A Stranger Amongst One's Own – Jewish Issues in the Pages of Polish History Textbooks from 1915-2003

Since, on both sides, we encounter experience distorted by emotions and erroneous interpretations, direct contacts and the exchange of knowledge have far greater meaning than non-credible caution, based unreliable grounds or aspiring, at all costs, to conclude a pact between Jews and non-Jews.

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Amongst all the extra-territorial minorities in Poland, the most numerous group were the Jews. After Palestine, Poland had the highest percentage of Jews². The process of Jewish settlement in Poland began in the 12th century. However, Jews did not feel "at home". They were treated as "our own", however as "our own, but strangers". For non-Jewish inhabitants, the Jewish world was difficult to access due to differences in religion, appearance, language and writing, and so, as a result, it was unknown and secret. This gave rise, less to a desire to understand, but more to a dislike, even an enmity towards Jews. At that time, they were respected by Poles only when they assimilated into Polish culture and into its patriotic traditions. As believers in Judaism, they remained strangers³.

This community, however, co-existed over centuries and became a permanent part of Polish history, culture, mores and national consciousness. The Polish school education system also took up this theme in its studies and textbooks.

The Jewish issue was reflected in the works of, among others, Włodzimierz Jarosz, Władysław Aleksander Malczewski, Adam Szelągowski, Wincenty Zakrzewski, Jan Dąbrowski, Janina Schoenbrenner, Gizela Gebertowa, Mariana Janelli, A.W. Miszulin, Jerzy Dowiat, Maria Koczerska, Ewa Wipszycka, Ewa Maleczyńska, Stanisław Zajączkowski, Stefan Krakowski, Michał Siuchmiński, Marian Henryk Serejski, Katarzyna Śreniowska, Janusz Adamski, Lech Chmiel, Andrzeja Syta, Grzegorz Wojciechowski, Gryzelda Missalowa, Janina Schoenbrenner, Andrzeja Leszek Szcześniak, Tadeusz Glubiński, Jarosław Dumanowski, Danuta Musiał, Krystyna Polacka and Stanisław Roszak. They encompassed such issues as the locations and living conditions of the Jewish population, their political activities, the religion of ancient Palestine, the history of the Jewish diaspora and its contribution to world civilisation, and the Holocaust.

¹ H. Szlajfer, *Polacy-Żydzi zderzenie stereotypów esej dla przyjaciól i innych (The Colliding of Polish-Jewish Stereotypes – an Essay for Friends and Others)*, Warsaw 2003. p. 11.

²D. Koźmian, *Podręczniki szkolne mniejszości narodowej żydowskiej w Polsce międzywojennej (Polish Textbooks on the Jewish Minority in Inter-War Poland)*,

[[]w:] Rola mniejszości narodowych w kulturze i oświacie polskiej w latach 1700-1939 (The Role of Mational Minorities in Polish Culture and Education 1700-1939), ed. A. Bilewicz, S. Walasek, p. 269.;

S. Mauersberg, Szkolnictwo powszechne dla mniejszości narodowych w Polsce w latach 1918-1939 (Public Education for National Minorities in Poland in 1918-1939), Wrocław-Warszawa 1968. p. 23.

³J. Hoff, Żydzi, Polacy, Rusini w małych miastach Galicji Wschodniej w drugiej połowie XIX w. Sąsiedzi, obcy, wrogowie? (Ruses in Small Eastern Galician Towns in the Second Half of the 19th Century – Neighbours, Strangers of Enemies?) [w:] Społeczeństwo w dobie przemian. Księga Pamiątkowa profesor Anny Żarnowskiej, Warsaw 2003, pp. 337-345.

The Country and Its Inhabitants

Descriptions of ancient Palestine and it inhabitants had already appeared in Polish history education by 1915. The textbook's authors, Marian Janelli and Adam Szelągowski, described the land of Canaan as being "the eastern part of Palestine, stretching south to Phoenicia. Here were the very ancient cities of Lagish, Geser and others, under the rule of priest-princes. The Canaanites were so far influenced by the Babylonians that they had even accepted cuneiform writing. They were a peaceful, agricultural and hardworking people"⁴.

The most thorough image of Palestine was presented in the work of A.W. Miszulin who wrote, "The Kingdoms of Israel and Judea were established in Palestine. Palestine is a ribbon of land lying south-east of Phoenicia. The Jordan River crosses it, through a mountainous valley, and flows into the Dead Sea. Palestine contains small valleys, covered in meadows and fields, orchards and vineyards. In many places, the country is crossed by mountains, forming areas which are infertile"⁵.

