The contributions of Idzi Radziszewski, Gommar Michiels and Stefan Wyszyński to research in Dutch Studies at the Catholic University of Lublin in the light of the university’s contacts with the Low Countries (1918–1939)

Abstract

In 1918 a Catholic university (KUL) was founded in the Polish city of Lublin. Idzi Radziszewski (1871–1922), a graduate of the Catholic University of Leuven (KU Leuven), became the first rector of KUL. The connection with KU Leuven is an important part of the founding narrative of this Polish university. But what about Dutch studies – were they pursued before 1977 (the official beginning of Dutch studies at KUL)? The aim of this article is twofold. First, it examines the extent of the Polish-Dutch and Polish-Flemish academic exchanges between 1918 and 1939, focusing on Polish graduates of Belgian universities working at KUL, KUL scholars visiting Belgium and the Netherlands and Flemish and Dutch scholars employed at KUL. Subsequently, the relationship of the earliest products of the scholarly activities of the leading members of the academic community at KUL with Dutch studies will be assessed: Idzi Radziszewski’s Wszechnica katolicka w Lowanium [The Catholic University in Leuven, 1908], “Ruch flamandzki” [“The Flemish Movement”, 1923] by Gommar Michiels OFMCap and future cardinal and primate of Poland Stefan Wyszyński’s Główne typy akcji katolickiej za granicą [The Main Types of Catholic Action Abroad, 1931]. Of these, Michiels’ article is the most significant monographic contribution to the field of Dutch studies. However, the other two are important works in which the objects of Dutch studies are presented in an interdisciplinary context.

Keywords: John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, academic exchange, Poland, Belgium, the Netherlands, Dutch Studies, Idzi Radziszewski, Gommar Michiels, Stefan Wyszyński.
1. Introduction

The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin (hereafter: KUL) is the oldest continuously existing academic institution in the city of Lublin in south-eastern Poland. Its founding in 1918 was the result of the far-sighted vision of Idzi Radziszewski (1871–1922), Roman Catholic priest and scholar specializing in the philosophical aspects of natural science.

Born in Bartoszewice, a village in central Poland, Radziszewski attended the Major Seminary in Włocławek and then studied theology at the Imperial Roman Catholic Theological Academy in St Petersburg, Russia (the only higher academic institution open to priest-students from the Russian Partition of Poland). It was there that Radziszewski, ordained in 1896, completed his studies in theology. Unable to obtain permission from the tsarist authorities to continue his studies in Belgium, he travelled to Krakow in the Austrian Partition of Poland, but instead of staying there he continued to Leuven in Belgium, where he enrolled at the Catholic University (hereafter: KU Leuven) under an assumed name (Wodzianowska 23–24; Dębiński & Pyter 11–34). The intellectual climate of the Higher Institute of Philosophy (Institut Supérieur de Philosophie) at KU Leuven, founded by the future Cardinal and Primate of Belgium, Désiré Felicien François Joseph Mercier (1851–1926), left an indelible mark on the intellectual formation of the young Polish priest who studied there between 1898 and 1900. It was in Leuven that Radziszewski first developed his vision of a similar university in Poland that would offer a synthesis of Catholic faith and rational scientific inquiry (Dębiński & Pyter 35–42; Ryba 28–37; Wodzianowska 24–27). Tangible proof of his fascination with KU Leuven was a booklet, Wszechnica katolicka w Lowanium [The Catholic University in Leuven, 1908], which will be discussed in detail below.

On his return to Poland, Radziszewski taught in Włocławek, but in 1914 he returned to St Petersburg (soon to be renamed Petrograd) to become rector of the Catholic Theological Academy. Within the Polish diaspora, Radziszewski’s nascent plans for a Catholic university found support from wealthy Polish industrialists Karol Jaroszyński (1878–1929) and Franciszek Skąpski (1881–1961), who made generous donations. In February 1918 a Committee for the Organisation of a Catholic University was set up. A rapid succession of political events, culminating in the October Revolution and the subsequent civil unrest in Russia, combined with the anti-religious policies of the Bolsheviks, made the continued existence of the St Petersburg Catholic Theological Academy impossible, and it was dissolved in April 1918 (Wodzianowska 27–33; Dębiński & Pyter 47–76). At about the same time, Radziszewski (or someone in his circle) proposed Lublin as the location for the new university (Wodzianowska 32). The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk between the Central Powers and Russia, signed on 3 March 1918, allowed the evacuation of academic staff from revolutionary Russia to Poland, which was still occupied by
the Central Powers but enjoyed some autonomy as the Regency of Poland. On 26–27 July 1918, in Warsaw, Radziszewski proposed to the Polish episcopate the idea of founding a Catholic University. The proposal was reluctantly accepted, and on 6 September 1918 the Regency Kingdom gave its official approval (Wodzianowska 34). In October and the first weeks of November 1918, Lublin was at the centre of events that in retrospect marked the rebirth of Polish statehood: the formation of the short-lived socialist Provisional People’s Government of the Republic of Poland by Ignacy Daszyński (1866–1936). On 8 December 1918, the University of Lublin (as it was officially known until 1928) opened its doors, with a delay caused by the turbulent situation (for example, not all the professors were able to return from Russia in time). Classes began the following day.

After 1918, the model of academic studies created by Mercier, which combined intellectual rigour, universalism and a strong commitment to the Catholic faith, was actively implemented at KUL by Radziszewski and his successors, especially the last pre-war rector, Antoni Szymański (1881–1942), also a KU Leuven graduate. Relations between Lublin and the Low Countries were maintained during the Second Polish Republic. Interrupted by the Second World War (1939–1945), they resumed only well after the end of the Stalinist period in 1957. The importance of KU Leuven in the iter academicum of Idzi Radziszewski aptly illustrates the close relationship of the first generation of KUL scholars with an important academic institution in the Low Countries.

