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## Jewish Students at the Lviv Polytechnic until 1939 (statistical statement)

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**Abstract:** *The aim of this paper is presentation some statistical data on Jews studying at the Lviv Polytechnic until 1939. Also, the question of Jewish women – students of the Lviv Polytechnic, has been examined. The Author have touched upon a completely new research area which is women’s education in the broadly-defined technical field at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century.*

**Key words:** Jewish Students, Lviv Polytechnic, until 1939, statistical statement

### Introduction

The problem of anti-Semitism in Europe, both on the global and local scale, has been repeatedly discussed by many scholars, its genesis being sought in culture, religion, economy or politics<sup>1</sup>. In this paper, the scope of investigation is narrowed to the field of higher education, provided by polytechnic schools, and the academic community that formed there. The Lviv Polytechnic became the area of research due to the specific character of the city of Lviv, famous for its multiculturalism, multiethnicity and the mutual tolerance of its inhabitants<sup>2</sup>. The time span embraced by this paper is the late-19<sup>th</sup> and the early-20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>3</sup>, marked by a rise in anti-Semitic attitudes, especially among the Western European societies, although the persecution of Jews lasted for two millennia.

The aim of this paper is presentation some statistical data on Jews studying at the Lviv Polytechnic until 1939. Also, the question of Jewish women – students of the Lviv Polytechnic, has been examined. And finally, the Author have touched upon a completely new research area which is women’s education in the broadly-

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<sup>1</sup> ANDRESKI 1963; GROSSER, HALPERIN 1978; FITCH 1992; BRUSTEIN 2003; AUST 2018.

<sup>2</sup> PIŁATOWICZ 2020.

<sup>3</sup> KATZ 1980; HIRSHFIELD 1981; MOSSE 1985; ALMOG 1990; PAULEY 1992; LINDEMANN 1997; BRUSTEIN, KING 2004.

defined technical field at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century. This area of research has been limited to university studies so far<sup>4</sup>.

### **The Profile of Lviv Jews until 1939**

Lviv was founded around the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century by Daniel, ruler of Galicia and Volhynia, with the aim of protecting the kingdom against the Golden Horde. It was named in honour of Leo, Daniel's oldest son (which is reflected in the city's names: Lwow, Lwi Grod, Lemberg, Loewnsburg, Leopoldis, Civitas Leona, Leontopolis). However, since this line of Princes of Galicia and Volhynia died out in 1323, Lviv, with the consent of the Ruthenian boyars, was taken over by Bolesław Trojdenowicz of the Masovian line of the Piast dynasty. Bolesław offered succession to Lviv to his brother-in-law, Casimir III the Great, king of Poland, who took control over the city after Bolesław Trojdanowicz's death in 1340<sup>5</sup>.

According to Lviv's foundation charter<sup>6</sup>, drawn up in Casimir's administrative office in 1356, Jews, along with Armenians, Ruthenians and Saracens, maintained their own religion and law. In this way, Casimir the Great granted them the right to freely practice their faith and observe their traditions. However, as regards the judicial system, they came under the voivode's authority, who shared his powers with Jewish elders<sup>7</sup>.

The period of the city's intensive development lasted from the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century to the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and was accompanied by a rise in the number of population from 12 344 in 1574 to 33 275 in 1641. As regards Lviv's ethnic composition in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, its inhabitants were as follows: Catholics i.e. Poles and polonized: Germans, Armenians and Ruthenians – about 55%, Jews – about 20% and Ruthenians – about 15%. The rest of the inhabitants were of different nationalities: Armenians, Karaites, Italians, Moldavians, Scots and English people<sup>8</sup>. However, the wars, which repeatedly plagued Lviv from 1648 to the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, ruined the city's prosperity, taking a heavy toll of its inhabitants, destroying the city's buildings and leading Lviv to a financial crisis<sup>9</sup>.

