The painting made by the Gestwicki brothers, which has been destroyed, presents the Polish army marching into Toruń on the 18<sup>th</sup> of January 1920. Additionally, it portrays a doctor accompanied by Polish social and political activist Ph. D. Otton Steinborn welcoming the Polish troops. Known only from descriptions and sketches, the painting created by Feliks and Brunon Gestwicki is the only visual reimagination of the events which occurred on the 18<sup>th</sup> of January. It attempts to present how the Polish army (the army was) commanded by Colonel Stanisław Skrzyński was welcomed. The Polish forces, who were liberating Pomerania, appeared on the left side of the Vistula River. They had previously fought German troops in Gniewkowo (a small town near Toruń) and the fight caused the Polish troops to arrive late in Toruń<sup>1</sup>. They were greeted at the main train station by Adam Czarliński, who after the 17th of January, became the governor of Toruń. Next, the Polish army crossed the Vistula River via a railway bridge and followed "Boruta" and "Wilk", the Polish armoured trains<sup>2</sup>. It is worth noticing that no German troops had been seen in the town for a few hours, nor were there any anti-Polish provocations (which would include songs or fighting)<sup>3</sup>. Two "Fokker" planes that were part of the German army flew above the railway bridge to bid a symbolic farewell<sup>4</sup>.

The partitions were definitely over. As mentioned above, on the 18<sup>th</sup> of January at 2.45 p.m., Ph. D. Otton Steinborn welcomed the Polish troops by walking towards two officers and the commander of the Pomeranian Division Col. Stanisław Skrzyński. Seeing Steinborn walking with his arms wide open, the soldiers stopped and accepted

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Gerhard Pająkowski died during that fight. His funeral was reported by "Gazeta Toruńska" from 25 of January, 1920.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A rumor mentioned that the German troops had left some mines in the city. Trains were supposed to check if the road was clear.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Provocations include: singing anti-Polish songs or starting fistfights, see M. Wojciechowski, *Toruń w latach 1914-1920*, [in:] *Historia Torunia*, vol. III, part I, ed. by M. Biskup, Toruń 2003, p. 481.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Lt. Heldt nad Lt. Kraut were the pilots. The photography from the flight was published by the "Die Woche" newspaper, no. 4 from 21 of January, 1920.

not only the local elites' welcome but also the Toruń residents' joy<sup>5</sup>. Steinborn was accompanied by Jan Brejski, the future Governor of Pomerania, Józef Wybicki, the temporary National Governor of Pomerania and the first Governor of Pomerania. The troops were given basic food (salt and bread) by Helena Swinarska, Bogna Steinborn and a girl with the family name of Mikulska (her first name is unknown)<sup>6</sup>.

Gestwicki's painting was first and foremost an artistic creation that was supposed to strengthen its primarily patriotic message, and avoid being just a report on historical events. It was painted not immediately after regaining the city but fifteen years later. Toruń celebrated its 700<sup>th</sup> "birthday" and one of the most important participants of the welcoming, Ph. D. Steinborn, ordered the painting. Due to his decision, the painting was hung in Toruń town hall and became a manifesto of Toruń's Polishness. Unfortunately, the painting shared the fate of a painting by Marian Jaroczyński which illustrated the 2<sup>nd</sup> Peace Treaty of Toruń and was destroyed at the beginning of the Second World War<sup>7</sup>.