The KUL’s pre-war contacts with KU Leuven have been described in recent publications (especially Bujak, Dębiński & Pyter, Ryba) and earlier ones (Karolewicz, “Lowańczycy”; Karolewicz, Nauczyciele; Kłoczowski). Post-war contacts are also well documented in their broad outlines (Mirek, Walewander, Walkusz). An academic exchange intensified after the Second World War, when KUL was the only Catholic university behind the Iron Curtain. In 1957, the Primate of Poland and KUL alumnus Stefan Wyszyński (1901–1981) met in Rome to discuss academic cooperation with the rector of KU Leuven, Honoré van Waeyenbergh (1891–1971). This cooperation took on a more permanent character after the signing of an agreement in 1971 between KU Leuven and Université Catholique de Louvain, which had split up three years earlier, and KUL (Kłoczowski 130-131). This agreement had a major impact not only on academic exchange, which increased profoundly (Walewander), but also on interest in the Dutch language and the culture of Dutch-speaking countries. In 1977, a Dutch lectureship was established at KUL, followed by the establishment of the Centre for Netherlandic Culture (Ośrodek Kultury Niderlandzkiej). Its first director was Eugeniusz Wiśniowski (1929–2008), Professor of Medieval Church History, who was succeeded by Michał Kaczmarski (1934–2003), Professor of Classics (Engelbrecht, “Klein” 67; Flaga 72). KUL’s relations with academic institutions in Belgium and the Netherlands followed the upward trend of Poland’s relations
with these countries after the transition to market democracy (1989–1990). Poland’s accession to the European Union (2005) gave a further boost to interest in the Dutch language and culture. In 2007, Andrzej Budzisz, Professor of Classics and Vice-Rector of KUL, oversaw the transformation of the Centre for Dutch Culture into a new unit, the Department of Dutch Language and Literature in cooperation with scholars from KU Leuven (Koen Jaspaert, 1956–2017) and Radboud University (Maarten Klein, 1947–) (Flaga 78-79). The following year, KUL began offering Dutch philology at undergraduate level and, since 2013, at graduate level, opening a new chapter in its relationship with the Dutch-speaking world that continues to this day.

Admittedly, Jerzy Kłoczowski’s provocative statement that “the question of the relations that have bound the KUL to the old, venerable University of Leuven from the very beginning, since 1918 (…) is an open question that no one has yet seriously addressed” (117) is no longer entirely true thanks to recent research, but some gaps remain. These open questions relate not only to the two universities, but also more generally to the intellectual relations between KUL and the Low Countries – the Netherlands and Belgium, the “Benelux-countries” – and to the interest of KUL scholars in Dutch Studies: the study of the Dutch language, and the literature and culture of the Low Countries.

In the Dutch-speaking world, which comprises the Netherlands, the Dutch linguistic area of Belgium, and Suriname, the term neerlandistiek is used to describe the academic study of Dutch literature, Dutch linguistics and Dutch language acquisition (“Neerlandistiek”). In English, the term Dutch Studies (or Netherlandic Studies/Low Countries Studies, all of which are understood as synonyms) has been used for about a century not only as an equivalent of neerlandistiek, but also to include the study of the culture of the Low Countries in the broadest sense, that is to say the Netherlands and Belgium together with the non-Dutch-speaking areas of the Benelux countries. This usage is reflected in the activities of scholarly organisations, such as the American Association for Netherlandic Studies, or in the contents of academic curricula in the English-speaking world (“Dutch Studies”). Dutch Studies in this wider sense also refers to the historical development of an international academic enquiry into the language, literature and culture of Dutch-speaking countries, including in a Central and Eastern European context. The authors of a recent issue of the Czech and Slovak Journal of Humanities. Linguistica, dedicated to the history of Dutch Studies in the Czech Republic and Slovakia (Bossaert; Engelbrecht, “František Kalda”; Křižová & Knap-Dlouhá) are consistent in applying this term to developments in their countries since 1918. According to Bossaert “Dutch Studies” should be understood as the equivalent of “Low Countries Studies”; such a position emphasises the cultural aspects and implies a broad geographical scope of this term (7). By analogy, we will use the term Dutch Studies to address the question of the existence of research in this field at KUL between 1918 and 1939.
The history of Dutch Studies in Central and Eastern Europe is the natural background against which to formulate the *status quaestionis*. In his important synthesis of the histories of Dutch Studies in Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, Engelbrecht (2009) begins an account of the history of Dutch Studies at *KUL* from 1977 (Engelbrecht “Klein” 67; “O kierunku”). This is true, of course, in an institutional sense. However, important pieces of information related to the activities of members of the Lublin university’s academic community during the interwar period suggest that in order to arrive at a full picture of the history of Dutch Studies at *KUL* between 1918 and 1939 we still need to address the following two questions: What was the extent of the academic exchange between the Low Countries and Lublin during that period? Did any *KUL* scholars perform any academic research on the Dutch language, literature or culture of Dutch-speaking countries? While much relevant information is scattered throughout research on the history of *KUL*, other sources, analysed here, have not yet attracted the attention they deserve from a Low Countries perspective. The research presented here is therefore intended to fill a gap in what can be regarded as a ‘prehistory’ of Dutch Studies in Lublin before 1977.

First, in 2. an overview of Dutch-Flemish-Polish academic exchanges in the interwar period will allow us to determine the ways in which Polish scholars (2.1.) and their Dutch and Flemish counterparts (2.2.) participated in academic exchanges between the Low Countries and *KUL*. Then, in 3. we will proceed to investigate in detail in what respects the following three texts by *KUL* scholars are relevant to the ‘prehistory’ of Dutch Studies in Lublin:

3.1. Idzi Radziszewski, *Wszechnica katolicka w Lowanium (Louvain)* [The Catholic University in Leuven (Louvain), Warsaw 1908];

3.2. Gommar Michiels, “Ruch flamandzki” [“The Flemish Movement”], an article published in the journal *Przegląd współczesny* [Contemporary Review; 1923];

3.3. Stefan Wyszyński, *Główne typy Akcji Katolickiej za granicą* [The Main Types of the Catholic Action Abroad; Lublin 1931].

