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LUDWIK GRZEBIEŃ ORCID: 0000-0002-5623-3861 The Jesuit University Ignatianum in Kraków

REFLECTIONS ON THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE COMMISSION OF NATIONAL EDUCATION IN THE LAST 50 YEARS¹

A DISPUTE OVER THE FACE OF THE COMMISSION OF NATIONAL EDUCATION

When 50 years ago I started to complete and publish the book *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej. Udział byłych jezuitów w pracach Komisji Edukacji Narodowej (The Commission of National Education. The participation of former Jesuits in the works of the Commission of National Education)* by Jan Poplatek (Kraków 1973), this institution was perceived completely differently. Within 50 years, the perspective regarding the assumptions and achievements of the Commission of National Education has clearly changed. In this paper, I would like to demonstrate the direction of current research, and the conclusions the researchers of its history have arrived at.

The most important obstacle in the study of the history of the Commission of National Education was its ideologization during the Polish People's Republic. Primarily, an attempt was made to present the Commission in publications and

¹ The article is an extended version of the paper delivered at the conference in Jarosław on July 11–14, 2013, entitled Losy dziedzictwa po klasztorach jezuickich skasowanych na obszarze Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów oraz jego znaczenie dla powstania i działalności Komisji Edukacji Narodowej [The history of the heritage of the Jesuit monasteries dissolved in the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and its significance for the establishment and operation of the Commission of National Education].

propaganda as a work of creating completely new secular school, contrary in every respect to the previous "denominational", Jesuit and "church" school.

Jan Poplatek developed his work on the Commission of National Education in the Stalinist era in the 1950's, but he could not publish this work, even though he accepted the basic principle regarding non-engagement into any ideology. On the other hand, he wanted to demonstrate using the statistic method, how many Jesuits worked in the Commission of National Education, what kind of functions they performed, what kind of post-Jesuit publishing, housing and financial base the schools of the Commission of National Education had. Only with the use of the statistical method he could show that in the initial period (in the 1770's) the activities of the Commission were based on the Jesuit personal base and its facilities, the more so that the Piarists were trying to maintain their independence from the central administration of the Commission of National Education.

The celebration of the 200th anniversary of the existence of the Commission of National Education celebrated in 1973 took place when two tendencies – ecclesial and secular, clashed. In this festive atmosphere, they obtained the permission of the censorship to publish a book by J. Poplatek under the general title *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej (The Commission of National Education)*, although its content was specified in the subtitle *Udział byłych jezuitów w pracach Komisji Edukacji Narodowej (The participation of former Jesuits in the works of the Commission of National Education)*.

Rev. Bronisław Natoński, who initiated the publication of the book by J. Poplatek in the "Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu" (XLIV: 1975, p. 318–323) presented the research on the Commission of National Education, from the source publications by Teodor Wierzbowski, to the latest publications at that time, demonstrating that the problem of the secular nature of schools of the Commission of National Education was born only in the period of creating the Polish "secular state", i.e. the Polish People's Republic². Unfortunately, during the period of Marxism, the publications by B. Natoński were exceptions.

Primarily Kamilla Mrozowska from the Jagiellonian University was a representative of the secular trend in research on the Commission of National Education, who was, perhaps not because of a bad faith, critical of church, mainly Jesuit education, and impressed by the plans and visions of the leading activists of the Commission of National Education. In her numerous publications prepared for the above mentioned jubilee, she emphasized that the

² See: B. Natoński, Jezuici a Komisja Edukacji Narodowej [The Jesuits and the Commission of National Education], "Roczniki Humanistyczne" 1977, Vol. 25, No. 2, p. 65–100, (Ibid. Interwencja Kamilli Mrozowskiej [The intervention of Kamila Mrozowska], p. 101–105); Idem, Komisja Edukacji Narodowej [The Commission of National Education], "Poslaniec Serca Jezusowego" 1984, No. 113, p. 192–193; Idem, Komisja Edukacji Narodowej [The Commission of National Education], "Jezuici – Nasze Wiadomości" 1988, No. 4, p. 5–10

Commission of National Education was the beginning of a modern and secular Polish educational system. Her publications included both source publications³ and popular studies⁴.