The evidence of Lviv's fall was its depopulation. At the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Lviv was inhabited by only 20 000 people, which did not change until the 1770s. Many houses were abandoned, even in the city centre, deteriorating and falling into ruin. The situation worsened after a series of epidemics which accompanied the Great Northern War (1704, 1709, 1710, 1718)<sup>10</sup>. According to Maria

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<sup>4</sup> PASS FREIDENREICH 2009.

<sup>5</sup> PAPÉE 1924: 18-29; MAGOCSI 1983: 46-67; HRYTSAK 2000.

<sup>6</sup> SKOCZEK 1928: 106-112.

<sup>7</sup> HORN 1975: 15-16, 286; NADEL-GOLOBIČ 1979; KOZUBSKA-ANDRUSIV 2009.

<sup>8</sup> PODHORODECKI 1993: 50-72.

<sup>9</sup> STAMPFER 2003; CIESIELSKI 2014: 271-278.

<sup>10</sup> FRANSEN 2009.

Bogucka and Henryk Samsonowicz<sup>11</sup>, in 1764, the whole population of the Second Polish Republic was about 11 million, with the number of Jews amounting to 7%, and 9% in 1791. The great majority of them, about  $\frac{3}{4}$ , lived in towns, so the number of Jews living in the Crown's towns was about 411 500, which corresponded to nearly 50% of the whole urban population.

In 1772, after the First Partition of Poland, the city became the capital of the Habsburg Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria<sup>12</sup>. Lviv's population was rising rapidly: in 1773 – over 23 000, 1795 – 38 749, 1830 (civilian population) – 55 629, 1844 – 65 647, 1857 – 70 366, 1880 – 109 746, 1910 – 206 574. Its religious composition was as follows: in 1857 – Roman-Catholic – 36 526 (51.91%), Greek-Catholic – 7 902 (11.23%), evangelicals – 1 007 (1.43%), Jews – 24 700 (35.10%), other religious denominations and non-believers – 231 (0.33%); in 1910: Roman-Catholic – 105 469 (51.17%), Greek-Catholic – 39 314 (19.07%), evangelicals – 3 086 (1.50%), Jews – 57 387 (27.84%), other religious denominations and non-believers – 854 (0.41%). In 1910 the native languages used in Lviv were: Polish – 85.78%, Ruthenian – 10.83%, German – 2.94%<sup>13</sup>. Austrian Jews were not considered to be a separate linguistic or ethnic group. For this reason, in the census carried out in 1910 by the Austrian authorities Jews declared Polish as their native language.

In 1918 Lviv became part of the Second Polish Republic, re-established in the aftermath of the First World War<sup>14</sup>. The city's population was rising steadily (except for the period between 1915-1919, which embraced the First World War and the post-war military operations). In 1910 the population of Lviv was 195 796 inhabitants, in 1914 – 212 030, 1915 – 189 000, 1918 – 187 431, 1920 – 219 388, and was rising gradually until 1939: in 1925 – 237 482, 1930 – 241 813, 1935 – 316 645 and in 1939 – 318 783.

During the whole interwar period the religious and ethnic structure of Lviv did not change significantly. According to the censuses conducted between 1919 and 1931 the highest increase in population was observed among Roman-Catholics (49.1%) and Jews (39.8%), who comprised 49.1% and 39.8% of the whole population, while the number of Greek-Catholics grew to 9.8%, and the number of practitioners of other religions to 1.3%. The censuses of 1921 and 1931 showed that the percentage of Roman-Catholics remained more or less stable: in 1921 – 51.1%, 1931 – 50.4%; the percentage of Jews dropped: in 1921 – 35.0%, 1931 – 31.9%; the percentage of Greek-Catholics grew fast: from 12.4% in 1921 to 16.0% in 1931; and the percentage of practitioners of other religions was: 1.5% in 1921 and 1.7% in 1931<sup>15</sup>.

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<sup>11</sup> BOGUCKA, SAMSONOWICZ 1986: 474, 469-475.

