

## **PASTOR ANDRZEJ KRZYWOŃ (ANDREAS KRZYWON), MORAVIAN-SILESIA SUPERINTENDENT, AND HIS ATTITUDE TOWARDS NATIONAL ISSUES**

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An article devoted to Andrzej Krzywoń, the Moravian-Silesian superintendent, and his attitude towards national issues may at first glance seem valuable only from the perspective of the history of Cieszyn Silesia or the history of Protestantism in Austrian Silesia and Moravia. However, in a certain way – as Krzywoń came from a Polish peasant family – this article should be the starting point for a much broader discussion on the issue which is the so-called nationalization of Polish peasants in the “long nineteenth century”. Although the issue has been discussed extensively,<sup>1</sup> authors mostly focus on the lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, assuming that Polish (Polish-speaking) peasants were, as a rule, Catholics. There were however exceptions – it is not just about individuals or individual settlements. The flagship example is the eastern part of the crown land of Austrian Silesia, referred to in today’s literature as Cieszyn Silesia (Czech: Těšínsko; German: Teschener Schlesien, Polish: Śląsk Cieszyński), and by contemporary people – the Duchy of Cieszyn (Czech: Těšínské knížectví; German: Herzogtum Teschen; Polish: Księstwo Cieszyńskie).<sup>2</sup>

This region was inhabited by three ethnic (linguistic) groups: Germans, mainly concentrated in the so-called Bielsko-Biała language island (German: Bielitz-Bialaer Sprachinsel) and gaining an advantage in cities, Czechs (Moravians), living in the western and south-western part of the region, and

<sup>1</sup> Among recent publications see STAUTER-HALSTED, Keely: *The Genesis of Peasant National Identity in Austrian Poland, 1848–1914*. Ithaca (New York) – London 2001 (only about Galicia); BOŃCZA-TOMASZEWSKI, Nikodem: *Polskojęzyczni chłopci? Podstawowe problemy nowoczesnej historii chłopów polskich*. Kwartalnik Historyczny, 112, 2005, 2, pp. 91–111; ŁUCZEWSKI, Michał: *Odwieczny naród. Polak i katolik w Żmijce*. Toruń 2012, where further citations can be found.

<sup>2</sup> On the terms “Austrian Silesia” and “Cieszyn Silesia” see GAWRECKI, Dan: *Úvod*. In: GAWRECKI, Dan (ed.): *Dějiny Českého Slezska 1740–2000*. Vol. 1. Opava 2003, pp. 7–19; IDEM: *Granice i zmiany przynależności Śląska Cieszyńskiego do 1918 r.* In: SPYRA, Janusz (ed.): *Śląsk Cieszyński. Granice – przynależność – tożsamość*. Cieszyn 2008, pp. 15–24.

Poles. In terms of percentage, in 1869, Poles constituted 58.3% of Cieszyn Silesia residents, 21.4% were Czechs, and 20.3% were Germans. In 1890, Poles constituted 60.6% of Cieszyn Silesia residents, 25.2% were Czechs, and 14.2% Germans. In 1900, Poles constituted 60.7% of Cieszyn Silesia residents, 23.7% were Czechs, and Germans 15.5%. In 1910, Poles constituted 54.8% of inhabitants, Czechs 27.1%, and Germans 18.1%.<sup>3</sup>

The situation was also complex in terms of denomination. Most of the inhabitants were Roman Catholics (in 1869 – 162 920, that is 70.08%; in 1910 – 329 460, or 75.77%); the second religious group were Lutherans (in 1869 – 64 601, or 28.13%, in 1910 – 95 566, or 21.52%), the third largest group were Jews (in 1869 – 4 078, or 1.75%; in 1910, 10 965, or 2.52%).<sup>4</sup> The denominational and linguistic divisions overlap partially. In general, the Czech-speaking population was mostly Catholic, and the Catholics prevailed among the Polish-speaking and German-speaking population, but Lutherans were a significant minority.

This leads us to the question: what was the attitude of Polish-speaking Lutheran peasants from Cieszyn Silesia to the Polish national ideology? Contrary to appearances, this is not an issue which is important solely from the perspective of regional historiography. If, based on the example of Poland and Poles, one wants to build any sort of theory about national issues, then the Duchy of Cieszyn, due to its unique linguistic and religious structure, is an excellent litmus test verifying that theory's value. It is no coincidence that Józef Chlebowczyk (1924–1985), one of the greatest scholars of national issues in Polish historiography, took the history of Cieszyn Silesia as the starting point for his research.<sup>5</sup>

Returning to the question posed, as early as 1862, in the newspaper *Dziennik Literacki* published in Lviv, lawyer and journalist Ludwik Gumplowicz contrasted Catholics in Austrian Silesia (clinging to Germany) with Lutherans (rooted in Polishness) seeking the roots of this attitude in the

<sup>3</sup> PIĄTKOWSKI, Kazimierz: *Stosunki narodowościowe w Księstwie Cieszyńskim*. Cieszyn 1918, especially pp. 60–67, 292; NOWAK, Krzysztof: *Przemiany prawno-administracyjne, demograficzne, społeczno-zawodowe i narodowościowe*. In: NOWAK, Krzysztof – PANIC, Idzi (ed.): *Śląsk Cieszyński od Wiosny Ludów do I wojny światowej (1848–1918)*. Cieszyn 2013, p. 18. On censuses see also GAWRECKI, Dan: *Jazyk a národnost ve sčítáních lidu na Těšínsku v letech 1880–1930*. Český Těšín 2017.

<sup>4</sup> *Bevölkerung und Viehstand der im Reichsrath vertretenen Königreiche und Länder dann der Militärgrenze nach der Zählung vom 31. Dezember 1869*. Vol. 1. Wien 1871, pp. 230–231; MORYS-TWAROWSKI, Michael: *Stosunki wyznaniowe*. In: NOWAK, Krzysztof – PANIC, Idzi (ed.): *Śląsk Cieszyński od Wiosny Ludów do I wojny światowej (1848–1918)*. Cieszyn 2013, p. 302.

<sup>5</sup> WANATOWICZ, Maria Wanda (ed.): *Józef Chlebowczyk – badacz procesów narodotwórczych w Europie XIX i XX wieku*. Katowice 2007.

tradition of resistance in the face of religious oppression in the era of counter-reformation.<sup>6</sup> Also in Polish academic literature the view holds that, as a rule, Lutherans supported the Polish national movement.<sup>7</sup> In fact, religious divisions and national divisions did not overlap, but rather intersect.<sup>8</sup>

It is the author's belief that in order to clarify religious, ethnic and national ties in Cieszyn Silesia between the Spring of Nations and World War I, it would be advisable to analyze the attitudes of Lutheran pastors towards national issues. On the one hand, being people with great authority, they influenced the attitude of their congregation; on the other hand, the faithful often paid attention to a pastor's views on national issues when choosing which church to attend. The pastors who had been researched to date are solely those involved with the Polish national movement: Leopold Marcin Otto (1819–1882), pastor in Cieszyn in 1866–1875, and Franciszek Michejda (1848–1921), pastor in Nawsie (Czech: Návší), and one of the leaders of the German party in Cieszyn Silesia – Theodor Haase (1834–1909), pastor in Bielsko and Cieszyn, Silesian senior, and from 1882 Moravian-Silesian superintendent.<sup>9</sup> The rest were only described in concise biographies in various biographical compendia and mentions in monographs of the place where they served.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> GUMFLOWICZ, Ludwik: *Rocznik Ewangelicki*. Dziennik Literacki, 47, 13 June 1862. Also available on-line in: <http://gams.uni-graz.at/archive/objects/o:lgc-0f/methods/sdef:TEI/getPDF> [accessed 26 Oct. 2017].

<sup>7</sup> KUBICA-HELLER, Grażyna: *Luteranie na Śląsku Cieszyńskim. Studium historyczno-socjologiczne*. Bielsko-Biała 1996, p. 37; KISIELEWICZ, Danuta: *Kontynuowanie rodowych tradycji w polskich dążeniach i społecznych postawach śląsko-cieszyńskiego rodu Michejdów w XIX i XX wieku*. In: DAWID, Adriana – MAZIARZ, Antoni (ed.): *Rodzina na Śląsku w XIX i na początku XX wieku*. Opole 2011, pp. 190–191.

<sup>8</sup> I pointed this out earlier: MORYS-TWAROWSKI, Michael: *Jan Szygut – nauczyciel i działacz polityczny ze Śląska Cieszyńskiego*. Wieki Stare i Nowe, 6 (11), 2014, p. 111.

