

BIULETYN  
POLSKIEJ MISJI HISTORYCZNEJ

---

BULLETIN  
DER POLNISCHEN HISTORISCHEN MISSION

NR 20/2025

UNIwersytet MIKOŁAJA KOPERNIKA W TORUNIU  
(POLSKA MISJA HISTORYCZNA PRZY UNIwersYTECIE  
JULIUSZA I MAKSYMILIANA W WÜRZBURGU)

NIKOLAUS-KOPERNIKUS-UNIVERSITÄT TORUŃ  
(POLNISCHE HISTORISCHE MISSION AN DER JULIUS-MAXIMILIANS-  
UNIVERSITÄT WÜRZBURG)

TORUŃ 2025

KOMITET REDAKCYJNY / REDAKTIONSKOMITEE

*prof. dr hab. Thomas Baier (Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg), prof. dr hab. Caspar Ehlers (Max-Planck-Institut für Europäische Rechtsgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main), prof. dr hab. dr h.c. Helmut Flachenecker (Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg), dr Krzysztof Garczewski (Uniwersytet Kazimierza Wielkiego w Bydgoszczy), prof. dr hab. Heinz-Dieter Heimann (Universität Potsdam), prof. dr hab. Tomasz Jasiński (Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu), prof. dr hab. Krzysztof Kopiński (Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu), prof. dr hab. Zdzisław Noga (Uniwersytet Komisji Edukacji Narodowej w Krakowie), prof. dr hab. Krzysztof Ożóg (Uniwersytet Jagielloński w Krakowie), prof. dr hab. Andrzej Radziński (Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu): Przewodniczący / Vorsitzender, prof. dr hab. Wojciech Zawadzki (Uniwersytet Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego w Warszawie)*

REDAKCJA NAUKOWA / SCHRIFTFLEITUNG

*dr Renata Skowrońska, prof. dr hab. dr h.c. Helmut Flachenecker*

Redakcja naukowa i językowa (j. niemiecki) / Wissenschaftliche und philologische Redaktion (Deutsch)  
*dr Renate Schindler, dr Renata Skowrońska*

Redakcja językowa (j. angielski) / *Philologische Redaktion* (Englisch)  
*Steve Jones*

Sekretarz Redakcji / Redaktionssekretärin  
*mgr Mirosława Buczyńska*

ADRES REDAKCJI / REDAKTIONSADRESSE

Polnische Historische Mission an der Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg  
Am Hubland, 97074 Würzburg, Niemcy / Deutschland  
<http://apcz.umk.pl/czasopisma/index.php/BPMH/index>  
<https://pmh.umk.pl/start/wydawnictwa/biuletyn/>

Kontakt: *Renata Skowrońska*  
tel. (+49 931) 31 81029  
e-mail: [renata.skowronska@uni-wuerzburg.de](mailto:renata.skowronska@uni-wuerzburg.de)

*Biuletyn Polskiej Misji Historycznej* jest udostępniany na stronie internetowej Akademickiej Platformy Czasopism, w systemie Open Journal System (OJS) na zasadach licencji Creative Commons (CC BY – ND 4.0).

*Das Bulletin der Polnischen Historischen Mission*  
ist auf den Webseiten der Akademischen Zeitschrift-Plattform zugänglich.  
Die Zeitschriften werden im Open Journal System (OJS)  
auf Lizenzbasis Creative Commons (CC BY – ND 4.0) veröffentlicht.

Prezentowana wersja czasopisma (papierowa) jest wersją pierwotną.  
Diese Version der Zeitschrift (auf Papier) ist die Hauptversion.

ISSN 2083-7755  
e-ISSN 2391-792X

© Copyright by Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika

---

WYDAWCA / HERAUSGEBER

Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika  
ul. Gagarina 11, 87–100 Toruń, tel. (+48 56) 611 42 95, fax (+48 56) 611 47 05  
[www.wydawnictwoumk.pl](http://www.wydawnictwoumk.pl)

DYSTRYBUCJA / VERTRIEBS-SERVICE-CENTER

Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK  
Mickiewicza 2/4, 87–100 Toruń  
tel./fax (+48 56) 611 42 38  
e-mail: [books@umk.pl](mailto:books@umk.pl), [www.kopernikanska.pl/](http://www.kopernikanska.pl/)

DRUK / AUSGABE

Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK  
ul. Gagarina 5, 87–100 Toruń  
tel. (+48 56) 611 22 15  
Nakład: 300 egz.

SPIS TREŚCI  
INHALTSVERZEICHNIS  
CONTENTS

RENATA SKOWROŃSKA .....	7
Kronika Polskiej Misji Historycznej	
Chronik der Polnischen Historischen Mission	
The Chronicle of the Polish Historical Mission	
RENATA SKOWROŃSKA .....	15
Stypendyści oraz goście Polskiej Misji Historycznej	
Stipendiaten und Gäste der Polnischen Historischen Mission	
Fellows and Guests of the Polish Historical Mission	

STUDIA I MATERIAŁY / STUDIEN UND MATERIALIEN /  
STUDIES AND MATERIALS

WOLFGANG WÜST .....	23
„Zur Tortur vnd Peinlichen Frag”. Nowożytne praktyki karne w Norymberdze w świetle uchwał rady oraz ksiąg wyroków w sprawach o przestępstwa zagrożone karą śmierci	
„Zur Tortur vnd Peinlichen Frag“. Frühneuzeitliche Strafpraxis in Nürnberg im Spiegel der Ratsverlässe und Malefiz-Urteilsbücher	
“Zur Tortur vnd Peinlichen Frag”: Early Modern Penal Practice in Nuremberg as Reflected in Council Decrees and Judgment Books	
LESZEK ZYGNER .....	61
Pławienie i procesy o czary w ustawodawstwie synodalnym metropolii gnieźnieńskiej XVI–XVIII wieku (między normą prawną a rzeczywistością)	
Kaltwasserprobe und Hexenprozesse in der Synodalgesetzgebung der Gnesener Kirchenprovinz vom 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert (zwischen Rechtsnorm und Realität)	
Water-Ordeal and Witchcraft Trials in the Synodal Legislation of the Metropolis of Gniezno in the 16th–18th Centuries (Between the Legal Norm and Reality)	

