

## ***Pioneers of Industrialization in Western Galicia: The Baruch Family in the Nineteenth Century\****

Hanna Kozłowska-Witt\*\*

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The article is a commentary on and supplement to an autobiographical text written by a descendant of a family of Jewish industrialists active in Podgórze and Krakow in the nineteenth century. The Baruchs moved from supplies and trading to industrial operations. Although the factories producing flour, bread and building materials operated in the Krakow area, they mainly supplied the city and the Austrian army stationed there. The family achieved a high social status, which was manifested during public ceremonies. International and local competition led them to abandon their industrial activity.

**Keywords:** History; Urban history; Business history; Jewish history; Central Europe; Poland; Austrian Empire; Kraków; Cracow; Podgórze; Nineteenth century; Business; Jewish industrialists; Economic networks; Religious affiliations.

The image of Galicia in literature and historical works from the period is a somewhat gloomy one, depicting a predominantly agricultural land characterized by poverty, squalor, vice and hopelessness. Stanisław Szczepański's verdict became well known:

Every Galician does a quarter of the average person's work and eats half his food. Inefficiency at work doubtless depends to a great extent on insufficiency of food. Galicians work poorly because they eat miserably, and they cannot eat better because they work too little.<sup>1</sup>

The residents of the crown land of Galicia and Lodomeria had a poor lifestyle, deficient diet, low literacy rate and low earnings compared to the other parts of the Dual Monarchy, and it was popular to play on its name by using words meaning "needy" and "hungry" to form "Golicja i Głodomeria". My intention is not to question this perception, but rather to highlight a social group which has scarcely been noticed: Jewish industrialists. This group was inadequately represented in the political bodies of the crown land throughout its existence, which was doubtless a factor in its marginalization.<sup>2</sup> I take the example of the Baruch family, who are mentioned briefly

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\*\* Dr phil. Hanna Kozłowska-Witt, independent researcher, Dresden, Germany; kozinska@web.de; Orcid iD: 0000-0003-1806-8305.

1 SZCZEPANOWSKI, *Nędza Galicji w cyfrach*, 22.

2 This is a wider problem concerning the general weak presence of Jewish entrepreneurs in the collective memory; see KOŁODZIEJCZYK, *Studia nad dziejami burżuazji w Polsce*, 241f.

in the margins of works analysing Galicia's economic development. I also make use of findings published in two previous, extensive articles.<sup>3</sup> I see this text as a comprehensive commentary on the autobiographical chapter at the end of Karol Włodzimirski's book.<sup>4</sup> Despite its stylistic weakness, this work has unique value, as it is the only document found to date telling the story of Jewish entrepreneurs working in Krakow and Podgórze. I would also like to enlarge the context of the analysed story comparing the Baruchs with some Jewish entrepreneurs from Russian partition territories and highlighting the importance of their family connections. Finally, I intend demonstrating what the Baruchs did for their "small homelands": Podgórze and Kraków.

### The progenitor: Majer Baruch

In the second half of the twentieth century, the Baruchs were a respected Krakow/ Podgórze family. Their history began with the arrival of Majer Baruch (c. 1768–1834) from Königswart in Western Bohemia (today Lázně Kynžvart) in Podgórze, an independent small town lying across the Vistula River from Krakow. Majer's emigration path, from west to east, was similar to that of other entrepreneurs who operated in the much more favourably perceived Russian partition. It demonstrates the mobility of individuals willing to take a risk and the associated capital and technologies required. Like other Jewish entrepreneurs of the time, Majer worked in many professions, including as a leaseholder of the tobacco monopoly, a banker, an army supplier and a property owner, and in the raft transportation of salt. His main business involved trading and deliveries. While wide-ranging business and supply were characteristic of a much broader group of Jews operating in the Russian partition,<sup>5</sup> the position of imperial official set him apart from this group and revealed the difference between the empires. While Jews in the Russian partition were tolerated, and privileged if they were seen as useful, they could not hold state offices and participate in political life.

### A transregional entrepreneurial elite?

Majer's emigration from Bohemia to Podgórze also demonstrates the fact that in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries Galicia was attractive to bold entrepreneurs. Other pioneers of industrialization, such as Piotr Steinkeller and the Samelsohns, a Warsaw Jewish family, took a similar risk.<sup>6</sup> According to Klemens Kaps, one of the reasons for the crown land's attractiveness for entrepreneurs from the Dual Monarchy was the loss of Silesia to Prussia, which allowed Galicia to become an "ersatz" Eldorado.<sup>7</sup> This was also a time of significant movement of officials, military personnel and specialists associated with the partitioning powers. Ryszard Kołodziejczyk notes that for businesses to be successful and amass a bourgeois fortune, it was essential

3 KOZIŃSKA-WITT, *Przedsiębiorczość jako działalność patriotyczna?* KOZIŃSKA-WITT, *Wzloty i upadki przemysłowców okolic Krakowa*. On the Baruchs see also FOLLPRECHT, *Baruchowie* (forthcoming).

4 "Die Geschichte meiner Vorfahren" in: WŁODZIMIRSKI, *Vater und Liebhaber*, 134–138. Translation of this chapter at the end of the article. The aim of Włodzimirski's book was to defend the honour of Karol and his family, strained by his wife Cecylia's affair with the much older Count Ignacy Milewski and the pugnacious conduct of her subsequent lovers.

5 KOŁODZIEJCZYK, *Wybitni działacze gospodarczy-Żydzi*, 245; AUST, *Merchants, Army Suppliers, Bankers; DYNNER, Men of Silk*, 23, 36, 89.

6 ŻOCHOWSKI, *Stosunki gospodarczo-społeczne*, 43; KOŁODZIEJCZYK, *Burżuazja w Królestwie Polskim*, 297f.

7 KAPS, *Galizisches Elend revisited*, 70.

to have connections to the government and state treasury.<sup>8</sup> This observation also applies to industrialists from the environs of Krakow, where the Austrian army was stationed – a solvent client needing suppliers and services. It is also worth emphasizing the similarities between the Jewish entrepreneurs from the various partitions, overwhelmingly originating from the German lands, and thus acculturated to German culture, having good contacts with the authorities and operating in supply. It is hard to say, however, whether these similarities demonstrate the temporary existence of a Jewish entrepreneurship spanning the regions and partitions.

Despite achieving a high status, Majer did not obtain the right to settle in Krakow, which he applied for several times as a “civilised Jew”, and therefore resided in Podgórze until the end of his life.<sup>9</sup> The refusal of permission to live in Krakow illustrates the fact that Baruch still faced discrimination. “Being civilised” in this case meant acculturation to German culture and support of the religious worship reforms, which were meant to adapt a faith to contemporary demands.

Majer’s wife was Ewa Mendelsohn (?–1838), who came from a rich Podgórze family.<sup>10</sup> Her father Izrael maintained business contacts with the aforementioned entrepreneurs from Congress Poland and Silesia. These contacts reflected the further existence of connections sealed at the time of the First Republic, which were at first not halted by the borders of the partitions. This was because the border with Russia was tightened only after the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Russia signed a trade agreement in 1845<sup>11</sup> and Krakow was turned into an Austrian fortress (1846–1854). The latter event, incidentally, also influenced the fortunes of Majer’s descendants, as we shall see below.