Other historians, including Alina Czerwińska, also presented secular ideology promoted in the Polish People's Republic, by publishing an anthology of partially selected texts on literary materials related to the Commission of National Education in 1973⁵.

An objective monograph published still in 1941 by Ambroise Jobert, who even though was unable to show all aspects of the operation of the Commission of National Education, presented the assumptions and ideology of the Commission in a reasonable manner, was issued in the Polish language in 1979⁶. I hope that the text by Agata Wdowik, announced at the conference in Jarosław in 2013 entitled *Edukacja – laicyzacja – polskość (Education – secularization – Polishness)*, which discussed the atmosphere of the 200th anniversary celebrated in 1973, will bring closer the atmosphere of the ideological dispute over the Commission of National Education, which took place during the intensified publications regarding the jubilee.

THE PUBLICATIONS ISSUED AFTER 1973

Kalina Bartnicka and Irena Szybiak from the Warsaw Center have belonged to the leading researchers on the history of the Commission of National Education. In 1974 they published a valuable publication entitled *Raporty generalnych wizytatorów szkół Komisji Edukacji Narodowej w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim (1782–1792) (The reports of general inspectors of schools of the Commission of National Education in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (1782–1792))* regarding the second stage of the operation of the Commission

³ Pisma i projekty pedagogiczne doby Komisji Edukacji Narodowej [The letters and pedagogical projects of the Commission of National Education], ed. K. Mrozowska, Kraków 1973.

⁴ K. Mrozowska, Komisja Edukacji Narodowej (1775–1794) [The Commission of National Education (1775–1794)], Kraków 1973; Idem, Jezuici i Komisja Edukacji Narodowej [The Jesuits and the Commission of National Education], in: Wiek Oświecenia [The era of Enlightment], Vol. 2, Warszawa 1978, p. 109–134; Idem, L'héritage des jésuites en Pologne dans l'activité de la Commission de l'Éducation Nationale, 1773–1794, "Rassegna di Pedagogia" 1987, No. 45, p. 269–277. She also edited the papers from the scientific session at the Jagiellonian University held due to the 200th anniversary of the establishment of the Commission of National Education, entitled: W kręgu wielkiej reformy [Within the great reform], Kraków 1977.

⁵ A. Czerwińska, Droga do Komisji Edukacji Narodowej. Wybór materiałów literackich [The path to the Commission of National Education. The selection of literary materials], Warszawa 1973 (see subsections: W szkole ojców jezuitów [At the school of the Jesuits], p. 55–57; Pochwała Grzegorza Piramowicza [The praise by Grzegorz Piramowicz], p. 156–158; Ofiara eks-jezuitów [The sacrifice of former Jesuits], p. 204–205; Kopczyński contra Alwar, p. 211–218; Pochwała Marcina Poczobuta [The praise by Marcin Poczobut], p. 321–322).

⁶ A. Jobert, La Commission d'éducation nationale en Pologne (1773–1794). Son oeuvre d'instruction civique, Paris 1941; Idem, Komisja Edukacji Narodowej w Polsce (1773–1794 [The Commission of National Education in Poland], Wrocław 1979.

of National Education in Lithuania, which showed, however, ongoing relations with the Jesuit order⁷.

The correspondence of the general inspectors, rectors, and the teachers, with the Crown Main School published by K. Mrozowska, could change little in this positive image, as this school, former the Cracow Academy, always critical of the Jesuits, struggled to maintain the monopoly of teaching at the expense of other centers, including the centre in Vilnius and Poznan⁸.

CHRISTIAN ENLIGHTENMENT

Stanisław Janeczek from the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, a historian of philosophy, discussed and, to a large extent, solved the most controversial issue of the so-called "secularity" of schools of the Commission of National Education already in a number of publications, by closely associating the education of the Commission of National Education with the trend of the Christian Enlightenment. He demonstrated that both the authorities and the teachers of the Commission of National Education were raised and educated in the Christian spirit, which was usually enriched by studies and observations of the Western education. The best example thereof was primarily Grzegorz Piramowicz. S. Janeczek dedicated several valuable publications to this issue, e.g. *Oświecenie chrześcijańskie. Z dziejów polskiej kultury filozoficznej (Christian enlightenment. From the history of Polish philosophical culture)* (Lublin 1994) and others⁹.

