

CHAPTER ONE

THE POSITION ADOPTED BY POLISH AND GERMAN EVANGELICALS ON THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

ELŻBIETA ALABRUDZIŃSKA

The period of the partition of Poland caused such a significant shift in Polish Protestantism that one can describe it as a formation of a completely new image of the Evangelical society. The transitions predominantly concerned the high increase in the Evangelical population due to colonisation and the change of the legal status of churches. In the Prussian Partition, an almost fully German and nationalistic image of Protestantism was formed, while, paradoxically, the largest groups of Evangelicals of Polish nationality were located outside of the borders of partitioned Poland. In the Russian and Austrian Partitions, assimilative processes led to a diversification of political attitudes among Protestants.¹

The First World War caused a polarisation of national and political attitudes. As an after-effect of the military conflict, problems of a nationalistic nature were significantly intensified in Evangelical churches. In a sense, the war forced the Protestants to unambiguously endorse either the Polish or the German nationality. It also antagonised the two national and political attitudes, which were most visible in parishes of a mixed national composition. The German population underwent processes of strengthening their national identity and increasing their sense of unity with the Reich.²

¹ The chapter includes excerpts from the monograph of E. Alabrudzińska, *Protestantyzm w Polsce w latach 1918–1939* (Toruń: Adam Marszałek, 2004); E. Alabrudzińska, *Juliusz Bursche (1862–1942)—zwierzchnik Kościoła ewangelicko-augsburskiego w Polsce: Biografia* (Toruń: Adam Marszałek, 2010).

² T. Zöckler, *Das Deutschtum in Galizien* (Dresden: Heimat und Welt, 1915), 102; T. Stegner, *Polacy i Niemcy w Kościele ewangelicko-augsburskim w latach I*

A consequence of this situation was a clearly diversified attitude of the Evangelical churches towards the creation of an independent Polish nation. The events of this critical period led to the national and political self-identification of the churches. Numerous times, religious communities accepted firm stances on the nationality of the regions they operated in, in many ways also trying to influence the shape of the borders of Poland. Protestant churches became actively involved in the dispute concerning the shape of the Polish borders as two branches supporting the opposing sides. The Polish evangelic community welcomed the regaining of independence with great joyfulness and enthusiasm. The spontaneous reactions were reflected by both the protestant press and the ecclesiastical institutional documents. The Evangelical-Reformed Congregation of Warsaw accepted an official position in regard to the revival of Polish statehood on October 29, 1918,³ while on November 18, 1918, in a canon of “the restitution of the rights of the Synod,” the Evangelical-Reformed Synod in Vilnius underlined its inseparable affiliation to the Polish State.⁴ Even though the declaration was a unilateral act and not legally valid, especially since the power of the Polish state did not extend to the Vilnius region before April 6, 1922, the canon of “the restitution of the rights of the Synod” had a significant political aspect.

In November 1918, Polish Lutherans became actively involved in the dispute concerning the shape of the borders. In their actions, the Superior of the Evangelical-Augsburg Church in Poland Juliusz Bursche and the Polish clergy predominantly focused on territories inhabited largely by Polish Evangelicals: Cieszyn Silesia and East Prussia. They also became involved in the regions of Upper Silesia, Pomerania and Greater Poland. The matters of this involvement were discussed during meetings of members of the Evangelical-Augsburg and Evangelical-Reformed churches organised from mid-November 1918. This area of activity of General Superintendent J. Bursche, especially the issue of Masuria, was a continuation of his activity during the period of partition when he

wojny światowej, “Zeszyty Naukowe Wydziału Humanistycznego Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego” (1986): 40.

³ The Library of the University of Warsaw, the Manuscript Department (1123). Fragments of declarations published in: J. Glass, *Ewangelicy Polacy w świetle dokumentów urzędowych*, (Łódź: Hessen i Manitius, 1919), 40–2; The Archives of Modern Records in Warsaw (later called “AAN”); The Presidency of the Council of Ministers (10800/19).