<sup>12</sup> KAYE 1972; MICK 2010: 28-67.

<sup>13</sup> WNEK, ZYBLIKIEWICZ, CALLAHAN 2006: 31, 72, 215-222, 263.

<sup>14</sup> MACMILLAN 2007; POLONSKY 1972: 35-37; MENDELSON 1983: 14; BRUBAKER 1996.

<sup>15</sup> BONUSIAK 2000: 174-189; WIERZBIANIEC 2000.

## **The early days of technical education in the Polish lands**

The early days of technical higher education date back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century when the rapid development of military engineering and mining took place, requiring carrying out high-technology works connected with the exploitation of more deeply-placed deposits. The standard model of a technical higher school – polytechnic – was developed by French scholars, who established the Polytechnic School (*École Polytechnique*) in Paris in 1794<sup>16</sup>.

The first multidisciplinary technical school in the Polish lands was the Preparatory School for the Institute of Technology in Warsaw, which opened on 4<sup>th</sup> January 1826. It achieved the ‘high school’ status in 1829, but was closed down on the strength of the tsar’s rescript<sup>17</sup> issued after the fall of the November Uprising<sup>18</sup> on 19<sup>th</sup> November 1831. Although the School functioned for a short period of time, it strongly influenced the system of Polish technical education as it pioneered the education of the first Polish technical intelligentsia. Altogether, until the outbreak of the November Uprising, 217 students attended the School, 32 became its graduates, and 2 students, who fulfilled the condition of completing a four-year course, were awarded a school-leaving certificate. Many students completed their education at technical schools abroad<sup>19</sup>.

### **The Tsisar-Royal Technical Academy in Lviv**

The closure of the Preparatory School for the Institute of Technology in Warsaw (1831) forced young people to take up technical studies outside the Kingdom of Poland (Congress Poland). The Tsisar-Royal Technical Academy in Lviv was the only technical school with Polish as a language of instruction. The Academy came to exist in 1817 as the Tsisar-Royal Real School, but in 1844 it changed its name to the Tsisar-Royal Technical Academy, and then, in 1877, the Tsisar-Royal Higher Technical School. In the 1870s it was polonized and achieved the status of ‘polytechnic’ (on the strength of the tsar’s decree issued on 8<sup>th</sup> October 1877)<sup>20</sup>.

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<sup>16</sup> GILLISPIE 2004; GRATAN-GUINNESS 2005.

<sup>17</sup> WOODBURN 2000.

<sup>18</sup> DUNN 2003; CABAN 2018.

<sup>19</sup> PIŁATOWICZ 1994: 54-59.

<sup>20</sup> POPLAWSKI 1992.

### ***The ethnic and religious composition of the Academy between 1844-1918***

Little is known about the ethnic and religious composition of the student community of the Technical Academy<sup>21</sup>. Some data come from the Academy's curriculum published for the first time in the academic year 1873/74. Unfortunately, it was only twenty years later that another curriculum, informative as regards the students' nationality and religion, similar to that published in the academic year 1873/74, was published again. From that time it was published continuously year after year until the outbreak of the First World War, the last issue embracing the academic year 1912/13. It is also vague what guidelines (detailed as they must have been) the statistics compilers followed to divide the students into the ethnic-religious groups: Polish and non-Polish Roman Catholics, Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian Greek Catholics, German and non-German evangelicals. This, however, is more complicated in the case of Jews and Judaism.

As regards the religious orientations of the Academy's students, between 1872-1913, it was dominated by Roman-Catholics, whose number oscillated narrowly between 77.4 – 81.7%. It was increasing steadily in the years just before the First World War. In the 1870s the second most highly-practised religion was Greek Catholicism, which probably lost its position in favour of Judaism in the 1880s. However, until the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century, Greek Catholics were still numerous in comparison with the rest of the Academy's student population. Their number dropped to less than 5% just before the First World War (the absolute number of Greek Catholics remained steady). Evangelicals were also few, except for the 1870s when their number oscillated around 1%.