TOMASZ CIESIELSKI .....	79
Tortury i poniżające kary w prawie wojskowym w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów na tle krajów środkowoeuropejskich w XVII i XVIII wieku	
Folter und erniedrigende Strafen im Militärrecht der polnisch-litauischen Adelsrepublik (Rzeczpospolita) im Vergleich zu den Ländern Mitteleuropas im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert	
Torture and Degrading Punishment in the Military Law of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in Comparison With Central European Countries in the 17th and 18th Centuries	
MARIUSZ SAWICKI .....	103
Stosowanie tortur w procesach o czary w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów od XVII do XVIII wieku. Przyczynek do badań nad polskim sądownictwem doby nowożytnej	
Anwendung von Folter in Hexenprozessen in der polnisch-litauischen Rzeczpospolita vom 17. bis 18. Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der polnischen Justiz der Frühen Neuzeit	
Use of Torture in Witchcraft Trials in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth From the 17th to the 18th Century: A Contribution to Research on the Polish Judiciary of the Modern Era	
DANUTA JANICKA .....	123
Stosowanie tortur w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku. Przyczynek do historii prawa	
Anwendung von Folter in Polen-Litauen (Rzeczpospolita) im 16.–18. Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur Rechtsgeschichte	
Use of Torture in Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Rzeczpospolita) in the 16th–18th Century: A Contribution to the Legal History	
FRANZISKA NIEDRIST .....	143
O kwestii wartości dowodowej przyznania się do winy – poszukiwanie śladów w austriackim prawie karnym	
Zur Frage der Beweiskraft eines Geständnisses – eine Spurensuche im österreichischen Strafrecht	
On the Question of the Evidential Value of a Confession – A Search for Clues in Austrian Criminal Law	
NINA KREIBIG .....	169
„Trująca katusze nie są najmniejszą siostrą bliźniaczą tortur!” Walka Friederike Kempner z izolatkami w więzieniach w XIX-wiecznych Prusach	
„Giftige Marter ist nicht die kleinste Zwillingsschwester der Tortur!“ Friederike Kempners Kampf gegen die Einzelhaft im Preußen des 19. Jahrhunderts	
“Toxic Torture Is Not the Smallest Twin Sister of Torture!”: Friederike Kempner’s Fight Against Solitary Confinement in 19th-Century Prussia	

---

ELŻBIETA ALABRUDZIŃSKA .....	197
Kościoły protestanckie w polityce bezpieczeństwa państwa polskiego w latach 1937–1939	
Evangelische Kirchen in der Sicherheitspolitik des polnischen Staates in den Jahren 1937–1939	
Protestant Churches in the Security Policy of the Polish State in the Years 1937–1939	
PHILIP CZECH .....	217
O dynamicznym rozwoju zakazu tortur przez Europejski Trybunał Praw Człowieka w drugiej połowie XX wieku	
Zur dynamischen Weiterentwicklung des Folterverbots durch den Europäischen Gerichtshof für Menschenrechte in der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts	
On the Dynamic Development of the Prohibition of Torture by the European Court of Human Rights in the Second Half of the 20th Century	
MARTA BARANOWSKA / PAWEŁ FIKTUS .....	251
Międzynarodowy Pakt Praw Obywatelskich i Politycznych z 1966 jako przyczynek do debat o torturach w polskiej publicystyce prawno-filozoficznej lat 1977–1980	
Der <i>Internationale Pakt über bürgerliche und politische Rechte</i> von 1966 als Beitrag zu den Debatten über Folter in der polnischen rechtsphilosophischen Publizistik der Jahre 1977–1980	
The <i>International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights</i> of 1966 as a Contribution to Debates on Torture in Polish Legal and Philosophical Publications in 1977–1980	
KATARZYNA GRYSIŃSKA-JARMOŁA / AGNIESZKA WEDEŁ-DOMARADZKA .....	273
Międzynarodowy system prewencji i ochrony przed torturami a Polska. Aspekty historyczne i prawne	
Das internationale System zur Prävention und zum Schutz vor Folter und Polen. Historische und rechtliche Aspekte	
The International System of Prevention and Protection Against Torture and Poland: Historical and Legal Aspects	

ELŻBIETA ALABRUDZIŃSKA

Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu  
E-Mail: [ea@umk.pl](mailto:ea@umk.pl)  
ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2084-6439>

## PROTESTANT CHURCHES IN THE SECURITY POLICY OF THE POLISH STATE IN THE YEARS 1937–1939\*

### INTRODUCTION

In interwar Poland, Protestants constituted the fourth largest religious minority after Orthodox Christians, Greek Catholics and Jews. In the second half of the 1930s, the country had nearly one million Protestant citizens. A distinguishing characteristic of Protestantism was the large number of independent Churches and religious communities. The research presented in this article examines all Churches operating in the Second Polish Republic that emerged directly from the 16<sup>th</sup>–century Reformation movement, namely: the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession, the United Evangelical Church, the United Evangelical Church of Upper Silesia, the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg and Helvetian Confession, the Reformed Evangelical Church in the Polish Republic, the Reformed Evangelical Church in Vilnius, and the Evangelical-Lutheran (Old Lutheran) Church. The situation in interwar Poland was interesting: these seven Churches, while doctrinally similar, differed significantly in their national composition and represented a broad spectrum of attitudes towards the state authorities. This diversity stemmed from various factors, including the

---

\* The article was written as part of the research project *Kampania polska 1939 roku – synteza* (*The Polish Campaign of 1939: A Synthesis*), Polish Ministry of Education and Science, no. 2021/DPI/319.

traditions of those religious communities, but primarily from the legacy of the Partitions of Poland.

Until 1937, the policy of the Polish state towards Evangelical Churches lacked coherence and consistency. There was no consensus as to its direction among the various ministries and often even within the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education itself. Differences in approach were also evident between central and voivodeship authorities, with the influence of the latter on religious policy significantly increasing after the 1926 May Coup. However, what most hindered the development of a coherent policy was the prevalence of national factors over religious ones in the attitude of state authorities towards Evangelical Churches. Religious policy depended on policy towards nationalities, and often on the current state of relations between Poland and Germany. Thus, significant changes in policy towards national minorities in mid-1936 generated a tightening of the authorities' stance towards Protestant communities.<sup>1</sup> The first result of this was the decree of 25 November 1936 on the relation of the state to the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in the Polish Republic, which provided state authorities with significant influence over the staffing of church offices, including the power to dismiss priests engaged in activities deemed contrary to the interests of the state.<sup>2</sup>

The goal of this study is to determine the place of Protestant Churches in the security policy of the Polish state from January 1937, i.e. from the beginning of a new phase in the policy towards Evangelical communities. The end date is the outbreak of World War II on 1 September 1939. In contrast to research published so far, this text analyses the attitude of state authorities towards Protestant Churches as an element of Polish security policy, which represents a novel approach to this topic. Which aspects of Church operations were considered by the state authorities to impact the security of Poland? How did security-related issues influence the government's policy towards Evangelical communities? What factors were crucial for the significance of individual Churches within the security policy of Poland?

