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## Everyday Life in Lublin in 1918

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*Codziennosc Lublina w 1918 roku*

### ABSTRACT

The year 1918 was another year of war in Lublin. The city did not suffer from the passage of the front, nor was it destroyed, but the war situation affected the living conditions. The rapidly growing overcrowding caused i.a. by the establishment of the headquarters of the occupying authorities, chronic food shortages, speculation and inflation, requisitions and crime, largely determined the everyday life of the inhabitants. In addition, the city was tormented by outbreaking epidemics, increasing poverty, and ordinary accidents and misfortunes. The housing conditions, the city landscape and the atmosphere in the streets reflected a far-reaching stratification. Patriotic and religious events were sometimes held in the city, but were attended only by a minority of the residents. Instead, the majority tried to adapt and survive until the end of the war. Only at the end of the year did the conviction regarding the possibility of regaining independence become more and more common.

**Key words:** Lublin 1918, everyday life, Lublin community, the Great War

As in previous and later years, the Lublin of 1918 was a city of great social inequalities and growing poverty<sup>1</sup>. The city was home to a small group of the wealthy and a larger group of less well-off people, who had no difficulty surviving throughout a month, but were not rich. Next to them lived a huge number of the poor and a large group of the destitute<sup>2</sup>. There were considerable differences between the life of Poles, Jews, occupation officials and Austro-

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<sup>1</sup> There has been quite a large number of papers dedicated to the non-military and non-political aspects of the Great War in Poland. However, as far as the city of Lublin is concerned, the problems of everyday life in 1918 have not yet attracted the interest of researchers.

<sup>2</sup> A more precise description of the stratification would require a separate paper.

Hungarian soldiers and officers, among whom the latter were the least affected by the problems of everyday life<sup>3</sup>. However, despite the dissimilarities, the daily routine of a Jewish craftsman resembled the everyday life of a Polish craftsman more than the typical day of a Jewish orthodox or the owner of several tenement houses. The daily life of an educated man could be different from that of an illiterate person. A stroll along Szopena Street or Krakowskie Przedmieście Street would be nothing like a walk down Krawiecka Street. There was only one prevailing pattern: from the very beginning of the war, the situation of the city community was getting worse and worse. Military requisitions of food and other products, the export of industrial equipment by the Russians and then the new occupants put the society in financial dire straits, which led to a rapid degradation of the people and the city. Considering the great social diversity, it is rather impossible to cover this topic fully in a short text. The best that can be done is to present a limited number of examples illustrating the living conditions of that period. In order to achieve clarity of the characterisation, information obtained from archival sources and from the press of that time was divided into three thematic blocks: man and his problems, the appearance of the city and social life.

## 1. THE SOCIETY OF THE CITY

In 1916, when the surrounding areas were incorporated into the town, Wielki Lublin was established, occupying an area of 2,250 ha together with the suburbs<sup>4</sup>. The only census conducted during the Great War reported that 81,198 people lived in Lublin as at 15 October 1916, including 45,101 Christians (19,425 men and 25,680 women) and 36,093 Jews (16,443 men and 19,650 women)<sup>5</sup>. However, the documented size of

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<sup>3</sup> L. Turnau, Wspomnienia z pobytu w Lublinie, [http://biblioteka.teatrnn.pl/dlibra/Content/10829/Wspomnienie\\_z\\_pobytu\\_w\\_Lublinie.pdf](http://biblioteka.teatrnn.pl/dlibra/Content/10829/Wspomnienie_z_pobytu_w_Lublinie.pdf) [accessed on: 10 V 2019].

<sup>4</sup> *Wielki Lublin*, 'Ziemia Lubelska' 12 January 1918 (morning issue [hereinafter: mng]), p. 3. Remarkably, the Lublin right-wing (*Głos Lubelski*) and centre-right (*Ziemia Lubelska*) press has survived to this day, whereas as far as the left-wing press is concerned, only a few issues are available. Memoirs, on the other hand, cover mainly political issues and only occasionally touch upon the topic discussed. Cf. Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna im. Hieronima Łopacińskiego [hereinafter: WBP HŁ], ref. no. 2199, R. Wojdaliński, *Wspomnienia lubelskie 1914–1918* (mps); L. Turnau, *op. cit.*; K.W. Kumaniecki, *Czasy Lubelskie. Wspomnienia i dokumenty* (18. IV. 1916 – 2. XI. 1918), Kraków 1927; *Dziennik Juliusza Zdanowskiego*, vol. 2, 15 X 1918 – 23 VI 1919, comp. by J. Faryś, T. Sikorski, H. Walczak, A. Wątor, Szczecin 2014.

<sup>5</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie [hereinafter: APL], Akta miasta Lublina [hereinafter: AmL] 1915–1918, ref. no. 343, sheet 1. The text refers in detail to information from a document in which the sums do not match.

the community reflected the state before the annexation of the suburbs. The *Ziemia Lubelska* newspaper stated in turn that at the beginning of 1918 there were 93,000 people living in Lublin<sup>6</sup>. In mid-1918, administrative documents recorded 97,621 inhabitants, reserving that this value may be even higher<sup>7</sup>. Only from 24 June to 20 July the number of Lublin residents increased by another 2,020 people<sup>8</sup>. In September, it was estimated on the basis of the issued ration stamps that 105,137 people lived in the city<sup>9</sup>. This leap in growth was, of course, connected with the aforementioned incorporation of the suburbs, but also with the establishment of the occupation administration, including the military administration, whose representatives brought their families along to Lublin. What is more, in 1918, soldiers who had been conscripted into the Russian army, Russian prisoners of war and Poles who had been forcibly displaced to Russia in 1915 along with the moving front came back to the city. In May and June, railwaymen, doctors etc. also returned to Lublin<sup>10</sup>. All the newcomers reached the city without money, always hungry and ragged<sup>11</sup>, sometimes sick, but with a wealth in form of war experience. The influx of new residents caused a change in the religious structure. In the first half of 1918, 56% of Lublin residents were Christians and 44% were Jews<sup>12</sup>.

We shall elaborate on these general data by examining more detailed statistics for a selected month. For example: in March 1918, 15 marriages were concluded, 128 children were born (86 in Catholic families, 42 in Jewish families) and 233 people died in Lublin (including 205 local people, 28 visitors, 109 women and 124 men, 143 Christians and 90 Jews). The most frequently mentioned causes of death included: tuberculosis – 53, old age – 29, heart disease – 15, pneumonia and kidney inflammation – 10 deaths each. Among 123 infectious diseases, 97 cases of epidemic typhus and

<sup>6</sup> 93000 mieszkańców, 'Ziemia Lubelska' 12 January 1918 (mng), p. 3.

<sup>7</sup> APL, AmL 1915–1918, ref. no. 343, sheet 47.

<sup>8</sup> APL, AmL 1915–1918, ref. no. 348, sheet 62.

<sup>9</sup> APL, AmL 1915–1918, ref. no. 348, sheet 39. We can assume that some of the sheets have been removed.

<sup>10</sup> *Kronika Lubelska*, in: *Kalendarz Lubelski na rok zwyczajny 1919*, Lublin (October) 1918, p. 24.

<sup>11</sup> This is how Róża Fiszman remembered the return of her father from the war in 1918: 'When the door opened, Mom caught a terrible sight. Father had changed beyond recognition: he was skinny, unshaven, he was wearing a jacket with one sleeve longer than the other and a formal shoe on one foot and a wellington boot on the other. All this, including him, very dirty, apparently unwashed for weeks'. R. Fiszman-Sznajdman, *Mój Lublin*, Lublin 1989, p. 30. To learn more about the subject of repatriation to Poland, see: M. Korzeniowski, M. Mądzik, D. Tarasiuk, *Tułaczy los. Uchodźcy polscy w imperium rosyjskim w latach pierwszej wojny światowej*, Lublin 2007, passim.

<sup>12</sup> *Ruch ludności w Lublinie*, 'Głos Lubelski' 18 May 1918, p. 3.

single cases of diphtheria, scarlet fever and dysentery were reported<sup>13</sup>. Data from other months do not vary much from the above.

## 2. FOOD SUPPLY AND MARKET PROBLEMS

One of the basic problems of everyday life in Lublin was the lack of food<sup>14</sup>, although it should be mentioned that the situation was still slightly better than in other larger cities, such as Warsaw or Łódź. It was normal to see people faint from hunger in the streets. Rationing covered most of the basic products. The Department of Provisioning of the City Hall gave out bread, potatoes, bacon, groats, sugar and salt in exchange for ration stamps. Some goods were subject to full rationing – for example, bread, which was not allowed to be produced or sold in an uncontrolled manner because of the attempt to regulate the trade in flour, which was notoriously lacking. Bread was sold on specific days for a specific ration stamp, and when the purchase date passed, the stamp would become invalid and could be used only in a specified period, i.e. from 13 to 15 and from 27 to 30 of each month<sup>15</sup>. Every few months – at the beginning of March, for instance – bread rations for the residents were reduced, but even this did not help satisfy the allocated rations. At the beginning of the year, the Lublin Department of Provisioning received 46.5 wagons of flour for bread per month, but in the second quarter of the year the supply was reduced to just 20 wagons<sup>16</sup>. In August, the flour quota for noodles was not provided at all, and the quantity of flour for baking bread was reduced again. In September, the daily grain ration per person was 180 grams and 280 grams for workers in strenuous jobs<sup>17</sup>, an amount which could lead to fatal starvation. On account of the 9-day Passover holiday, the occupying authorities provided the Jewish community with

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<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>14</sup> For more information on the provisioning problems in the period, cf. T. Krzemiński, *K-Brot, marmolada i ziemniaki. Pożywienie mieszkańców Prus Zachodnich w czasie pierwszej wojny światowej*, 'Zapiski Historyczne' 2014, 79, 2, pp. 55–72; K. Sierakowska, *Śmierć – Wygnanie – Głód w dokumentach osobistych. Ziemie polskie w latach Wielkiej Wojny 1914–1918*, Warszawa 2015, pp. 189–229; M. Przeniosło, M. Przeniosło, *Codziennosc ludności cywilnej Królestwa Polskiego i Ziem Zabrzanych w latach Wielkiej Wojny*, in: *Jak Polacy przeżywali wojny światowe*, eds. T. Schramm, P. Skubisz, Szczecin 2016, pp. 78–80.

<sup>15</sup> [announcement of the Department of Administration], 'Głos Lubelski' 4 September 1918, p. 4.

<sup>16</sup> *Drożyzna chleba*, 'Głos Lubelski' 14 June 1918, p. 3.