As it has already been shown, the religion-based division did not overlap precisely with the ethnic one. Polish students were mostly Roman Catholic, but there were also some Greek Catholics, evangelicals, Armenian Catholics and Jews among them. Almost all ethnic Ruthenians/Ukrainians were Greek Catholic. Whereas most German-speaking students, who came to Lviv in the 1870s from different regions of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, were Roman Catholic rather than evangelical. However, after the polonization of the Technical Academy, which took place in the 1970s, their number dropped to nearly zero. In the academic year 1872/73 there were 252 Polish students, 29 Ruthenian/Ukrainian students, 9 German-speaking students and 1 Hungarian student at the Technical Academy in Lviv.

#### ***Jewish students at the Tsisar-Royal Technical Academy in Lviv***

The number of Jews studying at the Lviv Academy went up and down depending on the period. From the 1880s only Roman Catholics outnumbered Jews,

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<sup>21</sup> ZAJĄCZKOWSKI 1894: 129-130; PIŁATOWICZ 2001.



whose community was growing steadily to exceed 180 people just before the outbreak of the First World War. As a result, from the second half of the 1890s, the relative number of Jews reached a minimum of 10% every year, maintaining its high level between 1900-1905, hitting a peak of 15.1% in the academic year 1904/5, and dwindling slightly between 1902/3 – 14.9% and 1903/4 – 14.6%. However, it declined markedly after 1905, which was probably connected with the fact that more and more young Roman Catholics were coming to Lviv from the Kingdom of Poland.

It is difficult to guess what the Academy's students were governed by while making their nationality declarations. The criteria adopted by statistics compilers are also unknown. Perhaps it was the language the students used in social situations – eight such languages, excluding Yiddish, were included in the Austrian registers. The languages they declared most frequently were Polish, German or Ukrainian, others becoming rare exceptions<sup>22</sup>. It is an indisputable fact, however, that at least in the 1890s, the Technical Academy in Lviv was dominated by students who declared Polish nationality, or, to avoid drawing uncertain conclusions, most of them were classified as Polish by statistics compilers.

For the first time Jews were placed in the register under a separate 'nationality' rubric in the academic year 1902/3, when 48 out of 139 students-Jews declared Jewish nationality. This was 34.5% of all the students-Jews, and nearly 5.1% of all of the Academy's students. 2 students-Jews declared Czech or Russian nationality, and the remaining 89 declared Polish. The next year Jews were not distinguished as a nationality in the statistics, while the number of students-Jews who declared Polish nationality grew relatively. In the academic year 1904/5 students-Jews were distinguished as a category for the second time, when 149 out of 154 students-Jews declared Polish nationality, 3 declared Ruthenian/Ukrainian, and 2 Czech or German<sup>23</sup>.

This categorization was changed in the academic year 1905/6 when the 'no-nationality' rubric was inserted into the Academy's statistics students-Jews. The 'no-nationality' category was assigned to 114 out of 157 students-Jews, while the remaining group was classified as Polish (42) or Ruthenian/Ukrainian (1). These numbers remained steady in the academic year 1906/7. However, the next year the 'no-nationality' category was replaced by the more universal category of 'others' dominated by students-Jews. Over time, the group of 'others' became smaller in size, comprising less and less students-Jews, while the group of Polish students who declared to be Jews grew bigger. In 1907/8 there were 111 students-Jews assigned to the category of 'others', and 44 students-Jews who declared to be Polish<sup>24</sup>, while in 1912/1913 the balance reversed almost completely, which might be interpreted as a step towards integration. On the other hand, it cannot be ruled out that the statistics

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<sup>22</sup> HOFF 1992: 29-32.

<sup>23</sup> *Program Cesarsko-Królewskiej Szkoły Politechnicznej* 1905: 67 – the data presented above concern the second semester.

