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## *The Structure of the Warsaw Intelligentsia at the End of the XIXth Century*

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The last quarter of the XIXth century was an extremely important period in the creation of the professional intelligentsia in the city of Warsaw, for its structure, consciousness, and ideology. The period with which we are concerned starts in the 1880s and ends with the turn of the century.

During this period a separate group consisting of the representatives of specific professions which required a specific type of education and in turn provided a basic livelihood was created. This group, moreover, was fully aware of its special character. The process of the formation of the intelligentsia ended with the beginning of the XXth century, and this is shown by the fact that the *Great Common Illustrated Encyclopaedia* (published in 1903) already contained the new definition of "intelligentsia". Unlike former definitions this took into account not only psychological and intellectual factors, but also stressed the notion of a collective intelligentsia, representing professional and social groups, with a specific standard of education.<sup>1</sup>

It should be pointed out here that the transformation of the intelligentsia into a social and professional group was typical of less developed capitalist countries such as Tsarist Russia or the Kingdom of Poland. In more developed countries the intellectuals very early joined bourgeoisie, and the social and professional implication of the term "intelligentsia" was unknown there.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Wielka Powszechna Encyklopedia Ilustrowana*, Warsaw 1903, Vol. XXXI, the entries "intelektualizm" and "inteligencja", pp. 34-35.

<sup>2</sup> Such a point of view held by, among others, ANDRZEJ STAWAR in *O Brzozowskim i inne szkice* (On Brzozowski and other essays), Warsaw 1961, p. 117.

The term "intellectuals" was there reserved for the scientific and cultural elite.

We shall take the early 1880's as the starting point for it seems to mark the beginning of the new stage in the development of the intelligentsia in the Kingdom of Poland in general, and in the city of Warsaw in particular, we shall attempt to indicate the most important features which by the end of the XIXth century distinguished this group from its predecessors. It is important to remember that at this time Warsaw was by far the largest and the most active centre in the kingdom. Firstly one notes that in these years a very rapid, almost fourfold, quantitative increase in this social group took place compared with the corresponding figures for the early 1870's.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, professional employment became, with only few exceptions, the only source of livelihood for the intelligentsia, as a whole and this process accelerated until the turn of the century. After the completion of their studies the overwhelming majority of the graduates of the Central Warsaw School (*Szkoła Główna Warszawska*), and especially the University of Warsaw who, represented the nucleus of the Warsaw intelligentsia, accepted professional posts which in general corresponded with their specialization. Only a small percentage of graduates had other sources of livelihood open to them. According to S. Borowski, only 20% of the graduates of the Faculty of Law and Administration of the Central School - were the sons of land owners or tenants and rejoined their families in the country.<sup>4</sup> A. Kraushar mentions that of 320 graduates in the Faculty of Law of the University of Warsaw in 1883, only 67 either did not take up work at all (presumably as they were wealthy landowners) or else were engaged in literary work, journalism and publishing. The rest took up posts which followed from the subject of their studies.<sup>5</sup> Of the 160 persons who had either completed their studies at the Faculty of Philology and History of the Central School, or later on continued their studies at the same faculty of the University of Warsaw, only one settled down to live in the country on his own property.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> According to J. LESKIEWICZOWA the number of white-collar workers totalled 5700 in 1869. Cf. her *Warszawa i jej inteligencja po powstaniu styczniowym 1864-1870* (Warsaw and its intelligentsia after the January Insurrection), Warsaw 1964, p. 70. In 1883 this group comprised 18,000, by the end of the century 20,000.

<sup>4</sup> STANISŁAW BOROWSKI, *Szkoła Główna Warszawska (1862-1869). Wydział Prawa i Administracji* [The Warsaw Central School (1862-1869). Faculty of Law and Administration], Warsaw 1937, p. 247.

<sup>5</sup> A. KRAUSHAR, *Siedmioletnie Szkoły Głównej Warszawskiej* (The Seven Years of Warsaw Central School), Warsaw-Cracow 1883, pp. 247, 266.