<sup>17</sup> APL, AmL 1915–1918, ref. no. 348, sheet 39. This means that there was in fact even less flour.

a special flour in the amount of 3 pounds per person in exchange for ration stamps<sup>18</sup>. The problems described above led to a poor quality of bread. Producers resorted to unfair practices as a result of supply difficulties and the struggle for profit. In January, the press reported that the inhabitants of the city had been discovering potatoes, chaff, straw and even garbage in their bread<sup>19</sup>. At the beginning of April, in turn, stinking musty bread that squeaked between the teeth and was unfit for consumption appeared on the market in Lublin, mainly in the Piaski district<sup>20</sup>. The municipal authorities put the blame on the bakery, but it soon turned out that the reason was the admixture of potato and buckwheat flour. When such experiments stopped for a period, the quality of bread improved. However, reports of terrible bakery products returned in June and September<sup>21</sup>, and probably also appeared in other months. In this context, it is not surprising that already in 1917 no consent was given for the opening of candy (due to the lack of sugar) and biscuits factories (due to the lack of flour) in Lublin. The explanation given was that the refusal was 'owing to the lack of need for such an enterprise'<sup>22</sup>.

From November 1916 it was forbidden to bake and sell white bread. From 1 March 1917 a ban on serving any bread in restaurants or cafés was introduced, as customers were supposed to bring their own stamp rationed products<sup>23</sup>. Nonetheless, newspapers reported on illegal production of white bread<sup>24</sup>. From time to time, the Department of Provisioning would uncover bakeries without a licence, where several bags of flour were usually found. In such situations, semi-finished products and ingredients for baking were immediately confiscated, the facilities were closed down and the owners punished severely<sup>25</sup>. The press informing about the lack of bread was subject to censorship.

Rationing did not include meat, which could be purchased on the free market, but was more expensive from day to day. So-called meat-free days were introduced periodically: on Wednesdays and Fridays the Christian population could not buy, consume or even prepare this product. For religious reasons, Jews could prepare meat dishes on Fridays, so that

<sup>18</sup> [From the Department of Provisioning], 'Głos Lubelski' 10 March 1918, p. 6.

<sup>19</sup> *Domieszki chlebowe*, 'Ziemia Lubelska' 30 January 1918 (mng), p. 3.

<sup>20</sup> *Z niedomagań organizacyjnych*, 'Głos Lubelski' 15 April 1918, p. 3.

<sup>21</sup> APL, AmL 1915–1918, ref. no. 345, sheets 37 and 77.

<sup>22</sup> APL, AmL 1915–1918, ref. no. 95, sheets 4 and 5.

<sup>23</sup> APL, AmL 1915–1918, ref. no. 95, sheet 27.

<sup>24</sup> *Konfiskata białego pieczywa*, 'Głos Lubelski' 31 May 1918, p. 3.

<sup>25</sup> *Wykrycie potajemnych piekarń*, 'Głos Lubelski' 5 February 1918, p. 3.

they could eat them on Saturdays<sup>26</sup>. Such bans lasted for several months (e.g. from March to 24 May 1918) and were subsequently suspended. There was also a deficit of pork fat, even though it was rationed<sup>27</sup>. Newspapers called for the more prosperous to buy this commodity on the free market and give up food stamps, so that the needs of the poor could be met. Archival documents provide information about a significant event related to the above products. On 15 February 1918, the municipal police stopped a cart with meat and cold meat for the army. In order to protect the transported food from the desperate crowd, the policeman brought the cart to the courtyard of the City Hall. This strategy did not produce the expected results, because the masses entered the area and stole a load worth 16,280 crowns<sup>28</sup>. Consequently, the occupation administration demanded that the City Hall return the money. Still, there were no hunger riots in the city, even though they did occur in other parts of the country<sup>29</sup>.

As early as 1917, the following restrictions on sugar were introduced: 'Owners of restaurants and cafés, tea shops and confectioneries are prohibited from serving their guests more than **two lumps of sugar** in one glass or cup of tea or coffee [emboldening in the text by M.M.]. It is also forbidden to put sugar bowls on tables or provide them to customers'. Non-compliance with the prohibitions in this respect was punished with a fine of up to 2,000 crowns or imprisonment for up to 6 months<sup>30</sup>. It should be added that sugar was also rationed in the amount of 1.25 pounds per person monthly<sup>31</sup>. Similarly, potatoes could be bought for stamps in selected shops, but since 20 September free circulation of this commodity was abolished and full control was introduced, as in the case of bread<sup>32</sup>. Due to a good harvest, many fruits were available on the markets and in fruit shops, but the prices did not drop<sup>33</sup>. The difficult conditions prompted producers and sellers to look for alternative ways of earning money. The supply shortages also led to the adulterated quality of food products – during one milk inspection it was found that 42% of the samples had been mixed with water<sup>34</sup>.

People queuing in front of shops for many hours were a constant in the city landscape. Lublin inhabitants who wanted to buy bread (sometimes

<sup>26</sup> *W sprawie spożycia mięsa*, 'Głos Lubelski' 14 March 1918, p. 3.

<sup>27</sup> *Obiecanka–cacanka...*, 'Głos Lubelski' 7 February 1918, p. 5.

<sup>28</sup> APL, AmL 1915–1918, ref. no. 3, sheet 8; ref. no. 20, sheet 23.

<sup>29</sup> K. Sierakowska, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

<sup>30</sup> 'Dziennik Urzędowy Ces. i Król. Komendy Obwodowej w Lublinie' 1917, part 3, p. 13.

<sup>31</sup> *W sprawie artykułu: 'W wobec niebezpieczeństwa cholery'*, 'Głos Lubelski' 8 September 1918, p. 4.

<sup>32</sup> *Komunikat Wydziału Apropowacyjnego m. Lublina*, 'Głos Lubelski' 11 September 1918, p. 3.

<sup>33</sup> *W sprawie owoców*, 'Głos Lubelski' 23 August 1918, p. 3.

<sup>34</sup> *Z Rady Miejskiej*, 'Głos Lubelski' 3 February 1918, p. 4.

slack-baked), had to gather at a point of sale even at 4 a.m. to be able to buy goods at 8 a.m. and sometimes went home empty-handed<sup>35</sup>. Lines of waiting customers formed mainly in front of the facilities included in the list of the Department of Provisioning, as they sold stamp products, but even they sometimes experienced a lack of supply and a few hours of waiting could turn out to be a fool's errand<sup>36</sup>. The *Głos Lubelski* informed, for example, that Lublin citizens came to the Central Trade Office points to buy goods sold by the ell and stood in lines for hours. The national newspaper pointed out, however, that the queues were made up only of rural residents, which suggested that only they had enough money, probably earned from food products speculation<sup>37</sup>.

The growing problems with the provisioning of supplies were addressed in different ways. Poor Lublin inhabitants who wanted to lease pieces of land to cultivate them and thus provide themselves with food, came to the Section of Square Distribution operating at the City Hall<sup>38</sup>. For the same reasons, some of the city squares were turned into gardens. Another strategy involved attempts to change the habits: the Poviát Headquarters introduced a ban on painting eggs at Easter<sup>39</sup>, and the press encouraged people to buy fruit marmalade, which, according to advertisements, was supposed to 'partially replace butter'<sup>40</sup>, but the ingredients lists left much to be desired. The Department of Social Welfare, on the other hand, opened an eating house for the intelligentsia (so that they would not have to crowd with the poor and people of the lower classes), where cheap dinners were served between 1 and 4 p.m.<sup>41</sup> There were several such facilities in Lublin at that time. For example: in January 1918 there were 4 folk eating houses, 3 workers' eating houses, 1 student eating house and 1 intelligentsia eating house; in January 1918, the folk eating houses served over 47,000 dinners, of which over 41,500 were free; the workers' eating houses served 11,800 dinners, of which 1,300 were free; the student eating house served 7,200 dinners, of which 6,700 were free; the intelligentsia eating house served 3,800 dinners, of which 2,400 were free. In addition, there were 4 Jewish eating houses, including 2 folk

<sup>35</sup> *O chleb*, 'Głos Lubelski' 15 March 1918, p. 3.

<sup>36</sup> APL, AmL 1915–1918, ref. no. 5, sheet 60; cf. H.W., *Ogonki*, 'Głos Lubelski' 7 February 1918, p. 5.

<sup>37</sup> *Ogonek przed sklepem 'Centrali Handlowej' rośnie*, 'Głos Lubelski' 14 May 1918, p. 3.

<sup>38</sup> *Do mieszkańców miasta Lublina*, 'Głos Lubelski' 20 April 1918, p. 3.

<sup>39</sup> *Pisanek nie będzie*, 'Ziemia Lubelska' 14 March 1918 (mng), p. 4.

<sup>40</sup> 'Głos Lubelski' 11 September 1918, p. 1.

<sup>41</sup> APL, AmL 1915–1918, ref. no. 10, sheet 20; cf. *Kuchnia dla inteligencji*, 'Głos Lubelski' 17 March 1918, p. 5.

and 2 workers' kitchens, which served a total of 37,700 meals, 14,200 of which were free of charge<sup>42</sup>.

Finally, there were charity organizations in the city, such as the Lublin Region Rescue Committee, which provided loans and grants to private individuals, crèches, shelters for homeless children and facilities financing summer camps for poverty-stricken children or offering small loans for opening private businesses<sup>43</sup>. Similar activities were carried out by the Lublin Charity Society<sup>44</sup>.

In the discussed period, non-food goods, such as candles, lamp oil or coal, were also subject to rationing, which caused problems with lighting and heating of flats. Since April, candles were only given out in exchange for stamps. One could buy only one candle per room, but no more than 4 candles per flat<sup>45</sup>. What is important, the possession of larger stocks had to be declared and the surplus sold to the State. Caretakers received additional lamp oil stamps, as the oil was needed to light staircases. The lack of candles or lamp oil, however, meant darkness in houses, in corridors of tenement houses and in toilets. Soap was yet another monopolised product<sup>46</sup>.

It was even more difficult to buy coal, as its price was constantly increasing (in January a pood of thick coal cost 2.10 crowns, while a pood of all-in aggregate cost 1.60 crowns). Moreover, it was not possible to purchase coal on the free market, and when it was sold for stamps, it came in combined transactions of 1 pood of thick coal and 1 pood of less combustible all-in aggregate<sup>47</sup>. In the autumn, when winter was approaching, there was no coal at all and the efforts of the Department of Provisioning, which wanted to provide the city with wood for fuelling stoves, were unsuccessful. Later accounts stated that 'One bought [...] at most one or two poods (16 kg) of coal and a few pounds (400 g) of wood. Bigger purchases [...] were out of the reach of customers; everyone had to save money, despite the fact that families often had to endure freezing temperatures in their flats due to a lack of fuel. Purchased coal or wood was delivered by various carriers, recruited from the poorest. They were paid peanuts and at random'<sup>48</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> *Lublin w cyfrach*, 'Ziemia Lubelska' 30 March 1918 (mng), p. 2.

<sup>43</sup> Minutes of the meetings of the Executive Department of the Lublin Region Rescue Committee in 1918, see: APL, Komitet Ratunkowy Ziemi Lubelskiej, ref. no. 15, sheets 168–178.

<sup>44</sup> *Kronika Lubelska*, p. 24. For other such initiatives, see: *Ibidem*, pp. 21–25.

<sup>45</sup> One can only assume that the mentioned quantity described the weekly number of candles.