These three texts were chosen because of their subject matter: all of them concern the Low Countries in one way or another: Belgium alone (Radziszewski; Michiels), or Belgium and the Netherlands (Wyszyński). All three authors were important figures in the *KUL* academic community of the interwar period; one of them came from the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium (Michiels), and the others had spent some time there (Radziszewski, Wyszyński) and in the Netherlands (Wyszyński). A critical reading will allow us to determine which aspects of the wider field of Dutch Studies were most relevant to the scholars employed at the *KUL* during the interwar period, and whose research is the most comprehensive example of an interest in Dutch Studies in Lublin before 1939.
2. Academic Exchanges between KUL and the Low Countries during the Second Polish Republic

2.1. Polish Scholars from KUL in the Low Countries

The interwar university in Lublin was fairly small, although the number of faculty staff increased from 50 in the early 1920s to nearly 70 by 1938 (Wodzianowska 48; Derewenda 165). It was also relatively new. Yet in spite of this (or perhaps because of its novelty) it was not entirely unknown in the Low Countries, though its existence was not well publicized. Its public impact in Belgium, for example, can be illustrated by the fact that between 1918 and 1939 it was mentioned 13 times in articles in a major Catholic newspaper, De Standaard (based on a query in BelgicaPress using the search terms “Lublin AND universiteit”; the results were manually verified) (Annex. Part 1). An similar query for the Dutch nationwide Catholic daily De Tijd: godsdienstig-staatkundig dagblad, performed using the Delpher database and identical search terms, revealed 26 articles about KUL during the same period (Annex. Part 2). One may add that the non-Catholic press also followed the events concerning the new university in Lublin, for instance in 1918 (Polkowski).

Although these articles often quite simply only mentioned the name of the university, they revealed an interest in what was going on in Lublin. Dutch-language readers learned, for instance, that moral theologian rev. Władysław Korniłowicz (1884–1946) was an attendee of the International Liturgical Congress in Antwerp (1930) or that sociologist Ludwik Górski met with members of the International Union for the Study of Social Questions in Mechelen (“Internationaal liturgisch congres”, “Internationale unie”). A letter with congratulations by Jacek Woroniecki OP (1878–1949, rector of KUL 1922–1924) to the academic staff in Nijmegen on the inauguration of the Catholic university there was reprinted in De Tijd (26 June 1923). The abovementioned research is fragmentary, of course, because it does not include the French-language press in Belgium. It is perhaps due to this factor that the Dutch interest in KUL seems to have been greater than the Belgian one. However, even such a selection of material demonstrates that the public in the Netherlands and Belgium could learn about the new Polish university and the activities of its scholars in their countries.

An important aspect of the academic exchange between KUL and the Low Countries were the travels of Polish scholars and students to universities and institutions (peregrinatio academica). Karolewicz writes that eight academics employed at KUL during the interwar period had studied in Belgium and one in the Netherlands (Nauczyciele I 119). The first group was dominated by Leuven graduates: apart from Radziszewski, these were the priests Antoni Szymański (1881–1942, rector of KUL 1933–1939), Stanisław Domińczak and Aleksander
Wójcicki (Karolewicz, Nauczyciele I 168). According to Karolewicz, they played an important role in the intellectual development of Lublin’s academic community (“Lowańczycy” 217–229). Two Polish lay scholars, Jan Stanisław Lewiński (1885–1930) and Jerzy Głębokci (1913–1998), had studied elsewhere in Belgium: Lewiński at the Higher Institute of Commerce in Antwerp, and the Free University of Brussels, Głębokci at Ghent University. Their specialism was political economy and international law (Karolewicz, Nauczyciele I 170; II 127–128; II 72). Lewiński had graduated in Brussels with a thesis on the economic history of Belgium: *L’evolution industrielle de la Belgique [The Industrial Evolution of Belgium, 1911]* (Lityńska 130).

The concept of *peregrinatio academica* allows us to include in the group of scholars who participated in a Dutch-Polish or Flemish-Polish cultural transfer those who travelled to Belgium or the Netherlands for brief periods of study or research. Among them was Stefan Wyszyński (1901–1981). The future Primate of Poland studied canon law at KUL (1925–1929) (Czaczkowska 41–42). After successfully obtaining his doctoral degree, Wyszyński received a grant from KUL to travel abroad in order to gather material for his sociological research on the Catholic Action. During this journey, which lasted from September 1929 to June 1930, he visited Austria, Italy, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Germany (Czaczkowska 50–51; Nitecki 107–108; Wargacki 335–348, esp. 341–343). Wyszyński collected the results of his research in a published volume, *Główne typy Akcji Katolickiej za granicą [The Main Types of the Catholic Action Abroad; Lublin 1931]*, which we will have a closer look at below.

2.2. Scholars from the Low Countries at KUL

During the interwar years, the academic staff of KUL included a small, but prominent group of 13 non-Polish academics. Among them were two Belgians (both Flemings) and one Dutchman (Karolewicz, Nauczyciele I, 64). All three were members of the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin, and were employed at the Faculty of Theology. Their presence was a vivid reminder of the cultural transfer between the Netherlands and the young University, which in its early years had to rely on outside help to provide a full curriculum for its students. All three professors from the Netherlands held important administrative positions at the KUL, so their presence certainly enhanced the prestige of the Low Countries in the Lublin academic community. All three were respected lecturers, though only Michiels carried out significant research (Karolewicz, Nauczyciele II 141–142; Prejs, “Fermont”).

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2.2.1. Gondulphus Fermont

The only Dutchman in Lublin was assistant professor of biblical studies Gondulphus Fermont OFMCap (1888–1963). Fermont was born in Terneuzen in the province of Zeeland, his baptismal name was Eduard. After studying at ‘s-Hertogenbosch and in Rome, he returned to the former to teach biblical exegesis at the seminary there. Moving to Poland, he lectured in Lublin for six years, from 1920 to 1926 (Fermont, personal file, University Archive, A-12; Karolewicz, Nauczyciele II 61–62; Prejs, “Fermont”; Wodzianowska 49). During this time he published a number of articles in the Dutch Catholic press. The bibliography provided by Karolewicz (Nauczyciele II 62) may be enlarged, though, to include an article Fermont wrote for De Tijd about the persecution of the Greek Orthodox, Russian Orthodox and Catholic faithful in Soviet Russia (Fermont).

2.2.2. Hubert Hoemaker

Hubert Hoemaker OFMCap (1889–1946) was born in Dudzele in the Belgian province of West Flanders; his baptismal name was Jozef. He came to Lublin in 1927 to replace Fermont, who had gone to Rome. Hoemaker remained at KUL until 1939 as professor of biblical exegesis, Greek and (initially) biblical geography. From 1933 to 1934 he was acting Vice-Dean of the Theological Faculty, when he was elected Dean (1934–1937); after completing his term of office he remained Vice-Dean. Shortly before the outbreak of the war, he spent his summer holidays in Belgium, and did not return to Lublin. At the end of the war he tried to visit Poland, but the communist authorities effectively discouraged him from coming to Lublin (Hoemaker, personal file, University Archive, A-66; Karolewicz, Nauczyciele II 83–84; Prejs, “Hoemaker”).