<sup>6</sup> *Szkoła Główna Warszawska (1862-1869)*, t. I, Wydział filologiczno-historyczny [The Warsaw Central School (1862-1869), vol. I, The Faculty of Philology and History], Cracow 1900, pp. 269-277.

The two main sources of information on the Warsaw intelligentsia, are the first and the second census of the population of Warsaw. The first was carried out in 1882 by the Municipality of the City of Warsaw, that is to say at the beginning of the period under discussion, and the second general Russian census of 1897 roughly coincides with the end of the period.<sup>7</sup>

These sources should be approached cautiously as they are neither fully reliable nor adequate.<sup>8</sup> First of all the figures themselves, especially in general Russian census, are somewhat misleading. Furthermore, the professional intelligentsia in the proper sense of the term was not specified, as the census used as its main categories the main groups of employees in the different sectors of the economy. Unfortunately there is no more detailed information on the distribution of posts within each profession, which might have been able to provide an exact quantitative assessment of the intelligentsia. This problem is very acute, especially where the technical intelligentsia are concerned and so it is necessary to consult other sources, such as the data contained in the yearly revues (the "obzor") published for each province, although the information they provide however, is rather dubious. Of greater value are the reports of the Warsaw Statistical Committee on the state of the population (the first analysis was carried out in 1890, the second in 1893, and from 1905 to 1913 they were prepared regularly every year together with the official and private "record books" *ipamjatyje knizki*), calendars, address books, directories, jubilee books, biographical dictionaries etc. Further substantial documentation especially on the way in which the intelligentsia saw itself and its function, may of course be found in the press and literature of the time. Neither should the memoirs of politicians, and others who were active in the fields of culture, education, or literature, be neglected.

It is not at all easy to determine the exact number of the Polish intelligentsia in the city of Warsaw. It is also difficult to describe its professional structure on the basis of the 1882 and 1897 censuses. Comparison of the two also raises problems as each used different methods, classifications and questionnaires. With this reservation in mind one can, however, try to compare essential findings and follow the changes in the

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<sup>7</sup> These results were published in: a) *Rezultaty spisu jednodniowego ludności m. Warszawy 1882. Część I-III* (The Results of the One-Day Population Census of the City of Warsaw 1882. Parts I-III), Warsaw 1883-1885. b) *Pierwaja wsieobščaja pieriepis naselenya Rossijskoy Imperyi 1897 goda* (The First General Census of the Population of the Russian Empire of the Year 1897), vol. LI deals with the city of Warsaw and was published in Petersburg in 1904.

<sup>8</sup> Of greater scientific value are the results of the 1882 census, as it was carried out by local authorities and actively supported by the society. The methodology applied for the 1897 census caused much criticism. Cf. e.g. STEFAN SZULC, *Wartość materiałów statystycznych dotyczących stanu ludności b. Królestwa Polskiego* (The Value of Statistical Data for the State of the Population of the Former Kingdom of Poland), Warsaw 1920.

