After 1989, the economic transformation once again hit women disproportionately hard. B. notes how such achievements by women workers have been elided in the city's popular memory. To this day, the city's public memory glorifies swashbuckling male entrepreneurs, most symbolically in the "Monument to the Three Industrialists" (Henryk Grohman, Izrael Poznański, and Karol Scheibler) on Lodz's main thoroughfare, Piotrkowska Street. While his coverage of the role of women is commendable, B. could have taken the time to examine other blank spots. For example, Lodz's post-communist rediscovery of itself as the "city of four cultures" does not intersect with the reality of new ethnic groups that have recently arrived in the city. In the 2000s, Vietnamese-run food stalls populated the grounds of the shuttered Ramisch factory in the center of town, but this "Chinatown" was evacuated in 2009 to make space for "OFF Piotrkowska Center"—an originally edgy commercial development that, with its (Western) European cachet, could easily be at home in Berlin or Manchester. Whether Muslim minorities and the increasing number of Ukrainians can find their own niche in the kind of multiculturalism being marketed in Lodz today remains to be seen.

A stronger editorial hand could have avoided some errors and confusion. For example, varying statistics for the later postwar Jewish population are given without dates or specific citations (pp. 354, 364), and there are some inconsistencies with names: Władysław Gomułka is introduced twice as Wiesław (pp. 351, 362), without any indication that this was a pseudonym. Mieczysław Moczar appears as Zbigniew (p. 342), and Jerzy Kropiwnicki is listed as Grzegorz in the index (p. 497).

B.'s study is a powerful overview that synthesizes the wealth of new scholarship on Lodz while incorporating insights from his own archival research. Throughout the book, he extensively cites from German, Jewish, and Polish documents and historians. The voices from Polish sources especially are assiduously reproduced in the original in the footnotes—a boon to every historian working on this fascinating city.

Milwaukee, WI Winson Chu

Joshua D. Zimmerman: Jozef Pilsudski. Founding Father of Modern Poland. Harvard University Press. Cambridge – London 2022. XVI, 623 S., III. ISBN 978-0-674-98427-1. (€ 31,95.)

A legend in his own time and symbol of Poland's rebirth in 1918, Józef Piłsudski (1867–1935) is largely unknown today outside of Poland. Joshua Zimmerman intends to change that with his new full-length biography in which he investigates "Pilsudski's dual legacy of authoritarianism and pluralism" (p. 15). Was it the liberal, parliamentary, multinational democracy with an American-style presidency that Piłsudski envisioned and, according to Z., never abandoned? Or an authoritarian state with a parliament purged of opponents and elections conducted in an atmosphere of intimidation?

What distinguishes this biography from its predecessors is its attention to Piłsudski's personal life. Some details may seem extraneous, but there are also illuminating nuggets here, for example, in Piłsudski's relationship with his elder brother Bronisław, and, more so, with his impractical and reckless father. Evidence of early rivalry with Roman Dmowski, his future political nemesis, over the favors of a fellow participant in a small socialist circle in 1892 is also intriguing.

Piłsudski revered his mother who instilled in her offspring a strong sense of and commitment to Poland's romantic and messianic mission. Unsurprisingly, he loathed his teenage academic experience at the Russified Vilna gymnasium, a forge of more than one Polish revolutionary. Piłsudski then enrolled in Kharkov University's medical school, where he became engaged in clandestine student politics and was arrested twice. Denied transfer to the University of Dorpat, Piłsudski founded a circle of socialist youth among his former gymnasium classmates in Vilna. Peripherally connected through one of Bronis-

ław's acquaintances to the People's Will conspiracy to assassinate Tsar Aleksander II, Piłsudski was arrested and sentenced to five years of Siberian exile.

On his way to the Lena River island of Kirensk, Piłsudski's participation in a prison rebellion in Irkutsk resulted in a beating by soldiers and six months of imprisonment. Thereafter, Piłsudski lived in relative comfort for 30 months, fell in love and cohabited with a fellow exile, and became acquainted with representatives of two generations of Polish insurrectionary and socialist leaders who exerted a lasting influence. He completed the second half of his exile in the mountain village of Tunka near the border with China; his boredom broken only by concern for his family's material well-being and the tutoring of children of fellow exiles.

Upon returning in 1892 to Vilna, he immediately became involved in conspiratorial work for an emerging Polish Socialist Party (PPS) whose first program demanded the breakup of the Russian Empire and the establishment of an independent, multinational federal Polish republic within pre-partition borders. At this point, the PPS was mainly an organization of socialists abroad, but from the time Piłsudski began to serve as the Vilna correspondent of the London-based *Przedświt* (The Dawn), his rise to party leadership was nothing less than meteoric. Piłsudski's most significant achievement of these years was the establishment of the monthly *Robotnik* (The Worker) in 1894, which became the most influential socialist publication in Polish history. Arrests in that year of fellow members of the PPS Central Workers Committee thrust Piłsudski into the role of de facto party leader, and from that time until his own arrest in 1900, he was largely preoccupied with the refusal of Lithuanian and Jewish socialist parties to accept the authority of the PPS "on Polish lands" and its federalist program.