<sup>24</sup> *Program Cesarsko-Królewskiej Szkoły Politechnicznej* 1908: 74.

compilers were incompetent, or, commissioned by the Academy's authorities, manipulated the process of data collecting so that the results were in disagreement with the declarants' intentions.

Also, the data obtained are insufficient to say what faculties students-Jews studied at, and which faculties were most popular among them. This would provide some clues as to the type of technical knowledge they sought, but to answer this question more advanced archivistic research is required, especially in Lviv.

Graduating from the Technical Academy and receiving a diploma in engineering required more effort than just signing up and studying there even for a few years. Unfortunately, there are not any data on the religion or nationality of the students who successfully graduated from the Academy. For this reason, to assess at least the approximate number of graduates-Jews it must be assumed that the number of such graduates in the total number of graduates corresponds with the number of students-Jews in the total number of students, and oscillates between 10-15%. The Tsar-Royal Technical Academy awarded 1608 diplomas in engineering<sup>25</sup> between 1878-1918, consequently, the number of graduates-Jews must have fluctuated between 161 and 241, with the latter number being probably more realistic.

### **The Lviv Polytechnic between 1921-1939**

Regular classes at the Lviv Polytechnic (for the first time called this name in the statute of 28<sup>th</sup> July 1921) started in January 1921 marking the end of the First World War and the Polish-Soviet War<sup>26</sup>. The number of students at the Academy was growing rapidly hitting its peak during the Great Depression, declining for a few years, and coming back on to the previous level during the last year of the interwar period<sup>27</sup>.

#### ***The sources and their interpretation***

Although many different statistical data were published by both the Central Statistical Office and higher education institutions in Poland, full data on the native languages and religions of young people studying in the Second Polish Republic are difficult to obtain. Fortunately, those concerning the religious background of the students of the Lviv Polytechnic were published continuously from the academic year 1924/25 to 1936/37, which was stopped for unknown reasons. Thus, statistical data compiled by both the Central Statistical Office and the Polytechnic were used in the research, although, in many cases, the analysed periods did not overlap, i.e. different statistics may have embraced different periods of time (the summer/winter

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<sup>25</sup> PIŁATOWICZ 1991: 32.

<sup>26</sup> BORZECKI 2016.

<sup>27</sup> PIŁATOWICZ 1994: 45-46.

term, or the end of the calendar year) depending on the institution which produced them (which was not always made clear). For this reason, there might be some statistical differences for different years, but it does not influence the trends revealed during the research.

### *Jewish students at the Lviv Polytechnic*

During the whole interwar period Jews were the second largest religious group of students at the Lviv Polytechnic. However, Roman Catholics outnumbered them heavily – in 1919/20 they comprised 90.6% of all of the Polytechnic's students. Their clear dominance was declining over time to reach 67.2% in 1928/29, and stabilise between 71-74% in the 1930s. There were also many Greek Catholics and Russian Orthodoxes (mostly Ukrainian and Belarussian) at the Lviv Polytechnic, who, put together, became more numerous than Jews in some of the years between 1930 and 1940.

At the beginning of the academic year 1919/20 the number of students-Jews was rather low, amounting to 7.6% only (98 students). It climbed to 13.8% in 1921/22, and was growing over time to reach 16.5% (399 students) in 1928/29 and 12.3% (361 students) in 1930/31. At the end of the 1930s, in 1937/38<sup>28</sup>, the number dropped to 10.9% (310 students). Counted in absolute numbers, students-Jews were almost as numerous at the beginning of the interwar period (1921/22 – 303 students) as they were at its end (1937/38 – 310 students).

However, until the second half of the 1930s, none of the students-Jews declared Yiddish or Hebrew as their native language. This changed in the academic year 1934/35 when 7.3% of the Polytechnic's students declared Yiddish, and 14.6% declared to be Jews. At the end of the interwar period, in the academic year 1937/38, 4.7% of all of the Polytechnic's students declared to be Jews, while 1.4% declared Yiddish or Hebrew as their native language<sup>29</sup>.