TABLE 1

THE PROFESSIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION OF WARSAW IN 1882 AND 1897  
BY SECTORS OF ECONOMY

	1882				1897			
	The number of employees and their dependents	The number of employees	Of which:		The number of employees and their dependents	The number of employees	Of which:	
			Men	Women			Men	Women
I. Agriculture and Forestry	1,245	593	572	21	3,569	1,466	1,256	210
II. Industry, Mining Handicraft	121,013	55,743	48,094	7,649	235,208	96,461	79,106	17,355
III. Transports and Communication	16,850	6,024	5,981	43	42,762	13,142	12,924	218
IV. Commerce, Finance, Insurance	63,969	20,095	15,915	4,180	118,686	37,097	29,960	7,137
V. State and Private Administration, Judicature and Free Professions	44,995	17,627	14,913	2,714	60,433	25,336	20,458	4,878
VI. Household and Personal Service	53,750	40,756	9,159	31,597	77,357	54,803	11,883	42,920
VII. Non-active Professionally:								
a) Capitalists and Rentiers	18,496	6,478	2,955	3,523	30,206	14,070	6,167	7,903
b) Pensioners	6,713	2,940	1,271	1,669	8,374	4,095	1,553	2,542
c) Living from Charity	7,872	7,565	3,986	3,579	10,641	10,145	4,772	5,373
VIII. Undefined and Part Time Jobs	41,637	17,771	11,153	6,618	56,155	23,428	16,418	7,010
IX. Military Corps of Warsaw	6,331	3,740	3,740	—	40,301	37,315	37,315	—
TOTAL	382,964	175,592	117,739	61,593	683,692	317,358	221,812	95,546

Source: Rezultaty jednolitego spisu ludności m. Warszawy 1882, cz. 1 i 3, Warszawa 1883, 1885, Pierwaja wsiebszczaja pierepis nasilemija Rosijskoj Imperii 1897 goda, t. LI, Petersburg 1904. Compare note 7.

structure, level of education and social position of the Warsaw intelligentsia during the last quarter of the XIX century.<sup>9</sup>

According to the 1882 census there were about 18,000 white-collar workers of Polish nationality, covering all the professions (civil servants, officials, teachers, doctors, lawyers, journalists, writers etc.). This number

<sup>9</sup> The whole population of Warsaw, it should be remembered, totalled 382,964, in 1882, 624,189 in 1897.

TABLE 2

THE POPULATION OF WARSAW BY AGE GROUPS IN 1882 AND 1897  
(in percentages)

Age group	1882			1897		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
0 - 9	19.83	18.23	19.00	21.56	21.59	21.58
10 - 19	21.54	20.84	21.17	18.24	20.62	19.43
20 - 29	20.53	20.91	20.73	26.83	20.13	23.49
30 - 39	14.67	14.62	14.65	14.58	15.19	14.89
40 - 49	10.89	11.05	10.98	8.68	9.07	8.87
50 - 59	7.01	7.63	7.33	5.57	6.92	6.24
60 - 69	3.84	4.86	4.21	3.05	4.14	3.59
70 - 79	1.06	1.50	1.29	1.14	1.82	1.48
80 and over	0.27	0.39	0.34	0.27	0.43	0.34
Age unknown	0.36	0.44	0.40	0.08	0.99	0.09
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Sources: See Table 1.

would be increased by a certain percentage of clergymen (there were 735 clergy of all faiths and it is known from other sources that at the end of the XIXth century there were about 170 Catholic priests and friars and about 80 Protestant priests altogether).<sup>10</sup> To this number should also be added young people studying in Warsaw, whose main source of maintenance was private lessons — there were about 1600 such students. Engineers, who in the above census are included in a separate professional category, have also to be taken into account. Only the larger industrial factories and transport companies employed engineers, whereas the smaller plants employed technicians and masters almost exclusively. Polish engineers who were born in Warsaw had to study workmen elsewhere until 1898, mostly at Russian technical universities or the Technical University of Lvov, and mainly undertook work outside the Kingdom. They were not yet numerous in the early 80's and probably did not exceed 300 (According to Leskiewiczowa there were 85 engineers in Warsaw in 1869. In 1881, when they first formed their association and became members of "Resursa Obywatelska" in order to hold their weekly meeting there they were about 150 in number. One can assume that this number included almost all the engineers. Similarly the white collar workers in the census who cannot be considered as intelligentsia should be subtracted. These would have included the lower grade public and private officials and clerks (e.g. in the 1882 census there were

<sup>10</sup> A. PUŁJANOWSKI, *Duchowieństwo rzymsko-katolickie świeckie i zakonne* (The Roman-Catholic Clergy. Secular and Monastic), Warsaw 1906.