<sup>46</sup> APL, AmL 1915–1918, ref. no. 5, sheet 80.

<sup>47</sup> [From the Department of Provisioning], 'Głos Lubelski' 9 January 1918, p. 4.

<sup>48</sup> R. Fiszman-Sznajdman, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

After the Austrian occupation administration left, trade was freed, but the prices did not fall. Peasants abstained from selling food, waiting for the change of government in the hope of getting more profit. The situation did not improve much in the following years.

In 1918, rubles were still used for trade, but they were being slowly replaced by crowns due to devaluation. The currency price spikes were huge, especially in the second half of the year, and reached even several per cent a day, once in favour of one and another time in favour of the other<sup>49</sup>. German marks were also in circulation, but were used considerably less often. As has already been mentioned, supply shortages encouraged speculation and fraud. The phenomena affected all commodities and were the most visible in the case of basic necessities. Because Jews were mainly involved in trade, the blame most often fell on them. They were accused of buying food from peasants at tollgates or in the nearest villages, and of illegally exporting their products to other poviats where they could earn more money<sup>50</sup>. The situation was serious, as confirmed by press reports. One newspaper reported that a desperate customer had sued a shop owner in court because the latter demanded an exorbitant price for his fabric. The tradesman was finally sentenced, probably to set an example, to 3 months' imprisonment and had to pay 15 crowns of court fees<sup>51</sup>.

Market shortages and speculation led to an increase in inflation; one-off increases of 100% were not uncommon. For example, meat prices rose from 3.20 crowns to 6 crowns per pound in April<sup>52</sup> to reach 16–18 crowns in September. A quart of milk cost 2 crowns, a quart of cream – 10 crowns, a pound of cheese – 3 crowns, a quart of potatoes – 50 hellers, a quart of beans – 4 crowns, a quart of buckwheat groats – 2.80 crowns, a goose – 50 crowns, a turkey – 60 crowns, a hen – 30 crowns, a pound of apples – 2 crowns, a pound of marmalade – 3 crowns<sup>53</sup>. Other prices were as follows: a pound of butter cost 1.20 crowns before the war, and in the third quarter of the year the price had already soared to 26 crowns; a pound of pork fat went from 0.75 to 18, wholemeal bread from 0.10 to 0.70, good soap from 0.30 to 30, paraffin candles from 0.60 to 20, a bushel of good coal from 3 to 30, a pair of shoes from 25 to 500, clothing from 100 to 1500, etc. The average cost of a night in a hotel before the war was 3 crowns, and rose to 20 crowns in 1918.

<sup>49</sup> *Dziennik Juliusza Zdanowskiego*, p. 92.

<sup>50</sup> *Spekulacja mlekiem*, 'Głos Lubelski' 31 January 1918, p. 5.

<sup>51</sup> *Sensacyjna sprawa sądowa na tle drożyzny materiałów bławatnych*, 'Ziemia Lubelska' 1 September 1918, (mng), p. 2.

<sup>52</sup> *Z niedomagań organizacyjnych*, 'Głos Lubelski' 15 April 1918, p. 3. For more information on inflation, cf. APL, AmL 1915–1918, ref. no. 324, sheets 1–191.

<sup>53</sup> *Ceny targowe*, 'Ziemia Lubelska' 20 March 1918 (afternoon issue [hereinafter: aft.]), p. 2.

This was the increase that the press complained about most bitterly<sup>54</sup>, even though a pound of butter cost just as much at that time<sup>55</sup>. The *Głos Lubelski* reported that the owner of a shop in Szopena Street increased the price for a pair of shoes from 250 to 400 crowns within a month, which meant that some people had to work for a whole month to get one pair of shoes<sup>56</sup>. The most severe, however, were the increases in rents, with which tenants could not cope financially, and lease terminations caused by arrears in fees or the desire to raise the price of the rent<sup>57</sup>.

Poverty was deepened by the requisitions of various goods carried out by the occupation authorities throughout the entire war<sup>58</sup>. According to the regulations of the time, up to 30 kilograms of flour per person could be stored at home, but only on condition that a sworn statement was made that no bread stamps would be used. Flour and grain were confiscated from stamp holders. Stocks of lard, spirit, oil lamp, salt, sugar, eggs, legumes, potatoes, seeds and bran could only be stocked in the amount of the monthly allowance. Hemp and its seeds, flax and poppy seeds, and even bread with poppy seeds, were subjected to immediate requisitioning. The same procedure was applied to white bread, unless the owner had a special permit to own it, issued by the Imperial and Royal District Headquarters. In 1917, the trade and possession of nickel, copper, brass and bronze objects were banned<sup>59</sup>, so these goods, as well as tableware and kitchen utensils, boilers, crucibles, salvers, pestles and mortars made of these metals were seized immediately. If the inspection took place on a meat-free day and it was established that meat was being prepared in the facility, the meat was confiscated and only small quantities of the product were left for the meat day. There could only be as many products in shops and warehouses as provided in the documentation. Inspection committees also made sure that bakery and retail outlets did not place bread on tables and shelves 'in superfluous quantities' and that it was not sold outside the stamp system. In these and many other cases, the penalty for breaking the law was 2,000 crowns in fines or 6 months in prison. Only flats of public officials and imperial and royal military as well as infectious diseases houses were not subject to inspections<sup>60</sup>.

<sup>54</sup> M.S., *Dajemy głos*, 'Głos Lubelski' 29 September 1918, p. 4.

<sup>55</sup> *Z naszych trosk aprowizacyjnych*, 'Ziemia Lubelska' 25 July 1918 (mng), p. 2.

<sup>56</sup> *Jak drożeją buty!*, 'Głos Lubelski' 15 March 1918, p. 3.

<sup>57</sup> *Komunikat*, 'Głos Lubelski' 3 February 1918, p. 3.

<sup>58</sup> For more information on the subject of requisitioning in the Kingdom of Poland and the Russian Partition see: M. Przeniosło, M. Przeniosło, *op. cit.*, pp. 72–73.

<sup>59</sup> APL, AmL 1915–1918, ref. no. 5, sheets 81–82.

<sup>60</sup> APL, AmL 1915–1918, ref. no. 5, sheets 76–77; ref. no. 345, sheets *passim*.

The last year of the war brought no change. Despite the opposition of the City Hall, the authorities seized the bell of the City Clock<sup>61</sup>. Even metal door and window handles were confiscated, which had a strong impact on the temperature in the flats in winter. In June 1918, a decree came into force, which stated that citizens could own up to 10 sacks, and the remaining ones were to be sold to the Poviát Headquarters. Under this decree, non-compliance with the law was also punished with six-months' imprisonment<sup>62</sup>. A month later, another law was introduced, forcing people who possessed more than 5 litres of honey to resell the surplus to the Central Office of Raw Materials<sup>63</sup>. Butter and cheese were confiscated too. It was not until 17 October that the requisitions for the three food products were abolished<sup>64</sup>, and shortly after the occupation authorities began preparing for the evacuation, they announced that all requisitions had ceased.

### 3. FLATS

Unfortunately, the author could not find sources about flats in Lublin in the discussed period. Some information, however, is provided by Róża Fiszman's memoirs, but it concerns only the premises of the poorest Jews in the following years. It can be assumed, however, that there was no major change in this respect. The main features of homes in Lublin therefore included lack of room, sometimes dirt, humidity, often lack of furniture that people could not afford or lost to their creditors. Ms Fiszman wrote: 'The two rooms and a kitchen were no more than 25–30 square meters in size. When I was the only child, these rooms were enough. However, when the family grew to six people (including my parents), the lack of space became annoying, there was barely room to swing a cat. Sleeping arrangements were particularly troublesome. There was no way each of us could have their own bed. For the night, we would set up additional camp beds, which were very uncomfortable. The youngest children had to sleep in the two double beds of our parents. For many years, I and one of my brothers slept in our children's beds which were too short for our legs. [...] The lack of room was unbearable, various things that were necessary in everyday

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<sup>61</sup> 'Posiew' 1918, 14, pp. 111–112.

<sup>62</sup> *Rekwizycja worków*, 'Głos Lubelski' 19 June 1918, p. 3.

<sup>63</sup> *Rozporządzenie*, 'Głos Lubelski' 11 July 1918, p. 4.

<sup>64</sup> *Zniesienie rekwizycji masła, sera i miodu*, 'Głos Lubelski' 18 October 1918, p. 4.

life were placed everywhere around. For this reason, we were forced to use the space under the beds (with metal knobs, very popular when my parents were getting married), especially since they occupied almost the entire room'<sup>65</sup>. The following information was provided with regard to lighting: 'In summer, when the days were longer, the lighting did not cause too much trouble. Winters were a much worse time. We had to bring lamp oil and clean the lamp glass all the time. Despite all the procedures, the lighting in the premises was poor, and to top it all off, the lamp often produced a lot of smoke and filled the room with an unpleasant smell. What is more, the place was heated with an iron stove which caused all kinds of troubles. It never gave enough heat, and had to be protected from the rather frequent inspections of the fire brigade, who prohibited its use because of the risks it posed'<sup>66</sup>.

Flats owned by moderately well-off and wealthy people certainly looked different than described. The latter often had luxurious premises and the newer ones even featured flush toilets.

It is known, however, that the basic problem in 1918 was the general shortage of flats. Although the urban tissue of Lublin did not suffer as a result of direct warfare, the lack of any renovations contributed to the increasing depreciation of the residential infrastructure. The housing problems were aggravated by the large number of public officials and military of occupation, as 2,000 rooms were occupied for officer quarters, and an additional 600 for military offices<sup>67</sup>. The city paid all the expenses, but sometimes it so happened that nobody felt responsible for covering the appropriate fees.

As mentioned above, flat and tenement house owners terminated lease agreements with existing tenants en masse in order to raise the rent and catch up with inflation. Sometimes whole families were evicted. The *Głos Lubelski* reported, for example, that a family had been thrown out on the street from a flat, but the law did not allow for the eviction of a sick person, so 'things from the apartment were thrown out to the gate and the sick person remained [...] in his bed in the empty flat'<sup>68</sup>. In July, for a few dozen days, a ban was imposed on the forced removal of tenants from buildings in the Kingdom of Poland, but it did not solve the underlying problem.

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<sup>65</sup> R. Fiszman-Sznajdman, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–29.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 17.

<sup>67</sup> APL, AmL 1915–1918, ref. no. 5, sheet 122.

<sup>68</sup> *Fałszywy alarm*, 'Głos Lubelski' 14 August 1918, p. 3.

#### 4. HEALTH AND HYGIENE

The third great challenge that the city was facing, in addition to poverty and lack of housing, was a terrible level of hygiene. A general principle could be formulated here: the poorer the home, the street and the neighbourhood, the dirtier they were.

