is that of hygiene because with the water pipeline the municipality can not only dream but to enter upon the road of a planned sewage system for the city of Lublin. The sanitary commission, constantly fighting against the inaccuracy of removing rubbish and feces, is closest to the thousands of inconveniences in today's system, and sees that the only solution is to allow the quickest access to the sewage draining systems. For this eternal problem which crashed all our plans on the way was the lack of the city measurement and the fact that the water supply system belonged to a private person”⁶⁹.

The significance of the problem was well recognized, as the state administration had been established over the water supply system already in 1918, and in 1921, the city had taken the legal action to repurchase it from the concessionaire. Until the Supreme Court delivered a judgement, which took place only in September 1929, the water supply system had been under the court's administration. Then they became the city's property and were included in the new water supply and sewage system built in 1925–1929 by Ulen & Company. The system managed by the company City Water Supply and Sewage System was launched in Lublin in October 1929. According to data from 1931, 720 properties were connected to the water supply and 220 estates had a sewage system⁷⁰. The next stage of the water supply and sewage system began in 1935, when the public works financed by the Labor Fund started in the Lublin area. The follow-

⁶⁹ APL, AmL, sygn. 1690, k. 30.

⁷⁰ APL, AmL, sygn. 1788, k. 11; *Ilustrowany*, s. 29–30. More broadly on this topic, see: S. Michałowski, *Sto lat współczesnych wodociągów w Lublinie 1899–1999*, Lublin 1999, s. 19, 44–51, 53–61.

ing tasks were important elements too: the extension of the water supply system, particularly in new neighbourhoods, linking the pumping station in Wrotków with the water tower, the construction of wastewater treatment plant, storm drains and the city treatment plant⁷¹.

However, the construction of the water supply and sewage system was not enough. Another problem was to convince the owners of properties to connect their estates to the system. The requests were probably of little use because a decision was finally made to resort to a „weapon” of coercion to join the water supply system, introduced by the ordinance of the President of the Republic of Poland. All the owners of properties situated along the streets with the city water supply and sewage system were obliged to install suitable connection at their own expense⁷². Thus, the opposition to connect to the system was not only due to the change in the way of thinking but primarily due to the high costs. It is unsurprising that the water was still abundantly drawn from wells, even though its quality left a lot to be desired⁷³. Reasons for the widespread use of water points, mainly by the poorer residents, were also diverse. For one of the landlords’ methods to put pressure on tenants who did not pay their rent was to cut the water supply off. As R. Fiszman-Sznajdman recalled: „Everyone had to go to the water booth situated next to the market, at the corner on Lubartowska Street. There were long queues to the only tap in the area. People had to pay for the water and then carry it a good distance away. Some had to carry the heavy buckets to the fourth floor and climb more than ninety steps. It was not that bad in the summertime but in the winter, when the ice cut off the access to the tap, and the freezing cold was making breathing difficult, it was a real torture to carry the water. Cutting off the water supply was the landlords’ way of saving on the costs of house maintenance, and thus they often used it”⁷⁴.

The construction of a slaughterhouse in Tatary was another city project. The works were started by Ulen & Company in 1926. However, the con-

⁷¹ APL, SGL, sygn. 495, k. 14–14v.

⁷² „DzURP” 1928, nr 17, poz. 142. In 1938, out of the total number of 4500 properties, the water supply system was connected only to 1234, and the sewage system to 836. See: *Miejskie wodociągi i kanalizacja w Lublinie*, w: *Kalendarz-informator*, s. 135.

⁷³ APL, SGL, sygn. 495, k. 26.

⁷⁴ R. Fiszman-Sznajdman, *op. cit.*, s. 7–8. She also included a very suggestive image of sanitary conditions in her house in Lubartowska Street while describing the fixing of the water supply failure: „As I remember, the basement, where the pipes and water taps were situated, was always full of water; it was pumped out into the yard. It then mixed with the yellow, thick and fetid liquid draining from the overflowing toilet”. See: *ibidem*, s. 8. The abovementioned yard was at the same time...a playground for children, which, with a constant presence of rats, certainly posed a health hazard, see: *ibidem*, s. 11.

tractor did not complete the entire project due to financial issues. For this reason, its finalization was taken over by the City Hall. Although the works were continued in the 1930s but the meat processing started already in 1929 after the plant of the City Slaughterhouse in Lublin had been established. Its production was aimed not only at the Lublin residents but also at people living in other cities in the country, as well as at export to i.e. Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Great Britain and Italy⁷⁵. It is worth emphasizing that in 1937–1938, at the initiative of Poels & Company from Antwerp, a cannery was built on the slaughterhouse premises, which was then leased to this company. It had previously worked on exporting the canned meat from Lublin as far as in Poznań⁷⁶.