<sup>9</sup> About Leopold Otto see: STEGNER, Tadeusz: *Bóg, protestantyzm, Polska. Biografia pastora Leopolda Marcina Otto (1819–1882)*. Gdańsk 2000. About Franciszek Michejda see: MASZEWSKA, Ewa – MICHEJDA-PINNO, Barbara – MICHEJDA, Joanna (ed.): *O większą sprawę. Ks. Franciszek Michejda (1848–1921)*. Katowice – Bielsko Biała 2003. About Theodor Haase see: STEGNER, Tadeusz: *Pastor Teodor Haase na Śląsku Cieszyńskim. Przyczynek do dziejów protestantyzmu w XIX wieku*. In: GÓRNY, Marek (ed.): *Od Franciszka Józefa do małych ojczyzn. Tom poświęcony pamięci Zbigniewa Frasa*. Wrocław 2002, pp. 31–45; SCHWARZ, Karl: *Superintendent Theodor Haase – ein Protestant aus dem Teschenerland. Aus Anlass seines 100. Todestages*. In: CZYŻ, Renata – GOJNICZEK, Waław – SPRATEK, Daniel (ed.): *Trzysta lat tolerancji na Śląsku Cieszyńskim. W trzystulecie założenia kościoła Jezusowego w Cieszynie*. Cieszyn 2010, pp. 206–225.

<sup>10</sup> List of biographical entries of pastors from Cieszyn Silesia: *Elektroniczny Słownik Biograficzny Śląska Cieszyńskiego*. In: <http://slownik.kc-cieszyn.pl/index.php/content,592/> [accessed 27 Oct. 2017].

This article is devoted to Andrzej Krzywoń (1844–1911). He was born into a Polish family, but became involved with the German party and was regarded as an opponent of the Polish national movement in Cieszyn Silesia. He was a pastor in Międzyrzecze, and then in Skoczów. He was also a Silesian senior, and from 1909 the Moravian-Silesian superintendent, the most important position in the Lutheran Church in Austrian Silesia and Moravia. In literature, he has barely a few (usually brief) biograms, but he is undoubtedly a figure deserving much closer attention, and not just from regional historians.<sup>11</sup> Among Austrian crown lands, Austrian Silesia had the largest percentage of Lutherans, and the Moravian-Silesian superintendence was the largest one in Austria.<sup>12</sup> In other words, at the beginning of the 20th century, Andrzej Krzywoń was one of the most important figures in the Protestant Church in the entire Habsburg monarchy.

The genealogy of the Krzywoń family could only be reproduced until the first half of the 18th century. The family came from Dębowiec, a village located roughly halfway between Cieszyn and Skoczów. They belonged to a group of rich peasants known in Cieszyn Silesia as “siedlak” (Czech: sedlák; German: Ackerbauer; Polish: siedlak). The oldest known male ancestor of the pastor is Jan Krzywoń (a Lutheran) from Dębowiec Dolny, who on 28 October 1736 married Maria Michalska, daughter of Paweł, from the same village.<sup>13</sup> He was probably the same Jan Krzywoń who died on 4 January 1761 at the age of about 50 as the mayor of the village (“Iudex”) of Dębowiec.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Biographical entries of Andrzej Krzywoń: KNEIFEL, Eduard: *Die Pastoren der Evangelisch-Augsburgischen Kirchen in Polen*. Eging 1968, pp. 229–230; BRODA, Jan: *Dzieje parafii diecezji cieszyńskiej*. Cieszyn 1978, p. 69; NEUMANN, Karl Walter: *Die Gründung der evangelischen Kirchengemeinde Skotschau und ihre Pastoren bis 1945*. In: NEUMANN, Karl Walter (ed.): *Skotschau in Ostslesien. Geschichte – Erinnerung – Dokumentation*, [s.l.] 1984, pp. 155–158; GOLEC, Józef – BOJDA, Stefania: *Słownik biograficzny ziemi cieszyńskiej*. Vol. 3. Cieszyn 1998, pp. 138–139; NESS, Dietmar: *Schlesisches Pfarrerbuch*. Vol. 5. Leipzig 2015, pp. 460–461. See also MICHEJDA, Karol: *Dzieje Kościoła Ewangelickiego w Księstwie Cieszyńskim*, Cieszyn 1909 (2nd edition: *Dzieje Kościoła ewangelickiego w księstwie cieszyńskim (od reformacji do roku 1909)*. In: *Z historii Kościoła ewangelickiego na Śląsku Cieszyńskim*. Katowice 1992); WAGNER, Oskar: *Mutterkirche Vieler Länder. Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirche in Herzogtum Teschen 1545–1918/1920*. Hannover 1967 (later I cited the Polish translation: *Kościół macierzysty wielu krajów. Historia Kościoła Ewangelickiego w Księstwie Cieszyńskim w latach 1545–1918/20*. Translated by Łukasz Barański. Bielsko-Biała [2008]).

<sup>12</sup> WAGNER: *Kościół*, p. 440.

<sup>13</sup> Parafia rzymskokatolicka pw. św. Małgorzaty w Dębowcu [Parish of St. Margaret in Dębowiec] (later only PMD), Marriage Registers. Vol. 1. As a *siedlak* in Dębowiec Dolny he was described in: Biblioteka i Archiwum im. Tschammera w Cieszynie [Tschammer Library and Archive in Cieszyn] (later only BiAT), Marriage Registers. Vol. 1, p. 577.

<sup>14</sup> PMD, Death Registers. Vol. 1 (in the same volume as Marriage Registers. Vol. 2).

Their eldest son, Jerzy Krzywoń, on 13 October 1761, in the Protestant Church of Jesus in Cieszyn, married Maria Mrozik, the daughter of a cottager (Czech: domkář; German: Häusler; Polish: chałupnik) from Hażlach.<sup>15</sup> As a peasant in Dębowiec Dolny he was recorded in the urbarium (list of peasant duties) from 1770.<sup>16</sup> The eldest son of Jerzy was Jan Krzywoń (born 1763), who in 1791 bought out the family land in Dębowiec Dolny. He married Anna Lazar, with whom he had, among others, a son named Mateusz, born in 1799.<sup>17</sup>

He got his education at the Protestant secondary grammar school in Cieszyn,<sup>18</sup> and later, from 2 January 1817, he worked as a teacher in the Protestant school in Żuków Górny (Czech: Horní Žukov; today within the borders of Český Těšín).<sup>19</sup> The school was founded at the end of the 18th century,<sup>20</sup> and the pupils were taught “in Polish and a little in German.”<sup>21</sup> The rich peasants in Cieszyn Silesia reluctantly divided farms, trying to pass them on to one descendant.<sup>22</sup> For the peasants, regardless of whether they came from poorer or richer families, a fairly frequent chosen way to get the land was through marriage. This is also what Mateusz Krzywoń did. On 17 October 1820 Mateusz Krzywoń married Ewa Supik, the daughter of an innkeeper from the nearby village of Ropice (Polish: Ropica),<sup>23</sup> and in 1823

<sup>15</sup> BiAT, Marriage registers. Vol. 1, p. 577.

<sup>16</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Katowicach Oddział w Cieszynie [State Archive in Katowice Branch in Cieszyn] (later APC), Komora Cieszyńska [Cieszyn Chamber], sygn. 2565.

<sup>17</sup> APC, Komora Cieszyńska, sygn. 1942/273, p. 63; BiAT, Baptism Registers. Vol. 3, p. 622.

<sup>18</sup> BiAT, Archiwum Parafii Ewangelicko-Augsburskiej w Cieszynie, sygn. 1675, p. 12.

<sup>19</sup> Ośrodek Dokumentacyjny Kongresu Polaków w Republice Czeskiej (Český Těšín / Czeski Cieszyn) [Documentation Centre of the Polish Congress in the Czech Republic (Český Těšín / Czeski Cieszyn)], Schul-Chronik der II öffentlichen Volksschule zu Ober Žukau, Band I, pp. 252–253; KOCUR, Alfred: *Z dziejów szkolnictwa w Żukowie Górnym*. Zwrot 11 (348), November 1978, p. 51 (as Maciej Krzywoń).

<sup>20</sup> KUBACZ, Adam: *Wpływ reform terezańskich i józefińskich na rozwój szkolnictwa na Śląsku Cieszyńskim*. In: SPYRA, Janusz (ed.): *Książka – biblioteka – szkoła w kulturze Śląska Cieszyńskiego*. Cieszyn 2001, p. 150.