Maria Koczerska and Ewa Wipszycka also presented an interesting description of Palestine and its inhabitants in their textbook:

Palestine is a small, mountainous land. To the west, there is the Mediterranean Sea. To the east, it is surrounded by desert. There is not enough fertile land for all its inhabitants. Life here was modest and hard. The Hebrews, called Israelites or Judeans (from which is derived the word Jew), lived in this land.

The History of Ancient Palestine

The history of ancient Palestine appeared as a topic in Adam Szelągowski's textbook, which was published in 1923. It was linked to the creation of the State of Israel, the history of the B'nai Israel tribe, Moses and slavery in Egypt, the Israelite settlement in Canaan, the rise of a Jewish state, King David and King Solomon, Babylonian captivity and with the prophets Amos, Jeremiah and Isaiah⁷.

In this study, they paid special attention to the religion of the Jewish people, which saved them despite a collapse in national unity: "an already sophisticated religious unity, based in a strengthened faith in the on God Yahweh". Religion, according to Szelągowski, largely contributed to the revival of the nation and the Israeli state. He wrote:

Indomitable in their faith, they waited for the moment when Persian King Cyrus would allow them to leave for Palestine and to rebuild the temple anew (after the year 538). It was then, for the first time, that Jewish tradition, religion and history was written

⁴M. Janelli i A. Szelągowski, *Dzieje Powszechne. Podręcznik do nauki historyi na stopniu wyższym szkół średnich, (General History - a Textbook of History Education in Senior High Schools)* Część Pierwsza. Okres Starożytny (Part 1 – Ancient History), Lwów 1915. p.22.

⁵ Historia Starożytna (Ancient History), ed. A.W. Miszulina, Warsaw 1950.

⁶M. Koczerska, E. Wipszycka, *Historia 5. Świat przed wiekami, (History 5. The World Ages Ago)*, Warsaw 1985.

⁷A. Szelągowski, *Dzieje Powszechne w zarysie (An Outline of Universal History)*, Część Pierwsza. Okres starożytny, (Part One – the Ancient Period) Warsaw, 1923, p. 22.

⁸Ibidem, p. 22.

down. That was how the writings of the Jews began, namely the holy Old Testament, being the basis of the Jewish religion to this day⁹.

As analysis of the above text shows, the author connects the political history of the Jewish state with its religion, which was a determinant in its reconstruction and endurance. In a slightly different context, the story of ancient Israel is described in the textbooks of the communist Poland. For example, Miszulin, having introduced the paradigm of social class into his work published in 1950, highlighted social inequality, the difficult situation of peasants and their class battles¹⁰. In connection with this, he wrote:

The aristocracy, enriching itself through trade, began seizing land from peasant communities. [...] Magnates and the military aristocracy took land from the peasantry to settle debts. Many peasant bankrupt debtors fell into subjugation. All this triggered immense dissatisfaction amongst the peasantry. [...] Peasant disturbances broke out more and more often against the aristocracy and the rich¹¹.

For the first time, social issues were pointed out, those which dominated the political history of Palestine. The prioritised meaning of this economic history during the period of communist Poland arose from attempting to legitimise a new authority in the name of workers and peasants¹². In connection with this, Miszulin, in accordance with the Marxist vision of history, described the historical process through a prism of class struggles and inequalities.

In a textbook published in 1972, Jerzy Dowiat, above all, stressed the religious element and the monotheistic religion of the Jewish community¹³.

Similarly, Maria Koczerska and Ewa Wipszycka took up these issues. They referred to the history of Palestine and to the stories about Solomon, David and Goliath. In particular, they stressed the Jews' beliefs, writing:

The inhabitants of Palestine believed in a religion different from that of other people in the ancient East. They believed in the existence of the one God, named Yahweh. Omnipotent and omniscient, he created heaven and earth, and everything which lived upon it. Jews believed that they were God's chosen people, chosen from amongst others on earth, a people whom he particularly cherished. They also believed that Yahweh had formed a covenant with them, according to which they were to faithfully serve him and to obey his commandments. In return, he promised to return them to absolute rule over Palestine and he would ensure their prosperity and happiness¹⁴.

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⁹Ibidem, p. 22.