Security policy is analysed here in terms most consistent with the approach included in *Polska polityka bezpieczeństwa 1989–2000*, ed. Roman

---

<sup>1</sup> Chojnowski: *Koncepcje*, pp. 206–210; Alabrudzińska: *Protestantyzm*, pp. 313–315.

<sup>2</sup> *Dziennik Urzędowy*, p. 44; Gryniakow: *Ustalenie*, pp. 199–208.

Kuźniar<sup>3</sup>, and *Bezpieczeństwo narodowe Polski w latach 1918–1939. Teoria i praktyka*, ed. Małgorzata Wiśniewska and Lech Wyszczelski<sup>4</sup>. As Kuźniar emphasises, “state policy has two aspects: firstly – the state’s international environment and its foreign policy; secondly – its internal system, namely: institutions, defence system, economy and society”<sup>5</sup>. This article focuses primarily on the internal dimension of security policy. This study is based primarily on archival sources. The majority of the materials used were drawn from the following archives: the Archives of Modern Records in Warsaw (Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Embassy of the Polish Republic in Berlin), Bundesarchiv Dienststelle Berlin (Reichsministerium für die kirchlichen Angelegenheiten, Deutsche Stiftung) and Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes in Berlin (Geistliche Angelegenheiten, Botschaft Warschau, Konsulat Posen, Konsulat Lodz).<sup>6</sup>

## 1. THE EVANGELICAL CHURCH OF THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION

The national composition of this largest of Protestant Churches in Poland was particularly complex. Its leadership and most of the clergy were Polish, while the majority of its members were German. During the interwar period, both the Polish and the German sections of this community became more active. The Church was headed by Bishop Juliusz Bursche, who promoted the concept of Polish Evangelicalism, the implementation of which facilitated the community’s openness to Polonisation processes. Bursche’s efforts to foster strong relations with the Polish state were supported by Polish clergy and the communities of Polish lay Lutherans, particularly those from Warsaw and Cieszyn Silesia, who were involved in national and political matters; they also cooperated with state authorities in Polonisation campaigns targeting the United Evangelical Churches in the former Prussian Partition territories – for example, by establishing separate Polish

---

<sup>3</sup> Kuźniar: *Wstęp*, pp. 13–17.

<sup>4</sup> Wiśniewska / Wyszczelski: *Bezpieczeństwo*, pp. 5–10.

<sup>5</sup> Kuźniar: *Wstęp*, p. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie (further: AAN), Bundesarchiv Dienststelle Berlin (further: BAB), Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes in Berlin (further: PA).



parishes there. These ideas and actions met, however, with the opposition from some of the German members and clergy of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession.<sup>7</sup>

As the mentioned decree on the relation of the state to the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in the Polish Republic was imposed on the Church in November 1936, the state authorities did not expect that it would backfire. The implementation of the new Church law was accompanied by intense Church and political strife, and the synod convoked in 1937 was boycotted by both lay and clerical members of German nationality.<sup>8</sup> The opposition proposed dividing the Church into a Polish and a German one. This idea soon evolved into a more radical project: the establishment of a German Evangelical Church in Poland, which would comprise not only German parishes of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession but also the German congregations of both the United Evangelical Churches and the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg and Helvetian Confession. As a result, the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession entered a phase of division between its Polish and German sections.<sup>9</sup>

The Ministry of Internal Affairs considered the possible establishment of a German Evangelical Church in Poland as a threat to state security. In this way, German protestants would manage to largely evade Polonisation efforts, and their new Church would be supported by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Third Reich and the Evangelical Church in Germany.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> Evangelisches Zentralarchiv in Berlin: *Deutsche Evangelische Kirche – Kirchliches Außenamt*, sign. 931, n. p., Berlin-Charlottenburg, 3.5.1938, Vermerk; BAB: *Deutsche Stiftung* (further: DS), sign. 1513, k. 502–547; AAN: *Ambasada RP w Berlinie*, sign. 1572, k. 2–5; Kotula: *Od marzeń*, pp. 152–161; Alabrudzińska: *Juliusz Bursche*, pp. 105–119; Kiec: *Die evangelischen Christen*, pp. 68–70; Kossert: *Protestantismus*, pp. 92–93.

<sup>8</sup> AAN: *Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych*, sign. 988, k. 12–15; PA: *Konsulat Posen*, sign. 8, n. p., Die 7 Thesen von Prof. D. Siegmund-Schultze, aufgestellt im März 1938; PA: *Botschaft Warschau*, sign. 79, n. p., Deutsches Konsulat Lodz an die Deutsche Botschaft Warschau vom 28.6.1938; Krebs: *Państwo*, pp. 198–206; Stegner: *Ks. biskup*, pp. 10–11.

<sup>9</sup> PA: *Geistliche Angelegenheiten*, sign. 61659, n. p., Deutsche Botschaft Warschau an das Auswärtige Amt vom 17.1.1939 and sign. 61660, n. p., Deutsche Evangelische Kirche. Kirchliches Außenamt an das Auswärtige Amt vom 29.3.1939; PA: *Konsulat Posen*, sign. 8, n. p., Deutsches Konsulat Posen an die Deutsche Botschaft Warschau vom 5.12.1938; BAB: DS, sign. 428, k. 223–225.

<sup>10</sup> BAB: DS, sign. 428/1, k. 359–360, 381–386, sign. 955, k. 110–114 and sign. 1513, k. 358–360, 379–386, 413–414; PA: *Konsulat Lodz*, sign. 47, n. p., Auswärtiges Amt an das Reichsministerium des Innern vom 27.2.1939.

At that point, the issues of national minorities were even more important for state security than before Józef Piłsudski's death, as the current government perceived the minorities' role in the context of security policy. The Committee for National Matters of the Council of Ministers, operating since December 1935, dealt, among others, with monitoring the attitudes of national minorities towards the question of state security. The notion of state assimilation was replaced by the program of strengthening Polish national identity.<sup>11</sup> This approach was also dominant in the attitude towards Protestant Churches, including the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession.

The state authorities were thus attempting to prevent the split within the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession through punitive measures. As early as October 1936, the Ministry of Internal Affairs asked voivodes to initiate actions aimed at removing pastors, who were German citizens, from the territory of Poland, as well as to verify the procedure of acquiring Polish citizenship by other clergymen of German nationality and to assess the possibility of revoking it.<sup>12</sup> However, nearly two years passed before these measures were implemented. In September 1938, Aleksander Hauke-Nowak, a firm enforcer of the policy of strengthening Polishness and Volhynia's voivode for several months, revoked the Polish citizenship of Pastor Alfred Kleindienst, the leader of the German opposition within the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession. While the decision rested on a highly controversial interpretation of the law, Kleindienst was nevertheless expelled from Volhynia in February 1939.<sup>13</sup>

The case of Rev. Kleindienst received wide coverage in the press of the German minority in Poland. The articles pointed to the tightening of the religious policy of the Polish state in 1938, emphasising that the recent change in the post of Volhynia voivode and the appointment of Henryk

---

<sup>11</sup> Wiśniewska / Wyszczelski: *Bezpieczeństwo*, pp. 289–311.