This point of view that the schools of the Commission of National Education constituted an evolutionary, not a revolutionary transformation of the old Jesuit education is universally accepted at present.

⁷ K. Bartnicka, I. Szybiak, Raporty generalnych wizytatorów szkół Komisji Edukacji Narodowej w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim (1782–1792) [The reports of general inspectors of schools of the Commission of National Education in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (1782–1792)], Warszawa 1974.

⁸ Listy z prowincji. Korespondencja wizytatorów generalnych, rektorów i nauczycieli ze Szkołą Główną Koronną 1779–1794 [Letters from the province. The correspondence of the general inspectors, rectors, and the teachers, with the Crown Main School between 1779–1794], collected by K. Mrozowska, introduction and commentary by K. Mrozowska, Warszawa 1998.

⁹ S. Janeczek, Oświecenie chrześcijańskie. Z dziejów polskiej kultury filozoficznej [Christian enlightenment. From the history of Polish philosophical culture], Lublin 1994 (see the paragraphs: Wskazania jezuickie [Jesuit guidelines], p. 28–29; Pijarzy a jezuici i Komisja Edukacji Narodowej [The Piarists, and the Jesuits and the Commission of National Education], p. 55–60; Filozofia jezuicka i Komisja Edukacji Narodowej [Jesuit philosophy and the Commission of National Education], p. 69–74); Idem, "Świecki" charakter Komisji Edukacji Narodowej?. Uwagi na marginesie lektur z historii szkolnictwa ["Secular" character of the Commission of National Education?. Notes taken on the margines of obligatory readings on the history of education], in: Divina et Humana. Księga jubileuszowa w 65. rocznicę urodzin Księdza Profesora Henryka Misztala [Divina et Humana. The jubilee book on the 65th anniversary of the birth of Rev. Prof. Henryk Misztal], Lublin 2001, p. 745–769; Idem, Edukacja oświeceniowa a szkoła tradycyjna. Z dziejów kultury intelektualnej i filozoficznej [Enlightenment education and traditional school. From the history of intellectual and philosophical culture], Lublin 2008 (See: II. Od oświaty renesansowej po szkolę jezuicką [II. From the Renaissance education to the Jesuit school], p. 57–131).

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE JESUITS IN THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION OF NATIONAL EDUCATION

Within the last 50 years, much attention was paid to comparing the Jesuit education with the school of the Commission of National Education. During the dissolution, the Jesuits teaching in more than 60 schools joined the nationwide discussion: how to take advantage of so many teachers, so many schools, convents, and libraries to continue the Catholic religious, theoretical and practical education in the spirit of the Enlightenment. Among a number of plans to solve the problem of education, the Jesuits had also many intentions, including the ideas promoted by Marcin Poczobut, Karol Wyrwicz or Józef Rogaliński, who, showing their journalistic zeal, were active in magazines: Franciszek Bohomolec in "Monitor", Adam Naruszewicz in "Zabawy Przyjemne i Pożyteczne", Piotr Świtkowski in "Pamiętnik Historyczno–Polityczny", and even Stefan Łuskina in "Gazeta Warszawska". Both supporters and opponents of the Enlightenment trend served national education and made the press available for reporting school-related efforts, promoting reforms and tracking the creation of new school textbooks.

The Jesuits played the key role in the Society for Elementary Books. Among 22 teachers working during the entire period of the operation of the Commission, 10 Jesuits belonged to the Society. The most credit should go to Grzegorz Piramowicz, secretary of the Society, but many others followed his example. A number of former Jesuits worked as school inspectors at the Commission of National Education. After 1781, 11 out of 20 general inspectors were Jesuits.

According to J. Poplatek, there were 445 teachers, school inspectors and preachers working in over 50 faculty and sub-faculty schools. In the course of the research, the list of people he created can be constantly increased. Therefore, the Jesuits brought their personal, scientific (journalistic) and material potential to the Commission of National Education. According to current knowledge, at least 500 former Jesuits worked at schools of the Commission of National Education¹⁰.