⁴ The Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, F 40 (6); See E. Alabrudzińska, *Kościół ewangelicki na Kresach Wschodnich II Rzeczypospolitej* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 1999), 187–8.

continuously referred to the concept and course of action of the priest L. Otto. The concept describes Masurians as Poles who have lost their national identity and are thus especially vulnerable to the influence of Germanisation, including the Evangelical-Union Church. From the very beginning of the twentieth century, this was the argument behind General Superintendent J. Bursche's attempt to revive the Polish spirit among Masurians.⁵

The common sessions of the Evangelic-Augsburg and Evangelic-Reformed churches soon resulted in the creation of an "interdenominational" commission, the purpose of which was to prepare content about the situation of Silesian and Masurian evangelicals for the peace conference.⁶ On November 27, 1918, the first public session of the "interdenominational" commission ended with the adoption of a resolution demanding the incorporation of the regions of Masovia, Prussian Silesia and Cieszyn Silesia into Poland, without holding a referendum. The undertaking had two purposes: an intra-state purpose (obtaining a guarantee of full religious tolerance to the Evangelical population of Masuria and Silesia from the Polish authorities) and an international purpose (convincing the nations participating in the Versailles Peace Conference about the need to incorporate the said regions into Poland).⁷

At the beginning of December of 1918 it became clear to everyone that the concepts concerning Cieszyn Silesia were not at all in limbo. The initiative to incorporate the region into the Polish state was coming from Cieszyn Silesia itself. The Lutheran community, which was powerful in the region, was led by the priest F. Michejda, the author of a document called *Głos polskiego duchowieństwa ewangelickiego w sprawie przyłączenia Śląska wschodniego (Księstwa Cieszyńskiego) do Polski* [*The Voice of the Polish Evangelical Clergy in Regard to the Incorporation of*

⁵ W. Gastpary, *Biskup Bursche i sprawa polska* (Warszawa: Novum, 1972), 49–52; T. Stegner, *Ewangelicy warszawscy 1815–1918* (Warszawa: Semper, 1993), 137. For the state of the Evangelical Church in Masuria see W. Hubatsch, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche Ostpreussens* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1968), 379 sqq.

⁶ W. Gastpary, *Protestantyzm w Polsce w dobie dwóch wojen światowych, cz. I: 1914–1939* [*Protestantism in Poland in the Age of the Two World Wars, Part I: 1914–1939*] (Warszawa: Chrześcijańska Akademia Teologiczna, 1978), 52; A. Kleindienst, O. Wagne, *Der Protestantismus in der Republik Polen 1918/19 bis 1939 im Spannungsfeld von Nationalitätenpolitik und Staatskirchenrecht, kirchlicher und nationaler Gegensätze* (Marburg/Lahn: Herder-Institut, 1985), 72.

⁷ W. Gastpary, *Biskup Bursche*, 53; K. Karski, *Ewangelicy polscy wobec odzyskania niepodległości w 1918 roku* (Warszawa: a typescript made available in the Library of the Evangelical-Reformed Synod in Warsaw), 2.

Eastern Silesia (the Duchy of Cieszyn) into Poland], published on December 3, 1918. It was signed by 23 Evangelical priests from the region of Cieszyn Silesia. The document underlines the Polish identity of Cieszyn Silesia in terms of geography, history and ethnography. It also points to the Polish identity of Silesian Protestantism.⁸ At the same time, the clergy of Cieszyn Silesia initiated concentrated operations with the purpose of subjugating Silesian parishes to the Evangelical-Augsburg Consistory of Warsaw.

On January 23, 1919, General Superintendent J. Bursche received a telegram from the Polish National Committee in which he was asked to come to Paris to represent Polish-Evangelical matters. He also spoke about the matter with Chief of State Józef Piłsudski and Prime Minister Ignacy Paderewski. This way, the superior of the church became one of the three people delegated by the Polish state to present the viewpoint of Polish protestants during the Paris Peace Conference. Next to the General Superintendent, those were professor Józef Buzek, a lawyer and economist from Cieszyn Silesia, and Wawrzyniec Puttkamer, the President of the Synod of the Evangelic-Reformed Church of Vilnius. The superior of the Evangelic-Augsburg church left Warsaw on February 5, 1919.⁹