However, 20 years before it was destroyed, on the 18<sup>th</sup> of January in the year 1920, citizens of the Old Town and the New Town were awaiting the Polish troops. The Polish soldiers marched through today's Piastowska Street, St Katarzyna's square, St Katarzyna's Street, Queen Jadwiga Street and Szeroka Street heading towards the Old Town Square. The soldiers were welcomed by the citizens, who prepared decorations which hung only from houses owned by Poles. Everyone could buy decorative eagles, lanterns, and (paper?) garlands at the bookstore which was situated on Elżbieta Street. Additionally, banners

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The funding of the painting honoured not only the 700 year anniversary of Toruń (Poles think that Toruń was established in 1233) but also the founder and his role in regaining independence in 1920. Steinborn provided the money needed to create the painting which was made inside a room owned by the Tews brothers' company located on Mostowa Street.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> For additional info about the painting (its creation and life) check A. Kroplewska-Gajewska, *Powitanie wojsk polskich w Toruniu 18 stycznia 1920 roku. Niezachowany obraz Brunona i Feliksa Pawła Gęstwickich*, in: *Praktyczny patriotyzm w Toruniu 1918/1920: różne odsłony niepodległości*, ed. by K. Kluczwajd, M. Pszczółkowski, Toruń 2018, pp. 21-35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 35.

with inscriptions: "Hello", "Welcome back" were also available. In the night between 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> of January, the Polish youth encouraged by Helena Steinborn had started to remove German inscriptions and replace German street names with Polish ones<sup>8</sup>. Pictures of Polish national heroes Tadeusz Kościuszko, Ignacy Paderewski, Józef Haller, and Adam Mickiewicz were also presented<sup>9</sup>.

Col. Skrzyński led the soldiers to Toruń's Old Town Hall and officially received control over the city from the lord mayor Hassy. The balcony of the Old Town Hall was decorated with a patterned carpet. The ceremonial change in leadership took place next to a line of soldiers standing along the western frontage of the square. The citizens of Toruń stood behind them, cheering constantly. Some soldiers were standing on the part of the square where a monument of Wilhelm I used to be. The monument had been removed a year before the event and transported to Piła (a city)<sup>10</sup>.

The welcoming of Col. Skrzyński's troops could be considered as a prelude to the official arrival of the commander of Blue Army to Toruń. Passing train stations with decoration such as signs "Welcome home", white eagles or green garlands, a train with Gen. Józef Haller on board travelled to Toruń and other cities of Pomerania<sup>11</sup>. This was the 21<sup>st</sup> of January, three days past since Toruń had become officially Polish again. Therefore it was possible to place a decoration of better

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> M. Wojciechowski, *Powrót Torunia do Polski w 1920 roku*, Rocznik Toruński 1971, 5, p. 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> https://nowosci.com.pl/97-lat-temu-torun-wrocil-do-polski-zdjecia/ga/11704089/zd/22332353 (accessed on: 10 of April, 2019).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> M. Wojciechowski, *Toruń w latach 1914-1920*, [in:] *Historia Torunia*, ed. M. Biskup, vol. III, part I, Toruń 2003, p. 472-473. The author recalls that Związek Oficerów w Toruniu in August of 1919 suggested that all symbols of German authority should be transported to Germany. See also P. Birecki, *O sztuce, która odeszla wraz zaborami*, [in:] *Praktyczny patriotyzm w Toruniu 1918/1920*, p. 62-63. G. Reinert's photo presents the deconstruction of the figure and its transport to Piła. The camera zooms onto the Town Hall's balcony and the patterned carpet, in: "Wielkopolska Ilustracja" from 19 of January, 1930, no. 16. Title page illustration. Also an illustration of temporary decoration of service which was held on the 19<sup>th</sup> of January 1920 on 3 Maja Square.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> "Tygodnik Ilustrowany" from 14th of February, 1920, no. 7, pp. 128-129.

quality and more appropriate to welcome the general of the Blue Army. The German decree, which banned any possibility of patriotic acts and demonstration of Polishness, had been removed since the power over the city was handed to the Polish administration. It allowed the city to build Triumphal Arches on Old Town Square. After placing the flowers at the feet of the Copernicus monument, Gen. Haller headed to the Old Town Hall in order to make a speech on a balcony. Expressing gratitude for the warm welcome, Gen. Józef Haller stood on the balcony with Otton Steinborn and Stefan Łaszewski, and thanked the crowd of soldiers and civilians. The "Komitet Uroczystości Narodowej" (an official institution comprised of 43 people lead by the relentless Otton Steinborn, whose death was commemorated with a national holiday) prepared all the decorations. Its previous name "Komitet przygotowawczy dla spraw obchodu święta narodowego" was changed the moment when the idea of Toruń being liberated became "real". The name of the temporary local authorities as also modified to "Polska Rada Ludowa" in order to give Toruń a more Polish appeal.