EDUCATION DURING THE PARTITIONS

A wide range of research on the history of the Commission of National Education also includes the Jesuit and post-Jesuit education during the three partitions and in Silesia, and not only the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth reduced by the borders of the first partition.

¹⁰ A. Królikowska, Nauczyciele eksjezuici w pracach i szkołach KEN [Post-Jesuit teachers in the papers and at schools of the Commission of National Education], in: Komisja Edukacji Narodowej. Kontekst historyczno-pedagogiczny [The Commission of National Education. The historical and pedagogical context], ed. K. Dormus, B. Popiołek, A. Chłosta-Sikorska, R. Ślęczka, Kraków 2014, p. 146-156.

I. The Russian Partition

At the time of the first partition of Poland in 1772 and the dissolution of the order in 1773 under the Russian annexation, there were six institutions with schools, and 201 Jesuits, including 97 priests. Jesuit schools were the only public schools in Belarus, hence, the tendency of the tsars to maintain them and to modernize them was visible.

Catherine II connected her reform of education with the principles of Johann Ignaz von Felbiger (1724–1788), who developed a new method of elementary education. Although he still emphasized studying the catechism and biblical history, he did not neglect practical sciences which were in line with the postulates of physiocracy. He took more account of the moral side than the dogmatic side of the Catholic religion, by introducing such subjects to school curricula as: gardening, manual works, elements of law, and management. The system by Felbiger was introduced in Austria and the Austrian Partition.

Inspired by Austrian solutions, Catherine II, using the services offered by Jan Benisławski, the Jesuit bishop, began to reform the St. Petersburg schools. On September 7, 1782, she established the Commission of Arranging Public Schools, which developed *Projekt urządzania ogólnego (General arrangement draft)* (August 5, 1786). Slowly, and with great difficulty attempts were made to introduce a school network by Felbiger.

Respecting the will of the monarchs, the Jesuits slowly modernized the curriculum and adjusted their schools to the requirements of the government, which mainly consisted in extending the scope of teaching modern languages and science subjects. Since 1782 philosophical studies, which included mathematical and science subjects, were particularly developing. The exceptional interest of the tsarist authorities in the Jesuit education was observed between 1784–1786, when pressure was applied on the Jesuits to adopt a model of normal schools from St. Petersburg. Gabriel Gruber (1740–1805), a former Jesuit, a court physicist of Emperor Joseph II, proficient in mathematical and physical sciences, mainly in mechanics and hydraulics, played an important role in these changes as he prepared teachers for science subjects. According to the Jesuits, searching for a compromise between normal and Jesuit schools should consist in extending the curriculum significantly, but in line with *Ratio studiorum*. There were numerous connections between the Jesuits in Belarus and the Commission of National Education, and some professors of the Commission of National Education moved to Belarusian schools.

The reforms of Jesuit schools coincided with the general reforms in the Russian monarchy. In 1786 a decree was issued concerning public schools and nurseries with a reduced curriculum (reading, writing, accounts, religion) for lower classes of citizens. In each capital of the Governorate, schools of higher levels called "main public schools" were supposed to be established, the curriculum of which was wider (reading, writing, religion, arithmetic, history, physics, nature, and architecture). In the county seats, and in larger urban centers, there was a plan to set up schools of lower level with narrower curriculum (reading, writing,

accounts, religion). They existed until 1803 also in the former Polish provinces of Mohilev and Vitebsk, which had been annexed in 1772.

Undoubtedly between 1784–1786, the Belarussian Jesuits reconstructed their education in a thorough manner. They also considered the suggested (or more precisely: imposed) model of the schools in St. Petersburg. However, these changes were adapted to the monastic organizational model. Along with the reform of the schools in Połock, an unprecedented extension and development of college, school, convent, boarding school and museum buildings took place. Since 1786, the tsarist authorities applied almost no pressure on the Jesuits with reference to the need for further school reform. Due to the fact that the Jesuits preferred mathematical and physical sciences, which were presented during public shows and examinations, they won the assistance of many influential supporters and friends.