Hygiene problems in Lublin were exacerbated by the increasingly difficult access to water. Most dwellings had no access to running water and, as in previous periods, residents had to use municipal wells or visit stands that sold water (and then carry it home, sometimes to the 3rd or 4th floor, regardless of the season), and sometimes wait in queues that formed in front of them. Lublin's water problems were described in the Lublin Calendar: 'at five o'clock in the morning, people holding buckets, watering cans, jugs and all sorts of dishes to scoop water with begin to form lines near communal water mains. They tend to come with their whole families and the more members a family has, the more water it scoops for the whole day'<sup>69</sup>. However, even in those tenement houses where water should be available, it was more and more often the case that there was no access for weeks, especially during the day. Deficiencies in this area were observed not only on the upper floors, but also on the ground floor<sup>70</sup>. Moreover, in the middle of June, the Imperial and Royal Government Commissioner introduced an order to reduce water consumption by 25%<sup>71</sup>, which was to limit the already restricted access to it. There even was a threat of a complete closure of the water supply system due to the lack of coal powering the pumping machines.

Water problems also made doing daily laundry difficult, so it was not uncommon to use natural water reservoirs for this purpose. This is confirmed by the memories of Ms Fiszman, who wrote about the realities of life in Probostwo Street: 'Across the alley ran a tiny river, jokingly called the Kokebebe Sea. Women from the nearby streets used to come there to wash clothes, beating them with washing bats'<sup>72</sup>.

Hygiene problems also applied to retail outlets. Butchers were punished for dirt in slaughterhouses, food sellers for uncleanness in markets and streets, bakeries and shops were closed. Nonetheless, the effects of such actions were not long-lasting, as can be inferred from the frequency with

<sup>69</sup> Z. L., *Na lubelskim bruku*, in: *Kalendarz Lubelski*, p. 47.

<sup>70</sup> *W sprawie braku wody w mieście*, 'Głos Lubelski' 12 May 1918, p. 3.

<sup>71</sup> [untitled] 'Głos Lubelski' 17 June 1918, p. 2. More on the subject of water supply in the city, cf. S. Michałowski, *Sto lat współczesnych wodociągów w Lublinie 1899–1999*, Lublin 1999, pp. 40–44.

<sup>72</sup> R. Fiszman-Sznajdman, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

which news on this topic appeared in the press at that time. In addition, the *Głos Lubelski* reported that people who cut cold meats would often accept money from customers, disregarding hand hygiene<sup>73</sup>. Considering such habits and poor hygiene, it is therefore not surprising that food poisoning, which sometimes required calling an ambulance or even resulted in death, was a common occurrence.

War conditions, high migrations and lack of hygiene also caused numerous health problems. The poorest Lublin residents suffered from hunger, which caused frailty and increased susceptibility to epidemics. At that time, measles and epidemic typhus were going around. There were also cases of diphtheria, scarlet fever, dysentery and typhoid fever<sup>74</sup>. The situation was serious, considering that an epidemic of Spanish influenza broke out in the summer and at the end of the year, and the press was making predictions about a cholera outbreak<sup>75</sup>.

The healthcare infrastructure in Lublin in 1918 comprised 5 hospitals (including one private hospital for children), 4 private bath houses, one isolation house and one municipal disinfection facility<sup>76</sup>. Some of those suffering from infectious diseases were hidden by their families. They stayed at home for fear of the hospital or fees, thus increasing the risk of spreading diseases. Only in the second half of the year, the employees of the Sanitary Department of the City Hall disinfected 418 apartments, 2,053 people were put in isolation in infectious diseases houses, and 454 people had scabies removed<sup>77</sup>. Scabies creams and other drugs were constantly advertised. Taking into account such serious dangers, the threat of oral diseases or loss of teeth (often due to poverty) was just a minor issue. It should also be added that farm animals were at risk of diseases too.

For example, in April 1918, the ambulance of the Emergency Medical Service was called to 88 accidents, including 18 cuts, 1 bruising, 3 burns, 16 cases of food poisoning, 5 cases of fainting, 2 heart attacks, 8 emaciations, 3 pulmonary haemorrhages, 4 epilepsy seizures, 1 person hit by a car, 1 premature birth, 2 cases of mental illness and 2 sudden deaths<sup>78</sup>. If an infectious disease was suspected, it was necessary

<sup>73</sup> *Nieporządek*, 'Głos Lubelski' 17 February 1918, p. 5.

<sup>74</sup> APL, AmL 1915–1918, ref. no. 391, sheets *passim*; APL, AmL 1918–1939, ref. no. 2509, Department of Statistics in the City Hall of Lublin, sheets *passim*; ref. no. 1072, sheets *passim*; cf. [Report] 'Głos Lubelski' 14 September 1918, p. 4.

<sup>75</sup> *Hiszpańska epidemia w Lublinie*, 'Ziemia Lubelska' 1 August 1918, (mng), p. 2; *Przepisy sanitarne*, 'Głos Lubelski' 27 August 1918, p. 4.

<sup>76</sup> APL, AmL 1918–1939, ref. no. 3455, sheets 1v, 3v.

<sup>77</sup> APL, AmL 1915–1918, ref. no. 391, sheet 187.

<sup>78</sup> *Sprawozdanie z działalności Pogotowia Ratunkowego w Lublinie*, 'Głos Lubelski' 19 May 1918, p. 3.

to call a special ambulance designed for such cases. There was one incident connected with the emergency medical services system, which particularly shocked the Lublin community of that time. On 24 April in Foksal Street (today 1 Maja Street), a sixty year old man fainted and fell – as reported in the *Głos Lubelski*. The police laid him on wooden planks in a gate and called an ambulance. It arrived after four hours, but the physician suspected that the patient might have an infectious disease because of the high fever and ordered that a sanitary ambulance should be contacted. The sanitary ambulance could not come to the patient, because its staff had finished work (according to a second account they were looking for the patient at a different address). The help did not arrive until 25 hours later, but it turned out that the man that was still lying in the gate had died and most likely did not suffer from an infectious disease<sup>79</sup>.

As far as childbirth is concerned, home delivery with the assistance of a midwife was the most common. Surprisingly, very few cases of stillbirths were documented in the official files. It can be assumed, however, that most of such incidents were simply not reported to avoid problems<sup>80</sup>. This was certainly the case among the poor, and the neighbours were usually involved in a conspiracy of silence for pragmatic reasons. There is also no information on abortion, even though the procedure was undoubtedly performed and was subject to similar social habits.

Another very common phenomenon should definitely be mentioned when discussing the subject of diseases. It was described many years later by R. Fizman: 'My little brother [...] suddenly got sick. Our neighbour, Mrs Alter's mother, said that he had been jinxed by a bad mouth and the curse had to be removed. Mińcia claimed that her father was the best specialist in this field [...]. My mother gave us a piece of fabric from my brother's clothes and Mińcia and I took it to her father, who performed some strange ceremony. First of all, he burned the piece of fabric I had brought, mumbling some incomprehensible incantations'<sup>81</sup>. Again, it is not known what percentage of the Lublin community practised this type of quasi-medical procedures, but it is quite conceivable that the majority of the city's inhabitants were familiar with such customs.

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<sup>79</sup> *Szybka pomoc*, 'Głos Lubelski' 28 April 1918, p. 5.

<sup>80</sup> APL, AmL 1918–1939, ref. no. 2509, sheets *passim*.

<sup>81</sup> R. Fizman-Sznajdman, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

## 5. FREE TIME AND CULTURE

As in the case of most of the issues described above, it is very difficult to determine the ways of spending free time on the basis of sources concerning Lublin, especially as each of the groups of residents mentioned at the beginning of the article enjoyed different types of entertainment. The time of war did not have an impact on the basic pastimes done in the family circle and with neighbours. Ms Fizman illustrated circumstances which were probably common for most of the Lublin inhabitants in one way or another: 'The [so-called Jewish] hospital was surrounded by a low wall. Poor Jewish women used to come to the courtyard after lunch, looking for some rest, having dealt with the hardships of the day. They would exchange the 'latest news', and share their troubles and worries there, while their children found company to play with. Some played tip-cat, others rolled hoops, and yet other ones tossed a ball made of rags'<sup>82</sup>. Of course, there were many more places in the city where people would meet to talk or gossip. In her memoir, Ms Fizman also looked back to a later period, which was no different from 1918: 'People discussed different topics, played cards. In winter, women and children would often pluck feathers together'<sup>83</sup>. One could also spend their free time walking around the city, including the Saxon Garden, where children sledged in winter. Due to the fact that sledging was harmful for the Garden, the City Hall decided to create a sledging track in a square in Długosza Street instead. The track was opened to the public on 23 December 1917<sup>84</sup>, but Lublin residents could also indulge in this form of entertainment in many other places in the city, as snow clearing was done very poorly.

During the warmer months, the residents could also ride bicycles, although not many decided to do so – in 1917 there were about 70 such vehicles in Lublin<sup>85</sup>. What is more, one had to get a card and number every year to move around the city. This required filing an application for the exemption of bike rubber from requisition and paying the appropriate fee. If the driving licence was renewed, the old document had to be submitted. If a new one was to be issued, it was necessary to bring a photo and a certificate of bicycle riding skills issued by the Cyclists' Club of Lublin<sup>86</sup>.

Unfortunately, the available sources do not allow us to determine the percentage of people who participated in cultural activities. In Lublin,

<sup>82</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 81.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 19–20.

<sup>84</sup> *Tor saneczkowy*, 'Głos Lubelski' 1 January 1918, p. 10.

<sup>85</sup> APL, AmL 1915–1918, ref. no. 5, sheet 571.

<sup>86</sup> *W sprawie pozwoleń na prawo jazdy na rowerach*, 'Głos Lubelski' 1 May 1918, p. 3.

one could attend sophisticated events, hosted in the Grand Theatre and by the Music Society of Lublin<sup>87</sup>, as well as unrefined ones, which were more popular and suited the tastes of the broad audience. In 1918, the available options included the Jewish Pantheon Theatre in Jezuicka Street, the Czarny Kot Theatre at 48 Krakowskie Przedmieście Street, the Venus Theatre at 21 Foksal Street, the Corso Theater, the Oaza or the Cud<sup>88</sup>. Unsophisticated films, such as *The Maharaja's Favourite Wife* or *The Melodies of the Soul*, were the most popular at that time. The Bajka, a 'light theatre' in the open air (72/78 Krakowskie Przedmieście Street), where, apart from films, one could watch wrestling fights, started operating at the end of June<sup>89</sup>. The theatrical performances were complemented by slideshows of photographs from the front<sup>90</sup>, while the Lublin Merchant Society, for example, organised a hypnosis show.

The press reported that on 17 August, on the occasion of Emperor Charles' birthday, services were held in the garrison and Evangelical churches, as well as in the Orthodox church, followed by a military parade and a festival in the afternoon in the Saxon Garden<sup>91</sup>. During the discussed period, the Garden was very often rented to various charity organisations, which organised fairs and dances with raffles and other games. However, due to the war and the prevailing poverty, the inhabitants were reminded by the press to give up dancing during such events. There were also restaurants in the city, where the wealthier could get a meal and have some fun. One example was the Krakowski Bar, which attracted customers by offering music and spirits from all over the world. People resorted to these measures to break away from the hardships of war and keep a semblance of a normal life.