2.2.3. Gommar Michiels

The other Belgian, Gommar (Gummarus) Michiels OFMCap (1890–1965), was born in Booischot; his baptismal name was Jozef. He was ordained as priest in 1914, on the eve of World War I. After completing his studies in Belgium and Rome, he served with the Belgian army from 1918 till 1919. Sent to Poland after obtaining his doctorate in Rome, he was employed as professor at the Faculty of Canon Law of KUL from 1920 till 1935, where he was dean from 1924 to 1928, and 1931–1935. Michiels learned to speak and write Polish fluently (his official correspondence with the rectors of KUL, preserved in his personal file in the KUL Archive, is initially in French, but from the late 1920s consistently in elaborate, formal Polish). His lectures were popular with students (Derewenda 168). It was typical in those years for professors in theology to lecture in Latin. Michiels, Hoemaker and Fermont were no exception.
Writing from Louvain to a Polish professor in Lublin, Michiels admitted that “malgré mon attachement a la Belgique, je commence à ressentir un peu de ‘nostalgie’ vers la Pologne” [despite my attachment to Belgium I’m beginning to feel somewhat ‘nostalgic’ for Poland] (Michiels, personal file, University Archive, A-39, letter to an unspecified addressee, 15 November 1922). Indeed, Michiels enjoyed Polish culture, which he imbibed by travelling around the country, especially to Zakopane, his favourite destination, and by visiting Polish families, regardless of their social status, which ranged from the peasantry to the upper class. (Myrcha 431).

Michiels’ years at the KUL were academically productive. During this time he wrote several treatises on canon law. He was Dean of the Faculty of Canon Law from 1924 to 1928 and from 1931 to 1935, when illness forced him to return to the Capuchin monastery in Louvain. Shortly afterwards he was granted a honorary professorship by the Faculty of Canon Law in recognition of his academic achievements and service to the university. Michiels did not return to Lublin, but after a long convalescence he went first to Rome, where he taught at the Lateran Academy, and then, just before the Second World War, to Quebec. He spent the war years in Belgium. Although he did not return to Lublin after the war, he remained in contact with the Lublin academic community, receiving honorary doctorates from KUL in 1957 and KU Leuven in 1960 (Karolewicz, Nauczyciele I 67, II 141–142; Korytkowski; Krukowski; Myrcha 429–444, Derewenda 167–168). As one of his early writings was on a subject of interest to Dutch Studies, I will return to this part of his activities below.

3. Research by Members of KUL’s Academic Community (1918–1939) as Contributions to Dutch Studies

3.1. Idzi Radziszewski’s Wszechnica katolicka w Lowanium (Louvain) [The Catholic University in Leuven (Louvain), 1908]

Did Idzi Radziszewski’s studies in Leuven stimulate him to explore problems relevant to Dutch Studies? The answer to this question can be found in his book Wszechnica katolicka w Lowanium (Louvain) [The Catholic University in Leuven (Louvain), 1908]. While it is regarded by scholars as a milestone in the development of his views on the character of a Catholic university (Dębiński & Pyter 35–42, Ryba 28–37), among the many facts relating to his interest in natural science we find some information which indicates that Radziszewski was aware of the significance of the Dutch language, literature and culture of the Low Countries, and that he saw these as valid objects of academic enquiry.

Among these items of information on Flanders and the Flemish Radziszewski mentioned the fact that KU Leuven was home to “Flamandzkie historyczno-
-folklorystyczne towarzystwo: Genootschap gesticht in 1883 ter beoeefening der aloude vaderlandsche, christelijke beschaving” [“A Flemish historical-folkloristic society: the society established in 1883 for the cultivation of the old, patriotic, Christian civilization”] (15). The Pole correctly quoted its name in Dutch. Actually a cultural-historical seminar (a fact also mentioned by Radziszewski), it had been founded by Paul Alberdingk Thijm (1827–1904) and existed until his death (Dedeurwaerder 56). Alberdingk Thijm, a Dutchman, was an expert in ecclesiastical history, Dutch and German philology, a charismatic lecturer, prolific writer and organiser of Flemish cultural and literary life. We find his name on Radziszewski’s list of renowned Leuven professors (15). In 1908 the Genootschap no longer existed. Possibly, Radziszewski obtained this information at Leuven ten years earlier, and could no longer bring it up to date when publishing his book. The Polish priest also knew of the existence of Dietsche Warande en Belfort, a Flemish cultural and literary journal (22). He noted that Flemish students had their own debating societies, whose abbreviated names he quoted in Dutch: “Rechtsgenootschap” (in fact Vlaams Rechtsgenootschap, the Flemish Law Society) and “Sprekersbond” (in full: Sociale Studiekring en Sprekersbond der Leuvensche studenten, the Social Study Circle and Speakers’ Union of Leuven Students) (Gevers, Studenten). Both institutions were significant for the Flemish Movement, of which Radziszewski was aware (17).

The fact that Radziszewski noticed Flemish institutions in Leuven is significant in itself. Linguistic relations in Belgian secondary and higher education were the subject of heated debate at the turn of the century. The Belgian Education Act of 1883 allowed students in secondary education in Flanders to study their mother tongue with Dutch as the language of instruction (previously it had been French) (Dedeurwaarder, Professor Speelers 119). Leuven followed these developments. From 1889 some of the university’s official documents were published in bilingual form for the first time, and from 1894 Germanic philology was taught in Dutch; some law courses were offered in Dutch as well (Lamberts, Universiteit 184). The early 1900s saw further gradual changes in favour of Dutch in secondary and higher education. For example, there were proposals to make admission to a university conditional on the candidate having completed a school course in Dutch (Dedeurwaarder, Professor Speelers 119–135). From 1897 onwards even more radical plans for a Dutch-language university in Flanders were developed by a commission headed by Julius Mac Leod (1857-1919). These visions, which would eventually lead to the ‘flamandisation’ of the University of Ghent (1930), crystallised in the first decade of the 20th century (Dedeurwaarder, Professor Speelers 136–186) (see also 3.2. for the role of Gommar Michiels in this debate). In the early 1900s KU Leuven responded to these developments by offering an increasingly wide range of Dutch-language classes (Lamberts, Universiteit 195). Radziszewski probably saw the activities
of the Flemish as evidence of the freedom Leuven offered its students, and as a sign of peaceful coexistence between the two linguistic groups. Even the Polish students at KU Leuven had their own society, Polonia Lovaniensis (Karolewicz, Nauczyciele I 169) where, unlike in the Russian Empire, Polish patriotic-religious ideas could be freely cultivated.