This clearly shows that even though the Ulen's loan⁷⁷ was subject to very demanding terms and conditions which the city took on, it also contributed to the implementation of important projects. The power plant, water supply and sewage system, and slaughterhouse were built, and the gas pipelines were developed. The city would not be able to afford those investments, and taking out a loan was the only solution⁷⁸. Nevertheless, this does not change the fact that many people observed and assessed this credited modernization, especially since further liabilities had to be incurred in the bank in order to complete the works. The Lublin poetry group looked at it all satirically, expressing their views in one of their plays, in a song of the then Head of the Economic Department, Roman Nurowski: „There is to be canalization – hence, alteration, hence, irritation. Where are we led by this innovation? This democratization, this sanation. Who will the city decorate? Who, better than me, will coordinate? We are to be comfortable, But my street lights are more adorable. It will be more than a hundred years. Cart behind a cart appears. And the smell of the dead to flourish. For I'm not foolish, for I'm not foolish. For I am quiet”⁷⁹. Alexander Wójtowicz rightly stated that this stereotypical figure of an official who was reluctant to changes was a symbol of inertia of the local circles, distrustful of the introduced changes⁸⁰.

⁷⁵ Ilustrowany, s. 27–29; J. Marczuk, *Investycje*, s. 152.

⁷⁶ J. Marczuk, *Investycje*, s. 153.

⁷⁷ Due to the insufficient income of individual local governments, Bank Gospodarstwa Krajowego (Bank for National Economy), alongside the Polish Cities Association, signed a loan agreement with the American business concern, Ulen & Company, in 1925. The loan, later known as Ulen loans, was used in a few cities in the country to pay for projects. See: „Samorząd Miejski” 1926, luty, s. 117–133.

⁷⁸ J. Marczuk, *Investycje*, s. 143–158.

⁷⁹ J. Arnsztajn, K. Bielski, W. Gralewski, *Szopki Refektora*, oprac. J. Cyberman, J. Teter-wak, A. Wójtowicz, Lublin 2020, s. 58–59.

⁸⁰ A. Wójtowicz, *Wprowadzenie*, w: *ibidem*, s. 21.

Direction of the economic development were most certainly decided by the fact that the Lublin Voivodeship was primarily agricultural, and thus its capital owned mostly industrial plants and commercial retailers, meeting the agricultural needs, although some others were also present. According to data from 1939, the mineral industry was represented by 23 companies (concrete plants – 6, brick factories – 9, roof tile factory, tilery – 2, lime plants – 3, glass plants – 2); the chemical industry – 32 (producing paste, varnish and ink – 3, paints – 2, soap – 9, candles – 10, grease – 5, cosmetics – 2, and one tyre repair plant); the textile industry included 45 plants (dye-houses – 3, sewing plants – 3, cotton wool factories – 5, and 34 that produced hosiery); the paper industry – 19 (producing paper cores – 7, boxes – 11, roofing felt – 1); the animal products industry – 9 (tanneries – 6, intestine cleansing plants – 1, feather cleansing plant – 2); the wood industry – 9 (furniture factories – 2, sawmills – 4, shingles and corks factories – 2); the metalwork industry – 28 (agricultural machines and tools factories – 3, scales factories – 4, machines and millstones – 3, aircrafts – 1, car bodies and carriages – 5, metalwork fittings – 12); the food industry – 93 (sugar factories and mills – 10, starch and syrup factories, yeast production plant and breweries – 4, distilleries and fruit wine producers – 10, fruit processing plants – 16, vinegar – 5, oil mills – 2, dairy and cheese creameries – 17, mechanical bakeries – 2, sulphuring hop – 2, groats mills – 4, gas water plants – 18). In addition, trade in all forms was carried out by a total of 3553 companies and institutions, among which the following should be mentioned as they focused on export activities, i.e. Poels & Company, Lublin Poultry Farming Cooperative, Lublin-Export and Lublin Association of Cattle and Pigs Selling Cooperative, Eggs, State Industrial and Cereal Plants⁸¹.

Nevertheless, there were no large plants of an established position and having a large capital at their disposal, which could become the driving force of Lublin's economy. The city was dominated by small businesses (category VIII, VII and VI⁸²). In 1933, there were only seven businesses in category I, II and III category, 34 in category IV and V, 22 in category VI, 102 in category VII and 976 in category VIII. Larger plants (category I–V) primarily represented the metal, food and construction industry, and em-

⁸¹ APL, AML, sygn. 1789, k. 130–130v; *Ilustrowany*, s. 31–35.