¹⁰In 1944, W.I.Piczet introduced the paradigm of public funds into the Soviet school system. In 1949 Żanna Korman recommended using Soviet standards in Polish schools. In the classroom perspective, the authority of the state was played down

The main objective was to defend the interests of the ruling class. Por: Cz. Nowarski, *Chlopi polscy w podręcznikach historii 1945-1980 (Polish Peasantry of History Textbooks 1945-1980)*, Kraków 2009, p. 9.

¹¹ Historia starożytna (Ancient History), editor A.W. Miszulin, Warsaw 1950. pp. 59-60.

¹²R. Stobiecki, Historia pod nadzorem. Spory o nowy model historii w Polsce (History Under Supervision – Disputes Over New Models of History in Poland), Łódź 1993, p. 86.

¹³J. Dowiat, Historia dla I klasy liceum ogólnokształcącego (History for Grade 1 Comprehensive High Schools), Warsaw. 1972, p. 170.

¹⁴M. Koczerska, E. Wipszycka, *Historia 5. Świat przed wiekami (History 5 – The World Ages Ago)*, Warsaw 1985. pp. 38-39.

During the Third Polish Republic, ancient Palestine was being portrayed on many levels and in many dimensions, pointing to its political history, as well as its religion, culture and its total contribution to the development of the civilisation of other nations. The authors often point to the mutual context linking Christian and Jewish culture, which can be attested to by writings from the Bible:

Jews and Christians believe that the books of the Bible are Holy Scripture and their writing was inspired by God. Christians divide the Bible into two parts – the Old and the Testaments. The call the Old Testament the Hebrew Bible, and the New Testament describes the life and teachings of Christ¹⁵.

In contemporary Polish history textbooks, the Bible is presented not only as a source of faith, but also as an inspiration for authors. Biblical motifs feature particularly strongly in the art of the Middle Ages – the Renaissance and Baroque periods. They appeared in both painting and sculpture, as well as in the music of J.S. Bach, Handel and Mendelssohn. For centuries, Biblical themes have also been present in Polish culture, for example, in the works of Mikołaj Rej, Jan Kochanowski, Adam Mickiewicz and Juliusz Słowacki. More recently, Czesław Miłosz and Wisława Szymborska also called upon these motifs¹⁶.

In his work, Grzegorz Wojciechowski presented a more profound image of the lives and activities of the inhabitants of ancient Palestine. He considered these issues not only when discussing the history of the ancient East or of Christianity, but he also devoted a separate educational section to *The Jews' Covenant with God*. Within it were explanations of religious customs, the culture and mores of this community, and the overall humanistic and general dimension which permitted the identity of the Jewish diaspora to endure for two thousand years. As an example of this, he cited a quotation from the Book of Proverbs:

Do not withhold good from those to whom it is due, when it is in your power to do it.

Do not say to your neighbour, "Go, and come again, tomorrow I will give it"- when you have it with you.

Do not plan evil against your neighbour, who dwells trustingly beside you.

Do not contend with a man for no reason, when he has done you no harm (...)¹⁷.

Book of Proverbs 3:27-30.

Wojciechowski's textbook also reflected on teaching aids in the form of maps, pictures of the reconstruction of the Jerusalem temple, the synagogue in Włodawa, the Torah, the menorah, the bar mitzvah, the Wailing Wall, Jews dressed for prayer, as well as images of the Ark of the Covenant of Moses.

¹⁵ D. Musiał, K. Polacka, S. Roszak, *Przez wieki. Podręcznik do historii dla klasy I gimnazjum (Through the Centuries – a History Textbook for Grade 1 Junior High School*, Gdańsk 2002, p. 25.

¹⁶ G. Wojciechowski, Historia. Podręcznik dla gimnazjum. Razem przez wieki. Zrozumieć przeszłość (History – a Textbook for Junior High School. Together Through the Centuries. Understanding the Past), Gdańsk 2002, p. 43.

¹⁷ Ibidem, p. 43.

The Issue of the Jews in the Middle Ages

Once again, the history of the Jewish people appeared in the textbooks of Malczewski and Zakrzewski, in the period of the Crusades, where the issues of pilgrimages to the Holy Land were presented.

Wincenty Zakrzewski took up the subject of the influence of the Crusades on the Jewish population writing:

During the Crusades, Jews were often subjected to bloody abuses; later, they were expelled totally from some countries, in others they were closed off in separate parts of cities and ordered to wear disgraceful insignia on their clothes¹⁸.