General Superintendent J. Bursche campaigned for Polish postulates during his journey to Paris, *inter alia* holding discussions in the United States Embassy in Bern. From Paris Railway Station, he travelled to President Woodrow Wilson's headquarters in the hope of speaking to him directly, but he only had the opportunity of presenting the matter to the secretary.¹⁰ The General Superintendent stayed in Paris until May 11, 1919, holding discussions with members of the delegations of the United States, the United Kingdom and France. For instance, he tried to convince American delegate Isaiah Bowman that, at the time, it was impossible to hold a referendum in Masuria that would provide reliable results. Along with the other Protestant delegates, he submitted three documents to the participants of the conference: the aforementioned *Głos polskiego duchowieństwa ewangelickiego w sprawie przyłączenia Śląska wschodniego (Księstwa Cieszyńskiego) do Polski* [*The Voice of the Polish Evangelical Clergy in Regard to the Incorporation of Eastern Silesia (the Duchy of Cieszyn) into Poland*], Professor J. Buzek's memorial entitled

⁸ *Głos polskiego duchowieństwa ewangelickiego w sprawie przyłączenia Śląska wschodniego (Księstwa Cieszyńskiego) do Polski*, J. Glass, *Ewangelicy Polacy*, 65–9.

⁹ W. Gastpary, *Biskup Bursche*, 46–8; K. Karski, *Ewangelicy polscy*, 4; A. Tokarczyk, *Ewangelicy Polscy* (Warszawa: Interpress, 1988), 104–5.

¹⁰ W. Gastpary, *Biskup Bursche*, 47.

Protestanci polscy a zagadnienie zachodnich granic Polski [Polish Protestants and the Issue of the Western Borders of Poland], devoted predominantly to the role of the Prussian Evangelical-Union Church of the Eastern provinces of Prussia in Germanisation, and *Memoriał w sprawie ewangelików polskich* [The Memorial Concerning Polish Evangelicals],¹¹ appositely elaborated by General Superintendent J. Bursche.

The remaining members of the consistory showed full support for the Superior of the Evangelical-Augsburg Church. This support is best exemplified by *Memoriał Konsystorza ewangelicko-augsburskiego w Warszawie w przedmiocie Mazowsza pruskiego* [The Memorial of the Evangelical-Augsburg Consistory of Warsaw in regard to Prussian Masovia], issued in French and English, which found it necessary to incorporate the eight Southern counties of Eastern Prussia into Poland. The memorial was oriented directly at the Triple Entente and was submitted to its diplomatic representatives.¹² Even after the return of General Superintendent J. Bursche to the country, Polish Protestant communities followed the deliberations of the Paris Peace Conference closely. Multiple times, members of the Evangelical-Augsburg Consistory in Warsaw spoke out about the issue of the so-called Evangelical borderlands. For example, during his speech delivered during the opening of the first consistory session held in independent Poland on March 20, 1919, J. Glass, the consistory president, touched on the issue of Masuria, strongly opposing a referendum. He described the demands to hold a referendum as completely incomprehensible.¹³

The resolutions of the Treaty of Versailles marked a defeat for the Polish Protestants involved in the deliberations of the Paris Peace Conference. In particular, the conclusions concerning the fate of the regions focused on the efforts of the evangelicals, namely the regions of Masuria and Silesia, were especially disadvantageous to Poland. The issue of Cieszyn Silesia remained unsettled. In the summer of 1919, Polish Protestants were still making big diplomatic efforts in Paris in regards to this region, but those were made without the direct involvement of

¹¹ AAN, Ignacy Paderewski Archives (772); AAN, the Polish Embassy in London (883); "Memoriał Superintendenta Generalnego Warszawskiego Ewangelicko—Augsburskiego Okręgu Konsystorskiego, Paryż, dnia 14 lutego 1919 r.," W. Gastpary, *Ewangelicy Polacy*, 74–6; W. Gastpary, *Biskup Bursche*, 47.

¹² "Ludność polska w Prusiech Wschodnich," W. Gastpary, *Ewangelicy Polacy*, 87–92.

¹³ "Przemówienie prezesa konsystorza ewangelicko-augsburskiego w Warszawie, przy otwarciu konsystorza w dniu 20 marca r. 1919," W. Gastpary, *Ewangelicy Polacy*, 87–92.

