



Florian Znaniecki in Poznań

Florian Znaniecki was the founding father of Polish institutional sociology. In 1920, he established the Department of Sociology and Philosophy of Culture at the Poznań University, one of the first in the world. From 1927, the Department offered the first independent sociological studies in Poland. This brochure is intended to recall the places where the Department's founder and first manager lived, worked and spent his free time.



Florian Znaniecki in Poznań

Authors: Jacek Kubera, Łukasz Skoczylas. **Publisher:** Florian Znaniecki Scientific Foundation. **Published in:** 2020. First edition. **Graphic design and photos of contemporary Poznań** (unless otherwise specified): Maria Ancukiewicz. **Cover photo** provided by the Library of the Poznań Society of Friends of Learning (PTPN).

The place of residence of the Znanieckis on ul. Niegolewskich as in Zbigniew Zakrzewski's book *Ulicami mojego Poznania. Przechadzki z lat 1918-1939* (Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1985); the remaining addresses come from Zygmunt Dulczewski's book included in the sources.

The Foundation thanks the Board of Land Surveying, Cartography and Municipal Cadastre GEOPOZ for their assistance in establishing the contemporary addresses of the buildings mentioned in the text.

Sources:
Dulczewski Z., *Florian Znaniecki: life and work*, Wydawnictwo Nakom, 1992.
Hatas E. (ed.), *Florian Znaniecki's sociological theory and the challenges of 21st century*, Peter Lang, 2000.
Kubera J., Not only *The Polish Peasant*. Znaniecki's Poznań School of Sociology as a sociological and a research issue, *Przegląd Socjologiczny*, 2019, no. 68(4).
Kubera J., Skoczylas Ł. (eds.), *Contemporary Migrations in the Humanistic Coefficient Perspective. Florian Znaniecki's Thought in Today's Social Science Research*, Peter Lang, 2017.
Kwilecki A., Ziolkowski J., *Socjologia w Poznaniu w latach 1920–1980*, in: A. Kwilecki (ed.), *60 lat socjologii poznańskiej*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 1981.
Przybylski A., *Abisynia. Osiedle na poznańskim Grunwaldzie*, Wydawnictwo Miejskie Poznania, 2017.
Skoczylas Ł., *Florian Znaniecki okres poznański.mp3* [Audio recording for Wikipedia under entry "Florian Znaniecki"].
Online access: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Florian_Znaniecki.okres_pozna%C5%84ski.mp3
Smulikowski K., *Droga po kamieniach. Wspomnienia*, Agencja Reklamowo-Wydawnicza A. Grzegorzczyk, 1994.
Szczepański J., *Dzienniki z lat 1935–1945*, edited by D. Kadłubiec, Galeria "Na Gorajach", 2009.
Znaniecki Lopata H., *A life record of an immigrant*, Society, 1975, no. 13.

Poznań: place and object of sociological studies

The establishment of the Department in 1920 and the associated Sociology Seminar ^{① ②} gave rise to the education of professional sociologists and contributed to the emergence of a circle of intellectuals. Poznań was home to a school of sociology which operated until 1939. It made a name for itself for its interpretation of sociology and the research methods employed in this discipline of science which were presented by F. Znaniecki in his works including *An Introduction to Sociology* published in Poznań in 1922 and *The Method of Sociology* published in 1934 in New York. Lewis A. Coser mentioned the Poznań school of sociology as one of three establishments of the kind in the world, together with the Chicago School, with which F. Znaniecki was affiliated as a lecturer and as co-author of *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, and a group of disciples of Émile Durkheim from Bordeaux.

F. Znaniecki taught classes to students of sociology and other fields of studies of the Faculty of Humanities (the former Faculty of Philosophy) and the Faculty of Law and Economics (previously the Faculty of Law and Economic and Political Studies) ^③. Over time, Znaniecki's teaching responsibilities were taken over by his students, who went on to receive academic degrees. Among them were Józef Chałasiński, Franciszek Mirek, Tadeusz Szczurkiewicz and Władysław Okiński. Ludwika Dobrzyńska, a philosopher formerly associated with the Jagiellonian University, also taught sociology. On top of the above mentioned scholars, the co-founders of the Poznań school included professors of the Poznań University: sociology-oriented lawyers (Czesław Znamierowski, Józef K. Gidyński), ethnographers (Jan Stanisław Bystron), historians (Kazimierz Tymieniecki) and psychologists (Stefan Blachowski) plus Eileen Markley, F. Znaniecki's wife, with a doctoral degree from the University of Chicago, who held lectures on history and American literature in Poznań. Another contributor to the school's development, especially in the 1930s, was Theodore Abel, a professor at Columbia University, one of F. Znaniecki's first students in Poznań period and his friend of many years.