The members of "Komitet Uroczystości Narodowej" approached the task (of decorating Toruń) with care and commitment to their duties. They planned to raise 40 triumphal arches and other necessary ornamentation. The cost of the entire work is estimated at around 90 995,42 marks, and, in order to finance the project, funds were provided by Polish institutions and private investors. Felicja Gajewska from Turzno lent 20 000 marks, Towarzystwo Opieki nad Dziećmi Katolickimi (Organization for the Care of Catholic Children) lent 10 000 marks. After the payment of the costs, Voivode Jan Brejski was asked for help in order to pay all of the city's loans, which was possible thanks to generous the contributions offered by Poles of slender means. The results of the arrangements and the people's involvement came to fruition in the night of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> January. There was an excited commotion with people making triumphal arches during the course of that night. Additionally, the last German troops could see Poles decorating their homes and streets as they left<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> M. Wojciechowski, *Toruń w latach 1914-1920*, p. 477-478 (29 000 marks is the amount of the loan). In Steinborn's archive there is a record of 20 000 marks given

## Decoration of Toruń prepared in order to welcome Polish troops on the 18<sup>th</sup> of January 1920

Triumphal arches (considered to be an architectural feature prepared for special occasions) prepared as a welcoming gesture are not unheard of. In Toruń and other Pomeranian cities such architecture was created when Polish rulers would arrive in Gdańsk or Toruń<sup>13</sup>. The temporary architecture, decorated windows and storefronts that welcomed Polish troops in Polish towns and villages were inspired by old Polish customs. The pillars of a triumphal arch, which were deco-

(the 9000 marks are the inflationary compensation called currency compensation). See H. Steinborn's letter to the governor Jan Brejski dated 23rd of January 1921, in: National Archive in Torun (hereinafter: APT), Archive of Steinborn's family, sign. 13, p. 159.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> The triumphal gate, which was considered to be extremely rich when it comes to iconography, was prepared for Władysław IV Vasa's arrival in Gdańsk. The following gates in the city near Motlawa River were raised in order to welcome Jan III Sobieski and his wife, Maria Kazimiera. A magnificent obelisk was planned in order to honor the wife - a gate decorated with fruit, garland, painting entitled "Luna den Mond" and a statue of an eagle situated above the gate. The king was welcomed by obelisks and a triumphal arches decorated with busts of Władysław IV Vasa, John II Casimir Vasa, Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki. Socles were decorated with emblems referring to war and peace. Atlas and Hercules could be seen on a gate which welcomed Marie Louise Gonzaga in 1646. All these objects were complicated and required appropriate funds and time in order to make them representative with the addition of sculptures and paintings. A gate which formed part of the decoration during the coronation of Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki on the 29<sup>th</sup> of September in 1669 was a much simpler construction. It was made of 2 wooden poles connected by a cloth with an inscription "VIVAT REX MICHAELI". Occasional architecture in Toruń was created to welcome Władysław IV Vasa in 1635. Johann Heinrich Zernecke mentions that the gate was placed on the corner of Old Town Square and Chełmińska Street and decorated with emblems and city's crests. Consequently, the gates created in 1920 in Toruń referred to an important artistic element which accompanied the aforementioned rules who visited Royal Prussia. At the same time, these gates undoubtedly increased the importance of the events of the second decade of the 20th century. Thornische Chronica in welcher die Geschichte dieser Stadt (....) von Jacob Heinrich Zernecke. Zweyte vermehrte Auflage, Berlin 1727, p. 291-292; J. H. Zernecke, Historiae Thoruniensis naufrage tabulae oder Kern der Thornischen Geschichte, Thorn 1711, p. 241; Król jedzie! Wizyty władców polskich w Gdańsku XV-XVIII w, ed. by E. Kizik, vol. I: Eseje, Gdańsk 2018, p. 64-70. This literature refers to Polish rulers arriving in Gdańsk. See vol. II: Catalogue, p. 89-91, 150-151 and 172-179.