Radziszewski’s Wszechnica... shows that for him Dutch Studies were an academic discipline with solid foundations. He was aware of the language conflict in Belgium and the activities of the Flemish Movement. After a two-year stay, he could have become familiar with the Dutch language on a communicative level. This respect for the Dutch language and Flemish culture were the values he brought to Lublin in 1918.

3.2. Gommar Michiels’ “Ruch flamandzki” [“The Flemish Movement”] and his activities as a public speaker in Poland

The National Library of Poland in Warsaw has in its collections a poster (fig. 1.) announcing lectures by Gommar Michiels (Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw, DŻS IK 2f):2 “La Belgique, champs d’expérience de l’organisation sociale” [Belgium as a proving ground for social organisation] and “Ruchy narodowościowe we współczesnej Belgii” [National movements in contemporary Belgium]. Michiels gave these lectures in the town of Radom, a town about 115 km west of Lublin, for the Association of Christian Workers, a cultural and educational organisation founded in 1906 by Rev. Marceli Godlewski (1865–1945).3 We do not know in which year this event took place, but we only know the days: the 22nd and 23rd of March. The event was conceived as a fundraiser for cultural and educational activities for workers. However, the fact that one of the lectures was in French, and the rather high price of the tickets, ranging from 2 złoty to 30 groszy, suggests that the audience was made up of the intelligentsia and wealthy patrons of the association, not necessarily members of the working class.4 Two possible reasons why Michiels cooperated with the Association of Christian Workers are

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3 Rev. Marceli Godlewski was a paradoxical figure. In spite of his pre-war anti-Semitic views he saved the lives of many Jews as parson of Warsaw’s All Saints’ parish, which during World War Two found itself within the borders of the Jewish Ghetto. He is a Righteous Among the Nations. Soon after founding the Association, Godlewski visited Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands to study the organisation of Christian workers’ unions (Madaj & Żuławnik 17).

4 By comparison, the average annual wage in agriculture was only 932 złoty in 1924/1925; just before the Great Depression it had grown to 1853 złoty only to fall sharply in the 1930s (Landau & Tomaszewski 82, 107).
Godlewski’s affinity with Belgium, and a shared interest in Catholic labour organisations on the part of a group of Polish Catholic intellectuals during the interwar period, who saw the Low Countries as a model in this respect (see 3.3. below).

Fig. 1. A poster (ca. 1930) advertising the public lectures of Gommar Michiels OFMCap. in Radom. National Library of Poland, Warsaw, shelfmark DŻS IK 2f. Digitised by Polona. Public domain
Even more compelling evidence that while at KUL Michiels was active in the area of Dutch Studies, comes from his article “Ruch flamandzki w Belgii” [“The Flemish Movement in Belgium”], dated 3 June 1923, which appeared in 1923 in the Krakow magazine Przegląd współczesny [Contemporary Review] (Michiels). Przegląd współczesny was a monthly journal with a modern, open formula dedicated to international relations, edited by Stanisław Wędkiewicz (1888–1963). During the interbellum period it attracted a group of talented Polish and foreign writers and intellectuals (Bujwid-Kurek). In April 1932, Przegląd współczesny issued a volume (no. 120) dedicated exclusively to Belgium, with an introduction by king Albert I (1875–1934). Altogether as many as 25 Belgians contributed articles to this magazine before 1939, including such important figures of public life as Belgian historian of Polish literature Claude Backvis (1910–1998), liberal politician, lawyer and diplomat Paul Hymans (1865–1941), politician and diplomat Georges Kaeckenbeeck (1892–1973), historian Jacques Pirenne (1891–1972), socialist politician Émile Vandervelde (1866–1938), writer, critic and politician August Vermeylen (1872–1945), and Paul van Zeeland (1893–1973), statesman and prime minister of Belgium (1935–1937) (Przegląd współczesny no. 200 (January–March 1939) 157–158). Astonishingly, however, no work by Dutch authors ever appeared in this journal.

Michiels explored two significant areas of Dutch Studies: the Flemish struggle for cultural autonomy, and the complicated relationship of the Dutch language, Belgian politics and Flemish culture (including literature). In the paragraph “Stosunki językowe w Belgii” [“Linguistic relations in Belgium”], he delved into a problem that still remains significant to Dutch sociolinguistics: the language border in Belgium (54). Another important question for him was that of terminology. In what can be regarded as a pioneering statement on this subject in Poland, Michiels argued that what was then popularly regarded by the Polish as two languages, “flamandzki” [“Flemish”] and “holenderski” [“Hollandic”], was in fact a single language, Dutch, for which he used the Polish term “niderlandzki”. Michiels then pointed out that the Dutch language, at an early stage of its historical development (which he called “Dietsch”), already had a significant corpus of written literature (55–56).²

In the next section, “Prawa językowe w Belgii” [“Language rights in Belgium”], Michiels analysed the legal provisions governing the use of Dutch in Belgian public life. He brought a historical perspective to this question by providing the reader with a factual account of the main stages of the Belgian language conflict from 1830 to the beginning of the 20th century (56–64). Michiels saw the Flemish Movement as a spontaneous and democratic impulse in Flemish society (Michiels 64–80):