General Superintendent J. Bursche. The conversations were led by the priest Karol Kulisz and Józef Mamica.¹⁴

The attitude of German evangelicals towards the Treaty of Versailles presented itself differently. The Evangelical-Union Church, hitherto an integral part of the so-called Evangelical Church of the Old Prussian Union, was a typical example of the close alignment of a religious community with the state. It was led by the Prussian king, and, until the middle of the nineteenth century, Prussian consistories resembled governmental institutions. Such a close affiliation of the ecclesiastical and governmental administrations meant that the clergy of the Evangelical-Union Church treated their service to the German state as a duty. In the face of German defeat in the First World War, the Consistory of the Evangelical-Union Church in Poznań took an unambiguous stance. On November 12, 1918, General Superintendent Paul Blau directed a letter to the clergy of the church, the content of which attested the complete affiliation of the Evangelical-Union Church to the German state.¹⁵

The Evangelical-Union Church also officially supported the stance of the German Government towards the Greater Poland Uprising. On December 31, 1918, four days after the outbreak of the uprising, General Superintendent P. Blau called for the clerics to actively participate in the parliamentary elections. He reasoned that, in the circumstances of a threat to the security of the country, participation in the elections should be considered a duty, not a right. The appeal was effective, and, in January 1919, Evangelical clergymen became heavily involved in pre-election campaigning and the elections for the Reichstag and Prussian parliament that followed. They backed the right-wing parties *Deutschnationale Volkspartei* and *Deutsche Volkspartei*. Representing the first party, General Superintendent P. Blau became a deputy to the Prussian Parliament. The General Superintendent of Bydgoszcz, Julius Assmann, in turn entered the Reichstag and the Prussian parliament as a representative of *Deutsche Volkspartei*.¹⁶ There, he led a remonstrative campaign against

¹⁴ AAN, The Polish Delegation to the Paris Peace Conference (19); “Do członków Komisji Konferencji Pokojowej do rozstrzygnięcia międzynarodowego sporu granicznego w Księstwie Cieszyńskim, Paryż, dnia 21 sierpnia 1919 r.,” W. Gastpary, *Evangelicy Polacy*, 77–80.

¹⁵ The National Archives in Poznań (later called “APP”), the Evangelical Consistory of Poznań (later called “KEP”) (304).

¹⁶ APP, KEP (304); K. Nowak, *Evangelische Kirche und Weimarer Republik: Zum politischen Weg des deutschen Protestantismus zwischen 1918 und 1932* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1988), 35, 103–4; E. Alabrudzińska, *Mniejszości wyznaniowe w*

the incorporation of the Province of Poznan and Western Prussia into Poland. During his activity, Assmann expressed his opinions about the German nature of these regions multiple times, also protesting against the plans to hold a referendum in Silesia and Masuria.¹⁷

When the resolutions concerning the future of the regions of Greater Poland and Pomerania were settled, and the contents of the Treaty of Versailles were announced therein, the church specified its attitude towards the decisions in an appeal issued in "Kirchliches Amtsblatt des Evangelischen Konsistoriums der Provinz Posen" on July 17, 1919. In its appeal directed to the parish, the Consistory of Poznan thanked God for the era of peace that had begun, marking the end of a long period of bloodshed, while stating that the protestants regretted the partition of their motherland. He did, however, support a loyal attitude towards the Polish state and underlined that Poland had provided all their citizens with equality, religious freedom and the freedom to cultivate one's mother tongue and nationality.¹⁸ It needs to be emphasised that the decision concerning the border dispute was especially painful for union evangelicals. For them, the incorporation of the regions of Pomerania and Greater Poland into Poland meant a complete change in their status as a national and religious community. With the change they lost their doubly privileged position, including that of the dominant religious belief and resulting benefits. For this very reason, they found it most difficult to accept the independent, overwhelmingly catholic Poland as the environment in which they were to operate. Psychologically, Roman

Bydgoszczy w latach 1920–1939 (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 1995), 41.

¹⁷ APP, KEP (529); AAN, The Ministry of Religious Beliefs and Public Enlightenment (later called "MWRiOP") (1282); S. Patuszewski, *Chrześcijańskie związki wyznaniowe w Bydgoszczy wobec kwestii narodowościowych i społecznych w dobie pierwszej wojny światowej, Powstania Wielkopolskiego i pierwszych lat odrodzonego państwa polskiego* (Bydgoszcz: Instytut Wydawniczy Świadectwo, 1995), 23; S. Błajejewski, J. Kutta, M. Romaniuk, *Bydgoski Słownik Biograficzny* (2) (Bydgoszcz: Kujawsko-Pomorskie Towarzystwo Kulturalne, 1995), 23–4; O. Kiec, *Die evangelischen Kirchen in der Wojewodschaft Posen (Poznań) 1918–1939* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1998), 76.