This brings to the conclusion that in the second half of the 1930s about 50% of all students-Jews considered themselves to be Polish, and treated Polish as their native language, which was a rapid increase in the number of Yiddish or Hebrew-speaking students in comparison with the period between 1920 and 1930. It was probably a reaction to the repeated anti-Semitic incidents occurring at different Polish higher education institutions at that time.

At technical schools students-Jews were less numerous than at other types of higher education institutions. In the 1920s they comprised 24.0-24.8% of all the student population in the Second Polish Republic<sup>30</sup>, while the corresponding

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<sup>28</sup> *Statystyka Polski* 1939: 83.

<sup>29</sup> *Rocznik statystyki Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* 1924: 239.

<sup>30</sup> *Rocznik statystyki Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* 1929: 427.



number of students-Jews at the Lviv Polytechnic was a few points lower. In the 1930s the number of students-Jews at all types of higher education institutions decreased markedly (most sharply at universities). Thus, at the end of the 1930s, students-Jews comprised 10% of all students in the Second Polish Republic<sup>31</sup>, which corresponded, more or less, with the number of students-Jews studying at the Lviv Polytechnic at that time, and the total population of Jews in the Second Polish Republic. In fact, this was an implementation of *numerus clausus*<sup>32</sup>, which was unsanctioned by law at that time.

As a rule, over 9% of young Jews who wanted to acquire higher education took up technical studies. At the beginning of the 1920s this type of studies was ranked fourth among the most popular fields of study, just after philosophy, law and medicine. In the 1930s they moved up to the third position, replacing medicine<sup>33</sup>.

### ***The Polytechnic's Jewish students and the choice of faculty***

At first, most young Jews enrolled in the General Faculty, having many university subjects in the curriculum, and not very popular at that time. In the academic year 1922/23 Jews comprised 74.2% of all the students there. However, their number dropped sharply to reach 25.6% in 1933 (when the General Faculty was closed down). The second most popular was the Faculty of Chemistry (28.7% in 1922/23), while the least popular was the Faculty of Agriculture and Forestry (1.7%). The number of Jews who enrolled in one of the three other faculties oscillated between 16.5% to 13.5%. In the middle of the 1930s the most popular became the Faculty of Architecture (23.5% in 1934/35) and the Faculty of Civil Engineering (21.6%), followed by the Faculty of Mechanics – 12.1%, the Faculty of Chemistry – 10%, and the Faculty of Agriculture and Forestry – 6.2%<sup>34</sup>.

### ***Jewish women at the Lviv Polytechnic***

Traditionally, men were those who took up technical professions, and thus, technical studies were not very popular among women. Crossing this mental border was not easy. It was only in 1911 that first women signed up at the Lviv Polytechnic, while it was only after the First World War that women were granted the right to study at higher education institutions (on the strength of the decree issued on 8<sup>th</sup> October 1919 by the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education). Between 1918-1938

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<sup>31</sup> *Statystyka Polski* 1939: 82.

<sup>32</sup> RUDNICKI 1987.

<sup>33</sup> LANGNAS 1933: 15-16, 22, 25, 48-51; BRONSZTEJN 1963: 192-195.

<sup>34</sup> *Program Cesarsko-Królewskiej Szkoły Politechnicznej* 1923: 169; *Program Cesarsko-Królewskiej Szkoły Politechnicznej* 1929: 210; *Program Cesarsko-Królewskiej Szkoły Politechnicznej* 1933: 263; *Program Cesarsko-Królewskiej Szkoły Politechnicznej* 1935: 222.

the number of women studying at the Lviv Polytechnic oscillated between 2.6% and 5.3%, hitting its peak of 5.3% in 1931/32.