5,233, private officials 3,357 of Jewish faith, most of whom had not received secondary education). Further problems are raised by the group classified in the census as "teachers" - 2,569 in number and mainly (about 2,000) of Jewish faith. Except for a few religious instructors employed in state secondary school and several private school teachers, this group consisted of Jewish school teachers, *melammeds*, who hardly qualified as intelligentsia. Having taken these corrections into account one can assume with substantial accuracy that the Polish intelligentsia did not exceed 10% of the total working population of Warsaw in the 1880s (the whole working population totalled 175,892 persons). An important guide to establishing the size of the intelligentsia is provided by the education standards of the population although the "Russification" of the education system and the political activities of Polish intelligentsia meant that not all of its representatives possessed formal diplomas. However, according to the census only 25,841 had acquired secondary and university education (this number also included Russians, who at that time were, generally speaking, better educated than Poles), which represented 6.7% of the whole population.

The professional structure of the Warsaw intelligentsia arose from the political situation in the Kingdom and the Russification policy the Tsarist authorities. There were only 3,100 civil servants of Polish nationality, and the official statistics suggest that they were mostly clerks, or lower grade functionaries, working in various state institutions and in education.

According to the census the total number of private officials was at least three times this number or even more, because not all the private Polish institutions declared the full number of officials they employed, considering their employment as a form of financial assistance to individuals who were engaged in fact in scientific and social work. It is known for example that the Warsaw-Vienna Railway Company alone employed 1,630 officials.<sup>11</sup> The number of Poles employed in education was extremely low. These included a steadily diminishing group of professors, present at the University of Warsaw, and teachers at state secondary schools, but most numerous were the private school teachers.

In 1886 in Warsaw there were 17 Roman-Catholic professors, 10 lecturers and laboratory assistants. In the state secondary schools 84 teachers were Roman-Catholic, 18 Protestant and 7 Jewish. This figure also included clergymen and teachers of religion as well as some foreigners who were language teachers.<sup>12</sup>

The active intelligentsia was well represented in the legal professions.

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<sup>11</sup> PIOTR PAWLICKI, *Droga żelazna warszawsko-wiedeńska w 50-letnim okresie swego istnienia (1845-1895)* [The Warsaw-Vienna Railway During the 50 Year Period of Its Existence (1845-1895)], Warsaw 1897.

<sup>12</sup> *Pamyatnaya knizka warszawskiego uczebnego okręgu na god 1886* (The Record Book of Warsaw Educational District for the Year 1886), Warsaw 1886.

This group consisted mainly of solicitors and their assistants and dependents (about 450 persons). Warsaw judges (39) and notaries (36) formed a very small group, while lower-grade officials and clerks employed in the Ministry of Justice were more numerous (464). The latter may be considered intelligentsia only to a certain extent, although on the other hand it should be noted that many Poles occupying very modest posts had previously completed university studies. For example, the official list of Warsaw judiciary employees states that the court secretaries, their deputies and all the candidates for apprenticeship — senior and junior — of the Roman-Catholic faith had had a university education, and also the members of the court. Poles working in the Central Records Archives employed as senior and junior assistant archivists were all graduates, either of the Central School or the University of Warsaw.<sup>13</sup> Two other examples are worth mentioning. Bronisław Znatowicz — an outstanding chemical scientist — who certainly deserved a university chair, is mentioned in the 1886 record of the employees of the University of Warsaw as a laboratory assistant. The physicist Eugeniusz Dzewulski also had the same experience.

According to the census the number of Polish doctors totalled 418 (similar figures are quoted in other sources), so that there was on average one doctor for every 1,000 inhabitants. This was far below the needs of a great city, especially in view of the poverty, sickness and infant mortality prevalent among the population. The census also records that there were 508 pharmacists in Warsaw, who were graduates of the two-year pharmaceutical course at the University of Warsaw.