rated with needles, mistletoe and garlands were seen by the troops of Gen. Józef Dowbor-Muśnicki and Lieutenant-Colonel Witold Butler on 20, 21 and 22 of January in Bydgoszcz. In a similar fashion, Lt. Walenty (?) Parat was welcomed by Tczew and its citizens<sup>14</sup>. During the 22<sup>nd</sup> of January, Gen. Haller's troops witnessed decorated buildings, religious paintings, and national flags upon entering Chełmno. Additionally, above the entrance gate, an inscription read "Hail our troops" (orig. "Cześć naszym żołnierzom"). One day previously, the gate was raised using two white and red pillars and a garland. It was used to welcome Haller's troops in the town square in Chełmża. Identical gates were used in Kornatowo and Grudziądz<sup>15</sup>. Triumphal arches also welcomed Polish troops in other regions of the rising Second Polish Republic, for example – Upper Silesia. On the 20<sup>th</sup> of July in 1922 Poles were welcomed in Katowice with a sign "Long live the Independent Poland" (orig. "Niech żyje Polska Niepodległa"). On the 23<sup>rd</sup> of July 1922, the citizens of Królewska Huta celebrated their freedom acquired with the help of Gen. Stanisław Szeptycki and his troops<sup>16</sup>.

On the 18<sup>th</sup> of January, the first gate used in order to welcome the army in Toruń (right side of the painting) was built next to a new train station and designed by Władysław Szubryczyński. The gate was not so impressive in appearance due to budget and time limitations. The gate was made using long poles wrapped (with unknown material), garlands, "the emblems of Second Polish Republic (white eagles on the red background), and a sign (welcome) situated directly over the heads of the newcomers. Another gates were raised on the New Town Square, Queen Jadwiga Street (near the crossroads with Little Garbary Street). Two more were raised on the Old Town Square. Each of them were made using high trees wrapped with garlands from spruce branches and decorated with Polish flags, emblems and inscriptions. 40 trium-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> D. Czerwiński, Walka o granice Polski na Pomorzu, Teki Kociewskie 2018, vol. XII, 2018, p. 106.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Photographs of gates, also during their erecting, were provided by "Tygodnik Ilustrowany" from 14 of February 1920, pp. 128-129.

http://pilsudski.jcom.pl/index.php/inkorpor/115-inkorporacja?i=1 (accessed on: 25 of April 2019).

phal arches (often just poles that were not even connected) were planned for Toruń alone<sup>17</sup>. A banner with Toruń's crest was placed over the entrance to the Town Hall. After the seizure of power, Polish flags were placed on the Town Hall's tower, turrets and facade<sup>18</sup>.

The gate pictured on the Gestwicki brothers' painting is distinguished from the real gates which welcomed Haller's troops in Pomerania with a bright cloth covering its sides and top. In this way, the painters highlighted it – the gate cannot be missed even with a cheering crowd surrounding it. Additionally, the white colour of the gate is distinctive from the neo-Gothic town architecture. These two colours (white and red) together create a "Polish" accent. However, no such cloth was actually used – a project of the exact gate (prepared by the aforementioned Władysław Szubryczyński) was found in the Steinborn family archive, and it does not mention the cloth at all. On the reverse of the project there is a list of the materials needed to build this particular gate: almost 100 meters of logs, 8 banners, 2 crests, an inscription, and 210 meters of garlands (il. 1).