<sup>21</sup> KOTULA, Karol: *Jan Śliwka, pionier polskiego szkolnictwa na Śląsku Cieszyńskim*. Warszawa 1933, p. 29.

<sup>22</sup> KARPINIEC, Rudolf: *Włościańskie zwyczaje spadkowe na Śląsku Cieszyńskim*. Warszawa 1928, pp. 150, 153. See also: SÓJKA-ZIELIŃSKA, Katarzyna: *Prawne problemy podziału gruntów chłop-skich w Galicji na tle austriackiego ustawodawstwa agrarnego*. Warszawa 1966, pp. 133–135.

<sup>23</sup> BiAT, Marriage Registers. Vol. 2, pp. 260–261; Zemský archiv v Opavě [Land Archive in Opava] (later only ZAO), Sbirka matrik Severomoravského kraje (later only SMSK), sign. Ja V 1, Registers of Roman-Catholic Parish in Ropice 1785–1825, f. 134 (here datte 25 October 1820).

he moved to his wife's village, abandoning the poorly paid job of a teacher.<sup>24</sup> He farmed the land in Ropice, and in the years 1830–1834, according to parish registers, he was the village head.

Mateusz and Ewa had six children: Jan (baptism on 20 January 1822, died on 26 July 1825);<sup>25</sup> Paweł (baptism on 2 November 1824) – later a landowner in Vělopolí (Polish: Wielopole);<sup>26</sup> Jan (baptism 19 March 1826);<sup>27</sup> Anna (baptism 2 February 1828, died 20 February 1829);<sup>28</sup> Jerzy (born on 15 January 1830, died on 2 May 1830),<sup>29</sup> and Zuzanna (born on 5 April 1834).<sup>30</sup> Despite having six children, their relationship seems to not had been a happy one. Mateusz's wife abused alcohol and had a poor reputation. When she died on 20 August 1834, she was buried at the catholic cemetery in Ropice.<sup>31</sup> Shortly afterwards, her corpse was dug out under the cover of the night. Lutherans accused the local Catholics, who did not want a person of such reputation resting in a Catholic cemetery. Mateusz Krzywoń had to bury his wife for the second time, but her corpse was dug out yet again. This time, the perpetrators threw it into a burning lime kiln.<sup>32</sup>

Soon after these tragic events, Mateusz Krzywoń moved to nearby Strítež (Polish: Trzycieź), where he soon became village mayor. On 24 February 1835, he married Maria, daughter of Jerzy Janczar, a free peasant from Těrlicko

<sup>24</sup> Ośrodek Dokumentacyjny Kongresu Polaków w Republice Czeskiej (Český Těšín / Czeski Cieszyń) [Documentation Centre of the Polish Congress in the Czech Republic (Český Těšín / Czeski Cieszyń)], Schul-Chronik der II öffentlichen Volksschule zu Ober Žukau, Band I, pp. 252–253; KOCUR: *Z dziejów*, p. 51. See also: SZLAUR-BUJOK, Maria: *Wiślanie w szeregach nauczycielstwa szkół ludowych do 1918 roku*, Rocznik Wiślański, Vol. 3, 2011, p. 18.

<sup>25</sup> BiAT, Baptism registers. Vol. 4, pp. 701–702; ZAO, SMSK, sign. Ja V 1, Registers of Roman-Catholic Parish in Ropice 1785–1825, f. 199v.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., f. 103; BiAT, Baptism registers. Vol. 8, pp. 487–488.

<sup>27</sup> ZAO, SMSK, sign Ja V 3, Registers of Roman-Catholic Parish in Ropice 1826–1875, Baptism, p. 2.

<sup>28</sup> ZAO, SMSK, sign Ja V 3, Registers of Roman-Catholic Parish in Ropice 1826–1875, Baptism, p. 12; Deaths, p. 8.

<sup>29</sup> BiAT, Baptism registers. Vol. 4, pp. 959–960; ZAO, SMSK, sign Ja V 3, Registers of Roman-Catholic Parish in Ropice 1826–1875, Baptism, p. 24; Deaths, p. 11.

<sup>30</sup> ZAO, SMSK, sign Ja V 3, Registers of Roman-Catholic Parish in Ropice 1826–1875, Baptism, p. 48; BiAT, Baptism registers. Vol. 5, p. 10.

<sup>31</sup> ZAO, SMSK, sign Ja V 3, Registers of Roman-Catholic Parish in Ropice 1826–1875, Deaths, p. 24.

<sup>32</sup> *Na starym ligockim cmentarzu. Wspomnienie starego Sabelli*. Kalendarz Ewangelicki, 48, 1929, p. 86.

(Polish: Cierlicko), a pious Lutheran.<sup>33</sup> After 1847, Mateusz Krzywoń moved to Komorní Lhotka (Polish: Ligotka Kameralna) with his family, where he died on 27 August 1876.<sup>34</sup> His widow died on 1 September 1888. In her will she left a large sum of money (100 złoty) for the church in Międzyrzecze, whose first pastor was her son.<sup>35</sup>

Maria and Mateusz Krzywoń had seven children: Ewa (born 24 December 1835);<sup>36</sup> Jerzy (born on 3 December 1837, died in childhood);<sup>37</sup> Maria (born 5 September 1839, died 30 July 1841);<sup>38</sup> Karol (born on 13 May 1841, died 27 February 1931) – later a landowner in Střítež;<sup>39</sup> Andrzej (born 15, died 16 November 1842);<sup>40</sup> Andrzej (born 31 May 1844) – later a pastor,<sup>41</sup> and Jerzy (born on 26 December 1847).<sup>42</sup> They were a Polish-speaking family. All the villages in which they lived or from which their wives came (Dębowiec, Hażlach, Komorní Lhotka, Ropice, and Střítež) were inhabited by Polish-speaking populations.<sup>43</sup>

In the school year 1853/1854 Andrzej became a student of the Protestant secondary school in Cieszyn.<sup>44</sup> In 1861, aged only 17, he graduated with perfect grades. In the years 1861–1864 he studied theology at the University

<sup>33</sup> ZAO, SMSK, sign. ET I 9, Marriage registers of Evangelical Parish in Bludovice 1833–1884, f. 14v–15; „Nowy Czas”, 39, 24.09.1911, p. 318.

<sup>34</sup> ZAO, SMSK, sign. ET III 7, Deaths registers of Evangelical Parish in Komorní Lhotka 1859–1882, pp. 367–368.

<sup>35</sup> ZAO, SMSK, sign. ET III 10, Deaths registers of Evangelical Parish in Komorní Lhotka 1883–1911, pp. 123–124; Nowy Czas, 20, 20.10.1889, p. 158; Przyjaciół Ludu, 24, 15. 12. 1889, p. 193.

<sup>36</sup> BiAT, Baptism registers. Vol. 5, p. 87; ZAO, SMSK, sign. Ja VI 5, Registers of Catholic Parish in Střítež 1785–1899, f. 72v.

<sup>37</sup> BiAT, Baptism registers. Vol. 5, p. 200; ZAO, SMSK, sign. Ja VI 5, Registers of Catholic Parish in Střítež 1785–1899, f. 76.

<sup>38</sup> BiAT, Baptism registers. Vol. 5, p. 332; ZAO, SMSK, sign. Ja VI 5, Registers of Catholic Parish in Střítež 1785–1899, f. 215v.

<sup>39</sup> BiAT, Baptism registers. Vol. 5, p. 466; Posel Ewangelicki, 11, 14.03.1931, p. 4.

<sup>40</sup> BiAT, Baptism registers. Vol. 5, p. 598; ZAO, SMSK, sign. Ja VI 5, Registers of Catholic Parish in Střítež 1785–1899, f. 84v, 217.

<sup>41</sup> ZAO, SMSK, sign. Ja VI 5, Registers of Catholic Parish in Střítež 1785–1899, f. 89; BiAT, Baptism registers. Vol. 6, p. 48.

<sup>42</sup> BiAT, Baptism registers. Vol. 6, p. 343; ZAO, SMSK, sign. Ja VI 5, Registers of Catholic Parish in Střítež 1785–1899, f. 97.

<sup>43</sup> PANIC, Idzi: *Język mieszkańców Śląska Cieszyńskiego od średniowiecza do połowy XIX wieku*. Cieszyn 2016, especially p. 208.