Only 245 persons were professionally employed as journalists and writers. It seems, however, that this figure is an underestimate, for sources suggest that there were about 400 Polish journalists working in Warsaw.<sup>14</sup> It should be stressed that writing and especially journalism were the main source of income for the majority of the Warsaw intelligentsia. Many white collar workers (about 1,300) were also authors or instructors in the arts and the theatre.

This structure was typical in this period of political subjection, in which the Warsaw intelligentsia was employed mainly in private institutions or practised free professions.<sup>15</sup> This was further emphasized by the

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<sup>13</sup> *Pamiętna książka warszawskiego uchebnego okręgu na rok 1897* (The Record Book of Warsaw Educational District for the Year 1897), Warsaw 1897.

<sup>14</sup> *Rocznik naukowo-literacko-artystyczny na rok 1905* (The Yearbook of Science, Literature and Arts for the Year 1905), Warsaw 1905, Part I.

<sup>15</sup> At the same time the structure of the employment of the intelligentsia in Galicia was completely different. The bureaucracy together with their families represented 3.25% of the population, whereas the liberal profession (the "independent intelligentsia") represented only 0.36%. Almost half of the bureaucracy was employed in the Civil Service. Cf. ST. SZCZEPANOWSKI, *Nędza Galicji w cyfrach* (The Poverty of Galicia as shown in Figures), Lwów 1888, pp. 85 and 95.

results of 1897 census, which reveal a further development in the processes begun in the 1870s and 80s.

During the '90s the professional composition of the population of Warsaw changed steadily, partly because the number of Russian officers and soldiers in the Warsaw garrison increased sixfold. Whereas in 1882 the army represented 2% of the working population of the capital, by 1897 the proportion had grown to 12%. The corresponding ratio for Moscow was 3%, and for St. Petersburg about 6%.<sup>16</sup> According to the 1897 census the total working population (between 20-60 years of age) including the army, totalled 335,189, and 194,124 people gave Polish as their mother tongue. The last number included 19,685 white-collar workers, who represented about 10% of the Polish working population and about 5.9% of the whole professionally active population.

While all over the civilised world the number of white-collar workers increased during the stage of developed capitalism at a much higher rate than that of manual workers, in Warsaw this tendency was reversed. This was also reflected by the fact that the average level of education of the population of Warsaw declined in 1897 in comparison with 1882. The share of the population with university degrees and high school diplomas fell from 7.5% in 1882 to 5.9% in 1897. This last percentage also included the Russians, who partly because of the nature of the posts they occupied were usually better educated than Poles.<sup>17</sup> It should therefore be noted that the number of Russian inhabitants of Warsaw increased substantially during this 15-years period. Among the Polish population the number of graduates even declined (owing to the lack of Polish universities in the Kingdom), while the number of persons with secondary school diplomas increased.<sup>18</sup> In the 1890s some dozen private and municipal secondary schools were created in Warsaw, mostly trade and polytechnic school for boys.

The 1897 census shows that the proportion of state administration officials of Polish nationality fell from 1.6% in 1882 to 1.2% and the number of officials in private institutions increased.

<sup>16</sup> Quoted from J. KOŃCZYŃSKI, *Ludność Warszawy 1877-1911* (The Population of Warsaw 1877-1911), Warsaw 1913.

<sup>17</sup> The Russian population of Warsaw who acquired university or secondary education represented 21.7% of the whole population of Warsaw, while the corresponding figure for the Polish population was only 7.5%. Cf. J. KOŃCZYŃSKI, *ibidem*, table XII.