⁸² Plants in I–III category were considered to correspond to large industries, plants in category corresponded to medium-size industry, plants in category VI and VII – small industry, or larger craft businesses, plants of category VIII – the smallest industry and smaller craft businesses. *Drugi*, s. XV. A category of an industrial plant depended on the number of employed workers and on other ratios, i.e. the production size. „DzURP” 1923, nr 58, poz. 412; 1934, nr 76, poz. 716.

ployed 1847 workers in April 1933. There had been 3000 people five years earlier and as many as 5000 people in 1921. Thus, there was a clear regression in this case. While the industrial plants in Lublin employed 10 785 workers in 1921, this number was estimated at 6000–7000 people in 1933⁸³. This was most certainly influenced by the economic crisis, loss of market outlets and a relatively low level of production technology, and thus it was difficult to speak of an effective competition on the domestic market. Besides, as the center of an exceptionally rural area, Lublin had no natural resources. Already in 1932, the representatives of the Lublin Industrial and Commercial Chamber emphasized that the city could not rely on a „great industrial development”⁸⁴.

Therefore, it seems that the Lublin press got a little carried away by the jubilee celebrations of the 20th anniversary of independence when it emphasized that Lublin had positively changed. For instance, in December 1938, „Głos Lubelski” („The Voice of Lublin”) stated: „It is often heard that Lublin is a dying city, that being once oriented toward the Russian markets, it has no prospects for economic development. The fact that the city was included in the Central Industrial District offers great perspectives, and the numbers indicate that even so far, the city, forced by a critical vegetation, has shown quite a lot of strength and has not been dying out, but...developing”⁸⁵.

In reality, the larger plants and the city's faster development was to take place only as part of the COP investments. At the time, the city invested a considerable amount of money to prepare the local areas for the constructions of factories⁸⁶. However, it should be strongly emphasized that it was not just Lublin but the entire voivodeship that remained isolated in terms of flagship projects. This conclusion is not changed by the fact that some plans were implemented or completed, i.e. the construction of production halls for the Warsaw Industrial Association of Mechanical Plants Lilpop, Rau and Loewenstein Inc., where the production of parts for General Motors' Chevrolet cars was to be launched. Also noteworthy was the construction of the Factory of Masks and Anti-Gas Equipment in

⁸³ APL, AmL, sygn. 1788, k. 87. Statistics from 1935 confirms information on 1213 industrial plants in Lublin. Within this group, category I–III included 7 industrial plants; category IV–V – 33; category VI–VII – 123 and category VIII – 1050. In total, they employed 2931 workers. *Statystyka zakładów przemysłowych i handlowych 1935*, Warszawa 1938, s. 21.

⁸⁴ APL, AmL, sygn. 1789, k. 127–128.

⁸⁵ „Głos Lubelski” 8 XII 1938, 337, s. 7.

⁸⁶ *Kalendarz-informator*, s. 124.

Lublin and the project to build a new airport near the railway station in Świdnik⁸⁷.

CULTURAL LIFE

It would seem that as the capital of the voivodeship, Lublin would naturally become a thriving cultural centre. All the previous restrictions imposed by the previous partitionists and occupants' authorities had been lifted, and the competition from other larger cities in the region did not seem too high. Meanwhile, there were some problems with the greater cultural activity. Ireneusz J. Kamiński pointed out that according to the then press reports, the post-war Lublin culture „presented itself poorly”⁸⁸. The best example is the situation of the Lublin theatre which was not supported by the city until 1925. This changed only when the city management took over. Nevertheless, its fate, as well as the attendance at the events, was constantly affected by Lublin's financial situation, which was consumed by numerous and extremely important projects. Therefore, the words used in one of the artistic plays in 1930 were symptomatic: „The City Theatre is cursing the fate, Grodnicki is recalled, Where the loans are, where the deposits are”⁸⁹.

It is unsurprising that the cultural activity relied to a large extent on the community's generosity and social activists' selfless zeal. Maria Gawarecka states that, along the above-mentioned issues, „the economic crisis and political conflicts within the City Hall and City Council hindered, and often paralysed, wider plans regarding culture”⁹⁰. Already at the beginning of the 1930s, the attendance in the city theatre was not too high because the average number of the audience oscillated around two hundred people. Interestingly, the plays performed by the Volhynian Theatre from Lutsk enjoyed much greater interest⁹¹. The residents of Lublin could also go to a few cinemas, among which the following were open in the period I am interested in: „Apollo”, „Corso”, „Italia” („Italy”), „Uciecha” („Joy”), „Wenus” („Venus”),

⁸⁷ M. Furtak, COP. *Centralny Okręg Przemysłowy 1936–1939. Architektura i urbanistyka. Kraj, region, miasto, fabryka, osiedle, budynek*, Kraków–Łódź 2014, s. 79, 84.

⁸⁸ I.J. Kamiński, *O sztuce w Lublinie*, w: *Lublin w dziejach i kulturze Polski*, red. T. Radzik, A.A. Witusik, Lublin 1997, s. 304.

⁸⁹ J. Arnsztajn, K. Bielski, W. Gralewski, *op. cit.*, s. 76.

⁹⁰ M. Gawarecka, *Teatr w Lublinie w latach 1919–1939*, „Rocznik Lubelski” 1971, 13, s. 129; eadem, *Życie kulturalne Lublina w latach 1918–1939*, w: *Dzieje Lublina*, s. 213.