Most female students were Roman Catholic. The second most frequently practised religion among women was Judaism, with its followers being much more numerous than those practising other religions. For example, in the academic year 1924/25 there were 16 Jewish female students at the Lviv Polytechnic, which was 21.9% of the total number of women studying there. However, more than ten years later (1935/36), the number of Jewish female students grew significantly to 30 – 28.3%. And the number of Jewish women who took up technical studies grew more quickly than men – in 1924/25 Jewish male students comprised 13.7% of all male students of the Polytechnic, while in 1935/36 only 11.8% (in the whole of the Second Polish Republic Jewish male students comprised 14% of all male students). Of course, counted in absolute numbers, women were not very numerous, but the different preferences shown by Jewish female students as regards the choice of faculty became more visible in this way. The most popular among Jewish female students in the academic year 1935/36 were the Faculty of Chemistry and the Faculty of Architecture, which attracted 63.3% of all Jewish female students. Jewish female students (4) outnumbered Roman Catholic ones (2) at the Faculty of Engineering<sup>35</sup>.

It was difficult to assess the number of Jewish female students-graduates who were awarded a diploma in engineering (despite the negative attitude shown towards them by the professors). It seems that female students were more effective than male ones, as the number of women who graduated from the Lviv Polytechnic over a shorter period of time was higher than that of men, with the total number of students who graduated from the Lviv Polytechnic during the interwar period amounting to 180. As there are not any direct data on Jewish students-graduates of the Lviv Polytechnic, including Jewish female students<sup>36</sup>, the size of the latter group can be estimated based on the number of Jewish female students in the total number of female students, which oscillated between 22-28%. Accordingly, it can be calculated that there were between 40-50 Jewish female students-graduates of the Lviv Polytechnic.

## Conclusion

*The Polish Minority Treaty*<sup>37</sup>, which was signed on 28<sup>th</sup> June 1919, turned out to be insufficient to secure Jewish interests in the Second Polish Republic. Nationalist circles considered the treaty to be a tool used by ethnic minorities to destroy the foundations of the Republic, just reborn after the Partitions. The Jewish community in particular became the target of attacks carried out in the form of pogroms which

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<sup>35</sup> *Rocznik statystyki Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* 1929: 419.

<sup>36</sup> PIASECKI 1936: 10-11.

<sup>37</sup> FINK 1998.

took place in 1919 and 1920<sup>38</sup>. They scaled down for a short time just after the newly-born Polish state stabilized, but renewed quickly and lasted for the whole interwar period. Anti-Semitism was also visible in the actions taken by the subsequent Polish governments who passed more and more anti-Semitic laws.

The system of higher education was also affected by anti-Semitism<sup>39</sup>. In 1923 the government tried to implement *numerus clausus*, which meant that a limit on the number of Jewish students to be accepted at a higher education institution was imposed, estimated according to the percentage of Jews in the whole population of the Second Polish Republic<sup>40</sup>. Although, because of international protests, *numerus clausus* was not passed by the Senate, 23.810 non-Jewish students and 8325 Jewish students (25%) were accepted at five recognised universities in the academic year 1923/24. However, it should be pointed out that the percentage of urban Jews (30-40%), who traditionally aspired to receive higher education, was higher than the percentage of all Jews in the whole population of the Republic (10%). This drastic restriction was imposed after Piłsudski's death, when the nationalistic opposition openly announced their anti-Semitic programme<sup>41</sup>, so that between 1937-1938 only 4.791 out of 48.168 students (about 10%) were Jewish<sup>42</sup>.

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<sup>38</sup> GOLCZEWSKI 1981; BEYRAU 1982: 205-206; REDER 2011; JASTRZĄB 2015; HAGEN 2018.

<sup>39</sup> NATKOWSKA 1999: 154-155; KULCZYKOWSKI 2004; RÓŻAŃSKI 2009; ALEKSIUN 2014; FRITZ, ROSSOLIŃSKI-LIEBE, STAREK 2016; PIŁATOWICZ 2020.

<sup>40</sup> ŻYNDUL 1992: 59.

<sup>41</sup> MELZER 1989; ŻYNDUL 1994; PICKHAN 2001.

<sup>42</sup> RABINOWICZ 1964.

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