It seems that this detail was purely artistic, similarly to others in the painting. The Gęstwicki brothers not only made that gate look the most magnificent but also appear like an actual front gate. When were the gates visible in the archival photo and the gate visible on the right side of the painting raised <sup>19</sup>?

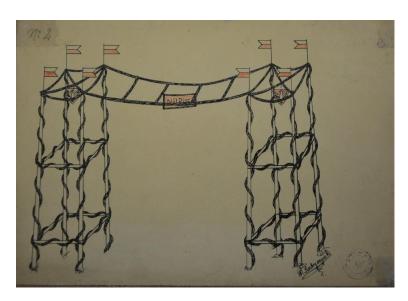
When were the triumphal arches (visible in the archival photos and on the right side of the painting) erected (il. 2)?

The memories of witnesses (including Helena Steinborn) and two photographs of the Old Town Square are crucial in order to answer this question. The first picture showing the welcoming of the Polish

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Their true quantity is unknown. Five gates can be spotted on the photographs and in the journals: next to the town's train station, near the Town Square, the Old Town Square and Elżbieta Street.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> M. Wojciechowski, *Toruń w latach 1914-1920*, p. 477-478.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> APT, Archive of Steinborn's family, sign. 1. White and red shields with white eagle and a copy of the telegram sent by Kraków's authorities to the citizens of Toruń in order to express their joy at Toruń rejoining Poland were found in the collection. A. Gajewska-Kroplewska, op. cit., p. 34-35.



Il. 1. The project of the triumphal gate by W. Szubryczyński. Source: APT, Archive of Steinborn's family, sign. 1



Il. 2. The welcoming of the Polish Army commanded by Col. Skrzyński, 18<sup>th</sup> of January, 1920. Painting by B. and F. Gęstwicki. Source: Muzeum Okręgowe w Toruniu, sign. MT/HN/I/660



Il. 3. The welcoming of the Polish Army commanded by Col. Skrzyński, 18<sup>th</sup> of January, 1920. Source: Author's private collection

army on the 18<sup>th</sup> of January does not include any gates II. 3)<sup>20</sup>. However, the picture from the 21<sup>st</sup> of January (showing the welcoming of Haller's troops) shows two (II. 4). Another one can be seen while looking at the photograph depicting soldiers marching along today's Queen Jadwiga Street (II. 5).

It seems plausible that the gate painted on the painting done by the Gęstwicki brothers (even though it didn't look exactly the same) had already been built when Col. Skrzyński arrived. However, other gates were established after the welcoming of Col. Skrzyński's troops and Gen. Haller<sup>21</sup>. It is also possible that on the 18<sup>th</sup> of January, these gates were only partially finished, because of a German ban that prohibited building all of them from start to finish – people were not allowed to manifest their Polishness by any means until Toruń was officially under

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Photo can be found in "Tygodnik Ilustrowany" from the 14th of February, 1920, p. 128.

p. 128. 
<sup>21</sup> M. Wojciechowski, *Powrót Torunia do Polski w 1920 roku*, p. 26. The author states that the gates already existed on the 18<sup>th</sup> of January. Ultimately, it seems that this issue cannot be resolved.



II. 4. The welcoming of Gen. Haller's in Toruń on the 21<sup>st</sup> of Januray, 1920. Source: Author's private collection



II. 5. The march of Polish Army along Elżbieta Street on the  $21^{\rm st}$  of January, 1920. Source: Author's private collection

the Second Polish Republic's control. As a result, the banners on the tower of the Town Hall were placed after the liberation and only the wooden supports had been driven into the ground beforehand. This simple action made further construction easier without breaking the law. However, decoration, festoons and crests could not be placed on any gates before the 18<sup>th</sup> of June. This is yet another detail which makes the painting historically inaccurate. It would also explain why no gates can be seen in a photograph of the welcoming of Col. Skrzyński. The German authorities did not give an official permission to build any gates and the main streets were occupied mostly by Germans. This fact made it impossible to hang Polish banners to any significant extent. If it had been possible, Toruń would have been Polish too early, and Gen. Haller would have read a lot of inscriptions (and been moved by them as a result). All in all, the creation of occasional decoration within just three days is best captured by the archival photographs<sup>22</sup>.