Majer and Ewa had five children. Their eldest daughter, Maria/Marianna (1802–1873), married a representative of the Warsaw entrepreneurial elite, Izrael Neumark (1789–1844).<sup>12</sup> The younger Karolina wed Colonel Franciszek Mayer,<sup>13</sup> demonstrating the good relations between the family and the staff of the fortress, presumably connected to their supply activity. The elder son, Dr Johan Herman (1794–1866) probably studied law,<sup>14</sup> while his younger brother Maurycy/Moritz (1800–1874) continued their father’s entrepreneurial activity. The fate of the youngest daughter, Adalberta, is unknown. According to the spirit of the time, marriages of one’s issue served to secure the family fortune and as a foundation of the business’s further development. The geographical scope of the marriages of the second generation of Baruchs stretched from Congress Poland (Izrael Neumark, husband to Maria/Marianna and Regina Nadolska, wife

8 KOŁODZIEJCZYK, *Burżuazja polska*, 113; KOŁODZIEJCZYK, *Burżuazja w Królestwie Polskim*, 305.

9 *Dziennik podawczy Wolnego Miasta Krakowa*, Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie [hereinafter ANK], Archiwum Wolnego Miasta Krakowa, 29/200/224 and 3382/3790/29. Only references to the application have survived, rather than the document itself.

10 It is not known whether they were related to Hirsch Mendelsohn, one of the few “civilised Jews” in Krakow. AUST, *The Jewish economic elite*, 149f. On the Mendelsohns’ family connections to Wrocław see: Edikt. In: *Dodatek do Gazety Lwowskiej* 7, 16. 2. 1829, p. 57.

11 ŻYCHOWSKI, *Stosunki gospodarczo-społeczne*, 41.

12 On Izrael Neumark: KOSIM, *Losy pewnej fortuny*, 272–277; AUST, *The Jewish economic elite*, 155.

13 Certificate of the marriage of Kajetan Tichy and Carolina Mayer in 1860. In: *Akta ślubów zawartych w parafii podgórskiej*, ANK 29/328/O/2/169–827, p. 185. I was unable to determine whether Franciszek Mayer was a regimental doctor, see: Frau Karoline Mayer, k. k. Regimentsarzt – Gattin aus Pressburg. In: *Cur- und Fremden-Liste des Curortes Baden bei Wien 29. Juli 1864* [n. pag.]; Karolina Mayer, żona pułkownika z Korneuburg. In: *Cur- und Fremden-Liste des Curortes Baden bei Wien 26. August 1916*, [n. pag.].

14 Herman’s marriage certificate from 1839. In: *Akta ślubów zawartych w parafii podgórskiej*, ANK 29/1470, p. 55.

of Herman) via Prussian Silesia (Maurycy's wife Anna Panofka) to Hungary (Slovakia – Karolina's husband Franciszek Mayer), revealing the business contacts of the company and families encompassing three empires. State borders therefore did not delimit family and business spaces, whose geography could differ from that of political constructs.

### Confessional cohabitation

The Baruchs belonged to the Mosaic (Jewish) faith and paid community contributions.<sup>15</sup> In the 1860s, Gustaw became involved in the construction of the synagogue in Podgórze, and in 1879 he was delegated to the municipal committee for poor Jews, which he led until the mid-1880s (his conversion?).<sup>16</sup> Like many representatives of the Jewish entrepreneurial elite in the Russian partition, the Baruchs changed religion in the second half of the nineteenth century. Emil was the first to do so (in 1855), becoming a Lutheran, and with time even an elder of the Krakow congregation. Maurycy converted to Lutheranism on his deathbed (1874). His younger brother Gustaw was the last to convert, in 1885, before the marriage of one of his daughters. Since Herman, Maria and Karolina had changed religion much earlier (becoming Roman Catholics!), the lateness of Maurycy's conversion is rather puzzling. Although her husband had converted, his wife Anna at first stuck with Judaism, switching religion only on her deathbed in 1878. Maurycy and Anna lived with Emil's family in Krakow from the late 1850s onwards, so their home at 7 Lubicz Street was a real religious mosaic in 1870: Maurycy and his wife Anna were Jewish, Emil and his children were Lutherans, and his wife Róża a Catholic.<sup>17</sup> This religious cohabitation proves that in the Baruch family's case, any notions of ties broken because of decisions to convert were wide of the mark.<sup>18</sup> Since Maurycy's application to settle in Krakow in the late 1830s had been rejected,<sup>19</sup> perhaps living in the very heart of the city not much later was facilitated by the conversion of his "housemate", his son Emil.

15 Baruch Moryc owner of many realties (150 zł), Baruch Gustaw owner of realties and a steam-powered bakery (40 zł). In: *Składka Gm. I. zr. na rok 1866*, ANK 29/82/110 Komitet Starozakonnych, p. 14.

16 *Księga uchwał urzędu gminny miasta Podgórze*, ANK Amp 5, pp. 84 and 169; *Księga uchwał urzędu gminny miasta Podgórze*, ANK Amp 6, pp. 341 and 427, 446, 574.

17 *Spis ludności miasta Krakowa 1870*, vol. 9, district VI, houses 1–84, house Lubicz 7, ANK 29/86/0/1/9, pp. 1419–1420. Another resident of Galicia was Feliks Lord (1829–1919), a Jew, the owner of a mill in Tarnów, and from 1894 a representative importing and selling machines in Krakow. Feliks, like Róża's father Josef, was born in Hlinik and took part in the 1848 battles on the side of the revolutionaries (brothers?). *Diamantende Hochzeit*. In: *(Neuigkeits) Welt Blatt* 18, 23. 1. 1916, p. 11. Further connections: *Pester Lloyd* 41, 17. 2. 1897, p. 10; *Nekrolog*. In: *Czas* 309, 28. 11. 1919, p. 3. I did not find any evidence of Emil's family remaining in touch with Feliks.

18 Similar conclusions were reached by AUST, *The Jewish Economic Elite*, 156–160, 179.

19 Application of Maurycy Baruch, *Dziennik podawczy wolnego miasta Krakowa* (1838), ANK Akta wolnego miasta Krakowa 129/847, 1838/847.