Lublin inhabitants could also enjoy more refined forms of entertainment. Different institutions organised lectures on various topics. In 1918, for example, there were lectures titled *On Electromagnetic Phenomena*, *Electrical Bells*, *the Telegraph*, *the Telephone* and *Books and Their Significance in Human Lives*. In December, a higher education institution, the University of Lublin, was opened. The Educational Society, in turn, opened a library in the working class suburb of Bronowice, where members could use a book collection of 800 volumes for 60 hellers a month<sup>92</sup>.

<sup>87</sup> *Kronika Lubelska*, in: *Kalendarz Lubelski*, pp. 27–28.

<sup>88</sup> APL, AmL 1915–1918, ref. no. 189, sheet 6.

<sup>89</sup> E.g. 'Głos Lubelski' 13 August 1918, p. 1; 'Dziennik Lubelski' 14 November 1918.

<sup>90</sup> E.g. 'Głos Lubelski' 27 January 1918, p. 1.

<sup>91</sup> *Dzień urodzin cesarza Karola*, 'Głos Lubelski' 19 August 1918, p. 2.

<sup>92</sup> *Kronika*, 'Posiew' 1918, 8, p. 63.

## 6. MISFORTUNES AND ACCIDENTS

The press reported on all sorts of accidents every day. One of the common ones was being hit by a horse-drawn carriage. The victims were mainly children and the elderly, who failed to walk away from the street quickly enough<sup>93</sup>. In addition, there was a case, probably the only one that year, of a child who was hit by a car, even though the number of automobiles in the city was very small at that time. The press of that period was buzzing with all sorts of reports. A woman escaped from the hospital after giving birth, someone stole a donation box, a child broke their leg while playing, a man returned from Russia with a second wife despite not having divorced the first one, someone asked in a press advertisement for the return of stolen documents and at least half the money, a thief stole a goat and then abandoned it in the street. In Przemysłowa Street, a thirteen-year-old boy died from carbon monoxide poisoning<sup>94</sup>, while at a different address a whole family shared the boy's fate. At 9 p.m. on 11 September, the equipment caught on fire in the Cud Cinema at 54 Krakowskie Przedmieście Street, causing panic among the audience. Fortunately, according to the newspapers, no one was injured except the operator<sup>95</sup>. Such more or less fortunate events were an integral component of the everyday life in Lublin.

The extremely difficult conditions in the city resulted in an increase in the number of suicide attempts, which at that time were reported by the media every few days. Desperate residents most often used different poisonous liquids, including hydrochloric acid. Suicides by hanging and self-inflicted injuries were only slightly less frequent. These acts were usually committed in secluded places, in houses and sheds, but there were also other singular cases. According to the *Głos Lubelski*, during the night of 3 and 4 February a 26-year-old French teacher from Liège tried to poison herself in a café. She was brought to this by her terrible financial situation<sup>96</sup> and it seems that economic troubles were the most common cause of suicide attempts at that time. The level of poverty is further borne out by the following event described in a newspaper: in July, a widow was unable to bury her husband and had to go from house to house and beg for money for his coffin for a whole week.

<sup>93</sup> *Przejechanie czteroletniego dziecka*, 'Głos Lubelski' 1 September 1918, p. 5.

<sup>94</sup> *Śmiertelne zacczadzenie*, 'Głos Lubelski' 6 January 1918, p. 5.

<sup>95</sup> *Pożar w kinematografie*, 'Głos Lubelski' 13 September 1918, p. 3.

<sup>96</sup> *Zamach samobójczy*, 'Głos Lubelski' 6 February 1918, p. 4.

## 7. CRIME AND OFFENCES

In 1918, crime was common and much more frequent than before the war. Thefts were the biggest plague – the municipal police could not cope with it at all, because at the end of December 1918 it had only 179 employees<sup>97</sup>. Only throughout three months six hundred and eighty-two thefts were reported<sup>98</sup>, which was why there were attempts to introduce additional security measures, including night caretakers and lighting in hallways and staircases<sup>99</sup>. By the decision of the Imperial and Royal Poviát Headquarters, caretakers were obliged to close the gates of houses at 11 p.m. of the summer time from 16 April to 16 September<sup>100</sup>, and at 10 p.m. from 1 October. It should be added, however, that householders deliberately opened the gates earlier than they should<sup>101</sup>, which helped them earn extra money. Despite the additional security measures, thieves stole almost everything. Due to the increasing prices of clothes, the frequency of thefts of laundry hanging in attics rose dramatically, which forced residents to change their habits and hang it in their own rooms<sup>102</sup>. It should be added that in the discussed period houses were broken into not only during the day, when there were no tenants, but also during the night, when the owners were present. One of the cases was described in the press: during the night of 24 and 25 January, Dawid Sztejn had a thousand crown's worth of clothes stolen from the attic of his house at 38 Ruska Street. That same night, unknown perpetrators also broke into Chil Bajer's shop at 8 Lubartowska Street and took 4 poods of candy, 15 bottles of essence and a pot of goose lard weighing 40 pounds. The value of the stolen products was estimated at 1,500 crowns<sup>103</sup>. Theft also occurred in the streets. At Krakowskie Przedmieście, as in all markets, there were always pickpockets who sometimes operated as whole gangs. Even hired carriers resorted to dishonest practices and robbed their clients. People who were deported from the Kingdom of Poland to Russia in 1915 and had just come back also sometimes fell victim to thievery. In some cases,

<sup>97</sup> The employees included: the head, two assistants, 4 commissioners, 4 deputies, 16 district constables, 134 constables, 4 secretaries, 5 clerks, 8 agents, 1 janitor. APL, AmL 1915–1918, ref. no. 4, sheet 17; *Skład lubelskiej milicji*, 'Ziemia Lubelska' 12 January 1918 (mng), p. 3.

<sup>98</sup> *Kradzieże w Lublinie*, 'Ziemia Lubelska' 13 January 1918 (mng), p. 3.

<sup>99</sup> *W sprawie bezrobocia stróżów*, 'Głos Lubelski' 10 January 1918, p. 5.

<sup>100</sup> *Obwieszczenie*, 'Głos Lubelski' 12 April 1918, p. 4.

<sup>101</sup> *Samowola stróżów domowych*, 'Głos Lubelski' 30 October 1918, p. 4.

<sup>102</sup> *Masowe kradzieże garderoby i bielizny*, 'Głos Lubelski' 21 July 1918, p. 4.

<sup>103</sup> *Kradzieże*, 'Głos Lubelski' 28 January 1918, p. 4.

they were invited to private houses and deprived of their property<sup>104</sup>. More often, however, Lublin inhabitants did indeed provide help and inquire about relatives who had not yet managed to return to the country.

At the railway station in Piaski Suburb there were usually groups of children and adults who, upon the arrival of the train, insistently offered porter services, shoe cleaning or the sale of various articles<sup>105</sup>. These groups often incorporated petty thieves, but also people who snatched passengers' luggage. Unfair conduct could at times be observed in shops when products were weighed, and although there is no data on the scale of this practice, the reality described above suggests that it was widespread.

Most unlit streets in the city and the whole suburbs were very dangerous. There were more and more attacks, because in the darkness, gangs of thugs felt at ease and remained unpunished. They prowled around the gate in the Trynitaraska Tower, on Jezuicka Street, Chopin Street<sup>106</sup> and many other places, especially in the suburbs, where there were no police stations<sup>107</sup>. At night, one could hear the singing and screaming of drunken city residents returning from drinking sprees, who often engaged in fights, for example on Krakowskie Przedmieście Street, Trzeciego Maja Street, Szpitalna Street or Tadeusza Kościuszki Street and obviously in the whole city centre<sup>108</sup>. Assaults occurred even during the day and it can be assumed that the majority of such incidents was not reported to law enforcement authorities. The press mainly reported more serious incidents involving guns (or knives, or clubs), where victims were seriously injured. For example: during the night of 20 and 21 May, at a wedding held in a tenement house in Św. Ducha Street, a fight broke out, in which one of the participants was stabbed in the back and another one received a few blows to the head<sup>109</sup>. Yet another knife attack took place during the May Day parade and it seems that it was politically motivated. In Wieniawa Suburb, a man severely beat his wife, who was then taken to the hospital<sup>110</sup>, and an inhabitant of Dolna Marii Panny Street was hit in the head by a neighbour and had to seek medical help<sup>111</sup>. It must be reiterated that a number of such incidents was quite substantial.

<sup>104</sup> *Ostrzeżenie*, 'Głos Lubelski' 29 March 1918, p. 4.

<sup>105</sup> *Z miasta*, 'Głos Lubelski' 28 February 1918, p. 3.

<sup>106</sup> *Napad bandycki w śródmieściu*, 'Głos Lubelski' 9 January 1918, p. 3.

<sup>107</sup> *Napad bandycki na przedmieścia*, 'Głos Lubelski' 10 February 1918, p. 5; cf. e.g. APL, AmL 1918–1939, ref. no. 1553, sheet 10.

<sup>108</sup> *Nocne awantury*, 'Głos Lubelski' 2 September 1918, p. 2.

<sup>109</sup> *Pogotowie Ratunkowe na weselu*, 'Głos Lubelski' 22 May 1918, p. 3.

<sup>110</sup> *Pobita przez męża*, 'Głos Lubelski' 13 August 1918, p. 3.

<sup>111</sup> *W bójkę z sąsiadem*, 'Głos Lubelski' 13 August 1918, p. 3.

However, every dozen or so days more serious crimes took place, among which there were truly thrilling cases. One of such episodes was the murder of a wealthy and respected co-owner of a pharmacy warehouse. On 1 March at 2 p.m. in the gate at Wieniawska Street, a man walking with a child was shot five times by a woman who, as it turned out later, was the ex-masseuse of the victim. The perpetrator escaped, but was captured after a short chase by a random passer-by in the Litewski Square<sup>112</sup>.

In the discussed period, there were also cases of missing children and teenagers. Some of them were never found, which caused various speculations and rumours. Violence against children was rather the norm, whether in families, at school, among strangers or among minors themselves. The time of war and the traditional role models in the society were not conducive to humanitarianism.

Escapes of prisoners from the Lublin prison, which were typically recorded every dozen or so days, were another serious issue. Every few days, on the other hand, there were cases of desertion from the military. Interestingly, this phenomenon intensified mainly in November and December 1918<sup>113</sup>. Still, we can safely assume that such persons rarely stayed in the city. Most of them tried to run away as quickly as possible, so they did not pose any additional risks.

The situation with respect to safety did not change until the end of the year. As a result, Stefan Plewiński, Polish Government Commissioner, declared a state of emergency in the entire Lublin Poviát on 4 November (the military authorities had previously imposed it in Lublin). Restaurants and taverns were to close at 8 p.m., it was forbidden to walk around the city in groups of over a dozen people and there was an 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. curfew<sup>114</sup>. Illegally possessed weapons were confiscated. It is worth mentioning that when the Austrian occupying power had withdrawn completely, there were many weapons left behind that were subsequently looted<sup>115</sup>. Despite the restrictions, the streets were still unsafe – shots could be heard at night, which were sometimes fired by patrolling soldiers and other times by unknown perpetrators. The number of assaults on passers-by in the city centre and robberies in shops and private homes did not decrease either.