<sup>12</sup> AAN: *Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych*, sign. 988, k. 3–5, 12–14.

<sup>13</sup> PA: *Botschaft Warschau*, sign. 80, n. p., Deutsche Botschaft Warschau an das Deutsche Generalkonsulat Posen vom 7.2.1939, Deutsches Generalkonsulat Posen an die Deutsche Botschaft Warschau vom 15.2.1939, Aufzeichnung vom 23.2.1939; PA: *Konsulat Lodz*, sign. 47, n. p., Deutsche Stiftung an das Auswärtige Amt vom 9.7.1938; PA: *Geistliche Angelegenheiten*, sign. 61660, n. p., Deutsche Botschaft Warschau an das Auswärtige Amt vom 28.2.1939; BAB: DS, sign. 947, k. 141–148; sign. 1513, k. 387–402, 421–448; Kneifel: *Geschichte*, pp. 285–286.

Dunin-Borkowski as the head of the Department of Religious Denominations in the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education itself were not merely personnel replacements but systemic changes.<sup>14</sup>

On the initiative of Gustav Schedler, one of the leading activists of the Working Community of German Pastors (Arbeitsgemeinschaft der deutschen Pastoren innerhalb der Evangelisch – Augsburgischen Kirche in Polen), a meeting was held on 15 November 1938 with Henryk Dunin-Borkowski to discuss the implementation of the new church law. However, the stance of the Director of the Department of Religious Denominations was highly inflexible, and he used the word “anarchy” to describe the situation within the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession. No agreements were reached.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, the authorities did not repeat the measure previously taken against Rev. Kleindienst. Instead, they limited their actions to removing several other pastors from office (in one case, Bishop Bursche refused to implement the decision). There were also police investigations instigated against Evangelical-Augsburg clergymen, house searches, and even arrests on suspicion of illegally crossing the Polish-German border (this included the aforementioned Gustav Schedler, as well as Pastors Adolf Doberstein and August Gerhardt).<sup>16</sup>

German influence among Slavic communities was considered to be a significant threat to the state security, in particular the combination of German and Ukrainian questions. Therefore, local authorities and military intelligence watched carefully the missionary work of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession among the Ukrainian population in Volhynia. As it was conducted by Volhynian pastors of German nationality, the authorities saw its goal as predominantly a political one – enlisting Ukrainians to cooperate with Germany. Hence, there were cases of Evan-

---

<sup>14</sup> BAB: DS, sign. 1513, k. 464–465; Kammel (ed.): *Ostberichte*, 8.12.1938.

<sup>15</sup> PA: *Konsulat Posen*, sign. 8, n. p., Unterredung im Kultusministerium am 15. November 1938; BAB: DS, sign. 1513, k. 490–495.

<sup>16</sup> BAB: *Reichsministerium für die kirchlichen Angelegenheiten*, sign. 22421, k. 462–463, 489–490, 519; BAB: DS, sign. 428, k. 88–89; sign. 947, k. 81–87, 228, 268–269; PA: *Konsulat Lodz*, sign. 47, n. p., Sprawozdanie do dochodzenia policyjnego nr KD.V.273/37; PA: *Geistliche Angelegenheiten*, sign. 61659, n. p., Deutsche Botschaft Warschau an das Auswärtige Amt vom 15.11.1938 and sign. 61660, n. p., Deutsche Evangelische Kirche. Kirchliches Außenamt an das Auswärtige Amt vom 27.4.1939.

gical press and literature in Ukrainian as well as arrests of Ukrainian Evangelists, who were accused of conducting political agitation.<sup>17</sup>

Contrastingly, the state authorities supported Polish Evangelical parishes as well as organisations and associations, which kept intensifying their Polonisation and political campaigns as the threat of war grew. However, this support revealed the instrumental approach of the government towards the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession as it sought to use this community for Polonisation. This was evident, for example, in the case of Trans-Olza. The leadership of the Church and its Polish clergy enthusiastically welcomed the annexation of this area by Poland in October 1938. Regaining this territory was very important for the Church as it meant a significant enlargement of the Polish Lutheran community. The Augsburg Church, gathering Polish Lutherans from Trans-Olza, was incorporated in November 1938 within the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession. However, the incorporation also included the German Evangelical Church and the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren in Trans-Olza. This was a political decision driven by Polonisation goals, and it was implemented despite protests from the head of the German Evangelical Church, Senior Paul Zahradnik. The authorities intended to abolish German-language services in most churches. In August 1939, Senior Zahradnik was stripped of his pastor's office and expelled from Poland on the grounds that he did not hold Polish citizenship.<sup>18</sup>

## 2. THE UNITED EVANGELICAL CHURCH

With almost 300,000 members, the United Evangelical Church operated in Greater Poland and Pomerania. Its followers were mostly of German nationality, and so were the clergymen and the leaders of this religious community with its seat in Poznań. This Church attached a lot of importance to nurturing German culture and had a marked impact on upholding the German identity of its members. United Evangelical pastors were frequently

<sup>17</sup> Alabrudzińska: *Kościół*, pp. 111–112, 220–221.

<sup>18</sup> BAB: *Reichsministerium für die kirchlichen Angelegenheiten*, sign. 22436, k. 73–74, 79–81; BAB: DS, sign. 956, k. 14–16, 27; PA: *Geistliche Angelegenheiten*, sign. 61660, n. p., Deutsches Generalkonsulat Kattowitz an das Auswärtige Amt Berlin vom 7.3.1939; Pałka: *Śląski Kościół*, pp. 181–187; Klaczkow: *Kościół*, pp. 131–134.

involved in political activity for the benefit of the German minority in Poland, and more than a few times demonstrated revisionist tendencies. The clergy of this institution also showed support for the ideology of national socialism, although in most cases this attitude did not last long.<sup>19</sup>

In the second half of the 1930s, the authorities of the United Evangelical Church began to declare and demonstrate loyalty towards the Polish state, which was reflected among others in the holding of services on Polish state occasions. It was not until February 1938 that the extraordinary synod in Poznań decided to break the organisational link between the United Evangelical Church and the mother Church in Germany, and adopt a new church charter. However, the document was not accepted by the government mainly because it granted the United Evangelical Church much more independence from the Polish government and administration than the statute of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession.<sup>20</sup>

Nearly all aspects of the United Evangelical Church's operations were regarded by the state authorities as detrimental to the security of the Polish state. What was considered a particular threat was the fact that, despite declaring loyalty, the United Evangelical Church continued to maintain close contacts with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Third Reich and was financed by German government institutions.<sup>21</sup> In 1937, the Committee for National Matters of the Council of Ministers postulated in a resolution on the German minority that the work of the United Evangelical clergy should be limited to strictly religious matters, from which educating children

---

<sup>19</sup> PA: *Geistliche Angelegenheiten*, sign. 61659, n. p., Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei. Die Leitung der Auslands-Organisation an das Auswärtige Amt Berlin vom 16.2.1939 and sign. 61661, n. p., Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei. Die Leitung der Auslands-Organisation an das Auswärtige Amt Berlin vom 19.8.1939; Kiec: *Kościół*, pp. 68–69; Alabrudzińska: *Protestantyzm*, pp. 297–302.