² Between the two World Wars Dietsch was the standard term used in the Netherlands and Flanders to denote Middle Dutch (Middelnederlands), the historical variant of the Dutch language spoken between ca. 1150 and ca. 1550.
It is often said that this movement was started by writers such as Conscience, de Laet, van Rijswijck and their many followers. This is, however, a misconception. These talented individuals undoubtedly contributed to awakening national Flemish feelings in the soul of the people, but they were certainly not the founders of this movement. In fact, the Flemish Movement was not “founded” at all, but arose spontaneously [emphasis by Michiels], and the same natural force that caused its birth has animated it and continues to animate it to this day. This movement is not a doctrine that could be debated, but a fact, and this is the basis of this fact: there are many national groups in the world, each with its own nature and characteristic set of advantages and disadvantages. In order to express its thoughts and in a certain way to externalise its moral character, each nation has its own language, the spirit of which is nothing other than the spirit of the nation reflected in its daily speech. Like any other nation, the Flemish people belong to such a national group, with its own character, its own nature and its own language, which it speaks and which is a faithful reflection of the Flemish soul. (...) Unfortunately, foreign influences came and with them a foreign language. This language, which brought with it the spirit of a completely alien race, managed to partially infiltrate the Flemish soul, and even to obliterate some of its beauty and character. But the Flemish soul wanted so much to live its own existence that it was impossible to speak of its degeneration. It finally reacted under the influence of a few talented individuals, and this reaction was all the stronger because of the force that tried to defeat it. This impulse of the Flemish soul [emphasis in the original] to preserve its own being and character in spite of everything – that is the starting point of the Flemish movement. “I am a Fleming” is the motto of the Middle Ages. “Be Fleming, you, whom God created a Fleming” – this is the first motto of the Flemish Movement. The Flemish movement is therefore not a literary, political or even religious question, but a democratic question, a social movement that unites under its banner the economic, intellectual, moral and religious interests of the industrious Flemish people (Michiels 64–65, transl. by the author of this article).

I have cited this rather lengthy passage from Michiels’ text not only to provide a demonstration of his style, but most of all because this fragment illustrates how Michiels combined a pragmatic understanding of the aims of the Flemish Movement (giving the Flemish people the rights they deserved under the existing legal and political framework) with a neo-romantic, metaphysical justification, drawing on the argument of language as the expression of a ‘national soul’. Rejecting arguments that the Flemish Movement represented an ideology created by members of the Flemish intellectual elite, Michiels emphasised its broad social base. He rejected the claim that the Flemish Romantic poets Theodoor van Rijswijck (1811–1849) or Jan Alfried de Laet (1815–1891) had been responsible for its origins, but he did credit novelist Hendrik Conscience (1812–1883) with bringing about a social awakening with his novel De leeuw van Vlaanderen [The Lion of Flanders]. The Polish reader could learn from Michiels further on that this novel had been translated into Polish in 1913 (64, note 2). Michiels was not only aware of the profound significance of interactions between literature and nationalist politics in Flanders, but he was also willing to contribute to a cultural

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6 Michiels does not give an attribution. This quotation (in Dutch “Wees Vlaming, dien God Vlaming schiep”) came from Flemish poet Guido Gezelle (Couttenier).
transfer in this area, sharing key information on important Flemish figures of literary and cultural life with his Polish audience.

Michiels’ presentation of the programme of the Flemish Movement is remarkable for the absence of any critical remarks (66). The tone is generally positive (or even enthusiastic), which suggests that he personally identified with it. His principal source was Het Vlaamsch programma, published by Algemeen-Nederlands Verbond (Antwerp, 1906), which articulated demands for access to education, health care, public administration and the legal system in Dutch. With regard to higher education, Michiels opted for the flamandisation of the University of Ghent. At the time of publication (1923), this was a controversial position that required explanation to a foreign audience (Michiels 67–80, for ‘flamandyzacja’ see e.g. 77). For the sake of balance, in the same issue of Przegląd współczesny, an unknown author using the initials R.U. presented the Walloon position on this matter (R.U.). This dilemma was only resolved in 1930, when the University of Ghent became a fully-fledged Dutch-speaking institution (Lamberts 368). Michiels, however, was careful not extend his sympathy for the Flemish Movement too far: arguing for the flamandisation of Ghent, he insisted that the Catholic University of Leuven should retain its Francophone character (Michiels 77–78).

Michiels was undoubtedly aware of the importance of using the Dutch language to communicate in a scholarly article on matters relating to the Netherlands. It is important to note that he quoted a number of expressions in the original Dutch because of their cultural significance, such as “In Vlaanderen Vlaamsch”,7 “Zij wilden wat was recht en wonnen wat zij wilden”,8 or “Alles voor Vlaanderen, Vlaanderen voor Christus” (Michiels 80).9 Suggestively placed in the final sentence, the latter may have been the scholar’s personal credo, expressing a belief in the Christian dimension of the Flemish struggle for cultural and linguistic autonomy. Its presence is also not surprising given Michiels’ experience as a former Belgian soldier in the First World War, an experience that must have been fresh in his mind at the time of writing.

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7 “In Flanders, Flemish”, referring to the demand of the Flemish Movement to make Dutch the official language of public life in the Flemish part of Belgium (Michiels 74).

8 “They wanted what was right and won what they wanted”, according to Michiels a motto of the “old Flemish” (Michiels 80). In reality, it is a phrase coined by the Flemish romantic poet Karel Lodewijk Ledeganck (1805–1847) (Claeys).

9 “All for Flanders, Flanders for Christ”. In later decades abbreviated in Flanders to AVV–VVK, this motto became a commonplace expression of religious-national unity among members of the Catholic wing of the Flemish Movement until the 1960s, when the Catholic element came to be regarded as unimportant due to secularization (Gevers, “Alles voor Vlaanderen”). The letters AVV–VVK were inscribed on the Yser Tower in Diksmuide commemorating Flemish soldiers killed in World War One (built in 1928–1930, destroyed in 1946, rebuilt 1965), which made them a symbol of the Flemish Movement.
3.3. Stefan Wyszyński, *Główne typy Akcji Katolickiej za granicą* [The Main Types of the Catholic Action abroad]

Catholic Action, a term that is crucial to understanding the aims of Stefan Wyszyński’s research at KUL in the interwar period, refers to an international social movement that emerged from various Catholic organisations in the 19th century as a reaction to secularisation and modernist ideologies, especially socialism and communism. It was an attempt to reinterpret the role of the Catholic Church in modern industrial society by involving lay Catholics in activities for the benefit of their communities. The initial impetus for the creation of a movement under this name came from Pope Pius X in his motu proprio of 18 December 1903 and in the encyclical *Il fermo proposito* (1905). But while Pius X inspired the emergence of Catholic lay organisations, it was Pius XI who with his encyclical *Ubi arcano Dei* (1922) formally launched the movement, which quickly attracted followers in Catholic countries throughout the world (Latin America) and especially in Western Europe (Spain, Italy, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany). In the 1920s, in Poland too, organisations were established which pursued the aims of Catholic Action (Dębiński 7, for Western Europe, esp. Belgium and the Netherlands, see Heerma van Voss et al.).