Following his escape in 1901 from a mental institution, where he landed after feigning psychiatric illness while awaiting his sentence in the Warsaw Citadel, Piłsudski's stance on organizing socialists in Poland and Lithuania into one party became even more insistent. These tactics, conducted in "a spirit of conquest" (p. 139) according to an internal party critic, betrayed Piłsudski's view of Jews and Lithuanians in general, and indeed socialism itself, as instruments to achieve the restoration of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in a modern federalist form. Piłsudski's stubborn adherence to the original party program led to what would become irreparable divisions in a PPS that was changing in age and composition. Increasingly challenged by the party's Young faction, Piłsudski's ability to assert his will began to wane already before the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War, which he saw as an opportunity to transform the party into an organization armed for insurrection against Russia's imperial presence, while his "Young" opponents sought to capitalize on anti-war demonstrations to ignite a socialist revolution.

This uneasy coexistence was perhaps best expressed in the "armed demonstration" from 14 November 1904 on Warsaw's Grzybowski Square, in which fighters from Piłsudski's newly created Combat Organization embedded themselves in an anti-war protest which occurred simultaneously with a Catholic Mass inside the All Saints parish church. Celebrated in Piłsudski lore as well as by Z. as the first armed action against Russian rule since 1863, the exchange of fire between PPS fighters and Russian police resulted in deaths, injuries, and mass arrests. Thereafter, Piłsudski's focus shifted to preparing a cadre of soldiers for a future army, funded by unauthorized attacks on Russian state institutions and their resources. Piłsudski's refusal to subordinate the Combat Organization to the party's central committee would ultimately lead to the split of the PPS at the end of 1906.

One of Piłsudski's main childhood heroes was Napoleon, and while his turn toward a Bonapartist-style authoritarianism lay in the future, its seeds were sown in the last decade before the outbreak of the First World War and not, as Z. would have it, in the "economic and political chaos that befell Poland in 1918–1926." His argument that Piłsudski remained steadfast in his "faith in the democratic ideal or in democratic government" and "did not become a foe of the very institutions he worked to build" (p. 491) is unconvincing. Ever the conspirator, Piłsudski plotted against a PPS whose leadership increasingly

reflected the democratized organization it had become during the 1905 revolution, just as he would conspire to overthrow interwar Poland's freely elected parliamentary majority backed by his former comrade President Stanisław Wojciechowski in 1926. Four years after his bloody military coup, Piłsudski would order the arrests and internment of opposition leaders who decried his emerging dictatorship.

In the meantime, the Piłsudski legend owed much to the twists and turns of World War I which seemed to place him in the right spots at the right time, as a successful military leader, as a prisoner in the Magdeburg Fortress after he clashed with German occupation authorities who claimed authority over an envisioned Polish Army, and as the Germans' only real alternative for securing an orderly and peaceful transfer of power in Warsaw at war's end. His successful negotiations with the Germans were then followed by his main achievement, the rapid creation of state institutions and guidance of the country to democratic parliamentary elections in 1919.

That he nearly threw it all away in the Polish-Soviet War of 1919/20 is another matter. Z. rightly credits Piłsudski with the plan for a successful surprise Polish counterattack in the rear of Soviet forces preparing to besiege Warsaw in August 1920, thereby transforming his image from reckless military adventurist to brilliant strategist overnight. Before the Battle of Warsaw, Piłsudski's Napoleonic complex had led him to view his army as liberators of the peoples of the Polish-Russian borderlands who would see it in their best interest to join a Polish-sponsored federation of independent states. The Lithuanians would have none of it and the Ukrainians, whose desire for a state to include East Galicia had earlier led to war with Polish forces, accepted Polish military support as their only hope to recapture Kyiv from the Bolsheviks. The Polish army which briefly held Kyiv was hardly a disciplined force and engaged in anti-Jewish pogroms in both advance and retreat.

That Piłsudski failed to denounce these pogroms and approved the internment of thousands of Jewish officers and soldiers from his own army were black spots on his later reputation as a friend and protector of Poland's Jews. His loathing of Dmowski's openly antisemitic National Democrats and blocking of proposed anti-Jewish legislation, however, led Jews to genuinely mourn his death in 1935. Piłsudski's own, more subtle antisemitism, evident already in the stereotypical language used to refer to Jewish socialists in Vilna in the 1890s, is a bit too easily dismissed by Z. as a cultural product of his provincial noble background.

On 11 November 2023, Jarosław Kaczyński, leader of Poland's Law and Justice party (PiS), addressed a crowd of supporters gathered in Warsaw's Piłsudski Square on the anniversary of Poland's rebirth in 1918. Kaczyński has long declared Piłsudski his hero and often invokes the Marshal's name and legacy to justify his own actions. Kaczyński's opponents argue that Piłsudski would turn over in his grave at the very thought of such a political descendant. That Piłsudski's mixed legacy allows both sides to cherry-pick from it is not surprising. Yes, Piłsudski was a "founding father" of modern Poland, but of what Poland? That question remains unanswered in Z.'s biography, which despite its stated quest for balance, cannot seem to emancipate itself entirely from the legend.

Morgantown, WV Robert Blobaum

Roman Dmowski: Schriften. Quellentexte zum polnischen Nationalismus. Übersetzt und hrsg. von Martin Faber. Brill Schöningh. Paderborn 2023. 390 S. ISBN 978-3-506-70291-3. (€ 59,–.) 06.11.23

Den polnischen Nationalismus aus der Vorstellungswelt seiner wesentlichen Protagonisten zu erschließen, hat die internationale Forschung lange Zeit vor eine große Herausforderung gestellt. Neben zumeist polnischsprachigen Spezialstudien zum „politischen Denken" (*myśl polityczna*) dominierte eine Sekundärliteratur, die häufig den Interpretationsbedarfen der jeweiligen politisch-weltanschaulichen Anhängerschaft entsprang. Höchst verdienstvoll ist es daher, dass der Freiburger Osteuropa- und Ideenhistoriker