<sup>20</sup> PA: *Konsulat Łódź*, sign. 47, n. p., Deutsche Stiftung an das Auswärtige Amt Berlin vom 23.3.1939; BAB: DS, sign. 427, k. 14–15; *Bericht*, pp. 18–23; Kiec: *Evangelicki Kościół*, p. 63; Hauser: *Mniejszość*, pp. 285–287.

<sup>21</sup> BAB: DS, sign. 427, k. 57–60, 117 and sign. 428, k. 137; PA: *Geistliche Angelegenheiten*, sign. 61659, n. p., Deutsche Stiftung an das Auswärtige Amt Berlin vom 29.12.1938 and sign. 61661, n. p., Central-Ausschuss für die Innere Mission der Deutschen Evangelischen Kirche an die Landes- und Provinzialverbände und Fachverbände der Inneren Mission vom 31.5.1939.

should be excluded. The document also stressed that efforts should be made to remove pastors holding German citizenship from Polish territory.<sup>22</sup>

Although the state authorities agreed that among Protestant Churches the United Evangelical Church had the greatest impact on Poland's national security, they decided not to pursue a firmer policy towards it until 1939. An analysis of the sources leads to the conclusion that the most significant reason for this situation was concern about the state of Polish-German relations. Compared to other religious communities, the United Evangelical Church had the greatest opportunities to influence these relations and to shape Poland's image abroad. In a letter to the Minister of Internal Affairs dated 18 December 1937, the Foreign Minister stated that he considered "any attempt to impose an organisation on this Church by unilateral means as inadvisable"<sup>23</sup>. He also recommended that "the Ministry of Internal Affairs, prior to removing pastors with foreign citizenship from Poland, should communicate with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs each time"<sup>24</sup>.

Significant changes in policy toward the United Evangelical Church occurred as a result of the deterioration of Polish-German relations in the autumn of 1938 and the new guidelines from 19 December 1938 on dealing with the German minority, developed by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. State authorities began to take action against United Evangelical clergy in the context of the security of border zone. In January 1939, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs communicated to the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education that it had no objection to commencing the slow removal of pastors holding German citizenship from the area of the former Prussian partition. The ministry considered as abnormal the situation in which dozens of clergymen, including General Superintendent Paul Blau, the head of the United Evangelical Church, did not have Polish citizenship.<sup>25</sup>

Subsequent decisions were made during the period of growing threat of war after the Third Reich denounced the German-Polish declaration of non-aggression in April 1939. In the situation report of the Greater Poland Border Guard District Headquarters dated 1 May 1939, the United Evan-

---

<sup>22</sup> 24 listopada, pismo dyrektora, p. 716; Turowski: *Kościół*, p. 242.

<sup>23</sup> 18 grudnia, pismo ministra, p. 793.

<sup>24</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>25</sup> AAN: *Ambasada RP w Berlinie*, sign. 1575, k. 1-4.

gical Church was mentioned as one of the main causes of the “growth of Germanness in the borderland”<sup>26</sup>. As a result, a proposal was put forward to hire Polish clergy in place of German pastors expelled from Poland at that time. In July 1939, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs approved the intention of the Ministry of Religious Affairs to proceed with the gradual removal of pastors, seven per year. Colonel Ludwik Bociański, the governor of Poznań, took a more rigorous approach to the problem. Based on his decision, eleven pastors were expelled from Greater Poland in August 1939. The tightening of policy towards the United Evangelical Church in 1939 also manifested itself in the increasing frequency of punishments imposed on clergymen for illegal teaching and for statements against the Polish state, as well as in the requisitioning of church property.<sup>27</sup>

### 3. THE UNITED EVANGELICAL CHURCH IN UPPER SILESIA

The United Evangelical Church in Polish Upper Silesia was a religious community of fewer than 30,000 members, comprising people of German and Polish nationality. Its peculiar legal position resulted from the provisions of the Geneva Convention of 1922 and the autonomy of the Silesian voivodeship. The church was less politically active than the United Evangelical Church in Greater Poland and Pomerania, but was involved in the conflict over the indigenous population of Upper Silesia. In contrast to the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession, the nationality conflict in the United Evangelical Church in Polish Upper Silesia did not grow internally but played out in the clash with the immigrants from Cieszyn Silesia, gathered in the Association of Polish Evangelicals, an organisation that enjoyed the full support of the state authorities.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> AAN: *Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych*, sign. 11482, k. 32–50.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, k. 18–23, 51–57; BAB: *Reichsministerium für die kirchlichen Angelegenheiten*, sign. 22436, k. 57; BAB: DS, sign. 428, k. 115–122, 140, 146–149 and sign. 1513, k. 374, 411, 451, 462–463, 467; PA: *Geistliche Angelegenheiten*, sign. 61660, n. p., Deutsches Generalkonsulat Thorn an das Auswärtige Amt Berlin vom 10.7.1939 and sign. 61661, n. p., Deutsches Generalkonsulat Posen an das Auswärtige Amt Berlin vom 12.8.1939.

<sup>28</sup> Czembor: *Ewangelicki Kościół*, pp. 167–173; Alabrudzińska: *Protestantyzm*, pp. 277–282.