The success of F. Znaniecki's circle lay in the integration of various centres of sociology operating in Poland. In 1925, they transformed the "Journal of Law and Economics" published at the Poznań University since 1921 into the "Journal of Law, Economics and Sociology". In 1930 they established "Przegląd Socjologiczny" (The Sociological Review), the first Polish journal centred exclusively on sociology ^{④ ⑤ ⑥}. The quarterly was an official journal of the Institute of Sociology founded in 1921 and transformed in 1928 into a national institution: the Polish Institute of Sociology, based in Poznań, with a subsidiary in Warsaw.

The diversity of the authors of articles published in the "Review", coupled with reviews of Polish, English, French and German books, are testimony to the accomplishment of the founders' goal: "We would like this journal to become an official magazine not only for the Institute but for all of Polish sociology, to reflect the opinions not of a local group, but of all the sociological views existing in Poland. To establish a centre of Polish sociology, to maintain contacts with the progress in sociology abroad, to propagate interest in sociology and consequently to foster Polish culture in general." ("From the editors", 1930, vol. 1, pp. 1–2). This postulate was also reflected in the monographs published by the Institute, cooperation with foreign universities and the first congress of Polish sociologists organised in Poznań, during which a decision was made to establish the Polish Sociological Association.

The team put together by F. Znaniecki and his followers stood out for their methodologically coherent research programme. When announcing, in 1921, a contest for "A worker's own life story", Poznań researchers applied the memoir method for the first time in the world; it was a variation of the biographic method, which involves collecting memories in the course of contests, with public institutions acting as patrons. Soon, contests for memoirs which provided insight into the experiences, and interpretations of various social categories became a trademark of the Poznań school and Polish sociology in general.

The numerous areas of the research carried out by F. Znaniecki and his associates include the location of their professional activity. The changes to the composition of the population of Poznań following the end of WWI were described and analysed by F. Znaniecki in his famous work *Studies on antagonism towards strangers* (1930) where he presented his own sociological definition of strangeness. In an interview for "Gazeta Poznańska i Pomorska" from 1928 (no. 216 of 8.12.1928, p. 3) he said that as a result of continued research in Poznań, the city had an opportunity to give its policy "solid and theoretical bases".



"The Polish Institute of Sociology in Poznań is the fifth establishment of its type in the world". An interview with F. Znaniecki for "Gazeta Poznańska i Pomorska" from 1928

A month earlier, the Polish Institute of Sociology organised a contest in which the locals were to provide answers to the title question "What does Poznań mean to you?". The survey was conducted in the course of preparations for organising the Polish General Exhibition in Poznań, in 1929, which encouraged local social activity ^⑦. Later on, the initiative was launched in many other cities in Poland; it was repeated in Poznań in 1964 and 1994 and, on a smaller scale, in 2001 and 2019. The results of the survey carried out in 1928 were presented by F. Znaniecki in his book *The City in the Consciousness of Its Citizens* (1931) and in a dissertation by Jerzy Piotrowski *Poznań commerce vs. the city's developmental tasks* (1934). Of course, these examples do not exhaust the list of issues related to the city of Poznań tackled in the works of F. Znaniecki and his associates.

Poznań flats and meeting places

The private lives of Florian and Eileen Znaniecki revolved around six locations in Poznań. The first two were in the district of Jeżyce. In March 1920, they stayed for a short time on ul. Poznańska 50 ^⑧ and in April rented six rooms nearby, on ul. Dąbrowskiego 23 ^⑨ where they lived for a few years. Initially they shared it with the Tatkiewicz family: Teresa, a translator and writer and Władysław, a philosopher and art historian. They resided in two rooms while they were looking for a flat of their own. As was the case in other locations, the apartment was frequented by the friends and acquaintances of the Polish-American couple. Eileen was perceived as straightforward, socially engaged and having a good command of Polish. Florian was a charming, "typical scholar", a wine connoisseur and an enthusiast of a game of bridge.