⁹¹ M. Gawarecka, *Teatr*, s. 144. More broadly on the theatre's activity in Lublin, see: S. Kruk, *Teatr Miejski w Lublinie 1918–1939*, Lublin 1997.

„Wiedza” („Knowledge”), „Stylowy” („Stylish”), „Rialto” and „Gwiazda” („Star”). Apart from the movies, these places also staged revues, cabarets and vaudevilles, and they organized sports events⁹².

Financial issues cast a shadow on the cultural activities which were necessarily pushed into the background of the Lublin residents' needs at the time. However, the number of institutions and associations established by both the city authorities and the society, traditionally active in developing cultural activities and promoting education and art, was increasingly growing. Creative communities were active and publishing activities kept developing⁹³.

Among the most important cultural institutions the following should be mentioned: libraries (Central Library for public schools and teenagers, Library of the Catholic Society of Polish Women, Hieronim Łopaciński Public Library), Lublin Museum, State Archive, and other organisations such as: Polish Historical Society, Society for Polish Language Enthusiasts, Society for the Friends of Science, „Lutnia” Singers Society, Polish Education Motherland (Polska Macierz Szkolna), Music Society, Warsaw branch of the Society for the Encouragement of Fine Arts, Society for Propagating Art, Association of Artists and Designers, Association of Authors in Lublin, Association of Theatres and Folk Choirs, Lublin Society of Book Lovers and Lublin Association for Cultural Work. It is worth mentioning the representatives of the literature circles, among which the following should be distinguished: Franciszka Arnsztajnowa, Konrad Bielski, Tadeusz Bocheński, Józef Czechowicz, Wacław Gralewski, Kazimierz Andrzej Jaworski, Józef Nikodem Kłosowski, Józef Łobodowski, Antoni Madej and Bronisław Ludwik Michalski. Some of them (i.e. the poetry group Reflektor) made both accurate and eloquently put assessments of Lublin at the time, taking part in the development of the literary life⁹⁴.

The circle of Lublin artists, which began to solidify already in 1921, was active, and it gathered the following artists: Zygmunt Bartkiewicz,

⁹² *Ilustrowany*, s. 24; T. Radzik, *W latach*, s. 219–221. In terms of the sports life activities, the following should be mentioned as worthy of attention: Towarzystwo Gimnastyczne „Sokół Polski” (Gymnastics Society „Polish Falcon”), Towarzystwo Sportowo-Gimnastyczne „Makabi” (Sports and Gymnastics Society „Makabi”), Wojskowy Klub Sportowy Lublin (Lublin Military Sport Club), Klub Sportowy „Lublinianka” („Lublinianka” Sport Club) and WKS „Unia”.

⁹³ H. Wojtysiak, *Lubelska prasa sensacyjna. Medialne obrazy codzienności międzywojennego Lublina*, „Folia Bibliologica” 2018, 60, s. 141.

⁹⁴ „Dziennik Zarządu M. Lublina” 1934, nr 4, s. 1201–1202; T. Radzik, *W latach*, s. 221–223; T. Kłak, *Miasto poetów, Tarnów–Lublin* 2001, s. 65; J. Starnawski, *Miedzy Wisłą i Bugiem*, Lublin 2010, s. 29–43; Reflektor. *Materiały archiwalne i prasowe*, oprac. J. Cyberman, A. Wójtowicz, Lublin 2018, s. 120; J. Arnsztajn, K. Bielski, W. Gralewski, *op. cit.*, Lublin 2020, s. 7–24.

Władysław Barwicki, Witold Boguski, Franciszek Dec, Bohdan Kelles-Krauz, Konstanty Kietlicz-Rayski, Zenon Kononowicz, Piotr Juliusz Kurzątkowski, Janina Miłosiowa, Tadeusz Śliwiński, Symche Trachter, Karol Westfal, Krystyn Henryk Wiercieński. However, the lack of adequate financial support meant that there was no proper exhibition hall in the city, and thus the Lublin residents could rarely see their artistic achievements, sent primarily to the Warsaw showrooms and to exhibitions in the eastern voivodeships. The Lublin Showroom for the Association of Propagating Art, organized since October 1936, tried to avert this unfavorable tendency⁹⁵.

Publishing services kept developing in the city and the press played a significant part in it. Several dozen newspapers were published in Lublin, although, as pointed out by T. Radzik, the life of some of them was very short, ephemeral even. „Głos Lubelski”, published throughout the inter-war period, was standing out, similarly to the Jewish daily newspaper „Lubliner Tugblat”⁹⁶. Other newspapers worth mentioning are i.e. „Dzień Polski” („Polish Day,” 1919–1923), „Express Lubelski” („Lublin Express”, 1923–1939), „Kurier Poranny”, „Kurier Lubelski” (1932–1937) and „Ziemia Lubelska” (1906–1931)⁹⁷.