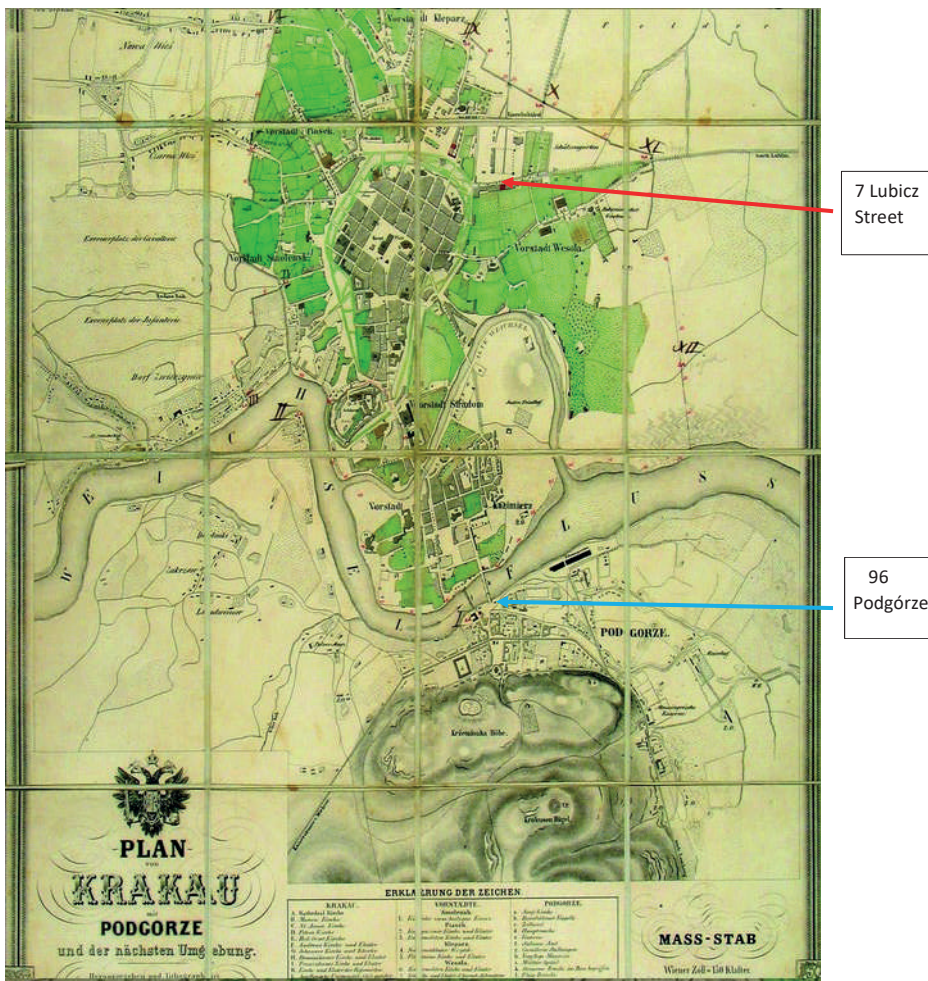


Figure 1: 96 Podgórze (the Baruch family home, then Gustaw’s house) and 7 Lubicz Street (Maurycy after 1857 and Emil). *Map of Krakow and Podgórze 1849, ANK K.Krak 441.*

While it is difficult to surmise the reasons for Maurycy’s baptism – people were usually baptised on their deathbed to make life easier for their offspring,<sup>20</sup> but Emil was already a Lutheran, and Gustaw ran his own business and was thus largely independent – the reasons for his sons’ conversions were probably practical, serving both Emil’s banking career and Gustaw’s family’s marriage policy. It is surprising to note that while the Baruch family men converted to Lutheranism, the women became Catholics: Róża was

20 One can of course take seriously the gossipy press information that Maurycy was a known penny pincher and even after his death did not want to finance the Jewish Burial Society, which would doubtless want a gigantic cemetery fee. Ein Curiosum. In: *Die Presse Local Anzeiger* 10, 10. 1. 1874, p. 8.

Catholic even before marrying Emil, and Matylda was recorded as being Catholic in the 1890 census (she presumably converted in 1885 for her daughter's marriage). I am yet to find a good explanation for this gender divide. I have also been unable to explain the role played in this decision to change religion by the family's close relationship with an illustrious Lutheran, the secretary of the local Chamber of Commerce and Industry and future mayor of the city, Ferdynand Weigel (1826–1901).<sup>21</sup> In any case, after Emil's death Weigel became his family's legal protector. Emil's son, Karol, recalled emotionally that thanks to Weigel's support he had been appointed as an aide at Adam Mickiewicz's funeral, which was an honourable and very visible function.

### Enterprise and professionalization

Maurycy transformed the nature of the family business, developing industrial operations alongside commerce, which was a typical evolution of Jewish companies "growing out of trade".<sup>22</sup> He established a tanning factory in Podgórze in the first half of the nineteenth century (1821), but although the products received awards at industrial exhibitions, for unknown reasons he ceased these operations.<sup>23</sup> He laid his bets on agricultural Galicia's economic capital, investing in the food processing and construction industries, which augged well in this region: following Uwe Müller, we can claim that Baruch actively built a path of industrialization different from that based on heavy industry.<sup>24</sup> Maurycy acquired for a good price a plaster mill in Podgórze and a brickyard in nearby Łagiewniki (1848). He mechanized the mill, converting it into a flour mill, as well as modernizing the brickyard with a tiler. He was aided in the transformation of the business by the fact that he had "inherited" good relations with military leaders: he supplied flour to the local garrison, and his bricks were among those used to build the Krakow fortress and Podgórze forts. Furthermore, in 1850 much of Krakow was destroyed by a fire, and the reconstruction led to an increased demand for bricks and roof tiles. The prosperity of the flour business resulted largely from the economic situation of the time, in particular the poor harvest in Hungary and destruction of the crops in Bohemia following the war of 1866.<sup>25</sup> This emphasized the growing importance of the domestic market, sealed by an imperial customs policy that made it difficult to export goods outside of the borders of Austria-Hungary. That heightened the internal competition between areas of Austro-Hungary with a similar production profile, in this case Galicia and Hungary, which both specialized in the processing of agricultural articles and production of building materials. Railway tariffs, which gave preference to transport from Hungary, also had a negative impact.

Products from the Baruch factories were highly valued for their good quality, resulting in medals and diplomas at industrial exhibitions.<sup>26</sup> The railway, monasteries, courts and local authorities purchased products from the Baruch company: we can

21 Ferdynand Weigel from 1853 in Krakow, from 1866 in the city council, 1881–1884 city mayor, from 1869 deputy to the Diet of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, in 1870–1881 and 1891–1901 deputy to the Austrian State Council, from 1865 secretary of the Krakow Chamber of Commerce and Industry; see HOMOLA-SKAŃSKA, *Zapomniany prezydent Krakowa Ferdynand Weigel*, 151–163.

22 KOŁODZIEJCZYK, *Burżuazja polska*, 121.

23 KOZIŃSKA-WITT, *Przedsiębiorczość jako działalność patriotyczna*, 93–95.

24 MÜLLER, *Transnationale Verflechtungen der Wirtschaft in Ostmitteleuropa*, 314, 321.

25 KOZIŃSKA-WITT, *Przedsiębiorczość jako działalność patriotyczna*, 117; KOŁODZIEJCZYK, *Burżuazja polska*, 141.

26 For more on the products and participation in exhibitions, see KOZIŃSKA-WITT, *Przedsiębiorczość jako działalność patriotyczna*, 110–113.

find bricks and tiles from his brickyard and decorative tiled stoves in almost all the buildings constructed in the second half of the nineteenth century. The press reported on the inventions made by the factory staff, such as a waterproof adhesive invented by a company employee with the surname Georg and Maurycy's son Gustaw.<sup>27</sup> Maurycy evidently permitted experimentation and supported the inventors financially. The openness for "home-made" experiments and inventions is notable because, as was usual in this generation, he did not have an institutional professional education (i.e. he'd had no contact with the Cracovian Technical Institute established in 1834), but gained a nous for business and practical experience "in the family".<sup>28</sup> The family solidarity and trust were the best precondition for his initiatives. Maurycy owed his success to circumstances favourable to the business's development, which he was able to exploit, as well as his own initiative and work. The Latin word *labor* features twice on his tombstone – in the place where other graves have coats of arms. Did a well-displayed tombstone at a prestigious cemetery manifest not only the accomplishments of a high social position, but also "ennoblement" through work?



Figure 2: The Baruch grave at the Rakowicki Cemetery, plot 24 (January 2022, Martin Witt).

Maurycy's descendants were also involved in the development of the business: his elder son Emil (1832–1886) was initially active in the banking sector (Escomté Bank, Österreichische Nationalbank),<sup>29</sup> which no doubt facilitated the company's acquisition

27 Über die Katastrophe in Wieliczka. In: *Grazer Volksblatt* 335, 16. 12. 1868, p. 3.

28 Warsaw entrepreneurs in the first half of the nineteenth century also did not have professional experience, IHNATOWICZ, *Burżuazja warszawska*, 132f.