In connection with the expiration of the Geneva Convention, Silesian voivode Michał Grażyński enacted the Law on the Temporary Organisation of the United Evangelical Church in Upper Silesia on 16 July 1937 without consulting the Church authorities. The law significantly changed the organisation of the Church and provided the voivodship authorities with a very wide range of influence on the Church's affairs. Church Superintendent Hermann Voss and all the clergy refused to acknowledge the law, which initiated a two-year-long conflict between the Silesian voivode and Church opposition. On more than one occasion, Grażyński's anti-German, repressive policies caused resistance from Foreign Minister Józef Beck, as well as interventions from the German government. Several days before the signing of the Polish-German declaration regarding the treatment of national minorities on 5 November 1937, as the Silesian voivode announced plans to remove pastors with German citizenship, the German government issued a demarche requesting the suspension of the Law on the Temporary Organization of the United Evangelical Church in Upper Silesia and the appointment of a commission composed of representatives of the government and the Church to develop a permanent organisation of this religious community. The demarche also included a request that the removal of pastors be done gradually, only after replacement clergymen were found for the abandoned parishes. During a conversation with German Embassy Counselor Johann von Wühlisch, Director of the Foreign Minister's Office Michał Łubieński emphasised that due to the clergy's opposition to the law, the authorities would be unable to offer them Polish citizenship.<sup>29</sup>

The lack of any change in the situation of the United Evangelical Church in Upper Silesia after the signing of the minority declaration was the subject of a conversation between Minister Beck and German Ambassador Hans Adolf von Moltke on 11 December 1937. The head of Polish diplomacy informed the ambassador that he had sent Michał Łubieński to Silesia to personally check on the issue and possibly influence Voivode Grażyński. However, Beck maintained that the "uncooperative stance" of the clergy, who did not want to recognise the law, made any intervention impossible.<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup> *Notatka dyrektora Gabinetu*, pp. 636–638.

<sup>30</sup> BAB: *Reichsministerium für die kirchlichen Angelegenheiten*, sign. 22421, k. 386–387.



Although Superintendent Voss – and later, after his departure from Poland and death, other representatives of the Church – repeatedly approached the Silesian voivode with proposals to enter into negotiations, Grażyński was determined to break resistance to the law by force. The measures aimed at this goal included the introduction of representatives of the Association of Polish Evangelicals into the Temporary Church Council and the removal of the former head of the Church from the position of its chairman. Furthermore, the voivodeship authorities quickly expelled all clergymen with German citizenship as well as two pastors who were Austrian citizens, and appointed Polish priests of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession to the vacated offices.<sup>31</sup> In May 1938, the Bureau of Nationality Policy of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers sent information to the Polish embassy in Berlin that only one clergyman with German citizenship remained in the United Evangelical Church in Upper Silesia.<sup>32</sup> Thus, these actions had been carried out before the nationwide tightening of policy towards Protestant Churches.

The repressive, controversial policy of Voivode Grażyński, which was part of the security policy of the Polish state, did not bring positive results with regard to the United Evangelical Church. Except one clergyman, the priests did not choose cooperation with the authorities, and the law had to be amended in July 1939, since it was impossible to organise the Church authorities within the stipulated time. The policy also caused an increase in anti-Polish and anti-state sentiment within the United Evangelical Church in Upper Silesia on the eve of World War II.<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup> AAN: *Ministerstwo Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego*, sign. 1286, k. 143–146; AAN: *Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych*, sign. 1078, k. 119–121; PA: *Konsulat Posen*, sign. 8, n. p., Deutsches Generalkonsulat Posen an die Deutsche Botschaft in Warschau vom 4.1.1939; PA: *Botschaft Warschau*, sign. 80, n. p., Deutsches Generalkonsulat Kattowitz an das Auswärtige Amt Berlin vom 4.1.1939; PA: *Geistliche Angelegenheiten*, sign. 61660, n. o., Ks. pastor Dr. Wagner do Jaśnie Wielmożnego Pana Prezesa Rady Ministrów z 4.3.1939; BAB: DS, sign. 427, k. 43 and sign. 1513, k. 415; BAB: *Reichsministerium für die kirchlichen Angelegenheiten*, sign. 22421; Musialik: *Stosunek władz*, pp. 79–84.

<sup>32</sup> AAN: *Ambasada RP w Berlinie*, sign. 1574, k. 93–94a.

<sup>33</sup> BAB: DS, sign. 1513, k. 283–290; PA: *Botschaft Warschau*, sign. 80, n. p., Deutsches Generalkonsulat Posen an die Deutsche Botschaft in Warschau vom 1.3.1939; PA: *Geistliche Angelegenheiten*, sign. 61660, n. o., Deutsche Evangelische Kirche. Kirchliches Außenamt an das Auswärtige Amt vom 25.5.1939; Czembor: *Ewangelicki Kościół*, pp. 207–210.

#### 4. OTHER PROTESTANT CHURCHES

The Evangelical Church of the Augsburg and Helvetian Confession, which gathered the faithful of Kraków, Lwów, Stanisławów and Tarnopol voivodeships, maintained a stance of loyalty to the Polish state. Despite emphasising its German identity, it did not participate in political life, and its superintendent Theodor Zöckler repeatedly exhorted the clergy to obey the orders of the Polish authorities without question. German pastors often used the Polish language in services and sermons. Representatives of state authorities were invited not only to church celebrations of national holidays, but also to purely religious ceremonies. Superintendent Zöckler was very critical of the national socialism-influenced processes in the Protestant Church in the Third Reich, and tried to convince the Protestant Churches in Poland to take a united, unequivocal stand on this issue. In 1938, he came into serious conflict with the Jungdeutsche Partei because he employed Jewish teachers in Evangelical schools.<sup>34</sup>

Nevertheless, the state authorities kept the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg and Helvetian Confession at a distance and showed distrust because of its German identity. Its extensive foreign contacts and its missionary work among Ukrainians were a cause of concern. The community's activities were watched by the police. The authorities repeatedly tried to manipulate the Polish minority in the Church. However, there was no such pronounced tightening of the authorities' position in 1937–1939 against the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg and Helvetian Confession as there was against Protestant communities in western and central Poland. During this period, local authorities and military intelligence followed German-Ukrainian cooperation within the Church with greater attention, addressing also the issue of foreign financing of this religious community by conducting an inspection of charitable establishments in Stanisławów in July 1939. At the same time, a member of the Church's clergy, Reverend Emil Ladenberger, was accused of issuing false certificates of belonging to the Evangelical faith.<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>34</sup> BAB: DS, sign. 952, k. 121–128, 244, 256–259; Alabrudzińska: *Kościół*, pp. 170–176.