SCIENCE AND EDUCATION

It was of the utmost importance for the capital of the voivodeship that it became a centre of universities. Due to the initiative of Fr. Dr I. Radziszewski and the Karol Jaroszyński foundation, the Lublin University was established as early as December 1918 (The Catholic University of Lublin from 1928), situated at first in the buildings of the Theological Seminary in Zamoyska Street. In 1922, the university was granted the so-called Świętokrzyskie barracks, i.e. the former buildings of the Dominican Observant monastery, in which the college is still situated. Toward the end of the inter-war period, the university had four faculties: theology, canonical law, law and socio-economic sciences, humanities and the institute of pedagogy. It played an important part in the life of the city and became a significant institution for research and teaching. Its graduates were a consid-

⁹⁵ I.J. Kamiński, *op. cit.*, s. 306–311; *Salon Lubelski 1936. Katalog*, Lublin 1936.

⁹⁶ There were 27 Jewish newspapers only. See: A. Kopciowski, *Wos hert zich in der prowinc? Prasa żydowska na Lubelszczyźnie i jej największy dziennik „Lubliner Tugblat”*, Lublin 2015, s. 57.

⁹⁷ T. Radzik, *W latach*, s. 225. Cf. *Katalog czasopism lubelskich*, Lublin 1974; H. Wojtysiak, *op. cit.*, s. 141–162.

erable part of the city and voivodeship's intelligentsia, and the lecturers were present in many scientific and social initiatives. The „Bobolanum” Theological College, the Jesuits' university that was aimed at educating the members of the monastery, should also be included in the group of universities established at the time. A monumental building was constructed along Aleje Racławickie in 1923–1926 for this university's needs. The Talmudic college was the third university in Lublin. In 1924–1930, the building of the Chachmei Lublin Yeshiva was erected along Lubartowska Street, the fame of which went far beyond Polish borders⁹⁸.

Although Lublin automatically became the largest education centre in the new voivodeship, the necessity for a suitable housing base was yet to be secured. At the time when Poland's independence was reclaimed, the city had 14 high schools of general profile (including 12 private ones), 4 vocational schools (including 3 private ones), 32 elementary schools (including 8 private ones)⁹⁹ but, interestingly enough, it had only one school building for 300 children. The remaining schools were situated in rented premises. Thus, efforts were made to improve the situation. However, there were only six new buildings constructed by November 1935, which by no means satisfied the basic needs. The increase in the number of children (from 7027 in 1923 to 13 688 in 1935), the growth in rental expenditures and the need to provide institutions with appropriate rooms unambiguously indicated the necessity and profitability of investments regarding the young people's education and elimination of illiteracy¹⁰⁰.

It should be emphasized that the concepts of developing constructions for schools were truly impressive in the inter-war period. For example, there were plans that a new elementary school would be built in each newly erected city district¹⁰¹. And the needs were considerable. Accord-

⁹⁸ Kalendarz-informator, s. 108; J. Ziółek, *Lublin uniwersytecki*, w: *Lublin w dziejach*, s. 384–390; K. Zieliński, N. Zielińska, *Jeszywas Chachmej Lublin*, Lublin 2003, s. 89–120.

⁹⁹ In Addition, a theological seminary and 45 chederim were situated in Lublin. See: „Dziennik Zarządu M. Lublina” 1923, nr 23–24, s. 7.

¹⁰⁰ APL, SGL, sygn. 495, k. 14v–15. The following can be considered as the best known schools: Stanisław Staszic Public Secondary School, Jan Zamoyski Public Secondary School, Public Secondary School of the Lublin Union, Stephen Bathory Secondary School, Mathematics and Natural Sciences Girls' Secondary Schools, Bishops' Private Boys' Secondary School, Girls' Secondary School and High School, Boys' Commerce Secondary School, Industry and Commerce Girls' State School, Crafts School of Stanisław Syroczyński, Construction High School. T. Radzik, *W latach*, s. 215–217. According to data from December 1931, in the group of Lublin's residence above 10 years old, there were 71 176 people who could read and write. Those who could only read – 2931, those who could neither read nor write – 15 220. *Rocznik statystyczny Lublina*, s. 42.

¹⁰¹ N. Przesmycka, *Lublin. Przeobrażenia*, s. 226. However, in 1933, the number of school buildings was still not sufficient to meet the population's needs. APL, AmL, sygn. 1788, k. 83.

ing to data from 1938, there were 30 public elementary schools, 22 private elementary schools and 21 secondary schools in the city¹⁰². Even though it turned out to be impossible to carry out these ambitious plans in such a short time, a few flagship projects were completed, i.e. construction of buildings for: Industry and Commerce Girls' State School (1931), Bishops' Private Boys' Secondary School (1931), the S. Staszic National Secondary School (1933) and Elementary School in Dziesiąta District (1939). The construction of a school in Lipowa Street was also started¹⁰³.