Since 1787, those school matters in Belarus were already more peaceful. The tsarist authorities appreciated the efforts undertaken by the Jesuits, who tried to respond positively to their demands, although did not deviate from honoured *Ratio studiorum*.

II. The Prussian Partition

King Frederick II did not abolish the Jesuits in 1773, but for a few years left the order unchanged (*status quo*). The ruler wrote to Voltaire on December 10, 1773, about the grounds for such a decision: *I kept them for no other reason than for the state of education*¹¹. The king dissolved the Jesuit order only in 1776 – in Silesia and in 1780 – in Varmia. Subsequently, he transformed the Jesuit institutions into the so-called *Institutum Litterarium Regium*, and left the existing religious structure subordinate only to the state power. We do not have a comprehensive study of the history of the Jesuit education in the Prussian partition, however, it is known that for a long time many former Jesuits played important roles in this education, e.g.:

- Józef Ernhardt (1744–1803) after the dissolution of the order, he became the director of the Royal School Institute and the Academy in Gdańsk,
- Piotr Laschki (1728–1796) after 1773 he was a professor at Collegium Hosianum in Braniewo and the rector of the Academic Gymnasium in Braniewo between 1780–1785,
- Franciszek Paschota (1747–1826) in 1794 he became a professor at the Academic Gymnasium in Szotland next to Gdańsk, where in 1799 he taught theology and canon law,
- Jakub Rafalski (1746–1803) between 1786–1803 he was the rector of the Academic Gymnasium in Szotland and the director of the Royal School Institute in Gdańsk.

¹¹ S. Załęski, *Historya zniesienia zakonu jezuitów i jego zachowania na Białej Rusi [The history of the dissolution of the Jesuit Order and its preservation in White Russia (Belarus)]*, Vol. 2, Lwów 1875, p. 109, 131, 132

III. The Austrian Partition

After the first partition and the dissolution of the order, the Jesuits remained mostly at their schools until the 1880's, when real schools were established, and were replaced by German secular teachers. Such a situation took place in Jarosław, Krosno, Lviv, Przemyśl and Stanisławów.

In Austria, Maria Theresa in 1760 established the Court Studies Commission, and four years later, on her initiative, the schools were supervised by the state authorities. In 1775, she reformed secondary schools – and introduced the German language, and "realia" – practical subjects. In order to launch public education, the empress brought in Felbiger, who prepared "the general school regulation for German normal, main and trivial schools". Felbiger organized a network of schools and introduced three types thereof: four-class normal schools (one per province – a model one for educating teachers), three- or four-class main schools (at least one per county), and two- or one-class trivial schools, i.e. common (*trivia-lis*), public, in each town with a parish church. Catherine II and the Commission of National Education were interested in the methods developed by Felbiger.

In Galicia, the German normal school was established in 1775 in Lviv – the capital of the province. They commenced to publish German textbooks provided with Polish translations. Former parish schools and academic camps were changed into trivial schools supervised by the state officials. After taking over the reins of government by Joseph II, the school reforms were intensified, and the process of Germanisation of this sector began. At that time, former Jesuits were ousted from teaching in old colleges.

IV. Silesia

The history of active Jesuit and post-Jesuit education in Silesia is a separate issue that Jesuit historians in Poland have not dealt with so far. However, it had its own historians. Rev. Zdzisław Lec, an author of many monographs about Silesian Jesuit colleges deserves special attention. One should hope that the research conducted within the framework of the grant provided by the Wrocław center will contribute to the "incorporation" of the entire education in the region of Silesia (including Cieszyn) into the Polish research.

FACILITIES

Facilities – mainly colleges and schools, but also rooms and equipment of libraries – were usually overlooked in the historical research. Jerzy Paszenda has the greatest achievements in this area, who in five volumes entitled *Budowle jezuickie (Jesuit buildings)* (Kraków 1999–2013) discussed most of the Jesuit institutions in terms of their architecture, including schools. Next to Rev. Paszenda, Andrzej Betlej concentrated much on post-Jesuit buildings in the Russian province – thanks to the already published works and the ongoing research.