After visiting Western Europe (see above), Stefan Wyszyński published *Główne typy Akcji Katolickiej za granicą* [The Main Types of the Catholic Action abroad], where in a single chapter (19-30) he discussed the organizational activities of Catholics in Belgium and the Netherlands. For Belgium, Wyszyński’s research was based on the books of Georges Ceslas Rutten OP (1875–1952) (Wyszyński 22–23). Secretary of the ACV, Rutten was a Leuven graduate and a religious leader with close ties to Cardinal Mercier („Georges Rutten”). For the Netherlands, Wyszyński consulted Henri Poels (1868–1948), Catholic priest, theologian and social activist in Limburg (Wyszyński 27, n. 3; Spiertz).

Wyszyński’s description of Belgian society was partly informed by popular ethnostereotypes, such as that of the practical, materialistic Belgians („eager to make a profit for themselves out of everything”) (Wyszyński 19; Verschaffel). Its treatment of the history of religion in Belgium seems very general, as it omitted, for instance, the significance of the Dutch Revolt to the southern Low Countries. Celebrating the country’s modern, homogenous Catholicism, Wyszyński judged Belgium to be a country that “did not experience interconfessional strife” and where “no heresy ever lasted longer” (18). He recognized the importance of the Belgian Catholic Church as a force which consolidated society in spite of a polarized political landscape. Catholic Belgians, like society in general, were democratic because “priests were recruited from the lower social classes” (18). It was they who protected the population “from economic abuse by liberal industrialists and from agitation by socialist leaders” (18). Wyszyński did not
give any further details, so we do not know, for example, what he might have thought of Adolf Daens (1839–1907), whose political activism as the founder of the Flemish Christian-Democratic movement at a certain point even brought him into conflict with the Church authorities. Wyszyński was aware, however, of the tension between the Flemish and Walloon communities. This conflict involved Catholics on both sides, frustrating the attempts by Catholic organisations to coordinate their actions at a national level (Wyszyński 21).

Wyszyński was aware of the existence of Flemish Catholic organizations, citing their names in Dutch: “Jeugdverbond voor Katholieke Actie” [“Youth Union for Catholic Action”], “Kristelijke Arbeidersjongeren” [“Christian Working Youth”] (21), “Algemeen Christelijk Verbond van Werkgevers” [General Christian Union of Employers], “Boerenbond” [“Farmers’ Union”] and “Boerinnenbond” [“Women Farmers’ Union”] (24). He mentioned the titles of Flemish Catholic newspapers (De Standaard, Gazet van Antwerpen) and of Catholic publishing houses: the Norbertinians in Averbode and the Dominicans’ Geloofsverdediging in Antwerp (Wyszyński 25).

Going on to the Netherlands, Wyszyński intuitively diagnosed the apogee of the phenomenon that we know today, under the name given to it by Arend Lijphart, as pillarisation (verzuiling). Wyszyński admitted that for Dutch Catholics “religious life converged with economic life” (26), because Catholic organisations had a strict professional or cultural profile. Unlike some historians of today, who dismiss pillarisation as divisive “bloc building” (Hellemans), Wyszyński was positive in his assessment of this phenomenon. The Catholic pillar in the Netherlands was quite different from what Wyszyński could witness in the Second Polish Republic, where no similar process had taken place and where Catholic organisations were much less visible in society. Wyszyński illustrated his views by a digression on the mobility of the members of religious orders, who were frequently seen travelling by train in the Netherlands; this was not surprising to the Dutch (Wyszyński 27, n. 1). Wyszyński provided a catalogue of organizations (in Dutch): Geloof en Wetenschap [Faith and Science], Interdiocesane Jeugdcommissie [Interdiocesan Youth Commission], Federatie van R.k. Vrouwenbonden [Federation of Roman-Catholic Women’s Unions], R.K. Boeren- en Tuindersbond [Roman-Catholic Farmers’ and Gardeners’ Union], Nederlands R.K. Middenstandsbond [Dutch Roman-Catholic Middle Class Union] and Katholieke Sociale Actie in Nederland [Catholic Social Action in the Netherlands] (27–30). Because of their culturally specific nature, Wyszyński cited three terms in the original: “geestelijke adviseur” (“spiritual advisor”), “standsorganisatie” (“class or milieu organisation”) and “vakorganisatie” (“professional organisation”) (Wyszyński 27, 29). All are intrinsically connected to the history of Dutch working-class organisations, and Wyszyński’s mention of them provides evidence of their impact beyond the Low Countries.
4. Conclusion

During the inter-war period, *KUL* was the scene of a thriving but ad hoc academic exchange between Poland and the Low Countries. A common ground was the significance of a range of Church-related institutions and organizations in Belgium and the Netherlands as a valuable source of knowledge that the young Polish university could tap into. This was the reason for inviting Dutch and Flemish scholars to work in Lublin and for the *peregrinatio academica* of Polish scholars to the Low Countries. With regard to the latter, the Catholic University of Leuven stands out as the most important destination for *KUL* scholars travelling to the Low Countries. Although not much information about Lublin reached the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium and the Netherlands, the general public in these countries was nevertheless aware of the existence of a Catholic university in Poland.

An important but overlooked aspect of this academic exchange was the interest of *KUL* professors in the Low Countries, their language, literature and culture during the inter-war period. While this interest was in most cases an outlier from other scholarly pursuits (Radziszewski – philosophy; Wyszyński – sociology), or an isolated foray into another field (Michiels), all three of these key members of the interwar *KUL* community produced interdisciplinary research that in important respects touched on areas relevant to Dutch Studies. All three implicitly participated in a cultural transfer between the Low Countries and their homeland, providing Polish readers with information on selected aspects of contemporary Dutch and Flemish culture, but also on language or literature. The most interesting topics, given the focus of most authors on Belgium, were that country’s language policy, the politics of the Flemish Movement, and Flemish literature. Two other important themes were academic institutions in the Low Countries, and the relationship between Roman Catholicism and modern society.