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<sup>112</sup> *Zamordowanie ś.p. Jana Magierskiego*, 'Ziemia Lubelska' 2 March 1918 (mng), p. 2; 'Głos Lubelski' 2 March 1918, p. 3.

<sup>113</sup> 'Gazeta Śledcza' 30 December 1918, pp. 1–3.

<sup>114</sup> *Stan wyjątkowy*, 'Głos Lubelski' 5 November 1918, p. 3; cf. S. Krzykała, *Lublin w okresie walk rewolucyjnych 1918–1920*, in: *Dzieje Lublina*, vol. II, ed. S. Krzykała, Lublin 1975, pp. 10–15.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. *Dziennik Juliusza Zdanowskiego*, p. 20.

Minor offences, the number of which increased immeasurably during the war, were an equally great problem encountered in everyday life in Lublin. Penalties were imposed on carriage drivers and caretakers who violated the regulations in force; on parents for failing to report the birth of their children; on building owners for failing to repair pavements in front of their properties; on tradeswomen for illegal trade or, for example, diluting milk. Fines were imposed repeatedly for sanitary disorder and after-hours trading<sup>116</sup>. There were penalties for underground card games. Press reports noted that a man named Benjamin Tochlerman was ordered to pay a fine of 20 crowns or spend 2 days in prison for 'failure to maintain order in the caretaker's premises despite the demand of the municipal police'. Salomon Biersztein was sentenced to serve 5 days in jail for resistance to law enforcement authorities and to pay a 20 crown fine 'for unnecessary abuse of a cat'<sup>117</sup>, while Icek Ejbuszyc and Szyja Maliniak had to pay 50 crowns each 'for persistently standing in front of Semadeni's confectionery and obstructing traffic'<sup>118</sup>. Lublin newspapers were full of such information, but on occasion exceptional events were also covered. For example, there was a mention of a sabre duel which was to take place on 20 September<sup>119</sup>. Auctions of various objects and furniture, and even cows and pigs<sup>120</sup>, belonging to people who were in arrears with their rent or taxes, were often advertised in the press. Each such case was a disaster for the family that had to lose their belongings.

Finally, according to the report of the new head of the municipal police, the restructuring of the institution and its agency in the last two months of the year helped to send 28 burglars, 12 horse thieves, 20 fences, 7 fugitives from prison or hospitals to court. The police prided themselves on their increased effectiveness in solving cases, but the declared 70% looters detection rate should be taken with a pinch of salt<sup>121</sup>.

## 8. APPEARANCE OF THE CITY

Urban space was subject to constant degradation as well. According to the 1918 questionnaire, buildings in the city centre were made of brick (although there were many wooden buildings, for example in the

<sup>116</sup> *Kary za różne przekroczenia*, 'Głos Lubelski' 2 September 1918, p. 2.

<sup>117</sup> The article titled *Wyroki sądowe* ('Ziemia Lubelska' of 12 July 1918, p. 3) indicated that the case involved a horse, and this version seems more plausible.

<sup>118</sup> *Wyroki Kr.-Pol. Sądu Pokoju 3-go w Lublinie*, 'Głos Lubelski' 11 July 1918, p. 3.

<sup>119</sup> *Osobiste*, 'Głos Lubelski' 21 August 1918, p. 3.

<sup>120</sup> *Obwieszczenie*, 'Głos Lubelski' 21 June 1918, p. 4.

<sup>121</sup> APL, AmL 1915–1918, ref. no. 4, sheet 22.

Jewish district, that were not taken into account). In the suburbs, such as Wieniawa and Kalinowszczyzna, 50% of the buildings were supposedly made of wood (but, again, it seems that the percentage value might have been slightly higher; even when the ground floor was made of brick, attics were usually made of wood and the houses were past their prime anyway). In the city centre, squares and streets were paved, but in the suburbs this was true only for about 10% of the communication routes. Finally, there were gas lamps in all streets in the city centre, but some of them were not lit. In the suburbs, on the other hand, there was no street lighting at all<sup>122</sup>.

Many tenement houses were dilapidated and more so because of the lack of repairs and maintenance. In the end of August, a two-storey house collapsed in Szeroka Street, but fortunately most of the residents managed to escape. Initially, local newspapers reported that a tenant who did not want to leave the building died in the incident, believing that the warning against collapse was a clever method of throwing her out of the tenement house because of rent arrears. The press revelations did not come true, as, although the house collapsed and everyone lost their belongings, only one person was injured<sup>123</sup>.

In some tenement houses people complained about holes in the roofs, as a result of which the front corner rooms on the second floor were flooded with water that leaked profusely through the ceilings during rain (later even with water mixed with clay and lime)<sup>124</sup>. Water was pouring down the heads of passers-by from torn-off gutters. Despite admonitions, laundry, carpets and old furniture were kept on balconies, disfiguring the appearance of the city. Some would shake the dust off carpets and bed linen on the balconies, including in the main streets, without paying any attention to passers-by or to the press, which repeatedly condemned such behaviour<sup>125</sup>.

Information about the appearance of the city can also be found in memoirs. Majer Bałaban described houses located along Krawecka Street in the following way: 'The only thing these houses have in common, however, is that they are all in ruins, with roofs in disrepair, cracked foundations, crooked stairs and countless residents. To top it all off, they are all in different colours, which makes the area look even more outlandish. The buildings and back streets are where the poorest people live, and typhus hardly ever disappears'<sup>126</sup>. The description shows that the suburbs looked similar: 'Wieniawa looks like a village. Small one-

<sup>122</sup> APL, AmL 1918–1939, ref. no. 3455, sheet 1v.

<sup>123</sup> *Kronika*, 'Posiew' 1918, 28, p. 123; *Sprostowanie*, 'Głos Lubelski' 15 August 1918, p. 4.

<sup>124</sup> M. Horecki, *Listy do Redakcji*, 'Głos Lubelski' 21 August 1918, p. 3.

<sup>125</sup> *Niepoprawni*, 'Głos Lubelski' 28 March 1918, p. 3.

<sup>126</sup> M. Bałaban, *Żydowskie miasto w Lublinie*, Lublin 1991, p. 109.

storey houses with porches and gardens, vegetable plots and wells do not give away any traces of the ancient settlement or the proximity of the city. Czechów (also called Czechówka) is located closer to Lublin and is separated from Wieniawa by a large and beautiful garden. On the side of a long marshy pond, there runs a road connecting the two towns [in 1918 it was a part of the town – M. M.]. A small mill, connected with the city by a narrow, muddy road, rattles day and night. Along the road, on which half-naked children play in the street mud and cast shy glances at passers-by, stand small, disintegrating houses, squeezed together in a disorderly fashion<sup>127</sup>. In contrast, Lubartowska Street looked completely different: 'The street looks quite peculiar. Next to the small hovels there are four-storey houses with modern façades, which fill the district with an air of grandeur. They are inhabited by wealthy Orthodox Jews and merchants, who own wholesalers and shops in this street. The street is always crowded and one can buy almost everything there, as it is a market where all sorts of items are traded, including rubles and crowns, which were the favourite subject of speculation during the occupation. Carriers wrapped in ropes stand near the shops, waiting for an opportunity to earn some money. They are strong Jews with big hands – the opposite of the learned but wheezy Talmudists we met in schools and klauses in Szeroka Street'<sup>128</sup>. Ms Fiszman described the street as follows: 'Mostly poor people lived in my house [47 Lubartowska Street – M. M.]. They usually did not have two pennies to rub together, only few of them had any fixed income, and they were always worrying about how to get the money to pay for the most important item in their budget – the rent. The house owners lived on the first and second floor of the front part of the building. The tenants who lived above them were in the worst situation. They passed the owners' doors on tiptoes and could only breathe again when they met none of them, not even the maid. Tested and proven methods were used to oppress tenants. The key to the attic, where the clothes were hung to dry, was kept in the owners' flat. Those in arrears with their rent could not use it, and the laundry had to be done often, because the families were large and everyone had few clothes. The second method of bullying the inhabitants was shutting off water supply. Everyone had to go to the water supply point at the market, on the corner of Lubartowska Street. Long queues formed, as it was the only tap in this area. We had to pay for the water and carry it a long way'<sup>129</sup>.

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<sup>127</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 123.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 120.

<sup>129</sup> R. Fiszman-Sznajdman, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–8.

## 9. THE STREETS

The most commonly used languages in Lublin were Polish and Jewish. Russian had disappeared (although some Jews used it to talk with Poles) and was replaced by German. There was illegal trade in the gates and on the streets; adults and children sold fruit and vegetables, but, in fact, one could buy all kinds of small things from them. Sellers stood in front of the hotels in Krakowskie Przedmieście Street, Początkowa Street or Kapucyńska Street, while carriers could be found outside the City Hall in Łokietka Street. In the same streets – and also on a permanent basis – one could also meet women collecting money for various charities or selling stamps or flowers, for example heather, to donate the money they made.

The number of beggars, including child beggars, increased because of the war. The latter were more insistent than the adults. They stopped or followed random people on the streets, crying and nagging about their real or imaginary misfortunes. Child beggars often forced people to buy flowers stolen from private gardens or cemeteries to avoid being sent to the orphanage in Namiestnikowska Street. The *Głos Lubelski* speculated that they might have been forced to beg by their parents and informed that they spent their money in confectioneries<sup>130</sup>. This interpretation, however, does not seem to hold water.

In the summer, Lublin residents started to wear wooden sandals (clogs) more and more often. They were uncomfortable, but were a cheaper choice in view of the drastic increases in shoe prices<sup>131</sup>. A curious thing happened at the end of May and beginning of June. People walked around the city barefoot and seemed not to have a single care that such behaviour went beyond the accepted norms. This was attributed to the heat (25 degrees) and their desire to save shoes. Some did not wear hats either, which was seen as both a lack of good taste and exposure to health problems<sup>132</sup>.

As far as pavements are concerned, the best ones ran along the main streets of Lublin and were worse and worse as one moved further away from the heart of the city. In spite of the police prohibitions in force, heavy objects were transported by carts on the pavements, which supposedly led to the devastation of the surface. The paving, which had not been repaired for years, was indeed ruined everywhere except for the very centre of the city. There were many complaints about the condition of pavements

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<sup>130</sup> *W sprawie dzieci żebraków*, 'Głos Lubelski' 13 May 1918, p. 3; *Opieka nad nieletnimi żebrakami*, 'Głos Lubelski' 6 April 1918, p. 3.

<sup>131</sup> *Praktyczna moda*, 'Ziemia Lubelska' 22 June 1918 (mng), p. 3.