<sup>44</sup> BiAT, Archiwum Parafii Ewangelicko-Augsburskiej w Cieszynie, sygn. 1676, p. 114.

of Vienna, and in the years 1864–1865 at the University of Heidelberg.<sup>45</sup> In 1865, he returned to Cieszyn Silesia. He immediately found himself at the center of a theological dispute between liberals (advocates of rational neo-protestantism) and conservatives. Together with his friend from secondary school, Jan Karzeł, he passed church exams and helped as a preacher in the Lutheran church in Cieszyn. Both young theologians were supporters of the liberal trend. Krzywoń's sermons often provoked outrage among some of the faithful. Among them was Jan Borbis, a teacher at the Lutheran secondary school. At his request, Jan Kalinčiak, deputy headmaster, moved the student's church services to the school hall "because of a theological abuse of the pulpit" and "inadequate guarantee of proclaiming a pure Gospel". A scandal broke out, and the case ended up in front of the Supreme Church Council in Vienna, which obliged Krzywoń and Karzeł to sign a pledge to "preach the teachings of the Holy Bible in line with the confession of the Church".<sup>46</sup>

As can be observed, from the very beginning Krzywoń took a firm stand in the theological dispute between liberals (supporters of rational neo-protestantism) and conservatives. The leader of the liberal trend in the Lutheran church in Cieszyn Silesia was Theodor Haase, a pastor in Bielsko (later, from 1876, in Cieszyn) and a Silesian senior. This German pastor born in Lviv supported the germanization of Cieszyn Silesia, while his main theological opponent, Cieszyn pastor Leopold Otto, was one of the pillars of the Polish national movement in Cieszyn Silesia. These theological and national divisions were to determine the fate of Protestants from this region for decades to come.

The matter of sermons delivered in the Cieszyn church did not have major consequences for the two young theologians. In September 1866, Karzeł

<sup>45</sup> Archiv der Universität Wien [Vienna University Archive], ThE 2.1, Mik. 711, No. 1068; *Schematismus der evangelischen Kirche Augsb. und Helvet. Bekenntnisses in den im Reichsrate vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern*. Wien 1875, p. 181; TOEPKE, Gustav (ed.): *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg*. Vol. 6 (1846–1870). Heidelberg 1907, p. 515; Nowy Czas, 39, 24.09.1911, p. 318.

<sup>46</sup> *Pogląd na stan i sprawy ewangelickiego zboru Cieszyńskiego w ostatnich latach*. Cieszyn 1869, pp. 10–11; Poseł Ewangelicki, 19, 13. 05. 1911, p. 2; BUŁAWA, Edward: *Jan Śliwka – droga do ruchu polskiego (Część II)*. Pamiętnik Cieszyński, 12, 1997, p. 57; WAGNER: *Kościół*, pp. 310–311. On friendship between Krzywoń and Karzeł see: Nowy Czas, 17, 2. 09. 1888, p. 133; 39, 24. 09. 1911, p. 318; Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung für Österreich, 19, 1. 10. 1911, p. 1. On dispute between Borbis and Haase see: SCHWARZ, Karl: *Eine Kirchenpolitische Affaire in Teschen. Johann Borbis vs. Samuel Schneider/Theodor Karl Haase*. In: MEYER, Dietrich (ed.): *Erinnertes Erbe. Beiträge zur schlesischen Kirchengeschichte. Festschrift für Christian-Erdmann Scott*. Mainz 2002 („Studien zur schlesischen und Oberlausitzer Kirchengeschichte” 8), pp. 257–269.



became a pastor in Skoczów,<sup>47</sup> and Krzywoń became a vicar in Bielsko three months later. In 1867, he was elected pastor of the newly founded church in Międzyrzecze, but due to his young age, he was unable to hold office. The congregation waited for their chosen pastor, and on 2 June 1868, three days after his 24th birthday, Andrzej Krzywoń was elected pastor again.<sup>48</sup>

In 1868 he married Toska Wolf, a German born in Bielsko whose parents came from Thuringia.<sup>49</sup> Toska enjoyed a good reputation, even among her husband's opponents.<sup>50</sup> They had four children. Their oldest son Bruno (1870–23 May 1945) graduated in theology studies in Vienna and Jena, was a vicar in Jihlava in Moravia, and later a teacher in Bielsko.<sup>51</sup> The younger Guido Horst (died after 1951) was a land administrator (German: Gutsverwalter), he died in Heidelberg.<sup>52</sup> Their older daughter Greta (Małgorzata) Marta (b. 2 July 1872) on 16 January 1898 married her cousin Paweł Gustaw Wałach, a pastor in Jaworze. When her husband died in 1907, she moved to Skoczów to live with her parents along with her children: Greta (b. 1898) and Bruno (b. 1900).<sup>53</sup> Younger daughter Toska (11 August 1875–1936) lived with her parents (as stated in the 1910 census), and died in Cieszyn.<sup>54</sup> The Krzywoń family spoke German at home – in a 1910 census of Skoczów residents, the entire Krzywoń household – his wife, two daughters, two grandchildren, the cook (Ewa Kruzołek from Godziszów), the maid (Maria Lapczyk from Skoczów), the vicar Karol Grycz and the pastor himself stated “German” in

<sup>47</sup> Nowy Czas, 17, 2.09.1888, p. 132; SZOTEK, Halina: *Skoczów. Szkice do monografii*. Skoczów 2017, p. 276.

<sup>48</sup> Nowiny Śląskie, 1, 27.06.1868, p. 4; *Schematismus der evangelischen Kirche Augsb. und Helvet: Bekenntnisse in den im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern*. Wien 1875, p. 181. See also: Nowy Czas, 39, 24. 09. 1911, p. 318.

<sup>49</sup> NEUMANN: *Die Gründung*, p. 158 (where misprint: 1 July 1888).

<sup>50</sup> Posel Ewangelicki, 21, 23. 03. 1931, p. 3.

<sup>51</sup> KNEIFEL: *Die Pastoren*, p. 118; BRODA: *Dzieje parafii diecezji cieszyńskiej*, p. 69; NEUMANN, p. 158.

<sup>52</sup> NEUMANN: *Die Gründung*, p. 158.

<sup>53</sup> Urząd Stanu Cywilnego w Skoczowie [Register Office in Skoczów], Metryki ślubów parafii ewangelicko-augsburskiej w Skoczowie 1890–1913, f. 190; APC, Akta Miasta Skoczowa, sygn. 82, No. 275; NEUMANN, p. 158. About Paweł Wałach see also: Przyjaciel Ludu, 4, 17. 02. 1907; BRODA, Paweł: *Na uczczenie drogiej pamiątki ks. Pawła Wałacha, byłego ewang. proboszcza w Jaworzu*, [s.l.] 1907; BRODA: *Dzieje parafii diecezji cieszyńskiej*, p. 80.

<sup>54</sup> APC, Akta Miasta Skoczowa, sygn. 82, No. 275; NEUMANN: *Die Gründung*, p. 158. According to Neumann she died in 1937 or 1938, but according to her gravestone she died in 1936. The photo of Toska's gravestone is available on-line: <http://cieszynewangelicki.artlookgallery.com/iac/zdjecia/1/7/1,218,JPG> [accessed 12 Jul 2018].

the rubric “everyday language” (colloquial)<sup>55</sup>. His eldest son Bruno is said to have been a German who did not know Polish.<sup>56</sup>

And while Krzywoń could easily be impressed by German culture – he studied in Vienna and Heidelberg and married a German woman – in the case of the Polish-speaking Protestant population in Cieszyn Silesia, the situation was more complex. Seemingly Haase and his supporters were fighting a lost cause. How do you convince a Polish speaking peasant (who often had little or no knowledge of the German language) that he is a German?

First of all, it was necessary to emphasize the positive aspect of Germanness. The fact was that acquiring an education and achieving social advancement was determined by the knowledge of German. It could be pointed out that successful people, especially those educated and from cities, speak German. German culture in this way became very attractive for the residents of the Cieszyn villages, especially after the abolition of serfdom in 1848, when the chance of social advancement became a tangible possibility for the peasant masses.<sup>57</sup>

Secondly, it was necessary to create the impression that Polishness is unappealing. Here, one could use the example of Galicia, where the peasantry was poorer and less educated. This was strengthened by the vision of a corrupt Polish nobility, squeezing the last penny from their subjects. In addition to that, the fact that Polishness was strongly associated with Catholicism was a valid argument for Protestants.<sup>58</sup>

Thirdly, it was necessary to torpedo postulates regarding language equality. Supporters of the Polish national movement in Cieszyn Silesia emphasized that they have the right to deal with administrative and judicial matters and to obtain an education in their own and their ancestors' languages. This caused resistance on the part of the German party, because linguistic equality would mean the end of germanization of Cieszyn Silesia.