In communist Poland, textbooks also referred to the subject of the Crusades, the establishment of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and, as teaching aids, they included maps of the Crusades and photographs of Jerusalem¹⁹.

Next, Janina Schoenbrenner referred to the fact that, from the 12th century, as the result of persecution during the Crusades, Jews settled on Polish territory where they found the conditions attractive to earn a living. Jews engaged in trade and craft. They leased mints, struck their own coinage and became money-lenders, something in which the Christian population could not engage due to religious restrictions. In this regard, the author stressed the special favours of King Kazimierz the Great, because "under his care, Jews thrived in Poland. They established shops, transported goods, built synagogues while, at the same time, growing richer and richer "20. Jan Dąbrowski, in his work, also indicated that Kazimierz:

Bought Jews under his protection and confirmed their privileges under past laws. Thanks to this, they fared better in Poland than in many neighbouring countries, especially Germany where they were severely persecuted²¹.

Similarly to the authors of the previous textbooks, Gizela Gebertowa also emphasised the tolerance and openness of the King towards strangers, writing "He permitted Jews, who at that time were being persecuted in various countries, to follow their religion. No one was permitted to persecute them. Kazimierz provided them with protection under the law"²².

¹⁸W. Zakrzewski, Historyja Powszechna na klasy wyższe szkół średnich (General History for Senior Classes of Secondary Schhols), Volume II, Warsaw-Wilno 1922. p. 104.

¹⁹ St. Zająckowski, B. Baranowski, S. Krakowski, M. Siuchmiński, *Podręcznik Historii dla VII klasy szkoły podstawowej (History Textbook for Grade 7Elementary School)*, ed. St, Zajączkowski, Warsaw 1947. pp. 94-97; E. Maleczyńska, *Historia średniowieczna (A History of the Middle Ages)*, Warsaw 1947 pp. 96-109; M. H. Serejski, M. Golias, K. Śreniowska, B. Zwolski, *Historia dla klasy V (History for Grade 5)*, ed. M.H. Serejski, Warsaw 1951, p. 227.

²⁰J. Schoenbrenner, *Dzisiaj i dawniej na ziemiach polskich. Podręcznik do nauki historii dla klasy V szkół powszechnych drugiego i trzeciego stopnia (Today and Before of Polish Land. A History Textbook for Second and Third Level Comprehensive Schools)*, Warsaw 1938. p. 62.

²¹J. Dąbrowski, *Historia dla II klasy gimnazjów (History for Grade 2 Senior High School)*, Lwów 1939. p. 74.

p. 74. ²² G. Gebertowa, *Historia dla klasy V szkól powszechnych III stopnia, (History for Grade 5 Comprehenive Schools Third Level)* Lwów-Warsaw 1937.

Other textbook authors, during the time of communist Poland (PRL), also expressed their opinions in a similar vein. As an example, Jerzy Dowiat described the situation of the Jews, under the rule of Kazimierz, in this manner:

In the cities, Jews engaged in money-lending. The church ban on lending money at interest did not apply to them. Lewko, a Kraków Jew, was the banker to Kazimierz the Great and to his successor²³.

Jews in the Modern and Most Recent Period

Adam Szelagowski approached the issue of Jews from a completely different angle. He concentrated on portraying the genesis of Palestine:

On 2nd November 1917, during World War I, the British government promised Palestine to nationalist Jews, the Zionists, and, following the War, this was implemented with an announcement, in July 1920, that the country would be given to them under a British governor²⁴.

But, as the author stressed, the establishment of a state in Palestine ignited an Arabic-Jewish conflict.

However, Włodzimierz Jarosz clarified the concept of an ethnic minority and stressed the fact that it constituted one-third of the population of inter-War Poland. And, in the multicultural Second Polish Republic, it had the constitutional right to "freedom of conscience, equality under the law, as well as access to public offices and schools "25.

In a work published in 1985, Janusz Adamski, Lech Chmiel and Andrzej Syta also gave their opinion on national minorities in inter-War Poland. They stated that Second Polish Republic society was not mono-ethnic and that Jews represented the second largest minority (8-9% of the total population). However, they assessed the policy of the then government towards ethnic minorities in a completely different manner to Jarosz, quoted above. They wrote:

The contemporary authorities aspired to uniting (integrating) all national and religious communities in the country into one society, concentrating on the interests of the state and its territorial integrity. However, they could not prevent conflict with national minorities and conflict between national minorities. The national, social and economic divides ran too deep within Second Polish Republic society. The mistaken and, often, arrogant actions by the state neither eased these conflicts nor did they resolve them²⁶.