In 1924, the Znanieckis moved to a small manor with a horse stable in Lubowo near Gniezno, located 40 km away from the University. This decision stemmed from Florian's love of horse-riding, which was considered a rather unusual hobby. In order to get to the University, he would ride by horse from home to the train station in nearby Pierzyska and catch a train to Poznań ^⑩. When, in 1925, Florian and Eileen's daughter, Helena, was born, for some time the Znanieckis also rented a flat in central Poznań, on ul. Ratajczaka 20 (now Ratajczaka 19) ^⑪. They lived in Lubowo until 1927 when they decided to return to Poznań with its social and cultural life, which was much to Eileen's liking. Their city address was a compromise: a plot of land with a house and a stable in Szeląg, a district incorporated into the city limits only a few years before. The address was ul. Naramowicka 8 (now ul. Przelajowa, the exact address is hard to establish); it was closer to their friends, who could ride one of the three horses owned by the couple ^⑫. One of the riders was Juliusz, Florian's son from his previous marriage with Emilia Szwejowska. He was in the care of his mother's family before he moved to Poznań several years after his father, and made himself at home quite quickly. Juliusz was a recognised writer and poet, while Helena was a sociologist and a professor at numerous American universities.

The six years when Florian could regularly do his favourite sport ended in 1930. He moved with Eileen and Helena to the district of Łazarz, to a tenement house on ul. Niegolewskich 8 ^⑬. The flat was rented for as long as seven years, although initially the family did not spend much time there, on account of F. Znaniecki's visiting lectures at Columbia University (in the academic years of 1931–32 and 1932–33), organised by Theodore Abel. During that time, others made use of the facilities. In the academic year of 1931–32, the flat was occupied by the geologist Kazimierz Smulikowski, his wife and child, who was babysat by Helena's former nanny. In the absence of the Znanieckis, the flat was also made available to Jan Szczepański, F. Znaniecki's student and colleague, later on chairman of the International Sociological Association.

Upon their return from the United States, the Znaniecki family developed a rhythm of the day. After breakfast, from eight till noon, Florian and Eileen worked at home, while in the afternoon, between three and six or seven, they conducted classes at the University. With the exception of their academic responsibilities, they settled into this rhythm also during the holidays.

F. Znaniecki devoted the evenings to social meetings which contributed to forging close bonds with his colleagues. Various academic events posed opportunities to celebrate with other scholars. On the professor's tenth anniversary of work at the Poznań University (1929), officially celebrated at the Collegium Minus, a private party was held in the Znanieckis home on ul. Naramowicka. During the party, F. Znaniecki's students offered him a commemorative silver cigarette holder. Stanisław Kowalski, a student at that time, reminisced Juliusz Znaniecki pouring wine for the guest. Theodore Abel remembered raising a toast with the professor as a token of close friendship. Another memorable party took place in 1934 in the Znanieckis' flat on ul. Niegolewskich to celebrate W. Okiński's doctoral degree. The guests sent a letter to Wiesław Kryński who was out of town, signed by F. and E. Znaniecki, J. and E. Chałasiński, J. and J. Piotrowski, T. and B. Szczurkiewicz, J. and J. Gidyński, rev. W. Adamski, S. Rosenberg, H. Erzepki, K. Troczyński, J. Szczepański and W. Okiński. The letter read: "Dear Wiesiek! Gathered in the house of our Beloved Professors, the Znanieckis, to celebrate Władek Okiński's doctoral degree, we deeply regret that you cannot be with us. It is equally lamentable that we could not get drunk (*pro domo sua*) at your doctoral celebration. We are looking forward to the end of your holiday and we all send our love" (as presented by Z. Dulczewski).

After classes, F. Znaniecki's associates accompanied him to bars and restaurants. According to one account, the goal of these visits was the observation of human behaviour, made also in less sophisticated establishments. In the 1920s and 1930s, they were located in the district of Chwaliszewo, which back then was surrounded on all sides by the river Warta ^⑭.

In 1937, the Znanieckis moved to ul. Kasztelańska 19 in the district of Grunwald, to an estate called "Abyssinia" ^⑮. They rented the top floor of a villa which bordered with a plot on ul. Grunwaldzka 107, home of Aniela, Znaniecki's relative, and Bronisław Dietl. The memories from "Abyssinia" include Florian drinking black coffee before noon, Aniela and Eileen talking about books and politics, games of bridge with Bronisław and reminiscing holidays spent in the mountains. Helena and the Dietls' children could play, moving from one garden to the other through a specially arranged hole in the fence. The Znanieckis were visited by C. Znamierowski, T. Szczurkiewicz and K. Tymieniecki who lived nearby. Florian, a fan of Westerns and crime fiction, must have discussed with them things other than "serious" reading. The family archive contains a recipe for a plum tincture; perhaps the fruits grew on the tree in the Dietls' garden?

The subsequent history of the Znanieckis

When WWII broke out, F. Znaniecki was on a ship, on his way back from a summer session at Columbia University. He did not return to Poland and this probably saved his life (he was on the Nazi "black list"). Eileen and Helena joined him in the US in 1940; they managed to leave the Główna internment camp, set up by the Germans, in dramatic circumstances ^⑯. This was only possible because they claimed obstinately, and contrary to the facts, that they were citizens of the United States, which at that time was not involved in the war.