Of the three texts examined here, “Ruch flamandzki” [“The Flemish Movement”] by Michiels emerges as the most significant and insightful contribution to Dutch Studies by a *KUL* scholar during the interwar period. It is a monographic article dealing exclusively with the interaction between Flemish national identity and the Dutch language in Belgium, a subject that remains highly relevant to this day. Can we therefore speak of Dutch studies in Lublin between 1918 and 1939? Admittedly, not in an institutional context. There was, for example, no chair of Dutch philology, unlike the one that had existed in Prague since 1921, or a lectureship like the one in Bratislava (1927–) (Bossaert 10; Engelbrecht, “Frantisek Kalda” 19–20). But we can certainly say that the year 1923, when Michiels published his article, marks an important date (if not the starting point) in the history of academic research in Dutch Studies at *KUL*. 
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University Archive of the John Paul II University of Lublin, shelfmark A-66, personal file of Hubert Hoemaker OFMCap, 1927–1939.

Printed publications

---. “Internationaal liturgisch congres te Antwerpen”. De Standaard, 24 July 1930, p. 3.


Annex. The impact of the Catholic University of Lublin in the Low Countries (the Netherlands and the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium): mentions in the Dutch and Flemish press

Part 1. Belgium

*De standaard*, between 11 November 1918 and 1 September 1939.

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<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
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<td>“Kerknieuws” [“Church news”]</td>
<td>12 July 1920</td>
<td>Dormitories for female students.</td>
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<td>7 August 1921</td>
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<td>“Uit de katholieke wereld” [“From the Catholic world”]</td>
<td>22 October 1924</td>
<td><em>KUL</em> mentioned with Marian Fulman, bishop of Lublin.</td>
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<td>“De katholieke universiteiten” [“Catholic universities”]</td>
<td>13 December 1925</td>
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<td>“Internationale Federatie van R.K. Universiteiten” [“International Federation of Roman-Catholic Universities”]</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Kunst en letteren (Hogeschool-annuaria)” [“Arts and letters (academic yearbooks)”]</td>
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<tr>
<td>“De geneeskundige dienst in de missies” [“Medical service in the missions”]</td>
<td>15 April 1930</td>
<td>A course in missiology at <em>KUL</em>.</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Katholieke Wereld (Polen. Katholische Arbeid)” [“Catholic world (Poland. Catholicism and Catholic labour)”]</td>
<td>21 November 1937</td>
<td>Name mentioned in a general article on Polish Catholicism and social activities.</td>
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<td>“Internationale Unie voor de studie van sociale vraagstukken in Mechelen” [“International Union for the Study of Social Questions in Mechelen”]</td>
<td>9 September 1938</td>
<td>Ludwik Górski as a participant from <em>KUL</em>.</td>
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Part 2. The Netherlands

*De Tijd*, between 11 November 1918 and 1 September 1939.

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<td>2. “Boekbeoordelingen” [“Book reviews”]</td>
<td>26 July 1920</td>
<td>Lublin’s reaction to the plebiscite in Silesia; an “Italian professor” of <em>KUL</em> is mentioned.</td>
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<td>3. “Kerknieuws” [“Church news”]</td>
<td>16 November 1920</td>
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<td>4. “Treurig nieuws op een feestdag” [“Sad news on a holiday”]</td>
<td>13 May 1920</td>
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<td>5. “Napoleon of de twee geliefden” [“Napoleon or the two lovers”]</td>
<td>18 May 1920</td>
<td>The new statute of <em>KUL</em> recognized by the Holy See.</td>
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<td>7. “De bekering van Rusland” [“The conversion of Russia”]</td>
<td>11 August 1921</td>
<td>The significance of Pius XI (Achille Ratti) for the founding of <em>KUL</em>.</td>
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<td>8. “De nieuwe Paus en de Polen” [“The new pope and the Poles”]</td>
<td>17 February 1922</td>
<td>A detailed report on the origins of <em>KUL</em>, the activities and vision of Idzi Radziszewski, including an account of his funeral on 22 February 1922.</td>
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<td>10.</td>
<td>“Kerknieuws” [“Church news”]</td>
<td>8 August 1922</td>
<td>Nomination of Gondulphus Fermont O.M.Cap., professor in Lublin, as commissioner general of the Polish Commission of the Capuchin Order in Warsaw</td>
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<td>28 June 1923</td>
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<td>12.</td>
<td>“De blinden van Polen” [“The blind in Poland”]</td>
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<td>13.</td>
<td>“De katholieke universiteit van Lublin” [“The Catholic University of Lublin”]</td>
<td>16 January 1924</td>
<td>The structure, size of the university, and a brief history (Idzi Radziszewski, Karol Jaroszyński, Jacek Woroniecki).</td>
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<td>16.</td>
<td>“Generaal-Kapittel der Minderbroeders Capucijnen” [“The General Chapter of the Friars Minor Capuchin”]</td>
<td>23 January 1926</td>
<td>Gondulphus Fermont O.F.M. as professor of KUL.</td>
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<td>“Onderwijs. De federatie van R.K. Universiteiten” [“Education. The Federation of Roman Catholic Universities”]</td>
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<td>“Rede Mgr. Schrijnen” [“Speech of Mgr. Schrijnen”]</td>
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<td>“Katholieke Universiteiten” [“Catholic Universities”]</td>
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<td>21.</td>
<td>“België. De Capucinerorde in Vlaanderen en Wallonië” [“Belgium. The Capuchin order in Flanders and Wallonia”]</td>
<td>21 July 1928</td>
<td>Three members of this order mentioned as teaching at KUL</td>
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<td>24.</td>
<td>“‘t Antisemitisme onder Polen’s studenten” [“Anti-Semitism among Poland’s students”]</td>
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<td>KUL was one of the two Polish universities where anti-Semitic incidents did not occur.</td>
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<td>25.</td>
<td>“Een boek over de paus (Warschau)” [“A book about the pope (Warsaw)”]</td>
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<td>26.</td>
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