<sup>132</sup> *Z miasta*, 'Głos Lubelski' 14 June 1918, p. 3.

in Jezuicka Street, Zamojska Street and many others. According to the police records, Nadbystrzycka Street, Krawiecka Street, Zamkowa Street, Furmańska Street, Olejna Street, Rybna Street, etc. were also devastated<sup>133</sup>. On the other hand, in the suburbs, i.e. in a large part of the city, there were neither roads nor pavements, so during downpours they simply drowned in mud.

Street light also left much to be desired. Although gas lamps burned in the centre of Lublin, some streets, such as Jezuicka, Złota, Dominikańska, Archidiakońska, and even Rynek Street behind the Tribunal was sometimes dim after sunset<sup>134</sup>. The remaining districts sank in darkness at night, because there were no lamps at all, which – as has been mentioned – was conducive to assaults, but it was ‘the usual way’. The electric lighting installed in the café in the Saxon Garden and along its main alley became a sensation<sup>135</sup>. As far as the Garden is concerned, it is worth mentioning that in the summer two dogs were brought there for the entertainment of the visitors. Unfortunately, one of them was killed by a dog, which was why a ban on entering the Garden with animals was introduced. There was also discontent with regard to youngsters who destroyed the lawns and picked flowers there.

The war also had an impact on the uncleanliness of the streets. Market squares and streets were littered and no-one wanted to clean them up. Special regulations were therefore issued, ordering that due to the poor state of health in the city, caretakers should rinse rubbish with water before removing it, and cover sewage with freshly prepared lime on the bottom, not on the top and sides, to filter and disinfect the flowing liquids. Travelling salesmen, beggars and sellers were to be removed from the buildings<sup>136</sup>. Despite such regulations, the cleanliness of most streets did not meet the above standards. Even though caretakers were forbidden to throw rubbish out on the streets (this could only be done when the rubbish cart was passing by), only few adhered to such restrictions<sup>137</sup>. One of the worst examples was Szambelańska Street, which was famous for its uncleanliness. It was paved, but in the middle there was a gutter for sewage that was poured onto the street. The gutter had no drain, so the waste rotting in it was a source of multiplying germs. The residents complained

<sup>133</sup> APL, AmL, 1915–1918, ref. no. 273, sheets 70, 72, 75, 78, 79.

<sup>134</sup> E.g. APL, AmL 1915–1918, ref. no. 245, sheet 20.

<sup>135</sup> *Elektryczność w Ogrodzie Miejskim*, ‘Głos Lubelski’ 14 May 1918, p. 3; cf. APL, AmL 1915–1918, ref. no. 267, sheet 33.

<sup>136</sup> APL, AmL 1915–1918, ref. no. 215, sheet 109; *Rozkaz Naczelnika M.M.*, ‘Głos Lubelski’ 9 July 1918, p. 3.

<sup>137</sup> *O porządek na mieście*, ‘Ziemia Lubelska’ 11 April 1918 (mng), p. 4.

about polluted air, especially on warm days<sup>138</sup>. It was actually no different in other places, which were seemingly much more representative. As far as Szpitalna Street, Krakowskie Przedmieście Street (near the Saxon Garden and Szopena Street) and the corner of Namiestnikowska Street (now Narutowicza) and Górna Street were concerned, press reports informed as follows: 'the air is filled with such a sickening stench that it is difficult to breathe; the worst smell surrounds the house in Namiestnikowska Street, where sewage runs off to the street gutter from the cesspool (which is located right beside the pavement) [...]'<sup>139</sup>. A similar image emerges from the memories of Ms Fiszman, who lived in Lubartowska Street in the discussed period: 'The toilet was always full, yellow liquid was pouring out into the courtyard, the only place for children to play. One had to perform acrobatic stunts to leave the place in a decent state and avoid the rats and cats that always accompanied the visitors. [...] The cleaning specialists made a terrible noise with their barrels, and the sounds could be heard almost all over the street, and the smell was unbearable. It took many days for this smell to disappear'<sup>140</sup>. Sewage collection usually took place during the busiest hours of the day, but it was done in a careless manner and with the use of leaking barrels, the contents of which poured out onto the streets during transport<sup>141</sup>. Problems with cleanliness were described in the newspapers of the time: 'In the water supply square in Namiestnikowska Street there is a permanent stopping place for carts, and since the square has no owner, nobody feels obliged to sweep it, as a result of which piles of waste cover the pavement and poison the air, and are never cleaned up'<sup>142</sup>. Such views and smells could certainly be found in those areas, which were located a bit further from the very centre of the city. Unfortunately, very little is known about industrial pollution, but it can be suspected that it was very troublesome for the area. For years, the chicory factory in Kośminek released its waste freely, polluting the pavement and the street<sup>143</sup>. The Czechówka River was also dirty<sup>144</sup>.

There were even more troubles in winter. Caretakers were obliged to remove snow, break ice and pour sand on the pavement in front of their buildings, but usually these recommendations were not followed (Lublin

<sup>138</sup> *O uliczce Szambelańskiej*, 'Głos Lubelski' 29 April 1918, p. 3.

<sup>139</sup> *Stara historia*, 'Głos Lubelski' 31 January 1918, p. 5.

<sup>140</sup> R. Fiszman-Sznajdman, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>141</sup> *Zanieczyszczenie miasta za zgodą władz miejskich*, 'Ziemia Lubelska' 26 July 1918 (mng), p. 3.

<sup>142</sup> *Z nieporządków miejskich*, 'Ziemia Lubelska' 10 September 1918, (mng), p. 3.

<sup>143</sup> *Jeszcze w sprawie nieporządków*, 'Głos Lubelski' 31 January 1918, p. 5.

<sup>144</sup> Z. L., *Na lubelskim bruku*, p. 46.

was completely buried in snow during the winter strike of caretakers). The situation changed periodically after police interventions and financial penalties<sup>145</sup>. In summer, pavements were to be flushed with water and swept twice a day – at 7 a.m. and between 2 p.m. and 3 p.m.<sup>146</sup>. However, this was not done either. Dirt and dust were carried by the blowing wind, and, additionally, sometimes during storms sign boards would fall down, injuring passers-by. During the fruit season, strollers spat out cherry seeds on the ground, especially near benches<sup>147</sup>. The worst situation was in those places where buildings were close together, for example, in Zamojska Street. Animals caused troubles too. In Ogrodowa Street, someone first grazed horses, then goats, which bit the bark off trees<sup>148</sup>, and finally also cows, which left droppings on the street<sup>149</sup>. Despite such serious shortcomings, one could find places in Lublin, mainly in the centre, where paved roads were well maintained and tidiness prevailed, and the area looked more metropolitan.

The most serious conditions could probably be observed in the suburbs, which were purely agricultural in nature, especially as regards the areas annexed in 1916. This is evidenced by the fact that the property inventory carried out in the borders listed hundreds of different farm animals<sup>150</sup>. As was written in the press, the several thousand residents of Kośminek had to walk in mud, because only a few streets were paved, there was no lighting and even carriage drivers who were familiar with this corner of the city were reluctant to go there<sup>151</sup>. Yet another time, holes appeared in the iron bridge in Powiatowa Street, so the press issued a warning that horses could break their legs there<sup>152</sup>.

A significant change in the urban space took place in the second half of November. Juliusz Zdanowski wrote in his journal on 30 November: 'Lublin has changed beyond recognition. [...] We are on the sidelines. The rows of banks that were brought here by the occupying government are empty now. [...] Even in shops and syndicates the stagnation is unprecedented', and on 19 January of the following year he repeated: 'The whole atmosphere of the capital city has disappeared'<sup>153</sup>. At the end

<sup>145</sup> *Z porządków miejskich*, 'Głos Lubelski' 6 January 1918, p. 5; cf. APL, AmL 1915–1918, ref. no. 215, sheet 8.

<sup>146</sup> *O polewanie ulic*, 'Ziemia Lubelska' 11 April 1918 (mng), p. 4.

<sup>147</sup> *Jeszcze w sprawie sztyldów*, 'Głos Lubelski' 4 January 1918, p. 3.

<sup>148</sup> *O pastwisko na ulicy*, 'Głos Lubelski' 22 June 1918, p. 3.

<sup>149</sup> *Jeszcze w sprawie pastwiska na ul. Ogrodowej*, 'Głos Lubelski' 12 July 1918, p. 3.

<sup>150</sup> *Spis inwentarza w obrębie wielkiego Lublina*, 'Głos Lubelski' 17 April 1918, p. 3.

<sup>151</sup> *O chodnik na przedmieściu Kośminek*, 'Głos Lubelski' 24 April 1918, p. 3.

<sup>152</sup> *Zepsuty mostek*, 'Głos Lubelski' 12 March 1918, p. 3.

<sup>153</sup> *Dziennik Juliusza Zdanowskiego*, pp. 92, 132.

of November 1918, the municipal police chief issued an order to replace all Russian and German inscriptions with Polish ones<sup>154</sup>. It should also be added that there were many advertising columns in the city, but hideous adverts and posters were constantly hung on the city walls and fences, and nobody actually cared about it<sup>155</sup>.

## 10. TRANSPORT

Lublin was not a big city, so people moved around on foot. More affluent residents used carriages, especially when there was a need to transport something or to get to more distant areas, such as Piaski or the railway station. Carriage drivers, however, were often accused of being dishonest and arrogant towards their customers<sup>156</sup>. It was only on 22 November 1918 when the Lublin Omnibus Company started offering rides on 10-seat stagecoaches along 2 routes: route A: railway station – Łokietka Square – Krakowskie Przedmieście Street (the corner of Szopena Street) and back, and route B: railway station – Łokietka Square – Krakowskie Przedmieście Street – Kapucyńska Street (the corner of Namiestnikowska Street) and back: Namiestnikowska Street – Bernardyńska Street to the station. The stagecoaches were to run during the hours when trains departed or arrived (i.e. 6 times a day). The fare and transport of luggage up to one pood cost 3 crowns<sup>157</sup>.

At this point it is worth mentioning that in February the municipal police banned carriage drivers from gathering on the pavements at carriage stops, as they supposedly obstructed traffic and often conducted 'loud and obscene conversations'; it was ordered that they should stand directly next to their own vehicles<sup>158</sup>. Breaking the regulation was punishable by criminal sanctions, and according to press reports, this professional group was often exposed to financial penalties for various offences.

Sledges were an additional form of transport in Lublin. In winter, as has been mentioned, nobody cleared snow from the streets, so they were the only means of transport in the city. Walking was also difficult in winter, so caretakers were obliged to create crossings to the other side of the street in snow from time to time.

<sup>154</sup> *O polskie napisy*, 'Ziemia Lubelska' 30 November 1918, (mng), p. 3.

<sup>155</sup> *Przeciw szpeceniu miasta*, 'Głos Lubelski' 4 July 1918, p. 3.

<sup>156</sup> *W sprawie strajku dorożkarzy w Lublinie*, 'Głos Lubelski' 18 August 1918, p. 5.

<sup>157</sup> *Zawiadomienie*, 'Głos Lubelski' 22 November 1918, p. 4; cf. APL, AmL 1915–1918, ref. no. 253, sheets 3–5.