## Polish monuments within the space of interwar Toruń

The change of the city's iconosphere, which sends a symbolical message about Toruń's Polishness, should be divided into two stages. The first is connected with the demolition of German monuments, basreliefs and pictures or their convertion to Polish pieces of art. The second stage involved replacing the aforementioned structures or creating new versions from scratch. A couple of monuments concerned with military acts, the Polish and German authorities of Toruń and Pomerania<sup>23</sup> will be mentioned. A symbolic end to the former Prussian partition of Toruń happened the year 1919 when the monument of Wilhelm I was deconstructed. Placed in 1904, it had stood in front of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Preparatory work was mentioned by Prof. Wojciechowski in the next chapter of Toruń's history. According to him, the preparatory work began during the afternoon of the 18<sup>th</sup> of January. H. Steinborn mentioned the decoration being prepared before noon and the gates after that. See M. Wojciechowski, *Przejęcie Torunia*, p. 9-20. In no. 16 of "Die Presse" from the 20th of January, 1920. There is a note about the triumphal gates in both the Old and New Town Squares.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> To search for additional details regarding the monuments look P. Birecki, op. cit., p. 61-77. Notes in the article are complementary.

the Old Town Hall for 15 years. For many Poles, German monuments were a testimony of the germanization of the town and Pomerania. The authorities reaction to a request to remove the ornamentation of the rail and road bridge. The reaction was even harsher due to the fact that the decoration on the pillars of the bridge had already been shot at by the Polish army as they entered the city<sup>24</sup>.

The monument of Paul von Hindenburg was removed after the year 1920 and its socle was reused in order to build Gen. Haller's monument. The work was carried out by soldiers from Park Uzbrojenia 16. Dywizji Piechoty (Weapon Unit of 16. Division of Infantry) and Związek Hallerczyków (Gen. Haller's Soldiers Association)<sup>25</sup>. Hindendburg's Oak, which was located in front of Chełmińska Gate, was cut down in February of 1920<sup>26</sup>. A wooden column crowned with the Iron Cross, which was designed by architect Prof. Hermann Phleps who finished the Technische Hochschule in Gdańsk<sup>27</sup>, was also removed. After the year 1920, the monuments of German soldiers located in Toruń and Podgórz were removed. These monuments include: the monument near the end of Chełmińska Street which honoured the soldiers who died fighting Denmark in 1864, Austria in 1866, and France from 1870 to 1871, and the war monument (the so-called Kriegerdenkmal) situated in front of Ernst Thomas' brewery<sup>28</sup>.

A few months after liberating Toruń (27<sup>th</sup> of October 1920 to be exact), a "competition" was announced. Anyone who would deconstruct the war monument located on Theatre Square (created by Johannes Otzen) while generating the least amount of costs would win

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 73-74.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> K. Kalinowski, Pomnik gen. Józefa Hallera na Jakubskim Przedmieściu, by: http://otoruniu.net/pomnik-generala-jozefa-hallera-na-jakubskim-przedmiesciu/(accessed on: 20 of April, 2019).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> APT, Acts of the city of Toruń, sign. C 18 979; NN, Die Presse, no. 9, from 10 of August, 1915, p. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> M. Niedzielska, *Nieznane wojenne pomniki Torunia z 1915 roku*, Rocznik Toruński, vol. 42, 2015, p. 57-74, p. 60-63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> M. Bandrowicz, M. Przegiętka, *Niechciane dziedzictwo? Usunięcie niemieckich posągów i płaskorzeźb z mostu na Wiśle w Toruniu w latach dwudziestych XX wieku*, Rocznik Toruński, vol. 37, 2010, p. 171. It is worth noting that the German citizens of Toruń who placed the flowers were soldiers leaving the city in January, 1920.

the competition. According to the Magistrate's resolution, the work should be sold and the material it had been made from were the prize of the competition and could be sold by the winner. This all took place between 23<sup>rd</sup>-29<sup>th</sup> of November and the material was given to city waterworks located in the "Bielany" district<sup>29</sup>.