Due to the fact that many residents of Cieszyn Silesia were able to read, the local press soon became the battlefield. The first newspapers were created in

<sup>55</sup> APC, Akta Miasta Skoczowa, sygn. 82, No. 275.

<sup>56</sup> Posel Ewangelicki, 39, 24.09.1910, p. 2.

<sup>57</sup> *Pamiętnik Pawła Stalmacha*. In: GRIM, Emanuel: Paweł Stalmach. Jego życie i działalność w świetle prawdy. Cieszyn 1910, p. 148.

<sup>58</sup> See also ŁAWRUSEWICZ, Izabela: *Stereotyp Polaka-katolika w świetle polskiej prasy Śląska Cieszyńskiego (druga połowa XIX w.)*. Sobótka. Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny, 65, 2010, 1, pp. 21–36; SPYRA, Janusz: *Polacy w oczach Polaków. „Czarna legenda” Galicji i jej mieszkańców w świadomości Polaków ze Śląska Cieszyńskiego przed pierwszą wojną światową*. In: ŁAZUGA, Waldemar – PACZOS, Sebastian (ed.): *Między polityką, historią a pamięcią historyczną*. Studia dziejów Polski okresu porozbiorowego. Poznań 2015, pp. 267–276.

1848. *Tygodnik Cieszyński* (English: *Cieszyn Weekly*), an organ of the Polish national movement, changed three years later into *Gwiazdka Cieszyńska* (English: *Cieszyn Star*). The editor almost from the very beginning was Paweł Stalmach, a Protestant married to a Catholic, who tried to ensure that denominational disputes did not break up the Polish camp.<sup>59</sup> *Nowiny dla Ludu Wiejskiego* (English: *News for the Rural People*), the second Polish title in Cieszyn Silesia and an organ of the pro-German faction, went out of business in 1849.<sup>60</sup> After almost 20 years, in 1868, it was decided to issue a biweekly, as an opposition to *Gwiazdka Cieszyńska*.

The newspaper was born in pains. Initially, it was supposed to be called *Nowy Czas* (English: *New Time*), but eventually it was decided on *Nowiny Śląskie* (English: *Silesian News*) so that it would not be associated too much with the liberal trend. The choice of the editor-in-chief was tricky. Two candidates resigned, the third did not know Polish. The fourth one, printer Karl (Karol) Prochaska, became the official editor, but the actual creator and head of the magazine was the pastor Theodor Haase, whose distinctive language errors gave him away.<sup>61</sup> One of the contributors to *Nowiny Śląskie* was Andrzej Krzywoń, who was regarded as the right hand of Haase.<sup>62</sup> Presumably, most of his correspondence (if not all) from *Międzyrzecze* came from him.<sup>63</sup> In response to the actions of the pro-German faction (Haase even led to the imprisonment of Paweł Stalmach), Andrzej Kotula, a lawyer and journalist associated with *Gwiazdka Cieszyńska*, wrote a lampoon entitled *Nowy krakowiak* (English: *New Cracovian*), in which he attacked people associated with Haas, including Andrzej Krzywoń, accusing him of shortcomings in faith ("He does not know God") and criticizing his young age ("And on his beard / There is still milk").<sup>64</sup>

*Gwiazdka Cieszyńska* and *Nowiny Śląskie* can be compared to boxers, who at first walk around the ring, stay at a distance and do not attack. It was

<sup>59</sup> HOMOLA-SKĄPSKA, Irena: „*Tygodnik Cieszyński*” i „*Gwiazdka Cieszyńska*” pod redakcją Pawła Stalmacha 1848–1887. Katowice–Kraków 1968.

<sup>60</sup> ZAHRAĐNIK, Stanisław: *Czasopiśmiennictwo w języku polskim na terenach Czechosłowacji 1848–1938*. Opole 1989, p. 122.

<sup>61</sup> *Gwiazdka Cieszyńska*, 14, 4. 04. 1868, p. 120; 15, 11. 04. 1868, p. 124; 22, 30.05.1868, p. 186; 24, 13. 06. 1868, p. 204; 26, 27. 06. 1868, p. 222; 29, 18. 07. 1868, p. 246. See also: ZAHRAĐNIK: *Czasopiśmiennictwo*, p. 125.

<sup>62</sup> WAGNER: *Kościół*, p. 356.

<sup>63</sup> E.g. *Nowiny Śląskie*, 6, 8. 07. 1868, p. 24.

<sup>64</sup> BUŁAWA, Edward: *Pierwsi szermierze ruchu narodowego na Śląsku Cieszyńskim*. Cieszyn 1998, pp. 164–165; BOGUS, Marzena: *Kotulowie i ich działania oświatowe na Śląsku Cieszyńskim w XIX i XX wieku*. Ostrava 2006, p. 147.

not until ten weeks that the exchange of blows began. The first hot spot was the announcement of a Polish “national game” (rally), which was planned to be organized on 6 September 1868 in Ropice, a village located near Cieszyn. The editors of *Nowiny Śląskie* did not see any sense in organizing such events, which is best reflected in the commentary that “Attempts and activities aimed to arouse national feelings are astonishing”.<sup>65</sup>

*Nowiny Śląskie* remained in circulation for 9 months and ceased to exist in March 1869. *Gwiazdka Cieszyńska* diplomatically did not dispute the texts from the last issue, stating: “With a live *Nowiny* we were fighting fights because we knew that there was a clique behind them. About the dead *Nowiny*, which at the hour of their death appear like a gladiator of freedom and great ideals, we will say nothing, because they would not be able to answer us. Fighting the dead is impossible, and it would be an ugly thing to hit a corpse”.<sup>66</sup>

In the autumn of 1877, Theodor Haase, then already a pastor in Cieszyn, decided for the second time to publish a Polish magazine, this time under the title *Nowy Czas* (English: *New Time*).<sup>67</sup> The target audience was mainly the Protestant population, and among the authors of the texts there were many clergymen. In 1885, thirteen out of seventeen pastors in Cieszyn Silesia collaborated with this magazine in some way; among them was Andrzej Krzywoń.<sup>68</sup> For the pro-German faction this was the last moment for a propaganda counter-offensive.

The Polish national camp was able to get its representatives to the State Diet (Czech: *Slezský zemský sněm*, German: *Schlesischer Landtag*, Polish: *Sejm Krajowy*) in Opava and to the Imperial Council in Vienna (Czech: *Říšská rada*, German: *Reichsrat*, Polish: *Rada Państwa*), founded further associations and began raising funds for the opening of the first Polish secondary school in Cieszyn Silesia. This was also the aim of *Macierz Szkolna Księstwa Cieszyńskiego*, an organization founded in 1885.<sup>69</sup>

Andrzej Krzywoń was also involved in the fight against the Polish national movement. He chose the best method in this case, scaring his supporters with the perspective of an invasion of bureaucrats from across the Biłka river. On 15 August 1881, he spoke at an assembly in Aleksandrowice near Bielsko, where nearly 200 people from several municipalities from the Bielsko county

<sup>65</sup> *Nowiny Śląskie*, 10, 5. 09. 1868, p. 40.

<sup>66</sup> *Gwiazdka Cieszyńska*, 14, 3. 04. 1869, p. 112.

<sup>67</sup> *ZAHRADEK: Czasopiśmiennictwo*, pp. 125–126.

<sup>68</sup> *Gwiazdka Cieszyńska*, 32, 8. 08. 1885, p. 329.