<sup>35</sup> PA: *Geistliche Angelegenheiten*, sign. 61660, n. o., Deutsches Konsulat Lemberg an das Auswärtige Amt vom 20.6.1939, 11.7.1939, 18.7.1939 and sign. 61661, n. o., Deutsches Konsulat Lemberg an das Auswärtige Amt vom 12.7.1939, 2.8.1939; PA: *Botschaft War-*

In turn, the authorities of the Reformed Evangelical Church in the Polish Republic and the Reformed Evangelical Church in Vilnius, which represented Polish nationality, set as one of the goals of their activities to form the responsibility for the fate of the Polish state in their members. The period preceding the outbreak of World War II saw a particular intensification of these activities. Synods of both Churches issued special messages and other documents calling on the faithful to defend the Homeland.<sup>36</sup> The members demonstrated immense generosity in contributions to the National Defence Fund and the Air Defence Loan. The Superintendent of the Reformed Evangelical church in the Polish Republic, Rev. Stefan Skiński, was a member of the National Committee of the Air Defense Loan. The community of Vilnius took advantage of the centenary of Szymon Konarski's death, which fell in 1939, to organise solemn celebrations that manifested patriotic feelings.<sup>37</sup>

Therefore, in the eyes of the state authorities, the Reformed Evangelical Churches did not pose a threat to national security. On the other hand, both the voivodeship and central authorities treated Calvinists instrumentally and tried to use them for Polonisation-related purposes and to promote Polishness abroad. In 1939, Vilnius clergy were forbidden to carry out missionary work among the Orthodox because the priests used the Belarusian language. It was emphasised that this activity would receive state support only if it simultaneously became a Polonization mission as well. The authorities were also opposed to the idea of the Polish Reformed Evangelical Churches uniting with each other, as they supported the rapprochement of the Community of Vilnius with the Reformed Evangelical Church of Lithuania. In the plans of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, this closeness was to contribute to the improvement of relations between Poland and Lithuania and to make it possible to influence Lithuanians of the Calvinist faith by imbuing them with the spirit of Polishness.<sup>38</sup>

The last of the Churches discussed here, the Old Lutheran Church, did not have much significance for Polish security policy. It was a small religious

---

*schau*, sign. 80, n. p., Bericht über die Besprechungen in Stanislaw am 16.1.1939; BAB: DS, sign. 427, k. 61–64 and sign. 952, k. 110–116, 140–152, 242–243.

<sup>36</sup> Sękowska: *Zbór*, p. 31; Józwiak: *Kościół*, pp. 49–51.

<sup>37</sup> Sękowska: *Zbór*, p. 31; Alabrudzińska: *Kościół*, p. 215.

<sup>38</sup> Alabrudzińska: *Kościół*, pp. 218–219.

association operating in the former Prussian partition; it had a German identity, but avoided introducing political elements into pastoral activities and remained loyal to the Polish state.<sup>39</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

Between 1937 and 1939, security issues had a much greater impact on the policy of the state authorities towards Protestant Churches than previously. This stemmed from the increasing perception of national minorities as a factor in Poland's security policy, particularly in light of the growing threat of war. The analysis conducted in this study has demonstrated that the Protestant Churches did not pose a threat as religious minorities. The state leadership viewed them as institutions comprising different national communities and exerting a certain influence on them. Thus, at a time when the idea of state assimilation was replaced by a program of strengthening Polishness, Polonisation efforts became a dominant feature of state policy towards Protestant communities.

What the authorities considered as factors impacting state security were almost exclusively the nationality-related aspects of the Churches. Even policies towards parishes of the same religious community could differ, depending on their national character. German churches were approached as a threat, all the more so if they were connected with the Ukrainian question through missionary work. On the other hand, the attitude of the authorities towards Protestants of Polish nationality, both Lutherans and Calvinists, was dominated by an instrumental approach and attempts to use them in Polonisation-related campaigns.

Interestingly, what ultimately determined the importance of individual Churches in the security policy of the Polish state was not the actual threat they posed, or even their national character and political activity. The policy towards the United Evangelical Church in Greater Poland and Pomerania, considered by the authorities to be the greatest threat to national security, turned out to be the least stringent. On the other hand, the most repressive policy was pursued against the small, much less active United Evangelical Church in Upper Silesia as well as against the Evangelical Church of the

---

<sup>39</sup> AAN: *Ministerstwo Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego*, sign. 1408, k. 71–75.

Augsburg Confession, particularly in Volhynia, although the leadership of the latter organisation was loyal to Poland. Thus, the actual place of each Church in the state's activities related to security policy was largely determined by the policy and stance of individual voivodeship authorities as well as the attitude of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Translated by Iza Dąbrowska  
and Anna Mol

## KOŚCIOŁY PROTESTANCKIE W POLITYCE BEZPIECZEŃSTWA PAŃSTWA POLSKIEGO W LATACH 1937–1939

### STRESZCZENIE

Kwestie bezpieczeństwa wywierały istotny wpływ na politykę władz państwowych wobec Kościołów protestanckich w Polsce w latach 1937–1939. Kościoły te nie stanowiły zagrożenia jako mniejszości religijne, lecz jako instytucje, które miały w swoim składzie różne społeczności narodowościowe i na nie oddziaływały. Wpływy niemieckie w Kościołach traktowane były jako zagrożenie bezpieczeństwa narodowego, natomiast w podejściu władz wobec protestantów narodowości polskiej dominował instrumentalizm.

## EVANGELISCHE KIRCHEN IN DER SICHERHEITSPOLITIK DES POLNISCHEN STAATES IN DEN JAHREN 1937–1939

### ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Sicherheitsfragen hatten in den Jahren 1937–1939 einen erheblichen Einfluss auf die Politik der staatlichen Behörden gegenüber den protestantischen Kirchen in Polen. Diese Kirchen stellten keine Bedrohung als religiöse Minderheiten dar, sondern als Institutionen, die verschiedene nationale Gemeinschaften einschlossen und beeinflussten. Der deutsche Einfluss auf die Kirchen wurde als Bedrohung der nationalen Sicherheit betrachtet, während die Haltung der Behörden gegenüber Protestanten polnischer Nationalität von Instrumentalismus geprägt war.

Übersetzt von  
Renata Skowrońska

## PROTESTANT CHURCHES IN THE SECURITY POLICY OF THE POLISH STATE IN THE YEARS 1937–1939

### SUMMARY

Security issues had a significant impact on the state authorities' policy towards Protestant Churches in Poland in the years 1937–1939. Those churches were not

perceived as a threat in their capacity as religious minorities, but rather as institutions encompassing multiethnic communities and exerting influence over them. German influence in those Churches was perceived as a threat to national security, and the attitude of the authorities towards Protestants of Polish nationality was dominated by an instrumental approach.

#### SŁOWA KLUCZOWE / SCHLAGWORTE / KEYWORDS

- polityka bezpieczeństwa Polski 1918–1939; Kościoły protestanckie; bezpieczeństwo narodowe Polski; mniejszość niemiecka w Polsce; polonizacja
- Polens Sicherheitspolitik 1918–1939; Protestantische Kirchen; nationale Sicherheit Polens; Deutsche Minderheit in Polen; Polonisierung
- Polish security policy 1918–1939; Protestant Churches; Polish national security; German minority in Poland; Polonization

#### BIBLIOGRAFIA / BIBLIOGRAFIE / BIBLIOGRAPHY

##### ŹRÓDŁA ARCHIWALNE / ARCHIVALISCHE QUELLEN / ARCHIVAL SOURCES

Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie:

- *Ambasada RP w Berlinie*, sign. 1572, 1574, 1575.
- *Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych*, sign. 988, 1078.
- *Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych*, sign. 11482.
- *Ministerstwo Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego*, sign. 1286, 1408.