HEALTH SERVICES

According to T. Radzik, there was a long-lasting negligence in the area of medical care in Lublin, which was extremely difficult to stop in the inter-war period. The city's sanitary condition after the Great War is best confirmed by regulations from 1919, which forbade to keep pig, goats and poultry in the apartments, and also to wash dishes in the public wells¹⁰⁴. The residents of Lublin were also provided with special publications with advice on the rules of the basic personal hygiene¹⁰⁵.

Therefore, the Lublin health services did not enter the period of independence with the best condition and the residents had problems with accessing healthcare. Marta Dolecka states: „The hospitals in Lublin in the first years of independence were not available for all those who required treatment. They were rather like charitable institutions, and, in accordance with the medieval rules, intended for paupers, crippled and the city commoners”¹⁰⁶. This was so dangerous because the infectious diseases were exceptionally common at the time. An important role to fight the diseases was played by the Hospital of Saint John of God which, however, required considerable funds. Its director, Mieczysław Biernacki recalled: „The hospital has not been renovated for many years, it was a ruined, leaking building, the inflation deprived us of all income and we were sus-

¹⁰² *Kalendarz-informator*, s. 93.

¹⁰³ N. Przesmycka, *Lublin. Przeobrażenia*, s. 226; *Architektura Lublina 1918–1939*, <http://bc.pollub.pl/Content/218/Architektura+lublina.pdf> [dostęp: 5 XII 2016].

¹⁰⁴ T. Radzik, *W latach*, s. 195.

¹⁰⁵ *Jak się ustrzедz chorób zakaźnych, Walka z chorobami zakaźnymi*, w: *Kalendarz-informator*, s. 33–37. There were 7 private bath houses in the city before 1921. Places for maintaining hygiene were also provided by the Hospital of Saint John of God and the military. Then the City Bath House Plant was constructed in Bronowice, and other bath houses. *Ilustrowany*, s. 14; *Kalendarz „Express”*, s. 35.

¹⁰⁶ M. Dolecka, *Działalność szpitala Jana Bożego w Lublinie w latach 1918–1939*, „Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska. Sectio H” 1991, 25, s. 80.

pended, hungry and cold, between the earth and the sky". Even though in October 1919, a decree was issued, which transferred the hospitals to the care and management of the commune unions, the city authorities were not eager to take over the institution and, moreover, they did not pay for the residents' treatment costs. Ultimately, the city took over the hospital only in June 1928 but this did not eliminate its financial problems¹⁰⁷.

The four remaining hospitals operated as private institutions. They were all situated in inadequate buildings. There was a plan in the mid-1920s to merge them into one central hospital which was to be situated on the hill of the Czechów grange, next to the city's western border. The Lublin City Hall even allocated a plot of land of 20 hectares for this purpose. The moment the hospital was constructed, its previous building were to be used as infirmaries and institutions of social welfare. The new clinic was to have a convenient connection with the city. However, the project was not implemented at the time¹⁰⁸.

There were 787 beds in total in the hospitals in 1928, which did not meet the then needs. In 1935, their number increased to 936 but this was not an impressive achievement either. The hospital of Saint Vincent de Paul (of the Sisters of Charity) in Staszica Street with 327 beds was the largest in the city. Patients were treated in the following wards: internal, surgical, ophthalmological, obstetric, and for mentally ill women. The second biggest hospital was the Hospital of Saint John of God in Bonifraterska Street, where around 240 patients could be admitted. It had the following wards: isolation, internal, surgical, ophthalmological, and tuberculosis, and, until 1939, for mentally ill men. The following should be regarded as smaller hospitals: Saint Joseph in Radziwiłłowska Street, treating skin and venereal diseases, the Vetter's Hospital of the Infant Jesus in Staszica Street, and Jewish hospital in Lubartowska Street. In addition, the city also had infirmaries (i.e. Lublin infirmary in Krakowskie Przedmieście Street, Gynecological and midwifery infirmary in Wyszyńskiego Street), the city dispensary in the Hospital of Saint John of God with free health consultations for the poor, anti-tuberculosis dispensary in Górną Street, and Jewish dispensary in 4 Bramowa Street¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰⁷ *Kalendarz-informator*, s. 64–66.

¹⁰⁸ APL, AmL, sygn. 1787, k. 59.