29 Personalien. In: *Der Tresor* 266, 13. 6. 1877, p. 189.

of capital, be it in the form of credit or loans. Only after his father's death did he become co-owner of the firm, managing it together with his brother, Gustaw (1838–1907). Even before his father's death, Gustaw built the first mechanical bakery on the company's land, using the "family" flour (1865). He continued the tradition of inventiveness, designing a machine for making crackers (which he supplied to the army) and experimenting with recipes for bakes. In 1887, a rival Krakow mill owner, Count Konstancy Rey, accused Gustaw of tampering with flour quality, causing difficulties with supplies to the army which led to a search for new areas of activity.<sup>30</sup>

The geography of the sons' marriage revealed declining interest in, and an end to trading relations with Congress Poland and Silesia and a search for partners in new directions: Emil's wife, Róża Lord (1838–1919), was the daughter of a veteran of the Hungarian revolution and pioneer of the wood industry near Trenčín in Slovakia, József Lord (1816–1899).<sup>31</sup> Gustaw's wife Matylda Joelson (1845/8–?) came from Mohyliv-Podilskyi, then in Russia.

It is interesting to note that it was not just the members of the wives' families who moved to Podgórze, such as the Panofkas from Wrocław and the widow Joelson from Mohyliv; the widow of the bankrupted Izrael Neumark, Maria/Marianna, also returned here, and her grave is in the old Podgórze Cemetery. Blood ties also linked certain employees of the company: so the mother of the manager of the business Franciszek Maryewski, the future mayor of Podgórze, was Berta, née Neumark (1819/21–1881), who was probably related to Izrael and Maria (their daughter?).<sup>32</sup> This fact emphasizes the significance of family connections in the Baruch business policy, although it is unclear whether this "pro-family" aspect went hand in hand with professionalism. It is hard to say how decisive "word of mouth" (or the benefit of the doubt<sup>33</sup>) was in the selection of staff. Yet it seems that the people employed in administrative positions were either family members (the storekeeper Izydor Panofka; the business manager, Cousin Franciszek Maryewski; the bakery manager, son-in-law Tadeusz Gulkowski) or Jews (the mill manager, Ludwik Baumgarten).

After Maurycy's death, management of the business transferred to his sons (company: offene Gesellschaft).<sup>34</sup> After Emil's death, shares in the business were taken over by his widow Róża, née Lord, with their children, and Gustaw Baruch.<sup>35</sup> In April 1890, Róża bought out Gustaw's shares and transferred the rights to represent the company to her sons Karol and Aleksander.<sup>36</sup> The business manager, Franciszek Maryewski, remained

30 Aus dem Gerichtssaale. In: *Neue Freie Presse* 8416, 30. 1. 1888, p. 3. In 1887, the trial of Daniel Baruch, accused of military supplies fraud, took place. I did not find any evidence that Daniel and Gustaw were still associated, but perhaps the trial was the "inspiration" for Rey; see: Gerichtssaal. In: *Wiener Abendpost* 156, 12. 7. 1887, p. 4; Aus dem Gerichtssaale, Sarajevo. Lieferantenprozess. In: *Neue Freie Presse* 8214, 10. 7. 1887, p. 6; Listy z kraju. In: *Kuryer Lwowski Dodatek* 24, 23. 1. 1887, p. 1

31 Wandlungen der Herrschaft Zigmundhasa. In: *Reichpost*, 189, 22. 4. 1916, p. 3 [15].

32 Berta Maryewska z Neumarków, *Cmentarz Podgórski, Ks. Zm. IV*, no. 94; *Spis ludności Podgórze 1880*, ANK 29/93/09.

33 SCHICK, *Vertrauen, Religion, Ethnizität*, 9–32.

34 Firma-Protokollirungen. In: *Amtsblatt Wiener Zeitung* 80, 7. 4. 1876, p. 686.

35 Firma-Protokollirungen. In: *Amtsblatt zur Wiener Zeitung* 223, 30. 9. 1887, p. 1.

36 Firma-Protokollirungen. In: *Amtsblatt zur Wiener Zeitung* 120, 25. 5. 1890, p. 773. The rights were expanded to the other siblings as they reached adulthood. Franciszek Maryjewski was authorized to represent the family, Firma-Protokollirungen. In: *Amtsblatt zur Wiener Zeitung* 283, 12. 12. 1893, p. 821; Zmiana własności. In: *Kuryer Lwowski* 334, 2. 12. 1893, p. 4



in the Maurycy Baruch company, now owned by Emil's family. The same year, Gustaw appointed his son, the lawyer Dr Juliusz Baruch, as the proxy of the bakery operating under the name of Gustaw Baruch.<sup>37</sup> The division of the company and press reports suggested that the paths of those managing the businesses had diverged for good.

The below label shows the appearance of the business located alongside the Vistula River at 196 Nadwiślańska Street. The railway is visible on the left, its proximity suggesting the company's high capacity for transport, "bringing the greatest benefits from setting up a station in Podgórze and laying an additional goods track [Schleppbahn]".<sup>38</sup> Seeking permission to build railway sidings was a strategic move of many Galician entrepreneurs, who made the development of their business dependent on that of the railway network. In the middle of the label, on the horizon, rises the Krakus Mound, and on the right is a fort. The business comprised two parts separated by a wall, each with a separate gate leading to it. On the left was the steam-powered bakery and mill, and on the right, another mill and residential building with outbuildings. The wind therefore guided the smoke and steam directly onto a residential building, so the location was not conducive to the health of Gustav's family living here.

The label is crowned with an imperial eagle, which meant that the factory had received the right to call itself a privileged imperial-royal company (1855).<sup>39</sup> At the top left is a medal awarded by the Austrian ministry of trade, and at the bottom one acquired at the district agricultural and industrial exhibition in Wieliczka in 1883. At the top right is a distinction earned at the Vienna agricultural products exhibition of 1887, and at the bottom one from the Bielsko industrial exhibition of 1871.<sup>40</sup>



Figure 3: Label of the Maurycy Baruch company in Podgórze from 1891. ANK ABM Szkoły 29/1410, p. 197.

37 Firma-Protokollirungen. In: *Amtsblatt zur Wiener Zeitung* 236, 12. 10. 1890, p. 1501; Pismo 866/39, Izba Przemysłowo Handlowa ANK, IPH Kr I, p. 233. The continuation of the company's operation was the subject of legal interventions: Erkenntniss des k.k. Verwaltungsgerichtshofes. In: *Gerichtshalle* 37, 10. 9. 1894, p. 323f.

38 Perhaps the railway symbolized Gustaw's involvement in the development of the network and the setting up of a station in Podgórze; *Księga uchwał urzędu gminy miasta Podgórze*, ANK Amp5, pp. 46 and 96; Amp6, pp. 21, 27; 445, 452.

39 See WŁODZIMIRSKI, *Dzieje moich przodków*, KOZIŃSKA-WITT, *Przedsiębiorczość jako działalność patriotyczna*, 98.

40 Ehrenpreis des Handels Ministeriums/Franciscus Josephus I.D.G. Austriae Imperator, on the ribbon: Ehren-Diplom; Franz Josef Kaiser von Osterreich/Staatspreis für Landwirthschaftl. Verdienste, on the ribbon: Krakau 1887; Wieliczka District Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition; Bieltz Bialaer Ausstellung 1871. For more on these awards see FOLLPRECHT, *Krakowskie winiety papierów firmowych* (forthcoming).

The brickyard and tilery also had their own label. Unlike the mills, they were situated in the countryside. Apart from the chimneys symbolizing the business's mechanization, we also find a brick drying shed (right) as well as horse carriages suggesting a booming trade.



Figure 4: Brickyard in Łagiewniki, label from 1870. ANK ABM 1383/199.

The brickyard and tilery remained in the hands of Emil's descendants (from 1890 the Włodzimirskis) until 1912.<sup>41</sup> The Włodzimirskis had left Krakow around the turn of the century and settled in Vienna, abandoning their business operations entirely.