In the following years, F. Znaniecki was affiliated mainly with the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. His students from his Poznań period, employed in various institutions in Poland and abroad, maintained contacts with him and his subsequent colleagues. In Poznań, sociologists educated by Florian Znaniecki continued working at today's Adam Mickiewicz University, the University of Economics and the Institute for Western Affairs.

Jacek Kubera, Łukasz Skoczylas

1. ul. Wieniawskiego 1, Collegium Minus

Seat of the Sociological Seminar from 1920 to 1933



Members of F. Znaniecki's seminar group in the academic year 1926–27
© PTPN Library

2. ul. Święty Marcin 80/82, the Imperial Castle

Seat of the Sociological Seminar from 1933 to 1939 and the first office of the editors of "Przegląd Socjologiczny" (The Sociological Review)



3. ul. Święty Marcin 90, Collegium Iuridicum

Location where students of the Department of Law and Economics of the Poznań University attended classes



4. Pl. Wolności 7

Ignacy Zamecznik Bookshop, location of the composition of volume I of "The Sociological Review"



5. Pl. Wolności 1

Saint Adalbert Bookshop, location of the composition of "The Sociological Review" from volume II until at least 1935



6. ul. Mielżyńskiego 23 (then no. 24)

Seat of the Agricultural Print House and the Publisher's Bookshop which launched the first issue of "The Sociological Review"



10. Poznań Główny



The main train station in Poznań (archival photo)
© National Digital Archives

12. ul. Przełajowa

The house and horse stable purchased by the Znanieckis was located on a part of ul. Naramowicka, which in 1985 was renamed ul. Przełajowa



From left: Juliusz, Eileen and Florian Znaniecki in Szeląg, a district of Poznań, in 1927
© PTPN Library



15. ul. Kasztelańska 19



A view of the building from the garden (archival photo)
© Teresa Forssen's collection



A room looking out onto a balcony. Now the building hosts the "Zuch" Kindergarten no. 83 – the picture shows children's drawings made for placing onto a memorial plaque dedicated to F. Znaniecki in 2019
© J. Kubera

7. The Poznań International Fair

The major location of the Polish General Exhibition



11. ul. Ratajczaka 19 (then no. 20)



13. ul. Niegolewskich 8

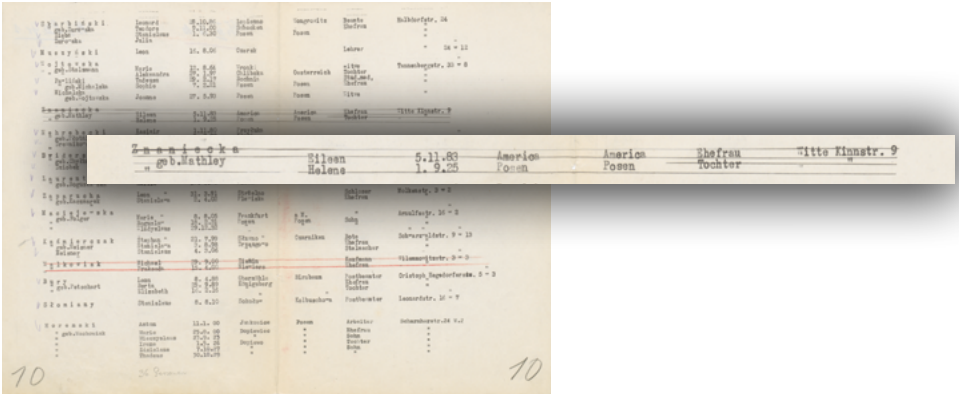


14. Chwaliszewo



Chwaliszewo in 1930 r.
© Roman Stefan Ulatowski (Municipal Commissioner for Historical Monuments in Poznań, www.cyryl.poznan.pl)

16. Główna



A fragment of a list of prisoners of the internment camp in Główna, a district of Poznań, on which Eileen and Helena Znaniecki were crossed out
© WWII Archive of the Institute for Western Affairs, Doc. I-699, transport lists from the internment camp in Główna, Poznań



The Exhibition's Administration Facilities, with the Belweder restaurant, further behind the Heavy Industry Hall (1929)
© Roman Stefan Ulatowski (Municipal Commissioner for Historical Monuments in Poznań, www.cyryl.poznan.pl)

8. ul. Poznańska 50



9. ul. Dąbrowskiego 23