An extremely valuable source regarding the post-Jesuit buildings adapted to the needs of the Commission of National Education is the plans included included in *Teki (Portfolios)* by Stanisław Zawadzki, which are now preserved only in photocopies and kept in the Archive of the Jesuits in Cracow, and have been already discussed in the publications¹².

The studies conducted by Ryszard Mączyński regarding the post-Jesuit real estate, brought closer in the paper entitled *Klopotliwe dziedzictwo, czyli losy pojezuickich nieruchomości w gestii Komisji Edukacji Narodowej (The problematic heritage, i.e. the fate of the post-Jesuits real estate in the hands of the Commission of National Education)*, will probably show how important, but at the same time, "problematic" was everything that the Commission of National Education had taken over from the Jesuits, but without which the existence and the operation of the Commission would be even more difficult, and in many aspects, impossible¹³.

When discussing the facilities of the Commission of National Education, one cannot skip the Jesuit libraries. Before the professors were provided with more recent literature, their work had depended mainly on the library stocks. Fortunately, there are a lot of publications available on this subject, and the libraries still arouse the interest among researchers.

ICONOGRAPHY

While undertaking research into the history of the Commission of National Education, the entire iconographic base, important especially in terms of synthetic publications is noteworthy, i.e. the preserved:

- 1. portraits of the people and activists of the Commission of National Education,
- 2. plans for the construction and reconstruction of post-Jesuit buildings and their adaptation to the needs of education,
 - 3. oldest drawings and photos of school buildings,
- 4. photographs of basic documents from the Commission of National Education, such as: title pages of textbooks, auxiliary literature, and magazines.

FINAL REFLECTIONS

The most important is, however, the publication of materials that were collected thanks to the grant *Dziedzictwo kulturowe po klasztorach skasowanych*

¹² J. Paszenda, *Plany kolegiów jezuickich z Teki Zawadzkiego [The plans of Jesuit colleges from the Zawadzki's Portfoliof*, "Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki" 2005, No. 50, Vol. 3–4, p. 163–173.

¹³ R. Mączyński, Architekt Komisji Edukacji Narodowej. Nadzór nad budynkami szkól w latach 1777–1793 [An architect of the Commission of National Education. Supervision of school buildings between 1777–1793], "Analecta. Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki" 2006, No. 15, Vol. 1–2, p. 7–88.

na ziemiach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej oraz na Śląsku w XVIII i XIX wieku: losy, znaczenie, inwentaryzacja (The cultural heritage of monasteries dissolved in the territories of the former Republic of Poland and in Silesia in the 18th century and the 19th century: fate, significance, inventory) which might contribute perfectly to the plans of studies into the history and activities run by the Commission of National Education conducted under the direction of above mentioned Kalina Bartnicka as part of the grant Komisja Edukacji Narodowej – model szkoły i obywatela. Koncepcje, doświadczenia, inspiracje (The Commission of National Education – a model of school and a citizen. Concepts, experiences, inspirations). With regard to the next jubilee of the 250th anniversary of the operation of the Commission of National Education that falls in 2023, one should trust that the effects of this work will be published soon.

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Reflections on the historiography of the Commission of National Education in the last 50 years

Summary

The author shared his thoughts related to the research on the history of the Commission of National Education (Polish abbreviation: KEN) in the last 50 years. He focused on the discussion on the image of the Commission of National Education. The promoters of the lay point of view presented it as a completely new institution, opposing the religious schooling that had prevailed; others saw it as the fulfilment of the Christian enlightenment in which the achievements of the new era were included in the frames of the old educational system. New research and new publications support the latter approach. Obviously, since the author is a Jesuit, he put emphasis on Jesuit schools, as the Commission of National Education was based on the intellectual and financial potential of the Society of Jesus functioning in the First Republic of Poland. Also, the author paid attention to the necessity of carrying out the research on education under the partitions, which was not influenced by the Commission of National Education, and to the facilities in the form of school buildings and libraries, as well as to the existing iconography.

However, the publication of the materials collected thanks to the grants that are being fulfilled is of crucial importance. Publishing the materials is related to the upcoming great 250th anniversary of the Commission of National Education, which will be celebrated in 2023.

Keywords: the Commission of National Education, former Jesuits, Jesuit schooling, historiography, school reforms.