<sup>69</sup> DANIEL, Robert (ed.): *Polskości bastion. Szkice z przeszłości Macierzy*. Cieszyn 1985.

were present.<sup>70</sup> Gwiazdka Cieszyńska published a fragment of his speech there: "Our good officials would be rushed out and their seats would be occupied by Galicians themselves, and do you know what kind of people they are? When they meet someone, then they reply to a greeting no different than with "damn you". And do you know what kind of language is that highly pure, Galician-Polish, which the devil himself does not understand? You would renounce it later, but it would be too difficult, because neither in Silesia, nor in Galicia, it is difficult to find a man who would understand it even a little. And how good it is now with German, when you get a letter, then you go to the priest or to whichever land tenant, or best to "go to the Jew", there is one in every village, he will explain it all to you perfectly even without payment, what could be better?"<sup>71</sup>

On the pages of Gwiazdka Cieszyńska, Krzywoń was often reminded of these words, even after more than 20 years.<sup>72</sup> Shortly after the assembly in Aleksandrowice, Jan Cichy (who was present there), a member of the State Diet in Opava, made a proposal to thank the Silesian deputies in the Imperial Council in Vienna for their speech against linguistic equality.<sup>73</sup> Another deputy from Cieszyn Silesia reacted strongly, Father Ignacy Świeży, son of a peasant from Kończyce Wielkie near Cieszyn: "Concerning the applicant himself, Mr. Cichy, I must declare that I once read his appeal issued by him to Silesian voters. And in what language did he give this proclamation? Maybe in some Silesian dialect, when he says that people here do not understand Polish? Oh no, the message was written in the purest Polish language! And so it is not true what he says that our people do not understand Polish, and that he would not even dare to show himself in public with some dialect, or I am forced to suppose that he had a reason to wish that this proclamation would not be understood."<sup>74</sup> Eight years later, on 11 August 1889, at the funeral of the very same Jan Cichy, a sermon was delivered by Pastor Krzywoń – a sermon in Polish of course.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Gwiazdka Cieszyńska, 34, 20. 08. 1881, p. 347; 35, 27.08.1881, pp. 353–354.

<sup>71</sup> Gwiazdka Cieszyńska, 35, 27. 08. 1881, p. 353.

<sup>72</sup> Gwiazdka Cieszyńska, 11, 18. 03. 1882, p. 108; 16, 22. 04. 1882, p. 163; 22, 3. 06. 1882, p. 224; 51, 23. 12. 1882, p. 518; 20, 20. 05. 1905, p. 136.

<sup>73</sup> Gwiazdka Cieszyńska, 48, 26. 11. 1881, p. 483. On Jan Cichy see also: ŠÚSTKOVÁ, Hana: *Biografický slovník poslanců slezského zemského sněmu v Opavě (1861–1918)*. Ostrava 2006 (Biografický slovník Slezska a severní Moravy. Nová řada 8 (20) – Supplementum), p. 26.

<sup>74</sup> Gwiazdka Cieszyńska, 50, 10. 12. 1881, p. 503.

<sup>75</sup> Nowy Czas, 17, 1. 09. 1889, p. 132; Przyjacieli Ludu, 16, 18. 08. 1889, p. 180.

At the end of the 19th century, the choice for a church position in the Protestant Church was influenced by a struggle between supporters of the liberal trend and the pro-German side on the one hand, and the conservatives associated with the Polish national movement on the other. So happened in 1888. On 15 September, 78-year-old Paweł (Pavel, Paul) Terlica (Terlitza) died, a pastor in Goleiszów and a Silesian senior, originally from Moravia.<sup>76</sup> Fifteen days later there were elections that did not bring about a result. The second round was a battle between Krzywoń (11 votes) and Jan Pindór (8 votes), one of the three pastors in Cieszyn.<sup>77</sup> On 21 October 1888, Krzywoń was elected senior, defeating Pindór with a ratio of 14 to 9 votes. *Gwiazdka Cieszyńska*, an organ of the Catholic wing of the Polish national movement in Cieszyn Silesia, wrote directly about the victory of the German party and the defeat of the Polish national party.<sup>78</sup> The new senior took office on 25 November 1888 in Międzyrzecze. On this occasion, Krzywoń, an opponent of language equality and the Polish national movement, gave a sermon in Polish.<sup>79</sup>

Shortly thereafter, the new senior began to apply for the position of pastor in Skoczów, a town halfway between Cieszyn and Bielsko. On 11 November 1888, he gained support from the local presbytery.<sup>80</sup> In the election on 9 December, Józef Polwarczny from Bludovice (Polish: Błędowice) won with 132 votes (Krzywoń received 71).<sup>81</sup> It turned out that Polwarczny, a recent theology graduate, did not have the right to be elected, therefore, on 1 January 1889, a decision was made to repeat the election.<sup>82</sup> On 27 January 1889, Krzywoń won with 144 votes out of a total of 226.<sup>83</sup> On 14 May Krzywoń arrived in Skoczów, which thus became the seat of the Silesian seniorate. The installation of the new pastor took place on 19 May 1889.<sup>84</sup>

As a Silesian senior, Andrzej Krzywoń ceased to engage, at least as much as before, in political activity. The confirmation was the fact that he was elected unanimously for a second term in 1894.<sup>85</sup> The *Przyjaciel Ludu* (English:

<sup>76</sup> Parafia ewangelicko-augsburska w Goleiszowie [Evangelical Parish in Goleiszów], Death registers. Vol. 2 (1859–1889), p. 164; *Nowy Czas*, 19, 7. 10. 1888, p. 147.

<sup>77</sup> *Nowy Czas*, 19, 7. 10. 1888, p. 149; 20, 21. 10. 1888, p. 157; WAGNER, p. 438.

<sup>78</sup> *Nowy Czas*, 21, 4. 11. 1888, p. 165; *Gwiazdka Cieszyńska*, 43, 27. 10. 1888, p. 433.

<sup>79</sup> *Nowy Czas*, 23, 2. 12. 1888, p. 181.

<sup>80</sup> *Nowy Czas*, 22, 18. 11. 1888, p. 172.

<sup>81</sup> *Nowy Czas*, 24, 16. 12. 1888, p. 189.

<sup>82</sup> *Nowy Czas*, 1, 6. 01. 1889, p. 5.

<sup>83</sup> *Nowy Czas*, 3, 3. 02. 1889, p. 21; *Przyjaciel Ludu*, 3, 3. 02. 1889, p. 20.

<sup>84</sup> *Nowy Czas*, 10, 19. 05. 1889, p. 77.

<sup>85</sup> WAGNER: *Kościół*, p. 438; MORYS-TWAROWSKI: *Stosunki wyznaniowe*, p. 323.

Friend of the People), a press organ of Polish Protestants, published since 1885 by Pastor Franciszek Michejda of Návsí (Polish: Nawsie), commented on it in the following way: „Pastor senior Krzywoń in the first six years in office showed himself to be a guide and elder of our Silesian seniorate and church, that he wants to be fair to all, equally favourable to all, to equalize, alleviate contradictions, to institute among the brothers "the unity of spirit in peace". The unanimity of his choice was an expression that all of us wish that a brother should not despise his brother, that a brother should respect his brother's beliefs, that a brother should admonish his brother in a brotherly way, that a brother should be fair to his brother, that a brother should not see his brother as the enemy, [...] and all trust in him that in this direction he will continue to govern our seniorate more and more clearly. God willing!"<sup>86</sup>

A year later, pastor Andrzej Krzywoń was part of a group of 15 out of 18 town councilors in Skoczów who protested against the founding of a Polish secondary school in Cieszyn (it was opened in 1895).<sup>87</sup> Despite this, both on 14 October 1900,<sup>88</sup> and 21 October 1906, the Skoczów pastor was unanimously elected Silesian senior.<sup>89</sup> The increasingly ill Moravian-Silesian superintendent Theodor Haase, the undisputed leader of the pro-German Protestants in Cieszyn Silesia, said that Krzywoń would be his most worthy successor.<sup>90</sup>

With each passing year, the relations between the Polish and German parties in Cieszyn Silesia became more tense. In 1909, supporters of the pro-German party started a strong counter-offensive. On 13 February the first issue of the weekly *Ślązak* (English: The Silesian) appeared, published in Polish, but with a decidedly anti-Polish tone. Its editor-in-chief, teacher Józef Koźdoń, won the election to the State Diet in Opava in September, defeating priest Józef Londzin, leader of Polish Catholics in Cieszyn Silesia in the Bielsko constituency.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>86</sup> *Przyjaciół Ludu*, 24, 16. 12. 1894, p. 186–189 (quotation: p. 188).

<sup>87</sup> *Gwiazdka Cieszyńska*, 41, 12. 10. 1895, p. 409.

<sup>88</sup> *Przyjaciół Ludu*, 20, 21. 10. 1900, p. 159; 23, 2. 12. 1900, p. 183; WAGNER: *Kościół*, p. 438; MORYS-TWAROWSKI: *Stosunki wyznaniowe*, p. 323.