Bundesarchiv Dienststelle Berlin:

- *Deutsche Stiftung*, sign. 427, 428, 428/1, 947, 952, 955, 956, 1513.
- *Reichsministerium für die kirchlichen Angelegenheiten*, sign. 22421, 22436.

Evangelisches Zentralarchiv in Berlin: *Deutsche Evangelische Kirche – Kirchliches Außenamt*, sign. 931.

Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes in Berlin:

- *Botschaft Warschau*, sign. 79, 80.
- *Geistliche Angelegenheiten*, sign. 61659, 61660, 61661.
- *Konsulat Lodz*, sign. 47.
- *Konsulat Posen*, sign. 7, 8.

##### ŹRÓDŁA DRUKOWANE / GEDRUCKTE QUELLEN / PRINTED SOURCES

18 grudnia, *pismo ministra spraw zagranicznych do ministra spraw wewnętrznych na temat mniejszości niemieckiej w Polsce*, in: *Polskie Dokumenty Dyplomatyczne*. 1937, pp. 788–794.

24 listopada, *pismo dyrektora Departamentu Politycznego MSW do MSZ na temat stosunku do mniejszości niemieckiej w Polsce*, in: *Polskie Dokumenty Dyplomatyczne*. 1937, pp. 711–719.

- Bericht über die fünfte Sitzung der Verfassunggebenden Synode der Unierten Evangelischen Kirche in Polen am 24. Februar 1938.* 1938.
- Dziennik Urzędowy Kościoła Ewangelicko-Augsburskiego w RP*, 2. 1937.
- Kammel, Richard (ed.): *Ostberichte.* 8.12.1938.
- Kotula, Karol: *Od marzeń do ich spełnienia. Wspomnienia z lat 1884–1951.* 1998.
- Notatka dyrektora Gabinetu Ministra Spraw Zagranicznych z rozmów z radcą ambasady Niemiec na temat Ewangelickiego Kościoła Unijnego na Górnym Śląsku*, in: *Polskie Dokumenty Dyplomatyczne.* 1937, pp. 636–638.

## LITERATURA / LITERATUR / LITERATURE

- Alabrudzińska, Elżbieta: *Juliusz Bursche (1862–1942) – zwierzchnik Kościoła ewangelicko-augsburskiego w Polsce. Biografia.* 2010.
- Alabrudzińska, Elżbieta: *Kościół ewangelicki na Kresach Wschodnich II Rzeczypospolitej.* 1999.
- Alabrudzińska, Elżbieta: *Protestantyzm w Polsce w latach 1918–1939.* 2004.
- Chojnowski, Andrzej: *Koncepcje polityki narodowościowej rządów polskich w latach 1921–1939.* 1979.
- Czembor, Henryk: *Ewangelicki Kościół Unijny na Polskim Górnym Śląsku (1922–1939).* 1993.
- Gryniakow, Jerzy: *Ustalenie stanu prawnego dla Kościoła Ewangelicko-Augsburskiego.* 1976.
- Hauser, Przemysław: *Mniejszość niemiecka na Pomorzu w okresie międzywojennym.* 1998.
- Jóźwiak, Ewa: *Kościół Ewangelicko-Reformowany po odzyskaniu przez Polskę niepodległości*, in: Jóźwiak, Ewa / Karski, Michał (eds.): *Ewangelicy w Niepodległej.* 2018.
- Kiec, Olgierd: *Die evangelischen Christen in der Stadt Posen und im Süden Großpolens vor und nach 1945*, in: Greschat, Martin (ed.): *Deutsche und polnische Christen. Erfahrungen unter zwei Diktaturen.* 1999, pp. 68–85.
- Kiec, Olgierd: *Ewangelicki Kościół Unijny w Polsce wobec „walki kościelnej” w Trzeciej Rzeszy 1933 – 1939*, in: Kłaczek, Jarosław (ed.): *Polski protestantyzm w czasach nazizmu i komunizmu.* 2009, pp. 45–66.
- Kiec, Olgierd: *Kościół ewangelicki w Wielkopolsce wobec kwestii narodowościowej w latach 1918–1939.* 1995.
- Kłaczek, Jarosław: *Kościół Ewangelicko-Augsburski w Polsce w latach 1918–1939.* 2017.
- Kneifel, Eduard: *Geschichte der Evangelisch-Augsburgischen Kirche.* 1964.
- Kossert, Andreas: *Protestantismus in Lodz 1918–1956. Die evangelische Bevölkerung der mittelpolnischen Industriemetropole im Spannungsverhältnis zwischen Deutschland und Polen*, in: Greschat, Martin (ed.): *Deutsche und polnische Christen. Erfahrungen unter zwei Diktaturen.* 1999, pp. 86–116.
- Krebs, Bernd: *Państwo, Naród, Kościół. Biskup Juliusz Bursche a spory o protestantyzm w Polsce w latach 1917–1939.* 1998.
- Kuźniar, Roman: *Wstęp*, in: Kuźniar, Roman (ed.): *Polska polityka bezpieczeństwa 1989–2000.* 2001, pp. 13–18.
- Musialik, Wanda: *Stosunek władz województwa śląskiego do Ewangelickiego Kościoła Unijnego na Górnym Śląsku*, in: Kłaczek, Jarosław (ed.): *Polski protestantyzm w czasach nazizmu i komunizmu.* 2009, pp. 67–84.

- Pałka, Elżbieta: *Śląski Kościół Ewangelicki Augsburskiego Wyznania na Zaolziu. Od polskiej organizacji religijnej do Kościoła czeskiego*. 2007.
- Sękowska, Aleksandra: *Zbór Ewangelicko-Reformowany w Warszawie w latach drugiej wojny światowej*, in: Janowska, Alina (ed.): *Ewangelicy warszawscy w walce o niepodległość Polski w latach drugiej wojny światowej. Wspomnienia i relacje*. 1997, pp. 31–38.
- Stegner, Tadeusz: *Ks. biskup Juliusz Bursche jako kontynuator idei pastora Leopolda Otto*, in: Czyż, Renata / Szczypka, Danuta (eds.): *Biskup Juliusz Bursche (1862–1942)*. 2012, pp. 7–17.
- Turowski, Stefan: *Kościół ewangelicko-unijny w Polsce 1920–1939*. 1990.
- Wiśniewska, Małgorzata / Wyszczelski, Lech: *Bezpieczeństwo narodowe Polski w latach 1918–1939 – teoria i praktyka*. 2009.