The Extermination of a Nation – the Holocaust

The extermination of the Jewish people during World War II was taken up by textbooks in Communist Poland. However, in the 1950's, this issue was dealt with according to Marxist principles of education, through the prism of class struggle: "In

²³ J. Dowiat, Historia dla I klasy liceum ogólnokształcącego (History for Grade 1, Comprehensive Senior

High Schools), Warsaw 1972, p. 440.

Adam Szelągowski, Dzieje Powszechne w zarysie. Podręcznik do nauki na stopniu wyższym szkół średnich (An Outline of Universal History),. Part 4. The Modern Era, Warsaw 1925, p. 374. ²⁵ W. Jarosz, *Podręcznik na VII klasę szkół powszechnych (Textbook for Grade 7)*, 1935, p. 24.

²⁶ J. Adamski, L. Chmiel, A. Syta, Czasy, Ludzie, Wydarzenia. Część 3 lata 1918-1939, (Times, People, Happenings - Part 3 191801939), Warsaw 1985. p. 209.

order to turn the eyes of the masses away from their wrongdoers, middle classes and junkiers, they aroused a hatred for Jews amongst the German masses "27.

Missalowa and Schoenbrenner referred to the repression which the occupiers applied against the Jewish people:

The Germans locked them into crowded, specially designated areas known as ghettoes. The largest were in Łódż and Warsaw. Jews, crowded into small spaces, perished, decimated by hunger, typhus and mass executions. During 1942-1943, the Nazis murdered Jews, poisoning them in groups inside gas chambers²⁸.

In another textbook from that same period, authored by Barbag, not only was the martyrdom of the Jewish people emphasised, but also their heroic fight against the invader, an example of which was the Warsaw ghetto uprising.

The Warsaw ghetto uprising played a large role in the struggle for liberation from the invader. The uprising broke out in 1943. Over several weeks, the almost defenceless insurgents defended themselves against motorised Nazi units, against bombardment from the air and from artillery fire. The Germans suffered considerable losses. The Gwardia Ludowa (People's Guard) aided these heroic insurgents²⁹.

As an analysis of the above text and textbook shows, it was under the immediate influence of the ideological-political purposes of that time, where the resistance of the Jews was considered part of the armed underground resistance of the left-wing groups - Polska Partia Robotnicza (Polish Workers Party – the Communist Party), Gwardia Ludową (People's Guard), Armia Ludową (People's Army) and others.

Textbooks from the Third Polish Republic dealt more broadly on the subject of the extermination of the Jewish people. The Nuremburg Laws were recalled, placing the Jews outside the law. They also mentioned the banning of Jews from carrying out their professions, the pogroms, the extermination of the Jewish people, the locking up of Jews within ghettoes, the deportations from the Warsaw ghetto, the camps, as well as the heroic activities of Janusz Korczak and Stefania Wilczyńska. They also attempted to portray the exemplary attitudes of Poles towards the extermination of the Jews. They stressed the dedication and heroic conduct of people concerned over the exterminations, thanks to which around 120,000 human beings were saved³⁰. At the same time, they also pointed out those groups of Poles who exploited the Holocaust for their own, egotistical, economic ends. Authors of these textbooks clearly condemned them, writing about "Polish criminals and blackmailers"³¹. They also pointed to the fact that in some eastern Polish towns, for example, Jedwabne and Radziłów, Poles participated in the murder of the Jewish population³². They also stressed that the Polish Government-in-Exile had passed the death sentence on these people.

²⁹ J. Barbag, J Lider, W. Najdus, K. Mariański, E. Słuczański, *Nauka o Polsce i Świecie Współczesnym* (Polish Education in the Modern World). Warsaw 1951, pp. 100-101.

²⁷ G. Missalowa, J. Schoenbrenner, *Historia Polski (The History of Poland)*, Warsaw 1951. p. 283.

²⁸ Ibidem, pp. 300-301.

⁽Polish Education in the Modern World), Warsaw 1951. pp. 100-101.

30 G. Wojciechowski, Historia i społeczeństwo. Człowiek i jego cywilizacja (History and Society - Man and His Civilisation). Poznań 2002. p. 145.

and His Civilisation), Poznań 2002. p. 145.