<sup>89</sup> *Nowy Czas*, 24, 25. 11. 1906, p. 188; *Przyjaciół Ludu*, 20, 21. 10. 1906, p. 156; 21, 4. 11. 1906 (*recte*: 22, 18. 11. 1906), p. 171; MORYS-TWAROWSKI: *Stosunki wyznaniowe*, p. 323.

<sup>90</sup> *Nowy Czas*, 9, 25. 04. 1909, p. 68; MORYS-TWAROWSKI: *Stosunki wyznaniowe*, p. 323.

<sup>91</sup> DOBROWOLSKI, Piotr: *Ugrupowania i kierunki separatystyczne na Górnym Śląsku i w Cieszyńskim w latach 1918–1939*. Warszawa – Kraków 1972; GAWRECKI, Dan: *Náboženské vyznání a polské národní hnutí na těšínském venkově v „dlouhém“ 19. století*. Těšínsko 61, 2018, 2, p. 33–34.

On 27 March 1909, Theodor Haase, longtime leader of the German faction and Moravian-Silesian superintendent, died. The choice for the most important position in the Lutheran church in Silesia and Moravia became another battlefield between supporters of the liberal and conservative movements, as well as supporters of the Polish and German factions. There was a surprising turn of events in all of this.<sup>92</sup>

Krzywoń, who come from an ethnically Polish family, became a candidate of the German party, while the Polish party supported Martin Modl, the son of a peasant from Mitterdorf in Carinthia. The situation was further complicated by the fact that Modl was a pastor in Bielsko, but it was this church that put forward Krzywoń's candidacy. In turn, the presbytery of the church in Opava was the first one to suggest Modl, and it was supported by all congregations in Moravia. Also the *Przyjaciół Ludu*, an organ of Polish Protestants, supported Modl. The newspaper pointed out that the Carinthian is a conservative in religious matters and does not dabble in national issues.<sup>93</sup> It is worth noting that Modl was a school colleague of pastor Karol Michejda from Bystřice (Polish: Bystrzyca), an important figure among Polish Protestants, brother of Franciszek, a pastor in Návsí and publisher of *Przyjaciół Ludu*.<sup>94</sup> The election campaign was fierce, including both parties accusing each other of giving false information about the resignation of the competitor.<sup>95</sup>

In the elections that took place on 16 May 1909, Andrzej Krzywoń received 29 votes, and Martin Modl 19.<sup>96</sup> On 12 August, Emperor Franz Joseph approved the choice of Krzywoń.<sup>97</sup> Jan Stonawski, son-in-law of Franciszek Michejda, argued in *Przyjaciół Ludu* that for Polish protestants, the result of the election is not bankruptcy, but an honourable failure.<sup>98</sup> But this was just putting on a brave face. On 5 September 1909, the installation of a new superintendent took place in Skoczów.<sup>99</sup> On 1 October 1909, pastor Andrzej Głajcar from Drogomyśl, a prominent representative of the pro-

<sup>92</sup> MORYS-TWAROWSKI: *Stosunki wyznaniowe*, p. 324.

<sup>93</sup> *Przyjaciół Ludu*, 9, 2. 05. 1909, p. 69–71.

<sup>94</sup> APC, K.k. Katholisches Gymnasium in Teschen, sygn. 47 (register from 1871/72), Class 5 No. 14 (Karol Michejda), 25 (Martin Modl); sygn. 48 (register from 1872/73), Class 6 No. 10 (Karol Michejda), 11 (Martin Modl); Programm des k. k. (vereinigten) Staats-Gymnasiums in Teschen 1875/76, p. 69

<sup>95</sup> *Nowy Czas*, 9, 25. 04. 1909, p. 69; *Przyjaciół Ludu*, 9, 2.05.1909, p. 71.

<sup>96</sup> *Przyjaciół Ludu*, 11, 6. 06. 1909.

<sup>97</sup> *Nowy Czas*, 18, 29. 08. 1909, p. 142.

<sup>98</sup> *Przyjaciół Ludu*, 12, 22. 06. 1909, p. 99.

<sup>99</sup> BiAT, Archiwum Parafii Ewangelicko-Augsburskiej w Cieszynie, sygn. 430 (invitation for ceremony); *Nowy Czas*, 19, 12. 09. 1909, p. 149; *Przyjaciół Ludu*, 18, 19.09.1909, pp. 148–149.



German Protestant party, publisher of the *Nowy Czas*, was elected Silesian senior, the position left vacant by Krzywoń.<sup>100</sup>

After the election, Krzywoń finally dropped any pretence of neutrality. It is symbolic that when the Czech Evangelický Církevník described him as a Pole, the *Posel Ewangelicki*, an organ of Polish Lutheran nationalists, rectified this information and stated that Krzywoń was a German.<sup>101</sup> *Opavský týdeník* called him “a Polish renegade” („był polský odrodilec“).<sup>102</sup> *Kurier Lwowski* wrote succinctly: “based on his convictions, he was a German.”<sup>103</sup>

The new superintendent also turned out to be vindictive. He blocked the election of Oskar Michejda for pastor in Jaworze, because the congregation in Bystrice, whose pastor was Karol Michejda, Oskar's father, voted against him.<sup>104</sup> In Stare Bielsko, he approved the election of pastor Hugo Bartling, brother-in-law of his son Bruno, even though he did not speak Polish, although this language was used by over 10% of the faithful.<sup>105</sup> He did not agree that the Czech church in Hodslavice collect a contribution for the construction of a school in Mořkov in the Silesian congregations.<sup>106</sup> Paweł Sikora, a traveling preacher in Cieszyn Silesia, sympathetic to the Polish national movement, was deprived of his position – a decision which Krzywoń supported.<sup>107</sup>

Disintegration threatened even the Moravian-Silesian superintendence itself. Krzywoń himself calmed the situation with a special circular letter, when at the same time the Germans organized the “first German-Lutheran people's rally” in Olomouc.<sup>108</sup> The Polish newspaper *Posel Ewangelicki* admitted that the superintendence boundaries were artificial, because they were designated in 1784 in accordance with the contemporary administrative division, when Moravia and Austrian Silesia were one governorate. On the other hand though, the newspaper opposed postulates of a division of the

<sup>100</sup> *Nowy Czas*, 20, 26. 09. 1909, p. 153; 21, 10. 10. 1909, p. 166; WAGNER: *Kościół*, p. 438.

<sup>101</sup> *Posel Ewangelicki*, 53, 31. 12. 1910, p. 5.

<sup>102</sup> *Opavský týdeník*, 73, 20. 09. 1911, p. 4.

<sup>103</sup> *Kurier Lwowski*, 428, 20. 09. 1911, p. 5

<sup>104</sup> *Posel Ewangelicki*, 49, 3. 12. 1910, p. 3. See also: *Posel Ewangelicki*, 1, 1. 01. 1910, pp. 2–3; 46, 12. 11. 1910, p. 2–3; 27, 8. 07. 1911, p. 1; ŁAWRUSEWICZ, Izabela: *Wybory pastorów ewangelickich w drugiej połowie XIX w. w świetle polskiej prasy Śląska Cieszyńskiego*. Sobótka. Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny, 68, 2013, pp. 35–36.

<sup>105</sup> *Posel Ewangelicki*, 1, 1. 01. 1910, p. 4; 18, 29. 04. 1910, p. 1–2.

<sup>106</sup> *Evangelický Církevník*, 2, 1911 (*non vidi*); *Posel Ewangelicki*, 7, 18. 02. 1911, p. 5.

<sup>107</sup> *Posel Ewangelicki*, 17, 29. 04. 1911, p. 2. About this case see: *Nowy Czas*, 28, 10. 07. 1910, p. 224; *Posel Ewangelicki*, 41, 8. 10. 1910, p. 3; 46, 12. 11. 1910, p. 1–2; 51, 17. 12. 1910, p. 5; GOLEC – BOJDA: *Słownik*, Vol. 2, p. 209.