Although *Nowa Reforma* mentions that Emil had an exceptional economic education,<sup>42</sup> both brothers probably remained dilettantes in the field of technology and production, despite rapid growth in the importance of professional education at this time (the old Cracovian Technical Institut was modernized and became the Industrial-Technical Academia, *Akademia Przemysłowo-Techniczna*). Their competencies encompassed organizational matters and logistics. It appears that only Gustaw's son Juliusz had a university education (he was a lawyer), while Karol received practical training in his father's mill. The subsequent fortunes of Emil's children show that they were more interested in art than in business.

In 1890, when the firm was divided up, Gustaw embarked on a new industrial enterprise, becoming joint owner with Józef Stanisław Retinger/Rettinger (1867–1897) of the *Gustaw Baruch i Spółka* company. This business, dealing with the extraction of limestone and its processing into calcium, was located on Retinger's land in Płaza and possessed a Hoffmann kiln.<sup>43</sup> It was geared towards large-scale production and exports to non-local markets: a memorandum from 1892 refers to satisfied customers from Bielsko, Żywiec and Przemyśl (construction of a fortress). A few years earlier, in 1888, Gustaw had become director of the Podgórze city lime kiln, which was a very prestigious function as the lime kiln was the "apple in the municipality's eye", guaranteeing it a high income.<sup>44</sup> In 1896, seeking to stave off the ruthless rivalry between ever high numbers of such kilns, he initiated an agreement between their owners (including

41 KOZIŃSKA-WITT, *Przedsiębiorczość jako działalność patriotyczna*, 109.

42 Kronika. In: *Nowa Reforma*, 16. 12. 1886, no. 287, p. 2; also: *Kurier Lwowski* 349, 17. 12. 1886, p. 5. Emil apparently electrified the business, for example.

43 Limekiln in Płaza. property of the company: *Gustaw Baruch i spółka*. In: *Czasopismo Towarzystwa Technicznego Krakowskiego* 4, 1892, [n. pag.]

44 Baruch director of the limekiln, *Księga uchwał urzędu gminy miasta Podgórza*, ANK AmP 7, p. 361

the city of Podgórze and his own company in Płaza), based on which businesses were awarded acceptable processing quotas and the price of the product was set. The mayor of Podgórze, Roman Klein, and Baruch were accused of joining a lime mortar cartel and of actions to the detriment of the city.<sup>45</sup> Opinions were divided regarding Baruch's guilt, as the city had previously (1894) participated in cartel companies. The district department, which was appealed to, did not find any fault in the actions of the accused as they were operating in good faith in a grey area not regulated by law. The accusations are evidence of the presence of a group of members of the Podgórze council who were ill-disposed towards Baruch. The importance of personal animosity is demonstrated by the fact that several years later, in 1900, i.e. after the "Baruch era", the question of the municipality joining the lime mortar cartel was again considered.

The accusations led Baruch to leave the council in 1897, resigning from all the offices he held. It is unclear whether the lime kiln question contributed to his decision to pull out of industrial activity entirely. He was seen rather as a victim of unfortunate circumstances, as shown by the fact that he was later employed as the official census taker (!) in the Podgórze city hall. After her husband's death (1907), his widow Matylda, who was taking care of their disabled son Emil, fell into extreme poverty and received a permanent allowance from the city council.<sup>46</sup>

Both businesses therefore prospered until the end of the nineteenth century. The local market was limited, with little demand, and the attempt at cartelization unsuccessful. It is unclear what role was played in the dissuasion and neglect caused by the unethical conduct of the competition and the unjust accusations as well as the scandal in society centring around Karol. Ultimately, the companies lost the battle with other firms, including Hungarian ones inundating Galicia with flour and construction items.<sup>47</sup> The collapse of the Baruch businesses illustrates the influence of the economic policy of the Dual Monarchy, such as by the impact of a better customs and freight tariff for Hungary, on specific Galician enterprises. The local competition, using all available means including slander and libel, was also a key factor.

### Inspirations

A major role in innovation and bold investment was played by mobility. The industrialists would learn about technological novelties after taking part in meetings of transregional bodies as well as from the trade press and advertisements sent to Podgórze city hall. Yet the best opportunity for learning, exchanging ideas and comparison with the competition was offered by participation in national, imperial and international exhibitions,<sup>48</sup> leading to the introduction of improvements and the launching of new products and production methods after finding out about the latest solutions presented. Maurycy exhibited his products at Austrian industrial fairs in Vienna, and even at a (cereal?) show in London. The company's products were popularized at annual agricultural product fairs in Vienna, craft exhibitions in Bielsko and Leipzig, and smaller domestic exhibitions, for example in Krakow and Wieliczka. These shows were discussed at length in the regional press, which described in

45 Klein, Roman. Z Podgórza. In: *Kuryer Lwowski* 243, 2. 9. 1897, p. 5f.; Sprawy miasta Podgórza. In: *Dziennik krakowski* 162, 17. 7. 1896, p. 3.

46 "Dodatek miesięczny na utrzymanie Emila", *Księga uchwał Rady miejskiej w Podgórzu*, ANK AmP 10, p. 359.

47 KOZIŃSKA-WITT, *Przedsiębiorczość jako działalność patriotyczna*, 117.

48 KOZIŃSKA-WITT, *Przedsiębiorczość jako działalność patriotyczna*, 110–113.

detail all the new products exhibited as well as the objects delivered by the Baruchs/ Włodzimirskis. The Baruchs' resourcefulness was recognized by Podgórze city council, which in 1883 debated the system of construction of a new, more expensive lime kiln:

On Councillor Baruch's proposal, however, the Municipal Council ... postpones a final ruling on the adoption of the Rumfordt system designed by the commission, and even presented on site by the constructor of lime kilns A. Seidel – and this until the time when Councillor Baruch meets his pledge that after obtaining information from Hoffmann himself, presents the Council with further explanations about the ring system of Hoffmann lime kilns with regard to their costs and productiveness.<sup>49</sup>

A territorial analysis of the imports of machines and specialists leads to the conclusion that the models of modernity and examples to follow for the Baruchs were factories in Lower Austria (Krems), Bohemia, Budapest, Silesia and Breslau. The Baruch companies exported their products throughout Galicia and Congress Poland, but also Slovakia and to Bukovina (Chernovitz). Worth emphasizing, and quite understandable, is the fact that they followed the model of the solutions employed in nearby, more industrialized provinces, and not the industrial centres of Western Europe.

It is also important to stress that the brothers were not only involved in regional institutions, such as the Krakow Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and national bodies lobbying for the development of local industry and the communication network (railway),<sup>50</sup> but were also appointed as experts of the Ministry of Trade during talks on forming trade treaties with Germany (Gustaw Baruch).<sup>51</sup> Both were active in transregional imperial institutions, which gave their activities additional significance. *Fremden-Blatt* of Vienna frequently recorded the Baruchs' visits to the city on such business. According to the family's later accounts, Emil was a member of the railway tariffs committee [Eisenbahntarif-Enquete],<sup>52</sup> which in 1884 gave rise to the influential State Railway Council [Staatseisenbahnrat]. This was a very prestigious institution working, among other things, to nationalize the railway and introduce standard tariffs and a beneficial customs policy, all matters of the utmost importance to Galicia. Gustaw was active in the Austrian Millers' Union [Der Verband der österreichischen Müller], a union of mill owners that sought to influence Austria-Hungary's trading policy, proposing changes to the customs and freight tariffs and organizing international fairs. At a meeting in Vienna in 1887, for example, Gustaw was involved in setting up regional branches of the union, which would increase the importance of provincial industrialists.<sup>53</sup> He also participated in committees organizing international seed fairs (e.g. 16. Internationaler Saatenmarkt).<sup>54</sup> This activity in transregional arenas led to an inspirational exchange of ideas and openness to new ones, maintaining a sense of being a citizen of a world

49 *Księga uchwał urzędu gminy miasta Podgórze*, ANK AmP 6, pp. 698 and 700f. (Fryderyk Hoffmann, Gogolin pod Wrocławiem).