<sup>18</sup> The following table from J. KOŃCZYŃSKI, *Ludność Warszawy...*, p. 45 illustrates the ratio of educated people to the total number of male and female inhabitants of Warsaw:

Year	Education			
	University		Secondary	
	Men %	Women %	Men %	Women %
1882	2.5	0.7	4.9	5.5
1897	1.8	0.04	7.4	4.6

In 1897 there were in the Warsaw courts only 8 Roman Catholic judges (39 in 1882). The majority were graduates of the Central School, and therefore advanced in years. 4 Polish assessors and 17 apprentices were also employed.<sup>19</sup>

The absolute increase in the number of solicitors and their assistants (from 448 in 1882 to 597 in 1897), as well as doctors, dentists and veterinary surgeons, did not correspond to the general increase in the working population. The *Unger Calendar* for 1893 mentions 613 names of Warsaw doctors of all nationalities, including dentists and veterinary surgeons, while according to *Address Calendar* in 1898 there were 740 male and 11 female doctors, 42 dentists (17 women) and 46 veterinary surgeons. These figures comprise all nationalities, including Russians.<sup>20</sup> The census shows that the percentage of Poles employed in education, the press, literature and the arts also declined. In 1897 this group consisted of 1,666 persons, that is to say 0.5% of the entire working population. The reduction in the employment of Poles as teachers in state schools and as professors is confirmed by other sources. In 1899 the University of Warsaw employed only 8 Polish professors and no assistant professors, so that there was a complete lack of young Polish scientists. In state secondary education 62 Roman Catholic, 24 Protestant and 10 Jewish teachers were employed. A dozen Polish teachers also worked in the municipal schools.<sup>21</sup>

Although we do not know the exact number of private school teachers, the figure of 1,666 for almost the entire fields of science, education and culture would seem to be a serious underestimation. In Warsaw at the beginning of the '90s there were 47 private high schools, 2 six-class and 12 four-class schools for boys and 33 girls boarding schools (21 six-class, 7 three-class and 5 one-class schools). Besides these there were 8 trade and polytechnic schools, 27 Sunday polytechnic schools and several handicraft schools for girls.<sup>22</sup> By the end of the XIXth century the number of private schools had substantially increased. The number of teachers in these schools must therefore have been considerable. In fact the majority of the intelligentsia effectively employed in the field of education and culture may be found in the census under the heading "Non-defined professions", "Pensioners" etc. In the 1897 census the quite numerous group of highly qualified teachers has vanished. The people in question gave lectures at various secret

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<sup>19</sup> *Pamyatnaya knizka warszawskiego sudebnego okrouga za god 1897* (The Record Book of Warsaw Judicial District for the Year 1897), Warsaw 1897.

<sup>20</sup> *Adres-Kalendar Goroda Warshawi na 1899 god* (Address-Calendar of the City of Warsaw for the Year 1899), Part I, pp. 275-344.

<sup>21</sup> *Pamyatnaya knizka warszawskiego uczebnego okrouga za god 1899* (The Record Book of Warsaw Educational District of the Year 1899), Warsaw 1899.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *Jozefa Ungera Kalendarz Ilustrowany na rok 1891* (Joseph Unger's Illustrated Calendar for the Year 1891).

courses. But scholars and scientists of recognized reputation lived by their pens, and journalism and literary and scientific work were forms of employment which, although usually not registered, often provided a necessary supplement to their livelihood and was in many cases their main source. « For some of us, as for example Heilpern and myself », wrote Ludwik Krywicki, « all job opportunities except illegal lectures and living by the pen were excluded ».<sup>23</sup>

It is hard to determine the size of the group of scientist in this period — in the 1897 census they were spread over many professional categories. The variety of scientific papers and articles published in different periodicals of the time proves that they were numerous. Of 160 students and graduates of the Faculty of Philology and History of Warsaw Central School, not less than 50 participated in scientific and literary activities.<sup>24</sup> The directory of writers published at the beginning of the XXth century reported that of 379 writers not less than 105, that is 28%, had produced serious scientific work in different fields. Only 7 of them occupied professional posts at the University of Warsaw, and they were principally the former professors of the Central School. The names of the Warsaw scientists of the period may be found in the registers of the Mianowski Bank, in the Academy of Sciences (some, A.A. Kryński and S. Ciszewski, for example, were appointed professors at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow) and in the lists of participants of scientific conferences organized in Galicia. The main bulk of their work emerged after 1905, when it was already legal to found Polish colleges of university standard in Warsaw (The Association of Scientific Courses) and scientific institutions (Warsaw Scientific Association). It became clear then that Warsaw could boast the scientific staff qualified for these posts. On the other hand, the period after 1905 can be considered as the preparatory stage for the organization of the Polish educational system in the capital after 1915.