<sup>108</sup> *Posel Ewangelicki*, 25, 18. 06. 1910, p. 1–2.

superintendency, because the Germans wanted the German congregations to border terrains sympathising with Germany (German: Deutschfreundliche Gemeinden), in other words – those inhabited largely by a Polish population.<sup>109</sup>

On 23 April 1911, Lutherans associated with the Polish national movement organized a rally in Cieszyn, where Andrzej Krzywoń and Andrzej Glajcar were criticized. The two took a few participants of the rally to court. Defendants were represented by attorney Jan Michejda, brother of the pastors Franciszek and Karol Michejda. The case ended in 1912 with a settlement.<sup>110</sup>

By that time, Andrzej Krzywoń was no longer among the living. In August 1911, the deputy of the seriously ill superintendent became Pastor Arthur Schmidt from Bielsko.<sup>111</sup> Krzywoń died in Skoczów on 16 September 1911 at 6pm.<sup>112</sup> He was buried at the new Lutheran cemetery there.<sup>113</sup>

It would be unfair to present Krzywoń only in the context of his attitude towards national issues. He had an excellent reputation among Protestants in Cieszyn Silesia, as evidenced by the fact that he participated four times in Lutheran General Synods (1889, 1895, 1901, 1907).<sup>114</sup> From 1889, he was a member of the National School Council in Bielsko,<sup>115</sup> and in 1907 he was elected a member of the National School Council in Opava.<sup>116</sup> In 1898 he received the Imperial Austrian Order of Franz Joseph (German: Kaiserlich-Österreichischer Franz-Joseph-Orden).<sup>117</sup> In 1911, the Theological Faculty of the University of Vienna honored him with an honorary doctorate.<sup>118</sup>

He was also active in local communities. In Międzyrzecze, he was the co-founder and the first president of the Fruit Growing Society (German: Obst-Verein) founded in 1879.<sup>119</sup> In Skoczów in 1903, he founded a new Lutheran

<sup>109</sup> Posel Ewangelicki, 26, 25. 06. 1910, p. 1–2.

<sup>110</sup> Posel Ewangelicki, 17, 29. 04. 1911, p. 4; 27, 8. 07. 1911, p. 3; BUZEK, Andrzej: *Z ziemi piastowskiej*. Warszawa 1963, pp. 57–58.

<sup>111</sup> Gwiazdka Cieszyńska, 65, 16. 08. 1911, p. 2.

<sup>112</sup> Urząd Stanu Cywilnego w Skoczowie, Metryki zgonów parafii ewangelicko-augsburskiej w Skoczowie 1910–1945, k. 9; Gwiazdka Cieszyńska, 75, 20. 09. 1911, p. 3; Posel Ewangelicki, 38, 23. 09. 1911, p. 1.

<sup>113</sup> Posel Ewangelicki, 38, 23. 09. 1911, p. 1; Nowy Czas, 39, 24. 09. 1911, p. 319.

<sup>114</sup> WAGNER: *Kościół*, p. 439. Nowy Czas, 9, 25. 04. 1909, p. 68, wrote about five.

<sup>115</sup> Przyjaciel Ludu, 19, 6. 10. 1889, p. 155; Nowy Czas, 20. 10. 1889, p. 158; 9, 25. 04. 1909, p. 68.

<sup>116</sup> Nowy Czas, 9, 25. 04. 1909, p. 68.

<sup>117</sup> Gwiazdka Cieszyńska, 50, 1898, p. 524; Nowy Czas, 39, 24. 09. 1911, p. 318.

<sup>118</sup> Nowy Czas, 17, 23. 04. 1911; Posel Ewangelicki, 20, 20. 05. 1911, p. 5.

<sup>119</sup> Neuigkeits Welt Blatt, 229, 4. 10. 1879, p. 11.

cemetery.<sup>120</sup> In 1904, he was among the co-founders of the Lutheran House for Orphans in Skoczów. In 1906, there were 17 children in the orphanage, 19 in 1908, and 20 in 1910. It is demonstrative that all children in the 1910 census have the word "German" in the language rubric, even though, judging by their place of origin, a significant part of them (if not all of them) were from Polish families.<sup>121</sup> For several terms, he was a member of the municipal department in Skoczów.<sup>122</sup> He was charitable, as exemplified especially by his work with the Gustav Adolf Society (German: Gustav-Adolf-Verein).<sup>123</sup> He was characterized by Andrzej Buzek (1885–1971) a pastor in Frýdek in 1908–1918 associated with the Polish national movement: "He was a reasonable, stable, honest man and held the office of Silesian senior for 21 years to general satisfaction".<sup>124</sup>

Andrzej Krzywoń's biography is not only an exemplification of the attitudes of some Protestant pastors in Cieszyn Silesia towards national issues – that despite their Polish origins they were supporters of the pro-German faction. It shows how, over the years, polarization of national attitudes was growing among the inhabitants of Cieszyn Silesia. The turning point was the year 1895, when local Poles managed to create a Polish secondary school in Cieszyn, the first one in the region. In 1903, the school was nationalized, and in 1904 parallel Polish classes were created at the German teacher's seminary in Cieszyn (in 1910 they were transformed into a Teacher Seminary in Bobrek near Cieszyn).<sup>125</sup> The pro-German party had to move to a counter-offensive if it wanted to continue the germanization of Cieszyn Silesia. Such a move was the establishment in 1909 of the pro-German Silesian People's Party, whose candidate, teacher Józef Koźdoń, won in the election to the State Diet in Opava the same year.

These disputes were also reflected in the Lutheran Church. As early as 1906, Krzywoń was unanimously elected Silesian senior, also with the

<sup>120</sup> BRODA, Jan: *Parafia ewangelicko-augsburska w Skoczowie*. In: BISZORSKI, Edward (ed.): *Dzieje Skoczowa od zarania do współczesności*. 2nd edition. Skoczów 1993, p. 75; SZOTEK, p. 276.

<sup>121</sup> APC, Akta Miasta Skoczowa, sygn. 82, nr 246; *Przyjaciół Ludu*, 4, 21. 02. 1904, p. 30; 21, 6. 11. 1904, p. 227; *Nowy Czas*, 24, 20. 11. 1904, p. 191; 10, 13. 05. 1906, pp. 77–78; WAGNER: *Kościół*, pp. 472–473; BRODA: *Parafia ewangelicko-augsburska w Skoczowie*, p. 75.

<sup>122</sup> *Nowy Czas*, 15, 5. 08. 1894, p. 115; *Gwiazdka Cieszyńska*, 75, 20. 09. 1911, p. 3.

<sup>123</sup> *Nowy Czas*, 14, 20. 07. 1890, p. 111; 12, 21. 06. 1891, p. 93; 11, 3. 06. 1894, p. 84; *Przyjaciół Ludu*, 12, 15. 06. 1890, p. 89; 12, 22. 06. 1909, p. 96.

<sup>124</sup> BUZEK: *Z ziemi*, p. 48.

<sup>125</sup> GRUCHAŁA, Janusz – NOWAK, Krzysztof: *Dzieje polityczne*. In: NOWAK, Krzysztof – PANIC, Idzi (ed.): *Śląsk Cieszyński od Wiosny Ludów do I wojny światowej (1848–1918)*. Cieszyn 2013, pp. 102–103, 118.

support of the Polish national movement. Three years later, when he became the Moravian-Silesian superintendent, the situation was completely different. The temperature of disputes, judging by the press and memoirs from that time, increased significantly. In the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, no model of functioning of the administration, judiciary and education was created which would satisfy all nationalities. The quarrels in this respect not only divided the Lutheran Church in Cieszyn Silesia, but became one of the causes of the breakup of the Habsburg monarchy in 1918.

### SUMMARY

*PASTOR ANDRZEJ KRZYWOŃ (ANDREAS KRZYWON),  
MORAVIAN-SILESIA SUPERINTENDENT,  
AND HIS ATTITUDE TOWARDS NATIONAL ISSUES*

The article presents a biography of Andrzej Krzywoń (1844–1911), a pastor in Międzyrzecze and Skoczów in Cieszyn Silesia, a Silesian senior, and from 1909 a Moravian-Silesian superintendent. He was one of the most important figures in the The Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in the Habsburg Empire at the beginning of the 20th century. I pay special attention to his attitude towards national issues. Krzywoń came from an ethnically Polish family, he studied in Vienna and Heidelberg. After returning to Cieszyn Silesia, he became involved with the (pro)German faction, similarly to most pastors in the region. In elections for Silesian senior he even obtained the support of proponents of the Polish national movement. After being elected in 1909 as Moravian-Silesian superintendent, he abandoned political neutrality and actively combated the Polish national movement.

His biography is an example of the radicalization of political moods in the Habsburg Empire. It also illustrates the attitudes of the majority of Lutheran pastors in Cieszyn Silesia. Until now, there was a false conviction among researchers that that in this region, Lutherans in general supported the Polish national movement, and the Catholics supported the German party.

**Keywords:** Cieszyn Silesia – protestantism – Austria–Hungary – nation studies

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