50 KOZIŃSKA-WITT, *Wzloty i upadki*, 107.

51 Wien 20. Dezember (Verhandlungen mit Deutschland). In: *Neue Freie Presse* 9455, 21. 2. 1890, p. 9.

52 Eisenbahntarif-Enquete. In: *Neue Freie Presse* 6466, 27. 8. 1882, p. 8.

53 Mühlenverband. In: *Die Presse* 238, 30. 8. 1887, p. 5; Mühlenverband. In: *Neues Wiener Tagblatt (Tages-Ausgabe)* 238, 30. 8. 1887, p. 7; Der Verband der österreichischen Müller. In: *Prager Tageblatt* 239, 31. 8. 1887, p. 8.

54 Sechzehnter internationaler Saatenmarkt. In: *Neues Wiener Tagblatt (Tages-Ausgabe)* 228, 17. 8. 1888, p. 8.

outside of Galicia. Economic committees were populated by representatives of non-aristocratic circles, who also varied in ethnic and religious terms.

### Diverse loyalties

Shortly after the business was divided, on 8 August 1890, Emil's family changed its name to Włodzimirski.<sup>55</sup> The justification for the name change is interesting: "In gratitude for the homeland and considering the fact that its [the family's] ancestors received many decorations and expressions of recognition in Poland".<sup>56</sup> The Polonization of the family name was therefore an act of thanks not only for enabling professional and financial success, but particularly for appropriate recognition and appreciation of their services. The date of the name change (August 1890) was close to that of Karol being appointed as an aide at the time of Mickiewicz's very ceremonial funeral (July 1890), suggesting a possible link between these two facts. Ryszard Kołodziejczyk spoke of the esteem and social prestige that Jewish industrialists previously denied the recognition and influence their services merited would then gain by associating with aristocrats.<sup>57</sup> The Baruchs did not form familial ties with the aristocracy, although Emil had such proposals, but they did acquire an accessory characteristic of a heraldic crest in the form of a "beautiful-sounding surname".

It appears that Maurycy's heirs understood the homeland and patriotism not in Romantic terms, but "positivist" (liberal) ones. If the term "ancestors" referred to Maurycy, his descendants did not see it as important that he was an opponent of the January Uprising (1863/4). He was even beaten for his refusal to make a donation to the national treasury, leading to a visit from the army commandant, Field Marshal Lieutenant Baron [Joseph] von Bamberg, who came with thanks for his loyalty to the throne and sympathies.<sup>58</sup> As proof of his gratitude, Maurycy was awarded a Knight's Cross.<sup>59</sup> His anti-uprising attitude was not forgotten in Krakow, as shown by a barbed reference in *Nowa Reforma*.<sup>60</sup>

From a Polish-centric perspective, the name change was the culmination of a process of acculturation to Polishness that had taken place over three generations. The representatives of the first two generations, Majer and Moritz, were acculturated to Germanness. Maurycy's sons, Emil and Gustaw, represented a pro-Polish attitude that was particularly celebrated by Emil's family, who cast the death of the progenitor during participation in the Diet of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria as a sacrifice on the altar of the homeland in the name of fulfilling his civic duty.<sup>61</sup> Emil's wife Róża protested vigorously when her husband was confused with Maurycy and accused of

55 *Spis ludności miasta Krakowa 1890*, vol. 24, district VI, houses 2–37, house 7, ANK 29/88/01-/24, p. 64 [157]; Firma-Protokollirungen. In: *Amtsblatt zur Wiener Zeitung* 215, 18. 9. 1890, p. 1369.

56 WŁODZIMIRSKI, *Vater und Liebhaber*, 138.

57 KOŁODZIEJCZYK, *Burżuazja polska*, 122, 161; see also FARKAS, *Jewish Name Magyarization in Hungary*.

58 Kronländer. In: *Wiener Zeitung* 124, 15. 5. 1864, p. 533; Krakau. In: *Kais. Königl. Schlesische Troppauer-Zeitung* 112, 18. 5. 1864, p. 1.

59 Order for his unstinting allegiance and loyalty during the Polish uprising, in: *Przegląd polityczny. In: Czas*, 22. 12. 1864, no. 219, p. 3. "In Anerkennung mannigfacher Beweise unerschütterlicher Pflichttreue und Loyalität während des jüngsten polnischen Aufstandes", DEMEL, *Stosunki gospodarcze i społeczne Krakowa*, 51.

60 Kronika skandaliczna. In: *Nowa Reforma* 118, 24. 5. 1905, p. 2.

61 The death of the family's protector, Ferdynand Weigel, is presented in a very similar way. HOMOLA-SKĄPSKA, *Zapomniany prezydent Krakowa Ferdynand Weigel*, 163.

a lack of pro-Polish patriotism.<sup>62</sup> Let us recall that Róża came from a family acculturated to Germanness – we do not even know whether she spoke Polish – yet this did not stop her from taking part in Krakow patriotic events organized in the urban public space. These events offered the only opportunity for showing off high social status, as Krakow was lacking the bourgeois salons of such cities as Warsaw.<sup>63</sup> I did not find any evidence of the Baruchs being received in the homes of the Krakow aristocracy and intelligentsia, due to the fact that in social terms it was a very conservative city:

While the conception of tout Cracovie and tout Léopol is almost exclusively limited to ... the aristocracy and those in close relations with them, tout Varsovie will not be there where only mitres and crowns are worn. If it is said here that "all of Warsaw" was at a ball, concert, theatre or races, that means that historic names and finances were seen, as well as great industry, rural citizens and legal, literary, artistic and medicinal circles too; in a word, all the most eminent and wealthy that the city possesses.<sup>64</sup>

All the family members participated in city festivities. Particularly telling, however, was the participation of women, whom the local elites included in the organization of these events by offering them high-profile positions, such as hostesses and members of organizing committees.<sup>65</sup> Such opportunities included annual charity collections, academicians' balls or those in aid of collecting funds, for example for a monument to Mickiewicz. The family's financial contribution to patriotic projects, such as building a tomb to the insurrectionaries at the Rakowicki Cemetery, exceeded the donations by other prominent Cracovians. This participation in events and collections in the company of renowned local authorities of Polishness (Marcelina Czartoryska), and especially the function of aide at Mickiewicz's funeral entrusted to Karol, illustrated the family's pro-Polish patriotism. According to a later testimony from Emil's daughter Emilia/Milena Włodzimirska, this did not prevent the family from remaining loyal to the emperor.<sup>66</sup> And this, incidentally, was not the exception but the rule: one could have allegiance to the emperor, nation and land (Galicia), and this by no means depended on the language one spoke.

### Local patriotism

A springboard from digressions on rather abstract and elite national orientations is provided by the concept of "small homelands", which emphasizes identification with specific places. Martina Niedhammer highlights the importance of local identities in the first half of the nineteenth century in areas that were an arena of national rivalries, such as Prague, where Germans and Czechs competed with each other and where local patriotism offered the opportunity not to back either side.<sup>67</sup> In the western part of

62 Róża Włodzimirska, absolving her husband of suspicion of unpatriotic activity, asked for it to be noted that the Franz Joseph order was awarded for loyalty to Maurycy, not Emil; Kronika. In: *Nowa Reforma* 125, 1. 6. 1905, p. 3.