<sup>158</sup> *Rozporządzenie*, 'Głos Lubelski' 10 February 1918, p. 5.

The means of transport outside the city were very limited. Lublin was connected by rail with only four other cities. At the beginning of 1918, four trains departed daily for Dęblin and Chełm, and one for Kraśnik and Lubartów. The frequency was the same in the opposite directions<sup>159</sup>. In March, the daily number of trains was reduced to 3 to Dęblin and 3 to Kowel, and one to Lubartów and Rozwadów each, and from 1 November to two to Dęblin and two to Chełm and one to Lubartów and Rozwadów each.

## 11. PATRIOTISM AND RELIGION

The last year of the Great War was full of events that triggered patriotic activity. On 10 February, in the Church of the Holy Spirit, a Mass was offered for Józef Piłsudski and Polish soldiers suffering for Poland<sup>160</sup>. What is more, the granting of Chełmszczyzna and Podlasie to Ukraine as a result of the provisions of the Brest Peace caused a strike of all institutions and shops on Tuesday, 12 February; a procession was formed after the mass at 10 a.m., which was joined by fire brigade and police, various associations, clubs, members of the City Hall and the City Council. The event was attended by several thousand people who came to Krakowskie Przedmieście Street and the Saxon Garden, where the speeches were delivered. The authorities reacted by introducing an 8 p.m. curfew and dissolving the local government<sup>161</sup>.

Since March, *Kiedy ranne wstają zorze* was played at 8 a.m., *Rota* at 12 a.m., and *Boże coś Polskę*<sup>162</sup> at 8 p.m at the Krakowska Gate. On the 1 and 3 of May, several factories joined the strike and shops were forced to close. Due to fear of repression, the 3rd of May march was cancelled and lectures and concerts were organised instead. When the owners of Jewish shops did not participate in the strike, the National Democracy inclined media criticised the lack of solidarity on their part and the fact that they earned money from Polish patriotism<sup>163</sup>. One of the biggest patriotic manifestations supported by another strike took place on 15 October<sup>164</sup>.

<sup>159</sup> *Nowy rozkład jazdy*, 'Głos Lubelski' 4 January 1918, p. 4.

<sup>160</sup> *Nabożeństwo*, 'Głos Lubelski' 8 February 1918, p. 4.

<sup>161</sup> *Kronika*, 'Posiew' 1918, 9, p. 71; WBP HŁ, ref. no. 2199, pp. 137–139; cf. J. Lewandowski, *Rola Lublina i Lubelszczyzny w październiku i listopadzie 1918 r.*, 'Rocznik Lubelski' 1979, 21, p. 12. Contains further information about political issues at that time.

<sup>162</sup> *Piękny zwyczaj*, 'Ziemia Lubelska' 15 March 1918 (mng), p. 4.

<sup>163</sup> *Znamienny objaw*, 'Głos Lubelski' 25 January 1918, p. 3.

<sup>164</sup> WBP HŁ, ref. no. 2199, pp. 151–158; R. Wojdaliński, „*Głos Lubelski*” podczas okupacji austriackiej (1915–1918): wspomnienie, 'Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego' 1974, 14, 1, pp. 112–114.

On 1 November 1918, vexed by reports about the beginning of Ukrainian-Polish fights in Lviv and despite it being All Saints' Day, crowds of people took to the streets for non-religious purposes. The emblems of the occupants were torn down, Polish flags were hung, a demonstration took place near the Cathedral, which was supposedly attended by several thousand people, and former soldiers of the Imperial and Royal Army swore an oath of allegiance to Poland<sup>165</sup>. In the following days of November, under the influence of the news of further battles, people from the city and the surrounding area brought food, which was later sent to Lviv. Apparently, the first such transport consisted of 6 wagons<sup>166</sup>. On 10 November, an independence demonstration took place again in Lublin. After the pogrom, Lublin Jews offered help to Lviv Jews<sup>167</sup>.

Many of the celebrations organised in the city, however, were of a religious nature. For example, on 3 May the Uncovering of the Precious Cross feast was commemorated in the post-Dominican church and pilgrims dressed in folk costumes roamed the streets<sup>168</sup>.

## 12. ECONOMIC STRIKES

To be fair, more or less significant strikes were going on all the time in Lublin. They were connected with the constantly deteriorating living conditions and salaries, the nominal value of which was drastically and systematically falling, and sometimes with revolutionary slogans evoked under the influence of the situation in Bolshevik Russia. Waiters, shoemakers, carpenters, hairdressers, barbers, tanners, factory workers and almost every other professional group were on strike. In November, even the municipal police went on strike. The duration of such protests varied. Carriage drivers dissatisfied with the new tariffs fought for their rights for 1.5 days<sup>169</sup>, but other communities refused to go to work for much longer. As a result, the strikes often had serious consequences. The bakers' protests at the end of October led to a complete lack of bread, while in December the fire brigade refused to go to fires. Caretakers also stopped working several times<sup>170</sup>. They all demanded 50 to 100 per cent increases in remuneration

<sup>165</sup> *Wielki dzień w Lublinie*, 'Głos Lubelski' 3 November 1918, p. 2.

<sup>166</sup> *Kronika*, 'Posiew' 1918, 45, p. 354.

<sup>167</sup> A. Kopciowski, *Wos Hert Zich in der Prowinc? Prasa żydowska na Lubelszczyźnie i jej największy dziennik 'Lubliner Tugblat'*, Lublin 2015, p. 427.

<sup>168</sup> *Kronika*, 'Posiew' 1918, 20, p. 159.

<sup>169</sup> *Kronika*, 'Posiew' 1918, 29, p. 230.

<sup>170</sup> *Drugi ogólny strajk stróżów*, 'Głos Lubelski' 7 January 1918, p. 3.

and improved working conditions. The Lublin Trade Union of Tailors and Seamstresses demanded, among other things, the introduction of a ban on domestic production of clothing with the exception of trousers and vests, as well as a limited 8 a.m. to 7 p.m. working time with a two-hour lunch break, a daily wage, two weeks' notice of termination of employment for both parties, and the admission of new employees only upon consultation with the Trade Union<sup>171</sup>.

### 13. ANTI-SEMITISM

Anti-Semitism was also commonplace in Lublin in 1918. For a part of the Christian community it was an expression of patriotism, for others it was an ordinary behaviour, devoid of ideological connotations, while for Jews it was almost a constant threat<sup>172</sup>. The author could not find a single issue of the *Głos Lubelski* from 1918 without at least several sentences manifesting dislike and contempt for the Jewish inhabitants<sup>173</sup>. For example, the newspaper, which supported National Democracy, expressed annoyance at Jews being admitted to the eatery of the Lublin Food Sellers Society: 'Sadly, it is impossible to have a quiet dinner or supper with friends after work – one has to listen to the insolent conspiracies organised by foreigners against one's people'<sup>174</sup>. The *Ziemia Lubelska* was definitely less hateful, but also showed a certain reluctance, for example by publishing a letter of a land owner: 'In the issue of the 9th of the current month [February], the *Głos Lubelski* stirred confusion, alarming with dread that my Janowice estate caught the eye of some individual of a foreign nationality; it is a pity that it did not catch their throat, because, choking on it, they would be rightly punished for being greedy, and the *Głos* would stop lying through its teeth. The estate is indeed for sale, but although Jews offered me a good price, I will not change my convictions for the sake of money. I will sell my land a few dozen thousand rubles cheaper, but to a Polish peasant'<sup>175</sup>. Lists of 'disgraced traitors' and warnings about those who wanted to sell their houses or shops to non-Polish citizens appeared constantly in both dailies<sup>176</sup>.

<sup>171</sup> *O podwyższenie płacy*, 'Głos Lubelski' 15 March 1918, p. 3.

<sup>172</sup> For more information about the everyday life of Jews during the Great War, see: K. Zieliński, *Życie codzienne ludności żydowskiej w latach Wielkiej Wojny*, in: *Jak Polacy przeżywali*, pp. 131–142. About the Polish-Jewish relationship: idem, *Stosunki polsko-żydowskie na ziemiach Królestwa Polskiego w czasie pierwszej wojny światowej*, Lublin 2005.

<sup>173</sup> Cf. WBP HŁ, ref. no. 2199, pp. 126–130.

<sup>174</sup> *Mili współbiedniacy*, 'Głos Lubelski' 14 May 1918, p. 3.

<sup>175</sup> Stefan Gintowtt, 'Ziemia Lubelska' 2 March 1918 (aft.), p. 2.

<sup>176</sup> *Ostrzeżenie*, 'Głos Lubelski' 15 August 1918, p. 4.

On the other hand, it was common for some Jews to avoid certain places where there was a danger of being beaten or injured. Others, especially Orthodox Jews and their children, sometimes did not know the Polish language, so they would never leave their own district, where they met their relatives or, rarely, the municipal police or a city clerk. Their space was limited only to the Jewish world. They felt like second-class citizens in Lublin.

#### 14. CONCLUSIONS

During the discussed period, life in Lublin was influenced by the consequences of another year of war. In the first half of 1918, people did not believe that peace could be restored, but as time passed, hope flared up and optimistic predictions about Poland regaining independence began to appear. Taking into account the number of people taking part in patriotic manifestations, it can be stated, however, that only a small group of Lublin residents engaged in even the simplest independence activity and only a minority was interested in it. In times of intensified crises, everyday life was largely independent of political volatility. Everyone tried to adapt to the reality and survive the difficult times. Housing shortage, terrible conditions in some flats, drastic food shortages, problems with heating and lighting of houses and lack of hygiene determined the life of the residents, making it different than it was before 1914. Crime rate naturally increased during the war and the sense of security diminished. On the other hand, due to the lack of destruction and the remoteness of the front, people spent another year waiting for the end of the conflict and hoping for change; they tried to survive and lead a relatively normal life.

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**STRESZCZENIE**

Rok 1918 był w Lublinie kolejnym rokiem wojny. Miasto nie ucierpiało wskutek przejścia frontu, nie było zburzone, ale sytuacja wojenna wpływała na panujące w nim warunki życia. Skokowo wzrastające przeludnienie m.in. wywołane ulokowaniem w nim władz okupacyjnych, chroniczny brak żywności, spekulacja i inflacja, rekwizycje i przestępczość w znacznym stopniu determinowały codzienność mieszkańców. Do tego dochodziły epidemie chorób, coraz bardziej dotkliwa bieda, zwyczajne wypadki i nieszczęścia. Warunki mieszkaniowe, wygląd miasta oraz atmosfera na ulicach odzwierciedlały daleko idącą stratyfikację. W mieście z rzadka odbywały się uroczystości patriotyczne i religij-

ne, ale uczestniczyła w nich mniejszość mieszkańców. Większość z nich raczej próbowała się przystosować i dotrzeć do końca wojny. Dopiero pod koniec roku coraz bardziej powszechne stało się przekonanie o możliwości odzyskania niepodległości.

**Słowa kluczowe:** Lublin 1918, życie codzienne, społeczność Lublina, Wielka Wojna

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