By the end of the century the number of engineers and technicians had increased significantly. The development of industry, the boom in the building trade, and the sanitation projects which were begun in Warsaw in 1882 and were to continue for some twelve years, the establishment of the Wawelberg Rotwand, and Rontaler, polytechnic schools, which surpassed the level of high schools — all contributed to the creation of more employment for engineers in Warsaw. On the other hand the staff of the Warsaw Polytechnic University, founded in 1898, consisted predominantly of Russians. It is known from J. Unger's calendars and S. Łoza's Dictionary of Polish

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<sup>23</sup> LUDWIK KRZYWICKI, *Wspomnienia* (Memoirs), Vol. II, Warsaw 1956, p. 499.

<sup>24</sup> The list of their papers can be found in the publication "*Szkoła Główna Warszawska (1862-1869)*", t. I, *Wydział Filologiczno-historyczny* [The Warsaw Central School (1862-1869), vol. I, the Faculty of Philology and History], Cracow 1900, pp. 279-306.

Architects that by the end of the XIXth century some 250 engineers and 90 architects freely practised their professions. The « Illustrated Polish Calendar » for 1893 mentions 174 engineers, 94 architects and 9 land surveyors. According to Z. Przyrembel, when the Association of Polish Technicians was founded in Warsaw in 1898, Warsaw technicians represented 2/3, of its 600 members, who were technicians and engineers from the whole Kingdom.

In 1901 the number of members of the Association exceeded 1,000, and in the next year about 1,200.<sup>25</sup> On the basis of data published in the « Technical Revue » (*Przegląd Techniczny*) reports, lists of engineers and technicians working in Warsaw, and obituaries, and with the assistance of Kucharzewski's paper entitled « Polish Technical Literature », I have attempted to follow the careers of 505 Warsaw engineers and technicians employed at the end of the XIXth century in the industry, railways and offices of Warsaw. The employment structure of engineers and technicians is presented in the following table.

Metal industry	210 persons
Other industries	46
Technical offices (mainly proprietors of these offices)	59
Editorial offices of technical reviews	3
Warsaw transport districts	23
Department of architecture	26
The Administration of the Water Supply and Sewage System	35
The Government of Gubernya	5
Warsaw-Vienna railway (and other railway companies)	85
Warsaw Horse-Drawn Traffic Company	3
Bell's International Telephone Company	3
Total	498 persons

If we add to this list independently practising engineers working in Warsaw at the end of the XIXth century the number is approximately 700.

The earnings of the intelligentsia were not high, but there was quite a wide range of earnings when the various professions are compared. Sometimes this occurred within the same profession and was particularly true with respect to the civil servants.

The annual income of Polish white-collar officials ranged from 240 to 4,000 roubles. Additional benefits in the form of uniforms and housing were often available to them, but Poles could only rarely reach the highest income level, the earnings of a university professor. 240 roubles per year

<sup>25</sup> Cf. ZYGMUNT PRZYREMBEL, *Stowarzyszenie Techników Polskich w Warszawie 1898-1938* (The Association of Polish Technicians in Warsaw 1898-1938), Warsaw 1938, pp. 50-51.