63 AUST, *The Jewish economic elite*, 162f.

64 ZALESKI, *Towarzystwo warszawskie*, 233, quoted in KOŁODZIEJCZYK, *Burżuazja polska*, 195.

65 For more see KOZIŃSKA-WITT, *Wzloty i upadki*, 125–129.

66 Mitschuldig an dem Attentat gegen Franz Ferdinand. In: *Der Tag* 670, 9. 10. 1924, p. 7.

67 NIEDHAMMER, *Nur eine "Geld-Emancipation"?*, 282.

autonomous Galicia, this conflict was not so heated: in the second half of the nineteenth century, it was the pro-Polish orientation that was dominant.

To what extent did the Baruchs identify with their place of residence? Did achieving a high financial status result in greater importance in local society? The answers can be found by analysing the Baruchs' engagement on behalf of Krakow and Podgórze.

The men of the family were active in professional bodies, particularly the Krakow Chamber of Commerce and Industry, for which they were chosen from the major industry group. As recognized experts, they dealt with issues concerning the cereal trade, milling, rail transport and customs policy and represented the Krakow Chamber in this respect.<sup>68</sup> They also aspired to participate in local authority bodies. Emil, for example, who lived in Krakow, in 1884 was listed as a candidate for city councilman of the first district, and was recommended by *Nowa Reforma* in very characteristic style:

In the coming years, Krakow city council will be deciding on numerous industrial and engineering issues. The first of these will include applications to raise industry and industrial science; this will be followed by the as yet unresolved question of cleaning the city, the gas question and that regarding electric illumination, and particularly the question of water pipes. Although these issues will involve the millions the city will have to spend, there is not a single competent representative in the entire council.... For similar reasons, we strongly approve of the candidacy of Mr Emil Baruch as an intelligent, capable industrialist, an outstanding expert on industrial affairs who has more than once participated in city affairs, as an expert in the appropriate committees.<sup>69</sup>

This quotation shows that Emil was a desirable partner and ally to the local democrats aspiring to modernize the city and combating the traditional social hierarchies. His selection was supported by his competences and previous activity for the city.

Gustaw was a member of the Podgórze City Council and its assessor from its establishment in 1867, and was twice elected deputy mayor, in 1871 (he resigned in 1872) and 1892. He was a very active councillor: his motions for the beautification of the city, improvements to its transport communications, organizing schools in Podgórze etc. have survived.<sup>70</sup> In 1897, when he resigned all titles and left the council after being accused of acting to the detriment of the city, his co-accused, Podgórze mayor Roman Klein, gave Gustaw a glowing recommendation:

One must consider the position that Mr Baruch took towards the lime kilns then and the influence his opinion had on everybody. For years he was the one behind the idea to turn rock of little benefit to the city into a lime kiln; he was the father of the business that so increased the city's income and was widely regarded as a specialist who knew every detail of these relations – an expert.<sup>71</sup>

68 Gospodarstwo, przemysł i handel. In: *Kurier Lwowski* 314, 12. 11. 1891, p. 5f.

69 Wybory miejskie. In: *Nowa Reforma* 148, 29. 6. 1884, pp. 1n, here p. 2. Emil received 319 votes, Wybory miejskie. In: *Nowa Reforma* 150, 2. 7. 1884, p. 2.

70 *Księga uchwał urzędu gminy miasta Podgórze*, ANK AmP 5, p. 235; ANK AmP 6; pp. 105, 186, 207, 419.

71 KLEIN, *Z Podgórze*, 6.

Klein emphasized that Baruch had the trust of the council and was always seen as a man invigorated by the best will for the municipality. This sense was supported by the financial engagement of Gustaw's family in numerous projects in Podgórze, such as the Sokół building built on a plot donated by the Baruchs (today 17 Sokolska Street). Their donations also helped to fund a poorhouse (today 50 Zamoyskiego Street), while their activity led to the finalization of the Podgórze high school (today 4/6 Zamoyskiego Street).

Both brothers were buried in the presence of city delegations and a large audience in the family grave at the Rakowicki Cemetery (Gustaw at the cost of the Podgórze city council). The participation of residents of both municipalities as well as official elements in their funerals shows that the pair were regarded as eminent citizens of their communities.

### Conclusion

Owing to their wealth, transregional familial and business connections and the scale of production, in the second half of the nineteenth century the Baruchs belonged to Krakow and Podgórze's top entrepreneurial elite. The fact that this elite was largely Jewish was related to the ossified social structure of this domain: Jews continued to play the role of a "quasi-estate".<sup>72</sup> Their functions within it were associated with trade, finances and craft, which, as a result of modernization, were partly transformed into services, enterprise and industrial activity. The concept of "quasi-estate" better emphasizes the professional otherness of Jews than the term "ethno-confessional group".

With capital and extensive business relations underpinned by beneficial marriages, the Baruchs began their industrial careers from a privileged position. At first, they did not have strong competition in their business activity, yet this changed in the late nineteenth century along with general modernization, the Dual Monarchy's economic policy and the cramped domestic market, where increasing numbers of similar businesses, more and more of them "non-Jewish", vied for supremacy.

The family's links with the local Jewish community and the traditional version of Judaism dominant there were weak. Perhaps it was the entrepreneurs' "pro-family" tendencies that caused higher positions in the company to often be filled on an ethno-confessional basis. In the public space, the family maintained intensive contacts with its non-Jewish surroundings.

Something that was not typical of most Krakow and Podgórze entrepreneurs was the Baruchs' involvement in imperial bodies, which reinforced the sense of elitism, but also worldliness. With the current state of research, the Baruchs' work to develop communication links and make changes towards a more beneficial railway freight tariff for Galicia is difficult to gauge. The same applies to their engagement in the transregional cereal and flour trade.

Locally, they were tycoons, facilitated by good relations with the army, while good product quality resulted in official orders. The Baruchs manifested a high status, contributing generous donations to charitable and patriotic campaigns.

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72 "In bygone Poland, the organization of estates had many important characteristics of a caste system" and "In Poland in all ages the Jewish caste were associated with specific occupations and economic functions". HERZ, *Żydzi w kulturze polskiej*, 83, 86.



Like Rome, then, neither Krakow nor Podgórze was built in a day,<sup>73</sup> but once they were built, it was largely from Baruch bricks, heated with Baruch kilns while eating Baruch bread or strudel, and sometimes both together.

The history of the Baruch family and its entrepreneurial activities is not done justice by short articles; I imagine that it would make excellent material for a comprehensive monograph. Moreover, the familial and business connections encompassing various geographical areas cry out for an international project combining Königswart, Breslau, Warsaw, Krakow-Podgórze, Hliník nad Váhom–Orlová–Pressburg, Mohyliv Podilskiy and other hitherto unnoticed cities and regions. In this way, one could reconstruct the transregional family links and business contacts and write an alternative, “entrepreneurial”, history of Central and Eastern Europe.

*Translated from Polish by Ben Koschalka*

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**Moritz/Maurycy Baruch (1801–1874)  
& Anna Panofka (1806–1878)**

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**Emil (1832–1886) & Róża Lord**

1. Aleksander (1864–?)
2. Karol (1865–1932) & *Cecylia Płachecka*
3. Emilia (1866–1954)
4. Alfred (1870–1934)

Since 1890 Włodzimirski

**Gustaw (1838–1907) & Matylda Joelson**

1. Julian/Juliusz (1863–1906) & *Wilma Emma Hoffman*
  2. Stefan (1865–1904)
  3. Róża (1866–1903) & *Tadeusz Gulkowski*
  4. Zofia (1867–?) & *Władysław Liban/ Zawojski*
  5. Anna (1868/69–1961/62) & *Emil von Warnesius*
  6. Emil (1870/1871–?)
  7. Maria (1879–?) & *Juliusz Closmann*
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## Appendix

### The history of my ancestors<sup>74</sup>

Karol Włodzimirski

At the time of the estimable reign of Empress Maria Theresa, in 1773, my great-grandfather, who was then called Baruch, received a special imperial privilege for himself, his sons and their male descendants. He was the co-owner of the imperial & royal income from the tobacco trade (Mitcompagnon des k.k. Tabakgefälls) in Königswart in Bohemia, and in the eighteenth century moved to Podgórze, near Krakow in Galicia.