31 A. L. Szczęśniak, Historia. Polska i świat naszego wieku. Podręcznik dla klasy ósmej (History – Poland and the World of our Century. A Textbook for Grade 8), Warsaw 1994, p. 226.

³² G. Wojciechowski, Historia. Podręcznik dla gimnazjum. Razem przez wieki (History. A Textbook for Junior High School. Together Through the Centuries), Warsaw 2003.

In order to combat these negative phenomena, at the initiative of the well-known writer Zofia Kossak-Szcucka, the Council to Aid Jews (Żegota) was established, the underground social organisation of the Polish Government-in-Exile. Its aim was to provide help to Jews. Contempoary authors pointed, not only to the Warsaw ghetto uprising, but also to those in the Częstochowa, Będzin and Białostock ghettoes. They also stressed the role of the Żydowski Związek Wojskowy (Jewish Military Union) in these events³³. Władysław Broniewski most emphatically expressed a balance on the extermination of the Jewish people, writing:

Not people, but bloodied dogs, and not soldiers, but executioners came to bring death to you, your wives and children: to choke you in the gas chambers, to kill you off with lime in the railroad wagons, to sneer at the dying, the defenceless and the terrified.³⁴

In education, the issues surrounding the Holocaust were presented using photographs, maps, the stories of, among others, L. Hirszfeld and B. Mark, the letters of Szmul Zygielbojm, reports by Heinrich Himmler, the diaries of Joseph Goebbels, a speech by Artur Greiser and the recollections of Franz Blatter³⁵.

³³ T. Glubiński, *Historia 8. Trudny wiek XX (History 8 a Difficult 20th Century)*, Warsaw 1994. p. 287. ³⁴ Ibidam, p. 229.

³⁵ L. Hiszfeld, *Historia jednego życia (The Story of One Life)*, Warsaw 1946; B. Mark, *Powstanie w getcie warszawskim (The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising)*, Warsaw 1963; A letter from Senator RP Szmul Zygielbojm the Preseident RP Władysław Raczkiewicz, London 1943; N. Davies, *Europa (Europe)*, Kraków 1999, Joseph Goebbels' *Dzienniki (Diaries)*, *Zapiski szofera szwajcarskiej misji lekarskiej (Notes by the driver of the Swiss Medical Mission)*, compiled by T. Szarota, Warsaw 1982; A speech by A. Greiser, Governor of Kraj Wart (Reichsgau Wartheland).

Table 1.

Jewish Issues in Polish History Textbooks 1915-2003

No.	Author, Title	Chapter	Subject Matter
1	M. Jannelli, A. Szelągowski, Dzieje po-	History of the	The Israelites
	wszechne. Okres starożytny, Lwów 1915.	Ancient East	
2.	Wincenty Zakrzewski, Historia powszechna	The Crusade Wars	Jews and their
	na klasy wyższe szkół średnich, tom II,	1095-1270.	relationship with
	Warszawa -Wilno 1922.		Christians
3	W.A. Malczewski, Historja Średniowieczna w	Europe in the 11th-	The Crusades
	zarysie, Łódź 1923.	13th Centuries	
4	Adam Szelągowski, Dzieje Powszechne w	History of the	Palestine, the
	zarysie. Warszawa 1923.	Ancient East	Israelites
5	Adam Szelągowski, Dzieje powszechne w	From the Outbreak	Russia and the Near
	zarysie. Podręcznik do nauki na stopniu	of World War to	East
	wyższym szkół średnich. część Czwarta. Okres	the Present Day.	
	nowoczesny, Warszawa 1925.		
6	Włodzimierz Jarosz, Historyja. Podręcznik		The various
	na klasę VII szkół powszechnych, Lwów		languages and
	1935.		beliefs Polish
			citizens
7	Gizela Gebertowi, Historia dla klasy V,		Dobry gospodarz.
	Lwów-Warszawa 1937.		
8	Janina Schoenbrenner, Dzisiaj i Dawniej.		Jews in Poland
	Podręcznik do nauki historii dla klasy V,		
	Warszawa 1939.		
9	Jan Dąbrowski, <i>Historia dla II gimnazjów,</i>	Poland From the	The Polisgh state
	Lwów 1939.	Piast Dynasty. The	and society under
		Developement of	Kazimierz the Great
		the Middle Ages.	
10	Historia starożytna, pod redakcją A.W.		The Kingdoms of
	Miszulina, Warszawa 1950.		Israel and Judea
	G. Wojciechowski, Historia. Podręcznik	World War II	The final solution to
	dla gimnazjum. Razem przez wieki,		the Jewish question
22	Warszawa 2003.		m1 11 2 1
23	D. Musiał, K. Polacka, S. Roszak, Przez	The Oldest	The world of the
	wieki. Podręcznik do historii dla klasy	Civisation	Bible.
2 :	pierwszej gimnazjum, Gdańsk 2002.		
24	G. Wojciechowski, Historia. Podręcznik dla	The Ancient East	The Jews – the