¹⁰⁹ J. Marczuk, *Rada*, s. 206; *Kalendarz-informator*, s. 49–57. According to data from 1925, there were 69 physicians, 25 dentists, 11 surgeons and 22 midwives in Lublin; thirteen years later the numbers were higher (123 physicians, 51 dentists, 27 surgeons and 69 midwives). *Informator miasta Lublina*, [1925], s. 24–33; *Kalendarz-informator*, s. 49–57. More broadly on the topic, see i.e.: L. Jabłoński, L. Kowieski, *Slużba zdrowia na Lubelszczyźnie*, w:

The residents' health was also taken care of in the 24-hour emergency room, the activities of which were reactivated already on 1 December 1918, and despite the lack of sufficient funds¹¹⁰. The patients were transported by horse and car ambulances. In 1938, the emergency staff included five doctors, surgeon, two paramedics and two drivers. Although the city subsidies and membership fees were used, the staff constantly faced financial problems. However, there was never any talk on closing the facility which was so important for the residents. The number of emergency calls was constantly increasing (there were 4019 in 1933 and 5291 in 1937), similarly to the number of residents who received help in the emergency room (there were 2930 in 1933 and 3952 four years later)¹¹¹.

FREE TIME

Where did the residents of Lublin spend their free time? Lublin did not spoil its residents and visitors in this regard. The city parks did not meet the public's needs. The City Garden (so-called Ogród Saski), to which priority was to be given, and which attractiveness was elevated by a café and a zoo that was open for a few years, was often overcrowded. In addition, it was adjacent to salt warehouses, stables and backyards, and such surroundings were not conducive to full leisure activities. In turn, the Bronowicki Park required organizing and adapting to the needs of strollers. Besides, both parks had too small percentage of green space to meet the residents' health and leisure needs. Although the city had four more squares in the very centre (in Krakowskie Przedmieście Street, Grodzka Street, Namieśnikowska Street, and Bernardyńska Street), they were too small. On the other hand, the closest areas lacked any forests, where one could go for a trip. The closest forests, 4 km away from the city, were situated behind Sławinek (oak forest), Wrotków and Zemborzyce, which, however, were rarely used due to the uncomfortable roads and distance. It was pointed out that Sławinek, as a locality with health mineral waters, should have played a more important role in the life of the city, and thus, plans were made to connect it with the city by a tram line. Other local

Dzieje Lubelszczyzny, t. 5, *Problemy nauki, kultury i służby zdrowia w 60-leciu Polski niepodległej*, red. T. Mencel, Warszawa–Łódź 1986, s. 337–367.

¹¹⁰ „Głos Lubelski” 1 XII 1918, 220, s. 3.

¹¹¹ Kalendarz-informator, s. 26–27, 30.

places where the Lublin residents could go to are the following: Świdnik, Nałęczów, Puławy, Kazimierz nad Wisłą¹¹².

It should be noted that tourism, and infrastructure associated with it, were dynamically developing in the country in the inter-war period, but as far as Lublin was concerned, not too many efforts were made to encourage visits to the city. As Anna Warda states: „There were no information centres, people trained to take care of tourists, and the issue of access to historical sites and tourist attractions was also not regulated”. For a long time, both the visitors and the residents could rely only on themselves. The first symptoms of the city authorities' appreciation for the potential tourism could be noticed only from the mid-1930s¹¹³.

The city was adjoined by swampy meadows, unregulated and silt-laden rivers which could by no means be referred to as attractive bathing resorts. Therefore, it was decided to have them organized, and walking boulevards along the Bystrzyca River were to be built. However, only from 1933, when the mill on the Czechówka River was closed, and the water level was lowered by 1.20 m, dammed up by the Krause mill, it was possible to carry out works regulating and organizing the river, due to which i.e. the Czechówka River was vaulted between Lubartowska Street and Sienna Street. Nevertheless, it is difficult to find any realistic potential of using the rivers for the benefit of the city and its residents. In the second half of the 1930s, the allotment gardens started to play increasingly more important role as, to some extent, they could replace public gardens and contribute to the improvement of the city's aesthetics. The allotment gardens were situated in Lublin between Aleja Marszałka Piłsudskiego and Rusałka Street¹¹⁴. Interestingly, already in 1932, plans were made to replace the meadows situated next to the river, along Aleja Marszałka Piłsudskiego and Aleja Zygmuntowska, with buildings of a stadium, football pitch and tennis courts¹¹⁵.

The broadly understood modernization, taking place in the inter-war period, meant that the distinction in life between work and leisure was increasingly more visible. The former was usually filled with entertainment,

¹¹² APL, AmL, sygn. 1788, k. 29; E. Targońska, *Najstarszy ogród w mieście – Ogród Saski w materiałach archiwalnych zgromadzonych w Archiwum Państwowym w Lublinie*, w: *Lublin w kulturze*, s. 176.

¹¹³ A. Warda, „Poznaj swoje miasto – Poznaj zabytki Lublina”, czyli o zwiedzaniu Lublina przez jego mieszkańców w drugiej połowie lat trzydziestych XX wieku, „Rocznik Lubelski” 2018, 44, s. 111–112.

¹¹⁴ APL, AmL, sygn. 1787, k. 59; sygn. 1788, k. 28–29; sygn. 1799, k. 27; N. Przesmycka, *Lublin. Przeobrażenia*, s. 242–245.