¹⁸ "Kirchliches Amtsblatt des Evangelischen Konsistoriums der Provinz Posen," (July 7–17, 1919): 49–50; "Posener Tageblatt" (July 23, 1919); APP, KEP (536); M. Wojciechowski, *Powrót Pomorza do Polski 1918–1920* (Warszawa-Poznań-Toruń: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1981), 137–9; D. Matelski, *Mniejszość niemiecka w Wielkopolsce w latach 1919–1939* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 1997), 214.

Catholic Germans and members of other protestant churches, including the Old Lutheran Church, were in a somewhat better situation.

The clergymen and believers of the Evangelical-Union Church of Upper Silesia found the resolutions of the Treaty of Versailles disappointing. From the end of 1918, the protestant community of the region had deep concerns regarding the separation of Silesia from Germany. Among others, an operation for the parishes of the endangered region to submit protests against the separation was initiated. In January 1919, both general superintendents of Silesia Theodor Nottebohm and Wilhelm Haupt turned to the believers with a pastoral letter in which they earnestly encouraged active participation in the parliamentary elections, pointing to the seriousness of the situation that the region of Silesia was in. In the letter they emphasised that the beginning of 1919 could mark the arrival of a huge threat to the motherland, the church and the territory of Silesia.¹⁹ The operations of Polish protestants in Versailles concerning the incorporation of Upper Silesia into Poland were followed by hostility.²⁰

From the very beginning, with regards to the territory of the Prussian Partition incorporated into Poland in 1919, along with the regions of Greater Poland and Pomerania, the main goal of the Evangelical clergy was to sustain organisational associativity with the parent Church in Prussia—the Superior Church Council in Berlin. A few days after the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, on July 4, 1919, the Superior Church Council in Berlin convened a session to discuss the topic of the “future regulation of ecclesiastical relations in the lost Eastern Territories.” The session was attended by representatives of churches from Silesia, Greater Poland, Pomerania, Gdańsk, Eastern Prussia, and Klaipeda, and the main subject of the discussion was the method of sustaining the future organisational associativity of the Protestants of those regions with the parent Church in Germany.²¹ One of the results of the conference was

¹⁹ The National Archives in Wrocław, The Silesian Evangelical Consistory (I/2418); The National Archives in Wrocław, The Silesian Evangelical Consistory (I/2419); The National Archives in Wrocław, The Silesian Evangelical Consistory (I/2423); Hirtenbrief der Herren Generalsuperintendenten (January 7, 1919), G. A. Benrath, U. Hutter–Wolandt, D. Meyer, L. Petry, H. Weigelt, *Quellenbuch zur Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Schlesien* (Munich: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag, 1992), 388–91.

²⁰ Evangelisches Zentralarchiv Berlin, 51/L (later called “EZB”) (VIII 2).

²¹ APP, KEP (536), cf. E. Alabrudzińska, *Kościół ewangelicki na Pomorzu wobec odzyskania niepodległości (Evangelical Churches of Pomerania in regard to Regaining Independence)*, in Z. Karpus and M. Wojciechowski (eds.), *Drogi do niepodległości: Ziemia polska w dobie odbudowy Państwa Polskiego* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2003), 166.

probably the elaboration of a memorial concerning “the Evangelical population of the territories lost to Poland and its continued affiliation to the Church of the State of Prussia”²² by the Superior Church Council. In the memorial, the council demanded the Evangelical-Union parishes remain affiliated to the national church, which was to be confirmed by a separate legal act. As a justification for the demand, the council stated that no ecclesiastical legislation stated that the church was to be divided according to the changes in national borders, and referred to the example of the Catholic Church which, despite the political borders, remained homogenous and indivisible.

The forceful stance of the Evangelical-Union Church in Greater Poland and Pomerania, based on a lack of recognition of national borders in ecclesiastical matters, was an unprecedented matter, conditioned not by religious and organisational but also political factors. It showed that the church did not want to accept the order enforced by the Treaty of Versailles, which withheld the right to decide about the fundamental laws of denominational life of the Polish state and demanded a special position. Polish authorities unambiguously saw the attitude of the Evangelical-Union Church as a lack of recognition of the independence of the Polish state.