11	Jerzy Dowiat, Historia dla I klasy liceum	Antiquity.	Christianity, Polish
	ogólnokształcącego, Warszawa 1972.	The Middle Ages	prosperity
12	Maria Koczerska, Ewa Wipszycka, <i>Historia</i> 5. Świat przed wiekami, Warszawa 1985.	Deep in the Past	Palestine
13	Ewa Maleczyńska, Historia średniowieczna, Warszawa 1947.	The Times of the Crusades and Papal Power	
14	M.H. Serejski, M. Golias, K. Śreniowska, B. Zwolski, <i>Historia dla klasy V</i> , pod. red. M.H. Serejskiego, Warszawa 1951.	Europe During the Blossoming of Feudalism	The Crusades
15	St. Zajączkowski, B. Baranowski, S. Krakowski, M. Siuchmiński, <i>Podręcznik historii dla klasy VII szkoły podstawowej</i> , pod red. St. Zajączkowskiego, Warszawa 1947.	The Middle Ages.	The Crusades
16	J. Barbag, J. Lider, W. Najdus, K. Mariański, E. Słuczański, <i>Nauka o Polsce i świecie współczesnym</i> , Warszawa 1951.	World War II	Poland under occupation.
17	G. Missalowa, J. Schoenbrenner, <i>Historia Polski</i> , Warszawa 1951.	World War II and the Nazi Occupation of Poland.	Nazi occupation of Poland
18	G. Wojciechowski, <i>Historia i społeczeństwo. Człowiek i jego cywilizacja</i> , Poznań 2002.	The Poles	
19	J. Adamski, L. Chmiel, A. Syta, <i>Czasy, ludzie, wydarzenia, część 3 Lata 19181939,</i> Warszawa 1985.	Second Polish Republic Society	Multi-ethnic and multi- faith society
20	A. L. Szcześniak, Historia. <i>Polska</i> i świat naszego wieku, Warszawa 1994.	World War II 1939- 1945	The extermination of Jews and Roma
21	T. Glubiński, <i>Historia 8. Trudny wiek XX</i> , Warszawa 1994.	Poland and the Poles During the War.	Naród polski w walce z okupantem.
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1	M. Jannelli, A. Szelągowski, Dzieje po-	History of the	The Israelites
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2.	Wincenty Zakrzewski, Historia powszechna	The Crusade Wars	Jews and their
	na klasy wyższe szkół średnich, tom II,	1095-1270.	relationship with
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3	W.A. Malczewski, Historja Średniowieczna w	Europe in the 11th-	The Crusades
	zarysie, Łódź 1923.	13th Centuries	
4	Adam Szelągowski, Dzieje Powszechne w	History of the	Palestine, the
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5	Adam Szelągowski, Dzieje powszechne w	From the Outbreak	Russia and the Near
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G. M. Jannelli, A. Szelagowski, *Dzieje po-* Dzieje Starc

Summing up, one should state that Jewish issues were included within Polish education in varying scopes and from different viewpoints. External factors influenced its character socio-politically, as did changes in the aims of Polish education during the period under discussion. Both Poland and Europe are at the beginning of the road leading to an understanding of a new situation in which one finds, and defines, one's new identity. ³⁶

One should, however, admit the Polish-Jewish world, as described, has ceased to exist. In his work, *Elegia żydowskich miasteczek (An Elegy to Small Jewish Towns)*, Polish poet Antoni Słonimski, wrote:

Gone now are the small Jewish towns of Poland. In Hrubieszow, Karczew, Brody, Falenica, In vain you will look for the candlelight in the windows.

H. Szlajfer, *Polacy - Żydzi. Zderzenie stereotypów esej dla przyjaciół i innych (The Jews – a Collision of Stereotypes – an Essay for Friends and Others)*, Warsaw 2003. p. 121.