was the salary of the worst paid official or teacher. It was also the lowest worker's wage.<sup>26</sup> The university professors' salary ranged from 2,000 to 3,500 roubles, and an assistant professor's was 1,500 roubles. The well known scientist and historian of religion, Ignacy Radliński, who taught in several Warsaw high schools for 35 years earned only 900 roubles per year. When at the end of the XIXth century the private school of the merchants' guild was founded, all its full-time teachers were assured the same salary of 1,500 roubles. Except for the top level, the officials of the Warsaw-Vienna Railway Company earned from 500 to 1,000 roubles.<sup>27</sup> The incomes of doctors and solicitors were slightly higher, whereas the engineers, especially those who practised privately, or who owned companies and offices earned much more. In terms of social stratification they very often occupied the position between the intelligentsia and the bourgeoisie. Artists' salaries confirm that there were no specific and exact criteria which determined their income. Their earnings ranged from 500 to 5,000 roubles (the upper limit representing the salary of an orchestral conductor) for men and 400-1,900 for women, these being the salaries approved by the governor general of Warsaw. The famous actor Mieczysław Frenkiel, for example, earned 4,200 roubles a year, and F. Szobert only 900.<sup>28</sup>

When one compares the cost of living with the income of the Warsaw intelligentsia at the end of the XIXth century, it becomes obvious that in general their living conditions must have been modest. After 1880 rents increased steadily from 58 roubles for one room to 86 roubles in 1900.<sup>29</sup> No wonder that the rent of even a very small apartment represented quite a significant expense in the budget of white-collar works. It is known from memoirs and press reports that even such famous writers and scientists as J.K. Potocki, Dionizy Henkiel, Wacław Nałkowski, Ignacy Radliński and others lived in very poor conditions.

The prices of the most important food commodities were as follows: 1 pound of bread cost about 4 copecks, 1 pood of flour, 179 copecks, 1 bushel of potatoes about 4 roubles, 1 pound of meat about 15 copecks, 1 gallon of milk, 32 copecks, 1 pound of tea about 4.5 roubles, 1 pound of sugar about 7 copecks, 1 pood of coal about 17 roubles. The budget of the intelligentsia also had cover clothes, furniture, and social life, which often for reasons of prestige exceeded the means at their disposal. Distress, not to say poverty, and continuous financial problems were part of the life of the average intellectual.

<sup>26</sup> ST. SIEGEL, *Ceny w Warszawie w latach 1816-1914* (Prices in Warsaw in the Years 1816-1914), Poznań 1949, p. 271.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. HENRYK HILCHEN, *Zarys dziejów drogi żelaznej warszawsko-wiedeńskiej* (An Outline of the History of Warsaw-Vienna Railway), Warsaw 1912, pp. 161-162.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *Wiadomości bieżące* (Current News), *Głos* 1901, n. 30, p. 466.

<sup>29</sup> ST. SIEGEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-126.

The poverty which was particularly common in creative circles demanded an appropriate life style and contributed to a large extent to the anti-capitalist and anti-bourgeois attitudes typical of the active intelligentsia of the time.

« In those days », as I. Radliński's daughter, Helena, tells us, « a gloomy policy of restraint was formed, which enforced a philosophy of being satisfied with practically nothing, contempt for the bourgeoisie, for obscurantism, for what was then called Philistinism, for businessmen, entrepreneurs and merchants. Lack of money was a proof of someone's honesty, while possession of it tended to disqualify him or at least put him outside this circle ».<sup>30</sup>

The awareness of their own superiority and their value in society, which led them to assume the function of creators and defenders of the national culture, contributed to the acceptance of the philanthropist and humanist ideals, which became so popular among the Warsaw intelligentsia at the end of the XIXth century. Not without influence in the process of shaping these ideals both in literature and in practice was the positivist approach to history, which took the failings of the nobility and class egoism as the main reasons for the loss of the country's independence. The intelligentsia, who in their own view had taken over the nation's leadership from the nobility, thought it their sacred duty to the nation to compensate by work and sacrifice the failings of the nobility and to repay the debt which they owed to the nation for their privileged position. Such views were especially prevalent in the literature and journalism of progressive circles.

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<sup>30</sup> HELENA BOGUSZEWSKA, *Czekamy na życie (We Are Waiting for Life)*, Warsaw 1951, p. 133.