Both the Evangelical-Augsburg and Evangelical-Union churches were involved in the referendum operations of Masuria and Silesia. In April 1919, when, based on the dialogue of the conference, the idea of deciding about the national identity of Masuria through a referendum became more probable, the Evangelical-Augsburg Consistory decided to appeal to the Masurian population in the form of *Odezwa do braci Mazurów* [*An Appeal to Fellow Masurians*]. The appeal pointed to the benefits of incorporating Masuria into Poland, such as the lower taxes, prosperity, peace, order, and Polish schools, while at the same time facing the concerns of a lack of freedom of belief in Poland.²³

The appeal caused an almost immediate response from the Evangelical-Union Church, the ecclesiastical protector of the Masurian population. On May 23, 1919, the Superior Church Council published an appeal titled *An die evangelischen Gemeinden Masurens*, in which it fiercely attacked the Evangelical-Augsburg Consistory, accusing it of lies

²² E. Alabrudzińska, *Drogi do niepodległości*, 166. The memorial was published in “Kirchliches Gesetz- und Verordnungsblatt” (the 1st of August 1919) – see G. Besier, *Altpreußische Kirchengebiete auf neupolnischem Territorium: Die Diskussion um ‚Staatsgrenzen und Kirchengrenzen‘ nach dem Ersten und Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 34–41.

²³ “Bracia Mazurzy!” W. Gastpary, *Evangelicy Polacy*, 92–4.

and fanatical hate. In their appeal, the Superior Church Council called for the Masurians to support their own church and nation in the potential referendum and advised against entering into relations with “Polish tempters.”²⁴ The Redaction of the Superior Church Council did not change the position of the Evangelical-Augsburg Church with regards to the issue of Masuria. As an answer to the resolutions settled in Versailles, the Referendum Association of Polish Evangelicals under the umbrella of General Superintendent J. Bursche was formed.²⁵

The scene of the second confrontation of the political concepts represented by the churches was the territory of Silesia. Although it was carried out in an atmosphere of increasing political suspense and insurrectionist activity, the actions of the clergymen of both churches were not as acrimonious as in Masuria. This was caused by multiple factors, *inter alia* the lesser significance of the Evangelical Church in Upper Silesia. In terms of range of influence, Protestantism was heavily exceeded by Catholicism, and it is with regards to the latter that the main battle for national and political influence was fought. Moreover, the nationalistic factors present in Silesia were another obstacle for the Evangelical-Augsburg Church. The vast majority of Protestants unambiguously identified themselves as Germans, which greatly reduced the possibilities of them being influenced by Polish Evangelicals from Warsaw or Cieszyn Silesia.²⁶

The active participation of protestant churches in the referendum battles in the regions of Masuria and Upper Silesia, often paired with the misuse of religious arguments, was, in such harsh political and nationalistic circumstances, nothing exceptional. In the past, similar and often much more intensified behaviour was observed in the activity of the Roman Catholic Church in Upper Silesia.²⁷ The nationalistic and political

²⁴ EZB (5/921).

²⁵ AAN, MWRiOP (1313); W. Gastpary, *Protestantyzm w Polsce*, 53–4; B. Krebs, *Państwo, Naród, Kościół: Biskup Juliusz Bursche a spory o protestantyzm w Polsce w latach 1917–1939* (Bielsko-Biała: Augustana, 1998), 36–7.

²⁶ APP, KEP (529); The National Archives in Wrocław, The Silesian Evangelical Consistory (I/2427); F. Michejda, *Aus welchen religiösen Beweggründen muß der protestantische Oberschlesier für Polen stimmen?* (Kreuzburg: Kreuzburger Zeitung, 1920).

²⁷ For a more extensive relation see L. Krzyżanowski, *Kościół katolicki wobec mniejszości niemieckiej na Górnym Śląsku w latach 1922–1930* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2000), 19–24; J. Macała, *Duszpasterstwo a narodowość wiernych: Kościół katolicki w diecezji katowickiej wobec mniejszości niemieckiej 1922–1939* (Wrocław-Katowice: Uniwersytet Wrocławski, 1999), 16–24; S. Samerski, *Ostdeutscher Katholizismus im Brennpunkt: Der deutsche Osten*

conflicts between Protestants lasted throughout the whole existence of the Second Polish Republic. They also took the form of, *inter alia*, rivalry in claiming the Silesian and Masurian population in the regions of Upper Silesia and the Region of Działdowo.

Elżbieta Alabrudzińska is a professor and head of the History of Diplomacy Department at the Faculty of Political Sciences and International Studies at the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, Poland.