People tried to convert the material recovered from the demolition into the Unknown Soldier Memorial according to the 1925 project made by a citizen of Poznań, Prof. Marcin Rożek (II.6). In 1926 some people thought about setting up a regular clock but that idea was also abandoned<sup>30</sup>.

The same year in which the monument of Bismarck was removed, a new monument of the first Governor of the Pomerania Stefan Łaszewski was built. In the year 1925 there were plans for embedding a plate with Governor's profile into the walls of Regional Authority (Urząd Wojewódzki). However, given the weight of the plate, this project was also cancelled. Next year, a new monument was created within a few weeks and was officially revealed on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of May 1926<sup>31</sup>. Statues of Masters of Teutonic Order (Herman von Balk and Herman von Salza) and Prussian King Frederick the Great overlooked Toruń from the rail and road bridge. Bas-reliefs of "Założenie miasta Torunia przez Balka" (The founding of Toruń by Herman von Balk), "Nawracanie pogańskich Prusów" (The Christianization of pagan Prussians"), "Wkroczenie wojsk pruskich do Torunia w 1793 roku pod dowództwem gen. Schwerina" (The military intrusion of the Prussian army in 1793 under the command of Gen. Schwerin), and addition of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> APT, Acts of the city of Toruń, Rozbiórka pomnika wojaków, sign. 2844, k. nn. On the second of May in 1931 the protestant municipality expressed the desire to pay for (or receive without payment) the stones obtained from the socle of the monument. The church would be repaired using these stones.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> APT, Acts of the city of Toruń, Pomnik Bismarcka, sign. 2846, p. 6 and on the following pages an interesting case of the interview regarding the plate with an image of Otto von Bismarck being dismantled and stored by Paul Borkowski. The plate was given to him already in the 1919 after it had been transported from "Deutsche Gesellschaft". The plate weighed 150 kg and was estimated to be worth around 975 000 000 marks according to the Polish weight of the material. See P. Birecki, op. cit., p. 65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> APT, Acts of the city of Toruń, Pomnik pierwszego wojewody pomorskiego, sign. 2847, p. 1.



Il. 6. The draft of the Unknown Soldier Memorial 25.05.1925. Source: APT, AmT, sign. 2846

an unknown scene which glorified German culture, civilization, industry and trade. In 1920 they were removed. The Polish Army greatly facilitated this work, having shot at these pieces of art previously. After the situation had drawn a lot of attention because of an article in "Express Pomorski" dated 23<sup>rd</sup> of April 1925, the statues and basreliefs were removed the same year<sup>32</sup>. Almost the exact same time, garrison church's interior was changed by removing symbols of the Teutonic Order's power over the city<sup>33</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> M. Bandrowicz, M. Przegiętka, *Niechciane dziedzictwo?*, p. 78.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> P. Birecki, *Ewangelickie kościoły garnizonowe w Prusach Zachodnich*, Rocznik Grudziądzki, vol. 25, 2017, p. 37-48.