[extracts from the privilege]

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<sup>73</sup> In the Polish version of the proverb, meaning that all actions take time and effort before they start to bear fruit, it is Krakow that was not built in a day, as also quoted in Karol Estreicher’s iconic book *Nie od razu Kraków zbudowano* [Krakow was not built immediately], Kraków, 1947.

<sup>74</sup> An abbreviated version of this text in: Zur Affäre Graf Milewski-Barber. In: *(Neuigkeits) Weltblatt*, 162, 17. 7. 1904, p. 5.

My grandfather's great-grandfather on his mother's side was an imperial official [during the rule] of His Highness Emperor Joseph II [1741–1791],<sup>75</sup> who entrusted him and lived in his palace during inspection trips; [the palace] still today bears the name of Emperor Joseph II. The emperor enjoyed talking to his intelligent host, and some of the emperor's beautiful utterances are still recalled in the family even today.<sup>76</sup>

My grandfather on my father's side [**Maurycy, 1800–1874**] founded in 1821, at the youthful age of 21, a significant leather factory in Podgórze near Krakow, [and also] was a landowner, bank director, and property owner in Podgórze and Krakow. He was actually the founder of large-scale Galician industry, [because] he built the first steam mill in Galicia. The "Moritz Baruch" enterprise was a supplier of salt to the government and owned a factory of kilns and a brickyard in Łagiewniki near Podgórze. [Maurycy] was thus able to provide thousands of people with bread and an income. In one document, it was written of him that "he was particularly distinguished by his humanity and support for an institution serving the general good".

On 19 December 1835, in the imperial Hofburg in the presence of Emperor Ferdinand, [Maurycy] was awarded a medal "for outstanding achievements shown at this year's exhibition of crafts". In August 1855, the supreme national government bestowed on him "on 30 June 1855, in recognition of his first-rate significance, rectitude and services for national industry, permission to call his enterprises imperial & royal privileged national factories and to endorse them with an imperial & royal eagle, to be hung in the factory building and displayed on products".

On 16 December 1864, "in recognition of repeated evidence of unyielding allegiance and loyalty during the most recent Polish uprising in the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria", my grandfather was graciously awarded, on the basis of the highest letter of His Highness Emperor Franz Joseph, the First Knight's Cross of the Order of Franz Joseph (das Ritterkreuz des Franz-Ordens). My father [**Emil, 1832–1886**] sympathized with the Poles at the time and wore a *czamara*, a Krakow coat, the clothing of the insurgents. At this time [1864] the government gave the order to spare my grandparents' palace during attacks.

After my grandfather's death, my father continued to run the factory, but concentrated on managing two steam mills, a brickyard and a tile factory, and lived until his death in 1886 in Krakow, where he inherited his father's palace. When he reached the age of 30, the old Countess Tarnowska of the Kingdom of Poland proposed that he marry her beautiful, highly dowered granddaughter. At the same time, however, he fell in love with the daughter of the landowner Józef Lord [**1816–1899**], which is why marriage [to Tarnowska's granddaughter] did not ensue. He wrote to the old countess "it is too late, because I have chosen". He gave a likeness of the count's daughter to his cousin, Mr Franciszek Maryewski, the current mayor of Podgórze and member of the Diet of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, in whose possession it probably remains too this day. Mrs Róża Włodzimirska, née Lord [**1838–1919**], was renowned in Trenčín county as a beauty. My grandfather on my mother's side, Mr Józef Lord, in Trenčín county was the owner of the Orlove estate and Sigmond Hazá castle. As a young man he was a captain under Kossuth, taking part in the independence struggles of 1848

75 I did not manage to identify this person and do not know whether the text refers to a representative of the Lord family from Hliník or the Schameses, from whom Róża Lord's mother came.

76 Joseph II made many trips during which he visited Jewish homes; his visit to Trenčín in 1780 is documented. See KRATZER, Roland. *Die Reisen Josephs II.* Diplomarbeit. Graz, 2015, p. 97.

and 1849. He died as a rentier in Pressburg, where he moved late in his old age. His castle is currently owned by the Prince of Hohenlohe.

My mother was seen as a fastidious [wählerisch] and demanding lady and was a Roman Catholic, like her parents too, whereas my father was an ardent Protestant (my siblings and I are also Protestants). The couple [my parents] were one of the happiest in Krakow and regarded as a model marriage! My father, the unforgettable Mr Emil Baruch, was a citizen of the city of Krakow, presbyter of the Evangelical congregation, industrialist, property owner, censor of the Austro-Hungarian Bank, and member of the Chamber of Commerce and State Railway Council. He was appointed to this [last] position on 4 October 1884 to Vienna on the basis of a particularly appreciative letter from the then minister for trade, [Feliks] Pino. In winter 1886 [my father] was sent by the Krakow Chamber of Commerce as its delegate and representative to Lemberg. Although he did not feel entirely well, in order to avoid neglect of national matters, he attended the meeting. He caught pneumonia and, already mortally ill, returned home, where on 14 December 1886, among his distraught family, died in his 54th year as a victim of civic duty. The deceased, whose noble, exemplary personality earned him affection at all levels of society, was a scholar, patriot and citizen of the world. He was a father for those in need and abandoned, he worked without rest – but he was also capable of respecting work and workers! *Nowa Reforma*, the Polish liberal delay, wrote of him then: "The city has lost its most brilliant citizen – and Poland a son desiring its socio-economic rebirth!"<sup>77</sup>

His four children were not yet of age when they lost their father. I was beginning my 21st year.

With the approval of the Galician governorship, 15 years ago [1890], in gratitude for the homeland and since its ancestors in Poland had been awarded so many distinctions and expressions of recognition, my family adopted the name "Włodzimirski".

During the funeral of our greatest poet Adam Mickiewicz [4 July 1890], whose remains were transported from Paris to Krakow, the legal protector of our family, imperial councillor Dr [Ferdynand] Weigel, the former mayor of Krakow, member of the Diet of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria and the Vienna parliament, who was then mourning his wife, in black national costume led the procession. I, his aide, accompanied him in a white, damask national costume and a red cape.<sup>78</sup> All of Poland sent delegates to the ceremony. Thanks to the great kindness of my protector, I played a leading role throughout the ceremony. Similarly, in my youthful past I was presented at the industrialists' ball in Vienna by the head of section, Dr Exner [?Wilhelm Franz, director of the Museum of Crafts], as a representative of large-scale Galician industry, to His Imperial Highness Archduke Karl Ludwig, and for a second time to His Highness Emperor Franz Joseph.

It seemed that I too had received good fortune.

77 "Izba handlowo-przemysłowa traci jednego z najznakomitszych swych członków, kraj najzaczniejszego obywatela, Polska syna pragnącego społeczno-ekonomicznego jej odrodzenia". Kronika. In: *Nowa Reforma* 287, 16. 12. 1886, p. 2.

78 Kraków. In: *Kuryer Lwowski Dodatek* 183, 4. 7. 1890, p. 4.

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