¹¹⁵ APL, AmL, sygn. 1787, k. 41–44.

associated with the emergence of a new style. As emphasized by A. Wójtowicz, „to be modern meant to take part in the city's evening and night life, to stroll along its streets and boulevards, to spend time in cafés, cake shops and cinemas”¹¹⁶, while suspense novels, amusement gardens, cabarets, museums of extraordinary things and panoptica, attractions at fairs, viewing points, Kaiser-panoramas, optical illusion centres, games in gardens and sports created the then „culture of attractions”¹¹⁷. The residents of Lublin could spend their free time also in the restaurants (i.e. Astoria, Europa, Gastrotronomia), bars (i.e. Renesans, Piątka, Ziemiańska), cafés and cake shops (i.e. Chmielewski, Goplanka, Semadeni). Nevertheless, the city did not have modern restaurants, cafés, and other leisure establishments¹¹⁸.

The poorest resident spent their time in a completely different way. As recalled by R. Fiszman-Sznajdman: „The tenants of our floor shared not only their problems but also their free time. People discussed on various topics, they played in lottery or cards. Often in winter, women and children trimmed feathers together. The cinema or theater was rarely visited because not many people could afford it”¹¹⁹. The Society for Health Protection organized summer camps for the poorest children, which were also an opportunity for teachers to supplement their home budgets¹²⁰.

CONCLUSION

In the first years of independence, Lublin was not a dynamically developing centre. Certainly, the assessment of the city cannot offer too many superlative characteristics. Paradoxically, it was the late 19th–early 20th century that was the prosperity period for Lublin. It was the period of a significant economic development. Unfortunately, it crumbled in the times of the Great War when the retreating Russian troops took with them some of the plants' equipment and destroyed the remaining properties in the city. Lublin was also abandoned by a large group of highly-skilled personnel. The situation was worsened by legalized economic robbery of the occupying Austrian authorities. Therefore, the Lublin industry had a lower potential in 1919 than in 1914.

Regaining independence and turning Lublin into the capital of the voivodeship was not only of great importance for its development but was

¹¹⁶ A. Wójtowicz, *op. cit.*, s. 8–9.

¹¹⁷ *Ibidem*, s. 9.

¹¹⁸ *Ilustrowany*, s. 12–13.

¹¹⁹ R. Fiszman-Sznajdman, *op. cit.*, s. 19–20.

¹²⁰ *Ibidem*, s. 22.

also a challenge which had to be met. Was it successful? Despite many deficiencies in the city's modernisation, supplies for the population, economic and cultural life, education and health services, all noticeable in daily life, the above-mentioned question can be answered in the affirmative. For we should remember how difficult were the problems that the city authorities had to face from the very beginning and how scarce were the available resources. Not only the financial and technological ones, but also those regarding staff.

There were 3621 houses in total in Lublin in November 1918; twenty years later, there were 5701. Throughout this period, the city had the following structures added: 49 km of paved streets and two reinforced concrete bridges which replaced wooden structures. More than 12km of rivers were regulated, renovations were made in the Old Town part of the city; more than 38 km of water supply system and almost 55 km of sewage system was built¹²¹. Despite serious economic issues, the city was largely supplied with electricity and gas. Detailed plans for development were prepared, which were started in the 1930s. Some of them were implemented also after the Second World War, which proves the farseeing approach of the then policymakers. The public bus transport was launched, which had its ups and downs in the period we are interested in.

Obviously, not all the projects were implemented but it should be remembered that the inter-war period was very short and was also affected by a few years of the great economic crisis, which left its mark mainly on the rural areas, and the Lublin Region was exactly this type of area.

(translated by Anna Miączewska)

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NOTA O AUTORZE

Robert Litwiński (ur. 1971) – historyk, profesor nauk humanistycznych. W kręgu jego zainteresowań naukowych znajdują się: biografistyka, dzieje organizacji bezpieczeństwa publicznego na ziemiach polskich w XX w., polityka wewnętrzna władz państwowych II Rzeczypospolitej oraz historia międzywojennego Lublina. Opublikował m.in. *Korpus policji w II Rzeczypospolitej. Służba i życie prywatne* (Lublin 2007); Kordian Józef Zamorski, *Dzienniki (1930–1938)*, oprac. R. Litwiński, M. Sioma (Warszawa 2011); *Kordian Józef Zamorski „granatowy” general* (Lublin 2018).

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Robert Litwiński (born 1971) is a historian, professor of humanities. R. Litwiński's scientific interests include biographies, the history of the organization of public security on Polish soil in the 20th century, the Second Polish Republic's internal policy and the history of inter-war Lublin. His publications include the following: *Korpus policji w II Rzeczypospolitej. Służba i życie prywatne* (Lublin 2007); Kordian Józef Zamorski, *Dzienniki (1930–1938)*, elaborated by R. Litwiński, M. Sioma, (Warsaw 2011); *Kordian Józef Zamorski „granatowy” general* (Lublin 2018).