Two impressive monuments honouring the soldiers who'd sacrificed themselves for the Second Polish Republic were created during following years. The first monument was designed by Kazimierz Ulatowski and is thought to have been located near Lubicka Gate (Brama Lubicka) next to between Zygmuntowska, Dobrzyńska and Lubicka Street. On the 17th of April 1929 Lieutenant-Colonel Kajetanowicz requested the necessary permission from the governor, and the project then needed to be consulted with P. Hoppe and approved by Ministerstwo Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego (the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Enlightenment). On the 18<sup>th</sup> of July, the governor informed the Building Committee about the necessity to photograph the model, provide a situation plan, a description of material, and a better explanation of the need to build the monument. The work started 2 years since the formalities were completed; the unveiling of the statue was planned to take place in November of 1931<sup>34</sup>. The second monument honoured the balloon troops. On the 5<sup>th</sup> of April in 1937 sketches were sent to Toruń's Magistrate by mayor balloon scout Konstanty Kamieński. This project was prepared by engineer Borys v. Zinselring and Michał Kamieński (both from Warsaw), and accepted by Ph. D. Witold Dalbor, the conservator of Pomerania and the Poznań Voivodeship. Engineer Ignacy Tłoczek did not only authorize the project but also the location and dimensional plans. Tłoczek cooperated with the Building Committee which was led by Mayor Gumiński, Secretary Lieutenant Drobiński and Financial Secretary Lieutenant Dalkowski. On the 8th of March in 1937 an on-site verification took place, in which the commander of the Balloon Battalion (Batalion Balonowy) Mayor Kamieński took part. Toruń was represented by engineer Ferdynand Roth and the aforementioned engineer Tłoczek. A couple of places were taken into consideration before choosing the right one for the verification: the triangle between Moniuszko, Chopin and Bydgoska streets, next to the entrance to the park next to Konopnicka Street or the place in which the monument of Bismarck used to stand (before it was demolished). Finally, the city

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> APT, Acts of the city of Toruń, Budowa pomnika poległym oficerom i szeregowym 63 p.p., sign. 2850, p. 1-7. Detailed projects made by Ulatowski here.

park's hill was chosen (which had to be lowered by 2,5 meters in order to obtain the right view from the river side) where an iron gazebo was created later. The military was supposed to do the work. On the 8<sup>th</sup> of May in the same year, the monument was unveiled<sup>35</sup>.

However, the Independence Monument, which was supposed to stand near Fredro (Koerner) Street, was not constructed. The Building Committee had already been created and supposedly had access to funds provided by Polish and American Transport and Industry Society "Palatine" (Polsko-Amerykańskie Towarzystwo Transportu i Przemysłu "Palatine"). Because the costs were too high, the project was cancelled and the foundations were buried<sup>36</sup>. Monuments were of major interest throughout the whole interwar period. A special monument was designed for the Shooting Range of local Shooting Brotherhood in Zieleniec (a district in Toruń) in order to honor a shot taken by the president of Republic of Poland Ignacy Mościcki at a historical plaque. The Pomeranian Regional Authority gave official permission on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of March 1939, and accepted the ready project<sup>37</sup>.

In 1920 a crucial change in the political and cultural affiliation of the town took place. Toruń became the capital of the Pomeranian Voivodeship; this meant not only building new architecture for social utility but also creating a new artistic and cultural Polish space. Polonization was exemplified by changing the street names from German to Polish, removing monuments and commemorative plaques associated with German authorities, changing the interiors of government buildings and cultural institutions, and, finally, museum exhibitions. The interwar period was characterized by drastic changes within the city. People felt the urge to remove any German traces and quickly finish the Polonization process by raising monuments which honoured the liberation and the most important figures who took part in this process. At the same time, various patriotic organizations aimed to convert

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> APT, Acts of the city of Toruń, Pomnik poległych żołnierzy wojsk balonowych, sign. 2851. Detailed projects done by engineer Borys v. Zinserling and Michał Kamieński.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> APT, Acts of the city of Toruń, Budowa obelisku Niepodległości, sign. 2845, p. nn.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 37}$  APT, Acts of the city of Toruń, Pomniki, sign. 2856, p. 7.

these monuments which could be modified without much effort or funding. Toruń's citizens took extremely good care of Toruń's symbolism. That is evident in the explosion of Polishness, the impressive decoration within the city in order to welcome the soldiers of the Blue Army and the further creation of a new iconosphere in the city.

Translation Jakub Birecki